NGAN'GITYEMERRI

A language of the Daly River region

Northern Territory of Australia

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A thesis submitted for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

of the

Australian National University

December 1990

Unless otherwise acknowledged in the text
this thesis represents the original work of the author

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Contents

Abstract

This thesis is a study of Ngan'gityemerri, a language spoken primarily in and around the two communities of Nauiyu Nambiyu and Peppimenarti in the Northern Territory.

Chapter One provides an introduction to the names by which speakers of this language have been referred to, comments on the relationship between the two dialects, and establishes my use of the term Ngan'gityemerri as a language name. Also included in this chapter is a brief account of the history of these people since European invasion of their country began late last century, some comments on social organisation, cultural affiliations, Wangga and Lirrga songstyles, and a description of their country. The current status of the language is reviewed, and the language variety presented in this work is clearly identified. A survey of previous work on Ngan'gityemerri, and a description of my fieldwork methodology are additionally included.

Chapter Two presents the segmental phonology, phonotactics, stress patterns and morphophonological processes. Particular attention, in the form of a detailed acoustic study, is given to the mechanism by which the contrast between two series of stops is maintained.

Chapter Three presents an overview of 'simple' and 'complex' verb structures, then identifies the morphological make-up of the verbal elements labelled 'auxiliary' and 'complex verb stem'. The mechanisms that interact to mark categories of tense, aspect and mood, namely auxiliary root inflection, verbal enclitics, verb root reduplication and the serialisation of posture/motion auxiliaries, are all addressed in this chapter. The incorporation into the verb of bodypart noun roots is also investigated here. A distinction between 'lexical' and 'syntactic' incorporation is invoked, and the differences in the effect of both these types of incorporation is dealt with. A list of incorporable terms is presented, and their literal and classificatory semantics explored.

Chapter Four investigates the semantic contribution that the auxiliary makes to the meaning of a full verb. The 31 auxiliaries are broken down into six groups on the basis of their functional roles, which are described in detail.

Chapter Five deals with the role played by both freeform and bound generics in classifying the Ngan'gityemerri nominal world. The morphology of these generics is surveyed with regard to the typological distinction drawn between 'noun class' systems on the one hand, and

'classifier' systems on the other. The semantics of noun class categories are also examined here.

Chapter Six examines the set of enclitics, some of which have scope over NPs and others over clausal propositions. The semantic functions of this clitic set varies widely, some marking such case-like roles as 'agent' or 'instrument', others encoding the kinds of meanings, like speaker attitude, that are commonly attributed to free particles. The class of free particles is treated in Chapter Seven.

Chapter Eight provides a brief presentation of space, time and number expression, and Chapter Nine deals with the freeform pronominal system, demonstratives and interrogatives.

Appendices to this grammar include the full subject-auxiliary sequence paradigms for both Ngan'giwumirri and Ngan'gikurunggurr, as well as four texts. Cassette tapes of the textual material included in the appendices have been submitted with this thesis, and copies of these will gladly be made available by the author to any interested readers.

Acknowledgments

Abbreviations and Conventions

General Abbreviations

eg.	'for example'	ie.	'that is..'
cf.	'compare with..'	lit.	'literally'

Reference Abbreviations

ibid.	'in the same section'
op. cit.	'in the above mentioned work'
loc. cit.	'on the same page of the above mentioned work'

Phonological Conventions

[ ]	phonetic representation
/ /	phonemic representation
C	consonant
V	vowel
N	nasal
#	morpheme/word boundary
´	primary stress
`	secondary stress
( )	optional element
→	is realised as...
/	in the environment of...

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
( )	optional
*	ungrammatical
(*)	ungrammatical if bracketed element included
*( )	ungrammatical if bracketed element excluded
{ }	underlying form
=	boundary between 'auxiliary' and 'Complex Verb Stem'
-	boundary between complex verb morphemes

Kinterm Abbreviations

F	father	M	mother
S	son	D	daughter
B	brother	Z	sister
H	husband	W	wife

Interlinear Gloss Abbreviations

1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
M	masculine
F	feminine
sg	singular
dl	dual
pl	plural
inc	inclusive
ex	exclusive
SU	subject
DO	direct object
IO	indirect object
Pres	present
Perf	perfective
PImp	past imperfective
Irr	irrealis
Past	past
Pres	present
Fut	future
redup	reduplicated
Mp	manipulative
Val	valence increaser
Neg	negative
IMP	imperative
HITH	hither, towards speaker
THITH	thither, away from speaker
FOC	temporal or spatial focus
INCH	inchoative
REFL	reflexive
RECIP	reciprocal
REL	relativiser

AGENT	agent
INSTR	instrumental
PURP	purposive
LOC	locative
SOURCE	source, ablative
CAUS	causative
ASSOC	associative
UNSATIS	unsatisfactory
LEST	lest, for fear of
PROHIB	prohibitive
INAB	inability
WARN	warning
SEMBL	semblative, looks like...
KIND	a kind of...
INTENT	intentional, just about to...
CORRECT	corrective, its meant to be...
COTEMP	cotemporaneously, just at that time
DESPITE	despite X, even though X
IMPL	implicated argument
ALSO	as well, again, too, still
EMPH	emphatic
SUGG	suggestive, 'how about it ?'
INDEF	indefinitiser
INSTEAD	in place of..., in preference to...
JUST	only, no more than...
ONO	onomatepeia

Noun Classes

cl	noun class
M	male
F	female
Hg	human group
A	animal
Pf	plant food
Bp	bodyparts
Tr	tree/thing
C	canine
Bsp	bamboo spears
Csp	canegrass spears

Structure of Examples

Examples are structured as four lines. The first line is the Ngan'gityemerri sentence/word in **bold** script. Loanwords are treated in one of two ways. English loans which essentially retain their English phonemicisation and meaning are given in the first line of examples in plain rather than bold script, to denote their status as loan words (or in some cases, code-switching). Loans from English which have been phonemicised into Ngan'gityemerri, or have acquired new or extended meanings as loanwords are given in bold script and provided with an interlinear gloss on lines two and three (i.e. in accordance with Ngan'gityemerri speakers' perception of such words, I have treated them as 'proper NgK or NgW'). The second and third lines of examples, in *italic* script, provide an interlinear gloss. I've found the use of two lines neccesary simply because of the morphological density of the verb in particular. Lines 2 and 3 are meant to be read jointly from left to right, rather than sequentially. For instance, the gloss to the example given below should be read as;

wuddumbuny-ngerr -mi -wul -nime-pagu
3pl Shove -dl/1sg-Val-return- tr -HITH
SU Perf SU/DO SU
They (three) brought me back here.

"third plural subject, 'shove' auxiliary in perfective inflection, portmanteau dual subject and first singular direct object, valence increaser, return (verb root), trial subject, hither directional"

As evident in the above example, I use a slash / between the glossed elements of a portmanteau morpheme. Another minor convention is the inclusion, below the verb root, of the meaning of the verb. This is given only in those verbs whose meaning is unpredictable from the combination of the auxiliary and verb root semantics.

Auxiliary roots are glossed by name (e.g. 'Shove' in the example above). The semantic nature of auxiliary verbs is discussed in detail in chapter 5, and readers seeking explanation of auxiliary root glosses are referred to this section. The 31 auxiliary names are listed below.

Simple	Complex	Detransitivised
sit	hands	handsDtr
lie	feet	feetDtr
stand	mouth	mouthDtr

go	poke	pokeDtr
go*	slash	bashDtr
say	bash	sayDtr
hang	heat	heatDtr
take	shove	shoveDtrS
see	suck	shoveDtrD
arrive	pull	seeDtr
	snatch	

The fourth line of examples, in plain script, provides an English translation. I've been fairly free with translations, attempting, in addition to an accurate rendition, to convey something of the speech style. To this end, in a few cases I have translated using expressions that are characteristic of the English of Ngan'gityemerri speakers, but which may be less well known in standard Australian English.

The use of brackets ( ) in the fourth line of examples either provides contextual information which is missing from the given example, but established within the wider discourse, or clarifies implications of the example. e.g. I brought it for her (to give to her), (on her behalf), (at her request) etc. A bracketed sentence below the line-4 translation is an alternative translation.

Example numbers are of the form 3-56, where 3 denotes the chapter number, and 56 denotes the example number within that chapter. Examples in each chapter are renumbered from 1. Ngan'gikurunggurr examples are marked by 'NgK' below the example number. All examples not designated as NgK should be understood to be Ngan'giwumirri, unless specified in the text as some other language.

List of Tables

List of Figures

List of Maps

MAP 1

Languages of the Daly River Region

N

Tyenty

Wedylginy

MalakMalak

Emmi

Pungu Pungu

Menhdhi

Timor Sea

Daly River

Merranunggu

Yunggor

Camu

Merri Ammu

Marrithiyal

Matngala

Merri tjebin

Merramaninjeli

Ngan'gi merri

Merri Ge

Ngan'gikurunggurr

Ngan'giwumirri

Fish River

Marringarr

Moyle River

Murrinh-patha

Jaminjung

Wagiman

This map has been hand drawn with MacIntosh Superpaint graphics. While it is intended to represent language and dialect boundaries as accurately as possible, it is not drawn strictly to scale. The boundaries of Ngan'giwumirri, Ngan'gimerri and Ngan'gikurunggurr countries are based on my own fieldwork. The northern half of the map is based primarily on Green (1989). The orthographies adopted for language names are given in 1.1.

Chapter 1

Ngan'gityemerri: the language, the speakers, the culture.

1.1   Language Names[1]

The names Ngan'gikurunggurr and Ngan'giwumirri are etymologically compounds of **ngan'gi** 'language/story/word' and **kurunggurr** and **wumirri**. **Kurunggurr** is both the name of a particular billabong in the **muyil** marshland west of Peppimenarti, and also the general term, in both Ngan'gikurunggurr and Ngan'giwumirri, for deep, dark water, as found midstream in a river. Ngan'gikurunggurr people do not prefer either one of these referents, as opposed to the other, as the source of the language name.   The etymology of **wumirri** is not clear. In response to my queries, some Ngan'giwumirri people have remarked upon the similarity with **wumirr** 'the resinous substance found among the roots of the ironbark tree'.   There is however no general agreement about the relevance of this similar term to the language name, nor any supporting morphological evidence (i.e. the final -i is otherwise unattested as any sort of derivational suffix).

Ngan'giwumirri and Ngan'gikurunggurr are, on linguistic criteria, dialects of a single language.   They share an identical phonemic inventory (though realisation and stress rules differ); share identical verbal structure - the number and semantics of their systems of auxiliary verb appear to map onto each other perfectly; they share a cognacy rate of about 85%; and are mutually intelligible.   Speakers of these dialects refer to them as 'languages', and acknowledge their subgrouping by comparing their degree of similarity with other pairs of dialects - "NgK and NgW go level, like Marrithiyel and Marrisjebin go level".   Speakers of both dialects agree that NgK is 'light/smooth' while NgW is 'heavy/rough'.   To judge from their

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[1]In referring to the names of other languages I use those that stem from what I consider to be the most comprehensive studies available (whether published, manuscript or personal communication). I employ Green's (pers. comm.) orthography for **Marrithiyel, Marrisjebin, Marringarr, Marri Dan, Marri Ammu, Marri Ge:, Marramaninjsji, Merranunggu,** and **Menhdha**. I have also adopted Green's spelling for **Matngela** (though without the superscript y following the ng, denoting a palatal off-glide). **Gamu** is written in the orthography of Harvey (pers. comm.), (who incidently believes the final vowel of Matngela to be i, e.g. Matngeli). **Murrinh-patha** is written in the orthography used by the Port Keats school. **Jaminjung** follows Chadwick (1984 ms), and **Wagiman** follows Cook (1987). **Emmi** follows Ford (pers. comm.). At certain places in the text I give the variant spellings of other authors. In these cases I have adopted the practise of enclosing such language names within single quotation marks, e.g. 'Nengomeri'.

comments, this distinction would appear to be based primarily on the strict maintenance in NgW of hetero-organic nasal/nasal and nasal/stop clusters at the boundary between the auxiliary root and whatever follows it. The same underlying clusters in NgK are subject to assimilation rules, e.g.

1-1	NgW	NgK	
	meny-nge	meng-nge	'he told her'

Also contributing to this perception are NgW voiced stops corresponding to NgK voiceless stops;

1-2	NgW	NgK	
	wedi	weti	small
	minbadi	minati	big

NgW nasal/stop clusters corresponding to NgK single nasals (as in 'big' above) or single stops;

	NgW	NgK	
1-3	ngeningge	ngenike	sister

and NgW high+back vowels corresponding to NgK high+front vowels (especially in word-final position); . e.g.

	NgW	NgK	
1-4	kuru	kuri	water
	funggulu	fungguli	sugarbag

The language that these two dialects constitute, has no name. Here, as in most parts of the country, the Aboriginal perception of 'language'[2] names and relationships are not necessarily based on distinctive linguistic attributes (Dixon 1980:43). For the purposes of this grammar, I have used the name Ngan'gityemerri to represent this linguistically defined language. This should be clearly understood to be a linguistic abstraction of my own

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2 I distinguish between linguistically defined language, and Aboriginally defined 'language', by placing the latter in quotaton marks.
Note also that the practice of forming 'language' names through a compound with the word for 'language', does not in any convincing way suggest that the primary reference of these names is to language rather than people. This is a region where languages are spoken in continous blocs of country. If you know someone's country, then you know their language, and vice versa. Within this environment, names that formally define languages, also define their collective speakers and the country they belong to.

fabrication[3], and one that does not reflect universal native speakers usage of the term.

The etymology of **Tyemerri** is unclear. Ngan'gityemerri speakers claim that just as they refer to the Marrithiyel as 'Ngan'gikamu', so they are referrred to by the Marrithiyel as 'Marrityemerri'. Green (pers. comm.) reports that 'Marri Sjemerri' is the name by which Marrithiyel speakers refer to Ngan'gikurunggurr (though he further notes that at least one Marrithiyel speaker uses it as a cover term for both NgK and NgW). One might assume from this that speakers of NgW and NgK have calqued this term, borrowing **Syemerri** from Marrithiyel and substituting **ngan'gi-** for **marri-**, deriving **Nan'gityemerri**. However, Green suspects that 'Sjemerri' is probably not a Marrithiyel word because the standard Marrithiyel practice for referring to surrounding languages/dialects, is to compound **Marri** 'language' with a word from the language being described, rather than with a Marrithiyel descriptive term (cf. Marri Wuda, Marri Wumirri etc.).

The etymological obscurity of the term 'Ngan'gityemerri' is matched by the varying reference with which it is used. Some speakers (both NgK and NgW) use it in reference to both NgK and NgW, but others (both NgK and NgW) use it to refer to NgK only. I use the term Ngan'gityemerri in reference to the language only, and so throughout this work I am careful to refer to 'Ngan'gityemerri speakers', but not 'Ngan'gityemerri people'.

Hoddinott and Kofod and also Tryon began work on Ngan'gikurunggurr around about 1967 and are the first writers to have used this name for the language. Up until then all reference to this language, in works such as Laves (1931), Stanner (1933), Davidson (1938), Capell (1963), and Oates (1970), is given as Moiil/Moil/Moyle/Moyl. This term is the Ngan'gityemerri name **muyil** for the vast area of marshland, stretching from the mouth of the Moyle River some 35kms inland to Peppimenarti. The English name for the river is presumerably based on this placename. The area referred to as **muyil** is inhabited by the NgK, Marringarr and Marrisjebin (possibly once Marri Ge: also); however, as used by Ngan'gityemerri speakers, this term has no reference to people, but simply designates a geographical feature.

3Tryon used 'Tyemeri' as group and sub-group labels in his 1974 classification of the Daly languages. He indirectly alludes to the possible Marrithiyel source of this term, 'It is also known within the Daly area as Tyemeri or Marrityemeri' (Tryon 1974:229). Hoddinott and Kofod also note 'Tyemirri'as an alternative name, but confuse it with the discourse particle tyamirri 'finished'. On the basis of this misunderstanding they make the rather fanciful claim that '...the alternative name for the language, Ngankityemirri, means the 'finished' or 'perfected' language" (H&K 1989:2).

Despite its prevalence in the early anthropological, linguistic and 'adventure' literature, there is no evidence that NgK people ever used the name 'Moiil' in reference to themselves. Rather, it seems to have been used by other Daly groups as a dismissive label for those 'bush/myall blacks' from the swamp country who had less ready access to the settled strip along the middle Daly River[4]. How and when the term 'Moiil' came to exclusively refer to the NgK is not altogether clear, though in all probability it is largely attributable to Stanner. What is clear though is that this usage was the artefact of European researchers, and not of the Aborigines of the area. The usage of this non-self-designatory term stemmed simply from the fact that none of the early writers actually had much contact with the NgK. Stanner, for instance, notes that "Bush tribes like Nangor and Moiil, with which the writer had no effective contact[5], seem on native reports to be very little altered" (Stanner 1933:21). These days NgK people acknowledge that they were the people once designated as 'Moiils', but neither they nor, as far as I am aware, any other Daly groups now use this name.

Stanner refers to two others groups by the names 'Nangimeri' and 'Nangiblerbi'. Ngan'gimerri, a third dialect of the Ngan'gityemerri language, was the name given to the speech variety of the northernmost NgW estate group rak-Merren[6]. Although Ngan'gityemerri speakers give it a 'language' name (i.e. **ngan'gi-**), they acknowledge its greater similarity with NgW than NgK by using Ngan'giwumirri as a super-ordinate term that embraces Ngan'gimerri as well. Further discussion of the relationship between Ngan'gimerri and NgW can be found in Reid (to appear).

4In this respect 'Moiil' was much like the term 'Beringgin/Brinken' in being a perjorative epithet that had shifting rather than fixed reference. In fact Stanner even quotes Durrmugam (a NgW) as referring to Marringarr and Marrithiyel as "those bloody f___g bastards of Moiils", and noting his "falling into the vulgar European error of lumping both tribes together as Moiils whereas a generation before they had been lumped together as Brinkens". (Stanner 1970:89)

5Stanners's lack of direct contact with the Moiils comes as something of a surprise, for he describes how their camp was situated on the bank of the Daly in relation to the 'Marrithiel' and 'Nangomeri', and the impression one gets from reading his reports is that he moved widely (and fairly freely) up and down the middle Daly.

Stanner's lack of direct contact with the 'Moiils' also perhaps explains his odd language subgrouping (Stanner 1933:387), where he groups Moiil with Marringarr and Marrithiyel, and groups NgW with Marramaninjsji and Merranunggu.

Tryon's claim that Stanner was "one of the few anthropologists to have devoted much time to the study of the Ngangikurrunggurr" (Tryon 1974:229), appears to be incorrectly based on Stanners work with the NgW, not the NgK.

6I have also heard this 'language' referred to as 'Ngan'gimerren'

As the speech variety of only a single estate grouping, Ngan'gimerri was probably never spoken by more than thirty or forty people, so the attention it received by European writers was somewhat disproportional to its status. Laves described this speech variety in 1931, Capell later collected some fieldnotes, and it gets a mention in the surveys of Capell (1963), Oates and Oates (1970) and Tindale (1974). In fact 'Ngangimiri' is given as the only member of the 'Ngangimirian Family' in Capell (1963). Although Ngan'gimerri was, between 1930 and 1960, perhaps the most well documented variety of Ngan'gityemerri, it was, as Stanner notes, by this stage no longer actively spoken; "other tribes such as the......Nangimeri and Nangiblerbi, formerly were in contact with the settlement, but are now either extinct or the few survivors have drifted into the stations and sidings along the railway line" (Stanner 1933:383).

By the time Tryon came to work on NgK and NgW around 1967, Ngan'gimerri seems to have been largely forgotten, or the similarities between its variant spellings and those of NgW had led to the belief that they were one and the same[7]. No-one speaks Ngan'gimerri today. Descendants of the rak-Merren estate can still be found at Naiyu Nambiyu and Peppimenarti, though they now have their primary affiliation in their mother's country, Lafuganying.

Stanner's reference to the Nangiblerbi is mysterious for two reasons. Firstly, no elder Ngan'gityemerri speakers now claim to have ever heard the name, despite their clear remembrance of Ngan'gimerri. Secondly, the morpheme-initial bl- cluster and the intra-morphemic -rb- cluster are both impermissible within contemporary Ngan'gityemerri phonotactics. A minor reference by Stanner to Nangikadre is equally mysterious.

1.2   Post-invasion History
1.2.1   1876 - 1955   Disintegration and Degeneration

After McMinn, Saunders and Sergison traced the course of the Daly river in 1876, the influx of non-Aborigines into the area was under way. Within a couple of years the Darwin Chinese community had established a farm on Peron Island at the mouth of the Daly, and miners had begun smelting copper at Coppermine, then later gold at Fletchers Gully. 1880 to 1906 were the years of most active mining, though other enterprises were

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[7]Tryon for instance suggests that Capell's allocation of separate language numbers to 'Ngengmeri' and 'Nangimeri' is erroneous, "the two names being simply variants" (Tryon 1974:251). However, Tindale notes that both Schebeck and Cleverly, in personal communications, expressed the opinion that the different spellings were significant.

also underway. The Palmerston Sugar Company had the first farm with twenty acres of sugar cane just a few miles from Coppermine on the edge of the Kilfoyle plain.

Another significant European presence on the Daly during these early days were the Jesuits. Between 1886 and 1899 they had three mission sites, Uniya and Serpentine Lagoon on the west bank and New Uniya on the east. The Jesuits had previously had a mission at Rapid Creek in Darwin, but found Darwin Aborigines 'too demoralised'(Pye n.d). Believing they could only improve the lot of 'unspoiled natives'(loc. cit.), they looked to the inhabitants of the more isolated Daly region. The Jesuits' approach, a combination of protecting the indigenous culture whilst pushing agricultural development, education of children, and medical care, was strongly influenced by the 'reductions' carried out in 17th and 18th century Paraguay to protect the Indians from the Spanish.

> "Religion is....primary in our intention, but in a manner
> secondary in our practise, because we recognise that we must
> first civilise the blacks before we can Christianise them.'

> (McKillop 1893)

The Jesuits seem to have fostered the use of local languages, and are said to have developed a Liturgy in Matngela. The floods that had prompted the relocation of their missions several times, and the difficulties in maintaining supply links with Darwin, eventually drove the Jesuits from the NT altogether in 1899.

Stanner (1933:381) estimates that there may have been "well over one hundred" non-Aborigines on the Daly around the turn of the century. However the switch from mining to agriculture, which heralded a succession of failed enterprises over the next twenty years, greatly reduced this number. The government farms established in 1908 and the government-assisted private farms begun in 1912, had virtually all foundered by 1920. A few Europeans battled on, mostly growing peanuts or tobacco and shooting crocodiles, but Stanner (loc. cit.) estimated that by 1933 their number had been reduced to about twenty. From that time until the mid-fifties a few new faces appeared to try their hand at farming, cattle stations took out leases on surrounding country, and a few, like Ridsdale, started reworking the gold mine at Fletchers Gully on a small scale. Their numbers however remained low.

From the accounts of Pye (n.d.), Flynn (1963) and others we can get a reasonable picture of the non-Aboriginal history of the Daly region. Stanner is the only source from which we can build a picture of the Aboriginal history of the same period. Clearly the twenty-odd mile strip of the middle

Daly, around the Jesuit missions and the farms, became the focal point to which Aborigines from as far as Delissaville and the upper Fitzmaurice River were attracted. Stanner's description of the situation that he encountered in 1932 is worth quoting at some length here.

"Between the Crossing and Brown's Creek two points about eighteen miles apart on the middle Daly, forming roughly the extremes of the settlement, are to be found members of such tribes as the Mulluk Mulluk, Madngella, Maranunggo, Nangiomeri, Marithiel, Moiil, Maringar, Wagaman, Nangor, Marimanindji and the Ponga Ponga; other tribes such as the Djerait, Wogait, Kamor, Yunngor, Kungarakan, Nangimeri and Nangiblerbi, formerly were in contact with the settlement, but are now either extinct or the few survivors have drifted into the stations and sidings along the railway line such as Pine Creek, Katherine, Brock's Creek, Adelaide river and Rum Jungle. Some Wogait are in Darwin.

Of the above mentioned tribes only the Mulluk Mulluk, Marithiel, Madngella, Marimanindji, Moiil, Nangiomeri and Maranunggo are now represented by groups of any size around the settlement. In all, there are probably less than 200 natives of all tribes who live permanently in or near the settlement. Vital statistics appear to point to a steady decline in tribal strengths, although alteration in the level of river population, at all times difficult to estimate, is more than ever obscured by the slow drift of other natives to the settlement and the unobtrusive retreat of some to the bush.

The important point in the foregoing is that a number of tribes, or the remnants of a number of tribes, have been on the one hand thrust together into a situation of conflict, strain, distrust and fear among themselves, and on the other into a harsh, unpleasant and harmful contact with whites and Chinese. ......the aborigines, by the virtual redivision among themselves of the old Mulluk Mulluk territory (now the common territory of them all), by the disruption of old territorial attachments and the modification of sentiments organised upon them, by the development of a complex series of emotionally-toned attitudes towards both settlers and their own aboriginal neighbours, have to some extent worked out a defensive adjustment to their difficult situation. But the adjustment is at best imperfect and unhappy, and has many elements of dissatisfaction. The aborigines have been without precedent to help shape their attitude. They have no real understanding of what has befallen, or why it has brought disintegration. Added difficulties have been placed in the way of satisfactory adaptation by the inelasticity of their social organisation, which seems rather to have ruptured than to have yielded or accomodated itself to the thrusts of culture contact; by their highly suggestible, imitative and impressionable dispositions; and perhaps by the unusual *incidence* of damage to their societies during the phase of contact." (Stanner 1933:383-4)

By the time Stanner made this report in 1933, the movement of all these people away from their traditional country was essentially complete, and Stanner does not comment on the *process* of this movement. Clearly this would not have happened overnight, and indeed the jostling, dealing and fighting that this territorial shift would have necessarily involved, can fairly readily be assumed to underly the "conflict, strain, distrust and fear" that Stanner describes. The 'inner' Daly people, i.e. the MalakMalak, Matngela, Marramaninjsji and Gamu, are likely to have prized their access to a source of tobacco, flour, tea, rum, clothes etc. and prevented, or at least exploited, attempts by the 'outer' groups, such as the Marrithiyel and Ngan'gikurunggurr, to get a toehold on the riverbank. Some evidence for this is found in the pejorative names, such as 'Moiil' and 'Brinken', used by the inner Daly people in reference to the 'myall blackfellas' from these outlying areas who had not learned to wear clothes or picked up any of the whiteman's language. This kind of process, i.e. those closest to new settlements blocking the access of more distant groups and then stigmatising them for their 'backwardness' and 'sorcery'[8] seems to have been a component of the pattern of settlement in many parts of the country.

During this period of transition from homelands to the riverbank, the relative positions of the NgW and NgK were probably quite different. For the NgW would have had better access to the river through the narrow corridor of NgW country that reaches right up to the Daly River at Tyiliny (Chilling Creek), only a few miles upstream from the Crossing. In comparison the NgK were much more effectively blocked from access to the settled strip of river, and were probably among the last to make it their permanent camp.

These early years on the Daly riverbank were the most desperate period of their history. Stanner describes widespread fear of sorcery, the indescriminate killing and rape of unprotected travellers, constant feuding and payback, and people ravaged by grog, opium, tuberculosis, influenza and the syphilis that rendered so many women infertile. The population had declined rapidly as a result of all these factors. The figure of 200 that Stanner gives as actually living on the settled area of the Daly, probably accounted for the majority of these people, as there is little evidence of other permanent settlements. There are no reliable pre-invasion population figures with which this can be compared, but to hazard a guess I would assume that NgW speakers numbered between 200 and 250, and NgK speakers between

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[8]Stanner also notes that "most river tribes agree that the Brinken possess a great many sorcerors" (Stanner 1933:25).

150 and 200. This guess is based on two criteria; the superabundant nature of the countryside, and by multiplying the number of estate groups by the figure that present day Ngan'gityemerri speakers regard as normal estate group size[9].

Tensions between the groups living along the riverbank seem to have subsided during the late thirties and forties. This appears to have resulted, not from improved social cohesion, but rather from further disintegration as the population was split between the farms, cattle stations and the army bases at Adelaide River. It was during these years too, that children of mixed-blood were removed from their camps and sent to Melville and Croker islands. Of the post-war years it can be said that no groups (except possibly the MalakMalaks) were residing on their own land, and that the majority of members of every language group (except possibly the NgK) were not even residing in the Daly river region at all, but were dispersed to the north and the east. This fragmented state continued until in 1952 Joe and Bill Parry, Harry Wilson and John Chapman lobbied Bishop O'Loughlin and the Native Affairs Branch in Darwin to provide educational and medical facilities. Thus began the Daly River Mission.

1.2.2   1955 onwards   Daly River Mission

Founded in 1955 by Missionaries of the Sacred Heart (on what is probably Gamu country), the Daly River Mission became the focal community of most of those Aborigines still remaining along the river. Some continued to live and work on cattle stations, but most of the Marrithiyel, Marramaninjsji, Merranunggu, Ngan'gikurunggurr, Ngan'giwumirri, some Marringarr, and the occasional Wagiman, made this their home. Only the MalakMalaks remained apart, as they continue to do today, living around Woolianna.

Protected from outside exploitation, these were the safe years. Despite the continued solidarity of language groups, a sense of community began to emerge. The presence of the mission vastly improved the physical state of these people; however, traditional culture was further eroded. Mission policy was strongly directed towards two goals - the need to inculcate a work

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[9]I am unprepared to commit myself to anything firmer than a guess here, because of two potential variables within the second criteria that I have employed. Firstly, as noted in 1.3.3, the number of estate groups presently recognised may possibly be less than were in existence pre-contact. Secondly, the population size that is presently considered by Ngan'gityemerri speakers to be 'normal' for an estate group (30-40), may also have changed over time.

ethic and a western view of stable family life, and the establishment of individual rather than collective responsibility.

> "The tribal Aborigine has no real concept of work as we know it. He must, with his past, his attitudes, his inclinations, his total outlook, be educated to our notion of employment in the wage situation"
>
> (Rev J Leary: Policy Statement, in Pye (nd :69))

> "Employment should take the Aboriginal from his nomadic tribal hunting, nature dependent existence, to a modern, settled, economically based, individualistic, independent existence. From it must stem concept of home, family-life related to the home (as against the tribal concept), status in the community, responsibility (individual rather than tribal)"
>
> (Rev J Leary: Policy Statement, in Pye (nd :69))

The mission discouraged the use of traditional language among children (see 1.4.1), attempted to stamp out most forms of ceremonial practice, and broke down patterns of social organisation, particularly by arranging marriages they deemed to be appropriate. Their active encouragement of traditional practices was essentially limited to the production of artefacts for sale.

> "Apart from aspects such as 'Sunday Business' and the Pukamani[10], there is much by way of native arts and crafts which is very fine, and should be retained and encouraged."
>
> (Rev J Leary in Pye (nd :41))

For the twenty years from 1955 to 1975 the Daly River Mission was the home of almost all the NgK and NgW people. Here the NgK and Marrithiyel established themselves as the dominant groups, and even today NgK is regarded as the lingua franca of the mission. By the early sixties NgK people began to re-establish links with their land. They set up a dry-season camp at Merrim in NgK country and spent a few weeks of their holiday time there each year. They stepped up their efforts in the late sixties, and a small band of people, mostly elderly and also pre-school age children, had a semi-permanent camp at **fepi minati** (Peppimenarti). Their numbers were swelled by those employed on cattle stations, who visited them during off-season periods.

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[10]Leary is refering to local mortuary ceremony. His use of the Tiwi term stems from his time spent on Bathurst and Melville islands.

By the early seventies when Aboriginal aspirations to leave settlements and establish permanent outstations on their own country, were beginning to gel and gain momentum across the Northern Territory, the NgK and NgW were ready to move. They had resolved to live in and protect their own country, and to determine their own mixture of economic enterprise and traditional cultural practice. An expression of this resolution by Harry Wilson appears in Pye (nd:35-7). I have taken the liberty of quoting excerpts of it below.

"It seems that everyone is telling us what we can do with our land. No one is asking us what we want to do with our land. We want our land and we want to live on it. It is our home as it was before the white man came. We did not spoil our land then, we will not spoil it now. First we want a good life on our land and to live that good life, we want to run our cattle station as a way of living.....We are more interested in our way of life than making a lot of money and this is what we are trying to tell people, who seem more interested in just running a cattle station for a few people. We have lived away from our land for too long."

This decision was acknowledged by the mission in this way:

"What people like the Peppimenarti group are saying to us is like: We now accept the goals of socio-economic development you have been holding up before us, but, respectfully, we do not accept your programme. We want to leave the artificial mission centre which saved us and gave us our new vitality; we want to go back to our own country and do it our own way."
(1975 Mission Conference conclusion, in Pye (nd:37))

1.2.3   1975 onwards   We are going home: Peppimenarti

NgK and NgW people struck out from the mission in 1975 and set up a permanent settlement at Peppimenarti. They run a cattle station, which was originally given a mustering lease over the Wildlife Reserve and all the Aboriginal land north of the Moyle river. Their hard work was met with government funding, and the community prospered. These were boom years and the employment ratio was very high. They snubbed their noses at unemployment benefits and were extremely proud to do so. In recent years, for many reasons, the high-riding Peppi people have been brought back to earth with a jolt. Once the initial injection of government funding had been reduced, it became impossible to continue expanding at the same pace. Competing leases reduced the area of land that they were entitled to muster, and consequently reduced the scope of the cattle industry. Reliance on unemployment benefits again became a fact of life. Morale was affected, but

the advantages provided by their isolation, of being in a position to control the extent of outside influence, and above all, of living on their own land, have enabled this community to survive.

In an account of his first visit to Peppimenarti in January 1976, John Pye (nd:40) noted that "almost all of the Daly River Moils[11] are out there". Some certainly stayed behind and today these two groups are split between the two communities. The majority made the move though. In the 1986 - 1988 period during which I lived at Peppimenarti, the population varied between about 150 and 250. About 65% of these were NgK, about 25% were NgW, and the remaining 10% a mixture of Marrithiyel, Marrisjebin, Marramaninjsji and Jaminjung. During this same period there were about 10 NgW and 40 NgK people at Daly River Mission.

1.3 Traditional life
1.3.1 The Country

The land to which the NgW and NgK belong is wonderfully diverse. The eastern and northern NgW estates of rak-Merren and rak-Lafuganying are situated in the Wingate mountains, and are characterised by deep lush gorges between arid sandstone mesas. Running westwards from the Wingates through the NgW estates of rak-Nudik, rak-Tyingirim, rak-Nganambala, rak-Malfiyin and rak-Papngala, is a sandstone escarpment. Unlike the type of escarpment found around Oenpelli, which breaks off into the coastal plain in great buttress formations, this is a single line of cliff wall, up to a hundred metres in height, that splits the country into two distinct geographical zones. The top of the escarpment **ninymunggurr**, descending gradually southwards towards the Fitzmaurice, is dry and rocky, mostly spinifex and sparse trees stunted by lack of water. It cannot sustain permanent habitation, but was frequently used for east-west travel, particularly during the wet season when the low black soil plains were difficult to cross. The lip of the cliff wall is actually well watered, there being at least thirty permanent springs along a twenty kilometre section of it. Around each of these springs are small rings of thick vegetation, but the water falls straight back down the cliff in spectacular waterfalls.

In contrast to the top of the escarpment, the low level country holds its water and supports a rich diversity of flora and fauna. Flowing from pockets of rainforest along the base of the escarpment wall, through open forests of Eucalypts interspersed with pandanus and cycads, the Moyle river

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11Note though that Pye uses the term 'Moil' quite variously. He refers on the same page to the "Ngangikurrungur having similar customs to the Moil".

and its tributaries gently descend westwards into large flood plains of black clay soil before disappearing into the marshland of the vast muyil swamp that stretches from Peppimenarti thirtyfive kilometres to the sea.

The seven NgW estates that are represented by people presently living at Peppimenarti are roughly strung out in an east-west line, each consisting of both high escarpment and low plain country. The boundary of the easternmost state, rak-Lafuganying, runs the whole length of the Fish[12] river, from Kuluy (Collah Spring) northwards to its junction with the Daly river. The northern boundary, between the rak-Merren estate and Gamu/Matngela/Marramaninjsji country, roughly follows the Daly - Peppimenarti road (which in turn follows the old Daly - Port Keats walking track). The southern neighbours, around the Fitzmaurice river, were the Jaminjung, and on the western side the Marringarr. East to west then, NgW country extends just over one hundred kilometres, from the Fish river to the muyil swamp near Wudipuli.

As can be seen from Map 1 (p. xiii), NgK country is much smaller, bordered on the southern and eastern sides by NgW. The northern NgK estates of rak-Fepiminati and rak-NgambuNgambu respectively abut Marramaninjsji country and the Marrithiyel-speaking rak-Marri Dan estate group. The four other NgK estate groups to the south-west of these, NintyiNintyi, Merrepen, Nerintyi and Ngulfe, are located lower in the floodplains. I am told that during the worst of the wet season, rak Nerintyi and rak-Ngulfe people often had to abandon their own estate holdings to the rising floods and camp on the fringes of the rak-Merrepen and rak-Fepiminati estates.

1.3.2 Cultural affiliations

NgW people, particularly those in the eastern estate of Lafuganying, once had close ties with the Wagiman. This was told to me by NgW people, and Cook (1984:3-4) implies that the Wagiman make the same claim. These ties have effectively been disrupted since the turn of the century, as the NgW were drawn northwards to the Daly River Crossing and the Wagiman drifted, or were forcibly removed (Cook 1987:16), southwards to the Pine Creek region. Most elderly NgW, and some NgK, still claim to either speak or 'hear' the Wagiman language. The area around Kuluy has been claimed (Cook 1987:3)) to have been 'shared' between these two groups. Cook

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12Note that it is the Fish river that forms the eastern boundary of NgW country, not the Flora river as claimed by Tindale (1974). The country between the Fish and the Flora belongs, according to the NgW, to the Gamu (in the north) and the Wagiman (in the south).

(1987:4) also notes that both Wagiman and NgW are said to be buried in the cave graves at Bupa (Dead Man's Pocket).

The pre-invasion relationships between the NgW and NgK and their other surrounding neighbours are less readily distinguishable from modern ties, and hence less reconstructable. Genealogical evidence suggests that exogamy with virtually all neighbouring groups was the normal marriage pattern.

The NgW and NgK additionally have strong cultural and trade ties to the south, particularly along the **biyawul/bingarawal**[13] trade route through Timber Creek, Kunanarra and further south towards Balgo. Indeed the influence from the south, not only in economic life, but also in the spheres of social organisation and ceremonial and ritual life, has been so strong that Stanner refers to it as "the cultural debt that Daly tribes owe to the south and south-west" (Stanner 1933:385). To some extent the NgW were a buffer between this southern influence and the other Daly language groups. The NgW seem to have readily embraced and adapted much of this influence, some of which, like the religious cult described by Stanner (1956:4), flowed through to the rest of the Daly, while others, like the 'Arandic' subsection system, went no further.

1.3.3 Social organisation

The NgK and NgW languages are associated with continous blocs of land, and so conversely land affiliation can be (and is) identified by language affiliation. Speakers of NgK are a collection of the six estate groups; rak-Fepiminati, rak-NgambuNgambu, rak-Nerintyi, rak-Merrepen, rak-Ngulfe and rak-NintyiNintyi. Speakers of NgW are a collection of the seven[14]

13In reference to the trade route, the terms **biyawul** and **bingarawal** might be glossed as 'northerners' and 'southerners', respectively. The two groups designated by these terms may form some type of 'patri-moiety', though my understanding of the function of these groupings is very incomplete. This trade route comes up from Timber Creek to Peppimenarti, then forks eastwards to the Daly, and westwards to Nadirri and thence on to Belyuen. Among many other items (ochres, resin/wax, dillybags, pearl shells, armbands, bolts of fabric etc.) bamboo for spear shafts goes southwards, from **biyawul** to **bingarawal**, while boomerangs go northwards from **bingarawal** to **biyawul**. Still today the Peppimenarti men invest considerable time in fulfilling their trade obligations and anticipating the extent, and arranging the delivery, of their due. See also Stanner's comments on 'Merbok' (Stanner 1933:20).

14The estate numbers given here for NgK and NgW, six and seven, respectively, are those currently recognised. These figures may be conservative. I have recorded two other NgW names that appear to have been estate names; rak-Wulaya and rak-Kadinnyin. Biernoff (1982) also makes reference to a Ngan'giwumirri estate group by the name 'Moilyung', though I have never heard this term. Although estate boundaries, affiliations and names, have

estate groups; rak-Lafuganying, rak-Merren, rak-Nudik, rak-Tyin'girim, rak-Nganambala, rak-Malfiyin and rak-Papangala.

Estate membership is determined patrilineally, and is the main basis for claims to land[15]. Land ownership is generally articulated in terms of a collection of totemic sites. All estate members jointly own these sites and therefore all share the same patriclan totems. Stanner (1933:398) noted that the 'Nangiomeri' "once possessed a type of patrilineal totemism, but it is too late now to establish what precise form it took", and goes on to suggest that it was replaced by a new form of matrilineal subsectional totemism that was borrowed with the subsection system. My own observations do not concur with this. The NgW still have a system of patrilineal estate totemism, and there is presently no evidence of the new system Stanner described. This is not to suggest that Stanner was wrong. During the time of his fieldwork the NgW may have been 'toying' with a new southern import, that like the subsection system, gained only a precarious foothold, and then was subsequently passed over.

The NgW were the only Daly group to augment their basically Kariera kinship system with a version of the 'Arandic' subsection system (the NgK have flirted with the names but no-one could explain to me the workings of the system). They refer to this system as finy 'sweat', or as 'kin' when speaking Kriol (this is an adaptation of Engish 'skin', not 'kin'). Stanner (1933:401) implies that the NgW had only recently borrowed it from the south, at the time when he worked with them in 1932 (without being any more specific about the time or source[16]). The impression he gives, that

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probably always been subject to change, the drastic depopulation of the last one hundred years has almost certainly escalated this phenomenon, leaving some estates unclaimed, through either the extinction of patrilines, or switches in land affiliation. This has resulted in some cases, in the responsibility for certain estates being invested with other estate groups. For instance, Robert Daly, the 'boss' of rak-Malfiyin, is now additionally acknowledged to be the 'boss' of both rak-Nganambala and rak-Tyin'girim, which until recently were the estates of his father's half brothers.

15Other associations are recognised, particularly to ones nganingetyi (mother's country), and to a lesser extent to the country of ones mother's mother, and spouse. In a few cases these have become the primary cases for claims to land.

16McConvell (1985) argues in support of the claim that this subsection system is likely to have originated among the Nungali, or Jaminjung. Assuming this to be correct, the system appears to have diffused for vast distances to the west, south, east and north-east, but its diffusion to the Daly languages directly to the north would appear to have been resisted. The Ngan'giwumirri are the immediate northern neighbours of the Nungali and Jaminjung, but, if Stanner is correct, they only began to show interest in the subsection system early this century. McConvell's claim about the source of the subsection system is based primarily on the existence in Nungali of a productive noun class prefix system with masculine and feminine forms ja- and na-, respectively. Note that these forms also crop up in the Barkly Tableland

it was fashionable but essentially functionless (Stanner 1933:398-400), would appear to still hold true today, except that the fashionableness too has faded a bit. Pressure to reject the system basically stemmed from problems in meshing it with a Kariera kinship system.

> "The Nangiomeri are trying to apply, and have most ingeniously done so, to a Kariera type of social organisation, a subsectional system elaborated by a much more complex society probably related to the Aranda type. That is, a systematisation of a kinship system of the Aranda type has spread to them without the system upon which it is based itself having been adopted." (Stanner 1933:398)

The subsection system was re-organised into two parallel cycles of matrilineal descent. The cycle is four generational, whereby a man's father's father and son's son fall into the same subsection, with a choice in marrying into either or both of two subsections. The ingenuity that Stanner referred to was the development of a mechanism to prevent a man marrying his own daughter's daughter, which was a potential development of the choice in subsection (Stanner 1933:398).

The finy system now only exists among the NgW community at Peppimenarti in a very precarious way. While many people, particularly the older ones, still claim to 'have finy', their reckoning of relationships is always carried out in terms of the kinship system.

1.3.4 Wangga and Lirrga

Music plays a central role in the cultural life of Ngan'giwumirri and Ngan'gikurunggurr people. The furtively sung **wudisyu** and **tyarrada** love song styles are now only performed by a few elderly women and men. However all ritual, ceremonial and festive events are accompanied by the performance of **wangga** or **lirrga**, and these dances are now taught as part of the curriculum in the Peppimenarti school.

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languages, Jingulu, Binbinga, Wambaya and Gudanji (not as a synchronically productive noun class system, but as relics in the demonstrative paradigm of an earlier noun class prefix) (Chadwick 1984). This does not necessarily weaken McConvell's claim, as there is considerable evidence suggesting that the Barkly languages are the (distant) genetic relations of the Nungali/Jaminjung/Ngaliwurru group, and that proto Jaminjung-Barkly may have been spoken in the lower Fitzmaurice region before a nothwards push by the Mutpurra drove Jingulu, Wambaya, Gudanji and Binbinga to the east (see Chadwick 1984).

Map 2

Songstyle Distribution in the Southern Daly Region
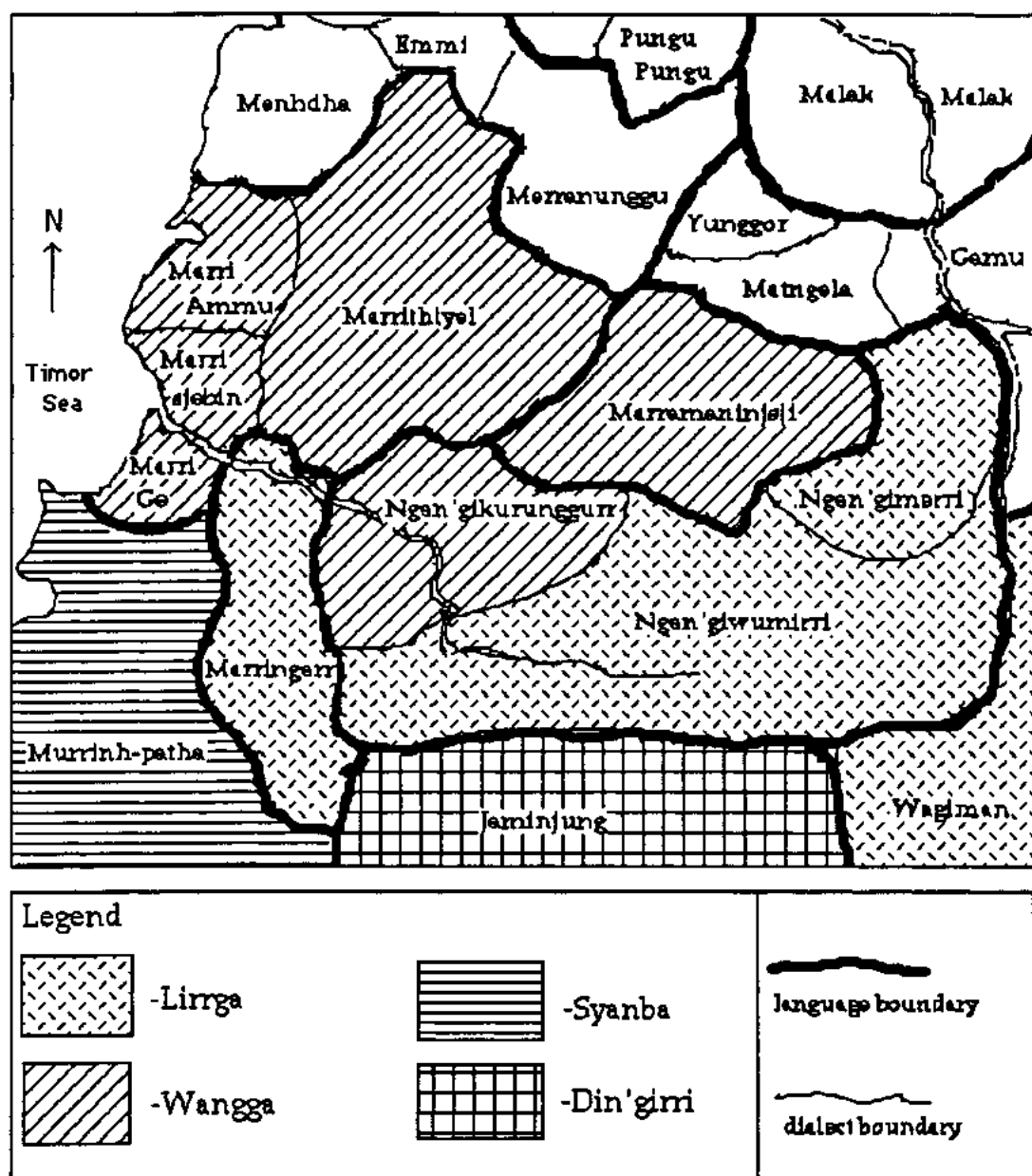
Legend

▨	-Lirrga	▤	-Syanba	▬	language boundary	
▧	-Wangga	▦	-Din'girri	∼	dialect boundary	

This map has been hand drawn with MacIntosh Superpaint graphics. While it is intended to represent language and dialect boundaries as accurately as possible, it is not drawn strictly to scale. The boundaries of Ngan'giwumirri, Ngan'gimerri and Ngan'gikurunggurr countries are based on my own fieldwork. The northern half of the map is based primarily on Green (1989). The orthographies adopted for language names are as given in 1.1.

As can be seen from Map 2, speakers of NgW, Marringarr and Wagiman inherit the **lirrga** songstyle, while speakers of the Marri

languages[17] and NgK inherit the **wangga** songstyle. Songstyles are inherited through patrilineal descent lines and all estate groups speaking the same 'language' variety share the same style. While songstyle inheritance can be determined by 'language' affiliation, the inheritance of different styles by the NgW and NgK shows that higher linguistic subgrouping is not a relevant factor.

The current status of **wangga** and **lirrga** varies widely. Full performance requires three types of skills; a singing man, a 'bamboo' man (didjeridu), and dancers. At present there is no performance of **wangga** by the NgK, Marrithiyel, and Marramaninjsji, and no performance of **lirrga** by the Wagiman, all of these groups lacking a singing man, a bamboo man, or both. Among the NgW there is at present only a single singing man and a single bamboo man. There are slightly greater numbers of **lirrga** performers among the Marringarr. It is only among the Marrisjebin at Nadirri that a strong band of **wangga** performers can be found. In 1988 they had at least three singing men, as many bamboo men, and numerous dancers.

Singing men have a repertoire of between about five and twenty songs. They build this repertoire in three ways. Firstly, they are taught songs by singers outside their own estate and given the right to sing them in the absence of their original owner. Songs acquired in this way are withdrawn from a singer's repertoire for a year or two upon the death of the original owner. Secondly, they inherit songs from their fathers. These are not subject to withdrawal on the fathers death, so a singer's repertoire can be seen to be the property of a patriclan, that is added to over successive generations. Thirdly, singers acquire their own songs. The creative source to which these songs are attributed varies from singer to singer. Some claim to just make them up themselves, others receive them in dreams from benign spirits. All the Marrisjebin singers receive their songs from what they call **walhakanda**, the little people of the swamp country. They claim a lifelong relationship with the particular **walhakanda** who brings songs to them, and can give details of his family, kin relationships etc.

Both **wangga** and **lirrga** songs employ mostly everyday language, and in this respect appear to differ from the Wongga (sung to the east around Baranga/Bamyili) which consists largely of nonsense vocables[18] (Marret:

17My knowledge of songstyle distribution north of the Marrithiyel and east of the Marramaninjsji, is limited. Although not included in this map, I know that Wangga is also sung at Belyuen, so it is probably also inherited by the Wadjiginj. The Merranunggu may also inherit Wangga.

18The NgW singing man (Long Harry) has two vocable songs in his repetoire, but these were given to him by Jimmy Nott, a Burarra YagYag singer from Maningrida.

pers. comm.). They throw up simple images; birds screeching and wheeling in the treetops, someone catching a glimpse of a ghost, the discovery of kneemarks in the grass where people have been copulating, etc. Songs vary in length from a single word in one case, to about four clauses. The whole song is typically repeated four or five times over with clapping stick breaks in between. One of Long Harry Barney's **lirrga** songs[19] is given below.

1 **dede**   **Lafuganying**
   country   *estate name*
   My country Lafuganying,

2 **wibem-wayi -madi**
   3sgLie-empty-chest
   SU Pres
   it's lying empty,

3 **dede**   **Lafuganying**
   country   *estate name*
   my country Lafuganying,

4 **wibem-wayi -madi**
   3sgLie -empty-chest
   SU Pres
   it's lying empty,

5 **gagu**   **asyinme**
   animal   *white cockatoo*
   generic
   (just) white cockatoos

6 **dingim -dirr -gatit -yirrimbin**
   3sgMouth-teeth-feed -3sgGo*
   SU Pres   *SU Pres*
   feeding on the riverbank.

In addition to the 'language' group affiliations noted above, performers articulate the differences between **wangga** and **lirrga** in terms of minor structural phenomena; for instance **wangga** singers signal the end of a song to the bamboo-man with three small taps of the sticks, but **lirrga** singers do this by singing 'ny ny ny'.

In addition to songstyle affiliations claimed through one's patriline, all males who have been through the circumcision stage of initiation have an affilation with the songstyle that was performed at the moment that they were cut. This affiliation is expressed in such terms as; "I was cut **lirrga**-way, so even though I'm a **wangga** man (by patrilineal affiliation), if I was visiting on the Wagiman side (who are **lirrga** by patrilineal affiliation) then they'd know me over there". This kind of affiliation is also expressed in the use of songstyle terms as names for men. Any man can be indirectly referred to, or directly addressed, by the songstyle associated in this manner with his circumcision (see the reference to Warrigal Martin as '**lirrga**' throughout most of Text 1 in Appendix C. Being Marrisjebin, Warrigal inherits and performs the **wangga** songstyle, but was cut **lirrga**-way). Calling to someone in this way serves to remind them of the bond forged between the initiate

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19I am grateful to Long Harry for his permission to reproduce this song here. This is the same song that he sang for the court during the Upper Daly claim hearings, as evidence of his affiliations to the rak-Lafuganying estate.

and the inheritors of that style, and its attendant responsibilities. As such, it is the favoured way of addressing a young man who was cut in the style inherited by the caller.

1.4 Ngan'gityemerri language today

1.4.1 The status of traditional Ngan'gityemerri and Kriol

Today Ngan'gityemerri is being largely abandoned in favour of Kriol. This switch can be dated fairly precisely. The disintegration and degeneration of traditional life that Stanner reported had long been active, by 1933, had led to drastic depopulation and the disarray of social organisation. Despite this background, the work of Stanner and Laves suggests that the use of traditional language up to the mid-1930's, remained fairly strong. Although the numbers of speakers of each language were far less, those remaining in the riverbank camps, on cattle stations, and clustered around the middle Daly farms, retained their first languages, and in addition to them learnt English from the European settlers.

If any date is really significant in the linguistic history of this area, it is 1955 - the establishment of the Daly River Mission. The mission had two significant impacts on traditional language usage. Firstly, it lumped together speakers of about eight different languages into a single community for the first time. Despite the high level of multilinguilism that characterises this area, with speakers of so many different languages living in day to day contact, there would have been considerable pressure towards the development of some kind of communilect. The direction that this seems to have taken is that NgK has become the dominant traditional language of the mission, being spoken by most adults, in addition to, if not as, their first language.

Secondly, the mission staff actively discouraged the children in their care from speaking their languages, as part of a policy directed at the perceived need to educate the young generation in the absence of parental influence.

> "The mission was to be primarily a boarding establishment for the young to be educated. At holiday time the children would return to their parents....Adults were not to be encouraged to live at the mission but to remain working at their present state of employment. They would be encouraged to seek employment outside the mission, and even given help to find such employment."
>
> (Rev J Leary 'Daly River Policy' in Pye (nd:67-8))

The significance of the 1955 date is borne out in the marked difference in the fluency in traditional Ngan'gityemerri that is evident between the 'school generation' and those who never went to school. Almost everyone presently over the age of 40 years has full command of their first language, usually in addition to some variety of Aboriginal English. However amongst those people now aged about 40 years (i.e. those who were beginning school in 1956) and younger, there is a marked decrease in their traditional language fluency. Although the degree of fluency amongst this agegroup varies widely, very few have full command. Within this group women tend to have a much higher degree of fluency than do men. As has been noted elsewhere (e.g. for Kayardild in Evans (1985:28)), this is probably in part a reflection of the patterns of social affiliation whereby young men hang around in peer group gangs, while young women spend more time in the company of older women, particularly within the confines of the single women's camp.

This sub-40 generation has effectively lost both its traditional language and the Aboriginal English of their parents. Most sub-40's retain a good passive knowledge of standard Australian English (to which they have quite heavy exposure through school and, especially, television and video). However the commencement of English teaching in the mission school seems to have coincided with (if not actually triggered) a shift away from both traditional languages and Aboriginal/Standard English, towards the Kriol that is now the first and active language of all children living at Daly River Mission and Peppimenarti. The status of Kriol within these communities is recognised neither by the schools, which maintain an English-as-first-language approach to their curriculum, nor by its speakers who denigrate it as a 'rubbish language'.

1.4.2 DRM Communilect

Having noted the universal switch to Kriol as a first language in the sub-40 generation, let me add that there is a perceptible shift back to the re-acquisition of NgK that begins to show, mostly amongst young women in their early twenties. The language variety acquired by these women is referred to by them as 'Ngan'gikurunggurr'. I call it 'New Ngan'gikurunggurr' to reflect some minor differences that exist between it and the traditional NgK of their parents' generation. It has near standard NgK phonology, but both the apical (retroflex/voiced) and laminal fricatives have merged into an apico-alveolar [s], and the minor cluster /-rr + s-/ has reduced to a voiceless alveolar stop [t] (e.g. ngirrsibem → ngitibem) The lexicon of New Ngan'gikurunggurr is predominantly drawn fron NgK and

NgW, but additionally includes a fair amount of Marrithiyel, e.g. **makali** 'MM' (cf. Ngan'gityemerri **kawu**).

One of the most characteristic features of this speech variety is the widespread use of the Marrithiyel nominal semblative postposition **gimin**, replacing the Ngan'gityemerri suffix **-gumu/-gimi(K)**. **Gimin** is used as a temporal clause subordinator in New Ngan'gikurunggurr[20], a function that it shares with NgK **-gimi**, but not with Marrithiyel **gimin** (Green: pers. comm.). In recent years I have begun to notice some of these features of New Ngan'gikurunggur beginning to percolate upwards, creeping into the speech of some older women.

1.4.3 Language variety treated in this grammar

The language described in this grammar is the conservative Ngan'gityemerri spoken by people over the age of forty (most informants' names are listed in the acknowledgements). The language variety referred to in 1.4.2 as New-Ngan'gikurunggurr, is not treated in any detail here.

Throughout this grammar I treat the two dialects, Ngan'giwumirri and Ngan'gikurunggurr, as a single language. However rather than attempt to treat them equally, I have chosen to focus on NgW and refer specifically to NgK only where it differs from NgW in any significant way.

1.5 Fieldwork Methodology and Grammar Writing

1.5.1 Getting started

In 1981 I had just completed a Batchelor degree in linguistics, and found myself inspired by one of Bob Dixon's courses in Aboriginal linguistics to do some real fieldwork of my own. Wary of committing myself to a post-graduate course, I canvassed around the ANU linguistics department to find someone who I could accompany on their fieldtrip. This I felt would satisfy my curiosity, giving me a taste of fieldwork, and at the same time leave me in a position that I could back out of, if need be. Ian Green took me up on my enthusiastic but completely deceitful promises to cook, do the washing, and write up his paradigms and verb cards etc, and took me to the Daly on the first of his Ph.D fieldtrips. Ian was learning Marrithiyel from Bill Parry, so we ended up in Bill's camp on the west side of the Daly river. Three elderly women in Bill's camp (including his wife)

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[20]Several of the features of New Ngan'gikurunguurr that are mentioned here, including this function of -gimin (H&K 1988:219), can be found in Hoddinott and Kofod's grammar of Ngankikurungkurr. Their main informant is a 'school generation' New Ngan'gikurunggurr speaker.

were all speakers of NgK. It was Bill's casual suggestion that they teach me their language, that decided my topic of study. I was wildly excited, but having had no previous contact with Aborigines, I had everything to learn. The following year, 1982, I returned to ANU and wrote up the results of this initial trip as an Honours sub-thesis entitled 'The Basic Morphology of ŋangikuruŋgurr'.

1.5.2 Fieldwork for this thesis

This doctural study involved two fieldtrips, six months in 1986 and seven months in 1988. On both occasions I was based at Peppimenarti, but additionally spent considerable time in the communities of Wudi Gapil Diyerr and Nauiyu Nambiyu (Daly River Mission). I began with the intention that NgK would again be the main focus of my study, with perhaps some attention given to NgW for comparative purposes. However NgW proved to be so interesting, particularly with respect to auxiliary inflectional categories, that it quickly became my primary focus.

A contributing factor underlying the decision to work on NgW was my meeting up with Robert Daly. Having first questioned me about my work, he quietly appointed himself as my teacher, and quickly became my principal informant. Robert has an affinity for language matters. In addition to being a natural raconteur, he set me high standards of pronunciation and grammatical precision. My failure to meet these standards was met with a polite silence that was more crushing than had he ranted and raved. Taking his role very seriously, he was never vague in responding to my questions - if he needed time, he'd tell me to wait, then surprise me with an answer days or weeks later. Robert was no longer working[21] and had a fair amount of free time, so we spent most of every day for 13 months in each other's company. Interspersed with the general chatter, chores and business of day-to-day camp life, much of this time was spent in semi-formal elicitation[22] and recording and transcribing narratives. We also travelled

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[21]Robert was probably born about 1934. I am sure he has a clear idea, but to my surprise is very shy about his age and will not tell me. Like most men in the area he has had a varied career, working on most of the cattle stations in the Daly/Fitzmaurice region, with bouts of fishing and croc-shooting in between.

[22]There are two reasons why I do not fully agree with those who query the validity of elicited material and only rely on texts for grammar writing. Firstly, this language has such complex morphological paradigms (over thirteen hundred unique 'bound subject + auxiliary root' sequences), that one might not encounter the spontaneous occurrence of all forms in twenty years of text collecting. Secondly, Aborigines in the Daly region have not only a high degree of multilingualism, but concomitantly, are somewhat accustomed to the abstract discussion of aspects of language use. Much time is given to comparing how the same thing is said in

widely around most of the NgW estates, combining jobs like hunting and collecting ochres/firewood with some site-mapping, fulfilling Robert's custodial role in certain estates, and the odd bit of fishing. Patrick Tyabada frequently accompanied us on these trips, contributing his own stories and general hilarity. While the bulk of my NgW data comes from a small number of informants, I have regularly tested its acceptability within the wider community of NgW speakers (see acknowledgements).

Most of the Peppi community took an interest in my developing language skills, making an effort to avoid speaking English to me, and randomly testing my knowledge of words and expressions. My more spectacular errors (quite unrepeatable) featured regularly in community gossip. This level of interest, though occasionally embarrassing, greatly improved my conversational fluency in NgW.

From the start Ngan'gityemerri people have always been keen to have their language 'written down'. Although I have always been encouraged by this expression of support, initially I felt uneasy about what seemed to be two unstated inferences: that the language would somehow be saved by this process, and secondly that my thesis would constitute some sort of language resource that they could refer to like a dictionary. My explanations of what my thesis would and would not be, produced varied responses. Some people were plainly puzzled; if I was not producing a resource for native speakers, or drills for language learners, just who would use this book ? Others were quick to point out my obligations to make available those products of my work that were of more immediate use, texts and wordlists particularly.

At Peppimenarti I was actively encouraged to work in the school, and together with Terry Sam began a school-based language program. Although we did develop and teach the orthography used here and commence wordlists for each child, the main focus of this program has always been on

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different 'languages'. Within a single 'language', people listening to a narrative will, in whisper, query the acceptability of unusual auxiliary(+bodypart)+verbroot combinations, and derisively hoot at erroneous or implausible ones. Within this context, my discussions with informants about the acceptability of particular grammatical constructions, was not considered particularly odd by them. Of course the responses I got were subject to all sorts of variables, and where these were uncontrollable, I have avoided relying on this material at all, unless natural contexts could verify them. So while much of the description contained in this thesis is based on the grammar of narrative text, and most of the examples cited are taken from recorded texts, my understanding of such issues as bodypart incorporation and auxiliary semantics in particular, owes a significant debt to the process of solid formal elicitation.

fostering oral rather than written language skills. The school has been building a collection of video resources, with the assistance of the National Aboriginal Languages Program, that one day may be 'patched in' to local television transmission.

1.5.3 Approach to Grammar Writing

My approach to writing a grammar of Ngan'gityemerri falls fairly squarely within the traditions of what Wilkins (1989:58) has referred to as 'The ANU School of Australian Grammatical Description'. This tradition places a high priority on the use of descriptive practices that best reflect the linguistic system in question, and are sensitive to the cultural context of its usage. Grammars written within this tradition are highly eclectic in their use of linguistic theory, drawing on whatever grammatical tools best achieve these descriptive aims, without being overly concerned about, as Evans (1985:xii) puts it, "whether they all come from the same toolkit". Writers within this tradition employ, and acknowledge their use of, whatever theories best handle the particular aspect of the language they are describing. At the same time they are wary of 'fad' theoretical terminology, believing that a grammatical description written in the most straightforward language and containing a large number of natural language examples will best allow the reader to judge the accuracy and internal consistency of the description.

I began this description of Ngan'gityemerri with the intention of providing a full reference grammar of the language. I have been forced to reduce the scope of this work by the realisation that languages having such morphological density as this one does, cannot be adequately treated within the thesis wordlength limitations imposed by the university. This thesis cannot really be called a 'grammar', for it does not adequately cover some aspects of the language, and others not at all. I have given fairly detailed descriptions of the phonology and nominal and verbal morphology. As this is a language in which the verb is "where the action is", I have further chosen to explore two of the most interesting aspects of the verb; the incorporation of bodypart terms into the verbal complex, and the semantics of the auxiliary verbs.

1.6 Previous work on Ngan'gityemerri

Gerhardt Laves

Gerhardt Laves was the first linguist to work on Ngan'gityemerri. In 1931 he collected some 200 pages of vocabulary, auxiliary paradigms, grammatical notes and (largely untranscribed) texts, in Ngan'gimerri, the speech variety of the now extinct rak-Merren patri-line. Laves returned to

the USA later that year, and appears not to have published anything from his Australian data. His works, including detailed studies of Matngela, Karriyarri, Kumbaingir and Nyungar, remained in the basement of the library of the University of Chicago until 1985 when Mark Francillon brought them to the notice of the Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies (then AIAS), who obtained copies in the following year.

Of all the previous work on Ngan'gityemerri, this is by far the most exciting, both for the quality of the analysis, and the diachronic evidence it provides for changes within the Ngan'gityemerri verb structure (see Reid, to appear). Laves had a good ear and a reasonable grasp of the phonology. He never really came to grips with the nature of the stop contrast, but had the presence of mind to keep his transcriptions phonetically oriented rather than risk phonemic under-differentiation. His segmentation of, particularly, the partially synthetic verbal morphology was quite perceptive even to the extent that he was able to distinguish between complex strings of morphology that happened to have the same surface form.

Laves' fieldnotes are the only previous work that has made any significant contribution to this thesis.

Arthur Capell

Capell collected some undated fieldnotes on what is probably Ngan'gimerri, but may be Ngan'giwumirri. These have never been published and delays in the organisation of Capell's literary estate have regrettably prevented me from seeing his work.

Darrell Tryon

As part of his survey of the 'Daly Family Languages', Tryon collected NgK and NgW data during six month fieldtrips in 1967 and 1969. This work was primarily aimed at a lexico-statistic classification of these languages, but Tryon also provided the first basic description of the phonology, nominal morphology, noun classification, verbal morphology and auxiliary classes. Tryon's work on NgK and NgW is presented in Tryon 1968, 1970 and 1974.

Bill Hoddinott and Frances Kofod

Hoddinott and Kofod collected a vast amount of data on primarily NgK, but also NgW, between 1967 and 1982. Hoddinott was preparing a grammar of NgK at the time of his death in late 1984. Kofod carried on with the project and a grammar entitled 'The Ngankikurungkurr Language (Daly River Area, Northern Territory)' (Pacific Linguistics, Series D, No. 77), was

published in 1988. My analysis of this language differs from their work in numerous ways (some minor, some major). It is not possible to provide a thorough critique of the Hoddinott and Kofod analysis within this thesis. Consequently, although I've made occasional reference to their work at appropriate places through the text (usually as footnotes), no attempt has been made to rigorously defend my analyses in view of their previous work. To indicate the nature of the difficulties with their analysis, a rather ad hoc selection of four points is given below.

- H&K do not acknowledge that the speech variety they describe is a mixture of the more traditional language of older speakers and the modern variety that I call New-Ngan'gikurunggurr (see 1.4.2.)

- H&K's phonology chapter is clearly a jumbled collation of competing draft analyses. Kofod acknowledges in the preface that she had the difficult task of producing a final draft from assorted earlier versions. However her claim to have done so is not borne out in the text. In the discussion of stop consonants, for example, successive paragraphs jump unannounced from a 'voice' analysis to a 'length' analysis. The claim (p 10) that "voiced and voiceless phonemes contrast initially and medially" is followed (p 11) by the observation that "stops are normally long in medial...position" (the latter claim suggestive of their being no contrast at all).

- Ngan'gityemerri is a head-marking language that obligatorily cross-references core arguments on the verb with bound pronominal affixes. The pattern of core argument crossreferencing is strictly nominative/accusative. Both S and A arguments are cross-referenced by a single set of prefixes to the auxiliary root. Arguments in O function are cross-referenced with another set of suffixes to the auxiliary root. H&K claim that Ngan'gikurunggurr is an ergative language (H&K 1988:205). They base their claim on the function of -ninggi, an enclitic which attaches to nouns filling instrumental and agentive roles. Having the primarily discourse function of clarifying agency, -ninggi is not an obligatory NP constituent, nor is it precluded from attaching to nouns that are the subjects of low-transitive verbs. To base a claim about ergativity solely on this discourse marker, and ignore the verbal cross-referencing that is the primary mechanism for encoding core participant roles in Ngan'gityemerri, is unsatisfactory.

- H&K's analysis of auxiliary-final nasals is particularly weak. Although they correctly hear nasal gemination across the boundary between the subject number marker and the auxiliary root (H&K p 40), their response to the same phenomenon at the auxiliary-final boundary is to write a morphophonemic rule that reduces underlying geminate nasals to single

nasals (H&K p 28). In fact the maintenance of the single/geminate nasal contrast in this position is crucial. The result of their rule would be to neutralise the primary distinction between realis and irrealis auxiliary categories. Additionally, H&K fail to hear the contrast between auxiliary-final -m (present) and -ny (perfective) in Ngan'giwumirri, listing them (H&K p 238-9) as simply variants. As a consequence of this they miss the important fact that Ngan'giwumirri auxiliaries have four tense/aspect/mood inflectional categories, with two of these (present and perfective) being formally neutralised in Ngan'gikurunggurr.

William Callan

William Callan deposited a manuscript at the AIAS (under heavy access restrictions) entitled 'A grammar of Ngankikurunguru'. This appears to have been collated at the request of the Daly River Mission and in some connection with the NT Arts and Heritage Museum (Callan may have been a teacher at the DRM school at the time). This manuscript contains no date, but quotes Tryon, so it was probably written in the early 1970's.

This is a highly amateurish piece of work based on a very meagre understanding of the phonology and morphology. At a total length of 44 pages, including auxiliary paradigm charts, it does little to fulfil the promise of its title. At best Callan had a poetic turn of phrase generally absent from contemporary grammars, as evidenced in this quote taken from his account of vowel allophony.

> "perhaps the consonants are like the rocks on the riverbed
> and the vowels are the water spilling through, sometimes
> clear and at other times a blend of the sands and silts
> upstream"

Robyn Reynolds

As a sister at the Daly River Mission, Robyn Reynolds spent a year (1979-80) developing an orthography and some basic literacy materials in NgK. She apparently was under pressure to complete this project within twelve months, and these materials suffer from being drawn up at a time when her understanding of the phonology and morphology was only just beginning to develop.

School of Australian Linguistics

Karen Courtenay and Barry Alpher collected a little NgK data whilst working at SAL (in the late 1970's ?), with the view to developing an orthography. I have not seen their fieldnotes.

1.7   Word Classes

In Ngan'gityemerri five major word classes can be identified through formal criteria, especially the capacity for certain word class members to bear particular inflectional morphology.

Nominals

    nouns

    adjectives/numerals

    demonstratives

    pronouns

Verbs

Adverbs

Particles

Interjections

The open class of nominals are generally identifiable through their ability to take the case inflectional enclitics examined in 6.1. The nominal sub-classes can be distinguished by restrictions on their ability to fill certain positions within the NP. While nouns can function as NP head, adjectives cannot. Within the NP, specific nouns may be preceded by generic nouns, and followed by adjectives, then numerals. Demonstratives and pronouns, when functioning as modifiers, tend to follow adjectives, though its rare to find more than two head modifying elements within a single NP in natural discourse. Ngan'gityemerri has just the single series of free form pronouns treated in 9.1. While sharing the inflectional possibilities of all nominals, pronouns behave like nouns in respect of their capacity to function as the head of an NP, and are like adjectives in respect of their possessive function (see 9.1.2). Demonstratives, like pronouns, can variously function as noun-like NP heads, or adjectivally as modifiers of NP heads. The adjectival function of demonstratives and pronouns is not morphologically distinguished from their head function, except in their ability to show head noun class concord. General adjectives can, in addition to modifying nouns, be used adverbially to modify verbs. Compare **nginifiny** 'true' in 1 and 2.

1   **ngan'gi nginifiny   dim   -tyerrakul**
       story   true   3sgSit -talk
                               SU Pres
    He's telling a true story.

2   **yirrigi   -dada-nyine-pe   nginifiny**
       2plSit dl-sing -FOC   -Fut   proper
       SU IrrSU
    You two sing it properly now !

Adjectives further differ from the other nominal subclasses in their capacity to form verb stems. Compare the adjectival and verb stem functions of **yubu** 'good' in 3 and 4.

3   **mudiga yubu werrmim-baty**
       car   good   3plHands-hold
                   SU Pres
       They have a good car.

4   **deminy   -ngi-yubu**
       3sgHands-1sg-good
       SU Perf   DO
       (The doctor) made me well.

Note that certain gender-unspecified nouns, like the life- stage/condition terms 'youth', 'cripple', 'orphan' etc, show borderline adjectival properties, in that they cannot function as an NP head in the absence of a gender prefix.

Ngan'gityemerri verbs primarily denote kinds of activity and process. The experience of emotion is thought of as undergoing a process, thus 'being happy or 'being sad' are expressed as transitive verbs in which the undergoer/experiencer is cross-referenced as object.

Verbs in Ngan'gityemerri can formally be identified by the obligatory presence of the auxiliary unit. Verbs can consist of just an auxiliary (simple verbs), or more commonly, of an auxiliary in combination with a verb stem (complex verbs). There are 31 auxiliaries in Ngan'gityemerri and aproximately 170 verb roots (not counting adjectives). Ten of the 31 auxiliaries can stand as simple verbs. The few verb roots used in isolation of auxiliaries as imperatives (sit!, get up!,etc), are viewed here as interjections.

Adverbs are readily distinguishable from verbs in having no auxiliary, and from nominals in their inability to bear either noun class or case affixes/clitics. Aspectual adverbs like **wakay** 'completely' and **ferrp** 'continually', and temporal adverbs like **fal** 'all night' and **tyip** 'all day', always follow the verb, but the motional/positional adverbs **kak** 'in motion' and **peyi** 'in place' always precede the verb. Manner adverbs can be freely ordered either before or after the verb, as shown with **musyari** 'slow' in 5.

5   **ngaganim   musyari**   or   **musyari   ngaganim**
       1sgGo   slowly
       SU Pres
       I'm going along slowly.

Note that in their preverbal positioning manner adverbs may be indistinguishable from qualitative adjectives. To example 1 above therefore, we can add another possible translation -'He's telling the story properly'.

Particles, treated in chapter 7, generally precede the particular construction over which they have operational scope. They are normally ineligible for any kind of nominal or verbal inflection, however clause initially the negative particle **minbe/minde**(K) frequently attracts such verbal enclitics as the temporal focus marker **-nyine/-kana**(K) and the past and future tense markers, **-tye** and **-pe/-ngini**(K). 6 b) is therefore an acceptable equivalent of 6 a).

6 a)	**minbe ngambani-nyine-pe**	b)	**minbe-nyine-pe ngambani**
	Neg 1dlinc Go -FOC-Fut		*Neg -FOC -Fut 1dlinc Go*
	SU Irr		*SU Irr*
	Let's not go then !		Let's not go then !

The small closed class of interjections, listed in 7.11, are independent sentential units that do not interact syntactically with any other word class forms.

Chapter 2

Phonology

2.1 Segmental Phonology

2.1.1 Vowels

Ngan'gityemerri has four contrastive vowel phonemes, /i/, /e/, /a/, and /u/, divided by the parameters front/back and high/low[1].
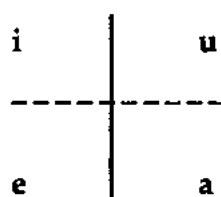
Minimal pairs exemplifying these contrasts are set out in Table 1 below.

Table 2-1

As might be expected of a four vowel system, Ngan'gityemeri's vocalic phonemes allow a range of latitude in their phonetic realisation. However this range is certainly not as great as it could be, in that much of

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[1] Many of the Daly languages differ from, for instance the Kunwinjkuan languages, in having /a/ as a phonological back rather than front/central vowel. Tryon (1970) and Birk (1976) give /a/ as a back vowel for Merranunggu and MalakMalak, for example, although Green (1989:15) demonstrates that Marrithiyel /a/ has a significant fronted allophone (see also the footnote on p31).

the 'vowel space', in the sense of Ladefoged(1975:67), remains unexploited. For instance although unstressed vowels tend to be slightly centralised, there are no truly central allophones, all normal phonetic realisation being in the periphery of vowel space. The main opposition found is between sets of tense and lax allophones, conditioned by word position.

/i/ → [i] The tense, more extreme allophone occurs word finally and preceding the laminal semivowel only.

2-1	miyi	-	plant food	[miji]
	aliyi (K)	-	fat,marrow	[aliji]
	aniyen	-	sandfrog	[anijɛn]
	detyeri	-	ear	[dɛçɛɹi]

→ [ɪ] Elsewhere, including preceding the laminal stop, nasal and fricative, we find the lax allophone [ɪ].

2-2	piwari	-	name	[pɪwaɹi]
	pipiri	-	brain	[pɪpɪɹi]
	animbirrmire	-	firefly	[anɪmbɪrmɪɹɛ]
	piwulil	-	vine	[pɪwɒlɪl]
	ngityirr	-	ground	[ŋɪçɪr]
	adiny	-	leech	[adɪɲ]

/u/ → [u] The tense allophone occurs only word-finally;

2-3	nendu	-	horse	[nɛndu]
	afu	-	whipsnake	[aɸu]

however where word-final-syllables are reduplicated, the penultimate vowel retains the tense quality.

2-4	awululu	-	pigeon sp.	[awɒlulu]
	dem-bubu	-He fetches water		[dɛmbubu]

→ [ɷ] Medially /u/ is realised as the lax allophone [ɷ].

2-4	kuru	-	water	[kɷɹu]
	muk	-	sore	[mɷk]
	angugutu	-	maggot	[aŋɷgɷtu]

→ [ɔ] Occasionally as free variants of the above allophones, /u/ is realized, with lower tongue configuration, as [ɔ]. This has only been observed

in a small number of words where /u/ is either
word-final, or precedes syllable-final r.

2-5	yubu	-	good	[jɷbu~ jɷbɔ]
	yu	-	yes	[juː~ jɔː]
	wur-	-	Fem. cl. mkr.	[wɷɹ ~ wɔɹ]

/u/ does not occur word-initially.

/a/ → [ʌ]   Word finally (and therefore usually unstressed)
/a/ tends to be weakened to the half open,
central/back ~ mid/low vowel [ʌ].

| 2-6 | walalma | - | hunting | [wɑlɑlmʌ] |
| | palada | - | syphilis | [pɑlɑdʌ] |

   → [ɑ]   Initially and medially /a/ is an open low back
vowel [ɑ];

2-7	agadirr	-	green ant	[ɑʁɑdɪr]
	abafa	-	witchety grub	[ɑbɑɸʌ]
	adarri	-	liver	[ɑdɑri]

except when it precedes laminal consonants. This
is discussed in 2.1.2.

/e/ → [æ]   In certain environments /e/ can be realised
as the lower front vowel [æ][2].

2-8	eke	-	uncle	[ækæ]
	wewe	-	vomit	[wæwæ]
	ebe	-	marchfly	[æbæ]
	pendela	-	placename	[pændɛlʌ]

As a free variant, the ocurrence of [æ] cannot be
satisfactorily accounted for in terms of any acoustic
or articulatory conditioning factors. However, as
2-8 demonstrates, note that its occurrence is
frequently associated with the presence in its

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[2]Although [æ] is clearly an allophone of /e/ in Ngan'gityemerri, its phonemic status in other Daly languages is more problematic. In Marrithiyel (Green 1989:15) [æ] is given as an allophone of both front-mid /e/ and open-unrounded /a/. Note though that these same realisations of phonemic /e/ and /a/ in Marrithiyel are environmentally distinguishable and therefore do not represent neutralisation of the contrast between /e/ and /a/.

immediate environment of peripheral consonants.

The majority of examples of this front vowel lowering result from the partial operation of the Vowel Harmony rule (see 2.4.4). When the 'animal' class-marker a- prefixes a nominal root of which V_1 is /e/, this rule operates to harmonise /a/ with /e/. In many instances /a/ is fronted to [æ], but fails to be fully raised to the target articulation of [ɛ].

| 2-9 | **a-werrmisya** | -saltwater crocodile [æwɛrmɪʃʌ] |
| | **a-perrperr** | -Burdekin duck [æperpɛr] |

→ [ɛ] Elsewhere /e/ is consistently realised as [ɛ].

2-10	**engete**	- forest kingfisher	[ɛŋɛtɛ]
	egeningge	- magpie goose	[ɛgɛnɪŋgɛ]
	merrepen	- Sand palm	[mɛrɛpɛn]

From these observations on vocalic realisation, it is apparent that the conditioned allophony of /e/ is quite different to that of the other three vowel phonemes. /i/, /u/ and /a/ all have as their major allophones a pair of tense and lax realisations, which are essentially conditioned by the feature '± word-final'. In contrast, the only allophonic variant of /e/ appears to be triggered by the rather obscure condition that it be stressed and in the immediate environment of a peripheral non-nasal consonant.

2.1.2 Diphthongs

Of the four Ngan'gityemerri vowels, e, a and u are subject to diphthongisation in certain environments. The environment that triggers this process varies for each vowel, and none of the resultant diphthongs are phonemic. The following discussion of diphthongs as conditioned allophones rightly belongs then, in the previous section 2.1.1. They are treated separately here purely for clarity.

As is common in Australian languages, phonetic diphthongisation primarily affects back vowels. In Ngan'gityemerri these three vowels can be ranked in terms of the frequency of, and the number of environments in which, they diphthongise, in the order a>u>e. The low front vowel is only minimally diphthongised, and in only a single narrowly defined environment. The high front vowel is not audibly subject to

diphthongisation at all. As all diphthongisation is triggered by articulatory preparation for laminal tongue configuration in the following consonant, this ranking accords with our expectations, in the sense that it is ordered inversely to the qualities of tongue height and frontedness that are associated with the quality 'laminal'.

In Ngan'gityemerri we find the diphthongs [aɪ] and [oɪ] occurring word-finally. Patterning these diphthongs with the behaviour of back vowels occurring before the laminal consonants ty, sy and ny, we analyse them as sequences of /a+y/ and /u+y/ respectively.

/a/ → [aɪ] -before any syllable-final laminal.

2-11	abatymirri	blackduck	[abaɪcmɪri]
	adany	shark	[adaɪɲ]
	wakay	finished!	[wɑkaɪ]

-intramorphemically before syllable-initial sy and y.

2-12	wasyan	body hair	[waɪʃan]
	Fayi	girl's name	[faɪji]

-intermorphemically before y.

2-13	a-yipiri	bullant	[aɪjɪpɹi]
	a-yiwusye	dragonfly	[aɪjɪwɔʃɛ]
	a-yinnimbi	hornet	[aɪjɪnɪmbi]

but not before ty, sy or ny.

2-14	a-tyambuli	grasshopper	[acambɔli]
	a-syi	vagina	[aʒi]
	a-nyirri	scorpion	[aɲɪri]

/u/ → [oɪ] - before any syllable-final laminal;

2-15	yemi-wuty	pour it out!	[jemɪwoɪc]
	mawuny	ironwood	[mɑwoɪɲ]
	damuy	eye	[dɑmoɪ]

but never before a syllable-initial laminal.

2-16	futyeny	blood	[ɸɯcɛɲ]
	awuyi	possum	[awɔji]

/e/ → [eɪ] - before syllable-initial y only.

2-17 **efeyi** goanna sp. [ɛɸeɪji]
meyeninggi a hand's worth [meɪjɛnɪŋgi]
peyi in place [peɪji]

Nominal classmarking and vowel harmony patterns both have implications for the occurrence of diphthongs. As real appreciation of this requires some understanding of classmarking and vowel harmony, discussion of these implications is deferred to 2.4.4.

In conclusion then we note that all diphthongs in Ngan'gityemerri are allophones of the vowel phonemes, conditioned by following laminal consonants. This conditioning laminal is more likely to be syllable-final rather than syllable-initial, and more likely to be the semivowel y than the stop **ty**, fricative **sy**, or nasal **ny**.

The domains of the four vowel phonemes, their allophones and conditioned diphthongs, are demonstrated in Figure 2-1 below.
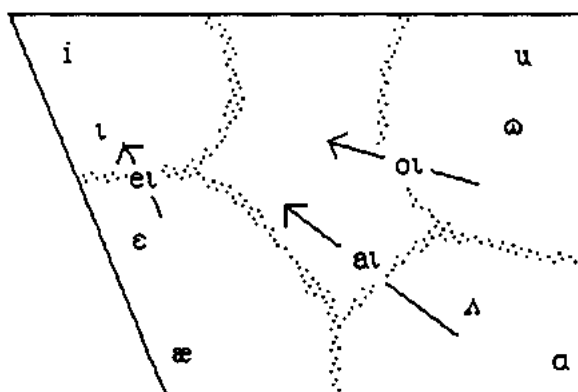
Figure 2-1

2.1.3 Consonants

Ngan'gityemerri has the 19 consonant phonemes set out in Table 2-2 below.

articulator manner	Bilabial	Apical	Laminal	Dorsal
Stop	p b	t d	ty	k
Fricative	f	s	sy	g
Nasal	m	n	ny	ng
Lateral		l		
Flap/Trill		rr		
Continuant		r		
Glide	w		y	

Table 2-2

Sections 2.1.3.2 - 2.1.3.5 below look at the phonetic realisations of these consonant phonemes. First though, I comment on articulatory types.

2.1.3.1 Prominence of Active Articulators

In the descriptions of many Australian languages 'place of articulation' is typically viewed as a significant criterion in the analysis of consonant phonemes. This term puts implicit and, for Ngan'gityemerri, inappropriate focus on the passive articulator. In both Ngan'gikurunggurr and Ngan'giwumirri, which make no contrastive distinction between alveolar and retroflex, or (inter)dental and palatal, there is nothing to be gained by making an analysis in terms of passive articulators. In preference we have four types of 'active articulation', one involving both lips - 'bilabial', and three involving types of tongue configuration -'apical', 'laminal' and 'dorsal'.

This type of system that focusses on tongue configuration, allows for a wide range of mouth-roof space within which the tongue can make its contact (or approximation). The contact point of apical phonemes thus ranges from alveolar to postalveolar, and that of laminal phonemes ranges from interdental to palatal. It is only at the allophonic level that we need invoke the criterion of 'place of articulation'. Elsewhere throughout this work reference to phoneme types is made only in terms of active articulators.

2.1.3.2 Realisation of Obstruent Phonemes

/p/ -   The bilabial stop [pʰ] is always voiceless, aspirated and long with no variation in closure type.

/b/ -   The bilabial stop [b] is always voiced and unaspirated, and is consistently shorter than the voiceless stop. However it exploits durational difference to a far lesser degree than is found for other articulator types (see 2.2.2). /b/ shows less fluctuation in closure type than do the other voiced stops, being always fully stopped.

/f/ -   is a bilabial fricative [ɸ], lightly spread and with a small degree of lip tension. Observation of speakers' lip movement shows this sound to be truly bilabial, in that the teeth are not visible and the upper and lower lips are aligned and make even contact. However this sound has some of the turbulent quality (auditory correlate of energy higher in the spectrum) that is normally associated with labiodental articulation. The presence of this turbulence suggests that the lip spread and tension pulls the top lip sufficiently tightly against the upper teeth that they act as joint articulators in opposing the bottom lip. Even if the upper teeth do not actually come into contact with the lower lip, they at least approach it closely enough to generate wake turbulence. Among the younger speakers of Ngan'gityemerri, (who have been exposed to a considerable amount of Standard English through their schooling and, more recently, through television), this fricative is usually realised as a true labiodental [f].

As has been noted for all other Australian languages that have both a stop contrast and fricatives, the contrast does not extend to the fricatives (Dixon 1980:215). /f/ is always voiceless initially, and varies between voiced and voiceless when intervocalic or post-liquid. /f/ only occurs post-nasally across a morpheme boundary in which environment it remains voiceless.

2-18	funggulu (NgW)	- sugarbag	[ɸəŋgʷlu]
	fepi	- rock, hill	[ɸepi]
	fenggu	- long	[ɸeŋgu]

eferri	- bluetongue lizard	[ɛɸɛri] ~[ɛβɛri]
afatarr	- royal spoonbill	[aɸatar] ~[aβatar]
mulfang	- sharp	[mɔlɸaŋ]~[mɔlβaŋ]
ngulfin	- slope	[ŋɔlɸɪn]~[ŋɔlβɪn]
werrfe	- over there	[wɛrɸɛ] ~[wɛrβɛ]

This tendency towards voicing assimilation (assuming [ɸ] to be the unmarked allophone), is much stronger in Ngan'giwumirri than it is in Ngan'gikurunggurr. A text count of word medial /f/ indicates about 80% are voiced in Ngan'giwumirri, compared with only about 15% in Ngan'gikurunggurr. Although this variation in the degree of glottal pulsing through the approximation duration of medial /f/ is biased differently in each dialect, it is still 'free' variation in the sense that it is non-contrastive within the phonological system of each dialect[3].

Finally, a very minor allophone, a voiceless bilabial fricative with labiodorsal secondary articulation [ɸʷ], has been recorded as a free variant of word initial [ɸ] in a single word only.

2-19 fa (K) - beeswax [ɸa] ~ [ɸʷa]

3We can further observe a type of 'fixed' variation, whereby certain cognate lexemes are invariably realised with voiceless /f/ in Ngan'gikurunggurr, and voiced /f/ in Ngan'giwumirri.

NgK	NgW		
[aɸɪti]	[aβɪdi]	-	beetle (gen.)
[ɛɸɛkɯmi]	[ɛβɛŋgɯmi]	-	bandicoot
[baɸɔn]	[baβɔn]	-	ash, dust

These lexemes (and certain others) seem to be employed as language identificatory markers; that is, the minor phonetic differences between them are strictly and invariably maintained as evidence of the seperate identities of the two groups, usually at other levels (eg. political). In discussion of these words, speakers will carefully point out that "we say it this way, but that other mob say it this way". So despite the non-contrastive nature of the feature ±voice among fricatives within the phonological systems of each of these languages, the same feature is employed cross-dialectically, within a subset of the lexicon at least, to flag linguistic identification. How, within the scope of the general lexicon, certain lexemes come to be employed in this manner remains a question for further study. Note though that these kinds of examples nicely illustrate Labov's observation that there is really no such thing as free variation, if social and stylistic variables are considered to constitute part of the conditioning environment.

We can partially account for the occurrence of this minor
allophone by noting that this word is already marked as
phonotactically odd, being one of only a handful of
monosyllables, and one of only two beginning with /f/.
The labiodorsal variant is unlikely to be the reduced form of an
underlying disyllabic lexeme /fuwa/, because such a word
would be equally phonotactically odd, as the labial semivowel
is otherwise unattested between these vowels. And there are
no other examples of [ɸʷa] to suggest that all such underlying
segments may have undergone reduction of this sort.

/t/ -   is a long voiceless aspirated apical stop [tʰ] with no variation in
            closure type.

/d/ -   is a short voiced apical stop. Both /t/ and /d/, but particularly
            /d/, exploit a fairly wide range of mouth-roof contact points,
            from alveolar [d] to post-alveolar [ɖ]. The degree of retroflexion
            found in apical stops is sensitive to the environment. I
            perceive initial and intervocalic /d/ to be more retroflex than
            post-nasal /d/, and /d/ after back vowels to be more retroflex
            than /d/ after front vowels.
            Intervocalic /d/ can be very short, especialli in unstressed
            syllables, and in this environment is frequently
            reduced to an alveolar aproximant [ɹ]. This realisation of /d/
            can be consistently distinguished from the post-alveolar
            continuant /r/ (also given below as [ɻ] [4]) by its shorter duration
            and lack of retroflexion.

/s/ -   is a voiced retroflex fricative. This sound is described by Capell
            as a "retroflex rhotic with fricated release"(quoted in H&K
            1988:16), and by Hoddinott and Kofod as a "retroflex fricative
            with rhotic release"(H&K 1988:16). Neither of these
            descriptions are particular accurate in articulatory terms, if for
            no other reason than that neither fricatives nor rhotics have
            'release'. I do agree with both authors though, that auditorily
            there is a definite r-colouring to the realisation of this
            phoneme. This in itself presents a descriptive problem as the

[4]Note that IPA (1989 update) provides no satisfactory mechanism for differentiating
between alveolar and post-alveolar approximants.

feature '± rhoticisation' is normally thought of as an auditory quality of vowels rather than obstruents, acoustically measurable as a marked lowering of the frequency of the third formant (Ladefoged 1975:204). The acoustic correlates of the auditorily perceived r-colouring of this fricative phoneme have yet to be determined, so for this present study the presence of rhoticisation remains an auditorily-based observation only. In the absence of any phonetic conventions for attributing rhotic qualities to consonants, I transcribe this sound as [ʐɹ], using the IPA convention of the following continuant [ɹ] (a convention intended for use with vowels). Note that I use this notation as a digraph representing a single sound, i.e. that the [ɹ] follows the [ʐ] should not be taken to suggest that the rhotic quality represents just a transitional off-glide phase.

I rhoticise this sound by curling my tongue tip in a 'retroflex' fashion, then increasing the concavity in the upper surface of the tongue. I am also aware of slight tongue root retraction. The articulatory correlates of rhoticisation (and retroflexion for that matter) are a complex issue, as a variety of tongue configurational patterns seem to produce similar acoustic effects (Ladefoged 1975:71). While the rhoticisation of the fricative that I achieve in this way is quite acceptable to native speakers, I cannot claim that I do it the same way as native speakers, or indeed that all native speakers achieve this quality similarly.

Rhoticised obstruents are uncommon in Australian languages, reported outside the Daly area only by Busby (1979:25) for Yandruwandha and Evans (1985) for Kayardild (in Green 1989:18). However they have been noted in the phonological systems of several of the southern and western Daly languages, namely Marrithiyel (Green 1989:18), Merranunggu (Tryon: 1970:10) and Marrisyebin (Tryon 1974:95).

/s/ has an extremely low functional load in Ngan'gityemerri, appearing in my data in only a dozen lexemes. It cannot appear word initially, and in this restriction it contrasts with the other fricatives. All recorded instances of /s/ are intervocalic, either morpheme initial or morpheme internal . Morpheme initially it contrasts with /d/, /t/, /ty/ and /sy/;

2-20	a-si-minmin	-bat sp.
	a-dityibi	-bandicoot
	a-syi	-vagina
	a-ti	-cod
	a-tyindirrity	-shortnecked turtle

but morpheme internally it occasionally appears as a variant of the apical tap /rr/.

2-21　madiwirri　-play [mɑdɪwɪri]~[mɑdɪwɪʐɹ i]

In the 'stand' auxiliary [ʐɹ] occurs anomalously where underlyingly two flap segments are ordered contiguously. Compare the singular and plural forms of the verb 'to be standing' in 2-22 below.

2-22	ngi-rribem - tyalak	-I'm standing up
	1sg Stand -upright	
	SU Pres	

→ -rr- 'plural subject number' insertion gives underlying
(ngi-rr-rribem-tyalak)
1sg -pl Stand -upright
SU SU Pres

→ ngirr-sibem -tyalak　　-We (pl ex) are standing up
1plex-Stand -upright
SU Pres

This example raises the possibility that this fricative has developed diachronically from a cluster of flaps, ie /rr/ + /rr/. Its restricted word position potential and low functional load are additionally suggestive of fairly recent development. However within the contemporary phonemic system we need to accord /s/ phonemic status to account for its contrastive use in such examples as **asiminmin** in 2-20 above.

/ty/ -　　is a laminal stop; voiceless aspirated [cʰ] in word initial position and intervocalically, and short and voiced [ɟ] postnasally. For those articulator types having a contrast between two series of stops, the post-nasal environment is 'neutralised'. For the laminals however, in the absence of a contrastive voiced laminal phoneme, we would specify [ɟ] as a post-nasally conditioned allophone of /ty/.

2-23	wuntyerr	canegrass	[wɔɲɟɛr]
	tyentyirri	turtle bubbles	[cæɲɟɭɾi]
	adentyi	death adder	[adɛɲɟ̟]

The only other environment where voiced laminal stops are found is in a small set of borrowed male subsection names.

2-24	Tyulama[5]	[ɟʊlamʌ]
	Tyanama	[ɟanamʌ]
	Tyangari	[ɟaŋaɹi]
	Tyabada	[ɟabɑdʌ]
	Tyangala	[ɟaŋalʌ]
	Tyimity	[ɟɪmɪc]
	Tyalyerri	[ɟaʎjɛri]
	Tyabityin	[ɟabɪɟɪn]

The fact that this initial occurrence is restricted to eight borrowed words is insufficient to motivate any attempt to account for voiced laminal stops within the allophonic rules, let alone accord them phonemic status.

Like the apical series /ty/ displays wide variation in its range of passive articulator. Most frequently it is palatal [c], though contact can be made at any point forward of there to a fully interdental [t̪] (or [d̪] postnasally). Text transcriptions suggest that dental realisation of /ty/ is most frequent when it is both word-medial and morpheme-initial;

2-25	a-ngan-tyamu	[aŋaɲcamu]~ [aŋaṉt̪amu]
	bush turkey	
	da-tyamu	[dacamu]~ [dat̪amu]
	cheek	
	a-tyambuli(K)	[acambɔli]~ at̪ambɔli]
	grasshopper	

though, as 2-25 shows, it remains in free variation with [c]. In this position it occurs within a wide range of phonetic environments - stressed and unstressed, postnasally, framed by all four vowels, etc. It seems then that this dental as opposed to

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5As these word initial voiced laminals are restricted to a finite set of well known terms, it has been decided not to introduce a new symbol to represent them in the practical orthography.

laminal articulation of /ty/ cannot be satisfactorily described in terms of either environmental or articulatory conditioning[6]. Finally, we note a dialectal difference in the treatment of word and morpheme final /ty/. In Ngan'gikurunggurr word- and morpheme-final /ty/ is released, but in Ngan'giwumirri it remains unreleased.

2-26 a) **ngerim - baty**   (K)   [ŋɛɹɪmbaɪc]
      1sg Hands- hold   (W)   [ŋɛɹɪmbaɪc˺]
      SU Pres
      I hold it

    b) **winni - batybity -tye**   (K)   [wɪnɹɪbaɪcbɪccɛ]
      3plSit -hold hold-Past   (W)   [wɪnɹɪbaɪc˺bɪc˺cɛ]
      SU Imp =sew
      They were sewing

/sy/ -   is a laminal fricative. It has none of the rounded labial secondary articulation that is found in English [ʃ,ʒ]. Initially and intervocalically this phone varies freely between voiceless [ɕ] and voiced [ʑ]. While we can observe a definite preference for initial /sy/ to be voiceless and intervocalic /sy/ to be voiced, these are not firm realisation rules. Like /f/, /sy/ only occurs postnasally across morpheme boundaries where it is always voiced.

2-27   **syunggun**   - grey hair   [ɕɑŋgɵn]~[ʑɑŋgɵn]
      asyarra   - willywagtail [aɕɑrʌ]~[aʑɑrʌ]
      ngupun-syurr   - I plucked it   [ŋɵpɵɲʑɵr]

Word initially, /sy/ is sometimes heard to be prestopped, ie. its realisation is the voiceless laminal affricate [cɕ]. So to the two variant realisations given in the first example of 2-27 above, we can add a third;

2-28   **syunggun**   - [cɕɑŋgɵn]

Note that this allophone [cɕ] formally differs from the stop /ty/ only in the speed with which the tongue is withdrawn from the mouth roof, (a contrast that is very difficult for the

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6Furthermore, a single lexeme **atya**/ **ngatya**(K) - 'father', is universally realised with [ʈ], without [c] ever appearing as a free variant.

native English speaker to hear). In normal (non-citation) utterances the release of /ty/ in word initial position is often indistinct, and can be indistinguishable fron the affricate allophone of /sy/. This potential partial phonemic overlap can only be disambiguated by testing for acceptance of the other free variants of /sy/. Thus, in the examples in 2-29 below, we can determine that the initial phoneme is /sy/ by the acceptance of the free variant allophones [ɕ] and [ʑ]. Likewise in the examples in 2-30 below, we can determine that the phoneme is /ty/ only by the non-acceptance of these variants.

2-29	syirre	behind	[cɕɪɾɛ]– [ɕɪɾɛ]– [ʑɪɾɛ]
	syiri	weapon	[cɕʋɾi] – [ɕʋɾi] – [ʑʋɾi]
	syewe	sea	[cɕɛwɛ]–[ɕɛwɛ]–[ʑɛwɛ]

2-30	tyulut	hook spear	[cɷlɷt]– [cɕɷlɷt] *[ɕɷlɷt / ʑɷlɷt]
	tyagani	what ?	[cɑgɑni]–[cɕɑgɑni] *[ɕɑgɑni /ʑɑgɑni]
	tyi	breast	[ci]– [cɕi] *[ʃɕ / ʑi]

/k/ - is a long voiceless aspirated dorsal stop [kʰ] with no variation in closure type.

/g/ - is a dorsal obstruent with both stop and fricative allophones. Previous studies of this language have tended to treat /g/ as a stop, though in section 2.2, in an investigation of the stop contrast mechanism, I provide reasons for analysing /g/ as a phonological fricative. /g/ is predominantly realised as [ɣ] in intervocalic and post-liquid environments, and as [g] postnasally. Fully stopped [g] has been recorded intervocalically only very rarely. In word-initial position /g/ is always realised as a fricative, freely varying in glottal activity between voiceless [x] and voiced [ɣ].

The following minimal and sub-minimal pairs illustrate the phonemic contrasts between the obstruents discussed in 2.1.3.2.

Bilabial	pi	head
	bi	thigh
	fi	twine

Apical	ati	cod sp.
	adi	spouse (address term)
	asiminmin	bat sp.

Laminal	tyi	breastmilk
	syi	nose

Dorsal	akaka	curlew
	gagu	animal gen.
	kawu	MM

2.1.3.3 Realisation of Nasal Phonemes

/m/ - is a bilabilal nasal [m]. It has no further allophonic variation.

/n/ - is an apical nasal, and like the other apical consonants varies in passive articulation from alveolar [n] to post-alveolar [ṇ]. Normally alveolar, it tends to become post-alveolar in the environment of back vowels and when pre-consonantal.

2-31	ngunngun	knapped stone knife	[ŋɔṇŋɔṇ]
	kanbi	bamboo, didjeridu	[kɑṇbi]
	panmi	crotch	[pɑṇmi]

/ny/ - is a laminal nasal. Normally palatal [ɲ], it is realised as the dental [ṉ] when it forms nasal-stop clusters with [ṯ] and [ḏ] which are allophones of /ty/.

2-32	angantyamu	bushturkey	[ɑɲɑncɑmu] ~ [ɑɲɑṉṯɑmu]
	yagantyi	you took it	[jɑgɑɲɟi] ~ [jɑgɑṉḏi]

/ng/ - is the dorsal nasal [ŋ]. Word-initially preceding front vowels /ng/ is occasionally realised with palatal secondary articulation.

2-33	ngekin	shit	[ŋɛkɪn] ~ [ŋʲɛkɪn]
	nginyinggin	I saw it	[ŋɪɲɪŋgɪn]~[ŋʲɪɲɪŋgɪn]

Presumably it is the shift from dorsal tongue configuration to the target articulation of a stressed front vowel that sporadically triggers this palatalisation.

Minimal and sub-minimal pairs exemplifying nasal phoneme contrasts are set out in 2-34 below.

2-34	nem	3sg pronoun	-nyi-	2sgDO(bound)
	mem	he says	-ngi	1sgDO(bound)
	diwin	moon	ngagurr	1plex pronoun
	awiny	bream	nagurr	2pl pronoun

| tyung | wet | **danguri** | penis |
| **tyuny** (K) | woomera | **damurri** | testicles |

2.1.3.4 Realisation of Liquid Phonemes

/l/ -   is an apical lateral aproximant [l] which has 'darkened' velarised articulation when syllable final. Like /n/ its realisation is increasingly post-alveolar in the environment of back vowels and when preconsonantal.

/rr/ -   is an apical rhotic. Intervocalically it is realised as the flap/tap [r], word finally and preconsonantally it is the trill [r]. Voicing of the trill is usually dependant on the voicing of the following phone. Preceding voiced obstruents and nasals it is always voiced, but preceding voiceless obstruents the trill is usually devoiced. Word final [r] takes its voicing from the following phone in fast speech, but utterance finally or in careful speech it is usually devoiced.

2-35	**firri**	-	dream	[ɸɨri]
	ngurrp	-	emu	[ŋɔrp]
	yerrden	-	coolibah	[jɛrdɛn]
	yewirr	-	tree	[jɛwɨr̥]-[jɛwɨr]

/r/ -   is the post-alveolar approximant [ɹ]. It has no other significant allophones.

Minimal and sub-minimal pairs exemplifying liquid phoneme contrasts are given in 2-36.

2-36	**firri**	dream
	fili	roll along (verb root)
	piri	pus

2.1.3.5 Realisation of Semivowel Phonemes

/w/ -   is the labiodorsal semivowel [w].

/y/ -   is the laminal semivowel [j].

The semivowels are minimally paired in 2-37.

| 2-37 | **wani-pe** | He'll go. |
| | **yani-pe** | You'll go. |

2.2 The Stop Contrast[7] in Ngan'gityemerri

2.2.1 Introduction

Although a rare phenomenon among Australian languages as a whole, a fair number of Northern Territory languages have been described as having a contrast between stops at some places of articulation and in some word-positions. NT languages for which a stop contrast has been recorded are summarised in Cook (1987:28-40) and Austin (1988) as including Djinang (Waters 1980), Gupapuyngu (Lowe), Dhuwal (Heath 1980b), Ritharrngu (Heath 1980a), Ngandi (Heath 1978), Djapu (Morphy 1983), Ngalakan (Merlan 1983), Kunwinjku (Carroll 1976), Rembarrnga (McKay 1975), Wagiman (Cook 1987), Murrinh-patha (Walsh 1976), Ngan'gikurunggurr (Tryon 1974) and Warumungu (Simpson & Heath 1982)[8]. Additionally, two stop series have been reported for Burarra (Glasgow 1967), Ndjebbana (McKay 1979), Nakarra (Eather 1990), Gurrugoni (Green, R. in preparation), Jawony (Jaeger 1983) and Marrithiyel (Green, I. 1989).

The distribution and functional load of stop contrasts varies widely within these languages. For instance among the Yolngu and Kunwinjkuan languages, the distribution of the stop contrast is generally limited to medial position following sonorants. In all other environments the contrast is neutralised. In Murrinh-patha, Ngan'gityemerri and, to a lesser extent, Marrithiyel, the contrast is additionally found word-initially.

The nature of the stop contrasts in these languages have been variously described as voiced/voiceless, fortis/lenis, short/long, tense/lax, single/geminate etc. Some phonological analyses of these contrasts, including prosodic, geminate and segmental, are summarised in Cook (1987:38-48). Though briefly summarised below, interested readers are referred to Cook for a fuller description.

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[7]The manner in which a contrast between two series of stops is maintained in Ngan'gityemerri poses some unusual problems. Confusion over the issue of how the dorsal obstruents fitted into what otherwise seemed to be a straightforward VOT contrast prompted me to leave a full phonology chapter out of my honours thesis on Ngan'gikurunggurr. In writing up this chapter, I have been fortunate in having the opportunity to discuss my methodology and results with Andy Butcher. His input has significantly fashioned and improved my approach to this issue. Some minor discrepancies between his data and mine are discussed at appropriate places in the text. I gratefully acknowledge his contribution and duly note that any errors are mine, not his.

[8]Cook and Austin include Mangarrayi in their lists, but Merlan in the source they cite states that "Mangarrayi differs from some neighbouring Armhem Land languages (Ngalakan, Ngandi) in that there is no significant fortis-lenis stop contrast" (Merlan 1982:178).

The **prosodic analysis** suggests that different stop types represent different underlying syllable types, one containing a glottal stop, and the other without. The phonetic glottal stop is a prosodic feature of the syllable, and is thus always syllable final. Fortis syllables contain an underlying syllable final glottal stop, to which the following stop assimilates and so also becomes fortis. Lenis syllables contain no glottal stop, and the following stop is thus lenis. The apparent fortis/lenis opposition results from the emergence of fortis stops in an environment originally restricted to lenis stops.

This analysis has some neat advantages for Yolngu (Walker 1984). It accounts for the distributional restriction of the contrast to the intercontinuant position, accounts for restrictions on certain types of consonant clusters, and also ties the distribution of the apparently separate feature 'glottal stop' into the same analysis as the stop contrast. It also requires only a single series of stops in the phonemic inventory, although as Cook points out, this is no real economic gain as the contrast still has to be marked on the syllables, and marking the syllables is really no more economical than marking the consonants themselves.

The **geminate analysis**, (based on McKay's description of Rembarrnga (1975)), assumes that every voiceless intercontinuant stop is actually an underlying homorganic voiced stop + stop cluster. From this cluster two rules are required to produce a simple voiceless stop: 1) a degemination rule, and 2) a subsequent devoicing rule. Like the prosodic analysis, the geminate analysis requires only a single series of stops in the phonemic inventory, the apparent contrast between stops on the surface resulting only from the application of the degemination and devoicing rules.

McKay's main evidence for this analysis is that both degemination and devoicing are observable phenomena across morpheme boundaries. McKay takes the devoicing and degemination of stop clusters that occurs across morpheme boundaries and, analogously, extends them to morpheme medial position.

The geminate analysis also explains the restriction of the apparent contrast to intervocalic and word medial position. By setting up clusters as the basis for the distinction, the resulting contrast is represented as reflecting phonotactic constraints that operate elsewhere in the language; ie. the stop contrast, like consonant clusters, is not permitted word initially and word finally; and the postnasal neutralisation of the contrast reflects the general constraint on clusters of nasal + stop + stop .

Merlan (1983:9) argues against McKay's extension of intermorphemic degemination and devoicing phenomena to the analysis of

morpheme-medial position clusters on the grounds that it has unjustified implications for medial consonant cluster distribution. Similar arguments make a geminate analysis untenable for Ngan'gityemerri stops. The main complications are firstly, that word-initial homorganic stop clusters would be allowable, but no other clusters are permitted in this position. Secondly, contrastive gemination of both voiced and voiceless stops, resulting from the application of the apical assimilation rule, operates as an independent phenomenon (see 2.2.2.2).

Segmental analyses define a phonemic distinction on the basis of articulatory differences. A distinction between two phonetically different types of stop is directly reflected by phonemic symbols, making the segmental analysis less abstract than either the prosodic or geminate analyses.

While segmental analyses vary widely, they tend to fall into one of two categories: languages for which 'voice onset time' is a consistent perceptual cue for the distinction of the contrast, and languages for which it is not. In the Australian literature 'fortis/lenis' has been widely used as a cover term for these latter type of languages. Descriptions falling into this category broadly seek to find some other phonetic property that will serve as a basis for the contrast. In some of the literature this property is given as 'fortis/lenis' or 'force of articulation', but without much attention being given to the actual phonetic data.

Jaeger, in her paper based on data from Zapotec and Jawony (Jaeger 1983), examines the phonetic factors involved in producing the distinction in these two languages, and seeks to find out whether "these phonetic properties are indeed a result of some unified and independently controlled phonetic dimension for which 'force of articulation' is the correct explanation" (loc. cit.). She concluded that for both of these languages it is 'duration', or the timing of the gestures involved in speech production, that is the independently controlled variable. As the only way in which any extra 'force' is required to sustain a gesture for a longer period of time, is in the circular sense that the overall energy expended by a muscle will be more if it fires for a longer period of time, she concludes that 'duration' is a phonetically more explanatory term than some vaguely defined notion of 'force of articulation'.

2.2.2 The Ngan'gityemerri Data
2.2.2.1 Single Stops

Phonologically the stop contrast in Ngan'gityemerri differs from the type of contrast found in Kunwinjkuan, Burarran and Yolngu languages in

two important ways. Firstly, the contrast is active in word-initial position. Secondly, the contrast between two series of stops needs to be viewed within the wider frame of a three-way obstruent contrast (for bilabials and apicals). For the bilabials and apicals the distinction between stop and fricative is unproblematic, however this is not so clear when it comes to the dorsal series. This section deals with the stops at all places of articulation in Ngan'gityemerri, with particular focus on the phonetic parameters underlying the dorsal contrast, and their implications for the phonological analysis of /g/ as either a stop or a fricative.

Looking briefly at previous work on the Ngan'gikurunggurr stop contrast, Tryon's (1974:230-1) account is puzzling in that he tentatively suggests that there is no phonemic contrast between voiced and voiceless stops, yet accounts for the existence of minimal pairs by suggesting that intervocalic voiceless stops should be interpreted as geminate. The inference seems to be that there is a phonemic contrast but it is maintained phonetically in terms of duration rather than VOT. However Tryon then goes on to note that Hoddinott believes that there "may exist a phonemic contrast"(opp. cit.). His bracketed inclusion of a voiced stop series in the phonemic inventory gives /g/ as a stop.

Hoddinott & Kofod (1988:10-14) recognise the existence of a contrast in Ngan'gikurunggurr, but provide an even more confusing analysis. Beginning with the claim that "Stops are normally long in medial...position", they go on to describe a contrast in terms of 'voicing'. Medially they find voiceless /k/ phonetically [k], contrasting with /g/, phonetically [g] ~ [x] ~ [ɣ]. Initially they find /k/, phonetically [k], contrasting with /g/, phonetically [k] ~ [g] ~ [x], (i.e. initial [k] violates the bi-uniqueness requirement of classical phonemics in being equally attributable to either /k/ or /g/). They additionally claim the initial occurrence of [ɣ] but do not attribute it to any phoneme (H&K 1988:13). H&K note the possible analysis of the dorsal contrast as one of stop vs fricative, but reject this possibility, again confusingly, citing "the widespread occurrence of the stop allophone...has led to a decision to describe the contrast as between /k/ and /g/ for the pusposes (sic) of this study even though the most common realisation of /g/ in initial position is wither (sic) [k] or [x]" (H&K loc. cit.).

In short, accounts of the (particularly dorsal) stop contrast in previous investigations of Ngan'gityemerri are confused, lacking phonetic and acoustic data, and are clearly inadequate. My own auditorily-based impressions are that while VOT appears to be a consistent perceptual cue for the distinction of the labial and apical stops, this does not appear to hold

true for the dorsal stops. While /k/ is always long and voiceless, the obstruent /g/ is rarely made with full closure. Medially /g/ is predominantly realised as the voiced fricative [ɣ], very rarely as a fully stopped [g]. Initially /g/ is always a fricative, varying freely between voiced [ɣ] and voiceless [x].

To test this auditorily-based impression, I have made measurements of the primary acoustic features, 'voice onset time' and 'duration'. (Note that for the purposes of this study I treat /g/ simply as a second dorsal obstruent, without refering to it as either a stop or a fricative. Given the variation in the realisation of /g/, its allocation to either of these manner classes is a phonological decision that will be addressed later.) A sample of words spoken in isolation by an adult Ngan'giwumirri[9] male was recorded on high quality tape on a Uher Report Monitor 4200 in a quiet room. Wideband spectrograms were produced on a Voiceprint Lab. series 7000 spectrograph. Spectrograms were analysed for stricture type, i.e. to see whether they were made with full closure or just aproximation of the articulators. Initial stops were measured for voice onset times and initial fricatives for duration. Initial voiced stops were measured from the onset of glottal vibration, as perceivable by the first prerelease striations on the baseline of the spectrograph, to the point of release. Initial voiceless stops were measured from the release spike to the first signs of energy at the formant frequencies. Initial fricatives were measured from the onset of energy higher in the spectrum to the commencement of vowel formant bars.

9For this study I chose to collect data on Ngan'giwumirri rather than Ngan'gikurunggurr for two reasons. The first, simply practical, was that I was working with an extremely good NgW informant at the time. Secondly, having previously made similar recordings and measurements with NgK data, this represented an opportunity to draw a comparison between the two dialects. Broadly speaking the acoustic characteristics of obstruent realisation in NgK and NgW are quite similar. The major difference evident in my data lies in the continuation of glottal pulsing through the approximation duration of medial /f/. Recall that, like all other Australian languages having fricatives, in Ngan'gityemerri there is only a single series of fricatives. In both dialects initial /f/ is usually voiceless [ɸ]. Medially there is free variation between predominantly voiceless [ɸ] and predominantly voiced [β]. The higher statistical occurrence of the predominantly voiced allophone in NgW can be seen in Table 3 where medial /f/ is characterised by glottal activity for 76% of approximation duration. In comparison NgK medial /f/ is characterised by glottal activity for 45% of approximation duration. (These figures are a mean percentage, calculated by measuring glottal pulsing as a percentage of approximation duration for all tokens of medial /f/-both predominantly voiced and predominantly voiceless.) This significant difference in glottal activity in the realisation of /f/, is a contributing factor in the perception by Ngan'gityemerri speakers of NgW being a 'heavier/rougher language'.

The mean stop VOT and fricative durations of initial obstruents in Ngan'giwumirri are given in Figure 2-2.

0 - point of release   [⊠] - post-release VOT

[▨] - pre-release glottal pulsing   [▦] - frication
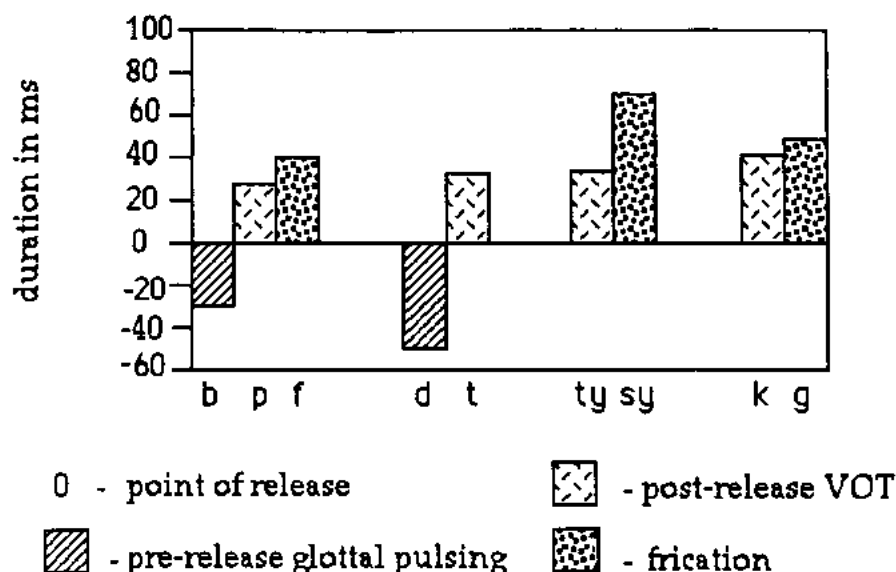
Figure 2-2

Medial obstruents were measured for constriction duration. Duration of medial stops was measured from where energy at formant frequencies is cut off, up to the point of release. Some tokens of medial /d/ were realised without full closure as a flap or approximant of some kind, with vowel formants clearly visible throughout the constriction phase (see **adamuy** in spectrogram 1,). In these instances duration measurements were made from the lower transition points of F1. Duration of medial fricatives was measured from the cessation of formant bars (in the few tokens of voiceless medial /g/), and from the transition of formant bars (in the tokens of voiced medial /g/). The mean constriction durations of medial obstruents in Ngan'giwumirri are given in Figure 2-3.

[▨] Voiced stop   [⊠] Voiceless stop   [▦] Fricative
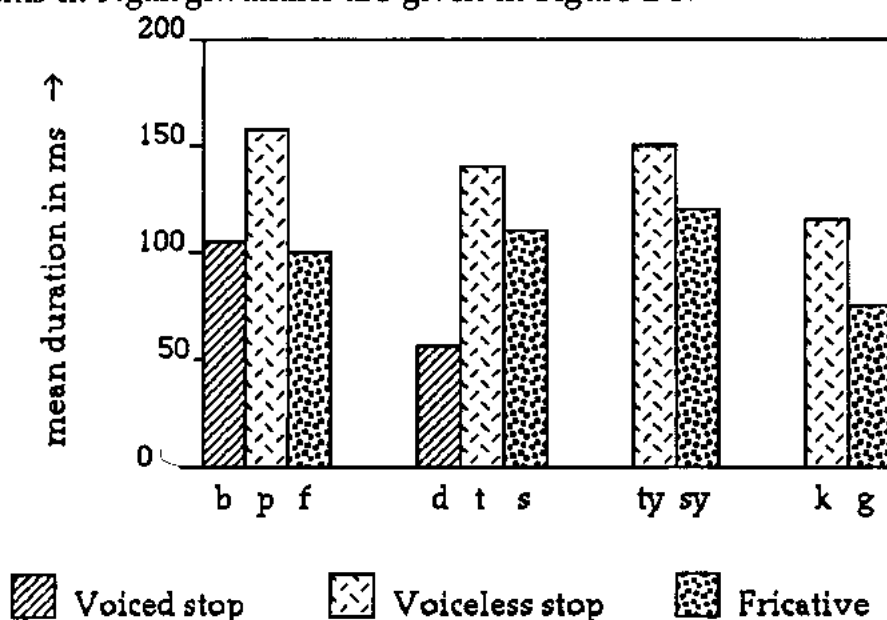
Figure 2-3

Measurements were also made of glottal activity throughout the duration of medial obstruent constriction. Figure 2-4 below gives the mean duration of glottal pulsing as a percentage of the mean duration of medial obstruent constriction phase (calculated from the figures given in Figure 2-3).
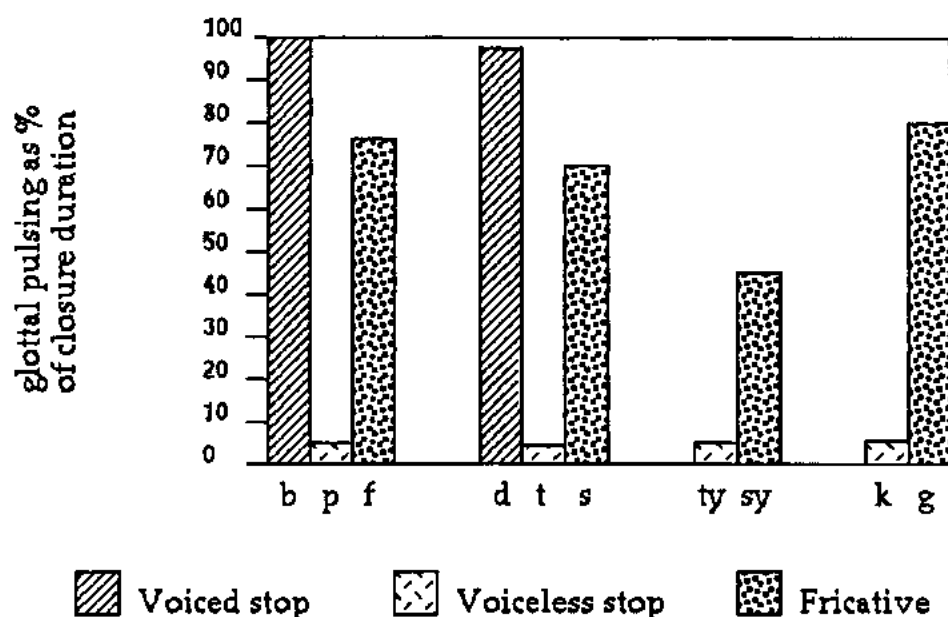
Figure 2-4

It can be seen from Figure 2-4 that for medial obstruents the mean constriction duration ratio for both /b/ (105ms) and /p/ (160ms), and /g/ (75ms) and /k/ (115ms), is close to 1: 1.5. For the apical stops (/d/ - 55ms and /t/ - 140ms) this ratio is much greater[10] at 1:2.5. Setting aside the apicals for

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[10]Butcher (1990:23) notes the greater constriction duration ratio of apical /t/ and /d/ in my measurements, and suggests that this may result from a higher frequency of flapped realisations of /d/ in my data. I agree - these flapped tokens of /d/(see adamuy spectrogram 1, p 61) have probably lowered the mean duration value given for /d/ in Table 2, and should at least partially account for the significant difference between the mean durations of medial /d/(55ms) and /b/(105ms). This is the only real discrepancy between Butcher's measurements and mine, though my measurements for all obstruents except /t/ are generally between 5%-10% less than Butcher's measurements. Given that I have essentially employed the same measurement criteria as he, both these factors (the higher incidence of flapped /d/ and the overall shorter duration values for most obstruents) probably reflect differences in our data bases. Although we both collected citation forms from the same speaker (Robert Daly), recordings were made on different occasions, and Robert may have simply varied his delivery speed between these sessions, for a variety of reasons. However despite minor differences between our respective duration values for Ngan'giwumirri obstruents, note that Butcher's study and my own generally concur in terms of both the duration ratios for stops at the one place of articulation, and also in the significance of the timing of glottal gestures in the maintenance of the contrast.

the time being and looking at the bilabials and dorsals, note that the ratio of 1:1.5 is far less than the ratio of short to long stops reported by Butcher (1990:6) in those languages for which he concludes that closure duration is the only consistent cue to the stop contrast. Among such languages treated in his study, (including Burarra, Gurrogoni, Kunbarlang, Nakkara, Rembarrnga, Jawony, Djinang, Djininy, and possibly Marrithiyel), Butcher (1990:43), reports that "The single consistent characteristic of the mechanism is that long stops are two to three times as long as short stops" (op. cit.). There are few other comparative studies that point towards a particular duration ratio value being a critical minimal requirement for the maintenance of a contrast between long and short stops. Lisker and Abramson note that languages with apparent VOT contrasts generally have a duration ratio of about 1:1.5, and that languages analysed as having a short/long contrast generally have a duration ratio of between 1:2 and 1:3. The 1:1.5 ratio found here for Ngan'giwumirri medial bilabial and dorsal stops certainly does not exploit the constriction duration time scale as efficiently as has been reported for the Burarran and western Yolngu languages and for Marrithiyel (Butcher, op. cit.).

On the other hand, Figure 2-4 shows that in medial position /p/, /t/, /ty/ and /k/ are all characterised by the early cessation of glottal pulsing (average 4% of constriction duration), probably achieved by active abduction of the glottis. In clear contrast, /b/, /d/ and /g/[11] are characterised by continued glottal pulsing throughout the greater part of constriction duration (average 94%). (Compare the tokens of medial /k/ (spectrogram 2), medial /g/ (spectrogram 3), medial /p/ (spectrogram 4), and medial /b/ (spectrogram 5)).

In initial position there is a clearly discernible difference between the voice onset time of the voiced and voiceless bilabial and apical stops. There is no range of values common to both series. The range, as measured from the release spike, is about -60 to -30 m/sec for the voiced stops, and +20 to +60 m/sec for the voiceless. Average figures, as given in Figure 2-2, are /b/ -35ms, /p/ +35ms, /d/ -50ms and /t/ +30ms. The 'poles' of the contrast here clearly exploit the VOT continuum maximally, in the sense that the contrast is always one of *lead* versus *lag* [12]. Taking the bilabials as an example,

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11In my spectrograms of words with medial /g/ there is only a single token of [g] with full stop closure. While this instance of /g/ as a stop does not fit my classification in Table 3 of /g/ as a fricative, it does not effect the 'glottal pulsing as a percentage of constriction duration' value that this Table demonstrates.

12This contrasts with the findings of Lisker and Abramson's (1964) study of VOT in initial stops (in Dutch, Tamil, Cantonese, Puerto Rican Spanish and English). They posit three VOT

Figure 2-5 below demonstrates how /p/ and /b/ fall into modal values in respect to their frequency of distribution. Baseline figures are in milliseconds.
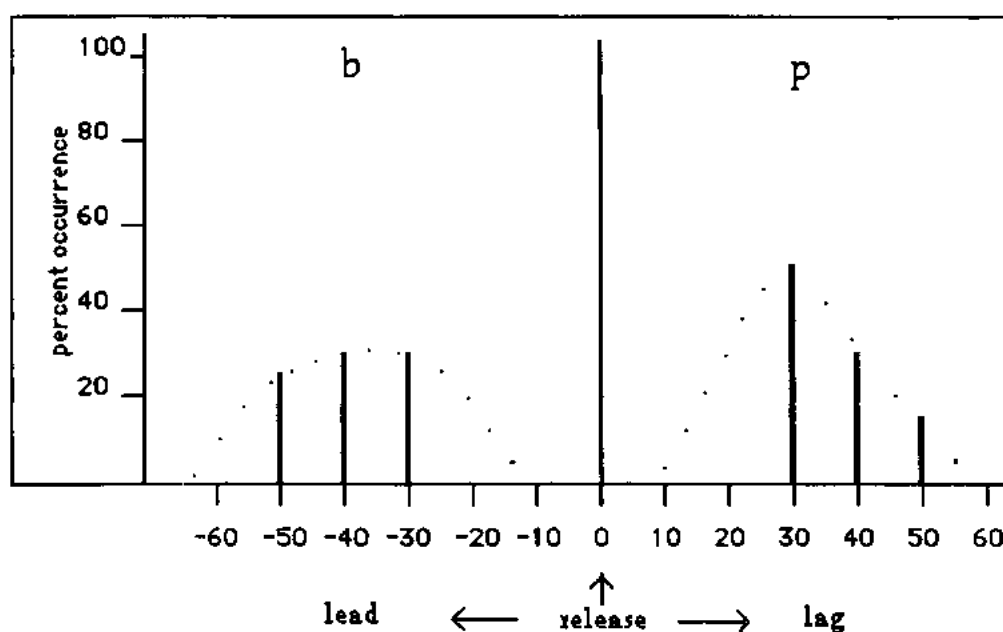
Figure 2-5

Initial /k/ is uniformally voiceless and has an even longer VOT than either /p/ or /t/[13]. Initial /g/ is always realised as a fricative and varies freely in the activity of the glottis. Most tokens of initial /g/ are

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modal values for the stop categories in these languages, -100ms, +10ms and +75ms. They found that in no language which had a contrast between two sets of stops, were the locations of the two sets of stops at opposite ends of the voice onset time scale. That is, the contrast was always lead(-100) vs small lag(+10), or small lag(+10) vs big lag(+75), never lead(-100) vs big lag(+75). Lisker and Abramson additionally found that three-stop-category languages, like Armenian and Thai, also had these categories distributed over ranges centering on -100, +10 and +75 ms. Noting that the variation in boundaries between categories along the VOT continuum is far from random, they speak of "three general phonetic types from which the categories of a particular language are selected", and suggest that VOT may be a "predictable consequence of differences in the relative timing of events at the glottis and at the place of oral occlusion"(1967:402). The VOT mechanism in Ngan'giwumirri clearly differs from the languages they studied in having clear lead(-40) vs lag(+35) modal values for initial bilabial and apical stops. Note though that the Ngan'giwumirri lead and lag values are mid-range, i.e. the lead value (-40) is a little less than half that reported by Lisker and Abramson (-100), and the NgW lag value (+35) lies between their small (+10) and big (+75) lag values. In this respect the NgW data accords with their observation that "in the phonetic realisation of phonemic contrasts human beings fall considerably short of utilising all the phonetic space available to them (1964:407).

13This is, of course, is not unexpected; VOT is generally sensitive to place of articulation and it has been observed by Lisker and Abramson (1964:399) that velars have notably longer VOT initially.

characterised by the absence of voice bars on the baseline of the spectrogram until the onset of vocal energy at the formant frequencies (ie [x]). However in some tokens voice bars co-occur with the higher frequency noise pattern of the fricative (ie [ɣ]). Clearly though, glottal pulsing is not a consistent perceptual cue in the contrast between initial /k/ and /g/. The only relevant parameter in the contrast between initial dorsal obstruents would appear to be stricture type, i.e. fricative vs stop. Recall that stricture type also differentiates most instances of medial /k/ and /g/, though medial /g/ is occasionally realised with full closure.

In acoustic terms, initial dorsal fricatives are characterised by a wider spread of higher spectrum energy with highest concentrations of this energy at formant frequencies, and a mean constriction duration of 50ms (see spectrogram 6). The initial dorsal stop /k/, on the other hand, is characterised by a clearer release spike, a lower concentration of energy burst, and a mean VOT lag duration of 40ms (see spectrogram 7).

2.2.2.2 Geminates

Intra-morphemically there is no systematic contrast in Ngan'gityemerri between single and geminate stops. Geminate nasals and stops do occur across morpheme boundaries, mostly, in the case of nasals, at the auxiliary-final boundary, as in 2-38, and in the case of voiceless stops, as a result of reduplicative processes, as in 2-39. In this position they contrast with single nasals and stops.

2-38 a)	**ngemengge-ne**	b)	**ngemenggen[14]-ne**
NgK	*1sgArrive -3sgM*		*1sgArrive -3sgM*
	SU Irr IO		SU Perf IO
	I'll come up to him.		I came up to him.

2-39 a)	**ngagadi-pap -tye**	b)	**ngagadi -pappup-tye**
	1sgGo -climb-Past		*1sgGo -climb -Past*
	SU PImp		SU PImp redup
	I climbed up.		I was climbing up and up.

The voiceless geminate stops, /pp/, /tt/, /tyty/ and /kk/, are realised by significantly longer closure duration (- sample token 190ms for /pp/). In

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14H&K not only fail to perceive the contrast between geminate and single consonants in the case of auxiliary-final nasals, but specifically claim that "If the initial consonant of the following morpheme in the verb phrase is a nasal, the final nasal of the auxiliary is deleted e.g. ngupun-ne-fili → ngupu-ne-fili " (H&K 1988:28)

addition to the voiceless stops, the voiced apical stop /d/ is geminated as a result of the apical assimilation rule (see Morphophonemic processes 2.4.2) applying to the underlying -rr+d- cluster formed at the boundary between the plural subject marker -rr- and auxiliaryroot-initial -d-. The contrast in resultant surface forms is shown in 2-40.

2-40 a)   **ngudeny**   **-fel**   b)   **nguddeny**   **-fel**
             1sgShoveDtr-bounce   *1plexShoveDtr-bounce*
             SU Perf   *SU Perf*
             I jumped.   We (plex) jumped.

Geminate /dd/ is also realised by significantly longer closure duration; compare a sample token (see spectrograph 8) at 100ms with the mean duration value of 55ms given for single medial /d/ in Figure 2-3. While geminate /dd/ has a duration value approaching that of single /t/, as can be seen from spectrogram 8, it is however clearly distinguishable from /t/ in having glottal pulsing continuing throughout the full 100ms of closure. Glottal pulsing for such a duration after full oral closure could only be achieved by active enlargement of the supraglottal cavity. Ohala (1983:197) distinguishes 'passive' enlargement of the vocal tract (resulting from the natural compliance of the walls of the oral cavity), from 'active' enlargement (achieved through lowering the larynx, the mandible, etc.). From a neat test to determine how long glottal pulsing could last if only passive enlargement of the oral cavity took place, Ohala provides these figures; [b] - 82ms, [d] - 64ms, [g] - 52ms. In view of his results, the 100ms of glottal pulsing through the full closure of a geminate /dd/ (as in spectrogram 8), would almost certainly require active enlargement of the oral cavity to delay equalisation of the oral and sub-glottal air pressures. Furthermore, the same assumption can be extended to /b/, which shows full glottal pulsing through a mean closure duration of 105ms (see Figure 2-3). My own observations of the production of geminate /dd/ by Ngan'gityemerri speakers suggests that this is achieved primarily through the lowering of the larynx.

In Ngan'giwumirri then, phonemic geminates can be distinguished separately from the mechanisms that underly the contrast between single voiced and voiceless stops. In addition, the fact that maintenance of glottal pulsing through the long closure duration of geminate /dd/ requires active supraglottal cavity enlargement, is strongly suggestive of the critical role that glottal timing plays in the stop contrast.

2.2.3 Summary of the Phonetic Data

Summarising for each place of articulation:

For the bilabial stop series, although medial /p/ is regularly one-and-a-half times as long as /b/, 'duration' is an insufficiently exploited feature to be the likely basis of the contrast. In both medial and initial position glottal timing *is* always a reliable cue, and seems more likely to be the basis of the contrast.

For the apical series, medial /t/ is long and has clear lag VOT, and medial /d/ is short and has clear lead VOT. For medial apicals then, both glottal timing and duration are equally consistent cues for stop differentiation. Initial /t/ and /d/ are distinguished only in terms of glottal timing.

For the dorsal series, medial /k/ is long and fully stopped, whereas medial /g/ is predominantly a fricative that has glottal pulsing through 87% of approximation duration. Medial /k/ and /g/ are therefore equally distinguishable in terms of both glottal timing and stricture type. Initial /k/ has clear lag VOT, and initial /g/ is a fricative that varies freely in degree of glottal activity. Glottal timing is not a reliable cue in the contrast between initial dorsals, which can only be distinguished in terms of stricture type.

The mechanisms by which a contrast could be maintained are set out for each place of articulation in Table 2-3 below.

	Bilabial	Apical		Dorsal	
		initial	medial	initial	medial
Glottal timing	√	√	√	×	√
Duration	×	×	√	×	×
Stricture type	×	×	×	√	√

Table 2-3

2.2.4 Phonological Solution

The contrast in Ngan'gityemerri is based on glottal timing, and can be characterised phonetically as a contrast between voiced and voiceless stops.

The uncharacteristically short duration of medial /d/ (that would make possible a contrast between medial apical stops in terms of constriction duration) results from the frequent realisation of /d/ as either a tap or approximant. Within the parameters of a voiced/voiceless analysis, these instances of shortened or incomplete articulatory closure are quite explicable as an active mechanism intended to facilitate the continuation of glottal pulsing. We have already noted that another mechanism (the

enlargement of the supraglottal cavity, in the case of geminates) is employed by Ngan'gityemerri speakers to achieve the same result.

Dorsal /g/ has traditionally (i.e. in previous work) been analysed as a voiced stop. In spite of the fact that medial /g/ is predominantly realised as a fricative, this analysis could be maintained here. Thus for the medial dorsals the contrast could also be characterised as one of voiced vs voiceless, with the predominant fricative realisation of /g/ being accounted for, as for /d/, in terms of an active mechanism intended to facilitate continued glottal pulsing. Such an account would be quite plausible in articulatory terms because the further back in the mouth that closure is made, the smaller the supraglottal cavity. The smaller the supraglottal cavity, the more difficult it is to continue glottal pulsing throughout closure duration, and thus the tendency to fricate increases.

However, an analysis of /g/ as a voiced stop becomes increasingly difficult to justify in the case of initial dorsals. The inadequacy of glottal timing as a consistent cue in the realisation of initial /g/, makes the contrast in this position only explicable in terms of stricture type. Within a voiced/voiceless analysis, the initial dorsal contrast would have to be separately specified as based on the parameter 'stop vs fricative'. Although variance in the mechanism by which a contrast is maintained is not implausible[15], the alternative phonological analysis of /g/ as a fricative offers a much neater solution.

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15 No previous writers on stop contrasts in Australian languages appear to allow for the possibility of shifting contrast parameters. All the literature presupposes that of the bundle of features associated with the production of a stop (VOT, aspiration, duration, stricture type, etc), one and only one of these features serves as the basis of the contrast for a given language, and all the others are merely phonetic by-products of that feature, and functionally redundant in the maintenance of the contrast. Heath, in his grammar of Ngandi, claims that both 'voice' and 'duration' serve equally well as the basis of the contrast, but offers no further explanation, or reasons for his choice of the terms 'fortis/lenis'. Most other work on the nature of stop contrasts treat languages as either 'VOT languages' or 'fortis/lenis languages'. This is implicit in Jaeger's article (1982), and stated explicitly by Cook - "Segmental approaches vary widely, and a choice *must* be made between analysing the contrast directly as one of voicing, ...or as fortis stops contrasting with lenis stops" (Cook 1984:45)(emphasis mine).

I see no compelling reasons why contrast mechanisms should necessarily be uniform within the phonological system of a single language. Potentially contrasts could be maintained in terms of the shape of the whole bundle of the phonetic features that are associated with stop production, without any one of them necessarily being *the crucial feature* at all places of articulation. The profile of this bundle of features could vary from one place of articulation to another, because individual features can be made prominent by articulatory factors associated with the size of the supraglottal cavity. For Ngan'gityemerri, if the option of patterning /g/ with the fricative class were not available, this is the type of analysis I would have opted for. I would have argued that within the

Analysing /g/ as a fricative has the following advantages. Firstly, it is a better reflection of the predominant allophony of this obstruent. As noted above, in inital position /g/ is always a fricative, and medially it is predominantly a fricative, and only very rarely realised with full stop closure.

Secondly, the phonemic inventory is slightly simplified in that the dorsal series patterns with the laminals. We now have only two types of obstruent pattern, rather than three.

1	Bilabial + Apical	-	stop + stop + fric
2	Laminal + Dorsal	-	stop + fric

The stop contrast is now restricted to the bilabials and apicals only. As the contrast for both these articulatory types is readily explicable in terms of the feature 'glottal timing', there is no longer any need to postulate variant phonetic features underlying the contrast.

Thirdly, the allophony of /g/ is generally consistent with that of the laminal and bilabial fricatives (the apical fricative does not occur word-initially).

2-41	/g/	→	[x] ~[ɣ]	/#_
		→	[ɣ] ~ [g]	/V_V, /Liquid _
	/sy/	→	[ʃ] ~ [ʒ]	/#_
		→	[ʃ] ~ [ʒ]	/V_V
	/f/	→	[ɸ]	/#_
		→	[ɸ]~[β]	/V_V, /Liquid_

Fourthly, in terms of phonotactic distribution, the occurence of /g/ after liquids, e.g.

2-42	malgin	-	spinifex
	marrgu	-	new
	midirgurr	-	nut

---

bundle of phonetic features associated with the realisation of Ngan'gityemerri stops, 'glottal timing' is made prominent in the contrast between the bilabial stops, both 'glottal timing' and 'duration' are equally prominent in the contrast between apical stops, and 'stricture type' is made prominent in the contrast between dorsal stops.

is anomalous if /g/ is analysed as a stop, as no other voiced stops can occur intramorphemically in this type of cluster. However the fricative /f/ clusters with liquids;

| 2-43 | **ngulfin** | - | slope |
| | **werrfe** | - | over there |

so we would achieve greater phonotactic neatness in re-stating the two anomalous cluster types ;

1 "/g/ is the only voiced stop to occur intramorphemically after liquids"

2 "/f/ is the only fricative to occur intramorphemically after liquids"

as,

3 "both peripheral fricatives occur intramorphemically after liquids".

For these reasons I find the analysis of /g/ as a fricative to be a neater solution.

Spectrograms
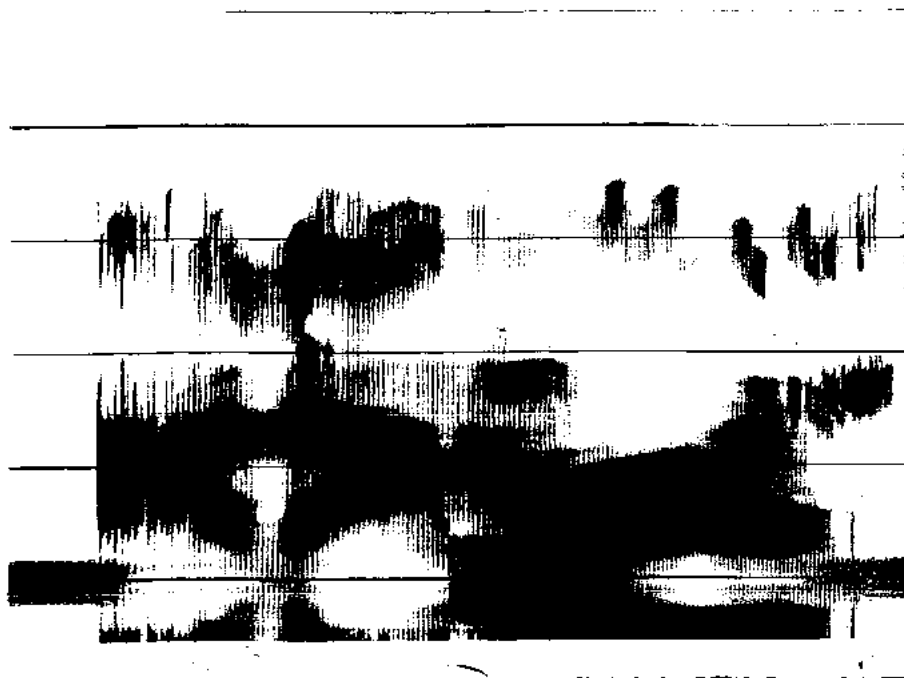
Spectrogram 1: **adamuy** 'clitoris', showing the realisation of /d/ as a flap or aproximate with 1st and 2nd formants clearly visible throughout the 'closure' duration.
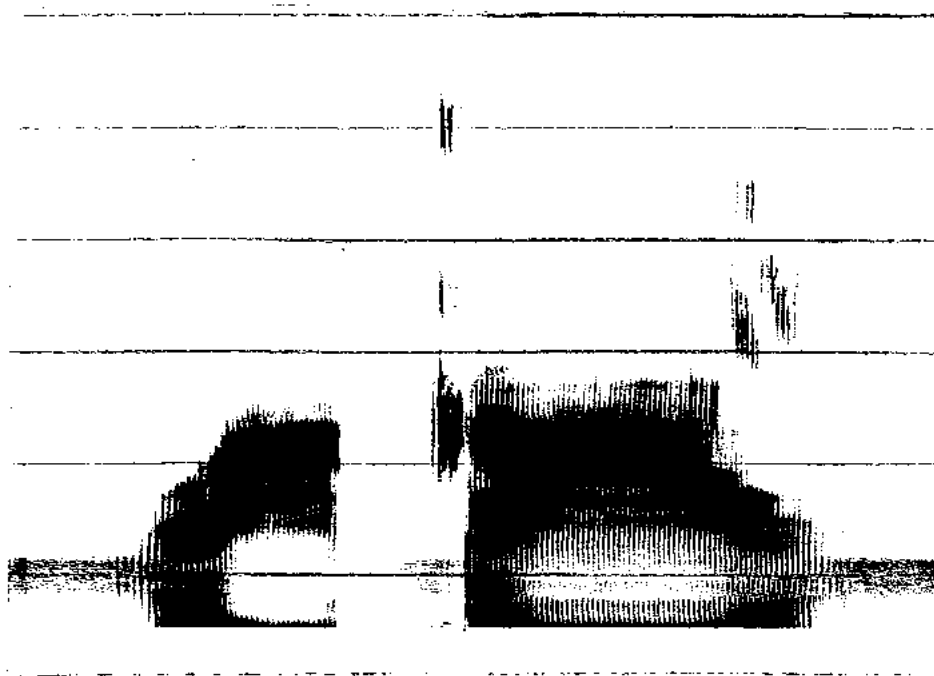
Spectrogram 2: **wakay** 'finished', showing the abrupt cessation of glottal pulsing into closure, typical of medial voiceless stops.
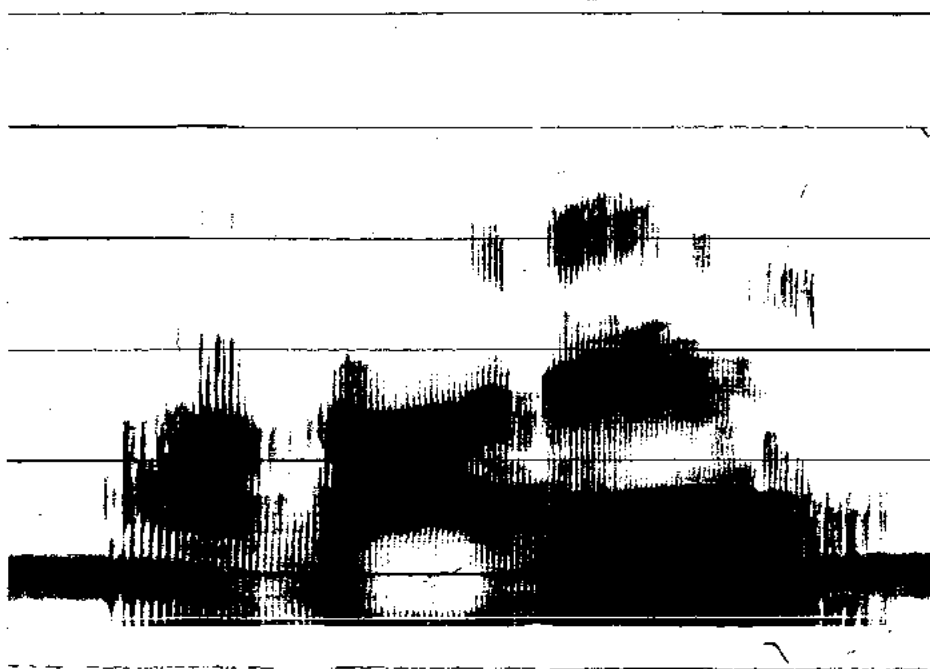
Spectrogram 3: **agadirr** 'green ant', showing the lack of complete closure and typical duration of medial /g/.
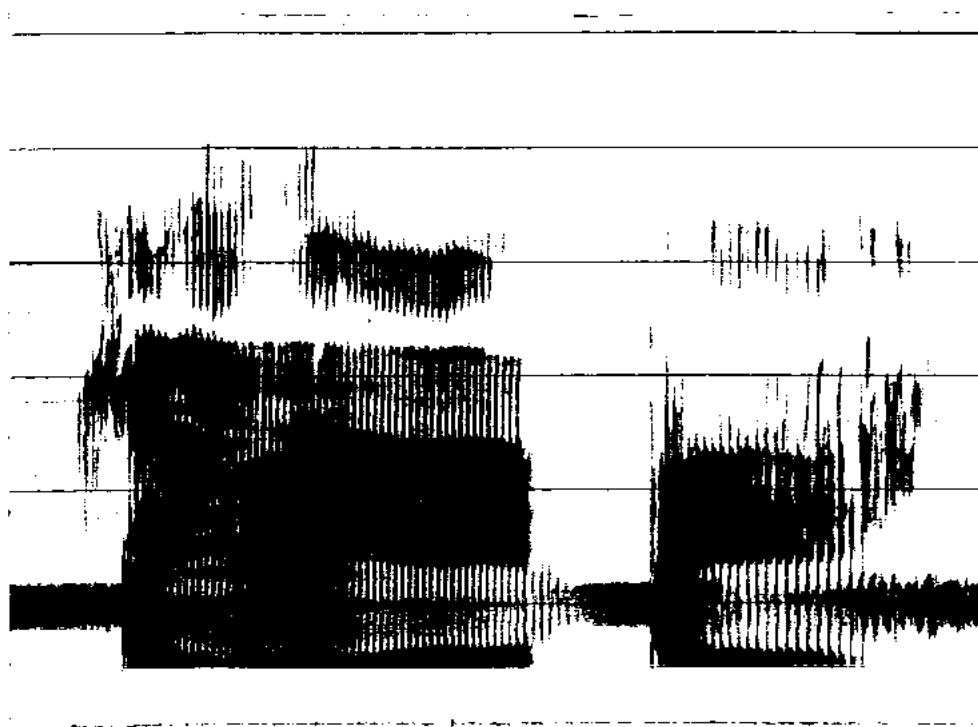
Spectrogram 4: **kengarapa** 'lung', showing the abrupt cessation of glottal pulsing into closure, and typical duration of medial /p/.
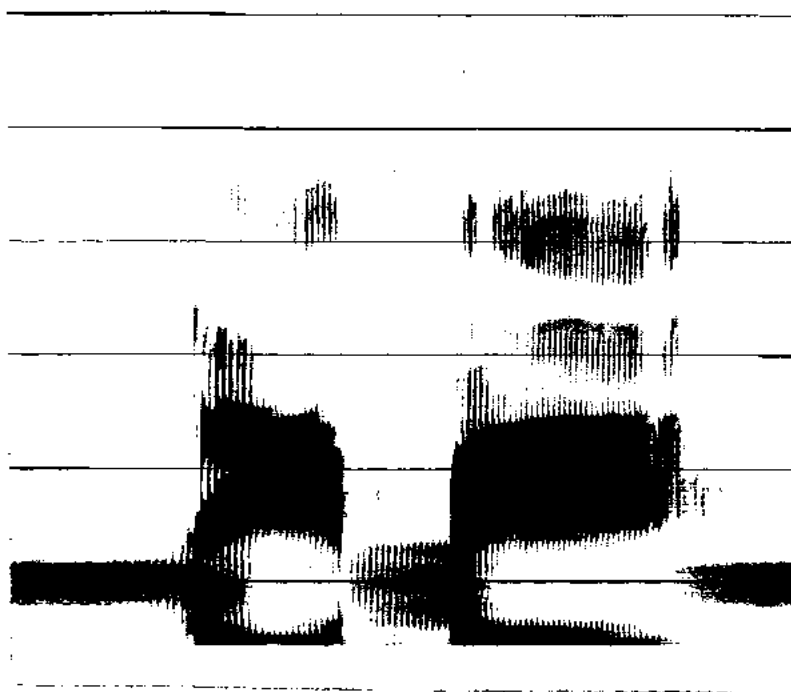
Spectrogram 5: **daba** 'arm', showing the continuation of glottal pulsing through 110ms of medial /b/ closure.
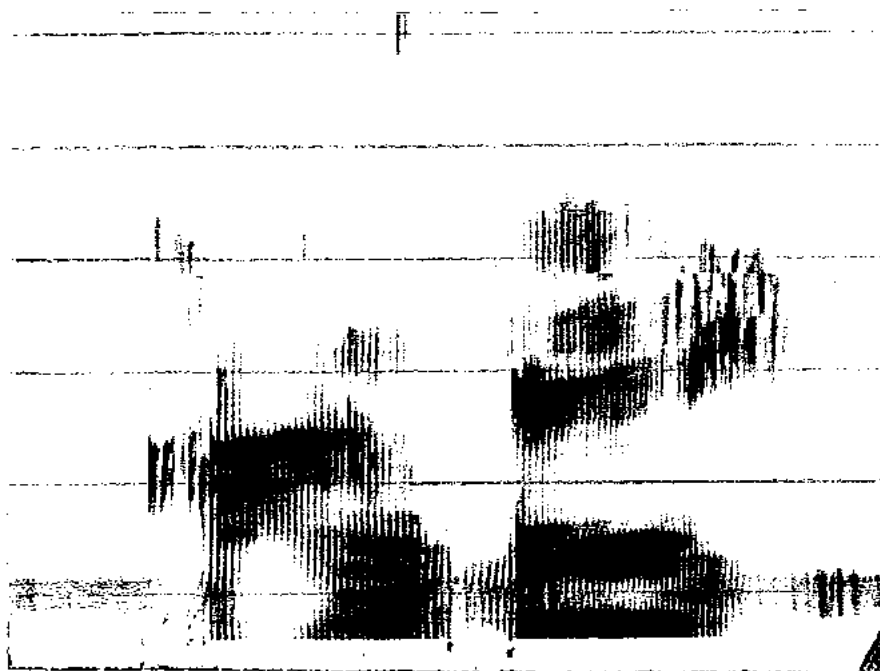
Spectrogram 6: **ganbi** 'didjeridu', showing the typical realisation of initial /g/, as the voiceless fricative [x].
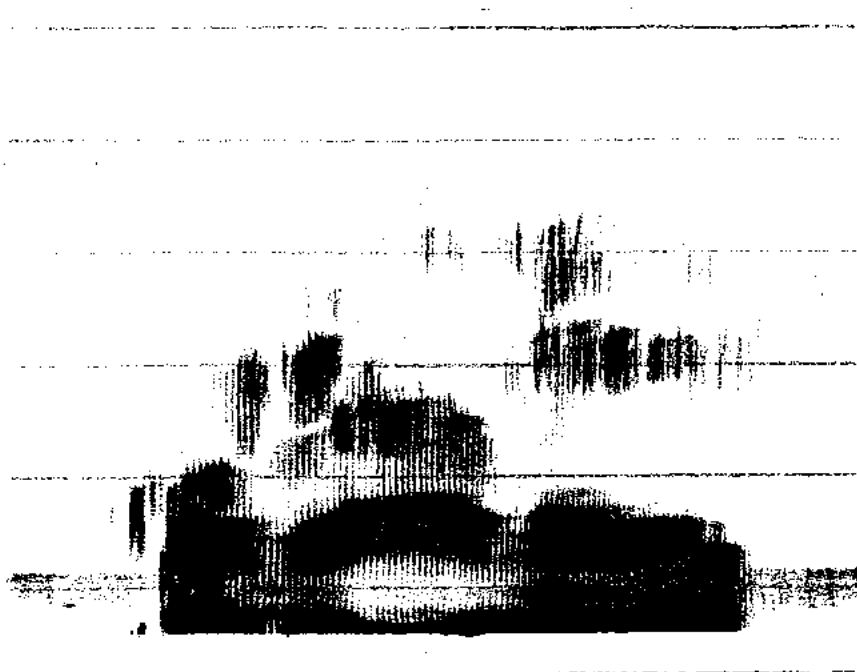
Spectrogram 7: **kuderri** 'billabong', showing initial /k/ as the voiceless stop [k].
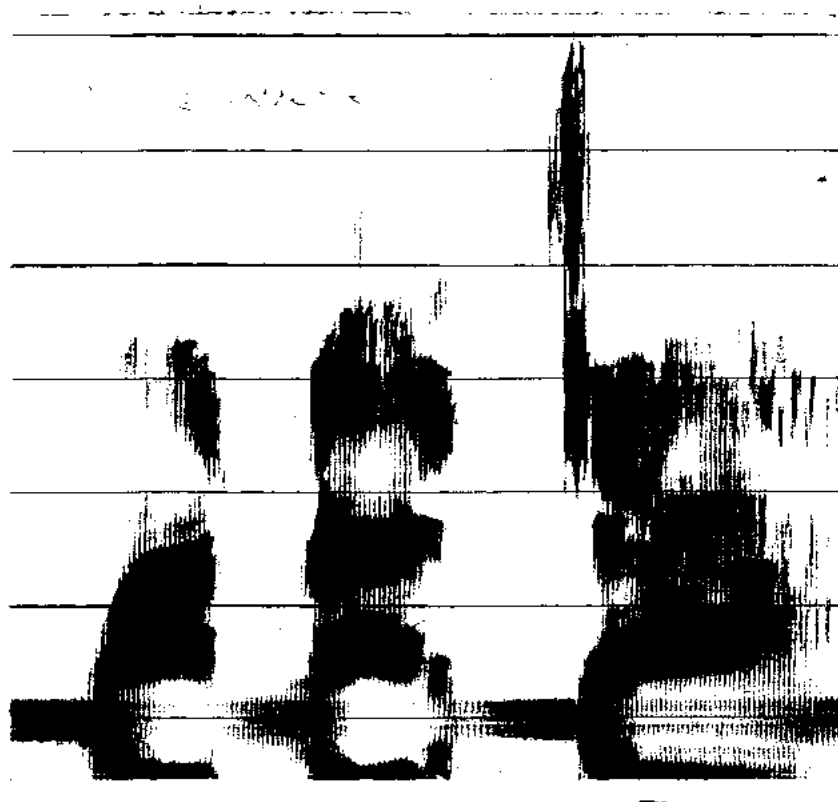
Spectrogram 8: **wadde-tye** 'they (dl) went', showing glottal pulsing throughout 100ms of closure duration for geminate /dd/, probably maintained through active enlargement of the supraglottal cavity.

2.3 Phonotactics

2.3.1 Syllable Structure

The five syllable types found in Ngan'gityemerri are exemplified by monosyllabic words in 2-44 below.

2-44	V	-	e	clause connective
	VC	-	ep	perhaps
	CV	-	bi	axe
	CVC	-	finy	sweat
	CVCC	-	ngurrp	emu

Setting aside the two vowel-initial syllable types which have rather restricted possibilities, on the basis of the other three syllable types we can propose the following formula.

2-45 $\qquad C_1V_1((C_2)C_3)\ (C_4V_1((C_2)C_3))^*$

The formula needs to be two-syllable, as not all consonants found in position C_4, can also fill C_1. The second syllable is bracketed, to allow for monosyllables, and recursive* to allow for words of more than two syllables. Monosyllables are not common, the following list of 35 words are all the examples in my corpus of data, but this is unlikely to be completely exhaustive.

2-46	V	e 'and'-clause connective
	VC	ep 'perhaps'
	CV	bi 'axe, fi 'string', ki 'fighting', wu 'cloud', wa 'paperbark', fa 'wax', yu 'yes', yi 'Oh yeah!', tyi 'breastmilk'.
	CVC	wung 'country love', tyiny/tyuny (W/K) 'woomera', nem 'he', wurr 'grass', finy 'sweat', muk 'sore', Monosyllabic simple verbs - ngim 'I say', yim 'you say', meny/mem (W/K) 'he said', dim 'he's sitting', Verb roots that can be isolated as imperatives - wap 'sit!', puy 'keep going!', pat 'get up!'. Onomatapeia- winy 'whistle', ngar 'bark', tal 'thump', dat 'crack joints'.
	CVCC	ngurrp 'emu', yirrng 'sea turtle', Onomatapeia- nyurrng 'sniff, snort', ngarrp 'crunching', ngirrk 'growling', yarrp 'scraping', berk 'farting', purrk 'clap'.

Other than this fairly small set of monosyllabic words, monomorphemic words typically have 2 or 3 syllables, nominal compounds

can be up to 6 or 7 syllables, and the verbal complex, which functions as a unitary phonological word, can vary from a monosyllable, up to about 12 syllables.

Looking back at the two vowel-initial syllable types, we find that allowing for them within this formula is slighty problematic. Although the occurence of vowel-initial words in Ngan'gityemerri is quite high (several hundred easily), these are almost entirely attributible to a single morpheme - the animal classmarker /a-/, eg: a-matyi 'kangaroo'. Vowel-initial words other than those derived by prefixation of this classmarker are sufficiently scarce that they can be listed here in their entirety.

2-47	apma	-shut up!
	anemuni	- sweetheart
	apuderri	- pubescent girl
	andirrk	- nya nya you can't catch me
	agatyintyi(W)/angalin(K)	-fishing
	ambirri(W)/apirri(K)	- before
	apukek(K)	-underneath
	ityi[16]	-what
	(i)ngga	-take it!
	etye	-when
	errike	-how many
	epe	-perhaps

There are no words beginning with /u/.

To include these words into our syllabic formula we could modify it by preposing an optional initial vowel.

2-48 $\qquad (V)C_1V_1((C_2)C_3)\ (C_4V_2((C_2)C_3))^*$

This, however raises additional complications as not all consonants following an initial vowel can also be word initial. The apical fricative /s/ occurs following initial /a/ in the examples below;

| 2-49 | asiminmin | - | flying fox sp. |
| | asikarrak | - | masked plover |

---

[16]These two examples are rather marginal. Their is some minor evidence that both ityi and ingga(often further reduced to ngga) are underlyingly /y-/ initial.

but cannot occur initially. As /s/ in the above examples patterns more like a C_4 consonant, it seems more appropriate that we view initial vowels as V_1 rather than the preposed initial (V) of the formula in 2-48. As an alternative then we can revise our original formula by bracketing C_1 as optional.

2-50 $\qquad (C_1)V_1((C_2)C_3) (C_4V_2((C_2)C_3))^*$

Certain possibilities allowed for by this revision, such as monosyllabic V_1 and V_1C_3, are exemplified by only single examples (e and ep in 2-44 above). Rare exemplification is, however, simply a distributional fact, and therefore not one that should motivate change to a template of permissible word shape. There are two further observations to be made though. Firstly, word-initial V_1 is essentially restricted to /a/ and /e/, whereas non-initial V_1 can be any vowel. Secondly, one possibility allowed for within the revised template given in 2-50 has never been attested; no monosyllabic word has the structure $V_1C_2C_3$.

There are slightly more V_1C_3 syllables to be found as the initial syllable of multi-syllabic words, as shown in 2-51.

2-51   anggalifen   -   lizard sp.
             anggirrgimi   -   rib bone
             alfugarri   -   jabiru

In such examples the patterning of the resultant clusters, each of type C_3C_4, validates the decision to view word initial vowels as V_1 rather than a preposed (V).

2.3.2 General Restrictions on Vowel Occurrence

As already discussed in the section on vowel realisations, /u/ is the only vowel which is never found word initially, and the few /i/ initial words can be considered to be underlyingly /y-/ initial.

All vowels are found medially and their occurrence percentages are as follows.

/i/ - 33%   /a/ - 28.3%   /u/ - 21.7%   /e/ - 17%[17]

63% of nominals end in vowels, and all four vowels have been recorded contrastively in word final position. Though the hierarchical ranking of their occurrence here is the same as it is medially, their percentage of occurrence is less evenly distributed.

/i/ - 65%   /a/ - 19%   /u/ - 9%   /e/ - 7%

---

[17]Percentages calculated from a list of 500 vowel final nominals.

2.3.3 General Restrictions on Consonant Occurrence

2.3.3.1 Distribution of single consonants

Initially -

Figure 2-6

C_1 cannot be either of the rhotics /r/[18] or /rr/, nor can it be the apical fricative /s/. In view of the rhotacised quality attributed to /s/ in 2.1.3.2, this shared failure to appear initially may suggest re-analysis of the fricative as a rhotic. Such an analysis is however ultimately unfruitful as /s/ fails to form a natural class with the two rhotics in all other occurrence positions.

As is typical for Australian languages, initial stops and nasals are far more likely to be peripheral than non-peripheral. Initial /t/ and /n/ each account for less than 1% of the lexicon, and initial /ny/ is attested in two words only - **nyinyi** 'you sg.', and **nyurrng** 'sniff,snort'. The voiced apical stop /d/ has a far higher percentage of occurrence than we would predict for a non-peripheral stop. This results from its initial occurrence on the bodypart and 3sg subject prefixes, both of which have a high functional load. Generally though, voiced stops are far less common word initially than voiceless stops.

18There is a single exception to this restriction. **rak** - the patriclan marker, prefixes estate names to denote all people inheriting that estate through their father eg: **rak-Malfiyin**. Cognates of this lexeme (**rak, dak, lak** etc) are widespread in the languages of the Daly region and futher eastwards, and are marked as phonotactically odd in many of them.

Intervocalically-

t	ty	p	k
d		b	
s	sy	f	g
n	ny	m	ng
l		·	
rr			
r			
	y	w	

Figure 2-7

Intervocalic C_4 can be any consonant.

Finally -

Figure 2- 8

Word and syllable final C_3 can be any consonant except a voiced stop[19] or a fricative.

___

19There is one exception to this general statement that we have already encountered in example 2-40. Within the auxiliary verb, syllable-final -rr-, denoting non-singular subject number, assimilates to the the manner of auxiliary-root-initial -d-, e.g. **nguddeny-fel** 'we (pl ex) jumped'. This morphophonological rule is discussed in more detail in 2.4.2. Otherwise voice stops do not occur in syllable-final position.

2-52	ngirrwal	-namesake	mayarung	-cockrag
	anguty	-ghost	yawul	-spear
	ngurrp	-emu	yewirr	-tree
	muk	-sore	adigar	-Aust. pratincole
	wasyan	-body hair	damuy	-eye
	detyeny	-tongue	kakaw!	-come here!
	nem	-he		

In 2.3.2 we noted that 63% of all words are vowel final. From the remaining 37% of consonant final words we can make the following observations. The apical trill at 12.6%, and the apical nasal /n/ at 8.3% account for over half of all word-final consonants. The pattern suggested by these figures, that word finally non-peripherals are more common than peripherals, is not borne out by the stops. The dorsal /k/ is the most frequent final stop (3.6%), followed by the non-peripherals /t/ (2.3%) and /ty/ (1.3%) Bilabial /p/, the least frequent (0.6%), appears finally in nominals, only in the C_2C_3 cluster /rrp/, eg: **ngurrp** 'emu' and **ferrp** 'often', and in a couple of verb roots, eg: **wap** 'sit', **pap** 'climb' etc, which in the absence of verbal enclitics, can be word final.

The continuant /r/ has only been recorded word finally in a single Ngan'gikurunggurr word, and three Ngan'giwumirri words, **adigar** (W/K) 'Australian pratincole', **amugar** (W) 'bony bream' and **awugur** (W) 'small fish sp. used for livebait'. However it is found more commonly syllable finally on a number of bound prefixes **wur-** 'female', **ngur-** 'penis' etc.

The labiodorsal semivowel /w/ has only been recorded finally in a single word, the exclamation **(ka)kaw** 'come here!'. The possible elision of a final vowel, or some other form of phonological aberrance, would not be particularly unexpected in a member of the imperative/ejaculatory wordclass, however in this instance its occurrence is contrastive with a vowel final word.

| 2-53 | kaw | - | come here! |
| | kawu | - | dyadic kin term MM/DD |

The occurrence of final /y/ needs to be established to account for word final diphthongisation of /u/ and /a/.

| 2-54 | wakay | - | finished | [wakaι] |
| | damuy | - | eye | [damoι] |

The failure of /y/ to occur finally after front vowels prompts an alternative analysis of the above forms as elisions of eg: /wakayi/ and /damuyi/.

However a wider examination of the lexicon shows that not all -ayi- and -uyi- sequences follow this pattern.

2-55	ngayi	-	I	[ŋaɪji]
	awuyi	-	possum	[awɔji]

On the basis of this data, I interpret word final diphthongs as a sequence of vowel + semivowel. Semivowels are thus included in the list of consonants appearing word finally though, as in many Australian languages, their distribution is restricted to following back vowels only.

2.3.3.2 Consonant Clusters

The discussion below deals with three types of consonant cluster.

1) Syllable final diconsonant clusters: C_2C_3

2) Inter-syllabic diconsonant clusters. We further break this section down, comparing those clusters which can only occur intramorphemically, with those which can occur across morpheme boundaries (marked by +): C_3C_4 and C_3+C_4

3) Triconsonant clusters: $C_2C_3+C_4$

Syllable final Clusters : $C_2 \, C_3$

Figure 2-9

C_2 can only be one of the liquids, usually the trill /rr/.   I have recorded only one example of the lateral /l/ and two of the continuant /r/.

C_3 can only be of the voiceless peripheral stops /p/ or /k/, or the dorsal nasal /ng/.

2-56	ngurrp	-	emu
	wandirrk	-	raft pole
	yirrng	-	sea turtle
	musyulng	-	swag
	perperkngini	-	soft
	berk	-	farting noise

Intersyllabic Intra-morphemic Clusters $C_3 C_4$
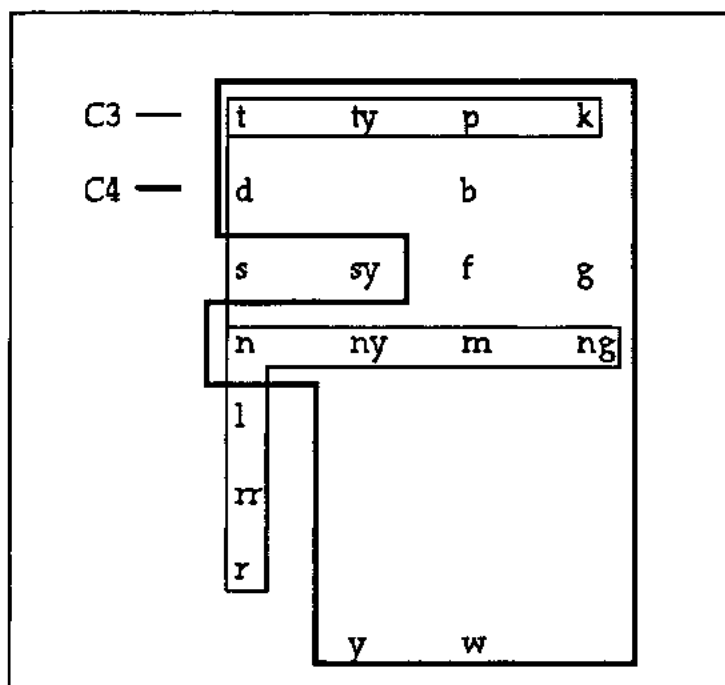
Figure 2-10

Syllable final preconsonantal C_3 can be any voiceless stop, nasal or liquid. Syllable initial postconsonantal C_4 can be any stop, any nasal, the peripheral fricatives /f/ and /g/, and either semivowel. These are only general statements of distribution, not all conceivable combinations being attested. Three more precise statements of the types of cluster found intramorphemically are set out below.

1) Stops and Stops

A non-peripheral voiceless stop followed by a peripheral voiceless stop.

2-57	ngatypirr	-	distant
	watkuwatku	-	frog

(tp and tyk remain unattested)

2) Stops and Nasals

Any homorganic nasal/stop cluster.

2-58	membirr	-	child
	wendili	-	Grevillia pteridifolia
	kunintyin[20]	-	Boab tree
	wangga	-	dance style

The only heterorganic nasal/stop clusters to occur intramorphemically are the apical /n/ followed by a peripheral stop.

| 2-59 | kanbi | - | bamboo, didjeridu |
| | ngan'gi | - | language, story, word |

No homorganic nasal/nasal clusters occur within morphemes. The single heterorganic cluster that occurs here is /n + m/.

| 2-60 | panmi | - | fork, crotch |
| | minmi | - | no ! |

Stop/nasal clusters likewise reflect this pattern, consisting only of a voiceless stop plus /m/.

| 2-61 | tyatma | - | straight |
| | apma | - | shutup! |

(km and tym are unattested)

3)   Liquids

The lateral /l/ followed by any of /p k m f g w y/.

2-62	melpe	-	flat
	ngilmil	-	semen
	ngulfin	-	slope
	milwadi	-	waist
	delyek	-	woman who has borne a child
	walkity	-	flower
	malgin	-	spinifex

The trill /rr/ followed by any of /m f g w/.

2-63	durrmu	-	paint(ing)
	agarrfuru (W)-		skin
	malarrgu	-	longnecked turtle
	darrwa	-	raft

---

[20]The contrast in Ngan'gityemerri between apical nasal n and laminal nasal ny is neutralised in intramorphemic nasal stop clusters with the laminal stop ty. In the practical orthography used here, this cluster is represented as -nty- not -nyty-, although the nasal is phonetically realised as laminal [ɲ].

The continuant /r/ has only been recorded in intramorphemic clusters with the dorsal obstruents, i.e. /r+g/ and /r+k/.

2-64	midirgurr -	nut sp.
	ngirkik -	breathlessness

From these three statements we can observe that C_3 cannot be a fricative, a semivowel or a voiced stop. C_4 cannot be a liquid, the laminal fricative /sy/, or a voiced stop, except postnasally - a position in which, morpheme-medially, the stop contrast is neutralised. We can also perceive the significance of the feature '±peripheral'.

Intersyllabic Intra-morphemic Clusters

second element →

first element ↓

	p	b	f	t	d	ɘ	ty	sy	k	g	m	n	ny	ng	l	rr	r	w	y
p											X								
b																			
f																			
t								X		X				X					
d																			
ɘ																			
ty	X																		
sy																			
k																			
g																			
m		X																	
n		X		X				X		X									
ny							X												
ng								X											
l	X		X				X		X	X	X			X				X	X
rr	X		X					X	X	X	X			X			X		
r								X	X								X		
w																			
y																			

Figure 2-11

Intersyllabic Inter-morphemic Clusters. C3+C4

We can now address the C_3C_4 clusters that occur across morpheme boundaries. As an essentially agglutinating language, Ngan'gityemerri displays widespread compounding, full and partial root reduplication, and extensive affixation and cliticisation. A far greater range of clusters is

produced by these morphological processes than those selective few exploited intra-morphemically.

Now, with one extension and one minor exception, any C_3 can be followed by any C_1, ie: any word final consonant can be followed by one which can occur initially. The extension is that the continuant /r/ which has an extremely rare final occurrence, can now be followed by any C_1 consonant. The one exception is that no voiced stop or fricative can follow a voiceless stop. This is merely a theoretical constraint though, as Ngan'gityemerri morphemes are so structured that such impermissible clusters are not produced (ie: no morpheme ends in a voiceless stop, no suffix begins with a voiced stop, no prefixes end in a voiceless stop).

Triconsonant Clusters: $C_2 C_3 + C_4$

Triconsonant-clusters do not occur intra-morphemically. They are produced only across morpheme boundaries, as the result of two morphological processes: reduplication and affixation. Triconsonant-clusters resulting from each of these processes are examined separately here, as there are differences in the number of clusters they generate, and the types permitted in surface forms.

In Ngan'gityemerri there are a small group of monosyllables having final $C_2 C_3$ clusters (see 2.3.1), e.g **purrk** 'clap'. The reduplication of such syllables generates triconsonant-clusters of the form $C_1 V \underline{C_2 C_3 C_1} V C_2 C_3$. C_3, as we saw above, is restricted to the peripheral stops/nasal /p k ng/. The C_1 can be any of /p k m ng/.

Triconsonant Clusters

Figure 2-12

However, as the examples below show, /p/ has not been recorded in C_3 in a triconsonant cluster, and /k/ has not been recorded in C_1. Given that /p/ appears as C_3 in C_2C_3 clusters in unreduplicated syllables, eg **ngurrp** 'emu', and /k/ otherwise appears in C_1, these gaps appear to be accidental rather than in any way systematic.

2-65	pu<u>rrng</u>purrng	-	boiling
	ngi<u>rrk</u>ngirrk	-	dog's growl
	pu<u>rrk</u>purrk	-	little things, clapping
	ma<u>rrng</u>marrng	-	happy-go-lucky

Not only are triconsonant-clusters resulting from reduplication heavily restricted by the small number of monosyllabic $C_1VC_2C_3$ words, but where C_3 and C_4 share the same manner of articulation they are subject to a morphophonological rule that deletes C_3 (see 2.4.1).

In contrast the process of affixation generates a far wider number of triconsonant-clusters, all of which are permitted (i.e. clusters where C_3 and C_4 share the same manner of articulation are not affected by the rule discussed in 2.4.1).

Monosyllabic verb roots ending in C_2C_3 clusters are typically followed by consonant initial verbal enclitics.

2-66 a)	ngi - pu<u>rrk</u> - pe	-	I'll dance, clap.
	1sgSit-dance - Fut		
	SU Irr clap		
b)	dini -pa<u>rrng</u> -tye	-	He was snoring.
	3sgSit-snore -Past		
	SU Imp		

And monosyllabic nominals ending in C_2C_3 clusters can be followed by consonant-initial nominal suffixes.

2-67 a)	yir<u>rng</u>-ne	-	..for sea turtles..
	sea -PURP		
	turtle		
b)	ngu<u>rrp</u>-pefi	-	..towards the emu..
	emu -THITH		

Theoretically any of the C_2C_3 clusters that we have noted could be followed by any consonant that appears initially on nominal and verbal

enclitics/suffixes. From the forms of such enclitics/suffixes in each language we can predict that the possible types of third consonant would be:

NgW   -   /ty p g ny n ng m w/
NgK   -   /ty p k g n ng w/

2.4   Morphophonological Processes

There are four morphophonological processes operating in Ngan'gityemerri to avoid undesirable phonological patterns.

2.4.1   Tr onsonant Cluster Reduction

In section 2.3 we discussed a small group of monosyllables having final C_2C_3 clusters, e.g **purrk** 'clap'. We noted that the reduplication of such syllables generates triconsonant-clusters of the form $C_1V\underline{C_2C_3C_1}VC_2C_3$.
The consonants that can theoretically fill the three positions in such clusters are:

C_2 -   any liquid, but nearly always /rr/
C_3 -   /p/, /k/, or /ng/
C_1 -   /p/, /k/, /ng/, or /m/

However not all possible combinations are permitted. Where C_3 and C_1 of this cluster have different manners of articulation, ie: /liquid + stop + nasal/ or /liquid + nasal + stop/, then the tricluster is permitted, as in 2-68.

2-68   **purrngpurrng**   -   boiling
            ngirrkngirrk   -   dog's growl

However where C_3 and C_1 have the same manner of articulation (i.e. are both stops or both nasals), this process operates to delete C_3, as in 2-69.

2-69   purrkpurrk →   **purrpurrk**   -   little things
            marrngmarrng →   **marrmarrng**   -   happy-go-lucky

The tri-consonant cluster reduction process affects only those tri-consonant clusters that are generated by reduplication of syllables having final diconsonant clusters. It does not operate to reduce those triconsonant-clusters resulting from enclitics/suffixes to such syllables. Thus in example 2-66a, reproduced below as 2-70, the triconsonant-cluster retains its full form.

2-70   ngi - pu<u>rrk</u> - <u>p</u>e   -I'll dance, clap.
            1sgSit-dance- Fut
            SU Irr clap

2.4.2 Apical Assimilation

Where morphological processes order the apical stops /t/ and /d/, or the apical nasal /n/, after the apical flap /rr/, this process assimilates the flap to the manner of the following segment. Assimilation of this kind produces stop and nasal geminates that are contrastive with single stops and nasals (see also the discussion of gemination in 2.2.2.2). This process does not apply to every /rr/ + /apical stop~nasal/ cluster that results from morphological processes, but applies in only two specific environments. Its most frequent application is within the verbal morphology, at the juncture between the subject number marker and the auxiliary root. Within nominal morphology this process can be seen to operate at the juncture between the 'tree/thing' classmarking prefix and its host. Each of these environments is examined below.

2.4.2.1 Subject Number Marker - Auxiliary Root

As described fully in 3.2, the auxiliary root bears obligatory bound pronominal subject person, and subject number prefixes. The bound subject prefix is generally of the form CV, and the auxiliary root of the form CVN:

2-71   **nge - Ø - ben - da**   -   I shot it
            1st- sg -Bash-shoot
            SU SU Perf

Singular subject number is encoded by -Ø- (as in 2-71), and non-1st inclusive, non-singular subject number is encoded by the apical flap -rr-[21], as in 2-72.

2-72   a)   **nge - rr - bem - da**   -   We (pl ex) shoot it.
            1st -ns -Bash -shoot
            SU SU Perf

Where the initial consonant of the auxiliary root is an apical stop or nasal, the non-singular subject number marker /rr/ assimilates to its manner,

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[21]For the purpose of this discussion, I have exemplified the distinct morphological status of subject person and subject number markers by separating them with a hyphen and glossing them separately. This is not my normal glossing practice. Elsewhere the internal constituents of the auxiliary are lumped together, and the combination of subject person and number markers and the auxiliary root (nge-rr-bem in 2-72) would be glossed as:

            ngerrbem
            1plexBash
            SU   Perf

producing geminate stops and nasals as in examples 2-73 b) and 2-74 b) below.

2-73   a)   **ngu - deny   - fel**
            1sg -ShoveDtrD -jump
            SU   Perf
            I jumped.

       b)   ngu-rr-deny-fel   →   **ngud - deny   - fel**
                                        1plex-ShoveDtrD-jump
                                        SU   Perf
                                        We (plex) jumped.

2-74   a)   **nga - nam - tyek**
            1sg -Feet   -wipe
            SU Perf
            I erased my footprints.

       b)   nga-rr-nam-tyek   →   **ngan -nam -tyek**
                                        1plex-Feet   -wipe
                                        SU   Perf
                                        We (plex) erased
                                        our footprints.

In addition we should note here a minor type of apical deletion that occurs where the initial consonant of the auxiliary root is the apical continuant /r/. From the underlying cluster /rr/ + /r/, formed by the addition of the non-singular subject number morpheme, the continuant is deleted to produce the single segment /rr/, as in example 2-75.

2-75   a)   **ngi -riny - lalirr (W)**
            1sg -Aux1-eat
            SU   Perf
            I ate.

       b)   ngi-rr-riny-lalirr   →   **ngirriny - lalirr**
                                           1plex+Aux1-eat
                                           SU   Perf
                                           We (plex) ate.

2.4.2.2   'Tree/Thing' classmarker + 'Tree/Thing' class member

As discussed in 5.2.7, the classmarker **yerr-** prefixes members and modifiers of the 'tree/thing' noun class. Where class member morphemes have initial consonant /d/, the final rr of the class prefix assimilates to the manner of that consonant.

2-76	yerr-den	→	**yed-den**	-	Coolibah
	yerr-derri	→	**yed-derri**	-	log
	yerr-dininy	→	**yed-dininy**	-	Sandalwood
	yerr-depi	→	**yed-depi**	-	hat

There are no 'tree/thing' class member terms in my data which have /t/, /n/ or /l/ as initial consonant, so the generalisation of this as 'apical' assimilation, while quite logical, is untestable. Note though that the single 'tree/thing' class member term that has an initial laminal stop (the term for 'chewing tobacco', formed by prefixing **tyerrawu** 'saliva' with the 'tree/thing' class generic), additionally triggers the assimilation of rr to both the manner and place of that laminal stop.

2-77	yerr-tyerrawu	→	**yetytyerrawu**	- chewing tobacco

2.4.3   Deletion
2.4.3.1   i deletion

The vowel i is subject to deletion in two environments. The first is where morphological processes result in the ordering of an unstressed i between apical nasals. In these circumstances i is deleted leaving a geminate nasal. Consider the examples set out in 2-78.

2-78	a)	tyágani-nìmbi	→	**tyagan-nimbi**
				what -CAUS
				from what ?
	b)	tyágani-nàwa	→	**tyagan-nawa**
				what -INDEF
				whatever
	c)	wúni-nàpa	→	**wun -napa**
				there-JUST
				right there
	d)	ngámbani-nime-pe	→	**ngamban-nime-pe**
				1ns Go -plinc-Fut
				SU Irr SU
				Let's go !

Secondly, the compounding of nominal roots, and the attachment of enclitics to nominal roots, can potentially result in the ordering of contiguous vowels. Such occurrences are rare within noun phrases and impossible within the verbal complex because Ngan'gityemerri morphology is generally constructed of CV(C) syllables. Wherever two nominal roots forming a single phonological word, be it through compounding (as in 2-79

a) or encliticisation (as in 2-79 b), end and begin with i and a respectively, then i is deleted. Consider the examples below.

2-79	a)	kuri - apukek	→	**kur-apukek**
				water-under
				underwater

	b)	kinyi-ambirri	→	**kiny-ambirri**
				this - first
				before now

Given the limited distribution of morpheme-initial vowels in Ngan'gityemerri, note that i+a is the only possible ordering of contiguous vowels within a single phonological word.

2.4.3.2 rV Deletion

An examination of the Ngan'giwumirri and Ngan'gikurunggurr auxiliary verb paradigms (see appendices A and B), shows evidence of a general aversion to the occurrence in contiguous syllables of the apical stop /d/ and continuant /r/. Where these are ordered in consecutive syllables, the syllable containing the continuant will be deleted. e.g. -dVrV- → -dV-. By way of example, the underlying and surface forms of the 1st, 2nd and 3rd singular and 1st dl inc, present tense forms of the 'sit' auxiliary are given below.

2-80	ngi - ∅ - rim	→	**ngirim**	I'm sitting.
	yi - ∅ - rim	→	**yirim**	You're sitting.
	di - ∅ - rim	→	**dim**	He's sitting.
	ngi - ndi-rim	→	**ngindim**	We (dlinc) are sitting.

Keeping in mind that there is little motivation for treating synchronic paradigmatic relationships as the results of productive deletion rules, note that many of the suppletive forms within the paradigms are to be found where, as in 2-80, the regular pattern of auxiliary constituents would have contained -dVrV- sequences.

2.4.4 Vowel Harmony

Another process of assimilation operating in Ngan'gityemerri is metaphony: non-contact vowel assimilation. In Ngan'gityemerri this process operates regressively (i.e. right to left) in two main environments; 1) selectively, though regularly, from nominal roots onto classmarkers, and 2) extensively, though randomly, throughout the verbal morphology.

2.4.4.1 Nominal Roots to Classmarkers

As discussed in section 5.5, bound class generics are predominantly proclitics, but a subset of them have been re-interpreted as prefixes when they are attached to class member terms (but not modifiers of those class members). Prefixes, unlike proclitics, are generally subject to phonological processes, and two of this subset of bound class prefixes, the 'bodypart' classmarker **dV**- and the 'animal' classmarker **a**-, undergo vowel harmony.

The 'bodypart' class prefix selects its vowel quality by the following rule (# as morpheme boundary);

$$V \quad \rightarrow \quad e \ / \_\_ \ \#CV_{[-back]}$$
$$\rightarrow \quad a \ / \_\_ \ \#CV_{[+back]}$$

as is demonstrated by the examples in 2-81[22].

2-81	**de-pi**	head	**da-tyamu**	cheek
	de-syi	nose	**da-muy**	eye
	de-tyeny	tongue	**da-wayirr**	forehead
	de-tyeri	ear	**da-ba**	arm
	de-me	hand	**da-madi**	chest
	de-firr	foot	**da-purr**	bum

The V of the 'animal' class prefix also varies between /a/ and /e/, although as 2-82 below reveals, the conditioning environment is in this case slightly different.

2-82	**e-men'giny**	goanna sp.	**a-minyalak(K)**	bony bream
	e-ferri	bluetongue	**a-tyalmerr(K)**	barramundi
	e-fekimi	bandicoot	**a-ti**	cod
	e-lele	curlew	**a-furra**	mussel
	e-fekityerr	long tom	**a-winy**	bream
	e-pelen	rifle fish	**a-murriyi**	crab
	e-melpe(K)	stingray	**a-manbi**	nail fish

Here the rule by which the vowel quality of the class prefix is determined, requires the specification of an additional feature in the differentiation of its conditioning environment. In addition to the feature '±back' we now also require '±high'.

22Present data reveals two examples, **detyunmi** 'back of the head', and **denunbi** 'sacrum',which remain unaffected by this process and are consistently realised as [deconmi] and [denonbi].

$$V \rightarrow e / \_\#CV_{[-back, -high]}$$
$$\rightarrow a / \_\#CV_{[+back],[-back, +high]}$$

In this instance we would probably have little hesitation in positing /a/, on distributional grounds, as the underlying form and rewrite this simplification into our rule.

$$V \rightarrow e / \_\#CV_{[-back, -high]}$$
$$\rightarrow a / \text{ elsewhere}$$

Note however that rewriting the rule for the bodypart prefix as either;

$$V \rightarrow e / \_\#CV_{[-back]} \quad \text{or} \quad V \rightarrow a / \_\#CV_{[+back]}$$
$$\rightarrow a / \text{ elsewhere} \qquad\qquad \rightarrow e / \text{ elsewhere}$$

remains unmotivated as both of these alternatives attribute the status of an underlying form to the unmarked realisation, when in reality we have no real criteria, distributional or otherwise, upon which to base such a judgement.

The 'bodypart' and 'animal' class prefixes are the only two that are subject to metaphony. All other classmarkers fail to show any variation in their realisation, regardless of the quality of V_1 of any nominal root to which they may be attached, and regardless of whether, as discussed in 5.5, they function as prefixes or proclitics.

2-83   wa - yedi (K)(*weyedi)   man
        M   man
        cl
        mi - muy   (*mamuy)   yam
        Pf   eye
        cl
        wu - pidirri (*wepidirri)   dingo
        C   dingo
        cl

Note also that where the 'animal' bound class generic is copied onto modifiers of class members, it functions as a proclitic, not a prefix (cf. 5.5). As a proclitic it remains phonologically independent of its host, and is therefore unaffected by the vowel harmony process. This is demonstrated in 2-84 below.

2-84   e -melpe   a -yeyi   another stingray
        A-flat   A-other
        cl =stingray cl
        (i.e. a-melpe → e-melpe, but a-yeyi → *e-yeyi)

We can therefore conclude, assuming a dynamic model for morphology, that vowel harmony is ordered after prefixation but before procliticisation.

Having established that a subset of bound classmarkers have been de-cliticised and function as prefixes, and having noted the implications of this function for the process of vowel harmony, I will return to the implications of this same opposition for the process of diphthongisation. This discussion has been deferred from 2.1.2.

The examples in 2-85 are 'animal' class member terms. On the nominal roots, each beginning with 'ye-', the 'animal' classmarker a- functions as a prefix (as established above). The examples in 2-86 are modifiers of 'animal' class members (also beginning with 'ye-') and therefore copy the classmarker as a proclitic not a prefix.

| 2-85 | a-yerrsya | - | bush cockroach | [aɪjɛrʃʌ] |
| | a-yerrkinwari | - | saltwater crocodile | [aɪjɛrkɪnwaɹi] |

| 2-86 | a-yeyi | - | another (animal) | [ɑjeɪji] |
| | a-yenim-walalpi | - | clickbeetle | [ɑjɛnɪmwɑlɑlpi] |

From the phonetic realisation forms of the phonemic forms in 2-85 and 2-86, it is evident that the classmarker a- is subject to diphthongisation where it functions as a prefix, but is blocked from this process where it functions as a proclitic. This accords with the different levels of phonological dependency operating between prefix/proclitic and host, as discussed in 5.5. We can conclude then, that the process of diphthongisation, like vowel harmony, is ordered after prefixation but before procliticisation.

We can further see, comparing 2-85 and 2-86 with 2-84 above, that diphthongisation precedes and blocks the application of the vowel harmony rule, e.g.

2-87   a-yerrsya--diphthongisation→ [aɪjɛrʃʌ]

Were this not so, we would expect to find:

2-88   a-yerrsya--vowel harmony--→ eyerrsya--diphthongisation → [eɪjɛrʃʌ]

2.4.4.2   Vowel Harmony in the Complex Verb

We can now turn our attention to the operation of vowel harmony throughout the verbal morphology. Verbal structure is examined in 3.1, though to facilitate this discussion, let me briefly summarise it here.

The structure of the Ngan'gityemerri verb can be represented as:

SU - SU - Aux - dl /D/ I - Mp -Val - Body - Verb - Misc. enclitics
Pers. No.   Root   SU/O/O   part   Root

The first four morpheme positions (the subject person and number prefixes, the auxiliary root and the object suffixes) make up a constituent referred to as the 'auxiliary', and the following four morpheme positions form a constituent referred to as the 'complex verb stem'. Note that not all slots will necesarily be filled for any given verb.

Unlike the harmonic influences which operated consistently on the vowels of the two class prefixes discussed in 2.4.4.1, the same process within the verbal complex occurs both randomly and variably. What both these types of vowel harmony share is that they operate regressively from what can be perceived as the nucleus of the word. For the classmarkers this harmonic source is V_1 of the nominal root, and in the verbal complex, it is generally the verb root. Vowel harmony within the verb then can be broadly characterised in this way: vowels to the left of the verb root assimilate to the front/back quality of the stressed vowel of the verb root (occasionally we also find assimilation with respect to tongue height - see 2-94 for example).

Having established the verb root as the source of metaphonic influence, we can also note that the range of this process extends as far left as the auxiliary root. That is, vowel harmony can operate from the verb root leftwards across incorporated bodypart terms, the valency increasing and manipulative prefixes, the object suffixes and the auxiliary root. Vowel harmony never affects the vowel quality of the subject person and number prefixes.

We have already noted that not all morpheme positions of the verb need be filled. For example, not all verbs incorporate bodypart terms, and only transitive verbs with higher animates as non-subject arguments will have overt object suffixes. In its minimal form a verb consists simply of a subject prefix, an auxiliary root and a verb root. Under these conditions the auxiliary and verb roots are juxtaposed and vowel harmony can therefore

2-89	a)	ngudem-wul	→	ngud<u>a</u>m	-w<u>u</u>l
NgK				*1sgShoveDtrD-return*	
				SU Perf	
				I returned	

NgK	b)	ngudupun - tidi	→	ngud<u>i</u>p<u>i</u>n -t<u>i</u>di
				1sgShove-push
				SU Perf
				I pushed it

Example b) above is a good example of the variation found in the range of application of this process. It has been variously recorded as;

2-90   ngudupun - tidi
           ngudupin - tidi
           ngudipin   - tidi

Example 2-91 below demonstrates regressive vowel harmony from the verb root onto an incorporated bodypart.

2-91	ngupun-me-fakurr	→	ngupun-m<u>a</u>-f<u>a</u>kurr
			1sgSlash-hand-break
			SU Perf
			I smashed it

And example 2-92 demonstrates regressive vowel harmony from the verb root onto both the indirect object suffix, and the auxiliary root.

2-92	ngude-mbi-wul-ngini →	ngud<u>a</u>	-mb<u>u</u>-w<u>u</u>l	-ngini
NgK		*1sgShoveDtrD-2sg*	*-return-Fut*	
		SU Irr	*IO*	
		I'll return to you.		

Finally, and in contrast to the generalisation given above, note the sporadic occurrence of vowel harmony originating not from the verb root, but from a position to the left of it. In 2-93 and 2-94 below, the vowel of the direct object suffix, and the bodypart term, respectively serve as the harmonic source.

2-93	ngubu-nyi-da-merrendi	→	ngub<u>i</u> -ny<u>i</u>-da -merrendi
			1sgBash-2sg-hit-WARN
			SU Irr DO
			I might hit you !

2-94	ngumbudu-madi-fili-nana	→	ngumbud<u>a</u> -m<u>a</u>di-fili -nana
NgK			*1plincShove-chest-roll-WARN*
			SU IRR
			.....lest we all tip over !

2.5 Word Stress

In Ngan'gityemerri, we need to operate with three stress rules; a syllable-timed stress rule for monomorphemic nominals; a second morpheme-timed stress rule for multi-morphemic nominals; and a third for the verbal complex in which stress serves to signal the auxiliary - complex verb stem constituency. These three stress rules are examined below in 2.5.1 - 2.5.3.

The analysis presented here deals in the concepts of both primary and secondary stress. In perceptual terms word stress is correlated with two factors; pitch contour (stressed syllables are pitched higher than unstressed syllables, in the absence of secondary stresses the pitch contour falls evenly over subsequent syllables); and amplitude (stressed syllables are generally 'louder' than unstressed syllables).

2.5.1 Stress on Mono-morphemic Nominals

Stress placement on monomorphemic nominals and free form grammatical particles and postpositions is relatively straightforward. They bear primary stress on their initial syllable, and secondary stress on every second subsequent syllable unless that syllable is word-final. The final syllables of a mono-morphemic nominal can never bear stress.

2-95	fépi	rock, hill
	mípurr	man
	dágum	dew
	gánggi	high, upstream
	détyengi (K)	today
	mínati (K)	big
	ápudèrri	pubescent girl
	ánemùni	sweetheart

2.5.2 Stress on Multi-morphemic Nominals

2.5.2.1 Reduplication

In Ngan'gityemerri reduplication of verbal roots is a widespread and productive process, but reduplication of nominal roots is essentially restricted to a finite number of words, mostly animal names, derived through onomatopoeic representation of their cries.

Nominals are always reduplicated in full rather than partially, and such reduplication involves the copying of full stress marking onto both elements.

2-96	mákmák	white sea eagle
	wílikwílik	galah
	wátkuwátku	frog (gen.)
	tyúnguttyúngut	frogmouth owl
	bárrabárra	placenta
	mágumágu	left handed

Only monosyllabic and disyllabic stems have been found to reduplicate in Ngan'gityemerri. There is no obvious reason why stems with a greater number of syllables would be precluded from this process, but as no examples have been found, we have no need to consider how secondary stress may have been treated in reduplications.

Although the examples in 2-96 above now formally have the stress characteristics of two phonological words, they cannot sustain a pause between them, and they behave as single words in respect of such grammatical criteria as their occurrence with nominal enclitics (2-97 a) and noun class proclitics (2-97 b).

2-97   a)   **wátkuwátku-nínggi**
                  frog   -AGENT
                  (*watku-ninggi watku-ninggi)

         b)   **wa-márrmárrng**
                  Mcl- extrovert
                  (*wa-marrng wa-marrng)

2.5.2.2   Compounds

Compounds are like reduplications in that grammatically they behave as single words. However, unlike nominal reduplications which bear primary stress on each of the reduplicated elements, compounds have the stress pattern of single phonological words, in the sense that they bear a primary stress and subsequent secondary stresses. Stressmarking on compounds, though, differs from that on simple nominals by being morpheme-determined rather than syllable-determined.

The dimorphemic compounds in the following examples carry primary stress on the initial syllable of the initial morpheme, and then secondary stress on the initial syllable of the second morpheme, without regard to the syllable count between stresses.

2-98	pí - pìri	brain	wántyirr - fìny	armpit sweat
	head pus		*armpit sweat*	
	fírr - ngàri	toenail	tyéri - wùndi	ear wax
	foot shell		*ear wax*	
	yénggi - dàwan	smoke		
	fire - smoke			

Note that in the first two of these examples, monosyllabic initial morphemes have resulted in contiguous stressmarked syllables. This stands in direct contrast to monomorphemic nominals where secondary stress always falls on the second subsequent syllable.

Compounds containing reduplicated elements follow the patterns established separately for compounds and reduplications. Where the word-initial morpheme is reduplicated, each element bears a primary stress and the other elememt of the compound bears secondary stress, as in 2-99. Where the initial element of the compound is unreduplicated, it bears the primary stress and each of the reduplicated elements bear secondary stress, as in 2-100.

2-99   **mílmíl-mà**   cosmetic stick (for scraping skin etc.)

2-100 **múy-fíntyifíntyi**   a crook (stick with a barbed fork for pulling
                                       branches within reach)

Other than those containing reduplications, tri-morphemic compounds are rare in Ngan'gityemerri, and the few examples that I have collected show variation in their stress marking. Example 2-101 a) below carries primary stressmarking on the initial syllable of the initial morpheme, then secondary stresses on the initial syllables of the second and third morphemes. This appears to be the normal pattern for lexical compounds, each morpheme bears a stress on the initial syllable. However 2-101 b), which differs only in the initial morpheme, has been recorded both with this expected stress pattern, and also with initial and second subsequent syllable stress, as though it were a simple nominal. With the corpus of trimorphemic compounds so small, it is difficult to know what to make of this variation.

2-101 a)   bí - màdi - mì   back of thigh
             thigh - chest - eye

   b)   pí - màdi - mì
                                           sternum
             pí - madì - mi
             head - chest - eye

2.5.2.3 Stress Marking on Classmarked Words

Section 5.5 details the conditions under which the bound noun class generics function as either proclitics or prefixes. The implications of this distinction for the application of vowel harmony and diphthongisation rules were examined in 2.4.4.1. This section examines the implications of this same phenomenon for the marking of word stress.

Where class generics function as proclitics, they are phonologically independent of their hosts (cf. 5.5). Their hosts, which may be simple nominals (noun/adjective roots, pronouns, demonstratives), reduplicated nominal roots, compounds, complex NP's, or complex verbs, constitute independent meaningful elements on their own. In accordance with this phonological independence, generic proclitics are not interpreted as part of the phonological word for the purpose of stress placement[23]. The words to which they are attached are stressed in the same way that they would be in the absence of the proclitic. This is demonstrated in 2-102 to 2-106 below, where each type of host (simple nominal, reduplicated nominal, compound, complex NP and complex verb) is given with and without a class marking proclitic.

Simple nominal

2-102	a)	kérre	big
		big	
	b)	yerr-kérre	a big tree
		Tr- big	
		cl	

Reduplicated nominal

2-103	a)	márrmárrng	happy-go-lucky
		happy-go-lucky	
	b)	wur-márrmárrng	a happy-go-lucky woman
		F-happy-go-lucky	
		cl	

Compound

2-104	a)	wásangari-pì	bald
		clean -head	
	b)	wa-wásangari-pì	a bald man

23At least one exception to this statement is the word for 'policeman' - **wamumu** , coined by prefixing **mumu** - 'taboo', with the male class-marker **wa-**, which carries stress on the class-marker. This is not an example of a stressed proclitic, as **wamumu** appears to have been lexically re-analyzed as a baseform. As supporting evidence for this re-analysis we find that a 'policewoman' is not a **wur-mumu**, but a **wur-wamumu**.

Complex NP

    2-105 a)   **détyerr wúnggume**   one mouth
                mouth   one

        b)   **a-détyerr-wúnggume**   a swordfish
                 A-mouth-one
                 cl

Complex verb

    2-106 a)   **yénim-wàlal-pi**   It (habitually) shakes its head.
                3sgGo-shake-head
                SUPres redup

        b)   **a-yénim-wàlal-pi**   a clickbeetle
                cl-3sgGo-shake-head
                SUPres redup

On the other hand, bound noun class generics function as *prefixes* to those hosts that have no freeform status. The hosts to generic prefixes can be simple nominals, reduplicated nominals and compounds. Obviously they cannot be complex NP's or verbs, as these are always independent units. As prefixation precedes stress marking, these generic prefixes are therefore interpreted as part of the phonological word for the purpose of stress placement. The generic prefix, as the initial syllable of the phonological word, now carries the primary stress. Secondary stress is determined in the manner described in sections 2.5.1 to 2.5.2. For simple nominals, secondary stress falls on the second subsequent syllable, unless it is word-final, as in 2-107. On reduplicated nominals, secondary stress is copied onto both elements, as in 2-108. And in the case of compounds, secondary stress falls on the initial syllable of the second subsequent morpheme as in 2-109.

Simple nominal

    2-107 a)   **á-kulèmbi**   water rat

    NgK b)   **wú-pidìrri**   dingo

Reduplicated nominals

    2-108 a)   **á-pèrrpèrr**   burdekin duck

        b)   **é-mèn'gimèn'gi**   grey goshawk

Compounds

    2-109 a)   **syíri-garrityìn-muy**   boomerang

        b)   **á-tyeri-wùsye**   frill-necked lizard

Note that where such nouns (i.e. those that are *prefixed*) are modified by an adjective, demonstrative or pronoun, the class generic will be copied onto that modifier as a *proclitic*. i.e the same class generic can be both prefix to class member terms, and proclitic to their modifiers.

2-110   **á -kulèmbi**   **a-kérre**   a big water rat
              A-water rat   *A-big*
              cl   cl

              mí-muy   **mi-lálirr**   an edible long-yam
              Pf -yam   *Pf- edible*
              cl   cl

              wú-pidìrri   **wu-mákarri**   a bad dog
              C -dingo   *C- bad*
              cl   cl

              yérr-gi   **yerr-kínyi**   this pandanus
              Tr -pandanus   *Tr -this*
              cl   cl

We can conclude from this that not only the attachment of proclitics, but also the clitic copying rule, are ordered subsequent to stress assignment. Within a dynamic morphological model we could thereby order these operations in the following way.

prefixing > stress placement > clitic attachment > clitic copying

2.5.3   Word Stress on Verbs

The structure of the Ngan'gityemerri verb is described in detail in chapter 3 and has been briefly sketched out in 2.4.4.2. Readers are referred to either of these sections for definitions of 'auxiliary' and 'complex verb stem', and for descriptions of the constituency of these elements of the verb.

The discussion below looks firstly at the stress placement rules on 'simple verbs ', then 'complex verbs', and concludes with some comments about the function of stress marking patterns within the synchronic verb structure.

2.5.3.1 Simple Verbs

Simple verbs show an interesting split between syllable-timed stress marking and morpheme-timed stress marking. Verbs of up to four syllables

pattern with simple nominals in bearing primary stress on their initial syllable, which will always be the bound subject pronoun[24], and secondary stress on the third syllable if it is penultimate. Secondary stress cannot fall on a final syllable.

2-111 a) **yé -menggeny**   You arrived.
          2sg-Arrive
          SU Perf

    b)   **yérr-menggèny-gu**   You (dl) arrived.
          2pl - Arrive   - dl
          SU   Perf   SU

    c)   **ngí-nyinggin**   I'm looking.
          1sg-See
          SU Pres

    d)   **ngíny-nyinggìn-gu**   We're looking at it.
          1pl   -See   -dl
          SU   Pres   SU

In the few examples of four-syllable and five-syllable simple verbs, we find examples like 2-112 below, which follow this pattern;

2-112   **géntye-mèngge-gu**   You (dl) shouldn't arrive.
        2pl   -Arrive -dl
        US   Irr   SU

but we also find examples like 2-113 below.

2-113 a) **yé-menggeny-ngìti**   You came to me.
          2sg-Arrive   -1sg
          SU Perf   IO

    b)   **ngí-nyingginy-nyì**   I'm looking at you.
          1sg -See   -2sg
          SU Pres   DO

---

[24]The 'Arrive' and 'Say' auxiliaries (see auxiliary paradigms in the appendices A and B) have suppletive zero 3 sg bound pronouns in their present inflections. This is demonstrated for 'Arrive' below.

eg.   **ngé-menggeny** -   I arrived
      yé-menggeny -   You arrived
        ménggeny   -   He arrived

In the case of these 3sg subject examples, the primary stress obviously falls on the initial syllable of the auxiliary root.

In 2-112 the secondary stress on the initial vowel of the second morpheme happens to be coincident with the third syllable of the word, so our syllable-timed stress rule is unproblematic here. However in 2-113 secondary stress falls not on the third syllable, but on the fourth. What may be happening here is that the psychological saliency of the morphology of the verb is overriding the normal stress rule, a process we have earlier seen to operate in stress placement on complex nominals. It seems in Ngan'gityemerri that there is a preference for marking stress on morpheme-initial syllables, where this does not disrupt the general principles of stress marking in a major way. In 2-113 a) and b) above, the bound direct and indirect object pronominal suffixes appear to be sufficiently 'salient' to motivate this preference.

2.5.3.2 Complex Verbs

Complex verbs carry primary stress on the initial syllable of the auxiliary, and secondary stress on the initial syllable of the Complex Verb Stem, regardless of their internal constituency. While the initial syllable of the auxiliary will always be the bound subject pronoun (though see footnote on previous page), the CVS may begin with a verb root, an incorporated bodypart, or a manipulative or valence increasing prefix. Using the symbol '=' to mark the boundary between the auxiliary and the CVS, the following examples show the application of this rule over a variety of CVS types. Tense and aspect markers that encliticise the CVS never bear stressmarking. Note also that in the absence of enclitics, stress can fall on the final syllable of a complex verb.

1-114 a) yéniny = pàp
          3sg Go   - climb
          SU Perf
          He climbed up.

       b) wírring - gu = dàdà
           3nsSit - dl - sing
           SUPres SU   redup
           They (dl) are singing.

       c) yénim = mì - wap-nyine
           3sg Go - Val - sit - FOC
           SU Pres
           She's camped with (him) / She's married now.

       d) ngárim = fì - tyat
           1sgPoke - Mp-place
           SU Perf
           I built it.

       e) yú   = tyèrr -dum
           2sgSlash-   mouth-bury
           SU Irr
           Shut the door !

f)   wánni -ngi = fì -mi -tyatit-tye
       3nsPoke-1sg -Mp-Val -place- Past
       SU PImpDO   redup
       They used to show me how to do it.

2.5.3.2.1 Stress Marking on Reduplicated Verb Roots

The morphology and semantics of verb root reduplication is discussed in detail in 4.2.3.2. There are basically two ways that verbal roots can reduplicate, fully or partially. Partial reduplication always involves leftwards reduplication of only the initial open syllable of disyllabic roots.

2-115   kuluk   cough   →   kukuluk
          palak   drop   →   papalak
          purity   slip   →   pupurity
          fityi   roll   →   fifityi

Full reduplication, on the other hand, is always to the right, and involves the whole mono- or di-syllabic unit. The reduplicated syllable may be subject to vowel quality change (see 3.3.4.2).

2-116   da   hit/shoot →   dada
          wa   pick up   →   wawu
          firrkity spin   →   firrkityfirrkity

Where either type of reduplicated verb root fulfils the conditions under which it will be stress marked (i.e. is the initial constituent of the CVS), secondary stress is copied onto both elements. This is demonstrated for partially reduplicated verb roots in 2-117 and 2-118, and for fully reduplicated verb roots in 2-119 to 2-121.

2-117   ngíni = kùkùluk -tye
          1sg Sit - cough   -Past
          SU PImp
          I was coughing.

2-118   yémi   -ngiti =fìfìtyi-pagu -pe
          2sgHands-1sg   - roll -HITH- Fut
          SU Irr   IO
          Roll me some (smokes) !

2-119   résyin   wáddi = wàwù -tye
          ration   3pl Go - pick up -Past
                    SU PImp redup
          They used to collect rations.

2-120   múdiga   wírribem = mìrrmìrr-nyine
          car   *3sg Stand - thunder -FOC*
                   SU Pres   redup
          The car's running now.

2-121   ngúdum = fìrrkityfìrrkity e   ngúdum = bàtbìt
          1sgShove - spin   *and 1sgShove -knock prone*
          SU Perf   redup   *SU Perf   redup*
          I swung (the goanna) round 'n round, and wacked it
          on the ground.

2.5.3.3   Stress Marking on Serialised Auxiliary Verbs

As discussed in 3.4.6, the low-transitive posture/motion auxiliaries, 'sit', 'lie', 'stand' and 'go', can be serialised to complex verbs. In this capacity they, at least partially, lose their lexical semantics and become grammaticised as aspectual operators. These serialised auxiliaries cannot be offset by a pause, but must follow the complex verb in a single breath group. Their initial syllable carries a secondary stress, so verbs of this form are stressmarked in three places, 'primarily' on the auxiliary and 'secondarily' on the initial syllables of the CVS and the serialised auxiliary verb, respectively.

2-122   wárrgudu   wárri   = bàtybìty - tye - wìrri
          dillybag   3plPoke- sew   - Past-3pl Sit
                     SU Irr   redup   SU Irr
          They were trying to sew up dillybags.

2-123   wúnni   -wùtyìt - tye -wàddi   a -bilirri-ne
          3sgSlash-throw - Past-3plGo   A-alive -PURP
          SU PImp redup   SU PImp cl
          They were throwing (a net) for livebait

2-124   ngan'gi   ngéme   -nbi-yènggi -tye -ngìni
          story   1sgHands-2sg-tell story-Past-1sg Sit
                   SU Imp   IO   SU PImp
          I was telling you the story then.

2.5.3.4   Comment

Summarising stress patterns in Ngan'gityemerri:

-We have seen that simple (monomorphemic) nouns, and 'simple verbs' (those consisting minimally of 'subject-auxiliary root' sequences) have a syllable-timed stress pattern with primary stress on the first syllable and secondary stress on the third syllable if it is not word-final.

-Complex nominals, such as reduplications and compounds, have a morpheme-timed stress marking pattern. We also noted that as 'simple verbs' became increasingly complex (i.e. as direct and indirect object bound pronouns were suffixed to the 'subject-auxiliary root' sequence), then secondary stress began falling on the initial syllable of the pronoun, rather than the third syllable (see 2-99). I noted that for morphologically complex words there seems to be a preference for allocating stress marking in a way that reflects morphemic constituency.

- For complex verbs though, I find that stress is neither syllable-timed, nor morpheme-timed, but falls on the initial syllables of the auxiliary and the CVS, regardless of their syllabic or morphemic constituency. Put another way, stress patterns in the Ngan'gityemerri verb have the synchronic function of signalling the boundary between the auxiliary and the CVS. In a fixed-ordered, synthetic/agglutinative verbal structure, why should there be this higher-level grouping of a string of morphemes into two 'halves', and why should this have such saliency for the application of stress rules? The Ngan'gimerri data collected by Laves (1931) provides a historical viewpoint that suggests an explanation. A detailed comparison of the verbal structures exemplified in Laves' Ngan'gimerri data and my own data on contemporary Ngan'giwumirri, can be found in Reid (to appear). Just a brief summary is given here.

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' (that shared at least some features of nominals). These two major elements of the phrasal verb appear to have formed separate phonological words. They could be ordered variably with respect to each other, and verbal enclitics could be copied onto both elements of the phrasal verb. Compare Laves' example below where the first word corresponds to the contemporary auxiliary, and the second word to the contemporary CVS.

2-125 Laves: Warrangitipe   piparlandipe
       Cont : Wárra   - ngiti = fi - pal   - endi   - pe
       Gloss: 3plPokeDtr-1sg   - Tr - return- AGAIN-Fut
             SU Irr   IO
       Trans: They'll come back for me later.

Laves' division of the elements of the phrasal verb into two phonological words, accords perfectly with our division of the same elements in the contemporary fixed-constituent structure into auxiliary and CVS. In Laves' data bound object pronouns are suffixes to the 'finite verb',

whereas in contemporary Ngan'gityemerri they are suffixes to the auxiliary. Likewise in Laves' data, the applicative prefixes fi- and mi- are incorporated bodyparts attached to the 'participle', whereas in contemporary Ngan'gityemerri they are prefixes to the verb root. In Reid (to appear) I suggest that within the last few generations the Ngan'gityemerri verb has undergone radical change. The 'finite verb' and 'participle' found in Laves' data, which functioned as separate phonological words, developed a fixed ordering and were 'glomped' together into a single phonological word. Verbal enclitics can no longer be copied onto both elements, as in 2-125 above, but are now attached to the complex verb unit.

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 respectively. In conclusion then, the 'salience' of the boundary between the auxiliary and the CVS for the application of stress rules in contemporary Ngan'gityemerri can be accounted for in terms of the structural developments that the verb has (only recently) undergone.

Chapter 3

Morphology of the Ngan'gityemerri Verb

3.1   Overview of Verb Structure

3.1.1 Simple and Complex Verbs

There are two types of verb in Ngan'gityemerri: simple and complex. These are defined with respect to the constituent units 'auxiliary' and 'complex verb stem'. The presence of an auxiliary is a factor common to both verb types, though simple verbs consist minimally of just an auxiliary and are characterised by the absence of a complex verb stem.

The ten auxiliaries that form simple verbs are likewise referred to as 'simple auxiliaries'. The 'simple auxiliary' 'sit', forming a simple verb, is demonstrated in 3-1.

> 3-1   **ngirim**
> *1sg Sit*
> *SU Pres*
> I'm sitting.

The other 21 auxiliaries can only form verbs in combination with a verb stem. These auxiliaries are labelled 'complex auxiliaries' and the verbs they form are likewise known as complex verbs. The 'complex auxiliary' 'Hands', in combination with the verb stem -**wurity** 'make/fix', forming a verb meaning 'to make/fix something with one's hands', is demonstrated in 3-2.

> 3-2   **ngerim   -wurity**
> *1sgHands-make*
> *SU Pres*
> I'm making it.

The 21 'complex auxiliaries' cannot form simple verbs. Thus 3-3, an attempt to form a simple verb consisting minimally of the 'Hands' auxiliary, is nonsensical.

> 3-3   ***ngerim**
> *1sgHands*
> *SU Pres*

However the 10 'simple auxiliaries' can, in addition to their role in forming simple verbs, also form complex verbs[1]. Compare the use of the 'simple auxiliary' 'Sit' in 3-4 where it forms a complex verb, with 3-1 above where it forms a simple verb.

3-4   **ngirim-tyerrakul**
      1sgSit - talk
      SU Pres
      I'm talking.

Other than the 10 simple verbs then, all Ngan'gityemerri verbs are of the complex type, consisting of the two major units, the auxiliary and the complex verb stem. The complex verb constitutes a single phonological word (having only a single primary word stress, cf. 2.5.3) and are typically ordered with the verb stem following the auxiliary, as in 3-2 and 3-4. There are however two subclasses of verbs that are ordered inversely with the verb root preceding the auxiliary. These subclasses are:

1   The verb 'to want/like' formed with the 'Hands' auxiliary, e.g.

3-5   **derrigidi- wurrmum-ngi**
      want   - 3plHands -1sg
              SU Pres   DO
      They want/like me.

2   All complex verbs formed with the 'Say' auxiliary, e.g.

3-6   **perrety-meny**   3-7   **parrng-yumum**
      die   - 3sgSay   *snore - 2sgSay*
           SU Perf   *SU Pres*
      He died.   You're snoring.

Regardless of their ordering with respect to each other, the meaning of any complex verb results from the combination of these two verbal units. The 31 Ngan'gityemerri auxiliary verbs are listed in Table 3-1. The semantics of these auxiliary verbs, and the patterns of their combination with verb stems, are examined in more detail in chapter 4. The following sections, 3.2 and 3.3, respectively deal with the morphological make-up of the auxiliary

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[1]In using the labels 'simple' and 'complex' to describe the two auxiliary types, I follow Green (1989). I appreciate that in at least one respect these labels might be considered counter-intuitive. That is, in their capacity to not only combine with verb stems (what I treat as the basic verb form), but additionally to stand independently as full verbs, the 'simple auxiliaries' could be viewed as functionally more complex than those 'complex auxiliaries' that only combine with verb stems. Despite this I have found Green's labels otherwise useful and have retained them here.

and the complex verb stem. 3.4 brings together the various ways in which tense, aspect and mood distinctions are made in Ngan'gityemerri, and 3.5 explores the syntactic constraints upon, and semantics of, the incorporation of bodypart terms into the complex verb.

Ngan'gityemerri Auxiliary Verbs

Simple		
	Sit	Arrive
	Lie	Hang
	Stand	Say
	Go	See
	Go*	Take
Complex		
	Hands	Suck
	Feet	Pull
	Mouth	Snatch
	Poke	Shove
	Slash	Heat
	Bash	
	Hands oneself	Say/Do oneself
	Mouth oneself	See oneself
	Poke oneself	Heat oneself
	Shove oneself (dyn)	Bash oneself
	Shove oneself (stat)	Feet oneself

Table 3-1

3.2 Auxiliary Structure and Function

The auxiliary not only contributes to the overall lexical meaning of the verb, as mentioned in 3.1 and examined in chapter 4, but further, it indicates the person and number categories of core verbal arguments, and inflects for tense/aspect/mood categories.

The internal morphological constituency of the auxiliary can be characterised as four sequential slots. In the first of these, and thus generally word-initially, appear bound subject pronominal person markers. In the second slot we find subject number markers. The third slot is that of the auxiliary root, and the final auxiliary slot is filled by bound non-subject pronominal markers and further categories of subject number markers. As demonstrated in 3-8 below, and implicit in the notion of a linear string of slots, this four-part constituency is generally of a straightforward agglutinative nature.

3-8 wi - rr - nyirri - ngi
3 - pl - See - 1sg
SU SU Perf DO
They saw me.

Most of the affixing and compounding processes that build the complex verb in Ngan'gityemerri are in fact of this structural type and their segmentation is unproblematic. However the morphology of certain auxiliaries is more synthetic than agglutinative, and this kind of neat segmentation is not possible. As a consequence of this, other than throughout this discussion of auxiliary morphology, in all examples and texts throughout this work the auxiliary unit is glossed as a single element, without attempting to use hyphens to exemplify its internal constituency. Two of the difficulties in auxiliary segmentation are briefly listed here.

1   Consider the subject person, subject number and auxiliary root forms in 3-9.

3-9		1sg	1pl ex	1pl inc
	Bash	nge-Ø-bem	nge-rr-bem	nge-mbe-bem
	Pull	ngi-Ø-syem	ngi-rr-syem	ngi-mbi-syem

The position of the subject number markers (-Ø- sg, -rr- pl ex, and -mbV- pl inc) reveals the auxiliary roots to have the syllabic form CVC (-bem and -syem), and the subject person markers to have the syllabic form CV (nge- and ngi-). Across the auxiliary person/number paradigms (listed in appendices A & B) the majority of subject-auxiliary sequences fit this syllabic pattern. However consider the first person singular subject, present tense sequences of the 'sit', 'hands' and 'poke' auxiliaries in 3-10 (where the singular subject number marker is Ø).

3-10 1sg-Sit   ngirim
      1sg-Hands   ngerim
      1sg-Poke   ngarim

As these subject-auxiliary sequences are distinguished by V_1, the analysis clearly suggested by these examples is to segment the bound subject person as C and the auxiliary root as VCVC.

3-11   ng-irim
                ng-erim
                ng-arim

As V_1 is not uniform across all subject-auxiliary sequences, and cannot be predicted in terms of vowel harmony rules operating regressively from V_2, this analysis is initially attractive, but ultimately it creates more complexity than it solves. For instance, returning to the non-singular examples in 3-9, were we to accept C-VCVC as a pattern for subject-auxiliary sequences, to account for the occurrence of -rr- and -mbV- after the initial V_1, we would have to propose a discontinous auxiliary root (underlined in 3-12) within which -rr- and -mbV- were infixed.

3-12	ng - e̱ - rr - <u>bem</u>	ng - e̱ - mbe - <u>bem</u>
	ng - i̱ - rr - <u>syem</u>	ng - i̱- mbi - <u>syem</u>

The compexity engendered here by a C-VCVC analysis clearly surpasses its value in dealing better with the three examples given in 3-10.

2   Dual subject marking, which is normally encoded by -gV in the fourth and final auxiliary slot (as described in 3.2.1.2.2), is suppletively marked in the Past Imperfective inflections of certain auxiliaries by vowel change in the auxiliary root (see for instance suppletive **nginne** 'we were sitting' instead of the predicted form **nginnigu** in the Past Imperfective dual forms of the 'sit' auxiliary in Appendices A and B).

3.2.1   Subject Cross-referencing

In Ngan'gityemerri subjects are obligatorily cross-referenced by bound pronouns on the verb. Subject person is marked in the initial position of the auxiliary, (and thus generally is the initial morpheme of the verb), and subject number is marked in the second position of the auxiliary.

3.2.1.1   Subject Person Marking

In addition to the neutral subject marking described in 3.2.1.1.1, in Ngan'gityemerri there are two additional, though restricted, categories of bound subject pronoun. 'Remote' subjects are dealt with in 3.2.1.1.2 and 'Undesirable' subjects are treated in 3.2.1.1.3.

3.2.1.1.1   Neutral Subjects

In general subject person marking is very regular. 1st person is universally **ngV-**, and 2nd person is universally **yV-**.

3-13 a)	**ngayi**	**ngi-rim**	-	I'm sitting.
	1sg	*1sg- Sit*		
	PRO	*SU Pres*		

b) ŋyinyi yi-rim   -   You're sitting.
   2sg   *2sg-Sit*
   PRO   *SU Pres*

The vowel of the subject person marker is, for many subject-auxiliary sequences, identical with, and presumably harmonically influenced by, the vowel of the following auxiliary root. For certain subject-auxiliary sequences however, like those listed in 3-10, the vowel of the subject person prefix must be lexically specified.

It is only with 3rd person singular subjects that irregular and suppletive subject person forms occur, and there only in subject-auxiliary sequences that are inflected for the realis tense/aspect categories Present, Perfective and Past Imperfective. All 3rd singular Irrealis subjects, and 3rd non-singular subjects are universally **wV-**.

    3-14   **wi -ri -pe**
              3sg-Sit-Fut
              SU Irr
              S/He will be sitting.

For the 3rd singular subjects of realis Auxiliaries, we find three types of variation from the neutral **wV-** marking exemplified in 3-14.

1-   Suppletive **yV-** initial forms

3-15		Actual form	Expected 3sg form
	1sg	**ngaganim**	
Go	2sg	**yaganim**	
	3sg	**yenim**	waganim
	1sg	**ngagantyin**	
Take	2sg	**yagantyin**	
	3sg	**yentyin**	wagantyin
	1sg	**ngerrimbin**	
Go*	2sg	**yerrimbin**	
	3sg	**yirrimbin**	werrimbin

2-   Irregular zero forms

3-16		Actual forms	Expected 3sg form
	1sg	**ngu-mum**	
Say	2sg	**yu -mum**	
	3sg	**mem**	wumum
	1sg	**nge-men'gem**	
Arrive	2sg	**ye -men'gem**	
	3sg	**men'gem**	wemen'gem

	1sg	ngu-munggin	
Snatch	2sg	yu -munggin	
	3sg	menggin	wumunggin

3-   The most frequently found variation where 3sg subject is marked as dV-.

3-17 | | | Actual form | Expected 3sg form |

		Actual form	Expected 3sg form
	1sg	ngi-rim	
Sit	2sg	yi -rim	
	3sg	dim[2]	wirim
	1sg	ngi-nyinggin	
See	2sg	yi -nyinggin	
	3sg	di -nyinggin	winyinggin
	1sg	nge-rim	
Hands	2sg	ye -rim	
	3sg	dem	werim
	1sg	ngi-syem	
Pull	2sg	yi -syem	
	3sg	di -syem	wisyem
	1sg	nga-ram	
PokeDtr	2sg	ya -ram	
	3sg	da -ram	waram
	1sg	nge-mem	
HandsDtr	2sg	ye -mem	
	3sg	de -mem	wemem

3.2.1.1.2   'Remote' Subjects

In the immediately preceding section we noted that the 3rd person subject marker is basically wV-, though 3rd singular subjects show a variety of suppletive and irregular forms. Treating all four of the attested realisations (wV-, yV-, Ø-, dV-) as a single system called 'wV- marking', this system contrasts with another 3rd person bound subject marker of the form gV-, referred to as 'gV- marking'.

The functional nature of the contrast between 'wV- marking' and 'gV- marking' has been problematic for me, and appears to have been so for previous investigators of the language, for each has drawn different conclusions.

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[2]This form and dem in 'Hands' are underlyingly dirim and derim, respectively. They undergo contraction in accordance with regular morpho-phonological rules (see 2.4.2 and 2.4.3).

Gerhardt Laves (193? fieldnotes) notes this variation in Ngan'gimerri, and suggests that the basis for the contrast is one of deixis, ie proximate versus distant, and gives the following example.

3-18   Qu   djide[3] **wibem**   -   Where is it ?
           where 3sg Lie
                SU Pres

       Ans   **ginji gibem**   -   It's here.
             here 3sg Lie
               SU Pres

Laves does not indicate which of **wV-** and **gV-** is proximate and which distant, though from his example I would presume that he intends **gV-** 'proximate' and **wV-** 'distant'.

Hoddinott and Kofod (1989:113) describe this variation as one of aspect, giving examples such as the Ngan'gikurunggurr one quoted below.

3-19   a)   **wa -weti gudem   -fel   dirrpederr-nide**
             C(iv)little 3sIMP VC 10-dive river   -LOC
             The little boy is diving into the river.

         b)   **wa -weti wudem   -fel   dirrpederr-nide**
             C(iv)little 3sP VC 10   - dive river   -LOC
             The little boy dived/dives into the river.

They attribute **gV-** marking to 'Present Incompletive' aspect, and **wV-** marking to 'Present (including Immediate Past) Completive' aspect. The main failure of H&K's analysis is that it leaves us with two conflicting aspect marking systems. Aspectual information is normally marked in Ngan'gityemerri through the combination of auxiliary root inflection (cf. 3.4.1) and through the strategy of serialising posture/motion auxiliaries to the complex verb (cf. 3.4.5). It is auxiliary serialisation that specifically marks imperfective, progressive aspect, as in the example below.

3-20   **warrgudu ngerim   -wurity -ngirim**
        dillybag   1sgHands -make   -1sgSit
             SU Pres   SU Pres
        I am (as I speak, in the process of) making a dillybag

---

3Retaining Laves' orthography. Ngan'gimerri djide-'where' is kide in both Ngan'giwumirri and Ngan'gikurunggurr, a minor bit of evidence suggesting that voiced laminals may have shifted to dorsals in the current phonological systems of the latter two dialects which lack voiced laminals.

H&K (1989:134) note the imperfectivity marked by auxiliary serialisation, but offer no account of how this might tie in with the aspectual significance they attribute to **g**V- versus **w**V- marking. In fact their own data on serialised auxiliaries[4] conflicts with the perfectivity they attribute to **w**V- marking. They give examples like those quoted in 3-21 below, where both **g**V- and **w**V- subject forms appear on verbs that are marked for imperfective, progressive aspect through the serialised auxiliary strategy .

3-21 a) **aliyi   gawam   pudup girim**
      C(iv)fat 3sIMP-VC26-PRES melt   OA:3sIMP-sit-PRES
      The fat is melting.

b) **Bi   dem   baty wirribem**
   axe 3sP-VC13-PRES have OA:3sP-stand-PRES
   He has an axe in his hand.

In terms of H&K's analysis, 3-21 b) above is marked for both perfectivity and imperfectivity; perfectivity denoted by the **d**V- subject marker, and imperfectivity by the serialised stance auxiliary **wirribem**.

I find the variation between **g**V- and **w**V- subject marking to be a contrast between *remote* and *proximate*, not simply in deictic terms, as Laves has suggested, but also in conceptual terms. In my data the vast majority of present tense verbs showing **g**V- subject marking employ stative auxiliaries, either the postural 'sit', 'lie', and 'stand' auxiliaries, as in examples 3-22 to 3-25, or the motional 'go' and 'go*' auxiliaries, as in examples 3-26 to 3-28. With stative auxiliaries **g**V- marking denotes states that are remote from the speaker, either spatially distant or conceptually distant - activities or states that are in some way outside the speaker's immediate world, perhaps out of sight as in 3-23 and 3-24 below, or perhaps beyond the speaker's firsthand knowledge. In the example glosses **w**V- subjects are given as SU (Subject), and remote **g**V- subjects as SR (Subject Remote).

3-22 **...peyi -pefi   girrim,   nginyirri-wurr**
      in   -THITH   3plSit   1sg See   - 3pl
      place   SR Pres   SU Perf   DO
      (We went) over there where I could see them sitting.

---

4 The label they use is 'Orientation Auxiliaries'.

3-23   **Yu wetimbi kinyi gibem**
yes FINE   here   3sgLie
                        SR Pres
Yeah OK!, (the didjeridu) is here (inside the house/out of sight).

3-24   **Tyemeny girim -tyerrakul yi   -tyerr -gat   -pe**
        3sgSit -talk   2sgSit-mouth-answer-Fut
        SR Pres   SU Irr
It's Tyemeny talking (on the phone), will you speak ?

3-25 **Yu Darwin kine, wembem yaga, buy -gumum-derri-gaganim**
yes   this house   DEM white-3sgDo -back -3sgGo
            place   SR Pres   SR Pres
Yes, this is Darwin alright, the houses are standing out white in the distance.

With the two motional auxiliaries 'Go' and 'Go*' 3sg gV- marking also implies motion or activity 'at a distance', often 'approaching from a distance'.

3-26   **light   fil   -gumum-muy-ganantyerri**
        *shine-3sgDo   -eye -3sgGo**
          SR Pres   SR Pres
(From the plane we could see the Adelaide) lights coming on/getting closer.

3-27   **kanbi   -mbirri gaganim-garrmadi nginnyirri**
        didjeridu-first   3sgGo -appproach 1plexSee
                    SR Pres   SU Perf
We saw that the didjeridu was coming up first (on the airport luggage conveyor belt).

3-28 **Wur-nurse kinyi dini -tye fepi minbadi, mudiga-werre gagantyerri**
*F -   here 3sgSit-Past hill big   car   -ASSOC 3sgGo**
cl   SU PImp   SR Pres
That nurse, who used to live here at Peppimenarti, was approaching in a car.

Other than the stative posture/motion auxiliaries, remote gV- subject marking has only been recorded with the two 'transitive' auxiliaries (cf. 4.2.1) 'Feet' and 'Mouth'. 3-29 and 3-30 are the only such examples in my data.

3-29   **ngayim mityity minbe fenggiderri gana   -garrmadi mudiga-werre**
        3sgF   white   Neg   long time 3sgFeet-approach car   -ASSOC
        PRO   woman   SR Perf
Before long that white woman came along in a car.

3-30 a   miyi nyin germminy-didi -ganniny,
      finally   plant ANA   3plHands-push-3plGo
      food   SR Perf   SR Perf
      They (hostesses) came pushing the food(trolley),
      wanni   -wurr-fi -me -lali   -tye -waddi ngan-ngagurr warrakma
      3plPoke   -3pl -Mp-hand-around-Past-3plGo LOC- 1plex   three
      SU PImp DO   SU PImp   PRO
      handing it around to them all, then finally to us three.

3.2.1.1.3 'Undesirable' Subjects

In Ngan'gityemerri irrealis verbs with 2nd or 3rd person subjects can, through the selection of specific subject pronominal forms, be marked as representing propositions that the speaker would not wish to reach fruition.

There are several important observations to be made here. Firstly, the 'undesirable' evaluation conveyed by these variant subject prefixes, is the evaluation of the speaker, not the subject. Secondly, the 'undesirable' evaluation of the speaker is an evaluation of the entire verbal proposition, not simply of the subject identity. Thirdly, the undesirability of the development of a proposition that is marked in this way, can only be encoded on verbs with 2nd and 3rd person subjects.

The forms of the 2nd and 3rd person 'Undesirable' subjects are gVntyV-/gVtyV-(K) and gV- respectively (where -V- has the same quality as the -V- of the corresponding neutral bound subject marker, as given in 3.2.1.1.1 above). In the examples throughout this section they are glossed as US 'Undesirable Subject', in contrast to SU 'neutral SUbject' and RS 'Remote Subject'. Before looking at some examples, Table 3-2 below sets out the full Ngan'giwumirri Irrealis subject-auxiliary sequences of the 'Sit', 'Go' and 'Hands' auxiliaries, showing the 2nd person subject variation between neutral yV- and 'Undesirable' gVntyV-, and the 3rd person subject variation between neutral wV- and 'Undesirable' gV-.

'Undesirable' subject person pronouns can be used to mark the undesirability of any event that is expressed in irrealis verbal forms. This may be straightforward conjecture, as in 3-31.

3-31 **nimbi ginnyirrigu, dede -ne   ga   -wurrki-tyeri-tyirr**
      CAUS 3pl See   dl   country-PURP 3sgPoke -3dl   -ear -squeeze
      US Irr SU   US Irr DO   =feel longing
      If they two were to watch it (a video containing footage of a recently deceased person), it would make them sorry for their country.

Ngan'giwumirri Neutral and 'Undesirable' Bound Subject Pronouns

		Sit		Go		Hands	
		Neutral	Undesirable	Neutral	Undesirable	Neutral	Undesirable
Sg	1	ngi		ngani		ngemi	
	2	yi	gintyi	yani	gantyani	yemi	gentyemi
	3	wiri	gi	wani	gani	wemi	gemi
Dl	1inc	ngimbi		ngambani		ngembimi	
	1ex	ngirrigu		ngarrene		ngerrmigi	
	2	yirrigu	gintyirrigu	yarrene	gantyarrene	yerrmigi	gentyerrmigi
	3	wirrigu	girrigu	warrene	garrene	werrmigi	gerrmigi
Pl	1inc	ngimbi		ngambani		ngembimi	
	1ex	ngirri		ngarrani		ngerrmi	
	2	yirri	gintyirri	yarrani	gantyarrani	yerrmi	gentyerrmi
	3	wirri	girri	warrani	garrani	werrmi	gerrmi

Table 3-2

'Undesirable' subject person pronouns also typically appear in those 'prohibition', 'warning' and 'lest' constructions employing the enclitic -merrendi/-nana(K) (cf. 6.2.3).

3-32   ...gemi   -nyi-garri-du   -merrendi
          3sgHands -2sg -leg   -touch-LEST
          US Irr   DO
          ...lest you get pregnant.
          (lit: lest it touch you on the leg)

3-33   ...efenggu gebi   -nyi-gatit-nana
NgK   *snake   3sgBash-2sg-bite -LEST*
                      US Irr   DO
          ...lest a snake might bite you.

3-34   wunu dede minbe-merrendi gantyani dede mumu mipurr nem
          there camp Neg   -PROHIB   2sg Go   camp taboo   men   3sgM
          *   US Irr   PRO*
          You can't go there, it's a taboo men's place.

3-35   aya kinyi pub, awa-purrpurrk minbe-merrendi gantyarrini-wurr
          hey this   Hg - littl'uns   Neg -PROHIB 3plGo   -enter
          *   cl   US Irr*
          Hey! this is a pub. Young kids aren't allowed in here!

3-36 below contains both a 'prohibitive' -merrendi clause and a clause of undesirable conjecture. In both clauses the subject is pronominally cross-referenced with the 'Undesirable' subject person forms.

3-36 **kanbi yaga minbe-merrendi gantyawam** airplane-**nide,**
didjeridu DEM Neg -PROHIB 2sgTake -LOC
US Irr
You can't take that didjeridu on the plane,
nimbi gani -lala ngarapa-wurru,
CAUS 3sgGo-split fragile-UNSATIS
US Irr
it might split, it's too fragile.

3.2.1.2 Subject Number Marking

Where subject *person* is marked fairly straightforwardly in the initial position of the auxiliary, the task of marking subject *number* falls on a variety of verbal positions, both within, and outside of, the auxiliary unit. This diverse multi-marking system reflects the hierarchical system of number category formation. Increasingly marked number categories are derived by taking simpler number categories as a base and adding additional morphological marking in new verbal slots. We need to deal here with two separate hierarchical structures, for subject number marking shows the same split between 1st inclusive and non-1st inclusive that requires the separate description of these two categories in the discussion of free form pronouns (cf. 9.1.1). From the examples and discussion in the following sections it will become apparent that 1st inclusive subject number operates in terms of the markedness hierarchy;

/singular < dual < plural/

whereas non-1st inclusive operates in terms of the markedness hierarchy:

/singular < plural < dual < trial/

In section 3.2.1.2.1 below I deal first with 1st inclusive subject number marking, then in section 3.2.1.2.2 with the non-1st inclusive.

3.2.1.2.1 1st Inclusive Subject Number Marking: -nime

Taking the first person singular subject-auxiliary sequences as the base form (assuming the singular number marker to be Ø), the first person dual inclusive is formed by adding -mbV- in the auxiliary position immediately following the subject person marker and preceding the auxiliary root. The plural, which is a more marked number category than the dual for first inclusives, is marked by the additional suffixing of the restricted plural marker -nime to the verb. The singular, dual and plural subject forms of the 'Lie' auxiliary are set out in 3-37 below.

```
3-37  a)    ngayi      ngi -  Ø  - bem          I'm lying.
            1sg        1st    sg   Lie
            PRO        SU     SU   Pres
      b)    nayin      ngi - mbi - bem          We (dlinc) are lying .
            1dl        1st   dlinc  Lie
            PRO        SU     SU   Pres
      c)    nayin-nime ngi - mbi - bem -nime    We (plinc) are lying.
            1dl  - pl  1st   dlinc Lie   pl
            PRO        SU     SU   Pres SU
```

From 3-37 b) and c) it can be seen that the suffix -nime derives 1st inclusive plurals from 1st inclusive duals on the freeform as well as the bound pronouns.

Suffixed to simple verbs, -nime appears in the position immediately following the auxiliary unit, and preceding any other enclitics that can attach to the verbal complex, such as the past tense marker in 3-38.

```
3-38   ngi -mbi -nge -nime-tye
       1   -dlinc-Lie  -pl     -Past
       SU  SU    PImp SU
       We (plinc) were lying down.
```

Suffixed to complex verbs, -nime appears in the position immediately following the verb root, as shown in 3-39 where the 'Pull' auxiliary forms a complex verb in combination with the verb root -wurr 'extract'.

```
3-39  a)    ngi- Ø -syeny-wurr              I pulled it out.
            1st -sg -Pull-extract
            SU SU Perf
      b)    ngi-mbi -syeny-wurr             We(dlinc) pulled it out.
            1   -dlinc-Pull   -extract
            SU SU   Perf
      c)    ngi-mbi -syeny-wurr -nime       We(plinc) pulled it out.
            1   -dlinc-Pull -extract-pl
            SU SU  Perf          SU
```

Examples 3-37 to 3-39 show that the -V- of -mbV- is determined progressively from the bound subject person prefix, not regressively from the auxiliary root. The same observation was made regarding the vowel quality of the 2nd person 'Undesirable' subject pronouns in 3.2.1.1.3. Note that this progressive harmony contrasts with the general vowel harmony process that operates at the surface level on verbs (cf. 2.4.4.2), which is always clearly regressive.

While the underlying form of the 1st inclusive non-singular marker -mbV- occurs in about 90% of surface forms, various phonological rules operating on the sound sequences formed across the boundary between the subject number marker and the auxiliary root, result in surface variation that needs to be accounted for.

Firstly, consider the unsegmented present tense 1st singular and 1st dual inclusive forms of the 'Sit', 'Hands' and 'Poke' auxiliaries in 3-40 to 3-42, where -mbV- prefixes an auxiliary root that is r - initial.

3-40   a)   **ngirim**   I'm sitting.
                      1sgSit
                      SU Pres

           b)   **ngindim**   We (dlinc) are sitting.
                      1dlincSit
                      SU Pres

3-41   a)   **ngerim   -pul**   I'm washing it.
                      1sgHands-wash
                      SU Pres

           b)   **ngendim   -pul**   We (dlinc) are washing it.
                      1dlincHands-wash
                      SU Pres

3-42   a)   **ngarim -pawal**   I'm spearing it.
                      1sgPoke-spear
                      SU Pres

           b)   **ngandim   -pawal**   We (dlinc) are spearing it.
                      1dlincPoke-spear
                      SU Pres

These dual surface forms are explicable in terms of the apicalisation and deletion rules described in 2.4.2 and 2.4.3. Taking 3-40 as an example, we can see that this r-initial auxiliary root triggers apicalisation of the -mbV- subject number prefix;

3-43   {ngi-mbi-rim}   →   {ngi-ndi-rim}

then a morphophonological process that reduces contiguous apical syllables, triggers the deletion of -ri-.

3-44   {ngi-ndi-rim}   →   **ngi-ndi-m**

Secondly, the single auxiliary root that is g-initial also triggers velarisation, deletion and some vowel change. Consider the 1st singular and 1st dual inclusive forms of the 'Go' auxiliary below.

3-45   nga-ganim   -   I'm going
            1sg Go
            SU Pres

     →   {nga-mba-ganim}
     →   {nga-ngga-ganim}
            nga -nggi -nim   -   We(dlinc) are going
            1st dlinc Go
            SU   SU

Note that in all examples of dual inclusive surface forms that result from the application of assimilation and deletion rules (3-40 to 3-42 and 3-45), the -V- of underlying -mbV- is no longer predictable in terms of the vowel quality of the -V- of the bound subject person prefix.

Thirdly, auxiliary roots that are n-initial, or have the minimal form -N-, show considerable variation in the surface forms that result from their -mbV- prefixation. While 3-46 and 3-47 below trigger apicalisation, and in 3-48 we find both apicalisation and deletion, in 3-49 and 3-50 neither of these processes occur.

3-46   a)   ngi -N   I said.
NgK   1sg-Say
            SU Perf
       b)   ngi -ndi -N   We (dlinc) said.
            1st -dlinc -Say
            SU   SU Perf

3-47   a)   nge -N   -baty   I chewed it.
NgK   1sg -Mouth-chew
            SU Perf
            nge-nde -N   -baty   We (dlinc) chewed it.
       b)   1st- dlinc-Mouth-chew
            SU   SU   Perf

3-48   a)   ngi-nem -bulbul   I cooked it.
NgK   1sg-Heat-boil
            SU Perf
       b)   ngi-nde -m -bulbul   We (dlinc) cooked it.
            1st-dlinc-Heat-boil
            SU SU Perf

3-49   a)   nga-nam-baty   I kick it.
            1sg-Feet-kick
            SU Pres
       b)   nga-mba -nam-baty   We(dlinc) kick it.
            1st - dlinc-Feet -kick
            SU SU   Pres

3-50 a) **ngi -m   -garri-fityi**   I'm sitting cross-legged.
          1sg -ShoveDtrS-leg   -roll
          SU Pres

      b) **ngi-mbi -m   -garri-fityi** We(dlinc) are sitting
          1st-dlinc-ShoveDtrS-leg   -roll   cross-legged.
          SU SU Pres

3.2.1.2.2   Non-1st Inclusive Subject Number Marking: -rr-, -gu and -nime

Turning our attention to the marking of subject number for 1st exclusive, 2nd and 3rd person subjects, recall that we have an additional number category, trial, and that the number markedness hierarchy is;

Singular < Plural < Dual < Trial

While dual was the unmarked non-singular number category for the 1st-inclusives, for the non-1st-inclusives it is the plural category that is least marked.

Again taking the singular forms as a base, and assuming the singular subject number marker to be zero, we find that each number category is formed by augmenting the category below it on the hierarchy, with additional marking in a new verbal slot. Plural subjects are marked by -rr- in the auxiliary position immediately following the subject *person* marker.

Dual subject number is marked by (in addition to the plural -rr-) -gV in the fourth position within the auxiliary, i.e. immediately following the auxiliary root. Note that this same slot within the auxiliary can also be filled by non-subject bound pronouns which outrank -gV for access. Dual subject -gV is therefore generally restricted to occurrence in intransitive verbs, or transitive verbs with 3rd singular Ø object pronouns. There is however a set of portmanteau bound pronouns that encode subject duality in addition to object person and number. These are discussed in more detail in 3.2.3.2.

Trial subjects further augment the dual form with -nime in the position immediately following the auxiliary unit in the case of simple verbs, or immediately following the verb root in the case of complex verbs. Note then that while the addition of the suffix -nime derives plural from dual 1st-inclusive forms, in the case of non-1st-inclusive subjects, the same suffix form derives specifically trial forms. The formation of these three non-singular number categories is demonstrated in 3-51.

3-51 a) **ngayi**   **nge -Ø -beny -da**   I hit it.
          1sg   *1   -sg -Bash -hit*
          PRO   *SU SU Perf*

      b) **ngagurr**   **nge -rr -beny -da**   We (plex) hit it.
          1pl   *1   -plex-Bash hit*
          PRO   *SU SU Perf*

c)	**ngarrgu**	**nge -rr -beny -gu- da**	We (dlex) hit it.
	1dl	*1 -plex-Bash -dl - hit*	
	PRO	SU SU Perf SU	

d)	**ngarrgu-nime**	**nge -rr -beny -gu -da -nime**	We (trex) hit it.
	1dl -tr	*1 -plex-Bash -dl -hit- tr*	
	PRO	SU SU Perf SU SU	

As can be seen from these examples, morphological markedness parallels semantic markedness. That is, increasingly restricted and specific number categories are increasingly morphologically complex. The trial number category, being so highly marked in both senses, tends not to be exploited where such high markedness is pragmatically unwarranted. So Ngan'giwumirri and Ngan'gikurunggurr speakers, in a discourse involving three subject persons, would tend to employ plural subject marking, unless the subjects' 'threesomeness' is perceived to be significant.

Turning our attention to the morphology of these subject number morphemes, the remainder of this section looks at the phonological processes operating on the clusters formed when -rr- prefixes the auxiliary root, commenting on the vowel quality of -gV and presenting some examples of suppletive dual subject number formation.

Plural exclusive -rr-

As auxiliary roots are always consonant-initial, the occurrence of the non-1st inclusive non-singular subject number marker -rr-, in the auxiliary position immediately preceding the auxiliary root, always produces a -rrC-cluster. Five undesirable cluster types resulting from this affixation trigger some of the phonological rules that we have already seen to operate in 2.4.2.1.

1   Where the auxiliary root initial consonant is an apical oral or nasal stop, eg. -rrC/N[+apical], then -rr- assimilates in manner, producing a geminate stop cluster. This is demonstrated by the 1st person singular and plural forms of three Present tense auxiliaries in 3-52 below.

3-52		singular	underlying plural	plural
	a) Feet	**nganam**	{nga-rr-nam}	**ngannam**
	b) Shove	**ngudum**	{ngu-rr-dum}	**nguddum**
	c) ShoveDtrDngudem		{ngu-rr-dum}	**nguddum**

In Ngan'giwumirri -rr- additionally assimilates in both manner and articulatory type when it precedes the laminal nasal **ny**, producing geminate laminal nasal clusters as in the plural forms of 'See' and 'SeeDtr' in 3-53 below.

3-53		singular	underlying plural	plural
	a) See	**nginyinggin**	{ngi-rr-nyinggin}	**nginnyinggin**[5]
	b)SeeDtr	**nginyerrem**	{ngi-rr-nyerrem}	**nginnyerrem**

Laminal assimilation of -rr- is not triggered in this same environment in Ngan'gikurunggurr, where the cluster **rrny** is maintained. Compare the plural surface forms of 3-53 and 3-54.

3-54		singular	plural
NgK	a) See	**nginyinggin**	**ngirrnyinggin**
	b)SeeDtr	**nginyerrem**	**ngirrnyerrem**

2   Where the auxiliary root is r-initial, the continuant **r** is deleted and the underlying cluster **rr + r** is realised simply as **rr**. this is demonstrated in the plural forms of Sit, Poke and PokeDtr in 3-55 below.

3-55		singular	underlying plural	plural
	a) Sit	**ngirim**	{ngi-rr-rim}	**ngirrim**
	b) Poke	**ngarim**	{nga-rr-rim}	**ngarrim**
	c) PokeDtr	**ngaram**	{nga-rr-ram}	**ngarram**

3   Where the auxiliary root is rr-initial, the underlying cluster **rr + rr** is treated quite differently in Ngan'giwumirri and Ngan'gikurunggurr. In Ngan'giwumirri it is realised as a clearly geminate voiced apical stop, in Ngan'gikurunggurr the second element of the cluster is realised as the voiced apical retroflex fricative, ie. **rr + s**. This difference in the plural surface forms in the two languages is shown in 3-56.

3-56	singular	underlying plural	plural
a) NgW Stand	**ngirribem**	{ngi-rr-rribem}	**ngiddibem**
b) NgK Stand	**ngirribem**	{ngi-rr-rribem}	**ngirrsibem**

5In the practical orthography the geminate laminal nasal cluster is written as **nny** rather than **nyny**, because the contrast between **n** and **ny** is neutralised pre-consonantally.

4   For some subject-auxilary sequences, note the appearance of a vowel between rr + C. The occurrence of this vowel cannot be predicted from all the same underlying forms across the auxiliary class paradigms.   For instance, rr + n in 'Feet' (in 3-52 a) above) is realised as a geminate apical nasal, but in 'Go' (Irr) in 3-57 below, the same underlying cluster involves the insertion of a vowel between -rr- and the initial consonant of the auxiliary root.

3-57		singular	underlying plural	plural
	a) Go	ngani	(nga-rr-ni)	ngarrani

See also the NgK 'Slash'(Pres) subject-auxiliary sequence in 3-36.

3-58		singular	underlying plural	plural
NgK	a) Slash	ngupuN	(ngu-rr-puN)	ngurrupuN

This kind of vowel insertion would appear to be the normal way of deriving the plural forms of those few auxiliary roots that consist minimally of a nasal consonant. The examples below show the surface plural forms of Mouth and ShoveDtrS (Pres).

3-59		singular	underlying plural	plural
	a)Mouth	ngem	(nge-rr-m)	ngerrem
	b)ShoveDtrDngim		(ngi-rr-m)	ngirrim

One possibility suggested by the appearance of these vowels here, is that an historical form of the plural exclusive subject number morpheme was -rrV-. It could be argued that although this form is still evidenced in minor parts of the auxiliary paradigms (as in 3-57 to 3-59), generally the vowel has been lost, this reduction resulting in consonant clusters at the boundary between subject number marking and the auxiliary root.

5   Three auxiliary root-initial phonemes of weak consonantal status (ie. without radical vocal tract obstruction), g, sy and w, are sporadically found to be deleted following -rr-. In 3-60 below, both plural forms are underlyingly rr + w. In 'Take' (Irr) the cluster is maintained, but in 'SayDtr' (Pres) the w is lenited.

3-60		singular	underlying plural	plural
	a) Take	ngawam	(nga-rr-wam)	ngarrwam
	b) SayDtr	ngiwem	(ngi-rr-wem)	ngirrem

Lenition of g following -rr- is more common in Ngan'gikurunggurr than in Ngan'giwumirri. See their corresponding forms for 'Take' (Pres) in 3-61.

3-61	singular	underlying plural	plural
a) NgW Take	ngagantyin	{nga-rr-gantyin}	ngarrgantyin
b) NgK Take	ngagatyin	{nga-rr-gatyin}	ngarratyin

In Ngan'giwumirri the two auxiliary roots that are sy-initial ('Pull' and 'Suck'), freqently lenite the sy as a free variant of the full cluster.

3-62	singular	underlying plural	plural
a) Pull	ngisyem	{ngi#rr#syem}	ngirrsyem/ngirrem
b) Suck	ngusyum	{ngu#rr#syum}	ngurrsyum/ngurrum

Dual Subject Marker -gV

The vowel of the dual subject number marker is realised as either i or u. It is always u when it occurs word finally (ie. in simple verbs where an auxiliary can stand alone without a verb root) and where the following syllable vowel is u. It is realised as i where the following syllable vowel is i, e or a. I would posit u as its underlying form on the basis of its word-final realisation, and allow for its realisation as i in terms of the following vowel harmony rule.

$$/u/ \rightarrow \quad i \: /\_CV[-back],[+back, -high]$$
$$\rightarrow \quad u \: /\_CV[+back, +high]$$
$$u \: /\_\# \: [wordfinal]$$

The following examples demonstrate the realisations of -gV in these environments. Normal glossing practice is to write the auxiliary as a single unit, without using hyphens to show auxiliary-internal segmentation. In the following examples I have used a hyphen to mark off the dual subject number marker from the rest of the auxiliary unit, simply for clarity.

3-63   yerr-wirimbi   -firr   wirrim -gu
          Tr -whitegum-foot   3plSit   - dl
          cl   SU Pres SU
          They (dl) are sitting at the foot of the whitegum.

3-64   kuru ngerrminy -gu-bubu
      water 1plexHands-dl -fetch water
      * SU perf SU*
      We (dlex) brought water.

3-65   kanbi -nuwurr ngerrmi -gi -baty -pe?
      didjeridu-briefly 1plexHands-dl -hold -Fut
      *   SU Irr SU*
      Can we (dlex) have your didjeridu for a little while ?

3-66   wirrim -gi -fifi atyat
      3plSit -dl -smoke outside
      SU PresSU   Eng loan
      They (dl) are having a smoke outside.

3-67   warram -gi -pek
      3plPokeDtr-dl -drip
      SU Pres SU
      They (dl) are painting up.

Suppletive dual subject number marking.

  While the general observation that dual subject number is marked by -gV in the final position within the auxiliary accounts for the vast majority of dual subject auxiliary inflections, for four auxiliaries ('Sit, 'Go, 'Poke' and 'Slash') dual subject number is marked suppletively in the Past Imperfective inflection by a change in vowel quality of the auxiliary root form. The 1st person singular, 1st dual exclusive, and 1st plural exclusive Past Imperfective forms of these four auxiliaries are given in 3-68 below.

3-68	singular	dual	plural
Sit	ngini	nginne	nginni
Go	ngagadi	ngadde	ngaddi
Poke	ngani	nganne	nganni
Slash	nguni	ngunne	ngunni

For 'Go' we additionally find this suppletive dual subject marking in the Irrealis inflection.

3-69 Go	ngani	ngarrene	ngarrani

  'Go*' is completely anomalous in marking plural with -tyirri for the Present and Perfective, and -yirri for the Irrealis, and it marks dual with -girri. These forms are unattested elsewhere within the auxiliary paradigms. A glance at the 1st person exclusive forms for all four inflectional categories, set out in the example below, shows the Past Imperfective category to be

further anomalous in switching these suffixes, and having   -yirri
marking the dual, and -girri the plural.

3-70 | | Present | Perfective | Past Imperf | Irrealis |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1sg | ngerrimbin | ngerrim | ngerrini | ngirri |
| 1dlex | ngarringgirri | ngarringgirri | nganneyirri | ngannigirri |
| 1plex | ngarrintyirri | ngarrintyirri | ngannigerri | nganniyirri |

3.2.2   Auxiliary Root

The verbal systems of Ngan'giwumirri and Ngan'gikurunggurr both employ 31 auxiliary roots. In terms of their number, and apparently also their semantics, the two auxiliary systems appear to map perfectly onto each other. However there is a major, pervasive difference between them in terms of the number of tense/aspect/mood categories for which they subcategorise.

This section just deals briefly with the syllabic structure of auxiliary roots as a preliminary to the evidence for historical auxiliary tense suffixes that is presented in 3.4.2. The semantics of auxiliary roots, their transitivity, their distribution, and their co-occurrence with verb stems, are taken up in chapter four. The nature of auxiliary root inflection for categories of tense, aspect and mood is dealt with in 3.4.1.

Based on their Present and Perfective inflectional forms the 31 auxiliary roots can be divided into the three following syllabic types.

3-71 | Syllabic Structure | No. of auxiliaries |
|---|---|
| N | 2 |
| CVN | 18 |
| CVCVN | 11 |

Examples demonstrating each of these auxiliary structural types are set out in 3-72 to 3-74.

3-72 **nge** **-n** **-du**
1sg -Mouth -touch
SU Perf
I tasted it.

3-73 **nge** **-riny** **-du**
1sg -Hands -touch
SU Perf
I touched it.

3-74 **ngu** **-dupun** **-du**
1sg -Shove -touch
SU Perf
I tested it out/ had a feel of it.

3.2.3   Non-Subject Cross-referencing

3.2.3.1   Direct and Indirect Objects

In Ngan'gityemerri two types of non-subject argument are cross-referenced in the final slot of the auxiliary with bound pronominal suffixes. These categories of participant type are labelled 'Direct Object' and 'Indirect Object' (DO and IO in the example glosses). Before looking at the morphology of these two sets of pronouns, I comment on the nature of these categories of participant role.

Other than the minor use of IO forms in reflexive verbs (see 3.2.3.4), only higher animate participants are generally eligible for cross-referencing with DO and IO forms. On the animacy hierarchy humans, spirits and ancestral beings are placed high. On the other hand, insects, birds, mammals etc clearly hold a low position. Certain domesticated animals (dogs and horses for instance) can be variously viewed as higher or lower on the scale, perhaps not always qualifying for verbal cross-referencing, but clearly being eligible where they are addressed as second persons, included in the reference of first person forms, or within certain contexts play a sufficiently salient role within a discourse that they need to be referenced within the verb.

Indirect Object forms cross-reference higher animates that are: the implied locatives of intransitive motion verbs (3-76); the goals of speech act verbs (3-77); the targets of cognitive and perceptual verbs[6] like 'forget' (3-78), 'remember', 'recognise', 'listen', 'hear'; and entities that are the less affected 'objects', beneficiaries or goals of transitive verbs (3-79).

Direct Object forms, on the other hand, cross-reference those non-controlling patient-like participants that are acted upon by a transitive agent, including the recipient of 'give' (3-80 to 3-83).

It is the semantic nature of Ngan'gityemerri verbs that determines whether they cross-reference participants with DO or IO forms. Although we can make the general observation that DOs are highly affected patients, and IOs are less affected targets and goals, participants in a given verb cannot be variously coded with either set of forms. That is, the difference between DO and IO marking does not constitute a grammatical device that can be manipulated to allow for different degrees of patient affectivity.

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[6]Verbs of visual perception (like 'see') and emotion verbs like 'be jealous' that, through auxiliary selection, are viewed as being experienced through the visual senses, cross-reference their non-subject participants as Direct Objects.

Table 3-3 below gives the singular, dual and plural forms of the bound Direct and Indirect Object suffixes for Ngan'giwumirri and Ngan'gikurunggurr. As is evident from the table, 3rd singular is the only 'person/number' category that is specified for gender. Differences between the two dialects are only minor, and restricted to the 1sg IO (**ngiti** vs **ngindi**), the 2non-sg (**dirr(ki)** vs **nirr(ki)**), and the 3rd non-sg (**wurr(ki)** vs **wirr(ki)**).

<u>Ngan'gityemerri Bound Object Pronouns</u>

		Ngan'giwumirri		Ngan'gikurunggurr	
		<u>DO</u>	<u>IO</u>	<u>DO</u>	<u>IO</u>
Singular	1	**-ngi**	**-ngiti**	**-ngi**	**-ngindi**
	2	**-nyi**	**-mbi**	**-nyi**	**-mbi**
	3m	**- Ø**	**-ne**	**- Ø**	**-ne**
	f	**- Ø**	**-nge**	**- Ø**	**-nge**
Dual	1inc	**-nin**		**-nin**	
	1ex	**-ngirrki**		**-ngirrki**	
	2	**-nirrki**		**-dirrki**	
	3	**-wurrki**		**-wirrki**	
Plural	1inc	**-nin-nime**		**-nin-nime**	
	1ex	**-ngirr**		**-ngirr**	
	2	**-nirr**		**-dirr**	
	3	**-wurr**		**-wirr**	

Table 3-3

Two of the forms listed here have minor allomorphs. The 2sg IO suffix -mbi, as it appears following vowels, has an allomorph -bi following nasals. This is demonstrated in the examples below.

3-75 a) **ngemen'ge-mbi**
1sgArrive -2sg
SU Irr IO
I'll come to you.

b) **ngemen'gem-bi**
1sgArrive -2sg
SU Pres IO
I'm coming to you.

Note that in the above examples, this allomorphy results in the sacrifice of tense/mood marking. The auxiliary root in 3-75 a) achieves its Irrealis inflection by dropping its final nasal (cf. 3.4.2), but the 2sg IO allomorphy reinstates it, and as a consequence the present and irrealis inflected verbs both end up with the same surface form.

The other allomorphy is to be found in the 3rd non-sg forms, where the same environments, ie. post-vocalic and post-nasal, produce variation between -wurr(ki) and burr(ki) respectively. This is demonstrated nicely in 3-82 below.

The following Ngan'giwumirri examples 3-76 to 3-79 demonstrate the occurrence of indirect object pronouns in the auxiliary final position, and 3-80 to 3-83 demonstrate direct object pronouns.

3-76   yibe   yemen'ge-ngiti
         later   2sgArrive-1sg
                 SU Irr   IO
         Come to me later !

3-77   mamak ngiminy-nge
         goodbye 1sgSay   -3sgF
               SU Perf IO
         'Goodbye!' I said to her

3-78   minbe tyip -yumu -ngiti-tyeri
         Neg   dark-2sgSay -1sg -ear
                 SU Irr IO
         Don't forget me !

3-79   miyi nyinnin warriny -ngirr -fi -derri-tyutyuk
         food ANA   3plPoke -1plex-Mp-back -place
                 SU Perf IO   redup
         They laid out the food for us (pl).

3-80   minbe demim   -nirrki-pi   -yiri ?
         Neg   3sgHands -2dl   -head-numb
               SU Pres DO
         You two aren't feeling embarrassed, are you ?
         (lit: it's not numbing your (dl) heads, is it?)

3-81   deminy -ngirrki-dudu, e   deminy -ngirrki-ba -walal
         3sgHands-1dlex   -touch and 3sgHands- 1dl   -arm-shake
         SU Perf DO   redup   SU Perf DO   redup
         He woke us up and shook hands with us.

3-82   yawam -burrki-pe-yani, yudu   -wurrki-mi -wul -pe kinyi
         2sgTake-3dl   -Fut-2sgGo 2sgShove-3dl   -Val-return-Fut here
         SU Irr DO   Su Irr SU Irr   DO
         Bring these two (kids) with you, bring them back home here.

3-83 ya   -ngi-fi -me -Ø
2sgPoke-1sg-Mp-hand-IMP
SU Irr   DO
Give it to me !.

It is also apparent from Table 3-3 that there is currently complete neutralisation of the Direct Object and Indirect Object non-singular pronouns. Evidence from the Ngan'gimerri data collected by Gerhardt Laves in about 1930 suggests that the current paradigm results from the collapse of an earlier system where the contrast between Direct and Indirect Object bound pronouns was additionally made in the 1st exclusive, 2nd and 3rd person dual forms. From Laves' work we can reconstruct the following forms for Ngan'gimerri, a now extinct dialect of Ngan'gityemerri.

Ngan'gimerri Bound Object Pronouns

		DO	IO
	1	-ngi	-ngiti
Singular	2	-nyi	-mbi
	3m	-Ø	-ne
	f	-Ø	-nge
	1inc	-nin	
Dual	1ex	-nginggi	-ngirrki
	2	-ninggi	-nirrki
	3	-wunggi	-wurrki
	1inc	-nin-nime	
Plural	1ex	-ngirr	
	2	-nirr	
	3	-wurr	

Table 3-4

Hoddinott also collected some Ngan'giwumirri data, presumably in the early 1970's[7], and the bound object pronouns provided in Hoddinott and Kofod (1989:103), concur with Laves' Ngan'gimerri data in showing the same distinction between dual Direct and Indirect Object pronouns. The complete absence of distinct dual DO and IO pronouns in the speech of the Ngan'giwumirri people that I worked with between 1986 and 1988, suggests that this distinction has only been lost in very recent years. I never heard

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[7]According to Kofod he collected Ngan'gikurunggurr material during four fieldtrips, in 1967, 1972, 1973 and 1982. His Ngan'giwumirri data was presumably also collected on one or more of these trips.

the dual direct object forms (given by Laves and Hoddinott & Kofod) spontaneously uttered.

In conclusion I would suggest that there has been a general process of neutralisation of the non-singular bound Direct and Indirect Object pronominal paradigms. As the data of Laves and Hoddinott & Kofod suggest that there was in recent times a contrast between DO and IO in both the singular and dual number categories, we could hypothesize that at an even earlier stage the contrast may have also been found in the plural forms. The hypothetical neutralisation of the plural pronouns would have predated Laves' 1930 work, and the neutralisation of the dual forms would appear to have taken place over the last few decades. Note that this neutralisation has involved the loss of the Direct Object forms, and that it is the Indirect Object forms that have been retained.

3.2.3.2   Dual Subject/Object Portmanteau Pronominals.

In 3.2.3.1 above we have seen how object suffixes fill the final auxiliary position immediately following the auxiliary root. In section 3.2.1.2.2 we saw that subject duality is encoded primarily by the suffix -gV, also in this same position. That is, both morpheme types compete for access to the same verbal slot.

The dual subject marker -gV can only appear when this position is otherwise empty of overt object morphology. This condition is met where either a verb is intransitive and has no object argument, as in 3-84 a), or is transitive but has a 3rd sg direct object, which is cross-referenced by - Ø, as in 3-84 b).

3-84   a)   werrmen'geny-gu
                3plArrive   -dl
                SU Perf   SU
                They (dl) have arrived.

        b)   warriny- Ø /gu -pawal
                3plPoke   -3sg/dl - spear
                SU Perf   DO/SU
                They (dl) speared him.

Where this condition is not met, and the dual subject marker competes with overt object markers for access to the final auxiliary slot, Ngan'giwumirri and Ngan'gikurunggurr employ a set of portmanteau morphemes that encode both subject duality, and the person and number of singular Direct and Indirect objects. These portmanteau forms are listed in

Table 3-5 below. The only difference between the two languages is in the form of the dl sub+1sg IO. The NgK form is given in brackets.

Dual Subject + Singular Object Portmanteau Bound Pronouns

		DO	IO
	1	-ngerr	-ngeterr(ngindirr NgK)
Singular	2	-nyerr	-mberr
	3m		-nerr
	f		-ngerr

Table 3-5

Examples exploiting these portmanteau bound pronouns are set out below. Compare 3-85 and 3-86 with 3-84 a) and b) above.

3-85   **werrmen'geny-ngeterr**   3-86   **warriny-nyerr -pawal**
        3plArrive   -dl/1sg   *3plPoke-dl/2sg-spear*
        SU Perf   SU/IO   *SU Perf SU/DO*
        They (dl) came to me.   They (dl) speared you (sg).

3-87   **ngamban -nime -tyutytyurr ba!**   **ngirrminy-nerr**
        1plincGo- pl   - swim   HORT   *1plSay   -dl/3sgM*
        SU   Irr SU   redup   *SU Perf   SU/ IO*
        'Come on, let's go swimming!' we (dl) said to him.

3-88   **winy   -wirrminy-ngeterr**
        whistle-3plSay   -dl/1sg
             SU Perf SU/IO
        They (dl) whistled at me.

Where Direct and Indirect Objects are plural (and recall that, cf. 3.2.3.1, their formal marking is neutralised here), dual subject number marking is sacrificed to the cross-referencing of the object. Thus, as in 3-89 below, in verbs with dual subjects acting on non-singular objects, the subject can be marked for plural number in the slot preceding the auxiliary root, but number categories that are higher than plural on the markedness hierarchy, cannot be overtly represented.

3-89   **warriny -ngirr-tyerr -pu, nyinyi tyagani derrigidi-yerim**
        3plPoke -1plex-mouth-ask   2sg   what   want   -2sgHands
        SU Perf   DO   PRO   SU Pres
        They (dl or pl)(airline hostesses) asked each of us (pl), 'What would you like (to drink)?'

In section 3.2.1.2.2 we saw that four auxiliaries marked subject duality, not by -gV in the final auxiliary position, but suppletively by a change in the

quality of the vowel of the auxiliary root. For these few auxiliaries there is no competition between dual subject marking and non-singular object marking for access to the post-auxiliary root position. So verbs selecting these auxiliaries can encode both their subject duality and the person and number of their object.

3-90   **ngarrene-nyi-mi -wap-pe** **kinyi**
1dlexGo -2sg-Val-sit   -Fut   here
SU Irr   DO
We (dl) will come up here and sit with you.

3-91   **wanne   -ngirr-fi -mi -tyatit-tye agatyintyi-ne**
3dlPoke -1plex-Mp-Val-place-Past fishing   -PURP
SU PImp DO   redup
They (dl) were showing us (plex) how to prepare fishing tackle.

3.2.3.3   -Nime as Non-Subject Marker

We have seen how -nime in the post-verb root position marks both the subject number categories '1st inclusive plural' (cf. 3.2.1.2.1) and '1st exclusive, 2nd and 3rd person trial' (cf. 3.2.1.2.2). -Nime additionally marks these same categories for bound object pronouns, as in the examples below.

3-92   **nga   -wurrki-tyerr -pu-nime-pe**
1sgPoke- 3dl   -mouth-ask- tr   -Fut
SU Irr   DO   DO
I'll ask them three.

3-93   **gagu   money-ne   yedi   -nin -kayki-nime-tye**
animal   -PURP 3sgGo -1dlinc-call -pl -Past
generic   SU PImp IO   IO
He was calling out to us all for money.

Having -nime marking number categories for both subject and object would appear to be potentially very confusing, and begs the question - 'what happens when you get, for example, a 1st person plural inclusive subject acting on a 3rd person trial object, or vice versa?'. Consider the following example where -nime could denote either 'plural subject' or 'trial object'.

3-94   **ngandim-wurrki-fi -me -nime gagu**
1dlPoke - 3dl   -Mp-hand-pl/tr   animal
SU Perf   DO   SU/DO generic
1- We (dlinc) gave them (trial) some beef.
2- We (plinc) gave them (dual) some beef.

Devoid of context, this example is, admittedly, quite ambiguous. A Ngan'giwumirri or Ngan'gikurunggurr speaker, if offered this example, would probably try to disambiguate it by including numerically specific freeform NPs. However, in the context of normal speech, this double function of -nime presents no referential problems, for two reasons. Firstly, given the high semantic markedness of both the 'exclusive trial person' category, and the '1st inclusive plural' category, their co-occurrence as subject and object of the same verb is extremely rare. Secondly, recall the comments made in 3.2.1.2.2 about the tendency to employ plural subject marking on verbs with trial subjects, unless the subjects' 'threesomeness' has sufficient pragmatic salience to warrant its specific morphological marking. As a corollary to this, trial subjects are typically introduced to a discourse carrying full trial marking in their bound verbal morphology, but once reference to their 'threesomeness' has been established, they continue to be tracked by plural forms, in preference to the more highly marked trial ones. Thus the cross-referencing of two highly marked arguments as the subject and object of a single verb is generally avoided.

3-95 wadde -nime-tye nyinnin tyutytyurr-ne   winni-tyutytyurr-tye
      3dlGo -tr -Past ANA   swim   -PURP   3plSit -swim   -Past
      SUPImpSU   *SU PImp*
      The three of them went there and they (plural) swam about.

3.2.3.4   Reflexives and Reciprocals

The primary means by which the reflexive and reciprocal functions are encoded within the Ngan'gityemerri verb is through a mechanism of auxiliary substitution. A 'transitive' auxiliary (cf. 4.2) is replaced by a corresponding 'detransitivised' auxiliary. The resultant verb retains a verb stem denoting a 'transitive' activity, but is made monovalent through the selection of the 'detransitivised' auxiliary. It is in having both the actor and undergoer roles mapped onto the single argument of the verb, that leads to the reflexive/reciprocal interpretation. Compare the 'transitive' 'Hands' auxiliary in 3-96 with the substitution of the corresponding detransitivised 'HandsDtr' auxiliary in 3-97.

3-96 ngeriny - Ø -pul
      1sgHands-3sg-wash
      SU Perf   DO
      I washed him/her/it.

3-97   ngemeny   -pul
       1sgHandsDtr-wash
       SU Perf
       I washed myself.

The semantics of 'detransitivised' auxiliaries, and the consequences of their selection in marking reflexivity and reciprocality, are taken up in more detail in 4.5.2.

Note though that reflexives and reciprocals can additionally be more explicitly encoded with indirect object pronominal forms in the final position of the auxiliary. In this function they differ from the other 'goal-like' functions of the Indirect Objects in that they encode the reflexive/reciprocal relationship for both higher and lower animates. That is, the animacy restrictions that determine the eligibility of goal arguments for cross-referencing within the verb (cf. 3.2.3.1), do not apply to reciprocals and reflexives. Thus the lower animate subject of the reflexive verb formed with the 'detransitivised' 'Poke' auxiliary in 3-98 takes Indirect Object pronoun **-ne**.

3-98   e-fenggu   darany   -ne -fi -dudu
       A-long   *3sgPokeDtr-3sgM-Mp-coil*
       cl =snake   *SU Perf   IO*
       The snake coiled itself up.

The 3rd singular masculine indirect object form is the unmarked reflexive for lower animates, as in 3-98, regardless of their number. Feminine indirect object forms are also available, though as demonstrated in 3-99, their selection constitutes a marked claim about the gender of the lower animate(s).

3-99   wuwu diwen   -nge -firr -lak
       dog   3sgMouthDtr-3sgF-foot-lick
            SU Pres   IO
       The bitch is licking herself on the foot.

Given that these verbs are monovalent, and that the person and number of the single argument is unambiguously encoded in the bound subject marker, the occurrence of indirect object pronouns in the final position of the auxiliary in reflexive/reciprocal verbs is essentially redundant. It generally carries no new information (although note that **-nge** in 3-99 does include gender information whereas the subject pronoun does not), and can be included or omitted with no significant difference to the meaning of the verb. The inclusion of bound indirect object pronouns in

detransitivised auxiliaries, may be largely governed by practical considerations, such as distinguishing between those 'transitive' and 'detransitivised' auxiliaries that are similar in form, like 'Bash' and 'BashDtr' in 3-100 and 3-101, which are distinguished only by the quality of the auxiliary root vowel. Within the context of the harmonic processes that regressively influence vowel quality in the verb complex (cf. 2.4.4.2), the inclusion of the indirect object pronoun in 3-101 does serve to draw attention to the 'detransitivised' (and therefore reciprocal) status of the auxiliary.

3-100	**ngerrben-∅-lulu**	3-101	**ngerrbin -ngirr-lulu**
	1plexBash-3sg-swear		*1plexBashDtr-1plex-swear*
	SU Perf DO		*SU Perf IO*
	We swore at him.		We swore at each other.

3.2.3.5   Implicated Arguments

In addition to Direct and Indirect Objects, there is another set of bound pronominals that can be marked within the verb, not, as is the case for DOs and IOs, within the auxiliary, but following the CVS and non-singular marker -**nime**, and preceding the final tense enclitics. These pronominals are labelled 'implicated' and are glossed in the examples as IMPL.

<u>Ngan'gityemerri Implicated Pronominals</u>

		Ngan'giwumirri	Ngan'gikurunggurr
Sg	1	-ngidde	-nginde
	2	-kide	-kide
	3m	-nide	-nide
	3f	-ngide	-ngide
Dl	1inc	-ninde	-ninde
	1ex	-ngirrkide	-ngirrkide
	2	-nirrkide	-dirrkide
	3	-wurrkide	-wirrkide
Pl	1inc	-ninde nime	-ninde nime
	1ex	-ngidde	-ngirrse
	2	-nidde	-dirrse
	3	-wudde	-wirrse

Table 3-6

As can be seen from Table 3-6, the implicated pronouns can be segmented into person/number morphemes and a role marker -de. The person/number stems generally resemble the IO bound pronominals given in Table 3-3 . In fact the non-singular person/number morphemes are identical with IO forms. The differences between the Ngan'giwumirri and Ngan'gikurunggurr implicated pronouns can be seen to mirror the differences found in their respective IO pronominal paradigms. For instance, in the 2nd person non-singular forms we find the same variation between initial d- in Ngan'gikurunggurr and initial n- in Ngan'giwumirri, and in the 3rd person non-singular forms we find the same variation between the vowel -i- in Ngan'gikurunggurr and -u- in Ngan'giwumirri.

The differing treatments in Ngan'giwumirri and Ngan'gikurunggurr of the underlying rr + d cluster at the boundary between the person/number morpheme and -de have been covered in 3.2.1.2.2. Briefly, in Ngan'giwumirri application of the apical assimilation rule (cf. 2.4.) produces a geminate stop cluster, (e.g. -ngirrde → −ngidde). However the underlying rr#d cluster in Ngan'gikurunggurr undergoes frication of the apical obstruent, (e.g. -ngirrde → -ngirrse).

Among the singular implicated forms, the appearance of k- as a marker of second person is encountered nowhere else in Ngan'gityemerri, and the third person masculine and feminine forms have a different vowel to their corresponding IO forms (-ni-de / -ngi-de vs -ne / -nge).

The implicated pronouns allow for the verbal cross-referencing of an entity that is adversely affected by the activity of a verb. The animacy constraints on eligibility for cross-referencing within the verb, noted for DOs and IOs in 3.2.3.1, also apply here. We can distinguish two usages of the implicated pronominals. Firstly, in their general function they cross-reference entities that are adversely affected by the activity of intransitive (including detransitivised) verbs.

3-102 **peke**   **kinyi yenim-me -syirr**   **-ngidde**
      tobacco this   *3sgGo -hand-extinguish-1sg*
                  SU Pres   *IMPL*
      This tobacco's always going out on me.

3-103 **naga**   **ngayi dagam -felfil -nginde**
NgK *husband 1sg*   *3sgFeet-run -1sg*
            PRO SU Pres away IMPL
      My husband has run out on me.

The only constraint is that the implicated entity cannot be co-referential with the intransitive subject. Thus the cross-referencing of first singular person with implicated pronouns in 3-104 is unacceptable.

3-104 **palak-ngumum (*-ngidde)**
     tired -1sgDo   -1sg
        SU Pres   IMPL
     I'm tired.

General adversative marking is restricted to intransitive verbs. Thus adversely affected entities cannot be cross-referenced in transitive verbs, regardless of whether they may be coreferential with the DO, as in 3-105, or constitute a non-core argument, as in 3-106.

3-105 **warriny-ngi-pawal (*-ngidde)**
     3plPoke-1sg-spear   -1sg
     SU Perf DO   IMPL
     They speared me (*on me) (i.e.adversely affecting me).

3-106 **warriny-nyi-pawal (*-ngidde)**
     3plPoke-2sg-spear   -1sg
     SU Perf DO   IMPL
     They speared you (*on me) (i.e.adversely affecting me).

Note however, that for those intransitive verbs that allow the cross-referencing of goals or targets with IO pronouns (like the verbs of cognition and perception noted in 3.2.3.1), the alternative of cross-referencing those goals or targets with implicated pronominals is an available option.

3-107 a)   **yerrimbin-tyety -wudde**
            3sgGo*   -afraid-3pl
            SU Pres   IMPL
            He's afraid of them.

or   b)   **yerrimbin-wurr-tyety**
            3sgGo*   -3pl   -afraid
            SU Pres IO
            He's afraid of them.

The construction type whereby implicated entities are cross-referenced within the verb can be paraphrased by having the implicated entity marked with free pronouns outside of the verbal complex. Thus 3-102 above could be reworded as:

3-108 **peke   kinyi yenim-me -syirr   ngayi**
       tobacco this   3sgGo   -hand-extinguish 1sg
                 SU Pres   PRO
       This tobacco's always going out on me.

Note though that there is no form of case marking available to external implicated pronouns, corresponding to the implicated role morpheme -**de** discussed above.

The examples below demonstrate the cross-referencing in the post verb root position of entities adversely affected by the activity of intransitive verbs, in 3-109 and 3-110, and a detransitivised verb in 3-111.

3-109 **yeniny -pal -ngidde, minbe-nyine-tye   ngi   -wurr-tyerrakul**
       3sgGo-break-1sg   Neg   -FOC -Past 1sgSit-3pl -talk
       SU Perf   IMPL   SU Irr IO
       (The radio) broke down on me, so I was unable to talk to them then.

3-110 **yenim -purity-wirrkide**
       3sgGo-hide   -3dl
       SU Pres   IMPL
       He's in hiding from them two.

3-111 **ngambara   -mentyi-gerrgirr-nide -pe, wamanggal nyin**
       1plincPokeDtr-neck   -cut   -3sgM-Fut wallaby   ANA
       SU   Irr   redup IMPL
       Let's circle around on it, so that wallaby will
       ngarrnguweri-nyine wiri -pe, nyinyi werrfe-ninggi,
       between   -FOC   3sgSit-Fut 2sg   mid -INSTR
                       SU Irr   PRO distant
       be between us. You (go) that way, and
       ngayi kin-ninggi   ngana-gulirr-pe
       1sg   this-INSTR 1sgFeet-circle-Fut
       PRO   SU Irr
       I'll go around this way.

The second identifiable function of implicated pronominals is to mark those entities whose bodyparts are adversely affected in the activity expressed in transitive verbs. In examples like 3-112 and 3-113 below where bodyparts are acted upon by external agents, the bodyparts function as direct objects (cross-referenced by Ø) and their bodypart possessors are cross-referenced with implicated pronouns.

3-112 wusye deminy - Ø -firr[8] -tit   -ngidde
       hair   3sgHands-3sg-foot-pluck-1sg
       SU Perf DO   IMPL
       She plucked out a hair from my head on me.

3-113 marrawuk-ninggi   wumbun- Ø -matati-kide detyerr nyinyi
       dry season-AGENT 3sgSlash -3sg -split -2sg   mouth   2sg
       wind   SU Perf DO   IMPL   PRO
       The dry season wind has split your lip on you.

The effect of 'implicated' coding here is to construe the bodypart, rather than its possessor, as the undergoer, thereby decreasing the degree to which the possessor as a whole is felt to be affected.

This implicated construction type clearly treats the relationship between a person and their inalienable bodyparts in a different manner to the 'possessor ascension' construction discussed in section 3.5 on bodypart incorporation. There we saw that inalienably possessed bodyparts as objects of transitive verbs are generally incorporated within the verb where they function in apposition to their possessor which is obligatorily cross-referenced as direct object.

3-114 menggin -ngi-ba -wa
       3sgSnatch-1sg-arm-pick
       SU Perf DO   up
       She picked me up by the arm.

In 3-114 the whole is perceived to be affected by the action and the incorporated bodypart simply provides additional information about the location, within the possessor's body, of that contact. Contrastively, cross-referencing the possessor as an implicated argument, as in examples 3-112 and 3-113 above, has the effect of lessening the degree to which the possessor can be thought of as wholly affected by the activity directed towards a part of it. Indeed, the innate relationship between a whole and an inalienable bodypart is sufficiently disengaged by having the whole construed as an implicated argument, that this construction type allows a bodypart, as an intransitive subject, to engage in activity that adversely affects the 'implicated' possessor, e.g.

8firr - 'foot' is a lexical rather than syntactic incorporation (cf. 3.5.2). - firr-tit is thus a lexically compounded verb root meaning 'to pluck something up by its base', in this case denoting that the hair was removed from the follicle, not broken somewhere along its length. The construction type discussed here, where a bodypart is treated as a separate entity to its possessor, is not permissive of syntactic incorporation of that bodypart into the verbal complex.

3-115 depi   yenim-purity-ngidde
       head   3sgGo -hide   -1sg
       *   SU Pres   MPL*
       My mind has slipped away on me.
       (lit: My head is hiding on me)

3-116 ngayi watyerrmusye ngaganim, minde-nana ngal -nging -nguri,
NgK   *1sg   old man   1sgGo   Neg -INAB erect-1sgDo-penis*
       PRO   SU Pres   SU Pres
       I'm an old man, I can't get it up any more.
       danguri-ngayi misyi yenim-nginde wakay
       penis -1sg   die   3sgGo - 1sg   finished
       *   PRO   SU Pres IMPL*
       My cock's died on me.

3-117 akumifi daram   -fi -dudu-ngidde
       tendon 3sgPokeDtr-Mp-curl -1sg
       *   SU Pres   IMPL*
       My tendons are cramping on me.

3-118 kultyinimbi depi ngayi nyinyi-ne   demeni -meyenggi-ngidde-tye
       yesterday   head 1sg   2sg   -PURP 3sgHandsDtr-talk -1sg   -Past
       *   PRO PRO   SU PImp   IMPL*
       Yesterday I was thinking about you.
       (lit: My head was talking to itself about you, on me.)

3.3 Structure of the Complex Verb Stem

In 3.1.1 we noted that there are two types of auxiliary. Those which can stand as independent verbs, we called 'simple auxiliaries', and those which cannot stand as independent verbs we called 'complex auxiliaries'. 'Complex auxiliaries' are dependent on another verbal constituent, the Complex Verb Stem, and it is the structure of this constituent that we will examine in this section.

Minimally, and indeed probably most frequently, a CVS may be represented by a simple verb root, such as -**wap** 'sit' in the following example.

      3-119 ngaganiny-wap
            1sg Go   -sit
            SU Perf
            I sat down.

Additionally, within the CVS and preceding the verb root, we find two types of applicative prefix, divisive prefixes, and incorporated bodyparts. The applicative prefix fi- encodes 'manipulation'.

3-120   ngariny -nyi -fi -wap
        1sgPoke-2sg-Mp-sit
        SU Perf DO
        I left you sitting / I sat you (somewhere).

The applicative prefix **mi-** raises the valence of the verb root's associated argument structure.

3-121   ngaganiny-nyi-mi-wap
        1sg Go   -2sg-Val-sit
        SU   Perf DO
        I sat down with you.

The divisive prefixes provide information about the spatial divisions of objects. e.g. **gen-** 'middle'.

3-122   ngebeny -gen-ket
        1sgBash-mid-cut
        SU Perf
        I chopped it in half/two.

And bodypart terms can also be incorporated into the verb.

3-123   mudiga ngaganiny-madi-wap
        car   1sg Go   -chest-sit
        SU   Perf
        I sat inside the car.

The incorporation of bodypart terms into the verb is taken up and discussed as a separate section in 3.5. Each of the remaining CVS constituents are examined in the following subsections.

3.3.1   Applicative Prefixes Fi- and Mi-

In Ngan'gityemerri there are two applicative prefixes **fi-** and **mi-** that can be applied to verb roots. Of these two prefixes, **mi-** is clearly related to the 'eye' bodypart which has the freeform **da-muy**. When it is incorporated within the verb **da-muy** drops the class prefix and the root **muy** is irregularly reduced to **mi**. That the applicative prefix is related to this bodypart can be clearly demonstrated by showing that it too resumes the

form **muy** when it is not prefixed to the verb root. Within the current verbal structure of Ngan'giwumirri with its fixed constituent ordering, this situation cannot arise. However in the Ngan'gimerri data of Gerhardt Laves, where verb roots frequently precede the auxiliary, we find the applicative prefix **mi** appearing word-finally, in which position it retains the form **muy**. Compare both the variant orderings given by Laves in examples a) and b) below, with the same verb in 3-121 above.

> 3-124 a) **yenim-mi-wab**[9]
> *3sgGo-Val-sit*
> *SU Pres*
> He sits with him.

> b) **wab yenim-muy**
> *sit 3sgGo-Val*
> *SU Pres*
> He sits with him.

-**Fi**-, on the other hand, is not demonstrably related to any freeform bodypart lexeme. If we were to assume that applicative -fi- is derived from some other form, there are three candidates to be considered. Fi does occur both as a freeform nominal meaning 'string/spun twine', and as a verb root meaning 'breathe/exhale', however neither of these seem a likely source. A better candidate would be -pi - 'head', as it would both pattern with -mi- in developing its applicative function as a further development of its incorporation within the verb as a bodypart, and the semantics of -pi- might perhaps be compatible with the notion of 'manipulation' that is conveyed by applicative -fi-. There are however no obvious environmental or other factors that would motivate a shift from p → f, unless we were to consider the hypothesis that the development of applicative -fi- from the incorporated bodypart -pi- predated the probably recent development of phonemic fricatives within the phonological system of Ngan'gityemerri. I conclude that if applicative -fi- had its source in a cognate form in another word class, then the class of bodypart terms would be the most likely candidate, noting though that the relationship is no longer transparent.

3.3.1.1   -Fi- Manipulation

-Fi- is applied to verb roots in verbs that can be thought of as involving, not merely an agent operating on an object, but more specifically *manipulating* that object from a position of control.

---

9 Retaining Laves spelling.

In verbs having inanimate objects, the sense of manipulation brought to the verb by the application of -fi-, is directly with regard to the physical location/shape of that object. This is apparent in 3-125 below, where in a) and b) it is the location of the object that is manipulated, and in c) and d) where it is the spatial arrangement.

3-125 a) **ngariny -fi -garri-tyat   yawurr**
1sgPoke -Mp-leg   -place   tree
SU Perf
I placed it against the trunk of the tree.

b) **ngariny -fi -madi-tyuk   entpek**
1sgPoke-Mp-chest-place   suitcase
SU Perf   (Eng:handbag)
I placed them inside my suitcase.

c) **ngariny -fi -dudu fi**
1sgPoke -Mp-swell   string
SU Perf
I coiled the string up.

d) **ngariny -fi -tyerr -pek   yawul**
1sgPoke-Mp-mouth-drip   spear
SU Perf
I rejoined the (broken) spear shaft.

In verbs having human objects, the sense of manipulation and control of the object that the application of -fi- encodes is not so much in terms of the physical location of the object (though this interpretation is frequently also allowed), but rather in terms of the human object being under the psychological, or authoritative control of the agent.

3-126 a) **wuni -yirre   ngariny-Ø -fi -wap**
there-CORRECT   1sgPoke-3sg-Mp-sit
SU Perf DO
I left her sitting back there.

b) **dangim -ngi -fi -mi -lit**
3sgPoke-1sg-Mp-Val-cover
SU Pres DO
He's blocking the view from me.

c) **dam   -ngi-fi -derri-sul**
3sgPoke-1sg-Mp-back-arise
SU Pres DO
He kept me awake all night.

The encoding of an object as being under the physical or psychological control of an agent need not always bear the malevolent connotation that the above examples may suggest, though this is frequently the case. In the example below, the 'controlled' status of the object results from the context in which he is receiving direction or instruction, and is not imbued with any sense of menace or malevolence.

3-127   **dangim -ngi-fi -mi -tyatit   Ngan'giwumirri-ne**
        3sgPoke-1sg-Mp-Val-place   -PURP
        SU Pres- DO   redup
        He's teaching me to speak Ngan'giwumirri.

Two verbs selecting the 'Mouth' auxiliary (associated with activity at the mouth generally, and speech particularly) select -fi-, and both entail the manipulation and control of an object argument by means of oral direction. In 3-128 below, the application of -fi- to the verb root -gulgul -'stir' (as one would stir sugar into tea) and combining it with 'Mouth' produces a verb meaning 'to manipulatively stir someone up through speech/to encite someone to do something they wouldn't otherwise do'. In 3-129 the application of -fi- to the verb root -ket, and its combination with 'Mouth' produces a verb meaning 'to deceive someone through speech/to lie to someone'.

3-128   **ngem   -ne -fi -gulgul-nimbi,   danginy-nyi-nguru-waty**
        1sgMouth-3sg-Mp-stir   -CAUS   3sgPoke-2sg -penis -consume
        SU PerfIO   SU Perf DO
        He only fucked you because I incited him to do it.

3-129   **dendi   dingim   -bi -fi -ket**
        lie   3sgMouth-2sg-Mp-cut
            SU Perf   IO
        He lied to you.

Detransitivised auxiliaries (cf. 4.5.2) involve the manipulation by a subject of parts or the whole of his own body. They combine with verb roots that denote 'transitive-like' activities in that they treat a bodypart as an object, e.g.

3-130   **ngudeny   -garri-fityi**
           1sgShoveDtrD-leg   -roll
           SU Perf
           I crossed my legs.

However, in terms of formal criteria (cf. 4.2) verbs formed with 'detransitivised' auxiliaries are intransitive, being unable to cross-reference an O within the verb. Each of the 'detransitivised' auxiliaries can be thought of as the 'inherently reflexive' equivalent of another 'transitive' auxiliary. This is demonstrated below where 3-131 a) is a transitive verb formed with the 'Poke' auxiliary and 3-131 b) is a intransitive verb formed with the 'PokeDtr' auxiliary.

3-131 a) **ngariny -Ø -pek**   b) **ngarany   -pek**
           1sgPoke-3sg-drip   *1sgPokeDtr-paint*
           SU Perf DO   *SU Perf*
           I painted dots on it/him.   I painted dots on myself

A large proportion of the verbs selecting detransitivised auxiliaries, because they entail manipulation of the shape or location of the bodypart object, combine these auxiliaries with -fi- applied verb roots. The a) and b) pairs in the examples below demonstrate both transitive and corresponding detransitivised auxiliaries, in combination with the same -fi- applied verb roots.

3-132 a) **ngariny -fi -tit   mudiga**   b) **ngarany   -fi -tit**
           1sgPoke-Mp-raise   car   *1sgPokeDtr-Mp-raise*
           SU Perf   *SU Perf*
           I raised (jacked up) the car.   I raised myself/ I got up.

3-133 a) **fi   ngariny -fi -dudu**
           twine   1sgPoke-Mp-swell
           SU Perf
           I coiled up the rope.

b) **ngarany   -fi -dudu**
     1sgPokeDtr-Mp-swell
     SU Perf
     I curled myself up (into foetal position).

3-134 a) **ngariny -fi -garri-tyat**
           1sgPoke-Mp-leg   -place
           SU Perf
           I placed it against the tree trunk.

b) **ngarany   -fi -gimi-tyat   keninggisyi**
     1sgPokeDtr-Mp-side -place   canoe
     SU Perf
     I placed/positioned myself on the side of the boat.

3.3.1.2 -Mi- Valency Increasing

Verb roots, in Ngan'gityemerri, bear an associated argument structure; that is, verb roots are either monovalent or bivalent (see 4.2.2). -Mi- is applied to verb roots to allow the introduction of a new object argument to the base verb.   -Mi- can therefore be said to derive a new verb root with a unit-augmented argument structure. This is exemplified in the examples below, where -wap and -tyerr, verb roots with monovalent argument structures in a), are prefixed with -mi- in b) to allow for the promotion of thematic comitative arguments to core direct objects, qualifying for cross-referencing within the verb.

> 3-135   a)   **ngaganiny - wap**
> *1sg Go   -sit*
> *SU Perf*
> I sat down.
>
> b)   **ngaganiny-nyi-mi-wap**
> *1sg Go   -2sg-Val -sit*
> *SU Perf DO*
> I sat down with you.
>
> 3-136   a)   **yeniny -tyerr**
> *3sgGo - stop*
> *SU Perf*
> He pulled up/ came to a halt.
>
> b)   **yeniny -ngi-mi -tyerr**
> *3sgGo -1sg-Val -stop*
> *SU Perf DO*
> He pulled up at me/ alongside me.

All -mi- applied objects are cross-referenced within the verb as direct objects, regardless of their thematic role.

As might well be anticipated from its valence-raising function, -mi- is generally implicated in the derivation of transitive verbs from intransitive ones. Recall (cf. 4.2) that auxiliaries with different transitivity values can be combined with the same verb root. Where a transitive auxiliary combines with a verb root that has a monovalent argument structure, that verb root requires the application of -mi- to raise its valency and allow for the promotion of an applied object argument. This is evident in the pairs of verbs in the examples below. Examples a) are intransitive verbs with monovalent verb roots. In examples b), where the transitive

(causative) equivalents of a) are derived by the substitution of transitive auxiliaries, the verb roots are correspondingly made bivalent by -mi- prefixation.

3-137 a) **ngiriny-di**
1sgSit-cry
SU Perf
I cried.

b) **ngum   -nyi-mi-di**
1sgSlash-2sg-Val-cry
SU Perf DO
I made you cry.

3-138 a) **ngaganiny-fafa**
1sgGo   -scream
SU Perf
I screamed.

b) **ngebeny -Ø -mi-fafa**
1sgBash -3sg-Val-scream
SU Perf DO
I made her scream.

3-139 a) **ngudeny-wul**
NgK   *1sgShoveDtrD -return*
SU Perf
I returned.

b) **ngudupuny-nyi-mi-wul**
1sg Slash   -2sg-Val-return
SU Perf   DO
I took you back / I returned you.

3-140 a) **ngirim-bubu**
1sgSit -sleepy
SU Pres
I am sleepy.

b) **ngeriny   -nyi-mi -bubu**
1sg Hands-2sg-Val-sleepy
SU Perf   DO
I made you sleepy.
(by, for instance, rubbing your back with my hands).

Similarly -mi- can be applied to bivalent verb roots to augment their associated role structure and allow for the promotion of a third argument to direct object. Applied object arguments raised in this way, typically have the thematic role of maleficiary.

3-141 a)   **ngeriny -Ø -dum**
            1sgHands-3sg-bury
            SU Perf   DO
            I buried it

      b)   **ngeriny   -nyi-mi-dum**
            1sgHands-2sg-Val-bury
            SU Perf   DO
            I stole it from you.
            (lit: I buried it on you)

3-142 a)   **yenim -Ø -lit**
            3sgGo   -3sg-cover
            SU PresDO
            He's blocking it/ covering it.

      b)   **dangim -ngi -fi -mi -lit**
            3sg Poke-1sg-Mp-Val-cover
            SU Pres DO
            He's covering it from me/He's blocking my view of it.

As applicative -mi- and incorporated bodyparts cannot co-occur as prefixes to the verb root, it is not always apparent which role -mi- is playing in a given verb. That is, there are verbs employing -mi- in which not only is an association with 'eye' quite plausible in semantic terms, but in which -mi- could also be analysed as an applicative prefix augmenting the valence of the verb root. Consider 3-143 and 3-144.

3-143 a)   **ngirim -bubu**
            1sgSit -sleepy
            SU Pres
            I'm sleepy.

      b)   **ngerim   -mi-bubu**
            1sgHands-Val-sleepy
            SU Pres
            I'm making him sleepy / I'm putting him to sleep.

3-144 a)   **ngeriny -mi -wat**
            1sgHands-eye-hook
            SU Perf
            I hooked it up.

      b)   **ngeriny -syi -wat**
            1sgHands-nose-hook
            SU Perf
            I hooked it up.

In 3-143 b) -mi- could conceivably be an incorporated object bodypart, as an association with 'eye', in a verb meaning 'to put someone to sleep', would be quite plausible. However by comparison with the intransitive verb in 3-143 a) it is apparent that -mi- in 4-25 b) has been applied to the verb root -bubu to augment its associated monovalent argument structure, to make its compositional valency compatible with its lexical transitivity.

In 3-144 a) -mi- could conceivably be an applicative prefix augmenting the valency of the verb root -wat. We could determine this with certainty if, as in 3-143 above, we could contrast it with an intransitive verb employing the same verb root. No such verb in fact exists, however we can show that in this case -mi- is functioning as an incorporated bodypart patterning with -syi- 'nose' in 3-144 b). The verb in 3-144 means 'to hang up an object by passing some sort of hook through it'. The incorporation of -mi- in 3-144 a) focusses on the 'eye-like hole' through which the hook is inserted. The incorporation of -syi- in 3-144 b), on the other hand, focusses on the 'nose-like hook' that is inserted through the hole.

For non-native speakers this method of comparison can be employed to disambiguate the particular function of -mi- in potentially ambiguous instances. Needless to say, for native speakers who acquire an implicit feel for the associated argument structure of verb roots, such a test is needless. We should also consider the possibility that in verbs like 3-143 a) above, where an eye association is compatible with the verbal semantics, that -mi- encodes both grammatical and lexical meaning. Green (1989) notes in Marrithiyel that applicative prefixes clearly retain their bodypart semantics.

3.3.2   Divisive Prefixes

In addition to the major bodypart terms that are incorporated into the verb, there are three supplementary divisive prefixes filling slot 7 that are also incorporable. These prefixes convey spatial/divisional information about an argument of the predicate. The prefix -gen- broadly means the 'middle', or perhaps less specifically 'in two', as there seems to be no strong suggestion of division into equal parts. -Gen- prefixes a couple of verb roots, most frequently the verb root -ket 'cut', as in the following examples.

3-145 yawurr ngebeny-gen-ket   3-146 wamanggal   ngupun-gen -ket
     tree   *1sgBash-mid-cut*   *wallaby*   *1sgSlash-mid-cut*
            SU Perf   *SU Perf*
     I chopped the tree in two.   I cut the wallaby in the middle /
                                    I gutted the wallaby.

The other two divisive prefixes, -gimi- and -ngirrmi-, both denoting 'the side', as opposed to the 'middle', have only been recorded in a single verb, as given in 3-147 below.

3-147 a) **minbe yarra   -fi -gimi-tyat -Ø   yeninggisyi**
NgK   *Neg   2plPokeDtr-Mp-side-place-IMP   canoe*
            SU Irr
         Don't all sit yourselves on the one side of the boat!

b) **ngarani   -fi -ngirrmi-tyat -tye**
    1sgPokeDtr-Mp-side   -place-Past
    SU PImp
    I had lain myself down on my side.

For the purpose of incorporation these divisive prefixes can be seen to behave much like the major bodyparts. This is apparent by comparing the incorporated divisives in examples 3-147 above, with the syntactically incorporated bodyparts in 3-148 below.

3-148 a) **ngariny -fi -firr -tyat**   b) **ngariny -fi -garri-tyat**
          1sgPoke-Mp-foot-place   *1sgPoke -Mp-leg   -place*
          SU Perf   *SU Perf*
          I placed it at the foot (of the tree   I placed it against the).
                                              trunk (leg of the tree).

However divisives can be distinguished from the major incorporable bodyparts in several important ways. Firstly, these divisive prefixes are not particular bodypart terms. They neither belong to the formal bodypart class, nor do they have any independent nominal status[10]. Secondly, they can be shown to occupy a different verbal slot, preceding incorporated bodyparts. In the examples below -gen- precedes the incorporated bodypart -ge- 'belly', with which it would appear to be partially synonymous in that incorporated -ge-, conveying the notion of 'belly / guts', indirectly implies the 'middle' of a torso.

3-149 a) **dudu   -mem -gen -ge -nyine**
          swollen-3sgDo-mid-belly-FOC
            SU Pres
          He's got a fat belly now/He's thickened around the middle.

---

[10]If it could be established that the -gimi in **anggirrgimi** - 'ribs' could be segmented off as an independent morpheme, then we may have some evidence of the occurrence of these divisive terms outside of the verb.

b)   **yeniny-ngirr-gen -ge -tyerr**
3sgGo-1plex-mid-belly-stop
SU Perf IO
She pulled up alongside us (standing beside the car door, i.e. at our car's 'middle').

Thirdly, as their limited occurrence may suggest, divisives are lexically incorporated as elements of a verb root compound, and do not appear to be productive. In particular, they fail the main test for productive, syntactic incorporation, that of paraphrase as external nominals. Thus, example 3-150 below (based on 3-145 above) would be quite ungrammatical with the divisive morpeme extracted from within the verb.

3-150   ***yawurr ngebeny-ket gen**
tree   1sgBash -cut   mid
SU Perf
I chopped the tree in two

3.3.3 Verb Root Morphology

Ngan'giwumirri and Ngan'gikurunggurr employ about 160 verb roots that combine with 30 auxiliary roots in forming complex verbs. In addition to these 160-odd verb roots, there are probably another 50 derived verb roots. These include bodyparts functioning as verb roots, denominalised locative and associative verb roots, and adjectives. In this section I will examine each of these types of verb root, dealing firstly with the class of true verb roots.

I will begin by commenting on the phonotactics and reduplication of verb roots. As both these areas of concern are useful in defining verb roots as a wordclass, I will draw comparison with the phonotactics and reduplication of freeform nominals.

3.3.3.1   Verb Root Phonotactics

One criterion by which verb roots are distinguishable from nominals is in terms of their syllabic structure. Slightly more than half of the verb roots are monosyllabic (85/160), compared with only 15-odd monosyllables recorded in the entire nominal lexicon.

Additionally, the phonotactic constraints that apply to verb roots differ from those that apply to nominals. The initial consonant of a verb root patterns more like a C_4 than a C_1, (cf. 2.3.3). For instance, unlike free nominals, verb roots can have the apical fricative /s/ word-initially.

3-151 a)   ngeriny -madi-si
            1sgHands-chest-break
            SU Perf
            I bent it (the sapling) over.

      b)   dangim -fi -sul
            3sgPoke-Mp-light
            SU Pres
            It's becoming light (daybreak).

However where nominals can be vowel-initial, verb roots cannot. The difference between the phonotactic possibilities for these two wordclass types would appear to stem from their capacity to occur word-initially. Unlike free nominals, verb roots in the contemporary Ngan'gityemerri verb structure are fixed in non-initial word position. Intriguingly, this was not always the case. The 1930 data of Gerhardt Laves clearly show that at a previous stage in Ngan'giwumirri, verb roots functioned as independent phonological words, and indeed often preceded the auxiliary verb. Laves' data include no examples of word-initial verb roots beginning with /s/, but then I have only recorded two. The scarcity of such examples is suggestive of their recent development, i.e. once verb roots were fixed within the post-auxiliary position, they may have expanded the phonotactic possibilities of their initial consonants from C_1 to the less restricted possibilities for C_4.

3.3.3.2   Verb Root Reduplication

In section 2.5.2.1 we noted that all nominals reduplicate in full, as in the following example.

3-152   a)   ngunngun   -   percussion flint

         b)   marrimarri   -   knife (NgK)

         c)   nintyinintyi   -   bush / scrub

         d)   a-melmel   -   cockatoo's crest

         e)   wirritywirrity -   rainbow lorikeet

All Ngan'gityemerri reduplicated nominals are inherently reduplicated, not derived in any productive manner from single roots. They constitute two phonological words with respect to their stress marking, but a single morphological word in terms of their interaction with class markers and post-positions. This kind of disparity in word status is a

common feature of reduplicated nominals in non-Pama Nyungan languages (Ann Dineen: pers. comm.)

In contrast the morphology of verb root reduplication is quite complex. Monosyllabic verb roots reduplicate in full, as in 3-153.

3-153	a)	-pu	→	-pupu	-	ask
	b)	-we	→	-wewe	-	vomit
	c)	-da	→	-dada	-	strike

We know that this reduplication is to the right, (i.e. the reduplicated form follows the stem), because the reduplicated syllable generally undergoes vowel change. The target vowel for the reduplicated syllable is the high front vowel, and all four phonemic vowels can be seen to select /i/ in their reduplicated forms. The three examples given in 3-153 are in this respect exceptional. However consider the reduplicated monosyllabic verb roots in 3-154 below.

3-154	a)	-tip	→	-tiptip	-	grab
	b)	-pek	→	-pefik	-	drip
	c)	-baty	→	-batybity	-	hold
	d)	-wuty	→	-wutyity	-	pour

This process is given as a 'tendency' rather than a firm rule because of the examples like those in 3-153 above, and also because where some monosyllables with back vowels /a/ and /u/ are reduplicated, the reduplicated vowel is sometimes raised without neccessarily being fronted. Thus, in addition to their stated target of /i/, as in 3-154 above, /a/ and /u/ have both been found to reduplicate as /u/, as in the examples below.

3-155	a)	-wa	→	-wawu	-	pick up
	b)	-pap	→	-pappup	-	climb
	c)	-bul	→	-bulbul	-	burn

We can therefore summarise the reduplication of monosyllabic verb roots by the following rule;

$$C_1V_1(C_3) \rightarrow C_1V_1(C_3)C_1V_2(C_3)$$

noting the general tendency for V_2 to be [+ high] and usually also [+ front].

As is evident from 3-154 b) and d) above, some of the $C_3 + C_1$ clusters that result from the reduplication of verb roots, are subject to certain morphophonological processes[11].

Di-syllabic verb roots with an initial closed syllable are very rare, but appear to reduplicate in full in the same way as nominals.

3-156	-filkity	→	-filkityfilkity	-	spin round

However di-syllablic verb roots with initial open syllables reduplicate the initial syllable only, i.e. they reduplicate partially and to the left.

3-157 a)	-kilik	→	-kikilik	-	cough
b)	-palak	→	-papalak	-	wink
c)	-kuduk	→	-kukuduk[12]		drink
d)	-fala	→	-fafala	-	show
e)	-purity	→	-pupurity	-	hide
f)	-fityi	→	-fifityi	-	roll
g)	-gulirr	→	-gugulirr	-	encircle

11These morphophonological processes are discussed in detail in 2.4, but three examples are given below.

1- w deletion

a)	-wap	→	-wapup	-	sit
b)	-wul	→	-wulil	-	return
c)	-winy	→	-winyiny	-	whistle
d)	-waty	→	-watyity	-	consume

2- rr assimilation

a)	-tyerr	→	-tyetytyirr	-	stop
b)	-tyurr	→	-tyutytyurr	-	swim

3- nasal assimilation (in NgK only)

NgK	-tum	→	-tuntum	-	bury
NgW	-dum	→	-dumdum	-	bury

12Both -palak and -kuduk have been recorded once in their reduplicated form by a single, young speaker, as -palakpalak and -kudukkuduk. This is suggestive of reanalysis of the somewhat complex reduplication rules for di-syllabic verb roots, to the simpler rule whereby all roots, both nominal and verbal, reduplicate in full. I cannot comment here on whether this phenemenon may reflect a stage in either language aquisition or language death.

Verb root reduplication can therefore be summarised in the following way.

| Monosyllables | - | Full Reduplication to the right (target value of reduplicated vowel is [+high] / [+front]) |

Disyllables

Initial Open - Partial left reduplication of C_1V_1-

Initial Closed - Full Reduplication

The aspectual consequences of verb root reduplication are discussed in 3.4.6.

3.3.3.3 Isolate Verb Roots

The closed class of verb roots is dependent on main verb morphology, that is, verb roots can generally only co-occur with auxiliary verbs in the formation of a complex verb. Under a single specific condition, a small subset of verb roots are found occurring in isolation, independent of an auxiliary verb. The construction that is permissive of independent verb roots is where they stand as imperatives. Isolated verb roots functioning as imperatives can be found in all the Daly region languages sharing this verbal typology. Cook (1984) also observes that imperatives are one of only two construction types in Wagiman that allow 'participles'[13] to appear in isolation from 'finite verbs'.

Only six verb roots have been recorded functioning as isolated imperatives, though this list is certain not to be exhaustive. The verb roots that are used in this way are all semantically transparent, in the sense that in their combination with various auxiliaries, an invariant core semantic component is always attributable to them. We would not, for instance, anticipate the use of a highly polysemous verb root, such as -baty, as an isolated imperative.

13Given certain typological differences between the two languages, these terms of Cook's are the broad equivalents of 'verb roots' and 'auxiliary verbs', respectively. Cook eschews the labels of 'verb root' and 'auxiliary' in Wagiman on the grounds that the former not only occur in isolation as imperatives, but can also be case marked in clausal complement constructions, and the latter because it is suggestive of the lexically empty Warlpiri-type 'auxiliary' that cannot stand as a finite verb by itself.

3-158	wap	-	sit !
	karrbu	-	get down !
	pat	-	get up ! (from lying)
	puy	-	keep going !
	tyerr	-	stop !
	pirr	-	leave it !

These examples can all be viewed as contractions of fully finite regular imperative constructions, that are formed with the 'Go' auxiliary. Some of these forms are listed below, with yani-, the 2nd person singular subject/Irrealis inflection of the 'Go' auxiliary.

3-159	yani-wap	-	sit !
	yani-karrbu	-	get down !
	yani-pat	-	get up !
	etc.		

The six verb roots listed in 3-158 all form dynamic action verbs with the 'Go' auxiliary, and this appears to be the common feature that permits deletion of the auxiliary verb.

The major difference between fully finite imperatives, and isolated imperative verb roots, is that the latter have greater illocutionary force. Being typically either mono-syllabic, or di-syllabic, the brevity of verb roots is conducive to their imperative use with strong articulatory force. Within normal discourse constraints they are generally used only to children and dogs. Syntactically, of course, isolated verb roots differ from finite imperatives in their inability to be explicitly associated with a nominal argument through the normal means of pronominal cross-referencing. However given the role of imperatives within discourse, subject reference is typically very clear.

Where isolated verb roots, functioning as imperatives, follow full finite verbs within a single breath group, as in 3-160 below;

3-160	wembem	ngayi-nide	ya	-fi	-tyuk	pirr
	house	*1sg*	*-LOC*	*2sgPoke-Mp-place*		*leave*
		PRO		*SU*	*Irr*	

Put it down in my house and leave it !

they appear to constitute examples of multiple verb roots being governed by a single auxiliary. Again, I analyse such examples as two independent verbs, with auxiliary deletion in the latter VP. The tendency for the latter verb root to bear stress marking, and be set off by a pause, supports such an

analysis Example 3-160 above, is therefore treated as a contraction of 3-161 below.

3-161 wembem ngayi-nide ya   -fi -tyuk, yani -pirr
      house   *1sg*   -*LOC 2sgPoke-Mp-place*   *2sgGo-leave*
              PRO   *SU Irr*   *SU Irr*
      Put it down in my house and leave it !

Note that the auxiliary deletion permitted in the latter VP of 3-160 is facilitated by the shared imperative structure of the two VPs. An isolated imperative verb root cannot tail a declarative VP in this manner, but would require being set off as an independent breath group. Thus, 3-162 below is impermissable.

3-162 *nga   -fi -tyuk-pe   pirr
       1sgPoke-Mp-place-Fut   *leave*
       SU Irr
       I'll place it down, and you leave it !

3.3.3.4 Derived Verb Roots
3.3.3.4.1 Adjectival Verb Roots
In addition to the closed class of 160-odd verb roots, most Ngan'gityemerri adjectives can function as verb roots without any particular morphological marking of their denominalised status. Consider the underlined forms in 3-163 to 3-165, functioning as adjectives in the a) examples, and as verb roots in the b) examples.

3-163 a) yubu yirim ?
            good   *2sgSit*
                  SU Pres
            Are you well ?

       b) wamanggal deminy-ngi-yubu wakay
            doctor   *3sgHands-1sg-good*   *finish*
                         SU Perf DO
            The doctor cured me / made me good.

3-164 a) lamurity yenim-madiwirri
            happy   *3sgGo-play*
                   SU Pres
            He's playing happily.

       b) bengim-ngi-lamurity
            3sgBash-1sg-happy
            SU Pres DO
            He makes me happy.

    3-165 a)   wurr <u>yerifun</u>-kana, wa   -pul -ngini
    NgK   *grass dry   -FOC   3sgHeat-burn-Fut*
                                         SU Irr
                 The grass is dry now, it'll burn.

        b)   wurr   marrawuk-ninggi   wumbun-<u>yerifun</u>
              grass   dry season -AGENT   3sgSlash -dry
                       wind   SU Perf
              The dry season wind has dried the grass out now.

3.3.3.4.2   Derived Bodypart Verb Roots

A small number of the major bodyparts have been found to occur in verbs that have the overall structure of complex verbs, but no verb root. That is, they consist of an auxiliary of the type that only co-occurs with verb roots, (ie. 'complex auxiliaries'), and a bodypart, but the expected verb root is simply missing. In these examples the bodypart appears to act as a verb root, in the sense that it fills the condition that the auxiliary requires another verbal constituent with which to co-occur.   Verbs of this type have only been found to employ those auxiliaries that can be said to have a fairly clear-cut, overt semantic component attributable to them, and in this sense the auxiliary can be seen to take over some of the role normally performed by the verb root.

    3-166 a)   door ngum   -bi -derri
                 1sgSlash-2sg-back
                 SU Perf IO
                 I knocked on the door for you.

        b)   tyi   dangim-tyerr
              breast   3sgPoke-mouth
                        SU Pres
              She's breastfeeding it.

        c)   ngariny -nyi-fi   -me
              1sgPoke-2sg-Mp-hand
              SU Perf DO
              I gave it to you.

        d)   da-madi   ngubum-madi
              Bp-chest   1sgBash -chest
              cl   SU Perf
              I cut his chest cicatrices.

3.3.3.4.3 Ngan- Derived Locative Verb Roots

Ngan- occurs as a locative proclitic to nouns and verbs, and can take either its immediate host or an entire clause within its scope (see 5.3.4). Additionally ngan- prefixes major bodyparts to derive locational verb roots. Such verb roots can only co-occur with the intransitive 'stative' auxiliaries, 'sit', 'lie', 'stand', and 'go'. The resultant verbs specify the orientation of the subject by the choice of auxiliary, and the location of the subject by the derived verb root. That is, the subject is located in relation to a literal bodypart, as in 3-167;

3-167 a)   **nendu dini -ngan-derri-tye**
NgK   *horse 3sgSit -LOC -back -Past*
                    SU PImp
             He was sitting on the horse's back.

b)   **ngiriny -nyi-ngan-wantyirr**
      1sgSit   -2sg-LOC -side/armpit
      SU Pres DO
      I'm sitting at your side.

or in a place that can, in a classificatory sense, be thought of as a bodypart.

3-168 a)   **bude wibem -ngan-madi**
            nest 3sgLie -LOC -chest
                 SU Pres
            (The bird) is lying in (the concave hollow of) the nest.

b)   **ngi -mbi-ngan-mentyi-pe**
      1sgSit -2sg -LOC -neck -Fut
      SU Irr IO
      I'll wait for you.
      (lit: I'll sit on the neck/track for you)

3.3.3.4.4 Garr- Derived Motional Verb Roots

Garr- prefixes two bodyparts **madi** - 'chest' and **derri** - 'back', to derive verb roots of motion towards and motion away, respectively. This prefix is otherwise unattested within either the nominal or verbal morphology of Ngan'gityemerri. Garr- derived verb roots have only been found to co-occur with the stative 'Go' auxiliary.

3-169 a)   **gaganim-garr-madi**
            3sg Go -MOT -chest
            SU Pres
            He's coming up.

b)   **gaganim-garr-derri**
         3sg Go -MOT -back
         SU Pres
         He's going away.

It is presumed that the point of reference for 'motion towards' or 'motion away' is based on the location of the speaker. However it remains unclear how this differs from the directional verbal enclitics **pagu** -HITHer and **pefi** -THITHer (see 6.2.2).

3-170 a)   **gaganim-pagu**   b)   **gaganim-pefi**
             3sg Go -HITH   *3sg Go -THITH*
             SU Pres   *SU Pres*
             He's coming up.   He's going away.

3.3.3.4.5   **Werr-** Derived Associative Verb Roots

Of the class of nominal enclitics in Ngan'gityemerri, the ASSOCiative enclitic has the form **-werre/werri(K)** (cf. 6.1.4).

3-171   **de -bi -werre -**   trousers
             BP-thigh-ASSOC
             cl

A few examples of nominal compounds employ the related associative form **werr-**, as in 3-172.

3-172 a)   **wur-werr -tyi -**   a pubescent woman
             F -ASSOC-breast   (lit: woman having breasts)
             cl

       b)   **e -werr -balarr -**   birds (generic)
             A-ASSOC-feathers   (lit: animals having feathers)
             cl

This form of the ASSOCiative plays a minor role in compounding with bodypart terms to derive verb roots, as in 3-173, where in combination with the 'Lie' auxiliary, it forms a verb meaning 'to hear'.

3-173   **ngibem -bi -werr -tyeri**
             1sgLie   -2sg-ASSOC-ear
             SU Pres IO
             I can hear you.
             (lit: I lie having ears for you)

3.4   Tense, Aspect and Mood

The auxiliary root is only one of several parts of the entire verbal complex that carry information about tense, aspect and mood. Tense is additionally encoded by enclitics to the verb, and the intransitive auxiliaries can be serialised to the verb where they function as aspect operators. The tense/aspect/mood information packaged within a full verb can therefore be seen as a product of several interacting systems, that partially overlap, as can be seen in the following example;

3-174   ngeme   -baty -tye -ngagadi
              1sgHands-hold -Past -1sg Go
              SU PImp   SU PImp
              I was going along carrying it.

where the 'Hands' auxiliary root is inflected for 'Past Imperfective', the verbal enclitic -tye denotes 'Past' tense, and the serialised auxiliary -ngagadi concords with the auxiliary root in its 'Past Imperfective' inflection, and conveys imperfective aspect. The significance of this, at times, redundant marking, will become apparent when we look at the Ngan'gikurunggurr data.

This section investigates these several mechanisms that interact to determine the tense, aspect and mood coding in the Ngan'gityemerri verb. The tense/aspect/mood categories for which the auxiliary verb inflects, are dealt with in 3.4.1. In 3.4.2 we return to the discussion of the auxiliary root morphology, noting some evidence of what appear to have been regular auxiliary root final suffixes. The auxiliary inflectional categories additionally interact with tense enclitics to the verb. The form of these enclitics and the nature of their auxiliary combinations are looked at in 3.4.3. Other verbal enclitics that precede the final tense enclitics, such as the focus marker -nyine/-kana(K), and -gumu/-gimi(K) 'while', -ne/-ngini(K) 'just about to' and -pefi 'beginning to', are examined in 3.4.4. The posture/motion auxiliaries can be serialised to certain categories of complex verb denoting progressive aspect. The serialisation of these auxiliaries is dealt with in 3.4.5. Finally, 3.4.6 examines the aspectual nature of verb root reduplication.

3.4.1   Auxiliary Tense/Aspect/Mood Categories

Ngan'giwumirri auxiliaries have four inflectional tense/mood/aspect categories, labelled 'Present', 'Perfective', 'Past Imperfective' and 'Irrealis'. In example 3-175 below, the Ngan'giwumirri 'Sit' auxiliary is inflected through these four categories.

3-175 a) **ngirim-fifi**   -I'm smoking/ I smoke.
           1sgSit -smoke
           SU Pres

      b) **ngiriny-fifi**   -I had a smoke.
           1sgSit -smoke
           SU Perf

      c) **ngini -fifi -tye**   -I was smoking/ used to smoke.
           1sgSit-smoke-Past
           SU PImp

      d) **ngi -fifi -pe**   -I will have a smoke.
           1sgSit-smoke-Fut
           SU Irr

'Present'

'Present' auxiliary inflection only combines with the Ø present tense enclitic to form the present indicative tense. The present indicative generally marks the activity expressed by the verb as being in progress at the moment of the speech act, e.g.

3-176 **gagu   ngirim-lalirr**
       animal 1sgSit -eat
       generic SU Pres
       I'm eating meat.

However the extension of the present indicative to form statements about habitual or universal (in the sense of Lyons (1968:306)) activity, requires that the notion of 'in progress' allow for activity that is ongoing in a more general sense, without that activity necessarily being underway at the precise moment of speech.

3-177 **mipurr walalma wannim**
       man   hunt   3plGo
                            SU Pres
       The men are hunting.
   or Men hunt.

'Perfective'

The 'Perfective' auxiliary inflection, like the 'Present', only combines with the Ø present tense enclitic[14], forming the past perfective. Past

---

14 'Present' is thus clearly an inadequate label for this Ø enclitic. The label is only employed because of the natural opposition with 'future' -pe and 'past' -tye.

perfectives have both temporal and aspectual concerns. They establish the timing of an activity as prior to the time of the speech act, and further present that activity as a single completed action, without regard for its internal temporal make-up.

> 3-178 gagu   ngiriny-lalirr
>   animal 1sgSit -eat
>   generic SU Perf
>   I ate meat.

'Past Imperfective'

The 'Past Imperfective' auxiliary inflection combines with the 'Past' tense enclitic -tye, to form a category that also has both temporal and aspectual concerns. The Past Imperfective establishes activity as temporally prior to the moment of speech, that is, not only the inception of the activity, but also the completion of the activity, is located as temporally prior to the reporting of that activity. So an activity or event marked in this way can no longer hold true at the moment of speech. The Past Imperfective category is also aspectually progressive or imperfective, in the sense that the activity is presented as having been, at that time, in progress and non-completed.

> 3-179 gagu   ngini-lalirr-tye
>   animal 1sgSit-eat   -Past
>   generic SU Perf
>   I was eating meat.

Consistent with this progressive aspect, the Past Imperfective is also employed in statements about habitual or universal activity. In contrast to the Present habituals discussed above, Past Imperfective habituals no longer hold true at the moment of speech.

> 3-180 ration wa-mumu-nimbi   wurrmu -wawu-tye
>   M-taboo   -SOURCE 3plSnatch-pick -Past
>   cl =police   SU PImp up
>   They used to collect their rations from the policeman.

'Irrealis'

The 'Irrealis' auxiliary category differs from the three realis categories ('Present', 'Perfective' and 'Past Imperfective') in having only modal, not temporal, concerns. Verbs having auxiliaries inflected for 'Irrealis' can only encode temporal reference through exploiting other tense marking mechanisms, such as the verbal enclitics -tye 'Past' and -pe/-ngini(K) 'Future'.

'Irrealis' auxiliary inflection simply establishes that the activity has not come about, or been undertaken, prior to the moment of speech, or that it will, might or should come about, or be undertaken, subsequent to it. The combination of 'Irrealis' auxiliary inflection and 'Future' tense enclitic -pe/ -ngini(K) forms claims about subsequent events, as in 3-181;

3-181 **ngani -pe**
  1sgGo-Fut
  SU Irr
  I will go/might go.

and the combination of 'Irrealis' inflection and the 'Past' tense enclitic -tye, claims the non-realisation of prior events, as in 3-182.

3-182 **ngani -tye**
  1sgGo-Past
  SU Irr
  I would've/should've gone.

Unlike Ngan'giwumirri, Ngan'gikurunggurr auxiliaries have only three inflectional tense categories. The glosses for these are listed below with their tense/aspect/mood values.

Pres -   present/past perfective/habitual
PImp -   past imperfective/distant past/past habitual
Irr   -   irrealis (i.e. future /past negative)

In example 3-183 below, the Ngan'gikurunggurr 'sit' auxiliary is inflected for these three available categories.

3-183 a)   **ngirim-fifi**   -I'm smoking/ I smoke/
NgK   *1sgSit-smoke*   I had a smoke.
                SU Pres

      b)   **ngini -fifi -tye**   -I was smoking/ used to smoke.
                1sgSit-smoke-Past
                SU PImp

      c)   **ngiwi -fifi -ngini**   -I will have a smoke.
                1sgSit-smoke-Fut
                SU Irr

The 'Irrealis' and 'Past Imperfective' categories in Ngan'gikurunggurr have the same tense, aspect and modal elements as their corresponding Ngan'giwumirri counterparts. However the two categories which are

glossed as 'Present' and 'Perfective' in Ngan'giwumirri, appear to have been collapsed in Ngan'gikurunggurr into a single inflectional category labelled 'Present'. The range of tense/aspect/mood values covered by the Ngan'gikurunggurr 'Present' appears to be the sum of the range of tense/aspect/mood values of the two distinct Ngan'giwumirri inflectional categories 'Present' and 'Perfective'. This is demonstrated in a comparison of the range of meanings given in 3-175 a) and b), and 3-183 a). The motivation for, and consequences of, the merging of these auxiliary inflectional categories in Ngan'gikurunggurr is addressed in the following section.

3.4.2 Historical Auxiliary Tense Suffixes

So far we have seen that Ngan'giwumirri auxiliary roots inflect for the four tense/aspect/mood categories Present, Perfective, Past Imperfective, and Irrealis (cf. 3.4.1), and that the auxiliary root forms, can be characterised as having the syllabic structure 'N', 'CVN' or 'CVCVN' (cf. 3.2.2). More accurately we can characterise the auxiliary root templates as Ø-, CV-, or 'CVCV-' followed by an element (-N or -NV or Ø) that has fairly regular formal correspondences across the four tense/aspect/mood categories. In 3-184 below, the 1st singular subject-auxiliary sequences of these four categories are set out, for the 'Sit', 'Say', 'Hands', 'ShoveDtrD', 'PokeDtr', 'HandsDtr' and 'FeetDtr' auxiliaries. The final -N or -NV element of the auxiliary root is set apart and given in bold script.

3-184		Sub	Aux	Root	
		ngi	ri	**m**	-Pres
	Sit	ngi	ri	**ny**	-Perf
		ngi	Ø	ni	-PImp
		ngi	Ø	**Ø**	-Irr
		ngu	mu	**m**	-Pres
	Say	ngi	mi	**ny**	-Perf
		ngi	Ø	m**e**	-PImp
		ngu	mu	**Ø**	-Irr
		nge	ri	**m**	-Pres
	Hands	nge	ri	**ny**	-Perf
		nge	Ø	m**e**	-PImp
		nge	Ø	**mi**	-Irr
		ngu	de	**m**	-Pres
	ShoveDtrD	ngu	de	**ny**	-Pres
		ngu	de	ni	-PImp
		ngu	de	**Ø**	-Irr

PokeDtr	nga	ra	m	-Pres
	nga	ra	ny	-Perf
	nga	ra	ni	-PImp
	nga	ra	Ø	-Irr
HandsDtr	nge	me	m	-Pres
	nge	me	ny	-Perf
	nge	me	ni	-PImp
	nge	me	Ø	-Irr
FeetDtr	nga	nawa	m	-Pres
	nga	nawa	ny	-Pres
	nga	nawa	ni	-PImp
	nga	nawa	Ø	-Irr

From a comparison of these forms we would have little hesitation in proposing a di-morphemic constituency for the verbal component that we have up until now labelled 'auxiliary root'. For each auxiliary listed we find a fairly stable auxiliary root component (though there is some alternation in 'Sit', 'Say' and 'Hands' between overt forms and Ø forms, and some variation in vowel quality). And as regular suffixes to these we find the tense/aspect/mood markers set out in Table 3-7.

Ngan'gityemerri Historical Auxiliary Root Suffixes

	Realis		Irrealis
Present	Perfective	Past Imperfective	Irrealis
-m	-ny	-ni	-Ø

Table 3-7

We would need to note certain irregularities, such as me instead of the predicted ni in the Past Imperfective forms of 'Hands' and 'Say', and mi instead of Ø in the Irrealis form of 'Hands'. Generally though, on the basis of the data presented in 3-54, we would want to acknowledge the Table 3-7 forms as a synchronically productive suffix system.

Testing the regularity of these putative suffixes across the four Ngan'giwumirri categories of inflection for all 31 auxiliary roots (see the auxiliary paradigms listed in Appendices A and B), we find evidence of Present -m, Perfective -ny, Past Imperfective -ni and Irrealis -Ø in about 74% of subject-auxiliary sequences. The remaining 26% of subject-auxiliary sequences are either suppletive forms or irregularities like those noted for

'Say' and 'Hands' above. The picture is even less clear in Ngan'gikurunggurr where, as we shall see in the following section, the distinction between the two inflectional categories, Present and Perfective, has been neutralised.

I conclude that at a previous stage in Ngan'gityemerri there was probably a fully productive system of tense/aspect/mood suffixation to the auxiliary root, with the morphological forms as given in Table 3-5. A fairly high rate of suppletion and Ø realisation mean that the variation in auxiliary root inflectional forms are not synchronically conditioned, and any attempted segmentation is currently unprofitable. In view of the evidence that the contemporary Ngan'gityemerri synthetic/agglutinative verbal structure has developed from a phrasal verb consisting of an independent verb root and a finite auxiliary verb (see Reid, to appear), we might assume that the auxiliary suffixes in Table 3-7 once functioned as the primary mechanism for encoding tense/aspect/mood categories in this phrasal verb, and that the verbal tense enclitics -tye and -pe/-ngini(K) (see 3.4.3) have developed comparatively recently.

In view of the evidence presented above for Ngan'gityemerri having once had productive auxiliary suffixes, with labial -m marking 'Present', and laminal -ny marking 'Perfective', we will return to the discussion of the merging of the 'Present' and 'Perfective' auxiliary tense/aspect/mood categories in contemporary Ngan'gikurunggurr. In Ngan'giwumirri, the hetero-organic nasal + consonant clusters formed at the morpheme boundary between the auxiliary root and whatever verbal constituent immediately follows it, must neccessarily be strictly maintained, for the very reason that the quality of the nasal is the crucial determinant of the tense/aspect/mood inflectional category. This is apparent in 3-185 where Present -m and Perfective -ny form hetero-organic clusters with following labial, apical, laminal and dorsal consonants, respectively.

3-185	a)	ngisyem-wurr	-	I'm pulling it out.
		ngisyeny-wurr	-	I pulled it out.
	b)	ngerim-du	-	I'm touching it.
		ngeriny-du	-	I touched it.
	c)	ngaganim-tyerr	-	I'm stopping.
		ngaganiny-tyerr	-	I stopped.
	d)	mem-ngiti	-	He's telling me.
		meny-ngiti	-	He told me.

In contrast, the final nasal of the Ngan'gikurunggurr auxiliary root is a morpho-phonemic N, a class of the alternating phonemes /m, n, ny/ and /ng/. The phoneme is selected in terms of assimilation rules conditioned by the place of articulation of the following consonant. Compare 3-186 with 3-185 above.

3-186 a)	ngisyeN-wurr	→ **ngisyem-wurr**	-I pull/pulled it out.
NgK			
b)	ngeriN-du	→ **ngerin-du**	-I touch/touched it.
c)	ngaganiN-tyerr	→ **ngaganiny-tyerr**	-I'm stopping/ I stopped.
d)	meN-ngindi	→ **meng-ngindi**	-He's telling/He told me.

As the morpho-phonemic N of 'Present' Ngan'gikurunggurr auxiliary roots, results from the collapse of hetero-organic clusters at this morpheme boundary, we can see that the final nasal of the auxiliary root can no longer encode a distinction between tense/aspect/mood categories. Assuming that Ngan'gikurunggurr once also maintained a distinction between 'Present' and 'Perfective' categories, we could go further and hypothesize that the neutralisation of this distinction resulted from the pressure towards homorganic clusters at the boundary between the auxiliary root and the verb stem.

In support of this hypothesis it should be noted that the neutralisation is one of formal marking, and is not intended to imply that the underlying categories themselves have been neutralised. The distinction between Present and Past Perfective can still be encoded on Ngan'gikurunggurr verbs by exploiting the other tense marking strategies noted in introduction to 3.4. It is because of the overlap in the mechanisms that mark tense/aspect categories, that the loss of the overt morphological marking of the distinction between auxiliary root Present and Perfective inflections in Ngan'gikurunggurr, does not result in the loss of these underlying categories, nor does it prevent these temporal distinctions from being overtly encoded by other strategies. Example 3-187 below demonstrates how the distinction between Present Imperfective and Immediate Past Perfective is marked in Ngan'gikurunggurr, through the use of a serialised auxiliary in a), and by a temporal focus marker in b).

3-187 a)	**ngerim**	**-wurity-ngirim**
NgK	*1sgHands-fix*	*-1sgSit*
	SU Pres	*SU Pres*
	I'm fixing it.	

b) ngerim -wurity-kana
    1sgHands- fix *-FOC*
    SU Pres
    I've just fixed it.

3.4.3   Tense Enclitics

In the introduction to 3.4 we saw that the job of marking tense categories in Ngan'gityemerri verbs is split between three separate, partially overlapping systems. It is one of these systems, the tense markers encliticised to the verb, that are treated in this section.

The tense enclitics employed in Ngan'gityemerri, -tye 'Past', -Ø 'Present', and -pe/ngini(K) 'Future', are demonstrated in example 3-188 below.

3-188 a)   **nganggidi -tye**
            1plinc Go-Past
            SU PImp
            We (plinc) went.

      b)   **ngangginim-Ø**
            1plinc Go -Pres
            SU   Pres
            We're going.

      c)   **ngambani-pe**
            1plinc Go-Fut
            SU Irr
            We will go.

Note that the Ngan'gikurunggurr future tense enclitic, as in Marrithiyel (Green 1989), is homophonous with the nominal purposive enclitic.

3-189 a)   **wamanggal-ngini   ngambani-ngini**
            NgK *wallaby   -PURP   1plinc Go -Fut*
                                      SU   Irr
            Let's go (hunting) for a wallaby.

      b)   **wamanggal-ne   ngambani-pe**
            NgW *wallaby   -PURP   1plincGo -Fut*
                                      SU   Irr
            Let's go (hunting) for a wallaby.

Like the other verbal enclitics, tense marking enclitics also show '2nd Position' (in the sense of Klavans, 1980) clitic behavioural characteristics.

The examples below demonstrate the shift of verbal tense enclitics to clause-initial constituents.

3-190 ngayi-pe ngumu -syarr keninggisyi
1sg -Fut 1sgSlash-scrape canoe
PRO SU Irr
I'll bale out the boat.

3-191 **kuderri wune-tye wiri -palak pikinduwung**
billabong that -Past 3sgSit-drop placename
place SU Irr
She (Pelican) had intended to lay (her egg) at that billabong, Pikinduwung.

3-192 **wun -ambirri-pe ngumu -nirrki-wa Batchelor**
there-ahead -Fut 1sgSnatch -2dl -pick
SU Irr IO up
I'll get (some beers) for you up ahead at Batchelor.

As noted above, tense marking is achieved accumulatively through the exploitation of several systems, most particularly the auxiliary inflectional categories and the enclitic tense markers. These systems cannot conflict, thus for instance, verbs with Past Imperfective auxiliary inflections cannot select either Present tense enclitic -Ø, or Future enclitic -pe/-ngini(K). Likewise verbs with Present auxiliary inflections cannot select either Past Imperfective tense enclitic -tye, or Future enclitic -pe/-ngini(K). The unacceptability of such conflicting tense category combinations is demonstrated in the ungrammatical examples in 3-193 and 3-194.

3-193 a) *nganggidi -Ø
1plincGo-Pres
SU PImp

b) *nganggidi -pe
1plincGo-Fut
SU PImp

3-194 a) *ngangginim-tye
1plinc Go -Past
SU Pres

b) *ngangginim-pe
1plinc Go -Fut
SU Pres

Recall however (cf. 3.4.1), that the auxiliary inflectional category labelled 'Irrealis' is a strictly modal category that differs from other auxiliary inflections in conveying no temporal information. Consequently it should be noted that the combination of Irrealis auxiliary inflection and Past tense enclitic -tye, as found in examples 3-195 and 3-196 below, does not constitute a violation of the constraint on conflicting tense marking systems. Indeed this is the way in which all past unreal constructions are typically structured.

3-195 **ngambani-tye   tawun**
       1plincGo -Past   Darwin
       SU   Irr
       We should have gone to Darwin.

3-196 **awa-purrpurrk -pagu   waddi-tye**
       Hg -little'uns   -HITH   3plGo-Past
       cl   SU PImp
       The kids came along,
       minbe-nyine-tye   warri   -batybity-wirri
       Neg   -FOC -Past   3plPoke-sew   -3plSit
       SU Irr   redup   SU Irr
       and they were unable to be sewing then.

3.4.4 Other Verbal Enclitics

3.4.4.1   -nyine/-kana(K) Focus 'now/then'

Ngan'giwumirri -nyine and Ngan'gikurunggurr -kana are temporal focus markers that can combine with any auxiliary inflection, and are variously glossed as 'now' and 'then'. Like most of the enclitics discussed here they generally appear after the verb root, as in example 3-197, but also display a preference in selecting clause initial words as their host. Consequently, where the verb is preceded by an overt nominal, as in examples 3-198 and 3-199, it is this constituent to which the temporal focus marker attaches itself.

3-197 **pat -Ø   meny -ngirrki   dangim -fi -sul   -nyine**
       arise-IMP   3sgSay-1dlex   3sgPoke-Mp-shine-FOC
       SU Perf   IO   SU Pres
       'Get up !' he told us, 'its daybreak now'.

3-198 **ngarranygi   -fi -tit,   miyi-nyine**
       1plexPokeDtr dl -Mp-arise   plant-FOC
       SU Perf   SU   food
       We (dl) got up, and his wife
       gagu   mityity fry-meyi -tye -yedi
       animal   white   -3sgDo-Past-3sgGo
       generic woman   SU PImp   SU PImp
       was frying breakfast then.

3-199 miyi-nyine   yurrsyugu -waty   -pe,   meny -ngirrki
       food-FOC   *2plSuck dl-consume-Fut*   *3sgSay -1dlex*
                    SU Irr SU   *SU Perf IO*
'You can eat your breakfast now', she told us.

Although they generally pattern with the nominal and verbal
enclitics, **nyine** and **kana** (K) have the capacity to occur as independent
freeform particles. In 3-200 below **nyine** occurs clause-initially, and in 3-201
as a separate phonological word that plays host to the copied verbal
directional and tense enclitics.

3-200 **nyine ngaram   -fi -pal**
       FOC   1sgPokeDtr-Mp-return
              SU Pres
       I'm on my way back home now.

3-201 **ngerrmigi   -pat -pe, nyine-pefi   -pe**
       1plexHands dl-arise-Fut FOC   -THITH-Fut
       SU Irr   SU
       We (dl ex) are just about to set off,...now !

3.4.4.2   -gumu/-gimi(K) 'while'

In 6.2.6 I described the use of **-gumu** as a semblative enclitic to
nominals. **-Gumu** additionally functions, in a completely unrelated sense,
as a marker of progressive/incompletive aspect. In this capacity **-gumu**
functions at clause level, i.e. having scope over the entire clause, not merely
the constituent that happens to host it. As noted for other clause level
enclitics, **-gumu** can either select the verb as its host, or may appear on
negatives, interrogatives, or verbal arguments that immediately precede the
verb.

As a marker of progressive/incompletive aspect **-gumu** interacts
differently with the modal categories realis and irrealis. In the two realis
incompletive mood/aspect auxiliary inflectional categories, Present and Past
IMPerfective, **-gumu** denotes a subordinate clause as the temporal frame for
a main clause. To employ the terms used by Chung and Timberlake (1985),
-gumu designates the clause over which it has scope, as the 'event frame'
with respect to which the main clause proposition is evaluated. The 'event
frame' is progressive/incompletive and therefore designates an interval of
time. The main clause predicate, which must be a telic, perfective verb, falls
within this temporal frame. This construction type, where an imperfective
clause subordinated by **-gumu** serves as the temporal frame for a perfective

main clause, is exemplified in the examples below. In 3-202 and 3-203 the -gumu subordinated predicate is in the Past IMPerfective, and in 3-204 it is in the Present. Both these auxiliary inflectional categories are inherently progressive.

3-202 **winni -ngiti-ngidi-gumu -tye, taya wunu ngeriny -wurity**
3plSit - 1sg -wait -WHILE-Past tyre that 1sgHands-fix
SUPImp IO SU Perf
While they waited for me, I fixed that tyre.

3-203 **firri winge -gumu -tye, darany -fi -tit**
dream 3sgLie-WHILE-Past 3sgPokeDtr-Mp-raise
SU PImp SU Perf
While he was dreaming, he got up (sleep-walking).

3-204 **warrmadi yu -ket -Ø, minbe-gumu dinyinggin-nin -kerrety**
quick 2sgSlash-cut-Imp Neg -WHILE 3sgSee -1dinc-watch
SU Irr SU Pres DO
Cut it quickly !, while he's not looking.

The irrealis modal category interacts with the aspectually progressive -gumu to derive the conative sense of 'try and do X'. This use of -gumu has only been recorded with 2nd person subjects in utterances that are otherwise structured as imperatives. In pragmatic terms the force of this construction is in softening imperatives.

3-205 a) **yinyirri -gumu-Ø**
2sgSee -TRY -IMP
SU Irr
Have a look !

b) **peke yemi -ngiti-fityi-gumu-Ø**
tobacco 2sgHands-1sg -roll -TRY -IMP
SU Irr IO
Try 'n roll me a smoke !

c) **yim -werr -tyeri-gumu-Ø**
2sgLie-ASSOC-ear -TRY -IMP
SU Irr
See if you can hear !

Note that -gumu marked clauses can only stand as main clauses in the future. Non-future -gumu clauses can only designate a temporal frame for another, main clause. Thus the unclosed potentiality of the conative construction cannot be allowed within non-future predicates in

Ngan'giwumirri. The typology of mood is such that events are either actual or non-actual, and are morphologically so marked as realis or irrealis respectively. As all non-future expressions are relatively certain as to their actuality they must be explicitly marked as being either actual or non-actual. In the non-future an event has either happened or it has not. This certainty with respect to actuality mitigates against the conative interpretation in non-future predicates.

3.4.4.3   -ne/-ngini(K)   'just about to'

6.1.3 deals with the purposive case marking function of the nominal enclitic -ne / -ngini (K). This enclitic also has a verbal function, where it is glossed as 'INTENTive'. In combination with the irrealis auxiliary inflectional category and past tense verbal suffixes, it encodes the deontic modal sense of the subject's intention to realise an event. That this event was ultimately unrealised is encoded by the irrealis auxiliary inflection. In 3.4.1 we saw that the combination of irrealis auxiliary mode and past tense marking denotes general non-realisation, as in example 3-206 below.

> 3-206 ngarrani -tye
> *1plexGo-Past*
> SU   Irr
> We were going to go....(but didn't).

The addition to this construction type of the 'intention' enclitic specifies that the subject's resolve to carry out that event, was good leading up to the moment of execution, but was thwarted at the last moment by some external imposition.

> 3-207 ngan'gi ngumu-ne   -tye,   epe   wunu-pagu
> *word   1sgSay -INTENT-Past BUT   there -HITH*
>   SU Irr
> warrmadi wudum   -ngi-tyerr -palak,
> *quick   3sgShoveDtrD -1sg-mouth-drop*
>   SU Perf DO
> I was about to speak out, when someone from over there quickly prevented me.

> 3-208 gagu   wunu ngubu -da   -ne   -tye,   epe   nginyirri
> *animal there 1sgBash-shoot-INTENT-Past   BUT   1sgSee*
> *generic   SU Irr   SU Perf*
> emebe   -werre,   ngaganiny-pirr
> *young'un-ASSOC 1sgGo   -leave*
>   SU Perf   be
> I was about to shoot that (wallaby), but I saw that it had a young'un, so I left it alone.

3-209 **ngani -fili -ngini -tye , epe wetimbi yemenggeng-ngindi**
NgK *1sgGo-wander-INTENT-Past BUT FINE 2sgArrive -1sg*
SU Irr SU Perf IO
I was about to wander off, but fortunately you just turned up.

3.4.4.4 -pefi Co-temporal, Durative, Inchoative

-**Pefi** encliticises stative verbs that can inflect for the two auxiliary tense/aspect categories, Past Imperfective and Present, that are incompletive. Past Imperfectives, as in 3-210 below, are by definition (cf. 3.4.1) aspectually durative.

3-210   **ngini -tye**
          1sgSit-Past
          SU PImp
          I was sitting

On such verbs the encliticisation of -**pefi** exaggerates this inherent durativity, denoting the excessively prolonged duration evidenced in the glosses of the examples below. Within narrative discourse the delivery of these kinds of verbs typically involves exaggerated lengthening of the final vowel, (so it is the past tense marker that is lengthened, not the durative marker.)

3-211   **yarany -fi -pal kinyi, yini -pefi -tye,**
          2sgPokeDtr-Mp-return here 2sgSit-DUR -Past
          SU Perf AP SU PImp
          You returned here and were hanging aboooout....,
          yini -wurrkama-tye peyipa nyinyi
          2sgSit-work -Past paper 2sg
          SU PImp PRO
          working on your papers.

3-212   **ngarany -fi -tit, ti ngiriny-kuduk**
          1sgPokeDtr-Mp-arise tea 1sgSit -drink
          SU Perf SU Perf
          I got up, drank some tea,
          ngini -pefi -tye dengini yubu depi ngayi pipiri
          1sgSit-DUR-Past body good head 1sg brain
          SU PImp PRO
          and sat arooooound...... 'til my hangover cleared.

3-213   **ngambanigerri-pefi -tye, karrawa kine ngiminy-bi**
          1plincGo -DUR-Past place this 1sgSay -2sg
          SU PIMp name place SU Perf IO
          We kept traaaaavelling, 'this place here is Karrawa' I told you.

Attached to stative verbs bearing Present auxiliary inflections, -pefi in combination with the temporal focus marker -nyine/-kana (K), makes these into inceptive process verbs. Contrast 3-214 to 3-218 a) with the inchoative examples in 3-214 to 3-218 b).

3-214 a)   **yenim-fuy**
3sgGo-smell
SU Pres
It smells.

b)   **yenim-fuy -nyine-pefi**
3sgGo-smell-FOC -INCH
SU Pres
It's beginning to smell now.

3-215 a)   **dudu -mem -gen -ge**
swell -3sgDo-middle-belly
SU Pres
His guts are swollen.

b)   **dudu -mem -gen -ge -nyine-pefi**
swell-3sgDo-middle-belly-FOC -INCH
SU Pres
(The carcass) is beginning to bloat now.

3-216 a)   **misi-yenim**
die -3sgGo
SU Pres
He is dead.

b)   **misi-yenim -nyine-pefi**
die -3sgGo-FOC -INCH
SU Pres
He is beginning to die now.

3-217 a)   **ngaganim-du**
1sgGo -sleep
SU Pres
I'm asleep.

b)   **ngaganim-du -nyine-pefi, yerim -ngi-du**
1sgGo -sleep-FOC -INCH 2sgHands-1sg-touch
SU Pres SU PresDO
Just as I'm starting to fall asleep, you're waking me up !

3-218 a)   **dangim -tyip -nyine**
3sgHands-dark-FOC
SU Pres
It's dark now.

b) **dangim -tyip -nyine-pefi**
    3sgHands-dark-FOC -INCH
    SU Pres
    It's beginning to get dark now.

More rarely **-pefi** is found encliticised to punctual dynamic verbs. These are verbs which cannot select Past Imperfective auxiliary inflection on account of their inherent punctuality. Describing events that are anterior to the speech act, these verbs can only select Perfective auxiliary inflection. Here **-pefi** conveys the notion "just as I was in the very act of..." or "at the precise moment that I..". This usage clearly corresponds with the inceptive focus noted above with **-pefi** marked stative verbs, though in punctual verbs which are conceived of as having no duration, the notion of co-temporality is more appropriate than inception. Consider the examples below.

3-219 **ngeriny -pal -pefi,   dinyirri-ngi**
       1sgHands-break-COTEMP 3sgSee   -1sg
       SU Perf   SU Perf DO
       Just as I broke it, he looked at me.

3-220 **club-nimbi   menggeny-tasat -pefi,**
       -SOURCE   3sgArrive -emerge-COTEMP
       SU Perf
       wa-mumu-ninggi   deminy -tip
       M-taboo   -AGENT   3sgHands-grab
       cl   SU Perf
       Just as he stepped out of the club, the policeman grabbed him.

3.4.5   The Serialisation of Posture/Motion Auxiliaries

As noted in the introduction to 3.4, the four Ngan'giwumirri and three Ngan'gikurunggurr auxiliary root inflectional categories represent only one of several systems exploited to encode verbal aspect. Of these auxiliary inflectional categories I noted that the category labelled 'Irrealis' is strictly a modal category. The 'Past Imperfective' inflection combines distant past tense and imperfective aspect. The Ngan'giwumirri 'Perfective' inflection combines past tense and perfective aspect. The inflectional category labelled 'Present' in Ngan'giwumirri combines present tense and progressive aspect, whereas the category labelled 'Present' in Ngan'gikurunggurr represents the aggregate of the Ngan'giwumirri 'Present' and 'Perfective' categories. It should be apparent that the labels for these categories have been chosen to best represent their tense/mood/aspect values.

Ngan'gityemerri additionally employs a second aspect marking system; the serialisation of the intransitive auxiliaries, 'sit', 'lie', 'stand', 'go', and 'go*' as aspectual operators. The aspectual differences that can be encoded by main auxiliary substitution in intransitive verbs are dealt with in 4.4. The serialisation of auxiliaries as aspectual operators is not permitted on intransitive verbs of this type (i.e. on verbs constructed with an intransitive auxiliary as its main auxiliary). In this section I deal with the serialisation of intransitive auxiliaries on transitive verbs (i.e. verbs constructed with transitive auxiliaries). Other than the partial encoding of the aspectual categories 'perfective' and 'imperfective' by their respective main auxiliary inflections, as mentioned above, a basic transitive verb consists of an auxiliary, a verb stem and a tense marker, as in examples 3-221 and 3-222 below.

3-221   **wemi**   **-wurity-pe**
        3sgHands- fix   -Fut
        SU Irr
        He'll fix it.

3-222   **wubu**   **-da**   **-pe**
        3sgBash-shoot-Fut
        SU Irr
        He'll shoot it.

Before examining the function of serialised auxiliaries in any detail it is neccessary to comment on the two natural classes, 'punctual verbs' and 'neutral verbs' into which all Ngan'gityemerri verbs fall. Punctual verbs, like 'hit', 'consume', 'arrive', 'see', 'die', 'cut' etc, express activities conceived of as single actions that have no internal temporal constituency. Neutral verbs express activity that can also be thought of as single actions, but which have the capacity to be variously thought of as extended over time.

Punctual verbs can only be punctual and are therefore blocked from selecting the Past Imperfective auxiliary inflection, which, as noted above, overtly encodes imperfective aspect. A punctual verb like 'shoot' can only select the perfective auxiliary inflection, as in 3-223 below, and is unacceptable with the past imperfective auxiliary inflection, as in 3-224.

3-223   **egeningge**   **wubum -da**   **- Ø**
        goose   *3sgBash -shoot-Pres*
                   SU Perf
        He shot a goose.

3-224 *egeningge webe -da -tye
　　　goose　　　　3sgBash-shoot-Past
　　　　　　　　　SU PImp
　　He was shooting a goose.

Note though that a punctual verb can be made amenable to an 'extended over time' interpretation by some other means. In 3-225, the notion of iteration, morphologically encoded by the reduplication of the verb root, makes possible an 'extended over time' interpretation, and is permissive of imperfective auxiliary inflection.

3-225 **egeningge webe** -dada -tye
　　　goose　　　3sgBash -shoot-Past
　　　　　　　　SU PImp redup
　　He was shooting geese.

Contrastively, neutral verbs have the capacity to select either perfective or imperfective auxiliary inflection. Consider the verb 'to eat' in 3-226 and 3-227 below.

3-226 **ngiriny-lalirr-Ø**
　　　1sgSit -eat　-Pres
　　　SU Perf
　　I ate it.

3-227 **ngini -lalirr-tye**
　　　1sgSit-eat　-Past
　　　SU PImp
　　I was eating it.

Regardless of whether a transitive verb belongs to the punctual or neutral class, in the absence of any overt morphology specifying its internal temporal constituency, its unmarked form is conceptually perfective in the sense that it is perceived of as a single event. Examples 3-226 and 3-227 above, for instance, though the first is neutral and the second punctual, are expressed as single events with no information given regarding their aspectual make-up. To this extent, 'perfectivity' can be said to be the unmarked aspectual category in Ngan'gityemerri.

Imperfective/progressive aspect is encoded in transitive verbs by the serialisation of the intransitive posture / motion auxiliaries. Morphologically, these serialised auxiliaries function as enclitics to the complex verb stem. Phonologically, as their morphological status might

suggest, these enclitics are assigned no primary stress, and fall within the pitch contour assigned to the verbal complex as a single phonological word.

Serialised auxiliaries must fill the final slot of the verb following the tense markers. In this respect Ngan'gityemerri contrasts with Marrithiyel, a neighbouring language that also marks imperfective aspect on transitive verbs through the strategy of serialised posture/motion auxiliaries. In Marrithiyel the major tense/mood suffixes shift rightwards from the transitive verb to appear on the post-posed intransitive auxiliary (Green 1989:175). The ordering of these serialised auxiliaries as the final element of the verbal complex in Ngan'gityemerri, further stands as a counter-example to two of the general claims made by Foley and Van Valin about the relationship between aspectual operators and the verb nuclei over which they have scope. Foley and Van Valin (1984::210) claim that *aspect* is a nuclear operator while *tense* is a peripheral one. They argue that this difference in scope is reflected in ordering constraints in those languages that mark tense and aspect as separate inflectional categories. Quoting examples from Kewa (Franklin 1971) and Tiwi (Osbourne 1974) they note that aspect is always marked closer to the verb nuclei than tense, and add that 'they know of no cases of the inverse ordering in which tense is closer to the stem than aspect'(Foley and Van Valin 1984:210). In contradistinction to this claim Ngan'gityemerri clearly marks tense closer to the verb nucleus than imperfective aspect. This is demonstrated in 3-228 below, where the Past tense enclitic -tye immediately follows the verb root, and is in turn followed by the serialised 'Sit' auxiliary.

3-228 wanni   -batybity-tye -winni   warrgudu
       3plPoke   -sew   -Past-3plSit   dillybag
       SU PImp redup   SU PImp
       They were sewing dillybags.

Secondly, Foley and Van Valin describe the relationship between directionals and aspectual markers (both nuclear operators) in the following way. "Kewa also has directional suffixes and provides evidence that of the two nuclear operators aspect and directionals, aspect is the more inner. For when a verb is inflected for both aspect and directionals, aspect occurs immediately following the verb stem, followed by the directional, followed in turn by tense" (Foley and Van Valin 1984:212). Unlike Kewa, in Ngan'gityemerri we find the directional enclitics, as described in 6.2.2, 'inside' the serialised aspect enclitics.

3-29   wasangari-kana wirribem, yerim   -fityi -pefi   -yaganim
NgK *clean*   *-FOC   3sgStand 2sgHands-roll-THITH -2sg Go*
                    SU Pres   SU Pres   SU Pres
(The car) is clean now, you can drive it away.

Ngan'gityemerri has a clearly definable ordering relation between tense and aspect morphemes, and between directional and aspect morphemes, in respect to the nucleus. However the orderings evidenced in examples 3-228 and 3-229 show that Ngan'gityemerri does not share the ordering constraints that, according to Foley and Van Valin (loc. cit.), are widespread in the languages of the world.

A serialised auxiliary functioning as an enclitic must concord with the main auxiliary with regard to tense/aspect/mood inflection, and subject person and number. This is demonstrated by the bold glosses in examples 3-230 to 3-232 below.

3-230 **warri**   **-batybity-pe -wirri**
       3plPoke -sew   -Fut-3plSit
       SU Irr   redup   SU Irr
       They will be sewing.

3-231 **warrim   -batybity-wirrim**
       3plPoke -sew   -3plSit
       SU Pres   redup   SU Pres
       They are sewing.

3-232 **wanni   -batybity-tye -winni**
       3plPoke -sew   -Past-3plSit
       SU Past redup   SU Past
       They were sewing.

This does not of course completely invalidate Foley and Van Valin's claim, for the serialised posture/motion auxiliaries in Ngan'gityemerri are still more than just simply markers of aspect. As is evident in the remainder of this section, while these auxiliaries are employed to mark an aspectual category, they clearly also retain, in most cases, at least some of their lexical semantic character (see for instance 3-240 to 3-242 below). If serialised auxiliaries were to lose their lexical semantic characteristics and develop into simple aspect markers, one might predict, in view of Foley and Van Valin's claim, that they might shift 'inside' the tense markers to a position closer to the verb root.

Looking now at the subjects of serialised auxiliaries, note that person concord is always with the syntactic subject, so even verbs like those given

in 3-233 to 3-236 where a non-volitional patient is cross-referenced as the direct object of an unspecified 3rd singular subject, subject marking on the serialised auxiliary copies the 3rd singular subject marking.

3-233   **dani   -ngi-kada-tye -dini**
          3sgPoke -1sg-sad   -Past-3sgSit
          SU PImp DO   SU PImp
          I was feeling sad / It was making me sad.

3-234   **danging -ngi-fulful -yenim**
NgK   *3sgPoke -1sg-twinge-3sgGo*
          SU Pres DO   SU Pres
          I keep feeling this 'twinge'.

3-235   **deme   -nyi-mi-dit -tye -dini   kuru-nimbi**
          3sgHands -2sg-eye-ache-Past-3sgSit   liquid-CAUS
          SU PImp   DO   SU PImp generic
          You still had a headache from the beer.

3-236   **fidi-nide wa   -ngirrki-syalat-pe -wiri**
          heat-LOC 3sgHeatb-1dlex   -warm-Fut-3sgSit
                      SU Irr   DO   SU Irr
          We'll get warm in the sunshine.

Serialised auxiliaries concord only for the subject marking that is cross-referenced on the main auxiliary, and cannot play host to non-subject marking. As is evident from example 3-238 below, this constraint extends even to the copying of the indirect objects of reflexive verbs, where the IO is co-referential with the subject.

3-237   **ngeme   -mbi-yen'gi-tye -ngini (*-mbi)**
          1sgHands -2sg -tell   -Past-1sgSit   -2sg
          SU PImp IO   story   SU PImp IO
          I was telling you a story then.

3-238   **demen   -ne -dundum-yenim (*-ne)**
          3sgHandsDtr-3sg-bury   -3sgGo   -3sg
          SU Pres   IO   redup SU Pres IO
          (The sandfrog who) habitually buries himself in the sand.

Likewise, the subject of the serialised auxiliary cannot represent the aggregate of the subject and object arguments of the main verb, as in example 3-239 below.

3-239 *ngerim -ne -tyerr -baty -ngannunggu
       1sgHands-3sg-mouth-hold-1plexGo   dl
       SU Pres IO   SU Pres SU
       *I am leading him along.

Any violation of the requirement that the subjects of the main auxiliary
and the serialised auxiliary be fully coreferential, are quite ungrammatical.
Note that an example like 3-239 above could plausibly be interpreted as "I'm
leading him, we (dlex) are going along", though to fulfil the phonological
requirements of an independent clause **ngannunggu** (an enclitic in 3-239)
would have to be set off on its own intonation contour with primary stress
marking on its initial syllable.

As imperfective markers, the 'sit', 'lie', 'stand', 'go' and 'go*'
auxiliaries have the same sort of classificatory role with regard to
posture/motion that they display as main auxiliaries in general intransitive
verbs. "Sit', 'lie' and 'stand' classify the action of the verb with respect to
the posture of the subject, e.g.

3-240 **yawul karrityinmade ngebem-wurity-ngirim tyatma**
       spear bent   1sgBash -fix -1sgSit straight
                              SU Pres   SU Pres
       I'm sitting straightening this bent spear.

3-241 **yawul karrityinmade ngebem-wurity-ngibem tyatma**
       spear bent   1sgBash -fix -1sgLie straight
                              SU Pres   SU Pres
       I'm lying straightening this bent spear.

3-242 **yawul karrityinmade ngebem-wurity-ngirribem tyatma**
       spear bent   1sgBash-fix -1sgStand straight
                              SU Pres   SU Pres
       I'm standing straightening this bent spear.

As noted for the postural classification of main auxiliaries, although
the serialised 'sit' auxiliary can function literally to denote a sitting postural
orientation, especially when contrasted with 'lie/stand', in general it is the
unmarked choice for imperfective actions performed within a single
location. Thus examples 3-241 and 3-242 above can be said to be highly
marked with respect to posture. The non-literal posturally unmarked usage
of 'sit' results in its serialisation on verbs that are not necessarily performed
in a sitting posture. This is evident in the example below, uttered by a
woman standing over a boiling billy.

2-243 nginem-purrngpurrng-nyine-ngirim
1sgHeat -boil -FOC -1sgSit
SU Pres redup SU Pres
I'm boiling it right now!

In addition to the encoding of imperfective aspect, the serialisation of the 'go' and 'go*' auxiliaries achieves a variety of different meanings, again parallel to the range of meanings brought about by substitution of the 'go' and 'go*' main auxiliaries. Primarily, in contrast to the postural auxiliaries, serialisation of the 'go' auxiliaries classifies an activity as aspectually imperfective, with the subject in motion. Indeed the 'extended over time' perspective can be seen to result logically from the fact that the activity is performed while the subject is in motion.

3-244 werrmim -ne -tyerr -baty -wannim
3plHands-3sg-mouth-hold-3plGo
SU Pres IO SU Pres
They are leading him along.

3-245 wasangari-kana wirribem, yerim -fityi-pefi -yaganim
NgK clean -FOC 3sgStand 2sgHands-roll-THITH -2sg Go
SU Pres SU Pres SU Pres
(The car) is clean now, you can drive it away.

Additionally, and as noted by Green (1989:181) probably extending from the general sense of motion from place to place, serialisation of the 'go' auxiliaries can categorise verbs within several subtypes of the imperfective aspect; repetetive, progressive and habitual, i.e. 'to keep doing X, to do X again and again, to always do X'. For repetitive and progressive aspect, as noted in the discussion above on literal motion, 'go*' (in 3-248) tends to differ from 'go' in implying more motivated activity directed towards a specific goal.

3-246 miyi-nyine gagu mityity fry-meyi -tye -yedi
plant-FOC animal white -3sgDo -Past-3sgGo
food generic woman SU PImp SU PImp
His wife was cooking breakfasts then (in shifts as people arose).

3-247 ngamban -nime-pe egeningge-ne
1plincGo-pl -Fut goose -PURP
SU Irr SU
Let's all go for goose,

malarrgu   -werre -pe   yarri   -ket -pe -yarrini
long necked-ASSOC-Fut   2plPoke-poke-Fut-2plGo
turtle   *SU Irr*   *SU Irr*
(to the place) with turtles (that you women) can be poking
around for.

3-248 **kala   ngem   -puppup-nganmerr   warrgadi**
NgK   *dye   1sgMouth-place   -1sgGo*   dillybag*
          SU Pres   redup   SU Pres
I kept putting more 'n more dye on the dillybags.

3-249 **yerr -ngini -warrgudu-gumu**
      Tr -KIND -dillybag   -SEMBL
      cl
      They were repeatedly throwing a thing like a dillybag
      wunni -wutyity-tye -waddi   a-bilirri-ne
      3plSlash -throw -Past-3plGo   A-alive -PURP
      SU PImp redup   SU PImp cl
      (a throw net) in order to catch live bait.

The habitual reading of 'go' serialisation differs from the progressive
and repetitive subtypes of imperfective in that it is available to 'go' but not
'go*'.

3-250 **madewetimbi wa-mumu-nimbi** ration **wurrmu-wawu   -tye -waddi**
      long ago   M -taboo -SOURCE   3plSnatch -pick up-Past-3plGo
                cl   *SU PImp redup   SU PImp*
      In the old days they used to collect rations from the policeman.

3-251 **nagam -fi -tal -kana-yenim,   wupun -ker   -yenim**
NgK   *3sgFeet-Mp-grow-FOC-3sgGo   3sgSlash-cheeky-3sgGo*
      SU Pres   SU Pres SU Pres   SU Pres
      As he grows older, he gets more cheeky.

3-252 **detyeri-werri -yenim   dem -wurity-yenim   mudiga**
      ear   -ASSOC-3sgGo   3sgHands-fix   -3sgGo   car
                SU Pres   SU Pres   SU Pres
      He knows how to fix cars.

3-253 **Gagu   a-niyen   a-yaga   menyirr nganimuy-nide**
      animal   A-sandfrog   A-DEM   sand   loose   -LOC
      generic cl   cl
      The sandfrog, that one who always buries himself in the loose sand,
      demem   -dundum-yenim, kine puty -meny-me   niyen
      3sgHandsDtr-bury   -3sgGo   this create-3sgDo-hand placename
      SU Pres   redup   SU Pres place   SU Perf
      he made this place, Niyen.

3.4.6　　　The Aspectual Nature of Verb Root Reduplication

Essentially verb root reduplication is iconic of duration, though, as will become apparent, other interpretations are possible depending on the semantics of the verb.　Ngan'giwumirri and Ngan'gikurunggurr verbs bear an associated aspectual framework.　That is, any activity is conceived of as being either strictly punctual, or as being amenable to a durative interpretation.　Verb root reduplication in non-punctual verbs is interpreted as an aspectual marker of duration.

3-254 a)　**ngi　-tyutytyurr-pe　minbe fenggiderri**
　　　　　1sgSit -swim　　-Fut　Neg　　long time
　　　　　SU Irr　redup
　　　　　I'll keep swimming a bit longer.

　　　b)　**kuru　nyin　nginni　-kukuduk-tye　wakay**
　　　　　liquid ANA　1plexSit -drink　　　-Past　finish
　　　　　generic　　　　SU PImp redup
　　　　　We (plex) sat around drinking those beers up.

　　　c)　**wun-endi　　ngunni　-mbi-fifili -tye -ngaddi**
　　　　　there-SAME　　1plexSlash-2sg-search-Past-1plexGo
　　　　　　　　　　　　SU PImp　IO　redup　　　　SU PImp
　　　　　We've been searching for you over there!

　　　d)　**ya　lirrmem　beyin　-ngi-perrety**
　　　　　hey　cold　　　　3sgBash-1sg-cold/stiff
　　　　　　　　　　　　SU Pres　DO
　　　　　marrawuk-werre　　wibem -fuyfuy
　　　　　dry season-ASSOC　3sgLie　-blow
　　　　　wind　　　　　　　SU Pres　redup
　　　　　Hey, I'm getting cold from this wind blowing.

Verb root reduplication in punctual verbs, on the other hand, can only be interpreted as a marker of iteration, not duration.　The reason for this is that verbs that are thought of as strictly punctiliar can only be durative in the sense that they can be iterative.　Put another way, punctiliar verbs can only be seen to extend over a period of time, in the sense that they can be thought of as a series of repeated actions.

In this analysis I have chosen to describe iteration in terms of duration, not the other way round.　It intuitively seems more plausible to view an iterative activity like 'coughing', in terms of duration, rather than attempt to account for a durative activity, like 'sitting', in terms of 'a series of repeated events'.

Examples of reduplicated verb roots in strictly punctiliar verbs, are set out in 3-255　below.

3-255 a)   warrany   -gi-tyerr   -pupu
            3plPokeDtr   -dl-mouth-ask
            SU Perf   SU   redup
            They (dl) questioned each other.

     b)   strap   ngerrminy -gagarrarr   wakay
                     1plexHands -roll   finish
                     SU Perf   redup
            We (plex) all fastened our seatbelts.

     c)   ticket **kinyi minbe** lose'im- **yurrmu-gu**
                    this Neg   -2plDo -dl
                                            SU Irr SU
            yerrmigi   -mi -fafala -pe   kinnimbi
            2plHandsdl -Val-wave-Fut   here-SOURCE
            SU Irr   SU   redup
            Don't lose this (plane) ticket, you'll have to keep
            showing it from here (on each leg of the flight).

     d)   nail   wum   -pi   -dumdum
                    3sgSlash-head-bury
                    SU Perf   redup
            He hammered in the nail.

The split between the iterative and aspectually durative
interpretations of reduplicated verb roots that is governed by the
punctual/non-punctual conception of an activity, can best be demonstrated
by looking at the interaction between these verbs and the auxiliary inflection
system.   One of the Ngan'giwumirri auxiliary inflectional categories,
labelled Past Imperfective, is strongly associated with imperfectivity. Verbs
denoting activities that are conceived of as being strictly punctual, cannot
select the Past Imperfective auxiliary inflection unless their verb stems are
reduplicated.   Thus the inherently punctual verb 'to cough' in 3-256 a)
below is acceptable because the verb root is reduplicated, but 3-256 b), with an
unreduplicated verb root is not.

3-256 a)   **nginni   -kikilik-tye**
            1plexSit   -cough -Past
            SU   PImp redup
            We (plex) were coughing.

     b)   ***nginni -kilik -tye**
            1plexSit -cough-Past
            SU   PImp
            We (plex) were coughing.

The unacceptability of 3-256 b) stems from the incompatibility of a conceptually punctual activity, subcategorising for an auxiliary inflectional category that is inherently imperfective. 3-256 a) is acceptable because a punctual activity like 'coughing' can be compatible with imperfective / durative auxiliary inflection, only where it is explicitly marked as iterative by reduplication of the verb root.

Returning to the issue of additional interpretations that fall under the umbrella of iteration, we have already seen in 3-255 b) above, that verb root reduplication in punctiliar verbs can be suggestive of many subjects performing the same action. In punctiliar transitive verbs, the implication of object plurality is even stronger. Compare the difference brought to the following pairs of sentences by the reduplication of the verb root.

3-257 a) wamanggal   werrbeny-da
wallaby   *3plBash -shoot*
          SU Perf
They shot a wallaby.

b)   wamanggal   werrbeny-dada
wallaby   *3pl Bash -shoot*
          SU Perf redup
They shot wallabies.

3-258 a) amatyi   wum -tyirri -tu
kangaroo   3sgSlash-navel-cut
          SU Perf
I gutted a kangaroo.

b)   amatyi   wum   -tyirri -tutu
kangaroo   3sgSlash-navel-cut
          SU Perf   redup
He gutted some kangaroos.

Note that object plurality/iteration is in some instances lexically specified in the selection of verb roots. The verb roots -tyat ' place a thing in position', and -ket 'chop' in 3-259 a) and 3-260 a) below, require singular objects and cannot be reduplicated. The 'placing', and 'chopping' of multiple objects requires the selection of the verb roots -tyuk and -gerrgirr , respectively, as in 3-259 b) and 3-260 b).

3-259 a) ya   -fi -firr -tyat -Ø
2sgPoke-Mp-foot-place-IMP
SU Irr
Put it down at the foot of the tree !

b)   ya   -fi -firr -tyuk -Ø
2sgPoke-Mp-foot-place-IMP
SU Irr
Put them down at the foot of the tree !

3-260 a)   **gagu   ngebeny-ket**
animal   1sgBash -chop
generic   SU Perf
I chopped the meat.

b)   **gagu   ngebeny-gerrgirr**
animal   1sgBash -chop
generic   SU Perf redup
I chopped the meat up into bits.

Such verb roots that entail plural objects as part of their lexical semantics may still be reduplicated to stress object number.

3-261 a)   **ngarriny -fi -tityuk   fepi**
1plexPoke-Mp-place   rock
SU Perf   redup
We (plex) placed a lot of rocks down (as a border for a garden bed).

b)   **.....ngan-gagu   warrim-fi -tityuk-wannim**
LOC -animal 3plPoke-Mp-place   -3plGo
REL   generic SU Pres   redup   SU Pres
.....to the place where they put many animals (the zoo).

Finally, it should be noted that another interpretation of the 'durativeness' conveyed by verb root reduplication, is that of habitual activity. Verbs that are specifically marked as 'habitual', by the selection of the 'Go' auxiliary, either as a complex or serialised auxiliary, frequently bear reduplicated verb roots. Indeed this is a plausible interpretation of the relative locational clause (see 5.3.4) in 3-261 b) above: ' to the place where they habitually place animals'. See also the examples in 3-262 below.

3-262 a)   **watypela missionhouse yenim-wapup**
whitefella   3sgGo - sit
SU Pres redup
ring'up-ngirrminy-nerr
-1plexDo   -dl/3sgM
SU Perf   SU/IO
We (dlex) rang up the bloke who lives at the mission house.

b) ration wa-mumu-nimbi waddi -wawu -tye -waddi
      M -taboo -SOURCE 3plGo -pick up-Past-3plGo
      cl =police   SU PImp redup   SU PImp
      (In the old days) they used to collect their rations from the policeman.

3.5 Bodypart Terms within the Verb

In Ngan'gityemerri bodypart terms have a widespread and productive role in the structure of the lexicon. The role played by bodyparts in nominal compounding is discussed in 5.2.4. This section addresses the incorporation of bodypart terms into the pre-verb root position, as exemplified in 3-263.

3-263 **deme** **-mentyi-baty -tye**
      3sgHands-neck -hold-Past
      SU PImp
      He was holding it by the neck.

After dealing briefly with the morphology of incorporated bodypart terms in 3.5.1, I then look, in 3.5.2, at the distinction between productive, syntactic incorporation which allows for predicate arguments to be expressed within the verb, and lexical incorporation which derives a new predicate from a combination of bodypart and verbroot. Finally, in 3.5.3, an examination of their semantics shows how incorporated bodyparts have a wider range of meaning than their corresponding freeforms, and how for certain lexicalised bodypart + verbroot compounds, the bodypart functions as a classifier in respect to perceived shared qualities of entities which can fill the role of arguments to that derived predicate.

In addition to bodyparts this section notes two other nominals that have been found incorporated within the verb. That the section heading is 'Bodypart Incorporation' rather than 'Nominal Incorporation' reflects the minor role that these other nominals play.

3.5.1 Morphology of Incorporated Bodyparts

One of the ten formal noun classes in Ngan'gityemerri is made up of bodyparts. A fuller discussion of the semantics of this class, and the patterns of class marking can be found in 5.2.4. Briefly, members of this class are marked by the obligatory class prefix **dV-**[15] when they appear as free forms.

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[15]The quality of V of this prefix is metaphonically determined by the following rule:
    $V \rightarrow e / \_\#CV[-back]$

3-264	depi	-	head	daba	-	arm
	dederri	-	back	datyamu	-	cheek
	dege	-	belly	dapurr	-	bum
	defirr	-	foot	damadi	-	chest
	deme	-	hand	danguru	-	penis
	detyerr	-	mouth	damuy	-	eye
	debi	-	thigh	dawayirr	-	forehead
	deyedirr	-	hip	dagarri	-	lower leg

This class prefix is dropped from bodypart terms when they are incorporated into the complex verb, as in 3-265 below.

3-265 a) **ngudeny -garri-fityi**   (cf. da-garri)
1sgShoveDtrD-leg -roll
SU Perf
I crossed my legs.

b) **dangim -firr -pawal**   (cf. de-firr)
3sgPoke-foot -spear
SU Perf
He speared him in the foot.

Only a single bodypart root **muy** 'eye' undergoes a minor change in form, to **mi**, when incorporated into the verb, as in 3-266.

3-266   **ngeriny -nyi-mi-ta**
1sgHands-2sg-eye-open
SU Perf   DO
I opened your eye.

This same root behaves somewhat anomalously within the morphology of nominal compounds, appearing as **muy, mity,** and possibly **mu,** in the examples below.

3-267   **muy-wasyan**   -   eyebrow/lash
eye - hair
mity-kuru(W)   -   tears
eye -water
mu -dirr   -   eyebrow ridge
eye?-teeth/edge

Both these features, the dropping of affixes from incorporated bodyparts, and the existence of reduced or suppletive forms, are as Mithun

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-> a/_#CV[+back]

(1984) notes, common typological features of noun incorporation. For Ngan'gityemerri though, it must be noted that other than the dropping of the class prefix and the minor reduction of **muy** to **-mi-**, the correspondence in form between free and incorporated bodyparts is absolute.

While essentially it is only members of the bodypart class that can be incorporated into the verb, there are two non-bodypart terms that have been recorded in this position. **Misyin** - 'hearth', found in the freeform nominal;

3-268　　　**misyin-muy**　　　-　　　fireplace
　　　　　　　hearth - eye

incorporates into a small number of verbs involving placing objects onto a fireplace.

3-269　　　**miringgi yu　　-fi -misyin-wurity**
　　　　　　　leaf　　　　2sgSlash-Mp-hearth-place
　　　　　　　　　　SU Irr
　　　　　　　Throw the tealeaf into (the billy on) the fire!

The incorporation of **misyin** is a strictly lexical process (cf. 3.5.2), and it cannot be freely incorporated into any verb that describes activity that takes place in/at a hearth. Thus the attempt to incorporate **misyin** into the verb 'to hook something' (as in a billy off a fire) in 3-270, is unacceptable.

3-270　　　**ngumbun-(*misyin-)wat　　misyin-muy-nimbi**
　　　　　　　1sgSlash - (hearth -)hook　　hearth-eye　-SOURCE
　　　　　　　SU Perf
　　　　　　　I hooked it off the hearth.

Several verbs in Ngan'gityemerri involving activity associated with water, employ the verb root **bu/buy.**

3-271　　　**ngaganim-buy**　-　I'm going along underwater
　　　　　　　ngerim-bubu　-　I fetch water
　　　　　　　deminy-bubu　-　It(turtle) is blowing bubbles

In a single verb this same form appears incorporated into the pre-verbroot slot, as in the example below.

3-272　　　**kuru　wibem-bu　-tyerr**
　　　　　　　water　3sgLie-water-stop
　　　　　　　SU Pres
　　　　　　　Water is lying (along the road).

This single example is lexically determined, bu being unavailable for any kind of productive syntactic incorporation. Evans (to appear) discusses the incorporation of bo as a generic for 'water' in Mayali, and other cognate forms in various Gunwingguan languages. He further notes that for Mayali and Ngalakan, at least, it is the only suppletive incorporated nominal.

3.5.2 Syntactic versus Lexical Incorporation

In characterising the grammatical relations holding between a verb and the bodypart terms that can be incorporated into it, Evans (to appear) has shown how a distinction between syntactic and lexical incorporation is beneficial in the analysis of bodypart incorporation in Mayali, a Kunwinjkuan language of south-west Arnhem Land. Syntactic incorporation is optional, fully productive and constrained to certain predictable grammatical relations between the incorporated nominal and predicate. Lexically incorporated nominals, on the other hand, may bear a wider variety of grammatical relations to the incorporating verb and are not fully productive. Their meaning, which may be compositional or non-compositional, cannot generally be paraphrased by omitting the incorporated nominal, or by having it appear as an external nominal (loc. cit.).

This kind of analysis can usefully be applied to Ngan'gityemerri, where syntactic incorporation also operates under fairly rigid constraints on the nature of the grammatical relations that hold between a bodypart and a predicate. Lexical incorporation, on the other hand, allows a wide variety of grammatical relations to hold between a bodypart and a predicate, although the nature of these relations is typically vague or variable, as lexically incorporated bodyparts tend to lose the semantic characteristics associated with their freeform occurrence, and function to narrow the scope of the verb rather than retaining their identity as verbal arguments . For certain bodyparts we show how their effect on the scope of a verb shows signs of developing into a quasi-classificatory system whereby they are incorporated in a general sense to qualify verbs that are directed at particular types of entities. Both these types of incorporation are treated in the following sections.

Only a single slot is available within the verbal structure for incorporated bodyparts, both syntactic and lexical incorporations competing for this position. As a consequence of this, the syntactic incorporation of verbal arguments is blocked where the verbroot is a lexicalised bodypart - verb root compound.

Syntactically incorporated bodyparts are always optional, they can be omitted from the verb and instead be paraphrased by an external nominal. Bodyparts can be syntactically incorporated into any semantically compatible verb, whereas lexically incorporated bodyparts cannot be predicted, and require specification within the lexicon.

The main types of grammatical relations that are permissive of the syntactic incorporation of bodypart terms are where their possessors are the objects and locatives of transitive verbs, or the subjects of verbs formed with the 'detransitivised' and 'Say' auxiliaries. Each of these are discussed below.

In transitive verbs the incorporated bodypart can denote the specific whole object.

> 3-273　　　ngarim -fi -yedirr-tyat
> *1sgPoke-Mp-hip　　　-place*
> *SU Perf*
> I stood up the tyre (hip of the car).

Or where the object can sustain a whole/part relationship, the object is crossreferenced in the verb by bound object pronouns, and the incorporated bodypart functions in apposition to it. This is exemplified nicely in the following example where the same verb is repeated with an overtly crossreferenced object and an incorporated bodypart.

> 3-274　wunu　-purrk-tye -dini,　　wuni　-nyi -bi　-purrk-tye -dini
> *3sgSlash-clap　-Past-3sgSit　　3sgSlash-2sg-thigh-clap　-Past-3sgSit*
> *SU PImp　　　　SUPImp SU PImpDO　　　　　SU PImp*
> He was clapping, he was slapping your thigh (in time to the music).

Additionally, syntactically incorporated bodyparts in transitive verbs can be construed with general locative or source arguments.

> 3-275 a)　　dangim -fi -tyat　　　　-He put it down.
> 　　　　　*3sgPoke-Mp-place*
> 　　　　　*SU Perf*
>
> b)　　dangim -fi-garri-tyat　　-He placed it against the
> 　　　　　　　　*-leg-*　　　　trunk(leg) of the tree.
>
> c)　　dangim-fi-firr-tyat　　　-He placed it at the foot
> 　　　　　　　*-foot-*　　　　of the tree.
>
> d)　　dangim-fi-panmi-tyat　　-He placed it in the fork
> 　　　　　　*-crotch-*　　　　of a tree.

e)	dangim-fi-madi-tyat	-He placed it in a hollow
	-chest-	of the tree.

f)	mimenem	ngerrminy -ba -ket
	billygoat plum	1plexHands-arm-pick
		SU Perf

We (plex) picked plums (from the branches).

Examples 3-275 a) - e) clearly demonstrate both the optionality and productivity of syntactic incorporation. Example a) stands as a complete verb meaning to 'place something, to put it in position'. It additionally incorporates general locative arguments in examples b) - e), without deriving a new lexeme or altering the meaning of the verb in any significant way. In each of these examples the part-of-the-tree could optionally be realised as an eternal nominal.

Syntactically incorporated bodyparts cannot be construed as part of the Subject of a transitive clause. This can be best seen by looking at the examples in 3-276 below, where in example b) the bodypart as part-of-S is blocked from incorporation, and must appear as an external INSTRumental marked NP.

3-276 a)   **ngarim - Ø -tyerr -du**
   1sgPoke-3sg-mouth-show
   SU Perf DO
   I pointed to his mouth.

b)   **ngarim - Ø -(*tyerr-)du   detyerr-ninggi**
   1sgPoke-3sg-   show mouth -INSTR
   SU Perf DO
   I pointed to him with my mouth.
   (i.e. by pouting my lips)

Likewise where a bodypart is fully coreferential with S, as opposed to 'a-part-of-S', it can not be incorporated into the verb. Thus in example b) below, 'breast' can only be interpreted as part of the object argument, not as the incorporated equivalent of example 3-276 a).

3-277 a)   **tyi   dangim- Ø -pawal-nyine**
   breast   3sg Poke-3sg-spear   -FOC
   SU Perf DO
   Breasts have speared her now.
   ie. She has developed breasts now

b)   **dangim - Ø -tyi   -pawal**
3sgPoke-3sg-breast-spear
SU Perf DO
He speared her in the breast.
(*Breasts have speared her)

Verbs involving the manipulation by a subject of his own bodyparts, are formed with 'detransitivised' auxiliaries (cf. 4.5.2). While verbs formed with 'detransitivised' auxiliaries are formally intransitive, being unable to cross-reference the undergoer bodypart with bound object pronouns, they do pattern with transitive verbs in having object-like arguments that can be included as freeform nominals. Compare formally intransitive 3-278 a) with transitive 3-278 b) below.

3-278 a)   **diwen   -lak de-firr**
3sgMouthDtr-lick   Bp-foot
SU Pres   cl
(The dog) is licking its foot.

b)   **nganam-nyi-baty   de-firr**
1sgFeet -2sg-hold   Bp-foot
SU Perf DO   cl
I trod on your foot.

While we have already seen that bodypart terms that are the objects of transitive verbs are eligible for incorporation into the verb, the same is true of bodypart terms that are the subjects (or parts of subjects) of 'detransitivised' verbs. Thus 3-79 a) and b) are the externally paraphrased versions of 3-278 a) and b).

3-279 a)   **diwen   -firr -lak**
3sgMouthDtr-foot-lick
SU Pres
(The dog) is licking its foot.

b)   **nganam-nyi-firr-baty**
1sgFeet -2sg-foot-hold
SU Perf DO
I trod on your foot.

Further examples demonstrating how 'detransitivised' verbs allow for the syntactic incorporation of 'bodyparts-of subject' are set out in 3-280.

3-280 a) **ngin -garri-fityi**   b) **ngemen -nintyi-pal**
1sgShoveDtrS-leg   -roll   *1sgHandsDtr- knee -fold*
SU Pres   *SU Perf*
I'm crosslegged.   I bent at the knees.
                                         (ie. kneel)

c) **ngudem -dirr -fulirr**   d) **ngudeny -syi -wul**
1sgShoveDtrD-teeth-rub   *1sgShoveDtr-nose-return*
SU Pres   *SU Perf*
I grind my teeth.   I turned (my nose)
                                         for home.

e) **ngemem -madi-baty**
1sgHandsDtr -chest -hold
    SU Pres
I'm holding myself by
the chest. (ie. arms
folded across chest)

Thirdly, verbs formed with the 'Say' auxiliary also allow for the incorporation of bodyparts that are a part-of-subject. Recall (cf. 3.1.1) that these verbs have inverted verbroot-auxiliary ordering. Bodypart terms incorporated into these verbs are positioned after the auxiliary and are therefore word-final unless followed by overt non-present tense markers.

3-281 a) **dudu -meny -firr**
swollen-3sgDo -foot
    SU Perf
He had a swollen foot.
(he was swollen-footed)

b) **papalak-mem -muy**
drop   -3sgDo-eye
redup   SU Pres
She blinks her eyes (habitually).

c) **tyip -ngiminy-tyeri**
dark-1sgDo -ear
    SU Perf
I forgot.

The type of strictly syntactic incorporation presented here shows different characteristics to the incorporation in languages discussed by Mithun (1984). Using Mohawk as an example, she argues that all predicates bearing incorporated nouns are lexicalised, regardless of how productive the process may be.

197

" NI may appear to be a syntactic process simply because of its tremendous productivity; the number of combinations that occur seems unlimited. However, speakers are keenly aware of the lexical status of all such combinations. They know not only which constructions are possible, but also which of these actually exist--ie. which are lexicalised. They immeadiately recognise those which are not. Speakers immediately remember who uses a word not used by others, even when it is a perfectly transparent combination of two highly productive stems."

Having made this claim that speakers of incorporating languages remember all combinations of 'incorporated noun + verb' as a lexicalised unit, Mithun uses this as a basis to draw a distinction between noun incorporation and other truely syntactic processes. Speakers of non-incorporating languages, she argues, do not remember all possible combinations of verb and object.

Although any claims about the degree of lexicalisation of combinations of incorporated noun and verb are bound to be impressionistic, the examples like those in 3-275 a) - e) above suggest that in Ngan'gityemerri at least, bodypart incorporation can be a purely syntactic process. In fact Mithun indirectly acknowledges this possibility in the discrepancy between "constructions which are possible, and those that actually exist -ie. which are lexicalised"(loc. cit.). In Ngan'gityemerri, bodypart-verb root combinations that 'exist' (ie. are lexicalised) can be negatively tested for in terms of the criteria *productivity* and *optionality*. Likewise those combinations that do not 'exist', in the sense that they are not lexicalised, can be distinguished by their full syntactic productivity. There seems to be no real basis to say of these types, as Mithun does, that " If speakers use a new combination, they are creating a new word and are aware of the fact" (loc. cit.).

It should be pointed out that this distinction between syntactic and lexical incorporation in Ngan'gityemerri is purely based on the *grammatical criteria* of productivity and optionality. No attempt has been made to draw lines, based on the intuitions of native speakers, between those combinations that 'exist' and those which do not. My own experience of exploring the productiveness of bodypart incorporation with informants suggests that no such clearcut lines exist. The degree of productivity brought to the incorporation of bodyparts is a stylistic variable that some speakers exploit more than others. Combinations which are rejected outright as not 'existing', can always be found to 'exist' where a sufficiently imaginative mind can establish a plausible context. In fact it is the

exploitation of the more marginal 'non-existent' combinations   that is widely held to be the mark of someone who is 'good with words'.

Variation in the perception of the degree of lexicalisation of some combinations would be anticipated if the incorporation of bodyparts is an evolving process.   This is particularly true where, as Mithun notes, lexicalisation develops from noun + verb combinations that are, in cultural terms, especially nameworthy.

Lexical incorporation, on the other hand, differs from syntactic incorporation in not being productive. While there are many instances of the same verb root compounding lexically with different bodypart terms, as in 3-282, this is not to be confused with productiveness. Lexical incorporation is a compounding process that derives a new verb root from the combination of a bodypart and a verb root. (eg. Bodypart - Verb root 1 --> Verb root 2).

> 3-282 a)   **ngibem-tyeri-baty (*detyeri)**
> *1sgLie -ear   -hold*
> *SU Pres*
> I'm listening.
>
> b)   **ngibem -syi -baty (*desyi)**
> *1sgLie-nose-hold*
> *SU Pres*
> I'm smelling (intrans).

Lexical incorporation also differs from syntactic incorporation in that bodyparts cannot be omitted from the verbal complex or appear as external nominals, as evidenced by the impermissible freeforms in the 3-282 above.

The range of bodypart terms found in lexical compounds is significantly smaller than those which incorporate syntactically. Whereas any member of the bodypart noun class can be syntactically incorporated, it is only those major bodypart terms listed in Table 3-8 that can compound with verb roots to derive new verb roots.

What then of the grammatical relations allowed to hold between the bodypart and verb root members of a lexical compound ? The majority of examples of lexically incorporated bodyparts fall within the general restrictions on predicate relations given above for syntactic incorporation, ie transitive objects and locatives, and intransitive subjects with certain auxiliaries. Other examples allow for a wider range of relations, including some disallowed for syntactic incorporation. Thus in 3-282 above we find bodyparts as part-of-S in verbs with stative intransitive auxiliaries.

Additionally we find lexically incorporated bodyparts being construed with the subjects of transitive verbs, as in 3-283 below.

3-283   nga   -nyi-tyerr   - pu -pe
             1sgPoke-2sg-mouth-ask   -Fut
             SU Irr   DO
             I'm going to ask you.

In many examples though, the relationship between the elements of a lexical compound verb is compositional and implicit, and not amenable to description in terms of syntactic rules. Sapir makes similar observations on noun incorporation in American languages;

> "it is often just as difficult, at least in some American languages, to draw
> the line between the objective and non-objective use of an incorporated noun
> as it is to determine the precise syntactic value of the qualifying member of
> a compound...In both cases the grammatical expression of a logical relation,
> in other words a syntactic process, is sacrificed to a compositional process in
> which the logical relation is only implied."   (Sapir 1911:257)

3.5.3   Semantics of Incorporated Bodyparts

Incorporated bodyparts take on a semantic range that extends beyond their freeform usage. Thus we find that **nguru** - 'penis' comes to denote the genitals of both sexes, **muy** - 'eye' is extended to include the face, and **ge** - 'belly' covers the 'middle' of a body, not just the front, lower torso. Additionally , there is a preference for incorporating higher-level general terms over lower-level specific ones. Thus verbs involving activity at the 'elbow' or 'calf muscle', for instance, are more likely to incorporate 'arm' or 'leg', respectively, than the more specific bodypart. So the division of the body into parts, for the purpose of incorporation, is a broader, grosser division than it is for free forms. Of the 35 odd members of the bodypart noun class, any of which can theoretically be syntactically incorporated into the verb, a subset of 16 of these tend to function in this quasi-generic capacity, taking over the role of cross-referencing specific bodyparts once they are textually established. This subset of quasi-generic bodyparts, listed below in Table3-8, are termed 'major bodyparts' in this work.

Among these major bodyparts we further find evidence of the development of a classificatory system whereby certain major bodyparts compounded with certain verbroots, lose their independent semantic and syntactic qualities. Here they qualify the verb by classifying the arguments towards which the verb is directed, in terms of some qualitative fuctional or

physical feature of the bodypart. This can be seen particularly with **mentyi** - 'neck' and **tyirri** - 'navel'.

<u>Specific and Extended Meanings of Major Bodypart Terms</u>

madi	-chest	-front of body/underside/direction one faces /smoothed surface /concave shape/protected and contained
derri	-back	-back of body/topside/exposed,raised surfaces
tyirri	-navel	-bladder/things that rupture and leak
dirr	-teeth	-edges
pi	-head	-raised, rounded shapes
mentyi	-neck	-tracks and pathways
syi	-nose	-parts of things that jut out
nguru/nguri(K)	-penis	-male and female genitals/wind & rain?
panmi	-crotch	-fork of tree
ba	-arm	-creeks and branches/nurturing and directing
muy	-eye	-face/orifice/spot
purr	-bottom	-tail end/finish
tyerr	-mouth	-end face of a cylinder/openable things /points of entry/speech
ge	-belly	-guts/middle/seat of emotions
firr	-foot	-base of tall, upright things
minmi	-elbow	-turn-offs

Table 3-8

3.5.3.1   **madi** chest

In its most literal form **madi** denotes the surface of the body over the front of the ribcage, between the narrow **mentyi** 'neck' and the soft **dege** 'belly'. This literal bodypart sense is reflected in the nominal lexicon in examples such as,

3-284	**da-madi**	-	chest
	pi-madi-mi	-	sternum
	madi-wanggi	-	chest cicatrices

and incorporated into verbs as in 3-285

3-285 a) **ngemem -madi-baty**   b)   **wurrbum-ngi-madi**
      1sgHands-chest-hold   *3plBash -1sg-chest*
      SU Pres   *SU Perf DO*
      I fold my arms across my chest.   They cut chest cicatrices
      (lit: I chest-hold myself   on me.

Further, **madi** denotes the underside or frontside expanses of the body;

3-286   **firr -madi** - sole of foot
       foot-chest

       de -tyerr -madi - lower jaw
       Bp-mouth-chest

and by extension comes to represent the orientation of a body, the way that it is facing;

3-287 a) **ganggi - meny -madi wiben**
      up - 3sgDo -chest 3sgLie
        SU Perf SU Perf
      He lay facing upwards (ie. on his back).

    b) **aya, minde ngudum-madi-fili mudiga,**
      Hey! neg 1sgShove-chest-roll car
          SU Perf
      Hey look! I didn't roll the car over,
      mudiga wudeny -madi-fili -ngidde
      car   3sgShoveDtrD-chest-roll -1sg
        SU Perf   IMPL
      it was the car that just rolled over on me.

    c) **mudiga Palumba nem ngumbudum-madi-gat**
      truck   3sg 1plincShove -chest-meet
           PRO SU Perf
      We met the Palumba truck head on.

From the sense of flat expanses and the underside of bodies, **madi** comes to be associated with clear expanses of ground, and smooth unblemished surfaces.

3-288 a) **wurrum -madi-fuy ngurrbun**
      3plSlash-chest-sweep ceremony
      SU Perf   ground
      They swept the ceremony ground.

    b) **weri ngudumbun-madi-syusyu**
      hole 1sgShove -chest-restore
        SU Pres
      I'm filling in/smoothing over the hole.

    c) **fepi -ninggi dangim-madi-syarr**
      stone-INSTR 3sgPoke -chest-scrape
         SU Pres
      He's sanding/smoothing it with a stone.

From the front/underside of our prototypical body, **madi** comes to be associated with the hollow, enclosed, containing and by further extension, protective qualities of any entity that is thought of as being concave. Thus **madi** incorporates into verbs involving entry or insertion into containers.

3-289 a)   **ngaganiny-madi-wap mudiga**
    1sgGo   -chest -sit   car
    SU Perf
    I climbed into the car.

b)   **ngambaty yenim-madi-pap -nyine**
    tide   3sgGo -chest-climb-now
    SU Pres
    The tide is coming up now.
    (within the containing shape created by the two banks)

c)   **musyulng yana -ngiti-madi-kuli   mudiga**
    swag   2sgFeet-1sg -chest-throw car
    SU Irr IO
    Throw my swag into the car for me!

d)   **ngingini   nga   -madi-bang-pe**
    coolamon   1sgPoke-chest-poke-Fut
    SU Irr
    I'll hollow out this coolamon.

e)   **yana   -madi-purity-merrendi dirrkuru**
    2sgFeet-chest-slip   -LEST   riverbank
    SU Irr
    ...lest you slip down the riverbank.

In this increasingly metaphoric usage it can be seen to compliment the extended meanings of **derri** 'back', which by way of contrast is associated with the top, exposed, humped shape of an entity that is thought of as being convex. See 3.5.3.2.

3.5.3.2   derri back

Firstly **derri** incorporates in its literal form to denote the 'back' as a simple bodypart.

3-290   **ngemeny   -derri-pal**
    1sgHandsDtr-back -fold
    SU Perf
    I bend at the back (ie. forwards from my waist).

From the 'back' of a prototypical body, **derri** comes to be incorporated in verbs in which take place on, or in relation to, a raised flat surface.

> 3-291   freezer   **wirribem-ngan-derri**
> *3sgStand -LOC -back*
> *SU Pres*
> The freezer is standing up (on a platform).

This raised 'hump' is somehow bare and exposed, complimentary to the way in which **madi** 'chest' conveys the sense of enclosed protectedness. In the following example this sense of both **madi** and **derri** are contrasted in the verb meaning 'to clear ground'.

> 3-292 a)   **wurrbu -madi-pul -pe   wangga-ne**
> *3plBash-chest-clear-Fut   dance   -PURP*
> *SU Irr   style*
> They're going to clear an area for dancing.
> (ie. create a designated space with a specific boundary to be a focal point for human activity)

> b)   **miyi-ne   wurrbu-derri-pul -pe   D9-ninggi**
> *grain-PURP   3plBash-back-clear-Fut   -INSTR*
> *   SU Irr*
> They'll clear (this paddock) with a D-9 (caterpillar) for (planting) sorghum.
> (ie. strip away the covering vegetation and expose the soil for planting)

The dominant geographical features of Ngan'giwumirri country are mesa formations - flat topped elongated ridges. As classic examples of flat, raised surfaces, these are also known as **derri**. Verbs involving the traversing or climbing of ridges incorporate **derri**, as in the following examples.

> 3-293 a)   **nagan -derri-pappup**
> *3sgFeet-back -climb*
> *SU Perf   redup*
> He's climbed up onto the ridge.

> b)   **yemi   -derri-birr -pe**
> *2sgHands-back   -travel-Fut*
> *SU Irr*
> Travel along the top of the ridge!

General verbs of concealment such as 'hiding', 'finding' and 'covering' also incorporate **derri**. This seems to be based both on the 'exposure'

component, and on the 'back' as the external topside of a body that remains visible when one is huddled to escape detection.

3-294 a) **kide** **yubum -derri-du**
where 2sgBash-back -touch
SU Perf
Where'd you find it?

b) **bengim -ne -derri-lit** blanket
3sgBash-3sg-back-cover
SU Perf IO
He covered himself with a blanket.

c) **ngeriny -derri**
1sgHands-back
SU Perf
I hid it.

3.5.3.3 tyirri navel/bladder

Although **tyirri** can incorporate in its literal sense;

3-295 **wur-tyatyamurr yemi -tyirri -pul -tye**
F -newborn 2sgHands-navel-wash-Past
cl SU Irr
You should have washed her navel (properly) when she was just newly born.

it is primarily incorporated as a lexicalised compound with the verb root -tu 'break', and it is in the form of this derived verb root that it achieves a highly classificatory function. 'tyirri-tu' denotes the breaking of objects that are conceived of as being 'bladder-like' in that they are containers that because they are gassy, or brittle, or under internal pressure, when ruptured tend to burst plosively and leak their contents. The type of objects classified in this way include - intestines, pimples, uncooked eggs, car tyres, sausages, footballs and balloons or inflated bladders used as such, bottles and waterbags.

3-296 a) **de-yedirr yeniny -tyirri -tu -ngidde**
Bp-hip 3sgGo -navel-break-1sg
cl SU Perf IMPL
The car tyre has punctured on me.

b) **wamanggal wunni -tyirri-tu -tye**
fem. Agile 3plSlash-navel-break-Past
wallaby SU PImp
They were gutting wallabies.

c) yakay! kagu -yaga wannim-tyirri-tu
    lookout! animal-DEM 3plGo -navel-break
        generic   SU Pres
    Lookout! the sausages are bursting!

d) amurru wudumbun-tyirri-tu
    egg   3sgShove -navel-break
        SU Pres
    She's just broken the eggs.

e) finy   ngeme -tyirri-tutu -tye
    pimple 1sgHands-navel-touch-Past
        SU PImp
    I was squeezing my pimples.

3.5.3.4   dirr teeth

Dirr incorporates literally as 'teeth'.

3-297   wudeni   -dirr -fulirr
         3sgShoveDtrD-teeth-rub
         SU PImp
         He was grinding his teeth.

and further implies that actions are performed on the long, thin edges of things, such as riverbanks and the edges of essentially two-dimensional things like knives, planks of wood, iron/bark sheeting etc..

3-298 a)   marrimarri kinyi yudi   -ngiti-dirr -fulirr
            knife   this   2sg-Shove-1sg -teeth-rub
                          SU Irr   IO
            Sharpen this knife for me!

      b)   dideninggi   nganggininy-dirr -tyerr
            opposite side 1plincGo   -teeth-stop
                          SU   Perf
            We pulled up on the opposite bank.

3.5.3.5   pi head

Pi incorporates literally to denote the 'head', excluding the face;

3-299 a)   a - da-wayirr   bengim-pi -baty
            A-Bp-forehead   3sgBash-head-tie
            cl cl   SU Perf
            He tied a headband around his head.

b)   **deminy   -ngi-pi   -yiri**
    3sgHands-1sg -head-numb
    SU Pres   DO
    It made me ashamed.
    (lit: it head-numbed me)

but including the hair.

3-300   **ngubu -nyi-pi   -ket-pe   wusye**
        1sgBash-2sg-head-cut-Fut   hair
        SU Irr   DO
        I'll cut your hair.

Incorporated **pi** is extended to denote the 'head-like' ends of long, thin, upright things;

3-301   **ngerrbe   -pi   -dundum-tye   nel**
        1plexBash-head-bury   -Past   nail
        SU PImp   redup
        We were hammering in nails.

and rounded and raised (parts of) objects generally.

3-302 a)   **angantyamu weme -pi   -dudu-tye -yedi   bude-ne**
        bush turkey 3sgHands-head-touch-Past-3sgGo   nest-PURP
             SU PImp   redup   SU PImp
        The bush turkey was heaping up (a mound) for a nest.

b)   **yerr-da-garri-werre   yeniny-pi   -wap mudiga**
    Tr -Bp-leg -ASSOC   3sgGo -head-sit   car
    cl   cl   SU Perf
    He sat up on top of the cabin of the car with a rifle.

c)   **peke   bafun yemi   -ngiti-pi   -lali   yetyerrawu-ne**
    tobacco ash   2sgHands-1sg   -head-round chewing-PURP
              SU Irr   IO   tobacco
    Roll some tobacco and ash into a chewing ball for me.

3.5.3.6   mentyi   neck

Mentyi incorporates literally;

3-303   **eferri   deme -mentyi-baty -pagu -tye -yedi**
        bluetongue 3sgHands-neck   -hold-HITH -Past-3sgGo
        lizard   SU PImp   SU PImp
        He was coming up carrying a bluetongue by the neck.

and further acts as a classifier for verbs of movement or activity along tracks. This classificatory usage seems to employ the notion of *intersection*, ie. crossing pathways, cutting a track through a ridge, waiting for someone (being in a place where you anticipate the intersection of your paths) etc.

3-304 a) **ngambani-mentyi-fel   -nime-pe,   pikirri!**
1plincGo -neck   -bounce-pl   -Fut   quickly
SU   Irr   SU
Quickly! let's cross the road.

b) **ngarrini-mbi-mentyi-tyerr-pe   ngan-kagu**
1plexGo-2sg-neck   -stop -Fut   LOC -animal
SU Irr   IO   =wait   generic
We'll wait for you, where that

a-nerrerr   dangim-mentyi-ket
A-chicken   3sgPoke-neck   -cut
cl   hawk   SU Perf
chickenhawk cut a track (through the ridge).

c) **mumba Port Keats-ne   nganggininy-mentyi-tyerr**
track   -PURP 1plincGo   -neck   -stop
SU   Perf
We turned off onto the Port Keats' road.

d) **yana   -mentyi-baty   mumba**
2sgFeet-neck   -hold   track
SU Irr
Follow the track!

3.5.3.7   syi   nose

Syi incorporates literally;

3-305 a) **wudem   -syi -dudu-dim**
3sgShoveDtrD-nose-touch-3sgSit
SU Pres   SU Pres
She's picking her nose.

b) **yibem -syi -baty?**
2sgLie-nose-hold
SU Pres
Do you smell it?

and, in a lexical compound with the verb root **-ket** 'cut', further denotes the parts of things that protrude, particularly with regard to the necessity to

move around them. This sense of syi appears to be an extension of the physical property of a nose as 'jutting out' from a face.

3-306 a)   mudiga ngundum -syi   -ket
car   1dlincSlash-nose-cut
            SU   Perf
We went around the end of the car.

b)   fepi wunu wumbun-syi   -ket-nyine
hill   that   3sgSlash   -nose-cut -now
            SU Pres
He's just gone around the point of that hill now.

In 3-306 a) syi does not necessarily imply the front end of a car, either end being classifiable as a 'nose'. In other verbs entailing activity at the 'back end' of things we find purr - 'bottom' syntactically incorporated to convey the sense of this location.

3-307   ngaganim-purr-wap mudiga
1sgGo   -bum-sit   car
SU Pres
I'm sitting up on the tailgate of the car.

Here however '-syi-ket' is a lexical compound implying 'movement around the end of things that jut out' and is not amenable to bodypart substitution in any productive manner.

3.5.3.8   nguru/nguri(K)   penis

Nguru incorporates into verbs as a literal bodypart;

3-308 a)   demeni   -nguru-walal -tye
3sgHandsDtr-penis   -shake-Past
SU PImp
He was masturbating.

b)   demeni   -nguru-dudu-tye
3sgHandsDtr-penis   -touch-Past
SU PImp   redup
She was masturbating.

c)   kukuk nga   -nyi-nguru-waty   ambirri
wait!   1sgPoke-2sg -penis -consume   first
            SU Irr   DO
Hang on!, I'm going to fuck you first.

though as 3-308 b) demonstrates, as an incorporated form its semantic range
is widened to include the sexual organs of both sexes.

Nguru also occurs in a lexical compound with the verb root **ket** - 'cut'
to denote the sudden cessation of the meteorological features wind and rain.

    3-309 a)   **marrawuk wum   -nguru-ket-nyine**
              dry season 3sgSlash-penis -cut -FOC
              wind   SU Perf
              The wind has died now.

        b)   **kuru bem   -nguru-ket-nyine**
              rain 3sgBash-penis -cut -FOC
                   SU Perf
              The rain has stopped now.

    3.5.3.9   **panmi**   crotch

    Panmi incorporates literally as the 'fork' between the back or lower
limbs, and is extended to cover other 'fork-like' places, such as the junction
between the branches and trunk of a tree.

    3-310 a)   **yemi   -panmi-ta!**
              2sgHands-fork   -open
              SU Irr
              Break (the goose's crotch) open.
              (to prepare it for roasting)

        b)   **yerr-fini   ya   -ngiti-fi -panmi-tyat**
              Tr-blood   2sgPoke-1sg -Mp-fork   -place
              cl wood   SU Irr IO
              Leave it in the fork of the bloodwood tree for me!

In contrast to **nguru**, the incorporation of **panmi** provides for a polite,
euphemistic way to refer to activity located at the genitals, as in 3-11.

    3-311 a)   **ngudumbun-panmi-tu   ngilmil**
              1sgShove   -fork   -touch semen
              SU Perf
              I ejaculated inside her.

        b)   **bengim -ngi -panmi-baty**
              3sgBash-1sg -fork   -kick
              SU Perf DO
              He kicked me in the crotch.

3.5.3.10 **ba** arm

Ba incorporates literally as a bodypart and is extended to cover tree branches and creeks - ie. 'long thin things that extend off something bigger'. This usage is also reflected within the nominal lexicon, as in 3-312 b) below.

3-312 a) **afungi   dangim-ngi-ba -dap**
mosquito 3sgPoke -1sg -arm-spear
            SU Pres DO
A mozi has bitten me on the arm.

b) **ba -wedi   yeyi   nganggininy-ba -fel**
arm-little   other 1plincGo   -arm-jump
                    SU   Perf
We crossed another little creek.

c) **mimenem ngerrminy -ba   -ket**
billygoat   1plexHands-arm-cut
plum   SU   Perf
We picked plums from the branches.

Ba also plays a classificatory role in incorporating into verbs concerned with directing people, particularly in a nurturing, caring sense. The notions of reponsibility and concern are strongly suggested here, most examples involving mature adults directing children or those frail through age or illness.

3-313 a) **wurruke kinyi wuddung-ngerr -ba   -tal**
3dl   this   3plShove -dl /1sg-arm-raise
PRO   SU Perf SU/DO
These two people here (not my parents) raised me.

b) **falmi   yenim-ba -kurr -nyine**
woman 3sgGo   -arm-aquire-now
            SU Pres
He's taken a wife now.

c) **Tawun-nimbi   ngumu -ba -wa -pe**
Darwin-SOURCE   1sgSnatch-arm-pick-Fut
                SU Irr   up
I'll fetch her from Darwin.

3.5.3.11 **tyerr** mouth/lips

Tyerr incorporates literally as a bodypart;

3-314   **dangim-ngi -tyerr -da   dafi**
3sgPoke-1sg -mouth-itch 'cheeky'
SU Pres DO
It's burning my mouth.

and is extended to denote the parts of things that are 'mouth-like', in that;
1) they resemble a mouth in being the circular face of the flat end of a
cylinder (cross-section through bamboo, tip of a cigarette etc.);

3-315 a) yawul ngayi dangim-ngiti-fi -tyerr -pek
          spear 1sg   3sgPoke-1sg   -Mp-mouth-drip
                PRO   SU Perf IO
          He rejoined my (broken) spear for me.

b) yine   -ngiti-tyerr -ket -pagu
    2sgHeat-1sg   -mouth-cut -HITH
    SU Irr   IO
    Light a cigarette for me!

2) they can open or be opened (doors, car bonnets, drawers, lids of
containers, openings of bags);

3-316 a) mudiga yu   -tyerr -dum de-syi
          car   2sgSlash-mouth-bury   BP-nose
                   SU Irr   cl
          Shut the bonnet of the car!

b) wayiki ngayi deminy -nin -tyerr -ta
    son   1sg 2sgHands-1plinc-mouth-open
              PRO SU Irr   IO
    My son opened (the gate) for us.

c) mengginy -tyerr -wurr fi   -ninggi
    3sgSnatch-mouth-enter   string-INSTR
    SU Perf
    He tied up the mouth of the bag with string.

Note that in example 3-316 a) above, the bonnet of the car is its 'nose' (ie. the
front part that juts out), but that this 'nose' is treated as a 'mouth' in its
functional ability to be 'opened up'.

And 3) they can be an opening or point of access (entrance or beginning
point of a track, as at a turn-off).

3-317 a) yariny -tyerr + palat -ngidde
          2sgPoke-mouth-pass -1sg
          SU Perf   IMPL
          You went past the turn-off on me.

Needless to say, some examples will fit more than one of these categories. For instance, **tyerr** in 3-316 c) above could equally well be 'the part of the bag that is openable' or 'the point of entry into the bag'. Furthermore I have some examples which I am unsure how to interpret. In the following example, the bog may be 'mouth-like' in that it is a moist spot with a defined lip-like rim, or it may hold the car fast, as one holds something in one's mouth.

3-318	**mudiga**	**ngudumbun-tyerr + ket**	**ngityirr**	**abarri**
	car	*1sgShove -mouth-cut*	*ground*	*bog*
		SU Perf		

I've bogged the car.

Tyerr also incorporates into some verbs involving speech, as in the 3-319.

3-319 a) **ngudupun-tyerr -palak**
NgK   *1sgShove -mouth-drop*
         SU Perf
         I prevented him from talking.

b) **ngunyineninggi** **nguddu** **-nyi-tyerr** **-pe** **ngurru-ka**
    tomorrow *1plexShove-2sg-mouth-Fut so* *-eh!*
                SU Irr DO
    So, tomorrow we'll be farewelling you then, eh!

c) **minbe-tye** **we** **-ngi-tyerr** **-gat**
    Neg *-Past* *3sgMouth-1sg-mouth-answer*
                SU Irr DO
    He wouldn't answer me.

d) **ngumbun-tyerr - fa**
    1sgSlash -mouth-scream
    SU Perf
    I made him scream (by hitting him).

3.5.3.12   muy eye

Muy, which has the reduced incorporated form **mi**, denotes the literal bodypart.

3-320   **dingin -ngi-mi-wul**
         3sgMouth-1sg-eye-water
         SU Pres DO
         It makes my eye(s) water.

The possible retention of the literal lexical semantics of **mi** 'eye' in its function as a valence increasing prefix has been noted in 3.3.1.2.

3.5.3.13   purr   bum

Purr incorporates literally as a bodypart, and is extended to cover the rear 'bum-like' end of things such as cars.

3-321   **yenim-purr-wap   mudiga**
             3sgGo-bum-sit   car
             SU Pres
             He's sitting up on the tailgate of the car.

Purr has a minor classificatory role in forming a lexical compound verb root with the verb root **-ket** -'cut' to denote cessation of the type of activity that is implied by the auxiliary ('mouth activity' and 'hands activity' respectively in the examples below).

3-322 a)   **tyerrakul   wakay   ngem   -purr+ket-nyine**
            talking   finished   1sgMouth-bum -cut-FOC
                                       SU Perf
            That's it ! I've finished talking now.

     b)   **ngerim   -purr+ket**
            1sgHands-bum -cut
            SU Pres
            I've finished making it.

3.5.3.14   ge   belly

Ge incorporates literally as a bodypart, covering both the external surface of the lower front torso, and the 'guts' inside. It differs from tyirri 'navel', which was also given as a classifier for intestines in 3.5.3.3, in that the incorporation of **tyirri** necessarily implies the rupturing of whatever it classifies.   While **ge** can incorporate into verbs involving the manipulation or extraction of intestines, no implication of rupture or bursting is conveyed.

3-323   **ngisyeny-ge   -wurr a-ngikin**
             1sgPull   -belly-pull   A-shit
             SU Perf   cl
             I pulled its intestines out.

Ngan'giwumirri and Ngan'gikurunggurr people find their bellies to be the seat of their emotions. **Ge** is consequently incorporated into verbs concerned with emotional states or processes.

3-324 a) bengim -ngi-ge - pek
          3sgBash-1sg-belly - drip
          SU Pres DO
          It makes me angry.

b) yebem -ngi-ge -dum
    2sgBash-1sg-belly-bury
    SU Pres DO
    You make me happy.

c) ngara   -ne -fi -pal -pe, nge   -ge -kubuk-pe
    1sgPokeDtr-3sg-Mp-return-Fut   1sgMouth-belly-soak   -Fut
    SU Irr   IO   SU Irr
    I'm going back to him, to pacify him.

3.5.3.15   firr   foot

Firr incorporates as a literal bodypart and is extended to include the base of any 'tall, upright thing'. 'Tall, upright things' (i.e. those which select the 'stand' stative auxiliary in its copula function (cf. 4.4.1.1)), are essentially things whose vertical dimension is perceived to exceed their horizontal dimension (trees/houses etc).

3-325   ya   -ngiti-firr -tyat -pe   mawuny
         2sgPoke-1sg   -foot-place-Fut   ironwood
         SU Irr IO   tree
         Leave it at the foot of the ironwood tree for me.

3.5.3.16   minmi   elbow

Minmi is a minor member of the bodypart noun class, eg. de-minmi - 'elbow' and otherwise occurs within the nominal lexicon as an element in compounds, e.g. minmi-pi *(elbow-head)* 'funnybone'. Minmi is never found incorporated as an object or locative verbal argument. Normally verbs entailing activity at the 'elbow' would incorporate ba - 'arm' as a major generic bodypart. Minmi is incorporated into the verb only as a lexical compound with the verb root ket - 'cut'. The verb formed with the 'Go' auxiliary and the derived verb root -minmi-ket means 'to turn off a track at (roughly) a ninety degree angle' (envisaged as the crook of one's arm ?).

3-326   ngambani-minmi-ket-pe   kinyi
           1plincGo -elbow -cut -Fut   here
           SU   Irr
           Let's turn off down this way.

Finally to give some idea of the textual frequency of bodypart incorporation, the example below is a short excerpt from a text by Robert Daly describing a trip we had made the previous day through his country. In this sample seven consecutive verbs contain incorporated bodyparts. While this particular excerpt has been specifically selected for its high density of bodyparts, and thus should be regarded as a higher than normal frequency of incorporation, it does provide a good example of the pervasive and productive role that this process plays in Ngan'gityemerri. The high rate of incorporation in this example results largely from the genre of the text itself. For with such associated and classificatory meanings of bodyparts as madi/derri - 'hollows/humps', ba - 'creeks', dirr - 'riverbanks', mentyi - 'tracks', minmi - 'turn-offs', and tyerr - 'gates/entrances', it is in description of travel across countryside that bodypart incorporation reaches its height as a tool for tracking one's progress through and across these kind of lanscape features.

3-327   **wa-yiki ngayi deminy -nin -tyerr -ta**
     M-son   1sg   3sgHands -1plinc-mouth-open
     cl   PRO SU Perf   IO
     My son opened that gate for us,

     wuny -tyerr -dum gate nyinnin,
     3sgSlash-mouth-bury   ANA
     SU Perf
     then shut it (after us).

     nganggininy-ba -fel,   nganggininy-madi-pap,
     1plinc Go   -arm-bounce   1plincGo   -chest -climb
     SU   Perf   SU   Perf
     We crossed a creek, drove up the bank,

     mumba Port Keats-ne   nganggininy-mentyi-tyerr,
     road   -PURP 1plincGo   -neck   -stop
     *   SU   Perf*
     and pulled up onto the Port Keats' road.

     ba -wedi yeyi nganggininy-ba -fel,
     arm-little other 1plincGo   -arm-bounce
     *   SU   Perf*
     We crossed another little creek,

     kinyi-pefi   ngambani-minmi-ket-pe,   ngiminy-bi,
     this -THITH 1dlincGo -elbow -cut -Fut 1sgSay   -2sg
     *   SU   Irr   SU Perf IO*
     and I told you to turn off this way.

Chapter 4

Auxiliary Verb Semantics

4.1   Auxiliary Function within the Verb

As has been outlined in 3.1, the auxiliary is an obligatory constituent of the Ngan'gityemerri verb. Typically, it combines with a complex verb stem (CVS) in forming a 'complex verb'. Those auxiliaries that can only occur in combination with CVSs are thus referred to as 'complex auxiliaries'. Some auxiliaries , however, in addition to their combination with CVSs, can function independently as full 'simple verbs', and these are referred to as 'simple auxiliaries'. Compare the complex auxiliary 'hands' in 4-1 with the simple auxiliary 'sit', in its simple and complex functions, in 4-2 a) and b) respectively.

4-1   **ngeriny -wurity**
           1sgHands-fix
           SU Perf
           I fixed it.

4-2   a) **ngini   -tye**
           1sgSit   -Past
           SU PImp
           I was sitting.

       b) **ngini   -lalirr-tye**
           1sgSit   -eat   -Past
           SU PImp
           I was (sitting) eating.

As is suggested by the 'simple' function of the auxiliary in 4-2 a) above, and as is equally true of complex auxiliaries, the Ngan'gityemerri auxiliary has a specific semantic component which it contributes to the overall meaning of the verb. In this respect the Ngan'gityemerri auxiliary, indeed the auxiliary in most if not all the Daly languages, differs from the semantically empty verbal unit sometimes described as an 'auxiliary' in other Australian languages, that merely plays host to bound pronominal and tense morphemes[1]. It is this semantic character of the auxiliary that is

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1In 3.2 we examined the four-part structure of the auxiliary, noting the problems in segmentation that arose, particularly at the juncture between the bound subject pronoun and the auxiliary root. There we concluded that treating the whole 'bound subject + auxiliary root' as a minimal contrastive unit was more felicitous for synchronic analysis. Likewise

to be examined in this section. I have adopted the practise of allocating each auxiliary a name; e.g. 'sit', 'see', 'poke' etc, throughout the discussion and employ these names in the example glosses in preference to simply allocating each auxiliary a number.

In terms of formal contrastive paradigms I can identify 31 auxiliary verbs in contemporary Ngan'gityemerri[2], distinguishable on the basis of unique subject-AVR (auxiliary verb root) sequences. The paradigms of these sequences have been listed in appendices A and B, and readers will find reference to these useful in following this section. Not all auxiliary subject-AVR sequences are unique across the full person/number/tense paradigm. A number of auxiliaries partially overlap in sharing some identical subject-AVR sequences, though no auxiliaries show full convergence of form. For instance, 'mouth' and 'mouth Dtr (detransitive)' share irrealis dual exclusive, and past imperfective non-singular exclusive forms, and the 'sit' present plural exclusive forms are identical with both the 'stand' irrealis singular forms and the 'shoveDtrS (stative)' present plural exclusive forms. In addition there are several auxiliaries that appear to lack any obvious semantic connection with each other, but are formally quite similar. 'Sit' and 'mouthDtr' for instance, differ primarily in the final vowel, 'sit' having /i/ and 'mouthDtr' having /e/. 'Hands' and 'poke', are likewise primarily differentiated by a single vowel. These are a few examples only; further similarities and correspondences will be evident from examination of the appendices.

All of these 31 auxiliaries combine with verb stems to form complex verbs. 10 of the 31 are 'simple auxiliaries', that is, in addition to their verb stem combination, they can stand independently, without a verb stem, functioning as a simple verb. The remaining 21 auxiliaries can not stand independently and obligatorily require the presence of a verb stem. These 21 are referred to as 'complex auxiliaries'. It should be understood then that

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throughout this section, and in the auxiliary paradigms given in appendices A and B, auxiliaries are discussed in terms of 'bound subject + auxiliary root' sequences.

2Although not very likely, it is not impossible that further work will reveal additional auxiliary verbs. Increasing fieldwork in recent years has resulted in the upgrading of auxiliary counts in Marrithiyel (Green 1989) and Gamu/Matngeli (Harvey : to appear). The actual numbers of auxiliaries in all Daly languages are probably considerably higher than the figures given in Tryon (1974). The current figure of 31 for Ngan'giwumirri and Ngan'gikurunggurr is also an increase from the figure of 26 given for Ngan'gikurunggurr in Reid (1982). The potential for auxiliaries to be missed by researchers stems primarily from the occurrence of low frequency auxiliaries that may only combine with a single CVS. Any residual auxiliaries in Ngan'gityemerri would almost certainly be of this type.

'simple auxiliaries' share the capacity of 'complex auxiliaries' to combine with verb stems, and can, in addition, stand on their own.

Ngan'gityemerri auxiliaries then, constitute 31 unique sets of semantically based verbal inflectional categories, with which verb stems combine. The combination of auxiliaries and verb stems is, in the main, a productive process. The extent of this productivity is an issue that we will return to throughout this section. The point to be made here though, is that auxiliaries do not form 31 rigid, mutually exclusive verb classes to which verb stems belong. This view of auxiliaries, as found for instance in Tryon (1974), implies some sort of logical linkage between the semantics of each auxiliary and the semantic properties inherent in those CVSs which select them. However it is not the case that each CVS selects a single auxiliary, or can be said to belong to a single auxiliary class. The productivity of auxiliary - CVS combination varies widely. While some auxiliaries are in fact only found in combination with a single CVS, others select a wide number of CVSs. It will become apparent from the discussion of each auxiliary later in this section, that independent semantic characteristics can be attributed to both auxiliaries and CVSs, and that the productive manipulation of these characteristics supports the view that both auxiliaries and CVSs are separate entities, each maintaining their own semantic integrity and having some sort of psychological reality in the minds of Ngan'gityemerri speakers.

In order to present the Ngan'gityemerri auxiliary system in the clearest possible way, we can divide the 31 auxiliaries up in terms of several criteria. We have already divided the 10 simple auxiliaries from the 21 complex auxiliaries. They can be further divided in terms of whether they are predominantly transitive or intransitive, and in terms of the degree of productivity they bring to CVS combination. As a preliminary to this investigation of the semantics of the Ngan'gityemerri auxiliaries, these two issues, the transitivity of both auxiliary verbs and CVSs, and their degree of productivity, are addressed in the following two subsections.

4.2   Transitivity

In addition to the semantic characteristics attributable to auxiliaries and CVSs, both can be assigned associated transitivity values. That is, on the basis of the majority of verbs formed with each auxiliary, and the number of core arguments those verbs are able to cross-reference, auxiliaries and particular CVSs can be labelled essentially 'transitive' or essentially 'intransitive'. These values, that are independently attributable to auxiliaries and CVSs, are not formally marked on them in any way, nor do they absolutely correspond with the transitivity of a given verb that may be

formed with them. Throughout this discussion I refer to the transitivity values of auxiliaries and CVSs as either 'transitive' or 'intransitive' (using quotation marks), whereas I refer to verbal transitivity, that is, the transitivity value that can be assigned to a full complex verb, as either transitive or intransitive (without quotation marks).

4.2.1 Auxiliary Transitivity

Among the 'intransitive' auxiliaries we find the major posture/motion auxiliaries 'sit', 'lie', 'stand', go' and 'go*', and the minor auxiliaries 'say', 'arrive' and 'hang'. These eight auxiliaries are always intransitive in their simple verb function, and typically form intransitive verbs in their complex function. This is demonstrated with the 'sit' and 'go' auxiliaries in 4-3 and 4-4 below.

4-3   a)   **ngini-tye**   b)   **ngini-lalirr-tye**
                    1sgSit-Past   *1sgSit-eat -Past*
                    SU PImp   *SU PImp*
                    I was sitting.   I was eating.

4-4   a)   **yeniny**   b)   **yeniny-fili**
                    3sgGo   *3sgGo-roll*
                    SU Perf   *SU Perf*
                    He went.   He wandered off.

Among the 'transitive' auxiliaries we find the two simple auxiliaries 'see' and 'take', the major complex instrumental auxiliaries 'hands', 'feet', 'mouth', 'poke', 'slash', 'bash', 'shove', and 'heat', and the minor complex auxiliaries 'suck', 'pull' and 'snatch'.

'See' and 'take' are always transitive in both their simple and complex functions.

4-5   a)   **nginyirri-nyi**
                    1sgSee   -2sg
                    SU Perf DO
                    I saw you.

        b)   **nginyirri-nyi-kerrety**
                    1sgSee   -2sg -grasp
                    SU Perf   DO
                    I watched over you.

The complex instrumental auxiliaries typically form transitive verbs. This is demonstrated with 'hands' and 'shove' below.

4-6   **deminy -ngi-tip**
3sgHands-1sg-grab
SU Perf DO
He grabbed me.

4-7   **wudum -ngi-pap**
3sgShove-1sg-climb
SU Perf DO
He pushed me up.

However it must be stressed that the associated transitivity value that can be attributed to auxiliaries is ultimately not a consistent indicator of verbal transitivity. There are, for instance, 'intransitive' auxiliaries selected in clearly transitive verbs that cross-reference direct object arguments. Consider the transitive verbs in the examples below which employ the 'intransitive' auxiliaries 'go' and 'sit', respectively.

4-8   **ngani -nyi-mi -wap-pe**
1sgGo-2sg-Val-sit -Fut
SU Irr DO
I'm going to camp with you.

4-9   **ngi -nyi-ngan-wantyirr-pe**
1sgSit-2sg-LOC -armpit -Fut
SU Irr DO REL
I'll sit down at your side.

Conversely, 'transitive' auxiliaries are found in single-argument intransitive verbs. The intransitive verbs in 4-10 and 4-11 below are formulated with the 'hands' and 'feet' auxiliaries respectively.

4-10 **deminy -pat, yirrini -pagu -tye fepi minbadi**
3sgHands-arise 3sgGo*-HITH-Past hill big
SU Perf   SU PImp
He arose and came here to Peppimenarti.

4-11 **awa-purrpurrk-nyine wannam-felfil**
Hg -littl'uns -FOC   3plFeet -bounce
cl   SU Perf redup
All the kids raced out then.

Before returning to the relationship between auxiliary transitivity and verbal transitivity, let's look at the CVS.

4.2.2   CVS Transitivity

Complex verb stems in Ngan'gityemerri fall broadly into two groups which, as for auxiliaries, can be labelled transitive and intransitive.

Describing similar phenomena in Marrithiyel verbs, Green (1989) uses the terms 'neutral' and 'transitive' as labels for these two CVS classes. I have followed his practise in using these same terms here.

The neutral class consists of both monovalent CVS and bivalent CVS that have a low transitivity value. Among the monovalent CVSs we find - wurr 'enter', -pap 'climb up', gulirr 'spin', -tyurr 'bathe', -syirr 'sweat', and -purity 'hide'. The combination of these monovalent CVSs with 'intransitive' auxiliaries, resulting in intransitive verbs, is demonstrated in the examples below.

4-12   **ngaganim-du**
1sgGo   -sleep
SU Pres
I'm sleeping.

4-13   **yani -wurr-pagu**
2sgGo-enter-HITH
SU Irr
Come in !

4-14   **ngini -tyutytyurr-tye**
1sgSit - bathe -Past
SU PImp redup
I was bathing.

4-15   **yenim-purity**
3sgGo-hide
SU Pres
He's hiding.

4-16   **wirribem-gulirr-nyine**
3sgStand-circle -FOC
SU Pres
(The tape recorder) is spinning now.

Monovalent CVS can, subject to the requirement of semantic plausibility, be productively combined with the major 'transitive' instrumental auxiliaries, resulting in transitive causative readings. In this respect 'transitive' auxiliary selection can be seen as a valence increasing process. Compare 4-12 to 4-16 above, with 4-17 to 4-21 below.

4-17   **ngirrngirr ngudum -burrki-du**
sleep   1sgShove-3dl -sleep
SU Perf DO
I put the two (kids) to sleep.

4-18　malarrgu　　　yudi　　　- Ø -wurr　yerr-wasyanderri-nide
　　　　long necked　*2sgShove-3sg -enter*　*Tr*　*-hessian*　　　*-LOC*
　　　　turtle　　　*SU Irr*　*DO*　　　　*cl*　*bag*
　　　　Put the turtles in the hessian bag !

4-19　walipan　ngudum - Ø -tyurr　kuru
　　　　cloth　　*1sgShove-3sg-bathe*　*water*
　　　　　　　　SU Perf　*DO*
　　　　I dipped the rag in water.

4-20　ngudu　　-nyi-purity-pe　kakaw !
　　　　1sgShove-2sg-hide　　-Fut　*come*
　　　　SU Irr　　　　DO　　　　　　*here*
　　　　I'll hide you, come here !

4-21　door　ngeriny　- Ø -gulirr
　　　　　　　　1sgHands-3sg-circle
　　　　　　　　SU Perf　DO
　　　　I turned the doorhandle.

Monovalent neutral CVSs additionally combine with the detransitivised auxiliaries that are the reflexes of the major 'transitive' instrumental auxiliaries. We have just seen how the combination of 'transitive' auxiliaries with monovalent neutral CVSs has a valence increasing effect and gives a causative reading. These causative verbs can be valence decreased and be given a reflexive reading by selection of one of the detransitivised auxiliaries. The combination of monovalent CVS -wurr 'enter' with 'intransitive', 'transitive' and 'detransitivised' auxiliaries respectively, and the resultant intransitive, causative and reflexive verbs are set out in 4-22 below.

4-22　a)　ngaganiny-wurr　wembem
　　　　　　1sgGo　　　-enter　*house*
　　　　　　SU Perf
　　　　　　I went into the house.

　　　　b)　ngudum - Ø -wurr
　　　　　　1sgShove-3sg -enter
　　　　　　SU Perf　DO
　　　　　　I put it in the house.

　　　　c)　ngudeny　　　-wurr　debi-werre
　　　　　　1sgShoveDtrD-enter　*leg -ASSOC*
　　　　　　SU Perf
　　　　　　I pulled on my trousers.
　　　　　　(lit: I put myself into trousers.)

Among bivalent neutral CVSs we find -mi-wap -sit with', -pirr 'leave alone', -lit 'block', -wuty 'discard' -pup 'rub', and -tip 'grab'. Bivalent neutral CVSs can combine with 'intransitive' auxiliaries producing 'low transitive' verbs. That is, verbs that are formally transitive, but are characterised by a low degree of patient affectivity.

4-23 **ngani -nyi-mi -wap-pe**
1sgGo-2sg-Val-sit   -Fut
SU Irr DO inc
I'll camp with you.

4-24 **ngaganiny- Ø -pirr**
1sgGo   -3sg-leave
SU perf   DO alone
I left it alone

4-25 **minbe nginyinggin- Ø   yenim - Ø -lit**
Neg   1sgSee   -3sg 3sgGo -3sg -block
        SU Pres   DO   SU Pres DO
I can't see it, he's blocking it.

4-26 **ngaganiny- Ø -wuty   kuru**
1sgGo   -3sg -discard water
SU Perf   DO
I've poured out the water.

4-27 **palayin   ngirim- Ø -pup**
firesticks 1sgSit -3sg -rub
            SU Pres DO
I'm rubbing the firesticks.

4-28 **yerr-kinyi wirribem- Ø -tiptip   ngan'gi nyinyi**
Tr -this   3sgStand -3sg-grab   word   2sg
cl   SU Pres DO redup   PRO
This (tape recorder) is picking up your words.

Bivalent neutral CVSs can additionally combine with the major transitive auxiliaries, resulting in more highly transitive verbs. Compare 4-26 to 4-28 with 4-29 to 4-31 below.

4-29 **gagu   ngum   - Ø -wuty**
meat   1sgSlash-3sg-discard
        SU Perf DO
I threw the meat away.

4-30 palayin   ngariny- Ø -pup yenggi-ne
      firesticks 1sgPoke-3sg-rub fire   -PURP
              SU Perf DO
      I rubbed up the firesticks for a fire.

4-31 **wa-mumu-ninggi   dem   -burr-tiptip**
      M-taboo   -AGENT 3sgHands-3pl -grab
      cl   SU Pres   DO   redup
      The policeman is nabbing them,

Looking at 4-27 and 4-30 more closely we see that both verbs are transitive, (taking firesticks as O), but differ in their focus. 'Intransitive' auxiliary selection, in 4-27, focusses on the subject's posture and activity, whereas 'transitive' auxiliary selection, in 4-30, focusses on the instrumental means by which the agent manipulates the undergoer. This distinction could be brought out more clearly by respectively glossing these examples as; 'I'm sitting firestick-rubbing' and 'I rubbed the firesticks in a 'poke' classificatory manner' (see discussion of 'poke' in 4.5.1.2). This choice between 'intransitive' and 'transitive' auxiliaries thereby allows for varying degrees of transitivity to be attributed to an activity.

The second group of CVSs are those labelled 'transitive'. With one specific exception addressed below, 'transitive' CVSs combine only with the major 'transitive' auxiliaries. Among 'transitive' CVSs, we find -pawal 'spear', -ket 'cut', -bang 'pierce', -kerrety 'grasp', -fityi 'roll' and -pul 'clean'. The combination of these CVSs with 'transitive' auxiliaries is given in 4-32 to 4-37 below.

4-32 **dam   -burrki-pawal**
      3sgPoke-3dl   -spear
      SU Perf DO
      He speared both of them.

4-33 **wum   -ngi-pi -ket**
      3sgSlash-1sg-head-cut
      SU Perf DO
      She cut my hair.

4-34 **dam   -ngi-syi -bang   tyiginin -ne**
      3sgPoke-1sg-nose-pierce   nosestick-PURP
      SU Perf DO
      He pierced my nose for a nosestick.

4-35 **yemi   -ngi-me -kerrety**
      2sgHands-1sg-hand-grasp
      SU Irr   DO
      Take me by the hand !

4-36   wulmen   ngudu   -nyi-madi-fityi   ngunu
      oldman   *1sgShove-2sg*   *-chest-roll*   *how   about   it*
           SU Irr   *DO*
      Oldman ! I'm going to turn you over, is that alright !

4-37   alayi   warrakma   kinyi   werrme   -ngi-pul   -nime-tye
      mother   three   *this*   *3plHands-1sg-clean- tr*   *- Past*
                          SU PImp   DO   *SU*
      These three mothers of mine used to wash me.

These highly transitive CVSs cannot be freely combined with 'intransitive' auxiliaries to produce a less transitive verb, as was noted above for monovalent CVSs. Thus an attempt to combine -kerrety 'grasp', for instance, with 'intransitive' auxiliary 'sit' to mean 'I am (sitting) grasping (it)', is unacceptable.

4-38   *palamurru   ngirim-kerrety
      clapping   *1sgSit   -grasp*
      sticks   *SU Pres*
      I am sitting grasping the clapping sticks.

However, two 'transitive' CVSs, -pal and -fakurr both meaning 'break', have been recorded in an exceptional combination with the 'intransitive' auxiliary 'go'. The contrastive combinations of -pal with the 'hands' and 'go' auxiliaries are shown in 4-39.

4-39   a)   yerr-ba   ngeriny-pal
           Tr-   arm   *1sgHands-break*
           cl   *SU Perf*
           I broke off a branch.

      b)   yerr-ba   yenim-pal
           Tr-arm   *3sgGo-break*
           cl   *SU Pres*
           The branch is broken off.

The construction shown in 4-39 b) functions as an agentless counterpart to 4-39 a). Following Green (1989:369) I refer to this construction type as the 'anticausative' (c.f. Comrie 1981:161). This constuction type allows what is underlyingly the undergoer of a highly transitive verb to function as the subject of an intransitive verb. This is not a passive type construction where an agent is demoted and an undergoer raised to subject position. The argument structure of anticausatives allows for no controlling agent, either formally cross-referenced on the verb or appearing

as an oblique free nominal. Rather, the semantic effect of the anticausative is simply to encode a change-of-state without attributing this event to any agent at all.

Comparing 4-39 with 4-27 and 4-30 above, note that there is an important difference between the capacity to combine a 'transitive' CVS like -pal with both 'intransitive' and 'transitive' auxiliaries, and the same phenomenon noted in the discussion of bivalent neutral CVSs. The choice between combining bivalent neutral -pup -'rub' with 'intransitive' and 'transitive' auxiliaries respectively, allowed for variation in the degree of transitivity attributed to the activity. 'Intransitive' auxiliary selection focussed on the posture and activity of the controlling agent, whereas 'transitive' auxiliariy selection focussed on the instrumental manipulation of the undergoer in the hands of the agent. Contrastively, where 'intransitive' auxiliaries combine with 'transitive' CVSs in the anticausative construction, their subjects are the thematic undergoers, not agents, of the transitive counterpart construction.

As noted above, only two CVSs have been recorded in this construction type. While others may be possible, there appears to be at least two constraints operating against the combination of 'intransitive' auxiliaries and 'transitive' CVSs. Firstly, CVSs representing activities that are inherently agentive, i.e. cannot conceivable come about through spontaneous forces, appear to be blocked from this construction. Secondly, the anticausative seems to be restricted to 3rd person singular inanimate subjects.

In summary then, although general transitivity values are independently attributable to both the auxiliary and the CVS, verbal transitivity in Ngan'gityemerri can only be formally defined in terms of the requirement that Direct Objects be cross-referenced within the verb under the appropriate person/number conditions.

4.3   Auxiliary - CVS Productivity

Some auxiliaries are capable of combining with a large number of CVSs, and likewise, some CVSs combine with a large number of auxiliaries. The substitution and interchangability of these highly productive auxiliaries results in fairly predictable meaning changes. By way of example, consider the 'transitive' CVS -pul -'to clean' in combination with the auxiliaries 'hands', 'bash', 'heat' and 'hands oneself', in example   4-40 below.

4-40 a) **ngeriny - Ø -pul**
1sgHands-3sg-clean
SU Perf   DO
I washed it.
(I hands#cleaned it)

b) **wurr ngubum- Ø-madi-pul**
grass   1sgBash -3sg-chest-clean
         SU Perf DO
I cleared the grass.
(I bash#cleaned the grass, cutting a swathe through it
using a broad surface, such as the front of my body, or the
blunt front of a bulldozer.)

c) **wurr wayiny- Ø -pul -pagu**
grass   3sgHeat-3sg-clean-HITH
         SU Perf DO
The fire is burning the grass this way.
(The fire is heat#cleaning the grass this way.)

d) **ngemeny   -pul**
1sgHandsDTr-clean
SU Perf
I washed myself.
(I hands#cleaned myself.)

In contrast the CVS -biny 'suck' has only ever been recorded in combination with two auxiliaries, 'heat' and 'suck' (see 4-244 to 4-246), and appears not to be amenable of productive interchangability.

Although in reality auxiliary productiveness is probably best modelled as a continuum, I have chosen to follow Green's approach to the same issue in Marrithiyel (1989) by dividing auxiliaries broadly into two groups, major and minor, in an attempt to capture this difference. The major auxiliaries are those that combine with ten or more CVSs. The most prolific of the major auxiliaries is 'hands' which has been recorded with over ninety CVSs. Typically the substitution of different major auxiliaries with a given CVS results in fairly predictable meaning changes, as shown in 4-40 above. The minor auxiliaries, on the other hand, are those that have been recorded in combination with less than six CVSs (none happen to combine with between six and ten), and are in some cases these combinations are characterised by semantic opacity. Although a quite arbitary distinction, this provides a general guide to the number of CVSs a particular auxiliary made be expected to combine with, and further gives a general indication of the predictability of the meaning of an auxiliary-CVS combination.

The division of the auxiliary system, in terms of these three criteria; simple/complex, 'transitive'/'intransitive' and major/minor, is set out in Table 4-1 below.

Ngan'gityemerri Auxiliary Categorisation

Simple		Major	Minor
	-Intransitive	Sit	Say/Do
		Lie	Arrive
		Stand	Hang
		Go	
		Go*	
	-Transitive		See
			Take
Complex			
	-Transitive	Hands	Suck
		Feet	Pull
		Mouth	Snatch
		Poke	
		Slash	
		Bash	
		Shove	
		Heat	
	-Detransitivised	Hands oneself	Say/Do oneself
		Mouth oneself	See oneself
		Poke oneself	Heat oneself
		Shove oneself (dyn)	Bash oneself
		Shove oneself (stat)	Feet oneself

Table 4-1

To best facilitate their discussion I divide up the 31 auxiliaries into six groups. The simple auxiliary verbs are discussed in 4.4. I treat their simple verb function in 4.4.1, and their complex verb function in 4.4.2. The discussion of their simple function is further broken down into three subsections, 4.4.1.1 to 4.4.1.3, which respectively deal with, the major intransitives 'sit', 'lie', stand', 'go' and 'go*', the minor intransitives 'say', 'arrive' and 'hang', and the minor transitives 'see' and 'take'.

The complex auxiliary verbs are discussed in 4.5. The 'transitive' complex auxiliaries are dealt with in 4.5.1 and the 'detransitivised' complex auxiliaries in 4.5.2. Among the 'transitive' complex auxilaries there is a core group of eight major auxiliaries. Three of these, 'hands', 'feet' and 'mouth',

are bodypart instrumental. They are dealt with in section 4.5.1.1. Another group of three, 'poke', 'slash' and 'bash', are primarily concerned with the shape, contact and movement of instruments. These are addressed in section 4.5.1.2. The remaining two major transitive auxiliaries, 'shove' and 'heat', are dealt with in 4.5.1.3. Subsection 4.5.1.4 deals with the three minor transitive auxiliaries; 'suck', 'pull' and 'snatch'.

The 'detransitivised' complex auxiliaries, discussed in 4.5.2, are all patently reflexes of other (mostly transitive) auxiliaries, but are formally intransitive, being unable to crossreference their thematic undergoers as direct objects. Detransitivised verbs have only a single syntactic argument role, and are generally interpreted as reflexives involving the subjects manipulation of his own body. The five major and five minor 'detransitivised' auxiliaries are discussed in 4.5.2.

4.4 Simple Auxiliaries
4.4.1 The Simple Function of Simple Auxiliaries
4.4.1.1 The Major 'Intransitives'

There are five 'intransitive' auxiliaries that form simple intransitive verbs; 'sit', 'lie', 'stand', 'go' and 'go*'. These auxiliaries are all 'major', in the sense defined in 4.3, combining productively with a large number of CVSs. In structural terms, these five auxiliaries fill three main roles; functioning as simple intransitive verbs, functioning as the auxiliaries in low-transitive complex verbs, and functioning as serialised auxiliaries marking aspect. The serialised aspect marking function of the 'intransitive' auxiliaries has been discussed in 3.4.1, and is not treated further in this section. Their complex verb function is dealt with in 4.4.2. Here we look at their simple verb function.

Functioning as simple verbs, the five major 'intransitive' auxiliaries can be divided into two groups. The postural auxiliaries 'sit', 'lie' and 'stand', are stative, having an inherently imperfective aspect. That is, any activity described with one of these stative auxiliaries must be viewed as having internal temporal constituency. As a consequence of this, the postural auxiliaries cannot, in their simple function, be inflected for the Ngan'giwumirri tense/aspect/mood category that I have labelled 'Perfective'. Inflection for this category entails the viewing of an event as strictly punctual, an interpretation this is incompatible with the imperfectivity inherent in the stative auxiliaries. Thus in 4-41 a) - c) below, 'sit' can be inflected for the categories 'present', 'irrealis' and 'past imperfective'. However an attempt to inflect inherently imperfective 'sit' for the 'perfective' category, in 4-41 d), is unacceptable.

4-41 a) ngirim   b) ngi -pe   c) ngini -tye
          1sg Sit   *1sg Sit-Fut*   *1sg Sit-Past*
          SU Pres   *SU Irr*   *SU PImp*
          I am sitting.   I'll be sitting.   I was sitting.

but not;

d) *ngiriny
    1sg Sit
    SU Perf

Not only must the situation described by an 'intransitive' simple verb be understood aspectually to continue for a period of time, but the particular posture marked by the auxiliary must also be understood to remain unchanged throughout this period.   Stative verbs then cannot be used to mark motion or change-of-posture.   The dynamic correspondences of the stative postural verbs are formulated with dynamic 'go' (discussed below). Compare the simple stative 'sit' verb in 4-42 with the dynamic complex verb employing 'go' in 4-43 below.

4-42 kinyi ngi-pe
      here   1sgSit-Fut
              SU Irr
      I'll sit here (and be sitting here).

4-43 kinyi ngani-wap-pe
      here   1sgGo-sit-Fut
             SU Irr
      I'll sit down here.

The motional auxiliaries 'go' and 'go*', forming the second group, are dynamic and may be used to describe activities with either imperfective or punctual aspect.   Consequently 'go' and 'go*' can avail themselves of all four Ngan'giwumirri auxiliary inflectional categories.   This is demonstrated for 'go' in 4-44.

4-44 a) ngaganim   b) ngani -pe
          1sgGo   *1sgGo-Fut*
          SU Pres   *SU Irr*
          I'm going.   I'll go / be going.

      c) ngagadi-tye   d) ngaganiny
          1sgGo -Past   *1sgGo*
          SU PImp   *SU Perf*
          I was going along.   I went.

As dynamic verbs 'go' and 'go*' describe situations that 'happen' rather than 'exist'. Most simply they function as verbs of motion, unspecified for direction. 'Go' is the more general motion verb, 'go*' describing more purpose/destination-oriented motion and continued motion.

4-45　mumba　nayin-nime　wadeninggi-nyine　ngangginim-nime
　　　　walk　　1dlinc-pl　　tomorrow　-FOC　1plinc Go　　-pl
　　　　　　　PRO　　　　　　　　　　　　　SU　　Pres SU
　　　　So we're off on a trip tomorrow then , are we?

4-46　amungal -nimbi　　yirrini -tye　fepi minbadi
　　　　Batchelor-SOURCE　3sgGo*-Past　hill　big
　　　　　　　　　　　　　SU PImp
　　　　From Batchelor he travelled to Peppimenarti.

Where the stative verbs, 'sit', 'lie' and 'stand', are restricted to describing single durations of unchanged posture, the dynamic verbs, 'go' and 'go*', can refer to repeated activity. As noted in 3.4.6, this iterative aspectual interpretation is consistent with the notion of 'moving from place to place'. Compare stative 'sit' with dynamic, iterative 'go' in 4-47.

4-47　a)　　dede　　pindiying　nginni -tye
　　　　　　country　placename　1plexSit-Past
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　SU PImp
　　　　　　We (plex) were camped at Pindiying.

　　　　b)　　dede　　marrgumarrgu　nganggidi-tye
　　　　　　country　new - redup　　　1plincGo -Past
　　　　　　　　　　　=somewhere else　SU PImp
　　　　　　We'd move about to new places.

Extending from this notion of renewed or repeated motion, 'go' and 'go*' come to be associated with habitual activity.

4-48　kidin yeyi　nganggidi-pagu -tye　de　　　-kinyi
　　　　year　other　1plinc Go-HITH-Past　country-this
　　　　　　　　　　SU　　PImp
　　　　We (plinc) used to come to this place every year.

Both the stative and dynamic simple verbs perform three main functions. In addition to a 'literal' function, they have two copula-like functions - 'existential' and 'ascriptive'.

The literal function of 'sit', 'lie', 'stand', 'go' and 'go*' is to mark the particular posture/motion of the subject of the verb. The literal usage of

these verbs is essentially restricted to reference to higher animates, particularly humans, for it is only with these subjects that the capacity to contrast postures(/motion) has any real discourse significance. 'Sit' then, is only used literally to describe the posture of the kind of higher animates having legs which they can fold up, resting their behinds on the ground, keeping their torso upright. For humans the least marked interpretation would be sitting in a cross-legged fashion, though squatting, kneeling or any stance between lying and standing can be described as 'sitting'. 'Lying' and 'standing' can, I think, be taken as understood. The examples below then, draw attention to the literal stance of the subject.

4-49   ngayi nginge-tye   deminy -ngi-du   pat   meny -ngiti
       1sg 1sgLie -Past   3sgHands-1sg-touch arise 3sgSay -1sg
       PRO SU PImp   SU Perf   DO   SU Perf IO
       I was lying down (asleep) when she woke me, 'Get up !' she told me.

4-50   yini-pefi-tye peyipa nyinyi yini-wurrkama-tye
       2sgSit-DUR-Past   paper 2sg 2sgSit-work -Past
       SU PImp   PRO SU PImp
       You sat around a while working on your papers.

4-51   mityity wagarri pey-endi widdibemgu
       white   two   there-EMPH 3plStand dl
       woman   SU Pres   SU
       There were two women (airport metal-detector operators) standing
       yerr-tyagani-merrendi gentyerrmigi-baty knife
       Tr-what   -LEST   2plHands dl-hold
       cl   SU Irr   SU
       there, lest the two of you might have a knife.

In their copula functions 'sit', 'lie', 'stand' 'go' and 'go*' are used to encode the existence/location of, or ascribe attributes to their subjects. 'Existential' clauses are simply statements about the existence of entities with respect to space and time. 'Ascriptive' clauses employ the simple intransitive auxiliaries to ascribe certain characteristics to their subjects. These characteristics can be expressed as either adjectives or through attributive NP's. As copulas 'sit', 'lie', 'stand', 'go' and 'go*' are used for both inanimate and animate subjects, necessitating a rather broader view of each posture. The discussion of posture below is exemplified with existential clauses.

In addition to animates that are in an obviously prone/supine posture, any inanimate that is not raised off the ground, and is conceived of

as having significantly greater breadth than height, is said to 'lie' rather than 'stand'. Thus, rivers, billabongs, roads, canoes, hills, felled trees, rocks etc. all 'lie'.

4-52　kanbi　　　kide　　yu　yu　kinyi gibem
　　　didjeridu　where　yes　yes　here　3sgLie
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　SUPres
　　　Where's the didjeridu ?, oh yes it's (lying) here.

4-53　nelen wunu-pefi　　　wibem　malfiyin　　nem nintyi wunggume yenim
　　　road　there -THITH　3sgLie　placename　3sg　knee　one　　　　3sgGo
　　　　　　　　　　　　　SU Pres　　　　　　　PRO　　　　　　　SU Pres
　　　Where that road to Malfiyin is (lies), as you go round that corner......

4-54　ya　　eferri　　　　gibem-nyine　meny -nin
　　　hey　bluetongue　3sgLie-FOC　　3sgSay-1dlinc
　　　　　lizard　　　　SU Pres　　　　SU Perf IO
　　　'Hey there's a bluetongue (lying) here' he told us.

Anything that is either raised above the ground on legs, or leg-like supports, or is conceived of as having significantly greater height than breadth, is said to 'stand'. Of these two criteria leg-having is predominant. Both centipedes and cars, for instance, despite their height to breadth ratios, 'stand' by virtue of their having 'legs'. Other inanimates that 'stand' include buildings (and by extension, cities), trees, fridges, antbeds, billys and jerrycans.

4-55　ngambinigerri-tye　　ngan-mawuny　yerr-minbadi girribem
　　　1plincGo*　　-Past　LOC -ironwood　Tr -big　　　3sgStand
　　　SU PImp　　　　　　REL　　　　　　cl　　　　　　SU Pres
　　　We went to where that big ironwood tree is (stands).

4-56　light ngimbinyirri　dede town-mirri　wirribem start-mem-pagu
　　　　　1dlinc See　　　country　-EMPH　3sgStand　-3sgDo-HITH
　　　　　SU Perf　　　　　　　　　　　　SU Pres　　SU Pres
　　　(From the plane) we saw the lights, from where the town starts (ie. the outskirts of Melbourne).

4-57　car nem-nyine girribem
　　　　　3sg -FOC　3sgStand
　　　　　PRO　　　　SU Pres
　　　There's his car (standing) there now.

4-58　room spare one widdibenggu
　　　　　　　　　　　3plStand dl
　　　　　　　　　　　SU Pres
　　　Have you got two spare rooms ?

4-59   kuri bulbulfi wirribem kinyi solar power wirrim
NgK *water hot   3sgStand   here   3sgSay*
                    SU Pres   SU Pres

There's a hot water (shower) (standing) here, 'solar power' they
call it,

ganggi wibem   wayim -baty   fiti -ninggi
high   3sgLie   3sgHeat-hold   sun's-AGENT
        SU Pres SU Pres   heat

the sun heats up (the solar panels) (lying) on top.

For small inanimate objects that are typically manipulated by humans,
'posture' is, of course, not an inherent feature, but dependent on the
position in which the object is left. In 4-60, a directive for finding a crowbar
and axe, the former is said to be 'lying' on the table, the latter is said to be
'standing', presumerably propped against a wall.

4-60   kufa gibem-ngan-derri oldstore table-nide wibem
        crow 3sgLie-LOC -back   -LOC 3sgLie
        SU Pres   SU Pres

The crowbar's in the old store, up on the table,

 bi   pey -endi wirribem
axe still-EMPH 3sgStand
SU Pres

there's an axe there too.

For human subjects, 'sit' is the only stative simple verb that can be
used existentially, and in this capacity it can be distinguished from the literal
function of 'sit', in being unmarked for posture.   Thus in 4-61 below 'sit' is
used to describe the presence of a person in his camp, out of sight, and
therefore posture unknown.   4-62 was uttered by a person standing in a
telephone booth.

4-61   'Alawa kide?' 'wunu dedanggurr pey -endi   girim'
       name where   there campsite   still-EMPH 3sgSit
                                                      SU Pres

'Where's Alawa ?' 'He's still over there in his camp'.

4-62   minmi fepi minbadi ngirim tyandi yeyi syirre   ngi -pe kinyi
       Neg   hill big   1sgSit sunday other behind 1sgSit -Fut here
                    SU Pres   = a week from now SU Irr

No, I'm in Peppimenarti, I'll be here for another week.

In 4.4.1 we noted that the stative simple verbs are to be understood as
describing the presence of a subject in a particular location, spanning a
period of time throughout which the subject's stance remains unchanged.
Contrastively, the dynamic simple verbs allowed for a more general

interpretation of movement about the place, without any implication that the activity in question is necessarily in progress at all times. Given the requirement of unchanged stance, stative verbs describe temporary states whereas dynamic simple verbs have an association with semi-permanent states through their habitual and iterative readings. This opposition between transitory and permanent perspectives provided by the distinction between stative and dynamic simple verbs, is also exploited in their copula functions. Examples 4-61 and 4-62 above both have 'sit' marking transient existential states. Compare them with the permanent perspective conveyed by the dynamic simple verb 'go' in existential function, in 4-63.

4-63   yu mem-nimbi   mipurr gagu   wadditye
         yes 3sgDo-CAUS   men   animal 3plGo-Past
            SU Pres   generic SU PImp
         = in the beginning
         Long ago men were totemic animals.

Note that the copula use of simple verbs with inanimate subjects does not exploit this opposition between dynamic/permanent, on the one hand, and stative/transient on the other. This of course is unsurprising as the capacity for inanimates to undertake dynamic activity is typically low. All existential statements with inanimate subjects select the stative 'sit', 'lie' and 'stand' simple verbs, taking the particular verb that its postural configuration determines.

Ascriptive clauses, attributing particular characteristics to their subject, are exemplified below. In 4-64 and 4-65 this characteristic is attributed to inanimate subjects through an adjectival expression, in 4-66 through an attributive NP. Inanimate subjects do not take the dynamic simple auxiliaries in this function. They only employ the stative verbs, and the choice between 'sit', 'lie' and 'stand' is made in terms of the criteria set out above.

4-64   afirr   bubungini   winge -tye
         corpse decomposed   3sgLie -Past
                                  SU PImp
         The corpse was decomposed.

4-65   mudiga wasangari wirribem-nyine
         car   clean   3sgStand-FOC
                                SU Pres
         The car's clean now.

4-66 nginyirri yerr-wunu petrol nem halfway-mirri wirringe-tye
      1sgSee   Tr -that   3sgM   -EMPH 3sgStand-Past
      SU Perf cl   *PRO*   *SU PImp*
      I noticed that that petrol thing (gauge) was halfway down.

In ascribing attributes to animate subjects, the choice between stative and dynamic simple verbs is also exploited to distinguish transitory versuss permanent perspectives. This can be seen in 4-67 and 4-68 in which the same adjectival characteristics are attributed to both stative and dynamic simple verbs respectively.

4-67 a)   **lamurity dim**
            happy   3sgSit
            *   SU Pres*
            She's happy (at the moment).

      b)   **lamurity yenim**
            happy   3sgGo
            *   SU Pres*
            She's happy (by nature).

4-68 a)   **felfi   dim**
            alone   3sgSit
            *   SU Pres*
            He's alone.

      b)   **felfi   yedi -tye   fenggiderri**
            alone   3sgGo-Past   long time
            *   SU PImp*
            He lived alone for a long time.

The attribution to subjects of characteristics can be expressed, not only with adjectives, but with attributive NP's. In 4-69 the attributive NP is a simple nominal, in 4-70 it is a noun + modifier, and in 4-71 it is a nominalised clause (cf. 5.3.3).

4-69 **merretmen -nyine wannunggu**
      person of   -FOC   3plGo   dl
      married status   SU Pres SU
      Those two are married now.

4-70 **depi kinyi ngagadi-tye   ngatya ngayi peanut dingim   -pup-tye -yedi**
NgK   *head here 1sgGo -Past father 1sg   3sgMouth-rub -Past-3sgGo*
      *   SU PImp   PRO   SU PImp =plant SU PImp*
      When I was this high (accompanied by hand gesture) my father used to plant peanuts.

4-71   ngenike nyinyi   wur-ngani   -ngagurr-deti   -gimi   yenim
NgK   *sister* *2sg*   *Fem-KIND* *-1plex*   *-SAME-SEMBL* *3sgGo*
                 PRO   cl   PRO   SU Pres
       Your sister is a woman just like us (behaves like a
       Ngan'gikurunggurr woman).

4.4.1.2   The Minor 'Intransitives'

This section looks at the simple function of the minor 'intransitive' auxiliaries 'say', 'arrive' and 'hang'.

In its simple function the 'Say' auxiliary means "say", "do" or "think". It takes only higher animate subjects, in fact in addition to humans, it has only ever been recorded with ghosts or ancestral beings as subject. I refer to the auxiliary, as a morphological category, as 'say', but in the examples gloss it variously as 'Say', 'Think' or 'Do'. While speech and deed are contextually, not formally, distinguished from each other, they differ from 'think' in their capacity to cross-reference indirect objects. That is, speech and deed can be directed towards a goal NP, but thought cannot. This is apparent in the examples given below, where 'Say' refers to speech in 4-72, thought in 4-73, and deed in 4-74.

4-72   ala   ngayi wagarri wirrminy-ngeterr funggulu ngamban-nime- Ø
       mother *1sg* *two*   *3pl Say* *-1sg/dl* *honey* *1dl Go* *-pl-HORT*
        PRO   SU Perf IO/SU   SU Irr   SU
       My two mothers said to me 'Lets go for sugarbag'.

   4-73   ngayi-nyine-pe   ngarrene-madiwirri ne   ngayi   ngiminy
          1sg *-FOC* *-Fut* *1dlexGo* *-play* *SUPP* *1sg*   *1sgThink*
           PRO   SU Irr   PRO   SU Perf
          Maybe I could play with him now, I thought to myself.

   4-74   ngayi-ne yumu-ngiti were
          1sg *-PURP* *2sgDo-1sg* *brother*
           PRO   SU Irr IO
          Do it for my sake, brother !

Being formally indistinguished, the speech and deed interpretations of 'say' are frequently equally applicable, as indicated by the glosses in 4-75.

   4-75   wananggal ityi   meny-bi
          doctor   *what* *3sgSay/Do-2sg*
                          SU Perf   IO
          What did the doctor say to you/do to you.

The minor simple verb 'arrive', means to reach, or come apon, some goal, usually a place or person. As noted for 'Go' and 'Say', 'Arrive' allows

for the cross-referencing of a human goal with indirect object bound pronominals on the verb. This is shown in 4-77 below.

4-76   kultyinimbi   werrmen'geny
       yesterday   *3plArrive*
                      SU Perf
       They arrived yesterday.

4-77   yibe   ngara   -fi -pal -pe   ngemen'ge-nbi-pe
       later   1sgPokeDtr-Mp-break-Fut   1sgArrive -2sg -Fut
       SU Irr   =return   SU Irr   IO
       I'll return later and come to you.

'Hang' differs from 'sit', 'lie' and 'stand' in that, in terms of its productivity in combining with CVSs, it is quite minor. In other respects though 'hang' forms a natural class with these three auxiliaries; sharing their static, as opposed to dynamic, interpetation; being in aspectual terms, inherently imperfective; and sharing their capacity to be serialised to the verb as an aspectual operator (cf. 3.4.5); and, as evident in 4-79, being used in existential function.

'Hang' essentially describes animates being raised off the ground, supported in that position by something other than a part of themselves. The vast majority of examples of 'hang' in my text database refer to birds perched in trees. Less frequent examples include humans perched in trees to escape floodwaters, or for hunting purposes, and one example of serialised 'hang' used to describe a clown walking about on stilts at a fair. I have recorded no examples of inanimate objects sitting in trees, described with 'hang'. This may be because they are specifically precluded, or simply due to the increased likelihood that they be treated as the patients of transitive verbs, rather than the subjects of 'hang'.

4-78   darrwa   wirrtyinge-tye   egeningge-ne
       platform 3plHang   -Past   magpie   -PURP
               SU PImp   goose
       They were 'hanging' on a hunting platform (in the tree), (waiting) for geese.

4-79   kudede wani -nimbi   ewerrbalarr wirrtyim-pe
       wet   3sgGo-CAUS   birds   3plHang -Fut
       season SU Irr   SU Irr
       When the wet comes, (these trees) will be full of birds.

4.4.1.3   The Minor 'Transitive' Auxiliaries

Only two 'transitive' auxiliaries, 'see' and 'take', function as simple verbs and both of these are minor (in terms of their productivity in combining with CVSs in their complex function). Two other 'transitive' auxiliaries, 'poke' and 'slash' have been recorded in the absence of a CVS, but I have chosen to analyse these as complex rather than simple. (Reasons for this decision are set out in 4.4.4)

As a simple verb 'see' has the straightforward sense of visual perception. It takes agent subjects and its undergoers (in the sense of Foley and Van Valin:1984) are cross-referenced as direct objects.

4-80   **ngityirr**   **minbe-nyine-tye**   **nginnyirrigu**   **kuru**   **wu**   **-wurru**
       ground   *Neg*   *-FOC -Past*   *1pl See*   *dl*   *rain*   *cloud-UNSATIS*
                                         SU Irr   *SU*
       We (dl) were unable to see the ground (from the plane) because of the rainclouds.

   4-81   **ngeriny**   **-pal**   **-pefi**   **dinyirri-ngi**
          1sgHands-break-COTEMP   *3sg See -1sg*
          SU Perf   *SU Perf DO*
          Just as I broke it, he saw me.

   4-82   **yerr-kinyi**   **signboard**   **yinyirri- Ø**   **law kinyi**
   NgK   *Tr -this*   *2sg See -IMP*   *this*
          cl   *SU Irr*
          Look at this (Sacred Sites Authority) signboard ! This isn't the
          minde   **ngagurr-nimbi**   **ngerrim**   **-wurity**   **law**   **nagurr-ninggi**
          Neg   *1plex*   *-CAUS*   *1plHands-make*   *2pl*   *-AGENT*
                  PRO   *SU Perf*   *PRO*
          law that we (ex) made, it's your (whitefellas') law.

In Ngan'gityemerri, as in English, the use of the verb 'see' with human objects carries a strong implication of, not merely visual perception of an object, but of social interaction with that object.   This is obvious in 4-83, often used as an expression of farewell.

   4-83   **yibe**   **nginyirri-nyi-pe**
          later   *1sg See*   *-2sg-Fut*
                  SU Irr   *DO*
          I'll see you later !

The other transitive simple verb, 'take', also takes agent subjects and cross-refences its undergoers as direct objects. 'Take' has the sense of 'carrying' with inanimate objects (4-84), and 'accompanying' with higher animate objects (4-85 to 4-87). Being unmarked for direction, the distinction

between 'bring' and 'take', where relevant, being marked through addition of the HITHer and THITHer enclitics.

4-84   ngayi-nyine   ngawam-pe
       1sg   -FOC   1sgTake -Fut
       PRO   SU Irr
       I'll take it then.

4-85   yentyi -ngi-tye   dede   mendi   wudum -ngi-mi -tyuk
       3sgTake-1sg-Past   camp   close   3sgShove-1sg-val-send
       SU PImp DO   SU Perf   DO   inc
       He took me up close to camp, then sent me on from there.

4-86   warrgantyi-tye   Fannie Bay   exercise yard-nide
       3pl Take   -Past   -LOC
       SU PImp
       They took him to the exercise yard at Fannie Bay jail.

4-87   ala   nem meny -nge, abayi kinyi ngagantyi-tye, piwari nem Ilyere
       mother 3sg 3sgSay-3sgF little   here 1sgTake -Past name 3sgM   name
       *   PRO SU Perf IO   brother   SU PImp   PRO*
       He said to his mother 'I've brought my little brother, his name's Ilyere'.

4.4.2   Complex Function of the 'Simple' Auxiliaries

The role of the simple 'intransitive' auxiliaries in complex verbs is broadly consistent with their function as simple verbs. The posture/motion auxiliaries 'sit', 'lie', 'stand', 'go', 'go*' and also 'hang', primarily categorise the posture/motion of the subject, and additionally encode the aspectual distinction between stative and dynamic activity. As noted in 4.1.1.2, 'intransitive' auxiliaries combine only with neutral CVSs, a class comprised of both monovalent and low-transitive bivalent CVSs. These neutral CVSs are also broadly divisible into two groups; those having an inherently dynamic character, and those that do not. Dynamic CVSs are those describing a change of location (eg. -pap 'climb'), change of state (eg. -bubu 'sleepy'), or change of posture (eg. -wap 'sit').

In general these dynamic CVSs are restricted to combining with the dynamic motion auxiliaries, 'go' and 'go*'. The resultant complex verbs are aspectually perfective, that is, they are presented as single whole events without regard for their internal temporal constituency.

4-88   ninymunggurr   wanniny-pap
       escarpment   3pl Go   climb
       *   SU Perf*
       They climbed up onto the escarpment.

> 4-89 yenim -bubu -nyine
> 3sg Go -sleepy-FOC
> SU Pres
> He's become sleepy.

> 4-90 ngannunygu-wap belt ngirrmenygi -wurr
> 1plex Go dl -sit seatbelt 1plexHandsDtr dl -enter
> SU Perf SU SU Perf SU
> We sat down and fastened our seatbelts.

The stative postural auxiliaries do not productively combine with these dynamic CVSs. However the change of location CVS -**pap**, and the change of state CVS -**bubu**, in 4-88 and 4-89 above, have both been recorded with the stative auxiliary 'sit'. This combination of stative auxiliary with dynamic CVS gives a 'resultant state' reading. That is, it allows staticity and dynamicity to co-exist by construing the static state as the result of dynamic activity - implying that the subject is in the stative posture (described by the auxiliary) that was achieved through the dynamic change-of-location activity (described by the CVS). Thus, compare 4-88 and 4-89 above with 4-91 and 4-92 below.

> 4-91 winni -pappup-tye
> 3plSit -climb -Past
> SU PImp redup
> They were sitting up on top (having climbed up).

> 4-92 ngirim-bubu -nyine
> 1sgSit -sleepy-FOC
> SU Pres
> I'm sleepy now (having become sleepy).

The combination of a stative auxiliary with a change-of-posture CVS does not lend itself to a resultant-state reading. Attempts to combine 'sit' auxiliary with the change-of-posture CVS -**wap** have been rejected outright.

> 4-93 *ngirim-wap
> 1sgSit -sit
> SU Pres
> I'm sitting (having sat down).

The second identifiable group of neutral CVSs are those that do not have any inherently dynamic character that restricts their capacity to combine with stative auxiliaries. Rather, CVSs from this unmarked set freely combine with both stative and dynamic auxiliaries, forming low-

transitive complex verbs. Complex verbs formed through combination of these unmarked neutral CVSs with stative auxiliaries have an aspectually imperfective interpretation. They are understood to mark the activity as taking place within the one continuous time span throughout which the subject's posture remains unchanged.

4-94   **ngini -fifi   -tye peke**
      1sgSit-smoke-Past   tobacco
      SU PImp
      I was smoking a cigarette.

4-95   **werrintyinim-wulil-tye**
      3pl Lie   -swim-Past
      SU PImp
      They were swimming.

4-96   **wirribem-ngiti-falmuy**
      3sgStand -1sg -stare
      SU Pres   IO
      He's staring at me.

4-97   **asyinme   wirrtyibem-kayki**
      sulphur-crested 3plHang   -call
      cockatoo   SU Pres   redup
      Sulphur-crested cockatoos are crying out (hanging in the trees).

The postural classification provided by the stative auxiliaries in their complex function is consistent with the comments made about their simple function in 4.2.1. 'Sit', 'lie', 'stand' and 'hang' all overtly describe the subject's specific posture, though as is the case in the serialised and existential functions of the simple intransitives, 'sit' is generally the unmarked choice for the stative auxiliaries in complex function, having a primarily aspectual, rather than posture classifying, role.

Not all the CVSs in this second unmarked set necessarily have a durative aspectual nature. Some, like -kilik/-kuluk(K) -'cough', are inherently punctual and must be marked as iterative, through verbroot reduplication, to be amenable to imperfective interpretation.

4-98   **ngini   -kikilik-tye**
      1sg Sit   - cough -Past
      SU PImp redup
      I was coughing.

The combination of unreduplicated punctual CVSs of this group with stative auxiliaries is not a favoured construction. It is however possible and results in a semulfactive reading (ie. one instance only of something typically iterative).

4-99   **ngiriny-kilik**
1sg Sit -cough
SU Perf
I gave a cough.

This example raises a major difference between the simple and complex functions of the stative auxiliaries. Recall that the inherent imperfectivity of the stative auxiliaries in their simple function prevented their inflection for the auxiliary tense/aspect/mood category labelled 'Perfective'. Thus I noted in 4-41 d) that the perfective inflection of the 'sit' auxiliary cannot stand meaningfully as a simple verb (eg. *ngiriny). Contrastively, in their complex function the stative auxiliaries can be inflected for either imperfective or perfective tense/aspect/mood categories. Thus a durative activity like smoking can either be described as an imperfective event (4-100 a)), or be construed as a single perfective event without regard to its internal temporal make-up (4-100 b)).

4-100 a)   **ngini -fifi -tye**
1sgSit-smoke-Past
SU PImp
I was smoking.

        b)   **ngiriny-fifi**
1sgSit -smoke
SU Perf
I had a smoke.

And a punctual activity like drinking (or coughing) can either be described as an imperfective event (4-101 a)), which will require reduplication of the verb root, or be given as a single perfective event (4-101 b)).

4-101 a)   **ti nginni -kukuduk-tye**
tea 1plexSit- drink   -Past
SU PImp redup
We (plex) were drinking tea.

        b)   **ti   ngirriny-kuduk**
tea 1plexSit -drink
SU Perf
We drank tea.

This second set of neutral CVSs that are not specifically dynamic, can also form complex verbs in combination with the dynamic 'go' and 'go*' auxiliaries. These mark action as performed while moving about from place to place, or activity that is renewed at different places and on subsequent occasions.

    4-102 waddi   -kayki-tye
           3pl Go   -call -Past
           SU PImp redup
           They called out (while going along).
    or   They called out (at different places they went to).

It is through this association with renewed activity, in contrast to the single unchanged timespan associated with stative auxiliary selection, that dynamic auxiliaries combined with these neutral CVSs can convey habitual activity. This can best be demonstrated by pairing the same CVSs with both stative and dynamic 'intransitive' auxiliaries.

    4-103 a)   ngirim-fifi
                1sgSit -smoke
                SU Pres
                I'm smoking.

          b)   ngaganim-fifi
                1sg Go   -smoke
                SU Pres
                I smoke (as a habit).

    4-104 a)   ngirim -kukuduk kuru
                1sgSit -drink   beer
                SU Pres redup
                I'm drinking beer.

          b)   minbe ngaganim-kuduk kuru lenggirr
                Neg   1sg Go   -drink   water bad
                       SU Pres   generic
                I don't drink beer.

    4-105 a)   ngambaty dini   -pappup-kana-tye
    NgK   tide   3sgSit -climb -FOC -Past
                           SU PImp redup
                The tide was high then.
                (lit: ..was sitting up having climbed up. (resultant state)).

          b)   ngambaty   wani -pappup-ngini
    NgK   tide   3sg Go-climb -Fut
                             SU Irr redup
                When the tide comes up..(as it habitually does)...

I will now turn my attention to the complex function of the remaining minor simple auxiliaries, 'Say', 'Arrive', 'See' and 'Take'.

As noted in 3.1.1 the complex function of the 'say' auxiliary is quite anomalous in having the auxiliary ordered after the verbroot, rather than in the regular verb-initial position. This irregular ordering is exemplified in 4-106 and 4-107. Further, the CVS no longer operates as a single functional unit; incorporated bodyparts, for instance, do not shift to the pre-auxiliary position along with the verb root, but remain in the post-auxiliary position, as shown in 4-108 and 4-109.

4-106   **ngambanam-palat   mumba   winy -meny -nin   Tyarambu**
        1dlinc Feet -pass   road   whistle-3sgDo -1dlinc   name
        SU   Perf   SU Perf IO
        As we went past the turnoff, Tyarambu whistled at us.

4-107   **kukuk   nuwurr   ngirrkik -ngumum**
        wait   a little   breathless-1sgDo
        *   while   SU Pres*
        Hang on a minute ! I'm out of breath.

4-108   **afunggarri   buy   -mem -derri-wirribem**
        brolga   white-3sgDo-back -3sgStand
        *   SUPres   SU Pres*
        There's a brolga standing out whitely on the river bank.

4-109   **minbe tyip -yumu-ngiti-tyeri**
        Neg   dark-2sgDo -1sg   -ear
        *   SU Irr IO*
        Don't you forget me !

'Arrive' has a very minor complex function, having been recorded in combination with only a single CVS -tasat 'emerge' in Ngan'giwumirri. In Ngan'gikurunggurr 'arrive' has no complex function.

4-110   **mirri men'gen -tasat   -nyine**
        sun   3sgArrive-emerge-FOC
        *   SU Pres*
        The sun's coming out now.

4-111   **nintyinintyi-nimbi   ngerrmen'gen-tasat   palat**
        scrub   -SOURCE   1plexArrive -emerge plain
        *   SU Perf*
        From the scrub we emerged onto the open plain.

Here the semantics of 'Arrive' appear to be compatible with those associated with its simple function.

The 'See' auxiliary has been recorded forming complex verbs with the four CVSs, -kerrety 'grasp', -yilil 'recognise', -tisit 'be jealous of' and -fiway 'be unable to', shown in 4-112 to 4-115 below. 'See', consistent with its simple function, is selected in complex verbs where activity is achieved through visual perception.

4-112 **wetimbi nginyirrini- Ø -kerrety-tye**
       good   1sg See   -3sg-grasp -Past
       SU PImp   DO
       It's OK, I was keeping an eye on him.

4-113 **ngayi yinyinggin-ngi-yilil**
       1sg   2sg See   -1sg-recognise
       PRO SU Pres   DO
       Do you recognise me ?

4-114 **dinyinggin-nyi-tisit**
       3sg See   -2sg-be jealous
       SU Pres   DO
       She's jealous of you.

4-115 **wirrnyinggin-ngi-fiway**
NgK   *3pl See   -1sg -be unable*
       SU Perf   DO
       They were unable to see me.

The 'take' auxiliary forms complex verbs with about eight CVSs. In some of these verbs 'take' maintains its simple verb sense of 'taking' or 'bearing' objects in the hand, or leading/accompanying people.

4-116 **yentyi - Ø -lali   -tye**
       3sgTake-3sg-around-Past
       SU PImpDO
       He was carrying it around

4-117 **ngani -kide-nawa   nagatyin-fel**
NgK   *KIND-how-INDEF   3sgTake -bounce*
                              SU Perf =lift
       How on earth can he lift that !

4-118 **wawam -nin   -firr -ngini**
NgK   *3sgTake-1plinc-foot-Fut*
       SU Irr   DO   =lead
       He'll lead us out.

'Take' has however additionally been recorded with the verb root -si, meaning 'to cut', and with two verb roots -genket 'break in two' and -melpe 'flatten'. In these latter combinations it describes the 'breaking' or 'flattening' as performed by sitting on the object. In this limited respect 'take' can be said to function as an instrumental bodypart auxiliary, akin to 'hands', 'feet' and 'mouth', but in this case marking activity achieved through the instrumental use of the buttocks.

4-119 **ngagatying-ngindi-si**
 1sgTake -1sg -cut
 SU Perf IO
 I cut myself.

4-120 **yenin -derri-wap yetyin - Ø -melpe**
 3sgGo-back -sit 3sgTake-3sg-flatten
 SU Perf SU Perf DO
 She sat down and squashed it.

4-121 **yawul yagany -gen -ket**
 spear 2sgTake-mid-cut
 SU Perf DP
 You've broken the spear (by sitting on it).

4.5 Complex Auxiliaries

4.5.1 The 'Transitive' Complex Auxiliaries

The role of the major 'transitive' auxiliaries is to classify the verb with respect to the instrumental means of execution. The principles underlying this instrumental classification can be revealed by asking three questions about the nature of the activity.

4- Is the activity effected through the use of a bodypart, an implement, or fire?

2- If the body, is it the hands, the feet or the mouth ?

3- If an implement;

-what is its shape ?	-longand cylindrical
	-long and flat
	-lumpy and rounded
-what sort of contact does it make ?	
	-point
	-edge
	-blunt faced
-what is its trajectory ?	-arcing
	-linear

Section 4.5.1.1   'Hands', 'Feet' and 'Mouth'

'Hands'

The 'hands' auxiliary classifies activity as achieved through the manipulation of the undergoer in the hands of the agent. Example 4-122 below contrasts the instrumental use of hands, feet and mouth with the CVS -kalal 'to make a rustling noise'.

4-122 a)   **miringgi**   **ngeriny -kalal**
            leaf   *1sgHands-rustle*
                            SU Perf
            I rustled the leaves with my hands.

      b)   **miringgi**   **nganam-kalal**
            leaf   *1sgFeet-rustle*
                            SU Perf
            I rustled the leaves with my feet.

      c)   **miringgi**   **ngem   -kalal**
            leaf   *1sgMouth-rustle*
                            SU Perf
            I rustled the leaves by blowing them.

Likewise, 4-123 and 4-124 below contrast the use of the hands as instruments, with the 'poke' and 'slash' auxiliaries.

4-123 a)   **ngeriny-fityi peke**
            1sgHands-roll   tobacco
            SU Perf
            I rolled a cigarette (in my hands)

      b)   **ngariny-fityi screwdriver-ninggi**
            1sgPoke-roll   -INSTR
            SU Perf
            I screwed it up with a screwdriver(long thin implement).

4-124 a)   **mi-ngugurr ngeriny -ba -ket**
            Pl -tamarind 1sgHands-arm-cut
            cl   SU Perf
            I plucked a tamarind from the branch (by pinching it off with my fingers).

      b)   **gagu a-wedi ngum -ket**
            meat A-small 1sgSlash-cut
                 cl   SU Perf
            I sliced off a bit of meat (with a knife).

The 'hands' auxiliary requires a notion of the hands not merely as particular bodyparts, but more specifically as bodyparts that have the

primary function of grasping and holding. Consequently, 'hands' does not combine with verb roots like 'hit', 'flick', 'slap', 'prod' and 'clap' etc. that, even though they can be specified as being performed with the hands, are verbs that denote momentary impact and consequent propulsion, without the object being held. This grasping, containing function of hands is shown in 4-125, which contrasts the combination of 'hands' and 'shove' with the verb root -didi 'push'.

4-125 a)   **ngeriny - Ø -didi**
            1sgHands-3sg-push
            SU Perf   DO
            I pushed him along (holding onto him)

b)   **ngudum- Ø -didi**
      1sgShove-3sg-push
      SU Perf   DO
      I gave him a shove.

In 4-125 b) 'shove#didi' implies impact and propulsion, whereas the grasping component underlying the selection of the 'hands' auxiliary in 4-125 a) is shown by the resultant interpretation of the object being pushed along whilst being maintained in the grasp of the agent.

Further examples exemplifying this notion of 'holding within the hands' are set out below.

4-126 **ngemi   -ne-tyerr -baty-pe**
       1sgHands-3sg-mouth-hold-Fut
       SU Irr   IO   = lead
       I'll lead him along.

4-127 **werrmegu -me   -kerrety-tye**
       3nsHandsdl-hands-grip   -Past
       SU PImpSU
       They (dl) were holding hands.

4-128 **yemi   -ngiti-tada-pagu**
       2sgHands-1sg -peel-HITH
       SU Irr   IO
       Peel (this orange) for me !

4-129 **werrfe   deminy -wurrirr**
       mid-   3sgHands-move
       distant SU Perf
       He moved it over there.

4-130 minbe-tye   ngemi   -kerrety
      Neg   -Past 1sgHands-grip
                   SU Irr
      I couldn't hold on.

Among the verbs that are formulated with the 'hands' auxiliary, there is a subset of verbs that have 3rd singular, but non-recoverable, agents and cross-reference their patients as direct objects. Consider the examples below.

4-131 minmipi   demim -ngi-yiri
      funnybone   3sgHands-1sg-numb
                  SU Pres DO
      My funnybone is numb.
      (lit: It is making my funnybone numb.)

4-132 kikilik   deminy -ngi-tip
      cough/flu   3sgHands-1sg-grab
                   SU Perf   DO
      I had the 'flu.
      (The flu had grabbed me. ?)

4-133 deminy   -ngi-tyerr -tati
      3sgHands-1sg-mouth-open
      SU Perf   DO   redup
      I yawned.
      (lit: It repeatedly opened me at the mouth.)

4-134 demim   -ngi-ge -bul
      3sgHands-1sg-belly-heat
      SU Pres   DO
      I'm getting angry.
      (lit: It is heating me in the belly.)

The obvious question to ask of these impersonal verbs is 'why are they constructed with the 'hands' auxiliary?'. Certainly, despite the above noted, and independently establishable, psychological reality of the semantic components of auxiliaries, there is no compelling evidence to suggest that Ngan'gityemerri speakers view verbs such as 'to be (made) angry' in terms of any literal notion of 'grasping hands'. While speakers will readily invoke the instrumental use of hands and feet in explaining the difference between pairs of verbs such as given in 4-122 above, they make no recourse to 'hands' imagery in explaining the selection of the 'hands' auxiliary in impersonal verbs. However, for at least some impersonal verbs we can establish equivalent active verbs with clearly identifiable subjects. Compare, for instance, 4-135 below with 4-132 above.

4-135 **wa-mumu-ninggi deminy -ngi-tip**
     M -taboo   -INSTR   3sgHands-1sg-grab
     cl   SU Perf DO
     The policeman grabbed me.

Here the instrumental use that the policeman makes of his hands in grabbing me, is unquestionably compatible with the 'grasping hands' notion that is central to the 'hands' auxiliary. That 'grabbing' is primarily viewed as a 'hands'-type activity, would then appear to be the basis of the selection of the 'hands' auxiliary even in examples where metaphorical 'grabbing' is effected by non-animate, or indeed non-specified 'agents'. Having the 'flu, for instance, is viewed metaphorically as being 'grabbed by the flu' in the sort of way that one is 'grabbed by a person'. Auxiliary selection in 'agentless' impersonal verbs thus appears to be predicated on the auxiliary found in the active verb to which it is metaphorically linked.

Impersonal verbs have been found to select the 'hands', 'poke', 'bash' and 'feet' auxiliaries, and are listed as subsets in the respective discussions of each auxiliary. While not all examples can be linked to active equivalent verbs in contemporary Ngan'gityemerri, I would presume that auxiliary selection in all impersonal verbs was originally based on metaphorical extension from an active verb, even where the equivalent active verb has since undergone change.

'Feet'

Verbal classification by the 'feet' auxiliary marks verbs as performed specifically through activity of the agent's feet. Several verbs of motion select 'feet', as shown in the examples below.

4-136 **minbe-merrendi gantyana-felfil-ninde**
     Neg   -PROHIB   2sgFeet -jump-1dlinc
     SU Irr   redup   IMPL
     You shouldn't run away on us !

4-137 **ngana-nyi-garri-pat-pe**
     1sgFeet-2sg-leg-catch-Fut
     SU Irr   DO
     (Go on ahead) I'll catch you up !

4-138 **dagam-madi-purity dirr-kuru**
     3sgFeet-chest-slip   teeth-water
     SU Perf   = riverbank
     He slipped down the riverbank.

4-139 **tyepe dagam-fili**
    just 3sgFeet-wander
    SU Pres
    He's just wandered off.

However, the majority of 'feet' verbs focus more specifically on the instrumental transitive use of feet, and as such can be contrasted with 'hands' effected activities.   In 4-122 above we have already exemplified this kind of contrast, and further examples can be found below.

4-140 a)   **yanna -tyek defirr**
        2plFeet-erase footprints
        SU Irr
        (Be careful to) erase your footprints (by smudging your feet sideways at each step).

    b)   **yemi   -tyek**
        2sgHands-erase
        SU Irr
        Wipe it off (with your hands).

4-141 a)   **nganam-tyerr   -dum**
        1sgFeet -mouth-bury
        SU Perf
        I drowned it (by holding it underwater with my feet).

    b)   **ngeriny -tyerr   -dum**
        1sgHands-mouth-bury
        SU Perf
        I drowned it (by holding it underwater with my hands).

4-142 a)   **nganam-baty**
        1sgFeet- hold
        SU Perf
        I trod on it.

    b)   **ngeriny -baty**
        1sgMouth-hold
        SU Perf
        I held it

A small subset of 'feet' verbs are not strictly 'feet-instrumental'. For instance, 4-143 and 4-144 below are patently effected through the use of the hands.

4-143 **yana   -fufu   mumba e-fenggu-nana**
NgK *2sgFeet-shine path   A-long   -LEST*
    SU Irr   cl
    Shine (the torch) on the path, in case there's snakes !

4-144 mi-dirwi wannam-madi-way   ganggi-wurru
    Pl-green 3plFeet -chest-thwart high   -UNSATIS
    cl plum   SU Perf
    They were unable to reach the greenplums, being so high.

For both these examples the 'holding of the torch' and the 'attempt to pick the plums' are, in a strictly instrumental sense, typical 'hands'-type activities. 'Feet' auxiliary selection in this case appears to be formulated, not instrumentally, but rather on a highly salient association with 'feet on the ground'.

'Mouth'

    Verbal classification by the 'mouth' auxiliary marks verbs as performed instrumentally with the mouth, either the physical manipulation of objects by the tongue, teeth, lips or gums, or through the medium of speech.

    'Mouth' selection in verbs like 'lick' and 'taste' are shown in 4-145 and 4-146.

4-145 yakay wuwu-yaga   dingim   -lak
    excl   dog   -DEM   3sgMouth-lick
    SU PImp
    Lookout ! the dogs been licking it !

4-146 a -wedi   ye   -du -pe
    A-small   2sgMouth-taste-Fut
    cl   SU Irr
    Try and taste a little bit.

And the contrastive combination of 'mouth', 'hands' and 'feet' with the CVS -baty 'hold' is demonstrated below.

4-147 kukuk-nuwurr ngem   -baty -ngirim
    wait - a little   1sgMouth-hold-1sgSit
    while   SU Pres   SU Pres
    Hang on a minute, I'm in the middle of chewing.

4-148 e -ferri   demim -baty -pagu -yenim
    A-blue-tongue   3sgHands-hold-HITH-3sgGo
    cl lizard   SU Pres   SU Pres
    He's coming up holding a blue-tongue.

4-149 wanni   -ngi-baty -tye
    3plFeet   -1sg-hold-Past
    SU PImp DO
    They were kicking me.

In addition to the manipulable parts of the human mouth, 'mouth' also covers the instrumental use of the beaks of birds, as in 4-150 and 4-151 below.

4-150 wurr   weyim   -pi -ket bude nyinnin demim   -wurity
      grass 3sgMouth-head-cut   nest ANA   3sgHands-make
             SU Pres   SU Pres
      (Bush turkey) heaps up grass (with his beak) and in that way makes his nest.

4-151 e-men'gimen'gi dingim   -mi-syarr   -dim
      A-grey   3sgMouth-eye-scatter-3sgSit
      cl goshawk   SU Pres   SU Pres
      The goshawk is scattering seed (as it feeds)

As a classifier of speech 'mouth' selection is found in verbs of 'storytelling', 'persuasion' and 'mistaken/false speech'. Consider the examples below.

4-152 nge   -mbi-yilil -pe   ngan'gi
      1sgMouth-2sg -story-Fut   story
      SU Irr   IO   tell
      I'll tell you a story

4-153 tyerrakul wakay   ngem   -purr -ket-nyine
      talking   finished   1sgMouth-bum-cut-FOC
                              SU Pres   = cease
      That's it ! I've finished talking now !

4-154 ngem   -fi -ket were   ngiminy-ne,
      1sgMouth-Mp-cut brother 1sgSay   -3sgM
      SU Perf   = lie   SU Perf IO
      I mistakenly called him 'brother'
      epe   yetyi-yirre   ngumbumum-ne
      BUT   son-CORRECT 1dlincSay   -3sgM
                        SU   Pres   IO
      but you and me are supposed to call him 'son'.

4-155 weyim   -ngiti-fi -gulgul
      3sgMouth-1sg -Mp-stir
      SU Perf   IO   redup
      He stirred me up/ talked me into it.

4-156 ngara   -ne -fi -pal -pe   nge   - Ø -ge -kubuk-pe
      1sgPokeDtr-3sg-Mp-return-Fut   1sgMouth-3sg -belly- soak -Fut
      SU Irr   IO   SU Irr   DO =pacify
      I'm going back to him, to settle him down.

4.5.1.2   'Poke', 'Slash' and 'Bash'

In discussing these three auxiliaries I want to return to the questions asked earlier regarding the shape, contact and trajectory of instruments wielded by an agent in effecting an action, for these issues form the central components of these three auxiliaries. I will discuss 'poke', 'slash' and 'bash in terms of underlying shape, contact and trajectory schema.

'Poke'

Verbal classification by the 'poke' auxiliary entails activity effected instrumentally at the end point of a long thin cylindrical implement manipulated by the subject. Inextricably linked to this shape schema is a contact schema; that the end point of long thin implements are employed in an 'end-on' poking type of contact. 'Poke'-type implements have no significant surfaces other than their point. Unlike 'slash' and 'bash', there is no trajectory schema associated with the 'poke' auxiliary. A good proto-type for 'poke' implements is the spear, but as shown in the examples below, digging sticks, painting sticks, firesticks, nit crackers[3], spoons, fenceposts, screwdrivers and sewing needles are all implements conceptualised as having shape and contact schemas of the 'poke' type.

4-157 **tyulut-ninggi   dam   -pawal**
hook -INSTR   3sgPoke-spear
spear   SU Perf
He speared him with a hookspear.

4-158 **amimbi manarrk   dani   -ngi-pi   -dada-tye -dini**
nit   nit eggs   1sgPoke-1sg-head-crack-Past-3sgSit
*   SU PImpDO   SU PImp*
She was cracking the nits in my hair for me.

4-159 **palayin   nga   -pup-pe   yenggi-ne**
firesticks   1sgPoke-rub -Fut   fire   -PURP
*   SU Irr*
I'll rub the firesticks to start a fire.

4-160 **malarrgu   -ne   wanni -ket-tye -waddi**
longnecked-PURP   3plPoke-cut-Past-3plGO
turtle   SU PImp   SU PImp
They were poking about for longnecked turtles.

3A nit cracker 'milmilma' is a small stick, about 20 cms long, that is used in the Daly region to squash nit eggs in the hair, and for other cosmetic purposes such as scraping off dry sunburned skin or removing earwax.

4-161 post   **warrim -fi -tyat -wannim**
      3plPoke-Mp-place 3pl Go
      SU Pres   SU Pres
      They're erecting a fence.

4-162 **screwdriver-ninggi ngariny-fityi**
      -INSTR   1sgPoke-roll
      SU Perf
      I did it up with a screwdriver.

4-163 **durrmu-nyine warrim-pek**
      paint -FOC   3plPoke-drip
      SU Pres
      They're painting it now.

That several verbs involving the instrumental use of rope also select the 'poke' auxiliary, suggests that long thin implements need not necessarily be rigid. Although rope is not normally employed in a poking fashion, it is long and thin and does have salient end points that are typically the part of it that is manipulated in tying objects up.

4-164 **fi   ya   -fi -dudu- Ø**
      twine 2sgPoke-Mp-curl -IMP
      SU Irr
      Coil the twine up !

4-165 **dam   -ngi-gu-baty** bandage
      3sgPoke-1sg-?-hold
      SU Perf
      He bandaged (my arm for me)

The salient 'point' of an implement will typically be its 'front' end, e.g. the sharpened end of of a digging stick or the fashioned tip of a spear, but 'poke' classification also encompasses the butt end of long thin implements, and, as the example below shows, the exposed ends of a spear broken at a point along its length.

4-166 **yawul dangim-fi-tyerr-pek**
      spear 3sgPoke-Mp-mouth-drip
      SU Pres
      He's rejoining the (broken) spear shaft.

That the focus here is on the exposed endpoints, as opposed to the length of the shaft, is confirmed by the incorporation of the bodypart 'mouth' in reference to the mouth-like rim created by the cross-sectional sever through the hollow bamboo shaft.

In addition to implements of material culture, 'poke' classification can also embrace certain bodyparts where these share the long thin shape schema, and are also manipulated within the end-on poking contact schema. As shown in the following examples, bodyparts that can be viewed in this way include: arms, legs, breasts/nipples, beaks, fingers, penis, whiskers, the proboscus of a mosquito etc.

4-167 **falmi wunu wur-werr -tyi,   tyi   dangim-pawal-nyine**
woman that   F   -ASSOC-breast breast 3sgPoke-spear-FOC
            cl   *SU Pres*
That pubescent woman is getting breasts now.
(lit: ...is being speared by breasts (from the inside out)).

4-168 **yibe nga -nyi-nguru-waty-pe**
later   1sgPoke-2sg-penis-consume-Fut
           SU Irr   DO = fuck
I'm gonna fuck you later.

4-169 **tyerr-wasyan dam-ngi-pawal**
mouth-hair   3sgPoke-1sg-spear
            SU Perf DO
I've got a beard now.
(lit: whiskers have speared me)

4-170 **a-dawurr-ninggi dangim-tal-pi wakay**
A-butcher -AGENT   3sgPoke-tap-head finish
cl bird   *SU Pres*
The butcherbird tapped (the finch) on the head... finished!

4-171 **a-funggi-ninggi warrim-ngi-dap**
A-mosquito-AGENT   3plPoke-1sg-stab
cl   *SU Pres DO*
Mosquitos are biting me.

4-172 **membirr dangim-tyerr-dim**
child   *3sgPoke-mouth-3sgSit*
        SU Pres   *SU Pres*
She's breastfeeding the child.

4-173 **dede ngayi nga   -mbi-du -pe**
estate 1sg   1sgPoke-2sg -touch-Fut
       PRO SU Irr   IO
I'll point out my country to you (with my arm).

There is a minor but distinguishable subset of 'poke' verbs concerned with activities effected from a position of physical or psychological dominance and control. As shown in the examples below, verbs of 'giving people things', 'leaving people behind', 'teaching people things' etc. are

constructed with the 'poke' auxiliary, and morphologically encoded as 'controlling' by the presence of the manipulative verb root prefix -fi-.

4-174 **nem kinyi ngan'gi   wariny -ngi-fi -mi -tyatit**
        3sg   this   language   3sgPoke-1sg-Mp-Val-place
        PRO   SU Perf DO   redup
        This bloke taught me his language.
        (lit: ...placed his language in me)

4-175 **kinyi   nga   -nyi-fi -me -pe**
        this   1sgPoke-2sg-Mp-hand-Fut
        SU Irr   DO
        I'll give you this.

4-176 **wuni-yirre   ngarim - Ø -fi -wap**
        there-CORRECT   1sgPoke-3sg-Mp-sit
        SU Pres DO
        I've left her sitting back there.

4-177 **kinyi nga   -nyi-fi -me -tyat   ngunu**
        this   1sgPoke-2sg-Mp-hand-place   how about it
        SU Irr DO
        I'm leaving this in your care... alright?
        (lit: I'm placing this in your hands)

There is no clear evidence to suggest that the activity denoted by these verbs is conceived of in terms of either the 'Poke' shape or contact schema. Conceivably the use of the agents arms in these verbs of 'placing' and 'giving' could fall within the range of 'arm as long thin instrument' as discussed above. However none of these examples appear to fulfil the poking type of contact generally associated with instrumental 'Poke' verbs.

Additionally, there are several impersonal verbs, without recoverable agents, that are constructed with the 'Poke' auxiliary. These are also concerned with the notion of dominance and control, in that their patients are construed as being victims of events or emotions beyond their control.

4-178 **dam-ngi-fi-derri-sul**
        3sgPoke-1sg-Mp-back-arise
        SU Perf DO
        I was kept awake all night

4-179 **dangim-ngi-ngini tyagan-nimbi-nawa**
        3sgPoke-1sg-shudder what-CAUS-INDEF
        SU Pres DO
        I've got this creepy feeling..from something or other.

4-180 **dangim-ngi-nguru-yilii falmi wun-ne**
3sgPoke-1sg-penis-talk   woman   that-PURP
SU Pres DO
I'm horny for that woman over there.

4-181 **dangim-ngi-madi-ket**
3sgPoke-1sg-chest-cut
SU Pres DO =thwart
I've wasted my time/ done something to no avail.
(lit: It has chest-cut me.)

Again, the semantic relationship between these verbs and the central instrumental 'poke' verbs remains unclear. As noted for impersonal 'hands' verbs, auxiliary selection in these 'poke' verbs is presumably based on processes of metaphor and mental imagery, the origins of which are contemporarily obscured by processes of lexicalisation and language change.

'Slash'

Verbal classification by the 'Slash' auxiliary marks activity effected instrumentally in terms of the following schema.

<u>Shape schema</u>-   Like 'Poke', 'Slash' instruments are typically long and thinnish, but rather than having only an endpoint, they have a 'face' along their length. 'Slash' instruments can therefore be said to have breadth in addition to length. The kind of instruments that fall within 'Slash' classification include; paddles, flat-faced fighting sticks, brooms, knives and the palm of the hand.

<u>Contact schema</u>- The shape schema of 'Slash' instruments, being flat faced, allows for two types of contact. 'Slash' instruments like brooms (in sweeping), or the palm (in slapping), make two-dimensional contact with their undergoer through direct contact with the broad flat face. Other 'Slash' instruments, like knives and flints (in cutting), make a one-dimensional contact with their undergoer by virtue of the fact that it is their edge/blade rather than face through which contact is made. 'Slash' instruments, then, can be employed either edge-on or face-on.

<u>Trajectory schema</u>- A major component of 'Slash' is the notion of lateral trajectory. 'Slash' instruments, like shovels, paddles, fans etc., are swung through the air/water in an arcing trajectory. Similarly bladed instruments, like knives and flints, are not simply pressed against an object, but have to be wielded in a lateral sweeping motion to effect cutting.

In verbs with bodypart instruments, 'slash' typically covers the lateral sideswiping trajectory of the arms. The combination of 'slash' with the verb root -ta 'hit', as in 4-182 a), thus implies a stiff-armed roundhouse swing of

the arm, as opposed to a punch effected by extending the arm outwards in a linear trajectory, which would require the 'Bash' auxiliary (discussed below), as in 4-182 b).

4-182 a)   **ngu   -nyi -ta -pe**   b)   **ngebe   -nyi-da -pe**
         1sgSlash-2sg-hit-Fut   *1sgBash-2sg-hit-Fut*
         SU Irr   DO   *SU Irr   DO*
         I'll swipe you !   I'll punch you !

However it seems to be the sideways movement of the whole body that determines the selection of 'slash' in the 4-183.

4-183   **ngumbu   -ne -madi-baty -pe**
         1dIincSlash-3sg-chest-hold-Fut
         SU   Irr   IO
         Let's get out of his way !

4-184 a) and b) below contrast the combination of 'slash' and 'hands' with the CVS **-me-syirr** 'extinguish'.

4-184 a)   **peke   ngeriny-me   -syirr**
         tobacco   1sgSlash-hand-scratch
                  SU Perf   = extinguish
         I stubbed out the cigarette (by squishing it under my thumb).

       b)   **yenggi ngum   -me   -syirr**
         fire   1sgSlash-hand-scratch
                  SU Perf   =extinguish
         I put out the fire (through a 'slash' activity - beating it with branches/a wet hessian bag etc.).

The flat shape, edge or plane contact, and sweeping trajectory associated with 'slash' selection, can be seen in the following examples.

4-185   **gagu   ngu   -mbi-ket-pe**   4-186   **yenggi yu   -filfil- Ø**
       animal   1sgSlash-2sg -cut -Fut   *fire   2sgSlash-fan -IMP*
       generic SU Irr   IO   *SU Irr   redup*
       I'll cut you a slice of meat.   Fan the fire !

4-187   **elifela deminy -pat   dede   wum   -madi -fuy**
       early   3sgHands-arise camp   3sgSlash-chest-sweep
            SU Perf   SU Perf
       She got up early and swept camp.

4-188 minbe-tye   wu   -tyerr -dum
Neg   -Past   3sgSlash-mouth-bury
          SU Irr
He didn't close the door.

4-189 keninggisyi yurrugu -mi -syarr - Ø
canoe   2plSlashdl-eye-scrape-IMP
          SU Irr SU
You two bale out the boat !

4-190 wumbun-kurr menyirr wirribem-palak-nyine
3sgSlash -dig   sand   3sgStand-drop -FOC
SU Pres   SU Pres
(Crocodiles) dig in the sand, then lay their eggs.

Verbs expressing the movement of wind, or states resulting from the
effect of wind, also select the 'slash' auxiliary. This selection would appear
to be predicated on the conceptualisation of wind as a metereological feature
sweeping across the ground in a lateral motion, akin to such activity as
sweeping, wiping etc, and is consistent with the trajectory schema of
instrumental 'slash' verbs. Several wind-agentive 'slash' verbs are given
below.

4-191 marrawuk-ninggi wumbun-matati-ngidde detyerr
dry season-INSTR 3sgSlash-split   -1sg   mouth
wind   SU Pres redup IMPL
The dry season wind has split my lip on me.

4-192 gagu kinyi wum   -tal -nyine
meat this   3sgSlash-dry-FOC
             SU Perf out
This meat has dried out (from exposure to the wind)
(lit: It (wind) has dried out this meat.)

4-193 debi -werre   tyawurru-pefi   wumbun-yerifun-nyine
thigh-ASSOC now   -INCH 3sgSlash -dry   -FOC
= trousers   SU Pres
My trousers are starting to dry now (from exposure to the wind)
(lit: It (wind) is starting to dry my trousers now.)

Correspondingly, rain is associated with the up-and-down linear trajectory
schema of the 'bash' auxiliary. Thus the combinations of 'slash' and 'bash'
with the CVS -nguru-ket 'cease' are understood to refer to the cessation of
wind and rain, respectively.

4-194 a)   marrawuk wum   -nguru-key-nyine
          dry season 3sgSlash-penis -cut -FOC
          wind   SU Perf   =cease
          The wind has just let up.

b)   kuru   bem   -nguru-ket-nyine
        rain   3sgBash-penis -cut-FOC
        SU   Perf   =cease
        The rain has stopped now.

Finally, there are a few impersonal (agentless) verbs constructed with 'Slash'.

4-195 **wumbun-ngi-gurrgurr**
        3sgSlash -1sg -stir
        SU Pres   DO   redup
        I have diahorrea.
        (lit: It is stirring me)

'Bash'

Classification by the 'Bash' auxiliary, like 'Poke' and 'Slash', is concerned primarily with instrumentality. Several 'bash' components can be identified, including shape, contact and trajectory schema. For the respective activity types selecting the 'Poke' and 'Slash' auxiliaries, we have noted that all three schemas tend to correlate. Thus for a 'Poke' verb like 'spear', the long thin cylindrical shape of the implement is inextricably bound to the end-on point contact. Likewise for a classic 'Slash' verb like 'slice', the long flat shape of the knife is bound to both the blade contact and the slashing trajectory. For 'Bash' however, although shape, contact and trajectory schemas are available, logical semantic linkages between them are not always apparent. For many 'Bash' verbs the selection of the 'Bash' auxiliary can only be formulated in terms of a single schema, without satisfying the criteria for all the components.

Shape schema-   'Bash' instruments are heavy and rounded, having a large surface area. In contrast to long thin spears and long flat knives, this shape schema marks clubs, axes, rocks and hammers as the typical instruments of 'bash' verbs.

Contact schema- Consistent with the broad surface area and rounded shape of 'Bash' implements, their contact with objects is a blunt full contact, as opposed to a blade or point type contact. 'Bash' contact typically smashes, indents or bruises a surface rather than pierces or cuts it. Note that axes, despite having a bladed-type edge, and despite the fact that their chopping contact has a cut-like effect, are classified as blunt rounded instruments.

The rounded shape and blunt contact of 'Bash' can be seen in the following examples.

4-196 **bi -ninggi   ngebe -gerrgirr-tye   yed-derri**
       axe-INSTR   1sgBash-cut   -Past   Tr -back
                    SU PImp redup   cl
       I was chopping the log with an axe

4-197 **yawurr bengim-gen   -ket   fepi -ninggi**
       stick   3sgBash-middle-cut   rock-INSTR
                    SU Perf DP
       He broke the stick by dropping a rock on its middle.

4-198 **ngini -ngayi   ngimin   yebe   -dada- Ø   nail**
       NgK *KIND - 1sg   1sgDo   2sgBash-hit -IMP*
                    PRO   SU Pres   SU Irr   redup
       Hammer the nail like I do it.

Trajectory schema- Another identifiable component of 'Bash' is an up-and-down, backwards-and-forwards trajectory, as opposed to the lateral sideways trajectory of 'slash'. The association of rain with verticality has already been noted in the discussion of 'Slash' above. Activity within a broadly vertical trajectory schema can also be seen in the examples below.

4-199 **yawurr-nimbi   bem   -baty**
       tree   -SOURCE   3sgBash-fall
                            SU Perf
       He fell from the tree.

4-200 **debi -werre   yubu   -wul - Ø**
       thigh-ASSOC   2sgBash-pull-IMP
       = trousers   SU Irr
       Pull your trousers up !

4-201 **miyi   kinyi bengim -tyerr -fal   -nyine**
       plant   this   3sgBash-mouth-open-FOC
                       SU Pres
       These seedlings are sprouting up now.

Vertical direction alone is not the critical element of 'bash' trajectory. More importantly, 'bash' activities are carried out by movement backwards and forwards along a single linear trajectory. While the direction of this line may be vertical, as in the above examples, backwards/forwards movement along a line parallel to the ground, as in punching, hammering, chopping etc. is equally acceptable. Note that the trajectories of both 'bash' and 'slash' can therefore be parallel to the ground. The difference between them is that 'bash' has a linear trajectory, whereas 'slash' has an arcing trajectory.

In addition to the typical 'bash' implements listed above, note that the typical 'bash' instrumental bodyparts include the fist, teeth and

belly/chest. The 'bash' classification of fist stems from its compatability with the shape schema. Fists, like axes and clubs, are the large, rounded, blunt ends of things. That teeth are 'bash' bodyparts stems from their compatability with both the chopping contact schema and the up/down trajectory schema. Note that their conceptualisation as axe-like chompers rather than knife-like cutters would appear to be based on the function of the side molars rather than the front incisors. The belly and chest, used instrumentally as in 4-204 below, are compatible with the notion of 'a broad extended two-dimensional surface'. The front of the body is also seen to be instrumentally employed in verbs of confrontation and evoking emotional response (see 4-212 and 4-213). The 'bash' instrumentality of fists, teeth and belly/chest are demonstrated in 4-202 - 4-204 below.

> 4-202 **wurrbum-wurrki-dada**
> *3nsBash -3dl   -hit*
> *SU Perf IO   redup*
> They (dl) were punching each other

> 4-203 **mumba   bem   -madi-pul   wuntyerr**
> *path   3sgBash-chest-clear canegrass*
> *   SU Perf*
> He cut a swathe through the canegrass (with the front of his body).

> 4-204 **yakay   gubu -nyi-tasat-merrendi**
> *lookout   3sgBash-2sg-bite   -LEST*
> *   SU Irr DO*
> Lookout ! It might bite you !

A further component of 'bash' which should be noted here is an underlying association with sexual activity. That is, verbs like 'make someone scream', 'get a headache' or 'insert', in the absence of particular instrumental information to the contrary, will tend to be interpreted as effected through sexual activity specifically, as opposed to other more typical 'bash' activities such as punching , hammering etc. Recall that the principle verb of sexual activity 'to fuck' is not a 'bash' verb, but rather is constructed with the 'poke' auxiliary.

> 4-205 **dam   -burrki-nguru-waty**
> *3sgPoke-3dl   -penis -consume*
> *SU Perf DO   =fuck*
> He fucked them both.

Here the penis as bodypart instrument clearly fills the long thin cylindrical shape schema, and the poking contact schema attributed to 'poke' classification. So on what sort of imagery, we may ask, is the sexual association of 'bash' constructed? Firstly, the penis-as-bodypart-instrument imagery still holds good here, for the classification of the penis, not as a long thin spear-like instrument, but as a club-like instrument with a distinct 'head', is encountered elsewhere (c.f. 3.5.3.5).

> 4-206 **waga ngudum-pi -syarr**
>   *piss 1sgShove-head-squeeze*
>   *SU Perf*
>   I cut off my piss in midstream (by squeezing the 'head' of my penis).

> 4-207 **ngudum - Ø -pi -dum asyi**
>   *1sgShove-3sg-head-bury vagina*
>   *SU Perf DO*
>   I was 'chockablock' up her vagina.

Secondly, contact made by the broad flat expanse of the belly/chest, which as noted above (e.g. 4-203), is a type of bodypart-instrument that is covered by 'bash', is clearly a salient feature of some types of sexual activity. Thirdly, the repetetive up-and-down, backwards-and-forwards trajectory schema of 'bash' may also constitute imagery on which the sexual association of 'bash' is formulated.

Another group of verbs appears to select 'bash' solely on the basis of 'broad extended surface contact', without fulfilling the trajectory or shape schema. These are verbs in which a film or cover, having a broad two-dimensional expanse, is laid over or removed from an object. Note that in most of these examples the incorporation of **-derri** 'back' contributes to the focus on activity at the broad external surface of the undergoer.

> 4-208 calico-ninggi ngurrbum-derri-lit musyulng kuru -merrendi
>   -INSTR 1plexBash -back -cover swag water-LEST
>   SU Perf
>   We (plex) covered the swags with a calico, so they they wouldn't get wet.

> 4-209 **kuderri bengin -derri-lit ngani-bafun-gimi**
>   NgK *billabong 3sgBash-back-cover COMP-dust -SEMBL*
>   *SU Pres*
>   There's a film of something like dust over the billabong.
>   (lit: It is covering the billabong over with something like dust.)

4-210 **nem wunu   bengim -dudu   damuy   dengini**
3sg   there   3sgBash-spotty   face   body
PRO   *SU Pres*
That bloke's covered in spots, his face and his whole body.

4-211 **yubu   -derri-pul -pe yenggi padudu yimu   -wa -pe**
2sgBash-back-clear-Fut fire   potato   2sgSnatch-pick-Fut
SU Irr   *SU Irr   up*
Clear the covering of coals off the fire, so you can pick out the
potatoes.

Another minor subset of 'bash' verbs are the causative emotion verbs
'to make happy' and 'to make angry'. These verbs, set out in 4-212 and 4-213
below, both incorporate the bodypart **-ge** 'belly', which is regarded by
Ngan'gityemerri speakers as the seat of the emotions. The selection of the
'bash' auxiliary in these verbs would appear to be formulated on the notion
of confrontation between the facing belly/chest orientation of two people.

4-212 **bengim -ngi -ge   -dum   men'gen -ngiti**
3sgBash-1sg-belly-bury   3sgArrive-1sg
SU Pres DO =make happy SU Perf   IO
He's made me happy (by) coming to see me.

4-213 **yubum -ngi-ge   -pek-nyine-pefi**
2sgBash-1sg-belly-drip-FOC   -INCH
SU Pres   DO=make angry
You're starting to make me wild now !

To exemplify the contrastive shape, contact and trajectory schema of
'poke', 'slash' and 'bash', consider the examples below in which each is
combined with the verbroot **-gurrgurr** 'to miss an attempted contact'. The
interpretations attributable to these examples, although context dependent,
are revealing of the type of activity that was attempted.

4-214 **ngariny- Ø -gurrgurr**
1sgPoke-3sg-miss
SU Perf DO
I missed it.
e.g. I tried to spear it   , but I missed
              poke it
              stab it
              prod it
              twist it with a screwdriver etc.

4-215 ngum- Ø -gurrgurr
1sgSlash-3sg-miss
SU Perf DO
I missed it
e.g. I tried to slap it with my palm   , but missed.
            whip it with a stick/spear
            sweep/wipe it
            paddle (but missed the water)
            close the door
            etc.

4-216 ngubum-gurrgurr
1sgBash-miss
SU Perf
I missed it.
e.g. I tried to punch it   , but I missed
            shoot it
            bash it with a rock
            club it
            etc.

Before moving on to examine the other major instrumental auxiliaries, I want to make some comments on the nature of instrument classification. Firstly, by contrasting the 'Poke', 'Slash' and 'Bash' auxiliaries we have revealed three categories of instrument type. 'Poke' instruments are long and thin, and make contact at their end point. 'Slash' implements have a flat surface associated with their length, and make contact with either the face or edge of that surface. 'Bash' implements are, or have a salient part that is, large and rounded, and make contact in a blunt bashing manner.

The arsenal of traditional weapons and tools used by Ngan'giwumirri and Ngan'gikurunggurr people fall fairly clearly within the distinctive parameters of these categories.

-Spears, digging sticks, nit crackers, threading sticks, canoe poles and fire sticks all fit the 'poke' shape, contact and trajectory schemas.

-Fighting sticks, hand-held boomerangs, canoe paddles, flints and knives all fit the 'slash' shape, contact and trajectory schemas.

-And clubs, fists, rocks and axes fit the 'Bash' shape, contact and trajectory schemas.

Secondly, it should be noted that the kind of implement classification that we can see operating amongst these instrumental auxiliaries, is found nowhere else in the lexicon. The system of nominal classification (c.f. 5.2.7 to 5.2.11) broadly divides hand-held implements from spears, and further divides spears into subcategories. The schema I have invoked to elucidate

the instrumental auxiliaries; shape, contact-type and trajectory, play no part in the nominal classification of weapons and tools in Ngan'gityemerri.

Thirdly, the categorisation of any implement is based partly on inherent physical properties, but also on the particular part of an implement that is functionally salient. The principal underlying allocation of implements to these categories is based therefore on what is perceived to be their typical function. However the use of any implement in an atypical manner, which conflicts with its associated schema, will generally require classification by a different auxiliary. A spear for instance, which is a typical 'Poke' implement having a highly salient end point, can be wielded atypically by being held in the hand and slashed through the air in a whipping motion. Such an activity is shown in 4-218 below. Note that such a highly marked activity type, in contrast to the typical spear use in 4-217, requires overt instrumental case marking.

4-217 **wamanggal ngariny-pawal**
wallaby   1sgPoke-spear
*   SU Perf*
I speared a wallaby.

4-218 **wamanggal ngum-ta yawul-ninggi**
wallaby   1sgSlash-hit spear-INSTR
*   SU Perf*
I hit a wallaby with a spear (swung like a cane).

Likewise a bladed implement like a knife is a typical 'Slash' implement. Within Ngan'gityemerri instrumental auxiliary classification it has this status because proto-typically its flat face is used edge-on in a swinging cutting motion. Knives of course can be wielded differently. A stabbing action, piercing something by poking a knife end-on into it, would conflict with the 'Slash' schema and require marking by the 'Poke' auxiliary. Again, as 4-219 shows, the markedness of this activity requires overt instrumental case-marking.

4-219 **marrimarri-ninggi ngariny-bang**
knife   -INSTR   1sgPoke-pierce
*   SU Perf*
I stabbed it with (the tip of) a knife.

Finally , to complete the discussion of 'Poke', 'Slash' and 'Bash', I will look at how this instrument classificatory system has coped with the introduction of one particular non-traditional implement. Within the parameters of traditional instrument classification, as exemplified by the

shape/contact/trajectory schema, the use of a chisel (as used in conjunction with a hammer) is a completely anomalous activity type. For a chisel, like a screwdriver, is long and thin and objects are manipulated at its endpoint. However chisels have blades that slice, and this violates the poking contact schema of 'poke' classification. Likewise the slicing blade of a chisel fits the contact schema of 'slash', but violates the 'slash' sweeping trajectory schema by being used end-on. Ngan'gityemerri speakers have resolved this anomaly by selecting the 'bash' auxiliary. Their traditional classificatory system requires that 'hammering a chisel' be viewed as being like 'hammering a nail'. The chisel must be treated as undergoer, not instrument. Thus one can 'hammer a chisel' in Ngan'gityemerri, but one cannot 'chisel wood'.

4.5.1.3 'Shove' and 'Heat'
'Shove'

Where 'Poke', 'Slash' and 'Bash' are concerned with the details of contact and limb movement, the focus of 'shove' is not so much on these 'means of execution' as on the 'effect of execution'. 'Shove' classifies activity that affects its undergoer by projecting it into motion, or in some way re-arranging its spatial configuration. The undergoers of 'shove' verbs can always be said to have been affected by being 'moved'. Consider the examples below.

4-220 **musyulng wudum-ngiti-fityi**
  swag   3sgShove-1sg-roll
  *   SU Perf IO*
  He rolled up my swag for me.

4-221 **mudiga   wudum -syi -wul**
  car   3sgShove-nose-return
  *   SU Perf*
  He turned the car for home.

4-222 **marrawuk-ninggi   wudumbun-pi   -wulil**
  dry season -INSTR   3sgShove   -head-return
  wind   SU Pres   redup
  The dry season wind is blustering (the clouds) back and forth.

4-223 **wudumbun-tyerr   -ket mudiga nyinyi**
  3sgShove   -mouth-cut car   2sg
  SU Pres   PRO
  He's bogged your car.

4-224 emengginy wudum -firrkityfirrkity e wudum -bat
goanna *3sgShove-swing round* *CONJ* *3sgShove-knock*
SU Perf redup *SU Perf down*
He swung the goanna rond 'n round and knocked it on the
ground.

4-225 perrik wuddumbun-pek
fence *3plShove -drip*
SU Pres
They're building a fence.

4-226 yudu -panmi-wele -pe kanggi
2sgShove-fork -hang-Fut high
SU Irr
Stick it up high in a fork (of the tree).

4-227 wuddum -ngi-mi -wul -pagu
3plShove-1sg-Val-return-HITH
SU Perf DO
They brought me back home.

4-228 yudu -madi-fili - Ø
2sgShove-chest-roll-IMP
SU Irr
Turn it over !

The focus of 'shove' is contrasted with 'poke' and 'hands' in the pairs
of verbs in 4-229 and 4-230 below.

4-229 a) ngariny -didi
1sgPoke-push
SU Perf
I prodded it (with a stick).
(Focus on instrumental contact with long thin
implement)

b) ngudum -didi
1sgShove-push
SU Perf
I gave it a shove.
(Focus on projection of undergoer)

4-230 a) ngeriny -fityi peke
1sgHands-roll tobacco
SU Perf
I rolled a cigarette.
(Focus on the manipulation of the undergoer in the
hands)

b)　　ngudum -fityi　musyulng
　　　1sgShove-roll　swag
　　　SU Perf
　　　I rolled up the swag.
　　　(Focus on the spatial re-arrangement of the undergoer)

For highly transitive verbs then, 'Shove' acts as a type of default auxiliary, ignoring the mechanical details of contact and limb movement, focussing instead on the 're-arranged' status of the undergoer.

'Heat'

Classification by the 'Heat' auxiliary marks actions as performed through the instrumental use of heat. The example below shows the contrastive combination of the 'Heat', 'Hands' and 'Feet' auxiliaries with the CVS -tittit 'straighten'.

4-231 a)　　yawul nginem-tittit-ngirim
　　　　　spear　1sgHeat-straighten-1sgSit
　　　　　　　SU Pres　　　　SU Pres
　　　　　I'm straightening the spear (by bending it after having
　　　　　warmed it in sand that has been heated by being
　　　　　shovelled onto hot coals).

b)　　yawul ngerim-tittit-ngirim
　　　spear　1sgHands-straighten-1sgSit
　　　　SU Pres　　　　SU Pres
　　　I'm straightening the spear (by bending it using my hand
　　　as fulcrum).

c)　　yawul nganam-tittit-ngirim
　　　spear　1sgFeet-straighten-1sgSit
　　　　SU Pres　　　　SU Pres
　　　I'm straightening the spear (by bending it using my foot
　　　as fulcrum).

The notion of heat, central to this auxiliary, should be understood as primarily the heat given off by any form of fire, including the sun, and extended to sun-associated forms of heat such as solar power (but see 4-242 and 4-243 a) below). Given the central role that fire plays in Aboriginal life, higher animate controlled usage of 'Heat' typically involves fire-as-instrument.

4-232 peke　　　yine　-ngiti-tyerr -ket- Ø
　　　　tobacco　2sgHeat-1sg　-mouth-cut-IMP
　　　　　　SU Irr　IO
　　　Light me a smoke !

4-233 gagu   ngine-mbi-mi-ferr-pe
      meat   1sgHeat-2sg-Val-warm-Fut
      SU Irr   IO   inc
      I'll warm the meat up for you.

4-234 kuru ngine-purrngpurrng-pe
      water   1sgHeat-boil   -Fut
      SU Irr   redup
      I'll boil the water.

Activities such as starting a fire by concentrating the sun's rays through a piece of thick glass, or placing clothes in the sunshine to dry them, are examples of the controlled instrumental use of the sun's heat.

4-235 yine   -fuyfuy fidi -nide
      2sgHeat-dry   sun's-LOC
      SU Irr   heat
      Dry them in the sunshine!

The 'Heat' auxiliary stands apart from all the other instrumental auxiliaries in showing a split between the marking of the roles of heat-as-instrument and heat-as-agent. For verbs involving higher animate controlled instrumental use of heat, there exists the normal full paradigm of 'Heat' subject-auxiliary sequences. However, verbs involving the more autonomous heating processes effected through the non-controlled combustion of fire and the sun, are marked by a distinct set of subject-AVR sequences. These latter sequences are obviously restricted to 3rd person singular forms. In purely paradigmatic terms, rather than treat this as two separate auxiliaries, one of which consists simply of 3sg forms, I have chosen to view this phenomenon as a single auxiliary with a formal split among the 3sg forms between 'higher animate controlling agents' and 'heat as agent'. The full 'heat' subject-auxiliary paradigm showing this split, can be found in appendices A and B.

3rd singular higher animate controlled instumental heat use is contrasted with heat-as-agent in the examples below.

4-236 a)   dinem -purrngpurrng kuru
            3sgHeat- boil   water
            SU Pres redup
            He's boiling water.

      b)   wayim -purrngpurrng kuru
            3sgHeat- boil   water
            SU Pres redup
            The water is boiling.
            (The heat of the fire is boiling the water)

4-237 a) dineny -pudup e-dewi
          3sgHeat-melt   A-fat
          SU Perf   cl
          He melted the fat (intentionally, by placing it near the fire/in the sunshine).

      b) e-dewi   waniny -pudup fidi -ninggi
          A-fat   3sgHeat -melt   sun's-AGENT
          cl   SU Perf   heat
          The sun's heat has melted our butter.

Construing the agent as 'Heat', as opposed to a higher animate controlling 'Heat', has the detransitivising effect of negating agentive focus altogether. Although formally transitive, unless, as in 4-237 b), the heat of the sun or fire is overtly agent-marked, heat-as-agent verbs are generally interpreted without agent focus. Thus Ngan'gityemerri speakers would gloss 4-236 b) as 'the water is boiling' rather than 'the fire is boiling the water'. Further examples of heat-as-agent verbs are given below.

4-238 wurr wayim -pul -pagu -nyine
      grass 3sgHeat-burn-HITH-FOC
      *   SU Pres*
      The grass is burning this way now.

4-239 kuderri   wayim -biny-nyine
      billabong 3sgHeat-suck-FOC
      *   SU Pres*
      The billabong is drying out now.

4-240 kuru yu   -syusyu-napa -ndi   -pe   musyari-nyine wa -fuyfuy
      water 2sgSlash-splash-JUST-SAME-Fut slow   -FOC   3sgHeat-dry
      SU Irr   *SU Irr redup*
      Keep on wetting (the cement) so it'll dry out slowly,

      ga   -fuyfuy-merrendi warrmadi, lala -gumu
      3sgHeat-dry   -LEST   quick   crack-SEMBL
      SU Irr
      should it dry out quickly, it would sort of crack up.

4-241 gagu   wayim -bubu -nyine
      animal   3sgHeat-soften-FOC
      generic SU Pres
      The meat is cooked now.

Finally , having stated above that 'Heat' is primarily viewed as the property of fire and sun, there are a handful of verbs for which the selection of the 'Heat' auxiliary appears to be based on a less specific conceptualisation of heat. The stinging heat-like sensation associated with a 'slap on the

cheek', appears to be viewed as an instrumental usage of 'Heat' in 4-242 below.

4-242 **dineny-ngi-tyamu-baty**
3sgHeat-1sg-cheek-hold
SU Perf DO
He slapped me on the cheek.

In addition, 'anger' appears to be viewed as a kind of 'Heat' in 4-243 a) below, where it is contrasted with the same verb specifically marked as sun-agentive in 4-243 b).

4-243 a) **wayim -ngi-baty ki -ne**
3sgHeat-1sg-hold fight-PURP
SU Pres DO
I'm hot for a fight
('Anger?' is heating me up for a fight)

b) **wayim -ngi -baty fidi -ninggi**
3sgHeat-1sg-hold sun's-AGENT
SU Pres DO heat
I'm sunburned/sunstruck.

4.5.1.4 The Minor Transitive Complex Auxiliaries 'Suck','Pull' and 'Snatch'

These three auxiliaries have highly limited capacities to productively combine with verbroots. 'Suck' has been recorded with only three CVS, 'Pull' with only five, and 'Snatch' also with five.

'Suck'

Classification by the 'suck' auxiliary marks activity in which things are ingested or sucked in. Where the focus of the 'mouth' auxiliary was primarily on the manipulation of objects by the teeth, tongue, lips etc, the focus of 'suck' is on the consumption of objects. The undergoers of 'suck' verbs can be said to have 'disappeared' and been 'used up'. The most frequently encountered 'suck' verb is 'suck#consume', a general verb of ingesting, covering eating, drinking, smoking etc.

4-244 **gagu miyi kuru ngumbusyiny -waty**
animal plant liquid 1plincSuck -consume
generic food generic SU Perf
We all ate meat, vegies and (drank) beer.

'Suck#biny' describes the activity of a baby sucking milk from a breast, or the sea sucking tidal water from a river.

4-245 **tyi**   **wusyum-biny**
breast(milk) *3sgSuck -suck*
                    SU Pres
She's sucking at the breast.

4-246 **ngambaty** **wusyum-biny -nyine**
tide   *3sgSuck -suck-FOC*
                 SU Pres
The tide is low now.
((The sea) has sucked the tide out now)

And 'suck#mouth#biny' describes 'kissing'.

4-247 **wurrunggi-tyerr -binybiny**
3nsSuckdl-mouth-suck
SU PresSU   *redup*
They're kissing.

'Pull'

All five verbs selecting 'pull' involve pulling, pushing, or extension of limbs.

4-248 **a-ngekin ngisyeny-ge -wurr**
A-shit   *1sgPull   -belly-enter*
cl   *SU Perf*
I pulled its guts out.

4-249 **disyeny-ngi-firr -tit**
3sgPull-1sg-foot-tug
SU Perf DO
It tugged at my foot.

4-250 **disyem-ge -medada membirr-nyine wubu-baty-pe**
3sgPull-belly-labour   child   *-FOC   3sgBash-fall-Fut*
SU Pres   *SU Irr*
She's pushing it in labour, the child will be born soon.

4-251 **wari   -fi -mi -tyatit-pe dengini wisye -burrburr-pe**
3sgPoke-Mp-Val-place-Fut body   *3sgPull-stretch -Fut*
SU Irr   *=teach*   *SU Irr redup*
(The physiotherapist) will teach her to stretch her body.

4-252 **ngisyeny-ngan-derri-tal**
1sgPull -LOC -back -crack
SU Perf REL
I cracked my vertebrae (by stretching my back).

'Snatch'

The central component of 'snatch' classification is the notion of snatching at, or latching onto, something. Where the focus of the 'hands' auxiliary is on the stative holding of something within the grasp of the hand, the focus of 'snatch' is on the dynamic act of grasping something. The five 'snatch' verbs occurring in my data are listed below.

4-253 **fepi   yimu   -wa - Ø**
      rock   2sgSnatch-pick-IMP
              SU Irr   up
      Pick up that rock !

4-254 **yumu   -ngi-garri-wat**
      2sgSnatch-1sg-leg   -hook
      SU Perf   DO
      You tripped me up (by snatching at my leg with your hand).

4-255 **wurrmu -ngi-kal**
      3plSnatck-1sg-chase
      SU Perf   DO
      They chased and caught me.

4-256 **yumu   -tyerr -wurr - Ø   wasyanderri**
      2sgSnatch-mouth-enter-IMP   hessian
      SU Irr   sack
      Tie up the mouth of the hessian sack !

4-257 **adiny   menggin -ngi-garri-tyap**
      leech   3sgSnatch-1sg-leg   -stick
               SU Pres   DO
      A leech is stuck to my leg.

The verb 'snatch#pick up' in 4-253 above, forms the basis of several other common verbs. Firstly, as a phrasal verb with the nominal **dege** 'belly' (seat of the emotions) it forms the verb 'to like', as in the examples below.

4-258 **minbe dege tyawurru yumunggin-wa,**
      Neg   belly today   2sgSnatch   -pick
                            SU Pres   up
      You may not like (school) now,
      epe yibe dege yumu   -wa -pe
      BUT later belly 2sgSnatch-pick-Fut
                      SU Irr   up
      but you'll get to like it later.

```
4-259   dede kinyi minde dege ngiminggin-wa
NgK     camp this  Neg   belly  1sgSnatch-pick
                                SU Pres       up
        I don't like this camp anymore.
```

Secondly, the bodyparts -ba 'arm' and -me 'hand' are incorporated into 'snatch#pick up' as lexical compounds with the verb root -wa. As noted elsewhere (c.f. bodyparts section), incorporated -ba carries, in addition to its literal interpretation, a strong sense of directing people (especially children) in a nurturing caring way. Both senses are evident in 4-260, and the non-literal in 4-161.

```
4-260   membirr-weti      ngiminggin- Ø -ba  -wa
        child     -small  1sgSnatch   -3sg-arm-pick
                          SU Perf      DO       up
        I picked the small child up.
```

```
4-261   wa-magurrerri kidin fagarri yani  -ngini
NgK     M-widower      year  two     2sgGo-Fut
        cl                           SU Irr
        You should stay a widower for about two years,
        falmi   yeyi   yimu      -ba  -wa -ngini
        woman   other  2sgSnatch-arm-pick-Fut
                       SU Irr               up
        and then take another wife.
```

The lexical incorporation of -me 'hand' into the verb 'snatch#hand#pick up' in addition to its literal interpretation as 'to pick up from the hand', also means 'to catch onto something/to become aware of something'.

```
4-262   ngan'gi ngayi minbe-tye  wumu    -ngi-me -wa
        words   1sg   Neg  -Past  3sgSnatch-1sg-hand-pick
                PRO          SU Irr      DO         up
        She didn't catch on to what I said.
```

Additionally 'snatch#hand#pick up' can mean 'to unquestioningly accept someone's words/actions at face value', as shown in the examples below.

```
4-263   minbe-pagu  yumu-ngiti  tyagan-ne,
        Neg  -HITH  2sgSay-1sg   wha  t-PURP
                    SU Irr  IO
        Don't ask me why,
        tyepe ngan'gi ngayi yumu     -ngi-me  -wa
        JUST  word    1sg   2sgSnatch-1sg -hand-pick
                      PRO   SU Irr   DO          up
        just accept what I tell you.
```

```
4-264  apma    yi   - Ø      gagu    awakul  wumunggin-ngi-me  -wa
       silent  2sgSit -IMP   animal fish      3sgSnatch    -1sg -hand-pick
       SU Irr       generic          SU Pres      DO       up
```
Sit quietly ! The fish are accepting me.
(i.e. The fish are not yet suspicious of me.)

4.5.2 The 'Detransitivised' Complex Auxiliaries

In addition to the 21 auxiliaries discussed so far, the Ngan'gityemerri auxiliary system includes a subgroup of ten auxiliaries that are the detransitivised reflexes of established auxiliaries[4]. While there are few formal similarities, in terms of their semantics each of these ten auxiliaries can be linked to one of the auxiliaries we have already examined. Three are reflexes of the bodypart instrumental auxiliaries 'Hands', 'Feet' and 'Mouth'. Five are reflexes of the instrumental auxiliaries 'Poke', 'Bash', 'Shove' and 'Heat'. The remaining two are reflexes of the 'Say' and 'See' simple auxiliaries.

The 'detransitivising' nature of these auxiliaries requires some comment. All verbs employing these auxiliaries are formally intransitive, being unable to cross-reference their undergoers as direct objects. Being primarily reflexes of major instrumental auxiliaries ('Hands', 'Feet', 'Mouth', 'Poke', 'Bash', 'Shove' 'Heat' etc.) verbs formed with these detransitivised auxiliaries involve activity by the subject that is directed towards a part/whole of him/herself. This reflexive interpretation of detransitivised auxiliary selection is shown in the following two examples. 4-265, contrasts 'Shove' with 'ShoveDtr'. In 4-265 b) it is the whole of the subject that is also the 'undergoer' of the activity. 4-266, contrasts 'Hands' and 'HandsDtr'. In 4-265 b) it is a part of the subject that the activity expressed in the verb is directed towards.

```
4-265 a)   ngudum -fel       ball   b)   ngudeny    -fel
           1sgShove-bounce              1sgShoveDtr-bounce
           SU Perf                      SU Perf
           I bounced the ball.          I jumped.
                                        (lit: I bounced myself.)
```

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[4]Walsh notes that the Murrinh-patha auxiliary verb system also includes a subclass of auxiliaries that are 'of the reflexive type'(Walsh 1989:2). As is the case in Ngan'gityemeri, it seems that in Murrinh-patha the encoding of reflexitivity is handled in two separate ways; inherently within the subclass of reflexive auxiliaries, and by overt morphological marking on those verbs selecting the remaining auxiliaries. It is unclear whether the Murrinh-patha 'reflexive' auxiliaries are the reflexes of major transitive auxiliaries as they are in Ngan'gityemeri.

4-266 a) **walipan ngeriny -yerr**
rag   1sgHands-soak
*   SU Perf*
I soaked the rag.

b) **ngemeny   -me   -yerr**
1sgHandsDtr-hand-soak
SU Perf
I soaked my hands (in order to remove the flour stuck to them).

The 'self-directedness' conveyed by detransitivised auxiliary selection is most clearly demonstrated by pairing them with the auxiliaries of which they are reflexes. The sections below, contrasts such pairs for each auxiliary.

'See Dtr'

4-267 a) **naga   ngayi minde dinyingging-ngi-kerrety**
husband 1sg   Neg   3sgSee   -1sg -grasp
*   PRO   SU Pres   DO*
My husband doesn't look after me.

b) **ala   ngatya yenim-burki-pirr**
mother father 3sgGo -3dl -leave
*   SU Pres IO*
me   -nem-nyine dinyerrem-kerrety
hand-3sg -FOC   3sgSeeDtr -grasp
*   PRO   SU Pres*
He's left his mother and father, he's looking after himself now.

'Hands Dtr'

4-268 a) **ngeriny   - Ø -syirr**
1sgHands-3sg-scratch
SU Perf   DO
I scratched him.

b) **ngemeny   -syirr**
1sgHandsDtr-scratch
SU Perf
I scratched myself.

4-269 a) **menyirr nganimuy-nide deminy   -dum**
sand   soft   -LOC 3sgHands-bury
*   SU Perf*
He buried it in the soft sand.

b)   **gagu   aniyen   a-yaga menyirr nganimuy-nide**
meat A-sand A-that sand   soft   -LOC
      cl frog cl
demem   -dundum-yenim
3sgHandsDtr-bury   -3sgGo
SU Pres   redup   SU Pres
The sandfrog, that one that habitually buries himself in the soft sand.

4-270 a)   **ngeriny - Ø -pul**
1sgHands-3sg-wash
SU Perf   DO
I washed her.

b)   **ngemeny   -pul**
1sgHandsDtr-wash
SU Perf
I washed myself

4-271 a)   **ngeriny - Ø -madi-baty**
1sgHands-3sg-chest-hold
SU Perf   DO
I held him by the chest.

b)   **ngemeny   -madi-baty**
1sgHandsDtr-chest-hold
SU Perf
I folded my arms across my chest.
(lit: I held myself by the chest.)

4-272 a)   **yerr -ba   ngeriny -pal**
Tree-arm   1sgHands-break
cl   SU Perf
I broke off a branch.

b)   **ngemeny   -nintyi-pal**
1sgHandsDtr-knee -break
SU Perf
I knelt down.
(lit: I broke myself at the knees.)

'Mouth Dtr'
4-273 a)   **wuwu weyim   -lak**
dog   3sgMouth-lick
       SU Perf
The dog licked it.

b)   **wuwu diweny   -firr -lak**
dog   3sgMouthDtr-foot-lick
       SU Perf
The dog licked its (own) paw.

4-274 a)   weyim   -ngiti-fi   -gulgul
           3sgMouth-1sg   -Mp-stir
           SU Perf   IO   redup
           He talked me into it.

   b)   diweny   -fi   -gulgul
           3sgMouthDtr-Mp-stir
           SU Perf   redup
           He psyched himself up/talked himself into it.

'Poke Dtr'

4-275 a)   ya   - Ø -fi   -gimi -tyat - Ø
           2sgPoke-3sg-Mp-side-place-IMP
           SU Irr   DO
           Put it down on the side !

   b)   minbe yarra   -fi   -gimi-tyat - Ø
           Neg   2plPokeDtr-Mp-side -place-IMP
                     SU Irr
           Don't all sit on the one side,
           ngumbudu   - Ø -madi-fili -merrendi keninggisyi
           1plincShove-3sg-chest-roll-LEST   canoe
           SU Irr   DO
           lest we roll the boat over !

4-276 a)   fi   ngariny- Ø -fi   -dudu
           twine   1sgPoke-3sg-Mp-coil
                      SU Perf DO
           I coiled the rope up.

   b)   ngarany   -fi   -dudu
           1sgPokeDtr-Mp-coil
           SU Perf
           I curled myself up (into foetal position).

4-277 a)   ngariny - Ø -pek   durrmu
           1sgPoke-3sg-drip   dot style
           SU Perf DO   painting
           I painted him up.

   b)   ngarany   -pek   durrmu
           1sgPokeDtr-drip   dot style
           SU Perf   painting
           I painted myself up.

4-278 a)   ngariny - Ø -gu-baty   da-ba
           1sgPoke-3sg-? -hold   Bp-arm
           SU Perf DO   cl
           I bandaged his arm.

b)   *ngarany   -gu-baty   da-ba*
      1sgPokeDtr-? -hold   Bp-arm
      SU Perf DO   cl
      I bandaged my arm.

'Bash Dtr'

The 'BashDtr' auxiliary has only been recorded with a singular subject in a single example.

4-279 a)   **beyim   -dirr -nyine**
      3sgBashDtr-teeth?-FOC
      SU Pres
      He's died now.

Examples with non-singular subject marking entail reciprocal 'Bash' activity, as in 4-280.

4-280 a)   **werrbemgu-dada**
      3nsBash dl -hit
      SU Pres SU redup
      They (dl) are punching him.

b)   **werrbimgi   -dada**
      3nsBashDtr dl-hit
      SU Pres   SU redup
      They (dl) are punching each other.

'Shove Dtr'

The 'shove' auxiliary stands apart in having two detransitivised auxiliaries that are reflexes of it. Labelled 'ShoveDtrD' (dynamic) and 'ShoveDtrS' (stative), these both share the semantics of 'Shove', but differ in terms of aspect and dynamicity. The dynamic reflex of 'shove' marks the 'self directedness' of those 'Shove' verbs that express dynamic, and typically also punctual, activities. 'Shove' and ShoveDtrD' are contrasted in the examples below.

4-281 a)   **mudiga ngudum - Ø -madi-fili**
      car   1sgShove-3sg-chest-roll
      SU Perf   DO
      I rolled the car.

b)   **mudiga wudeny   -madi-fili -ngidde**
      car   3sgShoveDtrD-chest-roll-1sg
      SU Perf   IMPL
      The car rolled on me (ie. to my disadvantage).

c) ngudeny   -madi-fili
1sgShoveDtrD-chest-roll
SU Perf
I rolled (myself) over.

4-282 a) kuru ngudum - Ø -tyerr   -wuty
water   1sgShove-3sg-mouth-pour
          SU Perf   DO
I poured out the water.

b) wudeny   -fi -tyerr -wuty
3sgShoveDtrD-Mp-mouth-pour
SU Perf
(The toilet) overflowed.
(lit: It poured itself out.)

4-283 a) wudumbun- Ø -dirr -fulirr
3sgShove   -3sg-teeth-rub
SU Pres   DO
He's grinding the edge (of the knife).

b) wudem   -dirr -fulirr
3sgShovceDtrD-teeth-rub
SU Pres
He's grinding his teeth (in his sleep).

4-284 a) wuddum - Ø -mi -wul
3plShove-3sg-Val-return
SU Perf DO inc
They took him back home.

b) wuddeny   -wul   dede
3plShoveDtrD-return   camp
SU Perf
They returned home.
(lit: They took themselves home.)

The stative reflex of 'Shove' marks the 'self-directedness' of those 'Shove' verbs that express stative, or potentially durative activities. 'ShoveDtrS' verbs express either states, as in 4-285 c), or punctual actions that (through verb root reduplication) can be made iterative, and thereby amenable to an extended-over-time interpretation, as in 4-287 c). 'Shove' is contrasted with both 'ShoveDtrD' and 'ShoveDtrS' in the examples below.

4-285 a) ngudum- Ø -garri-fityi
1sgShove-3sg-leg -roll
SU Perf   DO
I crossed his legs.
(ie. I manipulated the child into a cross-legged position.)

b) **ngudeny   -garri-fityi**
1sgShoveDtrD-leg   -roll
SU Perf
I crossed my legs.

c) **ngim   -garri-fityi**
1sgShoveDtrS-leg   -roll
SU Pres
I'm sitting cross-legged
(lit: I am (in the state of) having crossed my legs.)

4-286 a) **wudum - Ø -didi**
3sgShove-3sg-push
SU Perf   DO
He gave it a push.

b) **wudeny   -didi**
3sgShoveDtrD-push
SU Perf
He pushed himself off (from the bank).

c) **win   -dididi**
3sgShoveDtrS-push
SU Pres   redup
(The bird) is flying along.
(lit: It is (in the state of) repeatedly pushing itself.)

4-287 a) **wudini -ngirr-felfil   -tye -yedi**
3sgShove-1plex-bounce-Past-3sgGo
SU PImp   DO   redup   SU PImp
(The road) was bouncing us.

b) **wudeny   -fel**
3sgShoveDtrD-bounce
SU Perf
He jumped.
(lit: He bounced himself once.)

c) **win   -felfil -wirribem   trampoline**
3sgShoveDtrS-bounce-3sgStand
SU Pres   redup   SU Pres
He's jumping on the trampoline.
(lit: He's (in the state of) repeatedly bouncing himself.)

'Say/Do Dtr'

Although a full paradigm of subject-AVR sequences is recoverable for this auxiliary, I have only recorded its occurrence within a text on a single occasion (eg. 4-289 below), and stress therefore that its usage is very rare. The

simple auxiliary 'say/do' as its label suggests, covers both speech and actions, its interpretation as either being context dependent. eg.

4-288 **ityi -yim   meny -ngiti**
      what-2sgDo   3sgSay -1sg
        SUPres   SU Perf IO
      'What are you doing?' he asked me.

The detransitivised reflex of 'say/do' refers only to speech, and specifically to the kind of 'self-directed' speech that one engages in in the absence of other people. eg.

4-289 **nem   wunu   meyim   -yenim   ngan'gi**
      3sgM   that   3sgSayDtr-3sgGo   speech
      PRO   SU Pres   SU Pres
      That man always talks to himself.

Clearly the function of 'detransitive' auxiliary selection here is not to detransitivise, but to mark an intransitive activity that is typically perceived to be directed at others, as strictly self-directed.

Marked for plural subject, detransitivised 'Say' marks reciprocality, particularly in the sense of conferring out of earshot of others. eg.

4-290 **ngan'gi   wurrmenigi-tye -widdingegu**
      speech   3nsSayDtr dl-Past-3nsStand dl
        SU PImpSU   SU PImpSU
      They (dl) were conferring with each other.

'Heat Dtr' and 'Feet Dtr'

The remaining two detransitive auxiliaries are rare, non-productive and, despite the fact that they are formally reflexes of 'Heat' and 'Feet', have resultant meanings that are somewhat anomalous. 'Feet Dtr' has only been recorded once, functioning as a simple verb (though with an obligatory serialised auxiliary), meaning 'to mutter threateningly under one's breath'. eg.

4-291 **dagawam -wirribem   wayim - Ø -baty   ki   -ne**
      3sgFeetDtr-3sgStand   3sgHeat-3sg-hold   fight-PURP
      SU Pres   SU Pres   SU Pres DO
      He's muttering under his breath, he's building up for a fight.
      (lit: Its heating him up...)

'Heat Dtr' has only been recorded in combination with three CVSs. Marked for plural subject, it conveys reciprocality, as shown in contrast with 'heat' in 4-292.

4-292 a) **ngimbineny- Ø -tyamu-baty**
1plincHeat   -3sg-cheek -hold
SU   Perf   DO
We (plinc) slapped him on the cheek.

b) **ngimbineweny-tyamu-baty**
1plincHeatDtr -cheek -hold
SU Perf
We (plinc) slapped each other.

However, note that in at least one verb -'heatDtr#karrbu' it appears not to be 'self-directed', but rather combines the semantic components of 'heat' and 'Go*', to mean 'to go along lighting fires'. eg.

4-293 **ngimbineweny-karrbu wurr**
1plincHeatDtr-come   grass
SU   Perf   down
We (plinc) came down (-hill/-stream) burning the grass.

Chapter 5

Noun Classification

Ngan'gityemerri speakers employ a system of nominal classification that divides the nominal world into fifteen categories. Section 5.1 examines the manner in which membership within these categories is signalled, and section 5.2 deals with the semantics of these categories. 5.3 looks at the types of modifying element that can be classmarked. 5.4 details the suffixation of class generics to **minbe** 'negative' and **tyen** 'what'. Finally section 5.5 examines the phonological status of the set of bound class generics, which varies between proclitics and prefixes.

Ngan'gityemerri Nominal Generics

Freeform Classifiers	Bound Class Markers	Class	Gloss
Group 1	wa-	male	M
	wur-	female	F
	dV-	bodyparts	Bp
	wu-	canine	C
	awa-	human group	Hg
Group 2			
gagu	a-	animal	A
miyi	mi-	plant food	Pf
yawurr / yewirr (K)	yerr-	tree/thing	Tr
yawul	yeli-/yali(K)	bamboo spears	Bsp
Group 3			
kurum / kurim (K)		canegrass spears	
syiri / yuri (K)		strikers	
yenggi		fire	
kuru / kuri (K)		liquid	
kini		digging sticks	
tyin / tyun (K)		large woomeras	

Table 5-1

5.1   Morphology of Nominal Classification

5.1.1   Descriptive Preliminaries

The classification of nouns in Ngan'gityemerri into fifteen separate categories is signalled through the use of both freeform and bound generics. While most nouns can be assigned to at least one class, there are some nouns, mostly terms for natural objects such as sun, rocks, ground, stars,

clouds etc. that belong to no overtly marked class. I have chosen to analyse these as belonging to no class rather than to a sixteenth Ø-marked class; a decision that carries no significant consequences.

On the whole, this system of noun classification is neither homogenous nor internally consistent. Of the fifteen classes, six are denoted by only freeform generics, five by only bound generics, and four employ both bound and freeform generics. Furthermore, among the class categories having bound generics, there is considerable diversity regarding the phonological status of those generics (see 5.5), and the types of modifiers to which they may be attached (see 5.3).

Another important feature of the Ngan'gityemerri noun classificatory system that will be treated here, concerns the grammatical status of the mechanisms that signal class categories. As this has implications for the terminology used in this section, I will begin with a review of Dixon's (1982) comparison of the noun classification phenomena in Yidiny and Dyirbal.

Dixon (1982: chpt 5-8) compares the different systems in Yidiny and Dyirbal that have the semantic function of classifying nouns, and contrasts the grammatical status of these two systems. He provides criteria for determining whether a language has a system of noun classes (like Dyirbal) on the one hand, or noun classifiers (like Yidiny) on the other.

> "In summary, noun classes constitute a closed grammatical system, with a finite (usually fairly small) and determinable number of choices involved; each noun belongs to one class and few (or none) will correspond to more than one class. Noun class is shown by morphological processes which can apply to the noun itself and must apply to some other constituent; they sometimes combine information about noun class and number, case or definiteness. The morphological process most often involves adding an affix or clitic to constituents of a number of specified grammatical types. Classifiers comprise a largish (often semi-open) set, whose members may not be exhaustively listable; each classifier is either a free form or else a root, to which a numeral affix or clitic may be added. Not every noun may take a classifier; many nouns may occur with one of a number of different classifiers, sometimes with a difference in meaning and sometimes not. Classifiers, but not noun classes, may be used in different ways in different speech styles within a language."
>
> (Dixon 1982:217-8)

Dixon goes on to speculate about the origins of these different mechanisms in Yidiny and Dyirbal, suggesting both may have developed from a small set of about half a dozen classifiers. The few classifiers in pre-Yidiny were augmented to yield the larger modern classifier set, and those in pre-Dyirbal developed into an obligatory morphological category of noun classes. He does give examples of a few languages (Micronesian and Athapaskan) which combine noun class and classifier features, but on the whole he finds that the vast majority of 'classifying' phenomena fit the criteria by which they can be labelled as either 'noun classes' or 'classifiers'

(loc. cit: 226). In view of his speculation about the development of the Yidiny and Dyirbal systems, he notes that those languages which show a combination of noun class and classifier features (e.g. Mokilese) "may be in the first stages of change into a grammatical system of noun classes"(loc. cit: 221).

In light of the noun class versus classifier debate, it must be said that the phenomena of nominal classification in Ngan'gityemerri (and probably other Daly languages) do not fit these criteria well. As we shall see in the following section, while the freeform generics have more of the features of classifiers, and the bound generics have more of the features of noun classes, none are good exemplars of either type. Despite this, to make the discussion throughout this section as clear as possible, I have divided the fifteen generics in Table 3 into three groups. Groups 1 and 2 have bound generics and by this criterion are viewed as 'noun classes'. Groups 2 and 3 have freeform generics that are viewed as 'classifiers'. Note that Group 2 has both noun class markers and classifiers. The differing usages of these are discussed in 5.1.4 below. Where there are differences in the semantics of corresponding nounclass markers and classifiers, these are examined in the appropriate sections of 5.2. Finally, I additionally use 'noun classification' as a cover term for the system as a whole (i.e. embracing both noun classes and classifiers).

Noun classes are defined as those sets of terms whose membership within a class is signalled grammatically by the attachment of bound class generics, either to the member noun itself, or to nominals that may modify it. For most of the 'noun classes' examined in section 5.1.3 and 5.1.4 there are identifiable subsets of nouns which do not bear class signalling prefixes. For instance, while the vast majority of animal terms bear the **a-** prefix that signals membership in the 'animal' class, e.g. **a-matyi** 'kangaroo', a few cannot be classmarked in this manner, e.g. **(*a-)wamanggal** 'wallaby'. However the class membership of nouns like **wamanggal** is still formally revealed through the attachment of **a-** to any adjective, pronoun or demonstrative modifying them, e.g. **wamanggal a-wedi** 'a little wallaby'. Those class member terms that do not themselves bear class marking, but which can be shown to belong to a particular class through this strategy of modifier concord, are referred to as defacto class members. Throughout this section all reference to formally defined 'noun class' should be understood to refer to the set of classmarked and defacto noun class members.

It should also be kept in mind that disparities exist between formally defined noun classes, on the one hand, and semantically defined classes on the other. We require the notion of 'semantically defined class' to account

for, for instance, those bodypart terms like **kekulkul** 'heart' that do not bear the bodypart class prefix. As the bodypart prefix is not attached to nominals modifying bodyparts, **kekulkul** cannot be shown to be a defacto 'bodypart' class member through the strategy of modifier concord. Words like **kekulkul** then, belong to the semantically defined, but not the formally defined, 'bodyparts' class.

5.1.2 Group 3 Classifiers

The six generics, **syiri** 'strikers', **kurum** 'canegrass spears', **yenggi** 'fire', **kuru** 'water', **tyin** 'woomeras' and **kini** 'digging sticks' are freeforms that optionally precede nouns in generic - specific constructions.

5-1 (**syiri**) **magulfu** **dem** **-wurity-dim**
striker cylindrical 3sgHands-make -3sgSit
fighting stick SU Pres SU Pres
He's making a cylindrical fighting stick.

5-2 (**yuri**) **yewirr** **me** **-wa**
NgK striker stick 3sgSnatch-pick
SU Pres up
He snatched up a fighting stick.

5-3 (**kurum**) **yiliyili** (**kurum**) **ngayi kide**
canegrass mangrove 1sg where
spear tipped spear PRO
Where's my mangrove-tipped kurum spear ?

5-4 (**tyin**) **gan'guna nganam-garri-fulirr-ngirim gugarra**
woomera fish spear 1sgFeet -leg -rub -1sgSit red
gen. woomera SU Pres SU Pres ochre
I'm rubbing ochre into the length of this 'fish spear-type' woomera.

5-5 (**kini**) **manggini-ninggi wupun -kurr**
digging digging -INSTR 3sgSlash-dig
stick gen. stick-type SU Pres
She's digging with a 'manggini' digging stick

5-6 (**kuru**) **beer ngimbi -kuduk-pe**
liquid 1dlincSit-drink -Fut
generic SU Irr
Let's have a beer !

5-7 (**yenggi**) **tawan wunu yinyirri**
fire smoke there 2sgSee
generic SU Irr
Can you see the smoke over there ?

5-1 to 5-7 demonstrate the optional inclusion of the generic in addition to the specific noun. Note also that these generics can anaphorically represent contextually established specific nouns, as in the examples below.

5-8   **syiri   ngu   -nyi-ta -merrendi**
       striker   1sgSlash-2sg-hit-LEST
       generic SU Irr   DO
       (Look out !) lest I hit you with a stick/boomerang etc. !

5-9   **kurum-ninggi wurrbum-Ø-da**
       canegrass-INSTR   3plBash-3sg-hit
       spear   SU Perf DO
       They speared it with canegrass spears.

5-10   **kuru   derrigidi-yerim**
       liquid want   -2sgHands
       generic   SU Pres
       Would you like a beer ?

5-11   **yenggi   yudi   -ngiti-mi -wul**
       fire   2sgShove-1sg -Val-return
       generic SU Irr   IO
       Bring me back some firewood !

As is evident in 5-3 above, these classifier-like freeform generics can optionally precede modifiers of nouns. Typically though, they only do so where the specific noun is omitted. Here the freeform generic functions as the head in a head-modifier construction, as demonstrated in 5-12 and 5-13.

5-12   **kuru   lirrmem derrigidi-yerim**
       liquid cold   want   -2sgHands
       generic   SU Pres
       Would you like a cold beer ?

5-13   **yuri   wutitmi   me   -wa**
NgK   *striker   heavy   3sgSnatch-pick*
       generic   SU Pres   up
       He snatched up a heavy fighting stick/boomerang etc.

Various of these classifiers can be found to co-occur with the same noun. This is demonstrated in 5-14 below, where **syiri, kini** and **yenggi** all classify the function/use of **yawurr** 'stick'.

5-14   **syiri yawurr**   stick for fighting
       kini yawurr   stick for digging
       yenggi yawurr   stick for burning

Returning to Dixon's 'noun class' vs 'classifier' criteria, these six generics can be seen to behave like classifiers in several ways. Firstly, they are freeforms. Secondly, their signalling of function/use categories is not significantly grammaticised. They typically do not occur with any constituent other than the noun. Their occurrence with modifiers is generally restricted to those constructions where the generic anaphorically represents the omitted specific noun (as in 5-12 and 5-13). Thirdly, several of these generics can fairly freely occur with the same noun (as in 5-14).

On the other hand these generics also exhibit a feature that is atypical of classifiers: they represent closed classes with only a few members that can be easily listed.

5.1.3   Group 1 Noun Classes

The five generics, **wa-** 'male, **wur-** 'female', **dV-** 'bodyparts', **wu-** 'canines' and **awa-** 'human group', are bound prefixes. They have no freeform equivalents, and there is therefore no reason to assume that they are the degenerate, contracted forms of any fuller noun (but see footnote 4, p297). All of these five generics are obligatorily attached to nouns that are members of their respective classes, and all but the bodypart prefix can be concordially attached to any modifiers of member nouns.

The maximal structure of NP's belonging to these five classes can be formulated as:

5-15   [class prefix + Noun$_{specific}$] + [(class prefix) + modifier]*

The obligatory attachment of these noun class bound generics to class member terms, and their optional concordial attachment to modifiers, are demonstrated below.

5-16   **wa-tyerrmusye (wa)-mirrisyarra perrety-meny**
        M-old man   M -blind   die   -3sgDo
        cl   cl   SU Perf
        The old blind man has died.

5-17   **wur-wedimuy (wur)-ngayi tyusyuk-mem**
        F -child   F -1sg   sick   -3sg Do
        cl   cl PRO   SU Pres
        My little girl is sick.

5-18   **awa-purrpurrk (awa)-nyinyi ngunu...**
        Hg -little'uns   Hg -2sg   HOW
        cl   cl PRO   ABOUT
        How about your mob of kids.....?

5-19 wu-pidirri (wu)-wagarri nginyirri
    C -dingo   C -two   1sg See
    cl   cl   SU Perf
    I saw a couple of dingos.

5-20 da-muy (*de-)kenggefi yenim
    Bp-eye   side on 3sg Go
    cl   SU Pres
    He's cross-eyed.

So how well do these five generics fulfil the criteria discussed above for noun classes rather than classifiers? Firstly, as bound prefixes they violate the requirement of classifiers that they do not form a morphological unit with the noun. Rather they accord with the observation that noun class membership is typically signalled by affixes/clitics (Dixon 1982:216). Secondly they designate closed classes, with most nouns belonging to only a single class (the few exceptions are mostly human age/stage terms that can be assigned to either the 'male' or 'female' classes).

However these five generics violate Dixon's criteria for noun class markers in one important way. He states that "noun class is shown by morphological processes which *can* apply to the noun itself and *must* apply to some other constituent" (loc. cit.). As the NP structural formula in 5-15 shows, of these five Ngan'gityemerri 'noun class' generics it would be more appropriate to state that the prefix *must* apply to the noun itself and *can* apply to some other constituent.

5.1.4 Group 2   Noun Classes and Classifiers

The two categories of noun classification examined in 5.1.2 and 5.1.3 differ in the major sense that the former are signalled only by freeform generics, and the latter only by bound generics. There remains four 'classes' which are signalled by both freeform and bound generics. As can be seen in 5-21, the bound generics are the degenerate, contracted forms of the freeform generics.

5-21 | Freeform | Bound Form | Class |
| --- | --- | --- |
| gagu | a- | animal |
| miyi | mi- | plant food |
| yawurr/yewirr(K) | yerr- | tree/thing |
| yawul | yeli-/yali-(K) | bamboo spears |

These freeform generics optionally precede nouns forming NP's of the generic - specific type. This construction is demonstrated in 5-22 to 5-25.

5-22 (gagu) a-matyi bengin -da
animal A-kangaroo 3sgBash-hit
generic cl SU Perf
He shot a kangaroo.

5-23 (miyi) mi-meli wurrbun-ba -ket
plant Pf -purple 3plSlash-arm-cut
food cl plum SU Pres
They're picking purple plums.

5-24 (yawurr) yerr-syinge yubu -ket- Ø
tree/thing Tr -Pandanus 2sgBash-cut-IMP
generic cl aquaticus SU Irr
Chop down (these) creek pandanus !

5-25 (yawul) tyulut warrim-pawal-wannim
bamboo hook 3plPoke-spear -3pl Go
spears spear SU Pres SU Pres
They're throwing hook spears.

Additionally they can anaphorically represent a contextually understood (or intentionally unspecified) specific noun. Compare 5-22 to 5-25 with 5-26 to 5-29 below.

5-26 gagu bengin -da
animal 3sgBash-hit
generic SU Perf
He shot an animal.

5-27 yawurr yubu -ket- Ø
tree/thing 2sgBash-cut-IMP
generic SU Irr
Chop down (these) trees !

5-28 miyi wurrbun-ba -ket
plant 3plSlash-arm-cut
food SU Pres
They're picking fruit.

5-29 yawul warrim -pawal-wannim
bamboo 3plPoke-spear -3pl Go
spears SU Pres SU Pres
They're throwing bamboo spears.

The degenerate bound generics listed in 5-21 are obligatorily attached to nouns, and concordially to any adjectives, pronouns, demonstratives etc. that modify them. The 'bamboo spear' bound generic yali- is exceptional, attaching only to modifiers and never appearing on class member nouns (see 5-33).

5-30 a-matyi a-kerre
A-kangaroo A-big
cl cl
A big kangaroo...

5-31 yerr-syinge yerr-wagarri
Tr -Pandanus Tr - two
cl aquaticus cl
Two creek pandanus...

5-32 mi-meli mi-kinyi
Pf- purple Pf -this
cl plum cl
These purple plums...

5-33 (*yali-) tyulut yali-ngayi
hook Bs -1sg
spear cl PRO
My hookspear....

The maximal structure of NP's belonging to these four classes can be formulated as:

5-34   [Noun$_{generic}$] + [class prefix+Noun$_{specific}$] + [(class prefix) + modifier]*

Looking at the generics of the classes 'animal', 'plant food', 'tree/thing' and 'bamboo spears', the freeform generics **gagu, miyi, yawurr** and **yawul** can be seen to share the classifier-like characteristics attributed to the generics treated in 5.1.2. On the other hand the bound generics **a-, mi-, yerr-** and **yali-**, in their morphological status and concordial role in attaching to NP constituents other than the noun, share with the bound prefixes examined in 5.1.3 the features characteristic of 'noun classes'. Not only is the system of 16 categories of noun classification split between those classes having freeform classifier-like generics and those classes having bound noun class-like generics, but those four classes signalled by both freeform generics and their degenerate bound equivalents show the same split, i.e. their freeform generics are classifier-like, and their bound generics are noun class-like. In having both nounclass-like generics and classifier-like generics, these four classes do not accord with the observation that 'The Australian languages with noun class systems do not employ classifiers' (Dixon 1982:173).

5.2   Noun Class Semantics
5.2.1   'Male' and 'Female'
          These classes are morphologically signalled by the bound proclitics **wa-** 'male' and **wur-** 'female'. Neither of these classes are denoted by freeform generics. Note that I do not consider the nouns **mipurr/yedi(K)** 'man' and **falmi** 'woman' to be generic terms[1]. These nouns pattern with other gender-specific member nouns of their respective classes in optionally bearing bound class generics, e.g. **(wa-)yedi(K)** 'man' and **(wur-)falmi** 'woman' (see 5-35 to 5-37 below). In comparison the freeform generics discussed in 5.1.4, such as **gagu** 'animal', **miyi** 'plant food', **yawurr** 'tree/thing' etc, can never be prefixed by their corresponding bound generics, e.g. (*a-)gagu, (*mi-)miyi, (*yerr-)yawurr.
          The classes 'male' and 'female' are concerned purely and simply with categories of human gender. Nouns in these classes designate categories of age, status, condition etc. Personal names and kinterms are not members of these classes. The attachment of the bound class markers to class members is

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[1] One minor generic-like characteristic of **mipurr/yedi(K)** and **falmi** is noted in 5.4.

normally obligatory, as in 5-35, but can be omitted from those nouns that are inherently gender-specific, as in 5-36 and 5-37.

5-35	wur-mulurru	female cripple
	wa -mulurru	male cripple
	wur-nugumang	female orphan
	wa -nugumang	male orphan
	wur-filfilngini	female halfcaste
	wa- filfilngini	male halfcaste
5-36	(wur-)guniguni	old woman
	(wur-)delyek	woman who has borne a child
	(wur-)apuderri	pubescent woman
5-37	(wa-)tyerrmusye	old man
	(wa-)dakarrany	polygamous man
	(wa-)nganggu	initiated youth

The existence of the 'human group' class (see 5.2.2 below) should not be understood to imply that nouns of the classes 'male' and 'female' are, in contrast, singular in number. All the examples given in 5-35 to 5-37 are numerically unspecified, and equally amenable of plural interpretation.

The bound generics **wa-** and **wur-** cannot be attached to nouns designating non-humans in order to attribute gender characteristics to them. The gender of non-humans can only be specified using the nouns **mipurr** 'man' and **falmi** 'woman', as demonstrated in 5-38[2].

5-38	**e-menggin**	**mipurr**	**da -nguru**	**wagarri**	**dem**	**-baty**
	A-goanna	*man*	*Bp-penis*	*two*	*3sgHands-hold*	
	cl		*cl*		*SU Pres*	
	A goanna, a man one, has two penises.					

5.2.2 Awa- Human Group

The bound generic **awa-** denotes a collection of humans that can be considered to constitute a 'group' or 'collective' for any practical purpose[3].

2Note that certain animal names are inherently gender specific, e.g. **tyirrety** 'male Agile wallaby' and **wamanggal** 'female Agile wallaby'.

3 The prefix **rak-** also denotes a group of people, but one with far more specific reference. It refers to a patri-clan, a local land owning estate group determined by patrilineal affiliation, and attaches only to the names of such groups. Cognates of rak- (dak-, lak-, etc.) having the same meaning can be found in most if not all the Daly region languages(Green, Harvey pers. comm.).

Typically glossed as 'mob' in the Aboriginal English of Ngan'gityemerri speakers, **awa-** is attached to placenames to denote their denizens; personal names to mark the group of people associated with, and including, the named individual; demonstratives - indeed any sort of descriptive nominal that can feasibly identify a group of people. **Awa-** cannot be attached to numerals, e.g. *awa-warrakma. Although a designated 'group' must consist minimally of, say, three or four people, **awa-** otherwise conveys no information about the size of a group.

<table>
<tr><td>5-39</td><td>**awa-purrpurrk**
Hg -little 'uns
cl</td><td>a mob of kids</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td>**awa-yeyi**
Hg -other
cl</td><td>another mob</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td>**awa-kinyi**
Hg -this
cl</td><td>this mob</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td>**awa-fepi minati (K)**</td><td>the denizens of Peppimenarti</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td>**awa-Tyemeny**</td><td>Tyemeny's mob (Tyemeny and her kids/friends/family etc.)</td></tr>
</table>

5.2.3 Wu- Canines

This minor class consists of only two members **wu-wu** 'dog' and **wu-nganiwurrnimbi/wu-pidirri(K)** 'dingo'. Membership in this class is denoted only by the bound generic **wu-**, there being no corresponding freeform generic[4]. 5-40 below shows the concordance of the **wu-** prefix on modifiers of 'canine' class members.

```
5-40   wu-wu  wu-mibe        wannam-fili -wannim
       C -dog  C -young 'un  3plFeet  -roll-3plGo
       cl      cl            SU Pres   SU Pres
       The pups are moving about now.
```

rak-fepi minati (K)	The group of patrilineal descendents of Fepi minati estate
rak-nerintyi (K)	The group of patrilineal descendents of Nerintyi estate
rak-malfiyin	The group of patrilineal descendents of Malfiyin estate
rak-nganambala	The group of patrilineal descendents of Nganambala estate

Note that, **awa-** and **rak-** can both attach to estate names. While **rak-fepi minati (K)** describes only the descendants of that estate group, **awa-fepi minati (K)** includes those who have married estate members and anyone else considered to live in, or in some other way be associated with, the estate.

[4]Presumably the nominal root -wu in **wu-wu** 'dog ' is the source for the canine class prefix. This root however refers only to domesticated dogs and cannot be used generically in reference to both dogs and dingos.

5.2.4 'Bodyparts'

The 'bodypart' class also has no freeform generic (although see the discussion overpage), being denoted only by the bound generic **dV-**. (The rule by which the vowel quality is determined is given in 2.4.4.1). Prototypical 'bodypart' class members are those parts of the body that are external, inalienable and clearly defined[5].

5-41	**de-pi**	-	head	**da-purr**	-	bum
	de-syi	-	nose	**de-firr**	-	foot
	da-muy	-	eye	**da-garri**	-	lower leg
	da-ba	-	arm	**de-tyeri**	-	ear
	da-madi	-	chest	**de-nintyi**	-	knee
	de-me	-	hand	**de-derri**	-	back
	etc.					

Of the 90 odd terms for parts of the body that constitute the semantically defined class of 'bodypart' terms, only 33 bear the generic prefix and are therefore members of the formally defined class. Those bodypart terms that are not included in the class are either; alienable bodyparts, e.g. **wusye** 'hair', **fetyen** 'blood', **tyi** 'breastmilk', **finy** 'sweat'; internal bodyparts, e.g. **kekulkul** 'heart', **yirringgu** 'kidneys', **pakalang** 'tibia + fibia'; vaguely defined areas of skin, e.g. **milwadi** 'waist', **ngapa** 'area between shoulder blades'[6]; or are assigned to the animal class (see 5-51 in 5.2.5). Bodypart terms that are the compounds of two or more 'bodypart' noun roots cannot host the class prefix, and are therefore also excluded from the formally defined class, e.g. **pi-piri** (*head-pus*) 'brain', **muy-wasyan** (*eye-hair*) 'eyebrow/lash', **mity-kuru** (*eye-water*) 'tears'. Note that these semantically-defined bodypart terms that do not bear the bodypart class prefix cannot be assigned to the bodypart class by the defacto membership clause noted in 5.1.1, because the bodypart prefix is not concordially attached to modifiers of bodypart nouns.

Before moving on from the 'bodyparts' class, it is worth noting a bound form **dV-**, meaning 'country', that functions as a prefix on the directional modifiers;

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[5]This excludes those terms for expanses of skin surface, like **milwadi** -'waist' etc, the boundaries of which are not so readily apparent.

[6]This area is defined with particular reference to it being the 'seat' on which children sit when being carried on the shoulders. **ngapa** also means 'a shoulder-ride' as in;

ngapa	**derrigidi-yerim**
shoulder	*want* -*2sgHands*
ride	*SU Pres*

Do you want a shoulder-ride ?

5-42	de -kin -ninggi	5-43	da -wun-ninggi
	Ctry-here-INSTR		*Ctry-there-INSTR*
	on this side of..		on the other side of..

and further patterns with the bound class markers in suffixing the interrogative **tyen-** 'what kind of ?' (see 5.4). e.g.

5-44	**tyen-mi**	-	what kind of plant food ?
	tyen-ga	-	what kind of animal ?
	tyen-nawurr	-	what kind of tree/thing ?
	tyen-de	-	which country ?

This **dV-** form would appear to be related to the freeform **dede** 'country/camp/estate', though it does not prefix place names (as a cognate prefix in Murrinh-patha does (Walsh 1976:142)). Now this 'country' bound prefix may simply be homophonous with the 'bodypart' bound generic. However looking at the distribution of **dV-** across the range of structural positions in which freeform and bound noun class generics occur, as set out in 5-45, we find that they are in complementary distribution.

5-45	Bodypart	Country
Freeform Generic	×	√
Bound Generic on member	√	×
Bound Generic on modifier	×	√
Suffix on **tyen-**	×	√

Given this complimentary distribution, and taking into consideration the widespread use of bodypart terms in describing features of the landscape (cf. 3.5.3), the 'country' and 'bodypart' reference of **dV-** could be viewed as a case of polysemy rather than homophony. It is possible that 'bodyparts' and 'country/place' are (or, more likely, once were) based on an underlying whole-part category, of which 'parts of the body' and 'parts of the landscape' are/were the prime prototypes (and only members).

5.2.5 'Animal'

The formally defined 'animal' class consists of non-human animates other than canines (see 5.2.3). Member nouns obligatorily take the bound generic prefix **a-**, which is also obligatorily concordially attached to any modifiers.

5-46	**a-matyi**	**a-minbadi**
	A-Antilopine	*A-big*
	cl wallaroo	*cl*
	A big 'roo...	

5-47   a-syensyerrgimi a-tyentyenmuy
       A- *white rock-*   A- *tame*
       cl *wallaby*   cl
       A tame white rock wallaby...

5-48   a-tyalmerr   a-yin'gini
NgK A- *barramundi* A-*raw*
       cl   cl
       Raw barramundi...

Not all animal names obligatorily take the bound generic. Exceptions include: loanwords for introduced species, - **walfaga** -'buffalo', **nendu** -'horse', **pigipigi** -'pig' and **buliki** -'cattle' etc; reduplicated onomatapoeic names, mostly denoting birds, -**wirritywirrity** -'rainbow lorikeet', **makmak** -'white sea eagle', **tyunguttyungut** -'frogmouth owl' etc; some gender specified names, - **wamanggal** -'female agile wallaby', **tyirrety** -'male agile wallaby' etc; and a few residual terms for which the motivation for lack of bound generic prefixation is not readily apparent, - **burra** -'pelican', **ngurrp** -'emu', **dayi** -'catfish sp.', **walpangarri** -'hornet sp.' **budenggu** -'pied cormorant' etc. Although these terms do not fit the defining criteria of the formal 'animal' class (i.e. they fail to bear the bound generic prefix), they can be assigned defacto membership on the grounds that any modifiers of these nouns will concordially select the 'animal' class bound generic, as demonstrated in 5-49 and 5-50.

5-49   walfaga a-tyentyenmuy   5-50   buliki a-ngayi
       buffalo A- *tame*   *cattle* A- *1sg*
              cl   cl *PRO*
       A tame buffalo...   My cattle...

Less central members of the 'animal' class include certain bodyparts, corpses, money, playing cards, spirits and ancestral beings. Those bodyparts that belong to this class rather than the bodypart class (see 5.2.4) are listed below.

5-51   a-nggirrgimi   -   ribs
       a-darri/a-darra(K)   -   liver
       a-mi   -   bones
       a-ngini   -   flesh/muscle
       a-garrfuru/a-garrfuri (K) -   skin
       e-dewi/a-liyi (K)   -   fat/marrow
       a-kumufi/a-kumifi (K) -   ligaments/veins
       a-murru/a-murri (K)   -   eggs[7]
       a-gimi   -   tail

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[7]The membership of **a-murru** 'egg' and terms for egg parts, e.g. **a-syapul** 'egg white', within this class, is decidedly odd, given their alienable status.

Within a culture where the butchering of animals is a regular practise and the anatomy of most animals is common knowledge, the allocation of most of these bodyparts to the 'animal' rather than 'bodypart' class, may stem from their high salience as parts-of-animals as opposed to parts-of-people.

The terms for female genitalia are also formal members of the 'animal' class. As can be seen in 5-52, these terms are built on facial feature metaphor, a form of semantic extension that is widely attested (Wilkins 1981:108).

5-52	**a -syi** *Acl-nose*	vagina
	a -de -syi *Acl-Bpcl-nose*	clitoris
	a -da -muy *Acl-Bpcl-eye*	clitoris

The anomalous treatment of female genitals within noun classificatory systems is fairly common among Australian languages (Evans 1988). Dixon (1982:179) also notes that highly important or salient subsets of noun classes can be 'marked' by allocation to a different noun class.

5-53 **peke**   **yerr-weti** **ngudupum-panmi-wirr**   **ngan-gagu** **a -syi,**
NgK *tobacco* *Tr -small*   *1sgShove   -crotch -insert*   *LOC -animal A-nose*
               cl   SU Perf   *gen. cl =vagina*
I slipped a small pellet of tobacco up into her vagina, and when
wudem   -fel,   **muk-werri**   **dem   -baty -yenim,**   **ngim,**
3sgShoveDtr-bounce sore -ASSOC   3sgHands-hold-3sgGo   *1sgThink*
SU Perf   =jump   *SU Pres*   *SU Pres SU Perf*
she jumped (at the irritation) I knew then that she had an infection.

The allocation to this class of corpses, ghosts and ancestral beings suggests that there is an association between this class category and features of the spirit world. This may be explicable in cosmological terms; presentday humans and animals are the common descendants of ancestral beings whose outward physical shape could vary between animal and human. Viewing people, animals, spirits and ancestral beings as members of a single macro-class, those that are alive and human are distinguished as male or female, and everything else is 'gagu'.

5-54 **yawam -burrki-nuwurr-pe**   **atyat**
       2sgTake-3dl   -a little -Fut   outside
       SU Irr   IO   while   loanword
       Take these two (men) outside (because),

gagu a -firr -werre video cassette kinyi ngerim-baty
animal A-foot-ASSOC   here 1sgHands-hold
   cl =corpse   SU Pres
this video cassette I have here has (images of) a deceased person
on it.

5-55 **gagu a-nguty dinyirri**
   animal A-ghost 3sgSee
       cl   SU Perf
   She saw a ghost !

5-56 **kine ngiminy-ne gagu burra girim**
   this 1sgSay -3sg ancestral pelican 3sgSit
   place SU Perf IO being   SU Pres
   'This place' I told him 'is where Ancestral Pelican lives.'

The terms **fepi** -'rock' (belonging to no class) and **wa** -'paperbark'
(belonging to the 'tree' class) are used as terms for coins and banknotes,
respectively. Used in this sense these terms (and additionally the loanwords
'money' and 'silver') are members of the 'animal' class, and occur in
combination with the freeform generic **gagu**, as in 5-57 below. The
assignment of money to the 'animal' class may be based on the physical and
functional resemblence (of coins at least) to **a-pelpel**, the pearl shells once
brought as trade goods from the west. The **gagu** classification of 'playing
cards is shown in 5-58.

5-57 **gagu money yinnyinggin'gu, gerrim-buy -girrim,**
   animal   2plSee   dl 3pl ? -light -3plSit
   gen.   SU Pres SU SU Pres SU Pres
   You (dl) see that money shining brightly ?   That's silver coins that
   gagu silver-nyine wuddumbun-fi-madi-wurity-wannim kuru -nide,
   animal -FOC 3plShove -Mp-chest-make-3plGo water-LOC
   gen.   SU Pres   = throw in SU Pres
   they (whitefellas) always throw into the water (fountain).
   a-kinyi-mirri mabuk
   A-here-EMPH lots
   cl
   There's a lot of money here.

5-58 **ma   gagu yeyi pagu**
   HORT animal other HITH
       generic
   Give me another card !
   (request to dealer in game of kunkad - like gin rummy)

The 'animal' class is one of the four noun classes for which, in 5.1.4,
we noted that there are both bound and freeform generics. The freeform

'animal' generic **gagu** occurs with 'animal' class member terms in generic - specific constructions (see 5-46 to 5-48). In classifying those less central class members (like bodyparts and money and playing cards) the freeform generic **gagu** plays a similar semantic role to the bound generic, classifying them as types of **gagu**. However in its occurrence with terms that designate species of animal, the generic **gagu** brings particular focus onto those animals as either sources of meat, as in 5-61, or as ancestral beings, as in 5-60.

The focus on 'edibility' is peculiar to the freeform generic classifier **gagu**, and is never a component of the bound class generic. In fact **gagu** is used, in the absence of a specific noun, to simply mean 'meat' in the same way that **miyi** is used to mean 'vegetables' and **kuru** 'drinks', as in 5-59.

5-59   **gagu**   **miyi kuru**   **ngumbusyiny-waty**
           animal   *plant*   *liquid*   *1plincSuck*   *-consume*
           gen.   *food*   *gen.*   *SU*   *Perf*
           We ate meat and vegies and had drinks.

These two quite separate senses of **gagu** are rarely if ever confused. A **gagu** classified inedible animal will always be understood to be an ancestral being, as in 5-60.

5-60   **gagu**   **a-niyen kine**   **demem**   **-dundum-yenim**
           ancestral A-sand   *this*   *3sgHandsDtr-bury*   *-3sgGo*
           being   *cl frog*   *place SU Pres*   *redup*   *SU Pres*
           This is the place where Ancestral Sandfrog buries himself.

Whether a **gagu** classified edible animal is being referred to as a source of meat, on the one hand, or an ancestral being, on the other, will generally be evident from the human-like actor roles accorded the latter. Compare 5-61 and 5-62.

5-61   **gagu**   **nendu dam**   **-ngirr-me**   **-ket**
           animal   *horse*   *3sgPoke-1plex-hand-cut*
                              SU Perf IO
           He divided the horse flesh among us.

5-62   **gagu**   **burra**   **fepi**   **nyin -nimbi**
           animal pelican   *hill*   *ANA-SOURCE*
           gen.
           Ancestral Pelican (came) down from that hill,
           darani   **-titidi-pagu -tye -yedi**   **darrwa-werre**
           3sgPokeDtr-push-HITH-Past -3sgGo   *raft*   *-ASSOC*
           SU PImp   *redup*   *SU PImp*
           poling herself along on a raft.

5.2.6 'Plant Food'

This class consists only of vegetable food, as opposed to flesh food. Over 80 member terms of this class have been recorded, of which 20 or so remain unidentified. These are all fruits, seeds, fleshy seedpods, nuts, corms, rhizomes, edible stalks and flowers etc. Unlike the 'animal' class bound classmarker and freeform classifier, the 'plantfood' freeform and bound generics, miyi and mi-, share the same semantics and have an even stronger focus than gagu on the notion of 'edibility'; with a single exception (5-68) all members of this class are plant parts that are eaten.

For those trees that have significant parts other than their edible miyi, for instance if their timber is used in the manufacture of some artefact, the term for that plant will belong to both the 'tree' and 'plant food' classes. This is shown in 5-63 where the same roots take both the mi- and yerr-bound generics.

5-63	yerr-sya	-	Cycas armstrongii
	mi -sya	-	seed nuts of Cycas armstrongii
	yerr-ngugurr	-	Tamarindus indica
	mi -ngugurr	-	edible seed pods of Tamarindus indica
	yerr-furra	-	Ficus scobina
	mi -furra	-	edible fruit of Ficus scorbina

However those plants that have no significant parts other than their edible ones typically belong to the 'plant food' class only, although their mi-marked form can be used in reference to the whole tree, as in 5-64. Note though that when it is the whole tree rather than just the edible parts that are being referred to, any adjective modifying the mi- marked plant term will take the bound 'tree' class generic, as in 5-66. Compare 5-66 with 5-65 where mi-menem refers to the fruit, rather than the whole tree, and its modifier takes the class prefix mi-. In 5-66 the bound generic on the modifier is not a copy of the overt 'plant food' class bound generic that is attached to the head. Rather it concords with the 'tree/thing' class to which the head has been referentially assigned. This is not a common phenomenon, but it is for this reason that the attachment of bound class generics to modifiers is not viewed as a 'copying' process, but rather as a strategy for showing concord between head and modifier. As 5-66 demonstrates, it is not impossible for modifiers to show concord with a noun class other than that overtly marked on the NP head.

5-64 wunu girim meringgi mi-kaga -firr
there 3sgSit shade Pf -Ficus -foot
     SU Pres cl racemosa
She's sitting over there, in the shade at the foot of the fig tree.

5-65 mi-menem mi-biny werrmim-ba-ket
Pf-Terminalia Pf -ripe 3plHands-arm-cut
cl ferdinandiana cl SU Pres
They're picking ripe billygoat plums.

5-66 mi-menem kinyi yerr-syari yubu-ket-Ø
Pf-Terminalia this Tr -dry 2sgBash-cut-IMP
cl ferdinandiana cl SU Irr
Chop down this withered billygoat plum tree.

The formally defined 'plantfood' class corresponds very closely with the semantically defined class. The following three terms are the only examples in my data that do not take the bound class generic[8]. However any modifiers of these terms will show 'plantfood' class concord, so they are de-facto class members.

5-67 mundupan - bush cucumber
     taktakma - bush passionfruit
     kagulkagul - fruit of unidentified vine

The single inedible (de-facto) member of the 'plant food' class is ngikin/ngekin (K) -'shit', which does not take the bound class generic, but can be classified by the freeform generic miyi. Any modifiers of this 'plant food' class member will copy the bound generic mi-.

5-68 miyi ngikin mi-wetimbi ngunni -fifili -tye
     plant shit Pf -old 1plexSlash-search-Past
     food cl SU PImp redup
We were searching about for old (cattle) shit (for lighting a fire).

Additionally, tobacco, which is normally a 'tree' class member (see 2.1.1.5), can be assigned 'plant food' class membership, not because of its 'edibility', but for the reason that it can be colloquially referred to as 'shit'. e.g.

5-69 ngatya ngikin fi -ngumu-pe ya mi-dityunggurr-wurru
     father shit puff-1sgDo -Fut hey Pf -short -UNSATIS
          SU Irr cl
Hey daddy, let me have a puff of that shit....oh it's too short now.

8In addition to the three terms listed here, a fruit with the common name 'wild gooseberry' is known as mi-mirrityin in NgW, but mirrityin in NgK. The NgK name may be a further example of an unprefixed member term, or may simply be the result of ad hoc haplological reduction.

Finally, note that a number of terms are common to both the 'plant food' and 'animal' classes, distinguished only by their respective bound generics.

5-70	a -werrmisya	-	freshwater crocodile
	mi-werrmisya	-	red plum
	a -furra	-	freshwater mussel
	mi-furra	-	Ficus scorbina
	a -mukun	-	white rock wallaby
	mi-mukun	-	bush tomato
	a -diny	-	leech
	mi-diny	-	bush potato sp.
	a -wisamuy	-	white crane (Ardea alba)
	mi-wisamuy	-	white berry of Flueggea virosa

In some cases these pairings seem to be constructed on the basis of physical resemblances. For instance the bark of the red plum tree looks very much like the skin of the freshwater crocodile, and the vivid white colour of the berries of Flueggea virosa makes them stand out as plainly as the white crane. If there is in fact any perceived commonality between these 'animal' and 'plant food' class members, then further work may reveal that quite different features, other than physical resemblances, underlie their similarities in name. It has for instance been shown in other parts of Australia that totemic affiliations, or the relative timing of the developmental or behavioural cycle of plants and animals, form principals of systems of taxonomy and nomenclature (see for instance Chaloupka 1985).

5.2.7 Yawurr/Yewirr (K)   Trees and Things

The 'tree/thing' class consists of all trees specifically, tree products and wooden things generally, and is further extended to cover manufactured objects made of any substance. Of the 57 recorded tree species names, only 31 are members of the formally defined class, obligatorily bearing the corresponding bound generic yerr-.

5-71	yerr-girrin	-	Acacia difficilis
	yerr-manggi	-	Barringtonia acutangula
	yerr-mirrsyi	-	Callytris intratropica
	yerr-fini	-	Eucalyptus polycarpa + bleeseri
	yerr-syinge	-	Pandanus aquaticus

In comparison to the near uniformity of class marking among members of the 'plant food' class, nearly half of all recorded tree species names do not bear the bound generic. Some examples are listed below.

5-72	kanawarra	-	Acacia holosericea
	kunintyin	-	Adansonia gregorii
	tyemerrmerr	-	Carpentaria acuminata
	dirrinbuk	-	Eucalyptus alba + apodophylla
	wendili	-	Grevillea pteridifolia
	wilit	-	Grewia breviflora

However these unprefixed terms are accorded 'tree/thing' class membership on a de-facto basis, because modifiers of them do show class concord, as in 5-73,

```
5-73   mawuny   yerr-kerre   wuddum-bat
       ironwood   Tr  -big        3plShove-knock
                  cl             SU Perf   prone
       They've knocked down the big ironwood tree.
```

The 'tree/thing' class also consists of the most obvious of tree products, namely any branches, sticks, twigs etc, that trees shed, whether they are in their found state or fashioned into particular artefacts.

```
5-74   yerr-wunu   yumu      -ngiti-wa
       Tr-  that      2sgSnatch-1sg   -pick
                      SU Irr      IO     up
       Pick up that stick for me !
```

```
5-75   kanbi       yerr-buy -mem-garri   kide
       didjeridu   Tr  -light-3sgDo-leg      where
                   cl            SU Pres
       Where's that white didjeridu ?
```

Terms for tree parts, such as leaves, that are features of trees only, can optionally omit the bound generic;

```
5-76   (yerr)miringgi      leaf
```

but those terms for tree parts that are also members of other classes, do obligatorily require it.

```
5-77   yerr-finy       sap    ('tree sweat' cf. finy -'sweat')
       yerr-panmi      fork   ('tree crotch' cf. da-panmi'crotch')
       yerr-garrfuru   bark   ('tree skin'   cf. a-garrfuru -'skin')
```

This class includes two inedible tree products, tobacco and tea leaves; and also honey, which is edible and a tree product at least in the sense that the tree must be cut open in order to get at it. The 'tree/thing' class membership of these three items is shown in 5-78 to 5-80.

5-78   **funggulu yerr-kinyi ye   -du -gumu**
      honey   Tr -this   2sgMouth-touch-TRY
      cl   SU Irr
      Try having a taste of this honey (sugarbag).

5-79   **yerr-lengirr yaga tyagani-ngini fi -yimi -ngini**
      Tr -bad   DEM   what -PURP puff-2sgDo-Fut
      cl   SU Irr
      What do you want to smoke that rubbish for ?

5-80   **tea   yerr-biny-nyine**
      Tr -ripe -FOC
      cl
      The tea's brewed now.

In addition to tree species, and the tree parts and products mentioned above, this class contains all man-made products such as clothing, swags, cars and planes, videos and trams etc, as shown in 5-81 to 5-84.

5-81   **etye-pe   yerr-nugumang wuddi   -pup -pe**
      when-Fut   Tr - deceased's 3plShove-burn-Fut
      cl   possessions SU Irr
      When are they going to 'burn the rags'
      (i.e. burn the swag and clothing of the deceased person)

5-82   **kanbi   yerr-kinyi minbe-merrendi   ngembimi -baty**
      didjeridu Tr -this   Neg -PROHIB   1dlincHands-hold
      cl   SU   Irr
      We're not allowed to take this didjeridu
      airplane-nide yerr-minbadi
           -LOC Tr -big
           cl
      onto these big (interstate) planes.

5-83   **yerr-yeyi-nyine yerr-minbadi nga   -wurr-fufu -pe**
      Tr -other-FOC Tr   -big   1sgPoke-3pl -shine-Fut
      cl   cl   SU Irr IO   redup
      I'm going to project this other thing (video) on to the big thing (screen) for them (audience).

5-84   **nganniny-mentyi-tyerr yerr-steel one deyedirr dem   -baty**
      1plexGo -neck -stop Tr -   -hip   3sgHands-hold
      SU Perf =wait   cl   =wheel SU Pres
      We waited for that thing having steel wheels(Melbourne tram).

The allocation of modern manufactured products, such as those listed in the examples above, to the 'tree/thing' class, can be viewed as a natural extension of the allocation to this class of such traditional artefacts as woomeras, spears, shields, coolamons etc, which are all made from the timber of trees. The classification of these traditional artefacts with trees accords with the crosslinguistic generalisation of Allan (1977:300) who observes that 'perhaps the commonest inanimate classifier is one for trees and wooden objects'. Similar classifications have been reported for several Australian languages (see for instance Green (1989:391) and Goddard (1983:95)).

A minor and less central member of the 'tree' class, is **yerr-mentyi** - 'song', formed by prefixing the bodypart root **mentyi** -'throat/neck' with the 'tree' class bound generic. As 5-86 shows, songstyle names are also assigned to this class.

5-85   **mam, meny -ngirrki, yerr-mentyi yerr-yeyi -nyine ngumu -wa,**
      more 3sgSay-1dlex Tr -neck   Tr -other-FOC 1sgSnatch-pick
      SU Perf IO   cl =song   cl   SU Perf up
      'Keep going' he told us, so I launched into another song.

5-86   **ngimbi -ne   -werr -tyeri-nime -pe, Alan wemi-yen'gi-pe-wirrim**
      1dlincSit-3sgM-ASSOC-ear -1plinc-Fut   3sgHands-tell-Fut-3sgStand
      SU Irr   IO   =listen SU   SU Irr   story   SU Irr
      We'll sit (up here) listening to Alan giving his speech
      ngan'gi yawurr wangga -ne
      story   tree   songstyle-PURP
      gen.   name
      about the Wangga songstyle.

5.2.8 Syiri / Yuri (K) - Strikers

Syiri is the generic term for the class of weapon-like things that have in common a striking type of contact. **Syiri** classifies boomerangs, **syiri-garrityinmuy** and **kunyungun** (which are not thrown in this part of the country), and fighting sticks - both those fashioned for this purpose, e.g. **misyamba** 'flat-faced fighting stick' and **magulfu/magulfi(K)** 'cylindrical fighting stick', or any stick snatched up as a weapon in the heat of a fight. **Syiri** also classifies **wanarr** -'lightning' and the term for 'dry season wind' **marrawuk/fuke(K)**, **syiri-marrawuk** meaning 'cyclone'. The freeform occurrence, and classificatory use of the generic is shown in 5-87.

5-87   **syiri   kunyungun   ngu   -nyi-ta -merrendi**
      striker   boomerang   1sgSlash-2sg-hit-WARN
      ype   SU Irr DO
      (Look out !) or I'll hit you with a stick/boomerang etc. !

5.2.9 Kurum/Kurim (K) and Yawul   Bamboo and Canegrass Spears

Spears fall into two categories that can be distinguished by their size, shaft, and the type of woomera that they are used in conjunction with[9]. Larger spears have bamboo shafts to which are affixed a variety of heads. The generic for these spears is **yawul**, and all **yawul** are used with a short woomera called **yagama**. The size and weight of these spears, combined with the smaller woomera, gives them greater accuracy. They are used for such large game as wallabies, kangaroos and cattle. Spears classifiable as **yawul**, include **tyulut** -'hookspear' and **man'guna** -'flint/glass spear'.

The generic classifier **yawul** optionally precedes specific spear-type terms in a generic - specific construction, and modifiers of these terms take the corresponding bound generic **yeli/yali** (K)[10].

5-88   (yawul)   tyulut   yeli-wutitmi
        bamboo   *hookspear*   *Bs -heavy*
        spear   *cl*
        A heavy hookspear..

5-89   (yawul)   man'guna   yali-garrityin
NgK   *bamboo*   *glass spear*   *Bs -crooked*
        spear   *cl*
        A crooked glass spear..

The second class of spears are small light spears with a canegrass shaft affixed with mangrove or ironwood tips. Generically known as **kurum**, these are used with a large woomera, called **tyin/tyun** (K), which is only slightly shorter than the spear itself. The lightness of **kurum**, coupled with the size of the woomera, makes them extremely fast, although they skip about and their projection is less accurate than **yawul**. They are thrown into flocks of geese etc., rather than at a single specific target. They were also used until fairly recently for the ritual punishment of men[11].

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[9]Additionally, the throwing of spears from these two classes is described by different verbs. The verb for throwing a yawul spear is **ngarim-pawal** or **ngarim-dap**, whereas the verb for throwing a kurum spear is **ngubum-da**, the same verb as 'to shoot a gun'.

[10]In Ngan'gikurunggurr I have frequently heard the initial semi-vowel elided and the proclitic given as **ali-**.

[11]An offender was placed in a clear area of ground between two lines of men about 40 metres distant from him and required to dodge volleys of **kurum** spears from either side until he was either struck, or deemed to have held out for a sufficiently long period of time to have paid his due.

The freeform generic use of **kurum** is shown in 5-90, and its classificatory use in 5-91.

5-90 **kurum-ninggi wurrbum-∅-da**
canegrass-INSTR   *3plBash-3sg-hit*
spear   *SU Perf DO*
They speared it with canegrass spears.

The generic is preposed to class member terms and copied as a bound generic onto modifiers. As was true for **syiri**, the bound generic has the full unreduced form of the freeform generic.

5-91 **ep**   **kurum**   **yiliyili**   **ep**   **kurum**   **tulunguk**
GUESS canegrass   *mangrove*   *GUESS canegrass*   *ironwood*
        spear   *tipped spear*   *spear*   *tipped spear*
Might've been a mangrove kurum spear, or an
ironwood kurum spear.

5.2.10 Kini - Digging Sticks

Kini, the generic for digging implements, classifies types of digging stick.

5-92 **kini manggini**   fashioned digging stick
      kini yawurr   makeshift digging stick

5.2.11 Tyin/Tyun (K) - Woomeras

Tyin/tyun (K), the generic for the long woomeras (used in combination with **kurum** spears), classifies types of woomera.

5-93 **tyin fenggu**   woomera used with unbarbed **kurum** spears

      tyin gan'gunu/   woomera used with barbed **kurum** fish
      tyin dityi (K)   spears

5.2.12 Yenggi - Fire

Yenggi, the generic for fire, classifies things inherently associated with fire.

5-94 **yenggi ba**   firewood
      yenggi syarr/tyen (K)   charcoal
      yenggi dawan/tawan (K)   smoke
      yenggi misi/-purr (K)   firestick (alight at
                                     one end for
                                     transporting fire)

5.2.13 Kuru/Kuri (K) - Liquid

Kuru/kuri (K) -'water' is used as a generic classifying things (virtually all introduced by Europeans) that are 'drinkable liquid'.

5-95	kuru	lengirr	grog (any alchohol)
	liquid	*bad*	
	kuru	yirifiny	sherry/port/muscat/moselle
	liquid	*sweet*	
	kuru	beer	beer
	liquid		
	kuru	medicine	medicine
	liquid		

5.2.14 Variability in Noun Classification

Although noun classes in Ngan'gityemerri are generally well defined, the system is not so rigid that any nominal can belong to one and only one class. Several examples have already been encountered in this chapter, and in this section I briefly summarise the types of crossclassing that can be found.

Firstly, certain human lifestage/status/condition terms can be assigned to both the 'male' and 'female' classes (see 5-35)[12].

Secondly, in 5-66 we saw that some trees having no useful parts other than their edible ones are assigned to the 'plantfood' class. However where such a 'plantfood' class prefixed noun is used in reference to the whole tree, rather than its edible fruit, any modifiers of that noun will show concord with the 'tree' class. Thus in 5-66 the head and modifying constituents of a single NP are formally assigned to different classes. This represents a rather different type of crossclassing.

Thirdly, nouns that are normally members of one class can be assigned to another class on the basis of colloquial or metaphoric extension. In the discussion of **miyi**, we noted that 'tobacco' which was normally a 'tree' class member, could be designated as a 'plant food' class member on the basis of its colloquial reference as 'shit' (see 5-69).

Fourthly, some variation is encountered in the class assignment of objects that meet the defining criteria of more than a single class. Consider, for instance, a wooden weapon, such as a **tyulut** spear. This is typically

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12These gender-variable nominals highlight the grey area between the word classes 'noun' and 'adjective'. A principal difference between nouns and adjectives in Ngan'gityemerri is that nouns typically belong to a single noun class, whereas adjectives concordially agree with any noun they modify. Nominals like **nugumang** (in 5-35) generally have the characteristics of nouns, but in their capacity to be gender-variable are more like adjectives.

classed with respect to its function/use as a member of the 'bamboo spear' class (see 5-88), but consider 5-96.

5-96 tyulut   yerr-nem   ngerim-wurity-ngirim
      hook   Tr -3sg   1sgHands-fix - 1sgSit
      spear cl PRO   SU Pres   SU Pres
      I'm fixing his hook spear.

Here the possessive pronoun modifying **tyulut** -'hook spear', bears the 'tree/thing' class bound generic **yerr-** rather than the 'bamboo spear' class bound generic **yeli-**. This shift in class allocation is motivated by focus upon the spear, not as a piece of wood that is being used as a spear, but rather as a piece of wood that is being mended in the way that other wooden objects are.

Similarly, the statement that one 'has no matches', using the negative particle **minbe-** suffixed with a generic, could be given as either 5-97 or 5-98.

5-97 match **minbe-yenggi**
             Neg - fire
      I've got no matches

5-98 match **minbe-yawurr**
             Neg   - tree
      I've got no matches

That is, matches can be classified as 'tree/things' because they are pieces of wood, or as 'fire' by virtue of their function. Most of the examples of crossclassing in Ngan'gityemerri are facilitated by the potential to variously view certain objects with respect to their 'inherent nature' or 'function/use' features. This suggests that the classes of wooden implements 'bamboo spears', 'canegrass spears', 'hand held weapons', 'woomeras', and 'digging sticks', could usefully be organised hierachically as sub-classes of **yawurr** 'tree/things'. Higher level classification as **yawurr** is based on 'inherent nature' features, whereas lower level classification as **yawul, kurum, syiri, tyiny** or **kini**, is based on 'function/use' features.

5.3   Types of Generic - Modifier Construction

So far we have seen that generics, be they classifier-like freeforms, or noun class-like bound forms, can be used in a variety of NP constructions. Freeform classifiers co-occur with specific nouns in a generic-specific NP type.

5-99 gagu   a-nganifinyi winni -lalirr-tye
      animal A-echidna   3plSit -eat -Past
      gen.   cl   SU PImp
      They were eating an echidna.

5-100 miyi mi-ngugurr -nyine yeme   -ba -ket -tye -yagadi
      plant Pl -tamarind -FOC   2sgHands-arm-cut -Past-2sgGo
      food cl   SU PImp   SU PImp
      Then you were picking tamarinds.

Specific nouns can be used without classifiers (5-101), and conversely classifiers themselves can constitute complete NPs (5-102).

5-101 ganbi kide?
      didjeridu   where
      Where's the didjeridu ?

5-102 yawurr men'gin-wa
      tree/thing 3sgSnatch-pick
      gen.   SU Perf   up
      He picked up the didjeridu.

On the other hand bound generics typically attach to the member terms of their respective classes, and additionally are concordially attached to modifiers (exceptions noted include the 'bodypart' class prefix which attaches to member terms only, and the 'bamboo spear' class prefix which attaches to modifiers only).

5-103 a-matyi a-kerre
      A-kangaroo   A-big
      cl   cl
      A big kangaroo...

An NP can also consist of simply a bound generic attached to a modifying element.

5-104 wur-yubu
      F   -good
      cl
      A good woman...

The bound class marker in this type of construction is not treated as concordially attached (as it is in an NP which includes a specific class member term), but constitutes the head of the NP. Example 5-104 above, then, is an NP of the head - modifier type. This section examines the range

of modifying elements that can be headed by bound class generics, producing this type of head - modifier construction.

5.3.1 Generics + Simple NP modifiers

Firstly, as evident in the examples of modified nouns in the preceding sections of this chapter, modifiers can be adjectives, pronouns, anaphoric demonstratives, deictics and numerals. These modifier types in head - modifier constructions are demonstrated in 5-105.

5-105 **wur-yubu**   a good woman
        Fcl -good

        wur-ngayi   my woman
        Fcl -1sg PRO

        wur-nyin   that (previously mentioned) woman
        Fcl -ANA

        wur-kinyi   this woman
        Fcl -this

        wur-wunggume   a certain woman
        Fcl -one

5.3.2 Generics + Complex NP Modifiers

Additionally, NPs can be headed by bound generics. As is evident in examples 5-108 and 5-110, the bound generic can head a noun that itself carries a class prefix. As the modifying element is becoming increasingly complex, at this point I will adopt the convention of indicating the scope of the leftmost generic by placing the modifying element over which it operates, in square brackets.

5-106 **wa-[Darwin-nimbi]**   5-107 **wur-[wusye dadirrmade]**
      M -   -SOURCE   *F -hair   curly*
      cl   cl
      A man from Darwin...   A curly haired woman...

5-108 **dam   -ngi-fi -me   yerr-[de-tyerr]**
      3sgPoke-1sg-Mp-hand   Tr   -Bp-mouth
      SU Perf DO   cl cl
      He handed me the telephone (the mouth thing).

5-109 **yerr-[meringgi yubu]-nide ngimbi-pe**
      Tr -shade   good -LOC   1plincSit-Fut
      cl   SU Irr
      Let's sit under a good shaded tree.

5-110 **wa-[de -pi   kerre] wani -pagu -pe**
      M- Bp-head big   3sgGo-HITH-Fut
      cl cl   SU Irr
      The boss (big-headed man) is coming !

5.3.3 Generics + Verbal Clause

Bound generics can also head a clause. The resultant nominalised clause is fully finite, bearing all the pronominal crossreferencing and tense marking morphology that it would as an independent clause.

5-111   wa-[wedimuy]   yedi -tye   wa-[deme   - Ø -pi -yiri -tye -yedi]
      M- *little boy*   3sgGo -Past M -3sgHands-3sg-head-numb-Past-3sgGo
      cl   SU PImp   cl   SU PImp DO=make shamed SU PImp
      When he was a young boy he was shy.
      (lit: ....he was a shy male.)

The clause forming the modifying element can consist of not only just of a complex verb, but can be a fully expanded clause containing nominals, particles, adverbs, etc. Consider the examples below.

5-112   **musyulng wudini -fifityi-tye   wakay yerr-[nem]**
      swag   3sgShove-roll   -Past finish Tr -3sgM
                SU PImp up   cl   PRO
      She rolled the swags right up, those swags of his,
      yerr-[dede   peyi-nimbi   use 'im-ngirrminygu]
      Tr -*camp*   *in* -*SOURCE*   -1plexDo dl
      cl   *place*   SU Perf SU
      the ones we'd used from their place.

The nominalisation of clauses by heading them with class generics in this way, is the main strategy for deriving formal relative NPs in Ngan'gityemerri. As noted above, nominalised clauses are fully finite, having the form of independent clauses. It appears that in those Australian languages having a general subordinate clause type, such clauses are typically finite and have a fairly loose paratactic relation to the main clause (see for instance Merlan (1983:135)). In Ngan'gityemerri however relative clauses, though finite, are formally nominalised by the attachment of noun class prefixes. I am unaware of any other Australian language for which this use of noun class markers has been reported. Given their status as nominals, generic-headed clauses need not be considered subordinate to a main verb, but simply as modifiers of arguments of the main verb. Thus in 5-112 above, **musyulng** 'swag' is the O of the verb 'roll up', and the two generic-headed NP's **yerr-nem** 'the thing of his' and **yerr-dede peyi-nimbi use 'im-ngirrminygu** 'the thing we'd used from his house', are both nominals modifying that O NP. Likewise the nominalised clause in 5-113 below modifies the A NP (encliticised with agentive **-ninggi**). Where the specific noun is omitted, as in 5-114 to 5-116, the nominalised clause stands as a head - modifier type NP and fills the argument role of the predicate

rather than modifying an NP in that role. This directly parallels the analysis given for non-verbal modifying elements in 5.2 above (see eg 5-104 **wur-yubu**) where a class prefixed simple nominal modifier can either modify a given noun or, in the absence of a given head noun, constitute a head - modifier NP. There are no constraints on the argument roles that nominalised clauses can either modify, or in themselves constitute. In 5-112 above and 5-113 below the nominalised clauses modify the O and A of the verb, in 5-115 the nominalised clause is an ASSOCiative argument of the verb, and in 5-116 and 5-117, the nominalised clauses are verbal arguments in the local case roles SOURCE and LOCative, respectively.

5-113   ticket **kinyi nginimem** pay 'im-meny **watypela -ninggi**
        this   already   3sgDo whitefella-AGENT
                                          SU Perf
        This (plane) ticket has already been paid for by that whitefella,
        wa-[wunu-pefi   Melbourne **ngadde -nime-tye]**
        M -there -THITH   1dIexGo -tr   -Past
        cl   SU PImp SU
        that man who went there to Melbourne with us two.
        (lit: that one who the three of us went to Melbourne)

5-114   **yerr-[ngini-handbag-gumu]   yerr-[wedimuy] yerr-[**every room
        Tr -KIND-   -SEMBL Tr - small   Tr -
        cl   cl   cl
        That whitefella (hotel receptionist) picked up a thing like a kind of handbag,
        nem key dim-nyine fill 'im up-mem] **watypela nyin me   -wa**
        3sgM   3sgSit-FOC   -3sgDo   ANA 3sgSnatch-pick
        PRO   SU Pres   SU Pres   SU Perf   up
        a small thing, a thing filled up with the keys to every room.

5-115   **mityity wagarri pey-endi   widdibenggu**
        white   two   in -SAME 3plStand dl
        woman   place   SU Pres SU
        There are two white women (security guards) standing there
        yerr-[tyagani-merrendi gentyerrmigi-baty knife]
        Tr - what   -LEST   2plHands   dl-hold
        cl   SU Irr   SU
        (with) a thing (metal detector) lest you have something like a knife.

5-116   **ngatya yumu-ne   -gumu,   yerr-[fepi minbadi nem**
        father 2sgSay-3sgM-TRY   Tr - hill   big   3sg
               SU Irr IO   cl   PRO
        'Daddy, try suggesting to him that he get a jacket

shop-nyine girribem], nyin-nimbi   jacket **wumu**   **-wa,**
  -FOC 3sgStand ANA-SOURCE   *3sgSnatch-pick*
  SU Pres   *SU Irr   up*
from (the shop) that is Peppimenarti's shop'.
(the Darwin shop that supplies the Peppimenarti store)

Section 6.1 examines the way in which NPs can be, though are not obligatorily, marked for certain case functions with a set of enclitics (see for instance, 'agentive' -ninggi in 5-113 above). Note though that nominalised clauses functioning as verbal arguments, as in 5-114 to 5-116, cannot have their local or syntactic case roles marked with these enclitics. In the same way that case enclitics are freely omitted from even simple NPs, this is unlikely to result in ambiguous relations with the verb, as the role of the nominalised clause will generally be evident from the thematic content and the meaning of the predicate. Where the role of a nominalised clause requires overt specification, this can be acheived by attaching the case enclitic to the anaphoric demonstrative, as demonstrated in 5-116.

Consistent with the unconstrained roles that nominalised clauses can fill as arguments of the verb, there are likewise no constraints on the types of relations that can hold between the head generic and the verb of the nominalised clause. Thus in 5-113 and 5-116 the head of the nominalised clause is the S of the intransitive nominalised verb, in 5-112 it is the O, and in 5-115 where the generic nominalises a **merrendi** subordinate clause (cf. 6.2.3), the head is not an argument of the nominalised verb at all.

Finally, having established that head - modifier constructions consist of a noun class generic as proclitic to a wide range of modifier types, ranging from simple nominals such as adjectives, through to fully finite clauses and, as 5-117 below demonstrates, strings of finite clauses, we should ask ourselves 'how do we determine the scope of the head generic ?'.

5-117 **yentyi -ngirrki-tye yerr-[watypela nem, wannim-derri-tyerr,**
     3sgTake -1dlex -Past Tr - whitefella 3sg 3plGo   -back -halt
     SU PImp DO   cl   PRO SU Pres
     He took the two of us onto that thing of whitefella's, that they stand still on, and
     yentyin -yirrimbin, wannim-fel   wun -ambirri]
     3sgTake-3sgGo*   3plGo   -jump there-ahead
     SU Pres SU Pres   SU Pres
     it takes them and they jump off up ahead there at the top.
     (i.e. escalators)

In an example like 5-117 the string of four clauses (one verbless, three verbal) that is marked (by the square brackets) as falling within the scope of the noun class generic, must be delivered in a single intonation contour,

and without pauses between any of the clauses. If for instance in 5-117 above, there was a pause after **watypela nem**, and the verb **wannim-derri-tyerr** began a new intonation contour, then the scope of the generic head, **yerr-**, would be understood to operate over **watypela nem** only.

5.3.2 Ngan-   Relative Locational Clause Marker

Section 2.4 looks at the role played by the morpheme **ngan-** in combining with the major bodypart terms to produce static locative CVSs. **Ngan-** also introduces relative locational clauses. In this capacity **ngan-** functions in a manner similar to the noun class proclitics discussed in the preceding section, and it is for this reason that I have chosen to include the discussion of **ngan-** here.

Relative locational **ngan-**, functioning as a proclitic, introduces clauses that are given as the destination of verbs of motion. The relative locational clause can be a fully finite verbal clause, as in 5-121 to 5-123 below, or can be reduced to simply an NP, as in 5-119 and 5-120. As shown in 5-118 below, reduction of a **ngan-** clause to an NP is the norm where that NP is the subject of an existential clause.

> 5-118 **ngarany   -fi -pal   ngan-mawuny (girribem)**
> *1sgPokeDtr-Mp-return   LOC -ironwood   3sgStand*
> *SU Perf   REL   SU Pres*
> I went back to (where) the ironwood tree (stands).

Where **ngan-** has scope over a clause that has been reduced to just an NP, the relative locational clause will therefore be translated as ' to the place where NP is'.

> 5-119 **kak   -ambirri yedi   -tye   ngan-Darwin**
> *in   -ahead   3sgGo -Past   LOC-*
> *motion   SU PImp   REL*
> He's already gone on to (the place where) Darwin (is).

> 5-120 **darany   -fi -pal   ngan-dede   nem**
> *3sgPokeDtr-Mp-return   `LOC -camp   3sgM*
> *SU Perf   REL   PRO*
> He went back to (the place where) his camp (is).

Where **ngan-** has scope over a full verbal clause, the relative locational clause will designate 'the place where CLAUSAL PROPOSITION happens' as the destination of a verb of motion. Again, square brackets indicate the scope of the relative clause.

5-121 ngambanigerri-tye ngan-[rail yaga paint 'im-wurrum-wannim]
1dlinc Go*   -Past LOC-   DEM   -3plDo   -3plGo
SU PImp   REL   SU Pres   SU Pres
We went back to (the place) where they were painting
fenceposts.

5-122 **werrbiny-fili kuderri wunu ngan-[marrguninggi**
3plBash-roll billabong there LOC - place already
SU Perf   REL visited
(The whistle ducks we were hunting rose up and) flew around
ngundum -fili -nyine] wanniny-tyerr
1dlincSlash-roll-FOC   3plGo   -halt
SU Perf   SU Perf
then landed back at the billabong (that was the place where) we
had just previously come from.

5-123 **ngan-[wudumbun-burr-mentyi-gerrgirr]   weri nyinnin kuru**
LOC- 3sgShove   -3pl -neck   -cut   hole ANA   water
REL SU Pres   DO   redup
(During Cyclone Tracy the sea washed into Fanny Bay Gaol),
into that place where they hang people, that pit (that the
gallows are in) was full of water,
bakuty dini -tye, wunu ngan-[ngarrgu nginni -ngan-madi-tye]
much 3sgSit-Past there LOC -1dlex   1dlexSit-LOC -chest-Past
     SU PImp   REL PRO   SU PImp
(it even came right up) into the place where we (prisoners)
were sitting inside.

Note that the sense of 'destination of a motion verb' that **ngan-**
conveys in this relative clause structure is compatible with the 'endpoint
location' sense of the nominal enclitic **-nide** (see 6.1.6). Indeed both **ngan-**
and **-nide** can co-attach to an NP, as in 5-124

5-124 **yagadi -tye ngan-dede ngayi-nide**
2sg Go-Past LOC -camp 1sg -LOC
SU PImp REL   PRO
You came to (the place which is in) my camp.

However **ngan-** cannot be compatible with the 'static location' sense
attributed to **-nide** in 6.1.6[13].

13In this respect **ngan-** differs from an otherwise similar morpheme in Marrithiyel. The
Marrithiyel form ni corresponds very closely to Ngan'gityemerri **ngan-** in both its combination
with major bodypart terms to form a CVS, and in its relative clause function (Green 1989:300-
7). However Marrithiyel ni appears to have a more general relative function, in that it is not
restricted to a locative/destination interpretation, and can be compatible with static location
verbs, as in the example below taken from Green (1989:301). (While I have supplied Green's
translation, for comparative purposes I have taken the liberty of providing the interlinear
gloss in terms of the conventions used for Ngan'gityemerri).

5-125 wa   -ngirrki-syalat-pe -wiri (*ngan-) fidi -nide
3sgHeat-1dlex -warm-Fut-3sgSit   sun's-LOC
SU Irr   DO   SU Irr   heat
We'll warm ourselves in the sunshine.

5.4   Noun Class Generics with **Tyen-** 'what' and **Minbe-** 'negative'.

Noun class generics can be combined with **tyen-** 'what'. The combination of **tyen** and class marker X, asks 'what kind of X class member is this ?'. **Tyen-** has been found to combine with the 'animal', 'plantfood', 'tree' and 'bodypart/country (see 5.2.4)' generics. As listed in 5-126, it is the degenerate bound generics of the 'plantfood', 'animal' and 'bodypart/country' classes that combine with **tyen-**, but the freeform classifier generic of the 'tree/thing' class (with assimilation of initial y → n).

5-126 **tyen-nawurr**   -   what kind of tree/thing is this ?
       tyen-mi   -   what kind of plant food is this ?
       tyen-ga   -   what kind of animal is this ?
       tyen-de   -   what part of the country/which place?

The particle **minbe/minde** (K) 'negative' also combines with generic terms giving the privative sense of 'the absence of a member of class X'. As noted for **tyen-** above, it is the bound degenerate generics of the 'plantfood' and 'animal' noun classes that combine with **minbe** in this way;

5-127 **mi-meli   minbe-mi-nyine**
       Pl-purple Neg   -Pl - FOC
       cl plum   cl
       There's no purple plums now !

5-128 **gagu   minbe-ga-wurru   yenim-way -me**
       animal Neg   -A -UNSATIS 3sgGo -empty-hand
       generic   cl   SU Pres
       He's got no beef, he's emptyhanded.

but the freeform classifier-like generics of all other noun classes/classificatory sets.

5-129 **peke   minbe-yawurr**
       tobacco Neg   -tree
                         generic
       (I have) no tobacco.

---

apu   gangi-ya   ni   muku
there 1sgSit-Past REL woman
       SU Realis
I was sitting there, where the women (go).

5-130 minbe-yenggi-wurru   ngirrim
Neg   -fire   -UNSATIS 1plexSit
       generic   *SU Pres*
We're fireless.

5-131 kuru -pagu   yumu   -ngiti-wa - Ø,   minbe-kuru
liquid-HITH 2sgSnatch-1sg -pick -IMP Neg -liquid
generic   *SU Irr   IO   up   generic*
'Give me a beer !'   .....   'There's none left'

Although the terms **mipurr/yedi**(K) 'man' and **falmi** 'woman' have not been treated as generics in this chapter (see reasons given in 5.2.1), they do pattern with other generics in combining with **minbe/minde**(K) in this kind of privative construction.

5-132 a   minde-yedi
NgK *oh Neg   -man*
Oh ..there's no-one here.

5-133 minbe-falmi   ngini -tye
Neg -woman   1sgSit -Past
                 SU PImp
I was without a woman (wifeless).

Note that the bound generics in 5-127 and 5-128 are unusual in two respects. Firstly in all the other patterns of their occurrence (discussed throughout this chapter) bound generics function as either proclitics, or in some cases as prefixes (see 5.5). In combination with **tyen-** and **minbe-** however, they appear to function as suffixes. Secondly, as a suffix the 'animal' class bound generic has the form **-ga**, whereas as a proclitic/prefix it has the form **a-**.

5.5 Phonological Status of Bound Class Generics

All the freeform generics listed in Table I function as independent phonological words. Here I am more concerned with the phonological status of the bound generics which are split between prefix and proclitic. This distinction is based on the ordering of phonological processes in Ngan'gityemerri and results in different levels of phonological dependency operating between the host nominal and the bound class generic.

Cliticisation is a late-ordered process in the sense that clitic attachment to a nominal root takes place after all other phonological processes - stress assignment, assimilation, vowel harmony etc. Proclitics

therefore, despite being word initial, do not bear stress, and are not subject to any phonological smoothing processes (see 2.4.4.1).

Prefixation, on the other hand, is ordered before all other phonological processes are applied, resulting in, among other things, the treatment of the prefix as part of the word for the purpose of stress assignment. Prefixes therefore do bear stress and are subject to such phonological smoothing processes as diphthongisation, vowel harmony etc..

With respect to this distinction the nine bound class generics fall into two groups. The first group, consisting of wa-, wur-, awa-, yeli-, function as proclitics to the head and are copied as proclitics onto any modifiers. e.g.

5-134 wa-yédi wa-kérre
M-man M-big
cl cl
A big man...

5-135 wur-gúnigúni wur-wúnu
F -old woman F -that
cl cl
That old woman...

The second group of bound class generics, consisting of a-, mi-, yerr-, wu-, dV-, function as prefixes to class members, but as proclitics where they attach to modifiers. This can be seen in the stress marking on the examples below.

5-136 á -matyi a -kérre
A-kangaroo A-big
cl cl
A big kangaroo...

5-137 yúri -gàrrityìnmuy yuri ngáyi
striker-boomerang striker 1sg
PRO
My boomerang...

5-138 yérr-gi yerr-syári
Tr -pandanus Tr -dry
cl spiralis cl
A dried up pandanus...

In terms of cross-linguistic generalisations that have been made about the behaviour of clitics (e.g. Klavans 1980), the split phonological status of this second group of class markers is quite anomalous. Looking at the

system as a whole, it seems most likely that these bound generics developed as proclitics to both class member and modifying nominals. This pattern is still manifested among the first group, and is true for group two modifiers. However the attachment of group two bound generics to class members appears to have undergone de-cliticisation, their reanalysis as prefixes evidenced by a shift to phonological dependency on the root that is manifest by both the generic's capacity to bear stress marking and to undergo vowel harmony rules etc.

Chapter 6

Enclitics

6 Overview

Ngan'gityemerri employs a system of sixteen enclitics that form a word class. A single one of these, **ngini-/ngani-(K)** 'KIND' (see 6.2.7 below), is in fact a proclitic, not an enclitic. However, because it patterns with the class of enclitics in all respects other than position, I treat it as a member of the enclitic class. All comments made about enclitics in this section can be taken to be equally applicable to 'KIND'.

The set of sixteen enclitics can be divided into three types defined by the operational scope of the enclitic in a given function. 'Nominal enclitics' have scope over their host NP only. This group consists of the syntactic and local case enclitics, **-ninggi** 'AGENTive/INSTRumental', **-ne/-ngini(K)** 'PURPosive', **-werre/werri(K)** 'ASSOCiative', **-nimbi** 'SOURCE', **-nide** 'LOCative', **-pagu** 'VIA'. The various functions of these six nominal enclitics are discussed in 6.1.

The three 'verbal enclitics', **-ne/-ngini(K)** 'INTENTion', **-pefi** 'INCHoative/DURative/COTEMPoral' and **-gumu/-gimi(K)** 'WHILE', have strictly aspectual functions within the verb. While the verbal use of **-ne/-ngini(K)** signalling 'INTENTion' is clearly related to its nominal usage as a 'PURPosive' case marker, the verbal usages of **-pefi** and **-gumu/-gimi** (K), appear to bear no similarity to the semantics of their propositional use. These three verbal enclitics are examined in 3.4.4.

The third type of enclitic, termed 'propositional[1] enclitics', have scope over an entire clausal proposition. They can be used adnominally, attached to the final constituent of an NP, or predicatively, attached to the verb stem. In their predicative use they fill the same position as the 'verbal enclitics' discussed in 3.4.4. The propositional enclitics **-nimbi** 'CAUSative', **-pefi** 'THITHer', **-pagu** 'HITHer', **-merrendi/-nana(K)** 'LEST', **-yirre** 'CORRECT', **-yendi** 'SAME', **-gumu/-gimi(K)** 'SEMBLative', **ngini-/ngani-(K)** 'KIND', -

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[1] I use this term in a slightly different way to some previous writers. For instance Laughren (1982:133) defines 'propositional particles' as having similar scope (i.e. over the whole proposition), but restricts her use of this term to those particles that 'indicate the speaker's attitude to or judgement concerning the proposition expressed by the clause to which the PP is attached'. My use of 'propositional'is concerned solely with the operational scope of the enclitics, some of which, like -wurru 'UNSATISfactory', do indicate speaker's attitude/judgement, though others, like -gumu 'SEMBLative' and -nimbi 'CAUSal', in encoding the relations holding between an NP and predicate, fall within the concerns of what would generally be called 'case'.

napa 'JUST', **-nawa** 'INSTEAD', and **-wurru** 'UNSATISfactory', are examined in 6.2.

Several members of the set of enclitics belong to more than one type. For instance, as a verbal enclitic, **-gumu** has the function of marking temporal subordinate clauses, whereas as a propositional enclitic it indicates that one entity/event reSEMBLes another.

6.1   Nominal Enclitics
6.1.1 -ninggi   AGENT

As established in 3.2 above, core case relations are obligatorily and explicitly cross-referenced within the verb. Consequently the specification of these relations through case inflections on NP's filling these case functions is not required to clarify the identity of core case roles. Indeed verbal cross-referencing facilitates the widespread omission of contextually established NP's in core roles. No case suffix is available for those NP's that are cross-referenced within the verb as direct objects. NP's cross-referenced as 'goals' can be functioning in peripheral purposive case roles, in which case they can take the purposive enclitic **-ne/-ngini(K)**, or as reflexives, or the goals of predicates (like 'tell', 'give'), in which core roles they can bear no case inflection.

The subject of a verb is the only core syntactic role for which case inflection is available. These can be subjects of either high-transitive verbs or those low-transitive verbs that have a non-subject core argument (cf. 4.2). The agentive enclitic **-ninggi** is not universally applied to transitive subject NP's, but is reserved for those which are semantically or pragmatically 'marked'. NP's can be semantically marked in the sense that their identity in the agentive role contravenes culturally determined expectations regarding actor identity in specific types of activity.   In 6-1 below, for instance, markedness results from the low likelihood of an inanimate entity filling the role of a 'controlling agent'.

6-1   **waya-ninggi   dam   -ngi -syarr**
        wire -AGENT   3sgPoke-1sg -scrape
                    SU Perf DO
        The barbs (of the barbed wire fence) scratched me.

And in 6-2 it results from the culturally determined expectation that women do not use rifles.

```
woman 3sg  -AGENT A-saltwater    3sgBash-hit  -Past-3sgGo
PRO            cl crocodile    SU PImp redup    SU PImp
```
His wife used to shoot crocodiles (for a living).

The identity of an actor can require clarification where any of three pragmatically determined conditions hold. Firstly, where the subject and object of a verb are both 3rd person singular, or both 3rd person plural, the bound pronominal morphology on the verb does not suffice to adequately track participant identity. This is especially true where there are switches in the identity of subject/object roles and freeform nouns or pronouns in either role are free to appear in any order with respect to the verb. In 6-3 below the object of the first clause **wa-wunu** 'that man', is the agent of the transitive verb in the second clause and this switch in role is disambiguated through the attachment of -ninggi.

```
6-3    wa-wunu wupun - Ø -ta, e      wa-wunu-ninggi  dam    -Ø -pawal
       M-there  3sgSlash-3sg-hit and   M -there-AGENT 3sgPoke-3sg-spear
       cl       SU Perf DO            cl             SUPerf DO
```
He hit that man, then that man speared him.

Secondly, -ninggi is attached to NP's whose identity in an agentive role may be unpredictable because they are either new participants to 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. This use of -ninggi is evidenced in its widespread textual occurrence in after-thought constructions, where a speaker's assessment of his listener's difficulty in tracking subject reference prompts him to add an agentive NP that is typically separated off from the rest of the clause by a distinct pause.

```
6-4    yarany      -fi -pal    kinyi yini -wurrkama-tye peyipa nyinyi,
       2sgPokeDtr-Mp-return here 2sgSit-work        -Past paper 2sg
       SU Perf                   SU PImp                       PRO
```
You came back here and were doing your paperwork.
```
       ngayi nginge-tye, deminy -ngi-du    ulgumen -ninggi
       1sg  1sgLie -Past   3sgHands-1sg-touch old women-AGENT
       PRO SU PImp     SU Perf    DO
```
I was lying (asleep) when she(/he) woke me up...my wife did.

```
6-5    Aya  ngambani-pe, meny-ngiti ... Dianne-ninggi
       hey 1dlinc Go -Fut 3sgSay-1sg            -AGENT
            SU   Irr      SU Perf IO
```
'Hey !, I'm coming with you', she told me...Dianne that is.

Thirdly, -ninggi is typically attached to NP's whose agentive role is being stressed in correction of mistaken assumptions about their identity.

6-6   minmi, ngayi-ninggi ngiminy-nge
        no   1sg   -AGENT 1sgSay-3sgF
        PRO   SU Perf IO
No ! it was <u>me</u> that told her.

In summary then, it can be seen that while -ninggi fills the general criteria of a 'case' enclitic, in its disambiguation of semantically marked and unpredictable agent identity it functions to meet the requirements of discourse cohesion rather than clause-internal syntax.

NP's in the role of subject of a transitive verb have also been found to occur with the 'cause' enclitic -nimbi. This minor phenomenon is discussed in 6.2.1.

6.1.2 -ninggi   INSTRUMENT

Instrumental case function is also marked with -ninggi, homophonous with agentive -ninggi discussed above. Homophony of ergative/instrumental case forms is widespread among Australian languages (Dixon 1980:304, Blake 1975:44), and the semantic linkages between their functions have been widely discussed (see for instance, Wilkins 1989:170). Typically two cases are recognised on the basis of distinctive syntactic behavioural characteristics. In Ngan'gityemerri instrumental -ninggi can be distinguished from agentive -ninggi on a number of grounds. Firstly, they can co-occur.

6-7   ngan'gi kamu-ninggi   diny   -ngiti-tyerrakul wulmen-ninggi
        language ? -INSTR   3sgSit -1sg -speak   old man-AGENT
        =Marrithiyel   SU Perf IO
The old man addressed me in Marrithiyel.

And as the above example also demonstrates, agentive -ninggi attaches to NP's that are obligatorily cross-referenced within the verb, whereas the peripheral case role of the instrumental NP makes it ineligible for any such pronominal cross-referencing.

In addition to 'the language in which one speaks', as in 6-7, instrumental -ninggi marks any entity that the subject uses to perform the

activity described by the verb. These may be bodyparts[2], as in 6-8 , but are typically objects held in the hands, as in 6-9 and 6-10 .

6-8   deme melpe-ninggi   dineny-ngi-tyamu-baty
       hand flat   -INSTR 3sgHeat-1sg-cheek -hold
       =palm   SU Perf DO
       He slapped my cheek with the palm of his hand.

6-9   muy-fintyifintyi-ninggi bengin-kin-wul
       crook   -INSTR 3sgBash-? -pull
       *   SU Perf*
       She pulled (the central pandanus shoots) within reach with a crook (a long stick with a barbed fork at one end).

6-10   ngunngun-ninggi   wupun -tyirri -tu   wamanggal
       percussion-INSTR   3sgSlash-navel-cut   wallaby
       flint   SU Perf =burst guts
       He gutted the wallaby with a flint.

Instrumental -ninggi can also mark larger and even animate entities used in performing actions, such as cars and dogs and horses, though the less that entity falls within the full control of the subject, the more likely it is to function as a comitative rather than an instrumental NP (see -werre 6.1.4).

In contrast with the agentive function of -ninggi, instrumental NPs can be peripheral arguments to mono-valent low-transitive verbs, as in 6-11 below.

6-11   crutch-ninggi   yenim-lali
       -INSTR 3sgGo -around
       SU Pres
       She's getting about on crutches.

Note that the instrumental suffix is frequently omitted from NPs whose instrumental role is predictable through a conventional association with a particular verb.

6-12   yenggi ngi   -pup-pe   palayin (-ninggi)
       fire   1sgShoveDtrS-rub-Fut   firesticks-INSTR
       *   SU Irr*
       I'll rub up a fire with firesticks.

The function of **ninggi** as the particle 'DESPITE', is examined in 7.5

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[2]Note that, as discussed in 3.5.2, bodyparts filling an instrumental role can not be syntactically incorporated into the verb complex.

6.1.3 -ne/-ngini(K)   PURPOSIVE

The enclitic -ne/-ngini(K) marks the purposive complements of actions or states. That is, purposive marked NP's are given as the stimuli or 'what one has in mind' when one does or feels something. As response to stimuli is dependent on the notion that the respondent is cognizant and sentient, it is uncommon to find purposive complements given as adjuncts to states or activities that have non-human subjects. Lower animates can be said to 'look about *for* food' etc. but there are few such examples in any texts I have recorded.

What one 'has in mind' may be something one wants to aquire;

6-13 **kuru -ne**   **ngambani-pe**   **club**
      liquid-PURP   *1dlinc Go -Fut*
      generic   *SU Irr*
      Let's go to club for a beer.

an activity one wants to perform;

6-14 **ngara**   **-mbi-fi -pal   -pe** **ki -ne**   **ngu   -nyi-ta -pe**
      1sgPokeDtr-2sg-Mp-return-Fut *fight-PURP* *1sgSlash-2sg-hit-Fut*
      SU Irr   *IO*   *SU Irr   DO*
      I'm getting back to you, for a fight, I'm going to belt you !

a person on whose account one does something;

6-15 **kin-ninggi ngani-pe   a-yinimbi-ne**
      this-way   *1sgGo-Fut A-hornet   -PURP*
                   SU Irr   *cl =mother-in-law*
      I'm going round this way for my mother-in-law (in order not to run into her).

6-16 **(nyinyi-ne)**   **ngudum (-mbi) -mi -tyuk**
      2sg   *-PURP*   *1sgShove -2sg*   *-val-send*
      PRO   *SU Perf   IO*   *inc*
      I sent it for you.

a person/thing that induces an emotional response;

6-17 **falmi**   **nem-ne**   **dini**   **-di -tye**
      woman 3sgM-PURP   *3sgSit   -cry -Past*
          PRO   *SU PImp*
      He was crying for his wife.

6-18   ngayi minbe nganmerr-yety   (-kide) (nyinyi-ne)
       1sg   Neg   1sg Go*   *-be afraid-2sg*   *2sg   -PURP*
       PRO   SU Pres   *IMPL PRO*
       I'm not afraid of you.

6-19   pipiri demem   -meyenggi-ngide membirr ngayim-ne
       brain 3sgHandsDtr-spin   -3sgF   child   3sg   -PURP
              SU Pres   *IMPL*   *PRO*
       She's worrying about her child.

or the topics of cognitive or speech acts, i.e. what one knows, thinks, or talks
about;

6-20   de-tyeri-werre ngaganim peke-ne
       Bp-ear -ASSOC 1sg Go   tobacco-PURP
       cl   SU Pres
       I'm experienced in cigarette smoking.
       (because it's something that I do, I have an understanding of
         it)

6-21   ngan'gi kinyi   ngimi-mbi-ngini minde detyengi-ngini
NgK   *story   this   1sgSay-2sg -Fut Neg   today   -PURP*
                       SU Irr IO
       This story I'm going to tell you about is concerned with distant
       events.

6-22   yerr-mentyi   nyin ngunu yerr-lafuganying-ne
       Tr -throat   ANA HOW Tr   - placename -PURP
       cl =song   ABOUT cl
       You know that song... (the one) about Lafuganying.

Note that purposive marked human nouns can be cross-referenced in the
verb with the 'indirect object' set of bound pronouns where they are
interpreted as benefactives, as in 6-16, and can be cross-referenced with the
'implicated argument' set of bound pronouns where they are interpreted as
the source of an (adversative) emotional state, as in 6-18. Normally where a
purposive NP is cross-referenced within the verb its freeform equivalent
would not also be included. Thus the bracketed elements in 6-16 and 6-18
should be read as either/or.

6.1.4   -werre/werri (K)   ASSOCIATIVE

A noun phrase encliticised with -**werre** can convey an attribute that is
associated with some entity and is sufficiently prominent or interesting that
it can be thought of being characteristic of that entity.

6-23   knife **anggirrgimi-werre**   **yimu**   **-ngiti-wa**
           rib   *-ASSOC* *2sgSnatch-1sg* *-pick*
                          SU Irr   *IO*   *up*
       Get me a serrated (rib-having) knife !

6-24   **yedi -tyityipi-werri**   **yenim**
NgK   *man-many -ASSOC*   *3sg Go*
                          SU Pres
       She's promiscuous.

6-25   **wurek kinyi,** **kuru**   **a-yerrkinwari-werre,**
           bad   *here*   *water* *A-saltwater*   *-ASSOC*
                              cl crocodile
       It's no good here, the water's got a saltwater crocodile (in it) !

The attributes that are associated with an entity in this way need not be permanent, as can be seen in 6-26 and 6-27.

6-26   **de -ge**   **-werre** **yenim**
           Bp-belly-ASSOC *3sg Go*
           cl   *SU Pres*
       She's pregnant.

6-27   **ki - werri**   **dim**   **gu**   **-nyi-ta -nana**
NgK   *fight-ASSOC*   *3sgSit*   *3sgSlash-2sg-hit-WARN*
                      SU Pres *SU Irr*   *DO*
       She's all steamed up (fight-having), she might hit you !

-werre is used derivationally in naming things in terms of such associations, i.e. something is an 'X haver' where X is a characteristic part. e.g. **debi-werre** (leg-ASSOC) 'trousers', **depi-werre** (head-ASSOC) 'hat', etc.

     -werre also has a comitative function, marking an entity that accompanies the subject in some activity. Prototypical comitative NPs are humans, as in 6-28, considered to possess a degree of self-will, and although they can be directed and controlled to some extent, they do not fall fully under subject control.

6-28   **wa-yeyi nyinnin ambirri ngadde-madiwirri-tye**
           M-other ANA   *before*   *1dIexGo-play*   *-Past*
           cl   *SU PImp*
       That bloke I used to play with before...
       nyin   **falmi -werre**   **yenim**
       ANA   *woman-ASSOC*   *3sg Go*
                            SU Pres
       ...well he's got a wife now.

```
6-29   nendu-werri  -kana wuddini  -fifili  -tye  -waddi  gold-ngini
NgK    horse -ASSOC-FOC  3plShove-search-Past-3pl Go         -PURP
                      SU PImp                    SU PImp
       They were searching about on horseback for gold
```

```
6-30   fepi  nyin-pagu  -nimbi        yedi  -tye  darrwa-werre
       hill  ANA-HITH-SOURCE          3sgGo-Past  raft    -ASSOC
                                      SU PImp
       (Ancestral Pelican) came down from that hill on a raft,
       wandirrk-ninggi  darani     -titidi -pagu -tye -yedi
       pole      -INSTR 3sgPokeDtr-push-HITH-Past-3sgGo
                      SU PImp   redup                SU PImp
       pushing herself along with a pole.
```

The notion of 'accompaniment', as marked by -**werre**, differs from the notion of 'instrumental use', marked by -**ninggi**-, in terms of the degree to which the entity in question falls within subject control. In contrast to comitative NPs, the prototypical instrumental NP is inanimate, devoid of self-will, and in human hands is totally manipulable. In 6.1.2 we saw that speech, tools, weapons etc, are the best examples of instruments, and are the kinds of entities that will be always marked in that role with -**ninggi**.

However, between self-willed humans that one accompanies, on the one hand, and inanimate objects that one uses, on the other, there is a grey area of 'non-human animates' and 'not-very-manipulable inanimates' which can be variously viewed as filling either comitative or instrumental roles. Thus, in view of their self-will, horses are treated as comitative in 6-29. Likewise in 6-30, an inanimate raft is treated as a comitative, in view of its limited manoeuvrability (especially in contrast with the handheld steering pole). Note though that in both these examples the horse or raft could quite acceptably be viewed as functioning in an instrumental role and correspondingly marked with -**ninggi**. 6-31 below demonstrates the acceptability of variously viewing dogs in an accompanying role, or in an instrumental role.

```
6-31   a)   wu-wu-werre       waddi - Ø  - dudu -tye
            C -dog -ASSOC     3plGo     -3sg -track  -Past
            cl                 SU PImpDO
            They were tracking him with dogs.
```

```
       b)   wu-wu-ninggi  waddi  - Ø -dudu -tye
            C -dog -INSTR 3plGo   -3sg -track-Past
            cl                 SU PImpDO
            They were tracking him with dogs.
```

The functions of -werre and -ninggi clearly overlap here. Things that fall fully within subject control, like speech, tools, weapons etc, are most likely to be designated as 'instruments' by being marked with -ninggi. On the other hand, things that fall less fully under subject control, things which can be considered to possess a degree of self-will, like humans and higher-animates, are most likely to be treated as comitatives and marked with -werre.

6.1.5 -nimbi   SOURCE

-nimbi has two related functions, glossed as 'SOURCE' and 'CAUSE'. As a marker of 'source' -nimbi can only function adnominally as an enclitic to the final constituent of an NP, denoting that NP as a spatial or temporal point of origin. Marking 'cause' however, -nimbi can function either adnominally, marking an NP as the cause of some resultant condition, or predicatively, denoting an entire clausal proposition as the cause of some resultant proposition. Functioning predicatively -nimbi is an enclitic to the verb root. The adnominal 'source', adnominal 'cause' and predicative 'cause' functions of -nimbi are contrasted in 6-32 to 6-34.

6-32   wembem-nimbi   menggeny
        house   -SOURCE   3sgArrive
                            SU Perf
        He emerged from inside the house.

6-33   kuru -nimbi ngini   -kukuduk-tye   dem   -ngi-mi-tit
        liquid-CAUS   1sgSit   -drink   -Past   3sgHands-1sg-eye-raise
        generic   SUPImp redup   SUPres   DO
        I have a headache from the beer I was drinking.
        (Had it not been beer, I'd be alright)

6-34   kuru   ngini   -kukuduk-nimbi-tye   dem   -ngi-mi-tit
        liquid   1sgSit   -drink   -CAUS-Past   3sgHands-1sg-eye-raise
        gen.   SUPImp redup   SUPres   DO
        I have a headache from drinking beer.
        (Had I not been drinking beer, I'd be alright)

Those enclitics that have the capacity to attach to either nouns or verbs are classified as 'propositional enclitics', whereas those that attach only to nouns that stand in core, peripheral or local syntactic relations to the verb are classified as 'case enclitics'. In accordance with this classification, the 'source' function of -nimbi is examined in 6.1.5.1 below, but the discussion of the 'cause' function of -nimbi can be found in 6.2.1.

6.1.5.1 Spatial Source

With verbs of motion and transfer -nimbi marks the NP to which it is attached as the source location of the activity.

6-35   nintyinintyi-nimbi   wudeny   -fel
         bush   *-SOURCE 3sgShoveDtrD-bounce*
                               SU Perf
         It jumped out from the bushes.

6-36   gagu   yudu   -ngurr-puty -pe   kin -nimbi
         animal   *2sgShove-1plex -chase-Fut*   *here-SOURCE*
         gen.   *SU Irr*   *IO*
         You'll scare the (fish) away from us.

6-37   ngirrsye   -nyi-wurr -pe   ngityirr abarri-nimbi
         1plexPull-2sg -enter-Fut   *ground soft   -SOURCE*
         SU Irr   DO
         We'll pull you out of the bog.

6.1.5.2 Multiple Enclitics

In Ngan'gityemerri the minor phenomenon of multiple case enclitics is essentially restricted to combinations of the 'local' case forms, i.e. spatial source -nimbi and either or both of the locative -nide (see 6.1.6) and the directionals -pagu and -pefi (see 6.2.2). As -nimbi is almost always an element of multiple enclitic constructions[3], they will be briefly dealt with here.

Where motion/transfer takes place, not simply *from* a location, but *from inside* a location, then the NP designating that location will bear both locative and source case enclitics in that order.

6-38   yarany   -fi -tit   musyulng-nide-nimbi
         2sgPokeDtr-Mp-raise swag   -LOC-SOURCE
         SU Perf
         You got up from inside your swag.

6-39   ganbi   nyinnin   me   -wa   wembem-nide-nimbi
         didjeridu ANA   3sgSnatch-pick house   -LOC-SOURCE
                                   SU Perf   up
         He picked up the didjeridu from inside the house.

---

[3]This general comment does not take into account the 'indefinite' enclitic -nawa (see 9.3.3) which can co-occur with most other case enclitics.

With verbs involving activity that is projected outwards from a sourcepoint, that outward projection can be marked by suffixing the THITHer directional enclitic -pefi in addition to the source enclitic, as in 6-40.

6-40   **kin -nimbi   -pefi   yaniyerri-pe**
           here-SOURCE-THITH   2sg Go*   -Fut
                                  SU Irr
           You'll be going away from here.

The single case I have recorded of three enclitics on a single NP involves a verb of 'outward projection' (to see) *from inside* a location, and consists of the locative, source and thither enclitics in that order.

6-41   **dede   nyinyi-nide-nimbi   -pefi   yirim**
           camp   2sg   -LOC-SOURCE-THITH   3sgSit
                 PRO   SU Pres
           (Looking out) from (sitting) in your camp,
           yinyinggin fepi   wedi   nyin wantyirr   girribem
           2sg See   hill   small ANA   name   3sg Stand
           SU Pres   SU Pres
           can you see that little hill 'Wantyirr'?

Note that in this example the notion of 'outward projection', encoded on the NP 'your camp' by the thither suffix -pefi, is given in anticipation of the verb 'to see' in the following clause.

6.1.5.3   Source of Transformation
       -**nimbi** also marks the original form of a thing that is transformed into something else.

6-42   **mawuny -nimbi   werrmim-wurity**
           ironwood-SOURCE   3plHands-make
                               SU Pres
           They make (boomerangs) out of ironwood.

6-43   **mipurr-nimbi   yedi -tye   darany   -ket gagu -nyine**
           man   -SOURCE   3sgGo-Past   3sgPokeDtr-cut   animal-FOC
                         SU PImp   SU Perf
           From being a man, (Ancestral Flyingfox) turned himself into an animal.

6.1.5.4   Temporal Source

-nimbi is attached to NP's that designate either points in time or timespans, indicating that they are the point at which some activity or event begins.

6-44   **gidin wukume apirri -nimbi**   **yenim- Ø -mi -wap**
NgK   *year   one   before-SOURCE*   *3sgGo -3sg -val-sit*
                                          SU Pres DO inc
He's been married (habitually sitting with someone) since a year back.

6-45   **kak-ambirri-nyine yedi -tye, monday-nimbi   deminy -pat**
       in -first   -FOC 3sgGo-Past   -SOURCE 3sgHands-arise
       motion   SU PImp   SU Perf
       He's already gone, he left on Monday.

In 6-46 below a human lifestage expression serves as a term with temporal reference.

6-46   **wa-wedimuy-nimbi   yedi -tye wa-deme   -pi   -yiri   -tye -yedi**
       M-child   -SOURCE 3sgGo-Past M-3sgHands-head-numb-Past-3sgGo
       cl   SU PImp cl SU PImp =shamed   SUPImp
       From when he was a child he was always shy.

6.1.5.5   Discource function of -nimbi

-nimbi can be attached to the anaphoric demonstrative **nyin**. The resultant form **nyin-nimbi** 'from that' is widely used in narrative to indicate that some previous event is finished and a new temporally sequential event is about to proceed.

6-47   **wirriny-me -purrk-ambirri watypela   mityity**
       3plSit -hand-clap -FIRST   white   white
       SU Perf   man   woman
       (At the end of the performance) the white men and women clapped first,
       nyin -nimbi   dam -burr-fi -tyat winnyirri nginifiny
       ANA-SOURCE 3sgPoke-3pl -Mp-put 3plSee   true
                    SU Perf IO   SU Perf
       and after that he set up (the video) for them, and they watched the real thing.

6.1.6 -nide   Locative

The case inflection -**nide** has both 'spatial' locative and 'endpoint' locative functions. With stance/posture verbs and dynamic verbs that do not involve movement through space -**nide** indicates that the NP to which it is attached is statically located.

6-48 ngayi malfiyin -nide ngirim-nyine dede
1sg placename-LOC 1sgSit -FOC camp
PRO SU Pres
I'm living at Malfiyin now.

6-49 fidi -nide wa -ngirrki-syalat-pe -wiri
sun's-LOC 3sgHeat-1dlex -warm-Fut-3sgSit
heat SU Irr DO SU Irr
We'll warm ourselves in the sunshine.
(lit: the heat will warm us in the sun's heat)

With verbs of motion or other verbs involving movement through space -nide is suffixed to NP's that denote the 'endpoint' or position in which an entity comes to be at the completion of the activity of the verb.

6-50 billycan musyulng wanniny-madi-kuli mudiga nyinyi-nide
swag 3plGo -chest-throw car 2sg -LOC
SU Perf PRO
They threw the billies and swags into your car.

6-51 wamanggal ngudupun-wele yewirr-nide
wallaby 1sgShove -hang tree -LOC
SU Perf
I hung the wallaby in the tree.

6-52 yawam -ngi -pe dede ngayi-nide
2sgTake-1sg -Fut camp 1sg -LOC
SU Irr DO PRO
Take me back to my camp.

NP's designating the endpoints of verbs of motion can optionally bear the 'thither' enclitic -pefi, in addition to locative -nide. Comparing 6-53 and 6-54 below, there appears to be no systematic difference between locative NP's and locative+thither NP's. Certainly 'arrival at' or 'entry into' the designated endpoint location is no more explicitly encoded in 6-53 than it is in 6-54.

6-53 store-nide ngaganim
-LOC 1sg Go
SU Pres
I'm going to the store.

6-54 store-nide-pefi ngaganim
-LOC-THITH 1sg Go
SU Pres
I'm going to the store.

Note that the locative suffix -nide is frequently omitted from NPs where the logical argument structure of the verb unambiguously determines that the NP will be interpreted as a location. Thus NP's in a locative relation to verbs such as 'go', 'take', 'hang', 'throw' etc in the above examples, are quite acceptable without case inflection.

6.1.7 -pagu VIA

The propositional enclitics -**pagu** and -**pefi**, indicating activity directed 'towards' or 'away from' the speaker, respectively, are examined in 6.2.2. -**pagu** additionally has a minor role as a local case marker, indicating that the NP to which it is attached represents 'a location passed through', or 'a pathway moved along'. This perlative usage of -**pagu** is demonstrated in the examples below.

6-55 **depi -pagu ngeme   -syarr -tye   tyet**
      head-VIA   1sgHandsDtr-scrape-Past   shirt
                    SU PImp
      I pulled my shirt off over my head.

6-56 **mentyi-kanbi   -pagu ngupung-genket ngekin masyapu**
NgK   *throat -bamboo-VIA   1sgSlash -cut   shit   big*
      =windpipe   SU Perf   redup   = large colon
      I pulled its guts out through (a hole in) its windpipe.

6-57 **old highway-pagu ngarrany   -fi -pal**
                    -VIA   1plexPokeDtr-Mp-return
                    SU Perf
      We came home by the old highway.

6.2   Propositional Enclitics

This section looks at ten enclitics which in particular functions are 'propositional' in the sense defined at the beginning of this chapter.

6.2.1 -nimbi   CAUSE

In 6.1.5 we saw that -**nimbi** as a 'source' marker conveys the notion that some event or entity was temporally *prior* to some other event. In 6-35, something was 'in the bushes' prior to 'jumping out of the bushes'. In 6-47, 'the audience clapping' was prior to 'his setting up the video'. The causal functions of -**nimbi** can be seen to be related to the source functions in terms of this notion, i.e. a causal event must be *prior* to the state or event that it instigates.

The adnominal use of causal -**nimbi** is demonstrated in the examples below.

6-58   **dede wunggume-nimbi dim,   dengini ngayim**
place one   -CAUS 3sgSit   body   3sgF
*   SU Pres   PRO*
From sitting in the one place, her body has kind of
ngini -yup-mem -ngide   agumufi minbe yenim-lali
KIND-stiff-3sgDo -3sgF   tendon   Neg   3sgGo -around
*   SU PresIMPL   SU Pres*
stiffened up on her... her tendons, she can't move about.

6-59   **ep   perrety-meny,   ep   tyagan-nimbi -nawa**
GUESS die   -3sgDo   GUESS   what -CAUS-INDEF
*   SU Perf*
They say he's dead, whatever could it be from ?
ep   manguyawu-nimbi, ep   gagu   edewi-nimbi
GUESS sorcery   -CAUS   GUESS animal fat   -CAUS
might've been from sorcery...might've been from kidney fat.

Where a noun given as the cause of some resultant state or activity is a higher animate, there exists a degree of overlap between the notional roles of 'causer' and 'agent'. -nimbi can be suffixed to NP's that are effectively the subjects of high-transitive verbs, and as such would perhaps be more typically marked in that role by the agentive suffix -ninggi (see 5.2.1). Green (1989:53) and Harvey (1987:210) also note the possibility of 'source' or 'cause' case marking on transitive subjects in Marrithiyel and Warray. There is no significant semantic difference between the pairs of sentences in the examples below.

6-60 a)   **ngityirr wurek, pigipigi-nimbi waddi -kurrkurr-tye**
            ground bad   pig   -CAUS 3plGo -dig   -Past
                                            SU PImp redup
            The ground is rough, dug up by pigs.

      b)   **ngityirr wurek, pigipigi-ninggi waddi -kurrkurr-tye**
            ground bad   pig   -AGENT 3plGo -dig   -Past
                                              SU PImp redup
            The ground is rough, dug up by pigs.

6-61 a)   **Billy -nimbi dangim-ngirrki-fi -me**
                   -CAUS 3sgPoke -1dlex -Mp-hand
                   SU Perf DO
            Billy gave us some (cartridges).

      b)   **Billy -ninggi   dangim-ngirrki-fi -me**
                   -AGENT 3sgPoke -1dlex -Mp-hand
                   SU Perf DO
            Billy gave us some (cartridges).

An example of the predicative use of causal -nimbi was given in 6-34 above. Where -nimbi functions predicatively in attaching to verbs that are inflected for the irrealis modal category, the resultant clause of 'potential cause' is interpreted as the 'condition' (versus the 'consequent'), of a conditional proposition. This construction type is demonstrated in 6-62 and 6-63 below.

6-62   **mani -nimbi ya   -ngi-fi -me,**
        money-CAUS   2sgPoke-1sg-Mp-hand
                     SU Irr DO
        If you give me money ,
        peke   ngim -bi -fayam[4]-pe
        tobacco 1sgLie-2sg-buy   -Fut
                 SU Irr IO
        I'll buy you tobacco.
         (i.e. from you giving me money, I'll buy you tobacco)

6-63   **mudiga-werre   yaniyerri-nimbi, mirri wunggume yemengge,**
        car   -ASSOC 2sgGo   -CAUS sun one   2sgArrive
                    SU Irr   SU Irr
        If you went by car, you'd get there in one day,
        epe firr-ngityirr yani -lali   -nimbi diwin erreke -nawa
        but foot-ground 2sgGo-around-CAUS   month how   -INDEF
                 SU Irr   many
        but, if you were to footwalk, it'd take ..who knows how many
        yemengge, minbe mendi-wurru
        2sgArrive   Neg   close -UNSATIS
        SU Irr
        months to get there, it's really too far away!
        (i.e. from going by car...... from going by foot.......)

Past conditionals, being relatively certain of outcome, tend to lack the sense of 'potentiality', and are basically restricted to interpretation as counterfactual hypotheticals. Compare 6-62 above with 6-64 below.

6-64   **mani   ya   -ngi-fi -me -nimbi -tye, peke ngim -bi -fayam-tye**
      money 2sgPoke-1sg-Mp-hand-CAUS -Past tobacco 1sgLie-2sg-buy-Past
        SUIrr DO   SUIrr IO
      If you'd given me money, I'd have bought you tobacco.
      (i.e. from you having given me money, I'd have bought you tobacco)

---

[4]The verb root -**fayam** is probably a Kriol loan based on the English 'buy'em'. Elderly Ngan'giwumirri speakers use the verb **nganganim-wawu-**'pick up'in reference to collecting supplies from a store. If this is a loan verb root, it is unusual in its selection of the 'Lie' auxiliary, as all other loan verbs into Ngan'gityemerri are formed with the 'Say' auxiliary.

Note that Ngan'gityemerri requires a sort of harmony of both modal and tense categories between the 'condition' and the 'consequent' of conditional constructions. As non-actual events, both require the irrealis mood, and they must be either both past tense (counterfactual) or both future tense (potential).

In these irrealis conditional structures the propositional use of -nimbi carries a strong implication of the notion of conjecture. This semantic correlation between 'conjecture' and 'non-actual cause' is evident in examples 6-62 and 6-63 above. This sense of conjecture or hypotheticality is even more evident in those conditional structure where either the 'condition' or the 'consequent' is not explicitly given. In 6-65 below, the consequent is unstated (but the implied consequent is supplied in the literal translation), and the causal proposition has the effect of a hypothetical suggestion.

6-65   toilet **kinyi   derrigidi-yerrmugu -nimbi-pe   detyirri-ne**
        here   want   -2plHandsdl-CAUS -Fut   piss   -PURP
                 SU Irr   SU
        The toilet is here, should you (dl) want (it for) a piss.
        (lit: The toilet is here. As a result of wanting it for a piss, (this is
        where you'd come.))

On the other hand, a small number of examples have been recorded which have -nimbi in utterance-initial position. Consider the examples below.

6-66   **-nimbi tyawurru wani -pagu -pe   wemengge-nin   -pe**
        -CAUS today   3sgGo -HITH-Fut 3sgArrive -1plinc-Fut
                 SU Irr   SU Irr   IO
        Perhaps he'll arrive here to us today
        (lit:(as a result of X happening), he'll arrive here...)

6-67   **-nimbi   ngani-pe, -nimbi   minmi**
        -CAUS 1sgGo-Fut -CAUS   Neg
                 SU Irr
        I might go, I might not.
        (lit:(as a result of X happening), I'll go... (but as a result of Y
        happening), I won't.)

The conjectural sense of these examples arises from the omission of the 'condition' clause to which -nimbi is formally an enclitic. The speaker is not being specific about the events X and Y that might cause or instigate the 'consequent' events of his going or not going.

6.2.2 Directionals '-pefi' and '-pagu'

Section 6.1.7 describes the local case function of -**pagu**, glossed as 'VIA'. The main function of the enclitics -**pefi** and -**pagu** is a propositional one, indicating that some activity is performed 'towards' or 'away from' the speaker. This is exemplified in the directional senses implicit in the following examples. Note that because these enclitics have scope over the entire clausal proposition, they freely attach to either the verb or a 'local' NP. The bracketed enclitics in 6-68 and 6-69 should therefore be read as either/or.

6-68   a)   **kinyi(-pagu) wuddum-Ø -mi -wul   (-pagu)**
           here-HITH   3plShove-3sg-val-return-HITH
                     SU Perf   DO   inc
           They brought him back here.

          b)   **wunu(-pefi)   wuddum-Ø -mi -wul   (-pefi)**
           there   -THITH 3plShove -3sg-val-return-THITH
                     SU Perf   DO inc
           They took him back there.

6-69   a)   **etye kinyi(-pagu) yara   -fi -pal   (-pagu)-pe**
           when here-HITH   2sgPokeDtr-Mp-return-HITH-Fut
                        SU Irr
           When are you coming home ?

          b)   **etye wunu(-pefi) yara   -fi -pal   (-pefi) -pe**
           when there-THITH   2sgPokeDtr-Mp-return-THITH-Fut
                       SU Irr
           When are you going home ?

The reference point with respect to which motion is marked as 'towards' or 'away' need not strictly be the physical location of the speaker, but can be a location or person with which/who the speaker aligns or identifies himself[5]. Thus in the example given below, the speaker (in Peppimenarti) employs -**pagu** 'HITHer' to describe the return of his daughter from Katherine to Darwin (roughly equidistant from Peppimenarti) where she will return to the care of relatives.

6-70   **wara   -fi -pal   -pagu -pe   tawun**
                3sgPokeDtr-Mp-return-HITH-Fut   Darwin
                SU Irr
                She's coming back to Darwin

---

[5]As one might expect of such a system these enclitics are widely exploited in Ngan'gityemerri discourse as flags for one's social and political affiliations.

Propositional -**pagu** is widely employed in requests and imperatives where the speaker is the goal of transfer verbs. As is evident in 6-71 a) to c) below, -**pagu**, having scope over the entire clause, is free to appear on either the verb or the object NP. As c) shows, in requests and imperatives where there is a logical or conventional association between the verb and the object, the verb will typically be omitted.

6-71   a)   **peke**   **yudi**   **-ngindi-fityi-pagu**
NgK   *tobacco* *2sgShove-1sg*   *-roll-HITH*
                       SU Irr   *IO*
          Roll me a smoke !

NgK b)   **peke** **-pagu** **yudi**   **-ngindi-fityi**
             tobacco-HITH *2sgShove-1sg*   *-roll*
                       SU Irr   *IO*
          Roll me a smoke !

      c)   **peke**   **-pagu**
             tobacco-HITH
          Give me/roll me a smoke !

6-72   **mam -deti**   **yimi -ngindi-pagu**
NgK   *more-SAME*   *2sgSay-1sg*   *-HITH*
                     SU Irr IO
          Tell me again ! (I couldn't hear you)

6-73   **yana**   **-ngiti-kuli** **-pagu**
             2sgFeet-1sg   *-throw-HITH*
             SU Irr IO
          Toss it here !

A specifically aspectual function of -**pefi**, as a verbal enclitic, rather than a propositional enclitic, is examined in 3.4.4.4.

6.2.3 -merrendi/-nana (K)   LEST, WARNing, PROHIBition, INABility

Historically, -**merrendi** is dimorphemic, consisting of the enclitic -**merre**, which in turn is encliticised by -**yendi** 'same' (see 6.2.5). In contemporary Ngan'giwumirri however, the rarity of the use of -**merre** in isolation of the 'same' enclitic, suggests that -**merrendi** has been essentially reanalysed as a simple form. In consequence I have chosen to treat -**merrendi** in the examples given here as a single enclitic without attempting to exemplify this dimorphemic constituency.

-**merrendi/-nana**(K) can attach to either an NP or a verb root. This freedom stems from its having scope predicatively over an entire clausal proposition, not merely its immediate lexical host. -**merrendi/-nana**(K) has

four related functions glossed here as 'LEST', 'WARNing', 'PROHIBition' and 'INABility'.

6.2.3.1 LEST

A -**merrendi** clause subordinate to a simple declarative clause indicates a potential adversive proposition.

6-74   **wa-wetimuy yenim-wurrsimuy, ngemi   -palak-nana**
NgK   *M -little 'un 3sgGo -afraid   1sgHands-drop -LEST*
       cl   SU Pres   SU Irr
The little boy is afraid, lest I drop him.

6-75   **kuru gana -nin   -garri-pat -nime-merrendi**
        rain 3sgFeet-1plinc-leg -catch-pl   - LEST
              SU Irr DO   DO
Before the wet season catches up with us,
warrmadi-pe ngumbu   -wurrki-dudu
quick   -Fut 1plincSlash-3dl   -cut
            SU   Irr   DO   redup
we'll have to circumcise those two (boys) quickly.

6.2.3.2 WARNING

Warnings are structured as imperative clauses, and a subordinate -**merrendi** clause. The clause subordinated by -merrendi/-nana (K) denotes a proposition that is bad and should be avoided. The implication is that by heeding the advice given in the imperative clause, the bad outcome can be avoided.

6-76   **minbe yarra   -fi -gi -mi-tyat,**
        Neg   2plPokeDtr-Mp-side-Val-place
               SU Irr
Don't all sit on the (one) side (of the boat)
ngumbudu -madi-fili -merrendi,
1plincShove-chest -roll- WARN
SU   Irr
lest we roll it over.

6-77   **minbe pulpulmuy yi   -ngiti**
        Neg   humbug   2sgSit-1sg
                          SU Irr IO
Don't annoy me,
syiri -ninggi ngu   -nyi-ta -merrendi
striker-INSTR 1sgSlash-2sg -hit-WARN
 generic   SU Irr DO
or I'll hit you with a stick !

6.2.3.3   PROHIBITION

Prohibitives are structured like negative imperatives, with, in addition, **merrendi** encliticised to the pre-verbal negative particle **minbe/minde(K)**. Prohibitives differ from negative imperatives in two important ways. Firstly, where imperatives are issued on the authority of the speaker, prohibitives appeal to the authority of legal, social or ritual conventions. Compare 6-78 and 6-79.

6-78   **minbe dendi- yumu-ne**   father
        Neg   lie   2sgSay-3sg   *priest*
                        SU Irr IO
        Don't lie to the priest !
        (I'm telling you this)

6-79   **minbe-merrendi dendi- yumu-ne**   father
        Neg   -PROHIB   lie   2sgSay -3sg   *priest*
                            SU Irr IO
        You shouldn't lie to the priest !
        (Everyone knows this)

Secondly, unlike imperatives, prohibitives can take first and third person subjects in addition to second person subjects.

6-80   **kuru   kinyi pub,**
        liquid   this
        generic
        This is a pub.
        awa-purrpurrk minbe-merrendi girri - Ø   kinyi,
        Hg -littl'uns   Neg   - PROHIB   3plSit-IMP   here
        cl   SU Irr
        Little kids aren't allowed in here.

6-81   **minde-nana   wiri -kukuduk kuri   beer,**
NgK   *Neg   -PROHIB   3sgSit-drink   liquid*
                        SU Irr redup   generic
        He's not allowed to drink beer.

6-81   **nem   wunu ngirrwat   ngayi yenim,**
        3sgM   that   namesake   1sg   3sgGo
        PRO   PRO SU Pres
        minbe-merrendi ngarrene-ngirrki-tyerrakul
        Neg   -PROHIB   1dlexGo-1dlex -talk
                        SU Irr   IO
        He is my namesake, we're not allowed to talk to each other.

6.2.3.4   INABILITY

There are examples where the structural pattern of prohibitives is sometimes found to express inability without necessarily the implication of prohibition from some external source. As in English and many other languages, the distinction between these different senses of the deontic mode is not encoded morphologically.

6-84   **ngayi wa-mirrisyarra-ngi**
NgK   *1sg   M - blind   -1sg*
       PRO   cl   DO
       I'm blind,
       minbe-nana   mudiga kinyi ngemi -baty
       Neg   -INAB   car   this   1sgHands-take
       *   SU Irr*
       I can't drive this car.

6-85   **beer   minbe-merrendi kinyi ngumu-wa**
        Neg   -INAB   here   1sgSnatch-pick
        *   SU Irr   up*

        I'm unable to get beers here,
        tyandi -wurru   closed wirribem store-ne
        sunday-UNSATIS   3sgStand   -PURP
        *   SU Pres*
        because being sunday, the store is closed.
        (lit: it's closed for the purpose of being a store)

6-86   **yerr-makarri freezer wunu minbe-merrendi girim-mirrmirr**
        Tr -bad   that   Neg   -INABIL   3sgSit-rumble
        *   cl   SUPres*
        That freezer's no good, (the motor) can't/won't run.

6.2.4 **-yirre**   CORRECT

-yirre attaches to NP's marking them as the correct entity, in contrast to some given, assumed or intended erroneous referent, i.e. 'It's not X, as given, but Y-**yirre** that is the correct entity'.

6-87   **ngem   -fi -ket   were   ngiminy-ne,**
        1sgMouth-Mp-cut   brother 1sgSay   -3sg
        SU Perf =speak falsely   SU Perf IO
        I mistakenly called him 'brother',
        epe yetyi-yirre   ngumbumum-ne
        but son -CORRECT 1dlincSay   -3sg
        *   SU Pres   IO*
        but it's 'son' that you 'n me correctly call him.

6-88　gagu　a-lalawuty-yirre　　　　-ne　　-tye　wubu -nin　-da
　　　　animal A-edible　　-CORRECT-INTENT-Past 3sgBash-1dlinc-hit
　　　　generic cl　　　　　　　　　　　　　　SU Irr　　IO
　　　　It was something edible that he was going to shoot for us,

　　　　epe　minmi　mentyinimba-wurru　　bem　-da
　　　　BUT Neg　　diving shag -UNSATIS 3sgBash-hit
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　SU Perf
　　　　but no, he's gone and bagged a diving shag !

6-89　**minmi, wunu-yirre　　　　yenim-wap dede**
　　　　Neg　　there-CORRECT 3sgGo -sit　camp
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　SU Pres
　　　　No, (he's not where you think he is) he's actually there in
　　　　his camp.

6.2.5　-yendi　　SAME

-yendi has a range of meanings, transcending a single-word English translation. Given as 'SAME' in the interlinear gloss, -yendi is variously translated in specific examples as 'same', 'again', 'as well', 'still' etc.

-yendi indicates that an event is considered in some way to be a 'copy' or 'repetition' of some other event. Like 'same' in English, this notion of 'sameness' allows for two types of linkage between these two events. It can link two instances of a single thing at two points in time, in which case the glosses 'again' and 'same' are likely to be used.

6-90　**dede　　nyin-nendi　yawam -ngi - Ø**
　　　　country　ANA-SAME　2sgTake-1sg -IMP
　　　　　　　　　　　　　SU Irr　DO
　　　　Take me back to that same place again.

If the two events are points within the frame of a progressive unchanged state, then the gloss 'still' will be appropriate.

6-91　**a -nyin -nendi　　minbe-tye　wanni -fili**
　　　　A-ANA-SAME　　Neg　-Past 3plGo -wander
　　　　cl　　　　　　　　　　SU Irr
　　　　That's still the same (bullocks), they haven't wandered.

Where an event is viewed, not just as a copy of another single event, but as one of a series of 'same' events, then it is likely to be glossed as 'always'.

6-92　**kuru -nimbi dim -kuduk,　yenim-lali,**
　　　　liquid-CAUS 3sgSit-drink　3sgGo -around
　　　　　　　　SU Pres　　　　SU Pres
　　　　Whenever he gets drunk, he wanders around and abuses

bengim -burr-peperrety,   ngini -mem -napa -ndi   -yenim
3sgBash-3pl -swear   *KIND-3sgDo-JUST-SAME-3sgGo*
SU Pres DO   redup   *SU Pres*   *SU Pres*
everyone. He always behaves in that same kind of manner.

The second type of linkage between one event/entity and its 'copy', is where two separate event/entities at the same point in time are considered to be instances of the 'same' thing. These will be glossed as 'as well', 'also', 'more', 'same', etc.

6-93   **ya lirrmem beying -ngi -perrety,**
        hey cold   3sgBash-1sg -cold
                        SU Pres DO
        Hey, I'm feeling cold.
        nem bengim- Ø - perrety-yendi
        3sg   3sgBash-3sg -cold   -SAME
        PRO SU Pres DO
        And he's cold as well (in addition to me being cold).

6-94   **peke   mam-mendi-pagu**
        tobacco   more-SAME-HITH
        Give me some more of that same tobacco ?

6-95   **dede yeyi   pey-endi   wibem, detyeri-werre   ngaganim**
        camp other in -SAME   3sgLie ear   -ASSOC 1sg Go
                    place   SU Pres   SU Pres
        I know another place that's the same.
        (an equally good fishing spot in the same vicinity)

6-96   **minb-endi   ya   -ngi-tyerr -pu, minbe-pagu yumu-ngiti**
        Neg   -SAME 2sgPoke-1sg-mouth-ask Neg -HITH 2sgSay-1sg
                    SU Irr   DO   SU Irr IO
        Don't ask me more of the same questions. Don't question my
        tyagan-ne,   tyepe ngan'gi ngayi yumu   -ngi-me -wa,
        what   -PURP just   word   1sg   2sgSnatch-1sg -hand-pick
                                PRO SU Irr   DO   up
        intentions. Just take my word for it !

Of all the enclitics discussed in this section, -yendi stands apart in having two features that are more suggestive of the status of suffix than of enclitic. These features, the ability to carry secondary stress marking, and the tendency in certain environments to undergo phonological assimilation and reduction, are discussed below.

-yendi only retains its full form following roots that are stop final, as in 6-93 above.

Following roots that are nasal final, the initial semivowel of -yendi assimilates to both the place and manner of that nasal, as in 6-94 above.

Where -**yendi** attaches to vowel-final roots, the resultant -<u>V#y</u>endi sequence that lies across the morpheme boundary is subject to reduction. Either <u>ye</u> is elided and the root final V is suffixed by -**ndi**, or Vy is elided and the truncated root is suffixed by -**endi**. Put another way, the initial semivowel /y/ and one of the two vowels will be elided. The choice of which vowel is retained is determined by stress placement. Recall that, on nominals, primary word stress falls on the initial syllable and secondary stress on the third syllable of words that have more than three syllables. So where -**yendi** suffixes disyllabic roots, secondary stress thus falls on the first syllable of -**yendi**, and it is this vowel that is retained.

6-97　　　**mínbe - yendi**　　　→　　**mínbèndi**
　　　　　Neg　- SAME

　　　　　gúmu - yendi　　　→　　**gúmèndi**
　　　　　SEMBL- SAME

　　　　　péyi　- yendi　　　→　　**péyèndi**
　　　　　in place - SAME

　　　　　ngáyi　- yendi　　　→　　**ngáyèndi**
　　　　　1sgPRO -SAME

However where -**yendi** suffixes trisyllabic roots, secondary stress falls not on -**yendi** but rather on the third syllable of the root, and it is this root final vowel that is retained, taking the -**ndi** allomorph as a suffix.

6-98　　　**wárrmadi - yendi**　　　→　　**wárrmadìndi**
　　　　　quick　　- SAME

　　　　　nyín -napa - yendi　　　→　　**nyínnapàndi**
　　　　　ANA-JUST-SAME

-**yendi** has not been recorded suffixed to nominal open monosyllables.

Given the pattern of stress placement on verbs (see 2.5.3), the attachment of -**yendi** to vowel-final verb roots will always result in its reduction to -**ndi**, as in the example below.

6-99　**darany　　-ngiti-fi -pal　　bem -ngi -da -ndi**
　　　3sgPokeDtr -1sg　-Mp-return　3sgBash-1sg -hit-SAME
　　　SU Perf　　IO　　　　　SU Perf DO
　　　He came back and hit me again.

The allomorphy of -**yendi** can be accounted for by the following two rules.

1)　　Initial y is elided after non-stops, leaving a VV sequence.

2)   Whichever V secondary word stress falls on is retained, the
        other is elided.

From the examples in 6-97 and 6-98 it is evident that the phonological
processes at work here are ordered in the following way.

suffixation > stress placement > elision

That -yendi attaches to its host *prior* to stress placement conflicts with the
general behaviour of class and case marking enclitics noted elsewhere. It is
on the basis of this factor, together with the propensity to undergo
elision/reduction, that -yendi can be seen to have the status of suffix rather
than enclitic.

6.2.6 -gumu/gimi(K)   SEMBLative

Glossed as SEMBL, the enclitic -**gumu** indicates that something
'resembles' the NP to which it is attached. As is evident in examples 6-100
to 6-102, -**gumu** typically co-occurs with the proclitic **ngini-/ngani-(K)**
'KIND' (discussed in 6.2.7 below).

6-100   knife-pagu ngini-kinyi-gumu yumu   -ngiti-wa -pe wagarri
        -HITH KIND-this-SEMBL 2sgSnatch-1sg -pick-Fut two
                                       SU Irr   IO   up
        Get me two knives like this kind !

6-101   **kuderri   bengin -derri-lit   ngani-bafun-gimi**
NgK   *billabong   3sgBash-back -cover   KIND-dust   -SEMBL*
                     SU Perf
        The billabong was covered (in a film of something) like a
        kind of dust.

6-102   **detyeny wulek, yudupun-fityi   ngani-musyulng-gimi,**
NgK   *tongue   bad   2sgShove-roll   KIND-swag   -SEMBL*
                          SU Pres
        Your tongue's badly (positioned), you've rolled it up like it
        was a kind of swag !
        (author being chastised for over-retroflexed articulation)

The role of -**gumu-/gimi-(K)** as a verbal enclitic is examined in 3.6.6.

6.2.7 ngini-/ngani-(K)   KIND

Of the class of clitics that have nominal, verbal and propositional
functions, **ngini-** stands apart in being the only proclitic. In fact, other than
the noun class markers (cf. 5.5) and relative location **ngan-** (cf. 5.3.4), **ngini-**
is the only productive proclitic in Ngan'gityemerri. This is of interest

because, like the noun class markers, **ngini-** is also concerned with classification.

Ngini- can be attached to NP's, (where, as in 6-100 to 6-102 above, it frequently co-occurs with the SEMBLative enclitic) indicating that some entity is 'of the same kind' as another. The controlling factors as to what constitutes 'KIND', are typically context dependent; for example, in 6-100 above the speaker is requesting two knives with a thin curved blade, unserrated and about ten inches long, like the one he is holding. He is unconcerned whether they be the same brand or colour etc, rather his concern is that they are the same kind of knife from a functional point of view, i.e. that they are 'skinning' knives.

However, **ngini-** also interacts with noun class generics so that 'KIND' is understood to refer specifically to species within that designated genus.

6-103 **yerr-ngini-kinyi minbe derrigidi-ngerim**
      Tr -KIND-this Neg want -1sgHands
      cl   SU Pres
      I don't like this kind of (tree class member) tobacco,
      warrmadi wayim -waty   -ngidde
      quickly   3sgHeat-consume-1sg
      *   SU Pres   IMPL*
      It burns up too quickly on me.

6-104 **gagu   a -ngini -kide   derrigidi-yerim ?**
      animal   A-KIND-which   want   -2sgHands
      generic   cl   SU Pres
      Which kind of meat (beef/pork/fish) do you want ?

Compare 6-104 above with 6-105 below, which, in the absence of **ngini-**, simply enquires about 'which ?' of a number of entities.

6-105 **gagu   a -kide   derrigidi-yerim ?**
      animal   A-which   want   -2sgHands
      generic   cl   SU Pres
      Which of these cuts/pieces of meat do you want ?

As a proclitic to verbs **ngini-** indicates that an activity or event is of the same general kind as another. The concern here is in comparing kinds of action with regard to such details as 'how the limbs are moved' and 'the position of the hands' etc. These details of execution are the aspects of an activity in terms of which they can be viewed as 'one of a kind'. Predictably then, the attachment of **ngini-** to verbs is most frequently encountered in

speech acts that are intended as instructions, as in 6-106, or which recount details of execution, as in 6-107.

6-106   **deme kinyi yirrmi-ngini   ngani-ngeben-dada**
NgK   *way   this   2plDo -Fut   KIND-1sgBash-hit*
                       SU Irr   SU Pres redup
           Do it this way, in the kind of way that I do it !

6-107   **syiri   yawul ngumu -wa, ngariny- Ø -pawal ngini-yiminy,**
        Hhw   spear   1sgSnatch-pick 1sgPoke-3sg-spear KIND-2sgDo
        gen.   SU Perf   up SU Perf DO   SU Perf
        I picked up a spear and (holding it in the hand) poked him in just the same kind of way as you did.
        minbe-tye ngana -ne-kuli, ngeriny-tyerr, ngariny-pawal dege,
        Neg -Past 1sgFeet-3sg-throw1sgHands-stop1sgPoke-spear guts
                  SU PImp IO   SU Perf   SU Perf
        I didn't throw it at him, I restrained myself, and just poked him in the guts.

6.2.8 -napa   JUST/UNTIL

The propositional enclitic -napa attaches to both NP's and verbs, as a type of 'limiting' emphatic. Attached to NP's it designates them as 'X and only X', and is glossed as JUST.

6-108   **yenggi wayim -waty   -yenim, bafun-napa wibem,**
NgK   *fire   3sgHeat-consume-3sgGo ash   -JUST 3sgLie*
           SU Perf   SU Perf   SU Pres
        The fire has consumed (the whole log), it's nothing but ash.

6-109   **nyinyi-napa -deti   felfi   derrigidi-ngeriny -nyi**
NgK   *2sg   -JUST-SAME alone   want   -1sgHands-2sg*
        PRO   SU Pres DO
        It's still only you that I love[6].

6-110 **egeningge-nimbi yubu   -da -pe, egeningge-napa derrigidi-ngerim**
       goose   -CAUS 2sgBash-hit-Fut goose   -JUST want -1sgHands
                SU Irr   SU Pres
       If you happen to shoot some geese, then it's just a goose that I want (rather than money, in return for giving you the cartridges).

Attached to verbs -napa signals 'a limit reached', i.e. it has the essentially aspectual function of marking the 'perfect of result' (in the sense

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[6]Ngan'gityemerri speakers do not make these kinds of romantic vows. This example from a narrative was given in parody of a hen-pecked whitefella (not the author) who is obliged to say this to his wife on regular occasions.

of Comrie 1976:56-7) where a proposition is presented as the resultant state of past activity. In this capacity -napa is glossed as UNTIL.

6-111 yedi -wurrkama-tye   palak-meny -napa
 3sgGo-work   -Past   tired -3sgDo -UNTIL
 SU PImp   SU Perf
 He worked until he was tired.

6-112 ngariny-syi -bang   mawuny -ninggi, e   wupun -tyen-napa
 1sgPoke-nose-pierce ironwood-INSTR and 3sgSlash-dry-UNTIL
 SU Perf   SU Perf
 I'd pierced my nose with an ironwood lance. (It has been
 healing slowly until now) it has dried right out.

6.2.9 -nawa   INSTEAD

The enclitic -nawa attaches to NP's identifying that entity/activity 'instead of' or 'in preference to' some other thing (which may be unstated).

6-113 yedi -nawa   wannim-fifi   falmi   minmi
 man-INSTEAD   3pl Go   -blow   woman Neg
                SU Pres
 It's men who blow didjeridu's, women don't.

6-114 yerr-mentyi minbe ngaganim-dada, walamarra-nawa
 Tr -throat Neg   1sg Go   -sing   women's -INSTEAD
 cl =song   SU Pres   dance style
 I don't sing songs, but I do 'walamarra' instead.

6-115 syiri damuy   yerim   -baty ?, minbe-yawurr, meny-nin
 Hhw eye   2sgHands-hold   Neg-tree/thing 3sgSay-1dlinc
 gen=cartridge SU Pres   gen.   SU Perf IO
 "Got any cartridges ?", "No, nothing" he told us.
 wun -nawa   wulmen-nide yanneyerri,
 there-INSTEAD   oldman -LOC   2sg Go*
                          SU Irr
 "but go over there (instead of here) to the old man,
 nyin -nawa   demim -baty,
 ANA-INSTEAD   3sgHands-hold
                  SU Pres
 he (instead of me) has got some".

The 'indefinite' sense of -nawa is treated in the discussion of interrogatives in 9.3.3.

6.2.10 -wurru   UNSATISfactory

-wurru is an enclitic that has the propositional function of indicating that the speaker finds either the proposition as a whole, or a particular element of the proposition, to be unsatisfactory. It expresses a negative evaluation of a proposition, or some entity's role in a proposition, because it impacts on the speaker in some disadvantageous way.

Attached to adjectives and expressions of quantity -wurru apportions the unsatisfactoriness of the proposition to the excess of that attribute or quantity.

> 6-116 **funggulu ngamban-nime,**
> *honey   1dlinc Go -pl*
> *   SU Irr   SU*
> Let's go get honey.
> **kinyi-pefi   ngambani-madi-pap   -nime-pe madiket-wurru**
> *this-THITH   1dlincGo   -chest-climb-pl   -Fut hungry-UNSATIS*
> *   SU Irr   SU*
> Let's climb up this way, I'm too hungry !

> 6-117 **tea kinyi wurek-wurru**
> *   this bad   -UNSATIS*
> This tea's too weak !

> 6-118 **firr -ngityirr-nimbi   yani -lali,**
> *foot-ground -CAUS   2sgGo-around*
> *   SU Irr*
> If you were to go on foot,
> **diwin erreke-nawa yemengge, minbe mendi-wurru**
> *moon how-INDEF 2sgArrive   Neg   close   -UNSATIS*
> *   SU Irr*
> it'd take you months to get there...it's too far !

This notion of excessive quantity can also be seen to operate in negated expressions where -wurru signals the speaker's feeling that the amount is insufficient.

> 6-119 **minbe-mi-wurru   ngirim**
> *Neg   -Pf -UNSATIS   1sgSit*
> *   cl   SU Pres*
> I haven't enough food (to spare you any).

> 6-120 **gagu   minmi-wurru   a-minbadi   money**
> *animal Neg   -UNSATIS   A-big*
> *generic   cl*
> (I don't have) enough money, it's too expensive !

Note that -**wurru** can be used in a particular way which is consistent with the evaluation of 'excessive quantity', but which is not presented as an 'unsatisfactory' proposition. Consider 6-121 below, where the speaker is extending a polite invitation to someone to feel free to contravene normal conventions. Effectively the speaker is saying 'Please sit here talking for (what would otherwise be considered as) too long a time'.

6-121 **fenggiderri-wurru   yi   -tyerrakul-pe kinyi**
long time   -UNSATIS 2sgSit-talk   -Fut   here
                 SU Irr
(Please) stay here talking as long as you like.

The 'unsatisfactory' evaluation of a proposition (or, more especially, an individual's role in a proposition), that is convey by -**wurru**, can interact with the semantics of the verb and the general context of the discourse in a way that leads to the interpretation of the speech act as an expression of compassion or an expression of criticism. For instance, a -**wurru** marked NP that is portrayed as the victim of some verb of adverse effect, as in 6-122, is understood to be the object of the speaker's compassion. On the other hand, a -**wurru** marked NP that is portrayed as the perpetrator of some adverse proposition (or even potentially adverse proposition), is understood to be the object of the speaker's criticism, as in 6-123.

6-122 **minbe-wurru   kene   yannunggu-madiwirri**
Neg   -UNSATIS who   2plGo   dl -play
                 SU Pres SU

You (poor thing) have no-one to play with.
ngayi-nyine   ngambani-madiwirri-pe
1sg   -FOC   1dlinc Go -play   -Fut
PRO   SU   Irr
I'll play with you from now on.

6-123 **nyinyi-wurru   medicine minde-tye yemi   -baty**
2sg   -UNSATIS   Neg   -Past 2sgHands-hold
PRO   SU Irr
You (are to blame because you) neglected to take your medicine with you !!!

Chapter 7

Particles

Particles differ from enclitics in being independent freeform phonological words, and generally occurring clause-initially. Otherwise they share broadly similar semantic functions to the enclitics discussed in the preceding chapter. Wilkins (1989:347) has drawn attention to the 'significant degree of agreement between the stocks of meanings encoded through the particle/clitic grouping' in Australian languages generally. Most of the particles discussed here have scope over an entire clausal proposition. The three forms examined in 7.10 have the function of conjoining nouns and clauses under certain, fairly limited, conditions. Particles cannot take any form of inflection. 7.11 lists the class of interjections, which differ from particles in constituting complete utterances on their own.

7.1 Tyepe   JUST

Tyepe indicates that some proposition is the only thing within the context that can be done. Nothing else can be done, simply because no other alternatives exist.

7-1 **tyepe dede kinyi   dinyirri-mi-yubu,**
JUST   camp this   3sgSee -Val-good
                        SU Perf
(Ancestral Pelican, going into labour whilst travelling) only
just had time to observe that this was a suitable place.
kine ngani-wap, ngi   -palak-pe   amurru, meny,
this 1sgGo-sit   1sgSit-dro p-Fut A-egg   3sgSay
place SU Irr   SU Irr   cl   SU Perf
"I'll camp here and lay my egg", she said.

7-2 **tyepe nganniny-fili   firr -ngityirr-nyine**
JUST   1plex Go   -wander foot-ground-FOC
        SU Perf
(Being unable to restart the car) we just set off on foot then.

7-3 **minbe-pagu yumu-ngiti tyagan-ne**
Neg -HITH   2sgSay-1sg   what -PURP
                SU Irr
Don't question my intentions,
tyepe ngan'gi ngayi yumu   -ngi-me -wa,
JUST word   1sg   2sgSnatch-1sg -hand-pick
                PRO   SU Irr   DO   up
just take my word for it.

7.2   Ngunu   HOW ABOUT IT ?

The particle **ngunu** forms a question that asks 'how about it?' with respect to some given proposition. It's characteristic use is in polite speech, seeking information. The usage of **ngunu** as an interjection is noted in 7.11.

7-4   ngunu   ready-yurrmugu-nyine
      HOW   *-2plDo dl*   *-FOC*
      ABOUT   *SU Irr SU*
      'How about it ?, are you two ready to go now ?'

7-5   watypela   yirrini -tye   tyawurru, dam   -tyerr -pu
      whitefella   *3sg Go*-Past* *today*   *3sgPoke-mouth-ask*
              SU PImp   *SU Perf*
      The whitefella(physiotherapist) came here today and asked her,
      de-ngini nyinyi ngunu, mumba yaganim-lal   **-endi,**
      Bp-body 2sg   *HOW walk*   *2sg Go -around-SAME*
      cl   *PRO*   *ABOUT*   *SU Pres*
      "Well how's your body then?, are you moving around again?".

7.3   Wetimbi   FINE

Wetimbi indicates that something is agreeable, or meets with your expectations or approval.   It typically prefaces a positive response to a query, and can be translated as 'OK', 'fine', 'sure thing', 'no problem' etc. (see also 7.11).

7-6   yubu   yirim ?,   wetimbi yubu   ngirim,
      good   2sgSit   *FINE   good   1sgSit*
          SU Pres   *SU Pres*
      'Are you OK ?',   'Sure, I'm fine'

7-7   ganbi   kinyi ngawam-pe, meny -ne,   wetimbi yawam-pe,
      didjeridu this   1sgTake -Fut 3sgSay-3sgM FINE   2sgTake-Fut
          SU Irr   *SU Perf IO*   *SU Irr*
      'Can I take this didjeridu (onto the plane ?)', he asked him.
      'Sure, you can take it on'.
      darany   **-ngirrki-fi -pal,**   **yu wetimbi ngambawam-pe**
      3sgPokeDtr-1dlex -Mp-return yes FINE   *1dlinc Take -Fut*
      SU Perf   *IO*   *SU*   *Irr*
      he came back to us (and reassured us) 'Yeah there's no problem, we can take it on'.

7-8   ulgumen   ngayi wetimbi ngiminy-nge
      old woman 1sg   *FINE*   *1sgSay   -3sgF*
              PRO   *SU Perf IO*
      I've cleared it with my wife.
      (She's approved of my going on the trip)

7.4   Nginimem   ALREADY

Nginimem indicates that some stative proposition already holds true. It is frequently used in expressions that draw someone's attention to something that they seem not to be aware of.

7-9   tea   **nginimem**   **yerr-biny-nyine**
                ALREADY   *Tr -ripe -FOC*
                               cl
      The tea's already brewed.

7-10   **gagu**   **ambirr-endi**   **ngudum-bul,**
       animal   *before -SAME*   *1sgShove-cook*
       gen.   *SU Perf*
      I've just cooked the meat,
      ep   **nginimem**   **lirrmem-nyine**
      BUT   *ALREADY*   *cold*   *-FOC*
      but it's already cold.

See also 7-12 below.

7.5   Ninggi   DESPITE

The enclitic **-ninggi** is discussed in 6.1.1 and 6.1.2 as a case inflection to NP's in agentive and instrumental roles. The homophonous form examined in this section is a freeform particle which occurs in clause-initial position and is quite unrelated to the case enclitic.

Ninggi designates the clause over which it has scope, as a proposition from which one could make logical assumptions, assumptions that are then contradicted in the following clause. This could usefully be explicated as: 'Even though proposition X would lead you to assume proposition Y, in fact, illogically, proposition Z is the case'. Proposition Y, as a logical assumption, would not normally be given. **Ninggi** typically prefaces proposition X, as in the examples below.

7-12   **ninggi**   **tyawurru**   **dam**   **-fi -sul,**   **ep**   **nginimem bulbulfi**
       DESPITE *now*   *3sgPoke-Mp-arise BUT ALREADY hot*
                            SU Perf
      Even though (the sun) has only just now arisen, it's already hot.

7-13   **ninggi**   **money**   **yariny -ngi-fi -me,**   **minbe ngaganim,**
       DESPITE   *2sgPoke-1sg-Mp-hand Neg   1sg Go*
                         SU Perf DO   *SU Pres*
      Even though you've given me the money (to enable me to go), I'm not going.

Where proposition X has been clearly contextually established, it too can be omitted, leaving **ninggi** simply prefaced to proposition Z, as in 7-14.

> 7-14   **ninggi**   **ngambani-pe**
>   *DESPITE 1dlinc Go-Fut*
>   *SU Irr*
>   Despite (all the objections you've raised) you and me are still going to go.

7.6   Gumungini/Gimingini (K)   SUPPOSE

Gumungini conveys the speaker's assertion that the clausal proposition is 'supposed to happen', attributing the source of this expectation to some higher external (but generally unidentified) authority.

> 7-15   **gumungini ngambani-pe meeting**
>   *SUPPOSE   1dlinc Go-Fut*
>   *SU   Irr*
>   You 'n me are supposed to go to this meeting.

Gumungini is also frequently used where the authority behind a proposition stems only from the speaker him/herself, but the speaker attributes the source to some ill-defined authority to make their case more convincing.

> 7-16   **gumungini kuru wagarri yani-ngiti-kurr-tye**
>   *SUPPOSE   liquid two   2sg Go-1sg-pick-Past*
>   *generic   SU Irr IO up*
>   You were supposed to get me two (cartons) of beer !

> 7-17   **wurruke, gumungini apma yirrigu**
>   *3dl   SUPPOSE   quiet! 2nsSit dl*
>   *PRO   SU Irr SU*
>   You two !, you're supposed to be quiet !

7.7   Tyamennapa   DISMISSIVE

Tyamennapa is (at least historically) dimorphemic, **-napa** being the JUST enclitic discussed in 6.2.8. However **tyamen** never occurs as a freeform and **tyamennapa** appears to be synchronically treated as an unsegmentable unit. As the particle is **tyamennapa** (not **tyamen**), it does not therefore violate the requirement that members of the wordclass 'particle' do not bear productive inflectional enclitics.

In saying **tyamennapa** a speaker downplays the significance of what he is saying, admitting that it is unimportant and unlikely to arouse the addressee's interest.

7-18   .....yudum-ngi-karrbu kinyi, nyine ngan'gi tyamennapa
        2sgShove-1sg-alight here FOC   story   DISMISS
        SU Perf DO
        ....then you dropped me off here. That's my story then.

7-19   gagu money ngudunu-wutyit-tye-nganggidi tyamennapa
        animal   1dlincShove-pour-Past-1dlincGo DISMISS
        gen.   SU PImp   redup   SU PImp
        We were just throwing our money away (by playing those
        sideshow alley games).

7-20   tyamennapa perrety-meny
        DISMIS S   die   -3sgDo
        SU Perf
        He just died, that's all (there are no suspicious circumstances).

Note that **tyamennapa** is also used as an interjection meaning 'it's
nothing', 'forget it', 'don't bother about it' (see 7.11).

7.8   Epe   BUT

Epe prefaces a proposition suggesting that it be considered in contrast
to some immediately preceding proposition.

7-21   palamurru nuwurr ngumu -wa -pe, epe ganbi   kide,
        clapsticks   briefly   1sgSnatch-pick-Fut BUT didjeridu where
        SU Irr   up
        I'll just get my clapsticks, but where's (your) didjeridu ?

7-22   peyi intyat-yendi   wembem nginimem, epe   warrifi-mirri,
        in   inside-SAME house   ALREADY BUT down -EMPH
        place
        (The carpark) is still inside the same building, but it's down
        in the basement.

7-23   gagu wirritywirrity dede   kinyi nayin-nide yenim e-wedi,
        animal lorikeet   country this 1dlinc-LOC 3sg Go A-small
        gen.   PRO   SU Pres cl
        The lorikeets here in our country are small,
        epe dede   nyinyi nginyirri, minbe e-wedi   yenim,
        BUT country 2sg   1sg See   Neg   A-small 3sg Go
        PRO   SU Perf   cl   SU Pres
        but (the lorikeets) I saw in your country (Melbourne Zoo)
        are huge (lit: aren't small).
        ep   dede   kide -nimbi -nawa
        GUESS country where-SOURCE-INDEF
        I wonder what country they come from ?

7.9   Ep   GUESS

Ep prefaces a clause to indicate that the speaker acknowledges that he is guessing. It could be explicated as: 'What I'm saying is based on the information I have, but I don't know for sure that it is true'.

7-24   **awa-cooky minbe-fela[1],   ep   miyi-nyine-ne**
       Hg -   Neg -fellow GUESS   food-FOC -SUPP
       cl   = no-one
       No hostesses, it might be dinnertime.
       (Said on observing the absence of hostesses in the plane
       cabin, and assuming that therefore they might be preparing
       dinner in the galley)

7-25   **ep   kine** Darwin, **ngiminy-ne,   ep   -ne,   meny-ngiti**
       GUESS this   1sgSay -3sgM GUESS-SUPP 3sgSay-1sg
           place   SU Perf IO   SU Perf IO
       'This place might be Darwin', I said to him. 'Could be' he
        told me.
       (Said on feeling the plane beginning to lose altitude)

As one might predict from the explication given above, **ep** is widely used in 'hearsay' constructions, where the speaker attributes the source of the proposition to quoted information and is him/herself unable to personally vouch for its veracity.

7-26   **ep   wur-eneltyi yenim-pagu tyawurru**
       GUESS F-   3sgGo-HITH now
           cl   SU Pres
       They say the Northern Lands Council woman is on her way
       out here.

Ep can also be used in this kind of 'hearsay' construction when someone wants to enquire about something or make a suggestion, without portraying themself as the direct source of the quoted proposition.

7-27   **ep   palada   deminy -nyi-tip**
       GUESS venereal 3sgHands-2sg-grab
           disease   SU Perf DO
       They say you've got a dose of the clap ?

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[1] In the absence of a gender-unspecified human generic in Ngan'gityemeri, **fela** (from English 'fellow,' via Kriol) is now widely used. cf. **minbe-mipurr** 'no men', **minbe-falmi** 'no women'.

7.10 ninde, e, a CONNECTORS

There is no widespread marking of nominal or clausal conjunction in Ngan'gityemerri, though there are three forms, **ninde** 'and then', **e** 'and' and **a** 'finally', that are available for this purpose. Conjoined nominals are usually listed simply in juxtaposition. Consider the list of animal names, repeated here from the text extract given as Text 1 in appendix C.

7-28   amatyi,   gagu   wirritywirrity, awanggi, karrwakkarrwak,
        kangarroo animal lorikeet   crow   kookaburra
                        generic

(There were) kangaroos, lorikeets, crows, kookaburras,
gagu mentyinimba, budenggu,   afiwurr,   gagu   lion,
animal diving shag cormorant sp. cormorant sp. animal
generic   generic

diving shags, two species of cormorant, lions,
tiger, elephant, **gagu abatymirri, eperrperr, gagu awirrfirr,**
            animal black   Burdekin animal whistle
            generic duck   duck   generic duck

tigers, elephants, black ducks, Burdekin ducks, whistle ducks,
ninde aditymadi, gagu   adityibi, emen'giny, gagu pultyerrk,
and   pygmy   animal bandicoot goanna animal wedgetail
then   goose   generic   generic eagle

and then there was pygmy geese, bandicoots, goannas, eagles,

Two devices are employed here to keep track of the fact that this is a list of connected names. Firstly, note that the 'animal' generic **gagu** is included with every second or third listed noun. Secondly, **ninde** 'and then' prefaces that part of the list that constitutes a second breathgroup, i.e. when the speaker had to stop and take a breath because the list was so long, he began again with **ninde**. **Ninde** thus indicates that what follows is to be understood as a continuation of what preceded. Given the comparative rarity of such lengthy strings of conjoined elements, there are few tokens of **ninde** in my data.

E can be used to conjoin either NP's or clauses, as in 7-29 and 7-30, though like **ninde**, few examples are found in either text or conversation. The rare use and typically slow delivery of **e** suggests that it is in fact as much a hesitation device as a connector.

7-29   teacher **wurruke** Glen **e**   Tony
                3dl   *and*
                PRO
        Those two teachers, Glen and Tony.

7-30   yu   ngani-pefi   -pe,   meny -ngirrki, e   yeyi   mengge   -tasat
       yes   *1sgGo-THITH-Fut*   *3sgSay-1dlex*   *and   other*   *3sgArrive-emerge*
       SU Irr   *SU Perf IO*   *SU Perf*
       Yes I'm coming she told us, and another(child) came out of the
       house.

The third connector, **a**, has a narrative function, connecting a
punctual activity to a preceding progressive activity in a particular way.
Where a clause describing activity that took a long period of time (durative)
is followed by a clause describing activity that was momentary (punctual),
then the latter clause can be prefaced by **a**. In an example like, 'we were
travelling...........**a**, we arrived', the sense of **a** could be explicated as: 'I'm not
going to bore you with all the details, but you should understand that the
travelling took a long time, then *finally* we were there'.

Clauses connected in this way have a very distinctive intonation
contour. The final vowel of the durative verb is exaggeratedly prolonged,
with gradually decreasing pitch (iconic of duration). Then the connector **a**
has short sharply rising pitch (iconic of punctuality). The translation of 7-31
below, attempts to represent this pitch contour pattern.

7-31   ngarrintyirri-fili,   a   bitumen **nganniny-mentyi-tyerr**
       *1plex Go** -wander finally*   *1plex Go -neck   -stop*
       SU PImp   *SU Perf   =turn off*
       We kept travelliiiiiiiiiing.........THEN finally we hit the bitumen.

7-32   musyulng-nyine nginnyirrini-kerrety-tye, ganbi-mbirri
       swag   -FOC   1plex See   -grasp -Past didjeridu-FIRST
                          SU PImp
       We were watching for our swags (to emerge on the airport

       baggage conveyor belt), I saw that the didjeridu was coming
       gaganim-garrmadi   nginyirri,   tap   ngumu   -wa
       3sg Go   -approach   1sg See   ONO   1sgSnatch-pick
       SU Pres   *SU Perf*   *SU Perf   up*

       up first, so I picked it up.
       a   handbag   ngayi   gaganim,   tap   ngumu-wa
       finally   1sg   3sg Go   ONO   1sgSnatch-pick
                            PRO   SU Pres   *SU Perf   up*
       ... then finally my suitcase came, and I picked it up.

3-   Darwin watch-house **nginni -pefi -tye** three month,
                          1plexSit-DUR-Past
                          SU PImp

       We sat around in Darwin watch-house for three months,

a   wuddum-ngirr-tyuk   Alice Springs-pefi,
finally 3plShove-1plex-send   -THITH
        SU Perf   DO
then finally they sent us (prisoners) off to Alice Springs.

7.11   Interjections

Interjections differ from particles in their capacity to constitute utterances on their own. They typically express a reaction to an event, either linguistic or extra-linguistic (cf. Laughren 1982:132). Several of the particles discussed in 7.1 to 7.10 function also as interjections. These include **ngunu** (cf. 7.2), **wetimbi** (cf. 7.3), and **tyamennapa** (cf. 7.7).

yu	yes
yi	oh yeah (mild interest or tentative agreement)
(a)ya	hey !
minmi	no
ma	give it here then
(i)ngga	take it (often a response to ma)
ba	let's get started !
ba	..no no I mean... (correcting a slip of the tongue - differs from ba 'let's get started' in being ingressive)
wakay	finished !
yakay	oh shit !, ouch !, lookout !
yakarra	isn't that terrible !, oh no !
wetimbi	fine !, no worries !, OK !, 'good one !'
tyamennapa	'it's nothing !' 'not worth worrying about !'
ngunu	well, how about it ?

Chapter 8

Space, Time and Number

This chapter examines the way in which spatial deixis, temporal deixis and quantification are expressed in Ngan'gityemerri.

8.1   Space

8.1.1   Demonstratives

There is a primary opposition between the two spatial demonstratives;

8-1   **kinyi**   -   here / this
       wunu/wuni (K)   -   there / that

which place some entity as either close, or distant, with respect to the speaker. **Kinyi** and **wunu** can either stand as independent nominals, as in 8-2 and 8-3, or modify head nominals, as in 8-4 and 8-5.

8-2   **yudu   - Ø -mi -wul -pagu -pe   kinyi**
       2sgShove-3sg-Val-return-HITH-Fut   here
       SU Irr   DO
       Bring her back here !

8-3   **ngambani-pe wunu**
       1dIincGo-Fut   there
       SU   Irr
       Let's go over there.

8-4   **nem kinyi dangim-ngi-fi -me**
       3sg   this   3sgPoke-1sg-Mp-hand
       PRO   SU Perf DO
       This man/the man here gave it to me.

8-5   **mipurr wunu kene girribem**
       man   that   who 3sgStand
       *   SU Pres*
       Who is that man/the man over there.

In addition to these two primary terms, the spatial deixis system is comprised of a third, though statistically much rarer, term **werrfe/yife(K)**, denoting mid-distance. **Werrfe** indicates a position neither close to, nor very distant from, the speaker. Like the two primary deictics, it is concerned simply with relative position, not visibility or any other criteria. **Werrfe** is most frequently employed in opposition to **kinyi**, in distinguishing between

two positions, neither of which is really distant from the speaker. This usage is demonstrated in 8-6.

8-6 werrfe yirrim -pagu, ngayi kinyi ngirrim -pe
mid 2sgStand-HITH 1sg here 1sgStand-Fut
distant SU Irr PRO SU Irr
You stand just there, and I'll stand here.
(leaving only a small space between us for fleeing wallabies
to run through)

Although **kinyi** and **wunu** can refer to general location with respect to the speaker (as in 8-2 and 8-3 above), there is in Ngan'giwumirri an additional set of terms, **kine** and **wune**, that refer to this/that specific *place,* as opposed to other possible referents such as people, objects etc. They refer to definable, and usually named, places, and are most frequently employed in naming country.

8-7 dede kine atyityulak girim, ngiminy-bi
country this Australian 3sgSit 1sgSay -2sg
place pratincole SU Pres SU Perf IO
'This place here is the Aust. pratincole dreaming', I told you.

8-8 wune ya -fi -tyat - Ø
that 2sgPoke-Mp-place-IMP
place SU Irr
Set it down in that place !

Kinyi, werrfe and **wunu** can fill the full range of syntactic and morphological structural possibilities that are available to all modifying nominals. They can, for instance, bear noun class proclitics and nominal suffixes, as shown with **kinyi** in 8-9 and 8-10.

8-9 yerr-kinyi gagu money mabuk-wurru
Tr -this animal lots -UNSAT
cl gen.
This one's too expensive !

8-10 kin -nimbi kide -pefi ngambani-pe
here-SOURCE where-THITH 1dlincGo -Fut
SU Irr
Which way do we go from here ?

8.1.2 Nearside/Farside

The three spatial deictics **kinyi, wunu** and **werrfe** also take the enclitic **-ninggi,** which we have seen in 6.1.1 and 6.1.2 to mark agentive and

instrumental case roles on other nominals. The resultant terms mark the location of something, not as proximant or distant with repect to the speaker, but as on the nearside or farside of some other referent with respect to the speaker. Thus something that is 'kin-ninggi Darwin', may be quite distant from the speaker, but on the speaker's side of Darwin.

8-11   **minbe ngatypirr Amungal-nimbi   wun-ninggi   nganniny-du**
       Neg   distant   Adelaide -SOURCE there-INSTR 1plexGo-sleep
                River   SU Perf
       We camped at a place a little the other side of Adelaide River.

8-12   **ngambara   -mentyi-gerrgirr-nide -pe,   wamanggal nyin**
       1plincPokeDtr-neck   -cut   -3sgM-Fut wallaby   ANA
       SU Irr   IMPL
       Let's circle around on that wallaby,
       ngarrnguweri-nyine wiri -pe, nyinyi werrfe-ninggi,
       middle   -FOC 3sgSit-Fut 2sg   mid -INSTR
                      SU Irr   PRO   distant
       so he'll be in the middle. You (go) just that side of him,
       ngayi kin -ninggi   ngana -gulirr-pe,
       1sg   here-INSTR   1sgFeet-circle-Fut
       PRO   SU Irr
       I'll circle around this side of him.

8.1.3.   Nearside/Farside of 'Bodyparts'

To provide further specification of this 'other referent' with respect to which location is marked, the three bodyparts **madi** 'chest', **data** 'shoulder', and **dirr** 'teeth', can be prefixed to **kin-ninggi** and **wun-ninggi**. These bodyparts play a broadly classificatory role, portraying the referent as an exemplar of that bodypart, with respect to the landscape as a whole. The extension of bodypart terms to cover the geography and typography of the landscape is discussed in more detail in 3.5 and 5.2.4.

Dirr-kin-ninngi and **dirr-wun-ninggi** denote the near and far sides of riverbanks[1].

8-13   **minbe-pe yani -kafarr, dirr -kin -ninggi yana   -minmi-ket-pe**
       Neg   -Fut 2sgGo-cross teeth-this-INSTR 2sgFeet-elbow -cut-Fut
              SU Irr   SU Irr   =turn off
       Don't cross over the river, but turn off on this side of it.

Data-kin-ninggi and **data-wun-ninggi** denote the near and far sides of things, like people, trees and fences, that stand upright on the ground.

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[1]A third term **dide-ninggi** refers to the 'opposite side of a river' with respect to some given activity, but implies no spatial relationship to the speaker.

8-14   data -kin-ninggi   nginyinggin-yilil,   nem Tyekpity girribem,
shou -this-INSTR   1sgSee -recognise   3sgM name   3sgStand
Ider-   SU Pres   PRO   SU Pres
I recognise the one on this side, that's Tyekpity,
data -wun-ninggi nem Pincher, epe ngarrnguweri kene girribem,
shou-there-INSTR 3sg name BUT middle   who 3sgStand
Ider   PRO   SU Pres
and on the far side, that's Pincher... but who's that in between
them.

Madi-kin-ninggi and **madi-wun²-ninggi** denote the near and far sides
of things that have more substantial shape; broad solid objects like hills,
houses, cars etc.

8-15   **mudiga madi-kin -ninggi   ngariny- Ø -fi -tyat**
        car   chest-here-INSTR 1sgPoke-3sg-Mp-place
        *   SU Perf DO*
        I put it down on this side of the car.

8-16   **fepi minbadi-nide madi -wun-ninggi fepi wagarri widdibemgu**
        hill big   -LOC chest-there-INSTR hill two   3plStand dl
        *   SU Pres SU*
        On the other side of Peppimenarti hill, there are two
        (other) hills.
        de -kin -ninggi wantyirr-nyine piwari,
        Ctry-here-INSTR   place   -FOC name
        cl   name
        The nearside one is called Wantyirr,
        da -wun -ningg -endi   nyin Banimbilerri-nyine
        Ctry-there-INSTR-SAME ANA place   -FOC
        cl   name
        and the farside one... that's Banimbilerri.

8-16 also demonstrates the capacity for **kin-ninggi** and **wun-ninggi** to bear
the **dV-** 'country' bound class marker (cf. 5.2.4).

8.1.4 Other Deictics

In addition to the spatial deictics **kinyi, werrfe** and **wunu**, there are
nine other terms that are widely used in Ngan'gityemerri to specify relative
spatial arrangements. Six of these are the antonymic couplets;

8-17   **fangu** - front   **mendi** - close   **ganggi**   -high/above
        syirre - behind   **ngatypirr** - distant **warrifi/apukek** (K) -low/under

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²I have recorded madi-ye-ninggi as an alternative for madi-wun-ninggi, in both NgW and
NgK. -ye- is synchronically unanalysable as any independent morpheme, but note me-ye-
ninggi 'five' in 8.3.1.

8.1.4.1   Front and Behind

Fangu/syirre can denote either the front/rear part of something, as in 8-18 below, or the position 'in front of' or 'behind' something, as in 8-19.

8-18   wetimbi,   syirre -pagu wirrigu -pe, narrgu fangu yirrigu - Ø
FINE   behind-HITH 3plSit dl -Fut 2dl   front 2plSit dl-IMP
                    SU Irr SU   PRO   SU Irr SU
It alright, the two (women) can sit in the back (seat), you two sit in the front !

8-19   kintyirri fangu yedi -tye   gunugunu-werre
name   front 3sgGo-Past old   -ASSOC
              SU PImp   women
Kintyirri (name of community truck) was travelling in front (of us) laden with old women.

8.1.4.2   Close up and Far away

Mendi/ngatypirr denote short and long distances, respectively.

8-20   wur-nurse minbe-merrendi gani -lali   ngatypirr
F -   Neg -PROHIB 3sgGo-roll distant
cl   SU Irr
The nurse (being on 24 hr call) mustn't wander far away,
kin -napa -ndi   wiri -pe   mendi
here-JUST-SAME   3sgSit-Fut   close
                    SU Irr
she has to stay close by here .

8-21   minbe ya   -ngi-tipek - Ø   mendi, ngatypirr-pagu yaneyerri-ngiti
Neg2sgPoke-1sg -follow-IMP close   distant -HITH 2sgGo*   -1sg
SU Irr DO   SU Irr   IO
Don't follow so closely, come behind me at a distance !

8.1.4.3   Up and Down

Ganggi/warrifi, variably translated as 'high, above, on top' / 'low, beneath', typically represent poles within the vertical trajectory. Their usage in this sense is demonstrated in 8-22 and 8-23.

8-22   piwulil-nide ganggi dede   nginge -tye
vine   -LOC high   camp 1sgLie -Past
                        SU PImp
I slept up in the vines.

8-23   keninggisyi-nide warifi wibem   meringgi
canoe   -LOC   low 3sgLie   shade
                        SU Pres
He's lying in the shade beneath the boat.

However **ganggi** and **warrifi** additionally function as the primary terms in a system of direction marking. As Ngan'gityemerri differs from many Australian languages in not using terms for compass points[3], I will briefly sketch out the details of this system here.

Rather than superimposing over their landscape a symmetrical grid of the NSEW compass type, Ngan'gityemerri speakers make use of a network of real lines that are etched into their landscape. Branching out from the major rivers are increasingly smaller tributaries. It is this random grid of the lines of waterflow that Ngan'gityemerri speakers use to make reference to directions. This vast network of lines covers the entire landscape (ie. there is no place from which the flow of water is not predictable) so has the capacity to provide highly specific reference. The primary terms used in respect to this system are **warifi** and **ganggi**. Normally these are used with reference to vertical trajectory, but within the parameters of the directional system are better glossed as 'upstream' and downstream'. Needless to say, given the random nature of the grid, the directions 'upstream' and 'dowstream' can have no consistent correspondence to compass directions. In the western side of Ngan'giwumirri country, for instance, the flow of the larger rivers is vaguely SE to NW, whereas in the eastern half it is vaguely SW to NE. Obviously the minor creeks completely violate compass directions by flowing in all directions.

In giving directions to reach any particular place then, a Ngan'gityemerri speaker will tell you something like this: 'follow this creek downstream, turn upstream at the nearside bank of the arm called Kamintyam, follow it upstream crossing two smaller arms, turn upstream at the next arm and you will see it.' In stipulating whether you cross an arm

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3There are two clauses used by Ngan'gityemeri speakers that function in a minor capacity as compass directionals. These are:

mirri meng -ge -tet		mirri yenim-dum
sun 3sgHandsDtr-belly-arise	and	*sun 3sgGo -sink*
SU Pres		*SU Pres*
The sun comes up.		The sun sinks.

On the few occasions that I have heard these phrases used in this manner, their utterance has been accompanied by hand-pointing in the appropriate direction. There are no terms used for north or south, and the two terms for east and west are so under-exploited that it seems to me that they exist above and beyond the traditional Ngan'gityemerri directional system which is simply not of the compass directional type. **Mirri menggetet** and **mirri yenimdum** may be traditionally employed terms, or they may be calques on either neighbouring languages or indeed English. Either way, in contemporary Ngan'gityemerri they appear to be disfavoured.

then turn up/down on its far bank, or don't cross and turn up/down on its nearside bank, you can govern progress through this network quite simply. A textual example is given in 8-24.

8-24 **kamintyam   dirr -kin -ninggi   yana -minmi-ket -pe,**
creek name   teeth-this-INSTR   2sgFeet-elbow +cut -Fut
= this side of   SU Irr   =turn off
Turn off on the nearside bank of Kamintyam,
minbe yani -kavarr dideninggi, dirr -kin-ninggi yana -minmi-ket-pe
Neg   2sgGo-cross   otherside   teeth-this-INSTR2sgFeet-elbow-cut-Fut
SU Irr   =this side of   SU Irr   =turn off
Don't cross to the otherside, turn off on this nearside,
ganggi -pe   yana -minmi-ket-pe, yumu-tyerr -pe ba -wedi nyin
up   -Fut 2sgFeet-elbow-cut-Fut 2sgDo-mouth-Fut arm-small ANA
stream   SU Irr   =turn off   SU Irr
turn upstream and follow that little creek up.

8.1.5   Between, Side by Side, and Single File

The three remaining spatial terms, indicating the positional relationship holding between two/three or more entities, are;

8-25 **ngarrnguweri**   -   between/halfway
       melpemelpe   -   side by side   (cf. **melpe** - flat)
       fenggu   -   single file   (cf. **fenggu** - long)

Ngarrnguweri has been demonstrated in 8-12 and 8-14 meaning 'between two points', and in 8-26 below denotes a point 'halfway round a circle'. Examples of **melpemelpe** and **fenggu** are given in 8-27 and 8-28.

8-26   **nganggidi-tye ngarrnguweri nyin,**
1plincGo-Past middle   ANA
SU   PImp
We went halfway round that (hill),
epe   ngambarany -fi -pal   -pagu mumba nyin -endi
BUT 1plincPokeDtr-Mp-return-HITH track   ANA-SAME
SU   Perf
then came back again, the same way.

8-27   **melpemelpe nganniny-tyerr, ngiddinge -ngan-derri-tye**
side by side 1plexGo -stop 1plexStand-LOC -back -Past
SU Perf   SU PImp
We halted side by side, standing on it's back (the escalators).

8-28 ngaddi -pefi   -tye fenggu, mityity fangu deminy -tyerr -ta
      1plexGo-THITH-Past single   white front 3sgHands-mouth-open
      SU PImp   file   woman   SU Perf
      We went up in single file, and that white women, in front,
      opened the door.

8.2   Time

This sections lists most of the words and expressions that
Ngan'gityemerri speakers use in locating activities and events with respect
to time. The temporal categories that are marked by auxiliary verb inflection
have been discussed in 3.4.1. Here I look at freeform temporal qualifiers.

8.2.1 Immediate time

8-29 **kultyi yeyi-nimbi**   -   a few days ago
      kultyi-nimbi   -   yesterday
      tyawurru/detyengi (K)   -   today
      wade-ninggi/ngunyine-ninggi (K)   -   tomorrow
      kultyi yeyi-ninggi   -   in a few days time

Amongst these expressions we find -nimbi and -ninggi (which we have
previously encountered as the 'source' case inflection (cf. 6.1.5) and
'agentive/instrumental' case inflections (cf. 6.1.1-2), respectively), apparently
functioning as markers of past and future time, respectively. However,
other than in these four terms, and the historic time expression **yu mem-
nimbi** (see below) and **etye-ninggi** 'later' (cf. 9.3.2), there is little further
evidence of -nimbi and -ninggi being productively exploited in this sense.

8.2.2 Historic time

8-30 **yu mem-nimbi**   -   long ago, in the beginning
      madewetimbi   -   in the old days
      ambirri   -   in the past
      tyawurru/detyengi (K) -   these days
      yibe/yiba (K)   -   in the future

Yu mem-nimbi, formally a clause with the 'say' simple auxiliary, does
not inflect, the temporal expression being synchronically unanalysable.
Among the texts in my data, stories about the travels and activities of
ancestral beings, and those concerned with the arrival of the first Europeans,
usually begin with this expression.

8-31 **yu mem -nimbi** Captain Cook **yedi -pagu -tye,**
      long ago   *3sgGo-HITH-Past*
                                       SU PImp
      Long ago when Captain Cook came here...

Madewetimbi generally refers to one's youth (if old), or the youth of the preceeding generation (if young). Its occurrence is typically accompanied by other expressions, such as 'when I was this high...', 'when I was living at...' etc.

8-32   madewetimbi wa-nganggu ngagadi-tye,   ngatya ngayi...
       in the old days M -youth   1sgGo   -Past   father   1sg
                  cl   SU PImp   PRO
       In the old days, when I was a young man, my father used to...

Ambirri refers simply to the past without any time depth reference. It may locate events that occurred minutes, days, weeks, or years ago. An example is given in 8-33 below. In addition to its function as a freeform temporal qualifier, **ambirri** also occurs as a suffix in the ordinal sense 'first'. This is discussed in 8.3.3

Tyawurru, given as 'today' under immediate time, conveys, in its historical time sense, the notion of 'these days' or 'contemporary times', much as 'today' does in English.

8-33   tyawurru kinyi kuru-nyine wannim-kukuduk wa- nganggu,
       these   this beer-FOC   3plGo   -drink   M - youth
       days   SU Pres   redup   cl
       These days young men drink beer,
       ambirri kuru   minbe-tye   warrani-kukuduk
       in the   beer   Neg   -Past 3plGo   -drink
       past   SU Irr   redup
       but in the past they never used to drink beer.

Yibe, like **ambirri**, refers simply to the future without any time depth reference.

8-34   yibe   nga   - Ø -fi -me -pe,   wemi   -mbi-kerrety-pe
       later   1sgPoke-3sg-Mp-hand-Fut 3sgHands-2sg -grasp   -Fut
       SU Irr   DO   SU Irr   IO
       I'll give it to him later, he'll mind it for you.

8.2.3 Time of Day

8-35   **dam-fi-sul**   -   dawn
       elifela   -   early morning
       mirri-ganggi   -   hot time
       mirri-kultyi   -   cool time
       panggurra   -   twilight
       nganingiyi   -   dark time
       ngingipiri   -   middle of the night

Dawn is described by a verb, **dangim-fi-sul**, of which **mirri** 'sun' is subject.

8-36   **nganggidi-purrpurrk-tye   dam   -fi -sul   -napa**
            1plincGo -dance   -Past   3sgPoke-Mp-waken-UNTIL
            SU PImp redup   SU Perf
            We danced until dawn.

Elifela, a loan from 'early fella' (via Kriol), referred to in the past is understoood as 'this morning', and in the future as 'tomorrow morning'. I have no evidence that this loan has replaced any other term.

8-37   **elifela   yemi   -ngirrki-du   - Ø**
            early   2sgHands-1dlex -touch-IMP
            morning SU Irr   DO
            Wake us early in the morning !

Mirri-ganggi (*sun-high*) covers the period of day from about 11am-3pm, when the sun is overhead, and its heat discourages energetic activity.

8-38   **mirri-ganggi men'gen-ngiti**
            sun -high   3sgArrive-1sg
                         SU Perf IO
            He came to me in the middle of the day.

Mirri-kultyi, often glossed by Ngan'gityemerri speakers as 'cool time', covers the period of time from about 3pm, when the sun begins to lose its heat, until dusk.

8-39   **fepi minbadi men'gen mirri-kultyi**
            hill big   3sgArrive sun -cooltime
            SU Perf
            He reached Peppimenarti in the late afternoon.

Nganingiyi simply means darkness, and refers to the whole night.

8-40   **ba   nganingiyi -nyine-pefi**
            HORT dark   -FOC -INCHO
            Come on, it's beginning to get dark now!

8.2.4 All day / All night/ Always

Three adverbial particles, **tyip** and **fal a n d ferrp**, follow verbs conveying the senses 'all day' and 'all night' and 'always', respectively.

8-41 firretyi-werre nginge-tye fal lirrmem-ne ngerrim-syety defirr
 shoe -ASSOC 1sgLie-Past all cold -PURP 1sgGo*-afraid foot
 SU PImp night SU Perf
 I slept with my shoes on all night, for fear of the cold.

8-42 dini -peyi -tye tyip fidi -nide-napa -ndi
 3sgSit -in -Past all sun's-LOC-JUST-SAME
 SU PImp place day heat
 She just sat there all day, in the full sun.

8-43 ngaganing-gatit kuderri nyinnin ferrp
NgK 1sgGo -fish billabong ANA always
 SU Pres
 I always go fishing at that billabong (as a matter of habit).

Naturally these particles can only occur with verbs expressing activities/states that are amenable of extended-in-time interpretations. As discussed in ( ), such interpretations may be available through the durative lexical aspectual nature of the verb itself, as in 8-41 and 8-42. For an aspectually neutral verb like 'go' in 8-43 iterative aspect, as allowed for in the habitual reading of the 'present' auxiliary inflection, allows for an extended-in-time interpretation. For an inherently punctual verb like 'cough', in 8-44 below, iterative aspect, as marked morphologically by reduplication of the verb root, allows for an extended-in-time interpretation.

8-44 ngagadi -kikilik-tye fal / tyip / ferrp
 1sgGo -cough -Past all all always
 SU PImp redup night day
 I was coughing all night / all day / all the time.

8.2.5 Weeks and Months

The English weekday and month terms have all been borrowed into Ngan'gityemerri, with the same reference except that syandi 'sunday', in addition to its particular weekday meaning, has taken on the sense of 'a week'. This use of syandi parallels the use of diwin 'moon' to mean 'month', as shown in 8-45 and 8-46.

8-45 ep syandi syirre ngani-pe
 GUESS week behind 1sgGo-Fut
 SU Irr
 Maybe I'll go next week.

8-46 diwin ambirri darany -fi -pal
 month before 3sgPokeDtr-Mp-return
 SU Perf
 He went home last month/about a month ago.

As shown in these two examples, **syirre** (which we have encountered as the spatial term 'behind') and **ambirri** combine with **syandi and diwin** to designate that unit-of-time either preceding or following the present. The word **yeyi** 'other' can be added to these temporal expressions, and here it implies the next consecutive such unit, rather than simply any other one. Thus, **syandi syirre yeyi** 'the week after next', **diwin ambirri yeyi** 'a couple of months ago'.   Reference to specific days of the previous or following week can be made by denying the 'this week' interpretation, and designating the weekday as belonging to the preceding/following week. This is demonstrated in 8-47 and 8-48 below.

> 8-47   **minbe** wednesday **kinyi, syandi yeyi-nawa**
> *Neg   this   week   next-INSTEAD*
> Not this wednesday, but (the wednesday) of next week.

> 8-48   **minbe** monday **kultyinimbi, syandi ambirri-nawa**
> *Neg   yesterday   week   before -INSTEAD*
>
> Not the monday (that was) yesterday, but (the monday) of last week.

8.2.6   Time of Year

Kidin 'wet season' is also used to denote a full seasonal cycle between wet seasons, thus 'a year'. In this sense it behaves much like **syandi** and **diwin**, see above. e.g. **kidin syirre yeyi** 'the year after next' etc.

Kudede is that time of year, usually around January or February, when there is monsoonal rain everyday.

Wangi and **marrawuk/fuke** (K) specifically denote the prevailing winds that are associated with the two complete metereological systems that dominate the local seasonal cycle, i.e. the Wet and the Dry, respectively. **Wangi** blows from the west, bringing mosquitos from the swamps, **marrawuk** brings cool dry air from the east.   Both these terms though, can be used more generally in reference to the metereological sytem, rather than just its prevailing wind.

Additionally, several full clauses are used to denote times-of-year, e.g.

> 8-49   **wurr   wubu   -derri-pal -pe**
> *grass   3sgBash-back-bend-Fut*
> *SU Irr*
> (lit: the grass will be knocked flat)
> That time in about May when the long dried out summer
> grasses are knocked flat by the wind and late showers (known
> in the English of Ngan'gityemerri speakers' as 'knock 'em
> down time').

8-50   **lirrilirri-mem-nyine**
       muggy-3sgDo-FOC
              SU Pres
       (lit: it is muggy now)
       the muggy 'build up' in humidity from
       Oct-Dec, preceding the rain.

8.2.7   Short time and Long time

The antonymic pair **nuwurr/wityi(K)** and **fenggiderri/fekiderri(K)** are concerned with time-span duration, not a particular point in time. They indicate 'a brief period of time' and 'a long period of time', respectively.

8-51   **wurruke   yawam -burrki-nuwurr-pe**
       3dl   2sgTake-3dl   -a little -Fut
       PRO   SU Irr   DO   while
       Take these two outside for a little while.

8-52   **ngatya,   meny -nin,   detyirri nuwurr**
       father   3sgSay -1dlinc   navel   a little
                 SU Perf IO   *while*
       'Dads !' he said to us, '(I need to stop for a) quick piss'.[4]

8-53   **fenggiderri   yemen'ge-pe,   minbe mendi-wurru**
       long time   2sgArrive-Fut   Neg   close -UNSATIS
                    SU Irr
       It'll take a long time for you to get there, it's a really long way !

8-54   **fenggiderri   dini   -tye, ngirrngirr-ne   -nyine dini   -bubu -tye**
       long time   3sgSit-Past   sleep   -PURP-FOC   3sgSit-sleepy-Past
                   SU PImp   *SU PImp*
       He was here for too long a time, he was getting sleepy.

Their point-in-time equivalents, indicating 'recent past/future' and 'a long time off in the past/future', employ **tyawurru/detyengi(K)** (discussed in 8.2.2 as 'these days'), and its negated equivalent **minbe tyawurru/detyengi (K)**, respectively.

8-55   **yinnyirri- Ø,   mipurr defirr tyawurru kinyi-nyine-pagu**
       2pl See   -IMP man   foot   today   here -FOC -HITH
       SU Irr
       Look, there's a man's footprints (made) recently (coming) this way along here !

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[4]Detyirri 'navel' and dege 'belly' can be euphemisms for 'piss' and 'shit', respectively.

8-56   ngan'gi kinyi   ngimi-mbi-ngini minde detyengi-ngini
NgK   *story   this   1sgSay-2sg -Fut   Neg   today   -PURP*
                        SU Irr   IO
       This story I'm about to tell you is concerned with distant events.
       (lit: not about today)

8-57   tyamennapa   dagum-fi -tal,   minbe tyawurru-nimbi
       DISSMIS   3sgFeet-Mp-grow Neg   today   -SOURCE
                       SU Pres
       (That huge burl on the tree) has just grown like that, it's not a
       recent thing/it's been like that for a long time.

The adjective **warrmadi** 'fast/quick' is generally used with reference to
speed in motion. However it can also take on the temporal sense 'soon', as
in 8-58.

8-58   kuru gana   -nin   -garri-pat   -nime-merrendi
       rain 3sgBash-1dlinc-leg   -arise- pl   - LEST
            SU Irr   DO   =overtake   DO
       Lest the wet season overtake us,
       warrmadi-pe   ngumbu-wirrki-dudu
       quick   -Fut   1dlinc   -3dl   -cut
              SU Irr   DO
       we should circumcise those two boys soon.

Where the notion of 'a short time' is linked, not to the present, but to some
other point-in-time reference, (i.e. 'close up to' some designated time), this
can be indicated with **mendi** (which we have already discussed as a spatial
qualifier meaning 'close').

8-59   Christmas **mendi-mirri,   nyin -gumu -pe   ngara   -fi -pal**
                close -EMPH ANA-SEMBL-Fut 1sgPokeDtr-Mp-bend
                                SU Irr
       Close up to Christmas time... I'll come back about then.

The terms that qualify space and time in Ngan'gityemerri are, on the whole,
quite distinct. Note though that **warrmadi** and **mendi** can be said, at least to
some extent, to span both the spatial and temporal domains.

8.3   Number
       The process of numeration is most widely exploited in
Ngan'gityemerri in the tracking of participant number. In addition to
person categories and the inclusive/exclusive distinction, the obligatory
verbal crossreferencing of core participants within the Ngan'gityemerri verb
must include information regarding one of the four number categories;

singular, dual, trial and plural. The full discussion of the morphology of this participant number marking can be found in 3.2.1.2.

8.3.1 Cardinal Numbers

Ngan'gityemerri employs three numeral terms; **wunggume/wukume** (K) 'one', **wagarri/fagarri** (K) 'two, and **warrakma** 'three'. Additionally, **daba** 'arm' or **deme** 'hand' are used for 'five', and **me-ye-ninggi** 'ten' (lit: *hand-other-INSTR*). I have elicited **wagarri-wagarri** for 'four', but never heard it used spontaneously. Some of these cardinal numerals can be found in 8-60.

8-60   **gagu   ngalwangga   nem daba wunggume-ninggi   wum   -gat,**
          animal short-necked 3sgM arm   one   -INSTR 3sgSlash-hook
          generic turtle sp.   PRO   =five   SU Perf
          He caught five short-necked turtles,
          nyinyi warrakma yum   -gat,   ngayi awiny-napa   wunggume,
          2sg   three   2sgSlash-hook 1sg   bream-JUST   one
          PRO   SU Perf   PRO
          you caught three, and I got just the one bream.

Numerals additionally have a minor use with the prefix **me-**, denoting the duration of a given number of nights. This use of numerals has only ever been found with verbs 'of staying' , 'camping' etc.

    8-61   **me -wagarri ngi   -pe Sydney,**
             DUR-two   1sgSit-Fut
                        SU Irr
             I'll be staying in Sydney for two nights.

8.3.2 Definite Determiner

Other than in the recounting of tallies, as in 8-60 above, or with the durative prefix **me-**, Ngan'gityemerri speakers make little use of these cardinal numerals. The most frequent usage of **wunggume/wukume**(K), is not really as a numeral, but as a (definite) determiner, referring to an entity which is definite in the speaker's mind, but not necessarily so in the mind of the addressee. This is very similar to the use of 'particular' and 'certain' in English examples like; 'There was this particular man who...', or 'Certain people think they can...'. Some examples of this usage of **wunggume/wukume**(K) are given in 8-62 to 8-64.

    8-62   **nintyi wunggume yenim   ngundum -syi -ket,**
             knee one   3sgGo   1dlincSlash-nose-cut
             =corner   SU Pres SU Perf =go round a point
             .... as we went around that particular corner.

8-63   **watypela wunggume wa-government Darwin-nimbi**
         whitefelle one   M-   -SOURCE
                          cl
        This particular government official from Darwin...

8-64   **mityity wur-wunggume kine yedi-tye fepi minbadi, meny-ngiti,**
        white   F - one   this 3sgGo-Past hill big   3sgSay-1sg
        woman cl   place SU PImp   SU Perf IO
        That particular woman, who came here to Peppimenarti, she told me...

In cultural activities requiring more highly refined enumeration, such as the distribution of money in commerce or gambling, Ngan'gityemerri speakers use English numerals and terms for units of measure (pound, mile, pint, dollar, etc.). Some examples are given below.

8-65   three dollar fifty **owe-mem -ngiti**
                       -3sgDo -1sg
                       SU Pres IO
        She owes me three dollars fifty !

8-66   **dam   -ngi-fi -me -tyuk** ten dollar worth **syiri   damuy**
        3sgPoke-1sg-Mp-hand-place   Striker eye
        SU Perf DO   generic =cartridge
        She gave me ten dollars worth of cartridges.

8-67   **lawa   mi-half   dangim-madi-tyat**
        damper Pf -   3sgPoke-chest-place
                cl   SU Perf
        He put in half a loaf of bread.

8.3.3 -Ambirri as Ordinal 'First'

Ambirri, the freeform temporal qualifier discussed in 8.2.2, also functions as an enclitic conveying the ordinal sense of 'first'. That is, it denotes a clausal proposition as occurring prior to other conceivable propositions. In this capacity -ambirri shows the '2nd position' occurrence preference that, as noted in 6.2, characterises the behaviour of those enclitics that have scope over an entire clause rather than just their immediate host.

8-68   **nem-ambirri warriny - Ø -fi -me   miyi**
        3sgM-first   3plPoke -3sg-Mp-hand   plant
        PRO   SU Perf DO =give   food
        They (hostesses) served him his food first (i.e. before me).

8-69 wun -ambirri-pe kuru ngumu -nirrki-wa
there-first -Fut liquid 1sgSnatch-2dl -pick
generic SU Irr IO up
I'll get some beers for you up there first (i.e. before doing anything else).

With stative verbs -ambirri denotes that clausal proposition as a state that 'already' exists prior to some other proposition.

8-70 wa-yeyi pey-ambirri dini -tye
M-other in -first 3sgSit-Past
cl place SU PImp
Another man was already there.

8-71 nem-ambirri ngirrngirr dim -bubu -nyine
3sg -first sleep 3sgSit-sleepy-FOC
PRO SU Pres
He's already drifting off to sleep.

8.3.4 Space, Time and Number Emphasis

A favoured construction in Ngan'gityemerri for giving emphasis to expressions of space, time and number, is to negate their opposites. Examples of negated spatial and temporal qualifiers have already been given in 8-11 and 8-56 and 8-57. Although numeric emphasis can be given using the quantifiers **mebuk/mabuk** (K)'many' and **bakuty** 'many', again the favoured construction is to negate an expressed singular quantity. This is demonstrated in 8-72 and 8-73.

8-72 minbe wunggume wanni-pagu -tye
Neg one 3plGo -HITH-Past
= very many SU PImp
Hundreds of them came here !!

8-73 falmi minde wukume, awa-fepi minati, awa-Nadirri...
NgK *woman Neg one Hg - hill big Hg - place*
= very many cl cl name
There was a huge crowd of women, those from Peppimenarti, those from Nadirri...

Another strategy (seemingly contradictory to the one just mentioned) in emphasising plural number is to treat a very large group of people as a singular unit. That is, once reference to the size of group has been contextually established, thereafter the group will be cross-referenced by singular pronouns, both freeform and those bound to the verb. This strategy is demonstrated in 8-74 below, where the term **minde-fela-ndi** (Neg-

person-SAME) is used to mean 'what a lot of people!'. The crowd is thereafter referred to as **nem** 'he' and pronominally cross-referenced on the verb as 3rd person singular.

8-74 **nganniny-wurr, minbe-fela[5]-ndi   mityity watypela, ngirrminy-gu**
      1plexGo -enter Neg-person-SAME white   white   1plexThink-dl
      SU Perf   =no-one   woman man   SU Perf   SU
      We went in..."What a lot of white men and women !!!', we
      thought to ourselves.
      epe   nem pey-ambirri dini -tye   watypela, minbe-nin -tyeri,
      BUT 3sgM in -first   3sgSit-Past white   Neg   -1dlinc-ear
      *   PRO place   SU PImp people   IO*
      All those whitefellas were already in there, we hadn't expected
      that !

5The generic **mipurr/yedi** (K) 'man' can also used at a higher taxanomic level to denote 'person'. Thus 'no-one', in the gender unspecified sense, can be expressed by **minbe-mipurr**. However **fela**, from English 'fellow' via Kriol, has been borrowed into Ngan'gityemerri as a gender unspecified third term.

Chapter 9

Pronouns, Interrogatives and Discourse Demonstratives

9.1 Pronouns

9.1.1 Paradigm

Freeform Pronominal Paradigm

	Singular	Dual	Trial	Plural
1inc		nayin	dl + -nime	
1ex	ngayi	ngarrgu/ngagarri(K)	dl + -nime	ngagurr
2	nyinyi	narrgu/nagarri(K)	dl + -nime	nagurr
3	nem (m) ngayim (f)	wurruke/wirrike(K)	dl + -nime	wurrum/wirrim(K)

Table 9-1

The paradigm is typical of pronominal systems in Daly region languages, and within prefixing languages generally, in its range of number categories, and in the restriction of the gender distinction to the 3rd singular forms only (as is also true of the bound pronominal paradigm).

However, the paradigm cannot be readily accounted for as a single system. The lack of homogeneity in the categorisation and morphological derivation of the 1st inclusive forms on the one hand, and the rest of the paradigm, on the other, requires that each of these be treated as separate subsystems.

Looking firstly at the non-1st singular pronouns, there are three basic number categories, singular, dual and plural. While dual may be a more marked category than plural in discourse terms, there is no particular morphological reason to view either the plural or dual forms as more basic. A fourth highly marked category, trial, is derived by suffixing the dual form with -nime.

Among the 1st inclusive pronouns however, there are only two number categories, there being no distinction between plural and trial. The 1st inclusive plural/trial pronoun is derived morphologically by adding the suffix -nime to the dual form. In this respect, viewed from the perspective of the non-1st inclusive sub-paradigm, nayin-nime has the formal structure of a trial form. However given the specifically plural reference of nayin-nime, the suffix -nime has clearly different meanings within the two subsystems.

This asymmetry between 1st inclusive and the rest of the paradigm, has been noted in many prefixing languages. For some of these languages this asymmetry is simply the result of their being viewed from a

singular/dual/trial/plural perspective. For these languages re-analysis as a minimal/augmented system has allowed the merging of two apparent sub-systems into a single uniform one (see for instance the analysis of the Rembarrnga pronominal system in McKay 1975). A list of languages analysed as having minimal/augmented pronominal systems is given in Dixon (1980:353). Note though that treating the 1d1inc pronoun as a minimal unit does not resolve the asymmetry evident in the Ngan'gityemerri pronominal paradigm.

Pronouns in Ngan'gityemerri pattern with other nominal subclasses in being independent forms that can bear local case suffixes, and host bound class marking proclitics. These capacities are demonstrated in 9-1 and 9-2 below.

9-1　kanbi　　nyinnin me　　-wa　wembem nem-nide-nimbi
　　　didjeridu ANA　　3sgSnatch-pick house　　3sg -LOC-SOURCE
　　　　　　　　　　　SU Perf　up　　　　　PRO
　　　He picked up that didjeridu from inside of his house.

9-2　gagu　　kinyi a-ngayi
　　　animal this　　A-1sg
　　　generic　　　cl PRO
　　　This beef is mine.

9.1.2 Possession

Freeform pronouns are implicated in the marking of possession in Ngan'gityemerri. Cross-referencing the possessor, they occur as the final element in this complex NP type, following the word denoting the possessed entity. Where a specific possessor term, such as a name, is included within this NP, they follow this as well. The possessive construction then, has the underlying tri-partite structure;

　　　　　　　　1　　　　　　2　　　　　　3
9-3　+ possessed entity ± possessor noun + possessor pronoun

This complex triple NP structure is demonstrated in 13-4 to 13-7, below.

9-4　[wa-wurrkama yenim-wurrkama] [Alan] [nem]
　　　M- work　　3sgGo-work　　　　　　3sgM
　　　cl　　　　SU Pres　　　　　　　　PRO
　　　Alan's working man...

9-5　[membirr] [Tyemeny] [ngayim]
　　　child　　personal 3sgF
　　　　　　　name　　PRO
　　　Tyemeny's child(ren)...

9-6 [mudiga] [wa-wulmen] [wurruke]
car M-oldman 3dl
   cl   PRO
The car belonging to those two old men...

9-7 [yerr-kinyi] [kene] [nem]
Tr- this who 3sgM
cl   PRO
This thing of who's ?
(i.e. Who's thing is this ?)

Further discussion of **kene** 'who' and the indefinite pronoun can be found in 9.3.1.

The 3sg masculine pronoun **nem**, can be the gender unmarked pronoun within this structure, where the possessor is inanimate or non-individuated. It is this gender-unmarked usage that accounts for the occurrence of the masculine pronoun **nem** cross-referencing the possessor **falmi** 'women', in 9-8.

9-8 shower room **kinyi wirribem falmi nem mipurr nem**
     this 3sgStand woman 3sgM man 3sgM
     SU Pres gen. PRO gen. PRO
This is both a women's and men's bathroom.

The possessor noun is given as optional in the formula set out in 9-3. In fact the most frquently encountered possessive structures consist simply of parts 1 + 3, as demonstrated below.

9-9 [awa-derrigidi] [wurruke]
Hg - countryman 3dl
cl   PRO
Them two's countryman...

9-10 [dede kinyi] [nayin-nime]
country this 1dlinc-pl
       PRO
This country of our's...

9-11 [firretyi] [nyinyi]
shoe 2sg
   PRO
Your shoes...

9.1.3 Vocative use of Pronouns

In Ngan'gityemerri there is an interesting shift between pronominal person categories that is triggered by constraints on the vocative use of other referential terms.

In calling out to someone to attract their attention, Ngan'gityemerri speakers can choose from a wide array of terms. Most commonly they use kinship terms, though they also like to use sub-section terms and nicknames or other names that make indirect reference. The direct use of personal names is disfavoured, and 2nd person pronouns are never used vocatively. When calling out to a group of two or more people, kinship and sub-section terms only suffice where all members of the addressed group either bear the same relationship to the caller, or belong to the same sub-section. Where these conditions are not met, and the group represents mixed kin or subsection categories, the *third* person dual, trial and plural pronouns, **wurruke, wurruke-nime** and **wurrum,** are used vocatively.

9-12   **wurruke, ya   ngingipiri-nyine-pefi**
        3dl   hey   dark   -FOC -INCHO
        PRO
        Hey you two ! it's getting dark now !

9-13   **wurrum, yinnyirri- Ø,   mipurr defirr tyawurru kinyi-nyine-pagu**
        3pl   2plSee -IMP man   foot   today   here -FOC   -HITH
        PRO   SU Irr
        Hey you mob ! Look, there's a man's footprints (made) recently (coming) this way along here !

9.2   Discourse Demonstratives   Yaga and Nyin(nin)

     The two demonstratives **yaga** and **nyinnin** have no function as spatial or temporal deictics, but rather function as discourse deictics. Their function is to locate things with respect to their thematic status within a discourse, not with respect to space or time. **Yaga** follows the first mention of referents introduced to a discourse, establishing them as topic, usually where they represent an unpredictable or surprising topic change. **Nyinnin** is an anaphoric demonstrative referring back to any person/thing/notion that the speaker can assume the addressee will understand. This assumption can generally be based on the shared understanding that the intended referent is either currently topical, or is sufficiently well established within the discourse that its restatement would be superfluous. **Nyinnin** is frequently contracted to **nyin,** with no obvious semantic change. A few examples within my texts suggest that the full form may possibly convey more definite reference.

     The function and reference of both **yaga** and **nyin(nin)** can only really be understood within the context of a sizable discourse sample. Single sentence examples containing these demonstratives are therefore fairly meaningless. For this reason, although I have included a single example of

each here, readers are encouraged to look at the contextually established occurrences of **yaga** and **nyinnin** in the texts in Appendix C.

9-14 below comes from a text in which Robert Daly is telling me of events concerning various people, all of whom are unknown to me. Taking into account the difficulties he expects me to have in tracking reference correctly, he works **nyin(nin)** overtime to make explicit who is doing what to who. Note that here the context is sufficiently complicated that the anaphoric marker alone does not suffice to disambiguate the actors. Robert has to tag each anaphor to an explicit name or discriptive nominal.

9-14 **minmi meny -ne, kanbi   yaga minbe-merrendi gantyawam**
      No   3sgSay -3sg   didjeridu DEM Neg -PROHIB   2sgTake
            SU Perf IO   SU Irr
      'No way !', (the airport luggage man) told him, 'you can't take
      airplane-nide, nimbi gani -lala   ngarapa-wurru
            -LOC   CAUS 3sgGo-split   fragile -UNSATIS
                  SU Irr
      didjeridus on the plane, it might split, it's too fragile'.

9-15 **ngawam-nirr-pe wunu ngan-dede ngayi, mityity nyinnin**
      1sgTake-2pl -Fut there   LOC-camp 1sg   white   ANA
      SU Irr DO   PRO   woman
      'I'll take you all back to my place', he said to <u>that woman</u>...
      meny   -nge, wa-wulmen nyin -ninggi   Doug,
      3sgSay -3sgF M -oldman   ANA-AGENT
      SU Perf IO   cl
      <u>That oldman, he was the one who said it</u>..Doug.
      yityi -ngumbumbu-nime-pe mityity nyin dam   -ngi-tyerr   -pu
      what-1dlinc Do   -pl   -Fut white ANA 3sgPoke-1sg-mouth-ask
            SU   Irr SU   woman   SU Perf DO
      'What shall we do ?', <u>that woman</u> asked me.

9.3   Interrogatives
9.3.1 Basic Interrogatives

Ngan'gityemerri uses the following basic set of five interrogative forms.

9-16   **tyagani**   -   what
          kide   -   where, how, which
          kene   -   who
          etye   -   when
          erreke   -   how many/often

These deictics always occur before the verb, typically clause initially, and are favoured hosts for the '2nd position' fronting of verbal tense and

directional enclitics (see 9-19 and 9-24 below). **Tyagani** enquires about the identity of some nameable entity (cf. **yityi** in 9.3.4), and presupposes no knowledge about that entity (cf. **tyen-** in 9.3.4).

9-17 **tyagani yirim -lalirr**
what   2sgSit -eat
          SU Pres
What's that you're eating ?

9-18 **yerr-kinyi tyagani**
Tr-this   what
cl
What's this thing ?

Kide as an interrogative of location oriented verbs, i.e. verbs of motion and state, enquires about spatial position.

9-19 **kide -pe ngambani**
where-Fut   1plinc Go
             SU Irr
Where shall we go ?

9-20 **dede kide   yaganiny-du**
camp where 2sgGo   -sleep
                SU Perf
Where did you camp the night ?

Kide also asks 'which?', in presenting a choice between multiple entities. Where the entities in question are all members of the same noun class, **kide** will bear the appropriate bound class proclitic. This is demonstrated for the 'animal' class in 9-21.

9-21 **gagu   a-kide   derrigidi-yerim**
animal A-which   want   -2sgHands
generic cl   SU Pres
Which of these animals/bits of meat do you want ?

Kene enquires about the identity of people only, and can be thought of as the human equivalent of **tyagani**. Where **kene** can ask only about living humans, **tyagani** 'what' must be used to ask about inanimates, lower animates, spirits, corpses and ancestral beings. The distinction between humans and non-humans is then quite rigid. The response to a **kene** question will always identify a particular person.

9-22 piwari nyinyi kene
      name 2sg   who
          PRO
      What's your name ?

9-23 mipurr wunu   kene girribem
      man   there   who 3sgStand
                          SU Pres
      Who's that man over there ?

Etye 'when' enquires about temporal position.

9-24 etye -pe   yara   -fi -pal -pagu
      when-Fut   2sgPokeDtr-Mp-return-HITH
              SU Irr
      When will you be coming back ?

9-25 walkity kinyi etye -ngini wemi   -ta
NgK   *flower this when-Fut   3sgHands-strike*
                          SU Irr   =open
      When will this flower open ?

Erreke asks about the number of some entity.

9-26 erreke nga   -nyi-fi -me -pe money
      how   1sgPoke-2sg-Mp-hand-Fut
      much SU Irr   DO
      How much money should I give you ?

9.3.2 Local Case Interrogatives

All of these five basic interrogatives can bear local case suffixes, resulting in the further interrogatives exemplified below. The case suffixing of these interrogatives is quite productive. The examples given here are all those that have occurred in my text database. However, subject to the requirement of semantic plausability, other interrogative + case suffix combinations will be acceptable.

Tyagani takes the causative and purposive suffixes, **tyagan-nimbi** 'as a result of what' and **tyagan-ne/ngini(K)** 'for what purpose', respectively.

9-27 tyagan-nimbi yirim -di
      what -CAUS   2sgSit -cry
                    SU Pres
      What are you crying from ?

9-28 tyagani-ngini yirribem-fili kinyi
      what   -PURP 2sgStand-roll here
                    SU Pres
      What are you hanging about here for ?

Tyagani and kene, those interrogatives that ask about the identity of objects and people, can predictably take the AGENTive/INSTRumental suffix.

9-29　**tyagan-ninggi yariny - Ø -syi -bang**
　　　　what -INSTR 2sgPoke-3sg-nose-pierce
　　　　　　　　　　　　SU Perf DO
　　　　What did you use to pierce his nose ?

9-30　**kene-ninggi　　wudum -nyi -mi -wul**
　　　　who-AGENT　　3sgShove-2sg-Val-return
　　　　　　　　　　　SU Perf　DO
　　　　Who brought you back here ?

Both have also been recorded with the PURPosive, ASSOCiative and LOCative suffixes.

Kide takes the SOURCE and HITHer/THITHer suffixes to enquire about the locational origin, and direction of motion verbs.

9-31　**kide -nimbi　　yagadi-pagu -tye kinyi**
　　　　where-SOURCE　　2sgGo -HITH-Past here
　　　　　　　　　　　　SU PImp
　　　　From where have you come here ?

Etye takes the SOURCE suffix, enquiring about either the temporal origin of states, as in 9-32, or the frequency of dynamic activity, as in 9-33.

9-32　**etye -nimbi　　dede yannim-du　　dideninggi**
　　　　when-SOURCE camp 2plGo　-sleep other
　　　　　　　　　　　　SU Pres　　　　side
　　　　Since when/how long have you been camping on the other side of the river ?

9-33　**etye -nimbi　　yarim -burr-fi -mi -tyatit kuwul-nide**
　　　　when-SOURCE　　2sgPoke-3pl　-Mp-Val-place school-LOC
　　　　　　　　　　　SU Pres DO　　=teach
　　　　How often do you teach (the kids) in school ?

Etye and **ereke** can both take the INSTRumental suffix **-ninggi.** In this form neither are really interrogatives, but function as indefinite expressions. **Etye-ninggi,** as in 9-34 denotes some indefinite time in the future. (Here **-ninggi** clearly implies future temporal reference. In 8.2.1 I noted this minor function of **-ninggi** in other temporal expressions such as **wade-ninggi** 'tomorrow' etc.).

9-34　**ep　　　etye -ninggi ya　　-ngi-fi -me -pe**
　　　　perhaps when-INSTR　　2sgPoke-1sg-Mp-hand-Fut
　　　　　　　　　　　SU Irr　DO
　　　　Perhaps you could give it to me at some later time ?

Erreke-ninggi is concerned with the quantification of some activity (cf. quantification of some entity in 9.3.1). It can be used interrogatively, but is most frequently encountered in the rhetorically exclamatory sense shown in 9-35.

9-35　**kanbi**　　**ngayi erreke -ninggi**　**ngagadi -fifi　-tye**
　　　　didjeridu 1sg　　how　-INSTR　　1sg Go　-blow-Past
　　　　　　　　　　　PRO　many　　　　　　SU PImp redup
　　　　(Well, I don't know) how many didjeridus I blew !
　　　　(i.e. how many songs I accompanied on the didjeridu)

9.3.3 Indefinite Interrogatives

The addition of the INDEFinite suffix **-nawa** to both the basic five interrogatives and the additional interrogatives formed with local case suffixes, gives the following indefinite deictics. (The 'INSTEAD' sense of **-nawa** is discussed in 6.2.9). Note that, in the second group of interrogatives (i.e. those formed through prefixing one of the five basic interrogatives with local case enclitics), it is the rightmost position of **-nawa**, that gives it scope over more 'inner' case enclitics as well as the basic interrogative. It is this scope of **-nawa** that has led me to treat examples like **tyagan-nimbi** 'as a result of what?' as 'local case interrogatives' in 9.3.2 rather than as 'interrogatives plus case suffixes'.

9-36　**tyagan-nawa**　　　　-　whatever thing
　　　　kide-nawa　　　　　-　somewhere, where-ever
　　　　kene-nawa　　　　　-　whoever
　　　　etye-nawa　　　　　-　whenever
　　　　erreke-nawa　　　　-　however many things

　　　　tyagan-nimbi-nawa　　　-　from whatever cause
　　　　tyagan-nawa-ne/ngini(K) -　for whatever purpose
　　　　tyagan-ninggi-nawa　　-　using whatever instrument
　　　　kene-nimbi/ninggi-nawa -　at the agency/cause of whoever
　　　　kide-nimbi-nawa　　　-　from where-ever
　　　　etye-nimbi-nawa　　　-　from whenever/
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　at whatever frequency
　　　　etye-ninggi-nawa　　　-　at whatever future time
　　　　erreke-ninggi-nawa　　-　however many times

The indefinite suffix has also been found on the spatial 'distant' deictic **wunu/wuni** (K), as in 9-37.

9-37　**wun -nawa**　　**yirrim -fili**
　　　　there-INDEF　3sgGo* -roll
　　　　　　　　　　　SU Perf
　　　　He headed off thataway/in that general direction.

9.4   Other Interrogatives, Tyen- and Yityi-

All the interrogatives surveyed in 9.3.1 to 9.3.3 belong to the deictic word class. There remains to be discussed two additional terms that can be defined as interrogatives in terms of their semantic role, but which differ from the deictic interrogatives in their syntactic function and morphological possibilities.

Tyen- 'what kind of ?' has no independent function, occurring only in combination with noun class/classificatory generics. e.g.

12-22	**tyen-nawurr**	-	what kind of tree/thing ?
	tyen-mi	-	what kind of plant food ?
	tyen-ga	-	what kind of animal/meat ?

Where **tyagani** asks 'what ?' pre-supposing no knowledge about the entity in question (except that it is inanimate), in contrast, 'tyen+noun class generic' seeks clarification of the species within the genus designated by the noun class marker/classifier. Tyen- is discussed in more detail in 5.4.

Yityi[1]- differs in word class status from the other interrogatives in being a verb root. Yityi- forms a complex verb in combination with only the 'say/do' auxiliary (recall that complex verbs employing this auxiliary have their verb root ordered before the auxiliary). Where **tyagani** asks 'what ?' of entities, **yityi-** 'say/do' enquires about 'what was done or said ?'.

12-23 **wananggal-ninggi   yityi -meny   -bi**
     doctor   -AGENT   what-3sgSay/Do-2sg
                                   SU Perf   IO
     What did the doctor tell you/do to you.

12-24 '**yawurr yerr-wurumbi yinyinggin', 'yityi -meny -nimbi ?**'
     tree   Tr- white gum 2sgSee   what-3sgDo -CAUS
     gen.   cl   SU Pres   SU Perf
     'You see the (huge burl on the side of that) whitegum tree ?'
     'How did it get like that ?
     (lit: From doing what (did it get to be like that) ?).

Note that where the verb **yityi-**'do' is modified by the negative particle **minbe**, it has the meaning 'nothing to do', as in 12-25 below.

3-   **were   ngayi wagarri ngayi wuddum-ngirr-dum**
     brother 1sg   two   1sg   3plShove-1plex-bury
          PRO   PRO   SU Perf   DO*
     My two brothers and I were locked up for three

---

1 I frequently hear this word as **ityi**, with the initial /y/ completely lenited.

three week **wembem nyin-nide, minbe-tye yityi-ngurrmu,**
building ANA-LOC Neg -Past what-1plexDo
SU Irr

weeks in that room, we had nothing to do.
(When prisoners from Fanny Bay gaol were evacuated to
Alice Springs gaol after Cyclone Tracy)

Appendix A

Ngan'giwumirri Auxiliary Verb Paradigms

Simple Intransitive Auxiliaries
Major

Aux 1	ngirim	- Sit
Aux 2	ngibem	- Lie
Aux 3	ngirribem	- Stand
Aux 4	ngaganim	- Go
Aux 5	ngerrimbin	- Go*
Aux 6	ngumum	- Say

Minor

Aux 7	ngemen'gen	- Arrive
Aux 8	ngagantyin	- Take
Aux 9	ngintyibem	- Hang

Simple Transitive Auxiliaries
Minor

Aux 10	nginyinggin	- See

Complex Transitive Auxiliaries
Major

Aux 11	ngerim	- Hands
Aux 12	nganan	- Feet
Aux 13	ngem	- Mouth
Aux 14	ngarim	- Poke
Aux 15	ngumbun	- Slash
Aux 16	ngebem	- Bash
Aux 17	ngudumbun	- Shove
Aux 18	nginem	- Heat

Minor

Aux 19	ngusyum	- Suck
Aux 20	ngisyem	- Pull
Aux 21	ngumunggin	- Snatch

Complex Detransitivised Auxiliaries

Aux 22	ngumem	- SayDtr (cf. Aux 6)
Aux 23	nginyerrem	- SeeDtr (cf. Aux 10)
Aux 24	ngemen	- HandsDtr (cf. Aux 11)
Aux 25	nganawam	- FeetDtr (cf. Aux 12)
Aux 26	ngiwem	- MouthDtr (cf. Aux 13)
Aux 27	ngaram	- PokeDtr (cf. Aux 14)
Aux 28	ngebim	- BashDtr (cf. Aux 16)
Aux 29	ngudem	- ShoveDtr (dynamic)(cf. Aux 17)
Aux 30	ngim	- ShoveDtr (stative) (cf. Aux 17)
Aux 31	nginewem	- HeatDtr (cf. Aux 18)

Aux 1 - Sit

		Present	Perfective	Past Imperf	Irrealis
	1	ngirim	ngiriny	ngini	ngi
Sg	2	yirim	yiriny	yini	yi
	3	dim	diny	dini	wiri
	1in	ngindim	ngindiny	ngindini	ngimbi
Dl	1ex	ngirrimgu	ngirrinygu	nginne	ngirrigu
	2	yirrimgu	yirrinygu	yinne	yirrigu
	3	wirrimgu	wirrinygu	winne	wirrigu
	1in	ngindim	ngindiny	ngindini	ngimbi
Pl	1ex	ngirrim	ngirriny	nginni	ngirri
	2	yirrim	yirriny	yinni	yirri
	3	wirrim	wirriny	winni	wirri

Aux 2 - Lie

		Present	Perfective	Past Imperf	Irrealis
	1	ngibem	ngibeny	ngin	ngim
Sg	2	yibem	yibeny	yin	yim
	3	wibem	wibeny	din	wim
	1in	ngimbibem	ngimbibeny	ngimbinge	ngimbim
Dl	1ex	ngerrintyemgu	ngerrintyenygu	ngerrintyinem	ngerrintyegu
	2	yerrintyemgu	yerrintyenygu	yerrintyinem	yerrintyegu
	3	werrintyemgu	werrintyenygu	werrintyinem	werrintyegu
	1in	ngimbibem	ngimbibeny	ngimbinge	ngimbim
Pl	1ex	ngerrintyem	ngerrintyeny	ngerrintyinim	ngerrintye
	2	yerrintyem	yerrintyeny	yerrintyinim	yerrintye
	3	werrintyem	werrintyeny	werrintyinim	werrintye

Aux 3 - Stand

		Present	Perfective	Past Imperf	Irrealis
	1	ngirribem	ngirriny	ngirringe	ngirrim
Sg	2	yirribem	yirriny	yirringe	yirrim
	3	wirribem	wirriny	wirringe	wirrim
	1in	ngimbidibem	ngimbidibeny	ngimbidinge	ngimbidim
Dl	1ex	ngiddibemgu	ngiddibengygu	ngiddingegu	ngiddinggu
	2	yiddibemgu	yiddibenygu	yiddingegu	yiddinggu
	3	widdibemgu	widdibenygu	widdingegu	widdinggu
	1in	ngimbidibem	ngimbidibeny	ngimbidinge	ngimbidim
Pl	1ex	ngiddibem	ngiddibeny	ngiddinge	ngiddim
	2	yiddibem	yiddibeny	yiddinge	yiddim
	3	widdibem	widdibeny	widdinge	widdim

Aux 4 - Go

		Present	Perfective	Past Imperf	Irrealis
	1	ngaganim	ngaganiny	ngagadi	ngani
Sg	2	yaganim	yaganiny	yagadi	yani
	3	yenim	yeniny	yedi	wani
	1in	ngangginim	nganggininy	nganggidi	ngambani
Dl	1ex	ngannunggu	ngannunygu	ngadde	ngarrene
	2	yannunggu	yannunygu	yadde	yarrene
	3	wannunggu	wannunygu	wadde	warrene
	1in	ngangginim	nganggininy	nganggidi	ngambani
Pl	1ex	ngannim	nganniny	ngaddi	ngarrani
	2	yannim	yanniny	yaddi	yarrani
	3	wannim	wanniny	waddi	warrani

Aux 5 - Go*

		Present	Perfective	Past Imperf	Irrealis 1	Irrealis 2
	1	ngerrimbin	ngerrim	ngerrini	ngirri	nganeyerri
Sg	2	yerrimbin	yerrim	yerrini	yirri	yaneyerri
	3	yirrimbin	yirrim	yirrini	wirri	waneyerri
	1in	ngemberrinbin	ngemberrin	ngemberrini	ngimbirri	ngambanegei
Dl	1ex	ngarringgirri	ngarringgirri	nganneyirri	ngarrigirri	ngannegerri
	2	yarringgirri	yarringgirri	yanneyirri	yarrigirri	yannegerri
	3	warringgirri	warringgirri	wanneyirri	warrigirri	wannegerri
	1in	ngemberrinbin	ngemberrin	nemberrini	ngimbirri	ngambanegei
Pl	1ex	ngarrintyirri	ngarrintyirri	ngannigerri	ngarriyirri	nganneyerri
	2	yarrintyirri	yarrintyirri	yannigerri	yarriyirri	yanneyerri
	3	warrintyirri	warrintyirri	wannigerri	warriyirri	wanneyerri

Aux 6 - Say

		Present	Perfective	Past Imperf	Irrealis
	1	ngumum	ngiminy	ngime	ngumu
Sg	2	yumum	yiminy	yime	yumu
	3	mem	meny	meyi	wumu
	1in	ngumbumum	ngimbiminy	ngumbume	ngumbumu
Dl	1ex	ngummumgu	ngirrminygu	ngirrmegu	ngummugu
	2	yummumgu	yirrminygu	yirrmegu	yummugu
	3	wummumgu	wirrminygu	wirrmegu	wummugu
	1in	ngumbumum	ngimbiminy	ngumbume	ngumbumu
Pl	1ex	ngummum	ngirrminy	ngirrme	ngummu
	2	yummum	yirrminy	yirrme	yummu
	3	wummum	wirrminy	wirrme	wummu

Aux 7 - Arrive

		Present	Perfective	Past Imperf	Irrealis
	1	ngemen'gen			ngemen'ge
Sg	2	yemen'gen			yemen'ge
	3	men'gen			wemen'ge
	1in	ngembemen'gen			ngembemen'ge
Dl	1ex	ngerrmen'gen'gu			ngerrmen'gegu
	2	yerrmen'gen'gu			yerrmen'gegu
	3	werrmen'gen'gu			werrmen'gegu
	1in	ngembemen'gen			ngembemen'ge
Pl	1ex	ngerrmen'gen			ngerrmen'ge
	2	yerrmen'gen			yerrmen'ge
	3	werrmen'gen			werrmen'ge

Aux 8 - Take

		Present	Perfective	Past Imperf	Irrealis
	1	ngagantyin	ngagany	ngagantyi	ngawam
Sg	2	yagantyin	yagany	yagantyi	yawam
	3	yentyin	yeny	yentyi	wawam
	1in	nganggintyin	ngangginy	nganggintyi	ngambawam
Dl	1ex	ngarrgantyin'gu	ngarrganygu	ngarrgantyigu	ngarrwanggu
	2	yarrgantyin'gu	yarrganygu	yarrgantyigu	yarrwanggu
	3	warrgantyin'gu	warrganygu	warrgantyigu	warrwanggu
	1in	nganggintyin	ngangginy	nganggintyi	ngambawam
Pl	1ex	ngarrgantyin	ngarrgany	ngarrgantyi	ngarrwam
	2	yarrgantyin	yarrgany	yarrgantyi	yarrwam
	3	warrgantyin	warrgany	warrgantyi	warrwam

Aux 9 - Hang

		Present	Perfective	Past Imperf	Irrealis
	1	ngintyibem	ngintyibeny	ngintyinge	ngintyim
Sg	2	yintyibem	yintyibeny	yintyinge	yintyim
	3	wintyibem	wintyibeny	wintyinge	wintyim
	1in	ngimbintyibem	ngimbintyibeny	ngimbintyinge	ngimbityim
Dl	1ex	ngirrtyibemgu	ngirrtyibenygu	ngirrtyingegu	ngirrtyinggu
	2	yirrtyibemgu	yirrtyibenygu	yirrtyingegu	yirrtyinggu
	3	wirrtyibemgu	wirrtyibenygu	wirrtyingegu	wirrtyinggu
	1in	ngimbintyibem	ngimbintyibeny	ngimbintyinge	ngimbityim
Pl	1ex	ngirrtyibem	ngirrtyibeny	ngirrtyinge	ngirrtyim
	2	yirrtyibem	yirrtyibeny	yirrtyinge	yirrtyim
	3	wirrtyibem	wirrtyibeny	wirrtyinge	wirrtyim

Aux 10 - See

		Present	Perfective	Past Imperf	Irrealis
Sg	1	nginyinggin	nginyirri	nginyirrini	nginyirri
	2	yinyinggin	yinyirri	yinyirrini	yinyirri
	3	dinyinggin	winyirri	winyirrini	winyirri
Dl	1in	ngimbinyinggin	ngimbinyirri	ngimbinyirrini	ngimbinyirri
	1ex	nginnyinggin'gu	nginnyirrigu	nginnyirrinigu	nginnyirrigu
	2	yinnyinggin'gu	yinnyirrigu	yinnyirrinigu	yinnyirrigu
	3	winnyinggin'gu	winnyirrigu	winnyirrinigu	winnyirrigu
Pl	1in	ngimbinyinggin	ngimbinyirri	ngimbinyirrini	ngimbinyirri
	1ex	nginnyinggin	nginnyirri	nginnyirrini	nginnyirri
	2	yinnyinggin	yinnyirri	yinnyirrini	yinnyirri
	3	winnyinggin	winnyirri	winnyirrini	winnyirri

Aux 11 - Hands

		Present	Perfective	Past Imperf	Irrealis
Sg	1	ngerim	ngeriny	ngeme	ngemi
	2	yerim	yeriny	yeme	yemi
	3	demim/dem	deminy	weme	wemi
Dl	1in	ngendim	ngendiny	ngembeme	ngembimi
	1ex	ngerrmimgi	ngerrminygi	ngerrmegu	ngerrmigi
	2	yerrmimgi	yerrminygi	yerrmegu	yerrmigi
	3	werrmimgi	werrminygi	werrmegu	werrmigi
Pl	1in	ngendim	ngendiny	ngembeme	ngembimi
	1ex	ngerrmim	ngerrminy	ngerrme	ngerrmi
	2	yerrmim	yerrminy	yerrme	yerrmi
	3	werrmim	werrminy	werrme	werrmi

Aux 12 - Feet

		Present	Perfective	Past Imperf	Irrealis
Sg	1	nganam	nganam	nganigi	ngana
	2	yanam	yanam	yanagi	yana
	3	dagum	dagam	dagi	wana
Dl	1in	ngambanam	ngambanam	ngambanigi	ngambana
	1ex	ngannamgi	ngannanggi	ngannigi	ngannagi
	2	yannamgi	yannanggi	yannigi	yannagi
	3	wannamgi	wannanggi	wannigi	wannagi
Pl	1in	ngambanam	ngambanam	ngambanigi	ngambana
	1ex	ngannam	ngannam	nganni	nganna
	2	yannam	yannam	yanni	yanna
	3	wannam	wannam	wanni	wanna

Aux 13 - Mouth

		Present	Perfective	Past Imperf	Irrealis
Sg	1	ngem		ngem	nge
	2	yem		yem	ye
	3	weyim		dingim	we
Dl	1in	ngembem		ngimbeni	ngembe
	1ex	ngerremgu		ngirrenugu	ngirregu
	2	yerremgu		yirrenugu	yirregu
	3	werremgu		wirrenugu	wirregu
Pl	1in	ngembem		ngimbeni	ngembe
	1ex	ngerrem		ngirreni	ngerre
	2	yerrem		yirreni	yerre
	3	werrem		wirreni	werre

Aux 14 - Poke

		Present	Perfective	Past Imperf	Irrealis
Sg	1	ngarim	ngariny	ngani	nga
	2	yarim	yariny	yani	ya
	3	dangim	dam	dani	wari
Dl	1in	ngandim	ngandiny	ngandini	ngambi
	1ex	ngarrimgi	ngarrinygi	nganne	ngarrigi
	2	yarrimgi	yarrinygi	yanne	yarrigi
	3	warrimgi	warrinygi	wanne	warrigi
Pl	1in	ngandim	ngandiny	ngandini	ngambi
	1ex	ngarrim	ngarriny	nganni	ngarri
	2	yarrim	yarriny	yanni	yarri
	3	warrim	warriny	wanni	warri

Aux 15 - Slash

		Present	Perfective	Past Imperf	Irrealis
Sg	1	ngumbun	ngum	nguni	ngu
	2	yumbun	yum	yuni	yu
	3	wumbun	wum	wuni	wu
Dl	1in	ngumbumbun	ngumbum	ngundunu	ngumbu
	1ex	ngurrumbun'gi	ngurrunggi	ngurrne	ngurrugu
	2	yurrumbun'gi	yurrunggi	yurrne	yurrugu
	3	wurrumbun'gi	wurrunggi	wurrne	wurrugu
Pl	1in	ngumbumbun	ngumbum	ngundunu	ngumbu
	1ex	ngurrumbun	ngurrum	ngurrni	ngurru
	2	yurrumbun	yurrum	yurrni	yurru
	3	wurrumbun	wurrum	wurrni	wurru

Aux 16 - Bash

		Present	Perfective	Past Imperf	Irrealis
	1	ngebem	ngubum	ngebe	ngubu
Sg	2	yebem	yubum	yebe	yubu
	3	webem/bengim	wubum/bem	webe	wubu
	1in	ngembebem	ngumbubum	ngembebe	ngumbubu
Dl	1ex	ngerrbemgi	ngurrbunggu	ngerrbegi	ngurrbugu
	2	yerrbemgi	yurrbunggu	yerrbegi	yurrbugu
	3	werrbemgi	wurrbunggu	werrbegi	wurrbugu
	1in	ngembebem	ngumbubum	ngembebe	ngumbubu
Pl	1ex	ngerrbem	ngurrbum	ngerrbe	ngurrbu
	2	yerrbem	yurrbum	yerrbe	yurrbu
	3	werrbem	wurrbum	werrbe	wurrbu

Aux 17 Shove

		Present	Perfective	Past Imperf	Irrealis
	1	ngudumbun	ngudum	ngudini	ngudu
Sg	2	yudumbun	yudum	yudini	yudu
	3	wudumbun	wudum	wudini	wudu
	1in	ngumbudumbun	ngumbudum	ngumbudini	ngumbudu
Dl	1ex	nguddumbun'gi	nguddunggi	nguddinigi	nguddugu
	2	yuddumbun'gi	yuddunggi	yuddinigi	yuddugu
	3	wuddumbun'gi	wuddunggi	wuddinigi	wuddugu
	1in	ngumbudumbun	ngumbudum	ngumbudini	ngumbudu
Pl	1ex	nguddumbun	nguddum	nguddini	nguddu
	2	yuddumbun	yuddum	yuddini	yuddu
	3	wuddumbun	wuddum	wuddini	wuddu

Aux 18 - Heat

		Present	Perfective	Past Imperf	Irrealis
	1	nginem	ngineny		ngine
Sg	2	yinem	yineny		yine
	3	dinem(wayim)	dineny(waniny)	(wani)	wine(wa)
	1in	ngimbinem	ngimbinen		ngimbine
Dl	1ex	nginnemgu	nginnen'gu		nginnegu
	2	yinnemgu	yinnen'gu		yinnegu
	3	winnemgu	winnen'gu		winnegu
	1in	ngimbinem	ngimbinen		ngimbine
Pl	1ex	nginnem	nginnen		nginne
	2	yinnem	yinnen		yinne
	3	winnem	winnen		winne

Aux 19 - Suck

		Present	Perfective	Past Imperf	Irrealis
	1	ngusyum	ngusyiny		ngusyu
Sg	2	yusyum	yusyiny		yusyu
	3	wusyum	wusyiny		wusyu
	1in	ngumbusyum	ngumbusyiny		ngumbusyu
Dl	1ex	ngurrumgu	ngurrinygu		ngurrugu
	2	yurrumgu	yurrinygu		yurrugu
	3	wurrumgu	wurrinygu		wurrugu
	1in	ngumbusyum	ngumbusyiny		ngumbusyu
Pl	1ex	ngurrum	ngurriny		ngurru
	2	yurrum	yurriny		yurru
	3	wurrum	wurriny		wurru

Aux 20 - Pull

		Present	Perfective	Past Imperf	Irrealis
	1	ngisyem	ngisyeny		ngisye
Sg	2	yisyem	yisyeny		yisye
	3	disyem	disyeny		wisye
	1in	ngimbisyem	ngimbisyeny		ngimbisye
Dl	1ex	ngirrsyemgi	ngirrsyenygu		ngirrsyegi
	2	yirrsyemgi	yirrsyenygu		yirrsyegi
	3	wirrsyemgi	wirrsyenygu		wirrsyegi
	1in	ngimbisyem	ngimbisyeny		ngimbisye
Pl	1ex	ngirrsyem	ngirrsyeny		ngirrsye
	2	yirrsyem	yirrsyeny		yirrsye
	3	wirrsyem	wirrsyeny		wirrsye

Aux 21 - Snatch

		Present	Perfective +	Past Imperf +	Irrealis
	1	ngumunggin		ngumu	
Sg	2	yumunggin		yumu	
	3	menggin	me	meyi	wumu
	1in	ngumbumunggin		ngumbumu	
Dl	1ex	ngurrmunggin'gu		ngurrmugu	
	2	yurrmunggin'gu		yurrmugu	
	3	wurrmunggin'gu		wurrmugu	
	1in	ngumbumunggin		ngumbumu	
Pl	1ex	ngurrmunggin		ngurrmu	
	2	yurrmunggin		yurrmu	
	3	wurrmunggin		wurrmu	

Aux 22 - SayDtr

		Present	Perfective	Past Imperf	Irrealis
	1	ngumem	ngimeny	ngimeni	ngume
Sg	2	yumem	yimeny	yimeni	yume
	3	meyim	meyiny	meyeni	wume
	1inc	ngumbumem	ngumbuneny	ngumbumeni	ngumbume
Dl	1ex	ngurrmemgi	ngurrmenygi	ngurrmenigi	ngurrmegi
	2	yurrmemgi	yurrmenygi	yurrmenigi	yurrmegi
	3	wyrrmemgi	wurrmenygi	wurrmenigi	wurrmegi
	1inc	ngumbumem	ngumbumeny	ngumbumeni	ngumbume
Pl	1ex	ngurrmem	ngurrmeny	ngurrmeni	ngurrme
	2	yurrmem	yurrmeny	yurrmeni	yurrme
	3	wurrmem	wurrmeny	wurrmeni	wurrme

Aux 23 - SeeDtr

		Present	Perfective	Past Imperf	Irrealis
	1	nginyerrem	nginyerre	nginyerreni	nginyerre
Sg	2	yinyerrem	yinyerre	yinyerreni	yinyerre
	3	dinyerrem	winyerre	inyerreni	winyerre
	1in	ngimbinyerrem	ngimbinyerre	ngimbinyerreni	ngimbinyerre
Dl	1ex	nginnyerremgu	nginnyerregu	nginnyerrenigu	nginnyerregu
	2	yinnyerremgu	yinnyerregu	yinnyerrenigu	yinnyerregu
	3	winnyerremgu	winnyerregu	winnyerrenigu	winnyerregu
	1in	ngimbinyerrem	ngimbinyerre	ngimbinyerreni	ngimbinyerre
Pl	1ex	nginnyerrem	nginnyerre	nginnyerreni	nginnyerre
	2	yinnyerrem	yinnyerre	yinnyerreni	yinnyerre
	3	winnyerrem	winnyerre	winnyerreni	winnyerre

Aux 24 - HandsDtr

		Present	Perfective	Past Imperf	Irrealis
	1	ngemem	ngemeny	ngemeni	ngeme
Sg	2	yemem	yemeny	yemeni	yeme
	3	demem	demeny	demeni	weme
	1in	ngembemem	ngembemeny	ngembemeni	ngembeme
Dl	1ex	ngerrmemgi	ngerrmenygi	ngerrmenigi	ngerrmegi
	2	yerrmemgi	yerrmenygi	yerrmenigi	yerrmegi
	3	werrmemgi	werrmenygi	werrmenigi	werrmegi
	1in	ngembemem	ngembemeny	ngembemeni	ngembeme
Pl	1ex	ngerrmem	ngerrmeny	ngerrmeni	ngerrme
	2	yerrmem	yerrmeny	yerrmeni	yerrme
	3	werrmen	werrmeny	werrmeni	werrme

Aux 25 - FeetDtr

		Present	Past Perf	Past Imperf	Irrealis
	1	nganawam	nganawany	nganigini	nganawa
Sg	2	yanawam	yanawany	yanigini	yanawa
	3	dagawam	dagawany	dagini	wanawa
	1in	ngambanawam	ngambanawany	ngambinigini	ngambanawa
Dl	1ex	ngannawamgi	ngannawanygi	ngannigini	ngannawagi
	2	yannawamgi	yannawanygi	yannigini	yannawagi
	3	wannawamgi	wannawanygi	wannigini	wannawagi
	1in	ngambanawam	ngambanawany	ngambinigini	ngambanawa
Pl	1ex	ngannawam	ngannawany	ngannigini	ngannawa
	2	yannawam	yannawany	yannigini	yannawa
	3	wannawam	wannawany	wannigini	wannawa

Aux 26 - MouthDtr

		Present	Past Perf	Past Imperf	Irrealis
	1	ngiwem	ngiweny	ngiweni	ngiwe
Sg	2	yiwem	yiweny	yiweni	yiwe
	3	diwem	diweny	diweni	wiwe
	1in	ngimbiwem	ngimbiweny	ngimbiweni	ngimbiwe
Dl	1ex	ngirremgi	ngirrenygi	ngirrenigi	ngirregi
	2	yirremgi	yirrenygi	yirrenigi	yirregi
	3	wirremgi	wirrenygi	wirrenigi	wirregi
	1in	ngimbiwem	ngimbiweny	ngimbiweni	ngimbiwe
Pl	1ex	ngirrem	ngirreny	ngirreni	ngirre
	2	yirrem	yirreny	yirreni	yirre
	3	wirrem	wirreny	wirreni	wirre

Aux 27 - PokeDtr

		Present	Perfective	Past Imperf	Irrealis
	1	ngaram	ngarany	ngarani	ngara
Sg	2	yaram	yarany	yarani	yara
	3	daram	darany	darani	wara
	1in	ngambaram	ngambarany	ngambarani	ngambara
Dl	1ex	ngarramgi	ngarranygi	ngarranigi	ngarragi
	2	yarramgi	yarranygi	yarranigi	yarragi
	3	warramgi	warranygi	warranigi	warragi
	1in	ngambaram	ngambarany	ngambarani	ngambara
Pl	1ex	ngarram	ngarrany	ngarrani	ngarra
	2	yarram	yarrany	yarrani	yarra
	3	warram	warrany	warrani	warra

Aux 28 - BashDtr

		Present	Perfective	Past Imperf	Irrealis
	1	ngebim	ngebiny	ngebini	ngebi
Sg	2	yebim	yebiny	yebini	yebi
	3	beyim	beyiny	beyini	webi
	1inc	ngembibim	ngembibiny	ngembibini	ngembibi
Dl	1ex	ngerrbimgi	ngerrbinygi	ngerrbinigi	ngerrbigi
	2	yerrbimgi	yerrbinygi	yerrbinigi	yerrbigi
	3	werrbimgi	werrbinygi	werrbinigi	werrbigi
	1inc	ngembibim	ngembibiny	ngembibini	ngembibi
Pl	1ex	ngerrbim	ngerrbiny	ngerrbini	ngerrbi
	2	yerrbim	yerrbiny	yerrbini	yerrbi
	3	werrbim	werrbiny	werrbini	werrbi

Aux 29 - ShoveDtr (dynamic)

		Present	Perfective	Past Imperf	Irrealis
	1	ngudem	ngudeny	ngudeni	ngude
Sg	2	yudem	yudeny	yudeni	yude
	3	wudem	wudeny	wudeni	wude
	1in	ngumbudem	ngumbudeny	ngumbudeni	ngumbude
Dl	1ex	nguddemgi	nguddenygi	nguddenigi	nguddegi
	2	yuddemgi	yuddenygi	yuddenigi	yuddegi
	3	wuddemgi	wuddenygi	wuddenigi	wuddegi
	1in	ngumbudem	ngumbudeny	ngumbudeni	ngumbude
Pl	1ex	nguddem	nguddeny	nguddeni	ngudde
	2	yuddem	yuddeny	yuddeni	yudde
	3	wuddem	wuddeny	wuddeni	wudde

Aux 30 - ShoveDtr (stative)

		Present	Perfective	Past Imperf	Irrealis
	1	ngim			ngi
Sg	2	yim			yi
	3	wim			wi
	1in	ngimbim			ngimbi
Dl	1ex	ngirrimgu			ngirrigu
	2	yirrimgu			yirrigu
	3	wirrimgu			wirrigu
	1in	ngimbim			nimbi
Pl	1ex	ngirrim			ngirri
	2	yirrim			yirri
	3	wirrim			wirri

Aux 31 - HeatDtr

		Present	Perfective	Past Imperf	Irrealis
	1	nginewem	ngineweny	ngineweni	nginewe
Sg	2	yinewem	yineweny	yineweni	yinewe
	3	dinewem	dineweny	dineweni	winewe
	1in	ngimbinewem	ngimbineweny	ngimbineweni	ngimbinewe
Dl	1ex	nginnewemgu	nginnewenygu	nginnewenigu	nginnewegu
	2	yinnewemgu	yinnewenygu	yinnewenigu	yinnewegu
	3	winnewemgu	winnewenygu	winnewenigu	winnewegu
	1in	ngimbinewem	ngimbineweny	ngimbineweni	ngimbinewe
Pl	1ex	nginnewem	nginneweny	nginneweni	nginnewe
	2	yinnewem	yinneweny	yinneweni	yinnewe
	3	winnewem	winneweny	winneweni	winnewe

Appendix B

Ngan'gikurunggurr Auxiliary Verb Paradigms

Simple Intransitive Auxiliaries
    Major

Aux 1	ngiriN	- Sit
Aux 2	ngibeN	- Lie
Aux 3	ngirribeN	- Stand
Aux 4	ngaganiN	- Go
Aux 5	nganmerr	- Go*
Aux 6	ngiN	- Say

    Minor

Aux 7	ngemen'geN	- Arrive
Aux 8	ngagantyiN	- Take
Aux 9	ngintyibeN	- Hang

Simple Transitive Auxiliaries
    Minor

Aux 10	nginyinggiN	- See

Complex Transitive Auxiliaries
    Major

Aux 11	ngeriN	- Hands
Aux 12	nganaN	- Feet
Aux 13	ngeN	- Mouth
Aux 14	ngariN	- Poke
Aux 15	ngupuN	- Slash
Aux 16	ngebeN	- Bash
Aux 17	ngudupuN	- Shove
Aux 18	ngineN	- Heat

    Minor

Aux 19	ngusyuN	- Suck
Aux 20	ngisyeN	- Pull
Aux 21	ngiminggiN	- Snatch

Complex Detransitivised Auxiliaries

Aux 22	ngimeN	- SayDtr (cf. Aux 6)
Aux 23	nginyerreN	- SeeDtr (cf. Aux 10)
Aux 24	ngemeN	- HandsDtr (cf. Aux 11)
Aux 25	nganawaN	- FeetDtr (cf. Aux 12)
Aux 26	ngiweN	- MouthDtr (cf. Aux 13)
Aux 27	ngaraN	- PokeDtr (cf. Aux 14)
Aux 28	ngebiN	- BashDtr (cf. Aux 16)
Aux 29	ngudeN	- ShoveDtr (dynamic)(cf. Aux 17)
Aux 30	ngiN	- ShoveDtr (stative) (cf. Aux 17)
Aux 31	ngineweN	- HeatDtr (cf. Aux 18)

Aux 1 - Sit

		Present	Past Imperf	Irrealis
	1	ngiriN	ngini	ngiwi
Sg	2	yiriN	yini	yiwi
	3	diN/giriN	dini	wiri
	1in	ngindiN	ngindini	ngimbi
Dl	1ex	ngirriNgu	nginne	ngirrigu
	2	yirriNgu	yinne	yirrigu
	3	wirriNgu	winne	wirrigu
	1in	ngindiN	ngindini	ngimbi
Pl	1ex	ngirriN	nginni	ngirri
	2	yirriN	yinni	yirri
	3	wirriN	winni	wirri

Aux 2 - Lie

		Present	Past Imperf	Irrealis
	1	ngibeN	nginge	ngiN
Sg	2	yibeN	yinge	yiN
	3	wibeN	winge	wiN
	1in	ngimbibeN	ngimbine	ngimbiN
Dl	1ex	ngerrtyeNgu	ngerrtyine	ngerrtyegu
	2	yerrtyeNgu	yerrtyine	yerrtyegu
	3	werrtyeNgu	werrtyine	werrtyegu
	1in	ngimbibeN	ngimbine	ngimbiN
Pl	1ex	ngerrtyeN	ngerrtyini	ngerrtye
	2	yerrtyeN	yerrtyini	yerrtye
	3	werrtyeN	werrtyini	werrtye

Aux 3 - Stand

		Present	Past Imperf	Irrealis
	1	ngirribeN	ngirringe	ngirriN
Sg	2	yirribeN	yirringe	yirriN
	3	wirribeN	wirringe	wirriN
	1in	ngimbirribeN	ngimbirringe	ngimbirriN
Dl	1ex	ngirrsibeNgi	ngirrsingerrki	ngirrsiNgi
	2	yirrsibeNgi	yirrsingerrki	yirrsiNgi
	3	wirrsibeNgi	wirrsingerrki	wirrsiNgi
	1in	ngimbirribeN	ngimbirringe	ngimbirriN
Pl	1ex	ngirrsibeN	ngirrsinge	ngirrsiN
	2	yirrsibeN	yirrsinge	yirrsiN
	3	wirrsibeN	wirrsinge	wirrsiN

Aux 4 - Go

		Present	Past Imperf	Irrealis
	1	ngaganiN	ngagadi	ngani
Sg	2	yaganiN	yagadi	yani
	3	yeniN	yedi	wani
	1in	ngangginiN	nganggidi	ngambani
Dl	1ex	nganniNgi	ngadde	ngarrene
	2	yanniNgi	yadde	yarrene
	3	wanniNgi	wadde	warrene
	1in	ngangginiN	nganggidi	ngambani
Pl	1ex	nganniN	ngaddi	ngarrini
	2	yanniN	yaddi	yarrini
	3	wanniN	waddi	warrini

Aux 5 - Go*

		PresentPast	Imperf	Irrealis 1	Irrealis 2
	1	nganmerr	nganigerri	ngamenerr	nganeyerri
Sg	2	yanmerr	yanigerri	yamenerr	yaneyerri
	3	yirripin	yirrini	wamenerr	waneyerri
	1in	ngambenmerr	ngambinigerri	ngambamenerr	ngambinigerri
Dl	1ex	nganneNgerri	nganneyirri	ngannegerri	ngannegerri
	2	yanneNgerri	yanneyirri	yannegerri	yannegerri
	3	wanneNgerri	wanneyirri	wannegerri	wannegerri
	1in	ngambenmerr	ngambinigerri	ngambamenerr	ngambinigerri
Pl	1ex	nganneNyerri	ngannigerri	nganneyerri	nganneyerri
	2	yanneNyerri	yannigerri	yanneyerri	yanneyerri
	3	wanneNyerri	wannigerri	wanneyerri	wanneyerri

Aux 6 - Say

		Present	Past Imperf	Irrealis
	1	ngiN	ngime	ngimi
Sg	2	yiN	yime	yimi
	3	meN	meyi	wimi
	1in	ngindiN	ngimbime	ngimbimi
Dl	1ex	ngirriNgu	ngirrmegu	ngirrmigu
	2	yirriNgu	yirrmegu	yirrmigu
	3	wirriNgu	wirrmegu	wirrmigu
	1in	ngindiN	ngimbime	ngimbimi
Pl	1ex	ngirriN	ngirrme	ngirrmi
	2	yirriN	yirrme	yirrmi
	3	wirriN	wirrme	wirrmi

Aux 7 - Arrive

		Present	Past Imperf	Irrealis
	1	ngemenggeN		ngemengge
Sg	2	yemenggeN		yemengge
	3	(we)menggeN		wemengge
	1in	ngembemenggeN		ngembemengge
Dl	1ex	ngerrmenggeNgu		ngerrmenggegu
	2	yerrmenggeNgu		yerrmenggegu
	3	werrmenggeNgu		werrmenggegu
	1in	ngembemenggeN		ngembemengge
Pl	1ex	ngerrmenggeN		ngerrmengge
	2	yerrmenggeN		yerrmengge
	3	werrmenggeN		werrmengge

Aux 8 - Take

		Present	Past Imperf	Irrealis
	1	ngagatyiN	ngagantyi	ngawaN
Sg	2	yagatyiN	yagantyi	yawaN
	3	yetyiN	yentyi	wawaN
	1in	nganggityiN	nganggintyi	ngambawaN
Dl	1ex	ngarratyiNgu	ngarrgantyigu	ngarraNgu
	2	yarratyiNgu	yarrgantyigu	yarraNgu
	3	warratyiNgu	warrgantyigu	warraNgu
	1in	nganggityin	ngangintyi	ngambawaN
Pl	1ex	ngarratyiN	ngarrgantyi	ngarraN
	2	yarratyiN	yarrgantyi	yarraN
	3	warratyiN	warrgantyi	warraN

Aux 9 - Hang

		Present	Past Imperf	Irrealis
	1	ngityibeN		ngityiN
Sg	2	yityibeN		yityiN
	2	wityibeN		wityiN
	1in	ngimbityibeN		ngimbityiN
Dl	1ex	ngirrtyibeNgu		ngirrtyiNgu
	2	yirrtyibenNu		yirrtyiNgu
	3	wirrtyibeNgu		wirrtyiNgu
	1in	ngimbityibeN		ngimbityiN
Pl	1ex	ngirrtyibeN		ngirrtyiN
	2	yirrtyibeN		yirrtyiN
	3	wirrtyibeN		wirrtyiN

Aux 10 - See

		Present	Past Imperf	Irrealis
	1	nginyinggiN	nginyirrini	nginyirri
Sg	2	yinyinggiN	yinyirrini	yinyirri
	3	dinyinggiN	dinyirrini	winyirri
	1in	ngimbinyinggiN	ngimbinyirrini	ngimbinyirri
Dl	1ex	ngirrnyinggiNgu	ngirrnyirrinigu	ngirrnyirrigu
	2	yirrnyinggiNgu	yirrnyirrinigu	yirrnyirrigu
	3	wirrnyinggiNgu	wirrnyirrinigu	wirrnyirrigu
	1in	ngimbinyinggiN	ngimbinyirrini	ngimbinyirri
Pl	1ex	ngirrnyinggiN	ngirrnyirrini	ngirrnyirri
	2	yirrnyinggiN	yirrnyirrini	yirrnyirri
	3	wirrnyinggiN	wirrnyirrini	wirrnyirri

Aux 11 - Hands

		Present	Past Imperf	Irrealis
	1	ngeriN	ngeme	ngemi
Sg	2	yeriN	yeme	yemi
	3	deN	deme	wemi
	1in	ngendiN	ngembeme	ngembimi
Dl	1ex	ngerriNgi	ngerrmegi	ngerrmigi
	2	yerriNgi	yerrmegi	yerrmigi
	3	werriNgi	werrmegi	werrmigi
	1in	ngendiN	ngembeme	ngembimi
Pl	1ex	ngerriN	ngerrme	ngerrmi
	2	yerriN	yerrme	yerrmi
	3	werriN	werrme	werrmi

Aux 12 - Feet

		Present	Past Imperf	Irrealis
	1	nganaN	nganigi	ngana
Sg	2	yanaN	yanigi	yana
	3	nagaN/dagaN	dagi	wana
	1in	ngambanaN	ngambanigi	ngambana
Dl	1ex	ngannaNgi	ngannigi	ngannagi
	2	yannaNgi	yannigi	yannagi
	3	wannaNgi	wannigi	wannagi
	1in	ngambanaN	ngambanigi	ngambana
Pl	1ex	ngannaN	ngannigi	nganna
	2	yannaN	yannigi	yanna
	3	wannaN	wannigi	wanna

Aux 13 - Mouth

		Present	Past Imperf	Irrealis
	1	ngeN		ngi
Sg	2	yeN		yi
	3	dingiN/keN		wi
	1in	ngendeN		ngimbi
Dl	1ex	ngerreNgi		ngirrigi
	2	yerreNgi		yirrigi
	3	werreNgi		wirrigi
	1in	ngendeN		ngimbi
Pl	1ex	ngerreN		ngirri
	2	yerreN		yirri
	3	werreN		wirri

Aux 14 - Poke

		Present	Past Imperf	Irrealis
	1	ngariN	ngani	nga
Sg	2	yariN	yani	ya
	3	dangiN	dani	wa
	1in	ngandiN	ngandini	ngambi
Dl	1ex	ngarriNgi	nganne	ngarrigi
	2	yarriNgi	yanne	yarrigi
	3	warriNgi	wanne	warrigi
	1in	ngandiN	ngandini	ngambi
Pl	1ex	ngarriN	nganni	ngarri
	2	yarriN	yanni	yarri
	3	warriN	wanni	warri

Aux 15 - Slash

		Present	Past Imperf	Irrealis
	1	ngupuN	nguni	ngu
Sg	2	yupuN	yuni	yu
	3	wupuN	wuni	wu
	1in	ngumbupuN	ngundini	ngumbu
Dl	1ex	ngurrupuNgi	ngurne	ngurrigi
	2	yurrupuNgi	yunne	yurrigi
	3	wurrupuNgi	wurne	wurrigi
	1in	ngumbupuN	ngundini	ngumbu
Pl	1ex	ngurrupuN	ngurni	ngurri
	2	yurrupuN	yunni	yurri
	3	wurrupuN	wunni	wurri

Aux 16 - Bash

		Present	Past Imperf	Irrealis
Sg	1	ngebeN	ngebe	ngebi
	2	yebeN	yebe	yebi
	3	webeN/bengiN	webe/beyi	webi
Dl	1in	ngembebeN	ngembebe	ngembibi
	1ex	ngerrbeNgi	ngerrbegi	ngerrbigi
	2	yerrbeNgi	yerrbegi	yerrbigi
	3	werrbeNgi	werrbegi	werrbigi
Pl	1in	ngembebeN	ngembebe	ngembibi
	1ex	ngerrbeN	ngerrbe	ngerrbi
	2	yerrbeN	yerrbe	yerrbi
	3	werrbeN	werrbe	werrbi

Aux 17 - Shove

		Present	Past Imperf	Irrealis
Sg	1	ngudupuN	ngudini	ngudi
	2	yudupuN	yudini	yudi
	3	wudupuN	wudini	wudi
Dl	1in	ngumbudupuN	ngumbudini	ngumbudi
	1ex	nguddupuNgi	nguddinigi	nguddigi
	2	yuddupuNgi	yuddinigi	yuddigi
	3	wuddupuNgi	wuddinigi	wuddigi
Pl	1in	ngumbudupuN	ngumbudini	ngumbudi
	1ex	nguddupuN	nguddini	nguddi
	2	yuddupuN	yuddini	yuddi
	3	wuddupuN	wuddini	wuddi

Aux 18 - Heat

		Present	Past Imperf	Irrealis
Sg	1	ngineN		ngine
	2	yineN		yine
	3	dineN/wayim	/wani	wine/wa
Dl	1in	ngindeN		ngimbine
	1ex	ninneNgi		nginnegi
	2	yinneNgi		yinnegi
	3	winneNgi		winnegi
Pl	1in	ngindeN		ngimbine
	1ex	nginneN		nginne
	2	yinneN		yinne
	3	winneN		winne

Aux 19 - Suck

		Present	Past Imperf	Irrealis
	1	ngusyuN		ngusyu
Sg	2	yusyuN		yusyu
	3	wusyuN		wusyu
	1in	ngumbusyuN		ngumbusyu
Dl	1ex	ngurrsyuNgu		ngurrsyugu
	2	yurrsyuNgu		yurrsyugu
	3	wurrsyuNgu		wurrsyugu
	1in	ngumbusyuN		ngumbusyu
Pl	1ex	ngurrsyuN		ngurrsyu
	2	yurrsyuN		yurrsyu
	3	wurrsyuN		wurrsyu

Aux 20 - Pull

		Present	Past Imperf	Irrealis
	1	ngisyeN		ngisye
Sg	2	yisyeN		yisye
	3	disyeN		wisye
	1in	ngimbisyeN		ngimbisye
Dl	1ex	ngirrsyeNgi		ngirrsyegi
	2	yirrsyeNgi		yirrsyegi
	3	wirrsyeNgi		wirrsyegi
	1in	ngimbisyeN		ngimbisye
Pl	1ex	ngirrsyeN		ngirrsye
	2	yirrsyeN		yirrsye
	3	wirrsyeN		wirrsye

Aux 21 - Snatch

		Present	Past Imperf	Irrealis
	1	ngiminggiN		ngimi
Sg	2	yiminggiN		yimi
	3	menggiN		wimi
	1in	ngimbiminggiN		ngimbimi
Dl	1ex	ngirrminggiNgi		ngirrmigi
	2	yirrminggiNgi		yirrmigi
	3	wirrminggiNgi		wirrmigi
	1in	ngimbiminggiN		ngimbimi
Pl	1ex	ngirrminggiN		ngirrmi
	2	yirrminggiN		yirrmi
	3	wirrminggiN		wirrmi

Aux 22 - Say Dtr

		Present	Past Imperf	Irrealis
	1	ngimeN	ngimeni	ngime
Sg	2	yimeN	yimeni	yime
	3	meyiN	meyeni	wime
	1inc	ngimbimeN	ngimbimeni	ngimbime
Dl	1ex	ngirrmeNgu	ngirrmenigu	ngirrmegu
	2	yirrmeNgu	yirrmenigu	yirrmegu
	3	wirrmeNgu	wirrmenigu	wirrmegu
	1inc	ngimbimeN	ngimbimeni	ngimbime
Pl	1ex	ngirrmeN	ngirrmeni	ngirrme
	2	yirrmeN	yirrmeni	yirrme
	3	wirrmeN	wirrmeni	wirrme

Aux 23 - See Dtr

		Present	Past Imperf	Irrealis
	1	nginyerreN	nginyerreni	nginyerre
Sg	2	yinyerreN	yinyerreni	yinyerre
	3	dinyerreN	dinyerreni	winyerre
	1in	ngimbinyerreN	ngimbinyerreni	ngimbinyerre
Dl	1ex	ngirrnyerreNgu	ngirrnyerrenigu	ngirrnyerregu
	2	yirrnyerreNgu	yirrnyerrenigu	yirrnyerregu
	3	wirrnyerreNgu	wirrnyerrenigu	wirrnyerregu
	1in	ngimbinyerreN	ngimbinyerreni	ngimbinyerre
Pl	1ex	ngirrnyerreN	ngirrnyerreni	ngirrnyerre
	2	yirrnyerreN	yirrnyerreni	yirrnyerre
	3	wirrnyerreN	wirrnyerreni	wirrnyerre

Aux 24 - Hands Dtr

		Present	Past Imperf	Irrealis
	1	ngemeN	ngemeni	ngeme
Sg	2	yemeN	yemeni	yeme
	3	demeN	demeni	weme
	1in	ngembemeN	ngembemeni	ngembeme
Dl	1ex	ngerrmeNgi	ngerrmenigu	ngerrmegi
	2	yerrmeNgi	yerrmenigu	yerrmegi
	3	werrmeNgi	werrmenigu	werrmegi
	1in	ngembemeN	ngembemeni	ngembeme
Pl	1ex	ngerrmeN	ngerrmeni	ngerrme
	2	yerrmeN	yerrmeni	yerrme
	3	werrmeN	werrmeni	werrme

Aux 25 - Feet Dtr

		Present	Past Imperf	Irrealis
	1	nganawaN	nganawani	nganawa
Sg	2	yanawaN	yanawani	yanawa
	3	wanawaN	wanawani	wanawa
	1in	ngambanawaN	ngambanawani	ngambanawa
Dl	1ex	ngannawaNgu	ngannawanigu	ngannawagu
	2	yannawaNgu	yannawanigu	yannawagu
	3	wannawaNgu	wannawanigu	wannawagu
	1in	ngambanawaN	ngambanawani	ngambanawa
Pl	1ex	ngannawaN	ngannawani	ngannawa
	2	yannawaN	yannawani	yannawa
	3	wannawaN	wannawani	wannawa

Aux 26 - Mouth Dtr

		Present	Past Imperf	Irrealis
	1	ngiweN		ngiwe
Sg	2	yiweN		yiwe
	3	diweN		wiwe
	1in	ngimbiweN		ngimbiwe
Dl	1ex	ngirreNgi		ngirregi
	2	yirreNgi		yirregi
	3	wirreNgi		wirregi
	1in	ngimbiweN		ngimbiwe
Pl	1ex	ngirreN		ngirre
	2	yirreN		yirre
	3	wirreN		wirre

Aux 27 - Poke Dtr

		Present	Past Imperf	Irrealis
	1	ngaraN	ngarani	ngara
Sg	2	yaraN	yarani	yara
	3	daraN	darani	wara
	1in	ngambarraN	ngambarani	ngambarra
Dl	1ex	ngarraNgi	ngarranigi	ngarragi
	2	yarraNgi	yarranigi	yarragi
	3	warraNgi	warranigi	warragi
	1in	ngambarraN	ngambarani	ngambarra
Pl	1ex	ngarraN	ngarrani	ngarra
	2	yarraN	yarrani	yarra
	3	warraN	warrani	warra

Aux 28 - Bash Dtr

		Present	Past Imperf	Irrealis
	1	ngebiN	ngebini	ngebi
Sg	2	yebiN	yebini	yebi
	3	beyiN	beyini	webi
	1inc	ngembibiN	ngembibini	ngembibi
Dl	1ex	ngerrbiNgi	ngerrbinigi	ngerrbigi
	2	yerrbiNgi	yerrbinigi	yerrbigi
	3	werrbiNgi	werrbinigi	werrbigi
	1inc	ngembibiN	ngembibini	ngembibi
Pl	1ex	ngerrbiN	ngerrbini	ngerrbi
	2	yerrbiN	yerrbini	yerrbi
	3	werrbiN	werrbini	werrbi

Aux 29 - Shove Dtr (dynamic)

		Present	Past Imperf	Irrealis
	1	ngudeN	ngudeni	ngude
Sg	2	yudeN	yudeni	yude
	3	wudeN	wudeni	wude
	1in	ngumbudeN	ngumbudeni	ngumbude
Dl	1ex	nguddeNgi	nguddenigi	nguddegi
	2	yuddeNgi	yuddenigi	yuddegi
	3	wuddeNgi	wuddenigi	wuddegi
	1in	ngumbudeN	ngumbudeni	ngumbude
Pl	1ex	nguddeN	nguddeni	ngudde
	2	yuddeN	yuddeni	yudde
	3	wuddeN	wuddeni	wudde

Aux 30 - Shove Dtr (stative)

		Present	Past Imperf	Irrealis
	1	ngiN		ngi
Sg	2	yiN		yi
	3	wiN		wi
	1in	ngimbiN		ngimbi
Dl	1ex	ngirriNgi		ngirrigi
	2	yirriNgi		yirrigi
	3	wirriNgi		wirrigi
	1in	ngimbiN		ngimbi
Pl	1ex	ngirriN		ngirri
	2	yirriN		yirri
	3	wirriN		wirri

Aux 31 - Heat Dtr

		Present	Past Imperf	Irrealis
	1	ngineweN	ngineweni	nginewe
Sg	2	yineweN	yineweni	yinewe
	3	dineweN	dineweni	winewe
	1in	ngimbineweN	ngimbineweni	ngimbinewe
Dl	1ex	nginneweNgu	nginnewenigu	nginnewegu
	2	yinneweNgu	yinnewenigu	yinnewegu
	3	winneweNgu	winnewenigu	winnewegu
	1in	ngimbineweN	ngimbineweni	ngimbinewe
Pl	1ex	nginneweN	nginneweni	nginnewe
	2	yinneweN	yinneweni	yinnewe
	3	winneweN	winneweni	winnewe

Appendix C

Texts

Text 1

Trip to Melbourne

Speaker - Robert Daly

Recorded at Peppimenarti in September 1988

(AIAS Reid NgW Tapes 8 & 9 1988)

This text was given by my main Ngan'giwumirri teacher Robert Daly, shortly after his return from a trip to Melbourne where, as an accomplished 'bamboo man', he and a Marrisyebin singer named Martin Warrigal were invited to perform at an ethnomusicological conference. What is given here is of necessity an extract, for the full text runs for over two hours and 100 pages of transcription. This text contains many features that are typical of Robert's narrative style; extreme detail given to travel, including all stops, and people met with along the way (getting from Peppimenarti to Melbourne takes 38 pages); great care taken to recount events in their correct chronological order; and determination to describe non-traditional things (such as trams and escalators) in his own language where possible, without lapsing into English. At the same time this text is full of new impressions; the Melbourne zoo, trams, escalators, restaurants, performing before large crowds of strangers, and uncertainty of the rules of such aspects of college life as smorgasborg meals and communal bathrooms. We take the story up from their arrival at their lodgings.

1   **mipurr kinyi wagarri ngem   -burrki-pal -tye dede   Darwin-nimbi,**
    man   this   two   1sgMouth-3dl -have-Past country   -SOURCE
                                  SU Pres   IO
    'I have these two blokes here from Darwin'.

2   **meny,   deminy -ngirrki-ba -walal, room yeyi spare-one widdibenggu,**
    3sgSay 3sgHands-1dlex -arm-shake   other   3plStand dl
    SU Perf SU Perf   DO   redup   SU Pres SU
    he told him. 'Are there two spare rooms ?',

3   **dam   -tyerr -pu Alan-ninggi,   yu spare-one widdibenggu,**
    3sgPoke-mouth-ask   -AGENT   yes   3plStand dl
    SU Perf   SU Pres SU
    Alan asked him. 'Yes there's two spare ones'.

4   **yarrene-du   -nyine-pe meny -ngirrki, yu airplane-nimbi-wurru   dengini**
    2dlGo   -sleep-FOC -Fut3sgSay -1dlex   yes   -CAUS-UNSATIS body
    SU Irr   SU Perf IO
    'Do you want to rest now ?' he asked us. 'Yes, we're feeling tired from the

5   **wurek nganninggu ngirrngirr ngerrintyegu-pe,   ngirrminy-nerr,**
    bad   1plexGo dl   sleep   1plex Lie   dl -Fut 1plexSay -dl/3sgM
         SU Pres SU   SU Irr   SU   SU Perf   SU/IO
    plane flight, we'll have a sleep', we told him.

6   **key-nyine yerr-ngini -handbag-gumu   yerr-wedimuy**
      -FOC   Tr -KIND   -SEMBL   Tr -small
            cl   cl
    He had a small thing like a handbag,

7   **yerr**-every room **nem**   key **dim**   **-nyine** fill'im up-**mem,**
Tr -   *3sgM*   *3sgSit -FOC*   *-3sgDo*
cl   *PRO*   *SU Pres*   *SU Pres*
that was full up with the keys of every room.

8   **watypela nyin**   **me**   **-wa, dinyirrini-bebi -tye wembem** room **nyin-ne,**
whitefella ANA 3sgSnatch-pick 3sgSee -examine-Past house   *ANA-PURP*
                      SU Perf   *up*   *SU PImp*
That whitefella picked it up and searched through it for the key to our room.

9   **nem dam**   **-fi** **-me**   **wunggume, ngayi wunggume dam**   **-ngi-fi -me,**
3sg *3sgPoke-Mp-hand one*   *1sg*   *one*   *3sgPoke-1sg-Mp-hand*
PRO SU Perf   *PRO*   *SU Perf DO*
He gave him (Warrigal) one, and he gave one to me.

10   **ba,**   **meny -ngirrki,** Steve-**ninggi,**   room **nyin nga**   **-nirrki-dudu-pe**
HORT   *3sgSay -1dlex*   *-AGENT*   *ANA 1sgPoke-2dl -show-Fut*
        SU Perf IO   *SU Irr*   *IO*
'Come on !', he told us, Steve that is, 'I'll show you those rooms'.

11   **yentyi** **-ngirrki-tye, ngayi kinyi ngibem-dudu dede**   **ngayi** room-**kinyi,**
3sgTake-1dlex *-Past 1sg*   *this*   *1sgLie -sleep camp 1sg*   *-this*
SU PImp DO   *PRO*   *SU Pres*   *PRO*
He took us up, 'I'm sleeping here, this is my room',

12   **meny** **-ngiti, nyinyi kinyi,** key **yaga -mirri** **yerim**   **-baty** door **kin-ne,**
3sgSay -1sg   *2sg*   *this*   *DEM -EMPH 2sgHands-hold*   *this-PURP*
SU Perf IO *PRO*   *SU Pres*
he told me. 'And this is your's, that key you're holding is for this door',

13   **meny** **-ngiti, nem dam**   **-ne -du,**
3sgSay -1sg   *3sgM 3sgPoke-3sg-show*
SU Perf IO   *PRO*   *SU Perf IO*
he told me. Then he showed him (Warrigal).

14   **nyinyi kinyi,** everthing readyfella **dim**   **musyulng** blanket **yawurr** sheet,
2sg   *this*   *3sgSit* *swag*   *tree*
PRO   *SU Pres*   *generic*
'This one's your's. Everything's ready, your beds, blankets and sheets.'

15   toilet **nga**   **-nirrki-du** **-pe,**   handbag **ngarrinygi -fi -tyuk,**
        1sgPoke-2dl   *-show-Fut*   *1plexPoke dl-Mp-place*
        SU Irr   *IO*   *SU*   *Perf SU*
'I'll show you the bathroom', so we put down our suitcases.

16   **ba,**   **meny -ngirrki,** toilet **nga**   **-nirrki-du**   **-pe,**
HORT   *3sgSay -1dlex*   *1sgPoke-2dl*   *-show-Fut*
        SU Perf IO   *SU Irr*   *IO*
'Come on', he told us, 'I'll show you the bathroom'.

17   yentyi -ngirrki-tye toilet-nide, kinyi,   meny -ngirrki,
        3sgTake-1dlex -Past   -LOC   here   3sgSay -1dlex
        SU PImp DO   SU Perf IO
        He took us up to the bathroom, and said to us,

18   yarrene-wurr -nimbi-pe detyirri-ne   a tyutytyurr-ne,
        2dlGo -enter-CAUS-Fut navel -PURP or bathe   -PURP
        SU Irr   *=to piss*
        'If you come in here for a piss or to wash,

19   minbe-pe loose-one yarrigi   -fi -tyat,
        Neg -Fut   2plPoke dl-Mp-place
                                       SU Irr SU
        don't leave the door unlocked !

20   toilet kinyi wirribem falmi   nem mipurr nem,
                  this 3sgStand woman 3sgM   man   3sgM
                        SU Pres   PRO   PRO
        This is both a women's and a men's bathroom.

21   nyin mityity-nimbi wani -wurr, winyirri lock-werre   wemi   -du
        ANA white -CAUS 3sgGo-enter 3sgSee   -ASSOC 3sgHands-touch
             woman   SU Irr   SU Irr   SU Irr
        If a woman was to come in, she'd see that the lock was engaged,

22   nyinnin wa-mipurr dim -ngan-madi kinyi toilet-nide wumu   -ne   -nyine,
        ANA   M- man   3sgSit-LOC-chest here   -LOC 3sgThink-3sgM-FOC
                  cl   SU Pres   SU Irr   IO
        and she would realise then that there is a man inside the bathroom'.

23   yi,   ngirrminy-nerr,
        yes   1plexSay -dl/3sgM
                SU Perf   SU/IO
        'yes', we said to him.

24   wudum -ngirrki-mi-wul dede ngagurr-nide wakay,   nganninygu-du-nyine,
        3sgShove-1dlex -Val-return camp 1plex -LOC finished 1plexGo dl   -sleep-FOC
        SU Perf DO   PRO   SU Perf SU
        He took us back to our rooms and we laid down then.

25   nem yeniny-wurr yeniny-du,   ngayi ngaganiny-wurr ngaganiny-du,
        3sgM 3sgGo -enter 3sgGo -sleep 1sg   1sgGo   -enter 1sgGo   -sleep
        PRO SU Perf   SU Perf   PRO   SU Perf   SU Perf
        Warrigal went into his room and lay down, I went and lay down in mine.

26   ngayi boot-werre   nginge-tye, lirrmem-ne   ngerrim-syety defirr,
        1sg   -ASSOC 1sgLie -Past cold   -PURP 1sgGo -afraid foot*
        PRO   SU PImp   SU Perf
        I slept with my boots on for fear of getting cold feet.

27   ngerrintyinim-tye   fal, Steve darany   -fi -tit   elifela-ninggi yirrini -tye
1dlex Lie   -Past all   3sgPokeDtr-Mp-arise early -INSTR 3sgGo-Past*
SU   PImp   night   SU Perf   SU PImp
We slept the whole night through. Steve arose early and came

28   deme   -ngirrki-dudu-tye, ngay-ambirri wum   -ngiti-derri
3sgHands-1dlex -touch-Past   1sg -first   3sgSlash-1sg -back
SU PImp DO   PRO   SU Perf IO =knock
and woke us up. He knocked on my door first.

29   ngarany   -fi -tit   ngeriny -mi-ta,   miyi breakfast-nyine pat,
1sgPokeDtr-Mp-arise 1sgHands-eye-open plant   -FOC   arise!
SU Perf   SU Perf
I got up and opened the door. 'It's breakfast now, get up !'

30   meny-ngiti , damuy yeme   -mi-pul -pe, wusye yi   -pi -pe,
3sgSay-1sg   eye   2sgHandsDtr-eye-wash-Fut hair 2sgShoveDtrS-head-Fut
SU Perf IO   SU Irr   SU Irr   =comb
he told me. 'Wash your face and comb your hair !'.

31   nem deminy -du,   ngayi ngaganiny-wurr shower room,
3sgM 3sgHands-touch 1sg   1sgGo   -enter
PRO SU Perf   PRO SU Perf
He woke Warrigal, I went into the shower room

32   damuy ngemeny   -mi-pul   wakay   comb'im-ngiminy wakay
eye   1sgHandsDtr-eye-wash finished   -1sgDo   finished
*   SU Perf   SU Perf*
and washed my face and combed my hair.

33   nem nginimem-endi   demeny   -mi -pul damuy wusye yin   -pi
3sgM already   -SAME 3sgHandsDtr-eye-wash eye   hair   2sgShoveDtr-
h e a d
PRO   SU Perf   SU Perf   =comb
Warrigal had done the same - washed his face and combed his hair.

34   wakay,   meny -ngirrki, yu, ngirrminy-nerr
finished   3sgSay -1dlex   yes 1plexSay -dl/3sgM
*   SU Perf IO   SU Perf   SU/IO*
'Have you finished ?' he asked us. 'Yes' we told him.

35   baka   miyi-nyine ngawam-nirrki-pe, yentyi -ngirrki-tye room miyi -ne
HORT   plant-FOC 1sgTake -2dl -Fut 3sgTake-1dlex -Past   plant-PURP
*   food   SU Irr   DO   SU PImp DO   food*
'Come on, I'll take you down to breakfast'. He took us down to the room

36   wannim-lalirr watypela   mityity,   yeny -ngirrki-wurr,
3plGo -eat   whitefella white   3sgTake-1dlex   -enter
SU Pres   woman SU Perf DO
where the white men and women eat breakfast, and took us in.

37 nyine yarrene-wap-pe, ngadde -tye, nganninygu-wap chair-nide,
FOC 2dlGo -sit -Fut 1dlexGo-Past 1plexGo dl -sit -LOC
SU Irr SU PImp SU Perf SU
'Have a seat now', so we went and sat on the chairs.

38 table wunu readyfela-nyine miyi dini -tye, anyone miyi yurrmugu-wa -pe,
there -FOC plant 3sgSit-Past plant 2plSnatch-pick-Fut
food SU PImp food SU Irr up
There was a table already laid out with food on it. 'Take anything you like,

39 minbe-merrendi awa-wun-ninggi mityity gurrmu-nirrki, yaga yumu -wa,
Neg -INAB Hg -there-AGENT white 3plSay -2dl DEM 2sgSnatch-pick
cl woman SU Irr IO SU Irr up
those women over there (kitchen servers) can't tell you 'take this or that !',

40 minbe gurrmu-nirrki, anyone yumu -wa, miyi nyin yumu -wa
Neg 3plSay -2dl 2sgSnatch-pick plant ANA 2sgSnatch-pick
SU Irr IO SU Irr up food SU Irr up
they can't tell you that ! Take any food that you want. If there's your

41 dege mi-yubu nyin yumu -wa - Ø,
belly PI -good ANA 2sgSnatch-pick- IMP
cl SU Irr up
favourite food here, then take that !

42 gagu -werre -nimbi dege yumu -wa, mi-nyin gagu -werre
animal-ASSOC-CAUS belly 2sgSnatch-pick PI -ANA animal-ASSOC
generic SU Irr up cl generic
If you like the kind that has meat with it, then take those breakfasts

43 yumu -wa - Ø, meny -ngirrki,
2sgSnatch-pick-IMP 3sgSay -1dlex
SU Irr up SU Perf IO
that have meat in them', he told us.

44 minbe guddu -ngirrki-me -palak, ngiminy-ne, wetimbi, yi ngiminy-ne,
Neg 3plShove-1plex -hand-drop 1sgSay -3sg FINE yes 1sgSay -3sg
SU Irr DO =prevent SU Perf IO SU Perf IO
'Are you sure they can't stop me ?' I asked him. 'No, its fine'. 'OK' I told him.

45 nginni -lalirr-tye wakay, ngerriny -pul, coffee, wakay meny -ngirrki,
1plexSit-eat -Past finished 1plexHands-finish finished 3sgSay-1dlex
SU PImp SU Perf SU Perf IO
We ate it all up, finished it right off, and had coffee. "All finished ?' he asked us.

46 yu wakay, ba ngamban-nime-mirri, Alan-ninggi meny -ngirrki,
yes finished HORT 1plincGo -pl -EMPH -AGENT 3sgSay -1dlex
SU Irr SU SU Perf IO
'Yes, we're finished'. 'Right then, let's go !' said Alan,

47 nem-werr-endi Steve, ngaddi -tye mudiga-nide, minbe mudiga, firr-ngityirr,
    3sgM-ASSOC-SAME 1plexGo-Past car -LOC Neg car   foot-ground
    Pro   SU PImp
    and Steve too.   We left in the car....no not the car, on foot.

48 firr-ngityirr ngamban-nime-pe, ngawam-nirrki-pe   meny -ngirrki,
    foot-ground 1plincGo -pl   -Fut 1sgTake -2dl   -Fut 3sgSay -1dlex
    *   SU Irr SU   SU Irr DO   SU Perf IO*
    'Let's go on foot, I'll show you the way !', he told us.

49 ngerrmen'ge-tasat,   ngaddi -tye, nganniny-mentyi-tyerr peyi-pefi
    1plexArrive-emerge 1plexGo-Past 1plexGo -neck   -stop in   -THITH
    SU   Perf   SU PImp   SU Perf =wait   place
    We came out, and went and waited at the place for

50 yerr-steel-one deyedirr dem   -baty,
    Tr -   hip   3sgHands-hold
    cl   = wheel SU Pres
    one of those things having steel wheels (tram).

51 yerr-nyin -nide-nyine   nganniny-madi-wap,
    Tr -ANA-LOC-FOC   1plex Go -chest -sit
    cl   SU Perf
    We climbed inside that thing.

52 warrmadi yarrene-madi-wap- Ø   move-gumu-merrendi, meny -ngirrki,
    quick   2dlGo -chest-sit -IMP   -TRY -LEST   3sgSay -1dlex
    *   SU Irr   SU Perf IO*
    'Climb in quickly before it moves off !' he told us.

53 yerrmigi   -kerrety-pe   yaga ganggi, meny -ngirrki,
    2plHands dl-grasp -Fut   DEM high   3sgSay -1dlex
    SU Irr   SU   SU Perf IO
    'Hold onto this (handrail) up top here !', he told us.

54 nganninygi-madi-wap, ngiddingegu -tyalak -tye,
    1plexGo dl -chest-sit   1plexStand dl-upright-Past
    SU   Perf SU   SU PImp   SU
    We climbed on and had to stand up.

55 darany   -birr -wurru watypela mityity seat-nide-mirri,
    3sgPokeDtr-arrest-UNSAT whitefella white   -LOC-EMPH
    SU Perf   =congested   woman
    It was full up, with men and women on every seat.

56 nem Lirrga deminy -tip   yerr-nyinnin deme nem, ngayi,
    3sgM dance 3sgHands-grab Tr -ANA   hand 3sgM 1sg
    PRO style SU Perf   cl   PRO PRO
    Warrigal grabbed hold of that thing with his hand, and I did too.

57   move-meny straightaway yirrim -fili,   a   dede nyin -napa,
        -3sgDo   3sgGo*-roll   finally camp ANA-UNTIL
        SU Perf   SU Perf
        The tram took off straightaway, and we eventually got to that place.

58   yeniny-tyerr, karrbu warrmadi, meny -ngirrki, nganninygi-karrbu,
        3sgGo-stop   alight quick   3sgSay -1dlex   1plexGo dl-alight
        SU Perf   SU Perf IO   SU Perf SU
        It came to a halt, 'Get out quick !', he told us, so we jumped off,

59   nem-endi   Alan Steve, firr-ngityirr-nyine-pefi   ngaddi -tye
        3sgM-SAME   foot-ground-FOC-THITH   1plexGo-Past
        PRO   SU PImp
        and so did Alan and Steve. We set off on foot,

60   ngadde -pefi -tye, gagu   money wuddumbun-fi -madi -wurity-wannim
        1dlexGo-DUR-Past animal   3plShove   -Mp-chest-throw-3plGo
        SU PImp   generic   SU Pres   SU Pres
        and kept going til (we came to a fountain where) they throw money

61   kuru wasangari, gagu   yaga yinninggin'gu gerrim -buy   -girrim,
        water clean   animal DEM 2plSee   dl   3plStand-bright-3plSit
                         generic   SU Pres   SU SU Pres   SU Pres
        into clear water. 'See that money standing out bright and shiny.

62   gagu   silver-nyine wuddumbun-fi -madi-wurity-wannim kuru-nide,
        animal   -FOC   3plShove   -Mp-chest-throw -3plGo   water-LOC
        generic   SU Pres   SU Pres
        People throw silver coins into the water'.

63   yi   ngirrminy-nerr,   a -kinyi-mirri   mabuk, yu meny -ngirrki,
        yes   1plexSay -dl/3sgM A-here -EMPH lots   yes 3sgSay -1dlex
             SU Perf   SU/IO   cl   SU Perf IO
        'Gee !' we said to him, 'there's a lot of money here'. 'Sure is !' he told us.

64   puy   ngadde -tye, a   wembem nyin -napa,   deminy -tyerr -ta
        keep 1dlexGo-Past finally house   ANA-UNTIL 3sgHands-mouth-open
        going SU PImp   SU Perf
        We kept going 'til we came to that building. He opened the door,

65   nganniny-wurr, ngarrgu ngirrminygu   minde-fela-ndi   mityity watypela,
        1plexGo -enter 1dlex   1plexThink dl   Neg-person-SAME white whitefella
        SU Perf   PRO   SU Perf SU   woman
        and we went in. We thought to ourselves 'what a lot of whitefellas !!'.

66   epe   nem pey-ambirri dini -tye watypela, minbe-nin -tyeri, ngadde -tye,
        BUT   3sgM in -first   3sgSit-Past whitefella Neg -1dlinc-ear 1dlexGo-Past
               PRO place   SU PImp   IO   SU PImp
        They must have all been sitting there already, we hadn't expected it. Anyway
        we went on in.

67   wetimbi   yannunggu, minbe yannunggu-syisyi,   meny -ngirrki, ·
      FINE   2plGo   dl   Neg   2plGo   dl-shiver   3sgSay -1dlex
               SU Pres SU   SU Pres SU   SU Perf IO
      'Are you two OK ?, you're not nervous are you ?' he asked us.

68   yu   wetimbi, yu nyine yarrene-wap- Ø   chair-nide yirrigu - Ø
      yes FINE   yes FOC 2dlGo -sit -IMP   -LOC   2plSit dl-IMP
                       SU Irr   SU Irr SU
      'We're fine'. 'Right then how about you sit in these chairs'.

69   watypela   wa-minbe detyeri-werre   wani -ngirrki-tye
      whitefella M- Neg   ear   -ASSOC   3sgGo-1dlex   -Past
                cl =unknown   SU Irr   IO
      Then all these unknown whitefellas were coming up to us,

70   wetimbi   deminy -ngirrki-ba -walal, wa-chinamen dede   muyeyi-nimbi
      FINE   3sgHands-1dlex -arm-shake M-   country foreign-SOURCE
               SU Perf DO   redup cl
      and they shook us by the hand. There were Asians, people from foreign
      countries,

71   mityity   deminy -ngirrki-ba -walal, mipurr minbe-wurru   -tye
      white   3sgHands-1dlex -arm-shake   man   Neg   -UNSATIS-Past
      woman SU Perf DO   redup
      and women too, they all shook us by the hand. They'd never before

72   winnyirri-bebi   -warrani tyawurru-napa   winnyirri-ngirrki
      3plSee   -examine-3plGo   today   -JUST   3plSee   - 1dlex
      SU Irr   SU Irr   SU Perf IO
      seen Aborigines, they saw us for the first time !

73   minbe demim -nirrki-pi   -yiri ?, meny -ngirrki Alan-ninggi,
      Neg   3sgHands-2dl   -head-numb 3sgSay -1dlex   -AGENT
            SU Pres DO   =shame   SU Perf IO
      'This isn't embarrassing you, is it ?', Alan asked us.

74   yu wetimbi ngirrminy-ngerr,   nginni -pefi -tye, kin -nuwurr ngani-pe,
      yes FINE   1plexSay -dl/3sgM 1plexSit-DUR-Past here-a little   1sgGo-Fut
                SU Perf SU/IO   SU PImp   while SU Irr
      'We're fine', we told him. We sat around awhile. 'I just have to go up here for
      a minute'.

75   meny -ngirrki Alan, wurrkama wedi ngi -wurrkama-pe, kine   yirrigu - Ø
      3sgSay-1dlex   work   little 1sgSit-work -Fut this   2plSit dl-IMP
      SU Perf IO   SU Irr   place SU Irr SU
      Alan told us. 'I have a little business to arrange, you two stay here !'.

76   nginne -pefi -tye, mityity wur-wunggume kine yedi -tye fepi minbadi
      1dlexSit-DUR-Past white F -one   this 3sgGo-Past hill big
      SU PImp   woman cl   place SU PImp
      We sat around, and that women who came here to Peppimenarti,

77 **men'geny-ngirrki,** **girringgu** **dinyirri-ngirrki yedi** **-tye,** hello **meny-ngirrki,**
   3sgArrive-1dlex   *3plSit* *dl* *3sgSee* *-1dlex* *3sgGo-Past*   *3sgSay-1dlex*
   SU *Perf*   IO   SU SU *Perf* DO   SU *PImp*   SU *Perf* IO
   she came up to us. She'd seen us sitting there and came over and said hello.

78 hello **ngirrminy-ngerr,** Heather **ngayim piwari,** **ngerrminygu** **-ba** **-walal**
      1plSay   *-dl/3sgF*   *3sgF*   *name* *1plexHands dl-arm-shake*
      SU *Perf* SU/IO   PRO   SU   *Perf* SU   *redup*
   'Hello' we said to her, Heather her name is, and we shook her by the hand.

79 Alan **kide** **meny** **-ngirrki,** **wun -ambirri** **gaganim,**
      where 3sgSay *-1dlex*   *there-ahead* *3sgGo*
        SU *Perf* IO   SU *Pres*
   'Where's Alan ?', she asked us. 'He's up there having a quick word

80 **ngan'gi-nuwurr diny-tyerrakul, yi meny-ngirrki, yeniny-ngirrki-mi-wap**
   word *-a little*   *3sgSit-talk*   *yes 3sgSay-1dlex* *3sgGo-1dlex*   *-Val-sit*
      while   SU *Perf*   SU *Perf* IO   SU *Perf* DO   *inc*
   with someone'. 'Oh alright', she said to us. She sat down next to us,

81 **ngan'gi-nyine nginne -tyerrakul-nime-tye,** **ngerram** **-ngerr -yilil -tye,**
   word   *-FOC* *1dlexSit-talk*   *-tr*   *-Past* *1plexMouth-dl/3sgF-tell* *-Past*
          SU *PImp*   SU   SU *PImp*   SU/IO *stories*
   and the three of us chatted and we told her stories.

82 **nyinyi kide** **yirim** **ngarrinygi-tyerr** **-pu,** Canberra **ngirim,**
   2sg   *where 2sgSit*   *1plexPoke-mouth-ask*   *1sgSit*
   PRO   SU *Pres* SU *Perf*   SU *Pres*
   'Where are you living ?', we asked her. 'I'm living in Canberra.

83 Alan **yaga** **pag** **-endi** ring up-**meny** **-ngiti** Canberra, **ngiminy-ne**
     DEM *HITH-SAME* *phone -3sgDo -1sg*   *1sgSay* *-3sg*
                  SU *Perf* IO   SU *Perf* IO
   That Alan rang me up in Canberra, and I told him that

84 **yu yibe** meet 'im up-**ngumu-nirr-pe** Melbourne, **detyeri-pefi**
   yes later   *-1sgDo* *-2pl -Fut*   *ear*   *-THITH*
               SU *Irr* IO   *= idea/plan*
   yes I would be meeting up with you in Melbourne, I'd had this plan

85 **ngeme** **-baty -tye -ngini,** **meny** **-ngirrki, yi** **ngiminy-nge,**
   1sgHands-hold-Past-1sgSit   *3sgSay -1dlex*   *yes 1sgSay* *-3sgF*
   SU *PImp*   SU *PImp* SU *Perf* IO   SU *Perf* IO
   for a while', she told us. 'Yes', we said to her.

86 **nginni** **-pefi-tye** **gaganiny-garrmadi** nem Alan, **ma** **meny -ngirrki**
   1plexSit-DUR-Past   *3sgGo* *-approach 3sgM*   *HORT 3sgSay -1dlex*
   SU *PImp*   SU *Perf*   PRO   SU *Perf* IO
   We sat around, then Alan approached us. 'Let's go !' he said.

87 ngambani-nime-pe   wunu room yeyi,   nem watypela   mityity
   1plinc Go- pl   -Fut there   other 3sgM whitefella white
   SU   Irr SU   PRO   woman
   'Let's go through to that other room'. There was a huge number of

88 room nyin-nide dini-tye, room nyin chair nyin darany   -me -syu
        ANA-LOC 3sgSit-Past   ANA   ANA 3sgPokeDtr-hand-fill
             SU PImp   SU Perf
   whitefellas in that room, the room...the chairs, were full up

89 watypela   mityity, nganniny-wurr-pefi   nganniny-tyerr
   whitefella white   1plexGo   -enter-THITH   1plexGo   -stop
                        woman SU Perf   SU Perf
   with whitefellas. We went on in and came to a halt.

90 wunu-pe   yirrigu -pe ganggi, meny -ngirrki,
   there-Fut 2plSit dl-Fut high   3sgSay-1dlex
             SU Irr SU   SU Perf IO
   'You sit up the top there', he told us.

91 Steve wemi   -nirrki-ba -baty -pe -wiri, yen   -ngirrki-madi-pap ganggi,
         3sgHands-2dl -arm-hold-Fut-3sgSit 3sgTake-1dlex -chest-climb high
         SU Irr   DO   SU Irr SUPerf DO
   'Steve will take you up there'. He took us up to the top.

92 kine ngimbi -nime, ngimbi -ne -werr -tyeri-nime-pe Alan
   this 1plincSit-pl   1plincSit-3sgM-ASSOC-ear -pl   -Fut
   place SU Irr SU   SU   Irr IO   SU
   'We'll sit up here and listen to Alan

93 wemi   -yen'gi-pe -wirrim ngan'gi yawurr wangga-ne, wirri -tyeri-baty-pe,
   3sgHands-talk -Fut-3sgStand talk   animal dance-PURP 3plSit-ear-hold-Fut
   SU Irr   SU Irr   generic style   SU Irr
   giving his talk about Wangga, they'll all be listening.

94 Alan-nyine ngan'gi deme   -yen'gi-tye -wirringe wakay,
       -FOC   talk   3sgHands-talk -Past-3sgStand finished
                      SU PImp   SU PImp
   Then Alan was giving his talk.

95 ngan'gi nyin ngeme   -nirr-yen'gi-tye, meny -burr, video cassette
   speech ANA 1sgHands-2pl -talk -Past 3sgSay-3pl
               SU PImp IO   SU Perf IO
   'All this that I've been telling you about', he told them, 'I'll show

96 nga   -fi -tyat -pe, yinnyirri-pe falmi walamarra, kanbi   -werre,
   1sgPoke-Mp-place-Fut 2plSee   -Fut woman dance   didjeridu-ASSOC
   SU Irr   SU Irr   style
   on a video. You'll see women's Walamarra dancing, the use of didjeridus,

97   mipurr wangga, yerr-mentyi yirri -tyeri-baty -pe yerr-nyin -mirri
     man   dance   Tr -throat 2plSit-ear -hold-Fut Tr - ANA-EMPH
         style   cl =song   SU Irr   cl
     and men's Wangga dancing. The songs you'll be hearing (on the video), these
     same ones

98   wiri -dada-pe wa-werrfe girim Warrigal Martin, meny,
     3sgSit-sing -Fut M-mid   3sgSit   3sgSay
     SU Irr   cl distant SU Pres   SU Perf
     will be sung live by that man over there -Martin Warrigal', he told them,

99   kanbi   Robert Daly wiri -fifi -pe,
     didjeridu   3sgSit -blow-Fut
                           SU Irr redup
     'and Robert Daly will play the didjeridu'.

100 wa-wedimuy pey-endi yinnyirri-pe dini-purrpurrk-tye yerr-nyin video-nide,
     M-little one in-SAME 2plSee -Fut 3sgSit-dance -Past Tr -ANA   -LOC
     cl   place   SU Irr   SU PImp   cl
     On the video you'll also see a small boy who was dancing as well.

101 yinnyirri-pe wa-wedi detyeri-werre   yenim,
     2plSee   -Fut M -little ear   -ASSOC 3sgGo
     SU Irr   cl   SU Pres
     You'll see that he knows how to dance.

102 ngatya nem-ninggi   dangim -fi -mi -tyatit -yenim,   meny -burr,
     father 3sgM-AGENT 3sgPoke-Mp-Val-place -3sgGo   3sgSay -3pl
          PRO   SU Pres   redup SU Pres SU Perf IO
     His father is teaching him to do it', he told them.

103 yerr-nyin-nyine video cassette dam   -burr-fi -tyat, winy -me -purrk-ambirri
     Tr -ANA-FOC   3sgPoke-3pl -Mp-place 3sgSit-hand-clap -first
     cl   SU Perf IO   SU Perf
     he turned on that video thing for them... actually they clapped first,

104 watypela mityity, nyin -nimbi   dam   -burr-fi -tyat,
     whitefella white   ANA-SOURCE 3sgPoke-3pl -Mp-place
              woman   SU Perf IO
     all those whitefellas, and then he turned it on,

105 winnyirri nginifiny-nyine, dam   -purrket, wirriny-me   -purrk
     3pl See   true   -FOC   3sgPoke-finish   3plSit -hands-clap
     SU Irr   SU Perf   SU Perf
     and they really watched it. Then he switched it off and they all clapped.

106 ba   meny-ngirrki, ngambani-nime-pe, yirrigu -dada-nginifiny-nyine-pe,
     HORT3sgSay-1dlex 1plincGo -pl   -Fut 2plSit dl-sing -true   -FOC -Fut
         SU Perf IO   SU Irr SU   SU Irr SU
     'Right', he said to us, 'let's go, sing with all you've got !,

107   **wirri -nirrki-tyeri-baty-pe, ngarrgu ngirrminygu watypela wunggume-ndi**
       3plSit-2dl -ear -hold-Fut 1dlex   1plexThink dl whitefella one   -SAME
       SU Irr IO   PRO   SU Perf   SU
       they'll all be listening to you !'. We thought to ourselves 'what a lot of
       whitefellas !'.

108   **nem pey -ambirri minbe room-nyine dini -tye, yeyi -ninggi   winni -tye**
       3sgM in -first   Neg   -FOC 3sgSit-Past other-AGENT 3plSit -Past
       PRO place   SU PImp   SU PImp
       They had already filled the entire room, some were sitting,

109   **yeyi -ninggi tyamennapa widdinge -tyalak,**
       other-AGENT   DISMISS   3plStand -upright
                                    SU PImp
       others just had to stand up.

110   **yeny   -ngirrki-wurr ngaddi -tye, wap-nyine yirrigu, meny -ngirrki,**
       3sgTake-1dlex -enter 1plexGo-Past sit -FOC   2plSit dl 3sgSay-1dlex
       SU Perf   IO   SU PImp   SU Irr SU SU Perf IO
       He took us in and we went over, 'You two sit down here !', he told us.

111   **ngan'g-ambirri ngemi   -yen'gi-pe -ngirrim,**
       talk   -first   1sgHands-story -Fut-1sgStand
                      SU Irr   tell   SU Irr
       'I'll be up here having a talk with someone first'.

112   **kuru   werrminy-ngiti-bubu ngayi, jug-ninggi fill up-wirrminy-ngiti**
       water 3plHands-1sg -fetch 1sg   -INSTR   -3pl Do -1sg
              SU Perf IO   water PRO   SU Perf IO
       They brought on some water for me, and, with a jug, filled up

113   **bucket wurrmu -wa   plastic one,**
                 3plSnatch-pick
            SU Perf   up
       a plastic bucket they'd brought.

114   **wirriny-tyerrakul wakay,   wakay   meny -burr, wirriny-ne -me -purrk,**
       3plStand-speak   finished finished 3sgSay -3pl   3plSit -3sgM-hands-clap
       SU Perf   SU Perf IO SU Perf IO
       He finished speaking, 'that's the end', he told them, and they all clapped him.

115   **ma   -mirri watypela yeyi wirriny -ne -kay,**
       HORT-EMPH whitefella other 3sgStand-3sgM-call
                              SU Perf   IO
       'Hey, come here!', he called to that other whitefella.

116   **yerr-wunu mat ngambawam-fel   -pe, ngumbi -wurrki-bat   -pe,**
       Tr -that   1plincTake -bounce-Fut 1dlincSlash-3dl   -knock-Fut
       cl   SU   Irr   SU Irr   IO   prone
       'Let's drag out that mat and we'll set it out flat

117   **wirrigu -ngan-madi-pe, warranygi-fel**   **wirrigu -pup, wirriny-ngirrki-kay**
    3plSit dl-LOC -chest -Fut 3plTake dl-bounce 3plSit dl-lay 3plStand-1dlex -call
    SU Irr SU   SU Perf SU   SU Perf SU   SU Perf   IO
    for them to sit on.   They dragged it out, lay it down, and called out to us,

118   **ka   -mirri   ka   meny-ngirrki,   ngadde -tye   wap,**
    HORT-EMPH HORT   3sgSay-1dlex   1dlexGo-Past   sit
                   SU Perf IO   SU PImp
    'Come on over here !' he told us, so we went over and sat down.

119   **ngayi kanbi   ngu   -madi-syu,   ready-yurrmunggu meny -ngirrki,**
    1sg   didjeridu   1sgSlash-chest-spray   2plDo   dl 3sgSay -1dlex
    PRO   SU Perf   water   SU Pres   SU SU Perf IO
    I wet the inside of the didjeridu. 'Are you guys ready ?', he asked us.

120   **yu, ma   -mirri   ka   fi   -yumu-nyine-pe kanbi   meny -ngiti,**
    yes   HORT-EMPH HORT   blow-2sgDo-FOC -Fut didjeridu 3sgSay -1sg
                     SU Irr   SU Perf IO
    'Yes'. 'OK then, you can start playing straightaway !', he told me.

121   **fi   -ngiminy-ne   dini -dada-tye, wum   -ket larrk larrk larrk larrk larrk**
    blow-1sgDo   -3sgM 3sgSit-sing -Past 3sgSlash-cut   clapping onomatoepeia
        SU Perf IO   SU PImp   SU Perf =cease
    I blew for him, and Warrigal sang. When he finished..clap clap clap..

122   **watypela   mityity wirriny-ngirrki-me -purrk**
    whitefella white   3plSit -1dlex   -hand-clap
               woman SU Perf IO
    all those white men and women applauded us.

123   **mam Alan-ninggi   meny -ngirrki,   yerr-yeyi -nyine me   -wa,**
    more   -AGENT 3sgSay -1dlex   Tr -other-FOC 3sgSnatch-pick
                     SU Perf IO   cl   SU Perf   up
    'Keep going !', Alan said to us, so Warrigal launched into another one.

124   **nyin minbe tyawurru-ne kukuk-mirri, kanbi erreke-ninggi ngagadi-fifi -tye**
    ANA Neg   today-PURP wait -EMPH   didj-   how -AGENT 1sgGo   -blow-Past
                                eridu   many   SU PImp redup
    That's not enough yet, keep going !'. Well, I don't know how many songs I
    played.

125   **tyerr -wasyan-werre -wurru   meyi -ngi -tyerr -watyit -tye,**
    mouth-hair   -ASSOC-UNSATIS 3sgDo   -1sg -mouth-consume-Past
    = beard   SU PImp DO   redup
    Annoyingly, my beard kept getting caught between my lips and the didjeridu.

126   **tyamirri   meny -burr, minmi mam   derrigidi-ngerrmim,**
    finished 3sgSay -3pl   Neg   more   want   -1plexHands
           SU Perf IO   SU Pres
    'That the end', he told the audience. 'No ! we want more', (they called).

127 nyin -nimbi   wirriny -ngirrki-kay...ba...   Steve meny -ne,
ANA-SOURCE 3sgStand-1dlex   -call I mean   3sgSay -3sgM
             SU Perf   IO   SU Perf IO
After that (Alan) called to us two...no he didn't... he said to Steve,

128 wurruke yawam -burrki-nuwurr-pe outside yerr-yeyi -nyine yerr-minbadi
3dl   2sgTake-3dl   -a little -Fut   Tr -other-FOC Tr -big
PRO   SU Irr   IO   while   cl   cl
'Take these two outside for a bit. I'm going to project this other (video)

129 nga   -wurr-fufu -pe, gagu a -firr -werre video cassette kinyi ngerim   -baty,
1sgPoke-3pl   -shine-Fut animal A-foot-ASSOC   this 1sgHands-hold
SU Irr   IO   generic cl =corpse   SU Pres
onto the big thing (screen) for them (audience), and this video I've got here has
(images of) a deceased person on it'.

130 meny -burr, nimbi ginnyirrigu dede -ne   ga   -wurrki-tyeri-tyirr,
3sgSay -3pl   CAUS 3plSee   dl   country-PURP 3sgPoke-3dl   -ear -worry
SU Perf IO   SU Irr SU   SU Irr   DO
He explained to them (audience), 'If they were to watch (this video), they'd feel
sorry for their country,

131 awa-derrigidi   wurruke ginnyirrigu mipurr wa-perrety-meny   yaga -ndi,
Hg-countrymen 3dl   3plSee   dl   man   M -dead   -3sgDo   DEM-SAME
cl   PRO   SU Irr SU   cl   SU Perf
if they were to see their countrymen, especially one who has since died'.

132 yi yi, Steve-ninggi   meny -ngirrki ngambani-nime outside nuwurr,
yes yes   -AGENT 3sgSay -1dlex 1dlincGo -pl   a little
                SU Perf IO   SU Irr   SU   while
'Yes of course ! (the audience murmured sympathetically). Then Steve said to
us, 'Let's go outside for a bit'.

133 yentyi-ngirrki-tye outside, peyi   nginne -nime-tye, yerr-nyine dam -burr-fufu,
3sgTake-1dlex-Past   in   1dlexSit -Tr -Past Tr -FOC 3sgPoke-3pl-shine
SU PImp IO   place SU PImp SU   cl   SU Perf IO
He took us outside, and we hung around there for a bit, while he projected

134 winnyirri syanba wangga walamarra,   nginne -werr   -tyeri-tye,
3plSee   dance dance women's dance 1dlexSit-ASSOC-ear -Past
SU Perf   style style style   SU PImp
(the film) and they watched Syanba, Wangga and Walamarra. We could still
overhear it,

135 wakay   dam   -purr-ket ngagurr nganniny-wurr ngaddi -tye
finished 3sgPoke-bum-cut 1plex   1plexGo   -enter 1plexGo-Past
SU Perf =finish   PRO   SU Perf   SU PImp
and when he'd finished we went back in, going over to

136 ngerrmen'geny-ne,   wakay -nyine meny -ngirrki, Heather meny -nge,
    1plexArrive   -3sgM   finished-FOC 3sgSay-1dlex   3sgSay-3sgF
    SU Perf   IO   SU Perf IO   SU Perf IO
    where (Alan) was. 'We're finished now !', he told us. Then he spoke to
    Heather,

137 e   wa-wurrkama yenim-wurrkama Alan nem watypela wa-dityunggurr,
    and   M-work   3sgGo -work   3sgM whitefella M-short
           cl   SU Pres   PRO   cl
    and to that employee of Alan's, a whitefella, a short one.

138 gagu   ya   -wurrki-dudu-pe, yawam -burrki-pe, ngayi ngan'gi ngani-pe
    animal 2sgPoke-3dl   -show-Fut 2sgTake-3dl   -Fut 1sg   talk   1sgGo-Fut
    generic SU Irr IO   SU Irr DO   PRO   SU Irr
    'Show them the animals !, take them (to the zoo). I've yet to give my
    conference paper'.

139 ba   meny -ngirrki mityity nyin-ninggi Heather, ngadde -nime-tye outside,
    HORT 3sgSay-1dlex white   ANA-AGENT   1dlexGo -tr   -Past
           SU Perf IO   woman   SU PImp SU
    'Let's go !', she said to us... that white woman... Heather. So the three of us
    went outside.

140 Alan-ninggi   meny -nge, wun-nimbi   yarra   -fi -pal   -pe,
           -AGENT 3sgSay -3sgF there-SOURCE   2plPokeDtr-Mp-return-Fut
               SU Perf IO   SU Irr
    Alan said to her, 'When you come back from there,

141 yawam -burrki-pe -yani,   yudu   -wurrki-mi -wul   -pe   kinyi,
    2sgTake-3dl   -Fut-2sgGo 2sgShove-3dl   -Val-return-Fut   here
    SU Irr DO   SU Irr SU Irr   DO
    bring these two blokes with you, and return them to this place here.

142 kine yerrmen'ge-ngiti-pe,   yu   meny -ne,   ba   meny -ngirrki.
    this   2plArrive -1sg -Fut yes 3sgSay -3sgM HORT 3sgSay -1dlex
    place SU Irr   IO   SU Perf IO   SU Perf IO
    This is where you'll find me'. 'OK!', she told him. 'Let's go !', she said to us.

143 ngadde -tye outside, ngiddinge -ngidi-tye taxi gaganim, taxi ngerrminy -tip,
    1dlexGo-Past   1plexStand-wait -Past   3sgGo   1plexHands-grab
    SU PImp   SU PImp   SU Pres   SU Perf
    We went outside, and waited around for a taxi to come. We caught one,

144 a   gagu   nyin ngan-warrim-fi -tyityuk-wannim,   amatyi
    finally animal ANA LOC -3plPoke-Mp-place -3plGo   kangaroo
           generic   SU Pres   redup   SU Pres
    and (went) to the place where they keep those animals - kangaroos

145 gagu wirritywirrity awanggi karrwakkarrwak gagu mentyinimba budenggu
    animal lorikeet   crow   kookaburra   animal darter bird diving shag
    generic   generic
    rainbow lorikeets, crows, kookaburras, Darter birds, diving shags,

146 **afiwurr   gagu** lion tiger elephant **gagu abatymirri eperrperr gagu awirrfirr**
cormorant animal   animal   black   Burdekin animal Whistle
*   generic   generic duck   duck   generic duck*
cormorants, lions, tigers, elephants, black ducks, Burdekin ducks, and Whistle ducks.

147 **ninde aditymadi   gagu   adityibi   emen'giny gagu   pultyerrk** pussycat,
then   pygmy goose animal bandicoot goanna   animal wedgetailed
*   generic   generic eagle*
Then there was pygmy geese, bandicoots, goannas, wedgetailed eagles and cats.

148 **gagu   wirritywirrity dede   kinyi nayin-nide   yenim   e-wedi,**
animal   rainbow   country here 1dlinc-LOC 3sgGo   A-small
generic lorikeet   PRO   SU Pres cl
The parrots living here in our country are only small,

149 **epe dede   nyinyi nginyirri minbe e-wedi   yenim   wirritywirrity**
but country 2sg   1sgSee   Neg   A-small 3sgGo   rainbow
*   PRO   SU Perf   cl   SU Pres lorikeet*
but the rainbow lorikeets I saw in your country are huge.

150 **ep   dede   kide -nimbi-nawa,   gagu -mirri   dapurr** same way,
GUESS country   where-SOURCE-INDEF   animal-EMPH bottom
*   generic*
I wonder where they're from. They're the same animal (species), their tails are identical,

151 **detyerr dengini** yellow one **a-ngini -nayin -nide-gumu yenim,**
mouth   body   A-KIND-1dlinc-LOC-SEMBL 3sgGo
*   cl   PRO   SU Pres*
and their beaks and bodies are yellow just like the ones that we have.

152 **ngaddi -tye   anunggupana-nide,   nganniny-wurr**
1plexGo-Past butterfly   -LOC   1plexGo -enter
SU PImp   SU Perf
Next we went to the butterfly (enclosure), and we went inside.

153 **anunggupana nyinnin   anyway   yedi -ngirr-pap,**
butterfly   ANA   3sgGo -1plex-climb
*   SU PImp IO*
Those butterflies just climbed all over us.

154 **gagu kine anunggupana** all different different **nginyirri, a-nayin-nide yenim**
animal this butterfly   1sgSee   A-1dlinc-LOC 3sgGo
generic place   SU Perf   cl PRO   SU Pres
I saw butterflies from this place and all different other kinds. Some from our country,

155 dede   muyeyi-nimbi   yenim, wunggume-nyine watypela werrminy-baty,
country foreign-SOURCE 3sgGo   one   -FOC   whitefella 3plHands -hold
                          SU Pres =thousands   SU Perf
and others from foreign lands. Those whitefellas had thousands of them !

156 ngerrmen'ge-tasat,   ngaddi -tye, ya kuru dege yurrminggin-wa,
1plexArrive-emerge 1plexGo-Past hey water belly 2plSnatch   -pick
SU Perf   SU PImp   SUPres   up
We came outside and wandered along. 'Hey, would you guys like a beer?',

157 mityity nyin -ninggi   dam   -ngirrki-tyerr -pu, yu,   ngaddi -tye,
white   ANA-AGENT 3sgPoke-1dlex   -mouth-ask yes   1plexGo-Past
woman   SU Perf IO   SU PImp
that white woman asked us. 'Sure!', so we went over,

158 nganniny-wurr, ngaddi -tye,   nganniny-derri-wap
1plexGo -enter   1plexGo-Past 1plexGo -back -sit
SU Perf   SU PImp   SU Perf
went into (a bar), and went over and sat up (on stools).

159 miyi   derrigidi-yerrminggu, minmi dam   -ngirrki-tit
plant like   -2plHands dl   Neg   3sgPoke-1dlex -fill
food   SU Pres SU   SU Perf DO
'Would you two like some food ?'. 'No, we're actually still full up from

160 wun -nimb   -endi -yirre   mi-mabuk, ngaddi -lali   -tye,
there-SOURCE-SAME-CORRECT Pf -lots   1plexGo-around-Past
                                cl   SU PImp
all the food we had while we were wandering around back there before.

161 kuru -napa   ngirrigu -kuduk-pe, ngirrminy-ngerr,
liquid-JUST 1plexSit dl-drink -Fut 1plexSay   -dl/3sg
generic   SU Irr SU   SU Perf SU/IO
We'll just drink a beer', we two told her.

162 beer yeniny -ngirrki-kurr, ngayi me   -wa, nem, watypela nyin
        3sgGo -1dlex -get   1sg   3sgSnatch-pick 3sgM whitefella ANA
        SU Perf IO   PRO SU Perf up   PRO
She got the beers, she picked up one for me, (one for) him, and (one for) that

163 Alan   nem wa-working man nem, nginni -kukuduk-tye wakay,
        3sgM M-   3sgM 1plexSit -drink   -Past finished
        PRO cl   PRO   SU PImp redup
whitefella of Alan's, his employee. We drank them up...finished.

164 ba   kinyi-pefi   ngambani-nime meny -ngirrki, kak -endi
HORT this -THITH 1dlincGo -pl   3sgSay -1dlex in   -SAME
                      SU   Irr SU   SU Perf IO   motion
'Let's go over this way', she told us. So, on the move again,

165   **ngunni   -fifili-tye -ngaddi gagu,   a   ngayi syusyuk ngiminy-nyine**
1plexSlash-roll -Past-1plexGo animal finally 1sg   sore   1sgDo   -FOC
SU PImp   redup   SU PImp generic   PRO   SU Perf
      = *search*
we looked about at a few animals, until eventually I was feeling sore,

166   **mumba-nimbi denintyi, ya,   ngiminy-nge** Heather, **wut   -ngumum-nyine,**
walk   -CAUS knee   hey 1sgSay -3sg   heavy -1sgDo   -FOC
                         SU Perf IO   *SU Pres*
in my knees, from all the walking. So I said to Heather, 'My limbs feel heavy'.

167   **ngay- werr-endi,   nem -pagu wumu -ngiti** Warrigal,
1sg -ASSOC-SAME   3sgM-HITH 3sgSay -1sg
PRO   PRO   SU Perf IO
'Yeah me too !', Warrigal told me.

168   **ngambara   -fi -pal   -nime-nyine, yumu -nge   mityity,**
1plincPokeDtr-Mp-return-pl   - FOC 2sgSay-3sgF   white
SU   Irr   SU   SU Irr IO   woman
'Suggest to her that we all go home now !'

169   Heather **ngiminy-nge,   ya kak -nyine yudu   -ngirrki-mi -wul,**
            1sgSay   -3sgF   hey in   -FOC 2sgShove-1dlex -Val-return
            SU Perf IO   motion   SU Irr   DO
So I said to Heather, 'How about you take us back now'.

Text 2

Strychnine

This short text has been included to demonstrate the type of dialect switching that is common in the speech of elder Ngan'giwumirri and Ngan'gikurunggurr people. Molly is of Ngan'gikurunggurr descent, but was married to a Ngan'giwumirri man for many years. At Nawiyu Nambiyu (Daly River Mission) where she now lives, Molly speaks predominantly Ngan'gikurunggurr but as the text below shows, her speech contains a mixture of Ngan'giwumirri and Ngan'gikurunggurr. To demonstrate this switching I have marked those forms that are specifically flagged as being Ngan'giwumirri by outlining them. Likewise specifically Ngan'gikurunggurr forms have been <u>underlined</u>. I have only attempted here to mark those forms that are lexically or morphologically distinct. No attempt has been made to mark phonological (particularly stress) patterns that are unique to either dialect.

1 wa-wulmen dede <u>wuni</u> Ridgedale-nide ngadde -wapup,
 M-oldman camp there   -LOC 1dlexGo -sit
 cl   SU PImp redup
 I was living with my husband over at Ridgedale's farm.

2 ngadde -fili kak -myine ngadde peyik-<u>werri</u> yerr-wasyanderri,
 1dlexGo-roll in -FOC 1dlexGo bag -ASSOC Tr -hessian bag
 SU PImp motion SU PImp   cl
 We used to wander around with a bag, a hessian sack

3 <u>yerr-weyi</u> -<u>ngini</u> ngadde -lali, nganne -gatit wakay,
 Tr -Strychnine-PURP 1dlexGo-around 1dlexGo -pick finished
 cl tree   SU PImp   SU PImp up
 for (the fruit of) Strychnine trees, we wandered around and gathered them up.

4 fill 'im up - ngirrmegu e   <u>nguddenigi</u>   -<u>wul,</u>
     -1plexDo dl and 1plexShoveDtrD dl-return
    SU PImpSU   SU PImp   SU
 We filled them up and then came back.

5 <u>nguddenigi</u> -<u>wul</u> dede-nide wembem-nide,
 1plexShoveDtrD dl-return camp-LOC house -LOC
 SU PImp SU
 We came back to (Ridgedale's) camp, to the farmhouse.

6 miyi nyin mi-damuy <u>yerr-weyi</u> ngan'gi marrgu-ninggi
 plant ANA PI -eye   Tr -Strychnine word new -AGENT
 food cl =seed/fruit cl tree   = message
 News (about the demand for) that Strychnine fruit

7   **menggeny-tasat,**
      3sgArrive   -emerge
      SU Perf
     had come out.

8   **nyin -kana ngerrme   -pul -ngaddi,**
      ANA-FOC 1plexHands-wash-1plexGo
                   SU   PImp   SU PImp
     In response to that news we used to wash (the fruit),

9   **winnyerrem falmi   ngerrme   -pul   wakay,**
      3plSeeDtr   women 1plexHands-wash finished
      SU Pres   SU PImp
     all us women, we used to wash them.

10   **mi-garrfuru ngunnu   -wuty,   miyi   damuy nginifiny-napa,**
      Pl-skin   1plexSlash-discard plant eye   true   -JUST
      cl   SU PImp   food
     We would throw away the skin, just (keeping) the fleshy fruit part.

11   fill 'im **up-ngirrme-nyine peyik-nide wakay,**
                 -1plexDo-FOC   bag   -LOC finished.
                 SU PImp
     We packed these into bags,

12   **e   dani   -tyerr -batybity,**
      and   3sgPoke-mouth-hold
           SU PImp   =sew
     and he sewed them up,

13   **wa-wulmen-ninggi Ridgedale dani   -tyerr -batybity wakay,**
      M-old man-AGENT   3sgPoke-mouth-hold   finished
      cl   SU PImp = sew
     old man Ridgedale sewed them shut.

14   **kak   -nyine yentyi wunu ngan-tawun   e   sell 'im-meyi,**
      in   -FOC   2sgTake there LOC -Darwin and   -3sgDo
      motion   SU PImp   SU PImp
     Then he used to take them into Darwin and sell them.

15   **yerr-nyin tyagan-nawa -ngini,**
      Tr -ANA   what   -INDEF-PURP
      cl
     I wonder what that stuff was for,

16   **ep   medicine-werre -ngini -ne,   wakay -kana,**
      perhaps   -ASSOC-PURP-SUPP finished-FOC
     perhaps it was something to do with medicine. OK thats it!

Text 3

Escape from Fanny Bay Gaol

Speaker - Patrick Tyabada

Recorded at Peppimenarti in September 1988

(AIAS Tape 10 REID 1988)

1   tyamirri, mipurr wunggume Fannie Bay-nimbi   diny -fel,
    discourse man   one   -SOURCE 3sgSit -bounce
    break   SU Perf
    Well, this certain bloke escaped from Fannie Bay Gaol.

2   yeniny -pap   perrik exercise yard-nide,
    3sgGo -climb fence   -LOC
    SU Perf
    by climbing the fence in the exercise yard !

3   yedi -lali   -tye, yerr-nyin dinyirri perrik, ep,   meny, ngana -felfil,
    3sgGo-around-Past Tr -ANA 3sgSee fence   GUESS 3sgSay 1sgFeet-bounce
    SU PImp   cl   SU Perf   SUPerf SU Irr redup
    He'd been wandering around, sizing up that fence, thinking "maybe I could
    run it".

4   dagum -felfil   nyin -nimbi   diny -fel   wakay,
    3sgFeet-bounce   ANA-SOURCE   3sgSit-bounce finished
    SU Perf redup   SU Perf
    He raced up, and just jumped right out of there !

5   pey-endi   wa-mumu wunni -ne   -fifili -tye   werrminy-tip,
    in -SAME M -taboo 3plSlash-3sgM-search-Past 3plHands-grab
    place   cl =police SU PImp IO   redup   SU Perf
    The police searched around that place for him, and re-arrested him,

6   wuddum -mi-wul   court-nide, judge nyin   meny -ne,
    3plShove-Val-return   -LOC   ANA 3sgSay -3sgM
    SU Perf   SU Perf IO
    and brought him back to the court. He said to the judge...

7   ba ....   dam   -tyerr -pu judge-ninggi,
    CORRECT 3sgPoke-mouth-ask   -AGENT
    *   SU Perf*
    no I mean... the judge asked him,

8   ityi -yiminy-pefi   yiriny -fel,   meny -ne,
    what-2sgDo -THITH 2sgSit -bounce 3sgSay -3sgM
    *   SU Perf   SU Perf   SU Perf IO*
    "How did you jump over ?".

9   **tyepe   nganam-felfil   ngiriny-fel   perrik nyinnin,**
        JUST 1sgFeet -bounce 1sgSit   -bounce fence   ANA
              SU Perf redup   SU Perf
        "I just ran up and jumped the fence".

10   **minbe-wurru   gintyi-fel,   meny -ne,   nginifiny ngumum-bi,**
        Neg -UNSATIS 3sgSit-bounce 3sgSay-3sgM true   1sgSay   -2sg
                 SU Irr   SU Perf IO   SU Pres IO
        "You couldn't possibly have jumped it !". "I'm telling you the truth".

11   **ngudi   -nyi-mi-wul   -pe   wun -endi   Fannie Bay,**
        1sgShove-2sg-Val-return-Fut   there-SAME
        SU Irr   DO
        "Well I'm taking you back to Fannie Bay Gaol,

12   **ya   -ngirr-du -pe   dede nyin   ngani-kide yiriny -fel,**
        2sgPoke-1plex-touch-Fut   place ANA   KIND-how 2sgSit -bounce
        SU Irr   DO =show   SU Perf
        and you can show us there just how you escaped !".

13   **warrgantyi-tye** Fannie Bay exercise yard-**nide, kide -pefi   yiriny-fel,**
        2plTake   -Past   -LOC   where-THITH 2sgSit -bounce
        SU PImp   SU Perf
        So they took him back to the exercise yard at Fannie bay Gaol. "Where'd you
        jump out?",

14   **wirrminy-ne,   kinyi-pefi,   ityi -yumu-gumu, wirrminy-ne,**
        3plSay   -3sgM   here -THITH what-2sgDo-TRY   3plSay   -3sgM
        SU Perf IO   SU Irr   SU Perf IO
        they asked him. "(I went over) here". "Try doing it for us ?", they told him.

15   **dagum -felfil,   diny -fel   madiyeninggi nyin wakay,**
        3sgFeet -bounce 3sgSit -bounce   other side   ANA finished
        SU Perf redup   SU Perf
        So he ran up and jumped straight over to the other side again,

16   **mumba tyamennapa darany   -fi -lirr,**
        track   DISMISS   3sgPokeDtr-Mp-disappear
                                 SU Perf
        and (as they'd neglected to post a guard on the outside) he hit the road for
        good.

17   **minbe-nyine-tye   wanna-garri-pat,**
        Neg   -FOC -Past 3plFeet-leg   -catch
                    SU Irr   up
        They never caught up with him !

Text 4
Pelican's Egg

Speaker - Robert Daly

Recorded at Peppimenarti in September 1986

(AIAS Reid NgW Tape 10 Text 3 1986)

1   **ngagantyi-tye   nem   kinyi   Meli   Pikinduwung-pefi**
1sgTake -Past 3sgM this   personal placename   -THITH
SU PImp   PRO   name
I was taking this man, Meli, towards Pikinduwung.

2   **ngannigi -dirr -ket-tye -ngadde,   gagu   pigipigi   dagum-felfil**
1dlexFeet-teeth-cut-Past-1dlexGo   animal pig   3sgFeet-bounce
SU PImp   SU PImp generic   SU Perf redup
We were travelling along the bank, when we saw a pig

3   **kuderri -nimbi   -pagu,   nginnyirrigu,**
billabong-SOURCE-HITH   1plexSee   dl
                             SU Perf   SU
race out from the billabong.

4   **kinyi-pefi   ngambani-pe,   ngiminy-ne,   ngadde- tye,**
this -THITH   1dlincGo -Fut 1sgSay   -3sgM   1dlexGo-Past
                SU Irr   SU Perf IO   SU PImp
"Lets go this way" I told him, so we kept going,

5   **nganniny-karrbu ba   -wedi, ngadde -tye   Malfiyin nganninggu-dirr -tye,**
1plexGo-descend arm-small 1dlexGo-Past place   1plexGo dl -teeth-Past
SU Perf   SU PImp   name   SU Perf SU
crossed a small creek, and kept going, travelling along the bank to Malfiyin.

6   **Malfiyin kine, ngiminy-ne,   dede   ngayi kine,**
place   this   1sgSay   -3sgM country 1sg   this
name   place SU Perf IO   PRO   place
"This place here", I explained to him, "is my estate country".

7   **kuru   nuwurr ngimbi -kuduk, wanin -ngirrki-minyirr,**
water brief   1dlincSit-drink   3sgHeat-1dlex -knock
            SU Irr   SU Perf DO   out
We had a quick drink, as we both felt knocked out by the heat.

8   **kuru nginne -kukuduk-tye wakay,   ngambani-pe wunu-pefi,**
water 1dlexSit-drink   -Past finished 1dlincGo -Fut there -THITH
            SU PImp redup   SU   Irr
When we'd finished drinking I said to him, "Let's go over that way.

9   ngiminy-ne,   gagu   amurru nga   -nbi-du -pe burra,
    1sgSay -3sgM   animal egg   1sgPoke-2sg-touch-Fut pelican
    SU Perf IO   generic   SU Irr   IO
    I want to show you Ancestral Pelican's egg.

10 mudiga ngambani-pe, ngambi -fi -tyat -pe
    car   1dlincGo -Fut 1dlincPoke-Mp-place-Fut
            SU   Irr   SU   Irr
    We'll take the car over and park it

11 wun -ambirri mi-menem girribem meringgi-nide wirrim   -pe,
    there-first   Pf - billygoat 3sgStand shade   -LOC   leave alone-Fut
                   cl   plum   SU Pres
    up ahead there in the shade of that billygoat plum tree, we'll leave it".

12 nganninygi-madi-wap, ngadde-tye, meringgi-nide,
    1plexGo dl-chest-sit   1dlex   -Past shade   -LOC
    SU Perf SU   SU PImp
    So we climbed back in and drove over to the shade.

13 kine mudiga wirrim-pe, minbe ngatypirr ngambani-pe,
    this   car   leave -Fut Neg   distant   1dlincGo -Fut
    place   SU   Irr
    "Leave the car here!   We don't have far to go.

14 nga   -nbi-du -pe,   nganninygi-fili wa-membirr ngayi ngiminy-burr,
    1sgPoke-2sg-touch-Fut   1plexGo dl-roll M- child   1sg   1sgSay   -3pl
    SU Irr   IO   SU Perf SU   cl   PRO   SU Perf IO
    I'll show it to you!".   So we wandered over to my kids and I said to them,

15 kine yirri -ngan-madi, ngarrgu-mbirri ngadde-tye   fangu,
    this 2plSit-LOC -chest 1dlex   - first   1dlexGo-Past ahead
    place SU Irr   PRO   SU PImp
    "You mob stay here,   us two will go on ahead".

16 ngadde -tye, kine gagu   burra   girim,   ngiminy-ne,
    1dlexGo-Past this   animal pelican 3sgSit   1sgSay   -3sgM
    SU PImp   place generic   SU Pres SU Perf IO
    We went there. "This is the place where Ancestral Pelican lives",
    I explained to him.

17 yi,   meny -ngiti nem-pagu Meli,
    yes 3sgSay -1sg 3sgM-HITH personal
        SU Perf IO PRO   name
    "Oh really ?", he, Meli, replied to me.

18   gagu   kinyi yinyinggin, ngiminy-ne,   fepi wunu yinyinggin,
      animal this   2sgSee   1sgSay   -3sgM   hill there   2sgSee
      generic   SU Pres   SU Perf IO   SU Pres
      "See this Ancestor here ?", I said to him, "and see that hill over there ?

19   **nyin -pagu -nimbi   yedi -tye darrwa-werre**
      ANA-HITH-SOURCE   3sgGo-Past raft   -ASSOC
                           SU PImp
      Well she (Pelican) came down from that hill on a raft,

20   **wandirrk-ninggi   darani   -titidi-pagu -tye -yedi,**
      pole   -INSTR   3sgPokeDtr -push-HITH-Past-3sgGo
                     SU PImp   redup   SU PImp
      pushing herself along with a pole.

21   **yedi -tye   wunu, Yambiying yeniny-palat-pagu,   ngiminy-ne,**
      3sgGo-Past there place   3sgGo -pass -HITH   1sgSay   -3sgM
      SU PImp   name   SU Perf through   SU Perf   IO
      She travelled down and passed through Yambiying", I told him.

22   **yedi -tye   kinyi, putput   yedi -tye,   ngiminy-ne,**
      3sgGo-Past   here   pregnant 3sgGo-Past 1sgSay   -3sgM
      SU PImp   SU PImp   SU Perf IO
      And when she reached here she was heavily pregnant", I told him.

23   **kuderri   wun -ne   -tye   wiri -palak Pikinduwung, ngiminy-ne,**
      billabong there-INTENT-Past 3sgSit-lay   place name   1sgSay   -3sgM
                        SU Irr   SU Perf IO
      It was her intention to lay her egg further on at the billabong at
      Pikinduwung,", I explained to him.

24   **epe amurru nyin-ninggi   dam   -nge -di,**
      BUT egg   ANA-AGENT   3sgPoke-3sgF-cry
                      SU Perf IO
      "But that egg was (bearing down on her and) making her cry.

25   **gagu   wur-malifirr nyin burra   tyepe dede kinyi dinyirri-mi -yubu,**
      animal   F   -female ANA pelican JUST camp here   3sgSee -Val-good
      generic cl   SU Perf
      That Ancestral Pelican Woman only just had time to observe that this was a
      suitable place",

26   **ngiminy-ne,   kine ngani-wap, ngi -palak-pe amurru, meny,   wakay,**
      1sgSay -3sgM this 1sgGo-sit 1sgSit-lay   -Fut egg   3sgThink finished
      SU Perf IO   place SU Irr   SU Irr   SU Perf
      I told him. "I'll camp here and lay my egg", she thought. That's it.

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