A SKETCH GRAMMAR OF KAMU

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PREFACE.

This sketch grammar is based on 28hrs of taped Kamu language material provided by Mrs Elsie O'Brien. The original tapes, together with complete transcriptions, have been deposited in the Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies. Mrs O'Brien provided this material over two separate fieldtrips. The first fieldtrip was from May to August 1989, with the second being from May to July 1990. The second fieldtrip constituted one half of a six month grant made by AIATSIS for maintenance work on the Kamu language. This grammar constitutes the other half of the grant.

Given the limitations, both of time and presently available language materials, this grammar is not in any sense intended as a complete description of the Kamu language. Rather it a general outline description, which covers the prominent features of the grammar of the language. As any reader of this grammar will become aware, much further research needs to be done in order to prepare a properly adequate grammar. The present description will nevertheless hopefully be of use, both to the Kamu people themselves as a resource, and a guide setting to some of the areas requiring further investigation.

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First and foremost I would like to thank Mrs Elsie O'Brien. This grammar chiefly results from her enthusiasm for, and interest in teaching her language. It has been a great privilege to work with her. Among the Kamu people I would like to thank especially Ms Rhonda Foster, who initiated this project, and has maintained an abiding interest in the language and history of her people. I would also like to thank Mr Arthur Pangquee and his family for much hospitality.

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.c1.SOCIAL ORGANISATION OF THE KAMU PEOPLE.

.c1.1.1. Location and Contact History of the Kamu.

Owing to the population collapse and related extensive movement of people since contact, it is not now possible to give a fully accurate statement on the areas associated with the Kamu language at contact. It is generally accepted that the area around the Daly River Crossing and Tipperary station, including the lower Fish River valley south of the Daly River, is associated with the Kamu language. However the only detailed investigations of Kamu territorial associations that have so far been undertaken, were those of Sutton & Palmer in connection with the Daly River Land Claim. These investigations were restricted to the area around the Crossing, as this was the area affected by the Claim. Sutton & Palmer (1981 : 51 - 52 & 59 - 63) found that there were three Kamu clans, which were associated with the following estates.

1. Dak Milngiyn A - The area north and east of Mt Hayward, including the valley of the upper Reynolds River.
2. Wak Garriyel - The area from the Daly River Crossing north and west towards Wooliana.
3. Dak Milngiyn B - The area south and east of the Daly River Crossing.

Both the Wak Garriyel and the Dak Milngiyn B clans are extinct. Very little is known concerning Kamu territorial associations in the Tipperary station area. It appears, on presently available information, that most of Tipperary station was traditionally associated with the Kamu language. However it is unknown whether this association involved only the three clans already mentioned, or whether it involved other Kamu clans. Given that Tipperary is relatively large, it is probable that there were other Kamu clans associated with particular parts of Tipperary.

The population collapse which affected all the language groups associated with Darwin and its hinterland, including the Kamu, is discussed in Sutton & Palmer (1981 : 13 - 19), and in Keen (1980 & 1981). Its primary cause appears to have been the onslaught of a whole range of new European diseases on a previously unexposed Aboriginal population, though other factors such as violence and drugs were certainly operative. The population collapse was dramatic, to something like 5% of pre-contact population levels, and appears to have largely taken place between 1880 and 1920. Among the Kamu, the situation reached its nadir in the 1950's when only 4 or 5 people would have identified themselves as Kamu. A considerably larger number of people than this now identify themselves as Kamu.

It is not possible to give an accurate estimate of the pre-contact population of people with a primary affiliation to Kamu. However if Sutton & Palmer's (1981 : 16) estimate of a "conservative average of 20 members" for each clan is followed, then this would produce a pre-contact population of 60. This figure is probably a little low, as some allowance needs to be made for further population on Tipperary station. Probably a figure in the range of 80 - 100 represents the best guesstimate for the pre-contact levels that can presently be made.

Apart from the population collapse, the other major event in the contact history of the Gagudju was a shift in the primary residential focus of nearly all surviving Kamu from their traditional territories to the area on the old North Australian Railway around Adelaide River town. This shift appears to have been completed by the 1920's. Stanner (1933 : 382 - 383) records the Kamu as practically extinct in the Daly River area, when he started fieldwork there in 1932. As a consequence of the population collapse and of the shift in residential focus of the survivors, the Kamu were largely absent from their country for most of the period from 1920 to 1980.

.c1.1.2. Consultant.

The principal consultant for this grammar was Mrs Elsie O'Brien. Mrs O'Brien is now the only person who has any significant knowledge of the Kamu language. Mrs O'Brien was born in approximately 1925 at Bridge Creek (Digin) on the old North Australia railway line. She spent her early life, until the late 1940's, in this area, or in Darwin. The area around Bridge Creek is traditionally associated with the Warray language, and Mrs O'Brien is a fluent speaker of that language. However her primary linguistic affiliation is to Kamu, which was her mother's primary linguistic affiliation.

As stated in the previous section nearly all the few surviving Kamu speakers had shifted to the area around Adelaide River town. Consequently apart from her mother, Mrs O'Brien had contact with about 5 or 6 other older Kamu speakers during her childhood. Since World War 11, and especially since the death of her mother in the late 1940's, the only opportunity Mrs O'Brien has had to use Kamu was with her aunt Mrs Kitty PangQuee, who died in 1989. This restricted usage has had predictable effects on Mrs O'Brien's knowledge and command of Kamu.

The most obvious effect has been in the vocabulary. The dictionary contains 830 monomorphemic entries. Kamu would certainly have had a considerably larger vocabulary than this. Mrs O'Brien often had problems in remembering vocabulary items. The limited opportunities for use have also meant that Mrs O'Brien does not have a great textual fluency. Other than these two effects, Mrs O'Brien's Kamu does not appear to show the other types of effects which are usually taken to characterise language death (Schmidt : 1985).

It was not, unfortunately, possible to check the Kamu given by Mrs O'Brien with any other reasonably fluent speakers. However there were two other avenues which provided a reasonable partial check on the material given. The first of these was re-checking of material with Mrs O'Brien herself. All lexical material and a fair amount of the grammatical material from the 1989 fieldtrip were checked during the 1990 fieldtrip. Material gathered during the 1990 fieldtrip was also checked as far as possible. Mrs O'Brien showed a high degree of consistency in all areas. The second avenue is provided by a comparison with the available material on Matngele.

These two avenues naturally do not suffice to resolve all problems, and the irresoluble problems are discussed in the grammar in the appropriate places. However the two avenues do provide reasonable confirmation for the material given by Mrs O'Brien (hereafter EOB).

.c1.1.3. Neighbouring Languages and Linguistic Relationships.

Any consideration of neigbouring languages and linguistic relationships must start with Matngele. The Matngele language is traditionally associated with an area on the southern side of the Daly River extending from Fish Billabong (Gumani) to the Dilk Range. Kamu and Matngele share a common boundary in the area between Fish Billabong and the Daly River. Of all the neighbouring languages, Matngele is clearly the closest to Kamu. Indeed Tryon (1974 : 43) classified Kamu and Matngele as dialects of a single overall language. However my own research on Kamu, and on Matngele does not support this conclusion. I have so far been able to collect a vocabulary of approximately 800 monomorphemic items for Matngele. As such the presently available vocabularies of monomorphemic items for Kamu and Matngele are approximately equal in size, and in coverage of lexical domains. A comparison of the Kamu and Matngele vocabularies yields the following results (percentages are based on vocabularies of 800 items).

1. 291 items (36%) are identical in form, and apparently identical in meaning.

22 items (3%) are identical in form, with related but not identical meanings

86 items (11%) appear to be identical in meaning, but with some, usually slight, variation in form.

6 items (1%) appear to be related, but show variation both in form and meaning

As such Kamu and Matngele show, at best, 405 items (51%) of common vocabulary, depending on how "common vocabulary" is defined. This is well below the level which is taken to be necessary for two speech varieties to be regarded as the same language for technical linguistic purposes. Further, there are, as might be expected, significant differences between Kamu and Matngele in other areas. The most significant of these are set out following.

2. Lenition of Stops.

Matngele has significant lenition processes affect the stops in intervocalic positions. Matngele, like Kamu, shows a fortis/lenis distinction in the stops. As in Kamu this distinction is probably phonologically analysable as a geminate/single distinction. However at normal conversational speech speeds the fortis stops tend to be lenited to their lenis counterparts. The lenis stops, other than the two apical stops, tend to be lenited to the corresponding continuant. A comparison of cognates between Kamu and Matngele suggests that this stop lenition process has been operative in Matngele for some time. It is not operative in Kamu.

3. The Simple Verb Systems.

Kamu and Matngele have significantly different simple verb systems. Kamu has 15 simple verbs, whereas Matngele has only 6. Kamu distinguishes up to six tenses within the simple verb paradigms (a number of simple verbs are deponent); Past Realis Perfective, Past Realis Imperfective, Subjunctive (includes Past Irrealis), Present, Future, and Conditional. Matngele distinguishes five tenses; Past, Present, Future, Non-future Subjunctive, and Future Subjunctive. The Kamu and Matngele Present and Future tenses are similar in form and function. However the other tenses present significant differences in either or both of form and function. Further it is usual in Matngele for simple verb forms to undergo extensive phonological reduction when they are functioning as auxiliaries. This does not occur in Kamu.

4. The Object Enclitics.

Kamu has two paradigms of Object enclitics, a Direct Object paradigm, and an Indirect Object paradigm. Matngele has only one paradigm of Object enclitics. The Matngele Object enclitic paradigm does not formally relate in any straightforward way to the Kamu Object enclitic paradigms (see. Harvey Ms.A).

The combination of 3 and 4 means that the Verbal Complexes of Kamu and Matngele are particularly clearly differentiated from one another. Kamu and Matngele must therefore be recognised as two distinct languages for technical linguistic purposes. This accords with the Aboriginal categorisation, which treats them as distinct languages. Nevertheless, as previously stated, they are more closely related to one another than either is to anything else. This is also in accord with Aboriginal perceptions. EOB commented several times on the similarities between Kamu and Matngele.

The other neighbouring language which Kamu is clearly related to is MalakMalak. MalakMalak is traditionally associated with an area extending

from Elizabeth Downs south of the Daly River to Mt Litchfield (Nedey, Negen) north of the Daly River. Kamu and MalakMalak share a common boundary in the area extending from Wooliana north towards the Reynolds. Immediately to the west of MalakMalak around Bilawuk is the area associated with Guwama. Guwama is very closely related to MalakMalak, and the two are probably classifiable as dialects of a single language for technical purposes. Kamu, Matngele, MalakMalak and Guwama together form the Eastern Daly (hereafter ED) language family.

The wider affiliations of the ED family are not presently certain. Tryon (1974 : xiii) includes it within the Daly language family which includes the various Marri- and Ngan'gi- languages spoken to the west and south-west, along with Wajigiyn. However his evidence for doing so appears to be primarily typological (1974 : 304). I have argued, following standard practice within historical linguistics, that typological evidence is not a suitable basis for determining genetic relationships (Harvey Ms.A, see also Reid Ms.A). There is evidence, from the simple verb paradigms of Kamu, that the wider genetic affiliations of ED may in fact be to the typologically rather different Gunwinjguan languages spoken to the north-east (Harvey Ms.A).

The north-western and north-eastern neighbours of Kamu, Gungarakayn and Warray are Gunwinjguan languages. Gungarakayn is apparently associated with the mid-Reynolds, and Warray is associated with Adelaide River area. The relationship of these two languages to the ED languages, if any, is very distant. Gungarakayn and Warray are not closely related to one another. Gungarakayn appears to be something of an isolate within the Gunwinjguan family. Warray is closely related to its eastern neighbour Jawoyn, and indeed there is evidence that its territorial affiliations may have shifted westwards within very recent times.

It is possible that the common boundary between Kamu and its eastern neighbour Wagiman once extended further north, so that Wagiman was the north-eastern, as well as the eastern neighbour, of Kamu. Wagiman is traditionally associated with the area extending from Hayes Creek (lorrkla) through Oolloo Crossing and on to Collah Waterhole (Goloy). There is no evidence for any particular genetic connection between Kamu and Wagiman, beyond their common membership of the Australian language family. Nevertheless in certain aspects, at least of the patterning of the Verbal Complex, Kamu and Wagiman show strong typological similarities. The precise nature of these similarities requires further detailed formal investigation.

The south-western neighbours of the Kamu are the Ngan'giwumirri, in the upper Fish River valley. In the area south of Jiliyn junction and the Daly River crossing, the Ngan'gimerri dialect of Ngan'giwumirri was spoken. There is no evidence for a relationship between the ED languages and the various Ngan'gi- languages. However as with Wagiman there are typological similarities, particularly in the Verbal Complex, and especially with Ngan'gimerri (see Reid Ms.A.)

.c1.1.4. Kinship

The Kamu kin system is set out in Table 1.1 (there are versions for both Female and Male EGOs). It is a Kariera kin system, like all the other kin systems of the area. The preferred spouse was a distant member of the cousin category. Actual first cross cousins were not permissible spouses. This prohibition is also characteristic of all the other kin systems of the area. According to EOB actual first cross-cousins were terminologically assimilated to the sibling/parallel cousin class by Kamu speakers.

Kinship does not present great linguistic complexity in Kamu, unlike in many other Aboriginal languages. There are four affixes which are apparently restricted to kin terms in Kamu. The first of these is the 1MIN possessive suffix *-ngu*. This suffix attaches to all kin terms other than MF, and possibly FM.

1. *buy=ganiyn* *jabuja nguru-rnung=ma*
go-3MS.Aux.PP MF 1MIN-DAT=PRM
'My MF has gone.' (402)

If the suffix is attached to a kin term with a final /ng/, the resulting geminate /ngng/ is reduced.

2. *bang + -ngu* -> *bang-u* (**bang-ngu*)
father + -IMIN

Two kin terms, *gilang* 'mother' and *gaka* 'uncle', show irregular forms with *-ngu*.

3. *gilang + -ngu* -> *gilayn-ngu*
mother + -1MIN mother-1MIN
4. *gaka + -ngu* -> *gakayn-ngu*
uncle+ -1MIN uncle-1MIN

The 1MIN suffix is also rarely attested with a more general first person reference.

5. *bang-u* *ngemu=m=ana*
father-1MIN 1+2M=PRM=where
'Where is our father?' (85)

6. *bang-u* *ngerru-nung* *buy=ganiyn*
father-1MIN 1A-DAT go=3MS.Aux.PP
'Our father has gone.' (409)

Owing to the rarity of constructions of the type exemplified in 5 and 6 it is not possible to determine whether they represent a genuine structural possibility, or are simply errors. With other than the 1 Minimal person, kin possessives are marked by free form pronouns. The second affix apparently found exclusively with kin terms is the prefix *mer-*. This prefix is used to form dyadics.

7. *awuy* 'aunt' *mer-awuy* 'FZ+wBC'

As 7 shows dyadics are built on the senior term in a reciprocal relationship. It appears that mixed gender terms are built on the masculine form.

8. *apeyn* 'brother' *mer-apeyn* 'B+B, B+Z'
9. *akal* 'sister' *mer-akal* 'Z+Z'

Kin terms prefixed with *mer-* are quite frequent in Kamu. They occur much more commonly than simply in situations where the dyadic relationship is being focussed on.

10. *werek-giyik* *may=ma* *mer-bang=biniyn* *dey-ma=guyang*
child-little that=PRM DY-father=like look-IMPF=3MS.Aux.PR
'That little kid looks like his father.' (409)

11. *mer-akal* *dat=miyn*
DY-sister die=3MS.Aux.PP
'My sister died.' (559)

As 11 demonstrates kin terms prefixed with *mer-* can take Minimal verbal cross-reference. As such the form in 11 is clearly not dyadic in meaning. Rather the prefix would appear to be functioning as an overt

marker of the inherently relational nature of kin terms. The *mer-* prefix is also found in Matngele, and shows the same patterning. Heath (Merlan & Heath 1982 : 116 - 120) describes a similar phenomenon in Mara where kin terms, which are formally dyadic, function as basic kin terms. However unlike the situation in Mara, the *mer-* prefixed kin terms in Kamu (and in Matngele) cannot be used for address. Only unprefixed terms may be used for address. In Kamu the basic address and reference terms are normally identical. There are only two cases where they are different; 'father' *bang* 'ref' ~ *berreng* 'add', and MF *jabuja* 'ref' ~ *jabutj* 'add'. The two MF terms are certainly related, and it is possible that the two 'father' terms are also related. Overt indication that a kin term is functioning referentially may apparently be marked by the third affix which is exclusive to kin terms; the suffix *-meyen*.

12. *may warruk-giyik-ma biniyn bang-meyen biri-gatj=ganiyn*
that boy-little-PRM like father-REF follow=3MS.Aux.PP
'That little boy looks like his father.' (295)

13. *ana-ana apeyn-meyen wa-miyi=anyang*
how many brother-REF get-IMPF=2MS.Aux.PP
'How many brothers do you have?' (459)

However this suffix is only rarely attested and its precise function is therefore somewhat uncertain. It is not obligatory for kin terms in a reference function. The fourth affix which is exclusive to kin terms is the plural suffix *-bu*. Like *-meyen*, the *-bu* suffix is optional and not well attested, and its precise functioning is uncertain. EOB was somewhat uncertain as to whether the suffix could be used with other than a 1MIN possessive form. Thus while EOB was confident that 14 was a standard Kamu form, she was uncertain as to the status of 15.

14. *awuy-ngu-bu*
aunt-1MIN-PL
'My aunts' (633)

?15. *awuy-bu ana=gurrang nung.gu-nung=ma*
aunt-PL where=3AS.are 2-DAT=PRM
'Where are your aunts?' (665)

Apart from the terms set out in Table 1 there are also two other forms which function as kin terms.

16. *gar* 'sibling'
17. *elungu-diyn* 'mother' (lit. 'big-ABL')

The first term gar means 'calf of leg' as well as 'sibling'. As such this is an example of the metonymic use of a body part term to indicate a kin relation, a process which is common among Aboriginal languages (Heath 1982). This term is not formally a kin term, as is shown by the 1MIN possessive form for 'my sibling' in 18.

18. *nguru-gar* **gar-ngu*
1MIN-sibling sibling-1MIN

The 1MIN possessive form is a compound of the 1MIN pronoun *nguru* and *gar* (Matngele has a cognate lexeme gar showing the same meanings, and the same 1MIN compound). The second term is formally an Ablative case marked form of the nominal root *elungu* 'big'. It is presently attested with a referential function only.

19. *elungudiyn nguru-nung jet=ngu=bumu*
mother 1MIN-DAT bear=1MO=3MS.Aux.PP
'My mother bore me (here).' (450)

It is also attested with an apparent dyadic meaning in the following construction involving the 'pair' quantifier -butja.

20. *elungudiyn-butja gurrang.gu*
mother-pair 3AS.go.NP
'The mother and child are going along.' (301)

Kin terms may be verbalised with the meaning 'to call someone by Kin term X'.

21. *ngeluru awuy-ma=ngu=yeng.ge nang.ga may garrawal*
before aunt-IMPF=1MO=3MS.Aux.PI but that wrong way
wa=may-ma gilang gimin=ngu
marry=3MS.Aux.PP-PRM mother 3MS.say.PR=1MO
'Before, he used to call me aunt, but he married wrong way. (Now) he says 'mother' to me.' (393)

21 shows that this meaning may also be conveyed by a clausal construction involving the simple verb 'to say'. The denominal construction has two variants.

22. *anayn-ma=wan=anyang.gu*
how-IMPF=3AO=2MS.Aux.PR
'What do you call us (two)?'

nambiyn-ma-rnung ayang.gu=nung.gurr
nephew-IMPF-DAT 1MS.be.NP=2AIO
'I call you (two) nephew.' (252)

The nature of the difference between the Direct and Indirect Object constructions illustrated in 22 is not presently clear. The Indirect Object construction is also found in 23.

23. *gapi may awuy gurna-rnung akal-ma-rnung guyang*
female cousin that aunt 3-DAT sister-IMPF-DAT 3MS.be.NP
'That female cousin from his aunt. She is his sister.' (662)

[This refers to the non-marriageable first cousin.]

There is an expression referring to a married couple.

24. *jiji-bamgun* *gurrang.gu=gurna*
married couple 3AS.be.NP=DU
'They are a married couple.' (646)

The second half of this compound bamgun means 'woman' in Kamu. *jiji* does not otherwise occur in Kamu, but in Matngele it means 'man'. As such it would appear that the expression is an old compound meaning 'man-woman'.

Given the nature of the data on which this description is based it is possible that kinship presented considerably greater linguistic complexity in the pre-contact Kamu speech and language communities. While kinship almost certainly presented somewhat greater linguistic complexity than described here, the generality of the evidence argues against there having been considerably greater complexity. Great linguistic complexity in kinship is characteristic of the languages of the eastern and central Top End (Heath, Merlan & Rumsey 1982). It is not characteristic of the languages of the Daly River area (Stanner, Marrithiyel - Green : pc, Murrinhpatha - Walsh : pc, Ngan'gityemeri - Reid : pc). Indeed from the material that I have so far collected on Matngele it would appear that the linguistic coding of kinship in Matngele is less complex that it is in Kamu.

c1.PHONOLOGY

.c1.2.1. The Phonemic Inventory

The phonemic inventory of Kamu conforms to the general patterns found in the area.

	Bilabial	Alveolar	Retroflex	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Stop	b	d	ɖ	ɟ	g	ʔ
Nasal	m	n	ɳ	ɲ	ŋ	
Lateral		l	ɭ	ʎ		
Tap		r				
Continuant	w		ɻ	j		

	Front	Central	Back
High	i	ö	u
Mid	e		o
Low		a	

.c1.2.2. The Stop Contrast.

Like the great majority of languages in the Top End, Kamu displays a constrast between two types of stop realisations word medially. One type of stop realisation appears to be long and voiceless, and is commonly known as fortis. The other appears to be short and voiced, and is commonly known as lenis. In Kamu the fortis/lenis contrast is only found between vowels, or between a non-nasal sonorant and a vowel. The same restriction also holds in most other Top End languages. There are no minimal pairs for the fortis/lenis contrast. It is illustrated by the following sub-minimal pairs (see 2.X on orthography).

1.	lobo	'butcherbird'	dupu	'mussell sp'
2.	gudar	'dry'	geter	'lily sp'
3.	marda	'cloud'	jarta	'wallaby'
4.	ngajal	'flood'	jangatja	'pandanus sp'
5.	dagarl	'doctor'	akal	'sister'

1 - 5 tend rather toward the sub- side of sub-minimal. This is again characteristic of the contrast in most Top End languages. A number of analyses have been proposed for the fortis/lenis contrast in the Top End languages. The one which appears to be most satisfactory for Kamu is the geminate analysis proposed by McKay (1975 : 17 - 21). Under the geminate analysis fortis closures are analysed as being underlyingly geminate, while lenis closures are the realisations of single stops. The geminate analysis has a number of advantages in Kamu. The phonemic inventory is simpler under the geminate analysis, as only one series of stops is required. The lack of minimal pairs, and the marginality of the sub-minimal pairs, is entirely compatible with a geminate analysis. Under the geminate analysis the fortis/lenis contrast is not a segmental contrast. Consequently there is no reason to expect that the contrast should involve minimal pairs. The final advantage of the geminate analysis is that it provides an explanation of the restricted distribution of the contrast. Geminate stops are naturally restricted to positions where sequences of stops are permissible. The principles of syllable construction in Kamu ensure that stop sequences are permissible only between vowels, or between a non-nasal sonorant and a vowel (see. 2.X).

Therefore, a geminate analysis of the stop contrast has been provisionally adopted for Kamu. Further investigation is required to determine the correctness of this analysis for Kamu.

.c1.2.3. Retroflexion.

Retroflexion is most easily distinguishable when the retroflex continuant [ɻ] occurs before the apical consonant. Otherwise retroflexes may also be distinguished from alveolars by the fact that vowels tend to be somewhat longer before retroflexes. However this is not an entirely reliable cue, and it is often problematic to distinguish retroflexes from alveolars. Retroflexion is contrastive morpheme medially and morpheme finally in Kamu.

1.	gudar	'dry'	gurdarda	'girl'
2.	wat	'to hang up'	wart	'to send'
3.	guna	'3MS.see.FU'	gurna	'3rd person'
4.	bin	'holey'	bern	'sun'
5.	bala	'white ochre'	barli	'flat, hard rock'
6.	gul	'to tell'	gurl	'to sing'
7.	jarrak	'yam sp'	jarak	'red ochre'
8.	garr	'spider'	gar	'calf'

Morpheme initially retroflexion shows a complex distribution. When an apical occurs word initially there is no direct evidence as to its status. However when an apical which could occur word initially, is compounded or cliticised to another morpheme, the apical has an alveolar realisation.

9.	*wa*	'to get'	*doet*	'to sit'
	wa-doet	'to have'	[wadöt]	*[waɖöt]
10.	*mara-*	'recip'	*datj*	'to hit'
	mara-datj	'recip-hit'	[maɾadaɟ]	*[maɾaɖaɟ]

This argues that all potentially word initial apicals are alveolar. Consequently all apical initial compound verb roots, nominal roots, particles and prefixes have been analysed as alveolar initial. The situation is different with those morphemes which cannot be word initial; simple verb roots, the Object enclitics, and suffixes. These three morphemic classes do show contrastive initial retroflexion. The contrast for the simple verbs is shown by the following by the contrast between the 1 Minimal Past Perfective forms of the simple verbs, 'to spear' and 'to stand'.

11.	*a-rda-m*	'1MS-spear-PP'	*a-ta-yn*	'1MS-stand-PP'

The apical initial suffixes and Object enclitics occurring in Kamu are listed 12 and 13 respectively.

12.	*-rda*	'Privative'	*-rdiyn*	'Ablative'
	-ni	'Ergative'	*-rnung*	'Dative'
	-ru	'Intensifier'		

13.	*niyn*	'2MO'	*nung.gun*	'2AO'
	rnay	'I+2MIO'	*rnun*	'2MIO'
	nung.gurr	'2AIO'	*rnung*	'3MIO'

The preponderance of initial retroflexes is not presently explicable. The morpheme initial retroflexes are subject to a rule of de-retroflexion. They are only preserved as retroflexes when the preceding vowel is /a/. Otherwise they are realised as alveolars. This rule is illustrated in 14 - 16.

14.	*gurdarda*	'girl'	[gu:(ɾ)ɖa:(ɾ)ɖa]
15.	*garda*	'1MS.spear.FU'	[ga:(ɾ)ɖa]

16. *guda* '3MS.spear.FU' [guda]

15 and 16 are forms from the paradigm of *rda* 'to spear'. However only in forms such as 15, with a preceding /a/, is the initial consonant of the root realised as retroflex. Otherwise the initial consonant is realised as alveolar. The same rule operates in Matngele with respect to morpheme initial retroflexes. There is some evidence that this is a productive rule of Kamu (and presumably Matngele).

17. *bukurnung* 'tomorrow' [bʊkʊ:(ɾ)ɳʊŋ]
18. *nguru-nung* 'IMIN-DAT' [ŋʊɾʊ-nʊŋ]

The form *bukurnung* 'tomorrow' almost certainly involves the Dative suffix -*rnung* historically. The retroflex nature of the initial consonant of the historical Dative suffix is usually easily distinguishable with this lexeme. However the Dative suffix in 18, which is in an essentially similar environment is realised as an alveolar.

.c1.2.4. The Glottal Stop.

The status of the glottal stop within the phonemic inventory of Kamu is somewhat problematic. It is found in the following morphemes.

1.
bal? 'to flap wings'
barlng? 'to stick'
bul? 'to slap thighs'
butja-durdu? 'to shake head'
darl? 'to clap clapsticks'
diyen-dang? 'to click tongue'
getleng? 'to cough'
gululung? 'to growl (of belly'
jang? 'to eat noisily'
jirrnga? 'to sneeze'
jul? 'to drip'
jutuy? 'to limp'
lorr? 'to sift'
mirl? 'to shine'
mirrng? 'to become hot'
noerrng? 'to snort (of a pig)'
ngatji? 'to sneeze'
weley? 'to hang up'
wirla?ma 'mature cane grass'
yew? 'to pull bark off'
yu? 'to shave'

The glottal stop must be analysed as a contrastive phoneme in Kamu.

2. *bul?* 'to slap thighs'
bul 'to warm up'
bulp 'to wag tail'

In all but one of the forms in 22, *wirla?ma* 'mature cane grass', glottal stop occurs morpheme finally in a verb root. This is the prototypical position of occurrence for glottal stop among the languages of the Top End where it occurs as a contrastive phoneme (Harvey : Ms B). However in the other Top End languages with a contrastive glottal stop phoneme, glottal stop occurs with considerably frequency in verb root final position (Harvey : Ms B). As such it would seem fairly certain that the glottal stop is a recent borrowing into Kamu. The glottal stop is absent from the other ED languages. It certainly cannot be reconstructed for PED. The glottal stop is however present in Wagiman and Warray, the eastern and north-eastern neighbours of Kamu. The glottal stop found in Kamu has almost certainly been diffused from these two languages.

The immediate question is the time depth of this diffusion. As stated in 1.Z and 1.X, EOB speaks Warray, and indeed has had somewhat more opportunity to use this language in recent years, than she has had to use Kamu. EOB also has some reasonable knowledge of Wagiman, though not a full fluency in the language. A considerable number of the lexemes listed in 1 have cognates in Warray.

3.

Kamu		Warray	
barlng?	'to stick'	*barlng?*	'to stick'
bul?	'to slap thighs'	*burr?*	'to slap thighs'
dang?	'to click tongue'	*dang?*	'to click tongue'
darl?	'to clap clapsticks'	*darl?*	'to clap clapsticks'
getleng?	'to cough	*getleng?*	'to cough'
gululung?	'to growl (of belly)'	*gululung?*	'to growl (of belly)'
jang?	'to eat noisily'	*jang?*	'to eat noisily'
jirrnga?	'to sneeze'	*jirrnga?*	'to sneeze'
jutuy?	'to limp'	*jotoy?*	'to limp'
lorr?	'to sift'	*lorr?*	'to sift'
mirl?	'to shine'	*mirl?*	'to shine'
mirrng?	'to become hot'	*mirrng?*	'to become hot'
ngatji?	'to sneeze'	*ngatji?*	'to sneeze'

Among these, some are probably borrowings into Kamu, made by EOB herself. One of these is probably *barlng?* 'to stick'. The usual form of the verb 'to stick' in her speech was dam, which is also the form found in Matngele. *lorr?* 'to sift', is also probably a borrowing as it involves the /o/ vowel, which is not native to Kamu (see. 2.Z). The other forms could also be direct borrowings from Warray, with occasional minor alterations. The other forms listed in 1 do not have cognates in Warray. They may have cognates in Wagiman, but I do not have access to a Wagiman vocabulary. The form *noerrng?* 'to snort (of a pig)' would appear to be of native provenance, or at least to have undergone nativisation. It involves the /oe/ vowel, which is indigenous to Kamu, but is not found in either Wagiman or Warray.

It is possible that all the forms listed in 1 have been introduced to Kamu by EOB. This does however seem somewhat unlikely. A number of the forms would have to be borrowed from Wagiman, which seems less likely given that EOB does not have a full fluency in Wagiman. Also the occurrence of an the /oe/ vowel in the noerrng? form is more unusual if

the glottal stop is a very recent borrowing. Rather it would seem likely that the borrowing process started somewhat earlier. The small number of Kamu speakers belonging to the generation senior to EOB were all apparently fluent in either Wagiman or Warray, or in both. The glottal stop was probably introduced into Kamu at this time. Indeed, given that the Wagiman and the Warray were the neighbours of the Kamu, it is possible that glottal stop was first introduced in the period immediately preceding contact. It seems unlikely that the glottal stop could be of any greater time depth than this. When a verb root with final glottal stop is reduplicated, the glottal stop in the second occurrence of the root is deleted. This pattern is standard among the Top End languages having a contrastive glottal stop.

4. *gilatj* *mirl?-mirl-ma=gutu*
mirror R-shine-IMPF=3MS.Aux.PR
'The mirror is shining.' (551)

.c1.2.5. The Palatal Lateral.

The palatal lateral, like the glottal stop, is an uncommon phoneme in Kamu. It is found in the following morphemes.

1.

belyek	'to lap up'	*ngalyawuy*	'pregnant'
beylk	'to make a bed'	*ngalyungiyn*	'yam sp'
bulyu	'grass sp'	*ngelyuk*	'to lick'
jelyeng	'some'	*wiylk*	'to eat quietly'
miylk	'to spread'	*woelye*	'Aux'
muyl	'to break up'	*wuylk*	'to shake'

The following (sub-)minimal pairs establish the contrast with the other two laterals.

2. *miylk* 'to spread' *milk* 'echidna'
3. *wuylk* 'to shake' *gurlk* 'to ache'

The situation with the palatal lateral is however quite different from that of the glottal stop. Its occurrence in the meaningless Auxiliary root woelye argues that it is indigenous to Kamu. This is confirmed by the fact that /ly/ is a contrastive phoneme in the other ED languages. As in the other ED languages, /ly/ does not occur word initially. In none of these languages does it appear to be a phoneme of frequent occurrence. It is not presenly known whether there are any cognate sets which would establish its reconstruction in PED. However the Auxiliary woelye, and thereby /ly/, is probably assignable to PED.

.c1.2.6. The Apical Tap and Continuant.

The apical tap and continuant are distinguished by their manner of articulation. However as with other languages in the area (Gungarakayn - Evans : pc, Wagiman - Cook 1987 : 29 - 30, Warray - Harvey : Ms.B), there can be overlap in the realisations of the two phonemes. The tap can be realised as a continuant, and I have also recorded tap realisations of the continuant.

1. *bung.garra* [bʊŋgaɾa] 'red apple' (586)
2. *menwuyuk-juru* [mɛnwʊyʊk-ɖʊru] 'really hungry' (549)

These overlapping realisations were comparatively rare in EOB's speech.

.c1.2.7. Lenition.

Lenition affects the continuants /r/, /w/, /y/, and the velar nasal /ng/. /w/, /y/ and /ng/ may be lenited word medially.

1. *jawu-jawungu* [ɟa:-ɟa:ŋu]
   R-now 'soon' (163)

2. *may-gin* [ma:gɪn]
   that-ALL 'that' (86)

3. *wanyungu* [waɲu:]
   Neg 'Negative' (248)

As 1 demonstrates the resulting long vowel takes the quality of the preceding vowel. This pattern of lenition is most common between identical vowels. It is not attested intervocalically for /y/, other than when the sequence /iyi/ is realised as [i:]. Word finally the apical continuant /r/ may be lenited.

4. *duwur* [dʊwu:] 'pandanus nut'

The velar nasal /ng/ can also be lenited word finally, but this process appears to be lexically and phonologically controlled. It is only attested in the simple verb paradigms following /u/ (effectively the Future and Conditional tenses of certain simple verbs - see Table 4.X). However it is quite common within this particular environment.

5. *wut=gurruyung* [wʊt=gʊrʊyu:]
   camp=3AS.Aux.F 'They will camp' (150)

.c1.2.8. Vowels

A. /i/

This vowel is realised as [i] word finally, when followed by /y/, and when followed by a tautosyllabic palatal consonant. In fast speech it can be realised as [i] when followed by any hetero-syllabic palatal consonant. Otherwise it is realised as [ɪ]

B. /e/

This vowel is realised as [e] when followed by a tautosyllabic palatal consonant, other than /ly/. Otherwise it is realised as [ɛ]

C. /a/

This vowel is most commonly realised as a low central vowel. It shows some tendency towards a diphthongal realisation [ai] before a following tautosyllabic palatal consonant. It also shows an [æ] allophone when preceded by a palatal consonant. This allophone is apparently a free variant, which can be replaced by [a]. The [æ] allophone appears to be lexically conditioned to some degree. It is particularly frequent in certain lexemes, and effectively constitutes the standard realisation of these lexemes. It fails to occur in other lexemes showing a similar phonological environment. The following examples contrast the standard realisations of various lexemes.

1. *biyadit* 'to forget' [biyædɪt]
   biyawur 'ear' [biyawʊɽ]
   miyam 'eye' [miyæm]
   birriyam 'bird sp' [bɪriyam]

jal	'road'	[ɟæl]
jan	'yamstick'	[ɟan]
biyandak	'to listen'	[biyændak]

These examples show that the occurrence of [æ] is to some degree lexically controlled. In all cases other than *miyam* 'eye', the [æ] allophone is followed by an alveolar consonant. This can probably be analysed as another phonological conditioning factor, with miyam constituting an exception.

In fast speech /a/ may be realised as [ɛ]. As such the realisations of the low vowel and the mid front vowel may overlap. The precise factors conditioning this overlap are not presently clear. It is worth noting that the speech of my Matngele consultant EP also showed an overlap in realisations between /a/ and /e/. The overlap in Matngele appears to operate in both directions, as it appears that in addition to /a/ being realised by [ɛ], /e/ can be realised by [a] in fast speech. The overlap was considerably more frequent in EP's Matngele, than in the Kamu given by EOB.

D. /o/

This vowel is realised as [o] in final position, and as [ɔ] elsewhere. The /o/ vowel is, like the glottal stop, a phoneme with a rather restricted occurrence in Kamu. It is found in the following items.

2.	*dolp*	'to light'	*dorrng*	'to line up'
	gop	'to hammer'	*gorrp*	'upright'
	jonbolk	'rotten'	*lobo*	'butcherbird'
	lot	'to cover'	*ngorr*	'to sharpen'
	ngorrk	'to be sick'	*ngorrngom*	'ribs'

The following (sub-)minimal pairs establish its contrastive status.

3.	*ngorrk*	'to be sick'	*ngarrp*	'to gnaw'
4.	*ngorr*	'to sharpen'	*-ngoerr*	'nail'
5.	*gorrp*	'upright'	*jan-gurrp*	'to poke around'

Like the glottal stop, the /o/ phoneme has almost certainly been diffused into Kamu from its northern and western neighbours, Gungarakayn, Wagiman, and Warray. The /o/ phoneme is absent from the other ED languages, and from Ngan'gityemeri, the south-western neighbour of Kamu.

E. /oe/

The following minimal pairs establish this vowel in Kamu.

6.	*doen*	'to thunder'	*dun*	'moon'
7.	*-ngoerr*	'nail'	*ngorr*	'to sharpen'
8.	*doet*	'to sit'	*dat*	'to die'
9.	*woerroerr*	'leaf'	*werrerr*	'to spoil'
10.	*boen*	'black plum'	*bin*	'holey'

This vowel has a reasonable frequency of occurrence in Kamu, and in the other ED languages. However its phonological nature remains somewhat problematic. Birk (1976 : 12) describes the same vowel in MalakMalak as a "mid, close, retracted, front, unrounded vocoid". The precise reference of the terms 'close' and 'retracted' in this description are unclear to me. Further, on the basis of my own observations, I would not describe this vowel as a front vowel. There is also reason to doubt that it is a mid vowel. The problems with Birk's description arise from the fact that he takes an articulatory approach to the analysis of vowels. Lieberman & Blumstein (1988 : 164 - 183) survey the evidence which shows that a purely

articulatory approach to vowels is inadequate. Rather vowels appear to be better analysed as particular auditory targets, which are potentially achievable by a range of articulations.

The only clearly observable articulatory fact about the /oe/ vowel is that it is an unrounded vowel. Indeed when checking /oe/ forms with EOB, she would actively spread the lips. In all of the ED languages, the /oe/ vowel is auditorily very similar to [ʊ], the most common allophone of the /u/ vowel. The two are easily confused, and there is clear evidence of a historical relationship between them. It would therefore appear that one of the most salient facts about the /oe/ vowel, both synchronically and diachronically, is that it is an unrounded vowel. However it does not appear to be simply the unrounded counterpart of /u/. Auditorily the /oe/ vowel is distinct from the back unrounded vowels of languages such as Turkish, and is more similar to the front rounded vowels of languages such as French or German. It is also somewhat similar to the schwa. These similarities would suggest that in terms of traditional vowel classifications it should be analysed as a central vowel.

Consequently I have provisionally analysed it as an unrounded high central vowel. However further work is required to determine the phonological status of this vowel more precisely. Any phonological analysis will have to account for a root vocalism restriction involving the /oe/ vowel. Roots with an /oe/ vowel may otherwise contain only other /oe/ vowels and/or a single /e/ vowel. The one exception in Kamu is the verb root *woemnyi* 'to steal'. This root is unusual not only in its vocalism, but also in the presence of the medial cluster /mny/ (see.2.). It appears likely that it was historically a compound of two roots **woem* and **nyi*. A similar root vocalism restriction also appears to hold in the other ED languages.

F. /u/

This vowel is realised as [u] word finally. Otherwise it is realised as [ʊ]. In the diphthong /uy/ it can be realised as [ɔ].

.c1.2.9. Diphthongs and Long Vowels.

The following diphthongs are attested in Kamu.

1.	[ei]	*beyk*	[beik]	'bone'
2.	[ɛʊ]	*dewk*	[dɛʊk]	'bird sp'
3.	[ai]	*may*	[mai]	'that'
4.	[aʊ]	*gun.gawk*	[gʊngaʊk]	'bird sp'
5.	[öi]	*moengoey*	[möŋöi]	'tears'
6.	[ui]	*nguyk*	[ŋuik]	'night'

The diphthong [ui] can be realised as [ɔi] word finally in fast speech. [ɔi] is not an acceptable realisation in careful speech, nor word medially. The diphthongs are phonologically analysed as sequences of vowel + semi-vowel. This analysis satisfactorily accounts for all phonemic diphthongs in Kamu (the diphthongal allophone [ai] of /a/, being a different matter). It is more economical than a phonemic diphthongal analysis, as it does not require any alteration of the basic syllabic patterns of Kamu (see. 2.X).

Vowel length is generally non-contrastive in Kamu. All monosyllabic nominal, particle and verbal roots have long vowels. This may be understood as a reflection of a requirement that roots belonging to the major word classes must be minimally bi-moraic (see. 2.X). It cannot be understood simply as a requirement that monosyllabic words must be bi-moraic. When monosyllabic roots take affixes, the vowel still remains long.

7. *wuk-(y)ende* [wʊ:k(y)ɛndɛ] *[wʊk(y)ɛndɛ]
water-LOC

Other than in monosyllabic roots belonging to the major classes, vowels are normally short in Kamu. However there are two polysyllabic roots belonging to the major classes which have long vowels.

8. *nambangaarra* [namba'ŋa:ra] 'half'
9. *wardiikinini* [wa'ɖi:kɪnɪni] 'loud'

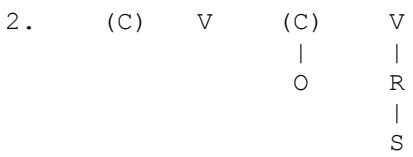
As indicated in the phonetic transcriptions the long vowels in these two roots take the primary word stress. As these two are the only examples of their kind, they are analysed as irregularities.

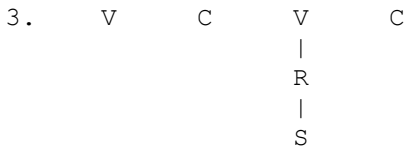
.c1.2.10. Syllable and Morpheme Structures.

Syllable structures in Kamu follow the patterns found generally throughout the Top End. The basic syllable structure is set out in 1.

1. Onset Consonant + Nucleus Vowel + (Coda 1 Consonant) + (Coda 2 Consonant)

The Nucleus and the Coda together form the Rhyme. Vowel initial syllables can occur word initially in polysyllabic words. The glottal stop is sometimes found as a third consonant in the syllable coda. These patterns may be understood as resulting from the interaction between the normal rules of syllabification, and the constraints of the sonority hierarchy. The normal rules of syllabification are set out by Steriade (1982 : 76 - 84).

2.


3.


2 is the Onset rule, and 3 is the Coda rule. The Onset rule applies only once, whereas the Coda rule applies iteratively. Both rules are constrained by the sonority hierarchy. The following sonority hierarchy is proposed for Kamu (following Harvey Ms.B).

4.

Phoneme	Sonority Index
a	10
e, o	9
i, oe, u	8
r, w, y	7
l, rl, rr	6
Nasals	3
Stops	1

Syllable construction is constrained in accordance with the following sonority index [SI] requirements.

5. A phoneme associated with the nucleus must have an SI ≥ 8
6. An onset must have an SI < 8
7. If x is associated with Coda 1 then SI(x) < 8

If x is associated with Coda 1, and y is associated with Coda 2, then SI(y) ≤ SI(x) - 3

If y is associated with Coda 2, and z is assocated with Coda 3, then SI(z) ≤ SI(y) - 2

These constraints and the syllabification rules in 2 and 3 will successfully construct all attested syllable types in Kamu. The glottal stop presents certain additional problems which are discussed in Harvey (Ms.B.). As stated in the discussion of the fortis/lenis contrast in 2.X, under the syllabification rules and constraints set out here, the only possible position of occurrence for word medial stop clusters is across syllable boundaries. Consequently all stop clusters must occur either between vowels, or between a non-nasal sonorant and a vowel. Analysing the fortis stops as geminate stop clusters restricts them to these two environments, which are precisely the environments where they are found. However it is worth noting that there is only one example of an apparently unambigous intramorphemic hetero-organic stop cluster in Kamu, even though these are perfectly permissible under the principles of syllabification given. In other words geminates are essentially the only type of stop cluster to occur intramorphemically.

The precise nature of morphological restrictions on hetero-syllabic consonant clusters requires further examination. However certain patterns are evident. Hetero-syllabic consonant clusters are uncommon in verb roots. The intramorphemic hetero-syllabic consonant clusters attested in Kamu are set out in Table 2.1. An examination of Table 2.1 reveals that homorganic nasal stop clusters belonging to the alveolar, bilabial and velar places of articulation are in terms of frequency in a class of their own. The other clusters have a low frequency of occurrence, with approximately half being represented by a single example. It appears likely that a number of the clusters were historically intermorphemic. These clusters are highlighted in the Table. The removal of these clusters from consideration makes the formulisation of general patterns for intramorphemic hetero-syllabic clusters in Kamu easier. There are two main classes of these clusters; homorganic nasal stop-clusters, and clusters consisting of an alveolar, retroflex, or palatal sonorant followed by a bilabial or velar consonant.

There are no restrictions on intermorphemic consonant clusters in Kamu, other than those that arise from the restrictions on permissible segments in morpheme initial and final positions. If the internal morphological structure of the simple verbs is ignored, as this constitutes a special case, then the following restrictions on morpheme initial and final positions hold in Kamu.

8. The only permissible morpheme initial vowels are /a/ and /e/. /e/ occurs only in a handful of morphemes. [i] does occur word initially phonetically. However it always alternates with [yɪ] in this position, and consequently all examples of initial [i] are analysed as /yi/ phonologically. The corresponding high back sequence /wu/ is never realised as [u] initially.
9. The retroflex consonants do not occur morpheme initially in the major word classes (2.)
10. /ly/, /rr/ and /r/ do not occur morpheme initially. The one exception is the suffix -*ru* 'very'.
11. /p/ and /w/ occur morpheme finally only in verb roots.

The final constraint on morphemes in Kamu is that they must be syllabic (exceptions arise in the internal morphology of the simple verbs).

.c1.2.11. The Word

The concept of the word presents certain problems in Kamu, as it does in any language which makes extensive use of cliticisation. In Kamu a phonological word may, for present descriptive purposes, be defined as any sequence which cannot be further broken up by pauses. Phonological words are frequently cliticised together in Kamu. The precise nature of the constraints on the cliticisation process, and its implications for the definition of the word in Kamu is a topic requiring considerable further research.

Provisionally it appears that a distinction of some significance between affixation and cliticisation can be drawn in Kamu. Consequently I have marked the two types of boundaries differently. Boundaries which appear to be affixal boundaries are marked by the standard dash - morpheme boundary marker. Boundaries which appear to be clitic boundaries are marked by the equals sign =.

.c1.2.12. Stress

Stress in Kamu is most easily analysed if a division is made between primary and secondary stress. The placement of primary stress is determined by moraic requirements, and by morphological class. In order to receive a primary stress a morpheme must be poly-moraic, and conversely all poly-moraic morphemes receive a primary stress. In Kamu each position in the syllable nucleus is a single mora. Therefore all polysyllabic morphemes, being inherently poly-moraic, receive a primary stress. This primary stress is placed on the first syllable.

The stress patterns of monosyllabic morphemes depends on their morphological class. Kamu requires that all roots belonging to the major classes receive a primary stress. Consequently in order to satisfy the requirement that primary stress can only be given to poly-moraic morphemes, all monosyllabic roots in the major classes have long vowels. Monosyllabic morphemes which do not belong to the major classes do not receive a primary stress. The patterns of stress found in the simple verb paradigms present certain anomalies, here as elsewhere. These are discussed in 4.X.

The placement of secondary stresses is dependent on the placement of primary stresses. Secondary stresses are placed on every second syllable following a primary stressed syllable. Secondary stresses cannot be placed on a syllable which is adjacent to a primary stressed syllable, or to a word boundary. One consequence of this pattern of stress placement is that stress is an important marker of word internal morphological boundaries in Kamu.

The primary phonetic component of stress in Kamu appears to be pitch. In polysyllabic words there is a slight fall in pitch on the syllable following the primary stressed syllable. If a word has more than one stress, then the pitch contour will show slight rises over the word medial stressed syllables and slight falls over the unstressed syllables. It does not appear that length is generally a major factor in the perception of stress in Kamu. Apart from monosyllabic roots belonging to the major classes, stressed vowels do not appear to be longer than unstressed vowels. Neither does it appear that amplitude plays a significant role. It is probably true that stressed vowels are somewhat longer, and tend to have a greater amplitude than unstressed vowels. As such it is likely that length and amplitude do have some function in the perception of stress. Nevertheless, as I have stated, it appears that the major perceptual cue for stress is slight variations in the pitch contour of a word.

.c1.2.13. Orthography.

The Kamu people have not yet made a decision concerning an orthography for Kamu. As there is no standard orthography for any of the other ED languages, I have provisionally adapted the Jawoyn orthography

for this grammar. The relationship between the Jawoyn orthography and the phonemic inventory is set out in Table 2.2.

Table 2.2 : Phonemic Inventory and Orthography
(Orthography symbols below phonemic transcription where there is a difference.)

	Bilabial	Alveolar	Retroflex	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Stop	b **b, p**	d **d, t**	ɽ **rd, rt**	c **j, tj**	g **g, k**	ʔ **?**
Nasal	m	n	ɳ **rn**	ɲ **ny, yn**	ŋ **ng**	
Lateral		l	ɭ **rl**	ʎ **ly, yl**		
Tap		r **rr**				
Continuant	w		ɻ **r**	y		

	Front	Central	Back
High	i	ö **oe**	u
Mid	e		o
Low		a	

The orthography is not a direct phonemic orthography. Firstly even though I have analysed the fortis/lenis contrast as a single/geminate opposition (see 2.X), the orthography represents the contrast as a segmental contrast. The voiceless stop symbols are used to represent morpheme medial geminates (fortis closures), and to represent syllable final stops. The voiced stop symbols are used to represent morpheme medial singles (lenis closures), and to represent syllable initial stops. Secondly the palatal nasal and lateral are, like the stops, also represented by two symbols. They are represented by /yn/ and /yl/ respectively when they occur in a syllable coda position. Otherwise they are represented by /ny/ and /ly/. Thirdly morpheme initial retroflexion is only indicated after vowels, as it is not perceptible following consonants.

1. *mana-rdiyn* 'shade-ABL' [mana-ɖiɲ]
2. *wuk-diyn* 'water-ABL' [wʊ:k-ɖiɲ]

These divergences from strictly phonemic orthography all have the purpose of making the orthographic representations somewhat more accesible to English speakers. This is a significant consideration as users of this grammar, including Kamu people, will effectively be approaching it from an English based perspective. The main problem with the orthography is in the representation of word initial stops. In Kamu word initial stops, other than the alveolar stop /d/, normally sound voiceless to English speakers. Thus *Kamu* is perceptually [kamu] to English speakers.

However it is not possible to use the voiceless stop symbols word initially, without affecting the rest of the orthography. If word initial stops were represented with the voiceless symbols, then patterns of reduplication and cliticisation mean that medial fortis closures would have to be distinguished in some other way than simply by use of the voiceless stop symbols. It appears that the voiceless symbols would have to be used in all situations, with the medial fortis closures being represented by geminate symbols. Such an orthography would have its own interpretation problems. Medial lenis closures, which to English speakers

sound voiced, would be represented by a voiceless symbol. Thus a phonetic form [paban] 'fish sp' would be represented as *papan*, instead of *baban*. Further while geminate symbols represent the phonemic analysis more accurately, they are somewhat cumbersome, and unfamiliar to English speakers. Thus a phonetic form [paɬa] 'spear' would be represented as *patjtja*, instead of *batja*. The Jawoyn based orthography is therefore as close to the Kamu phonetic base, for English speakers, as a voiceless single/geminate orthography would be. It is also somewhat less cumbersome, and as such is consequently to be preferred.

.c1.NOMINALS

.c1.3.1. Parts of Speech.

Gamu has four morphologically definable major parts of speech; simple verbs, compound verb roots, nominals and particles. The simple verb class is a small closed class with 15 members. Simple verbs occur in paradigms which convey information concerning tense, mood and aspect, and information concerning the person and number of the Subject. Simple verbs are the only obligatory constituents of verbal clauses (see. 5.1). Some simple verbs can occur as the sole "verbal" predicate in a verbal clause. However in most verbal clauses, the simple verbs function as auxiliaries, and the main lexical information about the "verbal" predicate of the clause is conveyed by a compound verb root.

Compound verb roots occur in two forms; an uninflected root form, and an imperfective form suffixed with either -ma or -miyi. The uninflected form is found in positive imperatives, and in perfective verbal clauses. The imperfective form, apart from being found in imperfective verbal clauses, is also found in negative imperatives, and as a the nominalised form of compound verbs. The inherently aspectualised nature of compound verb roots, which is marked by the opposition between -Ø and *-ma ~ -miyi*, is the defining formal characteristic of compound verbs in Gamu.

Nominals and particles can be distinguished by case marking potentialities. Nominals may take case marking whereas particles do not. Nominals are the obligatory constituents in verbless clauses. Included within the nominal class are pronouns, demonstratives and temporals. Pronouns and definite demonstratives are formally definable sub-classes of nominals (3.5 and 3.6). A class of kin nouns is formally definable by the possibility of suffixation with the 1MIN possessive suffix -ngu (see. 1.4). Most adjectival concepts in Gamu are rendered by compound verb roots.

.c1.3.2. Nominal Stems

Nominal stems do not have a complicated structure in Gamu. Most commonly the stem is the root, to which case markers and other nominal affixes may be added. Compound and inherently reduplicated stems do occur, though they are not common in the available data.

1.	*diyen-berderr*	*boeng.goe-boeng.goe*
	mouth-river	dingo
	'riverbank'	'dingo'

Productive nominal reduplication is of a variety of formal types, all of which appear to have iconic collective and intensive meanings functionally. The following examples show the attested reduplication patterns.

	Base	Reduplication.
2.	*lelerrk*	*le-lelerrk*
	'old woman'	'the old women'
3.	*elungu*	*elu-lu-ngu*
	'big'	'very big'
	warruk	*warru-rru-k*
	'boy'	'the boys'
4.	*garrkin*	*garrki-garrkin*
	'sharp'	'prickly'
	barlirrkam	*barli-barlirrkam*
	'fast'	'very fast'

5. *garrkin* *garrkin-garrkin*
'sharp' 'prickly'
marlkmende *marlkmende-marlkmende*
'boy' 'the boys'

The initial CV reduplication pattern in 2 is apparently restricted to the lexeme *lelerrk* 'old woman'. The reduplication of the initial CV of the second syllable illustrated in 3 has only been attested with these lexical items. guwerruk 'bad' shows an irregular reduplicated variant guwerrerrk, which appears to be historically related to the reduplication pattern found in 3. The reduplication patterns in 4 and 5 are productive, though the exact constraints on their usage are presently unknown. As a comparison of 4 and 5 shows both productive reduplication patterns may apply to the same root. As far as could be determined, the meaning of the reduplicated forms was the same under both patterns. The pattern shown in 4 of reduplication of the first syllable, and of the initial CV of the second syllable is the more commonly attested pattern. The complete reduplication pattern illustrated in 5 was comparatively uncommon. It was not entirely clear whether forms such as those in 5, were in fact examples of a reduplication template, or whether they were merely examples of the cliticised repetition of a word.

.c1.3.3. Nominal Classification.

Gamu has two nominal classifiers; *binya* 'animal, meat, game' and *meyi* 'tucker, food'.

1. *gatji binya beyk may-ma neyin jamarr ngarrp-ngarrp-ma=gurrutang*
leave meat bone that-PRM later dog R-gnaw-IMPF=3AS.Aux.F
'Leave that bone! The dogs will gnaw it later.' (688)

2. *wayn-ma-ngu=eyeng.ge wuk-yende dey=eneng binya*
swim-IMPF-along=1MS.Aux.PI water-LOC see=1MS.Aux.PP animal
ngoerrngoerr wayn-ma-yin=yeng.ge-yin
crocodile swim-IMPF-here=3MS.Aux.PI-here
'I was swimming along in the water, when I saw a crocodile swimming this way.' (345)

3. *meyi galku darrp-ma=gutu*
tucker fig hang-IMPF=3MS.Aux.PR
'There is figtree fruit hanging (there).' (346)

The *binya* classifier has a wide range of functions. It is most commonly found in the sense of 'meat, flesh food', which includes 'bone' in Gamu, as 1 demonstrates. However as 2 demonstrates, it must be understood in the sense of 'animal' in some of its usages. The *meyi* classifier appears to be restricted to the sense 'tucker, non-flesh food'.

While these forms may function as generic classifiers in these examples, there is no reason to posit a special formal class of classifiers, nor to posit a classifier position within the structure of the NP. These NPs follow the same head - modifier structure that is found with other NPs in Gamu. Consequently the classifier may be analysed as the head of the NP, and the specific noun may be analysed as a modifier (see. 5.J).

Historically it appears that Gamu may once have had a rather different system of nominal classification.

4. *giyeng* 'new', *giyerk* 'wet', *giyik* 'little', *guban* 'tall', *gudar* 'dry' [note *dar* 'to dry'], *gunbiritj* 'good', *gurnunuk* 'cheeky', *gutjawuy*

'bitter', *guwarnbarn* 'lightweight', *guwerruk* 'bad', *guwuyu* 'two', *guyarnung* 'raw', *guyung.gu* 'ripe'

The recurrence of an initial *gi ~ gu(n)* syllable in this group of "adjectival" nominals suggests an old noun class marker. This is supported by Matngele which also shows same kind of evidence.

5. *giyang* 'new', *giyitj* 'little', *guban* 'tall', *gunbiritj* 'good' [note *mern-biritj* 'to calm down'], *gunduyn* 'straight', *gunuwarrang* 'big', *gurirrk-gurirrk* 'crooked', *gurnapangart* 'old', *guwerruk* 'bad', *guyarna* 'raw', *guyung.gu* 'ripe'

The north-eastern neighbour of Gamu, Gungarakayn, has a prefix *gi-* which is found on adjectives and body part nouns (Evans Ms.A.). As such there appears to be reasonable evidence for an old nominal prefix *gi- ~ gu(n)-* in an areal grouping of languages in the northern and eastern Daly.

.c1.3.4. Case Markers.

Gamu has the following adnominal and relational case markers (Dench & Evans 1988 : 2).

-Ø	'Absolutive'
-ni	'Ergative/Instrumental'
-rnung	'Dative'
-gin	'Allative'
-yende	'Locative'
-rdiyn	'Ablative/Causal'
-ba	'Pergressive'
-mungu	'Comitative'
-rda	'Privative'

.c1.3.4.1. The Absolutive.

The Absolutive case marker -Ø marks intransitive Subjects and transitive Direct Objects. Thus nominals realising the goal/recipient role of the verb 'to give' always take Absolutive case marking because they are Direct Objects.

1. *jerrerek meyi ngang=nung=anyayn*
   old man tucker give=3MO=2MS.Aux.PP
   'Did you give the old man the tucker?' (179)

As 1 illustrates nominals realising the patient/theme role of 'to give' also take Absolutive case marking. The Absolutive is also the general default case marker in Gamu. It appears that it can replace any of the other case markers.

2. *may-gin-muk wart=burdam binya gakayn-ngu-rnung-ma*
   that-ALL-COLL send=3AS.Aux.PP meat uncle-1MIN-DAT-PRM
   'That lot sent meat to my uncle.' (136) [ergative]

3. *bala yarrp=birritjing meyn-nung*
   white ochre rub=3AS.refl.PP corroboree-DAT
   'They painted themselves with white ochre for the corroboree.' (317)
   [instrumental]

4 *bang-u buy=ganiyn ngun-gin gakak binya durrin-ma*
   father-IMIN go=3MS.Aux.PP there-ALL far animal turtle-PRM
   ngelpurr
   large turtle

'My father has gone there, a long way, for turtles.' (161) [purposive]

5. *buy=arrayn Batchelor*
go=1AS.Aux.PP Batchelor
'We went to Batchelor.' (79) [allative]

6. *dak ngeldi-ngeldiyn eni digin ngeldi-ngeldiyn*
place R-old days 1MS.live.PI digin R-old days
'In the old days I used to live at Digin.' (101) [locative]

7. *jamarr nguru may-ma*
dog 1MIN that-PRM
'That dog is mine.' (82) [genitive]

There are not presently any examples of the Absolutive case marker replacing the other case markers, but it would appear likely that this is simply a gap in the database. This default usage of the Absolutive case marker is not common, other than with the Allatives of place names, as in 5, and with pronominal genitives, as in 7.

.c1.3.4.2. The Ergative/Instrumental.

The Ergative/Instrumental case marker is -*ni* in Gamu.

1. *may-gin-muk-ni datj-ma=birriti may-ma*
that-ALL-COLL-INS hit-IMPF=3AS.Aux.PI that-PRM
'That lot hit that bloke.' (107)

2. *yow yarrp=erritjing bala-ni*
yes rub=1AS.refl.PP white ochre-INS
'Yes we painted ourselves with white ochre.' (330)

In a number of the neighbouring languages intransitive Subjects may also take Ergative marking (Malak-Malak - Birk 1976 : 112, Wagiman - Cook 1987 : 126 - 127, Warray - Harvey : Ms.B), generally when there is an Indirect Object present giving the clause as a whole a high transitivity value (Hopper & Thompson : 1984). This usage is not attested in the available Gamu material. However given the general similarity in patterning of Ergative/Instrumental case marking in Gamu to these languages it would seem likely that this is also possible in Gamu.

The use of -*ni* in an Instrumental function is not restricted to transitive clauses, but is also attested in intransitive clauses.

3. *jamarr may budu-budu?-ma=guyu detoem-ni*
dog that R-roll-IMPF=3MS.Aux.PR back-INS
'That dog is rolling on his back.' (634)

Languages occur in Instrumental case with verbs of speaking.

4. *gamu-ni nit-m=arrang.gu ni butjurung datj-datj-ma*
gamu-INS call-IMPF=1AS.Aux.NP name whistleduck R-kill-NMLR
In Gamu we call (the Daly River Crossing) *butjurung datj-datj-ma* [where the whistleduck was killed.].' (498)

.c1.3.4.3. The Dative.

The Dative case marker -*rnung* has a wide range of functions in Gamu.

1. *may-ma lagiyi-ni wart=dam meyi gakayn-ngu-rnung*
that-PRM man-ERG send=3MS.Aux.PP tucker uncle-1MIN-DAT
'That man sent meat to my uncle.' (174) [goal/recipient]

2. *lelerrk-nung meyi wa=rnung=nung.gurruma*
old woman-DAT tucker get=3MIO=2AS.Aux.F
'Are you lot going to get the old woman tucker?' (261) [benefactive]

3. *binya-rnung arrang.gu wayalk*
meat-DAT 1AS.Aux.NP hunt
'We are hunting for meat.' (131) [purposive]

4. *lagiyi may-butja mara-datj-ma=gurrutu bamgun may-nung*
man that-pair recip-hit-IMPF=3AS.Aux.PR woman that-DAT
'Those two men are fighting over that woman.' (163)

5. *dak-nung nini-ma=rnung=eti*
country-DAT ask about-IMPF=3M.DAT.O=1MS.Aux.PI
'I asked about the country.' (312)

6. *warray guyang.gu emiyn nang.ga gungarakayn-nung guyang.gu*
warray 3MS.be.NP 1MS.think.PP but gungarakayn-DAT 3MS.be.NP
'I thought that he was Warray, but he is Gungarakayn.' (463)

7. *warruk-nung jamarr may-ma gurna-rnung*
boy-DAT dog that-PRM 3-DAT
'That dog is the boy's. It is his.' (83) [genitive]

The Dative marks prototypical goal/recipient, benefactive and purposive roles. It also marks a range of roles extending from prototypical purposives through to prototypical genitives.

.c1.3.4.4. The Allative

The Allative suffix *-gin* indicates motion to(wards) a place, or in a direction.

1. *bang-u buy=ganiyn ngun-gin gakak*
father-1MIN go=3MS.Aux.PP there-ALL far
'My father has gone that way, a long way.' (161)

2. *buy=gurrang.gu beret elungu-gin*
go=3MS.Aux.NP house big-ALL
'He is going to the big house.' (182)

Allatives of place names generally take Absolutive -Ø case marking (3.U), though they may take Allative case marking.

3. *meyi wart=garrurda gabamal-gin*
tucker send=1AS.Aux.F Coppermine-ALL
'We will send tucker to the Coppermine.' (350)

The occurrence of the Allative case marker appears to be lexicalised with certain demonstratives. These lexicalised usages are examined in 3.X on demonstratives.

.c1.3.4.5. The Locative.

The Locative suffix *-yende* indicates a position of rest, or motion to(wards) a particular location.

1. *jer=arrayn buy-ende*
roast=1AS.Aux.PP ground oven-LOC
'We roasted it in a ground oven.' (184)

2. *ngun gutu gorrp-ma lagiyi nembu-yende jawuri-mungu*
there 3MS.stand.PR upright-IMPF man other-LOC beard-COM
'She is standing up there, next to that other man with the beard.' (239)

3. *wabuy=garruy meyi beret-yende*
take=1AS.Aux.F tucker house-LOC
'We will take the tucker to the house.' (139)

The Locative shows some allomorphic variation, losing its initial /y/ following a /k/ or /y/ final stem.

.c1.3.4.6. The Ablative.

The Ablative suffix -*rdiyn* indicates motion away from a particular place, and any type of causal or source notions.

1. *ditj-ga-ma=guyang berderr-diyn*
return-come-IMPF=3MS.Aux.NP river-ABL
'She is coming back from the river.' (82)

2. *bulyu wa-wurrk-am wiylk=geynjiye wamerr-diyn*
sugarbag grass put in-INTENS suck=2MS.Aux.F sugarbag-ABL
'You put the sugarbag grass into (the hive), and you suck from the sugarbag.' (583)

3. *dam-jet=atayn wamerr-diyn*
stick-inch=1MS.Aux.PP honey-ABL
'My (arm) is sticky from the honey.' (117)

4. *durrk-gatj=ganiyn nembeyu-rdiyn*
swallow=3MS.Aux.PP one-ABL
'He swallowed it in one go.' (485)

5. *wuylk-wuylk-ma=yeng.ge wene wuk ngambatj-diyn*
R-rock-IMPF=3MS.Aux.PI canoe water saltwater-ABL
'The canoe rocked in the saltwater.' (314)

6. *awuy-ngu-rdiyn wa=ayayn*
aunt-1MIN-ABL get=1MS.Aux.PP
'I got (the clothes) from my aunt.' (305)

It appears that any entity which is potentially viewable as a cause or a source can be marked with the Ablative case marker. The effector entity in 5, wuk ngambatj 'saltwater' would normally take Ergative case marking. However in this example it takes Ablative case marking, presumably because effectors (and other agentive and instrumental entities) can also be viewed as causes and sources.

.c1.3.4.7. The Pergressive.

The Pergressive suffix -ba indicates position of rest, motion to(wards), and motion via.

1. *wanyungu wut=eyung may-ba-ma ditj-ga=gawuy*
Neg camp=1MS.Aux.CON that-PER-PRM return-come=1MS.Aux.F
'I won't camp there. I will come back.' (162)

2. *ngeluru ngeldi-ngeldiyn wut-ma=erreng.ge digin-ba*
before R-old days camp-IMPF=1AS.Aux.PI digin-PER
'Before, in the old days, we used to camp at Digin.' (166)

3. *wertma wupetjeng-ba ga=arrayn*
Neg bottom-PER come=1AS.Aux.PP
'No we came by the bottom (road).' (217)

4. *may guyu nung.gurr-yende detoem-ba*
that 3MS.lie.PR 2-LOC back-PER
'It is lying there next to you, by your back.' (287)

5. *jat-jat-ma=gurrang ngudetu-ba*
R-poke-IMPF=3AS.Aux.NP billabong-PER
'They are poking around going along the billabong.' (287)

6. *wanyungu jal-ba buy=eyung motika-ni datj=ngu=guwu*
Neg road-PER go=1MS.Aux.CON car-ERG hit=1MO=3MS.Aux.F
'I am not going onto the road. A car will hit me!' (594)

.c1.3.4.8. The Locational Cases.

There is a considerable overlap in the ranges of the locational cases. The prototypical Allative concept of motion to(wards) a place can be rendered by either the Allative, the Locative, or the Pergressive (see 3.H : 20, 3.H : 25, and 3.H : 37). The prototypical Locative notion of position of rest may be rendered by either the Locative or the Pergressive (see 3.H : 23 and 3.H : 33). The distinctions in meaning involved in the choice between these locational case markers are not fully clear on presently available information.

Nevertheless there are certain patterns which appear worthy of further investigation. The prototypical notions marked by the locational case markers do appear to reasonably clearly distinguished. The pergressive prototypically indicates lateral motion with respect to an entity, and as such conveys the notions 'along, around, by, via'. These notions cannot be indicated by either the Allative or the Locative. One important difference between lateral and other types of motion is that the entity is not the goal or source of the motion.

It seems likely that the Allative use of the Pergressive can be understood in terms of this factor - the entity not being the goal of the motion. In 37 the road is not the goal of the motion, even though it may be the endpoint of the motion. This may explain why the Pergressive case marker is used rather than the Allative case marker. All presently available examples of Allative case marking involve goals.

Another facet of the meaning of the Pergressive is that it has an implicature of non-specificness with respect to the referent entity. It implies notions such as 'aroundabouts, in the vicinity of', rather than more specific notions such as 'in, on, at, etc'. It is possible that the contrast between the use of the Pergressive case marker and the Locative case marker to mark Locative relations may involve this factor. In other words 3.H : G (repeated here as 1) is possibly more accurately translated by the b) translation, rather than the a) translation.

1. *ngeluru ngeldi-ngeldiyn wut-m=erreng.ge digin-ba*
before R-old days camp-IMPF=1AS.Aux.PI digin-PER
a) 'Before, in the old days, we used to camp at Digin.'
b) 'Before, in the old days, we used to camp around Digin.'(166)

A similar distinction may also be involved in the usage of the Pergressive with the Demonstratives (see. 3.X). The functions and meanings of the Pergressive require further investigation. The usage of both the Allative and Locative case markers to code Allative case function does not appear to involve differences in meaning, as the contrast of these two case markers with the Pergressive appears to. Rather it suggests that there is a markedness relationship between the Allative and Locative case markers with the Allative being the marked partner in the relationship.

There is some other evidence which suggests that the Locative is the unmarked locational case. Gamu and some of the neighbouring languages; Matngele, Gungarakayn and Warray, have a common construction for the lexeme 'morning', which is formally 'night-ABL'.

2. *nguyk-diyn*
night-ABL
'morning'

However there is a reasonably common alternative form attested for this lexeme in Gamu.

3. *nguyk-ende-diyn burrngburrng=warning wuk may*
night-LOC-ABL boil=3MS.Aux.PP water that
'That water boiled this morning.'

The form 'night-LOC-ABL' in 3 is unusual in Gamu. In all other examples of double case marking, the inner case marker marks adnominal case and the outer case marker marks relational case. This includes another example of the sequnce 'LOC-ABL' (see. 5.H : 11). However the inner Locative case marker in the form 'night-LOC-ABL' does not have an adnominal function. Its function in 3 is not entirely certain. However given that there is other evidence suggesting that the Locative is the unmarked locational case marker (perhaps a kind of generic for the locational cases), the construction in 3 could be interpreted as an example of the unmarked generic locational case being followed by a more marked, more specific locational case. This analysis is supported by the fact that EOB also gave 4 as another alternative construction for the lexeme 'morning'.

4. *nguyk-yende*
night-LOC
'morning' (159)

This can be analysed as an occurrence of the generic locational case marker only. Further research is required on the status of the Locative case marker. It is of interest to note that the alternative construction 'night-LOC-ABL' for 'morning' is also well attested in Matngele. It is not attested in Gungarakayn or Warray.

.c1.3.4.9. The Comitative.

The Comitative suffix -mungu indicates association with another, and usually more salient, entity.

1. *lagiyi jawuri-mungu guyang*
man beard-COM 3MS.go.NP
'The man with the beard is going.' (196)

2. *wanyungu doerrbet=emboelye guwerruk din.girrk-mungu guyang*
Neg tell off=1+2MS.Aux.CON bad sick-COM 3MS.be.NP
'We can't tell him off. He is no good. He is sick.' (295)

3. *wut=burni amungal nang.ga wertma dawu-mungu*
camp=3MS.Aux.SUB Adelaide River but Neg trouble-COM
'He wanted to camp at Adelaide River, but no, there was trouble.' (268)

4. *meyi lawa wuk-mungu deng-gatj=ayayn*
tucker flour water-COM mix=1MS.Aux.PP
'I mixed the flour with water.' (275)

5. *juna-mungu guyang*
walking stick-COM 3MS.go.NP
'He walks with a walking stick.'

6. *jarak-mungu yarrp=birritjing may-butja-ma*
red ochre-COM rub=3AS.refl.PP that-pair-PRM
'Those two painted themselves with red ochre.' (309)

7. *Monday buy-m=ayang.gu dey-m=enemin dagarl-mungu*
Monday go-IMPF=1MS.Aux.NP see-IMPF=IMS.Aux.PR doctor-COM
'Every Monday I go and see the doctor.' (307)

A wide range of associations may be marked with -mungu. The range extends from part/whole associations as in 1, through to instrumental associations as in 5 and 6. In 7 it appears that -mungu simply indicates that there is some type of enduring association between the speaker and her doctor. Apart from -mungu, another suffix -yu, is also attested with a Comitative meaning.

8. *dolp=arrayn nang.ga guwerruk wuk-yu wanyungu buwaani*
light=1AS.Aux.PP but bad water-COM Neg 3MS.burn.SUB
'We tried to light (a fire), but it was no good. (The wood) was wet, and it would not burn.' (235)

9. *miyam mik-yu enoen*
eye sore-COM 1MS.sit.PR
'I have sore eyes.' (571)

The *-yu* suffix is rare, and the nature of the distinction between it and the *-mungu* suffix is uncertain. There does not appear to be any distinction in meaning in the available material. It is possible that the -yu suffix is a borrowing into Gamu from Warray, which has a Comitative suffix of the form *-yiwu*. The *-mungu* suffix is also found as the Comitative in Matngele, which argues that it is the original form.

.c1.3.4.10. The Privative.

The Privative suffix *-rda* indicates lack of something.

1. *meyi-rda enoen*
tucker-PRIV 1MS.sit.PR
'I have no tucker.' (127)

2. *may-ma matngeli-rda guyang ngan.giwumirri guyang.gu*
that-PRM matngele-PRIV 3MS.be.NP ngan'giwumirri 3MS.be.NP
'That bloke is not Matngele, he is Ngan'giwumirri.' (428)

The Privative suffix also has major functions in the formation of verbal negatives. These are discussed in 4.X and 4.H. Privative meanings may alternatively be coded by a construction using the Negator wertma as a modifier.

3. *jatjin-ma buy=birri bordaan nang.ga motika wertma*
yesterday-PRM go=3AS.Aux.SUB Darwin but car Neg
'Yesterday they wanted to go to Darwin, but there was no car.' (169)

This construction is comparatively uncommon in Gamu.

.c1.3.5. The Pronouns.

Gamu has five personal pronouns. They are set out in the following paradigm.

	Minimal	Augmented
1	*nguru*	*ngerru*
1+2	*ngemu*	*ngerru*
2	*nung.gurr*	
3.	*gurna*	

As we will see Gamu shows evidence for both Minimal/Augmented and singular/plural classifications in its number marking systems, including the personal pronoun system (see also. 5.H). The Minimal/Augmented analysis is the simplest analysis of the personal pronoun paradigm, and is also the organisation consonant with that found in the other paradigmatic systems of Gamu which have obligatory number classification (see. 5.W). The most obvious feature is the lack of Augmented forms. A number distinction is inherent only for forms involving 1st person reference, and even here the Augmented form ngerru refers to both the 1 and the 1+2 categories, which are distinct in the Minimal.

There are two sets of optional number enclitics which may be used to encode more detailed number specification. A very closely related pair of optional enclitic paradigms is also used to mark number in the verbal complex (see. 5.H). The first set consists of the optional number enclitics which have an inherent reference to person, as well as to number.

1. *=ngerrngerr* '1 Exclusive'
   =arrarr '1 Inclusive'
   =nung.gurr '2 Dual/Plural'
   =wurr '3 Plural'

These forms are glossed according to a singular/plural number scheme (for justification - see. 5.H). The 1 Exclusive form is most probably derived from the 1AUG pronoun ngerru (the unreduplicated form =ngerr is found in the optional number marking paradigm of the verbal complex). The other forms are found elsewhere as Indirect Object enclitics (see. 5.H). The 1 Inclusive and 2 Dual/Plural forms are also found in the optional number paradigm of the verbal complex. Examples of the use of these number enclitics are given in 2 - 6.

2. *meyi* *wa-may* *ngerru-nung=ngerrngerr*
   tucker get=3MS.Aux.PP 1AUG-DAT=1EXC
   'He got tucker for us (excl).' (507)

3. *ngerru-nung=arrarr*
   1AUG-DAT=1INC
   'Ours (incl).' (83)

4. *jamarr may nung.gu-nung=nung.gurr*
   dog that 2-DAT=2PL
   'Does that dog belong to you lot?' (83)

5. *binya gurna=wurr*
   meat 3=3PL
   'The meat is theirs.' (84)

According to EOB the 1st Inclusive form in 3 can also be used for the 1+2MIN combination (i.e. it can replace *ngemu-nung* '1+2MIN-DAT'). This is one of the pieces of evidence for the operation of a singular/plural number classification in Gamu (see also. 5.H). EOB also stated that the primary function of the 2nd person number enclitic *=nung.gurr* was as a dual marker (this is its function as a number marker in the verbal complex - see. 5.H). However it is attested with plural reference in the personal

pronouns as in 4. Unambiguous reference to dual status may be acheived by use of the other optional number marking paradigm, which has one member.

6. *=gurna* 'Dual'

This form is identical with the 3rd person free pronoun, and presumably historically derived from it. However as an enclitic, this form simply signifies 'dual' without reference to person (it has the same function in the verbal complex - see. 5.H).

7. *meyi may nung.gu-nung=nung.gurr=gurna*
tucker that 2-DAT=2PL=DU
'Does that tucker belong to you two?'

yo ngerru-nung ngerru-butja-rnung meyi may-ma
yes 1AUG-DAT 1AUG-pair-DAT tucker that-PRM
'Yes that tucker is ours, us two's.' (328)

8. *may-gin gurna=wurr=gurna*
that-ALL 3=3PL=DU
'That (tucker) belongs to those two.' (199)

=gurna is not attested with the 1AUG pronoun *ngerru*. Further investigation is required to determine whether this is a prohibition or not. *=gurna* is attested with 1st person forms in the Verbal Complex (see. 5.H). It may be noted that 7 illustrates an alternative method for indicating dual status by use of the 'pair' suffix *-butja* (see. 3.X).

The personal pronouns show the same case marking patterns as other nominals. The only formal variation is that the 2nd person pronoun *nung.gurr* loses its final /rr/ before the Ergative and Dative case markers.

9. *nung.gurr + -ni -> nung.gu-ni*
2 + -ERG 2-ERG
nung.gurr + -nung -> nung.gu-nung
2 + -DAT 2-DAT

The only potential functional variation is with the Dative case, as illustrated in 10.

10. *gurna-nung-ma-ru lam-lam-ma=gutu*
3-DAT-PRM-INTENS R-talk-IMPF=3MS.Aux.PR
jiyn-biyandak-da=arrang.gu=nung
P-understand-PRIV=1AS.Aux.PR=3MIO
'He talks to himself. We can't understand him.' (569)

The function of the Dative case marker in this example is not presently certain. The more common way of indicating reflexive and emphatic interpretations is illustrated in 11 and 12.

11. *balpmuru may-ma butja guwerruk gurrang*
two that-PRM head bad 3AS.be.NP
'Those two are no good in the head.'

lam-lam-ma=gunen gurna-memek
R-talk-IMPF=3AS.Aux.PR 3-self
'They talk to themselves.' (637)

12. *wene mit=nung.gurrumu nung.gurr-memek*
canoe make=2AS.Aux.PP 2-self
'Did you lot make the canoe yourselves?' (452)

In 11 and 12 the pronoun is compounded with a form *memek*. *memek* also occurs as an independent lexeme meaning 'hand'. The possibility of compounding with memek to form this reflexive/emphatic structure defines the pronouns as a formal class in Gamu.

.c1.3.6. Definite Demonstratives.

Gamu has three basic definite demonstrative roots.

1.	Proximate	Distal
		may 'that'
	ngin 'here'	*ngun* 'there'

ngin 'here' and *ngun* 'there' are locational demonstratives, whereas *may* 'that' is both a locational and a (con)textual demonstrative. There are optional plural forms for these demonstratives.

2.	Proximate	Distal	
		manyu	'those'
	ngin-anyu 'here'	*ngun-anyu*	'there'

The plural marker is a suffix *-anyu*, which is still separable in the 'here' and 'there' forms. The form for 'those' is not however the predicted **may-anyu*, but a reduced form *manyu* (cf. 2.X on the lenition of continuants). The plural forms are not common, and normally have human referents.

3. *ngin-anyu-ma gunbiritj*
here-PL-PRM good
'This lot are okay.' (304)

4. *anayn girrimin ngun-anyu-ma*
how 3AS.do.PR there-PL-PRM
'What are that lot doing?' (163)

5. *manyu-muk-ma wut=burruyn jatjin-ma knuckey's*
those-COLL-PRM camp=3AS.Aux.PP yesterday-PRM knuckey's
'Did that lot camp at Knuckey's yesterday?' (216)

6. *wa manyu-ma nembu-nembugu*
pick up.IMP those-PRM rubbish
'Pick up all that rubbish!' (498)

However as 6 illustrates, the plural forms may also have a collective meaning with respect, at least, to inanimate entities (cf. 3.R for a discussion of the Collective suffix *-muk*). The existence of these plural/collective forms is formally diagnostic of the definite demonstratives in Gamu. The definite demonstratives are also found in a paradigm involving a suffix *-(ag)am*.

7.	Proximate	Distal	
		may-(ag)am	'that'
	ngin-(ag)am 'here'	ngun-am	'there'

It appears that the 'here' and 'that' forms *ngin-agam ~ ngin-am* and *may-agam ~ may-am* are long and short variants of one another. There is no long 'there' form **ngun-agam* attested in the presently available data. The short form of this suffix is also attested with positive imperatives (see. 4.E). The precise meaning of this suffix is presently uncertain. However it appears to be an intensifier of some description, and consequently it is glossed as INTENS.

ngin 'here' and *may* 'that' are also attested with the Allative case marker *-gin* and the Pergressive case marker *-ba*, in situations where no Allative or Pergressive meanings are apparent.

8. *wertma wanyungu wut=errung ngin-ba-ma buy=garruy*
   Neg Neg camp=1AS.Aux.CON here-PER-PRM go=1AS.Aux.F
   'No, we won't camp here. We will go.' (148)

9. *maygin-muk-ma wut=gurruyung may-ba*
   that-COLL-PRM camp=3AS.Aux.F that-PER
   'Are that mob going to camp that way?' (175)

The Pergressive marker *-ba* is also attested with the indefinite demonstrative *ana* 'where' (see. 3.P). I have already suggested that the Pergressive marker possibly conveys a non-specific sense 'abouts' when it has a Locative function (see 3.J). This suggestion would appear to be equally applicable to 8 and 9. The situation with the Allative case marked form *may-gin* found in 9 is somewhat different. This form appears to be lexicalised, and to function essentially as an alternant to the simple form *may* 'that'. The lexicalised nature of the maygin form is clearly illustrated in 11.

11. *maygin-butja-ni dey=buneng=gurna dewer*
    that-pair-ERG see=3AS.Aux.PP=UA snake
    'Those two saw the snake.' (480)

The case markers follow the quantifier suffixes (see. 3.H). However in 11 the *-gin* form precedes the quantifier suffix *-butja* 'pair'. The Allative case marker also appears to occur in a lexicalised form in the two directional demonstratives.

11. *nying.gin ?nying-gin* 'that way'
12. *nying.gin.gurnak ?nying-gin-gurnak* 'this way'

These two forms are probably segmentable as indicated, at least historically. There is no directional root **nying* in Gamu synchronically. However *gurnak* does occur as a free nominal meaning 'belly'. gurnak also occurs in Matngele, in a locative expression *gurnak jatma* 'in the middle' (*jatma* means 'straight' in Matngele, but *gurnak* is not otherwise attested in Matngele). The Allative case marker is also attested with considerable frequency with the 'there' demonstrative ngun. It seems likely that the Allative marked form *ngun-gin* may be partially lexicalised (see especially. 5.H : 10). However *ngun-gin* is generally apparently translatable as 'towards there'. Consequently I have not analysed it as a lexicalised form.

The lexicalisation of *-gin* in *maygin*, and in the directional demonstratives, and potentially with *ngun* 'there', would suggest that the Allative suffix is relatively old within Gamu. There is other evidence which would support this. It appears likely that the Allative case marker *-gin* and the Verbal 'here' directional marker *-yin* are historically related. he Verbal 'here' directional *-yin* is found in Matngele. Matngele also occasionally shows an Allative suffix *-yin*. This suggests that a suffix **-gin*, which functioned as an Allative case marker and as a 'here' directional, can probably be reconstructed for the language immediately ancestral to Gamu and Matngele.

.c1.3.7. Interrogative Demonstratives.

Gamu has the following interrogative demonstratives.

nuwun 'who'
aynja 'what'

anayn 'how'
ana 'where'
ana-wayin 'when'
andama 'which way'
ana-ana 'how many/much'
ana-butja 'how many/much'

These demonstratives are primarily interrogative in function in Gamu. They only have a very limited indefinite function, conveying non-specific indefinite meanings.

1. *jatjin-ma* *buy=awali* *town* *nuwun-gayn*
yesterday-PRM go=1MS.Aux.SUB town who-NEG
wabuy=ngu=yung
take=1MO=3MS.Aux.CON (the auxiliary is in the wrong tense – it should be Subjunctive, not Conditional.)
'Yesterday I wanted to go to town, (but there was) nobody to take me.'
(112).

2. *bamgun* *may-ni* *but* *wawut=bumu* *ana-malak*
woman that-ERG spear put=3MS.Aux.PP where-DUB
'That woman must have put the spear somewhere.' (597)

Specific indefinite entities are referred to by 3rd Augmented forms (see. CV). The non-human interrogative *aynja* 'what' also functions as the hesitation form 'whatsit'.

3. *moerroerr-ni* *aynja-ma=birriti*
tree sp-INS whatsit-IMPF=3AS.Aux.PI
'They used to do whatsit with moerroerr.' (560)

The Ablative and Dative forms of *aynja* question cause and purpose.

4. *aynja-rdiyn werek-giyik-giyik ngerrp-wut=nung.gurruyn*
what-ABL child-R-little cut-lie=2AS.Aux.PP
'How did you kids cut yourselves?' (141)

5. *aynja-rnung* *wut-miyi anyu*
what-DAT down-? 2MS.Aux.PR
'Why are you lying down?' (102)

aynja can only be used in reference to nominals. The 'how' interrogative *anayn* must be used if the verbal predicate is being questioned.

6. *anayn* *girrimin* *ngun-anyu-ma*
how 3AS.do.PR there-PL-PRM
'What are that lot doing?' (160)

7. *jerrerek* *anayn-ma* *mit-ma=anyang* *warnngu-ma*
old man how-PRM make-IMPF=2MS.Aux.PR hook spear-PRM
'Old man, how do you make a hook spear?' (320)

There is a similar contrast in the use of the two locational interrogatives *ana* 'where' and *andama* 'which way'. *andama* is the form most commonly found when questioning the location of a verbal activity, especially of any motional/directional activity.

8. *andama* *wut=burruyn* *jatjin-ma*
which way camp=3AS.Aux.PP yesterday-PRM
'Which way were they camping yesterday?' (165)

9. *andama-rdiyn ga=nung.gurrayn wupetjeng-ba*
which way-ABL come=2AS.Aux.PP low-PER
'Which way did you lot come from? By the low (road)?' (250)

The Absolutive case form of the 'where' demonstrative is also possible.

10. *ana buy=burrayn may-butja-ma*
where go=3AS.Aux.PP that-pair-PRM
'Where have those two gone?' (167)

However it is not common, with the Pergressive case form being more usual.

11. *ana-ba ning.giti gorrp-ma jatjin-ma*
where-PER 2AS.stand.PI up-IMPF yesterday-PRM
'Whereabouts were you lot standing up yesterday?' (104)

The distinction in meaning between the Absolutive and Pergressive forms of the 'where' demonstrative are not presently certain. As indicated in the discussion in 3.F on the functions of the Pergressive, it is possible that it carries an indefinite meaning. Consequently I have provisionally translated it as 'whereabouts'. The 'where' interrogative *ana* also indicates 'which'.

12. *manyu-butja-ma bang-u nguru-rnung guwuyu*
those-pair-PRM father-IMIN IMIN-DAT two
'Those two are my fathers.'

ana barangen
where oldest
'Which one is the oldest?' (710)

The 'where' interrogative is the formal base for the other three interrogatives *ana-wayin* 'when', *ana-ana* 'how much', and *ana-butja* 'how many'. The 'when' interrogative involves a morpheme *-wayin*, which does not otherwise occur in Gamu. This morpheme, and the construction pattern, are borrowings into Gamu from Warray. Warray has *amba* 'where' and *amba-wayin* 'when'. The Warray form and pattern have cognates in the closely related Jawoyn language; *gurni* 'where', *gurni-wayen* 'when'. Both the morpheme and pattern are lacking in Matngele and the other ED languages.

The Gamu forms for 'how much' also appear to be calques on Warray patterns.

	Gamu	Warray
'where'	*ana*	*amba*
'how much'	*ana-ana*	*amba-amba*
'how much'	*ana-butja*	*amba-?lul*

In both languages one form of the quantity interrogative is a reduplication of the location interrogative. The other form consists of the location interrogative and the 'pair' suffix (*-butja* in Gamu, and *-?lul* in Warray). The Matngele quantity interrogative is *an-buwuja*, which bears some resemblance to the second Gamu form. However it is not a systematic resemblance, as Matngele does not have a 'pair' suffix.

.c1.3.8. Temporals.

Gamu temporals may be divided into three sets. One set has 'now' as its focus.

1. *ngeluru* 'before'
jawungu 'now'
neyin 'after'

While *ngeluru* is the usual form of the 'before' temporal, it is also attested as *ngelu*.

2. *dawu-lerr-diyn=ayayn-ma* *ngelu*
trouble-bit-ABL=1MS.Aux.PP-PRM before
mern-ber=emiyn
heart-calm down=1MS.Aux.PP
'I was angry before, but I have calmed down (now).' (730)

This suggests that the usual form of the before temporal ngeluru consists, at least in historical terms, of a root *ngelu*, and the 'very' suffix *-ru* (3.B). A from *ngelu* is also attested with an apparently inceptive meaning.

3. *ngelu* *lelerrk* *doet=eningiyn*
? old woman sit=1MS.Aux.PP
'I have become an old woman.' (598)

4. *werek-giyik* *may-ma* *ngelu* *warryet-ma-ngu=guyang*
child-little that-PRM ? walk-IMPF-along=3MS.Aux.NP
'That kid is starting to walk.' (607)

5. *may-diyn-ma* *ngelu=guwerruk* *jet=butayn*
that-ABL-PRM ?=bad Inch=3MS.Aux.PP
'From then he was no good.' (643)

It seems likely that this is the same form as the 'before' temporal *ngelu*, but further investigation is required. The Dative case marked form of the 'after' temporal *neyin*, means 'later' (i.e. the Dative case marker indicates future time reference.)

6. *meyi* *ngak=geynjiye* *neyin-nung-ma*
tucker eat=2MS.Aux.F after-DAT-PRM
'Are you going to eat the tucker later?'

yow *ngak=geye* *neyin*
yes eat=1MS.Aux.F after
'Yes I will eat it later.' (137)

As 6 illustrates the Absolutive case marked form of *neyin* may also indicate 'later'. The 'now' temporal *jawungu* has a wide range of uses in Gamu. It has a reduplicated form which means 'soon'.

7. *wuk* *may* *jawu-jawungu* *burrng-gatj=guwari*
water that soon boil=3MS.Aux.F
'That water will be boiling soon.' (163)

The Ablative case marked form of *jawungu* indicates 'nearly [just then]'.

8. *barrang* *may-ma* *jawungu-rdiyn* *jubek=ngu=bimini*
whiteman that-PRM nearly spit=1MO=3MS.Aux.SUB
'That whiteman nearly spat on me [just then].' (280)

When suffixed with the 'only' suffix *-wayu* (3.G) it indicates 'the first time'.

9. *jawungu-wayu* *dey=eneng*

now-only see=1MS.Aux.PP
'It is the first time I have ever seen him.' (231)

jawungu is also the focus for the set of temporals that have 'today' as their focus.

10. *jatjin* yesterday
jawungu today
bukurnung tomorrow

jawungu can also be used to distinguish 'tonight' from 'last night'.

11. *maygin-muk-ma ana-ba wut=gurruyung nguyk-ma jawungu-ma*
that-COLL-PRM where-PER camp=3AS.Aux.F night-PRM today-PRM
'Where are that lot going to camp tonight.' (150)

12. *yim warini ngun-gin nguyk-ma*
fire 3MS.burn.PI there-ALL night-PRM
'A fire was burning there last night.' (166)

It would appear that the central meaning of *jawungu* is 'now', and that its other meanings are to be understood as developments or extensions of this central meaning. For example its 'soon' meaning illustrated in 7 can be understood as 'about to become now'. As such the 'yesterday' and 'tomorrow' terms in 10 are probably to be understood as 'the day before now' and 'the day after now' respectively. Reference more distant in time than these two is achieved with the use of nembu 'other'.

13. *jatjin nembu-rdiyn ga=burrayn*
yesterday other-ABL come=3AS.Aux.PP
'They came here a couple of days ago.' (172)

14. *bukurnung nembu-ni ditj-ga=gawuy*
tomorrow other-INS return-come=1MS.Aux.F
'I will come back in a couple of days.' (619)

The function of the Instrumental marker in 14 is presently unclear. The Ablative case marker in 13 appears to indicate the continued present relevance of the situation. The same construction is also used to indicate 'last year'.

15. *ngeldi-ngeldiyn gawut nembu-rdiyn dey=eneng*
R-long time year other-ABL see=1MS.Aux.PP
'It is a long time, since last year, since I saw him.' (304)

The focal meaning of *gawut* is 'wet season', and as such it is a member of the third group of temporals, which describe periods of time without necessary reference to a particular point in time.

16. *gawut* 'wet season, year'
diyen-dangarr 'cold weather time, dry season'
[lit. mouth-wind]
nguyk 'night'
nguyk-diyn 'morning'
[lit. night-ABL]
murritja 'afternoon'

The structure of the 'morning' temporal as 'night-ABL' is an areal pattern, being also found in Matngele, Gungarakayn and Warray. The form given in 16 is the usual form for 'morning'. However variations do occur and these are discussed in 3.U. There does not appear to be any lexeme for 'day' in Gamu. Instead the phrasal form illustrated in 17 is used.

17. *memek balpmuru ditj-ga=gawuy*
day two return-come=1MS.Aux.F
'I will come back in a couple of days.' (591)

memek as an independent lexeme means 'hand'. It does not appear that there is any obvious connection between this meaning and its use in 17. This phrasal form may also be used to indicate the ordinal meanings 'once', 'twice' etc.

18. *yow memek nembeyu buy=ayayn*
yes time one go=1MS.Aux.PP
'Yes I went there one time/once.' (356)

There is one other common temporal in Gamu; *ngeldiyn* 'a long time'. In its unmarked usage this temporal means 'long ago, old'. However it can have future time reference, as 19 illustrates.

19. *ngeldi-ngeldiyn buy=gaynjuy*
R-long time go=2MS.Aux.F
'Are you going for a long time?' (535)

.c1.3.9. Quantifiers.

Gamu has the following free nominal quantifiers.

1. *nembeyu* 'one'
balpmuru 'two'
guwuyu 'two'
jelyeng 'some'
lawarr 'lots'

The first two quantifiers are the numerals. They are combined to form the expression for 'three' - *balpmuru nembeyu*. The function of the form *guwuyu* is presently somewhat uncertain. EOB translated its meaning as 'two', but it seems likely that it has a somewhat different meaning, perhaps 'both'. It may co-occur with the standard numeral 'two' *balpmuru*, as shown in 2.

2. *jerrerek may-ma balpmuru jerre-jerrerek guwuyu buy=gurna=gurruy*
old man that-PRM two R-old man two? go=DU=3AS.Aux.F
'Those two old men will go.' (323)

guwuyu is only attested as illustrated in 2. It always modifies a human reference noun and always occurs immediately following that noun. Configurational constraints of this kind are otherwise unknown in Gamu. However *guwuyu* does not appear to be an enclitic, despite the extensive use of enclitics in Gamu. Further research is required on the meaning and function of *guwuyu*. Gamu has two bound nominal quantifiers.

3. *-butja* 'pair'
4. *-muk* 'Collective'

-butja is often most simply translated by 'two' or 'both', though 'pair' is always an acceptable translation.

5. *lagiyi may-butja mara-datj-ma=gurrutu bamgun may-nung*
man that-pair recip-hit-IMPF=3AS.Aux.PR woman that-DAT
'Those two/That pair of men are fighting over that woman.' (162)

6. *jamarr may-ma gurna maygin-butja*
dog that-PRM 3 that-pair

'That dog belongs to those two/to both of them/the pair of them.' (174)

However in some cases only 'pair' is an appropriate translation.

7. *doet-am werek-giyik nung.gurr nguru buy=garruy awuy-butja*
sit-INTENS child-little 2 1MIN go=1AS.Aux.F aunt-pair
'You sit (here) kid! Me and auntie, the pair of us are going.' (3)

The Collective suffix *-muk* indicates a group united by some factor, most commonly physical proximity.

8. *nuwun-muk ngun wut-miyi=gurru lawarr*
who-COLL there camp-IMPF=3AS.Aux.PR lots
'Who are the lot camping there?' (576)

9. *manyu-muk-ma awuy-ngu-muk le-lelerrk*
those-COLL-PRM aunt-IMIN-COLL R-old woman
'Those old ladies are my aunties.' (281)

Gamu has an ordinal suffix *-gumara* 'first'.

10. *jerrerek-ni dey=neng may-ma dewer gurna-gumara*
old man-ERG see=1MS.Aux.PP that-PRM snake 3-first
'The old man saw that snake. He was the first one (to see it).' (331)

.c1.3.10. Other Nominal Affixes and Clitics.

-anyaru and *biniyn* : like

The usual way of indicating similarity is with *biniyn*.

1. *biniyn akal=biniyn dey-ma=anyang.gu jinyin*
like sister=like look-IMPF=2MS.Aux.NP face
'You look like my sister.' (728)

As 1 illustrates biniyn may occur both as a free form and as an enclitic, though it more commonly occurs as an enclitic. The suffix *-anyaru* also appears to indicate 'similarity'.

2. *ngen-biniyn datar-anyaru gulmiyi*
CHAR-like grindstone-like round
'(Get) stones like grindstones, round ones!' (517)

3. *biniyn akal nung.gu-nung-anyaru dey-ma=anyang jinyin*
like sister 2-DAT-like look-IMPF=2MS.Aux.NP face
'You look like your sister.' (727)

The distinction between the two methods of indicating similarity is not presently clear.

=juru : Properly, really.

This enclitic is also found in an adverbial function (see. 4.H). With nominals it has a variety of functions.

1. *apeyn-ngu-ma gubanjali*
brother-1MIN-PRM tall
'My brother is tall.'

maygin nembu-ma guban=juru

that other-PRM tall=really
'That other fellow is really tall.' (254)

2. *may-ma warang nung.gu-nung=juru*
that-PRM husband 2-DAT=proper
'That bloke is your proper/straight husband.' (540)

3. *mat=juru manyu=eynjimini*
word=proper tell=2MS.Aux.SUB
'You should have said the correct/proper word.' (673)

-malak : Dubitative

This suffix occurs in all the ED languages. However it is much less common in Gamu than in the other languages. This suffix indicates that the Speaker is uncertain as to the reference of the stem it is suffixed to.

1. *anayn emin goen jalk=ganiyn guk andama-malak*
how 1MS.do.PR tobacco fall=3MS.Aux.PP Don't know which way-DUB
watjirr=ayayn
drop=1MS.Aux.PP
'What am I doing? My tobacco has fallen (out). I don't know where I have dropped it.' (307)

2. *aynja-malak doen-doen-ma=guyu*
what-DUB R-noise-IMPF=3MS.Aux.PR
'I don't know what that noise is.' (599)

-malak is presently only attested with the interrogative/indefinite demonstratives in Gamu. As 1 indicates there is a considerable overlap between its range and that of the particle *guk* 'Don't know' (see. 5.N).

ngen- : Characteristic.

This is the only nominal prefix found in Gamu. It also occurs in Matngele. It has a variety of functions.

1. *ngen-digin* 'a denizen of digin [place name]'
CHAR-digin

2. *ngen-wayalk* 'a good hunter'
CHAR-hunt

3. *werek-giyik may-ma ngen-meyi meyi wertwert guyang*
child-little that-PRM CHAR-tucker tucker greedy 3MS.be.NP
'That little kid really likes his tucker. He is greedy for tucker.' (232)

4. *ngen-mek-mek guyang*
CHAR-R-lie 3MS.be.NP
'He is a liar.' (718) [mek 'to lie']

The precise interpretation of *ngen-* varies according to the type of stem it attaches to. However there does appear to be a commonality that the referent is understood to be characterised in some way by the prefixed stem. *ngen-* is also found in the construction indicating 'misrecognition' in Gamu.

5. *ngen-gakayn-ngu emiyn nang.ga nembu*
CHAR-uncle-1MIN 1MS.think.PP but another
'I thought that it was my uncle, but it was another (person).' (558)

6. *ngen-jayirr emiyn nang.ga bawar*
CHAR-kangaroo 1MS.think.PP but rock
'I thought it was a kangaroo, but it is a rock.' (709)

The common element of 'characterisation' still holds here, with the added element being 'mistaken'.

-(u)ru : Intensifier

This morpheme is an emphatic/intensive marker similar in function to the *-(ag)am* morpheme found with the Definite Demonstratives (3.Y) and Imperatives (4.T). It is not commonly attested, and appears to be partially lexicalised in its pattern of occurrence.

1. *elungu-ru* 'very big'
big-INTENS

2. *lawarr-uru ~ lawarr-ma-ru ~ lawarr-ma-ru-ru*
lots-INT lots-PRM-INT lots-PRM-INT-INT
'a real lot'

3. *ngin-ba-ru = ngin-(ag)am*
here-PER-INT = here-INTENS (see. 3.P)
'right here'

4. *gurna-rnung-ma-ru bakatj-ganiyn bakatj-jet=butayn*
3-DAT-PRM-INT spill=3MS.Aux.PP spill-inch=3MS.Aux.PP
'It spilt by itself.' (212)

These four usages appear to be more or less lexicalised. *-(u)ru* occurs with some frequency in these forms, but is not found in analogous situations. Thus the intensifier attested with other "adjectival" nominals is the enclitic *-juru* 'really'.

5. *maygin nembu-ma guban-juru*
that other-PRM tall-really
'That other bloke is really tall.' (254)

6. wertma apeyn-ngu-ma elungu-juru
Neg brother-1MIN-PRM big-really
'No, my brother is really big.' (310)

As 6 shows *elungu* 'big' may take *juru* as well as *-(u)ru*. It is possible that *-(u)ru* is a reduced form of *-juru*. However if this is the case then the reduction is quite old as a partially lexicalised intensifier *-ru* is also found in Matngele. While *-(u)ru* appears to be lexicalised in its most common usages, there are examples where it does appear to occur productively.

7. *maygin warruk may gutu-ru*
that boy that 3MS.stand.PR-INT
'(I took) that boy standing there.' (426)

8. *may-wayu-ru binya wa-miyi=ayang wanyungu*
that-only-INT meat have-IMPF=1MS.Aux.NP Neg
ngang=niyn=eyung
give=2MO=1MS.Aux.CON
'That is the only meat that I have. That is why I can't give it to you.' (473)

-wayu : only.

This suffix indicates that the situation is delimited by the stem it is suffixed to.

1. *apeyn-ngu nembeyu-wayu wa-miyi=ayang*
   brother-1MIN one-only have-IMPF=1MS.Aux.NP
   'I have only one brother.' (305)

2. *jamarr may-ma binya arrayn-wayu datj-ma=guyang dewer*
   dog that-PRM animal goanna-only kill-IMPF=3MS.Aux.NP snake
   jiyn-datj-da=guyang berrp-ma=guyang
   P-kill-PRIV=3MS.Aux.NP fear-IMPF=3MS.Aux.NP
   'That dog only kills goannas. He does not kill snakes. He is afraid of them.' (319)

-wayu occurs in a semi-lexicalised sense in a couple of expressions.

3. *dak-wayu gutu walak-buy=purrayn*
   camp-only 3MS.stand.PR clear off-go=3AS.Aux.PP
   [lit.] 'There is only the camp. They have all cleared off.'
   'The camp is empty. They have all cleared off.' (546)

4. *beyk-wayu guyang*
   bone-only 3MS.be.NP
   [lit.] 'He is only bones.'
   'He is bony/thin.' (224)

.c1.3.11. The Order of Nominal Suffixes.

The following orderings of nominal suffixes are presently attested in Gamu.

1. *awuy-ngu-butja wanyungu dey=nung.gun=ana*
   aunt-1MIN-pair Neg see=2AO=1MS.Aux.CON
   'Me and auntie, we cannot see you lot.' (218) [Kin Poss-Quantifier]

2. *yow ngerru-nung ngerru-butja-rnung meyi may-ma*
   yes 1AUG-DAT 1AUG-pair-DAT tucker that-PRM
   'Yes, that belongs to us two.' (329) [Quantifier-Case Marker]

2. *maygin-butja-ni dey=buneng=gurna dewer*
   that-pair-ERG see=3AS.Aux.PP=DU snake
   'That pair saw the snake.' (480) [Quantifier-Case Marker]

As such it would appear that the maximal nominal suffixing template is that set out in 4.

4. Nominal Stem-Kin Possessive-Quantifier-Case Marker

The Kin Possessive is of course only possible with Kin nouns (see. 1.H). Double case marking does occur, with the inner case marker having an adnominal function and the outer case marker having a relational function (see. 5.H).

.c1.VERBS

.c1.4.1. The Verbal Complex

The two principal constituents of most verbal complexes in Gamu are a compound verb and a simple verb. The main lexical meaning of the verbal predicate of the clause is conveyed by the compound verb, and the simple verb functions chiefly as an auxiliary. These two constituents are normally compounded together in the clitic structure set out in 1.

1. Compound verb=Simple verb

Two variations from this preferred pattern occur. In one variation the two verbs occur in the preferred order but are not cliticised. This is attested only with compound verbs *abap* 'to be tired', *menwuyuk* 'to be hungry' and *egek* 'to vomit', which all take the 'to do' auxiliary.

2. *abap emiyn*
tired 1MS.Aux.PP
'I am tired.'

In the other variation the compound verb occurs as an independent word after the auxiliary. This occurs only with simple verbs which may function as independent verbs (see 4.2).

3. *lagiyi gunen doet-miyi*
man 3MS.sit.PR sit-?
'The man is sitting.' (4)

4. *guyu darrp-ma wuluk*
3MS.lie.PR hang-IMPF high
'It is lying hanging up high.' (740)

5. *ana-ba eynjiti gorrp-ma*
where-PER 2MS.stand.PI upright-IMPF
'Where were you standing up?' (84)

6. *etu-butja gurrang.gu=gurna warryet-ma*
Br-in-law-pair 3AS.go.NP=UA walk-IMPF
'The two brothers-in-law are going walking.' (308)

A variety of enclitics may be attached to the basic structure illustrated in 1. The preferred arrangement for the attachment of enclitics is set out in 7.

7. Compound verb=Object enclitic=Number/Adverb Enclitic=Simple verb

However the alternative arrangements set out in 8 and 9 are also acceptable.

8. Compound verb=Object enclitic=Simple verb=Number/Adverb Enclitic

9. Compound verb=Simple verb=Object enclitic=Number/Adverb Enclitic

The enclitics may thus be attached to either or both of the verbs in the Verbal Complex. The only requirement is that the Number and Adverb Enclitics must be ordered after the Object enclitics. There is presently no evidence as to the respective ordering of the Adverb and Number enclitics. The enclitics show considerable phonological independence. This is evidenced partly by their variable positioning possibilities, and partly by the fact that they are frequently preceded by pauses. Indeed

there is one example where an enclitic is separated from the verbal complex by another word. As such it occurs as an independent word.

10. *yow wa=guma meyi arrarr*
yes get=3MS.Aux.F tucker 1+2MIO
'Yes, he will get us tucker.' (346)

Even if the construction in 10 is a mistake, it nevertheless provides strong evidence for the phonological independence of the enclitics. The basic structure described in 1 may be further expanded by the compounding of adverbial, nominal and verbal roots to the left of the Compound verb. These compounding processes are discussed in 5.14. This chapter is concerned with the structure of basic verbal predicates as set out in 1. The Object and Number Enclitics are discussed in 5.4.1 and 5.7.

.c1.4.2. Simple Verbs.

Gamu has 15 simple verbs. They occur in paradigms which show inflection for tense, mood, aspect, and the person and number of the Subject. The simple verb paradigms are set out in Appendix 1. The simple verbs are the obligatory constituents of verbal clauses (see. 5.1). However in most verbal clauses they function chiefly as auxiliaries, and the main lexical verbal predicate of the clause is conveyed by a compound verb root. Lexical meanings can be assigned, by two methods, to 14 of the 15 simple verbs.

1. 'to burn (intr)', 'to consume', 'to do/to say', 'to get', 'to go', 'to hit', 'to lie', 'reflexive', 'to see', 'to see (reflexive)', 'to sit', 'to spear', 'to stand', 'to take'

The more straightforward way of assigning a lexical meaning to a simple verb is by determining its meaning when it occurs as the sole verbal predicate in a clause. The simple verbs which can so occur are set out in 2.

2. 'to burn (intr)', 'to do', 'to go', 'to lie', 'to see (reflexive)' [in the specialised sense of 'to become' - see. 5.Q], 'to sit', 'to stand', 'to take'

There also exist compound verb roots whose meanings are largely synonymous with those of the motion verb and the three stance verbs: *buy* 'to go', *wut* 'to lie', *doet* 'to sit' and *jet* 'to stand'. Most clauses predicating motion or a stance would involve one of these four compound verb roots. Consequently clauses involving just a simple verb are even less common than it might initially appear (however see 5.15.).

Determination of lexical meanings for simple verbs which occur only as auxiliaries was a less straightforward process. The process had two parts. One consisted of proferring auxiliary simple verb forms to EOB in isolation, even though they do not naturally occur in isolation in Gamu, and asking her for their meaning. Despite the fact that these simple verbs do not occur independently, EOB was quite prepared to provide translations as if they did. In some cases she appeared to provide translations directly on the form itself. In other cases she appeared to provide translations involving the most prominently associated compound verb root. Thus the simple verb 'to hit' is found as an auxiliary with a wide range of compound verb roots, but appears to be most saliently associated with *datj* 'to hit'. However EOB did not mention *datj* in her translations of the 'to hit' simple verb. On the other hand the simple verb 'to spear' has a much more restricted distribution than 'to hit', and is prominently associated with *wart* 'to send' and *dal* 'to spear'. In her translation of 'to spear' EOB did mention *dal* and appeared to associate the simple verb with this particular compound verb root. The other part of the process

consisted of asking EOB to provide translations into Warray of isolated auxiliary simple verb forms. Again she was quite willing to do this. There is only one simple verb auxiliary which does not appear to have a specific lexical translation into English and Warray. This is the simple verb *woelye*, which appears to be equally prominently associated with the compound *rootsdoerrbet* 'to scold, to tell off' and *lerr* 'to bite'.

An examination of the simple verb paradigms set out in Appendix 1 reveals that nearly all the simple verbs have deponent paradigms. Only 'to do', 'to lie', 'reflexive', 'to sit', and 'to stand' have complete paradigms. 'to burn' has a complete set of tenses. However the Past Perfective is the only tense where forms other than those for a 3rd Minimal Subject exist. It seems likely that 'to see (reflexive)' also has a complete paradigm, but it is not presently attested in full. A comparison with the verbs listed in 2 shows that there is a fairly strong correlation between the possession of a complete paradigm and the ability of a simple verb to constitute the sole verbal predicate of a clause. The nature of the deponency patterns and their motivations are examined in 4.5.1 and 4.5.2. It would appear that the deponency patterns arise from the extensive use made within Gamu of verbal constructions which consist of a nominalised compound verb root, and an auxiliary in an essentially copular function.

The analysis of the internal morphological structure of the simple verbs encounters considerable complexities. I will not be examining the full range of these complexities in this description. The underlying internal morphological structure of the simple verb paradigms is set out in 3.

3. Subject Prefix-Verb Root-Tense, Mood, Aspect Suffix

The basic forms of the Subject prefixes are set out in 4.

4.

1MS	a-
2MS	aynju-
1+2MS	ambu-
3MS	Ø-, gu-, bu-
1AS	arru-
2AS	nung.gurru-
3AS	gurru-, burru-

The simple verbs are affected by a number of processes which are not otherwise attested in Gamu.

5. Two vowel harmonies, one affecting /a/ raising it to /e/, the other affecting /u/ fronting it to /i/.

6. A variety of reductions in the forms of the prefixes.

7. Mergers of the prefix and the verb root.

8. Mergers of the verb root and the suffix.

9. Suppletive verb root variation.

As such it is necessary to recognise that the internal morphological structuring of simple verbs is very different in nature to morphological structuring elsewhere in Gamu. The internal morphological structuring of the simple verbs is highly lexicalised. Evidence from the placement of stress also provides some evidence for lexicalisation within the simple verb paradigms. Monosyllabic simple verb forms do involve long vowels and do not receive a primary stress, unlike monosyllabic forms from the other major word classes (see 2.H). Instead the prefix + simple verb combination

counts as a single unit for the purposes of the assignment of stress, as illustrated in 10.

10. *burru-mu* ['bʊrʊmu] *['bʊrʊ'mu:]
3AS-hit.PP

Disyllabic verb forms do receive a primary stress. As such combinations of odd syllable prefixes and a disyllabic verb form have stress patterns which diverge from the usual word stress patterns.

11. *a-'warning* *'a-warning*
1MS-burn.PP

'ning.girri-'mini *'ning.gi'rri-mini*
2AS-do.PI/SUB

The stress pattern exemplified in 11, and the de-retroflexion rule which affects verb root initial retroflexes (see. 2.W), constitute the external evidence for simple verb forms having an internal morphological structure. There is one simple verb whose structure appears historically to have diverged in a significant way from the template given in 3. This is the 'to see (reflexive)' simple verb, which as its gloss indicates, would appear historically to have been a compound consisting of the 'to see' and 'reflexive' simple verb roots.

12. 'to see' *na- ~ ne-*
'reflexive' *yitji-*
'to see (reflexive)' *natji-* [*na- + (yi)tji-]

A comparison of the three verb roots in 12 would suggest fairly conclusively that this is the historical source of the 'to see (reflexive)' simple verb. However this is an essentially diachronic exercise. There is no productive relationship synchronically. The 'to see (reflexive)' simple verb is the only example of its kind. There are other transitive simple verbs in Gamu : 'to hit' *mu- ~ wu-*, and 'to spear' *rda-*. However there are no reflexive forms such as **mutji- ~ *wutji-* or **rdatji-*, corresponding to these verbs. The existence of *natji-* argues that verbs of this type probably did exist in Gamu, but they have all disappeared save *natji-*. The reason for the survival of *natji-* is probably that it has another function beyond simply being the reflexive version of 'to see'. It also means 'to become', and as such has a function in forming certain types of nominal inchoatives (see. 7.U).

.c1.4.3. Compound Verbs

Compound verbs occur in three forms; an uninflected root form, a form taking the Imperfective/Infinitive suffix *-ma*, and a form taking a suffix *-miyi* of uncertain meaning. The primary contrast within the compound verb system is between the uninflected form and the form inflected with *-ma*. The principal difference between the two forms appears to be one of aspect. The uninflected form has a perfective interpretation, whereas the *-ma* form has an imperfective interpretation. The nature of their distribution across the various tense, mood and aspect categories is discussed in 4.Y - 4.T. The distinction also appears to be relevant to the non-finite functions of compound verbs.

1. *getleng?-ma=eyeng.ge* *larrang-doet*
cough-IMPF=1MS.Aux.PI daylight-become
'I was coughing until daylight.' (201)

2. *gutu* *gorrp-ma* *lam-lam-ma*
3MS.stand.PR upright-IMPF R-talk-IMPF

'He is standing up, talking.' (177)

The *-ma* form is the form normally used when the compound verb is nominalised.

3. *binya may-ma jul?-ma-rnung wertma ngak-ma-rnung-ma gere*
meat that-PRM fish-IMPF-DAT Neg eat-IMPF-DAT-PRM bait
'That meat is for fishing, nor for eating. It is bait.' (228)

4. *warryet-ma-rdiyn abap-juru emiyn*
walk-IMPF-ABL tired-really 1MS.Aux.PP
'I am really tired from walking around.' (253)

However the uninflected form is found nominalised in the Simple Negative construction (see 4.G). The other compound verb suffix, *-miyi*, appears in most of its functions to be an irregular lexically conditioned allomorph of *-ma*. The compound verbs in 5 take *-miyi*, where other compound verbs take *-ma*.

5.
doet 'to sit'
wadoet 'to have' (old compound of wa 'to get' and doet 'to sit')
jet 'to stand'
garlk 'to ride'
wut 'to lie'
garlk-wut 'to carry'

-miyi occurs in an infinitive function, like the other two forms of the compound verbs.

6. *bar nung.gurr-ma dam-dam-miyi wamerr-diyn*
arm 2-PRM R-stick-IMPF honey-ABL
'Your arm is sticky from honey.' (128)

However there are two verb which do show a contrast between *-ma* and *-miyi* forms. One of these is *wa* 'to get'.

7. *lelerrk may anayn=gimin*
old woman that how=3MS.do.PR
'What is that old woman doing?'

meyi wa-ma=gunen
tucker get-IMPF=3MS.Aux.PR
'She is getting tucker.' (547)

8. *dey-ma=niyn=enemin dala wa-miyi=anyang.gu*
stare-IMPF=2MO=1AS.Aux.PR stick have-IMPF=2MS.Aux.PR
butja-meneng-yende
head-hair-LOC
'We are staring at you because you have a stick in your hair.' (401)

However here it would appear arguable that there are in fact two different verbs, synchronically at least. Diachronically there is clearly a relationship to be accounted for. The other verb is *abap* 'to be tired'.

9. *abap-ma gimin*
tired-IMPF 3MS.Aux.PR
'She is always tired.' (705)

10. *wertma guwerruk ayang.gu abap-miyi*
Neg bad 1MS.be.NP tired-IMPF
'No, I am no good. I am always tired.' (442)

With this pair there is no clear contrast in meaning, though perhaps the difference in simple verb forms may be relevant. *-miyi* is also attested once in a denominalising function.

11. *jamarr may-ma mimi lawarr guwerruk-miyi=guyang*
dog that-PRM tick lots bad-IMPF=3MS.Aux.PR
'That dog has lots of ticks. It is no good.' (179)

Further research is required to determine the functions of *-miyi*, and whether or not there is a productive opposition between *-miyi* and *-ma*. For present purposes *-miyi* will be analysed as an allomorph of *-ma*. *-ma* and *-miyi* are both found in Matngele, and the relationship between the two appears to be essentially the same as that found in Gamu.

.c1.4.4. Verbal Reduplication.

Simple verbs do not undergo reduplication in Gamu. Compound verbs show two types of reduplication.

1. Complete reduplication.
2. A partial reduplication of the 1st syllable and the initial CV of the second syllable.

Both reduplication patterns have iconic durative/iterative interpretations. As such reduplicated forms tend to be associated with imperfective clauses. The difference in meaning between the two patterns is not presently certain. Complete reduplication is more common than partial reduplication.

3. *memek ngerrp=ngu=bumu*
hand cut=1MO=3MS.Aux.PP
'He cut my hand.' (92)

4. *binya may ngerrp-ngerrp=eynjumu*
meat that R-cut=2MS.Aux.PP
'Have you cut up that meat?' (109)

In some examples complete reduplication has a secondary interpretation of collectivity/a large amount for the Subject of an intransitive clause, or for the Object of a transitive clause.

5. *aynja-ni yim bilgatj=burrayn yim bilgatj-bilgatj=burrayn*
what-INS fire light=3AS.Aux.PP fire R-light=3AS.Aux.PP
binya jarta garrak-garrak-ga=ganiyn dal-ma=wun=boerreng.ge
animal wallaby R-out-come=3MS.Aux.PP spear-IMPF=3AO=3AS.Aux.PI
jerre-jerrerek-ni
R-old man-ERG
'With whatsit? They lit fire. They lit fires. The wallabies ran out. They used to spear them, the old men.' (534) [refers to the hunting of wallabies with fire.]

The partial reduplication pattern appears to have an intensive function in some examples.

6. *motika bitji-bitjirriyn-ma=guyang-ma datj-wut=guyung*
car R-drive-IMPF=3MS.Aux.PR-PRM kill-lie=3MS.Aux.F
'If he keeps on driving the car (like that), he will get killed.' (422)

7. *goen wirrki-wirrkitj=ngu=burrayn*
tobacco R-finish=1MO=3AS.Aux.PP

'They finished up my tobacco!' (720)

However in other cases no intensive meaning was evident.

8. *meynbit* *bitjirriyn-ma=gurrutu* *bitji-bitjirriyn-ma=gurrang*
necklace twist-IMPF=3AS.Aux.PR R-twist-IMPF=3AS.Aux.PR
'They are twisting a (widow's) necklace.' (567)

.c1.4.5.1. Compound Verb + Auxiliary Combinations in Perfective Clauses.

There is a considerable range in the nature of the co-occurrence patterns of compound verbs and auxiliaries in perfective clauses. A couple of these co-occurrence patterns appear to be based on commonalities of meaning between the auxiliary and the compound verbs.

1. Auxiliary Associated Compound Verbs
'to burn (intr)' Verbs referring to burning and light
'to consume' Verbs referring to consumption

However many of the characteristic compound verb + auxiliary combinations do not appear to involve any relationship in meaning between the auxiliary and the compound verb. As such these combinations appear to be entirely lexicalised, as for example the characteristic combination of gay 'to yell out' with the 'to stand' auxiliary (The same combination is found as a cognate in Matngele, suggesting that some of the lexicalised combinations may be quite old). Some of the auxiliaries are essentially found only in lexicalised combinations.

2. 'to see' *berrp* 'to fear', *dey* 'to see', *juku* 'to cook', *jut* 'to step on', *mut* 'to lose'
'to sit' *joelpoerr* 'to dive', *walak* 'to clear off'
'woelye' *lerr* 'to bite', *doerrbet* 'to tell off'

In some cases lexicalisation is conditioned by factors other than simply the particular combination. Despite the existence of a 'to get' auxiliary, the compound verb wa 'to get' is in most combinations characteristically associated with the 'to go' auxiliary, though the 'to get' auxiliary does occur. However there is one situation where the compound verb wa 'to get' is characteristically associated with the 'to get' auxiliary.

3. *meyi* *wa=akurnung=nung.gurruy*
tucker get=1MIO=2AS.Aux.F
'You lot get me some tucker.' ['to go' auxiliary]

yow *meyi* *wa=garruma=nun*
yes tucker get=1AS.Aux.F=2MIO
'Yes we will get you some tucker.' ['to get' auxiliary] (243)

In combinations involving an Indirect, as opposed to a Direct, Object the 'to get' auxiliary is preferred, even though the 'to go' auxiliary is permissible. 3 also illustrates another important point about compound verb + auxiliary combinations in perfective clauses. The co-occurrence patterns are in general only characteristic, and not obligatory. Alternations between auxiliaries with no discernable effect on meaning, as in 3, are frequent.

4. *binya* *jer=gaynjuy*
meat roast=2MS.Aux.F
'Are you going to roast the meat?' ['to go' auxiliary]

yow *jer=gewu*

yes roast=1MS.Aux.F
'Yes, I will roast it.' ['to hit' auxiliary] (152)

Indeed EOB frequently gave forms with different auxiliaries as alternants of one another. An examination of the patterns of occurrence of the auxiliaries reveals that a few of the auxiliaries appear to have some very general classifying functions.

5. 'to do' Intransitive verbs of bodily effects and experiences
'to go' Other intransitive verbs.
'to hit' Transitive verbs

It appears that these three auxiliaries, in these functions, can be substituted for any of the other auxiliaries. The only consistent exceptions are the three stance compound verbs *wut* 'to lie', *doet* 'to sit', and *jet* 'to stand', which invariably take the appropriate stance auxiliary. The 'to get' and 'to spear' auxiliaries also function as general transitive auxiliaries, though much less frequently than 'to hit'. Transitivity is in general a consistent correlate in compound verb + auxiliary combinations. A transitive auxiliary will normally occur with a transitive compound verb, and similarly for intransitives. However exceptions do occur. The ditransitive verb *ngang* 'to give' is associated with the intransitive 'to go' auxiliary, and the intransitive verb *jirrk* 'to enter' is associated with the transitive 'to spear' auxiliary. There were some examples of the use of transitive and intransitive auxiliaries to differentiate between the transitive and intransitive forms of particular verb roots.

6. *jet=atayn* *jet=emu*
stand=1MS.Aux.PP stand=1MS.Aux.PP
'I stood.' ['to stand' auxiliary] 'I erected it.' ['to hit' auxiliary]

However this was not a consistent process. Transitivity alternations are usually signalled by compounding of compound verb roots (see. 4.W). There is at least one example of the same auxiliary occurring with both transitivity values.

7. *wuk* *bakatj=ganiyn*
water spill=3MS.Aux.PP
'The water spilled.' (555)

8. *wuk* *bakatj=ayayn*
water spill=1MS.Aux.PP
'I spilt the water.' (212)

The overall patterning of compound verb + auxiliary combinations in perfective clauses is strongly suggestive of change in progress. Most of the auxiliaries have a very restricted, and commonly lexicalised, pattern of occurrence. It appears that the three frequently occurring auxiliaries 'to do', 'to go' and 'to hit' are in the process of eliminating the other auxiliaries in perfective clauses, other than with the three stance predicates. This suggestion correlates with the patterns of conjugational deponency in the simple verbs. The transitive 'to get', 'to see' and 'woelye' simple verbs all lack Subjunctive forms. Instead the Subjunctive forms of the 'to hit' simple verb are used with compound verbs that are otherwise characteristically associated with these simple verbs.

The process of conjugational reduction has been carried through in Matngele. Matngele has only 6 simple verbs - 'to burn (intr)', 'to go', 'to lie', 'to sit', 'to stand' and a general 'transitive' simple verb. The first five are directly cognate with the corresponding Gamu verbs. The

'transitive' simple verb is largely cognate with the Gamu 'to spear' simple verb, though it has a few forms cognate with the 'to do' simple verb. In this respect it may be noted that the general intransitive auxiliaries 'to do' and 'to go' are occasionally attested with transitive compound verbs in Gamu. The general transitive auxiliary 'to hit' is not attested with intransitive compound verbs.

.c1.4.5.2. Compound Verb + Auxiliary Combinations in Imperfective Clauses.

The patterning of compound verb + auxiliary combinations in imperfective clauses is radically different from that found in perfective clauses. Firstly the compound verb occurs in an inflected form, taking either the Imperfective suffix *-ma ~ -miyi*. Secondly a very different set of auxiliaries is found in imperfective clauses. The great majority of imperfective clauses take one of the three stance verbs 'to lie', 'to sit', 'to stand', or the motion verb 'to go', or less frequently 'to do' as their auxiliary. These are also the verbs which occur in existential clauses (see 5.U). It seems likely that there is a historical connection, with verbal imperfective clauses having had a nominalised origin.

There is a correlation between this pattern of auxiliary usage in imperfective clauses and patterns of conjugational deponency among the simple verbs. A number of the simple verbs are deponent in the imperfective tenses.

	Past Imperfective	Present
1. 'to burn (intr)'	Yes	Yes
'to consume'	No	Yes
'to get'	No	Yes
'to hit'	Yes	Yes
'reflexive'	Yes	Yes
'to see'	No	Yes
'to see (reflexive)	?	Yes
'to spear'	No	No
'to take'	Yes	Yes
[exists only in these two tenses]		
'woelye'	No	No

The reflexive verbs may be ignored for present purposes as they constitute a special case (see 5.Y). The 'to burn' verb also constitutes special cases as it occurs as an independent verb, which lacks a compound verb + auxiliary near-paraphrase (see 4.R). Consequently it requires a full range of tenses. The 'to take' verb is also anomalous. It can occur as an independent verb, and uniquely among the simple verbs it exists only in these two imperfective tenses.

The remaining simple verbs listed in 1 can be described as effectively deponent in the imperfective tenses even though forms may exist for these tenses. The 'to consume' simple verb has a full set of Present tense forms.

2. *ngak-ma=giyiynjen*
eat-IMPF=3MS.Aux.PR
'He is eating.' ['to consume' auxiliary]

ngak 'to eat' is a compound verb which takes the 'to consume' auxiliary in perfective clauses. However despite this fact, and the fact that 'to consume' has present tense forms, the usual form for 'he is eating' is that set out in 3.

3. *ngak-ma=gunen*
eat-IMPF=3MS.Aux.PR
'He is eating.' ['to sit' auxiliary]

The same considerations of "effective" deponency apply to the Present tense of 'to get' and the Present and Past Imperfective tenses of 'to hit'. Indeed most of the forms listed in Appendix 1 for the imperfective tenses of 'to consume', 'to get', and 'to hit' were not obtained by usual elicitation methods. Instead the forms (and variants) were constructed and presented to EOB for verification. EOB made some interesting comments on one of these forms; the 1+2MS form for the Present of 'to get' - embumeng.gen. When she was presented with the form in 4 for verification, a commentary ensued.

4. *meyi wa-ma=embumeng.gen*
tucker get-IMPF=1+2MS.Aux.PR
'We are getting tucker'. ['to get' auxiliary]

"I don't say that word. I say *meyi wa-ma=amnyang.gu* ['to go' auxiliary]. (But old people been say *meyi wa-ma=embumeng.gen*?). Yes my mother used to say too, but I say one way (But mummie been say *wa-ma=embumeng.gen*). Yes, and my auntie too."

As such EOB rejected the form for herself, but accepted it as having been used by the generation senior to herself. The only forms from these tenses that EOB produced spontaneously were those with 1MS, 3MS and 3AS subjects, the latter rarely. It should be noted that the same factors also largely apply to the Past Perfective tense of 'to get', and to the two attested tenses of 'to take'. These only spontaneous versions of these tenses were 1MS and 3MS forms. The Present tense of 'to see' shows a slightly different pattern of deponency. There appears to be a semantic contrast between the use of the 'to see' auxiliary and the use of the ordinary imperfective auxiliaries. Elicitation bases using 'to see' or 'to look' usually involved the ordinary auxiliaries, though they did occasionally involve the 'to see' auxiliary. However elicitation bases using 'to stare at' normally involved the 'to see' auxiliary.

5. *dey-ma=gunen*
see-IMPF=3MS.Aux.PR
'He is looking.' ['to sit' auxiliary]

dey-ma=gunemin
see-IMPF=3MS.Aux.PR
'He is staring/looking.' ['to see' auxiliary]

The practicalities of this distinction are such that the Present tense of 'to see' is fairly much as "effectively" deponent as the other "effectively" deponent tenses discussed. These considerations of effective deponency also apply to some degree the 'to do' simple verb, which is one of the standard imperfective auxiliaries. When this verb occurs as an independent verb, it requires the full range of tenses, as it, like 'to burn', has no close compound verb + auxiliary paraphrase. However when it occurs as an auxiliary, it has a lower frequency of occurrence than might be predicted. In perfective clauses the 'to do' verb is the general auxiliary for compound verbs describing intransitive bodily effects and experiences (see 4.W). Imperfective clauses involving compound verbs frequently take one of the stance verbs or the 'to go' verb as their auxiliary.

The nature of the contrasts between the three stance verbs and 'to go' are not entirely clear. It appears that when the situation described by the compound verb is being performed in a particular stance or in motion, then the appropriate auxiliary will be used.

6. *ngak-ma=gunen*
eat-IMPF=3MS.Aux.PR
'He is eating.' ['to sit' auxiliary]

7. *werek-giyik may meyi ngak-ma-ngu=guyang*
child-little that tucker eat-IMPF-along=3MS.Aux.PR
'That kid is eating going along.' ['to go' auxiliary] (284)

As mentioned earlier the usual present tense auxiliary with 'to eat' is 'to sit', probably because eating is most commonly undertaken while sitting. However if the eating is being carried out while moving as in 7, then the 'to go' auxiliary is used. In situations where the stance/motion of the situation is not relevant, there appears to be a tendency to use the 'to go' auxiliary.

While there are considerable differences in the forms used in compound verb + auxiliary combinations between imperfective and perfective clauses, there are also considerable similarities in overall categorial terms. In both cases there is a strong tendency in favour of the reduction of the auxiliary system to only a few simple verbs with rather general meanings.

.c1.4.6. Direction/Motion Marking in the Verbal Complex.

There are two markers in this category in Gamu.

1. *-ngu* 'while going along' ['along']
2. *-yin* 'motion towards present location of speaker' ['here']

Both forms have cognates in Matngele, and as mentioned in 3.Y the 'here' suffix may be related to the Allative case marker *-gin* (as a lenited form). Like the verbal enclitics these suffixes have a variable position in the verbal complex being found after either the compound verb or the auxiliary.

3. *jal-yende warryet-ma-ngu=eyeng.ge*
road-LOC walk-IMPF-along=1MS.Aux.PI
'I was walking along the road.' (561)

4 . *neyin-nung jutuy?-ma=guwuy-ngu*
later-DAT limp-IMPF=3MS.Aux.F-along
'Later he will be crawling along.' (511)

5. *lam-lam-ma-yin=gurrang*
R-talk-IMPF-here=3AS.Aux.PR
'They are talking coming here.' (304)

6. *lam-lam-ma=gurrang.gi-yin*
R-talk-IMPF=3AS.Aux.PR-here
'They are talking coming here.' (417)

However there are two reasons why *-yin*, at least, cannot be analysed as an enclitic. Firstly it causes vowel harmony when attached to a /u/ final simple verb. The usual form of the auxiliary simple verb ('to go') in 6 is *gurrang.gu*. However the form in 6 is *gurrang.gi-yin*, and not **gurrang.gu-yin*. The same vowel harmony is illustrated in 7.

7. *yim may-ma goerr-goerr-ma=guyaynji-yin*
firewood that-PRM R-drag-IMPF=3MS.Aux.PR-here
'She is dragging that firewood here.' (382)

The usual form of the Present tense of this auxiliary simple verb ('to take') has a final /u/, in this case the usual form being guyaynju. With respect to 6 it is also of interest to note that the 'here' suffix obligatorily takes the long form of this simple verb tense, which otherwise has an optional final syllable (cf 5). The second reason for not

analysing *-yin* as an enclitic is that, unlike the enclitics, it may occur on both the compound verb and the auxiliary.

8. *ngak-ma-yin=guyang.gi-yin*
eat-IMPF-here=3MS.Aux.PR-here
'He is eating coming here.' (337)

A third reason for not analysing *-yin* as an enclitic is that it cannot be preceded by a pause, again unlike the enclitics. *-ngu* also cannot be preceded by a pause. For this reason, and because of the general similarity in function and positioning it shows to *-yin*, I have provisionally analysed it as a suffix, rather than an enclitic.

.c1.4.7. Tense, Mood and Aspect Categories.

.c1.4.7.1. The Past Perfective and the Past Imperfective.

The Past Perfective (hereafter PP) and the Past Imperfective (hereafter PI) are both realis categories, and are most easily understood in terms of the nature of the opposition between the two. Comrie (1976 : 16) gives the following definitions of perfectivity and imperfectivity "perfectivity indicates the view of the situation as a single whole, without distinction of the various separate phases that make up the situation, while the imperfective pays essential attention to the internal structure of the situation." As such they are ways of viewing a situation and not simple descriptions of real world situations. In particular as Comrie (ibid. : 41 - 44) points out, while punctual situations are normally described with perfective verb forms, durative/iterative situations can be described with either perfective or imperfective verb forms.

This appears to be a fairly accurate description of the situation in Gamu. Punctual situations are almost invariably described with the PP. Durative/iterative situations show a tendency to use PI forms, but PP forms can be used. As such the PP would appear to be the unmarked partner in the pair of Past Realis tenses.

1. *di may bi?-ma=ning.giti*
tea that blow-IMPF=2AS.Aux.PI
'Did you lot blow on the tea?'

yow bi?=errimiyn
yes blow=1AS.Aux.PP
'Yes we blew on it.' (144)

The PI is used to indicate setting situations and it conveys past habitual meanings.

2. *dey=niyn=eneng jatjin-ma warryet-ma-ngu=enyeng.ge*
see=2MO=1MS.Aux.PP yesterday-PRM walk-IMPF-along=2MS.Aux.PI
jal-ba
road-PER
'I saw you walking along the road yesterday.' (269)

3. *ngeluru jerre-jerrerek-ma binya wakbarra dal-ma=boerreng.ge*
before R-old man-PRM animal black shoot-IMPF=3AS.Aux.PI
ngerru-ma meyi juku-ma=eni
1A-PRM tucker cook-IMPF=1AS.Aux.PI
'In the old days the old men used to shoot buffalo. We (women) used to cook tucker.' (192)

The PP is used to convey present perfect meanings, including present statives.

4. *mern guwerruk emiyn*
heart bad 1MS.be.PP
'My heart is bad' (347)

5. *dam-dam-doet=biningiyn wamerr-diyn*
R-stick-sit=3AS.Aux.PP honey-ABL
'Their (arms) are sticky from honey.' (129)

.c1.4.7.2. The Subjunctive.

The Subjunctive (hereafter SUB) has a variety of functions in Gamu. It is the usual tense for any non-future positive irrealis situation.

1. *jawungu-diyn datj=ngu=buwuy*
now-ABL hit=1MO=3MS.Aux.SUB
'He nearly hit me.' (197)

2. *aynja-rnung binya ngin ngerrp-ngerrp-ma=errunben lelerrk-ni*
what-DAT meat here R-cut-IMPF=1AS.Aux.PR old woman-ERG
ngerrp-ngerrp=buwuy
R-cut=3MS.Aux.SUB
'Why are we cutting up this meat? The old woman should be cutting it up.' (316)

3. *may wut=aynjuni garrung-yende*
that camp=2MS.Aux.SUB clear-LOC
'You should have camped on that clear (ground).' (367)

4. *jatjin-ma gabamal buy=birri nang.ga wuk elungu*
yesterday-PRM Daly go=3AS.Aux.SUB but water big
ditj-ga=burrayn
return-come=3AS.Aux.PP
'Yesterday they tried to go to Daly, but there was a lot of water and they came back.' (330)

5. *ngang=nung=awali nang.ga buy=ganiyn dak-wayu gutu*
give=3MO=1MS.Aux.SUB but go=3MS.Aux.PP camp-only 3MS.stand.PR
'I was going to give it to him, but he has gone. The camp is empty.' (659)

In combination with the Negative particle wanyungu it forms a past negative construction. This negative construction has a strong association with concepts of "impossibility" (see 4.H). The Subjunctive also has modal functions. One of the ways of forming Positive Imperatives involves the use of the Subjunctive (see 4.M). The Subjunctive is also involved in Negative Imperative constructions (see 4.G). Hortatives and Desideratives are formed using the Subjunctive (see. 4;R).

.c1.4.7.3. The Present.

The Present (hereafter PR) describes present and gnomic statements, other than present perfect statements (see 4.Y).

1. *binya may-ma dal-ma=anyang juku-ma=gunen*
meat that-PRM smell-IMPF=2MS.Aux.PR cook-IMPF=3AS.Aux.PR
'Can you smell that meat that they are cooking?' (357)

2. *may-ma werek-giyik ngak-ma-ngu=guyang*
that-PRM child-little eat-IMPF-along=3MS.Aux.PR
That child is eating going along.' (178)

3. *meyi awuy-ngu ngang-ma=rnung=ayang*
tucker aunt-1MIN give-IMPF=3MO=1MS.Aux.PR
'I always give my aunt tucker.' (224)

The contrast between the coding of present perfect situations with the PP, and the coding of other present situations with the PR is illustrated in 4 and 5.

4. *abap emiyn*
tired 1MS.Aux.PP
'I am tired'

5. *abap-ma gimin*
tired-IMPF 3MS.Aux.PR
'She is always tired.' (705)

The Present Tense of the 'to go' simple verb functions as a Non-Past tense (i.e. subsumes the Future), when the verb is the sole verbal predicate.

6. *bukurnung buy=gurruy bordaan*
tomorrow go=3AS.Aux.F Darwin
'Are they going to Darwin tomorrow?' ['to go' Auxiliary]

yow gurrang.gu bukurnung
yes 3AS.go.NP tomorrow
'Yes they are going to go tomorrow.' (160)

As illustrated in 6, this usage is not attested when the 'to go' verb is functioning as an auxiliary.

.c1.4.7.4. The Future and The Conditional.

Future time reference is conveyed by the Future and Conditional tenses. The Conditional has a limited range of occurrence. Its chief function is forming a non-past negative construction in combination with the Negator wanyungu (see. 4.Y). Its other function is in future conditionals (see 5.P). The Future tense conveys all other future meanings. In the Future tense, unlike the other tenses, compound verbs occur both uninflected, and inflected with the Imperfective-ma. The distinction between the two forms is not entirely clear. Provisionally it appears to be one of perfectivity vs imperfectivity, with the nominalised compound verb forms indicating imperfectivity as would be predicted. It is certainly not a distinction relating to the inherent durativity of verbal predicates, as essentially similar situations may be coded differently.

1. *werek-giyik may jawu-jawungu birrip=guwuy*
child-little that R-soon crawl=3MS.Aux.F
'That kid will crawl soon.' (395)

2. *gar guwerruk ayang.gu neyin-nung-ma jutuy?-jutuy-ma=gawuy*
calf bad 1MS.be.NP later-DAT-PRM R-limp-IMPF=1MS.Aux.F
'My calf is bad. Later I will be limping.' (492)

The distinction in the translation of the future forms is provisional. However 3 and 4 suggest that the distinction is of this nature.

3. *werek-giyik may-ma gart=guyung*
child-little that-PRM laugh=3MS.Aux.F
'That kid will laugh.' (509)

4. *werek-giyik-giyik may-ma gart-ma=gurrutang jawu-jawungu*
child-R-little that-PRM play-IMPF=3AS.Aux.F R-soon
'The kids will be playing soon.' (419)

.c1.4.7.5 Positive Imperatives.

There are two major types of positive imperatives in Gamu. One type involves a simple verb in the Subjunctive. The other type does not involve any simple verb inflection. I will provisionally describe this second type as Simple Imperatives. The difference between the two types is not clear on presently available information. Provisionally it would appear that the Simple Imperative is more direct and less polite than the Subjunctive Imperative.

1. *dewer may ngel-datj*
snake that hurry-kill
'Hurry up and kill that snake!' (461)

2. *dewer may guyu walka-walkatj datj=nung.gurruwuy*
snake that 3MS.lie.PR R-hurry kill=2AS.Aux.SUB
'There is a snake there. Hurry up and kill it!' (356)

A comparison of 1 and 2 would suggest that the difference between the two types is unlikely to be a real world difference. The simplest type of Simple Imperative consists of an uninflected stem, generally an uninflected compound verb root.

3. *meyi ngang=ngu*
tucker give=IMO
'Give me tucker!' (688)

However there two Simple Imperatives which do not correspond to a compound verb root.

4.

Imperative		Compound Verb	
gaw	'Come!'	*ga*	'to come'
warra	'Go!'	*buy*	'to go'

There are other imperatives based on these compound verbs.

5. *ga-yin*
come-here
'Come here!'

6. *buy-am*
go-INT
'Go!'

The 'to come' compound verb root appears in the directional stem imperative in 5. The imperative form in 6 is an example of one of the two possible inflected variants of a Simple Imperative. The suffix *-am* is extensively attested with Simple Imperatives.

7. *bi?-am di nung.gu-nung-ma*
blow-INT tea 2-DAT-PRM
'Blow on your tea!' (150)

8. *lot-wut-am*
cover-lie-INT
'Cover yourself!' (158)

9. *diyen-bet-am*

door-open-INT
'Open the door!' (160)

Its function is not entirely certain. The suffix is also attested with the definite demonstratives, where it seems to have an intensifying function (3.P). This would also appear to be its likely meaning in the Positive Imperative constructions in 6 - 9. The suffix appears to be incompatible with any other inflection. It is only attested in imperatives with 3 Minimal Objects (the 3MIN Object form being the null morpheme Ø). The other inflected variant of a Simple Imperative is the Imperfective form of compound verbs, with the suffix *-ma*.

10. *deyma-dey-ma juku=geynjitji*
R-look-IMPF burn=2MS.refl.F
'Look out! You will burn yourself!'

11. *lam-lam-ma wardiikinini wanyungu biyandak=niyn=atang*
R-talk-IMPF loud Neg hear=2MO=1MS.Aux.CON
'Talk more loudly! I cannot hear you.' (294)

The function of the Imperfective-ma in these Imperatives is not clear on presently available information. Neither is the function of the differing reduplication patterns of 10 and 11. The Subjunctive Imperatives also contrast uninflected and Imperfective compound verb forms.

12. *ngum-doet=nung.gunay*
quiet-sit=2AS.Aux.SUB
'You lot sit quietly!' (215)

13. *nguwerem=ning.girri nung.gurr-ma ngerru ngunjiba garruy-in*
front=2AS.go.SUB 2-PRM 1A behind 1AS.go.F-here
'You lot go in front. We will come behind.' (259)

14. *meyi may-ma ngatj-belek-belek-ma=aynjunay*
tucker that-PRM just-R-hammer-IMPF=2MS.Aux.SUB
'You just keep on hammering that tucker!' (409)

A comparison of 14 with 12 and 13 would suggest that the function of the Imperfective suffix *-ma* is, as elsewhere, to indicate imperfectivity. This may also be its function in the Simple Imperatives in 10 and 11, though this is not immediately obvious.

.c1.4.7.6. Hortatives and Desideratives.

Hortative and Desiderative meanings are conveyed by the Subjunctive. The two categories are not formally distinguishable in Gamu.

1. *ngum-doet-miyi=arnay nguru-memek*
quiet-sit-?=1MS.Aux.SUB 1MIN-self
'Let me sit quietly by myself/I want to sit quietly by myself.'(164)

2. *buy=ambali dey=embuwuy*
go=1+2MS.Aux.SUB see=1+2MS.Aux.SUB
'Let's go and see him.' (91)

3. *mawayu buy=erri*
okay go=1AS.Aux.SUB
'Okay, let's go.' (188)

4. *ngang=wun werek-giyik-giyik ngak=burrey*
give=3MO child-R-little eat=3AS.Aux.SUB
'Give (the tucker) to the kids! Let them eat it.' (267)

5. *bi?-am di nung.gu-nung-ma*
blow-INT tea 2-DAT-PRM
'Blow on your tea!'

gerr-gatj=buwali
cold-caus=3MS.Aux.SUB
'Make it cold!/Let it get cold!' (150)

As 5 illustrates, the imperative uses of the Subjunctive are not formally distinguishable from its hortative and desiderative uses either. Subjunctive forms with a future time reference have a high frequency of usage in Gamu. For forms involving a 1st person Subject, especially 1+2S forms, this usage extends beyond simply conveying desiderative/hortative meanings. These forms show some tendency to displace Future tense forms. This tendency is also noticeable in Matngele.

.c1.4.8. Verbal Negation.

Verbal negation is a somewhat complex area in Gamu. There are three major construction types. The first construction consists of the clausal Negative particle wertma, and a nominalised verb form. This construction conveys simple non-occurrence. I will provisionally describe this negative construction type as Simple Negatives. The second construction consists of the verbal negative particle wanyungu and a tensed verb form; the Subjunctive for the past, and the Conditional for the non-past. I will provisionally describe this construction type as either Subjunctive Negatives, or Conditional Negatives, depending on the tense of the verb. This construction conveys non-possibility. The third construction is a Negative Imperative construction, which involves a nominalised verb form.

.c1.4.8.1. Past Negation.

Past Negation may be conveyed by either Simple Negative, or Subjunctive Negative constructions. The canonical form of a Simple Negative is illustrated in 1.

1. *gakayn-ngu-nung wart=nung=ayndam binya*
uncle-1IMIN-DAT send=3MIO=2MS.Aux.PP meat
'Did you send my uncle some meat?'

wertma jiyn-wart-da=ayayn=nung
Neg NF-send-PRIV=1MS.Aux.PP=3MIO
'No, I did not send him any.' (137)

The Simple Negative construction is highly constrained configurationally. The elements must occur in the order shown in 1. In the available material the clausal Negator wertma always immediately precedes the negative verbal complex. The morphemes within negative verbal complex always occur in the order shown in 1. Unlike other verbal complexes (see 4.S), the Object enclitics cannot attach to the compound verb form found in the Simple Negative verbal complex. This is presumably because the compound verb form in the negative verbal complex is formally a nominal. Its nominal status is shown by the fact that a nominal case marker, the Privative *-rda* (see 3.K), is suffixed directly to the compound verb form. Uninflected compound verb forms are not otherwise attested with nominal case markers (see 5.M). The *jiyn-* morpheme found in the Simple Negative construction does not occur elsewhere in Gamu.

Other evidence for the nominal status of the compound verb form in the Simple Negative construction comes from the fact that the auxiliary in this construction is nearly always 'to go'. 'to go' is the unmarked verb in existential clauses. As such it would appear that the Simple Negative

construction in 1 could be translated, somewhat more literally as "There was no sending by me." This is supported by examples such as 2.

2. *miyer bitjirriyn=nung.gurrumu*
swag roll up=2AS.Aux.PP
'Have you rolled the swag up?'

wertma jiyn-bitjirriyn-da
Neg NF-roll up-PRIV
[lit.] 'No, there was no rolling up.'
'No, we did not roll it up.' (140)

Verbal complexes do not normally otherwise lack auxiliaries in Gamu, even when the information to be conveyed by the auxiliary is recoverable from context. The compound verb in the Simple Negative construction may occur in Imperfective form.

3. *wertma jiyn-gorrp-ma-rda=eyeng.ge*
Neg NF-stand-IMPF-PRIV=1MS.Aux.PI
'No, I was not standing up (there).' (194)

However this is not apparently obligatory.

4. *ngeldi-ngeldiyn-ma jiyn-durrk-da=yeng.ge*
R-old days-PRM NF-drink-PRIV=3MS.Aux.PI
'In the old days he never used to drink.' (688)

There is a variant of the Simple Negative construction, which may be used to convey past negative habitual meanings, such as in 4.

5. *ngeluru ngeldi-ngeldiyn-ma binya ardayn*
before R-old days-PRM animal shark
jiyn-ngak-ma=guwerruk=eyeng.ge
NF-eat-IMPF=bad=1MS.Aux.PI
'Before, in the old days, I never used to eat shark.' (706)

In this construction the adjectival nominal guwerruk 'bad' appears instead of the Privative case suffix *-rda*. The use of 'bad' in a Privative sense is quite common in Australian languages. In her dialect of the neighbouring northern language Warray, EOB formed nominal privatives both by use of the Privative suffix, and by compounding the adjective root 'bad' with the relevant nominal. However she never followed this second course for the formation of nominal privatives in Gamu. The form in 5 cannot be viewed as a calque on Warray forms, both for this reason, and because verbal negation is structured quite differently in Warray, where it does not normally involve nominalisation. Rather it would seem that 5 is an example of the widespread use of 'bad' in a Privative sense. The specific contrast between 4 and 5 is not entirely certain. Provisionally it would appear that the construction in 5 is used for things habitually not done because of dislike for the particular activity (in the case of 5, eating shark flesh). Things habitually not done for other reasons (in the case of 4, moral reasons) use the standard Simple Negative construction.

The other past negative construction, the Subjunctive Negative is illustrated in 5.

5. *meyi wart-nung=aynjuday awuy-ngu-ma aynja-rdiyn*
tucker send-3MIO=2MS.Aux.SUB aunt-1MIN-PRM what-ABL
jiyn-wart-da=anyayn
NF-send-PRIV=2MS.Aux.PP
'You should have sent some tucker to my aunt. Why didn't you send it?'

wanyungu wart=nung=arday din.girrk-gatj=ngu=ganiyn
Neg send=3MIO=1MS.Aux.SUB sick-caus=1MO=3MS.Aux.PP
'I could not send it to her. I was sick.' (403)

5 also illustrates another variant of the Simple Negative construction, with the clausal Negator wertma being absent. Like the Simple Negative construction, the Subjunctive Negative construction appears to be highly constrained configurationally. In the available material the verbal Negator wanyungu always immediately precedes the Subjunctive verbal complex. A comparison of the two negative forms of 'to send' in 5 illustrates the nature of the proto-typical difference between the two. The Simple Negative is prototypically a statement of non-occurrence. The Subjunctive Negative is prototypically a statement of non-possibility of occurrence. The Subjunctive Negative will nearly always be used when a reason for the impossibility of performance is given as in 5. However this is not always the case.

6. *biyandak=niyn=atay ngun-gin gakak eynjiti gay-ma*
listen=2MO=1MS.Aux.SUB there-ALL far 2MS.Aux.PI call out
may-diyn jiyn-biyandak-da=ayayn=niyn
that-ABL NF-hear-PRIV=1MS.Aux.PP=2MO
'I wanted to listen to you, (but) you were calling out over there, far away. That's why I could not/did not hear you.' (334)

Effectively it appears that the ranges of the two negative constructions overlap.

7. *wanyungu gay=nung=burrutay gakak gunen*
Neg call out=3MO=3AS.Aux.SUB far 3MS.sit.PR
'They did not/could not call out to him. He is too far away.' (293)

EOB explicitly equated the two constructions on one occasion.

8. *maygin datj=eynjumu*
that hit=2MS.Aux.PP
'Did you hit that bloke?'

wertma jiyn-datj-da=ayayn=nung // wanyungu datj=ewuy
Neg NF-hit-PRIV=1MS.Aux.PP=3MIO // Neg hit=1MS.Aux.SUB
'No I did not hit him.' (151)

EOB gave the two negative constructions in 8 as alternants of one another. Nevertheless, despite this statement of equivalence, the general distribution of the two negative constructions argues that they are at least prototypically distinguished in the terms proposed initially in this section.

.c1.4.8.2. Present Negation.

Present negation may be conveyed by either Simple Negative, or Conditional Negative constructions. The Simple Negative, as with past negation, appears to be prototypically a statement of non-occurrence.

1. *werek-giyik-ma ngak-ma=gunen meyi*
child-little-PRM eat-IMPF=3MS.Aux.PR tucker
'Is the kid eating his tucker?'

wertma jiyn-ngak-da deyn.gu gunen
Neg NF-eat-PRIV just 3MS.sit.PR
'No, he is not eating. He is just sitting.'

2. *jamarr may-ma binya arrayn-wayu datj-ma=guyang*

dog that-PRM animal goanna-only kill-IMPF=3MS.Aux.PR
dewer jiyn-datj-da=guyang
snake NF-kill-PRIV=3MS.Aux.PR
'That dog only kills goannas. He does not kill snakes.' (319)

The Conditional Negative is used to convey other present negative meanings.

2. *wanyungu wirr=gerritji den-ga=ganiyn*
Neg tie=1AS.refl.F cut-come=3MS.Aux.PP
'We cannot tie (the headbands) on. They are torn.' (281)

3. *im ngin guwerruk wanyungu wari-juru*
firewood here bad Neg 3MS.burn.CON-properly
'This firewood is no good. It won't burn properly.' (679)

4. *werek-giyikn may-ma wanyungu mi mat may-ma*
child-little that-PRM Neg 3MS.say.CON word that-PRM
'[lit.] That kid should not say those words.'
'That kid should not talk like that.' (689)

5. *yow wanyungu ngang=anan=yung wertwert guyang*
yes Neg give=1AO=3MS.Aux.CON greedy 3MS.be.NP
'Yes, he won't give us any (tucker). He is greedy.' (365)

As with past negation, there is some degree of overlap between the ranges of the two negative constructions.

6. *werek ana-ba nung.gurrang.gu*
child where-PER 2AS.be.PR
'Kids, whereabouts are you?'

wanyungu dey=nung.gun=ana
Neg see=2AO=1MS.Aux.CON
'I cannot see you.' (195)

7. *lagiyi may-ma ana jiyn-dey-da=ayang.gu=nung*
man that-PRM where NF-see-PRIV=1MS.Aux.PR=3MIO
'Where is that man? I don't/can't see him' (689)

However the degree and frequency of the overlap is much less than with past negation. While the Simple Negative can be used to express "inability to see", as in 7, the Conditional Negative is the construction normally used. There are no examples of the Simple Negative being used when an impossibility/inability reason is given, as in 2.

.c1.4.8.3. Future Negation.

Future negation is conveyed by the Conditional Negative construction.

1. *wanyungu buy=errung bukurnung-ma*
Neg go=1AS.Aux.F tomorrow-PRM
'We are not going/do not want to go tomorrow.' (135)

2. *werek abap geynjimi neyin-nung-ma*
child tired 2MS.Aux.F after-DAT-PRM
'Kid, you will be tired later.'

wanyungu abap emi ngamuk
Neg tired 1MS.Aux.CON okay
'I won't be tired. (I will be) okay.' (161)

.c1.4.8.4. Negative Imperative.

Negative Imperatives may be conveyed either by a Simple Negative construction, or by the Conditional Negative construction. The Simple Negative construction is illustrated in 1.

1. *doet-ma-rda may-ma wuk-mungu may dak*
sit-IMPF-PRIV that-PRM water-COM that place
'Don't sit down there! It is wet, that place.' (262)

Unlike the other Simple Negative construction (see 4.H. and 4.G), the compound verb obligatorily appears in its imperfective form in the Simple Negative Imperative construction. The Simple Negative Imperative is a nominalised construction. EOB translated other examples of this construction type involving the verb 'to hit' as "No hitting". Plural reference can be marked as shown in 2.

2. *meyi may ngak-ma-rda=ning.girri*
tucker that eat-IMPF-PRIV=2AS.Aux.SUB
'Don't you lot eat that tucker!' (257)

In all presently attested examples of this particular construction, the auxiliary is always the Subjunctive form of the 'to go' simple verb. Positive Imperatives may also be conveyed by Subjunctive verb forms (see 4.Y). However while plural reference is normally conveyed by this construction, it is not apparently obligatorily so conveyed.

3. *mara-doerrbet-ma-rda mara-datj-buk=nung.gurrung*
recip-argue-IMPF-PRIV recip-hit-?=2AS.Aux.CON
mara-nundulk-buk=nung.gurrung
recip-jealous-?=2AS.Aux.CON
'Don't you two argue! Lest you start fighting and get jealous/suspicious of one another.' (509)

The Simple Negative Imperative appears to be more direct and less polite than the Conditional Negative Imperative.

4. *wanyungu jubek=ning.girrimi may-ba*
Neg spit=2AS.Aux.CON that-PER
'Don't you lot spit there!' (239)

5. *wanyungu gart-gart-ma=ning.gining ngum-doet=nung.gunay*
Neg R-play-IMPF=2AS.Aux.CON quiet-sit=2AS.Aux.SUB
'Don't you lot play (too loudly)! You lot sit quietly!' (164)

As elsewhere it appears that the inflected form of the compound verb indicates imperfectivity.

.c1.4.9. Adverbial Modification.

Gamu shows two patterns of adverbial modification. The predominant pattern involves the compounding of various adverbs to compound verbs. The adverbs so far attested in this construction type are set out in 1.

1. *barl* 'wrongly', *bit* 'nearly', *ngel* 'quickly'

barl 'wrongly' has a lexicalised meaning 'to poison', in combination with the verbs *ngak* 'to eat' and *ngang* 'to give'.

2. *barl-ngak=buleyn*
wrongly-eat=3MS.Aux.PP

'He ate poison.' (270)

3. *meyi lagiyi may barl-ngang=nung=burrayn*
tucker man that wrongly-give=3MO=3AS.Aux.PP
'They poisoned that man.' (270)

This would suggest that *barl* has a patient/theme orientation (the wrong food). However this does not appear to be the case. The construction in 3 apparently has an alternative interpretation with an apparent goal/recipient orientation (the wrong person), as illustrated in 4.

4. *meyi may-ma barl-ngang=nung=burrayn*
tucker that-PRM wrongly-give=3MO=3AS.Aux.PP
'They gave that tucker to the wrong bloke.' (631)

The lexicalised nature of 3 does not appear to be relevant, as these alternative interpretations are attested in other examples.

5. *may mawuyn nembu ngang=nung=anyayn nembu*
that clothes other give=3MO=2MS.Aux.PP other
ngang=nung=aynjali barl-ngang=nung=anyayn
give=3MO=2MS.Aux.SUB wrongly-give=3MO=2MS.Aux.PP
'You gave him the wrong clothes. You should have given him the other clothes. You gave him the wrong clothes.' (439)

6. *mawuyn may barl-ngang=nung=anyayn nang.ga maygin nembu*
clothes that wrongly-give=3MO=2MS.Aux.PP but that another
ngang=nung=eynjimini
give=3MO=2MS.Aux.SUB
'You gave those clothes to the wrong bloke. You should have given them to another bloke.' (281)

Elicitation bases involving incorrect patient/themes and incorrect goal/recipients were tested out a couple of times. In general *barl* 'wrongly' was given more frequently in response to an incorrect goal/recipient, than to an incorrect patient/theme. It does appear that *barl* has a general "Object" (i.e. non-Subject) orientation.

7. *barl-datj=ngu=bumu may-ni*
wrongly-hit=1MO=3MS.Aux.PP that-ERG
'That bloke wrongly hit me.'

The normal interpretation of 7 is that the speaker was hit for the wrong reasons, not that the speaker was hit in some inappropriate way. *bit* 'nearly' does not have an orientation.

8. *jamarr may gurnunuk bit-lerr=ngu=buwoelyeng*
dog that savage nearly-bite=1MO=3MS.Aux.PP
'That dog is savage. It nearly bit me.' (289)

As 8 demonstrates, *bit* takes Realis verb forms, despite the fact that it codes a past irrealis situation (past irrealis situations otherwise take the Subjunctive. - see. 4.H). *ngel* 'quickly' naturally has a Subject orientation.

9. *dewer may ngel-datj*
snake that quickly-kill
'Kill that snake quickly!' (461)

The other adverbial modification pattern involves enclisis. There is only adverbial enclitic presently attested in Gamu.

10. *=juru* 'properly, really'

Like *ngel*, *=juru* has a Subject orientation.

11. *manyu=niyn=emiyn* *ngeluru-diyn* *manyu=niyn=juru=gemi-ma*
tell=2MO=1MS.Aux.PP before-ABL tell=2MO=really=1MS.Aux.F-PRM
datj=niyn=gewu
hit=2MO=1MS.Aux.F
'I have already told you. If I really have to tell you again, I will hit you.' (429)

Unlike the other adverbs, *=juru* is also found with nominals (see. 3.H).

CLAUSAL RELATIONS

5.1. Clause Types.

Gamu has two clause types; verbal and verbless clauses. They have the structures set out in 1.

1. S -> (X*) Simple Verb (X*) Verbal Clause
S -> (X*) Nominal (X*) Nominal (X*) Verbless Clause
[X = inflected form belonging to major word class, other than a simple verb]

X's must satisfy one of the unification conditions set out in 2.

2. a.) X may compound with an obligatory constituent.
b.) X may be an argument of an obligatory constituent, or of a compound involving an obligatory constituent.
c.) X may modify an obligatory constituent, or a compound involving an obligatory constituent.
d.) X may modify S.

If an X fails to fulfil any of the unification conditions, then the clause is badly formed. Verbless clauses have a very restricted occurrence in Gamu. They can convey only ascriptive, equational, existential and possessive propositions (see 5.15). All other propositions must be conveyed by verbal clauses. Verbal clauses may also be used to convey ascriptive, equational, existential and possessive propositions (see 5.15). Verbless clauses must have a Present tense interpretation, unless there is some overt indication of another tense reference.

5.2. The Noun Phrase and Nominal Relations.

The clause structure rules set out in 5.1 preceding do not make mention of a Noun Phrase category. This is because no well defined NP structure can be defined on presently available information. There does appear to be a prototypical ordering of head and modifier nominals, as set out in 1.

1. Head Nominal + Modifier Nominal-Case Marker(s)

However discontinuous head + modifier constructions do occur.

2. *lagiyi ana may-ma*
man where that-PRM
'Where is that man?
[alt.] 'Where is the man? that one?' (218)

3. *jamarr datj=burrumu nguru-nung*
dog hit=3AS.Aux.PP 1MIN-DAT
'They hit my dog.'
[alt] 'They hit the dog. It was mine.' (241)

It is possible that the discontinuous expressions may signal a predicational relationship between the two nominals, as indicated by the alternative translations. However there is presently no evidence that the discontinuous expressions are differentiated from the continuous expressions in this way. Consequently, while the structure in 1 represents the usual ordering of head + modifier nominals, it can only be analysed as a statistical preference on presently available information. Nevertheless, as this statistically predominant ordering does approximate to an NP structure, it may most conveniently be referred to by use of the term NP.

The marking of case relations within NPs presents certain complexities. NPs involving relational case marking only, usually take case marking on their final member, as indicated in 1.

4. *lagiyi nembu-ni wabuy=ganiyn*
man other-ERG take=3MS.Aux.PP
'The other man took him.' (16)

However there is at least one example of case marking occurring on both constituents in the NP, without there being any clearcut variation in intonation marking this as unusual.

5. *gurdarda-ni may-ni lel=niyn=may*
girl-ERG that-ERG catch up=2MO=3MS.Aux.PP
'That girl has caught up to you.' (522)

The situation is somewhat more complicated with NPs that involve both adnominal and relational case. Genitives constitute the prototypical instance of this situation. Considerable variation was encountered in the case marking patterns of genitive NPs. There are examples of double case marking, with the inner case marking being the adnominal genitive, and the outer being the relevant relational case marker (Dench & Evans 1988).

6. *ngun-gin guyaynju dak gurna-nung-yende*
there-ALL 3MS.take.PR camp 3-DAT-LOC
'He is taking it to there, to his camp.' (285)

In 6 the adnominal genitive relationship is marked by the Dative case marker, which is the usual marker of genitive relationships (see. 3.H). However there are examples where the Ablative case marker is found in this function.

7. *wanyungu buy=awali dak gurna-diyn-yende*
Neg go=1MS.Aux.SUB camp 3-ABL-LOC
'I did not go to his camp.' (474)

The Ablative has an extensive range as an origin/source marker (see. 3.4.6). One example involved a double occurrence of the Ablative in an adnominal and in a relational function.

8. *gapi-ngu may-ma awuy-ngu nguru-diyn-diyn*
female cousin-1MIN that-PRM aunt-1MIN 1IMIN-ABL-ABL
'That female cousin of mine is from my aunt.' (650)
[This is a reference to the non-marriageable immediate first cousin.]

However when checked, this example was rejected, so its status is somewhat uncertain. The Ablative does not always have a genitive interpretation when it functions as an adnominal origin/source marker.

9. *jal ngeluru-diyn-ba ga-yin=arrayn*
road before-ABL-PER come-here=1AS.Aux.PP
[lit.] 'We came here by the road from before.'
'We came here by the old road.' (693)

10. *barl-datj=ngu=bumu ngun-gin-diyn-ni*
wrongly-hit=1MO=3MS.Aux.PP there-ALL-ABL-ERG
[lit.] 'The one from towards there wrongly hit me.'
'The bloke from that way wrongly hit me.' (185)

10 presents a particularly complex example of multiple case marking. However the initial combination *ngun-gin* 'towards there' is probably lexicalised (see. 3.6). The only other type of multiple case marking found in Gamu is that illustrated in 11 (however see. 3.4.8).

11. *ngun gakayn-ngu-yende-diyn ditj-ga=ayayn*
there uncle-1MIN-LOC-ABL return-come=1MS.Aux.PP
[lit.] 'I came back from there at my uncle's.'
'I came back from my uncle's there.' (297)

This example differs somewhat from the others. The 1MIN kin possessive *-ngu*, though it indicates a genitive relationship, is not a case marker (see. 3.11). The Locative marker *-yende* indicates an adnominal locative, and the Ablative marker *-diyn* indicates a relational ablative. While NPs involving both an adnominal case and a relational case can show marking for both case relationships, this is less common. The usual situation is for only the relational case to be coded, on the possessor if a genitive is involved.

12. *guyang.gu ngun dak nguru-yende*
3MS.go.NP there camp 1MIN-LOC
'He is going there, to my camp.' (173)

13. *jamarr may lelerrk-ni lerr=ngu=buwoelyeng*
dog that old woman-ERG bite=1MO=3MS.Aux.PP
'That old woman's dog bit me.' (236)

Attempts to elicit NPs involving other types of adnominal relationships, such as Comitatives, and a relational case produced a variety of constructions.

14. *maygin jawuri-guban-ni datj=ngu=bumu*
that beard-long-ERG hit=1MO=3MS.Aux.PP
'That bloke with the long beard hit me.'
[alt.] 'That bloke, the long bearded one, hit me.' (433)

15. *ngun gutu gorrp-ma lagiyi nembu-yende jawuri-mungu*
there 3MS.stand.PR upright-IMPF man other-LOC beard-COM
'He is standing up there, next to the man with the beard.'
[alt.] 'He is standing up there, next to the man, the one with the beard.' (239)

16. *buy=ayayn ngun meyi mirang-yende ngudetu*
go=1MS.Aux.PP there tucker red lily-LOC billabong
'I went there, to the billabong with the red lilies.'
[alt.] 'I went there, to the red lilies, the billabong.' (355)

Given the variety of constructions it is probable that the alternative appositional, predicational translations more accurately represent the spirit of these examples.

5.3. Verbal Clauses and Transitivity.

A transitive clause in Gamu may be defined as a clause containing an Object enclitic. The Object enclitic may be either a Direct Object enclitic, or an Indirect Object enclitic. Any other clause is an intransitive clause. The transitivity of verbs may then be defined in terms of clausal transitivity. A simple transitive verb is one which only occurs in transitive clauses. A compound transitive verb is one which, when compounded directly to an auxiliary (other than the reflexive

auxiliaries - see. 5.5), occurs only in transitive clauses. All other verbs are intransitive.

This does not of course mean that intransitive verbs occur only in intransitive clauses, nor that transitive verbs occur only in transitive clauses. There are a number of ways of altering verbal valency in Gamu. The Object enclitics provide one avenue for valence increasing (see. 5.4.2). There are also valence altering processes, such as causativisation (see. 5.10) and reflexivisation (see. 5.5), which are marked by variations in the morphology of the verbal complex. The chief peculiarity of Gamu, and also of the other ED languages, is that these variations in the verbal complex morphology tend to revolve around the use of serial verb constructions. The auxiliaries do not have a major role in signalling valence variations (see. 5.11).

5.4.1. The Object Enclitics.

Gamu has a set of Direct Object enclitics and a set of Indirect Object enclitics. It differs in this respect from the other ED languages, which have only one set of Object enclitics covering the range of both the Gamu Direct and Indirect Object enclitics. The Gamu Object enclitic paradigms are set out in 1.

1.	Direct Object	Indirect Object
1M	*-ngu*	*-akurnung*
2M	*-niyn*	*-rnun*
1+2M	*-ngam*	*-rnay*
3M	*-Ø/-rnung*	*-Ø/-rnung*
1A	*-wan*	*-warr*
2A	*-nung.gun*	*-nung.gurr*
1+2A	*-anan*	*-arrarr*
3A	*-wun*	*-wurr*

The marking of 3rd Minimal Objects presents certain complexities, which are examined in 5.4.3. The distinction between Direct and Indirect Objects correlates reasonably closely with the distinction between subcategorised and non-subcategorised thematic roles. Subcategorised Objects are nearly always coded as Direct Objects, and non-subcategorised Objects are usually coded as Indirect Objects. The only exception in the marking of subcategorised Objects involves the trivalent verb 'to send'. 'to send' would presumably have the same thematic sub-categorisation as 'to give' in any system of thematic roles; an agent, a patient/theme, and a goal/recipient. Nevertheless these two verbs have different coding patterns. The goal/recipient of 'to give' is a Direct Object, whereas the goal/recipient of 'to send' is an Indirect Object.

1. *lagiyi may wanyungu ngang=anan=buwali meyi*
   man that Neg give=1AO=3MS.Aux.SUB tucker
   'That man would not give us any tucker.' (365)

2. *may-ma wart=nay=dam meyi*
   that-PRM send=1+2MIO=3MS.Aux.PP tucker
   'Has that bloke sent us any tucker?' (364)

5.4.2. Non-subcategorised Objects

A wide variety of non-subcategorised roles may be coded as Objects in Gamu. They may be coded as either Direct or Indirect Objects. The distinction between the two marking patterns appears to operate in terms of a notion of a prototypical Object. Prototypical Objects are directly physically affected by the situation described by the verb, and the situation is aimed towards the Object. Any non-subcategorised role which fulfils either of these conditions will tend to be coded as a Direct

Object. The non-subcategorised goal thematic role which is frequently found in clauses involving the verbs 'to say' and 'to call out' is a good example of this. The action described by the verb is directly aimed at the goal entity, and this entity is coded as a Direct Object in Gamu.

1. *nambiyn emin=wun=gurna*
   nephew 1MS.say.PR=3AO=UA
   'I call those two "nephew".' (369)

2. *gay=wun=atayn*
   call out=3AO=1MS.Aux.PP
   'I called out to them.' (261)

On the other hand if the action described by the verb is more indirectly aimed at a particular entity, as with a benefactive role, then Indirect Object coding is used.

3. *lagiyi may-ma meyi wa=rnay=guma ngemu-nung*
   man that-PRM tucker get=1+2MIO=3MS.Aux.F 1+2MIN-DAT
   'That man will get us tucker.' (250)

4. *may-ma mawuyn wadoet-miyi=wurr=eni ngun 15 mile-nung*
   that-PRM clothes have-IMPF=3AIO=1MS.Aux.PI there 15 mile-DAT
   'I have been keeping these clothes for the 15 mile mob.' (529)

A directly physically affected entity will be coded as a Direct Object.

5. *guwari=niyn*
   3MS.burn.F=2MO
   'It will burn you.' (364)

6. *barrang may-ma jawungu-diyn jubek=ngu=bimini*
   whiteman that-PRM just then-ABL spit=1MO=3MS.Aux.SUB
   'That whiteman nearly spat on me, just then.' (280)

Indirectly affected ethical datives are normally coded as Indirect Objects.

7. *motika jet=akurnung=butayn*
   car stop=1MIO=3MS.Aux.PP
   'The car stopped on me.' (222)

However there is one case where an ethical dative, involving relations of alienable possession, is marked with the Direct Object enclitics.

8. *goen wirrki-wirrkitj=ngu=burrumu*
   tobacco R-finish=1MO=3AS.Aux.PP
   'They finished up my tobacco.' (691 - confirmed 720)

The only example of an ethical dative involving relations of inalienable possession, is coded as an Indirect Object.

9. *werek-giyik datj=burrumu // akurnung*
   child-little hit=3AS.Aux.PP 1MIO
   'They hit my kid.' (706)

As indicated by the transcription there was a considerable pause between the verbal complex and the Indirect Object enclitic in 8. This may indicate some uncertainty about the form on EOB's part. She appeared reluctant to use ethical dative constructions involving inalienable

possession relations. The overall distribution of Direct and Indirect Object marking with non-subcategorised Objects is an area requiring further research.

5.4.3. 3rd Minimal Objects.

The marking of 3MIN Objects diverges significantly from that of other Objects. There are two 3MIN Object markers in Gamu; *=Ø* and *=rnung*. The second of these functions elsewhere in Gamu as the Dative case marker. The use of the Dative case marker as a 3MIN Object enclitic is an areal pattern, being also found in the other ED languages, and in Gungarakayn. The precise function of the Dative case marker as a 3MIN Object marker varies somewhat across these languages. In Gamu, in very general terms, the prototypical use of the Dative case marker as an Object marker is with Dative Objects. Most Dative Objects are non-subcategorised Objects. As such the contrast between the two 3MIN Object markers bears a very general resemblance to that found elsewhere between the two sets of Object markers. *=rnung* obligatorily marks Dative Objects, whether or not the particular roles are otherwise marked as Direct or Indirect Objects.

1. *jerrerek meyi ngang=nung=anyayn*
   old man tucker give=3MO=2MS.Aux.PP
   'Did you give the old man some tucker?' (179) [Direct Object]

2. *gay=nung=atayn*
   call out=3MO=1MS.Aux.PP
   'I called out to him.' (200) [Direct Object]

3. *doerr-ma=rnung=ayang dak*
   show-IMPF=3MO=1MS.Aux.PR country
   'I am showing him the country.' (369) [Direct Object]

4. *gakayn-ngu-nung wat=nung=nung.gurruda*
   uncle-1MIN-DAT send=3MIO=2AS.Aux.F
   'We will send (the clothes) to uncle.' (134) [Indirect Object]

5. *meyi wa=rnung=ayayn lelerrk-nung*
   tucker get=3MIO=1MS.Aux.PP old woman-DAT
   'I got the old woman tucker.' (283) [Indirect Object]

6. *motika gorrp-jet=butayn=nung lagiyi may-nung*
   car upright-stop=3MS.Aux.PP=3MIO man that-DAT
   'The car stopped on that man.' (256) [Indirect Object]

Dative Objects normally have human referents, and all examples of 3MIN Dative Objects have human referents in the presently available corpus. The *=rnung* Object enclitic is also found marking a wide range of human Objects, in other than Dative thematic roles.

7. *ngeluru-ma berrp-ma=rnung=eyeng.ge lagiyi may-ma*
   before-PRM fear-IMPF=3MO=1MS.Aux.PI man that-PRM
   'Before, I used to be scared of that man.' (368)

8. *aynja-rnung datj-ma=rnung=anyang warruk may-ma*
   what-DAT hit-IMPF=3MO=2MS.Aux.PR boy that-PRM
   'Why are you hitting that boy?' (371)

9. *julukatj=nung=ayayn*
   throw in water=3MO=1MS.Aux.PP
   'I threw it into the water.' (314)

10. *warryet-gatj=nung=ayayn*

walk-caus=3MO=1MS.Aux.PP
'I had to make him walk.' (542)

11. *doerrbet=eynjoelyeng may-ma*
tell off=2MS.Aux.PP that-PRM
'Did you tell that bloke off?'

doerrbet=nung=ewuy nang.ga barldam-buy=ganiyn
tell off=3MO=1MS.Aux.SUB but secret-go=3MS.Aux.PP
'I wanted to tell him off, but he had snuck off.' (339)

=rnung is not obligatory in any of these functions.

12. *lagiyi may berrp=eneng*
man that fear=1MS.Aux.PP
'I am scared of that man.' (209) [cf. 7]

13. *manyu-muk-ma doerrbet=gurroelye werek-giyik ngun-ma*
those-COLL-PRM tell off=3AS.Aux.F child-little there-PRM
'Are that lot going to tell that kid off?'

wanyungu doerrbet=burrung din.girrk-mungu guyang
Neg tell off=3AS.Aux.CON sick-COM 3MS.be.NP
'They cannot tell him off. He is sick.' (315) [cf. 11]

The occurrence of *=rnung* as a marker of non-Dative human Objects does however show a strong correlation with reduced transitivity. It is more common in clauses involving imperfective (past and present), subjunctive, and conditional verbs, than in clauses involving perfective verbs (cf. 11). The inherent transitivity of verbs also appears to be relevant, at least for the simple verbs, as 14 shows.

14. *datj-ma=emnyuynben*
hit-IMPF=1+2MS.Aux.PR
'We are hitting him.' ['to hit' auxiliary]

datj-ma=rnung=amnyang.gu
hit-IMPF=3MO=1+2MS.Aux.PR
'We are hitting him.' (677) ['to go' auxiliary]

EOB explicitly presented these two present tense forms of the verb 'to hit' as alternants of one another. The only difference between the two forms, apart from the occurrence of *=rnung*, is that the first involves the transitive 'to hit' auxiliary, and the second involves the intransitive 'to go' auxiliary. There are no examples in the presently available corpus of *=rnung* occurring with the 'to hit' auxiliary in an imperfective tense (though it is found with Subjunctive forms of the 'to hit' auxiliary - cf. 11). With one compound verb *dey* 'to see', the occurrence of *=rnung* serves to some degree to distinguish between its 'to look at' and its 'to look out/for' meanings.

15. *dey-ma=enoen=nung ga=guwuy-in*
look-IMPF=1MS.Aux.PR=3MO come=3MS.Aux.F-here
'I am watching out for him. He will come here.' (318)

16. *nuwun dey-ma=anyang*
who look-IMPF=2MS.Aux.PR
'Who are you looking at?' (159)

=rnung is apparently obligatory in the Simple Negative construction. This construction involves a nominalised verb form, and an intransitive auxiliary, normally 'to go'

5.5. Reflexives and Medio-passives

There are two ways of indicating that a transitive compound verb has reflexive or medio-passive meanings.

1. Using the reflexive auxiliaries.
2. Compounding the intransitive compound verbs *-wut* 'to lie' or *-jet* 'to stand'.

Gamu has two reflexive auxiliaries. One is a general reflexive auxiliary, and the other is a specialised 'to see (reflexive)' auxiliary. The specialised auxiliary has another related meaning 'to become', and is used in the formation of nominal inchoatives (see 5.H). Inherently volitional reflexives are obligatorily coded with these auxiliaries.

1. *marrapipi wirr=eyitjing*
   headband tie=1MS.refl.PP
   'I tied a headband on.' (206)

2. *bala-ni yarrp-ma=eynjitjimin*
   white ochre-INS rub-IMPF=2MS.refl.PR
   'Are you painting yourself with white ochre?' (385)

3. *jawuri yu?-ma=giyitjimin*
   beard shave-IMPF=3MS.refl.PR
   'He is shaving his beard.' (531)

4. *warruk gabuk=anyayn jurritj=eynjitjing*
   boy swim=2MS.Aux.PP wash=2MS.refl.PP
   'Boy, have you swum? Have you washed yourself?'

5. *anayn-ma=nung.gurrutu dey-ma=nung.gunatjimin mana*
   how-IMPF=2AS.stand.PR look-IMPF=2AS.refl.PR shadow
   'What are you lot doing? Are you looking at your shadows?' (391)

The reflexive auxiliaries can also be used with reflexives which are not inherently volitional.

6. *warruk juku=eynjitjing*
   boy burn=2MS.refl.PP
   'Boy, did you burn yourself?' (279)

7. *juku=gaynjunatji*
   burn=2MS.refl.F
   'You will burn yourself!' (626)

As a comparison of 6 and 7 reveals the use of the 'to see (reflexive)' auxiliary is not obligatory (*juku* 'to burn' can take the transitive 'to see' auxiliary when it has a fully transitive meaning). This is so even with the verb *dey* 'to see'.

8. *anayn-ma=anyang.gu mana dey-ma=eynjitjimin*
   how-IMPF=2MS.do.PR shadow look-IMPF=2MS.Aux.PR
   'What are you doing? Are you looking at your shadow?' (415) [cf. 5]

While both the reflexive auxiliaries can be used with reflexives which are not inherently volitional, this class of reflexives is usually coded by compounding the intransitive compound verb *-wut* 'to lie'.

9. *datj-wut=eyuyn*
hit-lie=1MS.Aux.PP
'I hit myself/I got hit.' (116)

10. *may-butja memek den-wut=burruyn*
that-pair hand cut-lie=3AS.Aux.PP
'Those two cut their hands/Their hands got cut.' (249)

As the double translations indicate these clauses also have a potential medio-passive interpretation. In other examples the *-wut* construction has only a medio-passive, or passive, interpretation (see 5. 11 & 5.12 for the other functions of *-wut*).

11. *motika-rdiyn datj-wut=eyuyn*
car-ABL hit-lie=1MS.Aux.PP
'I got hit by a car.' (244)

12. *woeng dal-wut=eyuyn giyerk-gatj=ngu=ganiyn*
rain strike-lie=1MS.Aux.PP wet-caus=IMO=3MS.Aux.PP
'I got struck by the rain. It made me wet.' (377)

With some verbs medio-passive meanings are conveyed by compounding with *-jet* 'to stand', rather than *-wut*.

13. *jerrerek may ana-ba wurriyn-jet-miyi=gutu*
old man that where-PER bury-stand-IMPF=3MS.Aux.PR
'Where is that old man buried?' (723)

14. *juku-jet=gaynjutang*
burn-stand=2MS.Aux.F
'You will get burnt.' (364)

The factors controlling the choice of *-jet* vs *-wut* are not presently clear. It does not appear that the reflexive auxiliaries have medio-passive or passive interpretations, unlike reflexive forms in many other Australian languages. There are two verbs which have reflexive forms which are anomalous in terms of the inherently volitionality distinction proposed.

15. *wulengeley=yitjing*
urinate=3MS.refl.PP
'(The baby) pissed himself'. (545)

16. *nguyk-ma lot-wut=enyuyn*
night-PRM cover-lie=2MS.Aux.PP
'Did you cover yourself up last night?'

yow lot-wut=eyuyn
yes cover-lie=1MS.Aux.PP
'Yes, I covered myself up.' (406)

The reflexive situation in 15 is not inherently volitional, and yet it is apparently normally coded with the reflexive auxiliary. The reflexive situation in 17 is inherently volitional, and yet it is normally coded by the otherwise non-volitional compounding with *-wut*.

5.6. Reciprocals.

The reflexive auxiliaries may also be used to indicate reciprocal meanings.

1. *may-butja memek nyul-nyul-ma=girritjimin*

that-pair hand R-shake-IMPF=3AS.recip.PR
'Those two are shaking hands.' (316)

2. *bukurnung-ma dey=gurrunatji*
tomorrow-PRM see=3AS.recip.F
'Are they going to see each other tomorrow?' (386)

The interpretation of plural forms of these auxiliaries as either reflexive or reciprocal depends upon context. While it is possible to convey reciprocal meanings simply by use of the reflexive auxiliaries, this is not the normal method for coding reciprocal meanings. Reciprocal meanings are normally coded by compounding the reciprocal morpheme *mara-*, which may or may not be accompanied by the reflexive auxiliaries.

3. *may-butja-ma mara-dey=birritjing=gurna*
that-pair-PRM recip-see=3AS.recip.PP=UA
'Did that pair see one another?' (400)

4. *yow mara-dey=garruy*
yes recip-see=1AS.Aux.F
'Yes, we will see each other.' (582)

The distinctions involved in the choices between the various auxiliaries are not presently clear. The reciprocal is found with intransitive verbs.

5. *may-ma mara-diyen-jatjjatj-ma=birriti wanyungu*
that-PRM recip-mouth-whisper-IMPF=3AS.Aux.PI Neg
biyandak=atay
hear=1MS.Aux.SUB
'They were whispering to each other. I couldn't hear.' (451)

There is one example of a reciprocal of a ditransitive verb.

6. *ni nung.gurr-butja-ma ni mara-ngang=nung.gurrayn*
name 2-pair-PRM name recip-give=2AS.Aux.PP
'Did you two swap names?'

yow mara-ngang=erritjing
yes recip-give=1AS.recip.PP
'Yes we swapped.' (404)

Closely related to the reciprocal *mara-* is the free form *mara*, which means 'in (re)turn'.

7. *bul-gatj=ayayn dak ngin jatjin-ma*
clean-caus=1MS.Aux.PP camp here yesterday-PRM
'I cleaned up this camp yesterday.'

mara nung.gurr bul-gatj=gaynjuy
in turn 2 clean-caus=2MS.Aux.F
'It is your turn to clean it up.' (712)

8. *lagiyi may datj=ngu=bumu*
man that hit=1MO=3MS.Aux.PP
'That man hit me.'

mara datj=emu
in return hit=1MS.Aux.PP
'I hit him back.' (675)

However while the free from *mara* and the bound form *mara-* are almost certainly historically related, there are three reasons for distinguishing the two synchronically. The first is the immediately obvious difference of free vs bound. The second is that the bound form undergoes a fast speech reduction that the free form does not. The final vowel of the bound form is normally elided in fast speech.

9. *mara-datj* [maɾ-ɖaɟ]
recip-hit

9 illustrates the usual realisation of the reciprocal marker in fast speech. The third distinction between the two is that the reciprocal affects the transitivity of the verb, whereas the free 'in (re)turn' form does not.

10. *wertma* *mara-datj=arrayn* *dawu*
Neg recip-hit=1AS.Aux.PP trouble
'Nothing, we just fought.' (389)

The auxiliary in 10 is the intransitive 'to go' auxiliary, whereas the auxiliary in 8, involving the free form *mara*, is the usual transitive 'to hit' auxiliary. Matngele has *mara* in both these functions, with these distinctions. In Matngele *mara* also means 'but' (*nang.ga* in Gamu. see 5.18).

5.7. Number Marking in the Verbal Complex.

Gamu exhibits a number different number marking systems in the verbal complex. The variations, as is usual in Australian languages, revolve around the status of the 1+2 combination. There is evidence for this combination functioning as a Minimal form in some respects, and as a plural form in other respects. In the systems of obligatory Subject and Object number marking the combination is generally treated as a Minimal form. The maximal obligatory number marking system is found in the Object enclitic system. This system is repeated here for convenience (see 5.4.1).

1.	Direct Object	Indirect Object
1M	*-ngu*	*-akurnung*
2M	*-niyn*	*-rnun*
1+2M	*-ngam*	*-rnay*
3M	*-Ø/-rnung*	*-Ø/-rnung*
1A	*-wan*	*-warr*
2A	*-nung.gun*	*-nung.gurr*
1+2A	*-anan*	*-arrarr*
3A	*-wun*	*-wurr*

These two paradigms are best analysed in terms of a Minimal vs Augmented contrast for two reasons. Firstly, a Minimal vs Augmented contrast is the simplest way of organising the 8 forms found in these two paradigms. Secondly, the unusual /n/ - /rr/ consonantism relating the Direct and Indirect Object forms in the Augmented number argues that the paradigms should be divided on Minimal vs Augmented lines. The number marking system for Subjects is set out in 2.

2.	Minimal	Augmented
1	*a-*	*arru-*
1+2	*ambu-*	*arru-*
2	*aynju-*	*nung.gurru-*
3	*Ø-, bu-, gu-*	*burru-, gurru-*

This system differs from that found with the Object enclitics in that the 1AUG and 1+2AUG are combined (in this respect Subject number

marking shows the same pattern as that of the free pronouns - see 3.5). As with the Object enclitics, a Minimal vs Augmented analysis is the most economical analysis of Subject number marking. Also as with the Object enclitics there is some additional evidence favouring this analysis, as illustrated in 3.

3.	'to go - Subjunctive'
1MIN	*awali*
1+2MIN	*ambali*
2MIN	*aynjali*
3MIN	*buwali*
1AUG	*erri*
2AUG	*ning.girri*
3AUG	*birri*

The Subjunctive tense of the 'to go' simple verb is the only verbal paradigm which shows variation in the form of the verb conditioned by the number of the Subject. The stem in the Minimal number category is *-wali* (it is subject to reduction in the 1+2MIN and 2MIN). The stem in the Augmented number category is not entirely clear. It would probably be best analysed in autosegmental terms as an /i/ vowel harmony morpheme. It should be noted that Matngele has a directly cognate paradigm for this particular Gamu paradigm, and that the Matngele paradigm shows the same number conditioned stem variation. However the evidence from Subject number marking does not entirely favour a Minimal vs Augmented analysis. EOB sometimes used 1AUG forms for the 1+2 MIN combination.

4.	*ngemu-butja*	*datj=gembuwu*	*may-ma*
	1+2MIN-pair	hit=1+2MS.Aux.F	that-PRM
	'We will hit that bloke.'		

	wanyungu	*datj=errung*	*elungu*	*guyang*
	Neg	hit=1AS.Aux.CON	big	3MS.be.NP
	'We can't hit him. He is too big.' (255)			

This argues that the 1+2MIN combination belongs to a plural category. The same thing also occurs in the free pronoun paradigms (see. 3.5). It is somewhat difficult to assess this evidence, as the use of 1AUG forms for 1+2MIN combinations is quite frequent in Warray. As such the possibility of influence from Warray cannot be discounted. The use of 1AUG forms for 1+2MIN combinations does not appear to be characteristic of Matngele, whose number marking systems are otherwise very similar to those of Gamu. This tends to suggest that examples such as 4 could result from Warray influence. On the other hand, given that the 1+2MIN combination is inherently a point of paradigmatic instability for pronominal systems, it is quite possible that examples such as 4 constitute evidence for genuine variation in the classification of the 1+2MIN combination, such as is found in other Top End languages.

Evidence favouring this second viewpoint comes from the optional systems of number marking. Gamu has two sets of optional number markers, which may further specify number categories. One set of optional number markers has inherent reference to person, as well as to number, and modifies the number of the Subject.

5.	*=ngerr*	'1 Exclusive'
	=arrarr	'1 Inclusive'
	=nung.gurr	'2 Dual'

The 1 Inclusive and 2 Dual markers are identical with 1+2AUG and 2AUG Indirect Object enclitics (cf.1.). However confusion between the two does not arise, as the forms will be interpreted as number markers when

they are co-referential with the Subject, and as Indirect Object markers when they are not co-referential with the Subject.

6. *buy=ngerr=arrayn*
   go=1EXC=1AS.Aux.PP
   'We (excl) went.' (9)

7. *dey=ngerr=eneng*
   see=1EXC=1AS.Aux.PP
   'We saw him.' (20)

8. *nung.gurr nguru buy=garruy=arrarr lawarr-ma-ru*
   2 1MIN go=1AS.Aux.F=1INC lots-PRM-INT
   'You and me, lots (of us), we will all go.' (79)

9. *ngemu-butja lagiyi lawarr dey=eneng=arrarr*
   1+2MIN-pair man lots see=1AS.Aux.PP=1INC
   'We (incl) saw lots of men.' (20)

10. *anayn ning.girrimin=nung.gurr*
    how 2AS.do.PR=2DU
    'What are you two doing?'

11. *meyi wart=nung.gurr=nung.guda awoy-ngu-nung*
    tucker send=2DU=2AS.Aux.F aunt-1MIN-DAT
    'Are you two going to send tucker to my aunt?' (167)

9 provides evidence for the 1+2 combination being classified as a plural within this system of optional number marking. Further evidence for this analysis comes from the other optional number marking system, which involves only one marker.

12. *=gurna* 'Dual'

This optional number marker differs considerably from the other optional numbers. It simply indicates that some cross-referenced entity in the verbal complex is dual in number. It is not restricted by grammatical function, or by person.

13. *ngak-ma=gurna=erriynjen*
    eat-IMPF=DU=1AS.Aux.PR
    'We two are eating.' (566)

14. *gorrp-ma embiti=gurna ngemu-butja*
    upright-IMPF 1+2MS.stand.PR=DU 1+2MIN-pair
    'We two were standing up (over there).' (85)

15. *aynja-rnung nung.gurru=gurna*
    what-DAT 2AS.lie.PR=DL
    'Why are you two lying down?' (20)

16. *ngang=ngu=nung.gurruy=gurna meyi*
    give=IMO=2AS.Aux.F=DU tucker
    'Are you two going to give me some tucker?' (292)

17. *jatjin meyi ngang=nung.gun=gurna=ayayn*
    yesterday tucker give=2AO=DU=1MS.Aux.PP
    'Yesterday I gave you two some tucker.' (280)

18. *yow wa=ayayn=nung.gurr=gurna*
    yes get=1MS.Aux.PP=2AIO=DU

'Yes, I got it for you two.' (486)

19. *wabuy=gurna=burrayn jerrerek*
take=DU=3AS.Aux.PP old man
'Those two took the old man.' (16)

20. *dey=wun=eynneng=gurna*
see=3AO=2MS.Aux.PP=DU
'Did you see those two?' (113)

14 provides fairly good evidence for the classification of the 1+2 combination as a plural form. On presently available evidence the Dual marker *-gurna* appears to be incompatible with the other optional number markers in verbal complexes. *-gurna*, and the other optional number markers listed in 5, are also found as optional number markers with the personal pronouns (there are some slight differences). Sequences consisting of *-gurna* following another optional number marker are found with the personal pronouns (see. 3.5). Given the close relationship between the verbal and personal pronominal number marking systems, it is possible that such sequences are also acceptable within the verbal number marking system.

In overall terms it would appear that both the Minimal/Augmented and singular/plural number classifications are operative in Gamu. The Minimal/ Augmented classification is found in the obligatory number marking systems. The singular/plural classification is found largely in the optional number marking systems. As such the Minimal/Augmented classification can probably be described as the basic number marking classification.

One unusual aspect of number marking in Gamu is that the animacy hierarchy has little effect on the coding of number. In most of the Top End languages number is only consistently coded for human referents, and to some extent with higher animate referents. However in Gamu number coding is also fairly consistent for lower animate and inanimate referents.

21. *jirr lawarr gurrutu*
pandanus sp lots 3AS.stand.PR
'There are lots of pandanus trees (there).' (331)

22. *dembel=dembel barlkbarlk gurru*
R-leaf everywhere 3AS.lie.PR
'There are leaves lying about everywhere.' (119)

23. *woerreng-ni lerr-dap-ma=ngu=birriti nguyk-ma*
mosquito-ERG bite-grab-IMPF=1MO=3AS.Aux.PI night-PRM
'The mosquitoes were biting me last night.' (359)

24. *dar=birrimiyn*
dry=3AS.Aux.PP
'(The clothes) dried.' (333)

25. *wern burrk=budam giyeng*
grass grow=3AS.Aux.PP new
'The new grass-shoots have grown.' (522)

26. *dala balpmuru may-ma dam-jet=wun=gurna=emu*
stick two that-PRM stick-stand=3AO=DU=1MS.Aux.PP
'I stuck those two sticks together.' (418)

As 26 illustrates number marking may even include the optional number markers. There are examples of animacy hierarchy considerations affecting number marking.

27. *dembel may jalk=gurruy jawu-jawungu*
leaf that fall=3AS.Aux.F R-soon
'Those leaves will be falling soon.'

neyin-nung-ma dawu-jet=gutang
after-DAT-PRM float-stand=3MS.Aux.F
'Later they will be floating.' (401)

The two clauses in 27 assign different numbers to the same referent(s). Similar patterns of number marking for entities lower on the animacy hierarchy are also found in Matngele. They are not characteristic of Warray, though EOB does mark number more consistently in her dialect of Warray than my other main Warray consultant does.

5.8. Indefinite Reference.

There are two ways of conveying indefinite reference in Gamu, depending on whether the indefinite entity is specific or non-specific. Non-specific indefiniteness is conveyed by use of the Interrogative/Indefinite demonstratives (see. 3.7). Specific indefinite reference is generally conveyed by the use of 3AUG forms.

1. *may-ma din.girrk-gatj=ganiyn*
that-PRM sick-caus=3MS.Aux.PP
'That bloke is sick.'

datj=burrumu
hit=3AS.Aux.PP
'Somebody hit him.' (592)

2. *dey-ma=wun=ayang lagiyi-ma nang.ga guk nuwun*
see-IMPF=3AO=1MS.Aux.PR man-PRM but Don't know who
'I can see somebody coming up, a man, but I don't know who it is.' (636)

3. *biyandak-ma=atu gurrang.gi-yin batu*
hear-IMPF=1MS.Aux.PR 3AS.go.NP-here maybe
'I can hear somebody coming, maybe.' (632)

However as 3 demonstrates 3MIN forms are sometimes used to convey specific indefinite meanings (*biyandak-ma=atu* has a 3MIN Object - the form for a 3AUG Object would be *biyandak-ma=wun=atu*).

5.9. Inchoatives.

There are a number of ways of forming inchoatives in Gamu. The most productive way of forming 'adjectival' inchoatives is with the compound verb *jet* 'to stand'.

1. *lerrp-jet=atayn*
hot-inch=1MS.Aux.PP
'I have become hot/I am hot.' (409)

2. *binya may guyung.gu-jet=butayn*
meat that cooked-inch=3MS.Aux.PP
'Is that meat cooked?' (233)

3. *meyi may guwerruk jet=butayn*
tucker that bad inch=3MS.Aux.PP
'That tucker has gone bad.' (233)

As 3 demonstrates, inchoatives of nominal 'adjectives' do not necessarily involve compounding. There are other methods of forming 'adjectival' inchoatives. One nominal 'adjective' *wakbarra* 'black' has an irregular inchoative form.

4. *marda wak-wak=miyn woeng jalk=guwuy*
cloud R-black=3MS.Aux.PP rain fall=3MS.Aux.F
'The clouds have gone black. Rain is going to fall.' (693)

There is also one example of the compound verb *buy* 'to go' in an inchoative function (see also 5.11).

5. *miyam-damarl-buy=ganiyn*
face-white-inch=3MS.Aux.PP
'His face went white.' (707)

The only reasonably well attested 'adjectival' inchoative construction, other than that involving *jet*, uses the compound verb *doet* 'to sit'.

6. *gunbiritj-doet=eningiyn*
good-inch=1MS.Aux.PP
'I have got better.' (588)

7. *woeng may jawu-jawungu jalk=guwuy wuk may*
rain that R-soon fall=3MS.Aux.F water that
diyenu-doet=gening ngajal
full-inch=3MS.Aux.F flood
'That rain will be falling soon. That water will become full. There will be a flood.' (431)

The factors controlling the choice between *jet* 'to stand' and *doet* 'to sit' as an inchoative are presently unknown. However there is one significant difference between them. *doet* can be used as an inchoative with 'nouns', whereas it does not appear that *jet* can be.

8. *murritja-doet=ningiyn*
afternoon-inch=3MS.Aux.PP
[lit.] 'It has become (late) afternoon/evening.'
'The sun has set.' (681)

9. *lelerrk doet=biningiyn=gurna*
old woman inch=3AS.Aux.PP=DU
'Those two have become old women.' (632)

There is another way of forming the inchoatives of nouns. This involves the simple verb 'to see (reflexive)' in the sense of 'to become'.

10. *nung.gurr-ma jerre-jerrerek nung.gunatji neyin-nung-ma*
2-PRM R-old man 2AS.become.F after-DAT-PRM
'You (two) will become old men later on.' (692)

The probable connection between the two meanings of this simple verb is via the meaning 'to see oneself as'. This is strongly suggested by one example where the compound verb *dey* 'to see' also occurred in the inchoative construction.

11. *berne jiyn-anyaru dey=natjing*
witchetty grub pygmy goose-like see=3MS.refl.PP
'The witchetty grub becomes like a pygmy goose.' (434)
[refers to the reputed transformation of witchetty grubs into a duck specie.]

The same construction occurs in Warray, where a reflexive form of the verb 'to see' is also means 'to become'. The simple verb inchoative is also attested once with an 'adjective'.

12. *giyerk anatjing*
wet 1MS.become.PP
'I got wet.' (678)

The factors controlling the appearance of the simple verb inchoative require further investigation.

5.10. Causatives.

Causatives in Gamu are formed with the compound verb *gatj* 'to throw'. *gatj* freely forms both nominal and verbal causatives.

1. *ni-gatj=ayayn*
name-caus=1MS.Aux.PP
'I named him.' (670)

2. *boeng.ger diyenu-gatj=ayayn*
billycan full-caus=1MS.Aux.PP
'I filled the billycan.' (203)

3. *bik jatma-gatj=ayayn*
string straight-caus=1MS.Aux.PP
'I straightened the string.' (207)

4. *guyung lerrp-gatj=anyayn*
milk hot-caus=2MS.Aux.PP
'Did you warm the milk up?' (421)

5. *binya guritj-gatj=ayayn yim-yende*
meat turn-caus=1MS.Aux.PP fire-LOC
'I turned the meat over in the fire.' (272)

5.11. Transitive/Intransitive Verb Pairs.

There are two ways of forming transitive/intransitive verb pairs in Gamu. One method is by using transitive and intransitive auxiliaries.

1. *bawar duk=miyn*
stone burst=3MS.Aux.PP
'The stone burst.' (156) ['to do/to say' auxiliary]

2. *murr duk=emu*
boil burst=1MS.Aux.PP
'I burst the boil.' (437) ['to hit' auxiliary]

However this method is not used as frequently in Gamu (and in the other ED languages), as it is in many northern languages with auxiliary systems. Instead Gamu (and the other ED languages) tend to use serial verb constructions (see. 5.12). The intransitive partner in a verbal pair is formed by serialising one of the intransitive stance or motion compound verbs. The transitive partner is formed by serialising the causative *gatj* (see. 5.10).

3. *yirrit-buy-am*
move-go-INT
'Move over!' (381)

4. *meyi yirrit-gatj=ayayn*
tucker move-caus=1MS.Aux.PP
'I moved the tucker over.' (381)

5. *yel-doet=eningiyn*
hide-sit=1MS.Aux.PP
'I hid' (557)

6. *wuk may yel-gatj=ayayn*
booze that hide-caus=1MS.Aux.PP
'I hid the booze.' (347)

7. *ngart dung-ga=guwuy*
tooth out-come=3MS.Aux.F
'(My) tooth is going to come out.' (277)

8. *ngart nguru guwerruk doet=ningiyn*
tooth 1MIN bad inch=3MS.Aux.PP
'My tooth was bad.'

dagarl-ni dung-gatj=ganiyn
dentist-ERG out-caus=3MS.Aux.PP
'The dentist took it out.' (365)

9. *ngudetu dar-jet=butayn*
billabong dry-inch=3MS.Aux.PP
'The billabong has dried up.' (154)

10. *mawuyn dar-gatj=ayayn*
clothes dry-caus=1MS.Aux.PP
'I dried the clothes.' (567)

11. *guwarriri wat-wut=yuyn dala-yende*
line hook up-lie=3MS.Aux.PP tree-LOC
'(My) line is hooked up on the tree.' (605)

12. *guwarriri wat-gatj-ma=ayang.gu*
line hook up-caus-IMPF=1MS.Aux.PR
'I am hooking up (my) line.' (569)

For some of these verbs transitivity values can also be signalled in ordinary verbal complex constructions, involving an auxiliary with an appropriate transitivity value.

13. *ngudetu may dar=gimi*
billabong that dry=3MS.Aux.F
'That billabong will dry up.' (644) [cf. 9]

However some verb roots are not presently attested in ordinary verbal complex constructions, but are only attested in serial verb constructions. Among these are the verbs *yirrit* 'to move over', *yel* 'to hide' and *dung* 'out' illustrated in 3 - 8. Further many of the verbs which are attested in both constructions, such as *dar* 'to dry', are more frequently attested in the serial verb construction than in the ordinary verbal complex construction. The precise nature of the contrasts between the serial verb construction and the ordinary verbal complex construction, for those verbs which permit both, requires further examination. However certain general patterns are observable.

Motion verbs are normally serialised with either *buy* 'to go' or *ga* 'to come', depending upon which is appropriate. Conversely nearly all verbs serialised with either *buy* 'to go' or *ga* 'to come' are motion verbs. There are a couple of examples of the serialising of *buy* 'to go' with

other than a motion verb (see. 5.9 : 5). *ga* 'to come' occurs somewhat more frequently with non-motion verbs, where it appears to have an inchoative/inceptive meaning.

14. *wertma gurna-memek diyen-bert-ga=ganiyn*
No 3-self door-open-come=3MS.Aux.PP
'No, the door came open by itself.'

15. *jerri beng-ga=ganiyn*
leg break-come=3MS.Aux.PP
'His leg is broken.' (511)

Apart from 14, where it occurs with *bert* 'to open', *ga* is otherwise attested only with *beng* 'to break', *den* 'to cut', *larlp* 'to crack', and *muyl* 'to break up'. Conversely it is the only intransitive verb serialised with these particular verbs. Given the semantic consistency of this small group, it is possible that *ga* is acting as a verbal classifier of some type.

The other intransitive verbs which are found in serial verb constructions are the three stance verbs. Serial verb constructions involving these verbs mark a number of verbal transitivity variations. Among these, we have already examined those set out in 16.

16. Reflexives and mediopassives - *wut* 'to lie', *jet* 'to stand' (see. 5.5)
Inchoatives - *doet* 'to sit', *jet* 'to stand' (see. 5.9)

It is probably the case that these specialised functions can be analysed as aspects of general intransitive verbal predicate formation functions for each of these verbs. The verb *wut* 'to lie', when it does not have an overt detransitivising function, is found with intransitive verbs of bodily experiences and effects.

17. *miyam lak-wut=eyuyn*
eye open-lie=1MS.Aux.PP
'I opened my eyes.' (157)

18. *manyu-ma din.girrk jalk-wut=burruyn*
those-PRM sick fall-lie=3AS.Aux.PP
'That lot fell sick.' (280)

19. *dat-wut=yuyn*
die-lie=3MS.Aux.PP
'She died/lay dead.' (388)

The other two stance verbs, *doet* 'to sit' and *jet* 'to stand', appear to have a fairly similar inchoativising 'to become' meaning with verbs as they do with nominals. As with their nominal inchoative function (see. 5.9), the distinction between the two verbs is not presently clear.

20. *ngelk-doet=eningiyn*
full-sit=1AS.Aux.PP
'We were full up.' (126)

21. *lem-doet=ningiyn lem=ganiyn wuk-ende*
sink-sit=3MS.Aux.PP sink=3MS.Aux.PP water-LOC
'It sank in the water.' (313)

22. *motika darrp-jet=butayn gurnun-yende narrng-doet=ningiyn*
car stick-stand=3MS.Aux.PP mud-LOC bog-sit=3MS.Aux.PP
darrp-doet=ningiyn

stick-sit-3MS.Aux.PP
'The car is stuck in the mud. It is bogged. It is stuck.' (214)

23. *dam-jet=aynjutayn*
stick-stand=2MS.Aux.PP
'Your (arm) is sticky.'

werek-giyik-giyik may-ma dam-dam-doet=biningiyn wamerr-diyn
child-R-little that-PRM R-stick-sit=3AS.Aux.PP honey-ABL
'Those kids' (arms) are sticky from honey.' (128)

24. *jinyin del-jet=butayn*
nose block-stand=3MS.Aux.PP
'(My) nose was blocked.' (212)

A proper understanding of the functions of the three stance verbs in serial verb constructions requires further investigation (see 5.12 following).

5.12. Serial Verb Constructions.

Serial verb constructions have considerable importance in Gamu, and in the other ED languages. Many of the constructions which signal variations in verbal transitivity are serial verb constructions (see. 5.5, 5.6 and 5.11). These constructions involve the grammaticalised use of the intransitive stance and motion verbs, and the transitive verb *gatj* 'to throw'. In these grammaticalised usages, these verbs are largely leached of their lexical meanings, and function essentially as affixes of various types (detransitivisers, inchoatives, causatives). However, for the stance verbs at least, there are examples of serial verb constructions which show a connection between the "affixal" and "lexical" functions of the stance verbs in serial verb constructions. This is illustrated by a comparison between 1 and 2.

1. *dat-wut=yuyn*
die-lie=3MS.Aux.PP
'She died/lay dead.' (388)

2. *jerrerek wurriyn=burrumu dat=miyn*
old man bury=3AS.Aux.PP die=3MS.Aux.PP
'They buried the old man. He had died.' (124)

A comparison of the different ways of coding 'to die' in 1 and 2 suggests that the stance meaning of *wut* 'to lie' is not irrelevant to its detransitivising functions. There are other examples which suggest this, both for *wut*, and for the other two stance verbs in their inchoativising function.

3. *guritj-wut=eyuyn yim-ba detoem*
turn-lie=1MS.Aux.PP fire-PER back
'I turned around and lay with my back to the fire.' (531)

4. *buy=ayayn bul-bul-doet=eningiyn yim-yende*
go=IMS.Aux.PP R-warm up-sit=1MS.Aux.PP fire-LOC
'I went (and sat) and warmed up by the fire.' (554)

5. *bay-jet=atayn*
get up-stand=1MS.Aux.PP
'I got up.' (205)

6. *nendu-diyn durritj-ga=ayayn durritj-jet=atayn*

horse-ABL down-come=1MS.Aux.PP down-stand=1MS.Aux.PP
'I came down off the horse. I got/stood down off it.' (212)

There are other examples where the three stance verbs are clearly serialised with their full lexical meaning.

7. *binya garnambal garlal-wut=gurruyung nguyk-ma*
animal flying fox climb-lie=3AS.Aux.F night-PRM
'The flying foxes will climb up and sleep (in the trees) at night.' (633)

8. *motika may diyenu*
car that full
'That car is full.'

wanyungu buy=eyung nguru-ma wanyungu garlal-doet=ening
Neg go=1MS.Aux.CON 1MIN-PRM Neg climb-sit=1MS.Aux.CON
'I am not going to climb up and sit (in the back).' (530)

9. *biyandak-jet=atayn wamerr-nung*
listen-stand=1MS.Aux.PP sugarbag-DAT
'I stood (against the tree) and listened for sugarbag.' (553)

Lexical serialisation, as illustrated in 7 - 9, is highly productive in Gamu.

10. *jirr-jalk=ayayn*
slip-fall=1MS.Aux.PP
'I slipped and fell over.' (374)

11. *binya guluwurr-ma anayn=gimin*
animal bird sp-PRM how=3MS.do.PR
'What is the bird doing?'

meyi ngak-ma=guyang dal-ngak-ma=guyang
food eat-IMPF=3MS.Aux.PR poke-eat-IMPF=3MS.Aux.PR
[lit.] 'It is eating the food. It is poking eating the food.'
'It is eating the food. It is pecking the food.' (538)

12. *manyu mara-datj-ma=birriti dawu*
those recip-hit-IMPF=3AS.Aux.PI trouble
'That lot were fighting.'

dek-dek-wudak=wun=ayayn datj-larr=wun=emu
R-run-approach=3AO=1MS.Aux.PP tr-stop=3AO=1MS.Aux.PP
'I ran up and approached them. I stopped them.' (576)

13. *dak bul-bul-guritj=buwali*
camp R-clean-go around=3MS.Aux.SUB
'She should be going around, cleaning up the camp.' (559)

14. *ditj-dey-jet=atayn*
return-look-stand=1MS.Aux.PP
'I (stood and) looked back.' (435)

The maximum number of distinct verbs presently attested in a serial verb construction is three, as in 14. Serial verb constructions may involve reduplicated verbs, as in 12 and 13. It appears that only the first verb may be reduplicated. Constructions involving both reduplication, and three distinct verbs are attested.

15. *yim may-ma goerr-goerr-wa-ga=anyayn*

firewood that-PRM R-drag-get-come=2MS.Aux.PP
'Did you drag that firewood back here.' (409)

It appears that serialised verbs maintain their inherently aspectualised nature (see. 4.3). Most serial constructions involve only perfective verb forms, apart from the last verb which displays a standard distribution of perfective and imperfective forms. However serial constructions involving non-final imperfective forms do occur.

16. *bawar jili-jilil-ma-wadoet-miyi=gunen pocket-yende*
money R-jingle-IMPF-have-IMPF=3MS.Aux.PR pocket-LOC
'He is jingling the money that he has in his pocket.' (229)

17. *yel-ma-durrk-ma=birriti*
secret-IMPF-drink-IMPF=3AS.Aux.PI
'They drank it secretly.' (552)

18. *garlk-miyi-guritj-ma=rnung=eyeng.ge werek-giyik nguyk-ma*
carry-IMPF-around-IMPF=3MIO=1MS.Aux.PI child-little night-PRM
'I rocked the child (to sleep) last night.' (512)

Further there are examples where the uninflected verb form must be interpreted in a perfective sense.

19. *arrayn jirrk-wut-miyi=guyu*
goanna enter-lie-IMPF=3MS.Aux.PR
[lit.] 'The goanna is lying, having entered (its hole).'
'The goanna is lying inside (its hole).' (565)

In 19 *jirrk* 'to enter' must be understood in the perfective sense of 'entered'. The imperfective sense of 'entering' is not acceptable. Further research on the constraints controlling serial verb constructions is required. It is worth noting that the process appears to have been characteristic of Proto-Eastern Daly. Serialisation is an important process in the other ED languages, and in all the ED languages there are a reasonable number of lexicalised serial verb combinations. Gamu and Matngele share certain lexicalised serial verb combinations, such as *wadoet* 'to have' (*wa* 'to get' + *doet* 'to sit'), which are probably inherited from their common ancestral language.

5.13. Noun Incorporation and Part/Whole Relations.

Noun incorporation is a productive process in Gamu. Most incorporated nouns are body parts.

1. *detoem-yarrp=ngu=bumu*
back-rub=1MO=3MS.Aux.PP
'He rubbed my back.' (115)

2. *mer-lala=emiyn*
foot-swell=1MS.Aux.PP
'My foot has swollen up.' (125)

3. *guyur-yerr-gatj-am*
mucus-wipe-caus-INT
'Wipe that mucus!' (592)

There are a few examples involving incorporation of nouns other than body parts.

4. *manyu-ma meyn-jeljel-ma=bini*
those-PRM corroboree-sing-IMPF=3AS.Aux.PI

'That lot sang corroboree.' (453)

5. *wanyungu mat-biyandak=ngu=birri*
Neg word-listen=1MO=3AS.Aux.SUB
[lit.] 'They did not listen to my words.'
'They did not believe me.' (620)

6. *werek-giyik may-ma wabuy=anyayn jal-warryet-ma*
child-little that-PRM take=2MS.Aux.PP road-walk-IMPF
'Did you take that kid for a walk on the road?' (494)

There is a commonality between the incorporated nouns in 4 - 6 and the incorporated body part nouns in 1 - 3. In terms of Halliday's (1985 : 134) definition of the Range as "the domain over which the process takes place", they may all be defined as Ranges. Consequently incorporation in Gamu may be analysed as involving the incorporation of nouns with a Range function. The concept of the Range is also useful in describing the function of body part nominals in clauses where they are not incorporated.

7. *wamerr-ni dam=ngu=may bar*
honey-ERG stick=1MO=3MS.Aux.PP arm
'Honey has stuck to my arm.' (111)

8. *miyam gurlk-gurlk-ma=ngu=guyang*
eye R-ache-IMPF=1MO=3MS.Aux.PR
'My eye is aching.' (88)

9. *jinyin yarrp=eyitjing*
nose rub=1MS.refl.PP
'I rubbed my nose.' (271)

10. *burng-ni wurriyn=ngu=bumu miyam*
dust-ERG bury=1MO=3MS.Aux.PP eye
'Dust entered my eye.' (431)

7 - 10 illustrate the usual construction found in situations involving part/whole reference. They display the possessor ascension pattern of cross-reference, where the pronominal cross-reference is to the whole, rather than to the part (1, 2 and 5 also display this pattern). As such it would appear that the part is not to be understood as a patient/theme. It can however be interpreted as a Range, expressing the domain over which the process takes place. These body part Ranges appear to have a locative thematic role [i.e. the domain they express is a location]. There is one example of a body part with overt Locative case marking in a possessor ascension clause.

11. *memek-yende yarrpwut=ngu=ganiyn jamarr-ni ngak=buleyn*
hand-LOC grab from=1MO=3MS.Aux.PP dog-ERG eat=3MS.Aux.PP
[lit.] 'The dog grabbed the meat from me at the hand, and ate it.'
'The dog grabbed (the meat) from my hand, and ate it.' (358)

Incorporated body part nominals, as in 1 - 3, may also be plausibly interpreted as having locative thematic roles. Parts are not necessarily restricted to being Ranges. There do exist alternative constructions where they have patient/theme roles and receive pronominal cross-reference.

12. *bar nung.gurr wulng?-wulng-ma=guyu motika-yende*
arm 2 R-hang out-IMPF=3MS.Aux.PR car-LOC
'Your arm is hanging out the car.' (361)

13. *ngener dung-gatj=ganiyn warruk-ni*
tongue out-caus=3MS.Aux.PP boy-ERG
'The boy poked his tongue out.' (278)

It is likely that the difference between the two types of part/whole constructions relate to the degree of discourse prominence of the part. In situations where the part has a high degree of discourse prominence it will receive pronominal cross-reference. However in most situations parts have a low discourse prominence, with the whole having a much higher discourse prominence. Consequently the possessor ascension construction is more frequent, than the alternative constructions illustrated in 12 and 13. It should be noted that the class of body parts in Gamu is not restricted to physical body parts, but includes entities which are saliently associated with the individual, such as 'name'.

14. *may-ma ni nguru-ma bang-bang-ma=guyang.gu=ngu*
that-PRM name 1MIN-PRM R-not know-IMPF=3MS.Aux.PR=1MO
'That fellow does not know my name.' (355)

5.14. Verbal Compounds.

Verbal compounding occupies a central place in the grammar of Gamu. Noun incorporation, serial verbs, transitivity variations, and denominalisation all involve the use of verbal compounding structures. Evidence concerning the compound status of these structures, and the nature of their interaction comes from a variety of sources.

1. *lagiyi may meyn-jeljel-ma gunbiritj guyang*
man that corroboree-sing-IMPF good 3MS.be.NP
'That man is a good corroboree singer.' (439)

2. *wertma jiyn-jut-jirr-da=ayayn*
Neg NF-step-slip-PRIV=1MS.Aux.PP
'I did not slip.' (660)

3. *mara-gurnak-dal=birritjing=gurna*
recip-belly-strike=3AS.recip.PP=DU
'Those two struck each other in the belly.' (662)

4. *ngeluru-ma ngeldi-ngeldiyn jiyn-mara-doerrbet-da=boerreng.ge*
before-PRM R-old days NF-recip-argue-PRIV=3AS.Aux.PI
gunbiritj boerreng.ge=gurna
good 3AS.be.PI=DU
'Before, in the old days, those two never used to argue with one another. They were good.' (694)

5. *wertma jiyn-mat-biyandak-da=burrayn=ngu*
Neg NF-word-listen-PRIV=3AS.Aux.PP=1MO
'They did not listen to my story.' (646)

The Simple Negative has the structure *jiyn-Verb-da* (see. 4.8.1). As such 2, 4 and 5 provide evidence that serial verb constructions, noun incorporation constructions and reciprocals are all compound structures. The occurrence of an incorporated noun in the non-finite structure in 1 provides further evidence that noun incorporation is a compounding structure. 3 argues that noun incorporation precedes reciprocalisation. In overall terms 1 - 5 suggest that verbal compounding is constrained by the following template.

6. (Reciprocal)-(Incorporated Noun)-(Serialised Verb [2])-Compound Verb

There are presently no examples where all possibilities in this template are filled. Further research is required to determine the correctness of this proposed template.

5.15. Ascriptive, Equational, Existential and Possessive propositions

These propositions may be conveyed by either verbless or verbal clauses.

1. *meyi ngin guwerruk*
   tucker here bad
   'This tucker is bad.' (265) [ascriptive]

2. *lagiyi may-ma meyi wertwert guyang*
   man that-PRM tucker greedy 3MS.be.PR
   'That man is greedy for tucker' (196) [ascriptive]

3. *manyu-muk-ma awuy-ngu-muk le-lelerrk*
   those-COLL-PRM aunt-1MIN-COLL R-old woman
   'Those old women are my aunts.' (281) [equational]

4. *meyi ana*
   tucker where
   'Where is the tucker?' (188) [existential]

5. *buy-ma-rda nying.gin-ma dewer may-am guyu*
   go-IMPF-PRIV that way-PRM snake that-INT 3MS.lie.PR
   'Don't go that way! There is a snake lying there.' (103) [existential]

6. *jamarr nguru may-ma*
   dog 1MIN that-PRM
   'That is my dog.' (82) [possessive]

7. *maygin-muk-ma meyi wadoet-miyi=gunen*
   that-COLL-PRM tucker have-IMPF=3AS.Aux.PR
   'That lot have some tucker.' (361) [possessive]

There are presently no examples of verbal equational clauses. However it seems most probable that these are possible. The verbs which most commonly occur with the ascriptive and existential propositions are the three stance verbs and the motion verb 'to go'. When these four verbs occur in clauses which express a stance or motion predication they are normally accompanied by a compound verb (see 4.2). However when they convey ascriptive and existential propositions they are not accompanied by a compound verb (however see 5.9 for the inchoative functions of the stance and motion compound verbs). The distinction between the coding of this class of propositions with verbal clauses involving these motion and stance verbs, and with verbless clauses is not presently clear. The verbs cannot be analysed simply as more precisely locating the relevant entities. The verbs can be used with non-corporeal entities, which do not have a particular stance or motion.

8. *marrk ngun-ma gerr-gatj-ma marrk-juru guyu*
   cold there-PRM feel cold-caus-IMPF cold-really 3MS.lie.PR
   'It is cold out there, feeling cold. It is really cold.' (531)

With human referents, at least, the motion verb 'to go' is the unmarked verb for this class of propositions. It is used when no particular stance or motion is relevant, and frequently even when one is relevant. As such the 'to go' verb effectively means 'to be' with this class of propositions. The same situation holds in Matngele, and also in

Warray. The other verb which appears with this class of propositions is 'to be, to do'. The nature of its function with this class of propositions requires further research.

11. *mern guwerruk emiyn*
heart bad 1MS.be.PP
'My heart is no good.' (347)

It is possible that its function in these clauses is similar to its function as an auxiliary, where it classifies intransitive verbs of bodily effects and experiences (see 4..5.1). As such this verb may signify 'to experience'. There are three verbs which are found with possessive propositions.

12. *akal-ngu balpmuru nembeyu ayaynju=wun*
sister-1MIN two one 1MS.have.PR=3AO
'I have three sisters.' (185)

13. *nung.gurr-ma balpmuru wa-miyi=wun=anyang.gu*
2=PRM two have-IMPF=3AO=2MS.Aux.PR
'You have two sisters.' (351)

14. *maygin-muk-ma meyi wadoet-miyi=gunen*
that-COLL-PRM tucker have-IMPF=3MS.Aux.PR
'That lot have tucker.' (361)

The simple verb 'to have' in 12 otherwise means 'to take' (the same commonality is also found in Warray where 'to take' also functions as 'to have'). This simple verb construction was not commonly used, and may indeed represent a calque on the Warray constructions by EOB. The verb in 13 otherwise means 'to get'. However as discussed in 4.3, the possessive verb in 13 can probably be distinguished from the verb 'to get' by the fact that the possessive verb uses the Imperfective suffix *-miyi*, whereas 'to get' uses the Imperfective suffix *-ma*. The verb *wadoet* in 14 also means 'to have' (historically it is a compound of *wa* 'to get' and *doet* 'to sit'). It is only attested with alienably possessed entities. As with the other classes of propositions, the distinction between coding possessive propositions with verbal clauses and coding them with verbless clauses is not presently clear.

As stated in 5.1, verbless clauses must be interpreted as having Present tense reference, unless there is some overt indication to the contrary.

15. *miyer may-ma jurrma nang.ga jawungu-ma wertma*
swag that-PRM heavy but now-PRM Neg
'That swag was heavy, but it is not now.' (645)

Propositions belonging to these classes with other than Present tense reference are usually expressed by verbal clauses.

16. *ngeluru ngeldi-ngeldiyn-ma gerrer biti may-am*
before R-old days-PRM ironwood 3MS.stand.PI that-INT
'Before, in the old days an ironwood tree used to stand there.' (109)

17. *wertma jiyn-abap-da=arrayn gunbiritj erreng.ge*
Neg NF-tired-PRIV=1AS.Aux.PP good 1AS.be.PI
'We were not tired. We were okay.' (171)

18. *ngeluru-ma dak amungal bini*
before-PRM camp Adelaide River 3AS.sit.PI

'Before they used to live at Adelaide River.' (260)

Past tense reference is marked by the use of Past Imperfective forms, even with examples such as 17 where no particular Imperfective meaning is conveyed. This is the reverse of the situation with other verbal clauses where the Past Perfective is the unmarked Past tense (see 4.7.1). The stance and motion verbs found with this class of propositions are thus distinct from other verbs in two ways; in their use of tense forms, and in the fact that they do not take the compound verbs, which can otherwise accompany them.

5.16. Interclausal Relations.

As in most northern languages, interclausal relations in Gamu do not present great formal complexity. Formal subordination is relatively uncommon, and clausal relationships are generally rather loose and paratactic in nature. Subordinated structures are found in clause sequences coding causal/sequential relationships.

1. *bat-jet-gatj=ngu=burrayn* *doet-miyi-diyn=eni*
   get up-stand-caus=1MO=3AS.Aux.PP sit-IMPF-ABL=1MS.Aux.PI
   'They got me up from sitting down.' (735)

2. *dawu-lerr-diyn=ayayn-ma* *ngelu*
   trouble-bite-ABL=1MS.Aux.PP-PRM before
   mern-ber=emiyn
   heart-calm down=1MS.Aux.PP
   'I have calmed down from being angry before.' (730)

3. *yil nguru-ma yirr-ma-rdiyn bilpurr-jet=butayn*
   skin 1MIN-PRM scratch-IMPF-ABL red-inch=3MS.Aux.PP
   'My skin has gone red from me scratching it.'

The Ablative case marker signals sequential/causal relationships in 1 - 3. It seems likely that its basic function is as a sequential marker, with causality being a possible secondary interpretation. The Ablative marked forms in 1 and 2, while subordinated, are still standard finite clauses. The Ablative marked form in 3 is however a non-finite form. Subordinated non-finite forms are also found marking purposive relationships.

4. *ngeldi-ngeldiyn-ma buy-ma=erreng.ge ngerru-butja Tipperary*
   R-old days-PRM go-IMPF=1AS.Aux.PI 1AUG-pair Tipperary
   woerrkim-ma-rnung buy-ma=erreng.ge
   work-IMPF-DAT go-IMPF=1AS.Aux.PI
   'In the old days, we two used to go to Tipperary. We used to go to work.' (230)

Case marked non-finite forms are also found in a non-subordinated function as nominals in verbless clauses.

5. *datar* *ngorr-ngorr-ma-rnung*
   grindstone R-grind-IMPF-DAT
   'A grindstone is for grinding.' (158)

The only other clausal sequences which show formal evidence of structuring are those expressing future (hypothetical) conditional relationships. These sequences may involve Conditional verb forms. Conditional forms are not attested occurring independently in positive clauses (they do occur independently in the Conditional Negative construction - see. 4.8.3).

6. *meyi may-ma ngak=ete-ma din.girrk-gatj=ngu=guwuy*
tucker that-PRM eat=1MS.Aux.CON-PRM sick-caus=1MO=3MS.Aux.F
'If I eat that tucker, I will get sick.' (399)

However sequences involving Future tense verbs, with apparent conditional meanings occur frequently.

7. *gaka manyu=nung=geynjimi anyang.gu buy=gaynjuy-ma*
uncle tell=3MO=2MS.Aux.F 2MS.go.NP go=2MS.Aux.F-PRM
'Are you going to tell uncle that you are going?'

yow dey=gana manyu=nung=gemi
yes see=1MS.Aux.F tell=3MO=1MS.Aux.F
'Yes I will tell him, when/if I see him.' (338)

It may be that clause sequences involving Future tense forms signal greater certainty, and should be translated with 'when', whereas clause sequences involving Conditional tense forms signal lesser certainty, and should be translated with 'if'. However there is presently no clear evidence establishing that this is the nature of the distinction. Past (counterfactual) conditionals are coded with Subjunctive verb forms.

8. *wertma jiyn-ngang-da=ayayn=nung wanyungu dey=ewuy*
Neg NF-give-PRIV=1MS.Aux.PP=3MO Neg see=1MS.Aux.SUB
'No, I did not give it to him. I did not see him.'

dey=ewuy-ma ngang=nung=awali
see=1MS.Aux.SUB-PRM give=3MO=1MS.Aux.SUB
'If I had seen him, I would have given it to him.' (441)

Other well known types of clausal relationships, such as relative and contemporaneous relationships, are simply marked by paratactic clause sequences.

9. *jatjin may bamgun dey=eneng may-am guyang.gi-yin*
yesterday that woman see=1AS.Aux.PP that-INT 3MS.go.NP-here
[lit.] 'We saw that woman yesterday. That one, she is coming here.'
'It is that woman we saw yesterday coming here.' (340)

10. *deyma-dey-ma garlal-ma=anyang.gu gerrerre*
R-watch out-IMPF climb-IMPF=2MS.Aux.PR leg
beng-ga=gaynjuy
break-come=2MS.Aux.F
'Watch out while you are climbing! You might break your leg.' (404)

5.17. The Prominence Marker.

The Prominence marker *-ma* is extremely frequent in Gamu. It is extensively exemplified throughout this grammar, and consequently is not specifically exemplified in this section. The function of this marker is to indicate that speaker wishes to bring the attention of the hearer to the constituent marked with *-ma*. The Prominence marker is not however a marker of topicality or focus, as these terms are commonly used in linguistics. Normally there can be only one topic or focus per clause, and topics are usually set off from the rest of the clause by intonation patterns. It seems highly likely that a study of intonation patterns in Gamu would reveal 'topics' of this nature.

The distribution of the Prominence marker is quite different from this. It frequently occurs more than once in a clause, and constituents marked with the Prominence marker are not intonationally distinguished in any particular manner. A more complete understanding of the functions of

the Prominence marker requires a reasonable data base of textual material, which does not presently exist in Gamu.

5.18. Sentential Modification and Particles.

The sentential modifiers and sentential particles presently attested are set out in 1.

1. *yow* 'yes'
wertma 'no'
guk 'Don't know'
mara 'in (re)turn'
nang.ga 'but'
warn- 'Mistaken Opinion'

yow, while being a particle, in fact functions only as a minor sentence form. *wertma* is found as a minor sentence, as the Negative in the Simple Negative construction (see. 4.8.1), and as a modifier in an alternative to the nominal Privative construction (see. 3.4.10). *guk* signals that the speaker does not know the answer to a question.

2. *ga=ganiyn ngin-am guk andama buy=ganiyn*
come=3MS.Aux.PP here-INT Don't know which way go=3MS.Aux.PP
'She came here (this morning). I don't know where she has gone.' (142)

There are occasional examples of the use of *guk* as an exclamation, in the same way that 'I don't know' is used in Australian English.

3. *guk neyin jirriyn-bulp=gimi*
Don't know after tail-wag=3MS.Aux.F
'I don't know. Later he will wag his tail.'

The particle *mara* 'in (re)turn' is examined in 5.6. The particle *nang.ga* is found as a clausal conjunction, and appears to be essentially similar in meaning to 'but'. The 'Mistaken Opinion' form *warn-* is the odd one out among the sentential modifiers, as it is a bound verbal form.

4. *may-ma warn-buy=ganiyn nang.ga ngin-am gunen*
that-PRM M.O.-go=3MS.Aux.PP but here-INT 3MS.sit.PR
'I thought that he had gone, but he is here.' (394)

There are a couple of examples where *warn-* appears to function as a marker of Obligation.

5. *lagiyi may-ma warn-ditj-ga=buwali*
man that-PRM ?-return-come=3MS.Aux.SUB
'That man should have come back.' (693)

Further investigation of the functions of *warn-* is required.

APPENDIX 1 - GAMU SIMPLE VERB PARADIGMS
(Only attested forms are listed.)

'to burn'

	Past Perfective		Past Imperfective		Subjunctive
1MS	awarning	1MS		1MS	
2MS	aynjarning	2MS		2MS	
1+2MS	ambarning	1+2MS		1+2MS	
3MS	warning	3MS	warini	3MS	buwarini ~ buwaani
1AS	arrarning	1AS		1AS	
2AS	nung.gurrarning	2AS		2AS	
3AS	burrarning	3AS		3AS	
	Present		**Future**		**Conditional**
1MS		1MS		1MS	
2MS		2MS		2MS	
1+2MS		1+2MS		1+2MS	
3MS	guwamin	3MS	guwari	3MS	wari
1AS		1AS		1AS	
2AS		2AS		2AS	
3AS		3AS		3AS	

'to consume'

	Past Perfective		Past Imperfective		Subjunctive
1MS	eleyn	1MS		1MS	ewey
2MS	eynjuleyn	2MS		2MS	eynjuley
1+2MS	embuleyn	1+2MS		1+2MS	embuley ~ embuwey
3MS	buleyn	3MS		3MS	buwey
1AS	erruleyn	1AS		1AS	errey
2AS	nung.guleyn	2AS		2AS	nung.gurrey
3AS	burruleyn	3AS		3AS	burrey ~ burruley

	Present		Future		Conditional
1MS	eyiynjen	1MS	geye	1MS	ete
2MS	enyiynjen	2MS	geynjiye	2MS	eynjute
1+2MS	emnyiynjen	1+2MS	gembiye	1+2MS	embute
3MS	giyiynjen	3MS	giye	3MS	bute
1AS	erriynjen	1AS	gerriye	1AS	errute
2AS	ning.girriynjen	2AS	ning.girriye	2AS	nung.gute
3AS	girriynjen	3AS	girriye	3AS	burrute

'to do, to say, to think'

	Past Perfective		Past Imperfective		Subjunctive
1MS	emiyn	1MS	emini	1MS	emini
2MS	eynmiyn	2MS	eynmini	2MS	eynjimini
1+2MS	embimiyn	1+2MS	embimini	1+2MS	embimini
3MS	miyn	3MS	mini	3MS	bimini
1AS	errimiyn	1AS	errimini	1AS	errimini
2AS	ning.girrimiyn	2AS	ning.girrimini	2AS	ning.girrimini
3AS	birrimiyn	3AS	birrimini	3AS	birrimini

'to do, to say, to think'

	Present		Future		Conditional
1MS	emin	1MS	gemi	1MS	emi
2MS	eynmin	2MS	geynjimi	2MS	eynmi
1+2MS	embimin	1+2MS	gembimi	1+2MS	embimi
3MS	gimin	3MS	gimi	3MS	mi
1AS	errimin	1AS	gerrimi	1AS	errimi
2AS	ning.girrimin	2AS	ning.girrimi	2AS	ning.girrimi
3AS	girrimin	3AS	girrimi	3AS	birrimi

'to get'

	Past Perfective		Past Imperfective		Subjunctive
1MS	amay	1MS		1MS	
2MS	aynmay	2MS		2MS	
1+2MS	ambumay	1+2MS		1+2MS	
3MS	may	3MS		3MS	
1AS	arrumay	1AS		1AS	
2AS	nung.gurrumay	2AS		2AS	
3AS	burrumay	3AS		3AS	

	Present		Future		Conditional
1MS	emeng.gen	1MS	gama	1MS	
2MS	eynmeng.gen	2MS	gaynjuma	2MS	aynma
1+2MS	embumeng.gen	1+2MS	gambuma	1+2MS	
3MS	gumeng.gen	3MS	guma	3MS	
1AS	errumeng.gen	1AS	garruma	1AS	
2AS	nung.gurrumeng.gen	2AS	nung.gurruma	2AS	
3AS	gurrumeng.gen	3AS	gurruma	3AS	

'to go'

	Past Perfective		Past Imperfective		Subjunctive
1MS	ayayn	1MS	eyeng.ge	1MS	awali
2MS	anyayn	2MS	enyeng.ge	2MS	aynjali
1+2MS	amnyayn	1+2MS	emnyeng.ge	1+2MS	ambali
3MS	ganiyn	3MS	yeng.ge	3MS	buwali
1AS	arrayn	1AS	erreng.ge	1AS	erri
2AS	nung.gurrayn	2AS	nung.gurreng.ge	2AS	ning.girri
3AS	burrayn	3AS	boerreng.ge	3AS	birri

	*Present		Future		Conditional
1MS	ayang(gu)	1MS	gawuy	1MS	
2MS	anyang(gu)	2MS	gaynjuy	2MS	
1+2MS	amnyang(gu)	1+2MS	gambuy	1+2MS	
3MS	guyang(gu)	3MS	guwuy	3MS	
1AS	arrang(gu)	1AS	garruy	1AS	
2AS	nung.gurrang(gu)	2AS	nung.gurruy	2AS	
3AS	gurrang(gu)	3AS	gurruy	3AS	

(*See 4.7.3.)

'to hit'

	Past Perfective		Past Imperfective		Subjunctive
1MS	emu	1MS	ewunu	1MS	ewuy
2MS	eynjumu	2MS	eynjuwunu	2MS	eynjuwuy
1+2MS	embumu	1+2MS	embuwunu	1+2MS	embuwuy
3MS	bumu	3MS	buwunu	3MS	buwuy
1AS	errumu	1AS	erruwunu	1AS	erruwuy
2AS	nung.gurrumu	2AS	nung.gurruwunu	2AS	nung.gurruwuy
3AS	burrumu	3AS	burruwunu	3AS	burruwuy

'to hit'

	Present		Future		Conditional
1MS	ewumben	1MS	gewu	1MS	
2MS	enyuynben	2MS	geynjuwu	2MS	
1+2MS	emnyuynben	1+2MS	gembuwu	1+2MS	
3MS	guwumben	3MS	guwu	3MS	
1AS	errunben	1AS	gerruwu	1AS	
2AS	nung.gurrunben	2AS	nung.gurruwu	2AS	
3AS	gurrunben	3AS	gurruwu	3AS	

'to lie'

	Past Perfective		Past Imperfective		Subjunctive
1MS	eyuyn	1MS	eyu	1MS	ani
2MS	enyuyn	2MS	enyu	2MS	aynjuni
1+2MS	emnyuyn	1+2MS	emnyu	1+2MS	ambuni
3MS	yuyn ~ yunguyn	3MS	yu	3MS	buni
1AS	erruyn	1AS	erru	1AS	arruni
2AS	nung.gurruyn	2AS	nung.gurru	2AS	nung.gurruni
3AS	burruyn	3AS	burru	3AS	burruni

	Present		Future		Conditional
1MS	ayu	1MS	geyung	1MS	eyung
2MS	anyu	2MS	geynjuyung	2MS	enyung
1+2MS	amnyu	1+2MS	gembuyung	1+2MS	emnyung
3MS	guyu	3MS	guyung	3MS	yung
1AS	arru	1AS	gerruyung	1AS	errung
2AS	nung.gurru	2AS	nung.gurruyung	2AS	nung.gurrung
3AS	gurru	3AS	gurruyung	3AS	burrung

'reflexive'

	Past Perfective		Past Imperfective		Subjunctive
1MS	eyitjing	1MS	eyitjini	1MS	eyitjini
2MS	eynjitjing	2MS	eynjitjini	2MS	eynjitjini
1+2MS	embitjing	1+2MS	embitjini	1+2MS	embitjini
3MS	yitjing	3MS	yitjini	3MS	biyitjini
1AS	erritjing	1AS	erritjini	1AS	erritjini
2AS	ning.girritjing	2AS	ning.girritjini	2AS	ning.girritjini
3AS	birritjing	3AS	birritjini	3AS	birritjini

	Present		Future		Conditional
1MS	eyitjimin	1MS	geyitji	1MS	eyitji
2MS	eynjitjimin	2MS	geynjitji	2MS	eynjitji
1+2MS	embitjimin	1+2MS	gembitji	1+2MS	embitji
3MS	giyitjimin	3MS	giyitji	3MS	yitji
1AS	erritjimin	1AS	gerritji	1AS	erritji
2AS	ning.girritjimin	2AS	ning.girritji	2AS	ning.girritji
3AS	girritjimin	3AS	girritji	3AS	birritji

'to see'

	Past Perfective		Past Imperfective		Subjunctive
1MS	eneng	1MS		1MS	
2MS	eynneng	2MS		2MS	
1+2MS	emneng	1+2MS		1+2MS	
3MS	neng	3MS		3MS	
1AS	eneng	1AS		1AS	
2AS	nung.guneng	2AS		2AS	
3AS	buneng	3AS		3AS	

'to see'

	Present		Future		Conditional
1MS	enemin	1MS	gana	1MS	ana
2MS	eynnemin	2MS	gaynjuna	2MS	aynna
1+2MS	emnemin	1+2MS	gambuna	1+2MS	amna
3MS	gunemin	3MS	guna	3MS	na
1AS	enemin	1AS	garruna	1AS	ana
2AS	nung.gunemin	2AS	nung.guna	2AS	nung.guna
3AS	gunemin	3AS	gurruna	3AS	buna

'to see (reflexive)'

	Past Perfective		Past Imperfective		Subjunctive
1MS	anatjing	1MS		1MS	
2MS	aynnatjing	2MS		2MS	
1+2MS	amnatjing	1+2MS		1+2MS	
3MS	natjing	3MS		3MS	
1AS	arrunatjing	1AS		1AS	
2AS	nung.gunatjing	2AS		2AS	
3AS	bunatjing	3AS		3AS	bunatjini

	Present		Future		Conditional
1MS		1MS	ganatji	1MS	
2MS		2MS	gaynjunatji	2MS	
1+2MS		1+2MS		1+2MS	amnatji
3MS		3MS		3MS	
1AS		1AS	garrunatji	1AS	anatji
2AS	nung.gunatjimin	2AS	nung.gunatji	2AS	nung.gunatji
3AS		3AS	gurrunatji	3AS	bunatji

'to sit'

	Past Perfective		Past Imperfective		Subjunctive
1MS	eningiyn	1MS	eni	1MS	anay
2MS	eynningiyn	2MS	eynni	2MS	aynjunay
1+2MS	emningiyn	1+2MS	emni	1+2MS	ambunay
3MS	ningiyn	3MS	ni	3MS	bunay
1AS	eningiyn	1AS	eni	1AS	arrunay
2AS	ning.giningiyn	2AS	ning.gini	2AS	nung.gu(rru)nay
3AS	biningiyn	3AS	bini	3AS	burrunay

	Present		Future		Conditional
1MS	enoen	1MS	gening	1MS	ening
2MS	eynnoen	2MS	geynjining	2MS	eynning
1+2MS	emnoen	1+2MS	gembining	1+2MS	emning
3MS	gunen	3MS	gining	3MS	ning
1AS	enoen	1AS	gerrining	1AS	ening
2AS	nung.gunen	2AS	ning.girrining	2AS	ning.gining
3AS	gunen	3AS	girrining	3AS	bining

'to spear'

	Past Perfective		Past Imperfective		Subjunctive
1MS	ardam	1MS		1MS	arday
2MS	ayndam	2MS		2MS	aynjuday
1+2MS	am(bu)dam	1+2MS		1+2MS	ambuday
3MS	dam	3MS		3MS	buday
1AS	ardam	1AS		1AS	arruday
2AS	nung.gudam	2AS		2AS	nung.gurruday
3AS	bu(rru)dam	3AS		3AS	burruday

'to spear'

	Present		Future		Conditional
1MS		1MS	garda	1MS	arda
2MS		2MS	gaynjuda	2MS	aynda
1+2MS		1+2MS	gambuda	1+2MS	am(bu)da
3MS		3MS	guda	3MS	da
1AS		1AS	garruda	1AS	arruda
2AS		2AS	nung.gu(rru)da	2AS	nung.guda
3AS		3AS	gurruda	3AS	buda

'to stand'

	Past Perfective		Past Imperfective		Subjunctive
1MS	atayn	1MS	eti	1MS	atay
2MS	aynjutayn	2MS	eynjiti	2MS	aynjutay
1+2MS	ambutayn	1+2MS	embiti	1+2MS	ambutay
3MS	butayn	3MS	biti	3MS	butay
1AS	arrutayn	1AS	erriti	1AS	arrutay
2AS	nung.gutayn	2AS	ning.giti	2AS	nung.gutay
3AS	burrutayn	3AS	birriti	3AS	burrutay

	Present		Future		Conditional
1MS	atu	1MS	gatang	1MS	atang
2MS	aynjutu	2MS	gaynjutang	2MS	aynjutang
1+2MS	ambutu	1+2MS	gambutang	1+2MS	ambutang
3MS	gutu	3MS	gutang	3MS	butang
1AS	arrutu	1AS	garrutang	1AS	arrutang
2AS	nung.gurrutu	2AS	nung.gurrutang	2AS	nung.gutang
3AS	gurrutu	3AS	gurrutang	3AS	burrutang

'to take'

	Past Perfective		Past Imperfective		Subjunctive
1MS		1MS	eyiynjenge	1MS	
2MS		2MS	enyiynjenge	2MS	
1+2MS		1+2MS	emnyiynjenge	1+2MS	
3MS		3MS	yiynjenge	3MS	
1AS		1AS	erriynjenge	1AS	
2AS		2AS	ning.girriynjenge	2AS	
3AS		3AS	birriynjenge	3AS	

	Present		Future		Conditional
1MS	ayaynju	1MS		1MS	
2MS	anyaynju	2MS		2MS	
1+2MS	amnyaynju	1+2MS		1+2MS	
3MS	guyaynju	3MS		3MS	
1AS	arraynju	1AS		1AS	
2AS	nung.gurraynju	2AS		2AS	
3AS	gurraynju	3AS		3AS	

'Woelye' (no assignable meaning. see 4.2)

	Past Perfective		Past Imperfective		Subjunctive
1MS	ewoelyeng	1MS		1MS	
2MS	eynjoelyeng	2MS		2MS	
1+2MS	emboelyeng	1+2MS		1+2MS	
3MS	buwoelyeng	3MS		3MS	
1AS	erroelyeng	1AS		1AS	
2AS	nung.goelyeng	2AS		2AS	
3AS	burroelyeng	3AS		3AS	

'Woelye' (no assignable meaning. see 4.2)

	Present		Future		Conditional
1MS		1MS	gewoelye	1MS	ewoelye
2MS		2MS	geynjoelye	2MS	eynjoelye
1+2MS		1+2MS	gemboelye	1+2MS	emboelye
3MS		3MS	guwoelye	3MS	buwoelye
1AS		1AS	gerroelye	1AS	erroelye
2AS		2AS	nung.gurroelye	2AS	nung.gurroelye
3AS		3AS	gurroelye	3AS	burroelye

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