

- (1) Kamil Yarri ngununda bumanabilla.
 Gamil Yarri nganunda buma-na-bi-li
 NEG Harry-[ERG] 1sgLOC hit-VD?-LET¹
 Harry will not *allow-any-one-to-beat* me.
 (ridley_kamilaroi_1855-1)
-
- (2) Ngungu-dhi nhila buraay-nhu ngadhu-nhu; Minyaminyambul
 Give-! That child-your I-for-you; Something-something
 ngum-biya-girri.
 give-constantly-will
 ‘Give me that child and I will give you plenty of compensation’
-
- (3) Ngate pant-ir porle, balb-êmb-itye
 Ngati pant-ir po:rli palp-emb-itji
 1sgERG bear-PAST child-[ACC] white-RPAST-3sgNOM
 By me (a) bringing forth has been child, white was it
 “I brought forward a child and it was white: or, My child was white when
 it was born”
 (meyer_vocabulary_1843)
- (4) Pulyunna meyu tittappe-urti, pindi meyu nurru-ttoai
 Pulyurn miyu tita-api-rti pinti miyu nuru-tuwayi
 black man hang-CAUSE-NEG. IMP European curse-AVERS
 ‘Don’t hang the black man, that the European be not charmed
 [ensorcelled]’
 (teichelmann_outlines_1840)
- (5) Pulyunna meyorloyakko yailtyapindi meyubudnitina
 Pulyurn miyu yaku yailtya pinti miyu pudni-tina
 Black man NEG think European
 ‘The black man did not think that the white man would come’
 (teichelmann_outlines_1840)
-

¹See Giacon (giacon_2014) for account of permissive voice glossed ‘LET’

- (6) Tjálkerintja = incarnation
 tyelke-irre-ntyē
 flesh-INCH-NOM
 (strehlow_aranda_1944)

–

- (7) Machoomba-lo wapa-lo pooriti-na pokara-na tichea
 matyumpa-lu warrpa-lu ?-nha pukarra-nha thatyi-ya
 kangaroo-ERG young-ERG ?all-ACC grass-ACC eat-PRES
 ‘the kangaroo’s pup is eating all the grass’
 (roth_ethnological_1897)

- (8) Ngāte nakk-ir korne, yarn-.....ir an-ang-itye watañgrau
 Ngati nak-ir ko:rni yan-ir anangk-itji watanggrau
 IsgERG see-PAST man-[ACC], speak-PAST-1SG DAT-3SG.NOM yesterday
 ‘I saw the man, he spoke to me yesterday’
 (meyer_vocabulary_1843)

0.1 Outline of the study

–

- (9) Mochoomba wapa
 Matyumpa warrpa
 Kangaroo-[NOM] pup-[NOM]
 ‘a kangaroo’s pup’
 (roth_ethnological_1897)

–

- (10) nhandru nguyama-yi marla ngakunga
 3SG.F.ERG know-PRES more 1SG.LOC
 ‘she knows more than me’
 (austin_grammar_2013)

–

- (11) Nyundu ganaa? Ganaa
 2SG.NOM OK OK
 ‘how are you [=are you OK]? I’m fine [=OK]’
 (haviland_guugu_1979)

- (12) Nyundu mayi buda-y ganaa, ngali dhada-a
2SG.NOM food-[ACC] eat-PAST OK 1DL.NOM go-NONPAST
'When you have eaten [enough?], then we'll go'
(haviland_guugu_1979)

—

- (13) kuri-kupa *or* kuri-ku
man-POSS man-DAT
'of a man' "of a man"
(14) artwe-nhe
man-ACC
'to a man'

But 'to a man' used with a verb of motion may have elicited an allative form:

- (15) artwe-werne
man-ALL
'to a man'

—

- (16) Jerlauandru
yarla-wa-ndru
elsewhere-DIST-ABL
irgend woher, von weit her [from anywhere, from far away]
(koch_untitled_1868)

- (17) Jerlauanni
yarla-wa-nhi
elsewhere-DIST-ALL
irgend wohin von Entfernung [to anywhere distant]
(koch_untitled_1868)

—

- (18) Ngan lakkir
Ngan lak-ur
1sgACC spear-PAST
I am speared
(taplin_grammar_1878)
"speared me"

–

(19) Ngani demateraia
 nganhi dama-tharri-yi
 1SG.NOM cut-REFL-PRES
 Ich schneide mich
 (flierl_dieri_1880)
 “I cut myself”

(20) Ngaiani antjama laia
 ngayani ngantya-mali
 1PL.EXCL love-RECIP
 Wir lieben einander
 (flierl_dieri_1880)
 “We love one another”

–

(21) umma-lo uttapeukka-pityiri-wara-na
 ngama-lu ngathapiyaka-pityiri-wara-nha
 mother-ERG offspring-PL-POSS-ACC
 ‘a mother [is striking] her children’ (roth_ethnological_1897)

–

(22) Ganguru warka nulu goda dabelbi
 gaangurru warrga nyulu gudaa dhabil-?dhi
 kangaroo-[ERG] tall-[ERG] 3SG.ERG tame-dog-[ACC] kick-PAST
 ‘tall kangaroo was kicking the dog’
 (roth_structure_1901)

(23) Peba-ngato nulu kalka dirainggur-be uma
 biibi-ngadhu nyulu galga dyiirraanhgurr-bi wu-maa
 father-1SG.POSS-[ERG] 3SG.ERG spear-[ACC] man-POSS give-PRES
 father-my he the spear old man’s gives
 ‘my father gives the old man’s spear’
 (roth_structure_1901)

- (24) Dyidyii-nda ngani dyindal-y ngaabaay
Bird-ERG 1SG.ACC peck-PAST head-[ACC]
'the bird pecked me [in the] head'
(haviland_guugu_1979)
- (25) Yarrga-aga-mu-n guda gunda-y biiba-ngun
Boy-POSS-mu-ERG dog-[ACC] hit-PAST father-ERG
'The boy's father hit the dog'
(haviland_guugu_1979)

—

- (26) a. Tah-ke-le-ko
eat-be-to-for
"for to be eat"
- b. Tjaki-li-ku
eat-NMSR-PURP
"for eating"
(threlkeld_specimens_1927)

—

- (27) a. Won-tah ko lahng bulah
Whither for do ye two
'Whither are ye two going?'
- b. wantja-kulang pula
INTER-ALL 2DL.NOM
(threlkeld_specimens_1927)

—

- (28) a. Ke-kul ko-ri-en un-ni yan-ti un-noa ki-lo-a
This is not so sweet as that
(threlkeld_australian_1834)
- b. kaykal-kuriyaN aNi yaNTi aNuwa-kiluwa
sweet-PRIV-[NOM] this-[NOM] thus that-SEMB
(lissarrague_salvage_2006)

—

- (29) a. Ngali-noa
This is he who

- b. *ngali-nyuwa*
 this-[ERG]-3SG.ERG
 ‘this one’
 (threlkeld_australian_1834)

—

- (30) Ngan-umba unni wonnai? Biriban-umba unni
 ngan-ampa aNi waNay Pirapan-ampa aNi
 INTER-POSS this-[NOM] child-[NOM] Pirapan-POSS this-[NOM]
 wonnai
 waNay
 child-[NOM]
 Whose child is this? Biriban’s, this child.
 (transcription lissarrague_salvage_2006)

- (31) Minnaring kopa unni?
 minyaring -kupa aNi
 INTER-POSS this-[NOM]
 What does this belong to?
 (transcription lissarrague_salvage_2006)

—

- (32) Ammoung be weah-lah. Weah-lah be teah
 Amuwang-pi wiya-la. wiya-la-pi-tja
 1SG.ACC-2SG.NOM speak-IMP speak-IMP-2SG.NOM-1SG.ACC
 ‘Speak to me. Do tell me’
 (Transcription lissarrague_salvage_2006)

—

- (33) Karai tia nguwa emmoung takilli ko
 Karay-tja ngu-wa amuwang tjaki-li-ku
 Flesh-[ACC]-1SG.ACC give-IMP 1SG.ACC eat-NMSR-PURP
 ‘Give me flesh to eat’
 (Gloss and transcription from lissarrague_salvage_2006)

—

- (34) Minnung bunnun ngaiya biloa?
minyang wupa-NaN ngaya piN-luwa
INTERR:ABS do-FUT then 2SG.ACC-3.SG.NOM.M
‘What will he do to you?’
(Gloss and transcription from *lissarrague_salvage_2006*)

–

- (35) a. Wi-yán no-a ba
‘While he speaks’
b. Wiya-N nyuwa-pa
speak-PRES 3SG.M.NOM-SUB
(*threlkeld_australian_1834*)

–

- (36) Gamil-araay
no-COM
‘the language with the word ‘gamil’’

- (37) Wirraay-dhurraay
no-COM
‘the language with the word ‘wirraay’’

–

- (38) a. buraugundi
‘to my boy’
b. Burai-gu-N-dhi
boy-DAT-?-1SG.POSS
(*gunther_lecture_1840*)

- (39) a. Buraigunu
‘to your boy’
b. Burai-gu-nhu
boy-DAT-2SG.POSS
(*gunther_lecture_1840*)

- (40) a. Buraigugula “to his boy”

- b. Burai-gu-gula
boy-DAT-3SG.POSS
(**gunther_lecture_1840**)
-
- (41) Murruba inda
ood 2SG.NOM
'you are good'
(**ridley_kamilaroi_1875**)
-
- (42) Kurna Encounter Bay Bob's
Meeyuna Onkaparinga Jack's
- (43) korn-ar miyu-rna
man-PL man-PL
-
- (44) yangarutanna
yangarra-tina
wife-PRIV
- (45) mukartiana
mukarti-ana
hat-ALL
-
- (46) Worli worngangga
Before, in front of the house
(**teichelmann_dictionary_1857**)
warli warnka-ngka
house omentum-LOC
'In front of the house'
-
- (47) Yantin barun yemmam-an Marai -to Eloï-kupa-ku
'God's spirit leads them all'
(**threlkeld_australian_1834**)
Yantiyn paraN ?-N Maraye-tju Eloï-kupa-ku
all 3PL.ACC lead-pres spirit-ERG God-poss-ERG

-
- (48) ninkuitya
ninku-itya
[2SGPOSS]-DAT/ALL
- (49) Nganko wakwakurlo niinanni yüngki? Ngaityurlo
‘Whose child gave it to you?’ Mine
(teichelmann_outlines_1840)
nganku wakwaku-rlu ninna-ni yungk-i ngatiyu-rlu
INTER.POSS child-ERG 2sg-DAT give-PAST 1SG.POSS-ERG
-
- (50) Ngando aityo mudlinna metti
Who has taken away my implements?
(teichelmann_outlines_1840)
Nganthu-aityu mudli-rna mitti
INTER.ERG-1SG.DAT implement-[ACC]-PL steal-[PAST]
‘who has taken away the implements on me’²
- (51) Ninna ngannarlo minkarni
By what have you been wounded?
(teichelmann_outlines_1840)
Niina ngana-rlu minka-rni
2sgACC INTER-INST wound-INCH-[PAST]
-
- (52) Parnda-rlo ngatto wodli taie-ta.
“I will build the house with bricks”
(teichelmann_outlines_1840)
Parnta-rlu ngathu wardli tayi-tha
limestone-INST 1SG.ERG house-[ACC] build-FUT
-
- (53) Niina narta padne-ota, ngadlu yaintya wandi-adlu
‘You are going, (but) we, we shall sleep here’
(teichelmann_outlines_1840)
niina narta padni-utha, ngadlu yaintya wanti-adlu
2SG.NOM now go-FUT 1PL.S here sleep-1PL.S

²See §?? for further discussion of this clause.

- (54) Tidnarla nguuiyatto purla
 ‘The feet, I will warm them’
 (teichelmann_outlines_1840)
 Tidna-rla nguyu-athu purla
 feet-3DL.ACC warm-1SG.ERG 3DL.ACC
 –
- (55) (nguuiyuatturla)
 (teichelmann_outlines_1840)
 nguyu-athu-rla
 warm-1SG.ERG-3DL.ACC
 ‘I warm them’
 –
- (56) kundaingki
 ‘let him beat’
 (teichelmann_outlines_1840)
 kunda-ing-kV-Ø
 beat-?-IMP-3SG.ERG
- (57) tikkaingko
 ‘let him sit’
 (teichelmann_outlines_1840)
 tikka-ing-kV-Ø
 sit-?-IMP-3SG.NOM
 –
- (58) Kauwitya kundowarponendi ai
 ‘I wish to have water’
 (teichelmann_outlines_1840)
 kauwi-tya kuntuwarpu-rni-nthi-ai
 water-DAT chest bone-INCH-PRES-1SG.NOM³
 ‘I long for water’
- (59) Kundounggorendaii ngaityo yungakko
 ‘I am concerned about, or long for my elder brother’
 (teichelmann_dictionary_1857)

³Where *kuntuwarpu-rni*- ‘chest bone-INCH’ is a metaphor for ‘desire’ (amery_kulurdu_2013)

Kuntu pungku-rri-nth-ai ngaityu yunga-ku
 chest hit-REF-PRES-1SG.NOM 1SG.POSS older brother-DAT
 ‘I am concerned about my older brother’

–

- (60) Ngando inna pulyunna meyorlo anto-kartando yungk-i?
 “What black man has given you the kangaroo skin?”
 (teichelmann_outlines_1840)
 Nganthu-iina pulyuna miyu-rlu nantu-kartantu yungki?
 who.ERG-2SG.ACC black man-ERG kangaroo-skin-[ACC] give-PAST

- (61) Itto ngaityo yungaitya kattinga
 ‘these bring, carry to my elder brother’
 itu ngaityu yunga-itya kat-inga
 DEM.PL 1SG.POSS older brother-ALL bring-IMP.2.PL

The analysis taken here proposes that the verb is better glossed:

- (62) Kat-ing-a
 Bring-?IMP-2PL.ERG

–

- (63) Tarralyoanna mutyertanna wondando, yerta buttonettoai
 ‘Put the clothes on the table, lest they be (or become) spoiled by the earth’
 (teichelmann_outlines_1840)
 Tarraly-ana mutyarta-rna wanta-nthu,⁴ yarta-purtu-rni-tuwayi
 table-ALL clothes-PL put-2SG.ERG earth-full-INCH-AVERS

- (64) Yurrepaiaiaandunna, kundattoai parna.
 (teichelmann_outlines_1840)
 ‘You must pay attention to them (the goats) lest they kill (them)’
 Yuri-payi-nthu-rna, kuntu-tuwayi parna
 ear-examine-2SG.ERG-3PL.ACC kill-AVERS 3PL.ACC

- (65) Ngatto punggetitya wārpunna pingga
 ‘I have made the dagger for the purpose of stabbing’
 (teichelmann_outlines_1840)
 ng.athu pungku-titya warpu-rna pingka
 1SG.ERG kill-PURP dagger-PL-[ACC] make-[PAST]

⁴For discussion of the form of the 2sgERG pronoun, in this and the following example, see Footnote ??

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(66) Ninna ngattaityangga wānggama, nindaitya aii budnama.
 ‘If you had spoken to me, I would have come to you.’
 (teichelmann_outlines_1840)
 Niina ngathaityangka wangka-ma, ninthaitya-ai⁵ pudna-ma
 2SG.S 1SG.COM speak-HYPO, 2SG.DAT-1SG.ACC arrive-HYPO

(67) Niwa yakko ngarkoma, niwa yakko padloma
 ‘If you two had not eaten, you would not have died’
 (teichelmann_outlines_1840)
 Niwa yaku ngarku-ma, niwa yaku padlu-ma
 2DL.NOM NEG eat-HYPO, 2DL.NOM NEG die-HYPO

–

(68) Ngatto ngurrintyidla, ninna yungkoma
 Were I permitted to throw, I would give (the bird) to you
 (teichelmann_outlines_1840)
 Ngathu nguri-ntyidla, niina yungku-ma
 1SG.ERG throw-COND, 2SG.ACC give-HYPO

–

(69) Ngurluntya ai kunda, tikkandi urlu
 ‘That man struck me, who is sitting there’
 (teichelmann_outlines_1840)
 ngurlu-ntya-ai kurnta, tika-nthi-urlu
 DEM.ERG-INDEF-1SG.ACC hit-[PAST] sit-PRES-?
 ?‘Someone hit me, the one sitting’

–

(70) manyarendurlo (manyarendi ngurlo)
 when it rains then ...
 (teichelmann_verb_1858)
 manya-rri-nthi-urlu
 rain-RECIP/REFL-PRES-?

⁵The form of the 2sgDAT pronoun, ninthaitya, shown here follows amery_kulurdu_2013. The form is likely to be nintaitya (see koch_languages_2014)

- (71) wakwakurlo ngurretti urlo (ngurlo)
just when the boy had thrown then ...
(teichelmann_verb_1858)
wakwaku-rlu ngurru-thi-urlu
child-ERG throw-PAST-?
-
- (72) Idlo atto numa nakkoma, padlo ngai turnki yungkoma idlo
'him I would love, who would give me clothing'
(teichelmann_outlines_1840)
idlu-athu numa naku-ma, padlu ngai turnki
DEM.ERG-1SG.ERG well look-HYPO, 3SG.ERG 1SG.ACC cloth-[ACC]
yungku -ma idlu
give-HYPO DEM.ERG
'This one, I might love [him], he might give me clothing, this one'
- (73) Ngatto pa wadli nakko-ndi, ngai turnki padlo yakko yungkondi
'but him I hate who gives me no clothing'
(teichelmann_outlines_1840)
Ngathu pa waadli naku-nthi, ngai turnki padlu yaku
1sgERG 3SG.ACC dislike see-PRES, 1SG.ACC cloth-[ACC] 3SG.ERG NEG
yungku-nthi
give-PRES
-
- (74) a. Ram- ... inyeri -ap porl
Ramong of I child
'I am a native of Ramong'
(meyer_vocabulary_1843)
b. Ram-inyeri-ap po:rli
Ram-ASSOC-1SG.NOM child
-
- (75) Yarn-ir-an-angg-itye
yarn-ir-anangk-itye
speak-PAST-3SG.DAT-3SG.NOM⁶
-

- (76) a. Ngate nakk-ir korne
 ‘by me seeing has been a man’
 (meyer_vocabulary_1843)
 ‘I have seen the man’
 b. ngati nak-ir ko:rni
 1SG.ERG see-PAST man-[ACC]

–

- (77) a. Ngand-im memp-ing
 ‘by whom have you been beaten’
 (meyer_vocabulary_1843)
 b. ngand-im memp-ing
 INTER.ERG-2SG.ACC hit-PAST

–

- (78) Korn-il lakk-in mame
 Ko:rn-il lak-un ma:mi
 man-ERG spear-PRES fish-[ACC]
 ‘The man spears the fish.’

is

- (79) Korne laggel-in mam-il
 Ko:rni lak-el-in ma:m-il
 man-[NOM] spear-ANTIP-PRES fish-INST⁷]]
 ‘The man spears the fish.’

–

- (80) a. Nganto wiyān?
 ‘Who speaks?’
 (Threlkeld1834)
 b. NgāN-Tu wiya-n
 INTER-ERG speak-pres

- (81) a. Ngan unnung wiyellin yong
 Who there talking out there
 (Threlkeld1834)
 b. NgāN aNang wiya-li-N yung
 INTER.NOM thatNOM speak-DTR-PRES there⁸

—

- (82) a. Ngāte nakk- ir korne, yarn-... ir an-ang-itye
 By me (a) seeing has been man, speaking was me to he
 watañgrau
 yesterday
 ‘I have seen the man who spoke to me yesterday’
 (meyer_vocabulary_1843)
- b. Ngati nak-ir ko:rni, yarn-ir-anang-itye
 1SG.ERG see-PAST man-[ACC] speak-PAST-1SG.ALL/DAT-3SG.NOM
 watangrau
 yesterday

—

- (83) a. Nāiye lēw-...in mant-angg-an
 That living is house at my
 ‘He who lives at my house’
 (meyer_vocabulary_1843)
- b. Naiyi le:w-in mant-angk-an
 DEM sit-PRES house-LOC-1POSS
 ‘that one lives at my house’

—

- (84) a. Ngande-....m-..angg-.....engg-ul ram-.....ing?
 By whom you to them two by (a) speaking was?
 ‘Who are the two who told you?’
 (meyer_vocabulary_1843)
- b. ngandi-mangk-engkul ram-ing
 INTER.ERG-2DAT-3DL.ERG speak-PAST
 ‘which two spoke to you?’⁹

—

- (85) a. Mangalla yurarri innamatta
 ‘friendly men (are) these’
 (Schürmann1844)

⁹The number of the 2DAT -*mangk* bound pronoun is unspecified. See §??.

- b. Mangarla yurha-rri inha-madla
 Friendly man-HUM. PL
 (Gloss and transcription Clendon2014)
 this-PL

—

- (86) Marrályinga ngai píttanarrù kányanga
 ‘The boy me did hit with a stone’
 (schurmann_vocabulary_1844)
 Marralyi-nga ngayi birda-nga-arú ganya-nga
 Boy-ERG 1SG.ACC hit/pelt-PAST-3SG.ERG stone-INST

—

- (87) Karpanga iridningutu adli
 garrba-nga iridni-ngu-dhu-w-adli
 house-ERG separate-CAUS-PRES-EP-1DL.ACC
 ‘the house/room separates us’
 (schurmann_vocabulary_1844; Gloss and transcription from
 Clendon2015)

—

- (88) a. Bud-jor Yag-go-ál bi-an-a-ga
 The ground was dug by the woman
 (symmons_grammatical_1841: x, xxii)
 b. Bud-jor Yaggo-ál biana-ga
 ground-[ACC] woman-ERG dig-PAST
 ‘The woman dug the ground’

—

- (89) a. Ngan-ya wau-gâl-âl bak-kan-a-ga
 I was bitten by the snake
 (symmons_grammatical_1841: xiv)
 b. Nganya waugâl-âl bakkana-ga
 1SG.ACC snake-ERG bite-PAST
 The snake bit me

—

- (90) a. Purnangunnanna laplapnanna ngape mukkana
'Large knife me did wound' or its equivalent
'With a large knife I was wounded'
(moorhouse_report_1841)
- b. Purnangu-nnanna laplap-nanna ngape muk-arna
large-ERG knife-ERG 1SG.ACC wound-?
'The large knife wounded me'
-
- (91) a. Kile yan pettir
'by him it was stolen'
(taplin_notes_1872)
- b. Kili-yan peth-ur
3SG.ERG-3SG.ACC steal-PAST
-
- (92) a. Ngate yan ellani
By me it will be done
'I will do it'
(taplin_notes_1872)
- b. ngati-yan el-ani
1SG.ERG-3SG.ACC do-FUT
-
- (93) a. Ya-go my-ak-al yu-gow bar-da-ga
'The woman has come to the house'
(symmons_grammatical_1841)
- b. Yaku miyak-al yuka-w parta-ka
woman-[NOM] house-ALL stand-?PRES house-PAST
- (94) a. Ngad-jo yân-gor-in ngan-gow bru
'I do not see the kangaroo'
(symmons_grammatical_1841)
- b. Ngaty yankor-iny ngana-?w-buru
1sgA kangaroo-ACC see-PRES-NEG
-

- (95) a. kuba natu nandrai
 ‘ich schlage den Knaben’
 (koch_untitled_1868: no pag.)
 b. kupa ngathu nandra-yi
 boy-[NOM] 1SG.ERG hit-PRES
 ‘I hit the boy’

–

- (96) a. Kintella kuballi nandrai
 Der Knabe schlägt den Hund”
 (koch_untitled_1868: no pag.)
 b. Kintala kupa-li nandra-yi
 dog-[ACC] child-ERG hit-PRES
 ‘The child hits the dog’

–

- (97) a. nanni wappai
 Ich gehe
 (koch_untitled_1868: no pag.)
 b. nganhi wapa-yi
 1SG.NOM go-PRES
 ‘I go’

–

- (98) a. Kuba tikai
 Der Knabe kehrt zurück
 (koch_untitled_1868: no pag.)
 b. kupa thika-yi
 boy-[NOM] return-PRES
 ‘The child returns’

–

- (99) worakunaru
 waRakunha-ru
 INTER.POSS-ERG

–

- (100) kintella ulo
*kinthala-wurlu
dog-DL-[ACC]
'two dogs'

—

- (101) a. kalkauralu,
'until the evening'
(flierl_dieri_1880)
b. Kalkawarra-ya-rlu
evening-ALL-STILL

- (102) a. jidni ko ja nga ni koldra (flierl_dieri_1880)
'You are ignorant and so am I'
b. Yini kuwu nganha kuwu-lda
2SG.NOM ignorant 1SG.NOM ignorant-ADDINF

—

- (103) a. kupanto
'with a child'
(flierl_dieri_1880)
b. Kupa-nthu
child-PROP

- (104) a. waru warula
of old. Formerly
(flierl_dieri_1880)
b. waru-waru-lha
long ago-REDUP-CHAR
'of old'

—

- (105) mitandru out of the Earth
mitha-ndru
ground-ABL
(flierl_dieri_1880)

- (106) widlandru on account of the woman
 wilha-ndru
 woman-ABL
 (flierl_dieri_1880)
- (107) marani in or on the hand mara-nhi
 hand-LOC
 (flierl_dieri_1880)
- (108) nghapaia towards water ngapa-ya
 water-ALL
 (flierl_dieri_1880)
- (109) pitali with the stick pirta-li
 stick-ERG/INST
 (flierl_dieri_1880)
-
- (110) Mochoomba wapa
 a kangaroo's pup Matyumpa warrpa
 Kangaroo-[NOM] pup-[NOM]
 (Roth1897)
-
- (111) Teraia kalti *nicht* teri kalti, *tari-ya kalthi* not *tari kalthi*
 boy-POSS spear *not* boy-[NOM]
 spear
 (koch_untitled_1868: no pag.)
- (112) kintella milki *nicht* Kintellaia milki kinthala milki not
 dog-[NOM] eye *not*
kinthala-ya milki
 dog-POSS eye
 (koch_untitled_1868: no pag.)
- (113) mataraia kalti, *der mannes speer, aber nicht* mataraia milki, *der mannes*
augen, sondern matari milki

mathari-ya kalthi the man's spear, but not *mathari-ya milki* the man's eye, rather *mathari milki*

(*flierl_christianieli_1880*)

man-POSS spear, 'the man's spear; but not: man-POSS eye, 'the man's eye', rather man-[NOM] eye

(*koch_untitled_1868*: no pag.) also exemplified the construction in instances in which the possessor is pronominal:

—

- (114) Ninkidani wapamai, nato nandraiati!

'Come here, otherwise I strike!'

(*schoknecht_grammar_1947*: 10[1872])

nhingki-rda-nhi wapa-mayi, ngathu nandra-yathi

here-vicin-ALL go.IMP-EMPH, 1sgERG hit-AVERS

- (115) Jesu antjanimai, jura paliati!

'Love Jesus, or you will die!'

(*schoknecht_grammar_1947*: 10[1872])

Yesu ngantya-ni-mayi, yura pali-yathi

Jesus-[ACC] love.IMP-NM-EMPH 2plNOM die-AVERS

'love Jesus, lest you die!'

—

- (116) *pantha-ma-mayi kilthi ngakarni ngathu wayi-rna wara-rnanhi*
smell-TR.IMP-EMPH

stew-[ACC] 1SG.POSS 1SG.ERG cook-PTCP AUX-IMPERF. DS

'smell my stew, that I cooked'

(*austin_grammar_2013*: 214[1981a])

- (117) judla taji-nani, judla pali-nani

'If you eat, you will die'

(*schoknecht_grammar_1947*: 12[1872])

- (118) yula thayi-rnanhi, yula pali-rnanhi

2DL.NOM

eat-COND, 2DL.NOM die-COND

- (119) pali-lha ngana-yi
die-FUT AUX-PRES
'will die'

—

- (120) Kaparajai, jidni ninkida ngana-nani, neji ngakani wata
pali-nani
'Lord if thou had been here, my brother would not have died'
reuther_testamenta_1897) Kaparra-yayi yini nHINGKIRDA
boss-EMPH 2SG.NOM here
ngana-rnanhi, nhiyi ngakarni wata pali-rnanhi
be-COND brother 1SG.DAT NEG die-COND

—

- (121) nganhi wakara-rna wara-yi, yundru matya nganthi wayi-rna
1SG.NOM come-PTCP AUX-PRES 2SG.ERG already meat-[ACC] cook-PTCP
wara-ni
AUX-SEQ.DS
'I came after you had already cooked the meat'
(**austin_grammar_2013**: 227[1981a])

- (122) pantha-ma-mayi kilthi ngakarni ngathu wayi-rna
smell-TR.IMP-EMPH stew-[ACC] 1SG.POSS 1SG.ERG cook-PTCP
wara-rnanhi
AUX-IMPERF.DS
'smell my stew, that I cooked'
(**austin_grammar_2013**: 214[1981a])

—

- (123) Ninnaia anxale wappaia, nanna anxanalli
Den liebe ich, welcher mich liebt,
(**koch_untitled_1868**)
nhinha-ya ngantya-lha¹⁰ wapa-ya, nganha ngantya-?
3SG.ACC-near love-PTCP/FUT AUX-PAST 1SG.ACC love-?
'I loved the one who loves me'

—

- (124) Ninaia ngato antjai, ngana antjani, (flierl_dieri_1880)
 Den liebe ich, welcher mich liebt,
 nhinha-ya ngathu nganta-yi, nganha nganta-ni
 3SG.ACC-near 1SG.ERG love-PRES, 1SG.ACC love-SEQ.DS
 ‘I loved the one who loves me’ nunkangu ngani kalakalariai, ngakangu
 kalakala rina
 und den hasse ich welcher mich haßt.
 (flierl_dieri_1880)
-
- (125) Ngato ninaia ngantjai, nulia ngakangu ngumu nganka-na warai
 ‘Ich liebe den, der mir gut gewesen ist’
 (reuther_dieri_1894) ngathu nhinha-ya nganta-yi, nhulu-ya
 1sgERG 3sgACC-near love-PRES, 3sgnFERG-near
 ngakangu ngumu ngank-nha wara-yi
 1sgLOC good make-PART AUX-PRES
 ‘I love him who has been good to me’
-
- (126) Ninna ngannaitya yellarra yakko pepaitya budni
 ‘why do you not come to school today’
 (teichelmann_dictionary_1857)
 niina ngana-itya yalarra yaku pepa-itya pudn-i
 2SG.NOM INTER-PURP today NOT paper-ALL come-PAST¹¹
-
- (127) Galtjintana-Pepa
 kaltye- anthe- nye- pepe
 knowledge give NOM paper
 ‘book that gives knowledge’
- (128) Kristianirberaka
 Kristian- iRpeRa- ke
 Christian PL DAT/POSS
-
- (129) lunaluna = redeemer
 irlwe- nye- irlwe -nye
 to loosen, untie -NMSR. HAB.RDP
 (T. G. H. strehlow_aranda_1944: 363[1938])

glosses
do not
match

-
- (130) tutyalbuma
return to beat
(kempe_grammar_1891: 20; mathews_languages_1907: 334)
Twe-ty=alpe-me
hit-RETURN& DO-PRES

-
- (131) Tulabuma
'beating, by walking about'
(kempe_grammar_1891)
Twe -rle=pe- me
hit-CONT& MOT-PRES

-
- (132) Ilkutjinjama
'to eat in the morning, to breakfast'
(kempe_grammar_1891)
irlkwe-ty=antye-me
eat - DO UPWARDS - PRES
'to eat while the sun rises'

glosses
do not
match

-
- (133) Ilkutjikalama
'to eat in the evening, to sup'
(kempe_grammar_1891)
irlkwe-tye=kerle-me
eat - DO DOWNWARDS - PRES
'to eat while the sun goes down'

glosses
do not
match

-
- (134) Era atunga ulara tnama
'he of man in front stands'
(Kempe1891)
Re artwe-nge lwarre irtna-me
3SG.NOM man-ABL in front stand-PRES
'he stands in front of the man'

-
- (135) [X-rle (Y) Vb finite – (rle)]_{SREL} (3pnDEF) – CASE
-

- (136) Atua nala nana tmurka albuka worana tukala
 ‘the man who went away yesterday has beaten the boy’
 (kempe_grammar_1891)
 Artwe nhale, nhenhe apmwerrke alpe-ke, werre-nhe atwe-ke-le
 Man that.ERG that.NOM yesterday return-PAST boy-ACC hit-PAST-SS
 ‘the man, who returned yesterday, is the one who hit the boy’
-

- (137) Ilupa tera iltala mbakatnarakala jiraka
 ‘the two axes, which were leaning on the house disappeared’
 (kempe_grammar_1891)
-

- (138) Ilepe therre ilthe(-le)-rle ampeke-tne-rre-ke-rle uyerre-ke
 [ilepe therre]_{HD} [ilthe(-le)-rle
 axe two-[NOM] [shelter(-LOC)-REL
 ampeke-tne-rre-ke-rle]_{SREL} uyerre-ke
 lean-stand-DL.S/A-PAST-REL]-[NOM] disappear-PAST
 ‘the two axes, which were leaning against the house disappeared’
-

- (139) Ilepe atherre ilthe-le ampeke-tne-rre-ke-le uyerre-ke
 Axe two-[NOM] shelter-LOC lean-stand-duS/A-PAST-SS disappear-PAST
 ‘the two axes were leaning against the house before they disappeared’
-

- (140) Atua lena, nana lata pitjikala, mara nama
 ‘mann dieser, der da heute gekommen ist, gut ist’
 (C strehlow_untitled_1931 [c.1907]: 39–40)
 Artwe lanhe, nhanhe lyete petye-ke-rle, marre ane-me
 Man that.NOM this.NOM today come-PAST-REL good sit-PRES
 ‘That man, the one who came today, is good’

-
- (141) Ara nana unta nguruka ntainatnala (part.perf.) andere naka
 ‘kaenguru dies da, du gestern gespeert habend fett war’
 (C. *strehlow_untitled_1931* [c.1907]: 39–40)
 Aherre nhenhe unte ngwerreke irntarne-rtne-rle antere ane-ke
 Kangaroo this 2sgERG yesterday spear-?-REL fat sit-PAST
 ‘this kangaroo, that you speared yesterday, was fat’

-
- (142) Korne naiye lewin mantangg an
 Mann der wohnte im Haus mein
 ‘Der Mann , der in meinem Hause wohnte’
 (C. *strehlow_grammatik_1931* [c.1907] after *meyer_vocabulary_1843*:
 32)

- (143) ngato ninaia ngantjai, nulia ngakangu nguma nankara warai
 Ich ihn liebe, er mir gutes getan hat
 ‘Ich liebe den, der mir gutes getan hat’
 (C. *strehlow_grammatik_1931* [c.1907] after *reuther_dieri_1894*: 29)

-
- (144) Ngani Gabrieli nganai, nauja Godani terkai
 io sono Gabriele che sto innanzi a Dio
 (*gatti_lingua_1930*)
 Nganhi Gabriel ngana-yi, nhawa Goda-nhi tharka-yi
 1sgNOM Gabriel be-PRES, 3sg.NF God-LOC stand-PRES
 ‘I am Gabriel, who stands in the presence of God’

-
- (145) iwuṇa aṭa arugula altaraka, laṇa aṭa jusem-ila-ka
 ‘what I first found, that I used’
 (T. G. H. *strehlow_aranda_1944*: 101[1938])
 Iwenhe the arrekwele arltare-ke, lenhe the usem-ile-ke
 DEM 1sg.ERG first find-PAST DEM 1sg.ERG use-TR-PAST
-

- (146) Kana-lo nopo-na nungkarea ; kooyungo-ngooro
 ‘The man takes care of his wife; (he is) a good fellow’
 (roth_ethnological_1897; Pitta-Pitta)
 bama diral nangu(go) na-(mal)-ma : nulu bodan
 ‘The man who looks after his wife is a good fellow’
 (schwarz_koko_1900; Guugu-Yimidhirr)
-
- (147) bama diral nangu-gobantchen-chil: nulu bodan
 ‘The man who nurses his own wife is a good fellow’
 (roth_structure_1901; Guugu-Yimidhirr)
- and in Hey’s description of Nggerrikwidhi:
- (148) ma endranana-nu nguno-ma yi sea : ma tanko
 man woman-to his-very-own food gives : man good
 ‘The man who gives food to his own wife is good man’
 (hey_elementary_1903; Nggerrikwidhi)
-
- (149) I Machoomba-lo wapa-lo pooriti-na pokara-na tichea
 ‘the kangaroo’s pup is eating all the grass’
 (roth_ethnological_1897)
 matyumpa-lu warpa-lu ?-nha pukarra-nha thatyi-ya
 kangaroo-ERG young-ERG ?all-ACC grass-ACC eat-PRES
-
- (150) wungata¹²-ngo kanari-ko moorra-ngo pite
 ‘The woman will hit the girl with the stick’
 (roth_ethnological_1897: 16, Pitta-Pitta)
 wangatha-ngu kiniyari-ku murra-ngu pithi
 woman-FUT/ERG girl-DAT stick-FUT/INST hit-[FUT]
-
- (151) Ngando-ngai dana ngundar ¹³ dogar-en baitcharen
 the-woman they the-plums with-sand covered
 (roth_structure_1901: 30, Guugu-Yimidhirr)
 ngaandhu-ngay dhana ? dyuugaar-\$inh baydya-rin
 woman-PL 3PL.ERG plum-[ACC] sand-INST cover-PAST

¹²The form *wungata* ‘woman’ is not recorded by blake_pitta_1979

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- (152) Lante yi agoi-be aentchina (hey_elementary_1903)
girl food sand-with cover up