Language Recovery of the New South Wales South Coast Aboriginal Languages

Part A
Analysis and Philology

Jutta Besold

A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy of
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I hereby declare that this thesis is my own work and that to the best of my knowledge all sources have been acknowledged.

Jutta Besold
Abstract

The recent years have witnessed an increase in revisiting language descriptions of the ‘sleeping’ traditional languages of south-east Australia from available historic material. The languages of south-east New South Wales have thus far been largely neglected and this thesis fills a gap in the contemporary language work that has and still is being undertaken on traditional New South Wales languages.

This research study investigates the traditional Aboriginal languages of the New South Wales South Coast. The languages presented here are Dharrawal, Dharumba, Dhurga and Djirringanj, which were spoken from the southern parts of Sydney and Botany Bay down along the coast, close to the Victorian border. The language material used for the analysis consists entirely of archival material that was collected by various people between ca. 1834 and 1902.

Although previous work on the New South Wales South Coast languages (see Capell (n.d.) and Eades’ (1976)) offered insight into the structure of the languages, the available archival material has not been exhaustively utilised until now. Part B of this thesis presents the seventeen previously unanalysed texts transcribed by Andrew Mackenzie and Robert Hamilton Mathews during the latter half of the 19th Century. These texts supply a significant amount of additional morphological and syntactical information, and insights into narrative and discourse features; as well as mythologies of the South Coast people.

Throughout the thesis, issues of working from archival material are appropriately discussed to clarify interpretation of the material and to introduce the reader to the stages and processes involved in working from historic material.

This work is ultimately produced as a tool for local Aboriginal communities and community members to assist in current and future language reclamation and
revitalisation projects, and to allow for projects to aim for higher language proficiency than has previously been possible.
Acknowledgements
This study would not have been possible without the support and guidance from my supervisory panel consisting of Harold Koch, Luise Hercus, Michael Walsh, David Nash and Jennifer Hendricks. I particularly would like to express my deepest and sincerest gratitude to Harold Koch for being the most generous and patient supervisor; and to Luise Hercus for providing such a nurturing and familiar environment and sharing her experiences and knowledge with me. Great thanks as well to Michael Walsh whose attitude never failed to re-assure me that this is work worth doing. Many thanks also to Jane Simpson who in the later stages of this study supported me as Head of School, which contributed enormously to the completion of this thesis. Having this additional support from above made a huge difference to my motivation and morale.

There are other people that have played a role in the progress of this study; too many to mention all. Thanks to all and especially to Kazuko Obata, James Boffin and Averil Ginn for their enormous help with the final production.

Lastly I would like to express my gratitude to the closest individuals who supported me in various ways throughout the course of this study: my parents Marianne and Heinz Stangenberg, my sister Ingrid Mand, Floyd, and Frasier Crane.
*Abbreviations and Conventions*

Throughout this whole thesis, the language material is presented interlinearised and glossed using the following glossing abbreviations. Some glosses such as HITHER and OTHER are self-explanatory and are not included in this list.

**Abbreviations**

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<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<td>A</td>
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<td>V</td>
<td>vowel of unknown quality</td>
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<td>VBLS</td>
<td>verbaliser</td>
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Each source material is labelled with a referencing key that notes place of collection or language name, collector, year or publication (if applicable), page number in the original source, and language informant (where known). This is further
explained in detail in Chapter A.2 (Methodology), but abbreviations for placenames/language names, collector, and informant are listed below:

**Placenames, languages**

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<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
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<td>Bega</td>
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<td>WW</td>
<td>Wodi Wodi</td>
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<td>Y</td>
<td>Yuin</td>
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**Language collector, language informant**

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
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<tr>
<td>AC</td>
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</tr>
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<td>Alfred Howitt</td>
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<tr>
<td>AM</td>
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<td>C</td>
<td>Edward Curr</td>
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<td>Diana Eades</td>
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<td>G</td>
<td>Joseph Gaimard</td>
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<td>HH</td>
<td>Horatio Hale</td>
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<td>HL</td>
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<td>Hu</td>
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</tr>
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<td>JL</td>
<td>James Larmer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>Robert H. Mathews</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MM</td>
<td>Micky Munnima</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Conventions
In words where the quality of a vowel or consonant was impossible to determine, the applicable sound is represented by a capital letter, i.e. na\textit{Dba} represents that the sound is a stop, but because the various spelling <\textit{nad\textit{j}ba} > and <\textit{nadh\textit{b}a} > leave the question whether it is a alveolar, palatal, dental or retroflex stop. Similarly, \textit{gab\textit{A}} means that the quality of the final vowel is not certain from the only transcription <\textit{kubbo} > given. It could be either /a/ or /u/, but from other examples ending with an o, it is likely to be /a/. If the vowel is represented with a \textit{V}, it means that the quality of the vowel cannot be narrowed down to two choices.

In my phonemicised words, long vowels \textit{aa/i\textit{i}/uu} mean that the vowel length was authoritatively determined. Similarly, \textit{rr} in the phonemicisations means it is a definite trill. However, a transcribed short vowel \textit{a/i/u} in my glossing could mean either a short vowel or possibly a long vowel. Similarly, the grapheme \textit{r} could be either the approximant rhotic or a trill.

Glossing
The glossing follows the Leipzig Glossing Convention where suffixes are marked with a -hyphen, clitics with a =equation mark and reduplications marked with a ~tilde. Example sentences from the original sources are presented in the following format and sequence (note that the top line is a true transcription as it appears in the source material):
Within the discussion, words written italicised within `<angle brackets>` denote that this is the original spelling and representation as found in the source material. Note that for user-friendliness they are omitted in the ‘original spelling’ line in the example sentences.
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13. Mathews, Robert Hamilton n.d. ‘Thurga and Jirringany Notebook’ Mathews Collection MS 8006 National Library of Australia (A-M.2.2), (U-M.2.2), (DJ-M.2.2) ....................... 19
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30. Mackenzie, Andrew 1874 ‘Specimen of Native Australian Languages’ The Journal of
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33. Curr, Edward 1887 The Australian Race - its origin, languages, customs, place of landing
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<td>Capell typed excerpt of his unpublished Dharrawal grammar, 1950s</td>
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Location of the New South Wales South Coast languages

The location of the South Coast languages is indicated by the blue oval outline.

Figure 1. Map of the Aboriginal languages of NSW (adapted from the Department of Aboriginal Affairs map 2013)
Chapter A.1 Languages and Sources

This chapter introduces the various historic materials that comprise the New South Wales South Coast languages (SCLs hereon) and provides background information on SCLs, their geographical areas and linguistic type.

As with many parts of south-eastern Australia, there are increasing desire and requests by Aboriginal communities to reclaim their traditional culture, identity, languages and also land that was taken from them following the arrival of Europeans in the late 1700s. However, this study’s aim is not to support or dispute any land or native title claims, but to provide a linguistic analysis of the historic material that was collected on these languages, in order to assist current and future language work and teaching projects. (See also Chapter A.8 (Conclusion and Further Implications) for a discussion on the contribution of this analysis to language reclamation on the South Coast.) I have therefore refrained from proposing linguistic or socio-geographic boundaries, as it is not the purpose of this study to provide boundaries that may well have been non-static over the many years that the Aboriginal people of the South Coast inhabited their lands.

A.1.1 Language names and location

The SCLs collectively cover the area from the southern suburbs of Sydney, along the coast down to the Victorian border. The languages/dialects covered in this analysis are (ranging from the northern SCL going southwards) Dharrawal, Dharumba, Dhurga and Djirringanj (in the orthography used in this study). The language corpus for the most
southern language, Dhaawa, is limited to wordlists and therefore very little grammatical information is available on this language. From the available data it also seems that Dhaawa shares more features with the Victorian languages and is therefore largely omitted in this study of the SCLs, but has been part of research on the inland languages of south-east NSW (see Koch (2011) and (2008)).

For the purpose of this study, I present the SCLs as five separate languages, rather than the four languages (Dharrawal, Dhurga, Djirringanj and Dhaawa) proposed by Eades (1976). Wodi Wodi is listed as a language name by Ridley (1875); but Wodi Wodi is actually the name of the social group from around the Illawarra area, Wollongong down to Jervis Bay. Their language is a southern dialect of Dharrawal. Dharumba and Dhurga are treated as two separate languages in this study, although I would not necessarily formally classify them as such. Dharumba and Dhurga share form of pronouns and many other grammatical aspects, but lexically, Dharumba shares a lot of Dharrawal words. It is therefore safer to say that both are dialects of the same language. The reason for presenting the two as separate entities is because of the vastly differing nature and quantity of the available language material. Mathews provided his usual wordlists and elicited sentences in both Dhurga and Dharumba, but we have Mackenzie’s collected texts and stories in Dharumba that supply vocabulary, morphological and grammatical information that is not found in Mathews’ elicited sentences. These two corpora are therefore somewhat incompatible, as little material can be compared between the two.

Amongst the individual languages are noticeable dialectical differences. The material collected in the southern parts of Dharrawal speaking country differs lexically and morphologically somewhat from the Dharrawal spoken in the northern part. Chapter A.2 (Methodology) will look into this further from a methodological point of view and how to categorise/label the data accordingly.
Mackenzie’s alternative name for Dharumba, *<Mudthung>* seems to be the same *<Muddhang>* that Mathews refers to. “[T]he Muddhang and Ngarrugu occupy the country to the west” of the Djirringanj speaking people, but the geographical references differ between the two.

The further south down the coast, the more difficult it becomes to determine which language was spoken where. Even recent statements such as “Thawa is distinguished from Jeringan [Djirringanj] but Jeringan and Thoorga [Dhurga] are closely related and are variants of a single language” (*Biamanga Gulaga Final Report*, 2005) cannot be confirmed based on the language analysis presented in this study. In fact, Djirringanj and Dhurga vary remarkably in their lexical inventory as well as grammatical aspects (as is shown in the following language analysis chapters), sufficiently so to identify them as individual languages.

Although Eades (1976) and other researchers assign the Djirringanj language to Bega, the available language material makes this difficult to confirm or deny. Robinson’s *<Biggah>* wordlist shows too many discrepancies in salient words such as ‘child’ and ‘man’; they are Dhurga words in Robinson’s list and do not correlate with Mathews’ Djirringanj words. However, Howitt’s ‘Bega Charlie’ wordlist shares some of the most frequently found words such as *bayiil* ‘man’ and *nguga* ‘water’ with Mathews’ Djirringanj. (See also Koch’s (2008) and (2011a) discussion on the most southern SCLs and source material).

Inland reference points are not as commonly found. Table 1 shows the variant spellings of language names and historical reference points given by the language collectors of the SCLs, as well as names and/or origin of informants and other relevant information, where available.
Table 1. Original spellings of South Coast languages names and places of reference

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Original Spelling</th>
<th>Place of Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dharrawal</td>
<td>&lt;Turrawal&gt; (Ridley)</td>
<td>Port Jackson and Botany Bay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&lt;Turrawal&gt; (Ridley)</td>
<td>Port Jackson to Wollongong</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&lt;Thurawal&gt; (Mackenzie)</td>
<td>Port Jackson to Wollongong</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&lt;Thurawa&gt; (Mackenzie)</td>
<td>Wollongong to banks of the Lower Shoalhaven inclusive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&lt;Thurrawal&gt; (Mathews)</td>
<td>south-east coast of NSW from Port Jackson to Jervis Bay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>south-east NSW coast, between Hawkesbury River and the Victorian boundary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>south-east coast of New South Wales from Port Hacking to Jervis Bay, and extended</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>inland for a considerable distance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Thurrawal-speaking people adjoin the Tharumba (Shoalhaven to Ulladulla) on the north</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wodi Wodi</td>
<td>&lt;Wodi Wodi&gt; (Ridley)</td>
<td>Illawarra, Wollongong to the Shoalhaven, spoken by the Illawarra people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&lt;Wodiwodi&gt; (Ridley)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dharumba</td>
<td>&lt;Mudthung&gt; or &lt;Thurumba&gt; or &lt;Tharumba&gt; (Mackenzie)</td>
<td>Braidwood, Ulladulla, Moruya, Jervis Bay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&lt;Tharumba&gt; (Mathews)</td>
<td>Shoalhaven River by the Wandandian tribe coast of New South Wales between the</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&lt;Tharoom'ba&gt; (Mathews)</td>
<td>Shoalhaven River and Ulladulla, reaching inland to the Dividing Range</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&lt;Thoortumba&gt; (Mathews)</td>
<td>Araluen, Braidwood and Reidsdale</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dhurga</td>
<td>&lt; Türkka&gt; (Howitt)</td>
<td>Moruya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&lt;Thoor'ga&gt; or &lt;Thur'-ga&gt; (Mathews)</td>
<td>spoken by the aborigines scattered along the coast of New South Wales from Bermagui to Jervis Bay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&lt;Thoorga&gt; (Mathews)</td>
<td>spoken by the natives of the Tuross, Clyde, Moruya, and other rivers, situated partly in each of the counties St. Vincent and Dampier, New South Wales</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Djirringanj</td>
<td>&lt;Jirilinga&gt; (Howitt)</td>
<td>Bega</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&lt;Dyirringa&gt; or &lt;Jirringa&gt; or &lt;Dyirringan&gt; (Mathews)</td>
<td>northern half of the county of Auckland, on the south-east coast of New South Wales</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The source material, as well as existing community knowledge, supplies references to a number of identified languages and dialects. In some cases there is some confusion as to dialect/language names actually being social group names, such as in the case of Wodi Wodi. However, inconsistencies about linguistic and/or social group boundaries are also found within the historic material, even by the same early researcher.

There are also conflicting views amongst Aboriginal SCL communities as to whether the SCLs are just one language spoken by the ‘Yuin Nation’. This term is
used by some contemporary Aboriginal community members, but is detested by many others. In many instances it is easy to trace where disputed ideas of the languages and status originated from. A lot of times it is misinterpretation of the same historic material that is used in this study. One such example is the pronunciation of Norman Tindale’s (1938/39) letter j in his spelling system. For individuals coming from an English speaking background, the natural interpretation of this letter would be the affricates /ʤ/ and /ʧ/, but we can find amongst his notebooks and diary collection in the SA Museum, that his j is the phonetic symbol for the initial consonant as in the word ‘yard’. This has caused some confusion about the pronunciation of the collective word for the SC Aboriginal people Yuin, and proposed Djuin/Djuwin instead. There is not a single instance or reference in any of the sources that this alternation was found anywhere, and yuinj is one of the most transcribed words in the whole SCLs corpus.

Presenting the different social groups of the South Coast communities is a delicate task. Although there are historical records that list names and places, they have in some cases been disputed by some communities or individuals. I am not aware of any research findings that have been unanimously welcomed by all communities. Delving into these waters is therefore beyond the scope and aim of this study and requires a team of historians, anthropologists and consultation to work with all South Coast communities.

**A.1.2 Source material and previous language work**

Although SCLs data were also collected between the 1950s and 1970s, the data sources used for the purpose of this study were restricted predominantly to material collected and/or published until 1903, in order to produce a reconstitution of the
language spoken as closely to pre-European contact as possible. (See also introduction in this chapter for discussion on why this decision was made.) However, language reclamation projects vary remarkably in what source material community members decide to use for their reclamation purposes. See Chapter A.8 (Conclusion and Further Implications) for more details on use of sources in language reclamation.

The quantity of each of the language material from various collectors ranges from very short wordlists to a selection of stories/texts as well as grammatical notes, both unpublished and published. This variation of material adds a relatively rich corpus of language sources of the SCLs.

The historic sources presented here are placed in chronological order (as far as possible) and are separated into unpublished and published material and contain a brief annotation with information about which language the material was presented as, possible information about informants, place of collection and a summary of the material contained in the item. Sample pages from selected material are included to provide the reader with an idea of the differences between the sources.

I do not assign language names to the sources but label them according to the place where they were collected and by language name only, if place of collection is not known. This is for two reasons. Firstly, this labelling allows community members to target words and lists that were specifically collected in their area. This is based on the numerous requests I had from community members who wanted words only from their town/area. Secondly, assigning places to languages would imply that I assigned language borders. This is a matter for communities and not purpose of this study.

The sources listed after the historic material, contain published/unpublished material collected by linguistic researchers between the 1930s (Tindale manuscript) and 1976 (Eades’ phonetic and grammatical description). However, Tindale’s material
lies somewhat between the historical and contemporary category. See Chapter A.2 (Methodology) for further discussion on the source material.

A.1.2.1 Unpublished historic language material


Larmer was a surveyor who worked extensively in the south-east of New South Wales. He was part of the team that surveyed the road from Nerriga to Jervis Bay/Vincentia. During his travels he collected wordlists in Braidwood (23 words), Batemans Bay (70 words) and Ulladulla (19 words), but he did not mention language names. Larmer’s wordlists were also published later in *Journal and Proceedings of the Royal Society of New South Wales volume 32*. Curiously the number of lexical entries in the published versions is greater than the unpublished lists.

George Augustus Robinson was appointed the first Chief Protector for Aborigines in the Port Phillip District in 1839, and travelled extensively through Victoria and collected wordlists from many places, including Murumbidgee, Yass, Limestone Plains, Omeo and <Biggah> ‘Bega’. This particular table of 32 words from these places, and some others not mentioned here because they do not relate to this study.

This is a comparative wordlist, but does not seem to be a final draft, due to the different handwriting and less neat appearance than the following item by Robinson. It includes a 32 wordlist (as the following Robinson item) but also shows a column
labelled Cape Howe and Twofold Bay, which were labelled a *Malokolong-mittang* and *Nullicer* respectively.

Figure 3. Robinson comparative wordlist rough draft

3. Robinson, George Augustus 1843 ‘Specimen of the several Dialects spoken by the Aborigines’ *G A Robinson Manuscript Collection A 7085-A 7086* Mitchell Library, Sydney (B-R)

This manuscript looks like it may have been a final pre-publication draft of the previous item, as it is written in copperplate script.¹ Language names are not given for

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¹ See Chapter A.2 (Methodology) for further discussion on working from handwritten manuscripts and the philology of the archival material utilized in this research study.
any of the wordlists, only placenames. Robinson’s wordlist shares more words with Dhurga vocabulary than with either Howitt’s Bega list, or Mathews’ Djirringanj vocabulary. This is particularly remarkable because ‘man’, ‘woman’ and ‘child’ in this Bega list are shared with Dhurga and not with Mathews’ and Howitt’s Djirringanj.

4. Howitt, Alfred ca 1880 ‘Jiringal language at Bega’ Howitt Collection State Library of Victoria, Melbourne (B-AH)

The Informant is given as “Bega Charlie” and the list consists of 27 words. Note that the language name is given here as <Jiringal>, which is intriguing in that it shows the suffix -(n)gal/-wal ‘-belonging’. This may imply that <Jirin> or <Jiring> is a reference to a place or the country in the area. This wordlist shares more words with Mathews’ Djirringanj vocabulary than with Robinson’s <Biggah> wordlist.
Figure 5. Howitt Jiringal language at Bega


This comparative list contains words for various kinterms (paternal, fraternal and filial) in 11 languages, amongst them the list that Howitt labels Yuin. The sentences are labelled as Yuin and reference is possibly made to a mythological story in the reference: “[illegible] made when coming in his boat from Wallaga Lake to the mouth of the Bega River”.

11
6. Howitt, Alfred n.d. ‘In the Tūrka language spoken by the Yūin of Moruya N.S.W.’ Howitt Collection State Library of Victoria, Melbourne (Y-AH.2)

This one-page wordlist contains 26 lexical entries that correlate with Mathews’ Dhurga words.
7. Howitt, Alfred n.d. ‘Pieces of Information on the tribe of Aborigines inhabiting the country between Mallagoota Inlet & Shoalhaven N.S.W.’ Howitt Collection State Library of Victoria, Melbourne 2 pages (AH.2)

Howitt collected information on the different social groups in south-east News South Wales. His findings were published as The native tribes of south-east Australia (see Howitt, 1996 for a later published version). The “subtribes” Howitt mentioned are:

Güyangal (from Güyaar = South) Mallagoota, Jaderamanji (Bega), Bürgelimanji (Moruya)
Bimeringal (from Bimerrig = West) Braidwood
Kärial (?from Kari = South) Bürilmanji (Ulladulla), Bürüngatimanji (Shoalhaven)

The Güyangal and Kärial also exchanged women for wives with the Bemeringal of Maneroo and the Katüngal northward of the Shoalhaven River.

To date I have not been able to locate Mackenzie’s collection in any collection, and the only handwritten material I have been able to view is the texts as published in Illert’s article\(^2\). In this publication are copies of two handwritten texts that seem to be transcribed stories in blocks of both Dharrawal and English translation, which is the

\(^2\) Illert did not reference the source of Mackenzie’s handwritten texts, and enquiries to Illert as to where he may obtained this material were unsuccessful.
format they are also published in. There are no discrepancies between these handwritten and the typeset versions. The pictures of the handwritten texts can be found in Figures 9, 11 in Chapter B.1 (Dharrawal Texts).

9. Queen Rosie 1890 ‘Words given to Mr John Brown of Brownsville by Queen Rosie in 1890’ Capell’s material supplied by Rev. Dr John Harris, Canberra (ILL-QR)

This wordlist of 113 lexical entries is a copy of Capell’s transcription of Queen Rosie’s words. No language name or reference to place is given, or whether this wordlist had previously been published. Queen Rosie (Rose Russell) was part of the Illawarra tribe and married King Mickey Johnston from Port Stephens near Newcastle on the mid-north coast of NSW.
Figure 10. Capell’s transcription of Queen Rosie’s wordlist given to Mr John Brown in 1890


Two stories “The Moon - Dyed'-dyűŋ” and “Bullidya Wullidya” told in English only; the first story is most likely another version of the Bundoola story (see Part B for the texts). A scribbled note by Mathews states that “Huggany knows this” second story. <Huggany> was one of Mathews’ Dhuraga language informants and may also have been the same “Hugany, aboriginal of the Wandandian Tribe” who told
Mackenzie the story of *<Tūtawa, Pūlūngūl>* around 30 years earlier (Mackenzie, 1877:273).

This section of the notebook contains further cultural knowledge and has a note “ask at La Perouse”, and “Mrs Timbery or others the making of young women”, and “any jargon or mother-in-law”. Mathews worked with Mrs Emma Timbery on his visits to La Perouse (Thomas, 2011) and she was most likely the source of the stories and cultural information given at least for this part of his Dharrawal notes and language.

Figure 11. Mathews Criterion Hotel Notebook p.19

This two-page section of this notebook contains a collection of words with more detailed descriptions and reference to cultural knowledge about the natural environment. The informant is not given, but it may have been Mrs Timbery as with the previously recorded cultural notes on Dharrawal mythologies and practices.


These two pages contain a list of botanic names and more cultural knowledge such as “children must look at rainbow or their mother would die”, and “cannot drink water in any hole where people swim” (p.59).

Figure 12. Mathews Thurrawal Criterion Hotel notebook p. 59
 *Mathews Collection MS 8006* National Library of Australia (A-M.2.2), (U-M.2.2), (DJ-M.2.2)

The notebook contains 201 pages of language material in predominantly Djirringanj and Dhurga, as well as some Dharrawal and Dhaawa. For Dharrawal, Mrs Timbery, Mrs Fanning, Harry Walker; Mrs Longbottom; Mrs Saunders, Mrs Jetson and Andy are given as informants. Dhurga informants listed were Walker, Annie Wood, Bill Chapman and James Walker; and Huggany. Huggany was also the name of one of the informants for Mackenzie (see text 5 in B.2, and item 9 in this chapter). Djirringanj (informant Annie Wood at 8th January 1901); and *<Thâwa>* material was collected from *<Merriman>.* A reference to a date is made in one of the entries dating it to 8th January 1901.

![Image](image.jpg)

Figure 13. Mathews Thurga and Jirringany Notebook. Pp.43-44

On page 98 *<Thurrawal>*, Mathews notes “Mrs Fanning – checked by Harry Matthews”, which suggests that he may have checked at least some of his collected material with other language speakers for verification. On page 124 Mathews scribbled
that “Mrs Timbery best of all”, assumedly referring to her status as a language informtant. Page 153 contains “Annie’s Songs”, three short versed song lyrics.

This notebook also contains the information collected on the <Pir’-rim’birr – Revenge> that was published later in Mathews (1904a) Ethnological Notes of the Aboriginal Tribes of New South Wales and Victoria. It lists <Kooringal> songs, <Brâ’birr> Language; <Gundungurra> language and <Wongibon> language notes. People and informants are listed with their totems:

Annie Benson – “Bunna” – Jewfish – her ngul’lay (totem)
James Walker Dhun-am’boran, Redbill (his boodjan (totem)
Zechariah Ngīeeñ – Bandicoot, mirreejugga

On page 1, Mathews assigns <Tharoom’ba> to the places Araluen, Braidwood and Reidsdale.


This section of notebook 2 contains <Jirringañ> collected from Annie Walker. An alternative spelling of the name is listed as <Dyirringan>. Some of the pages had been pre-prepared by Mathews with verb paradigms to be elicited, sentences such as ‘I must beat him’ and ‘They are not beating each other’, with the underlined word indicating what he was trying to elicit. However, not all examples were translated.

These four pages contain Dharrawal language. The informant is not given. Contains a verb paradigm and a collection of words for bodyparts, specifically female and male genitalia and sexually related words. Also contains a diagram with kinship information.
Apart from stories and cultural food practices, ‘Forbidden foods’, this section contains eight place names in Dharrawal. Places referred to are Chippendale, Wall Street to Waterworks, Bunmarong, Bumbrose, Yarra, Camp at La Perouse, area between Bunnerong and Botany and “Cook’s River Bridge & thereabouts” (p. 59).
This section lists paradigms eliciting possessive, object and subject bound pronouns, and tense marking on verbs. The informant is given as Mrs Timbery, who was located at La Perouse.

Figure 16. Mathews Thurrawal Mrs Timbery Notebook 3 p.45

The informant is not listed for this elicitation; the material consists of elicited sentences.
The content of this section of notebook 4 contains the two biblical stories *The Parable of the Sower* and *The Prodigal Son*, and the story of *<Gwai’-a-miñ>*. The biblical texts are presented in blocks of long sentences, with blocks of bible translations. See
Text 4 - Text 9 in Chapter B.1 (Dharrawal Texts) for scans of Mathews’ transcriptions.


No informant is given and the first page was headed with <Thoorga> language, which was then crossed out and <Thoorūmba> scribbled over it, but it is labelled <Tharumba> in the following pages. The language material contains sentences and paradigms showing object bound pronouns.

Figure 18. Mathews Tharumba Notebook 4 p.28

Two pages in this notebook show Dharrawal language material. One page contains a paradigm eliciting for bound pronouns on the verb ‘talk’; the other page lists free pronouns and demonstratives.

![Image of handwritten notes]

Figure 19. Mathews Thurrawal Notebook 5 loose sheet


Amongst the Mathews Collection held at the NLA are a number of his printed grammars of various languages that show handwritten corrections, additions and notes
added by Mathews. These were likely to assist with further publications on the same languages. In some cases Mathews used a copy of a printed wordlist taken from one of his publications and crossed out the language name and used this as a template to add a vocabulary of another language. This particular <Thurawal> paper consists of a print of his published article *The Thurrawal Language* (1901b) with added linguistic information that did not make it into any future publication on the Dharrawal language.

Figure 20. Mathews *Thuraval* grammar print off with written notes

3 I would like to thank Stephen Morey for generously giving me copies of these
For example in his scribbles he added to his spelling and pronunciation guide, he refers to retroflex consonants and possibly pre-stopped nasals (see Chapter A.3 (Phonology) on more discussion of these features), which he does not include in his published Dharrawal inventory.

23. Capell, Arthur 1974 *Phonemicised transcriptions of R H Mathews’ Dhurga words* Copied and supplied by Rev. Dr John Harris, Canberra

This material was graciously handed over to me by Rev. Dr Harris at a late point in this study. It contains Harris’ handwritten copies of Capell’s phonetic transcriptions of Mathews’ Dhurga words compiled in alphabetical order in a notebook labelled “commenced 1974 February, Mathews vocab list (as transcribed by Capell)”. It is not known whether Capell consulted a Dhurga speaker on pronunciation and verification of Mathews’ lists. This material has to date not been included into the SCLs dictionary (presented as Appendix I in Part B of this thesis) but will be added to the corpus in the near future.

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4 I am at liberty to reveal here that Arthur Capell was Rev. Dr Harris’ godfather and it is due to that reason that Harris obtained some of Capell’s notes on the South Coast languages. Rev. Harris has worked on language reclamation within the Aboriginal church community in Batemans Bay since the 1960s. See also Chapter A.8 (Conclusion and Further Implications) for reference to his work with Dhurga speaking communities. I am greatly indebted to Rev. Dr Harris for his generosity and ever willingness to share his knowledge and this material with me.
A.1.2.2 Published historic language material


Gaimard\(^5\) was a naturalist who travelled on the French ship *L’Astrolabe* under the command of Jules Dumont D’Urville. This exploratory voyage covered a large part of the Pacific Ocean, and mapped parts of New Zealand’s South Island, explored the

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\(^5\) The German Poet and writer Johann Wolfgang Goethe met Gaimard briefly in 1831. “*Paul Gaimard, ein kleiner, schwarzköpfiger, zusammengenommener, nicht unangenehmer Mann; er hatte die Expedition mitgemacht, um die Reste von La Peyrouse aufzusuchen, erzählte kürzlich was sie für Überreste gefunden hatten und von den unberechenbaren Gefahren der Corallenriffe.*” (Goethe, Diary entry June 1831, http://www.zeno.org/Literatur/M/Goethe,+Johann+w+Wolfgang/Tagebücher/1831/Juni)
coast of New Guinea, visited Tonga and Fiji, and stopped in Jervis Bay where Gaimard collected words from local indigenous person(s). The informant is not given.

Gaimard’s wordlist consists of 157 words, with some reduplication such as ‘blue’ and ‘circle’ and contains many lexical items that are not found in any of the remaining SCLs corpus. Gaimard’s elicitation focussed on area specific items and animals, particularly on shellfish, fish and bird names, which remarkably enrich the SCLs dictionary. However, phonemicisation of his words is more difficult due to lack of comparative material in other wordlists. Words that are also found in other collections indicate that the language he transcribed was Dharrawal.

Figure 22. Gaimard Jervis Bay wordlist 1834:11
Hale was a member of the United States Exploring Expeditions, which visited New South Wales in 1839-40. This publication includes a section on the ‘The Australian languages’ containing grammatical notes and wordlists for two central NSW languages <Wiradurei> (Wiradjuri) and <Kamilaroi> (Gamilaraay) (but the latter turned out to be Awabakal). The accompanying comparative wordlist contains, along with entries from languages spoken at Sydney, Liverpool, Peel River, Mudgee, Wellington, Bathurst, Moreton Bay and Lake Maquarie, 17 lexical items collected at <Muruya> (Moruya). About the methodology of collecting the language material, Hale noted that it was “obtained directly from the natives, in most cases from a single individual, without the opportunity of a revision, which may have enabled us to detect some errors, and supply deficiencies” (p. 479).
This publication is also of importance for the philological analysis because it offers a spelling system that “comprises all the elementary sounds that occur in the Australian dialects, so as far our observation has extended” (p. 482). Hale also notes that the grammatical information on <Kāmilarai> and <Wiradurei> given in this publication is only the second description of an Australian language to be made public, after Threlkeld’s (1827) <Kamilaroi> [Awabakal] grammar.
Lau ventured from Germany to Australia in 1854 after the failure of his small business in Hamburg in order to “restore my financial standing or to settle there permanently” (p.1). But after arriving he failed to find suitable employment “in a shop or business”.

Trade was bad, I didn’t know English, and I was also swindled of much of the capital I had brought with me from Hamburg.

I was advised by friends to exploit my admittedly moderate musical talents and for four years I travelled about, near and on the South Coast of New South Wales. For my family I kept at all times a true record of the various things that happened to me. (Lau in Fletcher, 1991:Introduction)

During his travels, Lau collected some language material, including a wordlist of 44 entries containing 5 small phrases like ‘stay here’ and ‘where are you going?’. Some, or all, of his translations are presented in Fletcher’s book as a string of the same word in two different dialects/languages. This makes sense as he visited Shoalhaven, where the southern dialect of Dharrawal would have been spoken, and as far south as Moruya – Dhurga speaking country and Braidwood where Dharumba was spoken.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>devil</th>
<th>goin</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sun</td>
<td>wooreebucaring</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>moon</td>
<td>yodjutauerang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>man</td>
<td>dallingmarregin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>animal</td>
<td>nanongwarriganan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>love</td>
<td>wagelindannegra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to pinch</td>
<td>gaiinyanjuniga</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 24. Lau Wordlist in Fletcher 1991:31

For example, ‘sun’, translated as <wooreebucaring>, is a combination of wuri ‘sun/heat’ in Dharrawal and bagaranj ‘sun’ in Dhurga; ‘moon’ <yodjutauerang> consists of djadju(ng) ‘moon’ in Dharrawal and dhawara ‘cold/night’ in Dharumba and Dhurga.
Note that the spelling of the words in this publication has not been checked for discrepancies with Lau’s original handwritten notes because at the time of writing Lau’s manuscripts had not been located/obtained.


This wordlist consists of 14 words and three sentences in what might expected to be Dhaawa, the language traditionally spoken at Twofold Bay, but was authoritatively identified by Eades (1976) as Dhurga.

The three short sentences listed are in a religious context, such as ‘I will forgive him’, and translations for the concepts, ‘sin’ and ‘God’ are given. See also part of this wordlist published in Curr (1887), listed further below.
28. Ridley, William 1866 ‘Turuwul and Wodi Wodi’ Kamilaroi, Dippil, and Turrubul—languages spoken by the Australian Aborigines

Ridley’s three-page Dharrawal wordlist in this publication was also partly reproduced in Curr’s (1887) Botany Bay wordlist no. 192 and Wollongong, Illawarra, and Shoalhaven list no. 193. Informant for these words in Dharrawal is given as Mrs Lizzy Malone. The words were “learnt by her from her husband, John Malone, a half-caste, whose mother was of that tribe” (p. 99). The list is broken into semantic domains and contains 51 lexical entries and 21 phrases and sentences. The wordlist contains words that are not found in other historic Dharrawal language sources or words collected in
Botany Bay. Wodi Wodi is not a language name, but the name of the social group living in the Illawarra region. The Wodi Wodi speak a southern dialect of Dharrwala.

The words and phrases in the four-page Wodi Wodi list were also “taken from Lizzy (half-caste); daughter of a woman of the Illawarra tribe, and wife of John Malone” (p.111). The Wodi Wodi list contains 122 words and 10 phrases.

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6 However, these words are identified by the La Perouse community to be their language and they are used by the community. (Ray Ingrey, pc)
Ridley added some of Mackenzie’s collected stories in this publication, explaining that the stories were “supplied to the Government by Mr Andrew Mackenzie, of the Shoalhaven District, for transmission to Professor Max Müller” (p.143). The stories presented are <Tutawa, Pulugul>, <Wunbula, Nadjinaŋj, Murrumbul, Mündtha> in Dharumba; and <Yirrama Karwēr>, <Mullimūla> and <Jerra Bundūla> in Dharrawal. Ridley’s information about the geographical area covered by different language/dialect speaking groups is likely to be a combination of his and Mackenzie’s knowledge.

Tharumba is spoken on the Shoalhaven River, in the south-eastern part of this Colony, by the Wandandian Tribe, Thurawal in another part of the same district, south of Illawarra where Wodi-wodi is spoken. (p.143)

The language material in this excerpt was collected by Mackenzie and handed to the Earl of Kimberley who directed Ridley to pass the material forward to the Institute. See Introduction in Part 2 – Texts for an account of the communication between the Mackenzie, representatives of the institute, and Ridley.

This reference presents 10 complex sentences and a ‘go’ yana- verb paradigm in “Mudthung or Tharumba, spoken by the aborigines of Braidwood, Ulladulla, Moruya and Jervis Bay” (p. 248).

The same volume also contains “specimens of the Thurawal dialect” given as the “vernacular of the aborigines occupying the country from Wollongong to the banks of the Lower Shoalhaven inclusive” (1874:250). The Dharrawal texts are <Yirrama
Karwēr>; <Mēgaalali Wurragul> (English translation given as a rhyming poem), <Mullimūla Thurawaltheri Kurialla>, and two versions of ‘The Story of Bundoola’ “in the language of Ulladulla” (including one longer English version of Bundoola “done into English by Bimmoon, aboriginal of the Ulladulla tribe”). Dharumba text are <Jakwila, Bombi, yanilla Didthullo>, which were published along with sentences and texts in Thurawal. One of these English transcribed stories The Nut Gatherers, is one of the handwritten texts published in Illert’s (2003) article.

Figure 27. Mackenzie Specimen of Mudthung or Thurumba 1874:248

This publication contains language collected from “Lizzie, a half-caste, whose mother was a Shoalhaven aboriginal, and who is now the wife of John Malone” (p. 263) and it places Wodi Wodi as having been spoken from Wollongong to the Shoalhaven River (p. 263).

This article contains a wordlist with 121 words and 16 short phrases. The list of pronouns, not showing a dual/plural or exclusive/inclusive distinction, and 16 short sentences such as ‘give me a drink’ and ‘he stayed a long time’.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Australian Languages and Traditions.</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tongue, tallan.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Threat, kîrâ.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Head, wollar or wullâ.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forehead, pula (same in Kamilaroi).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eyes, nolûmû or niû.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nose, nûngûr.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mouth, kûmmû.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Child, kudja-par.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Little child, murra kainggap.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boy, bulûhûr.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shoulder, kûngî.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arm, mûrrûp.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hand, mûrramûr. (This root all over the east of Australia.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thigh, turra. (A still extended root in the durra, durupa, &amp;c.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nails, birrigul or birrgû.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Knee, ganûmû.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leg (salf), pûrrî.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kangaroo, bûrû.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Opossum, kûnûmû.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black-snake, màınû.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cockatoo, yarnballûmê.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dog, mîtingûp.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diamond-snake, mokka.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pelican, kuruypû.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ignoma, gindaola.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lizard (small), dillûp.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fish, daû.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pleides, mulunamullag.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sea, yarrwwan, or kajûg.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rain, bûmsa, or yîwû.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foot, dunnà.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ems, birbûin.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Top-knot pigeon, gûnulûpa.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laughing jackass, kulûkà.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Puddymelon, bûtûwa.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brown-snake, gûnalûjâ.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black cockatoo, gûraâ.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Horse, yarûmûn.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DEAF-older, nujujuich.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Native companion, gûndawûkû.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Smoko, kuringgarig.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cannan, yurnara or manyerî.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More, Tûru, kündû.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forms bark, kuniola.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Book,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tree bark, jûrrînhangû.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hut, kündû, or pûrrû.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Road, yo-wûp.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spear, maijûngû.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fish-spear, kulû.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boomerang, wûngûpûgû.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tea tree, banûn.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iron-bark tree, bûrinû.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Swamp oak, mûnumbûn.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forrest oak, wûndû.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Honey suckle, kûrîja.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pigeon-berry, wûnyampoo.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**ADJECTIVES.**

| Good, wûkûkû.                          |
| Bad, bûllû.                            |
| Large, kajîyû.                         |
| Small, muruwûingû or mûrrûgû.          |
| Alive, nuurungûlla (nûwûn or mûrrûn in Kamilaroi). |
| Dead, bûlûr or bûlyar.                 |
| Awake, haîtâ.                          |
| Asleep, nûngûn.                        |
| One, mûntûngû or mûdûngû.              |
| Two, bûlûr.                            |

| Six, wûwûlû bo wûwûlû.                  |
| Seven, wûwûlû bo wûwûlû mûntûngû.      |
| White, taocup or jîrup.                 |
| Black, gundûr.                          |
| Blue, gundûr.                           |
| Red, wûlûngûrûgû or gûngûrûgû.         |
| Green, mûrungûraûpû.                    |
| Grey, yarûngûdûkû.                     |
| Hot, bûkûrûn.                          |
| Cold, mûmûp.                           |

Figure 28. Ridley Wodi Wodi wordlist 1877:264

This Dharumba language material was published via Ridley. It contains the mythological stories <Guayamin> “version by Noleman, aboriginal of the Wandandian Tribe”; <Tūtawa, Pūlūngūl> “version by Hugany, aboriginal of the Wandandian Tribe”; and <Wunbula – Nadjigajon, Murrumbul, Mūndtha> “version by Noleman, aboriginal of the Wandandian Tribe”. All texts are in the Dharumba language, labelled as such with <Jerra Tharumba>.

The format of the presentation of these stories is equal to those in other published and unpublished versions of Mackenzie’s collected texts. The story is given first in a block of the applicable language, followed by a block of text with the English translation. See Chapter B.2 for all scans of Mackenzie’s Dharumba texts.

33. Curr, Edward 1887 The Australian Race - its origin, languages, customs, place of landing in Australia, and the routes by which it spread itself over that continent Melbourne: John Ferrer, Government Printer (C)

Part 3 of this four-volume publication contains wordlists from all parts of Australia, including from south-eastern NSW. Wordlists were submitted to Curr from a variety of individuals. The wordlists relevant to this study are listed in ‘Book the Seventeenth’ of that volume, and are lexical items collected in no. 192 – Botany Bay (Ridley), no. 193 – Wollongong, Illawarra and Shoalhaven (Ridley), no. 194 – From Jervis Bay to Mount Dromedary (Dawsey), and no. 198 – Twofold Bay (Ridley). Page 541 in ‘Book the Eighteenth’ contains a comparative wordlist with lexical items from Moruya, Illawarra, Cow Pastures (Gandangara) and Sydney Cove (most likely Eora). The following references are taken from Curr’s publication.
34. Ridley, William 1887 ‘No. 192. – Botany Bay’ in Curr 1887:3, Pp. 413-416 (BoB-WR-1887)

This vocabulary was taken from Ridley’s *Kamilaroi* grammar. Curr noted in his introduction to this vocabulary that:

Mr. Ridley states that Tururwu was spoken both at Botany Bay and Port Jackson. The several vocabularies of Port Jackson (or Sydney Harbour) tribe, however, make it clear that there were two languages, and that Turuwul was confined to Botany Bay. From Lieutenant-Colonel Collins’ Account of New South Wales….we learn that the name of Botany Bay tribe was Gweagal. In studying the aboriginal phrases preserved by Mr. Ridley, who obtained them from a half-caste of those parts, it is clear that their translations are free and not literal. (p. 413)

Most of the words in this list are shared with other Dharrawal sources, even in the southern Dharrawal dialect that Mackenzie recorded. Some of the words are shared with the Sydney language(s) Eora and Dharug, but are not found in the southern dialect of Dharrawal, i.e. the word *<batoo>* ‘water’ in this list is *ngadju*(ng) in the other Dharrawal language sources. The Dharrawal language as spoken at Botany Bay shared numerous words with the Sydney language.

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7 In a contemporary context, *ngadjung* is known as ‘fresh water’ and *badjung* as ‘salt water’ by La Perouse communities.

8 This has been confirmed to me by La Perouse Elders and can also be observed on the audio recordings from Janet Mathews, who recorded speakers from La Perouse in the 1960s.
As with Ridley’s Botany Bay wordlist in this volume, this wordlist of 55 lexical items is also taken from Ridley’s Kamilaroi as Wodi Wodi language material. In the introduction to this wordlist, Curr notes the various semantics of particular words.

A hut was often spoken of as a camp, and huts were almost always made of bark in the southern portion of the continent, and hence two objects were expressed by one word. In some of our languages a man will talk of his tree or his wood, meaning his spear; a form of speech which has something of the grand as well as of the rude about it. (p. 417)

The introduction of this vocabulary of 110 lexical entries states that this language-speaking group “divides themselves into two classes […] Piindri or tree-climbers, and Kathoongal or fishermen”9. The wordlist is given in two parts; a second part is titled ‘additional words’ and contains 66 items. Curr adds that the speakers of this language call policeman tchingar = star-fish, as they say both seize and detain. These tribes still retain few of their old customs, for they scar the person and knock out their teeth. Every remarkable hill, waterhole, and rock, says Mr Dawsey, has its native name. It will be noticed that sun, light, heat, day, and to-day are all translated by the word nowa, and probably correctly so. (p. 420)

This wordlist contains lexical items that correlate with Mathews’ Dhurga language.

---

9 See also Howitt’s (1996) observation on the division of the ‘Yuin tribes’ into the ‘Tree-climbers’, ‘Mountaineers’ and ‘Sea-coasters’.
37. Ridley, William 1887 ‘No.198 – Twofold Bay’ in Curr 1887:3, P. 434 (TB-WR)

This wordlists consists of only four words that were “extracted from Ridley’s Kamilaroi” grammar (Ridley, 1966). In regards to Ridley’s translation of the word <mamung> as a proper name for a sister, Curr states:

I have no doubt that Mr. Ridley was in error when he took the word down as a proper name. This is strong evidence of the tribe being of Sydney descent; otherwise the first three of the four words given above are too common in root throughout Australia to help us to any conclusion on the subject. We know, however, that the Twofold Bay Blacks themselves were always in alliance with those about Mount Dromedary and to the northward of that point, and at war with the Gippsland and Snowy River tribes.

38. unknown author 1896 ‘Message Sticks’ Australasian Anthropological Journal Vol 1:2, P. 10

This short article mentions an “aboriginal from Braidwood district” and lists several words regarding message sticks.


This collection of wordlists from several places within NSW also contains wordlist relative to this study from Braidwood (24 items), Batemans Bay (86 items) and Ulladulla (19 items). Larmer’s correlating handwritten notes were shown in the previous section.
40. Brown, John 1899 ‘Illawarra District, per favour of J. Brown’


Contains 33 words of the southern dialect of Dharrawal. This is evident in the difference of words such as `<mobera>` ‘eye’ which is not used in the northern Sydney dialect, but the use of `<megar>` ‘woman’, which is a Dharrawal word and not used in any of the other SCLs.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Dharrawal</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
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<tr>
<td>mobera</td>
<td>Dharrawal</td>
<td>eye</td>
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<tr>
<td>megar</td>
<td>Dharrawal</td>
<td>woman</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Dharrawal</td>
<td>woman</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 31. Larmer Batemans Bay/Ulladulla/Braidwood wordlists 1898:226

This is a comparative table of about 150 words from several languages, amongst them words from Braidwood, Ulladulla, and Batemans Bay.


This wordlist with 43 entries was recorded by “Miss Brown and her brother, Mr G.W. Brown of Brownsville about 1863 from full blood of Illawarra district known as
Micky Munnima”. The recorders were two siblings of John Brown who also submitted some wordlists collected in Brownsville (which was named after their father George Brown, a successful entrepreneur in the Wollongong and Dapto region). The picture shown here is the handwritten draft of the published list.

![Figure 33. Wordlist collected by M A Brown from Micky Munnima](image)

The remarkable aspect about this list, as well as Queen Rosie’s wordlists collected by John Brown, is the difference in words compared to the usual wordlists. It contains a number of non-native foods and items such as ‘tea’, ‘sugar’, ‘peaches’ and ‘candles’.
This list of collected placenames from all over the eastern parts of NSW contains a few placenames with translation from the Nowra and Eden area.

Figure 34. *Science of Man* Vol 3 1900:95

This journal has many of these lists of placenames that were sent to the Australasian Anthropological Institute by individuals from different parts around Australia. This particular list contains a couple of names from the Wollongong district.
45. unknown author 1901 ‘Aboriginal names of places etc with their meaning’ in *Science of Man and Journal of the Royal Anthropological Society of Australasia* Vol 4:3 Pp. 45-46 (SoM-1901)

This article contains a wordlist like the previous reference, but has about three identified words from the “Eden district” and other words that are recognisable as South Coast languages items, but the origin is not given.


According to the description, this list of placenames and words was given to John Brown by a Mr Fairweather from Wollongong. However, the majority of words seem to be from further north, i.e. Walgett and Newcastle. The article is also of interest due to the final remark that the “”U” is pronounced as “oo””. 

This list of placenames has a few entries placed in County Auckland, around Eden.


This is Mathews’ first published SCL grammar; it is also the most elaborate one of all of his SCLs papers. This article also contains some notes on the <Gundungurra> language. It contains his adopted spelling system and information about pronunciation.
of the sounds found in the language, information on case and number marking on nouns, possessive pronouns and extensive paradigms demonstrating tense and person marking on verbs and ‘adjectives’ and further observations of the function of the language.

This paper claims to enlarge, in some degree, the circle of Australian ethnology. Exhibiting the general structure of any native tongue must be valuable to philologists, in enabling them to compare our aboriginal languages with each other, and also with those of the people of Polynesia and the east Indian Archipelago, whence the primitive inhabitants of this continent are supposed by several writers to have come…(Pp. 127-128)
This article also contains a small introduction and wordlist with *Dharruk* words, Pp. 155-160.

49. Mathews, Robert Hamilton 1901 ‘The Thoorga Language’

*Proceedings and transactions of the Royal Geographical Society of Australasia, Queensland* 17 Brisbane: Outridge Printing, Pp. 49-73 (U-M.1.1)

As with the previously listed Dharrawal grammar, this Dhurga grammar is remarkably more elaborate than Mathews’ subsequent published articles on this language and demonstrates that Mathews was in the process of understanding the complexity of the language. The material contains pronoun and verb paradigms, and a wordlist of 467 lexical entries. This is the largest published wordlist of all of the SCLs.
Mathews reveals in this grammar that he collected at least some part of this material in Wallaga Lake (p. 51).

Every word in this paper has been taken down by myself from the lips of several old men and women of the Thoorga tribe on different occasions, according as opportunities offered to make special journeys among them. (Mathews, 1901:49)

This publication also contains the transcriptions of songs with the accompanying musical scores. These include short ‘chants’ sung by men and by women. The transcribed words could not be identified based on the existing SCLs corpus, which Mathews commented on.

It may be mentioned that the words of these chants possess no meaning to the present natives, having been handed down from one generation to another. They were probably in the language of conquering tribes in the past. They are considered sacred, and are never used except at the initiation ceremonies, of which they constitute an important essential. (p. 68)

50. Mathews, Robert Hamilton 1901 Thurrawal Grammar – Part I
Federal Printing Works: Parramatta (A-M.1.7)

This self-contained publication contains Mathews’ other published grammatical notes on Dharrawal. In this article he does not give information on spelling system and pronunciation. Mathews notes that the language was “spoken by a number of aboriginal tribes on the south-east coast of New South Wales, between the Hawkesbury River and the Victorian boundary”. (Mathews may here have been describing the area covered by what is sometimes referred to as the “Yuin Nation”. See Chapter A.8 for further discussion on this term.)

The article also contains a section at the end ‘Directions of Obtaining Information’, a kind of field guide for language collectors on how to elicit language material.

Mathews’ only other grammar of Dhurga is in his usual presentation style, and it does not contain a wordlist. It contains his usual spelling and pronunciation key at the beginning of the article. There is no added grammatical content in this article.

For many years I have been studying the languages of the Australian Aborigines, and now submit an outline of the grammatical structure of the Thoorga tongue, which is spoken by the natives of the Tuross, Clyde, Moruya, and other rivers situated partly in each of the counties St.Vincent and Dampier, respectively, New South Wales.
From a philological point, Mathews made a very interesting statement regarding his ‘adjectives’. In all other grammars he wrote about verbs and nouns, and that adjectives can be inflected like nouns or verbs.

It might be preferable to include these predicative adjectives among the verbs, but I have thought it best to exemplify it under the present heading, to keep all the adjectives together.

This article also contains a small final introductory section on the Dharrawal language, for the purpose of “showing its affinity to the Thoorga tongue.”
Dyirringany on Pp.160-167 (DJ-M.1.5)

This article contains several language descriptions, i.e. <Yualeai>, <Pikumbil>, <Kawambarai>, <Wongaibon>, <Kurnu>, <Tyake> or Mystic Language, <Dyirringany>, <Yorta Yorta> and <Bureba>. The Djirringanj (pp.160-1667) grammar consists of mainly verb paradigms to demonstrate tense, aspect, mood, and person marking. No vocabulary is given.

The possessive case is represented by a suffix to the name of the property as well as to that of the owner. Bailla mirrigangwa, a man’s dog. Mirriga wingalingwa, a dog’s puppies. Anything over which possession can be exercised is subject to inflexion for number and person:

Singular 1st Person My camp (camp my) Badhalya
2nd Thy camp Badhalyi
3rd His camp Badhaltwa

and so on through the dual and plural numbers.

Instrumental.—Wannungala yerrabandya warrangaadu, who throw at me a boomerang. The accusative is the same as the nominative. Dative.—Ngaruni, to a camp. Ablative.—Nguradya, from a camp.

ADJECTIVES.

Adjectives follow the nouns they qualify, and take the same declensions for number and case. They are compared as under: Jumagama nyam—dhanat nyanya, good this, bad that. Jumagumma nyanya, this is very good.

When an adjective is used as a predicate, it can, by applying the proper postfixes, be converted into a verb, as in the word mungar, strong:

Singular 1st Per. I am strong, Mungar-giaumunngga
2nd Thou art strong, Mungar-galadyamung
3rd He is strong, Mungar-galadyamuna

This inflexion extends to all the persons of the dual and plural, and to the past and future tenses.

PRONOUNS.

There is a distinctive form of the first person of the dual and plural, according as the individual spoken to is included or excluded:

Singular 1st Person I, Ngaia
2nd Thou, Indigal
3rd He, Waral
About the geography and relationship between the local languages/dialects of the area covered by this language, Mathews notes that:

The remnants of the Dyirringañ tribe occupy the northern half of the county of Auckland, on the south-east coast of New South Wales. They are bounded on the north by the Thoorga-speaking people…on the south are the Thâwa and other tribes, whilst the Muddhang and Ngarrugu occupy the country to the west. Stretching southerly along the sea-coast from the Dyirringañ territory to Cape Howe, and onward into Victoria as far as Anderson’s Inlet, into which the Tarwin River emotes, in the county of Buln Buln, all the languages are similar in grammatical structure to the Dyirringañ, although some of them differ considerably in the vocabulary.

I have also observed here, as in other districts, that two dialects differ widely in intonation, although the changes in vocabulary are comparatively slight, which gives the superficial observer the impression that they are altogether unlike.

53. Mathews, Robert Hamilton 1902 ‘The Murawarri and other Australian Languages’ Royal Geographical Society of Australasia, Queensland Vol 18, Pp. 52-68 (DM-M.1.8)

Here Mathews presents grammatical information on <Burranbinya>, <Wuttyabullak> and <Tharumba>, but the Dharumba description is not accompanied by a wordlist.

The Tharumba language is spoken on the coast of New South Wales between the Shoalhaven River and Ulladulla, reaching inland to the Dividing Range. The tongue is a dialect of the Thoorga, spoken to the south of Ulladulla…The Thurrrawal-speaking people adjoin the Tharumba to the north. (p.58)

Mathews gives information on the nominative, causative, instrumental, genitive, dative and ablative case marking on nouns, ‘adjectives’ and an unusual complete list of free pronouns, as well as possessive pronouns. He comments on similarities and dissimilarities between Dhurga and Dharumba throughout the article.

…The exclamations, conjunctions, and numerals are likewise almost identical with the Thoorga. But some of the words in every part of speech are quite different; some are more or less dissimilar, whilst others are so nearly alike in both dialects that their meaning can be recognized at once. (p.61)

Mathews furthermore states that all language material presented in this paper “was carefully gathered by myself, without assistance of any person in the camps of
the several tribes whose languages are herein dealt with - a task involving considerable expenditure of time, labour, and money” (p. 57).

54. Mathews, Robert Hamilton 1903 ‘Languages of the Kamilaroi and Other Aboriginal Tribes of New South Wales’ Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland Vol 33, Pp. 259-283 (A-M.1.3)

Apart from Gamilaraay grammatical information, a wordlist and small phrases of <Yauan, or the Mystic Language>, and <Wallerai>, <Wirraiarai> and <Guinbrai> Dialects, this article also includes a Dharrawal wordlist with 417 entries.

As part of the introduction Mathews mentions his previous work and publications on <Thurrawal>, <Gundungurra> and <Dharrruk>, which he then assigns into a
category of the “Thurrawal type” based on “several peculiarities of grammatical structure not previously reported in any Australian tongue” (p. 259).

This wordlist also gives some interesting information on existing native wildlife. Galah (parrot) and shingleback (lizard) are listed with the note “None in the district” (pp.277 and 278).


This material contains a wordlist with 24 lexical entries as well as a reference to a placename.

“Windang” I understand is the Aboriginal name of the Island [at the entrance to Lake Illawarra].

This large paper includes grammatical notes on *<Thangatti>* and *<Ngeumba>*; but the bulk of the article describes cultural practices and ceremonies of Aboriginal groups throughout various parts of NSW and Victoria. Amongst this information is a song noted down with lyrics/words and accompanying common musical notation that was sung at a *<Pirrimbir>*; or ‘avenging expedition’ (p. 239). The lyrics of the song could not be analysed based on the rest of the SCL corpus.

**A.1.2.3 Contemporary work on the South Coast Languages**

The term contemporary is chosen here to distinguish pre 1902 language work to that from 1930s onwards. The reason is that the language work (starting with Tindale in the 1930s) was conducted by trained linguists/anthropologists, compared to the earlier collectors, who did this without formal training (and approach perhaps).

Contemporary work on the SCLs includes audio recording of language material as well as some published and unpublished analyses on one or some of the SCLs. The term ‘contemporary’ is used loosely here as I have included Tindale’s collected words from Wallaga Lake in the 1930s. It also includes Arthur Capell’s unpublished Dharrawal grammatical notes that he compiled sometime during the 1960s. Luise Hercus and Janet Mathews\(^{10}\) respectively recorded Dharrawal and Dhurga language speakers/rememberers in the early and mid 1960s.

\(^{10}\) Janet Mathews was the grand-daughter-in-law of Robert Hamilton Mathews, the main contributor to the SCLs corpus.
Norman Tindale’s collection is held at the South Australian Museum. Tindale travelled along the NSW South Coast and collected cultural as well as linguistic information.

Tindale created this table of a comparative wordlist of 7 languages, amongst them 87 words headed <Juinj=Taua 31 Dec 1938>. Tindale collected this material at Wallaga Lake, the wordlist being number 75 in his database. The words in the list correlate with Mathews’ collected Dhurga words, so I am not altogether convinced that the language he collected is Dhaawa, as it was spoken in Twofold Bay. Wallaga Lake Mission was at that time one of the few ‘reserves’ in south-eastern New South Wales where Aboriginal people were moved to from various areas.

Figure 43. Tindale Vocabulary excerpt Tindale manuscripts
This part of Tindale’s diary covers his time spent on the NSW South Coast from 28<sup>th</sup> December 1938 (arriving in Wollongong coming from Sydney) until the 4<sup>th</sup> January (when he left Bega for Lake Tyers in Gippsland, Victoria). The diary entries contain information about cultural artefacts, knowledge and information about location of various social groups.

Figure 44. Tindale Journal excerpt p.765

Saturday Dec 31 1938 - Measured three subjects & made a good start with the genealogies.
Sunday 2 Jan 1939 - Among the folk measured today was N. 1507, a fb of mixed Taua and ‘Wiradjuri origin. Traces of a pygroid type are [manifest?] here & w[ere?] [refused?] to the other natives at lake Tyers who have the same strain which appears to belong to the country
south of Bega & west of Lake Tyers among the ‘Bidjewel tribe…The Ţaua range along the coast from Eden north to Narooma where they meet the ‘Walbanga. The western boundary is in the mountains, but information was scant; apparently it was not much visited in the olden days; other people lived there, principally the ‘Jarigo, about Bombala. Once ‘Wiradjuri men came to Tilba Tilba on a visit & this even is still remembered, they were [unreadable] feared, for their reputation as powerful fighters had reached the coast, long before the warriors came.

North of Ulladulla was ‘Wandandian country & beyond Jervis Bay were the ‘Wodi ‘Wodi, but little information was forthcoming about them. All these people on the coast were Juinj, which is evidently an agglomerate of tribes like the Kurnai & the so called Narrinjeri in S. Aust.

Tuesday 3c Jan - At Wallaga Lake….little of the language is remembered & none is used. Some of the natives from inland speak Wiradjurai, Bermagui was the meeting place of people, for Juinj peoples & also a boundary. According to today’s informant the Juinj people went as far as Orbost. They had met the Wiradjuri who were, at the beginning of white settlement, fighting their way across the mountains towards the coast.

Further diary entries tell of three accounts of informants having seen the “[black] wallaby being called [‘ba’dalam]…standing about four feet or high”; and information on burial rituals and traditional knowledge about their natural environment. Tindale also recorded the lyrics to a song and noted “the meanings of the words is unknown” (p.774).

59. Capell, Arthur 1955 *King of the Sea* Audio recording as told by Les Bundle in Nowra Capell Collection, AIATSIS

This recording of the Dharrawal speaker, Les Bundle who was noted as one of the last fluent speakers of Dharrawal, is held in the Arthur Capell collection at the Australian Institute for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies (AIATSIS). The quality of this recording is described by the institute as ‘poor, almost inaudible’ and Eades commented:

> It is most unfortunate that the tape […] seems to be impossible to understand. The speaker was obviously very fluent, but his recording is simply too fast to be understood. (Eades, 1976:13)

> After consultation with experts regarding manipulating this recording to a standard that would allow analysis, it became obvious that this is a future project for a study that ought to be conducted by a phonetician that is familiar with spoken AALs.
However, this recording has already been proven to be invaluable to this study as it clarified a rhotic distinction just from listening to the speaker in the current quality of the recording.

For the transcription of the English translation, also given by Les Bundle, see Text 10 in Chapter B.1 (Dharrawal Texts).


Capell’s unpublished grammar consists of typed pages with some handwritten notes that Professor R.M.W. Dixon identified as Diana Eades’ handwriting. Capell’s analysis was based predominantly on Mathews’ material, but he also consulted remaining language speakers to assist him.

…it was possible to find some years ago a few speakers of the language. I met one such speaker, a half-caste, then over 80 of age, at La Perouse, near Sydney, about 1950 & was able to do phonetic study with him which permitted an understanding of the systems of spelling followed by early authors.

About 1956 Dr SA Wurm & I were able to locate another speaker, full-blood, at Nowra & carry the study further by means of wire recordings.

This last speaker Capell referred to is Les Bundle, who told the Dharrawal story of the King of the Sea, the audio recording listed amongst the audio material in this chapter. Although Capell did not work on other SCLs, he refers to the similarity between Dharrawal and Dhurga.

Immediately to the south of Thurrawal came Thurga (ḏu:rga) which agrees in most features with Thurrawal. Southwards of Thurga information is lacking.

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11 I would like to thank Professor Dixon for copying and sending me this material.
The Thumeral language is extinct and cannot be treated in the same way as others in this series. For several reasons however, this is a feasible proposition. The linguistic type is sufficiently distinct from others represented in the series to make it desirable to include it.

The published material in Thumeral consists of:

- An article by R.H. Mathews, "The Thumeral Language Journal of the Royal Society / Proceedings of the Royal Society of N.S. Wales vol. xxxvii 1901 pp. 127-131. This is fuller than most of Mathews' work.


- Further unpublished notes including translations of text and parts of the Mathews ms. at present at Sydney University.

In addition to this published material it is possible to find some years ago a few speakers of the language. Of not over 50 years ago, about 1950 a man able to do phonetic study with him, which permitted an understanding of the existing of the language following his earlier death. About 1958 this man was able to learn another speaker full blood, at Newry, a man who by means of wire recording the transcription phonemics given me subsequently these personal observations, the interpretation of the English material on phonetics also upon these other contexts. It seems fairly certain to say that the language is now extinct except for a few people around the Newry district who know possibly a few words.

References:

- According to Mathews' statement in Thumeral.
According to Eades (1976:13), Capell’s unpublished grammar on Dharrawal is largely a rewriting of Mathews’ grammar in terms of Immediate Constituent Analysis. He was unable to gain any new grammatical information from his brief fieldwork in the 1950s, and much of the confusion in Mathews’ grammar is still evident.

61. Hercus, Luise 1960s Recordings of elicitation sessions with South Coast Languages Speakers/rememberers 16 CD set AIATSIS.

62. Mathews, Janet 1960s Recording of elicitation sessions with South Coast Languages Speakers/rememberers 16 CD set AIATSIS.
63. **Eades, Diana 1970s Recording of elicitation sessions with South Coast Languages Speakers/rememberers 16 CD set AIATSIS.**

AIATSIS compiled all of Hercus’, Janet Mathews’, and Diana Eades’ recordings on a 16-piece CD set labelled *Dharawal and Dhurga*. The recordings consist of elicitation sessions that Luise Hercus and Janet Mathews held with various individuals in Aboriginal communities on the South Coast. None of the speakers were fluent and the language and the language material collected is mainly wordlists with some grammatical information encoded in small phrases. The AIATSIS library holds a partial transcript of these tapes and information about informants.

Diana Eades based her phonological analysis in her SCLs grammar (1976) on these (and her own) recordings.

Although these recordings play a major role in language reclamation projects, they have been omitted from historical corpus for the purpose of this study, but will be included in future in order to expand the database presented here. Reasons for this decision were presented in the introduction of this chapter.

64. **Eades, Diana 1976 The Dharawal and Dhurga Languages of the New South Wales South Coast AIAS: Canberra**

Eades’ published Honours thesis provides a basic phonological and morphological outline of the SCLs, and has been an enormous contribution to language reclamation on the South Coast. Her emphasis seemed to be on the phonetic and phonological analysis of the recordings produced by Luise Hercus and Janet Mathews in the 1960s.

Eades excluded data in the early grammars and wordlists that she only found in single instances and therefore dismissed them as unreliable. Eades also omitted the texts and stories collected by Mackenzie and Mathews, which ultimately proved to be the most valuable contributions to the SCLs corpus for the analysis presented here. As Breen (1980) pointed out in his review of Eades’ grammar:
This book is a useful contribution to the literature on Dharawal and Dhurga (and is refreshingly free of annoying misprints that plague the readers of many early grammars of Australian languages) but the definite study of these languages has yet to be written.

There is no doubt that Eades’ study was an invaluable contribution to both comparative studies as well as to appropriate Aboriginal communities at the time. Her work had thus far been the only available grammatical description of the SCLs and has extensively been utilised by Aboriginal communities in the past. It is hoped that the more comprehensive study presented in this thesis will allow communities to take their language reclamation further than had previously been possible.

A.1.3 Language type and classification

In the early twentieth century Schmidt (1919) undertook the first attempt to classify AALs. His classification was based on interlingual commonalities found within his selected data on personal pronouns, interrogative pronouns, numerals, lexical cognates and phonotactics. Based on his criteria, one of his established language groups is the Yuin-Kuri group; yuin and kuri being the respective words for ‘man’ in the southern and northern languages of this group. The Kuri languages make up the northern geographical area of this group and consist of what are now mostly referred to Dharug, the Sydney language(s), Darkinyung, the Hunter River-Lake Macquarie languages, Gathang and Birrbay. The Yuin languages comprise the languages spoken from the southern parts of Sydney down to the Victorian Border as well as neighbouring inland languages. Schmidt further split the Yuin subgroup into coastal and inland Yuin, based on lexical sharedness, or lack of, and further splits the coastal Yuin into northern and southern Yuin.

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12 See Koch (2004) for a more detailed account on early classifications of AALs.
13 See also Chapter 4 and ‘Group 4 Wordlists’ in the Handbook of Aboriginal Languages of New South Wales and the Australian Capital Territory (Wafer and Lissarrague, 2008) for more language names and reference to language and dialect names in the discussed area.
Schmidt classified and labelled the *Yuin-Kuri* group based on the lack of word-initial /l/ and /r/, and pointed to the occurrence of word-final ‘explosives’ (stops/plosives) in the *Yuin* group, which are less commonly found in the *Kuri* languages. This feature is shared with Victorian AALs. Curiously, Schmidt grouped Gandangara (Gundungurra) into the *Kuri* languages subgroup, even though possession is marked as in other *Yuin* languages, and not as in *Kuri* languages. Koch reclassified Gandangara as a *Yuin* language, based on this and other linguistic aspects (see Koch, 2009).

Similarities between adjoining languages along the coast and adjoining inland Yuin languages show a continuum, which is not uncommon in language situations. The Dharrawal spoken in Botany Bay shares a lot of its salient words with the Sydney language; the Dharrawal spoken further south shares with Dharuma and Dhurga; Dhurga collected in Wallaga Lake shares a larger number of words with Djirringanj and so on. This ‘cycle of lects’ was captured in the following diagram (reproduced here from Wafer et al, 2008:105).

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Dialect Cycle of the Yuin Languages (Wafer and Lissarrague, 2008:105)</th>
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<td>Northern</td>
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<tr>
<td>Southern</td>
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</table>

Perhaps previous researchers expected clearly defined linguistic boundaries segregating languages more so than there perhaps were. Considering that each linguistic or social group covered relatively small geographical areas (compared to central NSW languages, for example) there should be little surprise that the languages are similar. Capell (1970), for example, pointed to a mistake Ridley made in labelling
two of his wordlists. Ridley published a wordlist each in <Wodi-wodi> and in <Turuwul>. Both come from the same informant: “Lizzie (half-caste) daughter of a woman of the Illawarra tribe [Wodi Wodi], and wife of John Malone.” The language is “the language of the Illawarra from Wollongong to the Shoalhaven River”. Ridley’s <Turuwul> might be expected to be <Dharawa:l>. It is not, but his <Wodi-widu> is <Dharawa:l>. The other is “the language spoken by the now extinct tribe of Port Jackson”. The inference would be that Lizzie Malone learned the language of her husband as a second language, and this would seem to be the case. However the vocabulary is neither Sydney, nor <Dharawa:l>, and it would therefore seem to be Gweagal recorded in Botany Bay.

**Gweagal** is the name of one of the social groups residing in the northern arm of Botany Bay (around La Perouse) and they identify as being a part of the Dharrawal language group (Ray Ingrey, pc). They acknowledge that their dialect differs to the Dharrawal as it is spoken further south the coast, and that it shares many lexical items with the Sydney language(s).\(^{14}\)

Capell “knew better than the sources” in this instance\(^ {15}\), and he was therefore wrong to assume that Ridley’s informant erroneously slipped between languages.

\(^{14}\) Gweagal is possibly a variant spelling of guya-gal ‘south-belong’, i.e. ‘southerners’ of the Kurnell Peninsula. The name for Botany Bay is Kamay or Gamay (Ray Ingrey, pc) ‘spear’ and the local name for La Perouse is guriwal, the name of a native pigeon hat used to breed in the area.

\(^{15}\) This quote “knowing better than the sources” by Harold Koch (pc) has probably become a catch phrase throughout this study. It has become increasingly obvious that we as researchers of archival material sometimes show tendencies to overanalyse data or information given in historic material.
“Gweagal”, which may be interpreted as Gwiyagal. Their speech is probably a dialect form of Thurrawal, having a distinct vocabulary. (Capell, unpublished Dharawal grammar)

The SCLs have a commonly occurring phoneme inventory within AALs, although some phonemes in this study are presented with a sense of caution (see Chapter A.3 (Phonology)). Consonants have six places of articulation, which include a laminal and an apical contrast, at least in nasals and stops. There are two rhotics, although, apart from one example pointed out by Capell (n.d.) it is not clear whether they are in phonemic contrast. There are three vowels, and vowel length distinction, but the evidence is not convincing enough to hypothesise on whether the length difference is phonemic or phonetic.

In having the laminal and apical contrasts the SCLs show more commonality with the Victorian languages such as Pallanganmiddang (Blake and Reid, 1999) and Wemba Wemba (Hercus, 1992), rather than with other NSW languages such as Gathang (Lissarrague, 2010), Anawain (Reid, 1995) and Dhanggati (Lissarrague, 2007).

Pronouns show a singular/dual/plural distinction as well as having an inclusive/exclusive in first person non-singular pronouns. Persons can be expressed by freestanding pronouns or by means of bound pronouns. The use of the latter is commonly found in the source material, whereas freestanding pronouns are less frequently found in elicited sentence and rarely in text/story material.

The SCLs are suffixing languages. Nouns (and noun-modifiers/adjectives) can be inflected for number and case, and form the base for various derived forms (see Chapter A.4 (Nominal Morphology). Verbs as well as modifiers can be inflected for tense/aspect/mood and generally show subject and object marking, as well as utilising a range of derivational suffixes and a few identified clitics. For discussion on verb morphology, see Chapter A.5 (Verb Morphology).
Core syntactic roles follow the ergative/absolutive case marking system; this applies to all nouns and subcategories like personal pronouns, interrogative pronouns, deictics and kin nouns. Chapters A.4 and A.6 look at case marking and syntax respectively.

The languages contain a number of particles that do not seem to be inflected in any way; these have adverbial, temporal, spatial, negating and modal functions. Narratives also show discourse markers that are not found in elicited sentences and that have the function of linking the utterance sequentially to the previous one; very much like the English ‘(and) then…’. These particles and other discourse features are presented in Chapter A.6 (Syntax) and Chapter A.7 (Discourse and Narrative).

Possession is marked on both possessor by means of the genitive case suffix, and on the possessed noun with a bound possessive pronoun marking person and number or the possessor. This is also found in some other NSW AALs such as Gandangara (Besold, 2003) and Victorian languages such as the Kulin languages and Warrnambool (Blake, 2003b). This feature, however, is not commonly found in the Kuri languages or most other NSW languages. See Chapter A.4 (Nominal Morphology) and Chapter A.6 (Syntax) on possession marking and syntax of possessive phrases.

A.1.4 Aims of the project

In 2004 I was approached by the New South Wales Board of Studies (BOS hereon) to act as the supporting linguist on the development of Dhurga language teaching materials and programs at two schools on the South Coast. The initial idea was that the teaching material was to be developed from the analysis presented by Eades (1976).

Having worked with R H Mathews’ manuscripts and publications on the neighbouring language Gandangara (Besold, 2003), I was aware that the quantity and quality of the language material he collected on the SCLs, including Dhurga, would
allow for a more comprehensive description than Eades (1976) had been able to offer. The primary aim of this study has therefore been to provide detailed language descriptions that will allow the languages to be taught to a higher proficiency level than had previously been possible. (See also Chapter A.8 (Conclusion and Further Implications.)

This study also intends to provide South Coast Aboriginal communities and researchers with a summary of the available archival material on the SCLs and a collective South Coast languages dictionary.

Apart from a few repeated paradigms in Mathews’ publications, all language material found in the archival sources is presented in either the dictionary or analysed and glossed in Part B (Language Material). The material presented there acts as an initial database onto which individuals and communities can add their existing knowledge, and expand or revise the dictionary to their own needs.

The recent years have witnessed an enormous productivity in language recovery work on traditional NSW languages across the state, based purely or predominantly on archival material. The analyses presented in this study aim to fill the geographical gap of these recently produced language descriptions on NSW Aboriginal languages and to add to the overall corpus of Australian Aboriginal languages descriptions. The analyses in this study refer frequently to other recently re-analysed NSW languages, and the findings in this study will feed back into the continuing language work of other NSW languages.

Finally, it is hoped that this thesis will take the reader on a journey through the stages and processes encountered when working from purely archival material. Chapter A.2 (Methodology) is meant to provide a glimpse into the complexities of working with this source material and hopes to invite further open discussion on this aspect of language work.
Chapter A.2 Methodology

Working from/with archival material has been a neglected topic for public discussion amongst linguists within the Australian Aboriginal Languages (AALs hereon) context. Although there has been an increasing corpus of literature on the early collectors and their language collections\textsuperscript{16}, very little has been published on methodology and approach of working from this material in language recovery. Even though numerous linguists work extensively from archival language material during their language research, there is little public sharing of experience and methodologies on how individuals approach the archival source material.

Some of the earliest elaborate studies on south-eastern AALs incorporate some of the methodologies employed, particularly the methods used in order to produce phonemic representations. Blake’s (1991) grammatical description of the Melbourne language Woiwurrung, and Bowe and Morey’s (1999) grammar of the Victorian language Yorta Yorta cover some methodologies the authors employed for their analyses. The latter publication includes, for example, a discussion on the symbolic representation of palatal stops as digraphs \textit{dy} in the archival sources.

Within personal communications, many researchers are happy to reveal accounts of methodology failure based on their own experiences, but the processes and experiences of working with historic material is rarely documented and made publicly available. Without sharing the experiences and mistakes that are part of working within this domain, linguists working from/with archival material seem to go through

the same obstacles and breakdowns of methodology, and it therefore feels like a case of ‘reinventing the puncture’.

To date, the only Australian publication that is dedicated solely to matters arising from working with/from historical handwritten sources is *Paper and Talk* (Thieberger, 1995); a compilation of selected articles written by linguists who have had experience with the problems and issues arising during work with handwritten manuscripts of early language researchers who had little or no linguistic training.

Linguistic researchers who work with archival material know that this is not a one-dimensional approach of merely extracting the data for an analysis, but that requires some knowledge about the individual language collectors, their background and education, as well as what other material was made available on AALs at the time when language collectors transcribed their material, in order to authoritatively interpret the transcriptions.

This chapter aims to take the reader ‘behind the scenes’ of this analytical work, i.e. it talks about successful methodologies employed during the course of his research study. It also hopes to act as a ‘conversation starter’ and encourage other and future researchers who work with archival material, to discuss and share their methodologies and approaches.

**A.2.1 The basics**

The most basic and possibly best advice was given to me by Professor Blake when I started to work with archival material on Gandangara, a neighbouring inland language of Dharrawal. As part of structuring a reading course in Aboriginal languages for me, he decided to make me “do something useful” rather than just general studies; and I was fortunate to get access to Professor Dixon’s Aboriginal languages collection and copy material he had collected on the Ngunawal and Gandangara languages. Once I
was in possession of a pile of copies of published and unpublished language material on varying sizes of paper and formats, Professor Blake gave me probably one of the simplest and yet most useful advice I have received in regards to working with historic material. He told me to take all the copies and label, sort and arrange them neatly in a ring-bound folder with numbered dividers and an introductory inventory. Although this does not sound like ground breaking advice, it alerted me to the fact that there is a need for systematic storing and archiving of the material so it would be easily retrievable when needed.

This part of the chapter looks at the different processes and stages involved in working from archival written material; and it offers an account of methodologies that may assist in establishing a solid database from which to work with for a different purposes.

A.2.1.1 Gathering material

Collecting the material is the initial stage, and the easiest, although there are challenges that present themselves when authorisation from depositors and collectors is needed in order to not only copy but also to access collections. This was the case with a then unindexed collection of unpublished language material by Arthur Capell that is held at the Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander studies (AIATSIS). At one stage, two emails and one letter were sent by me to the depositor and at least two requests by AIATSIS collection staff which remained unanswered until another attempt to contact the depositor two years later.

Even though this may seem a straightforward task of searching catalogues of libraries and archives, the reality is not always as accommodating. I encountered several obstacles in trying to obtain material. My request to access John Bulmer’s, Alfred William Howitt’s, and George Augustus Robinson’s collection held at the
Melbourne Museum was hindered for different reasons this time. The response I received from the collection officer was unsettling:

Thank you for your email requesting access to these Archives. The Indigenous Cultures Department is not presently sufficiently staffed to facilitate access requests to the Ethnohistory Collection. Department managers are working towards resolving this resource deficit with the recruitment of an additional staff member. Until the staff member is employed and briefed, we are unable to respond to your request. [Name withheld] personal email from 6th October 2005

In my reply to this email I tried to get across some sense of urgency and the possible negative implications for my research and consequently to the applicable communities which would be caused by having no access to collections that might provide some additional material (language of cultural) that would assist their language reclamation efforts.

I received a reply to this letter within days and I was assured that a new ‘Collection Officer – Access’ was expected to be appointed in early December and would be able to process the requests then. I never heard back from them.

However, not all experiences are as cumbersome as in these two instances; most staff in archives and special collection go out of their way to accommodate requests and are happy to share their knowledge about the material in question.

**A.2.1.2 Metadata**

With the increase of digital language material being produced in the realms of language documentation, the need for record keeping and compiling metadata of the material being created has been a growing topic of discussion amongst linguists and archivists. Although working purely from archival material, also called legacy material, does not quite fall into this category, this approach teaches us a lot about record keeping when working in this domain.
Rather than establishing the metadata from the onset of data collection (as would be the case if establishing our own language corpus from speakers) we need to appropriate the sequence of processes and work our way back from the data to the collector. This requires in some cases some research in itself. For example, in order to find out where Mathews collected his Dharrawal material we need to carefully scan his notebook entries and diaries held at the Mathews Collection (MS 8006, National Library of Australia) for any information on who he collected from and places of reference. Once we gathered as much information about the place of collection and the informant we need to store this information in an easily retrievable way and format with the actual language material.

In order to have this information readily available when looking at Mathews’ (or any of the other collectors’) language material, it is useful to develop a referencing system that will encode the important information. The material can then be labelled with these codes. In the example of the current research presented in this study, I have chosen the referencing key to contain the following information where available:

1. Name of place of collection preferably, if not available name of language name given in the sources
2. Name of language collector
3. Whether the material is in unpublished or published format
4. Year of publication, if applicable
5. Page number, if not given they can be assigned
6. Name of informant
7. Name of social group informant belongs to

Each entry in the dictionary and transcribed sentence in my database is then marked with the individual code. Three such codes encode the following information for example:
There are multiple reasons for using a code that contains all this information. One reason becomes quite clear when searching for words and their variant spellings in the dictionary, for example. Working with communities, I often get asked for words in language during conversations or workshops. Knowing the background of my querent, I can quickly target examples that were collected in the place of origin that person.

**A.2.1.3 Storing of materials**

It is a good idea to digitise paper material if only to have a backup of resources. Legacy material is increasingly being digitised by archives and institutes; some sources are available at no cost direct from library collections and can be easily downloaded. For example, James Larmer’s material “Native Vocabularies” (http://www.sl.nsw.gov.au/discover_collections/history_nation/indigenous/vocabularies/larmer/index.html) is available from the State Library of New South Wales. The
advantage of getting digitised versions of the material from a library or archive site is that the quality is often much better than home-scanned copies. The digital files should then be labelled and filed as orderly as the paper manuscript material.

A.2.1.4 Finding convention that allows to transcribe the material showing all scribbles and notes

It is imperative that the transcription of the source material is as truthful to the original as possible. This not only includes use of diacritics on vowels and consonants, but also records any scribbles, notes and corrections that the collector added to their transcription. This applies to unpublished source material, such as Mathews’ notebook entries. In order to replicate his transcription with all subsequent alterations, my own convention looks as follows.

![Figure 47. Mathews Jirringan Notebook 2 excerpt p.12](image)

(1) Bagama(sitting) goomirra(hole) bieel(man)
    baga-ma    gumirr-a    bayiil
    sit-PRST   hole-LOC   man
    a man is (sitting) in the hole. (DJ-M.2.3-12)

![Figure 48. Mathews Thoorga Notebook 2 excerpt p.14](image)
(2) War’rang -añ(boomerang) bī-eel-a-ga(I hit) Koong-arara(possum)warrangañ bieelaga ñeeñ
warranganj bayi-la-ga gungara-ra warranganj bayi-la-ga njiinj
boomerang hit-PST-1s possum boomerang hit-PST-1s this
I killed a possum with a boomerang (U-M.2.2-14)

Here Mathews’ glossing scribbled above the sentences is captured within (brackets) that are attached to the word that it applies to. The crossed out is is left in the original translation line. Additional comments by me that elaborate on aspects of the transcription are given in [square brackets], are seen in the example below.

(3) yugungai(yugundu(at that time) dyurwamaiadha(sowed he) yerrimaiadha(as alternative scribbled underneath) wallunghunggo(the seed) būr’wa(dropped) marrāia(some)
nguttañ(sides) bulali(both) yawangga(path)(yauang = road).
yagun-gay djurwa-ma-ya = dha (yiri-ma-ya = dha) walanhung-ga
then-? seed-CONT-PST = SUB (throw-CONT-PST = SUB) seed-INSTR
burwa-mara-ya ngadhanj-bulali yawang-ga
fall-SOME-PST side-DU path-LOC
while he continued scattering his seed, some of it fell on the side of the path, (A-M.2.6-17-PoS2)

The representation of this information provides important information such as change in the representation of word order, or alternative translations or lexemes that often assist in solving an analytical puzzle. It is also more convenient to have this information ready to access in the database rather than having to refer back to the original source frequently.

17 The words wallunhunggo and dyurwamaiadha were swapped according to Mathews’ notes; originally the sequence was reversed.
Note that some of the conventions shown here were developed at the commencement of this research study, whereas others have evolved over the course of time to suit the specific needs of this study. There are many ways to capture the original transcription, and it is recommended that individuals develop their own that will be most user friendly for them.

**A.2.1.5 Developing a database**

The researcher faces the challenge of interpreting the original source material. Issues such as deciphering handwriting in unpublished material can be a laborious task and some researchers go to great length to combat this issue. One linguist that worked extensively on historic material decided to take a course in palaeography to enable herself to read old European manuscripts.\(^{18}\)

Although none of the handwriting in the SCLs sources required me to do so, the issues of misinterpretation of handwriting present themselves still after nine years of working with Mathews’ material. What I had initially and confidently read as one letter for years all of a sudden revealed itself to be another after revisiting the sources. This has been an ongoing concern and demands constant revision of the dictionary and sometimes forms of morphemes.

**A.2.1.6 Establishing a database**

Once the preliminary aspects have been arranged and the source material is labelled appropriately, the actual language database can be established. There are several options to produce a database. These may be in form of dictionary making software programs such as Toolbox/Shoebox, KirrKirr or LexiquePro, or in a very basic

\(^{18}\) Thanks to Jennifer Hendriks for sharing her recollections of frustration and understanding of working from archival material.
spreadsheet in Excel, for example. The choice of this very much depends on personal preference as well as requirements and future plans concerning the language work.

The bottom line is to establish a sound and tidy database of all language material that is found in the sources; wordlists, sentences, paradigms and words in language found within otherwise English (or in other languages according to origin of collector) texts.

A.2.1.7 The danger of overgeneralisation

Researchers working from archival material are not exempt from making bad judgements in their own interpretation and the material to be analysed. Finding regular patterns in a new set of data is the goal of the language research, but it is important to treat each source as an individual source and look for the patterns within each source first, rather than across sources.

Wordlists collected from various places within the same language area may show dialectical differences that need to be accounted for. Here we might find a word transcribed with a dental nasal in one wordlist, but with an apico-alveolar nasal in another. Although we know that dental nasals are one of the most difficult consonants to distinguish (especially for collectors who may have never knowingly encountered them) we cannot automatically assume that the transcriptions without the dental nasal are wrong. They may be, but they not necessarily are. Instances like these need to be continually assessed and require careful investigation.

To assist with the phonemicisation of words, comparison with cognates from other neighbouring and closely related languages is important, but, again, there is a danger of assuming that the phonetics of the word in another language is identical. There were numerous instances within the SCLs where sound differences where consistently transcribed between languages/dialects. Additionally, working on
languages in geographical areas where there are no, or very little, phonetic analyses/transcriptions available in any of the related languages, this is not necessarily a reliable methodology to determine the phonemic transcriptions of words.

My approach and discussion on phonemicisation of the SCLs words are discussed throughout the sections on different phonemes in Chapter A.3 (Phonology).

A.2.2 Conclusion

This chapter only gave a brief insight into the processes and methodologies I employed during the course of this study. There were many setbacks and cases of trial and error and a continuous revision of methodology and referencing system. Over the years, the approach to working with this legacy material became a more confident one, but at all stages did I regret that so little information and guidance was available that would have avoided the struggles and mistakes encountered in the beginning stages of this research study.

This chapter was written in order to demonstrate what methodology worked for me, and raise the awareness that there are numerous factors that need to be considered when commencing on this kind of work; and to invite future researchers to record their own processes, successful approaches, as well as the mistakes, so that we can all learn from them.
Chapter A.3 Phonology

The phonological analysis presented in this chapter is based largely on the wordlists, texts and stories collected by Mackenzie (for example Mēgaolāli Wurragul - The Nutgatherers, 1874:255), and Mathews (for example The Parable of the Sower, notebook 4:16-20). Wordlists of other early collectors such as Horatio Hale (around 1840s), and Richard Dawsey (in Curr, 1887) were used mainly for comparative purposes and to fill any possible gaps left between Mackenzie’s and Mathews’ material. Only two out of all collectors of South Coast Language (SCL hereon) sources are from a non-English speaking background. Gaimard (1834) and Lau (ca 1850, in Fletcher, 1991) were from French and German speaking backgrounds respectively, hence Gaimard's transcriptions of the words collected at Jervis Bay often differ from those of the English-speaking collectors. This distinction is discussed where relevant throughout the text.

The outline of the phonology chapter presented here therefore differs somewhat from that of conventional grammars written on AALs. It provides not only the data and findings but also a view into the processes of working from archival material. This chapter is relatively voluminous because the phonological analysis serves as the foundation for the whole language analysis in this study.19

In her analytical work on the SCLs, Eades (1976) based her phonetic and phonological analysis of the SCLs exclusively on the audio recordings produced by Luise Hercus and Janet Mathews in the early-mid 1960s, using the available archival material only to complement her findings. In contrast, the phonological analysis in this

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19 For additional helpful insight into working with Aboriginal languages from historic written material, I would also like to refer the reader to Paper and Talk (Thieberger, 1995) and Koch’s (2009) ‘The methodology of reconstructing Indigenous placenames: ACT and southeastern NSW’.
chapter is based almost exclusively on the written historic sources. Eades’ established phonetic transcriptions were consulted as a comparative method for the determination of retroflex stops. Similarly, Capell’s recording of Les Bundle, noted as the last fluent speaker of any of the SCLs, was consulted for the purpose of shedding some light onto the quality of rhotics.

There are two reasons for the general omission of Luise Hercus’, Janet Mathews’ and Diana Eades’ audio material from the corpus in this study, and they are:
1. To present a language description based on the historic material from the 19th century to get a picture of the most traditional use of the languages possible. The material compiled later in the mid 20th century was collected when English would have left an even deeper mark on the traditional languages (see Austin, 1986 for a comparative study on the impact of English on different aspects of Gamilaraay, Nguyampaa and Dharrawal). However, I stress throughout this thesis that for purposes of language reclamation all available source material is of equally great importance.
2. The nature and variety of the archival SCL corpus by different collectors in many cases provided sufficient data allowing for a comparative method to establish the standardisation of the orthography and phonemicisation of lexical items.

Finding words only in isolated instances throughout the SCLs corpus posits the dilemma of whether to incorporate cognates from other NSW languages – particularly in cases where transcribed n/d may have been wrongly transcribed instead of dental nasal/stops nh/dh.

From an areal perspective, linguists (see Dixon, (2002a); Yallop, (1982) and Busby, (1980) for example) have ruled out a retroflex series in the Australian Aboriginal Languages (AALs hereon) of south-eastern NSW. I argue that these typological studies were conducted before extensive linguistic work on south-eastern

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20 I include here Mathews’ material that was collected between late 1890s and 1902.
Australian traditional languages had truly commenced. Relying on their typological observations presents us with the danger of too quickly dismissing unexpected language aspects and/or patterns in the archival material.

Throughout this chapter, phonemes will be mostly referred to not by their IPA symbol, but by the representing grapheme or digraph used in this orthography. Phonemes will be presented in the convention of /forward slashes/ in some parts throughout the discussion.

### A.3.1 The Orthography

The orthography used here is that used by various language projects on the NSW South Coast and was chosen by representative Aboriginal community members during the early stages of the Dhurga language teaching projects at two schools on the South Coast (Board of Studies workshop, Vincentia High School, 4th March 2005). Various subsequent language projects on the South Coast adopted the same spelling system and it is therefore retained in this study to enable community members to utilise this work without having to learn a different orthography.

The basic rule for assigning a suitable SCLs orthography was the need for symbols that were easily accessible on the average keyboard. This allows students and language learners to write the languages without having to use special keys.

In order to avoid an English pronunciation of word-final ny/dy as in ‘many’ or ‘muddy’, community members decided to use nj/dj. It was considered to be of greater importance than to risk the affrication of the phonemes due to the j triggering a dsh or tsh sound, as in ‘judge’ or ‘church’.

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21 For work on NSW languages in progress or recently completed, see Giacon et al (2003 - Gamilaraay, Yuwaalaraay), Morelli (2008 - Gumbaynggirr), Lissarrague (2007 - Dhanggati, and 2010, - Gathang), Oppliger (n.d. - Dharug), Steele (2005 - Sydney language) and Jones (2008 - Darkinyung), to name just a few.
All stops are represented by their voiced counterpart, which is an orthographic convention that is used in many language reclamation projects and/or programs in most south-eastern AALs.

The nasal-stop cluster /ng/ is distinguished from the velar nasal /ŋ/ with the use of a full stop, i.e. n.g versus ng for the latter.  

Homorganic nasal-stop clusters nhdh and njdj are transcribed in this orthography as ndh and ndj respectively. This decision was made to avoid language learners and readers being faced with convoluted strings of consonants. Transcribed words such as <bundhaia> ‘he used’ (A-M.2.6-21-PoPS) will consequently not be phonemicised as banhdha-ya to show a dental nasal-stop cluster, but are reduced to bandha-ya. We can also not rule out that the preceding nasal was an apical, and not a dental nasal.

Vowel length and rhotic distinction is difficult to assign in many cases; this means that when a rr is given in my phonemicisation, it represents a trill; whereas a r means that it could be either an approximant rhotic or a trill. Similarly, a long vowel aa/i/i uu in my phonemicisations means that is has been analysed as a long vowel; whereas a/i/u denotes that it could be either a short vowel or a long vowel. See discussions in A.3.7.5 and A.3.8.2.1 for further discussion on rhotics and vowel length.

Proper nouns (names and placenames) and sentence initial words are capitalised; and punctuation follows the English spelling convention.

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22 This convention frequently raises initial concern with some community members regarding any possible confusion with the conventional function of the full stop marking the end of a sentence. But this apprehension is generally relieved after discussing the use of diacritics and other punctuation, such as apostrophes (that’s) or umlauts (Käfer ‘beetle’ German, or naïve) that are used in the long established spelling systems such as these European languages.
A.3.2 The Phoneme Inventory

The SCL phoneme inventory (see Table 2) presented here consists of two laminal and two apical phoneme series, corresponding bilabial and velar phonemes, a trill, a rhotic approximant, and the two semivowels. The inclusion of the apico-postalveolar series is based on the examples in the language corpus that show evidence of these phonemes, but these are not consistently transcribed. It is possible that Mathews was not familiar with retroflex stops and nasals until he worked on other languages after the south-east NSW languages.

The vowel system consists of three vowels; the high front and back vowels /i/ and /u/, and the low central vowel /a/, and their long counterparts.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 2. Phoneme Inventory of the South Coast Languages</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Consonants</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bilabial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alveolar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nasal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lateral</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>trill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>approximant</td>
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</table>
Vowels

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>front</th>
<th>central</th>
<th>back</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>high</td>
<td>i (ii)</td>
<td>u (uu)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>low</td>
<td>a (aa)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There is a lack of reliable minimal pairs to clearly identify phonemic vowel length, although long vowels are clearly transcribed by the early collectors. Based on the evidence of long vowels in the original sources, and the inclusion of phonemic vowel length in other south-eastern AALs such as Wiradjuri and Gathang, Vowel length is therefore tentatively included in the phonemic inventory, and phonemicisations show long vowels where they have been analysed as such.\(^{23}\)

This inventory differs from Austin’s (1997:23) reconstructed proto-Central New South Wales phoneme inventory due to the inclusion of the apico-post-alveolar (retroflex) series (except the approximant); but it correlates with inventories of some other NSW languages such as the western NSW language Paakantji (Hercus, 1982)\(^{24}\).

Like most AALs (Evans, 1995a:724 and Dixon, 2002a:550), the SCLs show no phonemic distinction between voiced and voiceless stops.

### A.3.2.1 Apico-post-alveolar/retroflex consonants

The existence of retroflex consonants in the SCLs has always been treated as an unresolved issue. Eades (1976) omitted a retroflex series in her SCLs analysis based on the omission of retroflex consonants in Mathews’ inventory and the lack of

---

\(^{23}\) The transcriptions of words with long vowels with digraphs, i.e. *aa/i/u*, rather than opting for a single grapheme *a/i/u* to represent either short or long vowel, was also of great importance for community members in learning the pronunciation of their languages.

\(^{24}\) Apart from the inclusion of the dental laminal in the Paakantji phonemic inventory.
retroflex sounds (except one example as discussed below) in the audio recordings from the 1960-70s by Hercus, J Mathews and Eades.

Firstly, Mathews gives no hint of retroflex consonants, and we have seen that he had quite a good ear and explained sounds well. Secondly, I have not heard any retroflexes on tape and although they could have been forgotten, one would expect at least some hint. (Eades, 1976:34)

But Eades contradicts the latter argument in her phonetic transcription of ‘frog’ [go̞t̐ga̞t̐] “which had been given on tape by three different Dharrawal informants with definite retroflexes” (Eades, 1976:34). The same word was transcribed by Tindale <'kur'gart> (WL-T.75), whereas Mathews transcribed a word-final palatal stop <'koor'-gaty> (U-M1.1).

Capell also interpreted Mathews’ rC transcription as being inconclusive and did not rule out that Dharrawal contained retroflex consonants.

It is not always possible to interpret Mathews’ r+C. Such a combination is a normal English interpretation of a retroflex consonant, but Mathews is not completely consistent, and some of the instances where a retroflex is given in the following pages [of Capell’s grammar] may therefore be incorrect: r+C may actually be intended;... (Capell, nd)

Capell continued to comment that retroflex consonants are “much rarer in eastern Australia than in the north, west and centre” and the same typological observation has been established by Dixon (2002a:565).

But reiterating here from the introduction to this study, we cannot rule out that works like these may have a limiting effect on language research in south-eastern Australia. Although typological observations on AALs presented to date include the linguistic findings of languages of south-eastern NSW, it is imperative to remember that many of these languages have only been fairly recently, or are in the process of being, re-analysed.

Furthermore, retroflex consonants have been identified on some closer related south-eastern NSW AALs. Hercus and J. Mathews (1969:199), for example, identified...
retroflex stops in Ngarigo, a neighbouring inland language of the SCLs, although only in three words.

Within the SCLs archival material, Mathews did not list retroflex consonants in his spelling keys in the published grammars of the SCLs. However, in a later publication on the grammars of some NSW and Victorian languages, Mathews (1904a:207) presents the reader with information on retroflex consonants (the applicable languages are not given by Mathews) and the difficulty of identifying them.

In several native words, an indistinct sound of r seems to come before consonants. Thus, it is difficult to distinguish between thurl-tha and thul-tha; between kur-nu and ku-nu; between bur-al and burd-al.

The fact that this description was published after his SCLs publications could suggest Mathews’ increasing knowledge of function and aspects of AALs. We cannot rule out that this description may have also applied to the SCLs, which would explain alternation in rC spelling. Considering that the SCLs material was the earliest he collected (as evident from the order of his notebooks and publications), we need to allow for possible gaps in his knowledge that he was later able to fill. (See Chapter A.2 (Methodology) on Mathews’ increase in knowledge of language function throughout his work on the SCLs and afterwards.)

There is also a possibility that Mathews may have been uncertain about retroflex consonants (other than the approximant rhotic) at the time he was collecting the SCL material. This would explain at least some of the discrepancies between his notebook entries and subsequent published item. For example, <mirnung> ‘semen’ (A-M.2.3-50) in his notebook was later published as <minnung> ‘sperm’ (A-M.1.3-276). The change in the choice of translation alone shows that Mathews reviewed his notebook entries and made appropriate changes. So we cannot rule out that he would have at the same time decided to change the spelling of the word to avoid uncertainties.
It is apparent that at least some transcribed arC sequences are representations of the long central vowel aa, particularly in the earlier collectors’ material.

waadhu  ‘skin’  < wardoo> (U-C.1-33)  
< wâ-dhoon-gan‘yan> (U-M.1.1)  
< wardo> (U-RD-423)  
< wardu> (MY-HH-480)

Note that only one of these four transcriptions is by Mathews and his differs greatly from the others because he uses à instead of ar to denote a long vowel and he identifies the following stop as dental nasal. But transcriptions such as < kardeer-â-nga> (U-M.2.2-76) ‘rend, tear’ where Mathews marked the long vowel (or possibly stress) clearly with a diacritic on the vowel, à, leave the possibility of retroflex stop or rhotic-stop cluster for the ar sequence in the first syllable.

In < bibburdugang> (A-M.1.3-277) biburdugang ‘brown hawk’ — Dhurga  
< bib-bur-noong’ga> (U-M.1.1) — the rn/rd alternative spelling between the two may also support a retroflex consonant. Both rd and rn share the same place of articulation, apico-post-alveolar; only the manner of articulation differs here, i.e. the stop in rd versus the nasal rn.

In regards to distribution, no transcriptions that could be analysed as retroflex consonants have been recorded in word-initial position, only in inter-vocalic and word-final position. Compared to rn and rd, word-final rl has not been found in unambiguous transcriptions. Each individual retroflex consonant will be discussed in the following appropriate sections.

A.3.3 Contrast

Within the SCLs corpus, the general transcriptional tendencies are that palatal nasal and stops nj and dj are followed by front or central vowels, /i/ and /a/ respectively, but rarely by the high back vowel /u/. In contrast, dental nasals and stops, nh and dh, are
found frequently when followed by \( a \) or \( u \) (or \( oo, \ddot{u} \)), but only in one isolated instance preceding \( i \) in Mackenzie’s material, i.e. \( dhidbula < Thitbulo > \) ‘he spat’ (DM-AM-TuPu). No examples are recorded with \( nh \) preceding a high front vowel /i/. This pattern of occurrence follows Dixon’s (2002a:561) observation that

\[ \text{In most (but not all) double laminal languages there is a strong association between lamino-palatal phonemes and a following } i, \text{ and between lamino-dentals and a following } u \text{ or } a. \]

A more unusual feature for a Pama Nyungan language is the presence of word-initial apicals (Alpher, 2004:112) that are found in the SCLs. Here we have reliable transcriptions and a comment by Mathews (1904b:xxxviii), where he offers the following explanation for the relatively small occurrences of word-initial \( d \) (as opposed to \( dh \) and \( dj \)) in one of his published grammars.

\[ \text{Th is frequently used at the commencement of a word instead of dh, and in such cases an initial t sound is substituted for that of the d. Dh and th are generally interchangeable. At the beginning of a word our English sound of d and t seldom occurs, it is generally pronounced dh or th, in the way just explained.} \]

Table 3 shows examples demonstrating alveolar, lamino-dental and lamino-palatal contrast.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phonemicised</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Language /Place</th>
<th>Original spelling</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>daarlawan</td>
<td>great shark</td>
<td>U</td>
<td>&lt;dâr'-lou-an&gt; U-M 1.1; &lt;tarowann&gt; 'dente' (poisson) JB-G-12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dhana</td>
<td>foot</td>
<td>A; ILL</td>
<td>&lt;dunna&gt; A-WR-419; &lt;dhunna&gt; A-M.1.3-276; &lt;thunna&gt; A-AM.1-255; &lt;Thunna&gt; A-ILL.SoMB;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>&lt;dhun'-na&gt; A-M.1.1; &lt;tanna&gt; JB-G-13; &lt;dana&gt; U-HH-480; &lt;Thun-na&gt; BB-JL-225</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>djamaga</td>
<td>good</td>
<td>U; DM; MY; BB;</td>
<td>&lt;jum’-ug’a&gt; U-M.1.1; &lt;tyamugu&gt; MY-HH-481; &lt;jumiga&gt; DM-AM-253; &lt;jum-na-ma&gt; U-M.2.7-7;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>&lt;jummagu&gt; U-M.2.2-7; &lt;jumagambooraga&gt; U-M.2.2-7; &lt;jum’aga&gt; U-M.2.2-17; &lt;Jumaga&gt; BB-JL-266;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>&lt;jummerger&gt; B-R; &lt;jummagang&gt; DM-M.2.6-27; &lt;jumaga&gt; DJ-M.2.2-60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dirrindhara</td>
<td>person</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>&lt;dirrindhurra&gt; A-M.2.4-23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>scarred with</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>birin</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dhidbu-1</td>
<td>spit</td>
<td>DM</td>
<td>&lt;Thitbülo&gt; (DM-AM-1877-272-Wand/Hu-TuP)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>djinggi</td>
<td>star</td>
<td>U</td>
<td>&lt;jing’-gee&gt; U-M.1.1; &lt;tingee&gt; U-C.1-25/U-RD-423; &lt;Gin.gee&gt; BB-JL-225; &lt;’djinggi&gt; WL-T.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>durun.gadja</td>
<td>three</td>
<td>J ; U; BB</td>
<td>&lt;dooroogai &gt; JB-C.1-15; &lt;dooroogai &gt; U-RD-422; &lt;too’roon gad’ya &gt; U-M.2.2-55; &lt;too’roon goweraga &gt; U-M.2.2-55; &lt;Toorung.gow.aree&gt; BB-JL-266</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dhugan</td>
<td>camp</td>
<td>U; DM</td>
<td>&lt;thoo’-gan &gt; U-M.1.1; &lt;doogan&gt; BB-RD-423; &lt;Tookun&gt; UL-JL-266; &lt;Tugon.&gt; BB-JL-226;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>&lt;’d,ugan &gt; WL-T.75; &lt;thogundha&gt; DM-AM-No-WND-Tu; &lt;thögunda&gt; D-AM-Bi-Bu; &lt;thugandha&gt; DM-M.1.8-60; &lt;dhoo-gan’ -no &gt; U-M.2.2-17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>djungga</td>
<td>octopus</td>
<td>U; WL</td>
<td>&lt;tyoong’-ga&gt; U-M 1.1; &lt;djungga &gt; WL-T.75; &lt;qunga&gt; E-87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nanari</td>
<td>mother in</td>
<td>A; DM</td>
<td>&lt;nanari &gt; A-M.1.3-275; &lt;nanaridyandi &gt; A-M.2.6-25-GW; &lt;Nanarimuwaranhung &gt; A-M.2.6-25-GW;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>law</td>
<td></td>
<td>&lt;Nunnaridtha &gt; DM-JB-AM-GW</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nhaway</td>
<td>today</td>
<td>A; U</td>
<td>&lt;now’-i&gt; U-M.2.2-47; &lt;nthow-ay&gt; U-M.2.2-17; &lt;nhauwai &gt; A-M.1.4-148; &lt;nauwai &gt; A-M.2.6-24-GW</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3. Laminal and Apical Contrast in the South Coast Languages
This is an isolated example of *dhi* within the SCLs corpus.

The verb root *nja*-'see' is given here to allow for multiple examples from various SCLs.

About five words are found in the SCLs corpus that are spelled with word-initial *n*. All of these examples are found in single instances and from collectors (Howitt, Dawsey, Lau) that did not transcribe dental sounds.

No examples with word-initial *nhi* are found within the SCLs corpus.

The phonemicised word is taken from the Dhurga corpus, but demonstratives from other SCLs are listed as further examples.

**However, absence of phonemic contrast of lamino-dental and lamino-palatal stops in vowel-medial and word-final positions can be found in the SCLs, which is a frequently found feature in other AALs.**

Often phonemic contrasts within a [apical or laminal] series are neutralized in certain positions — most languages neutralize the alveolar/retroflex word-initially, and some neutralize the lamino-dental/lamino-palatal contrast word-finally. (Evans, 1995a:727)

Laminal variation in all environments is found in several NSW languages such as Dhanggati (Lissarrague, 2007), the Hunter River and Lake Macquarie languages (Lissarrague, 2006) and Gumbaynggirr (Morelli, 2008), to name just a few. Within the SCLs, word-final laminal variation is recorded in one word only, but occurs more
frequently inter-vocally. Table 4 shows examples of laminal variation in word-final, intervocalic and word-initial position. Note that the second example is taken from the corpus within one language, Djirringanj; and the last example is a variation observed between Dharrawal and Dhurga. Apart from examples that reach across languages, no examples with word-initial variation have been identified within any one language.

Table 4. Transcribed intervocalic and word-final variation in the South Coast Languages

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variation</th>
<th>Language/Place</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&lt;kan’-na-go-badh’&gt;</td>
<td>(U-M1.1)</td>
<td>echidna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘djanunggu’ba:dj&gt;</td>
<td>(WL-T.75)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;danagubad&gt;</td>
<td>(E-78)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;badhal&gt;</td>
<td>(DJ-M.2.3-1)</td>
<td>camp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;badyal&gt;</td>
<td>(DJ-M.1.5-163)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;bindhi&gt;</td>
<td>(U-M.1.3-276)</td>
<td>stomach</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;bendje&gt;</td>
<td>(JB-G-12)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;Binjee&gt;</td>
<td>(BB-JL-225)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;dyadyang&gt;</td>
<td>(A-M.2.2-39);</td>
<td>A; DJ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;dyadyamurriung&gt;</td>
<td>(A-M.2.6-1)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;dhadha&gt;</td>
<td>(U-M.1.3-275);</td>
<td>U; DM; Y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;tethunganjiko&gt;</td>
<td>(DM-AM-1878:269-JB-Gy)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;dhādhādha&gt;</td>
<td>(DM-AM-253);</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;Dhadhūyine&gt;</td>
<td>(DM-AM-253);</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;tatha&gt;</td>
<td>(JB-RD-422);</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;dadung&gt;</td>
<td>(MY-AH.2)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Equally noteworthy is the lack of recorded variation in nasals. One of the reasons may well be that the dental nasal nh is the most difficult sound to distinguish for people from language backgrounds that are not familiar with this sound; and compared to dental stops dh, the interdental nasal nh is relatively sparsely recorded throughout the corpus. In her more recent work on the SCLs, Eades (1976) did not
transcribe a single word-initial dental nasal from the 1960s collected audio material, and only one intervocalic dental nasal in the word \textit{yunhunj}\textsuperscript{25} ‘Aboriginal man’.

\section*{A.3.4 Phonotactics}

The typical SCL word is at least disyllabic and starts with a single consonant and ends in either a single consonant or vowel. But a small number of monosyllabic words are used in communities such as \textit{mir}\textsuperscript{26} ‘eye’ (La Perouse Dharrawal) and \textit{mudj} ‘friend’ (Wreck Bay). \textit{Mudj} is also known as \textit{mudji}, so the mono-syllabic version may just be a shortened form. Both examples are known and used in communities.

\subsection*{A.3.4.1 Consonant Distribution}

Laterals, rhotics, retroflex consonants and vowels do not occur word-initially in the SCLs (with the exception of one frequently transcribed initial \textit{i} which will be discussed further below). The same rules regarding word-initial phonemes are shared with neighbouring languages like Ngunawal and Gandangara (Besold, 2003), Ngarigu (Hercus, 1969) and the Sydney language (Oppliger, pc, 3rd July 2008). However, Hercus (1969:201) observed rare occurrences of word initial \textit{l} in Ngarigu - no such exceptions of word-initial laterals, or rhotics, have been recorded anywhere in the SCLs corpus.

As previously mentioned, apical consonants /\textit{n}/ and /\textit{d}/ can be found in word-initial position in the SCLs, but not as often as laminal and dental stops and nasals.

\textsuperscript{25} Presented in the orthography used in this study, Eades’ original transcription is \textit{yunup}.

\textsuperscript{26} La Perouse Dharrawal community members suggested that \textit{mii} is ‘single eye’ and that the Dhurga/Dharumba word \textit{mabura} is a combination of \textit{mii} ‘eye’ and -\textit{bara} ‘dual marker’. I have not been able to find reference in the source material that would confirm or refute this. The suggestion is plausible, but the plural marker in Dharrawal is -\textit{wulali} and we would expect to find a construction more like *\textit{miiwulali}. \textit{mii} is most likely a shared word in the Botany Bay Dharrawal and the Sydney language.
Typical disyllabic SCL words are structured as follows and allow the following consonant in each slot. Words with three or four syllables are structured the same with the same consonants or clusters as in $C_2$ and $C_4 C_3$ possible in each additional word-medial syllable.

$$C_1 V C_2 V (C_3) \quad \text{with single consonant in intra-morphemic position}$$
$$C_1 V C_4 C_2 V (C_3) \quad \text{with a consonant cluster in intra-morphemic position}$$

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>$C_2$</th>
<th>$C_1$</th>
<th>$C_3$</th>
<th>$C_4$</th>
<th>$C_3$</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bilabial</td>
<td>b, m, w</td>
<td>b, m, w</td>
<td>b, m</td>
<td>b, m, w (all rare)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>apico-alveolar</td>
<td>d, n, l, rr</td>
<td>d, n</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>d, n, l, rr</td>
<td>l, rr, d, n (stop and nasal rare)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>apico-post alveolar/retroflex</td>
<td>rn, rd, rl, r</td>
<td></td>
<td>rn, rl</td>
<td>rn, rd, rl</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lamino-dental</td>
<td>dh, nh</td>
<td>dh, nh</td>
<td>dh, dj</td>
<td>nh, nj</td>
<td>$dh$ (one instance only)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lamino-palatal</td>
<td>dj, nj, lj, y</td>
<td>dj, nj, y</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>dj, nj, y</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dorso-velar</td>
<td>g, ng</td>
<td>g, ng</td>
<td>g</td>
<td>ng</td>
<td>g, ng</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5. Distribution of Consonant Phonemes in the South Coast Languages

Note that bilabial stop $b$ and nasal $m$ are only found in isolated instances word finally.\(^{27}\) The only examples showing word-final $b$ are:

- `<jurup>`  
  `?`  
  (DM-AM-G)

- `<wannup>` \(^{28}\)  
  ‘who are you?’  
  (WW-M.2.2-8)

\(^{27}\) The bilabial stop /b/ is also found in rare cases in other Yuin languages, such as ‘lightning’ *malub* in Ngarigo (Hercus 1986:246).

\(^{28}\) `<wannup>` is most likely a shortened version of *wanaga-bi* ‘who-you (singular)’, being *wanang(g)abi* in Dhurga and Dharumba.
Wordfinal *dh* occurs in one example by Mathews, *<kan’-na-go-badh’>* (U-M.1.1) with alternating word-final *dj* in a transcription by Tindale *<’djanunggu’ba: dj>* (WL-T.75).

One exception to rules of vowel distribution is found in the (almost) consistent transcription of word-initial high front vowel *i* in the second person free pronoun *yindiga*. A selection of various spellings is shown in Table 6 below. The second last example is a phonemicisation by Capell (n.d), which was based on Mathews’ material. This spelling was later also adopted by Eades (1976). Within the historic source material, only Ridley’s (1887b:419) Illawarra wordlist and one of Mathews’ (1901b:137) Dharrawal grammars transcribed a word-initial palatal nasal.

Table 6. Various transcriptions of the South Coast languages 2nd person free pronoun

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source spelling</th>
<th>Source reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>&lt;inde&gt;</em> <em>&lt;indiga&gt;</em></td>
<td>JB-C.1-41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>&lt;indigal&gt;</em></td>
<td>DJ-M.1.5-162</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>&lt;in’digal&gt;</em></td>
<td>B-AH.1.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>&lt;indigumbul&gt;</em></td>
<td>DJ-M.1.5-162</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>&lt;indiganyu&gt;</em></td>
<td>DJ-M.1.5-162</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>&lt;indigangüti&gt;</em></td>
<td>DM-AM-1878:269-JB-Gy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>&lt;indygāga&gt;</em></td>
<td>DM-AM-1877-272-Wand/Hu-TuPu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>&lt;in’dooowo&gt;</em></td>
<td>U-M.2.2-7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>&lt;ind’eega&gt;</em></td>
<td>U-M.2.2-8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>&lt;nyindigang&gt;</em></td>
<td>A-M.1-137</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>&lt;ngindigung&gt;</em></td>
<td>ILL-WR-419</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>&lt;njindigang&gt;</em></td>
<td>A-AC.1-25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>&lt;nyindiga(ng)&gt;</em></td>
<td>U/A/DJ/DM-E-49</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note that the two last examples are phonemicised forms by Capell (nd) and Eades (1976).
Other transcribed vowel-initial words are generally found with alternative spelling showing semivowels w preceding a transcribed u or oo, and y or preceding ny, as in these two examples.

Table 7. Vowel-initial Transcription

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phonemicised</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Source spelling</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yira</td>
<td>tooth</td>
<td>&lt;era&gt; (BB-RD-423)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>&lt;ira&gt; (JB-G-12)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>&lt;yira&gt; (MY-HH-480)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>&lt;era&gt; (BB-JL-225)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>&lt;’ira&gt; /&lt;’(lg)a&gt; (WL-T.75)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wumbara</td>
<td>black</td>
<td>&lt;oom.bur.er&gt; (TB-R)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>duck</td>
<td>&lt;woom.barra&gt; (BB-JL-226)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(The cultural centre in Wallaga Lake, Umbara, is named after the collective totem of the South Coast people. The word itself is pronounced by communities as /ambara/.)

**A.3.4.2 Consonant clusters**

Consonant clusters cannot occur word-initially or word-finally in the SCLs and can be categorised into heterorganic or homorganic clusters.\(^{29}\) However, homorganic nasal-stop clusters (mb, nd, ndh, njdj, ngg) are common in morpheme-initial position, such as one of the morphophonemic variants of the Dhurga ‘plural marker’-mbaraga or the Dhurga ‘continued action’ marker -mba. The following sections will look at clusters found in both intra- and inter-morphemic environments.

---

\(^{29}\) Homorganic clusters are nasal-stop clusters where the nasal and the stop are pronounced at the same place of articulation (see Table 1). Hence we have nd for example, where both consonants are apico-alveolar, pronounced with the tip of the tongue against the alveolar ridge, and the only difference is that n is pronounced with the airflow through the nose being constricted by the back of the tongue.
Intra-morphemically consonant clusters generally consist of two consonants but the sequence of consonants in clusters is not random — clusters are governed by patterns and/or rules. This means only certain consonant phonemes can occur in either first or second place in any given cluster, as shown in Table 8 below.

**Table 8. Distribution of Consonant Phonemes in the South Coast Languages**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>C₄</th>
<th>C₅</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bilabial</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>b, m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>apico-alveolar</td>
<td>d, n, l, rr</td>
<td>d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>apico-post alveolar</td>
<td>rr, rl</td>
<td>rd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lamino-dental</td>
<td>nh</td>
<td>dh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lamino-palatal</td>
<td>y, nj</td>
<td>dj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dorso-velar</td>
<td>ng</td>
<td>g</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Consonant clusters across morpheme boundaries (i.e. inter-morphemic clusters) can create sequences that cannot be found in intra-morphemic position, for example in *mirrigang-bulali* <*mirrigangbulali-wulanhung*> (A-M.2.6-1) “the two dogs of the two men”. This *ngb* sequence, for example, is not found in intra-morphemic clusters.

The possible CC sequences can vary between AALs (Dixon, 2002a:554), but there is not enough comparative data available for all of the SCLs to determine whether the most southern language shares the same features as the most northern language. The analysis presented here is therefore largely based on the data available for Dharrawal and Dharumba, due to the larger available material for these two languages.

Clusters with retroflex consonants are based on the phoneme inventory presented in this study, which includes retroflex stop/nasal and lateral. Hence, words such as
<burl'-guñ> (U-M.1.1) ‘dirty’, are analysed here as a sequences of the apico-postalveolar laminal <i>rl</i> and the velar stop <i>g</i>.

One possible word-initial cluster <i>by</i> is found in <i>byuwan</i> ‘fat’, which is transcribed in the sources consistently with the cluster, although it is likely that the last example <i>&lt;by.un&gt;</i> by Robinson should be transcribed as <i>baywan</i> or <i>bayan</i>.

<i>&lt;byoo'-wan&gt;</i> U-M.1.1
<i>&lt;byoo'-wan-gee&gt;</i> ‘fat man’ U-M.1.1
<i>&lt;buon&gt;</i> U-RD-423
<i>&lt;by.un&gt;</i> B-R.1-174

Eades (1976:77) phonemicises ‘fat’ as <i>byuwan</i> with the remark that “this is the only word with an initial consonant cluster and it breaks the phonotactic pattern…[h]owever, it is clearly attested on tape and in Mathews’ evidence for this word”. A cognate of <i>byuwan</i> is found in neighbouring inland languages where source materials present transcriptions that follow expected phonological rules, and has been phonemicised by Koch (Yuin Vocabulary – in progress) as <i>biwan</i>.30

<i>&lt;bee.wun&gt;</i> YS-R-2000:210
<i>&lt;be`wan&gt;</i> NGW-M-1904:303
<i>&lt;bewanbang&gt;</i> NGW-M-1904:303
<i>&lt;bunun&gt;</i> QBN-CU-1887:425
<i>&lt;bewan&gt;</i> MO-BU-1887:433
<i>&lt;bé-wan&gt;</i> NGO-M-1908:337
<i>&lt;be.ung&gt;</i> OM-R-2000:199

The question arises whether to adopt Koch’s phonemicisation, which complies with (expected) phonological rules, or to stay true to the pronunciation as recorded by the early collectors. This is an ongoing issue when working from archival material for community reclamation purposes.31

30 Koch’s abbreviations here are <i>YS</i> = Yass, <i>NGW</i> = Ngunawal, <i>QBN</i> = Queanbeyan, <i>NGO</i> = Ngarigo, <i>R</i> = Robinson, <i>M</i> = Mathews. <i>BU</i> = Bunce and <i>CU</i> = Curr.

31 The same issue could arise with the phonetic sequences <i>gwi</i> as in <i>&lt;Gwianggal&gt;</i>, which Koch (pc) analyses as <i>Guyanggal</i>; in his interpretation the sequences <i>[iua]</i> and <i>[uia]</i> are interpreted by English speakers as /iwa/ and /wia/ but by AAL speakers as /iwa/ and /uya/. (Koch, pc)
All clusters listed in the following sections occur in intra-morphemic position.

A.3.4.2.1 Homorganic Consonant clusters

Homorganic nasal-stop clusters are the most commonly found consonant sequences and consist of a nasal and stop from the same series. However there are no examples of overtly transcribed homorganic clusters such as \textit{nhdh}, \textit{njdj} (or \textit{rnrd}) as such in the source material. Nasals in these clusters are all transcribed as \textit{n} only, apart from the velar nasal-stop cluster \textit{ngg}. It is therefore impossible to distinguish whether early transcribers recorded for example the heterorganic nasal-stop cluster \textit{n+dh} or a homorganic nasal-stop cluster \textit{nhdh}. (This contrast occurs less frequently in AALs than the \textit{ndj} and \textit{njdj} contrast.)

In practical terms, this does not posit a problem because the orthography used in this study simplifies homorganic palatal and dental nasal-stop clusters to \textit{ndj} and \textit{ndh} respectively, as discussed earlier. In case of possible retroflex nasal-stop clusters, early transcribers marked the appropriate nasal and not the following stop, i.e. \textit{rnd} rather than \textit{nrd}, as in the example \textit{burnda}. This word is still known and used in communities today. The pronunciation, as it is used today, sounds more like a rhotic-nasal-stop sequence.

\begin{tabular}{ll}
\textit{burnda}\textsuperscript{32} & ‘penis’ \textit{\< burnda>\} (A-M.1.3-276), (A-M.2.3-50) \\
\textit{burn'-da} & (U-M 1.1) \\
\textit{panda} & (JB-G-13) \\
\textit{banda} & (WL-T.75) \\
\textit{gurndira} & ‘ironbark’ \textit{\< goorn-dee'-ra>\} (U-M.1.1) \\
\end{tabular}

\textsuperscript{32} The phonemicisation is based on Mathew’s transcriptions (see the first two spellings) and present community knowledge. The third spelling \textit{\< panda\>} is by the Frenchman Gaimard and the first vowel in this word is a back mid vowel, not unlike the vowel in ‘pot’. This vowel is closer to the high back vowel /\textipa{u}/ than the mid central vowel /\textipa{a}/. Tindale’s transcriptions frequently show discrepancies with other collectors’ spellings, and his linguistic work is not necessarily reliable (see Monaghan, 2003 and Breen, n.d., for discussion on Tindale’s work).
Table 9 shows all possible homorganic nasal-stop clusters and examples from the SCLs corpus.

Table 9. Homorganic Consonant clusters in the South Coast Languages

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cluster</th>
<th>Source spelling</th>
<th>English translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mb</td>
<td>&lt; jambi&gt; (DM-(AM-1874-256-Ul/Bi-Bu1)</td>
<td>'brother in law’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&lt; tembi&gt; (U-WR.4)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nd</td>
<td>&lt; moon’-doo-ba&gt; (U-M.1.1)</td>
<td>'tomahawk’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&lt; mundooba&gt; (U-C.1-35)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&lt; mundupira&gt; (U-AH/JH)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&lt; Mundaba&gt; (U-JL.BB-226)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&lt; mundooba&gt; (U-RD-423)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&lt; ‘mundu’ba&gt; (WL-T.75)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rnd</td>
<td>&lt; goorn-dee-ra&gt; (U-M.1.1)</td>
<td>‘ironbark’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ndh</td>
<td>&lt; mundha&gt; (A-M.1.3-278)</td>
<td>'black snake’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&lt; mundtha&gt; (A-AM.1.255)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&lt; moondha&gt; (A-M.1.2.106)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&lt; mündtha&gt; (DM-AM.1-255)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&lt; moontha&gt; (U-RD-421)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ndj</td>
<td>&lt; bendje&gt; (JB-G-12)</td>
<td>‘stomach’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&lt; Binjee&gt; (U-JL.BB-225)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&lt; bindji&gt; (WL-T.75)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngg</td>
<td>&lt; wang-gan&gt; (U-M.2.2-43)</td>
<td>‘Aboriginal woman’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&lt; wangganda&gt; (U-M.2.2-44)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&lt; wainggan/wenngan&gt; (WL-T.75)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&lt; wang’-gan gool’-lee&gt; (U-M.2.2-17)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note that wanggan is also found consistently transcribed by Mackenzie as < wenkin > in the Dharumba corpus, but the large number of Mathews’ examples that break the syllable between ng and g points to the ngg cluster. Mackenzie also transcribed ng clusters frequently but almost exclusively across morpheme boundaries.

Mathews provides one near minimal pair of ngg versus non-cluster ng in mingga(w(u)) < meeng’-gô> ‘grasstree’ (U-M.1.1) and minga < meeng’-a> ‘mother’ (U-M.1.1).
A.3.4.2.2 Heterorganic Consonant Clusters

The SCLs have a variety of heterorganic clusters in intra-morphemic position and examples are given in the following pages. Clusters that can occur inter-morphemically will be discussed later.

The interpretation of clusters in archival material can differ between individual researchers and the analysis presented here is on a tentative basis until further and comparative work is done on phonotactic issues in south-eastern AALs.

There is no correlation between the consonants found in slot $C_4$ and $C_3$ as recorded in other AALs such as Martuthunira (Dench, 1987:75), for example.

A.3.4.2.2.1 Heterorganic nasal-stop clusters

Identifying heterorganic nasal-stop clusters, other than $nb$, is difficult due to the uncertainty of the existence of retroflex consonants in the SCLs, and for reasons discussed previously. In examples like $<jirnganggali>$ ‘sneeze’ (A-M.1.3-279) Mathews transcribed an $rng$ sequence that could be analysed as either a rhotic-velar nasal cluster $r+ng$ or a nasal-stop cluster $rn+g$, although the former is less likely to occur in AALs.

A.3.4.2.2.1.1 nb

The heterorganic $nb$ cluster is not found in a large number of words in intra-morphemic position, but occurs in three of the more salient words within the SCL corpus.

- $\text{bunbari}$ ‘small boy’ $<\text{bunbari}>$ (A-M.1.3-275)
- $\text{bunbal}$ ‘tree, wood’ $<\text{boonbal}>$ (U-M.1.1)
  $<\text{bunba:l}>$ (WL-T.75)
- $\text{ganbi}$ ‘fire’ $<\text{kunbee}>$ (ILL-QR-1890)
  $<\text{kanbi}>$ (A-WR-419)
A.3.4.2.2.1.2 ng

A commonly occurring cluster is found in intra-morphemic environment in salient words such as:

\[\text{ban.garri} \quad \text{‘hill’} \quad <\text{bun’-gur-ree}> \quad (\text{U-M 1.1})\]
\[\text{bungoree} \quad (\text{U-M.2.2-16})\]

A.3.4.2.2.1.3 njg

Two examples are shown here that also recapture the two spelling conventions for the palatal nasal, as used by Robinson and Mathews. The word from Robinson’s Bega wordlist ‘hut’, and Mathews’ Dharrawal word for ‘man that uses many women’ both show clearly marked njg clusters.

\[\text{panjgira} \quad \text{‘hut’} \quad <\text{pinegeerer}> \quad (\text{B-R})\]
\[\text{banjgaladha} \quad \text{‘fornicator’} \quad <\text{buñgaladha}> \quad (\text{A-M.2.3-51})\]
\[<\text{bûñ-gulladha}> \quad (\text{A-M.2.3-50})\]

A.3.4.2.2.1.4 rng

Presenting the retroflex nasal-velar stop cluster here is based on the discussion about the inclusion of the retroflex consonants in this phoneme inventory.

\[\text{garn.ga} \quad \text{‘old woman’} \quad <\text{karn’-ga}> \quad (\text{U-M 1.1})\]

A.3.4.2.2.1.5 rnd (= rn + rd)

\[\text{gurndira} \quad \text{‘ironbark’} \quad <\text{goorn-dec’-ra}> \quad (\text{U-M.1.1})\]
\[\text{marndidja} \quad \text{‘meat’} \quad <\text{murn’-di-dya}> \quad (\text{U-M.2.2-46})\]

A.3.4.2.2.2 Nasal-nasal cluster

The only cluster of this kind found in the SCL corpus is the nm sequence and only in this example.

\[\text{ngarinma} \quad \text{‘wife’s father’} \quad <\text{garinma}> \quad (\text{DM-AM-1877-272-Wand/Hu-TuPu})\]

A.3.4.2.2.3 Nasal-approximant cluster
A.3.4.2.2.3.1 ny

There is some difficulty distinguishing the $n+y$ cluster from the palatal nasal $nj$ in the corpus due to the identical transcription of $ny$. Although these clusters are rare in AALs, there are examples, such as the one shown here, where Mathews broke up words into syllables clearly separating the nasal from the following $y$. Compare this to the break up of the previously mentioned <$būñ-gulladha$> (A-M.2.3-50). This cluster is therefore presented with a sense of caution.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Transcription</th>
<th>Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gunyu</td>
<td>‘black swan’</td>
<td>$&lt;koon’-yoo&gt;$</td>
<td>U-M.1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>binyaaru</td>
<td>‘cormorant’</td>
<td>$&lt;bin-yă’-roo&gt;$</td>
<td>U-M.1.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A.3.4.2.2.4 Stop-stop clusters

Although stop-stop clusters are not found in large numbers in the SCLs corpus, the following examples are well represented.

A.3.4.2.2.4.1 db

db is found in only three instances in word-medial position throughout the SCLs corpus.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Transcription</th>
<th>Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>madbu</td>
<td>‘stringbag/net’</td>
<td>$&lt;mud’-boo&gt;$</td>
<td>U-M.1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>midbambu</td>
<td>‘eyelid’</td>
<td>$&lt;meed-pum’-boo&gt;$</td>
<td>U-M.1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>djidbalang</td>
<td>‘sweet’</td>
<td>$&lt;dyitbalang&gt;$</td>
<td>A-M.1.3-278</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A.3.4.2.2.4.2 dg

Examples are rare and are restricted to Dharrawal examples. Also note that dg is used in some early sources for /dj/.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Transcription</th>
<th>Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wadga-</td>
<td>‘sew’</td>
<td>$&lt;wutgurra&gt;$</td>
<td>A-M.1.3-279</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>madmadgang</td>
<td>‘dove’</td>
<td>$&lt;mutmutgang&gt;$</td>
<td>A-M.1.3-277</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A.3.4.2.2.4.3 djg

As with the dg example, this cluster is only found in the Dharrawal corpus and in verb constructions.
badjga- ‘arise/get up’ <baitgang> (A-M.1.3-279)

A.3.4.2.2.5 Lateral-nasal clusters
A.3.4.2.2.5.1 lm

This is a frequently occurring cluster that is found in one of the most transcribed words in the whole SCLs corpus – the Dharrawal word for ‘beat/hit’. Note that only one transcription out of dozens is shown here. The transcription is consistent throughout the corpus.

bulma- ‘strike/beat/kill/hit’ <bulma> (A-M.1.3-279)

A.3.4.2.2.6 Lateral-stop clusters
A.3.4.2.2.6.1 lb

Although the cluster is not found in many examples, these two demonstrate that this cluster is found in intra-morphemic position.

djirilbun ‘toadfish’ <jir-reel-boon> (U-M.1.1)
Dhalba Dhalbu Tilba Tilba (placename) <Dhålbo Dhålboo> (U-M.2.2-48)

A.3.4.2.2.6.2 lg

dhalga(y) ‘ground’ <dhulga> (A-M.1.3-276)
<dhulga> (A-AM.1-255)
<dhalgai> (A-M.2.6-23-PoS1)

A.3.4.2.2.6.3 rlg

barlga ‘back’ <barl'-ka> (U-M 1.1)
burlgun ‘dirty’ <burl'-guñ> (U-M 1.1)

A.3.4.2.2.7 Lateral-approximant clusters

There are various lateral-approximant clusters found, the most common one being ly. Examples are predominantly from the Dhurga and Dharrawal corpus, largely due to the larger amount of material available for these languages, compared to Djirringanj. The Dhurga word bulwal ‘strong’ is a frequently occurring word in the Dhurga corpus
and the transcription is consistently showing an lw cluster. Only two of the instances are shown here.

A.3.4.2.2.7.1 rlw

ngurlwan ‘drop’ (n) <ngurl'wan> (U-M.2.2-76)

A.3.4.2.2.7.2 lw

gilwa ‘darkness’ <gil'-wa> (U-M.1.1)
< i-il-wa> (U-C.1-27), (JB-RD-423)
bulwal ‘strong’ <bul-wal> (U-M.2.2-23)
<bull-wall> (U-M.2.2-22)

A.3.4.2.2.7.3 ly

There remains some uncertainty as to whether a transcribed ly sequence in an original source spelling is trying to reproduce the palatal lateral lj /ʎ/ or the ly cluster. This is not a common cluster in AALs, but is found in some languages such as Marthuthunira (Dench, 1995) and the cluster is therefore presented here with a sense of caution.

dhalyan ‘palm berry’ <dhūly‘ān> (A-M.2.6-16)

A.3.4.2.2.8 Approximant-stop cluster

A.3.4.2.2.8.1 yg

This is not a commonly occurring cluster, but found clearly in these three examples.

gaygan ‘arm’ <ki'-kan> (U-M.1.1)
bidhaygal ‘pelican’ <bedhaigel> (DM-AM.1-255)
<Bithai-gala> (DM-AM-1877-272-Wand/Hu-TuPu)
gurayga ‘slate crane’ <koor-ar-ay’-ga> (M.1.1)

A.3.4.2.2.9 Rhotic-approximant cluster

A.3.4.2.2.9.1 rrw

Bearing in mind that the quality of the rhotics is in many cases difficult or impossible to distinguish in the language material, the cluster presented here is with some uncertainty regarding the rhotic being a trill or an approximant. However, a rC
(approximant rhotic + C) is unlikely as they are not common in AALs. Examples are found predominantly in placenames and Dharrawal verbs.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bundarwa</td>
<td>[placename]</td>
<td>&lt; Bundarwa&gt; (DM-AM-1874-256-Ull/Bu1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>garwa</td>
<td>‘scratch’</td>
<td>&lt; garwa&gt; (M.1.3-279)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>barwa</td>
<td>‘drop/fall down’</td>
<td>&lt; burwura&gt; (A-M.1.3-279)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>&lt; Būrwā&gt; (A-M.2.6-16-PoS1/a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>garwaray</td>
<td>‘wild fig’</td>
<td>&lt; Kurwēry&gt; (A-AM-1874-250-YK)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**A.3.4.2.2.10 Rhotic-nasal cluster**

**A.3.4.2.2.10.1 rrm**

This cluster, as rrw discussed above, appears in predominantly Dharrawal verbs, two shown below. Again, the verbs were collected by Mathews and no alternative spelling is found by another collector. However, the first example garma is found in both Mackenzie’s and Mathews’ language material. As with the rrw cluster, this is found predominantly in Dharrawal verbs stems.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>garma</td>
<td>‘net’</td>
<td>&lt; Kūrma&gt; (A-M.2.6-25-GW)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>&lt; gurmanhung&gt; (A-M.2.6-25-GW)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>&lt; Kurmunnū&gt; (A-AM-1874-250-YK)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>barma-</td>
<td>‘step (on)’</td>
<td>&lt; barmaiadha&gt; (A-M.2.6-25-GW)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nharma-</td>
<td>‘pretend’</td>
<td>&lt; nhūrmurra&gt; (A-M.1.3-279)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**A.3.4.2.2.11 Rhotic-stop cluster**

**A.3.4.2.2.11.1 rb**

This cluster is transcribed frequently throughout the corpus

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>burburan</td>
<td>‘quail’</td>
<td>&lt; boor'-boor-an&gt; (U-M.1.1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gurbungama</td>
<td>‘ribs of canoe’</td>
<td>&lt; kur-bung'-a-ma&gt; (U-M.1.1)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**A.3.4.3 Inter-morphemic consonant clusters**

Clusters that occur across morpheme boundaries can have combinations that are not found in intra-morphemic position.

---

33 Possible a quail-like native bird like the ‘plains wanderer’, found in south-eastern NSW.
A.3.4.3.1.1.1 ngb

mirigang-bulali ‘dog-DU’ <mirigangbulali> (A-M.2.6-1)

A.3.4.3.1.1.2 ngw

mirigang-wa ‘dog-3sPSSR’ <mirigangwa> (DJ-M.1.5-162)

A.3.4.3.1.1.3 rrdh

gumirr-dhirra ‘hole-with’ <gumirdhirra> (A-M.2.6-25-GW)

A.3.4.3.1.1.4 rrdj

yandabinhurr-djan ‘don’t you all come to me’ <yendabeenhoordyen> (A-M.2.2-164)

A.3.5 Stress

Information on stress assignment is found in the transcriptions of some of the early collectors. Mathews and Howitt marked many words in their wordlists for stress with an apostrophe at the end of the stressed syllable, i.e. mabara34 ‘eye’ shows the stress assigned on the first syllable in <mab-o-ra> (U-M.1.1) and <ma’bra> (DJ-AH.1.3).

34 The spelling mabura has been used for several years in Dhurga language teaching projects. That spelling was based on earlier research before more source material was incorporated in the language analysis.
But there are other less overt clues to stress assignment. Using the same example as above, we note that Howitt’s transcription of *mabura* lacks the second vowel. Vowels in unstressed syllables are in many cases omitted in the transcriptions, and are in danger of being misinterpreted as consonant clusters.

In another example, *bagaranj* ‘sun’, we know from Mathews’ and Tindale’s transcriptions, <bug'garañ> (U-M.2.2-46) and <’ba,garinj> (WL-T.75), that the stress falls on the first syllable. The same can be concluded from Larmer’s transcription in <Bug.green> (BB-JL-225). The *g+r* sequence in <Bug.green> is absorbed into the liquid consonant following the unstressed vowel in the second syllable. A good example of a vowel disappearing in an unstressed syllable can be found in the English word ‘library’ which is pronounced in Australian English as something sounding more like /laibri/.

**A.3.5.1 Stress pattern**

The general stress pattern in SCLs is commonly observed in AALs (Dixon, 2002a:557). Stress falls on the first syllable in disyllabic words and no example is found in the source material that shows stress on the final syllable in a disyllabic word. Words that are still used in communities are often pronounced with stress on a long vowel on the final syllable. For example, Mathews transcribed *budjan* ‘bird’ <boo'-jan> (U-M.1.1) and *miriga* <mir'-re-ka> (DW-M.2.2-27), clearly marking stress on the first syllable, whereas some speakers in communities pronounce both words with a long vowel and stress on the second/final syllable.
In words with three syllables or more, primary stress falls on the first or second syllable. Where stress is marked on a second syllable in a polysyllabic word, a long vowel in that stressed syllable is in some cases indicated. See Mathews’ notebook excerpt (M.2.2-197) showing stress marked on polysyllabic words, such as in < boo-gā’-lee > ‘ringtail possum’.

![Figure 52. Excerpt of Mathews Thurga and Dyirringany Notebook p. 197](image)

It is possible that collectors may have misinterpreted long vowel pronunciation as stress on that syllable. One such example is Mathews’ transcription of burnaaga ‘goanna’ bur-nā’-ga> (U-M.1.1) with stress and long vowel in the second syllable, whereas Tindale (albeit ca 35 years later) assigns stress to the first syllable and a long vowel in the second, <’bana:ga> (WL-T.75). This is just one example that may suggest that Mathews may sometimes have marked vowel length rather than stress in some of his transcriptions. Or, alternatively, it is another instance of observed stress shift between traditionally spoken language and the pronunciation/stress as used in communities today.

But Mathews also transcribed words that show that stress and vowel length are independent. Both examples show stress marked on the first syllable, but long vowel on second, or third, syllable.

- **gabaanu** ‘head’  
  <gou’-á-na> (U-M.1.1)  
  <kab’-bân> (U-M.1.1)

- **djarambaadhi** ‘plain spear’  
  <jar’-ram-bâ-dhee> (U-M.1.1)

---

35 Note that if the nasal in burnaaga is a retroflex, Tindale did not transcribe it as such. But, as mentioned previously in this text, recent studies on Tindale’s material has found that his transcriptions are not necessarily that reliable (Breen, n.d. and Monaghan, 2003)
In cases where collectors’ stress assignment differs, it is impossible to favour one collector's transcription over the others’. As shown previously, alternation in stress on words still used in South Coast communities is evident and we can therefore not rule out that the differences in the historic material are not also a product of individual informants’ preference. In practical terms, i.e. for purpose of language revitalisation, this means that one stress assignment will have to be chosen over another.

**A.3.6 Voicing**

The goal of the early language collectors was obviously to transcribe sounds as accurately as possible and therefore provided phonetic rather than phonemic transcriptions. Mathews made this quite clear in some of his published grammars.

> Every word is spelt phonetically, the letters having the same value as in English. (Mathews, 1901:1)

And although these phonetic transcriptions enable us to get some idea of patterns of voicing of stops in particular environments, it became obvious that there was a more patterned variation between different collectors’ data, than within any particular collector’s corpus. The findings offered in this section are therefore an observed chronological change from the use of voiceless stops to voiced stops, rather than a statistical presentation of occurrences of voiced and/or voiceless stops in different word positions.

The corpus shows that pre-Mathews, collectors favoured the use of voiceless stops in their spelling, whereas Mathews and subsequent collectors preferred the use of voiced stops. Gaimard (1834) almost exclusively used voiceless stops in his Jervis Bay word list. But his preferred use of voiceless stops may be explained by the difference between the articulatory processes of stops in French and in English. In English (and
German), word-initial voiceless stops are strongly aspirated, whereas French word-initial stops are unaspirated (Ladefoged and Maddieson, 1996) and therefore lack of aspiration is most likely perceived as voicing.

Hermann Lau (in Fletcher, 1991) provided the other SCL wordlists collected by a person from a non-English speaking background. Lau’s native language was German, which does not have voicing distinction word-finally, for example Hund ‘dog’ is pronounced with a word-final /t/. However, Lau’s wordlist shows no distinctive pattern in transcribed voicing as may be expected. Lau used voiced and voiceless stops in the same environments, i.e. <purana> ‘field’ and <burara> ‘morning star’ (ILL-HL) and <tagala> ‘snow’ and <dargalli> ‘time’ (ILL-HL).

With the exception of one word, Dawsey (1887) transcribed word initial alveolar and velar stops as voiceless but used the voiced bilabial stop in word-initial position apart from one example. Similarly, Howitt’s (n.d. manuscript) used more voiceless than voiced word-final stops in all positions.

Compared to Mathews, Mackenzie used remarkably more voiceless stops in all environments.

However, the large chronological gaps between the different collections and the clearly recorded increase in recorded voiced stops support the argument that contact with English had an impact on the pronunciation of the SCLs. Phonological changes caused by the impact of English on some NSW languages is well attested (Austin, 1986) and it could be argued that the SCLs underwent a change to an increased voicing of stops in all environments.

Mathews showed that he was aware that the voicing distinction was not contrastive when he informed his readers “t is interchangeable with d, p with b, and g with k in most words where these letters are employed” (Mathews, 1901:140). But it is unlikely that Mathews’ awareness of phonological aspects stretched beyond this
observation. Phonology was at the time an undeveloped and unrecognised field in the description of Australian traditional languages and remained so until the 1950s (Moore, 2008a).

Table 10 shows transcriptions of some of the more salient words in the corpus, and the shift from voiceless to voiced word-initial stops.

Table 10. Recorded voicing of word-initial stops in archival material of the South Coast languages

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source spelling</th>
<th>Source spelling</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dhanga ‘food’</td>
<td>1874 &lt; thungong&gt; DM-AM1-A-7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1887 &lt; tungi&gt; U-RD-420</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1889 &lt; Tung.ah.&gt; BB-JL-266</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1901 &lt; thung’á&gt; U-M.1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1903 &lt; dhungang&gt; A-M.1.3-277</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1938 &lt; ‘dangali’&gt; WL-T.75</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dhana ‘foot’</td>
<td>1834 &lt; tanna&gt; JB-G-13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1838-42 &lt; dana&gt; MY-HH-480</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1874 &lt; thunna&gt; DM-AM1-255</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1887 &lt; dunna&gt; A-WR-419</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1898 &lt; Thun.na&gt; BB-JL-225</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1901 &lt; dhun’-na&gt; U-M.1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1903 &lt; dhunna&gt; A-M.1.3-276</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1938 &lt; ‘dana’&gt; WL-T.75</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ganbi/ganji ‘fire’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1874 &lt; thungong&gt; DM-AM1-A-7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1887 &lt; tungi&gt; U-RD-420</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1889 &lt; Tung.ah.&gt; BB-JL-266</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1901 &lt; thung’á&gt; U-M.1.1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1903 &lt; dhungang&gt; A-M.1.3-277</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1938 &lt; ‘dangali’&gt; WL-T.75</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1888 &lt; kani&gt; U-C.1.29</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1886 &lt; gani&gt; U-RD-423</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1887 &lt; kanbi&gt; A-WR-419</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1870s &lt; kunbi&gt; DM-AM1-255</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pre 1889 &lt; ka‘nbi&gt; DJ-AH.1.3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1889 &lt; kunbee&gt; ILL-SoM.JB</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ca 1900 &lt; gan-yee&gt; U.M.2.2-43</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1903 &lt; kanbi&gt; U-M.1.3-277</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1938 &lt; ‘ganji’&gt; WL-T.75</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1870s &lt; pūrū&gt; A-AM1-254</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1886 &lt; booroo&gt; U-C.1-9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1887 &lt; booroo&gt; U-RD-422</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1887 &lt; booroo&gt; U-AH/JH</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1887 &lt; booroo&gt; A-WR-418</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1898 &lt; Burruo&gt; UL-JL-266</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ca 1900 &lt; burru&gt; DM-M.2.6-30</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1901 &lt; boo’-roo&gt; U-M.1.1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1902 &lt; bārru&gt; DJ-M.1.5-161</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1903 &lt; buru&gt; A-M.1.3-277</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The observed tendencies in voicing over time, and preferences found within any particular collector’s material, are:

1. There is generally less variation in voicing between b and p than there is for d/t and g/k.

2. Pre-Mathews collectors used voiceless stops more frequently than Mathews. This could be due to a change in voicing over time or because Mathews was
aware of voicing not being phonemic, and followed a suggested orthography. This is a question that has not been satisfactorily answered and perhaps both factors played a role.

3. Mackenzie transcribed voiced stops in inter-vocalic position more frequently than in word-initial position. For example, `<thullimalara kaiūngo>` “they were catching kaioong”, and `<yakaiaolanna>` ‘they (two) said’. In examples such as `<mēgaaloāli>` ‘woman-PL’, where the intervocalic vowel is transcribed with a voiced stop, the voiced stop may be due to a preceding long vowel transcribed here as ē.

4. In the only two wordlists by collectors from non-English speaking background, the following patterns were found. Gaimard’s (1834) French Jervis Bay used almost all transcribed stops voiceless. In contrast, Hermann Lau (Fletcher, 1991) showed no particular tendency towards voiced or voiceless stops in German Ulladulla wordlists. Lau used both in all environments except word-finally, where stops are transcribed voiceless.

Mathews used voiceless stops in only a small number of instances in either word-final/inter-vocalic/word-initial position or in nasal-stop consonant cluster. A rare example of the latter is found in ‘string bag’ madbu transcribed as either `<mud-poo>` (U-M.U.2.2-44) or `<mud-‘boo>` (U-M.1.1). Mathews never transcribed the bilabial stop as p in inter-vocalic environment.

**A.3.7 Realisation of phonemes**

Distribution of phonemes was discussed earlier in this chapter. This section provides further insight into, and discussion on, interpretative issues that arise when working from historic sources. Although the concept has already been discussed in Chapter A.2
(Methodology), the discussion here is included to serve as a kind of reference guide. It allows readers to access the motivation and explanation for my suggested spellings.\textsuperscript{36} As previously mentioned, consonants will mostly be referred to by their graphemic representation rather than IPA symbols to avoid confusion for readers of non-linguistic background. However, phonemes may be represented in the conventional /forward slashes/ and their IPA symbol when required throughout the discussion.

\subsection{A.3.7.1 Long consonants}

Long consonants are generally not mentioned in the language analyses of the south-eastern AALs, but Luise Hercus (pc, 27\textsuperscript{th} January 2010) suggested evidence for long consonants in Ngarigu. Phonemic consonant length is found in some of the northern AALs, such as in stops in Nhanda (Blevins, 2001).

Both Mathews and Tindale indicate an occurrence of long consonants. Tindale marked these in his manuscript with a double colon, the same convention also used for long vowels, as seen in $<$\textit{ban:a}$>$ ‘rain’ in the excerpt from his Wallaga Lake wordlist.

![Figure 53. Tindale excerpt wordlist](image)

But the reliability of Tindale’s transcriptions has been questioned by researchers who worked extensively with Tindale’s collected material (Breen, n.d. and Monaghan,\textsuperscript{36} Even though in many cases this might be self-explanatory or familiar ground to linguist readers, the processes are not clear to most Aboriginal community members. Over the last five years I have had many discussions and queries from community members about how to standardise spelling of historic source material. It is for their benefit that I have included this section.)
and is therefore presented here as fodder for thought, rather than as a basis for analysis.

Mathews (1903:261) gives a hint for the occurrence of long consonants; he remarks in some of his SCLs publication that “[i]n all cases where there is a double consonant, each letter is distinctly enunciated” (Mathews, 1901:130 and 1903:261). But it is unlikely that Mathews meant to transcribe a long consonant each time he spelled a word with *ll* or *nn* for example. Even though Mathews used a different orthography for his transcriptions, he still maintained the English spelling conventions, with a double consonant following a short vowel, i.e. ‘robber’ versus ‘robot’. In AALs, a phonetic distinction in consonant length has been observed (see for example Wagiman (Cook, 1987)). Hence we have tendencies for a consonant to be longer if following a short vowel, especially a stressed one, and shorter in followed by a long vowel.

But Mathews often broke up words into syllables, and in some cases a syllable ended in the same letter that the following syllable started with.

### A.3.7.2 Stops

Early language collectors had little problems transcribing consonants that are found in their own native language(s), i.e. English — or French in Gaimard’s (1834) and German in Lau’s case (Fletcher, 1991). Therefore *b* and *g* and were easy phonemes to identify and transcribe for the early collectors, as was the palatal stop *dj* which is fairly consistently transcribed in the sources.

However, identifying stops gets messier when it comes to apico-alveolar stop /d/ and the dental stop /d/. Dental stops *dh* are often transcribed with *d* only, especially in the earliest transcriptions. Mathews and Mackenzie both transcribed stops regularly and fairly consistently.
A.3.7.2.1 Bilabial stop /b/

B can be followed or preceded by all vowels in word-initial and intervocalic position. Word-finally, b is only found in two instances, one of them is shown in (1).

(1) wannup
    wana(ga)-b
    who-2s

who are you in Wodi Wodi DM-M.2.2-8

Note that the word-final b is here a shortened version of wana(ga)-bi ‘who-you (singular)’.

A.3.7.2.2 Apico-alveolar stop /d/

The interpretation or identification of d proves to be difficult in many cases as the earliest collectors did not transcribe the dental stop /d̪/, but used d instead. For example, whereas Mathews transcribed dhana ‘foot’ as <dhun'-na> (U-M.1.1), Howitt spelled the same word <dana> (U-HH-480). This common misrepresentation of the dental stop as d can lead to assuming too quickly that many transcribed ds are dental stops. Without evidence in other sources of the SCLs that warrant an alteration of the original transcription, the original spelling of d has been maintained in the phonemicised version.

In almost all instances the transcribed d is followed by a back vowel u or central vowel a, but only in very few cases by i. Two of these rare examples are:

    dirrindharra ‘person scarred with birrin’  <dirrindhurra> (A-M.2.4-23)
    dildil  ‘open’  <dill, dill> (A-M.2.4-25)

A.3.7.2.3 Lamino-dental stop dh /d̪/

dh is represented in the historic language material as th, dh and dth. In regards to pronunciation, Mathews wrote that “dh is pronounced nearly as in ‘that’ with a slight sound of d preceding it” (Mathews, 1901b:141). In Gandangara material collected by
Everitt (undated manuscript), word-initial /dh/ is transcribed as *idth*, which is likely due to facilitate ease of articulation.

*dh* occurs in word-initial and intervocalic position, and can be preceded or followed by any vowel. Word-final dental stops were not recorded in the SCLs corpus except one Dhurga example < *kan’-na-go-badh’*> (U-M.1.1) ‘echidna’, which was later transcribed by Tindale with the alternative lamino-palatal stop in < *’djanunggu’ba:df>* (WL-T.75).

### A.3.7.2.4 Lamino-palatal stop *dj /ď/

The quality of this phoneme is relatively easy to establish from the transcriptions and pronunciation keys offered by Mathews and Mackenzie. Nevertheless there are more spelling conventions used by early collectors than for any other sound.

Most often, this phoneme is transcribed in the corpus as *dy*, in some cases as *j* or in rare occurrences *tsh* or *tch* in word-final position as in < *kabūtsh>* ‘dead’ (DM-AM-1874-256-Ull/Bi-Bu1) and < *dhug’-gatch>* ‘frost’ (U-M.1.1). This variation in spelling may suggest that the quality of the lamino-palatal stop may have had in word-final position a more affricated quality than the generally transcribed *dy* sound.

Mathews (1901a:50) confirms this with the note in another publication of his only published Dharumba grammar, that “at the end of a word, ty or dy is pronounced nearly as tch in watch or hitch, omitting the final hissing sound” (1902c:53).

Another spelling convention found in early sources that attempts to describe a palatal stop, when followed by /a/, is the *ait* sequence as in these examples.

```plaintext
ngadjung  ‘water’       < ngaitung > A-WR-419
badjga-   ‘get up’       < baitgang > A-M.1.3-279
```

Mathews elaborates more on the pronunciation of this phoneme in one of his published Dhurga grammars.
Y, followed by a vowel, is attached to several consonants, as dya, lyee, byoo, tya, and so on, which are supposed to sound as one syllable, sounding all letters. Y sometimes follows a consonant at the end of a word, as in gur-ra-gaty, meaning slow. In such cases it must form a part of the preceding syllable; thus gaty should be pronounced all in one.

Mackenzie transcribed the word-initial and intervocalic palatal stop with j in words like <Jejung> djadjung ‘moon’ (A-AM-1874:260-Pl) and sometimes with the English spelling convention dg (as in ‘judge’) in inter-vocalic position, i.e. <Mudgeury> (A-AM-1874-250-YK). Mathews spelled the same word <mudyerree> (A-M.2.2-175).

Other early collectors transcribed word-initial palatal stops with g, as in the English word ‘George’, as in the example taken from Larmer’s Batemans Bay wordlist.

djinggi(i) ‘star’ <Gin.gee> (BB-JL-225)

The common tendency in AALs (Dixon, 2002a) for palatal stops to be followed by the high front vowel i and to a lesser extend by u and a is also observed in the SCL material.

A.3.7.2.5 Apico-post-alveolar (retroflex) stop rd /ɖ/

Transcriptions of word-final and inter-vocalic rd are frequent in the SCLs corpus. Inter-vocalically, examples that stand out are:

ngurdunguru ‘nostril’ <ngoor-doo-ngoor-doo> (U-M.1.1)
ngardamari ‘copulation’ <ngūrdamurri> (A-M.2.3-50)

Examples showing what are considered in this study to be most likely instances of word-final retroflex stops are also in small numbers and in only one instance each within the whole SCL corpus. One such example is bangurd <bungurt> ‘water hen’ (A-M.1.3-277).

Some examples with word-final rd can on closer inspection be dismissed as retroflex stop transcription, or at least be classified as too ambiguous. The Dharrwal
word for ‘quick’ is transcribed as $<\text{jerwurt}>$ (A-M.1.3-278) with no apparent cognate in other SCLs or alternative spelling. However, in the same publication, Mathews lists the word for ‘run’ $<\text{jauara}>$ (A-M.1.3-279) which looks suspiciously like a similar, if not the same, word or may be phonemicised as $\text{djawarr}$, possibly with a final trill realised as a tap.

**A.3.7.2.6 Dorso-velar stop $/g/$**

Mathews left his readers in no doubt that $g$ in his orthography represented the velar stop $/g/$ and not the affricate sound $/ʤ/$ as in *George* by commenting that “$g$ is hard in all cases” (Mathews, 1901b:129). But, as pointed out in the previous section, some other collectors adopted the English spelling convention with $g$, followed by a transcribed $i$, being an affricate sound as in the previously mentioned $\text{djinggi}$ $<\text{Gin.gee}>$ (BB-JL-225). This ambiguity is of course absent where the velar stop was transcribed as the voiceless variant $k$.

$g$ is found in all environments and is generally followed by the central vowel $a$ or the high back vowel $u$ (or $oo$ in many cases in the sources). Only in isolated examples is $g$ followed by the high front vowel $i$ ($ee$). One of those examples found in both Mackenzie’s and Mathews’ source material is:

$\text{bugiya}$ ‘yesterday’ $<\text{boo’-gee-a}>$ (U-M.2.2-47)

$<\text{bukiai}>$ (DM-AM-1874:253)

But also note earlier transcriptions of the same word with $/u/$ following the velar stop:

$<\text{boguia}>$ (U-RD-423)

$<\text{Boo.goo.ya.}>$ (BB-JL-226).

Word-finally, $g$ is recorded in very few examples such as the following two:

$\text{barabarag}$ ‘mud’ $<\text{burra-burrak}>$ (A-M.1.3-276)

$\text{bulambirg}$ ‘leave against’ $<\text{Boolambeerk}>$ (DJ-M.2.3-12)
A.3.7.3 Nasals

All nasals occur in word-initial and inter-vocalic environments. The palatal nasal \( nj \) and velar nasal \( ng \) also occur word-finally. The retroflex nasal \( rn \) is found in word-final and inter-vocalic position only and the apico-alveolar nasal \( n \) is found only in a small number of examples in word-final position. No word-final dental nasal \( nh \) has been transcribed in any of the languages. The bilabial stop \( m \) only occurs in isolated instances in word-final position.

A.3.7.3.1 Bilabial nasal /m/

The bilabial nasal \( m \) occurs word-initially and inter-vocalically with all vowels. Examples showing \( m \) word-initially are frequent.

- \textit{maramal} ‘hand’ \(< murrumul\> (A-M.1.3-276)
- \textit{mundur} ‘strong/heavy’ \(< moon\,-\,door\> (U-M.1.1)
- \textit{minga} ‘mother’ \(< meeng\,-\,a\> (U-M.1.1)

Inter-vocally, \( m \) is found in examples such as:

- \textit{gami} ‘mouth’ \(< kummi\> (A-M.1.3-276)
  \(< konmi\> (A-WR-418)
- \textit{ngumung} ‘knee’ \(< ngumung\> (A-M.1.3-276)
  \(< ngumu\> (WL-T.75)
- \textit{mama} ‘older sister’ \(< mama\> (U-M.2.2-39)
  \(< mā\,\-\,ma\,-\,dhā\> (U-M.1.1)

Word-final \( m \) is only found in, but consistently transcribed with a final /m/, in the Dharrawal demonstrative \textit{nham} ‘that’ (A-M.1.4-134). But within any given language, exceptions such as these can often be found in high frequency words (Walsh, pc December 2009).

A.3.7.3.2 Apico-alveolar nasal /n/

\( n \) is transcribed in smaller number compared to \( nh \) and \( nj \), and occurs more frequently when followed by \( a \) or \( u \), compared to a following \( i \). This applies to both word-initial
and inter-vocalic environment. Inter-vocally, \(n\) is found in commonly occurring words such as:

- **bana** ‘rain’ < *bunna* (A-M.1.3-276); (ILL-SoM.JB); (U-C-17/RD-423); (BB-JL-225), < *bana* (A-AC.1.-25); (MY-HH-481) < *bun-na* (U-M.1.1) < *punner* (B-R)

(Note that Tindale transcribed *bana* with a long /n/ < *ban:a* (WL-T.75); see A.3.7.1 for discussion on long or double consonants.)

One word that is consistently transcribed with word-initial \(n\), and occurs in a large number throughout the whole SCLs corpus is *nugurr*.


Word-finally, \(n\) is transcribed consistently in relatively few words, but is consistently transcribed as such in one of the most salient words in the Dhurga corpus.


The salience of these two words in the corpus and consistency in spelling of the nasal in *nugurr* and *dhugan* suggests that the original transcription of \(n\) is correct, rather than a mistranscribed (or misinterpreted) dental or palatal nasal.

But as with the corresponding apico-alveolar stop \(d\), there is sufficient evidence to suggest that in some instances of a transcribed \(n\), a dental nasal may have been more appropriate. Even within Mathews’ material, alternative spelling is found as in the following example.
A.3.7.3.3 Lamino-dental nasal nh /ŋ/

Word-initially, nh is transcribed frequently by Mathews. Inter-vocally nh is found in lesser number compared to word-initially, and is not found in word-final position. One of the rarer examples transcribing inter-vocalic nh is found in the Dharrawal privative marker -ganha < gunnha> (A-M.2.6-23-PoS1).

The lamino-dental nasal nh was most likely the most difficult consonant to isolate for the early language collectors, due to nh being an unfamiliar phoneme for people from European language background, and because the perceptual cues are not as obvious as in the dental stop dh.

There is no doubt that both Mackenzie and Mathews were aware of the lamino-dental nasal phoneme /ŋ/. This is demonstrated in some of Mathews’ earliest SCLs material where he used, and underlined, the spelling convention nth for word-initial dental nasal.

Figure 54. Mathews excerpt Notebook Thurga and Dyirringany p. 97

Mathews, and to a lesser extent Mackenzie, were also the only early collectors who transcribed nh frequently, if not always consistently. In his spelling key Mathews (1901b:141) described this phoneme: “nh has nearly the sound of th in ‘that’ with an initial sound of the n” - this also explains his nth transcriptions. The transcription of nth was a way of indicating dental articulation.
Based on phoneme distribution recorded in other AALs, we can assume that dental nasals were much more prevalent in the SCLs than the archival language material shows. Due to the difficulty of distinguishing dental from alveolar nasals the records do not support a more detailed analysis of the distribution of this phoneme. We can, however, assume that the distribution closely follows that of the dental stop, but in order to reduce the risk of over-generalising no dental nasals are assigned to an otherwise transcribed alveolar nasal unless there is some evidence found in other material of the same language.

**A.3.7.3.4 Lamino-palatal nasal nj /ɲ/**

The lamino-palatal consonant is transcribed consistently throughout the corpus in word-initial, inter-vocalic and word-final position. This suggests that most collectors had no problem distinguishing the palatal nasal from other nasals. The conventions/symbols or digraphs used to transcribe this sound differs greatly though.

Mathews represented this phoneme in his publications and handwritten notes with *ny* or *ń*, and he compared the sound to the Spanish nasal as in the word *mañana* ‘tomorrow’.

The sound of the Spanish ń is frequent, both at the beginning and end of a syllable. (1901b:129)

The sound of the Spanish ń is frequent. At the commencement of a word or syllable I have represented it by *ny*, as *nyir*, which is articulated as one syllable. At the termination of a syllable, ń is adopted, as *yoo-iń*. (1901a:50)

The lamino-palatal nasal is found in Mathews’ aforementioned spelling system in words such as *njamanj* ‘younger brother’ < *nyammañ* (A-M.1.3-275). But Mathews did not always apply this orthographical convention as suggested in the latter quote. We still find examples in his corpus that show ń word-initially. This is observed frequently in Mathews’ notebooks where he transcribed palatal nasal initial demonstratives such as *njiinj* ‘this’ < *ńeeñ* (U-M.2.2-7) with ń in both initial and final position.
In contrast, Mackenzie, and other earlier transcribers, seemed to address word-final palatal nasals by using the *ain* sequence when the palatal nasal was preceded by /a/. (Similar to the *ait* sequence transcribing *adj*.) Another frequently found spelling convention is *ine* to transcribe *anj*.

`biribanj` ‘emu’  
< `biribain`> (DM-AM.1-254)  
< `birriban`> (U-M.2.2-45)  
< `Birree.bine`> (BB-JL-225)  
< `biriba:nj`> (WL-T.75)  
< `birribain`> (A-WR-418)

Gaimard, from a French speaking background, used the French *gn* digraph, as in *agneau* ‘lamb’, or Italian *gnocchi*, to transcribe the palatal nasal *nj*, as in *dhanj*–‘eat’ < `taingn`> JB-G-12, and seen in this excerpt of his published wordlist.

Gaimard excerpt 1834:12

![Figure 55](image)

**A.3.7.3.5 Apico-post-alveolar (retroflex) nasal *rn/ŋ/*

Repeating here from Eades (1976:34), one example that seems almost impossible to analyse as anything but the retroflex nasal (in a consonant cluster) is the following example.

`gurndiira` ‘ironbark’  
< `goorn-dee'-ra`> (U-M.1.1)

This example leaves no ambiguity as to whether the *r* following a vowel marks a long vowel as in the English ‘mark’.

Word-finally, *marrorn* < `murroorn`> ‘march fly’ (A-M.2.2-102) and *yarungarn* < `yar'-ung-arn`> ‘long’ (U-M.1.1) are two examples that show word final retroflex nasals.
A.3.7.3.6 Velar nasal **ng** /ŋ/

The velar nasal **ng** occurs in word-initial, word-final, inter-vocalic position and in the homorganic velar nasal-stop cluster **ngg**. In inter-vocalic and word-initial position, **ng** is followed by the central or high back vowels, **a** and **u**.

**ngumung** ‘knee’

- `<ngumu>` (U-M.1.1)
- `<omonn>` (JB-G-12)
- `<ngumu>` (WL-T.75)
- `<ngumung>` (A-M.1.3-276)
- `<umungo>` (DM-AM-1878-271-Wand/No-Tu)

**ngawuli** ‘woolleybutt’

- `<ngau-wuli>` (A-M.2.4-58)

Inter-vocalically, **ng** is found numerous times across the SCL corpus in words such as:

**warranganj** ‘boomerang’

- `<warrang’añ>` (U-M.2.2-14)
- `<war-rang’an>` (U-M.1.1)
- `<warrangan>` (U-RD-423); (U-M.2.2-135)
- `<waranga:nj>` (WL-T.75)
- `<wurangaing>` (A-WR-419)

**gulungulu** ‘thumb’

- `<koo-loong’oo-loo>` (U-M.1.1)

**ng** is a sound found in the English language and posited no problem for the early collectors from English speaking background when in word-final or intervocalic position. Word-initially, as we can see from the previous examples, it caused early language collectors more problems and the initial sound is omitted altogether. Also see the previously listed transcription of **ngumung** by Gaimard, i.e. `<omonn>` (JB-G-12).

**ngadjung** ‘fresh water’

- `<adjoo>` (B-R)
- `<atchoun>` (JB-G-12)
- `<nijong>` (ILL-SoM.JB)

Note that Gaimard also transcribed **ngulu** ‘forehead’ with a word-initial **h**

- `<holo>` (JB-G-12).
Mackenzie used the symbol ŋ for the velar nasal in his handwritten notes, as seen in the word <pūrūwanga> in the second row. (Note that Mackenzie still used ng in some instances.)

Figure 56. Mackenzie excerpt <Mēgaaloāli Wurragul> story in Dharrawal

In the published version of this text (Mackenzie, 1874:255), this symbol was presumably not available and the typesetting changed it to the upside down capital ɢ. This symbol was simply typeset in a smaller font (as seen below) for lower case and larger font for upper case.

Figure 57. Mackenzie excerpt <Mēgaaloāli Wurragul> 1874:255

In another publication of Mackenzie’s texts (Mackenzie, 1877:272), a symbol more closely resembling the IPA symbol was used, in both large and small font size.

Figure 58. Mackenzie excerpt <Tūtawa, Pūlängūl> 1877:272

Examples showing i following the velar nasal have been found in either word-initial or inter-vocalic environment and can generally be phonemicised as a ngay sequence, as in ‘yes’ ngay <ngi> (A-M.1.7-4).
A.3.7.4 Lateral consonants

Lateral consonants are along with rhotics (and retroflex stops and nasals) the only consonants that cannot occur in word-initial position in the SCLs.

A.3.7.4.1 Alveolar lateral /l/

/l/ occurs freely in inter-vocalic and word-final position, although less frequent word-finally.

- **ngala** 'sit' (A)
- **wiiling** 'lip' (A, DM, U)
- **gumbal** 'strong' (A)
- **bayiil** 'man' (DJ)

/l/ occurs in consonant clusters such as *lm*, *lw* and *lg*, but predominantly across morpheme boundaries creating clusters such as *ldj*, *ldh* and *lb*.

A.3.7.4.2 Lamino-palatal lateral /ʎ/ /ɭ/ /\=/

Despite Dixon’s (2002a:549) proposal of the ‘single lateral line’, we have evidence in the SCLs material that suggest that the SCLs include /ʎ/ in their inventory. In one of his published Dhurga grammars, Mathews (1901a:50) noted that

Y, followed by a vowel, is attached to several consonants, as dya, lyee, byoo, tya, and so on, which are pronounced as one syllable, sounding all the letters.

Mathews’ observation implies that a palatal lateral may have been part of the phoneme inventory. A relatively small number of examples are found in the corpus that could suggest that at least sometimes a transcribed / ly/ is a lamino-palatal lateral phoneme and not a transcription of a /lv+y+vowel/ sequence.

However, / ly/ may not be an as frequently occurring phoneme as other palatal phonemes. Hercus and Mathews (1969:201) reported that in Ngarigo “/ ly/ is rare and is

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37 Dixon (2002a:549)) drew a line from north to south near the eastern part of Australia and suggested that the languages falling east of that line only had the laminal apical lateral /l/, but not the retroflex or the lamino-dental laterals /rl/ and /lh/, respectively.
found only medially. It is a separate phoneme and is not in complementary distribution with $j$'. This observation may well also apply to at least some of the SCLs.

One of Mathews’ biblical stories, The Parable of the Sower, shows the word $< \text{dhūlyūn}>$ ‘palm berry’ (A-M.2.6-16), and Mackenzie recorded $< \text{sēlyene}>$ ‘sail’ (DM-AM-253). However, no spelling alternatives exist due to these words only appearing in these instances by the same collector in the same spelling.

Another example is ‘eaglehawk’, which is transcribed in a large number throughout the SCL corpus. Mathews translated ‘eaglehawk’ in the Dharrawal corpus as

\[\textit{maljan} \quad \text{‘eaglehawk’} \quad < \text{mulyan}> (A-M.1.2-106); (A-M.1.4-130) \\
< \text{mullin}> (A-AM.1.255) \\
< \text{mulyan}> (A-M.1.3-276)\]

All spellings suggest that this is a disyllabic word with an unlikely lateral-glide sequence $\text{ly}$, or the palatal lateral phoneme $\text{lj}$, and not a $\text{liya}$ sequence, which the collectors would have transcribed as a three-syllable word in at least one instance.

However, a hesitation to identify these $\text{ly}$ sequences as palatal laterals could be based on cognates available for the same word in other NSW languages. For example, in Ngiyampaa (Donaldson, 1980) and Wiradjuri (Rudder, 2006) ‘eaglehawk’ is phonemicised as $\textit{maliyan}$.$^{38}$ We find this alternating spelling within the SCLs corpus.

For example, ‘north(-east) wind’ is transcribed by both Dawsey and Mathews within the Dhurga corpus as:

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$^{38}$ See also Koch (2009:149) for further transcriptions of $\textit{maliyan}$ in south-eastern NSW languages:

“A property north-west of Canberra that in the nineteenth century was held by pioneer Henry Hall had the name ‘The Mullion’; ‘Mullion’ was also used as the name of a parish in County Cowley (Moore 1999: vi, 96). This is plausibly derived from maliyan or malyan, the word for the wedge-tailed eagle, commonly called ‘eaglehawk’, which is attested for a number of languages of the region, including Wiradhuri (mul.le.yan in Robinson 2000: 178, McNicol and Hosking 1994: 90), Ngunawal (mul.yun and mul.le.yal in Robinson 2000: 208 and 209 respectively, muleun in Mathews 1904: 304), Wolgal (maliang in Howitt 1996[1904]: 102), Dharrawal in the Illawarra (mulyan in Mathews 1901: 130), and Yuwaalaraay, Yuwaalayaay, and Gamilaraay in inland northern NSW (maliyan in Ash et al. 2003: 106).”
<bullya> (U-RD-421)
<pal'-ya> (U-M.1.1)

But it is shown in the Dharrawal corpus with a clear break up of the ly sequence.

<bullē'-arūng> (A-M.2.4-53)
<bulleanga> (A-M.2.4-53)

The fact that the two spellings occur in corpus of different languages, i.e. Dhurga versus Dharrawal, and that Mathews marked stress on the second syllable, emphasizing the liya sequence, might suggest that a distinction exists within the phonemicisation of this word. Note that the Dharrawal examples follow the spelling of this word in other NSW languages, whereas the more southern language Dhurga might be distinguished from this by the use of a palatal lateral, which has also been analysed to be part of the inventory of the Sydney language (Troy, 1994) and the north-western NSW language Paakantji (Hercus, 1982), for example.

Whether or not a palatal lateral is part of the SCLs inventory (or possibly just for the southern languages) remains an unresolved issue at this stage. I have listed observations that might point to its existence, but factors that could speak against lj in the SCLs, are suggested lack of multiple laterals in the languages of eastern Australia (Dixon, 1980:141) and the alternative spelling of cognates in other related languages as well as the remarkably small number of transcribed ly/lj in the whole SCL corpus.

A.3.7.4.3 Apico-post-alveolar (retroflex) lateral r/al/'

There are fewer instances that show a rl sequence that can be analysed as a retroflex lateral, compared to the retroflex nasal and stop. In the various transcriptions of the Dhurga and Dharrawal word for ‘back’, which Mathews spelled <barl’-ka>, two other spelling variations from other collectors also contain rhotics, which supports a retroflex sound in the first syllable.
Tindale’s transcription <'ba(r:)ka> suggests that this word may have been pronounced with or without a rhotic (in fact a long rhotic, according to Tindale). Another possibly related transcription is offered by Mathews and also contains a rhotic.

(2) yandama burgawang
yanda-ma bar(l)gawang
go-PRST backwards
he stepped backwards DJ-M.2.3-13

Similarly, <burl'-guñ> ‘dirty, like water’ (U-M.1.1) shows the same sequence/breakup of letters, but in this case we do not have an alternative spelling available in the SCLs corpus.

Various transcriptions of the Dhurga and Dharrawal word for ‘chin’ also point to a retroflex lateral consonant. Note that although the majority of the spellings do not give a hint of an underlying rl, the two examples that do are worth a closer look.

warlu ‘chin’< war'-loo> (U-M.1.1-68)
< wallu> (A-M.1.3-276)
< walu> (A-M.1.3-276); (A-AC.A.1-25)
< wourlung> (ILL-SoM.JB)39
< walo> (JB-G-11)
< walu> (MY-HH-480)

There is no hint of a long vowel; in fact the second transcription marks a short vowel through the transcription of the double consonant after a, i.e. <wallu>.

39 Here the ou sequence may denote a long vowel.
A.3.7.5 Rhotics

Rhotic contrast is common in AALs, with the majority showing a phonemic distinction between a trill and the approximant as in the English \( r \) (Evans, 1995a:729). There is no doubt that a trill (represented as \( rr \)) and an alveolar approximant (\( r \)) are part of the SCL phoneme inventory; there is sufficient evidence in the transcriptions, as well as being clearly audible in Les Bundle narrating the *King of the Sea* story (Recorded by Arthur Capell, 1955). But as to the distribution and phonemicisation of rhotics from the historic language material, many of these are inconclusive, particularly intervocally.

The convention used to deal with the uncertainty of the quality of rhotic in some words is as follows: \( rr \) always represents an analysed trill, whereas \( r \) denotes that the rhotic could be either an approximant or a trill.

What we can say is that rhotics cannot occur in word-initial position; however, rhotics do occur in morpheme initial positions such as the verbal purposive suffix -\( ri \). Rhotics occur inter-vocally with all vowels, and can occur in word-final position. Word-finally, it is most likely that all word-final rhotics are trills, as word-final approximants are not commonly found in AALs. Rhotics in consonant clusters are discussed in the appropriate sections in this chapter.

Mathews employed a fairly consistent spelling and pronunciation key in all of his published SCLs grammars. Firstly he suggests that the letters he uses in his orthography correlate in sound to their English pronunciation.

…nineteen letters of the English alphabet are sounded, comprising fourteen consonants and five vowels, namely a, b, d, e, g, h, i, j, k, l, m, n, o, p, r, t, u, w, and y (Mathews, 1901b:129)

…the letters have the same value as in English with the undermentioned qualifications (Mathews, 1901a:50)
From the first statement it then seems that his letter \( r \) represents the approximant as in the English word 'rain'. But then he continues to mention that:

\[ r \text{ has a rough trilled sound, as in hurra!...no matter what its position in the word may be.} \]

(Mathews, 1901a:50 and 1901b:127)

He does not specifically state whether there are two (or more) rhotics and he does not overtly transcribe any existing difference in rhotics by means of a spelling convention.

In many cases, a transcribed \( rr \) (as other double consonants) in the archival sources is most often an indicator that the preceding vowel is short.

Of course there is the possibility that even though Mathews was able to distinguish different rhotic sounds, he had problems doing so consistently and confidently. Identifying rhotics may have been a problem for Mathews as much as it was for more acknowledged linguists who worked on AALs more recently. Tindale, for example, had problems correctly transcribing trills and approximants as Breen (2006, http://www.anu.edu.au/linguistics/nash/aust/nbt/symbols.html, visited 12 October 2009) found out.

Of 44 instances of a rhotic-initial consonant cluster, Tindale got two right. He had the right rhotic about half the time, but usually interpolated a vowel. Word-final rhotics are correct in eight of 34 cases. I conclude that there is no point in even noticing which of the two \( r \) symbols Tindale used.

Capell (n.d. Dharrawal grammar) offers the only unambiguous verification of the existence of two rhotics. Capell addressed the distinction of the word \( \text{guri} \) ‘ear’

\[ \text{guri} \rightarrow \text{ear} \rightarrow \langle \text{koori} \rangle \text{ (A-WR-418); (U-C.1-19), (U-RD-422)} \]
\[ \langle \text{guri} \rangle \text{ (A-M.1.3-276); (A-AC.1-25)} \]
\[ \langle \text{kouri} \rangle \text{ (JB-G-12)} \]
\[ \langle \text{gür} \rangle \text{ (MY-HH-480)} \]
\[ \langle \text{Kooree} \rangle \text{ (BB-JL-225)} \]
\[ \langle \text{guri} \rangle \text{ (WL-T.75)} \]

from the widely accepted term for Aboriginal people of south-eastern Australia ‘Koori’. Because ‘Koori’ is a loanword from languages to the north of the SCLs such
as Darkinyung (Jones, 2008), Dhanggati (Lissarrague, 2007) and Awabakal (Lissarrague, 2006), it may have been homonymous with the SCL word *guri* ‘ear’. Capell’s (n.d. Dharrawal grammar) observation that

“ear” and “man” are distinguished by the untrilled r in the former [and] the trilled in the latter may be correct, but may also have been a product of the necessity to distinguish between the body part and the people (or men) of the more northern language groups. According to Capell then, the word ‘Koori’ from the northern coastal languages might be appropriated into the SCL orthography as *gurri*. (However, if we take the common pronunciation of ‘Koori’, the phonemicisation should look more like *guuri*, with a long vowel and without the trill but the continuant rhotic.\(^{40}\)

Whether or not the SCL rhotic(s) also included a third rhotic, a tap, is possible but not attested from the language material available for the SCLs. The variable spelling of *d/t* versus *r(r)* that can be found in different transcriptions of words with a tap is not found in the SCL corpus.

**A.3.7.5.1 Apico-alveolar trill *rr*/\(r\)\/

Word-finally trills are well documented, and there are various common spelling conventions that hint at the transcription of the trill. Inter-vocalically transcribed trills are not that easy to identify as they lack the special conventions that are listed here.

The simplest way to transcribe a word-final trill, which is used in remarkably small numbers of instances, is by a word-finally transcribed *rr*, as seen here in two of Mathews’ examples.

\[
\begin{array}{lll}
marr & \text{‘hornet’} & <\text{mur-}r> \ (A-M.1.3-278) \\
baabirr & \text{‘honeysuckle’} & <\text{bâ-}birr> \ (U-M.1.1)
\end{array}
\]

\(^{40}\) At this stage, SCL communities, that I am involved with, have decided to keep the current spellings of names such as ‘Koori’ to avoid confusion.
In most cases, however, only one r is transcribed. This is a convention used consistently by Mackenzie. For example in one of his texts, he transcribed the exclamation <wir wir!> (DM-AM-G) ‘make haste!’ that can be phonemicised as wirr wirr.

Similarly, word-final rh can be found transcribing a word-final trill, which is found in this example in Larmer’s Batemans Bay wordlist.

\[\text{murr} \quad \text{‘tobacco’} \quad <\text{Moorh}> \text{ (BB-JL-226)}\]

Yet another alternative spelling is found in the name of the New South Wales township — Yass. The clue is given by Mowle (1891:2, in Koch, 2009:132), stating that Yass was pronounced Yarr (close to /jər/) by Aboriginal people. Similarly, Ridley (1877:258) commented on the spelling of a word containing s in John Rowley’s George’s River, Cowpastures and Appin wordlist.

The s here must be, I think, [sic] a mistake. Nowhere in Australia have I heard the sound s in any aboriginal word. The sound of dy (in hidyard) approaching to j, or g in Roger, is sometimes mistaken for s, so is rr.

By transcribing the word-final trill with (double) s, the transcriber was trying to convey the partial devoicing of the final trill, as was also witnessed in the transcription of the above rh spelling.

The spelling variation of words with a final trill can also often show a following vowel. This is also due to the collector transcribing the release of the final trill. Here we have examples such as these throughout the corpus.

\[\text{nugurr} \quad \text{‘nose’} \quad <\text{noogoor}> \text{ (U-WR-418)}\]
\[<\text{nokororh}> \text{ (ILL-SoM.JB)}\]
\[<\text{noogoooroo}> \text{ (U-C.1-21)}\]
\[<\text{nokoro}> \text{ (JB-G-11)}\]
\[<\text{'nugur}> \text{ (WL-T.75)}\]

\[\text{marrarr} \quad \text{‘spider’} \quad <\text{marara}> \text{ (U-RD-421)}\]
\[<\text{mur’-rar}> \text{ (U-M.1.1)}\]
But inter-vocally the identification of trills in the language material is not that simple. It is unclear whether Mathews used the general rule of using *rr* for a trill, and a single *r* as a continuant in inter-vocalic position. *Gar*[^1], for example, is broken up into syllables in `<kâ’-ree>` (U-M.1.1) showing only one *r*, whereas *garriba* `<gar’-ree-ba>` ‘flat-tailed mullet’ (U-M.1.1) breaks the syllables with a double *rr*.

However, Mathews also transcribed the same word with *rr* or *r*, as in *buru*. Although his transcription of *buru* is in almost all cases with a single *r*, in rare instances he used *rr* in `<bûrru>` (DJ-M.1.5-161) and `<burru>` (DM-M.2.6-30). Another indication is also the break up of the word in another instance `<boo’-roo>` (U-M.1.1). RHM probably treated /u/ as a long vowel of English, which would not require doubling of a following *C*; but his *rr* after *u* would normally denote a short vowel, perhaps a low vowel as in *hurry*.

**A.3.7.5.2 Post-apico-alveolar approximant rhotic *r* /ɹ/**

Although there is solid evidence for the existence of the trill in the SCL inventory, identifying rhotics other than the trill proves to be somewhat inconclusive. In all of his published SCL grammars, Mathews clearly states that the letter *r* in his transcription is always a trill, but also includes *r* in the list of sounds that are also found in English. Furthermore, Mathews does not offer different spelling conventions for any distinction in rhotics.

There is no identified alternation in spelling of the same word with either *r* or *y*, which would suggest a rhotic approximant.

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[^1]: Mathews’ transcription of *gari* ‘snake’ `<kâ’-ree>` (U-M.1.1) suggests a long vowel, due to the use of the diacritic used above the vowel. However, this word is pronounced in communities these days with a short vowel. I also had the pleasure to hear the well-known artist Jimmy Little use the word *gari* (with a short vowel) when telling a story at the Gulaga Mountain Handback (held at Tilba Tilba, 6th May 2006). Jimmy Little’s father (Jimmy Little sr) was from Wallaga Lake and recorded on field tapes in the 1960s by Luise Hercus and Janet Mathews.)
Ultimately, the only direct statement regarding a rhotic distinction is the earlier cited quote by Capell (n.d.), where he gives the distinction between *guri* ‘ear’ versus the phonemicised *gurri* (Koori) ‘Aboriginal man’.

### A.3.7.6 Semivowels

Semi-vowels occur in all AALs (Dixon, 2002a:552 and Evans, 1995a:729) and are recorded in the SCLs corpus in word-initial and inter-vocalic environments preceding all three vowels. Word-finally, the palatal glide *y* is found in a small number of instances.

Lenition of the velar stop /g/ is found in few words in Dharrawal, where *g* > *w*.

‘Lyrebird’ (‘pheasant’ in the old wordlists), for example, is consistently transcribed in Dhurga with *g* but with *w* in Dharrawal.

| djangula | ‘lyrebird’ | <jâ’-goo-la> (U-M.1.1), |
|          |           | <chakola> (U-RD-421) |
|          |           | <Jag.goola.> (BB-JL-266) |
|          |           | <Tagula> (BB-JL-225) |
| djawula  | ‘lyrebird’ | <jaula> (A-M.2.5-46) |
|          |           | <jaulangai> (A-M.2.5-46) |
|          |           | <jowler> (ILL-SoMJ1) |

Curiously, Mackenzie’s spelling of ‘lyrebird’ in his Dharumba text *The Pheasant and the Eel* consists of both *g* and *w* djangwila <Jakwila> (DM-AM-1874-260-Ull/Th-Ee). The discrepancy in transcription between Mathews’ and Mackenzie’s ‘lyrebird’ may possibly be explained by Mackenzie’s language material being published more than 25 years before Mathews collected his SCL material - although that does not explain the lenition in Dhurga.

Inter-vocalic semi-vowels are in many cases omitted in the transcriptions of early language collectors, as this example by Mathews shows in buwandVvu ‘oak’ <bu’-an-de-oo> (A-M.2.4-59).
Other *by* sequences in the old sources can be deconstructed differently, such as in (3) below, where the *by* sequence represents a b+diphthong sequence just as the English word *by* and/or *bye* in `<bumbye>` (A-M.2.6-14), i.e. /bai/.

(3)  
nuggung bumbyau-a  
nugung  bumba-ya-wa  
good  be-PST-3p  
*they (pl) have been good* (A-M.2.6-14)

In other instances, *by* represents a word-final /bi/ as in *grubby*, as in `<jambydthain> djambi-dha-yin ‘brother.in-law-ERG-1ip.PSSR’* (DM-AM-1874-257-Ull/Th-Bu2).

Examples such as these demonstrate the need for a comparative, and often cumbersome, approach and methodology that is required to phonemicise almost any word found in the historic language material.

**A.3.7.6.1 Bilabial semivowel *w***

*W* can be found word-initially and inter-vocalically, and can be followed by any of the vowels.

- **wiling** ‘lips’  
  `<wilin>` (U-M.1.1)  
  `<willi>` (U-C.1-19)  
  `<wiling>` (U-HH-480)  
  `<Wil.lee>` (BB-JL-225)  
  `<wee'-leen>` (U-M.1.1-68)  
  `<'wili>` (WL-T.75),

- **wadha** ‘where’  
  `<waddha>` (A-M.1.4-149)  
  `<wudtha>` (A-AM.1-248)

- **wuraambin** ‘guardfish’<sup>42</sup>  
  `<woor-ám'-been>` (U-M.1.1)

There are isolated examples that suggest a word-final *w*. Given that *y* is found word-finally (in Dharrawal at least), there is the possibility that *w* may occur in the same environment.

- **banggaw** ‘burrawang’ `<bung-gou’>` (U-M.1.1)

<sup>42</sup> ‘Guardfish’ is the original translation of this word; it most likely refers to ‘garfish’.
Interestingly, inter-vocalic \( w \) is rarely recorded as such. Early language collectors generally transcribed a vowel-w-vowel sequence omitting the \( w \). This is particularly observed when the following vowel is \( u \), as shown here. (Also see spelling alternations for \( yuwinj \) ‘man’ in the following section on the palatal semivowel.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>bangawu</th>
<th>‘lizard’</th>
<th>&lt;bungaoo&gt; (U-RD-421)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>djawurr</td>
<td>‘hair’</td>
<td>&lt;jou‘oor&gt; (U-M.1.1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>&lt;jaour&gt; (U-C.1-23)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>&lt;tiu&gt; (MY-HH)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>&lt;Tajoroo&gt; (BB-JL-225)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>&lt;‘djawar’&gt; (WL-T.75)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In examples with following central vowel \( a \), the bilabial semivowel seems to be more regularly transcribed, i.e.:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>dawara</th>
<th>‘night’</th>
<th>&lt;dowra&gt; (U-C.1-25)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>&lt;dâwarz&gt; (MY-HH-481)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>&lt;dowera&gt; (U-RD-423)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>&lt;tahouawann&gt; (JB-G-12)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>&lt;dhub‘-boo-ra&gt; (U-M.1.1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>&lt;Towara&gt; (BB-JL-225)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>&lt;Tub.ba.ra.&gt; (BB-JL-226)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>&lt;tawara&gt; (WL-T.75)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>&lt;dowerer&gt; (B-R)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>&lt;thau‘a-ra&gt; (B-AH.1.3)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note the alternative spelling in <dhub‘-boo-ra> (U-M.1.1) and <Tub.ba.ra.> (BB-JL-226) of the bilabial stop replacing the bilabial approximant. It is unlikely, in this case, that these are dialectal differences because the word is transcribed with both \( w \) or \( b \) in Larmer’s Batemans Bay list.

The transcription of the word-initial cluster \( gw \) in the old sources often represents a \( guy \) sequence with an unstressed vowel. In ‘curlew’ <kwee‘-ir-wur‘-wur> (U-M.1.1), Mathews may have omitted to transcribe an unstressed first vowel where the \( u \) between \( g \) and \( w \) was dropped and could be phonemicised as guyirrwurrwurr.
The commonly found SCL word *guya* ‘south’ can be found in the alternative spellings:

*guya* ‘south’  
< *kwia* > (A-M.1.4-147)  
< *narri-guia* > (A-M.2.3-48)  
< *'guja* > (WL-T.75)  
< *Guiaiin* > ‘south-ABL’(A-AM-1874:260-Pl)

Similarly, the word for ‘echidna’ *gunungguyirr* is transcribed by Mathews as  
< *gununggwir* > (A-M.1.3-277), but he also shows the break up of the *gw* cluster in  
< *gununguyir(ngai)* > (A-M.2.5-46).

### A.3.7.6.2 Palatal semivowel *y*/j/

*Y* can occur in all environments, but is only found in word-final position in Dharrawal, in the 1st person singular pronominal clitic -*ngay* as in < *yandingai* >  
*yandi-ngay* ‘I am walking’ (A-M.2.6-14) and *biyangalay* < *biäŋjäly* > ‘grass’ (A-AM-1874-250-YK), for example. In this respect Dharrawal is phonologically closer to the more northern coastal NSW languages, such as Dhanggati (Lissarrague, 2007) and Darkinyung (Jones, 2008), where a word final *ay* sequence is commonly found.43

Within the original sources, word-initial *y* is sometimes omitted when followed by the high-front vowel *i*. This is not an unusual phonological occurrence in AALs.

*yira* ‘tooth’  
< *irra* > (A-WR-419), (A-M.1.3-276)  
< *era* > (U-C.1-23), (U-RD-423)  
< *yira* > (MY-HH-480)  
< *'ira* > (WL-T.75)

The other vowels *a* and *u* follow word-initial *y* in equal distribution.

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43 Both authors adopted the spelling convention using *ayi* and *uyi* instead of *ay* and *uy* (respectively).
A small number of examples suggest that y may occur before consonants, for example *gaygan* ‘arm’ \(<k̓i'-kan>\)\(^{44}\) (U-M.1.1), which is a cluster that occurs in other NSW languages such as Bandjalang (Sharpe, 2002).

As observed with the bilabial semivowel w (see also the various transcriptions of the word *yuwinj* above), inter-vocalic y is also rarely transcribed but easily analysed as such from the natural pronunciation of the transcribed vowel-vowel sequences. Here we find several alternative spellings; one of them is the use of diacritics on vowels such as \(i\) to represent a ay vowel-glide sequence.\(^{45}\) For example, the Dhurga and Dharumba word for ‘sit, stay, live’ can be found spelled in various ways.

\[mayi\] ‘sit, stay, live’<my'-ee-ga> (U-M.1.1)  
<mi'eega> (U-M.2.2-79)  
<ma-i-ga> (U-RD-423)  
<Miare> (BB-JL-226)

As an additional note, repeated here from Chapter A.2 (Methodology), it is significant that the use of the IPA symbol /j/ to represent y in the phonetic transcriptions by Tindale has caused some problems with misinterpretation within communities. Tindale transcribed *Yuin* as <ju:in> (Tindale, n.d.), which has been

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\(^{44}\) I is also found with the alternative use of diacritic \(i\) in some publications as well as handwritten manuscripts. The variable use in published material is most likely due to typesetting issues or preferences.

\(^{45}\) See previous footnote.
interpreted by community members as \( /duwin/ \) (or in English spelling dshoo(w)in).

This is a good reminder that all collected language material, regardless of its quality and/or consistency, is susceptible to misinterpretation when analysed in isolation.

### A.3.8 Vowels

The SCLs vowel inventory contains the triangular three-vowel system found in the majority of AALs (Butcher, 1994), consisting of the high front vowel \( \text{ɪ} \), low central vowel \( \text{a} \) and the high back vowel \( \text{u} \). Vowel length distinction is evident from the transcriptions in the old sources, but there are no reliable minimal pairs in the sources that show that the distinction is phonemic. The phonemic distinction is therefore cautiously included in the phoneme inventory of the SCLs, and also for practical reasons: to allow representation of long vowels in the phonemicised spellings for language teaching purpose. In the phonemicised words, a transcribed long vowel, \( \text{aa} \), \( \text{ii} \) or \( \text{uu} \), represents a long vowel only; whereas vowels represented with a short vowel \( \text{a} \), \( \text{i} \) and \( \text{u} \), could be either the short vowel or a long vowel. See 3.8.2.1 for more discussion on vowel length.

Based on phonotactic rules, there are no diphthongs in the SCLs, but vowel-glide-vowel sequences occur word-medially or word-finally. Word-final vowel-glide sequences \( \text{ay} \) also occur in Dharrawal and Dharumba, such as on the previously mentioned (Dharrawal) first person singular pronominal clitic \( =\text{ngay} \) or (Dharumba) \( \text{bayangalay} \) ‘grass’ \(<\text{biäŋălay}>\) (A-AM-1874-250-YK).

### A.3.8.1 Vowel quality

Based on Butcher’s (1994) study on the phonetic range of stressed vowels in three vowel systems in (spoken) AALs, we may assume that his plotted vowels \( /\text{i}/, /\text{u}/ \) and
/ʊ/ also most closely describe the vowel phonemes in the SCLs. Butcher (1994:28) argues that the phonetic space of these vowel phonemes is smaller than previous literature had suggested. Identifying such a detailed variation of vowel phonemes from an archival written corpus is obviously impossible, but the phonetic transcription of (some of the) early collectors gives a glimpse into variation.

For the purpose of determining vowel quality, of Dhurga and Dharrawal at least, it was also necessary to consult Eades’ (1976) transcriptions of Hercus’, Janet Matthews’ and her own audio recording from the 1960-70s. Eades (1976:22) notes that

[c]learly the phonetic vowel inventory has been strongly influenced by a large number of English vowels such as [æ, ə (ʊ), ɜ, ə]

[and i]t is quite obvious that the informants today pronounce all vowels as if the words were in English.

There is no doubt that the pronunciation of the languages would have changed over decades with English becoming the dominant, or first, language in a very short period of time. But I would also like to suggest that there might be some evidence that vowels (in English words as used by Aboriginal Community members) are influenced by the traditional AALs. While this is a well-documented phenomenon in Aboriginal English within communities that still speak traditional languages (Butcher and Anderson, 2008), we may not expect this in speakers in south-eastern NSW, where local AALs have not been spoken fluently since early/middle 20th century. My reason for suggesting this observation is in fact the pronunciation of my own name Jutta. Regardless of how this name is pronounced in Germany, /jutʌ/, the majority of people from Australian English speaking background call me /jʉ:ta/ with a long fronted vowel. Not giving it much thought at first, I realised only after two or three years that
some of the Aboriginal community members I work(ed) with pronounce my name /ʃʌtə/ or, in one case, with a slightly dentalised /t/. 46

Eades (1976:22) provided a list of vowels in her phonetic analysis of the 1960-70s SCLs audio recordings and she identified the following allophones [i, ɪ, e, ɛ, ə, u, u, o, o, ɔ, ʌ, a] shown below grouped together according to underlying vowel phoneme as proposed by Butcher (1994).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 11. Eades’ (1976) identified vowels in the South Coast Languages with underlying vowel phonemes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i ɪ e ɛ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Similar, but not identical, are the identified vowel variations that were identified in Ngiyampaa (Donaldson, 1980).

46 None of these community members grew up speaking their traditional language(s). This is just one of the observations that call for a detailed research study on the articulatory phonetics of Aboriginal community members in south-eastern Australia.
Donaldson collected this material from speakers of Ngiyampaa, which may be the reason for the discrepancies, such as /æ/, the vowel in ‘cat’, in Eades’ observations from tapes of remembering speakers, not fluent speakers. Note the larger variation of /ɐ/ in Ngiyampaa speakers compared to a larger variation of /ʊ/ in Eades’ analysis.

But as the analysis in this study is based on the archival material rather than the audio recordings Eades used, the following sections will attempt to map the early collectors’ symbols for vowels.

### A.3.8.2 Vowel transcription in the source material

Since the majority of the SCLs corpus consists of Mackenzie’s and Mathews’ collected material, this section will look predominantly at their vowel transcription. Both Mathews and Mackenzie used detailed spelling systems with an array of diacritics on vowels to distinguish vowel quality and length. But their inventories differ in that Mackenzie uses a much greater variety of diacritics than Mathews did.

Tables 13 and 14 show Mackenzie’s and Mathews’ orthographic symbols and their identified phonetic and phonemic value based on phonetic analyses of other (spoken) AALs (Butcher, 1994) and Eades’ (1976) proposed vowel range. Note that
these are the general rules, but exceptions are found. Long vowels are distinguished by Mathews in his published spelling key where ee is the long vowel “as in meet”, oo is the long vowel “as in moon” and â is long “as in far”. However, there are numerous instances where oo is describing a short /u/ and â a short, but possible stressed vowel.

Table 13. Mackenzie’s vowel symbols and their phonemic value

[Table with vowel symbols and their values]

The most noticeable difference between Mackenzie’s and Mathews’ vowel graphs is the lack of the use of oo in Mackenzie’s transcriptions (bar one exception in <boombi> (DM-AM-1874-260-Ull/Th-Ee)). Mathews used oo in both his published and unpublished notes, but not in his transcribed stories, which leads to the questions whether he copied them from some other source.47

47 One source that may have supplied the biblical stories may have been Rev. Mr Ridley, whose collection of other SCLs also contains some phrases that fit within a religious context.
The symbols found in the overlapping areas of phonemes are impossible to identify as being one or the other phoneme. But this is not the fault of the transcriber; Mathews wrote about the blurry lines.

It is hard to distinguish between the short, or unmarked, sound of a and that of u, a difficulty also met with in several other languages. (Mathews, 1901a:50 Dhurga)

It is frequently difficult to distinguish between the short sound of a and that of u. A thick sound of i is occasionally met with, which closely approaches the short sound of u and a. (Mathews, 1901b:129 Dharrawal)

It is therefore impossible to identify each underlying vowel; it is likely that different speakers may have had nuances in their own pronunciation that may have led to the different vowel transcriptions.

This approach can also be applied to wordlists transcribed by non-English speaking collectors. Joseph Gaimard, for example, provided a list that show transcriptions based on his native language French.48 (Consideration should also be given here to potential differences in pronunciation between French spoken during the

48 Although another non-English background individual, Hermann Lau, a German speaker, collected words in the Illawarra region, his transcriptions are based on English pronunciation and do not show any expected regularities in vowel transcriptions that we would expect from a German speaker, i.e. u always representing /u/ etc. (See also Chapter A.2 (Methodology) on further discussion of Lau’s material.)
1830s and French spoken as today.) In his *Baie de la Jervis* wordlist, Joseph Paul Gaimard (1834:11-13) naturally based the spelling of the words on the spelling conventions used for the French language.\(^49\) Whereas English speaking collectors used the letter *u* to transcribe either /a/ or /u/, Gaimard did not transcribe any vowel with a *u* (other than *ou* for /u/). This is due to *u* in French spelling convention having sounds, rounded front vowels in the examples given here, that are not found in AALs, i.e. words such as *sur* ‘on’ /syʁ/ or *brun* ‘brown’ /bʁœ̃/.

However, because often several distinct variations are found in transcriptions of the same word, not only between collectors but also within any one collector’s’ material, the examples given in the tables are only a rough guide and show the general rules. Analysing and phonemicising words from archival written material will still require a comparative approach for each individual word.

**A.3.8.2.1 Vowel length**

Long vowels are marked in the historic language material in various ways. This may be with the use of a diacritic above the vowel or appropriating English spelling conventions into the transcriptions.

Ultimately, only one reliable potential minimal pair has been found in the two Djirringanj morphemes, the 2s subject clitic = *bi* and the negative imperative suffix - *bii*. Another example is the pair of words below, which is suspicious enough not to base an analysis on.\(^50\)

\(^49\) The spelling and usage of the French language has long been a focus of the *L’Académie Française*, which started to produce dictionaries in 1694 (Wikipedia, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dictionnaire_de_l’Académie_française, visited 1\(^{st}\) January 2010) and considers itself to be the ‘custodian of usage’ (Baddeley, 1995).

\(^50\) ‘Taboo words such as *gala* ‘vagina’ are still very much known in SC communities. A ‘searching for’ advertising in the *Koori Mail* a few years ago, which are submitted by community members looking for relatives or friends they had lost contact with, at one stage was looking for a well known community member with the text along the lines of ‘I am looking for [name]. His traditional name is Galagala
Phonemic vowel length is not uncommon in AALs of New South Wales. Language analyses that were based in part on living speakers’ information, such as Bundjalung, Gumbaynggirr, Paakantji and Nggiyampaa (see Wafer et al. (2008) for all New South Wales languages) propose this distinction in their phoneme inventory. But for other New South Wales languages that also only exist mainly through archival written archival material, the question of phonemic vowel length distinction remains. Recent elaborate analyses on Darkinyung (Jones, 2008) and Dhanggati (Lissarrague, 2007), for example, which are two of the closest related New South Wales languages to the SCLs, also propose phonemic vowel length with a cautionary note.

The first minimal pair only shows a distinction in Mathews’ final vowel being marked with the diacritic â in the word translated as ‘warm/summer’ and the lack of it in gala ‘vagina’.

\[
gala \quad \text{‘vagina’} \\
< \text{kul’-la}> \quad \text{(U-M.1.1)} \\
< \text{kala}> \quad \text{(JB-G-11)} \\
< \text{’gala}> \quad \text{(WL-T.75)} \\
\]

\[
galaa \quad \text{‘warm/summer’} \\
< \text{gullâ}> \quad \text{(U-M.2.2-150)} \\
< \text{Kulla}> \quad \text{(BB-JL-225)} \\
\]

Eades’ also (1976:25) gives a minimal pair to demonstrate phonemic vowel length and notes that these two words were given as a minimal pair by a reliable informant who “commented of their close phonetic similarity, but different meaning”.

\[
[\text{ga:ndi}] \quad \text{‘smoke, tobacco’} \\
[\text{gandi}] \quad \text{‘money’} \\
\]

But words for introduced concepts cannot necessarily be used as reliable examples, as the need to describe newly introduced concepts requires some language engineering, and that may well have included lengthening or changing of vowel to distinguish two semantically related items. In contemporary La Perouse Dharraval, for example, kinterms are adjusted to allow for appropriation of the European kinship Munmun’. This caused much amusement to many community members – both gala and mun are well known words for ‘vagina’ on the South Coast.
system. Thus *ngaba* and *ngabu* for ‘mother’ and ‘grandmother’, and *baaba* and *babaa* for ‘father’ and ‘grandfather’ respectively, whereas traditional kinship systems would distinguish between father’s father and mother’s father or mother’s mother and father’s mother - but not show a lexical relation between F and FF or M and MM.

### A.3.9 Conclusion

This chapter presented not only the phonemic inventory of the South Coast languages, but also incorporated some discussion that reflects the processes involved in phonemicising language found in historic language material. It provides insight into the complexity of this kind of work and shows that it requires a broad and holistic approach, one that takes into consideration the methodology and background of the early language collectors and demands a constant comparing between sources and often re-evaluation and re-analysis.

This chapter provides the background and basis for the following morphological and syntactical analyses.
Chapter A.4 Nominal Morphology

The analysis in this chapter is based exclusively on Mathews and Mackenzie’s language material. This is due to the more elaborate language collection compared to other early collectors who provided wordlists only. Because Mackenzie and Mathews collected texts and complex sentence material in Dharumba and/or Dharrawal only, the analyses presented here for these two languages is therefore more extensive than for Dhurga and Djirringanj.

Discrepancies that are found between Mathews’ and Mackenzie’s material are discussed throughout this chapter where applicable.

Due to the nature of the historic language material in the SCLs corpus, it is impossible to present elaborate paradigms to demonstrate case marking on nouns. The closest thing to a paradigm we have is presented in A.4.6, showing case marking on the 1st person singular free pronoun in Dharumba.

In the preceding phonology chapter, I presented the analysis for the SCLs as a whole due to the commonality of phonological features between the languages. However, in this chapter, the identified SCLs suffixes are presented firstly in a comparative table, and are then followed by sections for each language to elaborate on forms of morphemes and examples. The choice for this format of presentation is solely due to avoid repeating discussion on formal distinctions of the cases for each language because they appear to be shared between all SCLs.

Parts of speech included in the nominal category are nouns, demonstratives, personal pronouns and interrogative pronouns as they can all inflect for case.

What we can find is that within the context of nominal morphology, the SCLs present the following commonalities and differences.
1. The noun structure in all SCLs is Root-(derivation)-(inflections).

2. SCLs follow the ergative case marking system with proper nouns and pronouns. This means that subjects of transitive verbs are marked with a suffix whereas subjects of intransitive verbs and objects of transitive verbs remain unmarked.

3. In Dharrawal, bound pronouns can occur on the first word in a sentence, and are therefore classified as pronominal clitics. There is no evidence for this in the other SCLs. However, for sake of avoiding confusion, ‘pronominal clitics’ and ‘bound pronouns’ are both referred to as ‘bound pronouns’ unless in specific discussion.

4. There are numerous instances with fully expressed noun phrases (NP hereon) that are not marked for ergativity when expected; explanations offered for these occurrences are authoritative speculations based on behaviour and occurrences in neighbouring languages or grammars of spoken languages that offer insight into possible reasons for omitting ergative marking. The simplest explanation I propose here is that in cases without ergative marking, the context of the utterance leaves no ambiguity for the listener as to who is doing what.

5. Possession marking in SCLs is realised by the genitive suffix on the possessor NP (if fully expressed) and the possessed noun is marked for possessor by means of a bound possessive pronoun (or clitic in Dharrawal). However, an exception is found in Djirringanj, where in constructions with a possessive free pronoun, possessed NPs are not marked with the bound possessive pronoun.

6. Multifunctional formatives are common in AALs and a large number share a similar suffix for locative and ergative function - “the locative marker has the same consonantism as the ergative marker but with the vowel -a instead of -u” (Blake, 1977:51). There is sufficient evidence that this could well be the case in Dharrawal. However, examples showing locative and ergative suffixes do not always follow this general rule and both case suffixes are found with either final vowel, bearing in mind
at all times that the ambiguity of the transcribed vowel /u/ in the archival material remains an ongoing issue and in many cases is it difficult to assign /a/ or /u/ with one hundred percent surety.

7. Dhurga seems to have a smaller range of case morphemes than its neighbouring language Dharrawal, one morpheme covering a wider range of semantic functions. Over the relatively small corpus of Dhurga language material, the morpheme -dha appears on nouns marking for location, motion towards a point of reference, instrumental case and in some cases marking the possessor NP. -dha is not one of the identified allomorphic variants of the ergative marker.

A.4.1 Case marking in the SCLs

The SCLs function on an ergative case marking system. Fully expressed noun phrases are marked with an ergative marker if they are in the role of agent of a transitive clause. From the amount of language material available it seems that the placement of these case suffixes within a NP does not follow any particular rule. Within any one language (where appropriate data are available), ergative suffixes are found on all words within a NP or on only one — and on either first or last word of the NP.

Nouns may also be marked with case suffixes for other semantic roles within a sentence, such as instrumental or purposive function. Occurrences and analyses of these are restricted to smaller numbers in Djirringanj and Dhurga because the corpora for these two languages are substantially smaller than for Dharumba and Dharrawal. In practical terms this means that even though no comitative suffix is recorded in Djirringanj, it would not necessarily rule out that it didn’t exist in this language.

Table 1 shows all identified allomorphs for each case marker. In some cases, only one example sentence with a particular case marker form is found in the sources. These are pointed out throughout the following sections.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Semantic Role</th>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Dharrawal</th>
<th>Dharumba</th>
<th>Dhurga</th>
<th>Djirringanj</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Subject of transitive verb</strong></td>
<td>ERG</td>
<td>-dju</td>
<td>-da</td>
<td>-ngga</td>
<td>-a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-ya</td>
<td>-la</td>
<td>-nja</td>
<td>-a</td>
<td>-ga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-ga</td>
<td>-a</td>
<td>-djii</td>
<td>-djii</td>
<td>-u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-a</td>
<td>-yi</td>
<td>-yi</td>
<td>-yi</td>
<td>-da*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-da</td>
<td>-dja</td>
<td>-da</td>
<td>-dja</td>
<td>-yi*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Instrument</strong></td>
<td>INSTR</td>
<td>-dji</td>
<td>-dji</td>
<td>-dji</td>
<td>-da*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Location</strong></td>
<td>LOC</td>
<td>-ga</td>
<td>-dha</td>
<td>-ga</td>
<td>-a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Object location</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>-ya</td>
<td>-ga</td>
<td>-a</td>
<td>-yi*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-nga</td>
<td>-nja</td>
<td>-yi</td>
<td>-dji</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-dja</td>
<td>-dji</td>
<td>-dji</td>
<td>-dji</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Location</strong></td>
<td>ABL</td>
<td>-yiin</td>
<td>-yin</td>
<td>-dji</td>
<td>-djin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Motion 'away from' place/object of</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>-dini</td>
<td>-di</td>
<td>-djin</td>
<td>-djan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>reference</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>-ndiin</td>
<td>-da</td>
<td>-djan</td>
<td>-wang/-yang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Motion 'towards' place/object of</strong></td>
<td>ALL</td>
<td>-yu</td>
<td>-gu</td>
<td>-a</td>
<td>-ni**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>reference</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>-angu</td>
<td>-angu</td>
<td>-da</td>
<td>-ni**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Later location</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>-yi</td>
<td>-u</td>
<td>-yi</td>
<td>-a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Goal, fighting 'towards something'</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>-dhi</td>
<td>-a</td>
<td>-da</td>
<td>-a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Beneficiary</strong></td>
<td>DAT</td>
<td>-gunhung</td>
<td>-gu</td>
<td>-dha</td>
<td>-ni**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Possessor</strong></td>
<td>GEN</td>
<td>-wuli</td>
<td>-wu</td>
<td>-guli*</td>
<td>-kulal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-guli</td>
<td>-gu</td>
<td>-dha</td>
<td>-la</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Purpose ‘for’</strong></td>
<td>PURP</td>
<td>-langu</td>
<td>-ndji</td>
<td>-wuran</td>
<td>-brial</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some of the morpho-phonemic variations are expected, such as the Dharrawal genitive marker’s variation -guli after consonants and -wuli after vowels, but these rules are not consistently applied. This might possibly be due to simplification of the traditional language with the increased influence of English and/or other AALs, or perhaps due to individual informants’ preferences.51

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51 Based on Mathews’ methodologies and meticulousness that is evident from his notebook entries, I personally doubt that Mathews made up his own examples that may have led to the use of incorrect case marking. In fact I believe that the irregularities rather prove that his transcriptions were taken from different informants and at different places.
A.4.1.1 Ergative Case Marking in the SCLs

The SCLs mark noun-phrases for the semantic role as the agent of a transitive verb (A) with ergative case suffix. Objects of transitive verbs and subjects of intransitive verbs remain unmarked. In this study, the unmarked roles remain unmarked in the glossing, agreeing with McGregor’s (1990:175) argument that to assign a zero form for the absolutive case “does not signify anything in itself, but the absence of other meanings...[and] no significant semantic or syntactic generalisation arises under zero postposition hypothesis”.

Sentence (1) below shows the glossing indicating a zero realised absolutive case marker in the first instance, but will be presented in this study without as shown in the second example (2).

(1)   wuddungurra koongara buddhal
      wadangarr-a gungara-Ø badha-l
      dog-ERG possum-ABS bite-PST

      The dog an opossum bit. U-M.1.1-52

(2)   wuddungurra koongara buddhal
      wadangarr-a gungara badha-l
      dog-ERG possum bite-PST

      The dog an opossum bit. U-M.1.1-52

A split in case marking systems exist in many AALs (Blake, 1977:6) between regular nouns and pronouns, i.e. regular nouns are marked following the ergative system, but pronouns follow a nominative case system. This means that in pronouns, agents of both transitive and subjects of intransitive verbs are marked with the same marker. In the SCLs, only bound pronouns follow the nominative case marking system; free pronouns are marked as all other nouns.

Mathews was well aware of the concepts of transitive versus intransitive verbs and subsequent ergative marking. The following example from one of Mathews’
Dharrawal published notes explicitly demonstrated this with his added note after 

<ngunnung nyinyim?> ‘who there?’ (A-M.1.4-140):

If “who” refers to an act described in a transitive verb, it becomes ngunnungga, and changes with the number of persons acted upon in the objective case… (A-M.1.4-140)

Mathews’ elicitations and paradigms show this distinction in examples such as in (3).

(3) ngunnungga nham
    nganung-ga nham
    who-ERG that
    Who him (struck, threw at, etc.) A-M.1.4-140

There are instances where ergative marking is missing, see (88) for one example where ‘man’ in ‘the man makes a boomerang out of myrtle’ does not show an ergative marker. These are found in utterances where the roles are considered unambiguous.

Between the SCLs, there are some recorded differences in the forms of the ergative marker. Some of these are due to the more limited language corpus for some languages and lack of examples that show ergative marking on nouns with the same word-final vowel or consonant. All different forms that occur are listed in the following individual sections for each of the SCLs.

A.4.1.1.1 Dharrawal ergative

The majority of examples of ergative marking in Dharrawal are found in Mathews’ collection. Fully expressed NPs are relatively rare in Mackenzie’s texts, and in many instances where a NP in A function is found, ergative marking is missing where we would expect them due to ‘who is doing what’ being unambiguous.

Note that Eades’ (1976:47) proposition that that the morpho-phonemic variation -yi generally occurs after noun stems ending in a vowel has not been confirmed in this analysis. Ergative markers can end in a, u and i, which seems to be determined by the last vowel in the word the ergative marker is suffixed to, but exceptions exist as shown in examples (4), (5), and (14).
The following sections show examples with the morpho-phonemic variation of the ergative marker. Note the variable forms of the ergative suffix found on yuwinj ‘man’.

A.4.1.1.1.1 -dju

(4) yuindyu dyurwaia
   yuwinj-dju djurwa-ya
   man-ERG seed-PST
   a man scattered A-M.2.6-16-PoS1
   a man sowed

A.4.1.1.1.2 -dja

(5) yerranying nyila yundya warrangandya
   yiri-ya=njing njila yuwinj-dja warranganj-dja
   throw-PST=2sOBJ this man-ERG boomerang-INSTR
   that man threw a boomerang at thee (A-M.2.3-51)

(6) juggarnanya dhuñ manda
   djagananj-dja dhanj man-da
   boy-ERG fish catch-PST
   the boy a fish caught (A-M.1.4-131)

A.4.1.1.1.3 -da

(7) dhurranda yuindyu dhurrandhawa(they trampled) dhunna(foot) mirrigullimangga
   büddyanda(birds) dhundya(ate)
   dhara-ndha=wa dhana mirirr-gal-mangga budjan-da dhanj-dja=wa
   step.on-PST=3p foot top-BELONG?-? bird-ERG eat-PST=3p
   and was trodden on and the birds or the sky ate it all. A-M.2.6-18-PoS3

(8) gaiando yuindyu dhùraia bùru
   gayan-da yuwinj-dju dhura-ya buru
   big-ERG man-ERG spear-PST kangaroo
   a big man spears a kangaroo A-M.2.6-1
A.4.1.1.1.4 -ga

(9) mirrigangga guraura bubbugaia
mirigang-ga gurawara baba-ga-ya
dog-ERG possum bite-2-PST
_a dog an opossum bit A-M.1.4-131_

(10) Yenda Jejù, muliwauthana Jejuŋko,
yan-dha djadju maļiyuradhanafa djadjung-ga
go-PST moon enamoured? moon-ERG
_The Moon came, the Moon was enamoured, A-AM-1874:260-Pl_

A.4.1.1.1.5 -a

(11) ngurrungalla mundha gulanya
ngarangal-a mundha gula-nja
woman-ERG snake kill-PST
_a woman a snake killed A-M.1.4-131_

A.4.1.1.1.6 -dji

(12) Gwaiamindji(Gwaiajmyn) ngurrandhauulung(he heard them) yah(while)[inserted] dung-gaulaia(they two cried).
Gwayaminj-dji ngara-ndha=wulung ya dhungga=wula=ya
Gwayaminj-ERG hear-PST=3dOBJ and cry=3d=SUB
_Gwayaminj heard them crying. A-M.2.6-24-GW_

A.4.1.1.1.7 -yi

(13) bunbari-i gunnungwir yurinya
bunbari-yi ganungwir yuri-nja
youth-ERG echidna hit-PST
_the youth a porcupine hit A-M.1.4-131_

(14) Garwaiahdhan būrfileji
garwa-ya=dhan buru-yi
scratch-PST=1sOBJ kangaroo-ERG
[Scratched](kangaroo) [wet] (A-M.2.5-45)

A.4.1.1.2 Dharumba ergative

Mackenzie’s texts give very few examples of a fully expressed NP in subject of a transitive verb function, which means that although the Dharumba language corpus is relatively substantial, there are few examples that demonstrate variants of the ergative
suffix. Also, allomorphic variations of the ergative suffix differ between Mathews’ and Mackenzie’s language material.

The variations of this suffix alter between -Ci and -Ca, with the morpheme-initial segment governed by the preceding environment. All morphophonemic variations found in the corpus, and their preceding environment, are listed and exemplified here.

- **-da** /an-
  -la /n(g)ga-
  -nja /la-
  -a /al-, inj-
  -dji /inj-
  -di /an-
  -yi /ru-, wa-
  -u /urr-

**A.4.1.1.2.1 -da**

(15) wangganda bailla wurrañ
    wanggan-da bayi-la waranj
    woman-ERG beat-PST child
    A woman did beat a child. DM-M.2.6-30

**A.4.1.1.2.2 -la**

(16) Wannunggalla (come to me) gurroogandhullengga?
    wanangga-la garugandha-la-ngga
    who-ERG call.for-PST-1sOBJ
    Who shouted for me (called me)? (DM-M.2.6-28)

**A.4.1.1.2.3 -nja**

(17) Yukūŋa yanaillūwunna ya Jakwilanya, jākūluŋ pulungumbālu,
    yagun-ga yanayiluwu-na ya djagwila-nja djugulung balanga-mba-la
    then? go-3snPST and lyrebird-ERG container put.in-CONT-PST
    The pheasant came in and put him in the jukulu (bark of the excrescence of a tree, used as a vessel for holding honey or other food), (DM-AM-1874-260-Ull/Th-Ee)
A.4.1.1.2.4 -i

(18) *Bithai-gala Karugândhilla Pūlûngûl,*
bidhaygal-a garuga-ndhi-la Bulungul
pelican-ERG call out?-PST Bulungul
pelican called out to Pooloongool (DM-AM-1877-272-Wand/Hu-TuPu)

(19) *bombi wuthâla: murilla yûinya kulûlawy, kummai, jerrumbadthi-bambi wadha-la: mari-la yuwinj-a gula-la-wa, gamay djarambaadhi eel where-PST emerge-PST man-ERG spear-PST-3p spear spear*

*The eel starts out of a hole/ They ran down to spear him. (DM-AM-1874-260-Ull/Th-Ec)*

A.4.1.1.2.5 -dji

(20) *Yuindyi bingala wawurna warrangandyinu.*
yuwinj-dji bing-la wawurna warranganj-dji-nu
man-ERG throw-PST crow boomerang-INSTR-3sPOSS

*A man threw a boomerang at a crow. (DM-M.2.6-28)*

A.4.1.1.2.6 -di

(21) *Mirigandi gurawara buddhal*
mirigan-dji gurawara badha-l
dog-ERG possum bite-3sPST

*A dog a possum bit. (DM-M.1.8-58)*

A.4.1.1.2.7 -yi

(22) *Burrui garrulûnyi*
buru-yi gara-la-nji
kangaroo-ERG scratch-PST-2sOBJ

*A kangaroo scratched thee. (DM-M.1.8-59)*

(23) *Bûthûlûla Tutawai thulînyo:*
budhula-la Tutawa-yi dhalinj-(y)a
cut-PST Tutawa-ERG tongue-DAT

*Tootawa split his tongue, (DM-AM-1877-272-Wand/Hu-TuPu)*

A.4.1.1.2.8 -u

(24) *ithungro, kûnambûlu iliaölo, thogunko*
yidhungurr-u guna-mbula yili-ya-wula dhugan-ga
mother-ERG duck-DU carry-?-3dOBJ camp-LOC

*Their mother took them to the camp. DM-AM-1878:269-JB-Gy*

\[52\] Note that in this example the ergative marker occurs on a proper noun.
A.4.1.1.3 Dhurga ergative

Below are all identified variations of the ergative markers that are found on the relatively small variety of nouns or NPs within Mathews’ Dhurga corpus.

- *ngga* /ra-
- *a* /arr-
- *dju* /inj-
- *u* /urr-

A.4.1.1.3.1 - *ngga*

(25) *koongaranngga jiroura thunnan*

*gunagara-ngga*  *djirawara*  *dhana-n*

possum-ERG  leaves  eat-nPST

An opossum leaves is eating (U-M.1.1-52)

A.4.1.1.3.2 - *a*

(26) *Wad-dhung-ara budhal ſeeŋ goongara*

*wadhangarr-a*  *badha-l*  *njiinj*  *gunagara*

dog-ERG  bite-PST  this/here  possum

The possum was killed by the dog. (U-M.2.2-14)

A.4.1.1.3.3 - *dju*

(27) *yooindyoo jarrooga dhubbagamooleengga*

*yuwinj-dju*  *djaruga*  *dhabaga-muli-ngga*

man-ERG  wallaby  catch-BEN-1sOBJ

A man caught a wallaby for me (U-M.1.1-58)

A.4.1.1.3.4 - *u*

(28) *ee-dhungooroo murnawarno mirreej’ig-ga ngoo-man*

*yidhungurr-u*  *murnawar-nu*  *miridjiga*  *nguma-n*

mother-ERG daughter-3sPOSS  bandicoot  give-3s.nPST

A woman gives a bandicoot to her daughter. (U-M.2.2-15)

A.4.1.1.4 Djirringanj ergative

Only three morpho-phonemic variations have been found in the small Djirringanj language material that also consists of Mathews’ material only - both published and unpublished.
-\(a\) /il-, al-
-\(ga\) /\(ri\)-
-\(u\) /il-

**A.4.1.1.4.1 -\(a\)**

(29) *Bieela wam’maba mugga*

bayiil-\(a\) wama-ba maga
man-ERG beat-PST snake

*Man beats, or kills, a snake. (DJ-M.2.3-1)*

But also note the variation on the same noun, using the form -\(u\).

(30) *baiillu wingal wammaba*

bayiil-\(u\) wingal wama-ba
man-ERG child beat-PST

*a man a child beat (DJ-M.1.5-161)*

(31) *wannungala yerrabandy warrangandu*

wananggal-a yara-ba-ndja warranganj-du
who-ERG throw-PST-1sOBJ boomerang-INSTR

*who threw at me a boomerang (DJ-M.1.5-162)*

**A.4.1.2 Instrumental Case Marking in the SCLs**

In the two languages with the larger language corpus that consists of both Mathews and Mackenzie’s material, i.e. Dharrawal and Dharumba, a variety of forms were identified to have the function of an instrumental case marker. This case marks a NP for the semantic role of instrument in a transitive clause, i.e. and action being carried out ‘with’ or ‘by means of’ an object such as ‘I hit with a club’. The forms of the marker seem to vary greatly and some instrumental construction where we would expect NPs marked with an instrumental case marker, are unmarked.

Although it is not uncommon for AALs to mark indirect objects with the dative case suffix, Dharrawal has an interesting feature in that direct objects in ditransitive constructions are marked with a suffix that also shares the form of the instrumental/ergative marker. Dixon (2002a:136) discusses the different options found in AALs for ‘giving’ constructions, where the gift can be either in O function and
recipient being marked with the dative, or, as it is the case in Djirringanj, the recipient
is in O function (and therefore unmarked here) and the gift is marked with
instrumental case. This will be discussed in Chapter 6 (Syntax).

It is not unusual in AALs that instrumental case is marked by the ergative case
suffix (Blake, 1977:44). This case syncretism between the ergative and instrumental is
also observed in Dharrawal.

A.4.1.2.1 Dharrawal instrumental

Instrumental is marked on nouns with some of the same variations of suffixes that
were listed under the Dharrawal ergative case marking. Note that warranganj
‘boomerang’ is found with both -dja and -dji.

- ga /ang-
- ngga /nga-
- dja /anj-
- dji /anj-

A.4.1.2.1.1 - ga

(32) wuragalgangga mundubangga bundaia
wuragalang-ga mundabang-ga bunda-ya
man-ERG tomahawk-INSTR cut-PST
the man with a tomahawk chopped (A-M.1.4-132)

(33) Bidboriauwa(they threw) dyirrambunggo(with bushes) gujagambulali(the two children)[circled to
suggest alternative word order] buddherri(to hide),
bidbari-ya = wa djirambang-ga gudjaga-mbulali badha-ri
cover-PST = 3p bushes-INSTR child-DU hide-PURP
They covered the children with bushes to hide them. (A-M.2.6-25-GW)
A.4.1.2.1.2 -ngga

(34) kundthumaiaoia paiaminganga, kaiunga, Pulinjirunga, kanda -
gundhama-ya-ra  bayaminga-ngga3  gayung-a54  Poolinjerungga  Kân-dha
burn-PST-?  bayaming-INSTR  gayung-INSTR  Poolinjerungga  Kân-LOC
were roasting with hot stones piaming(1) and kaiunga(2), at Poolinjerunga near Kân. (A-AM-1874:260-Pl)

A.4.1.2.1.3 -dja

(35) yuuñdya warrangandya gujaga bulmaia
yuwinj-dja  warranganj-dja  gudjaga  bulma-ya
man-ERG  boomerang-INSTR  child  beat-PST
the man with a boomerang a child struck (A-M.1.4-132)

A.4.1.2.1.4 -dji

(36) yooranyangullang(hit us)3 yooindyoo((that man)1 warangandyee(with a )2
yura-nja=ngalung  yuwinj-dju  warranganj-dji
hit-PST = 1id  man-ERG  boomerang-INSTR
The man hit us with a boomerang. (A-M.2.2-126)

A.4.1.2.2 Dharumba instrumental

Examples showing instrumental case marking with the suffix -dji are rare and almost exclusive to Mackenzie’s data collection, apart from one example in Mathews’ material, see earlier example (20). Mathews stated that “this case takes the same suffix as the causative” (1902c:58) but from his example ‘a man at a crow a boomerang threw’ it seems that he was referring to the indirect object marking found in the SCLs.

-(n)dji  /an- (an- could be anj- or na-)
-yi  /ma-

A.4.1.2.2.1 -(n)dji

Note that this example shows the instrumental marker on djirra, which is also transcribed as djirrang ‘hair, leaves’ in Dharrawal; the word-final ng may cause the

53 “Bulbous reed that grow in swamps” (footnote given with text)
54 “A small type of fish” (footnote given with text), probably the same as gayung that is mentioned in (24).
suffix form to change to -ndji. The other noun buna(n) is not found elsewhere in the SCLs corpus; it is possible that it could be bunanj rather.

(37)  **Jirrainji bûnguthula pûnanj:**

djira-ndji  bungadba-la  bunan-dji
bush-INSTR  cover-PST  twigs-INSTR
he covered him with bushes and little logs, *(DM-AM-1878-271-Wand/No-Tu)*

**A.4.1.2.2 -dji**

(38)  **Kulturbaînye bungaonye, mitundhâli minumbarûna bungoj**
galadba-yu-nji  banga-wa-nji
four-VBLS-1p  paddle-IRR-1p
midhandhal-i mina-mba-ru-na  bang-a-dji
one-ERG?  hold-CONT-FUT?-nPST  paddle-INSTR
‘There are four to pull and one to steer.’ *(DM-AM-1874:253)*

**A.4.1.2.3 -yi**

(39)  **Yerrunggûnyûne nyelinja Korûgamai**
yarungga-wu?-nji  njilinja  gurugama-yi
go.quick-FUT?-iep  this  westerly.wind-INSTR
This westerly wind will make it go quick. *(DM-AM-1874:253)*

**A.4.1.2.3 Dhurga instrumental**

In Dhurga, instrumental function and case is expressed with the case suffix -dha. Numbers of examples are small in number and restricted to occurrences on the following nouns. Mathews published his Dhurga grammar first in the series of his SCLs publications, and did not include instrumental in his inventory of cases. Dhurga’s case marking system possibly contains a locative-instrumental syncretism, which is not commonly found in other NSW languages.

- dha  /anj-, ndha-

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55 The case suffix on gurugama might translate the sentence as something like ‘we are going quickly now with/in the west wind’. *(Koch, pc)*
A.4.1.2.3.1 -dha

(40) koongurra warrang’andha kubbee-bunjul’lagoo
gungara warranganj-dha gabī banja-la-ga
possum  boomerang-INSTR COMPLETE kill-PST-1s
I killed the possum with a boomerang (U-M.2.2-41)

(41) yooin boondaytha byillaga ngiaga
yuwinj bundha-dha bayi-la-ga ngayaga
man club-INSTR beat-PST-1s 1s
I struck a man with a club (U-M.2.2-41)

A.4.1.2.4 Djirringanj instrumental

The only potential instrumental constructions in Djirringanj show the same marking on direct objects as has been observed in the other SCLs. Direct objects are marked with the instrumental case marker in ‘give’ constructions, as shown in example (42) below. This strategy has also been observed in other AALs, such as in the Victorian language Bunganditj (Blake, 2003a:34).

Example (43) indicates that the case frame of yara- ‘throw’ is similar to that of the English ‘shoot’, which would make ‘throw’ a ditransitive verb such as ‘give’. The sentence could therefore be translated as ‘he threw me with a boomerang’. (See Fillmore (1968) on ‘case frames’.)

The forms of the suffix that have been found are -dja, -du, -ga and -da. Note that all examples that show instrumental case marking in the Djirringanj corpus are on warranganj, apart from example (44) below.

A.4.1.2.4.1 -dja

(42) Yoongobandya warrangandya
yunga-ba-dja warranganj-dja
give-PST-1s.OBJ boomerang-INSTR
He gave me a boomerang. (DJ-M.2.3-8)
A.4.1.2.4.2 -du

(43) wannungala yerrabandya warrangandu
wananggal-a yara-ba-ndja warranganj-du
who-ERG throw-PST-1s.OBJ boomerang-INSTR
who threw at me a boomerang (DJ-M.1.5-162)

A.4.1.2.4.3 -ga and -da

(44) Yoongeea googarungga yoongianbullakaalgoonda
yungi-ya gugarang-ga yunga-ya-nj-(n)bala galgun-da
give-IMP possum-INSTR give-1s-2s.OBJ-FUT fish-INSTR
give me possum [and] I’ll give you fish (DJ-M.2.3-12)

A.4.1.3 Locative Case Marking in the SCLs

The function of the locative suffix is to link a spatial relationship between the subject of a clause and the point of reference. This spatial relationship is stationary rather than expressing motion from or to a point of reference, which is covered by the allative and ablative cases. In examples where motion is indicated in the translation, such as (45), (49) and (51) for example, the motion is encoded in the verb and the noun takes the locative case marker. The number of examples in the corpus is large, and forms identified vary depending to preceding phonemic environments. Curiously, Mathews did not recognise locative case in his grammatical descriptions, but did so for ablative case.

A.4.1.3.1 Dharrawal locative

- ga /ang-
- ya /nja-, ri-
- nga /anga-
- dha /an-, ra-
- dja /anj-
- yi /ga
- i /irr-
- u /ul-
A.4.1.3.1.1 -ga

(45) yarrawangga narrirraingai
yarawang-ga nhari yiriba-yi = ngay
cave-LOC that go.into-PRST = 1s
cave that I go into (A-M.1.4-147)

(46) nowundubulla dhurragangga
nha-wundu-bala dhargang-ga
that-side-near river-LOC
on this side of the creek (A-M.1.4-147)

A.4.1.3.1.2 -ya

(47) yuui yendi nharria (away) wurrijang (far)
yuwinyan-dhi nhari-ya waridjang
man go-PRST there-LOC yonder
man walking far away (A-M.2.6-14)

(48) {{dyurwalae(a)nhai(it), dhung-ang dyurwa(a)jinha(a)it)dharranhaianai}}
Dyurwala(a)(grew)nhai(it) - dhung-ang(food(fruit)) burramurrang gurnunggularn(a lot)
ngunyaia(on it) dyurwaliyaia
djurwa-li-ya nhay dhangang baramarang gurnunggularn ngunja-ya
grow-TOGETHER-PST that food plenty ? that-LOC
and did yield fruit that sprang up and increased , and brought forth, some thirty, and some sixty,
and some hundred.’ (A-M.2.6-18-PoS2)

A.4.1.3.1.3 -nga

(49) Barunga thallybunbila, ya kūrubun jiya Yirama-
baranga-nga dhaliba-(n)bila ya guraban-dju-ya yirama
island-LOC go.up-AGAIN and stone-BECOME-PST spirit
He got upon an island; the spirit went to the rocks. (A-AM-1874-250-YK)

A.4.1.3.1.4 -dha

(50) kundthumaiaoa paiaminganga, kaiunga, Pulinjirunga, kanda -
gundhama-ya-ra bayaminga-ngga56 gayung-a57 Poolinjerungga Kân -dha
burn-PST-? bayaming-DAT gayung-DAT Poolinjerungga Kân -LOC
were roasting with hot stones piaming(1) and kaioong(2), at Poolinjerunga near Kân. (A-AM-1874:260-PI)

56 “Bulbous reed that grow in swamps” (footnote given with text)
57 “A small type of fish” (footnote given with text).
(51) *Jaugūnalaia war-r-ry bobārādha-djawa-gunala-ya war[r-r]-ji bubara-dha run-AWAY-PST far[iterative] mountain-LOC

Goes a long long way to the mountain. (A-AM-1874-250-YK)

A.4.1.3.1.5 -dja

(52) yungundu(that time) dyurwamaiadha(he sowed) wullanhunggo burwaia(dropped) yuangga burwa(drop)/marraia(some) nguttaĩnydya(on the side) nguttaĩnbulaĩe

yagun-du djurwa-ma-ya = dha walanhung-ga burwa-ya
then-? grow-CAUS-PST=SUB seed-INST fall-PST
yawang-ga burwa-mara-ya ngadhanj-dja ngadhanj-bulali(-yi)
path-LOC fall-SOME-PST side-LOC side-DU(-LOC)

Then, as he was scattering the seed, (some) fell off the path along the sides. (A-M.2.6-16-PoS1)

A.4.1.3.1.6 -yi

(53) ver.8 Burwa marraia nuggunggo dhalgai,
burwa-mara-ya nagang-ga dhalga-yi
fall-some-PST good-LOC ground-LOC

And the other fell into the good ground, (A-M.2.6-19-PoS3)

A.4.1.3.1.7 -i

(54) buru ntha bullawarri-miiriri ngullai
buru nha balawarri mirirr-i ngala-yi
kangaroo that hill top-LOC sit-PRST
kangaroo that on the hilltop sits (A-M.1.4-147)

A.4.1.3.1.8 -u

(55) *Kurrubungga(rock)dūnggulu(round hole)(circled to suggest alternative wordorder)]
yūnmadaualung dunggulgangga(in a hole) Kurrubungga(in a rock)
yūnma-dha = wulung dunggul-gang-ga
[stone-LOC round hole-LOC] put.in-PST = 3dOBJ round.hole-DIM-LOC
gurabang-ga
stone-LOC

She placed them in a small round hole in a rock. (A-M.2.6-24-GW)
A.4.1.3.2 Dharumba locative

Transcription of this suffix is restricted to a limited set of recurring nouns. As is the case in Dhurga, in Mathews’ material the majority of instances showing locative case marking are on dhugan ‘camp’.

- dha /an-, ma-
- ga /ung-, an-
- ra /nga-
- nga /dja-
- yi /N- (on placenames)
- dji /ngu-, rra-

A.4.1.3.2.1 -dha

This form is the most commonly occurring variant within the corpus because dhugan ‘camp’ is one of the most salient words in Mathews’ elicitations. It is noteworthy that dhugan always occurs with the variant -dha with the dental stop, and not -da, which we may have expected.

(56) Warrangan yunullaga thugandha.
    warranganj yuna-la-ga dhugan-dha
    boomerang keep-PST-1s camp-LOC
    I have a boomerang at my camp. (DM-M.1.8-60)
    I kept a boomerang at the camp.

(57) Wandthola bukkunda, thunbûla mudjikûrup, warri thunganungo;
    wandha-la bagan-dha dhanbu-la madjigurang wari dhanga-na-ngga
    crawl-PST ground-LOC go.behind-PST bush SPAT food-??.
    he crept on the ground, went behind the bushes to their foot (food??), (DM-AM-1878-271-Wand/No-Tu)

(58) niaga mundijoŋ maiamboga, ma Korûgamadadtha.”
    ngayaga mandidja-ng maya-nga ga ma
    1s meat-PURP? look.for-CONT-1s because
    gurugama-dha-dha
    west.wind-LOC-HAVING?
    I look about for meat, for there’s westerly wind.” (DM-AM-1878-271-Wand/No-Tu)
A.4.1.3.2.2 -ga

(59) pīndāla ūmungo;
binda-la  ngumung-ga
rise-PST  knee-LOC
rose on his knee, (DM-AM-1878-271-Wand/No-Tu)

(60) “ŋurawunko bunga-iluwa thaorumbrao,
ngurawan-ga  ban.ga-yi-la-wa  dhawura-mbarawa
sea-LOC  paddle-THEN-PST-3p  moon?-PL
they paddled to the sea, the whole party. (DM-AM-1877-272-Wand/Hu-TuPu)

A.4.1.3.2.3 -nja

(61) “Kawai-i; Guayamin wurrija-nya,“
gaway-yi  Guwayaminj  waridja-nja
EXCL  Guwayaminj  over.there-LOC
“Oh dear! there’s Guayamin.” (DM-AM-1878:269-JB-Gy)

A.4.1.3.2.4 -ra

(62) unninguro yunanbarila yanila yakūŋa
nganinga-ra  yana-mba-ri-la  yani-la  yagun-ga
neck-LOC  ?-CONT-?-PST  go-PST  then-?
lifted them on his shoulder, went away with them. (DM-AM-1878:269-JB-Gy)

A.4.1.3.2.5 -yi

Variants with vowel i occur on placenames in Mackenzie’s transcribed stories. Note though that in some cases the transcriptions of i on the placenames might be anticipations of the following word beginning with the palatal glide as in yana ‘go’.

(63) nyaimbioga Bundarwai.
njawi-mbi-yu-ga  Bundarwa-yi
stop-CONT-AGAIN-1s  Bundarwa-LOC
I’ll stop here at Bundarwa.’ (DM-AM-1874-256-Ull/Bi-Bu1)

(64) Yanilla wurri Pundutbai-Yanaila undi na Pulinjira-
yani-la  wari  Pundutba-yi  yana-yi-la  ngundi-na  Pulinjera
go-PST  far  Pundutba-LOC  go-THEN-PST  there-LOC  Pulinjera
Went all the way to Pundutba. thence to Pulinjera. (DM-AM-1874-260-Ull/Th-Ee)
(65)  yanaigūla undina wurri Moruyai,
yana-yi-gu-la ngandi-na wari Moruya-yi
go-THEN-?-PST there-LOC far Moruya-LOC
  Thence all the way to Moruya, (DM-AM-1874-260-Ull/Th-Ee)

A.4.1.3.2.6 -dji

(66)  Wurridya(there) wullindyingu-dyi(in the rear of thee)
warridja walindju-ngu-dji
yonder rear-2sPOSS-LOC
over there behind you (DM-M.2.6-30)

(67)  yammbula waungala meriraji,
yambu-la wawungala mirirra-dji
climb-PST hill name? top-LOC
  He rose up on top of the hill, (DM-AM-1878:269-JB-Gy)

A.4.1.3.3 Dhurga locative

The locative marker -dha is found consistently on the most frequently occurring word
showing locative case marking – on dhubgan ‘camp’. However, the -dha also has other
functions in Dhurga, such as benefactor and possession.

-dha /an-. na-
-dan /an-
-a /ul-, al-, arr-
-dji /ri-

A.4.1.3.3.1 -dha

(68)  bungi thoogandha
    bangay dhubgan-dha
    back camp-LOC
    he is a back of hut (U-M.2.2-146)

(69)  yooindhureen (other side) buddi [or â] ngoonadhān (over there) bunnerwal (the other side)
yuwinjdhari-n badhay nguna-dhan banawal
    man stand-nPST creek there-LOC other.side
    the man stands on the other side of the creek (U-M.2.2-146)
A.4.1.3.3.2 -da(n)

Dhugan ‘camp’ is also found in isolated cases with -da, although it is possible that these are mis-transcriptions of the frequently occurring -dha. Example (71) shows a variant -dan.

(70) burro thooganda
baru dhugan-da
middle camp-LOC
_in the middle of the camp (U-M.2.2-149)

(71) wang-ganna mun’yung’a (eagle) ngoonang (in her) thoong-dun (nest) my-en-doo (sitting)
wanggana manyanga nguna-ng dhugan-dan maya-ndu
woman eaglehawk in-? camp-LOC sit-
_the she eaglehawk is sitting on her nest (U-M.2.2-44)

A.4.1.3.3.3 -a

(72) yooin ñeenjeelan boonbala
yuwinj njiindji-lan bunbal-a
man this-side tree-LOC
_the man is this side of the tree (U-M.2.2-146)

(73) burreetbool(aga)[added] mudyeree gudyera
baridbu-la-ga madjari gudjarr-a
come.across-PST-1s canoe lagoon-LOC
_I came across the lagoon in a canoe (U-M.2.2-147)

(74) ireetboolaga dhoomoola
yiridbu-la-ga dhumul-a
go.through-PST-1s scrub-LOC
_I went through the scrub (U-M.2.2-147)

A.4.1.3.3.4 -dji

(75) [Thambâm-oolaga] kow’alga bir’raga jing-anda bungoree’jee now-[i] thambamoolaga
[dhambamu-la-ga] gawalga biraga djinganda ban.guri-dji nhaway
[see-PST-1s] wallaby big that/there hill-LOC today
dhambamu-la-ga
see-PST-1s
_I saw a big wallaby over there on the hill today. (U-M.2.2-16)
A.4.1.3.4 Djirringanj locative

Examples showing locative suffixes are limited to few instances only within the corpus of Djirringanj, based solely on Mathews’ collected material. The first two forms are commonly found in eastern Pama Nyungan languages. The latter two forms -yi and -dji are found in single instances only; and -dji is attached to *bunbal* ‘tree’ which is usually found inflected with the locative marker -a.

-a /irr-, al-
-ga /ang-
-yi /ga-
-dji /al-

A.4.1.3.4.1 -a

(76) Bagama goomirra biceel
  baga-ma gumirr-a bayil
  sit-PRST hole-LOC man
  A man is sitting in the hole. (DJ-M.2.3-12)

(77) dhumala dhurätyububugga
dhumal-a dharadjubu-ba-ga
  scrub-LOC go.through-PST-1s
  scrub through I went (DJ-M.1.5-166)

A.4.1.3.4.2 -ga

(78) Yendeenyillema ngoogangga
  yandi-njili-ma ngugang-ga
  come-hither-PRST water-LOC
  He is coming across the water. (DJ-M.2.3-11)

A.4.1.3.4.3 -ngga

(79) Nyingeeroo buddangga
  njin-giru badha-ngga
  this/here-towards? creek-LOC
  Towards the creek (DJ-M.2.3-12)
A.4.1.3.4.4 -yi

(80) *Bur-gi-dha*

burga-yi-dha
back-LOC-1sPOSS

*Behind me (DJ-M.2.3-11)*

A.4.1.3.4.5 -dji

(81) *Boolambeerk birreewangoob boobalajee*

bulambii-rrg⁵⁸  birriwa-ngu  bunbal-dji
lean-  spear-2sPOSS  tree-LOC

*Leave your spear against the tree. (DJ-M.2.3-12)*

A.4.1.4 Ablative Case Marking in the SCLs

This suffix marks for motion ‘from’ the point of reference, but also marks material source, or ‘material prior to transformation’ as shown in one Dharrawal example in (88). Possibly due to the lesser number of ablative, compared to locative, constructions in the SCLs corpus, smaller numbers of morpho-phonemic variations are found. Occurrences are largely based on Mathews’ elicited phrases like ‘from the camp’ or ‘from the tree’ etc., showing a small range of nouns the case marker is attached to. Mathews called this case ‘oblative’ [sic] as seen in the reference he made in example (83).

Note that direction ‘towards’ and ‘from’ can and is in many cases also conveyed by the choice of verb that can show direction on the verb.

A.4.1.4.1 Dharrawal ablative

The majority of ablative examples are found in Mathews’ language material; only a few instances are found in Mackenzie’s texts. The general pattern seems to be -yiin

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⁵⁸ The form of this verb is not clear, neither is the morphology on this verb. It is likely to be imperative, but this form has not been found elsewhere.
after vowels and -diin after consonants; but there are frequently transcribed irregularities. -ndiin is only found on two examples on the 1s pronoun ngayagang.

-\textit{yiin} /dha-, ra-, bi-, rri-, ndi-, ya-
-\textit{diin} /ang-, irr-
-\textit{ndiin} /ga-
-\textit{ndjiin}/un- (one example)

**A.4.1.4.1.1 -yiin**

(82) \textit{ngurrungalla buddaiin nadyungo ngaimilai} 
woman-ERG creek-ABL water-INSTR carry-?-PRST
\textit{the woman from the hole water carries} (A-M.1.4-133)

(83) \textit{Bunnabee-een} 
\textit{Bunabi-yiin} 
\textit{Bunabi-ABL} 
\textit{from Bunnabee “oblative”} (A-M.1.2-106)

**A.4.1.4.1.2 -diin**

(84) \textit{ngunnundin} 
who-ABL
\textit{who from ?} (A-M.1.4-141)

(85) \textit{Buddyanbuloala(birds many) mirrirdin(from above) dhan-dyä-wa(they ate)} 
bird-PL top-ABL eat-PST=3p
\textit{and the birds of the sky ate it all.’} (A-M.2.6-17-PoS2)

**A.4.1.4.1.3 -ndiin**

(86) \textit{jauanga ngaigandeen} 
djawa-nganga ngayaga-ndiin 
run-PST? 1s-ABL
\textit{(someone) ran away from me} (A-M.2.3-50)

**A.4.1.4.1.4 -djiin**

(87) \textit{ngundyin} 
ngun-djiin 
here-ABL 
\textit{from here} (A-M.1.4-140)
A.4.1.4.1.5 *-diin* in function of marking material source

The shared semantics of ‘movement away from a point of reference’ can also be applied in this example, where the myrtle (tree) is the starting point of the transformation away from the raw material.

(88)  *yuin nyilli warrangandy aungaledin jindama*

*yuwinjini warranganj-dja gungala(n)-diin djindama*  
*man this boomerang-INSTR myrtle-ABL make*

*a man this a boomerang from myrtle makes – gungalen is the myrtle tree (A-M.1.4-133)*

A.4.1.4.2 Dharumba ablative

Only few examples show an ablative case suffix in the Dharumba corpus and show both Dharrawal and Dhurga ablative case marking strategies and case marker forms. See previous and following sections for examples of case suffixes in those two languages. The variant *-da* is only found in Mathews’ published Dharumba grammatical notes, but they are clearly listed as ablative constructions.

-yin /nga-  
-ndi /(n)ga-  
-da /an-

A.4.1.4.2.1 -yin

(89)  *Dhadhűyne nanyêna barűngai jinggundi.*

dhadha-yina nanji-na baranga-yin djin-gundi

elder brother-1IP.PSSR look-nPST ship-ABL that/there-ALL

*There is one brother looking over this way now. (DM-AM-1874:254)*  
*Our brother is looking from that ship over there.*

A.4.1.4.2.2 -ndi

(90)  *Wunna, pűrū minilla wanêkundi Tutawanyella;*

wana buru mini-la wana-ga-ndi Tutawa njila

oven.hole kangaroo hold-PST oven.hole-?-ABL Tutawa this

*The oven-hole, Tootawa brought the kangaroo out of the oven-hole, (DM-AM-1877-272-Wand/Hu-TuPu)*

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59 *djindama/djinama* is the verb stem for ‘make’; however this verb shows no tense marking. *yuwinj* also does not show ergative case marking.
A.4.1.4.3 -da

(91) Thuganda
dhungan-da
camp-ABL
from a camp (DM-M.1.8-59)

A.4.1.4.3 Dhurga ablative

Constructions show the use of what might be a demonstrative inflected with the ablative case suffix in ngarn-din ‘place-ABL’. This construction follows the NP that it marks for ablative case.

-dic(n) /a(r)n-

A.4.1.4.3.1 -din

This form is always attached to what seems to be a demonstrative conveying the idea of ‘place-from’; in some instances the suffix-final n is omitted. See example (94) for example.

(92) thoogunda nghurn-dinn (from) wabbee-wangga
dhungan-da ngarn-din wabi-wa-nga
camp-LOC place-ABL go-IRR-lep
we are going from the camp (U-M.2.2-48)

(93) ñin-dyoo-wurraga Dhülbo Dhülboo ngarnding ya-boo’la
njin-dju-waraga Dhalba Dhalbu ngarn-din yabu-la
this-PL Tilba Tilba place-ABL come-PST
these people came from Tilba (U-M.2.2-48)

A.4.1.4.3.2 -di

(94) yooin boolballungundi (from the tree) boongoballin kamboolalin
yuwinjubalngarn-di bungaba-lin gambula-lin
man tree place-ABL ?-? break-?
a man was killed by a fall from a tree (U-M.2.2-41)
A.4.1.4.4 Djirringanj ablative

Three examples in Mathews’ published Djirringanj grammar demonstrate two variants of the ablative case marker, -\textit{djan} and -\textit{djin}. There are two additional examples that show different forms of a different marker, which also seems to mark for ablative function, -\textit{yan} and -\textit{wang}.

-\textit{djan} /ra-, gi- \\
-\textit{djin} /ndji- \\
-\textit{wang}, -\textit{yan} /ga-

A.4.1.4.4.1 -\textit{djan}

(95) nguradyan
ngurra-djan
camp-ABL
\textit{from a camp} (DJ-M.1.5-162)

(96) warrabiggidy\textit{yan}
warabigi-djan
yonder-ABL
\textit{from yonder} (DJ-M.1.5-167)

A.4.1.4.4.2 -\textit{djin}

(97) wandyidyin
wandji-djin
where-ABL
\textit{whence} (DJ-M.1.5-167)

A.4.1.4.4.3 -\textit{wang}, -\textit{yan}

Only these two examples show these slightly varying forms. It is possible that (98) could also be phonemicised as \textit{burga-wan}.

(98) yannan burgian
yana-nj burga-yan
go.PST-3s back-ABL
\textit{He stepped backwards} (DJ-M.2.3-13)
A.4.1.5 Allative Case Marking in the SCLs

The function of the allative case is spatially goal oriented, i.e. it marks a point of reference as the goal of the motion towards it. Motion towards can also be expressed on verbs by means of directional suffixes (see Chapter A.5 (Verb Morphology)).

A.4.1.5.1 Dharrawal allative

The forms of the suffix marking allative constructions vary. Within the Dharrawal corpus, the majority of transcribed nouns showing an allative case suffix end in a vowel.

-\(yu\) /bi-, ri-, li-, ra-
-\(ngu\) /ru-
-\(yi\) /nga-
-\(dhi\) /inj-

A.4.1.5.1.1 -\(yu\)

(100) \(n\)gooraao
ngura-\(yu\)
camp-ALL
\(to\) the camp (A-M.1.2-106)

(101) \(yui\(i\) yenda Bunnabi-\(u\)
yuwinjyan-dha Bunnabi-\(yu\)
man go-PST Bunnabi-ALL
\(a\) man went to Bunabee (A-M.2.6-1)

(102) \(y\)andhangai bullawurriu \(n\)hamurri
yan-dha = ngay balawari-\(yu\) nhama-\(ri\)
go-PST = 1s hill-ALL see-PURP
\(I\) walked \(up\) onto the \(hills\) to look (A-M.2.4-23)
A.4.1.5.1.2 -ngu

(104) Yendanji bobaruŋo wëyagatiryo windërung
yandha = ngil bubaru-ngu wayagadi-ri windarang
go = 1ep mountain-ALL look.for-PURP cedar
Come let us go to the mountain and look for cedar. (A-AM-1874:251)

A.4.1.5.1.3 -yi

This example is presented with a sense of caution because this is the only example of both -yi as well as what is likely to be a demonstrative nga.

(105) ngai
ngai-yi
here-ALL
to here (A-M.1.4-140)

A.4.1.5.1.4 -dhi

(106) 15. yernaiirrea dhulgawalu yuindhi (to a man).
yana-yiri-ya dhulga-walu yuwinj-dhi
go-AWAY-PST country-other man-ALL
‘And he went and joined himself to a citizen of that country, (A-M.2.6-21-PoPS)
He went to a man in another country.

A.4.1.5.2 Dharumba allative

Identified variations of the allative case suffix have similar forms to Dharrawal suffixes in that they also can be either i final or u final. One example also shows -a, on Didhul, the name for Pigeonhouse Mountain.

-gu /an-, ng-
-ngu /la-, dhu-
-nngu /ru-
-u /iir-
-yi /nga-, dha-
However, in many examples the morpheme final vowel is transcribed by Mackenzie as o, which can be phonemicised as either /a/ or /u/ depending on its phonemic environment.

A.4.1.5.2.1 -gu

(107) Yanuwanaji thögungo.
    yanu-wa-na-nji  dhugan-gu
    go-IRR-?-1lip  camp-ALL
    *Let us go to the camp. (DM-AM-1874-257-Ull/Th-Bu2)

(108) Yennauloo-loo-ra dhainggu ngaiaga(n)ggū.
    yana-wulu-ra dhayinggu  ngayagang-gu
    go-HITHER-IMP  ?  1s-ALL
    *Come towards me. (DM-M.2.6-28)

A.4.1.5.2.2 -ngu

(109) bungaoga jilluŋō; kūrowa kalandthin!
    banga-wu-ga  djila-ngu;  guruwa  galandhun!
    paddle-FUT-1s  there-ALL  wave  ?
    *‘I’ll paddle over there to surf at the rocks. (DM-AM-1874-256-Ull/Bi-Bu1)

(110) bungayūga kutthugo.
    banga-yi-wu-ga  gadhu-ngu.
    paddle-AWAY-FUT-1s  sea-ALL
    [Bundoola speaking] ‘I’ll paddle out to sea again.’ (DM-AM-1874-256-Ull/Bi-Bu1)

A.4.1.5.2.3 -nggu

(111) Murilla munna munna Mierunŋo,
    mari-la  mana-mana  mirroo-nggu
    emerge-PST  hand-hand  mirroo-ALL
    News went over then to Mirroo, (DM-AM-1874-260-Ull/Th-Ee)

A.4.1.5.2.4 -u

(112) yanilla wurriji meriro;
    yani-la  waridji  mirirr-u
    go-PST  far  top-ALL
    *He comes up the long way to the top. (DM-AM-1874-256-Ull/Bi-Bu1)
A.4.1.5.2.5 -yi

(113) ngarinmadthai, jambinüro mindija Kunda bundilla.

ngarinma-dha-yi djambi-nu-ra mandidja
father-in-law-1s.PSSR brother in law-3s.PSSR-DAT meat
ganda bandji-la
stinking? carry-PST
brought stinking meat to his father-in-law and brother-in-law. (DM-AM-1877-272-Wand/Hu-TuPu)

(114) Yanilla Kolumbri, yētbunjilawa Kollijaga Mūŋai; thogun yenna.
yani-la Kolumbri yidbangi-la-wa Koladjaga Mungayi dhugan njina
go-PST Columbri pass-PST-3p Collijaga Monga-ALL camp there
He went away from Columbri, passed Collijaga to Monga; camped there. (DM-AM-1875-144-Wand/No-Wu1)

A.4.1.5.2.6 Allative suffix in other goal oriented function

Here -nga is used in the sense of ‘to fight over something’ (which in this case could be
more appropriately translated ‘to fight towards something’).

(115) Yukāga paianjalila nyellunji marungo nyello.
yagun-ga baya-ndjali-la njilu-ndji mara-ngu njilu
then? beat-REC-PST this-PURP? fish-ALL this
They fought for this fish. (DM-AM-1874-260-Ull/Th-Ee)

A.4.1.5.3 Dhurga allative

In some examples, ‘motion’ is also expressed on the verb in the form of the actual
verb stem in the case of yana-ya- ‘go towards’ and to some extend in wala- ‘return to’.

-a /an-, al-
-dan /an-

A.4.1.5.3.1 -a

(116) wallian thooguna jallung
wala-ya-n dhugan-a djalung
run-towards-nPST camp-ALL over.there
he is running to the hut (U-M.2.2-48)
(117) **yoo in yenneewan wabbeewan boonbala (tree) jelloo (over there)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>yuwinjyani-wa-n</th>
<th>bunbal-a</th>
<th>djalu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>man go?-nPST</td>
<td>tree-ALL</td>
<td>over.there</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*the man is going to the tree (U-M.2.2-139)*

**A.4.1.5.3.2 -dan**

In an isolated instance of an allative construction, *dhugan* ‘camp’ is inflected with *-dan*.

(118) **yoo in murran thoogandun**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>yuwinjmar-a-n</th>
<th>dhugan-dan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>man run-nPST</td>
<td>camp-ALL</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*the man is running to the hut (U-M.2.2-139)*

**A.4.1.5.4 Djirringanj allative**

Mathews offers only one example in his published grammatical notes, which shows the suffix *-ni* to fulfil the function of the allative case marker. There is only one example found in the rest of the Djirringanj corpus that has been identified as an allative construction. The marking is on the demonstrative and has the form *-giru* or perhaps just *-u*.

**A.4.1.5.4.1 -(gir)u**

(119) **Nyingeeeroo buddangga**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>njin-giru</th>
<th>badha-ngga</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>this/here-towards?</td>
<td>creek-LOC</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Towards the creek (DJ-M.2.3-12)*

**A.4.1.5.4.2 Use of the dative case marker in allative construction**

The Djirringanj dative case marker *-ni* (see following section) also seems to convey ‘to the camp’, which, semantically, shares the notion of benefit – i.e. in addition ‘to/for the camp’. Mathews listed this example as a ‘dative - to a camp’, which suggests it is the dative with allative semantics.
NP can be marked for their function as the beneficiary of an object or action. The number and variety of examples vary greatly between the corpora of the individual SCLs. In Dhurga and Djirringanj, the dative case marker has also been identified to function as an allative case ‘to a point of reference’ marker.

A.4.1.6.1 Dharrawal dative

The suffix -gunhung marks a NP as a beneficiary or recipient of an object, as shown in Mathews’ examples below. Examples are limited to Mathews’ elicited paradigms of different case marking; there are no examples in any of the texts that show this suffix in complex sentences or more natural speech. There are two forms of the suffix; one seems to be a reduced version -gu.

-gunhung
-gu

A.4.1.6.1.1 -gunhung

(121) mundubang yuiŋgunhung
mundubang  yuwinj-gunhung
tomahawk  man-DAT
a tomahawk for the man- (A-M.1.4-133)

(122) ngunnunggunhung
nganung-gunhung
who-DAT
do who? (A-M.1.4-141)
A.4.1.6.2 -gu

(123) *mingangoo’bee bunya nthan*

\[
\text{mingang-gu = bi ban-ya ndhan}^{60}
\]

what-DAT = 2s do-PST that

*what did you do that for to him? (A-M.2.2-131)*

A.4.1.6.2 Dharumba dative

Mathews states that the Dharumba dative “is the same as the genitive” (1902c:59); the suffix with these functions is given as -gu. Although Mathews did not give an example in his grammar, a few single instances are found within the Dharumba texts that show variations of this suffix, -nggu, -ru and -u.

- **nggu** /li-
- **u** /ung-
- **ru** /nu-

A.4.1.6.2.1 -nggu

(124) *Wenkin yanilla mārumbulingo;*

\[
\text{wanggan yani-la mara- mbali-nggu}^{61}
\]

woman go-PST fish-?DAT

*A woman went to fish. (DM-AM-1878:269-JB-Gy)*

A.4.1.6.2.2 -u

(125) “*Yanaonyi gaunko wenkinbra.*”

\[
\text{yana-wa-nji ngayung-u wanggan-bara}
\]

go-IRR-1ip larvae-DAT woman-DU

*“Let’s go for ants’ larvae, women.” (DM-AM-1875-144-Wand/No-Wu1)*

---

60 *ndhan* might be the 3p Object clitic and the sentence may perhaps be translated as ‘Why did you do that to them?’ *mingang-gu = bi ban-ya = ndhan* ‘what-DAT = 1s do-PST = 3p.OBJ’.

61 This could possibly a purposive construction.
A.4.1.6.2.3 -ru

(126) ḋarinmadthai, jambīnūro mindija Kunda bundilla.
ngarinma-dha-yi djambi-nu-ru mandidja
father.in.law-1s.PSSR-ALL brother.in.law-3s.PSSR-DAT meat
ganda bandji-la
stinking? carry-PST
brought stinking meat to his father-in-law and brother-in-law. (DM-AM-1877-272-Wand/Hu-TuPu)

A.4.1.6.3 Dhurga dative

Occurrences of constructions in the Dhurga corpus that show beneficiaries of an action or object are rare. In one example (127), Mathews labelled the suffix -dha to have the function of “to or for”, suggesting that the dative case marker can also express allative function. Mathews may have expressed some confusion about this by writing that “the dative case is sometimes obtained in a similar way [as the ablative]” (1901a:52). Other examples that show a translation that suggests a dative case use the genitive suffix -gul and its variations.

A.4.1.6.3.1 -dha

(127) yenalugga thoogandha
yana-la-ga dhugan-dha
go.to-PST-1s camp-DAT
I came to the camp “to or for” (U-M.2.2-139)

A.4.1.6.3.2 Beneficiary marked with genitive case marker

In examples that express beneficiary on nouns the beneficiary is marked with -lul or -gul. The form of this marker resembles the Dharrawal genitive suffix -guli. From these two examples it seems that -gul follows consonants and -lul follows vowels.
A.4.1.6.3.3 -gul

(128) *Dhubbagalago mara neen ngiaganggool*

dhabaga-la-ga       mara      njiinj      ngayagang-gul
catch-PST-1s fish  this/here    1s GEN

*I caught this fish for myself* (U-M.2.2-139)

A.4.1.6.3.4 -lul

(129) *wannugalool nyeen*

wanangga-lul       njiinj
who-GEN            this/here

*who is this for?* (U-M.1.1-56)

This would imply that there is a syncretism of the genitive and dative, which is observed in neighbouring languages Gundungurra (Besold, 2003:42), as well as other NSW languages such as Ngiyampaa (Donaldson, 1980:107), Yuwaalaraay (Williams, 1980:39) and some Victorian languages such as Wathawurrung (Blake, 1998).

A.4.1.6.4 Djirringanj dative

Just as in the Dhurga, we also find in Djirringanj that one case marker can cover the function of both dative and allative. The morpheme -ni fulfils the function of marking the beneficiary in Djirringanj as well as allative (see previous section in this chapter on allative marking in Djirringanj). Only one example is found in the whole Djirringanj corpus.

A.4.1.6.4.1 -ni

(130) *minyanë?*

minja-ni
what-DAT

*What for?* (DJ-M.1.5-163)

A.4.1.7 Genitive Case Marking in the SCLs

In the SCLs, generally both possessor and possessed NP are marked. The possessor NP is marked with the genitive case marker, the possessed NP with a possessive
bound pronoun (clitic), marking the person and number of the possessor, e.g. ‘man-GEN dog-his’. However, we find numerous examples in all of the SCLs corpora where the possessor NP is not marked. This might be due to the lack of necessity in constructions such as ‘the man’s dog’ where possession is unambiguous.

(131) yooiñ thooganoo neen
    yuwinj  dhugan-u  njiinj
    man    camp-3s.PSSR    this/here
    there is the man’s hut (U-M.2.2-44)

Dhurga distinguishes alienable from inalienable possession by different choice of first person possessive pronoun. This distinction is not found in other SCLs, and is further discussed in section A.6.5 in Chapter A.6 (Syntax).

A.4.1.7.1 Dharrawal genitive

The form of the genitive case marker is identical to that in Gandangara and Ngunawal, the two neighbouring inland languages (see Besold, 2003). Depending on whether the word or stem it is suffixed to ends in a vowel or consonant, we get two variations.

-\textit{-wuli} /N-/  
-\textit{-guli} /C-/  

A.4.1.7.1.1 -\textit{guli}

(132) mulyangoolee ngooranhoong
    malyan-guli ngura=nhung
    eaglehawk-GEN camp=3s.PSSR
    eaglehawk’s nest (A-M.1.2-106)

A.4.1.7.1.2 -\textit{wuli}

(133) mirrigan-bulanhung yuuñbulaliwuli
    mirrigan = bulanhung   yuwinj-bulali-wuli
    dog = 3d.PSSR           man-DU-GEN
    the dog of the two men (A-M.2.6-1)
A.4.1.7.2 Dharumba genitive

In Dharumba the possessor NP can be found marked with two differing morphemes. The possession marker -guli-/wuli (the same morphophonemic rules apply as in Dharrawal), and -gu-wu, the possessive markers found in Dhurga. Both forms are found in both Mathews’ and Mackenzie’s material.

- **guli** /C-
- **wuli** /N-
- **wu** /N-
- **gu** /C-

A.4.1.7.2.1 **-wuli**

(134) **burrwuli murrarnu (murrar tail)**
    buru-wuli murrarr-nu
    kangaroo-GEN tail-3s.PSSR
    A kangaroo’s tail. (DM-M.2.6-30)

A.4.1.7.2.2 **-guli**

(135) **wangganguli wurranyu**
    wanggan-guli waranj-u
    woman-GEN child-3s.PSSR
    woman’s child (DM-M.2.6-30)

A.4.1.7.2.3 **-wu**

(136) “**Wudthaola maranū Jakwilao?**”
    wadha-wu-la mara-nu djagwila-wu
    where-VBLS-PST fish-3s.PSSR lyrebird-GEN
    “Where is that fish belonging to that pheasant?” (DM-AM-1874-260-Ull/Th-Ee)

A.4.1.7.2.4 **-gu**

(137) **Yuingu warraganyu**
    yuwinj-gu warranganj-u
    man-GEN boomerang-3s.PSSR
    a man’s boomerang (DM-M.1.8-58)

---

62 It is worth noting that this whole-part construction differs from many other AALs who do not overtly mark these constructions, i.e. ‘kangaroo tail’ instead of ‘kangaroo-GEN tail-POSSR’.
A.4.1.7.3 Dhurga genitive

In his publications Mathews states that possession is marked with the possessive bound pronoun on the possessed noun and “dha, or a euphonic modification, to the name of the possessor” (1901a:52). In his later publication, he gave -dja as the case suffix (Mathews, 1902d:102).

There are also two examples showing the suffix -guli, the genitive suffix found in Dharrawal and to some extent in Dharumba. There are no examples of a morphophonemic variation -wuli; and no examples of vowel-final nouns inflected for genitive. We would expect this variant, but -wuli in unattested. From the translations of the example showing -guli, it is possible that this is not a possessive noun phrase ‘a man’s hut’ but rather a verbless clause ‘this is a man’s hut’.

-dha /an-
ap -a /urr-
-dja /inj-
d -nggul /ga-
guli /C-
guli /C-
-lul /ngga-

A.4.1.7.3.1 -dha

(138) wangganda thooganoo neen
wanggan-dha dhugan-u njiinj
woman-GEN camp-3s.PSSR here/this
there is the woman’s hut (U-M.2.2-44)

A.4.1.7.3.2 -a

(139) wangoonna wagoora thooganoo ŕeeñ
wanggan-a wagurr-a dhugan-u njiinj
woman-GEN crow-GEN camp-3s.PSSR here/this
here is the crow’s nest (U-M.2.2-44)
A.4.1.7.3.3 -dja

(140) yooïnda warranganyoo
    yuwinj-dja  warranganj-u
    man-GEN    boomerang-3sPSSR
    a man's boomerang (U-M.1.1-192)

A.4.1.7.3.4 -nggul

(141) Goongara nyoon ngā-a-gang'-gool
    gungara  njun  ngayaga-nggul
    possum     that     1s-GEN
    That is my possum. (U-M.2.2-14)

A.4.1.7.3.5 -guli

(142) yoo-in-gool-lee dhoo-gan’-no ŋeen
    yuwinj-guli  dhugan-u        njinj
    man-GEN    camp-3s.PSSR    this/here
    That is a man’s hut. (U-M.2.2-17)

A.4.1.7.3.6 -lul

(143) wannungalool nyeen
    wanangga-lul        njinj
    who-GEN    this/here
    who is this for? (U-M.1.1-56)

A.4.1.7.4 Djirringanj genitive

The genitive case suffix found in the relatively small Djirringanj corpus is -a, with another variation perhaps being -ga. Possession can also be marked by means of the suffix -gulal, a form similar to other SCLs’ -guli. Note that the latter only occurs in examples with a pronoun and an interrogative. It is possible that there is a distinction in case suffixes between pronouns and interrogatives, compared to other nouns. However, the number of examples is too small to propose this as a definite hypothesis.

-a  /ïl-, ri-
-gulal  /ang-, ung-
A.4.1.7.4.1 -\textit{a}\hfill

(144) \textit{baiilla mirrigangwa}
\begin{itemize}
\item bayil-\textit{a} mirigang-wa
\item man-GEN dog-3sPOSS
\end{itemize}
\textit{a man’s dog (DJ-M.1.5-162)}

A.4.1.7.4.2 -\textit{gulal}\hfill

(145) \textit{wannung-gulal}
\begin{itemize}
\item wanang-gulal
\item who-GEN
\end{itemize}
\textit{whose (DJ-M.1.5-163)}

(146) \textit{warangan ng}\textbf{i’aloonggolal}
\begin{itemize}
\item waranganj ngayalung-gulal
\item boomerang 1s-GEN
\end{itemize}
\textit{this is my boomerang (DJ-M.2.2-58)}

A.4.1.8 Purposive Case Marking in the SCLs\hfill

Formally, the purposive case marks a NP to be the goal of an action or to be the desired outcome of an action. Hence, as shown in the examples in both Dharrawal and Dharumba below, the goal of the action ‘going’ is in order to obtain figs or fish.

In many AALs, this function is covered by the dative case (Blake, 1977:37); this could possibly be the case in example (124) shown earlier in this chapter.

A.4.1.8.1 Dharrawal purposive\hfill

Only one example shows an identified isolated suffix that has a purposive function according to Mackenzie’s translation. The form of this marker is -\textit{langu} or -\textit{langa}, the final vowel is difficult to phonemicise, but is generally \textit{a} in similar examples that can be compared with Mathews’ transcriptions. However, a common form for the purposive marker in AALs is -\textit{gu} (Dixon, 2002a:134), which might lead to the analysis of the word-final transcribed \textit{o} as /\textit{u}/.
A.4.1.8.1.1 -langu

(147) Yandigay karwerullago yai,
yan-dhi = ngay    garwaray-langu = ngay
go-PRST = 1s     wild.fig-PURP = 1s
I am going for wild figs. (A-AM-1874-250-YK)

A.4.1.8.2 Dharumba purposive

Only three examples have been identified to have purposive marking on a NP. The form of the case suffix is -ndji, or -nji. Both examples are from Mackenzie’s texts; no example is found in Mathews’ material.

A.4.1.8.2.1 -ndji

(148) Yanaoya maranj; Kulambaroga maranj;
yana-wu-ga    mara-ndji    gula-mba-ru-ga    mara-ndji;
go-FUT-1s    fish-PURP    spear-CONT-FUT-1s    fish-PURP
[Bundoola speaking] ‘I go fishing, I am going to spear fish; (DM-AM-1874-256-Ull/Bi-Bu1)

(149) Numnaridtha jiamūn yandthaonidtha gaianj,
nanari-dha  djiya-mu-nu  yandha-wu-ni-dha  ngaya-ndji
mother.in.law-1s.PSSR    tell-FUT-2d    go-IRR-2s-HORT    that-PURP
“You two tell my mother in law to go over there (for my meats). (DM-AM-1878:269-JB-Gy)

A.4.1.8.2.2 -nji

(150) Yanaolila guialul: yanaonyi marumbullenuy-yukäu! 63
yana-wulu-la  guya-ngul:  yana-wu-nji  mara-mbala-nji  yagawu
go-HITHER-PST south-belong go-FUT-1ip    fish-?-PURP    EXCL
‘Blackfellow came from southward. We’ll go and fish. (DM-AM-1874-257-Ull/Th-Bu2)

A.4.1.8.3 Dhurga purposive

Only two sentences with purposive marking on a noun phrase are found in the Dhurga corpus. Mathews’ English translation in example (151) shows ‘after’ underlined, which suggests that he was either trying to elicit a purposive construction, or that he verified the use of the morpheme afterwards (see also the Djirringanj example (153)

63 Note that this is the original free translation, the word for ‘blackfella’ does not seem to be given in the utterance.
below which confirms that ‘after’ means purposive). There are two forms of the purposive case marker – the morphophonemic variations -wuran/-buran. It is likely that -wuran also occurs after vowels.

- buran  /anj-
- wuran  /urr-

**A.4.1.8.3.1 -buran**

(151)  
be’aň bir’reban’booran wabban  
biyan birribanj-buran waba-n  
father emu-PURP go-nPST  
thy father is going after a emu (U-M.2.2-48)

**A.4.1.8.3.2 -wuran**

(152)  
wabbâga buñnerwal gudyer [inserted] gumbâwwooreeň  
waba-ga banjawal gudjarr gumbawurr-wuran  
go.PRST-1s other.side lagoon koala-PURP  
I go over the the other side of the lagoon after bears (U-M.2.2-146)

**A.4.1.8.4 Djirringanj purposive**

One example shows a purposive case suffix -biyala. This example was found amongst Mathews’ Dhurga material, but the morphology and lexical items occurring in the whole of the sentence are Djirringanj.

-biyala

(153)  
bulla (by the by?) yendabullabee (I’ll go) koolgoonbeâla (for fish -or after fish)  
bala yanda-bala-bi gulgun-biyala  
by the by go-FUT-2s fish-PURP  
‘I will go for fish soon’ (DJ-M.2.2-150)

**A.4.2 Derivational suffixes in the SCLs**

Data for the suffixes listed here is found in far fewer numbers of instances than the inflectional suffixes. As with the previous section, if no examples are shown for any particular suffix it simply means that there are no available data in that language.
The identified suffixes and their forms and function are shown in Table 16 below. Note that examples noted with an asterisk* are only found in single instances and are added tentatively.

Table 16. Derivational suffixes in the South Coast Languages

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Suffixes</th>
<th>Dharrawal</th>
<th>Dharumba</th>
<th>Dhurga</th>
<th>Djirringanj</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lack of ‘without’</td>
<td>PRIV</td>
<td>-yanha</td>
<td>-(wa)lan</td>
<td>-gayila*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-ganha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘with’</td>
<td>COM</td>
<td>-ndi</td>
<td>-djina</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘having’</td>
<td>PROP</td>
<td>-yira</td>
<td>-yila*</td>
<td>-wana*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-yiri</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-dharra</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>‘other’</td>
<td>OTHER</td>
<td>-wal</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-ngal</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘belonging to’</td>
<td>BELONG</td>
<td>-ngal</td>
<td>-gudhu</td>
<td>-gunda*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-gal</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-gali</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-wali</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘very’</td>
<td>INTENS</td>
<td>-wudhung</td>
<td>-gudhu</td>
<td>-gunda*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-gudhung</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘little’</td>
<td>DIM</td>
<td>-gang</td>
<td>-yangga</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kin</td>
<td>KIN</td>
<td>-marra</td>
<td>-li*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-ndi</td>
<td>-yi*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Number marking is also included in this section; see also Table 17 further below showing all forms of number markers.

A.4.2.1 Privative in the SCLs

Suffixes expressing ‘lacking’ are only found within the transcribed stories in Dharrawal and Dharumba; no examples are contained in the Dhurga or Djirringanj corpora.

A.4.2.1.1 Dharrawal privative

The variant suffixes -yanha and -ganha mark for ‘lack of’ or ‘without’. The spelling varies between -yanha and -yana, I have opted for the spelling with the dental nasal
because *nh* is often transcribed as *n*, and having an alternative spelling here confirms this.

-yanha  /V-/  
-ganha  /C-/  

**A.4.2.1.1 -yanha**

The suffix -yanha marks both the noun *bana* ‘rain’ and *yadha* ‘wet’, conveying a lack of either rain and/or wetness.

(154) *Dyurwalaiilla*(sprung of it) *bullijullai*(died it after) *nhai*(it), *madha*(because) *bunnaiana*(rain none) *yadhaia*(not any) *yedda yedda yenna* [dyurwalaila(grew it up) – bullijullai(nhai(died it))]

djurwa-la-ya-la   bali-djala-ya   nhay madha
seed-INEPT-PST-THEN  die-AFTER-PST  that  because
[bana-yanha  yadha-ya  dha-yanha]  yadha–yadha-yanha
[rain-PRIV  wet-PST  that-PRIV]  wet–wet-PRIV
[ djurwali-la-ya  bali-djala-ya  nhay]
[grow-INEPT-PST  die-AFTER-PST  that]  
and as soon as it grew, it withered away, because it had no moisture. (A-M.2.6-17-PoS2)

(155) *gurrugaia*(called) "*mirra*(nothing) *nyinyi*(in it) *murnyea*(meat none)”-

garuga-ya  ‘*mirra* njinji  maranjya-yanha’
call-PST  no  here  meat-PRIV

She called out ‘there is no meat in it’. (A-M.2.6-26-GW)

**A.4.2.1.2 -ganha**

(156) *bullia*(died) *nhai*(it), *madha*(because) *nguaddy *(xxx)-nguiddy *(ground)  gūn’ha

bali-ya  nhay madha  ngadja-ngadjung-ganha
die-PST  that  because  water–water-PRIV

... it withered away, because it had no moisture. (A-M.2.6-19-PoS3)

(157) 14. *yugundu burratundhaia, dhung-ang* *(food) gunnaia *(none)*  *nham* *(that) dhūlg (everything),
guggarnaia *(he was hungry)*

yagun-du  baradj bandha-ya  dhanang-ganha-ya  nham dhalga  gaganja-ya
then-?  all  use-PST  food-PRIV-LOC?  that  ground  hungry-PST

‘And after he had spent all, there arose a mighty famine in that land; and he began to be in want.’ (A-M.2.6-21-PoPS)
A.4.2.1.2 Dharumba privative

Only two examples are found within the stories in the Dharumba Corpus, -gayila and -lan.

A.4.2.1.2.1 -(ga)yila

(158) “Nadjinkaila mudjeri kana, ngadjung-gayila mudjari gana
water-PRIV canoe ?
The canoe is dry, (DM-AM-1878:269-JB-Gy)

A.4.2.1.2.2 -lan

(159) mujeri, yirraganjji; kutthū kawā kūrūaolan!
mudjari yiragandji gadhu gawa guruwa-lan
canoe fish.spear sea ? wave-PRIV
‘my canoe, my fish spear. What a fine calm sea.’ (DM-AM-1874-256-Ull/Bu1)

A.4.2.2 Comitative in the SCLs

Although there are a number of examples found within all the SCLs corpuses that may be comitative constructions, they are here presented with caution and invitation for further discussion. The sense the comitative case suffix conveys is ‘with’, i.e. marking a NP to be “co-located with the subject or object of the clausal event” (Koch, unpublished case paper). It is not clear whether this suffix is only found on human or animate NPs, but examples are exclusively restricted to use on human nouns and pronouns. It can be argued that for the same function on non-human nouns, the proprietive ‘HAVING’ marker is used. No examples are found for Djirringanaj.

A.4.2.2.1 Dharrawal comitative

The following examples are all taken from Mathews’ material, no examples were found in Mackenzie’s collection. The suffix -ndi expresses the comitative case on the noun.
A.4.2.2.1.1 -ndi

(160) Babundyang-indiñ(father mine with) yuen(left)ngwuangai warrangandyan
baba-ndi-ndi-nj yuwangwu-ya = ngay warranganj = djan
father-KIN-COM-? leave.behind-PST = 1s boomerang = 1s.PSSR
I left my boomerang with my father (A-M.2.4-22)

(161) yuin nyinyi ngullai ngaigandi
yuwinj njinji ngala-yi ngayaga-ndi
man this stop-PRST 1s-COM
the man is stopping with me (A-M.2.4-22)

(162) Gujagandidyen
gudjaga-ndi = djan
child-COM = 1s.PSSR
with my child (A-M.1.4-133)

A.4.2.2.2 Dharumba comitative

The only applicable example found shows the suffix -djina which marks ‘with’ on pronoun.

A.4.2.2.2.1 -djina

(163) Ngaigangdyina ñeenyi
ngayagang-djina njinji
1s-COM this
with me (DM-M.2.6-27)

A.4.2.2.3 Dhurga comitative

This is only a speculative analysis given here for further food for thought. njururaga may consist of a demonstrative njuru or njura with a comitative suffix -raga. There are no other examples found with njuru in the corpus, but the construction <new-ro-raga> is clearly labelled ‘with them’ in Mathews’ notebook.

A.4.2.2.3.1 -raga

(164) wab’-bew-in-ga(I am going) new-ro-ra-ga(with them)
wabu-yi-(n)ga njuru-raga
go.FUT.?-1s that?-COM
I am going away with them (U-M.2.2-48)
I will go away with them.

(165) wabboo-in-ga(we all are going) new-ro’ra-ga(with them)
wabu-yi-nga njuru-raga
go.FUT-?-1ep that?-COM
we (PL) are going away with them (U-M.2.2-48)
We will go away with them.

A.4.2.3 Proprietary in the SCLs

The proprietary case suffix can express various meaning across AALs, including physical or environmental characteristics such as “moustache-having” and “water-having” (Dixon, 2002a:140). The suffixes are labelled ‘HAVING’ in this study, and several forms are found in the Dharrawal and Dharumba corpora; none were found in the Dhurga and Djirringanj material.

A.4.2.3.1 Dharrawal proprietary

Two suffixes and their variants are found with the ‘HAVING’ function. They are all found in Mathews’ material. The two suffixes found are -yira/-yiri and -dharra. The latter is close in form to the Wiradjuri ‘having’ suffix -dhuray (Grant and Rudder, 2005:94) and is also the suffix found on the title for the Dharrawal stories transcribed as <Thurawaldthery> or <Thurawaldtheri> ‘Dharrawal-having’.

A.4.2.3.1.1 -yiri

(166) yuin wurrin yengulaia-guggairi
yuwinj warri-yin yan-gula-ya gaga-yiri
man far-ABL go-HITHER-PST hunger-HAVING
the man far walked – he is hungry (A-M.1.4-138)

A.4.2.3.1.2 -yira

(167) Gurruhgunyaia guriyirra(wulola) (added)(ear if) ngurramai’andha
garuga-nja-ya guri-yira-wulala ngara-ma-ya = ndha
shout-?-PST ear-HAVING-PL hear-CAUS-PST = SUB
He shouted ‘those that have ears, let them hear. (A-M.2.6-23-PoS4)
(168) mega gudyaga yirra nha yennigulai
    migagudjaga-yirra nha yan-gula-yi
    woman child-HAVING there go-HITHER-PRST
    a woman a child has there comes (A-M.2.6-22)

(169) mudyerree irungi
    madjariyira = ngay
    canoe-HAVING = 1s
    I have a canoe (A-M.2.2-175)

A.4.2.3.1.3 -dharra

(170) ngunnung warrangandhurra?
    nganung warranganj-dharra
    who boomerang-HAVING
    who has the boomerang? (A-M.1.4-141)

(171) burroonrrun(plenty)gdhurrung-i
    baramarang-dharra = ngay
    plenty-HAVING = 1s
    I have plenty (A-M.2.2-160)

(172) murragandhurrang-i
    maragan-dharra = ngay
    little-HAVING = 1s
    I have a little (A-M.2.2-160)

(173) Nanarimurranhung yenda nanda(she saw) na(the) gurma(bag) gumirdhirra(with hole)-
    nanari-mara = nhung yan-dha nan-dha nha garma
    mother.in.law-KIN = 3s.PSSR go-PST see-PST that net.bag
gumirr-dharra
    hole-HAVING
    The mother-in-law went and saw that bag with the hole. (A-M.2.6-26-GW)

A.4.2.3.2 Dharumba proprietive

Two possible ‘HAVING’ markers are found in the Dharumba corpus. Neither of them
can be confirmed with additional examples or by comparison with neighbouring
languages. The analysis is therefore presented here with caution.
A.4.2.3.2.1 -yila

(174) yanaoga thaugulywollun kaoraila;
    yana-wu-ga dhawuguli-walun gawara-yila
    go-FUT-1s bush-PRIV wave-HAVING?
    I’ll go to the bush, the sea is too rough. (DM-AM-1874-256-Ull/Bi-Bu1)

A.4.2.3.2.2 -wana

(175) “Yanaons marungo, mudgeririwunno,
    yana-wu-nu mara-nggu madjari-ri-wana
    go-FUT-2p fish-ALL canoe-?-HAVING?
    “You go fish, you that have canoes, (DM-AM-1878-271-Wand/No-Tu)

A.4.2.4 ‘OTHER’ suffix in the SCLs

This suffix has the same form as some of the variants having the ‘BELONG’ function.

-wal or -ngal are found exclusively in Dharrawal. 64

A.4.2.4.1 -wal

(176) Kullymirgaia biaŋalywal, ŋobymāiŋ Kurwēy-
    gali-mirrga-ya biyangalay-wal ngubi-ma-ya garwaray
    break-MORE?-PST grass-OTHER fill-CAUS-PST wild.fig
    Cut more bangaly for baskets and filled them with figs (A-AM-1874-250-YK)

(177) yuggaia nha gujagawal “ngaiawuli(mine) nha(that),
    yaga-ya nha gudjaga-wal ngaya-wuli nha
    say-PST that child-OTHER 1s-GEN that
    The other child said ‘this is mine’. (A-M.2.6-24-GW)

A.4.2.4.2 -ngal

(178) warrungalwundu dhurragangga
    waru-ngal-wundu dharagang-ga
    far-OTHER-side river-LOC
    on the other side of the creek (A-M.1.4-147)

64 Two other forms -walu and -wala (examples (124) and (103) in B.1.1 and example (359) in B.1.2.3) might be wal with a following case marker. They are found in exclusively Dharrawal material.
A.4.2.5 ‘BELONG’ suffix in the SCLs

The suffix -gal and the variant form -ngal, is found in many instances in all SCLs on frequently occurring nouns. Two further forms -wali and -gali are also found. It conveys the meaning of ‘belonging to’. One example is found in Mathews’ wordlist buddyanggal ‘bird-belonging’ given with the translation ‘totem’, which proves to be a great example for the use and function of this suffix, considering that the South Coast group totems are birds. This suffix is found in Dharumba texts and in Dhurga material on guyangal ‘southerner’ (guya-ngal ‘south-belonging’) and in the reference term to a coastal group < katthunggal > (gadhu-ngal ‘sea-belonging’).

A.4.2.5.1 -ngal

(179) Yakōlily guiangal, yapāranū, jambīnyuna.
   yagu-lili guya-ngal yaba-ra-nu djambi-njuna
   that/there-? south-BELONG say-?-nPST brother.in.law-1ep.PSSR
   There they are, the Southerners, says he, that’s our brother-in-law coming.’ (DM-AM-1874-256-Ull/Bi-Bu1)

A.4.2.5.2 -gal

(180) wan-ang’-gal war-ling’an ūeen
   wananga-gal waranganj njiiin
   who-BELONG boomerang this/here
   whose boomerang is that? (U-M.2.2-22)

A.4.2.5.3 -gali

(181) mirrigullimangga būdyanda dhundyawa.
   miri-gal(i)-mangga budjan-da dhanj-dja = wa
   top-BELONG-? bird-ERG eat-PST = 3p
   Birds belonging to the sky ate them. (A-M.2.6-23-PoS4)

A.4.2.5.4 -wali

(182) Minyana purrowally thunna, thuga biagally.
   minja nha buru-wali dhana dhanga biyangali
   what that kangaroo-BELONG foot food? old
   See here is a kangaroo track, it is that of a big old man. (A-AM-1874:251)
A.4.2.6 Intensifier in the SCLs

Only the Dharrawal and Dhurga language corpora contain examples with intensifier suffixes, adding the sense of ‘very’ or a superlative function to the word it attaches to. The number of examples is too small to posit a rule of when variations of the each suffix occur on a noun. It is likely that the w-initial forms occur on words ending in a vowel, and the g-initial forms on words ending in consonants.

A.4.2.6.1 Dharrawal intensifier

-wudhung and the alternative form -gudhung have the function of intensifier in Dharrawal.

A.4.2.6.1.1 -wudhung

(183) ngannun nha gumbulluđhung-nha mega ya yuĩų
      nganung nha gumbalu-wudhung nha miga ya yuwinj
      who that strong-INTENS that woman or man
who is the strongest, the man or the woman (A-M.2.6-2)

A.4.2.6.1.2 -gudhung

(184) kiango goodhun dhu(a!(inserted) murragangoodhung(the smallest)
gayan-gudhung ba! marragang-gudhung
large-INTENS or little-INTENS
...the largest or the smallest (A-M.2.2-163)

A.4.2.6.2 Dhurga intensifier

Two similar forms are found. -gudhu occurs in several examples, the other form -gunda only on one instance in the Dhurga corpus.

A.4.2.6.2.1 -gudhu

(185) Thambam’-mool-a-ga bir’ra-ga’goodhoo booroo jing-‘an-dee’-jee ban’go-ree’-jee now’-ay
dhambamu-la-ga biragang-gudhu buru djingandi ban.guri-dji nhaway
see-PST-1s big-INTENS kangaroo that/there hill-LOC today
I saw a bigger kangaroo. (U-M.2.2-16)
I saw a bigger kangaroo on the hill today.
A.4.2.6.2.2 -gunda

(187) dyabady warreegoonda wab’-booI

Djabadj       wari-gunda         wabu-1
Djabadj (Merriman) SPAT-INTENS              go-PST
djabadj traveled a long way (U-M.2.2-40)

A.4.2.6.3 Djirringanj intensifier

One example in the corpus shows a translation that may demonstrate a strategy to use the plural marker -ma for intensifying purposes. The translation does not suggest that the suffix has number function here.

(188) jummagumma nyanya

djamaga-ma   njanja
good-PRST    that/there
this is very good (DJ-M.1.5-162)

A.4.2.7 Diminutive in the SCLs

The evidence for diminutive markers in the SCLs is relatively sparse and limited to a few isolated examples in Dharrawal and Dhurga. The diminutive marker applies a more specific character of ‘smallness’ to the noun it describes.

A.4.2.7.1 Dharrawal diminutive

All examples come from the story of <Gwaiamiñ> (A-M.2.6-24-GW), see also Text 9 in Chapter B.1.1.

A.4.2.7.1.1 -gang

(189) Bunbariwulaligang ngullaiawula Gürambända ngubbamura-a-wulanhung(with their mother)
bunbari-wulali-gang ngala-ya = wula Gurambandha ngaba-mara-ya = wulanhung
boy-DU-DIM   sit-PST = 3d Gurambandha mother-KIN-LOC = 3d.PSSR
Two (other) boys lived in Gurambandha with their mother. (A-M.2.6-24-GW)
(190) *Bindyawuluŋ ngubbamurraŋ lanhungh dhuŋbulaliŋgangga* (fish two small ones) *wu* *r'iau'alanhai* (they played with).

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{bin-dja} &= \text{wulung}^\text{65} \quad \text{ngaba-mara} = \text{wulanhung} \quad \text{dhanj-bulali-gang-ga} \quad \text{wari-ya} = \text{wula} \\
give-\text{PST} &= \text{3d.OBJ} \quad \text{mother-\text{KIN} = 3d.PSSR} \quad \text{fish-DU-DIM-INSTR} \quad \text{play-\text{PST} = 3d}
\end{align*}
\]

Their mother gave them two small fish to play with. *(A-M.2.6-24-GW)*

(191) *Kurrabungga* (rock) *dunggul* (round hole) *(circled to suggest alternative wordorder)*

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{yn"amadaualung} & \quad \text{dunggulgangga} \ (\text{in a hole}) \ Kurrubunga \ (\text{in a rock}) \\
\text{[gurabang-ga} & \quad \text{dunggul-u] \ yunma-dha} = \text{wulung} \quad \text{dunggul-gang-ga} \\
\text{[stone-LOC} & \quad \text{round hole-LOC]} \quad \text{put.in-\text{PST} = 3d.OBJ} \quad \text{round.hole-DIM-LOC} \\
\text{gurabang-ga} & \\
\text{stone-LOC}
\end{align*}
\]

She placed them in a small round hole in a rock. *(A-M.2.6-24-GW)*

A.4.2.7.2 Dhurga diminutive

There is one instance that suggests a diminutive marker *-yanga*.

A.4.2.7.2.1 *-yanga*

(192) *koo’-bee-fi-ang-a*

\[
\begin{align*}
gubidja & \quad \text{yanga} \\
\text{small-DIM} & \\
\text{small toe} \ (U-M.1.1)
\end{align*}
\]

A.4.3 Number marking in the SCLs

Number is marked fairly consistently in the SCLs corpus and all different forms found are shown in Table 17 below.

\[\text{65 See examples of } \text{bin-dha-'} \text{give-PST'} \text{ in B.1.2.3 (Dharrawal sentences).}\]
### Table 17. Number marking in the South Coast Languages

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Dharrawal</th>
<th>Dharumba</th>
<th>Dhurga</th>
<th>Djirringanj</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Singular</strong></td>
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<td>-ø</td>
<td>-ø</td>
<td>-ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Dual</strong></td>
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<td>-bara</td>
<td>-bara</td>
<td>-wula</td>
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<td>-bulali</td>
<td>-mbara</td>
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<td>-bula</td>
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<td>-mbula</td>
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<td>-la</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Pural</strong></td>
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<td>-waraga</td>
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<td>-mbaraga</td>
<td>-baraga</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-walawali</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

With the exceptions of the plural marker in Djirringanj -ma, the observed tendencies are that number markers begin with *w* after a vowel and with *b* after a consonant. With a noun stem ending in *ng*, the marker changes to *mb* initial, caused by the fusion of *ng* and the morpheme initial *b* of the number marker. However there are frequent exceptions to these rules found in the sources. Two such examples are:

- bayiil-wula ‘man-DU’  
  
- dhana-bulala ‘foot-PL’

Dharumba and Dhurga’s number markers differ in form to those in Dharrawal and Djirringanj. Examples are given here from each of the SCLs, taken from either Mathews’ or Mackenzie’s language corpora. Singular is unmarked and is not shown.

#### A.4.3.1 Dual number marking in the SCLs

##### A.4.3.1.1 Dharrawal dual

- -wulali /V-, al- (one instance)  
- -bulali /C-  
- -mbulali /ng-  
- -lali /u-
A.4.3.1.1.1 -wulali

(193) *bundâwurriwulali yuindyu bulmaià’wula mirrigang*

bundawari-wulali yuwinj-dju bulma-ya-wula mirigang
tall-DU man-ERG hit-PST-3d dog
two tall men beat the dog. (A-M.2.6-1)

But note the irregular example:

(194) *gumbulwulali yuindyu mandhawula dhuñ*

gumbal-wulali yuwinj-dju man-dha-wula dhanj
strong-DU man-ERG catch-PST-3d fish
two strong men caught a fish (A-M.2.6-1)

A.4.3.1.1.2 -bulali

(195) *yooinboolally bunggoo bulmioula*

yuwinj-bulali banggu bulma-ya=wula
man-DU sugarglider strike-PST=3d
a couple of men a squirrel struck (A-M.1.7-3)

A.4.3.1.1.3 -mbulali

-*mbulali* shows on nouns that may end in *ng* in their citation form. This strategy would not be an unusual observation; Blake labels this the ‘velar nasal augment’, which he observed in Victorian AALs such as Warrnambool (see Blake, 2003b and 2011). The problem lies in the word *miriga(ng)*, which is frequently transcribed as *miri*, *miriga*, *mirigan* or *mirigang*.

(196) *Bulmiangamboola mirreegamblalee*

bulma-ya = ngay = mbula miriga(ng)-mbulali
strike-PST = 1s = 3dOBJ dog-DU
I struck two dogs (A-M.2.2-97)

(197) *Bidboriauwa*(they threw) *dyirrambunggo*(with bushes) *gujagambulali*(the two children)[circled to suggest alternative word order] *buddherri*(to hide),

bidbari-ya = wa djirambang-ga gudjaga(ng)-mbulali badha-ri
cover-PST = 3p bushes-INSTR child-DU hide-PURP

They covered the children with bushes to hide them. (A-M.2.6-25-GW)

But note the alternative transcription of the dual marker on *mirigang*.
(198) mirrigangbulali = wulanhung
mirigang-bulali = wulanhung
dog-DU = 3d.PSSR
The two dogs of the two men. (A-M.2.6-1)

A.4.3.1.1.4 -lali

(199) bunggulali nandangambula
banggu-lali nan-dha = ngay = mbula
sugarglider-DU see-PST = 1s = 3d.OBJ
a pair of squirrels I saw (A-M.1.4-146)

A.4.3.1.2 Dharumba dual

There are no examples in Mathews’ corpus that show dual number marking on nouns ending in a vowel. Throughout Mackenzie’s material all instances with vowel-final nouns are marked with -mbara, not -wara as we could expect based on patterns in the other SCLs. There is a possibility that some of these nouns end in ng in their citation form in Dharumba (and Dharrawal and Dhurga).

-baras /C-/ -mbaras /V- (and possibly after ng-)

A.4.3.1.2.1 -bara

(200) “Yanaonyi ñaiunko wenkinbra.”
yana-wa-njí ngayung-u wanggan-bará
    go-IRR-1lip larvae-DAT woman-DU
    “Let’s go for ants’ larvae, women.” (DM-AM-1875-144-Wand/No-Wu1)

(201) Warranganburrandha
waranganj-bará-ndhá
boomerang-DU -1s.PSSR
boomerangs both mine (DM-M.1.8-59)
A.4.3.1.3.1 -bara

(204) warranganburra illeegool
warranganj-barra yili(g(a)-ul
boomerang-DU carry.PRST-1s-2d.OBJ
a pair of boomerans carry-I (U-M.1.2-104)

A.4.3.1.3.2 -wara

(205) boo-roo-wur-ra (kangaroo two) thambâ’mulagool (I saw)
buru-wara dhambamu-la-g-ul
kangaroo-DU see-PST-1s-3d.OBJ
I saw two kangaroos (U-M.2.2-35)

(206) birroongoona boonbalwurra
birru-nguna bunbal-wara
middle-in tree-DU
between two trees (U-M.2.2-146)

A.4.3.1.3.3 -mbara

(207) Birragambara nghi’-a-ga thamba’moolaga
biraga-mbara ngayaga dhambamu-la-ga
big-DU 1s see-PST-1s
I saw a bigger one (kangaroo). (U-M.2.2-15)

66 The translation could be something like ‘news emerged in Mirro, that the two fish hawks were there’.
A.4.3.1.4 Djirringanj dual

The number of examples is too small to determine a rule regarding morpho-phonemic variation. The observations listed here are mostly based on single instances.

- *bula* / nj-,
- *wula* /a-, l-, rr-
- *mbula* /i-
- *la* /u-

A.4.3.1.4.1 -bula

(208) *waranganboola ngialoolal*
  *warranganj-bula ngayalung-gulal*
  *boomerang-DU 1s-GEN*
  *those are my two boomerangs (DJ-M.2.2-58)*

A.4.3.1.4.2 -wula

(209) *Bagamin burrawoola nyandee*
  *barga-ma-nj? barra-wula njandi*
  *back-PRST-3s? middle-DU that/there*
  *He is sitting behind us. (DJ-M.2.3-11)*

(210) *baiilwula mûndurwula nyangimbula*
  *bayiil-wula mundurr-wula njangi-mbula*
  *man-DU big-DU that/there-DU*
  *men large those (dual) (DJ-M.1.5-163)*

A.4.3.1.4.3 -mbula

See previous example.

A.4.3.1.4.4 -la

(211) *bûrula nyabagâlu*
  *buru-la njaa-ba-ga-lu*
  *kangaroo-DU see-PST-1s-3dOBJ*
  *two kangaroos I saw (DJ-M.1.5-166)*
A.4.3.2  Plural number marking

A.4.3.2.1  Dharrawal plural

The general rules for each variant of the plural marker is shown below, but there are exceptions found for each of the rules; for example *mbulawala* is also found following a vowel.

- *bulawala* /C- (also /ng-)
- *walawali* /V-
- *mbulawala* /ng-
- *wulawala* /V-
- *lawala* /u-

A.4.3.2.1.1  *bulawala*

(212)  *warranganbuloala ngaiawuli*
  *warranganj-bulawala ngaya-wuli*
  boomerang-PL 1s-GEN
  boomerangs-several mine (A-M.1.4-138)

A.4.3.2.1.2  *wulawala*

(213)  *Gurrugarna*ya *guriyirra(wulola) (added)(ear if) ngurramai’andha*
  garuga-nj-ya  guri-yira-wulawala  ngara-ma-ya=ndha
  shout-?-PST  ear-HAVING-PL  hear-CAUS-PST = SUB
  *He shouted ‘those that have ears, let them hear’. (A-M.2.6-23-PoS4)*

A.4.3.2.1.3  *walawali*

(214)  *Kūruŋaialū meŋgaaloãli Kangargraon pūrūwâŋga;*
  gurunga-ya=lu  miga-walawali  Kangargrawan  buruwang-ga
  meet-PST = 3d.OBJ woman-PL  Kangargrawan  burrawang-INSTR
  he met the women coming from Kangargrown with poo-lawang (zamia nuts, or native arrowroot); (A-AM-1874:255-Nu)

A.4.3.2.1.4  *mbulawala*

(215)  *ngunnumbuloala (pl)*
  nganu(ng)-mbulawala
  who-PL
  *Who there? (intransitive verb – hence nominative) (A-M.1.4-140)*
A.4.3.2.1.5 -lawala

(216) bungguloala nandangandhunnung
  banggu-lawala  nan-dha = ngay = ndhanung
  sugarglider-PL  see-PST = 1s = 3p.OBJ
  several squirrels I saw (A-M.1.4-146)

A.4.3.2.2 Dharumba plural

In his published Dharumba grammar (1902c:58) Mathews states that the number marking in Dharumba is “substantially the same in the Thoorga language”. However, only a very few instances are found in the collective Dharumba corpus. Note that the only instance of plural marker other than -baraga on nouns ending in a consonant is -mbarawa.

- baraga  /C-
- mbarawa  /ng- or V-

A.4.3.2.2.1 -baraga

(217) Wurritbūlāwa yūnˈbrāga,
  waridbu-la-wa  yuwinj-baraga,
  play-PST-3p  man-PL
  Men (or kurrakurria, sort of little birds) were playing. (DM-AM-1874-260-Ull/Th-Ee)

A.4.3.2.2.2 -mbarawa

(218) “ŋurawunko bunga-iluwa thorumbrao,
  ngurawan-gu  bang-yi-la-wa  dhawura(ng)-mbarawa
  sea-ALL  paddle-THEN-PST-3p  -PL
  they paddled to the sea, the whole party. (DM-AM-1877-272-Wand/Hu-TuPu)

A.4.3.2.3 Dhurga plural

These are observed occurrences of the variant forms of the plural marker in Dhurga; some only found in a single example. The mb initial form of the marker -mbaraga usually attaches to nouns ending in ng.

- baraga  /C-
- waraga  /V-, rr-
- mbaraga  /V- or ng-
A.4.3.2.3.1 -baraga

(219) warranganbura illeegin
    warranganj-baraga yili-g(a)-in
    boomerang-PL carry-1s-3p.OBJ
    several boomerangs carry-I (U-M.1.2-104)

A.4.3.2.3.2 -waraga

(220) waddung’ur wur’raga bundhita lanyina’ga
    wadhungurr-waraga bundha-la-njina
    dog-PL bite-PST-1p.OBJ
    a lot of dogs bit all of us (U-M.2.2-38)

(221) boorooraga thamba’moo-la-gin-
    buru-waraga dhambamu-la-g-in
    kangaroo-PL see-PST-1s-3p.OBJ
    I saw a lot of kangaroos (U-M.2.2-35)

A.4.3.2.3.3 -mbaraga

(222) yooindyoo jarroogamburraga dhubbagalin
    yuwinj-dju djaruga-mbaraga67 dhabaga-l-in
    man-ERG wallaby-PL catch-PST-3pOBJ
    a man several wallabies caught (U-M.1.1-58)

A.4.3.2.4 Djirringanj plural

The plural marker -ma occurs after both vowels and consonants and no variant is found.

A.4.3.2.4.1 -ma

(223) Nyâ-boo-gâna boorooma
    njaa-ba-ga-na buru-ma
    see-PST-1s-3p.OBJ kangaroo-PL
    I saw a lot of kangaroos (DJ-M.2.2-58)

(224) warangañana ngialoongolal
    warranganj-ma ngayalung-gulal
    boomerang-PL 1s-GEN
    those are all my boomerangs (DJ-M.2.2-58)

67 djaruga is a single occurrence of this word in the SCLs corpus; it is possible that the citation form of this word ends in ng.
A.4.4 Interrogatives in the SCLs

All SCLs have a range of interrogatives that can be inflected for case functions and number. In all SCLs interrogatives can also take verbal inflection; this requires a verbalising suffix, but some examples seem to lack this. This will be discussed in Chapter 5 (Verb Morphology) and Chapter 6 (Syntax). Not all language corpora show the same range, which is possibly due to the difference in available data for each of the SCLs.

Mathews’ material provided most of the information on use and form of interrogatives; his Dhurga and Dharrawal material is comprehensive enough to give numerous examples with a wider range of interrogatives than for the other languages. ‘Who’ and ‘where’ are the most frequently found interrogatives.

Table 18 shows all identified SCLs interrogatives and case, as well as number marking. Blanks (shaded areas) in the table do not mean that particular interrogatives and marking on them do not exist; they merely represent that no data is available that would allow further elaboration. Note that although the Dhurga corpus is larger than the Djirringanj corpus, more information on interrogatives was obtainable in the latter.

Interrogatives generally occur clause-initially, also see Chapter A.6 (Syntax) for further discussion on questions.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case/Number Marking</th>
<th>what</th>
<th>who</th>
<th>where</th>
<th>how</th>
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<th>which</th>
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</table>
Note that *yagun* looks suspiciously like the lexeme used in the narratives, which is there glossed as ‘then’. See also examples (17), (62) and (116) in this chapter for examples. The translation of *yagun* as ‘how’ was given by Mathews.

A.4.5 Kin terms in the SCLs

The number of examples with kin nouns in remarkably small in the SCLs corpus, and kin marking is only found in Dharrawal and Dharumba examples. The majority of examples showing kin nouns are found in the stories, and only a few occur in Mathews’ sentence material. There is too little information to posit general rules, but from the data available it is clear that kin nouns may be marked with a kin marker to perhaps distinguish that it is one’s own kin or someone else’s they are referring to. However possession is in all cases marked with additional possessive pronominal clitic, so -*mara*’s function is not clear.

The examples here are therefore given to invite further discussion and thoughts on the matter of kin terms and marking on them.

Kin terms are also found inflected with case markers, which take the same form as all other nouns. Within the corpus we find kin terms marked with possessive pronouns and possibly dative case marker (228), genitive marker (229), locative case marker (231) and comitative case marker in (226).

A.4.5.1 Dharrawal Kin marking

A.4.5.1.1 -*ng*

The only example with *babang* suggests that this might be an address form (vocative) of the word *baba* ‘father’.
(225) Bābang, [bindiri mingganbūlaula ngaiawulī] wūrwamara (divide) ngaiawulala (all my)
ingganadyangga (the property and everything).
baba-ng (bindi-ri minggan-bulawala ngaya-wuli) wurwama-ra(n)
father-ADD (give-PURP what-PL 1s-GEN) divide-1s.IMP
ngaya-wulala minggang-djangga
1s-GEN/PL what?
Father, give me the portion of goods that falleth to me. (A-M.2.6-21-PoPS)

A.4.5.1.2 -ndi

(226) Babundjang indiñ(father mine with) yuen(left)ngwuang warrangandyan
baba-ndi-ndi-nj yuwingwu-ya = ngay warranganj = djan
father-KIN-COM-? leave.behind-PST = 1s boomerang = 1sPOSS
I left my boomerang with my father (A-M.2.4-22)

(227) “Minggarang yuinbulola babundindi burrimurrundhurra dhung-ang , bah ngullainmari(to share)
[bungallainmari (put some away)]
minggarang yuwinj-bulala baba-ndi-ndi baramarang-dharra dhangang ba
how many man-PL father-KIN-DAT? plenty-HAVING food and
ngalayinma-ri share-PURP
how many hired servants of my father’s have bread enough and to spare, (A-M.2.6-21-PoPS)

A.4.5.1.3 -nda

(228) Babanduggunhung
baba-nda-gunhung
father-KIN-DAT
for my father (A-M.1.4-133)

A.4.5.1.4 -mara

-mara is a marker on kin terms such as djaja ‘brother’, baba ‘father and ngaba ‘mother.
The kin terms are in almost all cases also marked with a 3rd person possessive bound
pronouns; however there are isolated examples with a 1st and 2nd person possessive
bound pronouns, see (230) for an example with 2nd person possessor.68

68 Although this study did not include the SCLs audio recordings (see Chapter A.1), I’d like to add that
this suffix is also used by one of the speakers on dhali ‘man’ in the Sydney language and the Dharrawal
spoken at La Perouse. The speaker refers to her husband as dhalimara. (Lena Chapman, recorded by
Janet Mathews in Archive tape A625 Mathews J09, held at the AIATSIS archives).
(229) dyadyamurrakwillihung warrangan
djadja-mara-wulu = nhung warranganj
brother-KIN-GEN = 3s.PSSR boomerang
his brother’s boomerang (A-M.2.6-1)

(230) babamurra-ingan(at your yuŋ(left)-nguriangai(I) warrangandye[r](boomerang mine)
baba-mara-yi = ngun yuwangari-ya = ngaybabamurra-warranganj
father-KIN-LOC = 2s.PSSR leave.behind-PST = 1s boomerang-INSTR
I left my boomerang with your father. (A-M.2.4-23)

(231) Bunbariwaligang ngullaiawula Gūrambūnda ngubbamurra-a-wulanhung(with their mother)
bunbari-wulali-gang ngala-ya = wula Gurambanda ngaba-mara-ya = wulanhung
boy-DU-DIM sit-PST = 3d Gurambanda mother-KIN-LOC = 3d.PSSR
Two (other) boys lived in Gurambandha with their mother. (A-M.2.6-24-GW)

(232) Nanarimurranhung yenda nanda(she saw) na(the) gurma(bag) gumirdhirra(with hole)
nanari-mara = nhung yan-dha nan-dha nha garma gumirr-dharra
mother.in.law-KIN = 3s.PSSR go-PST see-PST that net.bag-HAVING
The mother-in-law went and saw that bag with the hole. (A-M.2.6-26-GW)

Compare the previous examples with the examples below where -mara is absent
on the kin term.

(233) “yūggari(tell) nanaridyandi(mother in law) yendāwanda(go for) murnja(the meat) nhaaį[inserted]beddhabaljinda(hanging up) nharria(yonder) wurridyang(far) gundu(tree)”
'yaga-ri nanari = djan = dj yanda-wa-ndha marnidja nhaya
tell-PURP mother.in.law = 1s.PSSR = KIN? go-FOR-HORT meat that
badhaba-li = ndha nharaya waridjan gundu
hang.up-DTRSV = SUB that far tree
'tell mother-in-law to go for the meat hanging in that tree over there’. (A-M.2.6-26-GW)

(234) Ngubbandyaungen ngullainbi ngurānhung [nungainung(camp)]
ngaba = (n)djan ngala-yi-nbi ngura = nhung
mother = 1sPSSR sit-PREST=? camp = 3s.PSSR
my mother is sitting in her camp (A-M.2.4-22)

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69 This is the same verb as in (60), but the form is slightly different; the phonemicisation here is therefore somewhat based on the two versions.

70 Note that the final -di suffix could perhaps be -ndi and have the same function as -ndi on baba in the Parable of the Prodigal Son story (Text A.8). It is unlikely that it marks for a specific possessor because ‘mother in law’ is already marked for possession both in (142) and (143).
(235) Babadyen (my father) ngari andha (he took it) warranyung (his boomerang xx)

dyenmallangga (going hunting)

baba = djan ngari yan-(d)ha waranj = ung d janma-la-ngga

father = 1s.PSSR take go-PST boomerang = 3s.PSSR hunt-PST - ?

My father took his boomerang with him when he went hunting (A-M.2.4-22)

A.4.5.2 Dharumba kin marking

Only two examples show what might be some kind of kin marking. Both examples
look like they are a directly addressed to the mother. This could be similar to the -ndi
on baba in the some of the previous Dharrawal examples.

A.4.5.2.1 -li

(236) Miŋăli, miŋăli, miŋăli, măra. măra, măra!’

minga-li minga-li minga-li mara mara mara

mother-KIN mother-KIN mother-KIN fish fish fish

our mother has got fish. (DM-AM-1878:269-JB-Gy)

A.4.5.2.2 -yi

(237) “Miŋai munijambra yendthanolo,

minga-yi marnidja-mbara yandha-n-ulu

mother-KIN meat-DU go-nPST? - 3d.OBJ

“Mother, you go and get the two meats; (DM-AM-1878:269-JB-Gy)

A.4.6 Free Pronouns in the SCLs

The SCLs have a full set of free subject pronouns and distinguish between singular,
dual and plural first and second person pronouns, with an inclusive/exclusive
distinction in first non-singular persons. Third person is expressed by means of a
choice of demonstrative that may also express a spatial relationship to the speaker, i.e.
‘this’ near to speaker or ‘that’ distant to speaker. The majority of information comes
from Mathews SCLs material; very few examples are found in Mackenzie’s texts;
generally bound pronouns are used.
These pronouns are not much used as separate words, except in answer to a question, or assertively. (Mathews, 1901a:55 Dhurga)

There is no gender distinction and free pronouns can be inflected for case and number and take the same forms of case suffixes as other nouns. Throughout the whole SCLs material, the variety of case marking found on pronouns are ergative, genitive, allative, ablative and comitative; but only the Dharumba corpus contains examples of most of them, apart from the ergative marker.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pronoun</th>
<th>Case Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&lt;Ngaigangdyina&gt; ngayagang-djina</td>
<td>(COM) ‘with me’</td>
<td>(DM-M.2.6-27)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;ngaiagañ&gt; ngayaga-nji</td>
<td>(ABL) ‘away from me’</td>
<td>(DM-M.2.6-28)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;ngaiaganggu&gt; ngayagang-gu</td>
<td>(ALL) ‘come towards me’</td>
<td>(DM-M.1.8-60)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;naagangülü&gt; ngayaga-ngguli</td>
<td>(GEN) ‘mine’</td>
<td>(DM-AM-1878:269-JB-Gy)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Free pronouns follow the ergative case marking systems like other nominals, whereas bound pronouns function in a nominative case marking system where subjects of transitive and subjects of intransitive verbs share the same form which differs to the object form. Mathews was confident with the pronominal systems in both English and in the SCLs, as his many paradigms in the notebooks demonstrate. Mathews gives free pronoun paradigms in both ‘nominative’ and ‘nominative agent’ (his label for ergative), which shows pronouns marked with an ergative suffix.

There are no free object pronouns found in the sources and Mathews noted that:

[1]The objective pronouns, me, thee, him, etc. are not found separately, like the nominative and possessive, but consist of pronominal suffixes to verbs and other parts of speech. (Mathews, 1902c:59 Dharumba)

The paradigm shows all forms found in the sources, albeit in a phonemicised form. Note that some Dharrawal and Djirringanj pronouns were found in different forms. Both forms were included here with the first form being the commonly occurring one and the second being the odd ones out. The odd forms were taken from Mathews’ published material, but no correlating forms were found in the unpublished sources.
Table 19. Free pronouns in the South Coast Languages

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Dharrawal</th>
<th>Dharumba</th>
<th>Dhurga</th>
<th>Djirringanj</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1s</td>
<td>ngayagang</td>
<td>ngayaga</td>
<td>ngayaga</td>
<td>ngayalu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2s</td>
<td>njindgang</td>
<td>yindiga</td>
<td>yindiga</td>
<td>yindigal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1id</td>
<td>ngunangal ngulgang (A-M.1.4-137)</td>
<td>ngayawungul</td>
<td>ngayawung</td>
<td>ngayanga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1ed</td>
<td>ngunanjan ngungaling (A-M.1.4-137)</td>
<td>ngayawungala</td>
<td>ngayawangala</td>
<td>ngayangulu ngayalunga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d</td>
<td>ngunawula bilgang (A-M.1.4-137)</td>
<td>yindiwu</td>
<td>yindiwu</td>
<td>yindigumbul yindigulul</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1p</td>
<td>njulgang</td>
<td>ngayawanji</td>
<td>ngayawanj</td>
<td>ngayanjin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1ep</td>
<td>njumaling (A-M.1.4-137)</td>
<td>ngayawanjaga</td>
<td>ngayawanga ngayawinga</td>
<td>ngayanjila</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2p</td>
<td>njirgang (A-M.1.4-137)</td>
<td>yindiwunhu</td>
<td>indwan</td>
<td>yindiganju yindiginjoo</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The form of the second person pronouns is debatable. Eades (1976) and Capell (n.d.) phonemicised these as *njindiga*. In Eades’ case this decision was based on Dixon’s (1972:6) survey of pronouns in AALs, which found the *njindi* form a common occurrence in AALs. But in almost all instances, and transcriptions by various collectors, 2nd person free pronouns are transcribed vowel-initially, i.e. *<indeega>* (U-M.1.1-55). The only exceptions are two isolated examples. Mathews (A-M.1.7-2) gave *<nyindgang>* in a paradigm that contained other unusual forms for 2d and 2p pronouns (*<bilgang>* and *<njirgang>* respectively); Ridley (A-WR-419) transcribed Dharrawal 2s pronoun as *<ngindigung>*. All other transcriptions within the whole of the SCLs corpus are vowel-initial. My phonemicised versions are therefore nasal-initial for the Dharrawal pronouns and *y* initial for the rest of the SCLs.

Bound pronouns will be listed and discussed in Chapter A.5 (Verb Morphology) and Chapter A.6 (Syntax).
A.4.7 Demonstratives

The SCL corpus contains a large variety of what seem to be demonstratives or deictics. All SCLs have a number of demonstrative roots that occur on their own with different formatives attached to them. The majority of their functions remain at this stage unclear and are in dire need of further research in the future. The texts in Chapters B.1 and B.2 contain most of these demonstratives. Here I have included only the forms that occur frequently throughout the corpus and that could be satisfactorily and authoritatively identified.

Use of, or preference for, forms of demonstratives seems to differ between informants and between material collected by Mathews and Mackenzie. The use or collection of demonstratives varies greatly between Mathews’ and Mackenzie’s language material. Since Mathews’ sentences are in most cases isolated elicited utterances, demonstratives almost exclusively have the function of adverbial locational use, i.e. ‘here/there’ or adnominal function, i.e. ‘this/that’. In Mackenzie’s texts, demonstratives are used with various other functions. The different functions of demonstratives will be also be discussed in Chapter A.6 (Syntax) and Chapter A.7 (Narrative and Discourse Analysis).

In all SCLs the demonstrative *wari* or *wara* is found. It is difficult to ascertain whether *wari* is an adverb or demonstrative. In Dharumba and Dhurga it is found marked with locative and intensifier suffix respectively and is therefore included in the list of demonstratives.
Table 20. Demonstratives in the South Coast languages

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Dharrawal</th>
<th>Dharumba</th>
<th>Dhurga</th>
<th>Djirringanj</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>this/here</td>
<td>nhay</td>
<td>njindji</td>
<td>njinj</td>
<td>njan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>that/there</td>
<td>nha</td>
<td>djin</td>
<td>djinj</td>
<td>njanja</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nham</td>
<td>njun</td>
<td>njandu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nharri</td>
<td>djiya</td>
<td>njandi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>njangi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>nungu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yonder</td>
<td>nhariya</td>
<td>djinadha</td>
<td>djinadha</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>djinganda</td>
<td>djinganda</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>far</td>
<td>wari</td>
<td>wari</td>
<td>wara</td>
<td>wari</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>then</td>
<td>yagun</td>
<td>yagun</td>
<td>yagun</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The forms translated as ‘yonder’ show some of the formatives, but they are difficult to label. It is likely that the marking on the roots are locative case markers. Similarly, there are forms in the texts such as the following examples which all show different case marking.

(238) yanilla wurriji meriro;
yani-la wari-dji mirirr-u
go-PST far-LOC top-ALL
He comes up the long way to the top. (DM-AM-1874-256-Ull/Bi-Bu1)

(239) Yukânga paianjalila nyellunji marungo nyello.
yagun-ga baya-ndjali-la njilu-ndjii mara-ngu njilu
then-? beat-REC-PST this-PURP? fish-ALL this
They fought for this fish. (DM-AM-1874-260-Ull/Th-Ee)

(240) Wunna, pārū minilla wanēkundi Tutawanyellla;
wana buru mini-la wana-ga-ndi Tutawa njila
oven.hole kangaroo hold-PST oven.hole-?-ABL Tutawa this.ERG
The oven-hole, Tootawa brought the kangaroo out of the oven-hole, (DM-AM-1877-272-Wand/Hu-TuPu)

More forms are found in the stories, including the recurring yagun ‘then’ with its various attached morphemes -du, -da and -nga or -ga, see (239) for one of the
examples showing this demonstratives that is also discussed in Chapter A.7 (Narrative and Discourse Analysis).
Chapter A.5 Verb Morphology

Based on the inflectional categories they can take, verbs are a distinct separate word class. This chapter looks at both inflectional and derivational morphology on South Coast Languages (SCLs hereon) verbs. It also includes a small number of clitics with directional and subordination function. Some suffixes were unanalysable at this stage but continuing work on the languages will hopefully fill some of the gaps. Unanalysed morphemes are not discussed here but are marked with question marks in the glossing and annotated in footnotes throughout Part B (Language Material).

As already noted in the previous Chapter 4, the reader may also notice a lack of paradigms to demonstrate suffixes in this chapter. This is due to the language material not providing examples that show a variety of suffixes on any one verb stem.

The analysis presented here is based exclusively on Mathews’ and Mackenzie’s collected sentences and stories. Mathews acknowledged the complexity of verb constructions and the information that can be conveyed by means of verb morphology.

There are variations in the verbal suffixes to convey such meanings as “I took from”, “I gave to”, “I caught for” and many others of a similar character. Such modifications, for the purpose of giving different shades of meaning, are almost endless. (1902d:104, Dhurga)

Apart from Dharrawal, the SCLs only show one conjugational class in verbs since inflections generally have a regular form across all verbs. This distinguishes this group of languages from many other New South Wales languages, especially those found inland, such as Ngiyampaa (Donaldson, 1980) or Gamilaraay (Giacon, pc). In this respect, it does group them closer to the NSW North Coast languages, such as Gumbaynggirr (Morelli, 2008), Dhanggati (Lissarrague, 2007) and Gathang (Lissarrague, 2010).
Dharrawal has different conjugation classes that are identified by the allomorphs of the tense suffixes. Exactly how many distinct conjugation classes exist in this language, or to fully understand each conjugation, is difficult to determine, as this would require more language data to reveal more information on inflectional suffixes across a large range of verbs.

Dharrawal is the only SCL that has pronominal clitics that can attach to the first word in a sentence. But for the sake of reader-friendliness they will be included under the terms of bound subject and object markers, unless discussed specifically. This chapter is organised according to different inflectional categories as they appear from the end of the word inwards towards the word stem. Later sections in this chapter look at derivational morphology of verbs.

Within tense marking we find different contrasts between the languages. Dhurga and Dharumba show a distinction between past and non-past. In Djirringanj, person marking is fused with tense and results in different forms of pronouns. Dharrawal and Dhurga also show a number of clitics that occur after person marking on the verb. These have mainly temporal function or mark for subordination (see Chapter A.6 (Syntax)).

The chapter is organised according to inflectional or derivational categories and language; individual languages are then listed within each category where applicable data exists.

A.5.1 Bound pronouns and pronominal clitics

The SCLs use bound pronouns more so than free pronouns. Subject and object are marked in that order in verb-final position. However, there is the exception in Djirringanj, where the future tense marker appears after person marking on the verb.
Different tenses demand different forms of bound pronouns in Djirringanj; this has not been observed in the other SCLs.

As previously mentioned, Dharrawal is the only SCL that contains pronominal clitics. Numerous examples show the person marking on the first word in a sentence, rather than having to be on the verb. See also Chapter A.6 (Syntax) for examples and discussion of the use of clitics. For ease of reading, the forms of the Dharrawal pronominal clitics are also included here along with the other SCLs bound pronouns.

Bound pronouns and pronominal clitics in the SCLs are listed in Table 21 below. Object pronouns other than 1s and 2s are only found in small numbers within the whole corpus and have in some cases conflicting forms. Only the most common forms are listed here. Other forms can be found in the stories and collected sentences in Part B, but they only occur in isolated instances. Shaded spaces indicate a lack of examples in the language material.

Note that 3rd person is included in this paradigm even though these are not formally bound pronouns but rather demonstratives. However, these are the commonly used forms used for this function.

Bound possessive pronouns are listed in Table 22 in Chapter 6 (Syntax).
Table 21. Subject and object bound pronouns/clitics in the South Coast languages

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Dharrwal</th>
<th>Dharumba</th>
<th>Dhurga</th>
<th>Djirringanj</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>subject</td>
<td>object</td>
<td>subject</td>
<td>object</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1s</td>
<td>= ngay</td>
<td>= (n)dhān</td>
<td>- ga</td>
<td>- ngga PRST</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>= ndjan</td>
<td>= yan</td>
<td>- ngga</td>
<td>- ga PST</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- ya FUT</td>
<td>- ya FUT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ndja</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2s</td>
<td>= bi</td>
<td>= njin(g)</td>
<td>- ni nPST</td>
<td>- ni PRST/PST</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- li PST</td>
<td>- li PST</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- yi FUT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- nj PST/FUT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3s</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>Ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1id</td>
<td>= nga(l)</td>
<td>= ngalung</td>
<td>-ng(a)</td>
<td>- nga PRST/PST/FUT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-ng</td>
<td>- nga PST</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- nga FUT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- ngala PST</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1ed</td>
<td>= ngali(ng)</td>
<td>= ngalin</td>
<td>-ngala</td>
<td>-ngalu PRST/PST</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-ngala</td>
<td>-ngalunga PST</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- nga langa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d</td>
<td>= (m)(b)ul</td>
<td>= wul</td>
<td>-nu</td>
<td>-mbul PRST/PST</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>= mbula</td>
<td>= mbulung</td>
<td>-lu</td>
<td>-mbulu PST</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-(w)u</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-lu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d</td>
<td>= mbula</td>
<td>= wulung</td>
<td>-wara</td>
<td>-mbula PRST/PST</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>= wula</td>
<td>= wulung</td>
<td>-wara</td>
<td>-mbula FUT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1p</td>
<td>= nja(ng)</td>
<td>= njanung</td>
<td>-nj</td>
<td>-nja PRST/PST</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-njana</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-nj</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-ngana</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1ep</td>
<td>= ngil</td>
<td>= njanin</td>
<td>-njina</td>
<td>-njila PRST/PST</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-njanga</td>
<td>-njila FUT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2p</td>
<td>= nhurr</td>
<td>= nhurr</td>
<td>-nu</td>
<td>-nju PRST/PST</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>= nhurr</td>
<td>= nhurr</td>
<td>-na</td>
<td>-nju FUT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3p</td>
<td>= wa</td>
<td>= dhānun</td>
<td>-dha</td>
<td>-ndja PRST/PST</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>= dhanung</td>
<td>= dhānun</td>
<td>-waraga</td>
<td>-ndja FUT</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Dharrwal, Dharumba and Dhurga also use a fused form of 1<sup>st</sup> person (subject) doing something to 2<sup>nd</sup> person (object) -gun, which is shortened to 1s/2s.OBJ in the glossing.

(1) maran (fish) ngamāoogoogān (I’ll give you)
    mara ngama-wu-gun
    fish give-IRR-1s/2s.OBJ
    **I will give you fish... (U-M.2.2-148)**
A.5.2 Tense marking in the SCLs

Identifying tense marking strategies in the SCLs was possibly the most confusing task in the language analyses. There are so many discrepancies between Mathews’ published tense marking patterns and the examples found in his manuscripts that his published paradigms could not be confirmed. Adding Mackenzie’s material to the corpus increased the confusion; therefore the strategies listed in this chapter are based on a ‘safety-in-number’ approach. I refrained from discussing irregularities and discrepancies here; these are pointed out in the form of footnoted comments in Part B (Source Material).

Tense is marked in different ways in each of the SCLs. Tense suffixes differ in form between the languages and in Djirringanj tense also affects the form of the bound pronouns.

Dharrawal marks verbs for past, present and future tense. In Dhurga and Dharumba, tense is distinguished between past and non-past, where non-past suffixes mark for state of affairs taking place in the present time of speaking, in a point of time following the time of speaking, and also for state of affairs that may have taken or might take place at some stage. See also discussions on modal marking.

Degrees of remoteness in time are expressed by means of temporal words. It is possible that some of the unanalysed verb suffixes in Mackenzie’s text express remoteness or other temporal relationship, but this remains unresolved at this stage. The temporal words will be discussed in Chapter A.6 (Syntax).

A.5.2.1 Dharrawal tense marking

Past, present and future tense are marked on the verb by respective suffixes; but future tense has also been found without the future tense marker, and only a verb stem final
There are allomorphic variations between verbs which may suggest that there are, or may have been, different verb conjugations. However, apart from a small number of verbs that occur frequently in the corpus, the majority of verbs only occur in very small numbers and are often restricted to one speaker or within one story, which means that the possibility of individual speakers’ preference for one or the other is a factor that needs to be taken into consideration.

The following Dharrawal verb paradigm is found in Mathews’ published grammar (1901b:142), which shows the distinction between the three tenses. According to this paradigm, past is marked with -ya, present with -yi and future is unmarked with verb-final vowel /a/; with 3rd person singular subject, the verb ends in ng. In present and future tense, 2nd person singular marker is =nj, in past tense =bi.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tense</th>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Past</td>
<td>&lt;Bulmai&gt;</td>
<td>He struck</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&lt;Bulmaingul&gt;</td>
<td>We [two] struck, inclusive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Present</td>
<td>&lt;Bulmaia&gt;</td>
<td>He strikes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&lt;Bulmaiangul&gt;</td>
<td>We [two] strike, inclusive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Future</td>
<td>&lt;Bulmang&gt;</td>
<td>He will strike</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&lt;Bulmangul&gt;</td>
<td>We [two] will strike, inclusive</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In reality, the marking of tense throughout the whole of the Dharrawal corpus is often confusing and contradicting, but a general pattern could be identified and is presented here without elaborate discussion of irregular occurrences. These are pointed out via footnotes in the glossing of the stories and the sentences (see Part B (Language Sources)).

**A.5.2.1.1 Dharrawal past tense**

Events and actions that happened prior to the time of speaking are marked with variations of the past tense marker, i.e. -ya, -nja, -dha or -dja; all containing the same final /a/. All variations are shown below with a list of verbs that have been found with each particular form. In some cases the same verb was found with two or three variations. Ngayi- ‘carry’ and bindha- for example have been transcribed with -ya and
-dha; the latter is also found marked with -la in one instance where the causative
marker -ma is attached to the verb. Other verbs show the same past tense suffix form
regardless of whether the verb is further marked with the causative marker or not, i.e.
yiri- ’throw’ and yirima- ’send someone’ both use -ya to mark for past tense.

Each variation also lists an example taken from Mackenzie’s and Mathews’
material where possible.

A.5.2.1.1.1 -ya

(2) juggarnañ bunnabiу dhundya ngaimaia
djagarananj Bunnabi-yu dhanj-dja ngayi-ma-ya
boy Bunnabi-ALLfish-INSTR bring-CONT-PST
the boy Bunnabi to fish carried (A-M.1.4-133)

(3) Murra-murra maunmirria, ngaimaia Kangargraon;
marra~marra mawumiri-ya ngayi-ma-ya Kangargrawan
mullet~REDUP river-LOC carry-CONT-PST Kangargrawan
He got the mullet from the river, took it up to Kanga-grown; (A-AM-1874:255-Nu)

Verbs that take -ya for past tense marker are listed below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun-dju-</th>
<th>become</th>
<th>bunda-</th>
<th>cut</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>babuga-</td>
<td>bite</td>
<td>burwa-</td>
<td>fall, drop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>badhaba-</td>
<td>hang up</td>
<td>dhara-</td>
<td>stand on</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>badjba-</td>
<td>jump up</td>
<td>dhara(d)ba-</td>
<td>go through</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bala-</td>
<td>return</td>
<td>dhunga-</td>
<td>cry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bali-</td>
<td>die</td>
<td>dhura-</td>
<td>spear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ban-</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>dhurawa-</td>
<td>spit out</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bandha-</td>
<td>use</td>
<td>djaladjila-</td>
<td>comes back</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bara-</td>
<td>find</td>
<td>djana-</td>
<td>go</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>barilanggana-</td>
<td>disappear</td>
<td>djawa-</td>
<td>run</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>barma-</td>
<td>step</td>
<td>dfurwa-</td>
<td>grow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>barra-</td>
<td>step into</td>
<td>gadbanha-</td>
<td>bite through</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baru-</td>
<td>come</td>
<td>gagarina-</td>
<td>hungry, be in want</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bidbari-</td>
<td>cover</td>
<td>gali-</td>
<td>cut, break</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>binda-</td>
<td>give</td>
<td>galina-</td>
<td>dance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bindha-</td>
<td>give</td>
<td>gama-</td>
<td>talk, speak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bula-</td>
<td>come?</td>
<td>garuga-</td>
<td>shout</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bulma-</td>
<td>hit, strike</td>
<td>garwa-</td>
<td>scratch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bumba-</td>
<td>be</td>
<td>gundhama-</td>
<td>burn</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
A.5.2.1.1.2 -dha

This is after -ya the second most commonly occurring variation of the past tense suffix.

(4) bindinmādha (he gave away) dyadyamurrinung warrangandya

bindinma-dha djadja-mara = nhung warranganj-dja
give.away-PST brother-kin = 3s.PSSRR boomerang-INSTR
he gave his brother’s boomerang away (A-M.2.6-1)

(5) yuindyu bindadhan(to me gave)
yuwinyj-dju bin-dha = dhan
man-ERG give-PST = 1s.OBJ
the man gave it to me (A-M.2.4-22)

Verbs that take the -dha past tense marker are listed below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>bin-</th>
<th>give</th>
<th>ngayama-</th>
<th>carry</th>
<th>also -ya</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bindinma-</td>
<td>give away</td>
<td>ngubima-</td>
<td>fill</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dharan-</td>
<td>step on</td>
<td>wurwama-</td>
<td>divide</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>djalundjurana-</td>
<td>look back</td>
<td>yan-</td>
<td>go</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>garangama-</td>
<td>steal</td>
<td>yanga-</td>
<td>tickle</td>
<td>also -ya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>man-</td>
<td>catch</td>
<td>yun-</td>
<td>put into</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngal-</td>
<td>want</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
A.5.2.1.1.3 -nja

Only two examples occur with this form of the tense marker and they occur in consecutive sentences in Mathews’ publication. Neither verb is found in any of the stories.

(6) *ngurrungalla mundha gulanya*
    ngarangal-a mundha gula-nja
    woman-ERG snake kill-PST
    a woman a snake killed (A-M.1.4-131)

(7) *ngurrungalla moondha yoorinya*
    ngarangal-a mundha yuri-nja
    woman-ERG snake kill-PST
    the woman a snake killed (A-M.1.2-106)

Verbs that take the past tense marker -nja are shown below.

```
gula- kill
yuri- hit, kill
```

A.5.2.1.1.4 -dja

*Dhanj- ‘eat’* is always inflected with this form of the past tense marker, which might suggest that -dja is a variation of -dha and the palatal stop being determined by the verb-stem final palatal nasal.

(8) *16. ngaldha (he) dhūndyilbul (would have) nha bugganyunggang(husks or rhodes?) gulung-gūdha dhūndya.*
    ngal-dha dhanj-djilbal nhay baganjeggang gulung-ga-dha dhanj-dja
    want-PST? eat-? that husks pig-ERG-SUB eat-PST
    ‘And he would fain have filled his belly with the husks that the swine did eat; (A-M.2.6-21-PoPS)

One other example with a different verb is found with -dja as a possible past tense marker, see *yanma- ‘let go’*. Because this is an isolated example it is listed here with caution.
Nanaridyan[dawulung](his mother in law) yenmandyawulung(let them out).

nanari = djan = da  
yan-ma-ndja = wulung  
mother.in.law = 1s.PSSR = ERG?  go-CAUS-PST = 3d.OBJ

‘my mother in law let them go’ (A-M.2.6-26-GW)

A.5.2.1.2 Dharrawal present tense

The different forms found are -di (or -dhi), -yi and possibly -li. But occurrences of verbs in present tense are remarkably rarer than for past tense.

A.5.2.1.2.1 -di

The uncertainty remains whether the form is -dhi or -di. The majority of examples are found in Mackenzie’s stories; Mackenzie did not transcribe dental sounds as often as Mathews did.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>burwa-</th>
<th>fall</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>djawi-njinda</td>
<td>run away</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nan-</td>
<td>see</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngara-</td>
<td>hear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yand-ingai’ (narremang) (present)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yan-di = ngay</td>
<td>narimang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>go-PRST = 1s</td>
<td>away</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I am walking. (A-M.2.6-14)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The frequently occurring verb yan- ‘go’ is transcribed by both collectors with the form -di, but ngara- ‘hear’, which is found in three instances in present tense, is found transcribed with -dhi by both collectors.

(10) yandingai’ (narremang) (present)
yan-di = ngay narimang
go-PRST = 1s away
I am walking. (A-M.2.6-14)

(11) – ṅurundthilanai Guiaiin,
ngara-ndhi = lana71 guya -yiin
hear-PRST-3p.OBJ south-ABL
The Southron [sic] heard them. (A-AM-1874:260-Pl)

---

71 Lana could be a variation of the 3p object marker found in other instances as = ndhana.
A.5.2.1.2.2 -yi

(12) buru ntha bullawari-miiriri ngullai
    buru nha balawari mirrr-i ngala-iy
kangaroo that hill top-LOC sit-PRST
kangaroo that on the hilltop sits (A-M.1.4-147)

(13) goo-row ra dhine(eats)-mi jerramboonga(leaves)
gurawura dhanjma-iy djarambunga
possum eat-PRST leaves
the possum eats leaves (A-M.2.2-98)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>babaga-</th>
<th>bite</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bawanj-</td>
<td>climb up</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bindi-</td>
<td>give</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bulma-</td>
<td>strike, hit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bumba-</td>
<td>be</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dhaliba-</td>
<td>go up</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dhanjma-</td>
<td>eat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>djamba-</td>
<td>be thirsty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dja-wula-</td>
<td>run-HITHER</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>galanja-</td>
<td>be hungry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>galima-</td>
<td>like WW</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>gam-</th>
<th>speak</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nagung-VBLS</td>
<td>good-be</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngala-</td>
<td>sit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngayi-</td>
<td>bring</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wanama-</td>
<td>put in</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yalamba-</td>
<td>come back</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yangga-</td>
<td>sing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yan-gula-</td>
<td>come-HITHER-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yari-</td>
<td>carry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yiriba-</td>
<td>go into</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Two instances show a present tense construction with the marker -li. Note that these examples are isolated instances and we have no further examples to verify the marking.

(14) mandilleendhan
    mandi-li = ndhan
take.from-PRST = 1s.OBJ
taking from me (A-M.2.5-45)

(15) dyan-mul-lin-nyang
    djanma-li = njang
hunt-PRST = 1ip
hunting (A-M.2.2-94)
**A.5.2.1.3 Dharrawal future**

According to Mathews’ observations and examples in the whole of the Dharrawal corpus, there seem to be two strategies to mark future tense on the verb. In Mathews’ published paradigms, future tense is not overtly marked on the verb, only with the verb-stem final vowel *a*.

**A.5.2.1.3.1 Unmarked**

(16) *Bindenying*

binda = njing

give to.FUT = 2s.OBJ

*will give to thee (A-M.2.5-45)*

In verbs with 3rd person singular subject, the verb stem shows a final *-ng*, which may just be a future marker or a portmanteau expressing future tense and person.

(17) *Bulmang*

bulma = ng

beat = (3s.)FUT

*He will strike (A-M.1.4-142)*

**A.5.2.1.3.2 -wa**

The irrealis suffix *-wa* marks future events or events that have not occurred at the time of speaking, including modal constructions which will be discussed further in this chapter and in Chapter A.6 (Syntax).

(18) *Ijinda mundabong kullywaŋal da bungun kullywaŋal do kündā.*

ngindamundabang gali-wa = ngal da banggan galiya-wa = ngal da gunda

bring tomahwak cut-IRR = 1id DEM vine cut-IRR = 1id DEM tree

*Bring the tomahawk to cut the vines and mark the trees. (A-AM-1874:251)*

(19) *yerriwanging yuinfeldu warrangandya*

yiri-wa = njing yuwinj-dju warranganj-dja

throw-IRR = 2s.OBJ man-ERG boomerang-INSTR

*a man will throw a boomerang at thee (A-M.2.3-51)*
A.5.2.2 Dharumba and Dhurga tense marking

There is conflicting information found between Mathews’ published analyses and the data found in Mathews’ unpublished sentences and Mackenzie’s transcriptions. In both the published articles, as well as his notebooks, Mathews offers paradigms that demonstrate tense marking. But the paradigms add confusion. For example, in his published *The Tharumba Language* (1902c:60), it is not clear which morphemes to isolate and identify as tense markers. In these examples, -la occurs in both present and past tense, but the marking as posited by Mathews here cannot be confirmed with any other examples in his notebooks, nor with Mackenzie’s collected material. Note that the translation is Mathews’.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tense</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Present</td>
<td>(&lt;\text{jummaganga-ri-la-ga}&gt; I am quite well. )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Past</td>
<td>(&lt;\text{jummaganga-bu-lla-ga}&gt; I was quite well. )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Future</td>
<td>(&lt;\text{jummagangu-rin-ga}&gt; I will be quite well. )</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The following analysis is therefore based on examples that are recurring and that can be found in both Mathews’ and Mackenzie’s language material.

Dharumba and Dhurga tense show a distinction between past and non-past. The following sections will discuss the distinction and marking in both Dharumba and Dhurga.

A.5.2.3 Dharumba and Dhurga past tense

Past is marked with the suffix -l(a) (-la in Dharumba, -l in Dhurga). In verbs with a 3rd person singular subject of an intransitive verb or where the verb is not further inflected after the past tense suffix, the final vowel /a/ is omitted in Dhurga but is expressed in Dharumba. In past tense construction with second person singular subject, the past tense marker and 2s bound pronoun are fused from -la-nji to -li, see (24).
A.5.2.3.1 Dharumba past tense

(20) *Thitbulo wakâra, guia, ġurawan, kurrã,*
dhidhu-la wagara guya ngarawan garu
spit-PST north south sea(east?) north
[he] spate the blood west, south, east, and north. (DM-AM-1877-272-Wand/Hu-TuPu)

(21) *Bundulunŋ wunnalunyinga.*
Bundula-ng wuna-la-njinga
Bundoola-ABL leave-PST-1ep
*We have left Bundoola.* (DM-AM-1874-257-Ull/Th-Bu2)

A.5.2.3.2 Dhurga past tense

(22) *Kanyeel moo’dhoo-gal’laga*
ganji mudhu-la-ga
fire make-PST-1s
*I made a fire just now* (U-M.2.2-7)

(23) *Wad-dhung ara ñeeñ goongara*
wadhangarr-a badha-l njiinj gungara
dog-ERG bite-PST this/here possum
*The possum was killed by the dog.* (U-M.2.2-14)

(24) *Mul’lee wab oo-lee*
mali wabu-l-i
why go-PST-2s
*why did you go?* (U-M.2.2-47)

A.5.2.3.3 Dharumba and Dhurga non-past tense

Non-past is marked with the suffix -n(a) (-na in Dharumba, -n in Dhurga) on verbs with 2nd and 3rd person singular subjects. For 1st Person subjects, future and present tense are distinguished by using different verb stem-final vowels: /a/ marking for present tense and /u/ for future tense. The only difference between Dharumba and Dhurga tense marking is the omission of the tense suffix’s final vowel when the verb is not further inflected with bound pronouns, or other suffixes, after the tense marker. This is the case in verbs with a 3rd person subject in S function or where object is not marked on the verb by means of bound object pronoun.
A.5.2.3.3.1 Present tense

Present tense is marked with a non-past tense suffix -a(n) on verbs with 3rd person and 2nd person subjects, see (25) and (28). As with the past tense marker, when the subject is 2s, the form is fused from -na-nj to -ni, see (26) and (28). First person singular subject is not overtly marked other than with the verb stem-final vowel a, as in (27) and (30).

A.5.2.3.3.1.1 Dharumba present tense

(25) Dhadhūyine nanyēna barūngain jingundi.
dhadha-yina nanji-na barang-a-yin djin-gundi
elder brother-1p.PSSR look-nPST ship-ABL that/there-ALL
There is one brother looking over this way now. (DM-AM-1874:254)
Our brother is looking st here from the ship.

(26) Yanani,
yana-n-i
go-nPST-2s
thou goest. (DM-AM-1874:248)

(27) Kunmāga barūnga
ganma-ga barang
know.PRST-1s ship
I know that vessel (DM-AM-253)

A.5.2.3.3.1.2 Dhurga present tense

(28) ee-dhungooroo murnawarno mirrej’ig-ga ngoo-man
yidhungur-u murnawar-nu miridjiga nguma-n
mother-ERG daughter-3s.PSSR bandicoot give-nPST
A woman gives a bandicoot to her daughter. (U-M.2.2-15)

(29) yooka (how) nannomaŋ-ee
yuga nanama-n-i
how know-nPST-2s
how do you know? (U-M.2.2-47)

(30) ngadyoo ngoondaga neen
ngadju ngundha-ga njiinj
water drink.PRST-1s this
I am drinking water (U-M.2.2-42)
**A.5.2.3.3.2 Future Tense**

Future tense marking on verbs varies between Mathews’ and Mackenzie’s material and also within each collector’s corpus. The general observations are that Dhurga distinguishes future from present tense by the verb stem-final vowel \(u\) and the non-past suffix \(-n(a)\), following the same pattern as the present tense marking; and Dharumba can show the \(-wu/-ru\) suffixes with future function as well as marking as found in Dhurga. Depending on the verb, a suffix \(-wu/-ru\) is used instead of verb stem-final vowel. Note that a pattern on which verbs \(-wu/-ru\) is used has not been established.

Dharumba also uses the Dharrawal irrealis marker \(-wa\).

Because Dharumba seems to be in many ways a mix between Dhurga and Dharrawal, it may well be that some speakers may have preferred the use of alternative strategies. Both options are shown here.

In Dhurga verbs with 2\(^{nd}\) and 3\(^{rd}\) person subject, the non-past marker \(-n(a)\) follows the verb stem; for 1\(^{st}\) person only the verb stem-final vowel changes, no additional suffix is added, see (34) and (36).

Example (31) shows the use of the Dharumba future tense marker \(-wu\). Examples (32) and (33) show future tense constructions with only the verb stem-final vowel changed to \(u\), which is also the Dhurga strategy.

**A.5.2.3.3.2.1 Dharumba future tense**

(31) “Jakwaialiga, yanaonyi nënjiina”
    djagwayali-ga yana-wu-nji njiinj-djina
    be.ready-1s go-FUT-1ip this/here-that
    “I’m ready, we’ll go for him now. (DM-AM-1878-271-Wand/No-Tu)

(32) Maiüyi nënji, madtha mundija marâna nënji.
    mayu-nji njinji, madha marndidja mara-na njinji
    stay.FUT-2s this/here because meat run-PST this/here
    You stop here, because the game runs this way.’ (DM-AM-1874-257-Ull/Th-Bu2)
(33) Yanoga, 
yanu-ga 
go.FUT-1s\textsuperscript{72} 
I shall go. (DM-AM-1874:249)

A.5.2.3.3.2.2 Dhurga future tense

(34) yannon (he’ll go) mīooga (I’ll stop) 
yanu-n mayu-ga 
go.FUT-nPST sit.FUT-1s 
he’ll go instead of me (U-M.2.2-150) 
He will go (and) I will stay.

(35) yannoonee thoogandung 
yanu-n-i dhugan-dha-ng 
go.FUT-nPST-2s camp-ALL-ʔ 
go to thy camp (U-M.2.2-145)

(36) jamoo’go’jeen yooiñ 
djamu-ga djiinj yuwinj 
speak.FUT-1s that man 
I’m going to speak to that man (U-M.2.2-42)

A.5.2.4 Djirringanj Tense marking

Djirringanj distinguishes between past, present and future tense. All tenses are expressed by the use of suffixes. Additionally, the form of the first person singular bound pronoun changes in each of the tenses, see Table 21 for forms. Non-singular first person pronouns do not change, nor do 2\textsuperscript{nd} person bound pronouns. Although this is not an uncommon occurrence in AALs, it is not found commonly in south-eastern AALs.

The future tense marker follows the bound pronouns on the verb construction.

A.5.2.4.1 Djirringanj past tense

Past tense is marked with suffix -\textit{ba}.

\textsuperscript{72} The underling form here is likely to be \textit{yana-wu-ga ‘go-FUT-1s’}.
(37) **moo gi-a-ba**
    mundur gaya-ba
    strong be-PST
    he was strong (DJ-M.2.2-56)

(38) **moondoor moondoor(strong) giaban’-gee**
    mundur gaya-ba-ngi
    strong be-PST-2s
    thou wast strong (DJ-M.2.2-56)

(39) **moondoor mooramajee (=big) giâbugga**
    muramadjji gaya-ba-ga
    big be-PST-1s
    I was strong (DJ-M.2.2-56)

A.5.2.4.2 Djirringanj present tense

Present tense is marked with the suffix *-ma*.

(40) **Mirreega nguggâma koongara**
    miriga ngaga-ma gungara
    dog bite-PRST possum
    A dog bites a possum. (DJ-M.2.3-1)

(41) **moondoor moorumâga(big) giajâmung**
    murumaga gaya-dja-ma-ng
    big be-?-PRST-2s
    thou art strong (DJ-M.2.2-56)

(42) **Biamungañ**
    baya-ma-nga-nj
    tell-PRST-1s-2s.OBJ
    I am telling you. (DJ-M.2.3-2)

A.5.2.4.3 Djirringanj future tense

Future tense is marked by use of a suffix, or possibly clitic, *-bala*, which occurs after subject and object pronoun; see (43) - (45).

(43) **moondoor gi-ub’ala**
    mundur gaya-bala
    strong be-FUT
    he will be strong DJ-M.2.2-57
A.5.3 Aspect in the South Coast Languages

Suffixes falling into this category do not impact on the transitivity of the verb or have other syntactic functions. Yallop (1982:107) describes the function of aspect as referring “to the speaker’s perspective of the duration, momentariness or completeness of an action”. Aspect can also be expressed by morphological means or by reduplication where continued action is concerned. Suffixes with aspectual function occur between the verb stem and tense marking.

It is likely that a large proportion of the unanalysed verbal morphemes found in Mackenzie’s texts have aspectual functions that are not listed in this chapter. Here I will only list those that have been found in several instances or where the translation gives sufficient clues to any given morpheme’s function.

A.5.3.1 Continued action

The ‘continued action’ suffix marks the action as incompleted at the specific time. Donaldson (1980:191) explains the function of the continued action in Ngiyampaa that “it indicates that an action or series of actions is continued with a degree of commitment by the subject or agent”. In the SCLs the continuous suffix precedes the tense marker in all SCLs. Compare the following two examples, from the same series of elicitations in Mathews’ notebooks, which show the distinction in aspect. (Degrees
of remoteness in time are expressed by means of temporal words; examples of these are given in Chapter 6 (Syntax).)

(46)  *kanyee moodhoo-gam-burl’-a-ga*
    ganji  mudhuga-mba-la-ga
    fire    make-CONT-PST-1s
    *I was making a fire some time ago (U-M.2.2-7)*

(47)  *kanyee moo’dhoo-gal’laga*
    ganji  mudhuga-la-ga
    fire    make-PST-1s
    *I made a fire just now (U-M.2.2-7)*

**A.5.3.1.1 Dharrawal continued action - *ma***

Curiously, no unambiguous examples have been found in the Dharrawal corpus. Although Mackenzie’s and Mathews’ translations suggest a continued action in many instances, the morphology of the verb does not overtly do so. Examples that were analysable as showing continued action are small in number and the suffixes are presented here with caution. The available examples with -*ma* all occur on transitive verbs, intransitive verbs are not found with a continuous action, but one example suggests that this may be expressed by means of reduplication, see Chapter A.6 (Syntax).

(48)  *Gumma gaimathaua; Külwaiona*
    gama  ngaya-ma-dha = wa  gula-wayana
    spear  carry-CONT-PST = 3p  spear-?
    *They fetch spears, walk round him. (A-AM-1874-250-YK)*
    **they were carrying spears**

(49)  *Murra-murra maunmirria, ngaimaia Kangargraon;*
    marra~marra  mawunmiri-ya  ngayi-ma-ya  Kangargrawan
    mullet~REDUP  river-LOC  carry-CONT-PST  Kangaroo.Ground
    *He got the mullet from the river, took it up to Kanga-grown; (A-AM-1874:255-Nu)*

**A.5.3.1.2 Dharumba continued action - *mba***

This suffix is found in a relatively large number of examples in Dhurga, but to a much smaller extent in the Dharumba corpus. The form of the suffix is the same in both
languages and the analysis of the Dhurga suffix can be successfully transposed onto the Dharumba language. In example (50), the English translation may give a clue to the continuity of the action at the time.

(50) *Pālāngūl Karāmbila.*

Bulungul gara-mba-la

Bulungul immerse-CONT-PST

*Pooloongool was getting drowned.* DM-AM-Wan-Hu-TuPu

(51) *Yanaoya maranj; Kulambaroga maranj;*

yana-wa-ga mara-nji; gula-mba-ra-ga mara-nji;
go-IRR-1s fish-PURP spear-CONT-?-1s fish-PURP

*I go fishing, I am going to spear fish; (DM-AM-1874-256-Ull/Bi-Bu1)*

I’m going for fish; I will be spearing for fish.

**A.5.3.1.3 Dhurga continued action -mba**

As in Dharumba, continued action is expressed with the suffix -mba on the verb.

(52) *kanyee(fire) moo-dhoo-gam-ber-â-ga(I am making)*

ganji mudhuga-mba-ra-ga

fire make-CONT-?-1s

*I am making a fire (U-M.2.2-7)*

**A.5.3.1.4 Djirringanj continued action**

There are only a few sentences that may show a morphological distinction between expressions such as ‘I eat’ and expressions with a continuous aspect, i.e. ‘I am eating’. Two distinct suffixes are found in these; both are shown here but a definite analysis has not been possible to authoritatively determine which one, if either, is the definite strategy to mark continuous aspect.

Example (53) contains the suffix -gu instead of the present tense marker -ma, and the translations suggest a continuous aspect of the action. There are no further examples in other tenses.
A.5.3.1.4.1 -gu

(53) Bullåooongoonga bunggooree
    balawu-gu-ngga            bangguri
    going.along-PRST.CONT?-1s hill
  I’m going along the side of the hill. (DJ-M.2.3-11)

A.5.3.1.4.2 -mii(n)

The second possible suffix is -mii(n), which is close in form to the present tense suffix -ma, but Mathews clearly distinguished this with a long /ii/ rather than /a/.

(54) weengal(small boy) jumaga(good) warada ga’meen
    wiingal        djamaga        waradaga-mii-nj
  child        good        jump-CONT?-3s
  a good boy is jumping (DJ-M.2.2-60)

A.5.3.2 Habitual aspect in South Coast Languages

In AALs, habitual aspect is most often found “in mythological texts and historical narratives” (Austin, 1998). Although the Dharrawal and Dharumba corpus consists of a number of narratives, only a few examples could be analysed as showing distinct habitual marking on verbs. This may imply that the SCLs use similar strategies for marking habitual mood as other NSW AALs. In the Hunter River Lake Macquarie language (Lissarrague, 2006:77), Dhanggati (Lissarrague, 2007:44) and Gumbaynggirr (Morelli, unpublished:32), for example, habitual is expressed with the present tense suffix. However, the neighbouring language Gandangara has a distinct suffix -dji that signals habitual aspect on verbs (Besold, 2003:54).

The following example is presented here based on the English translation, which implies habitual; but is included rather for further discussion or comparative purposes. No appropriate examples have been found amongst the Dharrawal, Dhurga and Djirringanj language material.
A.5.3.2.1 Dharumba habitual -nda

One Dharumba example that may show a habitual suffix, based on the context of the story and the English translation, is shown here.

(55) yibundaio yakânjo waoari.
    yibu-nda-yu yagunju-wawari
    blows-HAB? all.the.time
    it blows now all the while. (DM-AM-1877-272-Wand/Hu-TuPu)

A.5.4 Voice

AALs have various strategies to change valency or transitivity of a verb. One such strategy is the addition of a causative suffix to the verb stem to derive a transitive verb from an intransitive verb. In many AALs, this suffix has the form of -ma (Dixon, 2002a:204). This form is found in various NSW AALs, including Dhanggati (Lissarrague, 2007) or the Sydney language (Steele, 2005:196). Since SCL verbs are intrinsically intransitive or transitive, such a derivational suffix is used in verbs such as ‘fall’ or ‘grow’, which changes the semantics of the verb ‘to fall’ to ‘to make fall’, or ‘to grow’ to ‘to make grow’.

There are no examples found amongst the Dhurga and Djirringanj language material.

A.5.4.1 Causative in the South Coast Languages

A.5.4.1.1 Dharrawal causative -ma

In example (56), -ma changes the intransitive verb ‘go’ yan- into a transitive verb and changing the sense ‘to let go’, and in (57) it djurwa- ‘seed’ into ‘make it seed’.
Gwaiamin nhaiang (there) bait-be-anya (he jumped up) dyurang (angry)- madha (because) yuggaia (he said) Nanaridyanda [wulung] (his mother in law) yenmandyawulung (let them out).

he said, ‘my mother in law let them go’ (A-M.2.6-26-GW)

yui yenda dyurwammurri (sow) [yerrimurri (scatter) (added above, alternative) wullanhunga namarungguli.

A worker went away on purpose to scatter his seeds (A-M.2.6-18-PoS3)

Compare (57) to djurwa- in the following example, which lacks the causative suffix.

Dyurwalalla (sprung of it) bullijullaia (died it after) nhai (it),

djurwa-la-ya-la bali-djala-ya nhay

...and as soon as it grew, it withered away... (A-M.2.6-17-PoS2)

A.5.4.1.2 Dharumba Causative -ma

-ma is found on a number of verbs changing an intransitive verb into a transitive one as in the case of guna ‘burn’ to gunama ‘to burn/roast/cook something’.

Kuritjabunjila, ililla thögunko; Kunamimbülilla!

garidja bandji-la yili-la dhugan-ga gana-ma-mbu-li-la

shoulder carry-PST carry-PST camp-LOC burn-CAUS-CONT-?PST

carried it on his shoulder, took it to the camp, roasted it, (DM-AM-1877-272-Wand/Hu-TuPu)

A.5.4.1.3 Dhurga and Djirringanj causative

There are no examples in the Dhurga and Djirringanj corpus that satisfactorily could be analysed as a causative suffixes.

A.5.4.2 Benefactive in South Coast Languages

A recipient or beneficiary of an action can be expressed on the verb by means of attaching a suffix. The benefactive suffix can be attached to transitive and intransitive verbs.
A.5.4.2.1 Dharrawal benefactive

The Dharrawal corpus shows two distinct suffixes that encode a benefactive function. Both -gunhala and -di express that the action is done for the benefit of someone.

A.5.4.2.1.1 -gunhala

The following two examples are sequential in Mathews’ collected story of Gwayaminj.

(60) Ngubbamwuraualhung (their mother) manmadawulung manmagun (got)-nhaliaulung (them other two) dyunbulaliwala (two other fish).
ngaba-mara = wulanhung manma-gunhala-ya = wulung dhanj-bulali-wala
mother-KIN = 3d.PSSR get-BEN-PST = 3d.OBJ fish-DU-OTHER

Their mother got two other fish for them. (A-M.2.6-24-GW)

(61) yunmagunalaiaulung nyingili (in same) gūrruŋgungga.
yunma-gunhala-ya = wulung njin-gili gurabang-ga
put-BEN-PST = 3d.OBJ this-same? stone-LOC

She put them (fish) for them (children) into the same hole. (A-M.2.6-24-GW)

A.5.4.2.1.2 -di

(62) gamadigun
gama-di = gum

I talk for thee etc (A-M.2.6-2)

(63) babundung watgamâdeendhan warrangandya
baba = ndhung wadgama-di = ndhan waranganj-dja
father = 1s.PSSR? make-BEN = 1s.OBJ boomerang-INSTR

my father makes for me a boomerang (A-M.2.2-158)

A.5.4.2.2 Dhurga benefactive

In the following three examples in the Dhurga corpus, a beneficiary is expressed on verb with one of three different suffixes. In the first example the morphology suggests that -muli has this function. But note that an alternative analysis might be that the benefactive suffix is -mu and -li is a past tense marker. This would mean that -muga is also a combination of -mu and -ga, the function for -ga is not clear.
A.5.4.2.2.1 -mu(li)

(64)  yooindyoo jarrooga dhubbamoolleengga
       yuwini-dju djaruga dhabaga-muli-ngga
       man-ERG wallaby catch-BEN-1s.OBJ
       a man caught a wallaby for me (U-M.1.1-58)

A.5.4.2.2 -nama

However, in example (65), the suffix -nama is employed for the same function.

(65)  jamaamagoon
       djamu-nama-gun
       talk.FUT-BEN-1s/2s.OBJ
       I talk for thee (U-M.1.1-58)

A.5.4.2.2.3 -muga

(66)  warranga (the child) eeneemuggum ((dual) we’ll do it)|mooganggang(for him)
       warranga yijdjima-muga-nga-ng
       child do.it-BEN?-1lip-3s.OBJ
       We will do it for the child. (U-M.2.2-148)

A.5.4.2.3 Djirringanj benefactive

There are no recorded examples of a benefactive construction in the Djirringanj corpus.

A.5.4.3 Reciprocal

In AALs, reciprocal and reflexive constructions are expressed by means of verbal suffixes that can be added to transitive verbs to behave like detransitivisers where the subject also becomes the object.

Reflexive and reciprocal verbs occur only in intransitive constructions - the single core NP is in S function and involves a noun in absolutive and/or a pronoun in nominative case. (Dixon, 2002a:433)

In Dharrawal and Djirringanj, reflexive and reciprocal have their own suffixes, and are not shared like in some other NSW AALs such as Gandangara (Besold, 2003).
This observation also contradicts Eades’ (1976) findings which suggest that both Dhurga and Djirringanj have one suffix each that expresses both; Eades did analyse different markers for reciprocal and reflexive in Dharrawal. Reflexive markers are listed in the following section.

The reciprocity suffixes occur before tense marking and person marking. This observation is based on the few examples that are in non-present tense; the majority of examples are present tense and do not seem to be marked other than with a verb-stem final vowel. The agents are marked on the verb with subject person markers.

**A.5.4.3.1 Dharrawal Reciprocal -la**

Reciprocity is marked with the suffix -la. Mathews offered the following examples in his published grammar; additional examples within the whole Dharrawal corpus are rare and none are found in Mackenzie’s material.

Examples presented in Mathews’ publications could be either past or present tense as the verb is ‘beat’ and the English translation does not distinguish between the two. Taking into consideration that Mathews generally uses the imperfective aspect for present tense English translations, i.e. ‘I am going’ rather than ‘I go’, it is likely that examples (67) and (68) are past tense. There is no overt tense marking, but according to the pattern in the reflexive marking in Dharrawal, it is plausible that the past tense here is marked by the vowel on the suffix -la for past and -li for present tense.

(67) *Bulmullangul*
bulma-la = ngal
beat-REC = 1id
*We two, incl., beat each other (A-M.1.4-144)*

(68) *Bulmullumbul*
bulma-la = mbul
beat-REC = 2d
*You two beat each other (A-M.1.4-144)*
(69) Gunbalangali (they were headstrong) dhunggaiula (they cried) būndullari (taking each others) dhundya (fish).

gunbalangali dhungga-ya = wula bundha-la-ri dhanj-dja stubborn? cry-PST = 3d take-REC-PURP fish-DAT

(But) they were stubborn and cried over taking each others’ fish. (A-M.2.6-24-GW)

A.5.4.3.2 Dharumba and Dhurga reciprocal -ndjali

In Dharumba and Dhurga the suffix -ndjali marks for reciprocity, and also reflexivity and is therefore glossed as RR (reflexive and reciprocal). Because available example sentences do not show fully expressed subject or object noun phrases, it is unclear whether valency is affected by addition of the reciprocal suffix. Note that example (70), taken from one of Mackenzie’s collected stories, does not show any person marking on the verb.

(70) Yukûŋa paianjališa nyellunjji marungo nyello.
yagunga baya-ndjali-la njilu-nji mara-ngu njila then beat-RR-PST this-PURP fish-ALL DEM

They fought for this fish. (DM-AM-1874-260-Ull/Th-Ee)

Past tense is marked on the verb in example (70), but is not clear in the remaining examples. Present tense is generally marked by the verb stem final vowel a and the non-past suffix -n(a).

(71) Nyamundyaliang
njama-ndjali-wang
give.PRST-RR-1id
we, dual, exchange or barter (DM-M.1.8-60)

(72) ngamanjâleeang warranganburra (inserted)
ngama-ndjali-wang warranganj-bar
give-RR-1id boomerang-DU
we’ll swap boomerangs (U-M.2.2-148)

(73) jum’munjaleewang’ala
djama-ndjali-(wa)ngala
speak-RR-1ed
we both talking (U-M.2.2-42)
We talk to each other.
A.5.4.3.3 Djirringanj reciprocal -(li)djaga

The reciprocity suffix in Djirringanj is -lidjaga or more likely -djaga. Examples are sparse and only in present tense according to the translation. It is possible that -lidjaga contains a present tense marker in the segment -li, instead of the usual present tense suffix -ma.

(74) Wammullidyagunga
wama-li-djaga-nga
beat-PRST?-REC-1id
We, incl., are beating each other (DJ-M.1.5-165)

(75) Wammullidyaganyilla
wama-li-djaga-njila
beat-PRST?-REC-1ep
We, excl., are beating each other (DJ-M.1.5-165)

This analysis is based on the only two other reciprocal examples, the reciprocal imperative construction which lacks the suffix initial segment -li, see (76) and (77). See also discussion on Djirringanj imperitive construction in A.5.5.1.3.3.

(76) Wammadyagalul
wama-djaga-lul
beat-REC-2d
Dual Beat each other (DJ-M.1.5-166)

(77) Wammadyagalünyu
wama-djaga-lu-nju
beat-REC-?-2p
Plurak Beat each other (Dj-M.1.5-166)

A.5.4.4 Reflexive

Dharrawal’s reflexive suffix is -yil; Djirringanj uses -li. Dharumba and Dhurga share the suffix -ndjali to express both reciprocity and reflexivity on verbs. The reflexive suffix occurs between the verb stem and tense marking. Reflexive constructions are a rare occurrence within the SCLs corpus, but Mathews’ publications often list one or two examples. For Dharrawal, Mathews lists a full paradigm in all tenses.
A.5.4.4.1 Dharrawal reflexive -yil

Mathews provided a paradigm with reflexive constructions in all tenses. From the examples it seems that the suffix -yil is the form of the suffix and the following vowel expresses the tense; i.e. -i ‘present tense’, -ya ‘past tense’ and -u ‘future tense’.

(78)  *Bulmaililingai*
bulma-yil-i = ngay
beat-REFL-PRST = 1s
_I beat myself (A-M.1.4-144)_

(79)  *Bulmaililyangay*
bulma-yil-ya = ngay
beat-REFL-PST = 1s
_I have beaten myself (A-M.1.4-144)_

(80)  *Bulmailungai*
bulma-yil-u = ngay
beat-REFL-FUT = 1s
_I will beat myself (A-M.1.4-144)_

(81)  *ngoonanyanda bulmiceeelee*
nguna = njan = da bulma-yil-i
ought = 1ip = ? bulma-REFL-PRST
_we all ought to beat ourselves (A-M.2.2-175)_

(82)  *ngoonawoolia bulmeeeelee*
nguna = wula = ya bulma-yil-i
ought = 3d = ? beat-REFL-PRST
_they 2 ought to beat themselves (A-M.2.2-175)_

(83)  *Bulmailinzhur*
bulma-yil-i = nhurr
beat-REFL-PRST = 2p
_Beat yourselves (A-M.1.4-144)_

A.5.4.4.2 Dharumba reflexive -ndjali

Only two appropriate examples are found in the Dharumba corpus and both exhibit very different constructions. Example (84) seems to have the past tense suffix -la after the reflexive/reciprocal suffix, but person is not marked on the verb.
Yukûŋa paianjali nyellunji marungo nyello.
yagunga baya-ndjali-la njilu-ndji mara-ngu njilu
then beat-RR-PST this-PURP fish-ALL this
They fought for this fish. (DM-AM-1874-260-Ull/Th-Ee)

In comparison, (85) shows both subject and object marking. That is if we analyse the suffix between -ngga 1s.OBJ and -dju FUT as -ga; the first person subject marker.

Jeewa(might) jenjalleejûng ânga wanda.
djuwa dja-ndjali-dju-ga-ngga wanda
perhaps talk-RR-FUT-1s-1s.OBJ possible
Perhaps I’ll talk to myself. (DM-M.2.6-28)

Note also that the English translation suggests that this is reflexive but the suffix is the reciprocal suffix, and the verb shows both 1st person subject and object marker. This is unlike all other reflexive and reciprocal constructions in the SCLs, where agents are expressed with subject markers but objects are not expressed.

A.5.4.4.3 Dhurga reflexive -ndjali

There are no examples in Mathews notebooks that show the suffix -ndjali expressing reflexivity, but his published Dhurga grammar gives a small paradigm with reflexive constructions in all tenses. From these three examples, it seems that the tense is expressed by the final vowel on the suffix, i.e. i for present tense (86) and u for future tense (87). The morphology on the past tense construction (88) shows an additional suffix -wu, whose function is not known in this instance.

(86) Jamunjaleega
djamu-ndjali-ga
talk-RR-1s
I talk to myself (U-M.1.1-58)

(87) Jamunjalooga
djamu-ndjalu-ga
talk-RR-1s
I will talk to myself (U-M.1.1-58)
(88)  Jamunjaleeoolaga
djamu-ndjali-wu-la-ga
talk-RR-?-PST-1s
I talked to myself *(U-M.1.1-58)*

Within the unpublished material is one example that demonstrates the form and function of a possible different reflexive marker in Dhurga. The form is similar to that of -DHili Ngiyampaa (Donaldson, 1980:166), -ngiilli in Yuwaalaraay (Williams, 1980:83), -wili in Gandangara (Besold, 2003) and -djili in Wiradjuri (Grant and Rudder, 2005). In these languages the reflexive marker forms an intransitive verb stem from a transitive verb, even though the subject is marked with an ergative marker, which suggests a transitive verb, but the object is not expressed. This example is shown here to cautiously demonstrate a possible alternative reflexive suffix.

(89)  yooin dyoo jarrooga dhubbagamil-leel
yuuwinj-dju djaruga dhabaga-mili-l
man-ERG wallaby catch-REFL-PST
a man caught a wallaby for himself *(U-M.1.1-58)*

An alternative analysis for this example is that the -mili is a form of the benefactive marker as shown in A.5.4.2.2.

**A.5.4.4.4 Djirringanj reflexive -li**

In Djirringanj reflexive is marked with the suffix -li preceding the tense marker.

(90)  Wammullimungga
wama-li-ma-ngga
beat-REFL-PRST-1s
I am beating myself. *(DJ-M.1.5-165)*

(91)  Wammullibagga
wama-li-ba-ga
beat-REFL-PST-1s
I did beat myself, *(DJ-M.1.5-165)*
A.5.5 Mood and Modality in the South Coast Languages

Suffixes that fall into the category of mood convey information about modality. Modality expresses the speaker’s perception of the events or action being carried out, such as the speaker’s expectations, desire or knowledge. Due to the availability of text material available for Dharrawal and Dharumba, more information on modal constructions is available for these two languages, but the rough translations of the texts also make it difficult to posit very precise analyses on modal markers. For Dhurga and Djirringanj, although the corpus consists of elicited sentence only, the few examples with modal expressions are clearer in their meaning due to the sentences having been elicited for their modality.

A.5.5.1 Imperative in the South Coast Languages

The imperative is used for commands or forceful direct requests; this may be expressed by suffixes or in some cases by using only the verb stem without further inflection or addition of the appropriate bound pronoun; the latter is particularly frequent in the Dharrawal language material. See also Chapter A.6 (Syntax) for alternative imperative constructions.

A.5.5.1.1 Dharrawal imperative

There are several strategies in Dharrawal that express commands: by use of unmarked verb stem, with imperative suffix and with purposive suffix.
A.5.5.1.1 Unmarked

The most frequently occurring strategy to express commands is the use of the unmarked verb stem, such as *nginda* ‘bring’ in example (92). This is a commonly found strategy in other New South Wales languages such as Gumbaynggirr (Morellii, 2008) and Gathang (Lissarrague, 2010).

(92) *ŋinda jejūŋ flint kunbyūma.*
     *ngindadjadjung flint ganby-yuma*
     *bring moon flint fire-make*
  
  Bring tinder and flint to make a fire. (A-AM-1874:251)

A.5.5.1.1.2 Imperative suffix -ra

Mathews gives an imperative paradigm in his publication, which show the use of the suffix -ra and person marking. 2\textsuperscript{nd} person singular is not overtly marked for person.

2s.IMP -ra
2d.IMP -rawal
2p.IMP -ranhur

(93) *Bulmara*
     *bulma-ra*
     *beat-2s.IMP*
  
  Strike thou (A-M.1.4-143)

(94) *Bulmarauwal*
     *bulma-rawal*
     *beat-2d.IMP*
  
  Strike ye dual (A-M.1.4-143)

(95) *Bulmaranhur*
     *bulma-ranhur*
     *beat-2p.IMP*
  
  Strike ye plural (A-M.1.4-143)

A.5.5.1.1.3 Expression of commands with purposive suffix -ri

Commands can also be expressed on the verb by means of the purposive suffix -ri as shown in example (95).
A.5.5.1.2 Dharrawal negative imperative -\((m)bii\)

Negative imperative is marked with a negating suffix, followed by the appropriate pronominal clitics. The form of the suffix varies between -\(bii\) and -\(mbii\).


doyendâbekdûyend
dandha-\(bii\) = mbul = djan
come-NEG.IMP = 2\(d\) = 1s.OBJ
do\(n\)ot ye two come to me (A-M.2.2-164)

In constructions with a 2\(nd\) person singular subject, the similar forms of the 2s subject clitic =\(bi\) and the negative imperative suffix -\(bii\) seems to have the effect that the 2\(nd\) person singular clitic is omitted; see (100) compared to (97) where the subject is second person dual. Hence the construction in (100) would have an underlying form as shown in the reconstructed asterisked version below.

\(yandâbekdûyend\)
dandha = \(bi\) = ndjan
come = NEG.IMP = 1s.OBJ
do\(n\)ot thou come to me A-M.2.2-164

\(yand\h_{\text{d}}\text{biin}\)
dandha = \(bi\) = ndjan
come = NEG.IMP = 1s.OBJ
do\(n\)ot thou come to me A-M.2.2-164

\(^*\)yandha-\(biin\) = \(bi\) = ndjan
come-NEG.IMP = 2\(s\) = 1s.OBJ
\(\text{Don't come to me!}\)
A.5.5.1.3 Dharumba and Dhurga imperative

One difference in imperative marking between Dharumba and Dhurga is the omission of the morpheme-final vowel in the latter; this final vowel truncation is also present in the Dhurga tense marking suffixes. Only the 2d imperative suffix is shared in its same form between the two dialects. Note that in Dhurga the verb-stem final vowel always is \( u \), which marks the verb to be future tense. The imperative suffix is fused with second person and number as portmanteaux.

\( 2s.\text{IMP} \rightarrow -r(a) \)
\( 2d.\text{IMP} \rightarrow -ru \)
\( 2p.\text{IMP} \rightarrow -ran(u) \)

No negative imperative constructions are found in either the Dharumba or Dhurga corpora.

A.5.5.1.3.1 Dharumba imperative

(101) *Ellirra Kuku, murauyau, ban gomingala*  
yili-ra  gugu muraya  baan gami-ngala  
take-2s.IMP  tinder  flint  fire  make-1ed  
*Bring tinder and flint to make a fire.* (DM-AM-1874-248)  
*Bring tinder and flint and we make a fire.*

(102) *Yanirru,*  
yani-ru  
go-2d.IMP  
go ye two. (DM-AM.1-248)

(103) *Iuitbairanu mulagairanu.*  
yuwidba-ranu  malagayi-ranu  
take.down-2p.IMP  furl.sail-2p.IMP  
*Take down the mast and furl the sail.* (DM-AM-1874:254)

A.5.5.1.3.2 Dhurga imperative

In Dhurga the imperative is expressed by the change of the verb stem final vowel to \( u \), as in future, and by the same set of 2\(^{nd}\) person markers as in Dharumba, with the previously mentioned vowel truncation.
A.5.5.1.3.3 Djirringanj imperative

The analysis here is based exclusively on Mathews’ published paradigm and two of his unpublished examples. The unpublished examples show the use of the suffix -ya, which is not mentioned in his publications. Both examples are in 2nd person singular.

(107) Yoongeea googarungga yoongianbulla kalgoonda
  yungi-ya gugarang-ga yunga-ya-nj-(n)bala galgun-da
give-IMP possum-INSTR give-1s-2s.OBJ-FUT fish-INSTR
give me possum [and] I’ll give you fish (DJ-M.2.3-12)

(108) warranganwai yellindyarria
  warranganj = way yili-ndjara-ya
  boomerang = towards carry-2d-IMP
  a boomerang bring to me (DJ-M.1.5-166)

In his published Djirringanj grammar, Mathews suggests that commands are expressed on unmarked verbs stems followed by 2nd person non-singular subject markers. In 2nd person dual wam-ul ‘beat-2d’ (110) the stem-final vowel is elided before the suffix -ul, which would suggest an underlying form of wama-bul.

(109) wamma
  wama
  beat
  Singular Beat (DJ-M.1.5-165)
A.5.5.2 Purposive

The purposive suffix has the same form -ri in Dharrawal, Dharumba and Dhurga. There are no examples found in Djirringanj. Mathews did not include purposive constructions in his published grammars, but many verbs in wordlists show the final suffix -ri which would have been a result of the collector asking for the English infinitive ‘to eat’, ‘to hit’ etc.

In Dharrawal and Dharumba we have evidence that the purposive can also be used instead of the imperative to express requests; possibly more polite requests. See also Chapter A.6 (Syntax) for further discussion.

A.5.5.2.1 Dharrawal purposive -ri

When a subject noun phrase is present in the clause, or the subject is overtly marked on a previous verb, -ri will be the final inflection on the verb.

(112) ngullaingai nhamurri
ngala-ya = ngay nhama-ri
sit-PST = 1s watch-PURP
I am sitting watching (A-M.2.6.1)
I sat down to watch.

(113) Yendanil bobaruŋo wēyagatirŋ windērong
yan-dhi = ngil bubaru-ngu wayagadi-ri windarang
go-PRST = 1ep mountain-ALL look.for-PURP cedar
Come let us go to the mountain and look for cedar. (A-AM-1874:251)
(114) *yenda* *(went)* *yellagan* *(a worker or smart fellow)* *yerrimurri* *(to throw)* *bûmbûri* *(grass-seed)*

\[\text{yan-dha} \quad \text{yalaganj} \quad \text{yiri-ma-ri} \quad \text{bamburu}\]
\[\text{go-PST} \quad \text{worker} \quad \text{throw-CONT-PURP} \quad \text{grass.seed}\]

*A worker went to sow some seeds.* (A-M.2.6-16-PoS1/a)

**A worker went to throw grass seeds.**

However, *-ri* can be followed by a pronominal clitic, as seen below. This construction shows *-ri* in a command utterance.

(115) *bindeeringala warrangandya*

\[\text{bindi-ri} = \text{ngala(ng)} \quad \text{warranganj-dja}\]
\[\text{give-PURP = 1st.OBJ} \quad \text{boomerang-INSTR}\]

*Give us that boomerang.* (A-M.2.2-129)

**A.5.5.2.2 Dharumba purposive -ri**

Dharumba and Dhurga both share the form of the purposive suffix with Dharrawal.

The number of examples showing the purposive suffix *-ri* is much smaller for these two languages that in Dharrawal. In Dharumba, examples are found exclusively in Mackenzie’s texts.

(116) *Minimbarâ no mûndabain, pairinidtha,*

\[\text{mini-mbara}^{73} \quad \text{na} \quad \text{mundabanj} \quad \text{bayi-ri-ni-dha}^{74}\]
\[\text{hold?} \quad \text{that tomahawk} \quad \text{kill-PURP=2s-HORT}\]

*brought tomahawks to kill Guayamin,* (DM-AM-1878:269-JB-Gy)

Note that the purposive can also be used to express requests, possibly more polite requests.

(117) *gullari jungiri*

\[\text{ngala-ri} \quad \text{djangi-ri}\]
\[\text{sit-PURP} \quad \text{quiet-PURP}\]

*Sit down quietly.* (DM-AM/WR-265)

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73 Perhaps *-ra* is marking for past tense, or could be imperative marker, but that doesn’t match with the translation.

74 This ‘kill’ construction seems to show 2s person and hortative and purposive marker, which is unlikely.
A.5.5.3 Hortative constructions in the SCLs

The SCLs have suffixes with function to express a sense of ‘to encourage’ or ‘to urge’. This is expressed in the English translation such as ‘let’s go’ or ‘let them go’. Not all NSW AALs have hortative suffixes; Gathang, for example, does not have a distinct hortative marker, and the early collectors’ “translation ‘let’s’ can easily be substituted with ‘we will’” (Lissarrague, 2007:28). This can also be observed in the various ‘let’s’ translations given by Mackenzie in his sentences and will be further discussed in Chapter A.6 (Syntax). Gandangara, Dharrawal’s neighbouring inland language, uses a hortative suffix -ya (Besold, 2003), which is a separate construction to future and present tense imperative.

(118) yerreowla
  yiri-ya-wula
  throw-HORT-3d
  let them two throw. (Gandangara - Mathews, 7:25) (Besold, 2003:53)

The same strategy and form of the hortative suffix is also found in Dharrawal.

A.5.5.3.1 Dharrawal hortative

There seem to be two suffixes that express hortative mood on the Dharrawal verb, -ya. and possibly -l. According to the neat paradigm in one Mathews’ published Dharrawal grammars, the suffix -ya has this function. Note though that in examples (121) and (122), both with non-singular subject, the pronominal clitic is followed by -ya, whereas in (119) and (120) the verb-final -ya is missing.

A.5.5.3.1.1 -ya

(119) Gurragawarndha(he shouted), gurira(guri = ear) ngurramaiandha - ngurramaiandha(added later)
  garuga-wa-ndha guri-yira ngara-ma-ya = ndha
  call-?-PST ear-HAVING hear-CAUS-HORT = 3s
  he that hath ears to hear, let him hear.’ (A-M.2.6-18-PoS2)
  He shouted, ‘let the one with ears hear.

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(120) \textit{Nuggungwianda}
\begin{itemize}
  \item nagung-wi-ya = ndha
  \item good-be-HORT = 3s
\end{itemize}
\textit{Let him be good, (A-M.1.4-135)}

(121) \textit{Nuggugwiumbulaia}
\begin{itemize}
  \item nagung-wi-ya = mbula-ya
  \item good-be-HORT = 3d-?
\end{itemize}
\textit{Let them be good, dual (A-M.1.4-135)}

(122) \textit{Nuggungwiumhaia}
\begin{itemize}
  \item nagung-wi-ya = nha-ya
  \item good-be-HORT = 3p-?
\end{itemize}
\textit{Let them be good, plural (A-M.1.4-135)}

A.5.5.3.1.2 -I

In one of his published grammars, Mathews lists ‘let’ constructions with a suffix -I. These examples, or reference to this construction, are not found in his notebooks. The morphological break-up of these could be posited as follows (Koch, unpublished Dharrawal grammatical notes).

(123) \textit{bulmulngul}
\begin{itemize}
  \item bulma-l=ngal
  \item strike-HORT? = 1id
\end{itemize}
\textit{Let us two strike him, (A-M.1.4-143)}

(124) \textit{bulmulnyang}
\begin{itemize}
  \item bulma-l=njang
  \item strike-HORT? = 1ip
\end{itemize}
\textit{Let us all strike him, (A-M.1.4-143)}

The constructions with -I in (123) and (124) possibly show the same strategy that the Hunter River Lake Macquarie (HRLM) language (Lissarrague, 2006:75) employs; i.e. the same suffix -la for exhortative as well reciprocal constructions. Similarly, Dhanggati (Lissarrague, 2007:50) uses the suffix -lu for hortative. The Dharrawal reflexive suffix is -li. We might therefore look at a similarly shared function of the suffix in Dharrawal as in the HRLM language.
A.5.5.3.2 Dharumba hortative

Within the Dharumba corpus, exhortative expressions can be found with either the Dharrawal suffix -dha or the Dhurga suffix -ya.

A.5.5.3.2.1 -dha

(125) Yanunidha,
yanu-ni = dha
go-2s-HORT
let him go. (DM-AM-1874:248)

(126) mārum minamāgōlo, thunnnumbarūnīdītha.
mara mina-mu-g-ulu dhana-mba-ru-nji-dha
fish hold-FUT-1s-2d.OBJ eat-CONT-FUT-1ip-HORT
I’ll catch your fish. we’ll eat them.” (DM-AM-1878:269-JB-Gy)

(127) yanūūnye, wurranga, wunnianye, bangūnadītha,
yanu-wu-nji, waranja wani-ya-nji, bangu-ni-dha,
go-FUT-1ip child leave-POT-1ip paddle.FUT-2s-HORT
let us run away, children, we’ll leave him when he goes out far. (DM-AM-1874-256-Ull/Bi-Bu1)

A.5.5.3.2.2 -ya

(128) Yanaonye, gumma ginnamaraya, Kurairi, Kūlāniyema,
yana-wu-nji, gama djinama-ra-ya, gurayiri, gula-ngiyima,
go-FUT-1ip spear make-?-HORT ready spear-?
‘Let us go, let us make the spear ready; all ready; you are a good marksman, (DM-AM-1874-256-Ull/Bi-Bu1)

A.5.5.3.3 Dhurga hortative

Hortative constructions are marked with the suffix -ya followed by the person/number marker. Just as in future tense constructions, the verb stem final vowel changes to /u/, which marks future tense on Dhurga and Dharumba verbs (along with the non-past suffix).
A.5.5.3.3.1 -ya

(129)  Jamooya
damu-ya-Ø
talk.FUT-HORT-3s
  Let him talk (U-M.1.1-57)

(130)  Jamooyawurra
damu-ya-wara
talk.FUT-HORT-3d
  Let them talk [dual] (U-M.1.1-57)

(131)  jamooyâwa
damu-ya-wa
talk.FUT-HORT-3p
  Let them talk [plural] (U-M.1.1-57)

A.5.5.4 Potential in the South Coast languages

The difference between probability and possibility is defined as follows: “probability indicates a greater likelihood that the proposition is true than possibility does” (Bybee, Perkins and Pagliuca, 1994:180). Bybee et al (1994:180) also refer to inferred certainty, which suggests that the speaker “has good reason for supposing that the proposition is true” and suggests a “stronger sense of probability”. Identifying these nuances in the SCLs corpus is difficult due to the small number of examples showing each suffix and the rough English translation of the texts, and all possible modal suffixes are given here under this heading.

Dharumba also makes use of modal particles that are discussed in Chapter 6 (Syntax).

A.5.5.4.1 Dharrawal potential -yira

Potential is marked on verbs with the inflection -yira.

(132)  yerreamirbee warangandya
  yirima-yira = bi    warranganj-dja
  throw-POT=2s      boomerang-INSTR
  can you throw a boomerang? (A-M.2.2-98)
(133) *gami*rabee?
gama-yira = bi
speak-POT = 2s
*Can you speak? (A-M.2.2-98)*

**A.5.5.4.2 Dharrawal -yi ‘IF’**

One isolated example in the Dharrawal corpus shows the present tense suffix -yi (see A.5.2.1.2) in a construction that was not translated into English. From the context of the story, we can derive that the people, or parents of the children tell the children to stop crying or else Gwayaminj would hear and locate them, and take them away with him. I have included this suffix also under the heading ‘potential’ or ‘possibility’ because the exact sense this suffix signals is unclear.

(134) *yuggaiaia*-wa-wulung dyunggaiimbul mai-ila[mala crossed out] (or else) manbambulung (they would be found).
yaga-ya-ya = wa = wulung dhungga-yi = mbul mayi-yi = la manba-mbulung
say-PST-? = 3p = 3d.OBJ cry-IF = 2d sit-IF = THEN take = 2d.OBJ

*They said (to the children) ‘if you cry he will take you’ (A-M.2.6-25-GW)*

**A.5.5.4.3 Dharumba potential -ya**

Epistemic modal utterances that are based on speakers’ judgement are marked by a freestanding lexemes *wandha*, translated by Mathews as ‘perhaps’, and *djüwa*, translated as ‘might’, and/or the modal suffix -ya. Examples with particles are shown in Chapter 6 (Syntax).

(135) *yanuunya*, *wurrŋa*, *wunnianye*, *bangunadtha*,
yanu-wu-nji, waranja wani-ya-nji,
go-FUT-1ip child leave-POT-1ip
*let us run away, children, we’ll leave (him) (DM-AM-1874-256-Ull/Bi-Bu1)*

*Let us run away, children. We might leave him.*

(136) *nymundyaliang*
gama-ndjali-ya-ng
give-RR-POT-1id
*we, dual, exchange or barter (DM-M.1.8-60)*

*We might barter.*
A.5.5.4.4 Dharumba possibility

Modal sentences with *wandha* or *djuwa*, but without the modal suffix *-yi* seem to describe possibility rather than probability.

(137) *Nangai la wanda,*
  nanga-yi-la       wanda  
  sleep-POT-PST    perhaps

_They might be asleep. (DM-AM-1878:269-JB-Gy)_

A.5.5.4.5 Dharumba desiderative

Mackenzie’s material contains examples that could be analysed as modal utterances that express desire. In both examples the verb shows the suffix *-ba* following the verb stem and the translation suggests as sense of ‘wanting’ or ‘desire’. Note though that these are the only two examples and the analysis is given here with some caution.

(138) *Bingaborōga wongawongay.*
  binga-ba-ra-ga        wanga wanga  
  throw-WANT-?-1s       wonga.pigeon

_I want to shoot some blue pigeons. (DM-AM-1874:248)_

(139) *Thunnunmarinabagunga.*
  dhana-mbarina-ba-ga-ngga75  
  eat-?-WANT-1s?-1s.OBJ?

_I should like to eat now. (DM-AM-1878:269-JB-Gy)_

A.5.5.5 Negation

Negation can be marked in several ways in the SCLs, from freestanding particles preceding or following the verb they negate, to suffixes within a verb-construction. Negative sentence constructions will be further discussed in Chapter A.6 (Syntax). Both Dharrawal and Dharumba mark negation by means of freestanding particles (according to available data); Dhurga and Djirringanj mark with verbal suffixes. But

75 The morphology on the verb is puzzling. It looks like there are both 1s subject *-ga* and 1s Object *-ngga* markers at the end, but this is not found in any other constructions, not on reflexive either.
the slot of the negative suffix differs between Dhurga and Djirringanj; whereas
negation is marked following tense marking in Dhurga, while in Djirringanj, negation
is marked prior to tense suffixes.

A.5.5.5.1 Dharrawal negative

Dharrawal uses the free standing particle ngambanha, which precedes the verb it
marks. This is further discussed in Chapter A.6 (Syntax). One example in the Wodi
material shows a possible form of a suffix -nja having a negating function. Note that
nja is the negating suffix in Djirringanj.

(140) junbunya warpri
djanba-nja  wara-nga-ri
fight-NEG  play-QUIET?-PURP
Don’t fight, play quietly. (WW-WR-1877:265-LM)

A.5.5.5.2 Dharumba negative

Considering the quality of the available data for Dharumba, there are remarkably few
negative constructions to be found. There are only three examples in the corpus that
show negation and in all instances negation is expressed by means of a freestanding
negating particle wanjawan or dhagayil/dhagaya. See Chapter A.6 (Syntax) for further
discussion. It is possible that Dharumba also marks negation by means of verb suffix,
but no examples are found in the corpus.

A.5.5.5.3 Dhurga negative

The form of the negating verbal suffix in Dhurga, -ngamba, resembles the form of the
freestanding negative particle in Dharrawal ngambanha. The negative marker follows
tense marking on the verb.
(141)  *kum’mur-ra (old man) newn (his) dha-goor (wife) mool-a-dha (old woman) wurrumburra’ga
   (children) by’-yoong (beat) am-been (not)
   gamara-njung  dhagur  muladha  wara(nj)-mbaraga  bayu-ngambi-n⁷⁶
   old.man-3s.PSSR  wife  old.woman  child-PL  beat.FUT-NEG-nPST
   the old man’s wife will not beat your children (U-M.2.2-44)

(142)  *Jamangambaga
       djama-ngamba-ga
       talk.PRST-NEG-1SG
       I talk not (U-M.1.1-58)

A.5.5.4 Djirringanj negative

The negating suffix  *-ŋja* appears in a slot between the verb stem and before tense
marking and bound pronouns.

(143)  *bieel jay-an-yab-a-bee*
       bayiil  djaya-nja-ba
       man  eat-NEG-PST
       The man is not eating. (DJ-M.2.2-59)

(144)  *Wamman-ŋa-mungga.*
       wama-nja-ma-ngga
       beat-NEG-PRST-1s
       I beat not. (DJ-M.1.5-165)

A.5.6 Direction

A number of examples across the SCL corpus show directional suffixes, more so in
Dharrawal and Dharumba material, likely to be due to the larger corpus. Direction can
be expressed on verbs in forms of suffixes that follow the verb stem and precede tense
marking, or in form of clitics.

The verb morphology in Mackenzie’s stories has in some cases been
unanalysable and it possible that some of the unanalysed morphemes have directional
function.

⁷⁶ It is not clear why in this example the negator is *-ngambi* rather than *-ngamba.*
A.5.6.1 Dharrawal directional

The Dharrawal corpus contains regularly occurring suffixes on verbs that convey direction such as ‘hither’ and ‘away’. There are morphophonemic variations of some of them, but seem to be predictable based on phonological rules. All suffixes occur immediately after the verb stem and before tense marking. Most of the suffixes and examples shown here occur in very small numbers throughout the corpus, and the meaning they convey is based on the sense obtained from the translation. However, there are three suffixes used for ‘away’ constructions; it is likely that there is additional information encoded in them.

A.5.6.1.1 -yiri ‘AWAY’

(145) *yuin yannairia’ ngaiagandin\n\[\[\text{yuwinj} \quad \text{yana-yiri-ya} \quad \text{ngayaga-ndin}\n\text{man} \quad \text{go-AWAY-PST} \quad \text{1s-ABL}\n\text{the man went away from me (A-M.2.4-22)}\]*

(146) *Yundawulung(he put them 2) Kūrma(net) namarungguli(of him) ngai-i-nyaiirria’wulung(took them 2 away).\n\[\[\text{yun-da=wulung} \quad \text{garma} \quad \text{namarung-guli} \quad \text{ngayi-nja-yiri-ya=wulung}\n\text{put-PST=3d.OBJ} \quad \text{net.bag} \quad \text{3s-GEN} \quad \text{carry-?-AWAY-PST=3d.OBJ}\n\text{He put them into his bag and carried them away. (A-M.2.6-25-GW)}\]*

A.5.6.1.2 -njinda ‘AWAY’

(147) *yaunyeendau-wandha\n\[\[\text{djawi-njinda-wa=ndha}\n\text{run-AWAY-IRR = 1s.OBJ}\n\text{going to run away from me (A-M.2.5-45)}\]*

A.5.6.1.3 -gunala ‘AWAY’

(148) *Jaugūnalaia war-r-ry bobārādha-\n\[\[\text{djawa-gunala-ya} \quad \text{war-[r-r]-i} \quad \text{bubara-dha}\n\text{run-AWAY-PST} \quad \text{far[iterative]} \quad \text{mountain-LOC}\n\text{Goes a long long way to the mountain. (A-AM-1874-250-YK)}\]*
**A.5.6.1.4 -wula/-gula ‘HITHER’**

All examples showing these suffixes are with the verbs yan- ‘go’, dja(wa)- ‘run’ and bara- ‘come’.

(149)  
Yenngulaia (he came) nhai (it) nhamurri (to see) dhedya minggang (what)  
bùñyerrindhadulaia (about) dunggaiairi (crying for).  
yan-gula-ya nhay nhama-ri dhadja minggan  
go-HITHER-PST that see-PURP then what  
ban-ya-rindhada = wula = ya dhungga-ya-ri  
do-PST-? = 3d = SUB cry-PST-PURP  
**He came to see what they were crying over. (A-M.2.6-24-GW)**

(150)  
yuindyu (a man) burruwulaia (come towards) ngaiaandi (to me)  
yuwinj-dju bara-wula-ya ngayaga-ndi  
man-ERG come-HITHER-PST 1s-LOC  
**the man came towards me (A-M.2.4-22)**

In case of dja(wa)-, it is possible that ‘hither’ may be expressed as -la only.  
Example (151) (as well as other recurring examples with this verb) shows -wula  
marking for direction, but (152), and (148) suggest that the verb stem is djawa-.

(151)  
Nhandawa (they saw) Gwaiamiñ dyaualaidha (running along) nhamurri (to see).  
nhan-dha = wa Gwayaminj dja-wula-ya = dha  
see-PST = 3p Gwayaminj run-HITHER-PST = SUB  
**They saw Gwayaminj running along (to see). (A-M.2.6-25-GW)**

(152)  
Ya jauīna bulgo, thobarāralunbilla,  
yya djawa-ya nha balga dhabara-ra-lun-bila  
and run-PST that sea jump.in-PST-? -? AGAIN  
**He get up, runs to the sea; jumps in; (A-AM-1874-250-YK)**

Perhaps in verb stems ending with wa, the suffix is reduced to -la to avoid  
repetition.

**A.5.6.2 Dharumba directional**

Some of the Dharrawal direction suffixes can else be found in the Dharumba corpus,  
i.e. -yiri and -wula, both ‘away’.
A.5.6.2.1 -yi ‘AWAY’

-yi attached to the verb stem adds the sense of ‘away’.

(153) bungayōga kutthunjo.
    bangayi-wu-ga           gadhu-ngu.
    paddle-AWAY-FUT-1s     sea-ALL
    I’ll paddle out to sea again.’ (DM-AM-1874-256-Ull/Bi-Bu1)

(154) Yanaira ngurndinga thoogan’dhadha’
    yana-yi-ra           ngamndi-ngu dhugan-dha-dha
    go-AWAY-2s.IMP place-LOC camp-LOC-1s.PSSR
    Go away from my camp. (DM-M.2.6-29)

(155) Yania wurri Pundutbai-Yanaila undi na Pulunjira-
    yani-la   wari Pulundutba-yi yana-yi-la ngundi = na
    go-PST far Pulundutba-LOC go-AWAY-PST away.from.there = THEN
    Pulunjera
    Pulunjera
    Went all the way to Pundutba. thence to Pulunjera. (DM-AM-1874-260-Ull/Th-Ee)

(156) yanainrilanyathurinmōla, jerwala Didhul.
    yana-yiri-la-nja dharinmu-la djarwa-la Didhul
    go-AWAY-PST-? set.up-PST call-PST Didhul
    and stuck it up, then called it Didhul. (DM-AM-1874-260-Ull/Th-Ee)

A.5.6.2.2 -wulu ‘HITHER’

(157) Yanaoilila guiangul: yanaonyi marumbulluny-yukāu!
    yana-wulu-la     guya-ngal: yana-wu-nji mara-mbala-nji
    go-HITHER-PST south-BELONG go-FUT-1lip fish?-PURP
    ‘Blackfellow came from southward. We’ll go and fish. (DM-AM-1874-257-Ull/Th-Bu2)

(158) Yennauloo-loo-ra dhalinggu ngaiaga(ŋ)ggū.
    yana-wulu-lu-ra dhayinggu ngayaga-nggu
    go-HITHER-?-2s.IMP    1s-ALL
    Come towards me. (DM-M.2.6-28)

A.5.6.3 Dhurga directional

No examples with direction marking on the verb are to be found in the Dhurga corpus.
A.5.6.4 Djirringanj directional

The suffix -njili and a directional clitic =way ‘towards’ have been identified to have a
directional function; the latter will be shown in Chapter 6 (Syntax). -njili attaches to
the verb stem before tense marking.

A.5.6.4.1 -njili ‘HITHER’

-njili is found on the verbs ‘bring/carry’ and ‘go’ in the Djirringanj corpus and
expresses motion from a point away from and towards the speaker.

(159) Yendeenyillema ngoogangga
yandi-njili-ma ngugang-ga
come-HITHER-PRST water-LOC
He is coming across the water. (DJ-M.2.3-11)

A.5.6.5 Dharrawal -(n)bila ‘AGAIN’

This morpheme only occurs in texts collected by Mackenzie, not in elicited sentences.
The slot this morpheme occupies is not clear as yet. In examples (160) and (162), -bila
is overtly translated as having ‘again’ function. Example (160) has the added bonus of
the same verb occurring in a previous clause without -nbila, which demonstrates the
use of this morpheme.

(160) Karrügaia yūinya ya-a-i-Karuganbilla-
garuga-ya yuwinj yawa-yi garuga-(n)bila
call-PST man come-IMP call-AGAIN
The man shouted “Come here!” Shouted again. (A-AM-1874-250-YK)

(161) Ya jauïna bulgo, thobaråralumbilla,
ya djawa-ya nha balga dhabara-ra-lun-bila
and run-PST that sea jump.in-PST?-?-AGAIN
He get up, runs to the sea; jumps in; (A-AM-1874-250-YK)

(162) Jauagårñalaia, yallumbuŋa, yangundablajajaia-
djawa-gunala-ya, yalamba-nja, yanga-nda-bila-dja = ya
run-AWAY-PST come.back?-? tickle-PST-AGAIN?-?=THEN
Goes away, comes back, and tickles him again. (A-AM-1874-250-YK)
A.5.7 Formation of verbs from nouns

Verbalising suffixes are found in all four languages and are found on nouns and modifiers.

A.5.7.1 Dharrawal verbaliser

A.5.7.1.1 -yu ‘become’

(163) kūranaiuwa mamarūdhana.
   gurana-yu-wa mama-rudhana
   stone-VBLS=3p elder sister-
   the sisters became stone (A-AM-1874:260-PI)

A.5.7.1.2 -wa ‘be’

This suffix is only found on interrogatives and demonstratives; example (164) for example can be translated as ‘man there-be-was’.

(164) yuiĩ nyinyawaia
   yuwinj njinja-wa-ya
   man this/here-VBLS-PST?
   the man is here (A-M.1.4-140)

(165) Yuggaiuaa(they said) “dha-waddhiauula(we know not wither gone)”.
   yaga-ya = wa ‘dha wadha-wa-ya = wula’
   say-PST = 3p EXCL where-VBLS-PST = 3d
   They said ‘Ha! Where did they go?’. (A-M.2.6-25-GW)

A.5.7.1.3 -gu ‘be’

-gu is found in one of Mathews’ paradigms.

(166) nuggoon-oon-nangal
   nagung-gu-nha = ngal
   good-VBLS-THEN = 1id
   let us two be good (A-M.2.2-163)

77 This suffix perhaps conveys a collective or a dyadic sense ‘sisters to each other’. There are no other instances with this suffix or sense.
A.5.7.2 Dharumba verbaliser

The verbalising suffix -nga is found on the interrogative ‘where’, the form changed to -ngu in future tense, which follows the future tense marking pattern on verbs in Dharumba and Dhurga.

A.5.7.2.1 -nga

(167) Waddunguga
  wadha-ngu-ga
  where-VBLS.FUT-1s
  Where will I be? (DM-M.1.8-61)

A.5.7.2.2 -yu

(168) Yagunavani punyënye bungaonye? Kulutbaïñye bungaonye, mitundhali minumbarëna bungoji
  yagunarani banj-(w)u-nji bang-wu-nji galadba-yu-nji bang-wa-nji
  how-many carry-FUT-1p paddle-FUT-1p four-VBLS-1p paddle-IRR-1p
  midhandhal-i mina-mba-ru-na bang-dji
  one-ERG? hold-CONT-FUT?-nPST paddle-INST
  ‘How many are going to pull? There are four to pull and one to steer.’ (DM-AM-1874:253)

A.5.7.3 Dhurga verbaliser

Different forms of the verbalising suffix are -wu and -mbu.

A.5.7.3.1 -wu

(169) bull-wall wur’raga
  bulwal-wu-raga
  strong-VBLS-3p
  they are strong. (U-M.2.2-22)

A.5.7.3.2 -mbu

(170) bulwulumboolaga
  bulwal-mbu-la-ga
  strong-VBLS-PST-1s
  I was strong (yesterday) (U-M.2.2-23)
A.5.7.4 Djirrininganj verbaliser

A.5.7.4.1 - bu

(171) Yooabooba or yooayandaba
  yuwa-bu-ba      yuwa yanda-ba
  how-VBLS-PST    how go-PST
  Which way did he go? (DJ-M.2.3-12)

A.5.7.4.2 - wa

(172) wandyawanni
  wandja-wa-nj
  where-VBLS-3s
  where is he (DJ-M.1.5-167)

A.5.8 Conclusion

Chapter A.5 presented the analysed verb morphology found in the SCLs. There are a number of morphemes that could be isolated but not analysed for function. These are marked with question mark, as well as comments in footnotes in many cases where a proposed analysis was posited.

Future and ongoing analysis of the SCLs will hopefully lead to the solution of at least some of these unanswered questions regarding morpheme forms and functions.
A.6.1 Word classes

The South Coast languages (SCLs hereon) distinguish word classes based on their function and the type of inflection they can take. Verbs and nouns are distinguished by the type of suffixing they can take. The nominal and verbal morphology was discussed in Chapters A.4 (Nominal Morphology) and A.5 (Verb Morphology) respectively. Modifiers, or adjectives as they are classified in English, are found in both noun modifying and predicate functions. In modifying function the word can be inflected with nominal case suffixes as in examples (1) and (2), and with number marking as in (3).

1) yuinburnangga bulmaia mirrigang  
   yuwinj    burmang-ga    bulma-ya    mirigang  
   man      big-ERG       beat-PST    dog  
   a big man beat a dog  (A-M.2.6-1)

2) yuiiïburnungguli mirriganhung  
   yuwinj      burnung-guli mirig=nhung  
   man      big-GEN    dog=3s.PSSR  
   the big man’s dog  (A-M.1.4-150)

3) baiïlwula mündurwula nyangimbula  
   bayiil-wula    mundurr-wula    njangi-mbula  
   man-DU      big-DU         that/there-DU  
   men large those (dual)  (DJ-M.1.5-163)

In predicative function, modifiers are marked with a verbaliser followed by tense and then subject clitic/bound pronoun, as in (4) and (5). These examples are found in the Dharrawal and Dhurga corpus; in Djirringanj the same construction is found with the copula verb ’be’, see (6).
Nonetheless, some isolated examples show bound pronoun attached straight to the modifier without the use of a verbaliser.

Apart from nouns and verbs, the SCLs also show a number of particles that do not inflect but add modal, temporal or spatial information. These will be shown further in this chapter.

**A.6.2 Word order**

Due to the rich case marking system in the SCLs, word order may well have been relatively free, apart from the general rule for the subject preceding the object. Examples in the corpus show SOV, VSO and even SVO word order; the latter is less commonly found and might be a result or influenced by eliciting sentences from English, but no examples show OS sequence.

Blake (2003b:51) suggests that the word order in the Warrnambool (Victoria) language may have been verb initial because examples showing these constructions
would not have been a result from translating from English. This is a thought worth considering, even though word order may be determined by importance of topic, and examples showing verb initial word order may have been doing just that.

We would expect the sentences in the texts to show more natural speech patterns than elicited sentences, and therefore reveal word order preference. However, sentences in the texts lack fully expressed noun phrases and make it difficult to confirm any word order patterns.

Examples below are all taken from the Dharrawal corpus, but this variation is also found in the other SCLs corpuses.

**A.6.2.1 SOV**

(8) *mirrigangga guraura bubugaia*

mirigang-ga  gurawura  babuga-ya
dog-ERG  possum  bite-PST
*a dog an opossum bit (A-M.1.4-131)*

**A.6.2.2 VSO**

(9) *yerranying nyila yundya warrangandya*

yiri-ya=njing  njila  yuwinj-dja  warranganj-dja
throw-PST=2s.OBJ  this man-ERG  boomerang-INSTR
*that man threw a boomerang at thee (A-M.2.3-51)*

**A.6.2.3 SVO**

(10) *yuinburmanga bulmaia mirrigang*

yuwinj  burmang-ga  bulma-ya  mirigang
man  big-ERG  beat-PST  dog
*a big man beat a dog (A-M.2.6-1)*

Note that preference for any particular word order can be observed in any given series of elicited sentences in Mathews’ notebooks. We may also suspect that word order has a topicalising function, with the most important information given first.
A.6.3 Noun Phrase syntax

A.6.3.1 Word order in noun phrases

Noun phrases consist of one or more nominal or pronominal constituents with a variable word order within the noun phrase. Noun phrases can consist of the following combination, although word order can vary and shown where examples have been found.

[noun noun]
[noun modifier]
[demonstrative noun]
[noun modifier demonstrative]

There are no examples of a split NP, as found in other New South Wales languages such as Dhanggati (Lissarrague, 2007:83 – author’s glossing).

(11) baka nunhang wiya gurrarr-bang
    stick him give:! long-INT
    Give him the long stick. (Dhanggati, Lissarrague, 2007)

It is worth noting that data for noun phrases are comprised almost exclusively of elicited material. The collected texts do not contain many fully expressed nouns, and it is possible that the elicited example sentences show word order as a response to the questions asked by Mathews or Mackenzie.

Sentence (12) is an example of noun phrases consisting of [noun noun]:

(12) wang’ganna booroo wur’run-yoo (young one) wad-dhan (the grass) dhun’ñañ (eating)
    wanggan-a buru warranj-u wadhan dhana-n
    woman-GEN kangaroo child-3s.PSSR grass eat-nPAST
    the she kangaroo’s young one is eating grass (U-M.2.2-43)

Examples (13) and (14) demonstrate the [modifier noun] order:
(13) _bundāwurri yuindyu bulmaia mirrigang_

   [bundawari yuwinj-dju] bulma-ya mirrigang
tall  man-ERG hit-PST  dog

   _a tall man hit the dog (A-M.2.6-1)_

(14) _bamboolally jilloaran-bla booroolally_

   [bambu-lali djilawaran-bula buru-lali]
big-DU  grey-DU  kangaroo-DU

   _2 big grey kangaroos (A-M.2.2-103)_

However, [noun modifier] order can also be found, but the unusual SVO word order in (15) suggests that this example should be treated with caution as it may have been influenced by English word order.

(15) _yuinburmangga bulmaia mirrigang_

   [yuwinj burmang-ga] bulma-ya mirrigang
man  big-ERG  beat-PST  dog

   _a big man beat a dog (A-M.2.6-1)_

Uncertainty prevails in many cases where the demonstrative is within the same NP as a given noun, which makes it difficult to identify [noun modifier demonstrative] NPs. In the second example (17) below, Mathews’ translation leaves ambiguity as to whether we are looking at the noun phrase ‘that large man’ or the same construction at sentence level ‘there is a large man’, since the demonstrative fulfils the function as spatial determiner ‘that/this’ or as a demonstrative ‘there/here’ respectively.

(16) _Gooba’ja warrangan ŋeen_

gubidja  warranganj  njinj
small  boomerang  this/here

   _That’s a big boomerang. (U-M.2.2-17)_

   _That is a small boomerang._

(17) _baiil mundur nyanya_

   bayiil  mundurr  njanja
man  big  that/there

   _man large that (DJ-M.1.5-163)_

These constructions could therefore be analysed as either:

   [baiil mundur] njanja    ‘that/there is a large man’, or
   [baiil mundur njanja]    ‘that large man’
Word order in these examples does not provide any insight into regarding the phrase level order.

Examples with fully expressed object NPs are small in number, and the few examples with object NPs that consists of more than just a noun are even more difficult to come by. Examples (18) and (19) show that word order within an object NP is not rigid.

(18) \textit{Ngalngai mandya(nhaia) goorwoora}
\begin{verbatim}
ngal=ngay mandja [nhaya gurawura]
want=1s catch that possum
\end{verbatim}
\textit{I would like to catch that possum} (A-M.2.5-45)

(19) \textit{Dhubbagalago mara neen ngiaganggool}
\begin{verbatim}
dhabaga-la-ga [mara njiinj] ngayaga-nggul
catch-PST-1s fish this/here 1s-GEN
\end{verbatim}
\textit{I caught this fish for myself} (U-M.2.2-139)

\section*{A.6.3.2 Number marking in NPs}

Not all members within a noun phrase need to be marked for number. Examples within the SCLs corpus range from transcribed noun phrases where all members are marked, or where just one member is marked.

Number marking is also omitted in noun phrases in grammatical function that requires case marking, such as in (20). There are numerous examples that show number marking on the first member of the NP, and the case marker on the second and/or last member.

(20) \textit{gumbulwulali yuindyu mandhawula dhuį}
\begin{verbatim}
gumbal-wulali yuwinj-dju man-dha-wula dhanj
strong-DU man-ERG catch-PST-3d fish
\end{verbatim}
two strong men caught a fish (A-M.2.6-1)

\subsection*{A.6.3.2.1 All members marked for number}

Isolated examples show noun phrases in which all members are marked for number.
(21) baiilwula mündurwula nyangimbula
[baiyiil-wula mundurrr-wula njangi-mbula]
man-DU big-DU that/there-DU
men large those (dual) (DJ-M.1.5-163)

(22) bamboolally jilloaran-bla booroolally
[bambu-lali djilawaran-bula buru-lali]
big-DU grey-DU kangaroo-Du
2 big grey kangaroos (A-M.2.2-103)

A.6.3.2.2 One member marked for number

Number can be marked on only one member of the noun phrase. This may be on the noun, as in (23), or the modifier, as in (24).

(23) yooinbirraga kar’neen-am-bur-raga (all bad) bi-ee-na (killing) wurrañ newn
[yuwinj biraga garmiina-maraga] bayi-na waranj njinj
man big bad-PL beat-nPST child this/here
the bad men are beating the child (U-M.2.2-44)

(24) bundawuriwalali yuindyu bulmai’wula mirrigang
[bundawari-wulali yuwinj-dju] bulma-ya-wula mirigang
tall-DU man-ERG hit-PST-3d dog
two tall men beat the dog. (A-M.2.6-1)

As there are not many examples available, it is difficult to identify the rules for order of case and number marking within noun phrases.

A.6.4 Case Marking in Noun Phrases

As with number marking, not all members within a noun phrase have to be marked for case. Within the source data, examples vary showing noun phrases where only one member is marked, or on all/two members of the noun phrase. Example (25) show both modifier and noun being marked for ergative function; example (26) shows ergative marking on the modifier only.
A.6.4.1 Lack of case marking in NPs

There are numerous instances where the agent of a transitive verb is not marked when
the context of the sentences is unambiguous. This lack of overt marking has also been
reported in other New South Wales AALs. For example, Hercus (1982:59) observed
the lack of ergative marking in some cases in Paakantji and suggests further that the
word order eliminates any ambiguity there may have been, by using a subject initial
word order.

A.6.5 Possession Marking in Noun Phrases

A general rule regarding possession marking within a NP is difficult to ascertain.
Examples within and between SCLs show different possession marking. We know that
possession in SCLs is indicated by the possessor NP being marked with the genitive case marker and the possessed NP marked with a bound possessive pronoun. The forms of the bound possessive pronouns found throughout the SCLs corpus are given in Table 22 below. Note that apart from 1\textsuperscript{st} person and 3\textsuperscript{rd} person singular forms, others are mainly taken from Mathews’ published paradigms and were not found in elicited sentences or text material.

### Table 22. South Coast languages bound possessive pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dharrawal</th>
<th>Dharumba</th>
<th>Dhurga</th>
<th>Djirringanj</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1s</td>
<td>*(n)dhan(g)</td>
<td>*(n)dha</td>
<td>-djiya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>*(d)jan(g) (Kin)</td>
<td>*(d)ha (inalienable)</td>
<td>-dya</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>*(nd(h))a</td>
<td>*(d)huga (alienable)</td>
<td>-dha</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>*(yan) (head)</td>
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<td>-ya</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-ndja</td>
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<td>-ngu</td>
<td>-djin</td>
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<td>*ung</td>
<td>-djung</td>
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<td>*(ngali)</td>
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<td>*(bulang)</td>
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<td>*(wulanhung)</td>
<td>*(mbula)</td>
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<tr>
<td>3p</td>
<td>*(dhanang)</td>
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<td>*(djand)</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
There is some evidence that Dhurga distinguishes between alienable and inalienable in 1st person possessive bound pronouns. The form -dhuga is found in examples on ‘bag’, ‘spear’, and ‘boomerang’; -dha is found on ‘back’, ‘elder brother’, ‘big toe’, ‘sole of foot’, and ‘elder sister’. Additionally, ‘camp’ is found with both markers in the sources.

(29)  \(\text{yooiñda warranganyoo} \quad \text{with genitive case marker on \textit{boomerang}}\

\begin{align*}
\text{yuuwinj-dja} & \quad \text{warranganj-u} \\
\text{man-GEN} & \quad \text{boomerang-3s.PSSR} \\
\text{a man's boomerang (U-M.1.1-192)}
\end{align*}

(30)  \(\text{wangganda thooganoo neen} \quad \text{with genitive case marker on \textit{camp}}\

\begin{align*}
\text{wanggan-dha} & \quad \text{dhugan-u} & \quad \text{njiinj} \\
\text{woman-GEN} & \quad \text{camp-3s.PSSR} & \quad \text{here/this} \\
\text{there is the woman's hut (U-M.2.2-44)}
\end{align*}

If the possessor NP consists of more than just a noun, the genitive case marker can be suffixed to either member, or both.

(31)  \(\text{yuuiñburnungguli miriganhung} \quad \text{with genitive case marker on \textit{dog}}\

\begin{align*}
\text{yuuwinjburnung-guli} & \quad \text{miriga=nhung} \\
\text{man} & \quad \text{big-GEN} & \quad \text{dog=3s.PSSR} \\
\text{the big man's dog (A-M.1.4-150)}
\end{align*}

(32)  \(\text{Yuingu birragangu warranganyu} \quad \text{with genitive case marker on \textit{boomerang}}\

\begin{align*}
\text{yuwinj-gu} & \quad \text{birraga-ngu} & \quad \text{warraganj-u} \\
\text{man-GEN} & \quad \text{large-GEN} & \quad \text{boomerang-3s.PSSS} \\
\text{a large man’s boomerang (DM-M.1.8-59)}
\end{align*}

But this rule is not applied consistently throughout the corpus and exception to the rule is likely to occur in examples that are unambiguous such as the following construction found in (33), where the possessor is not overtly marked with a genitive case suffix.

(33)  \(\text{yooiñ thooganoo neen} \quad \text{with genitive case marker on \textit{camp}}\

\begin{align*}
\text{yuwinj} & \quad \text{dhugan-u} & \quad \text{njiinj} \\
\text{man} & \quad \text{camp-3s.PSSR} & \quad \text{this/here} \\
\text{there is the man’s hut (U-M.2.2-44)}
\end{align*}
We also find isolated examples where the possessed NP is not marked, but the possessor is. Examples (35) and (36) further below are two of those instances.

The order within the possessive NP is possessor-possessed, but an exception to this rule is found in (34), where the word order is possessed-possessor.

(34) “Wudthaola maranū Jakwilao?”
   wadha-wu-la mara-nu djagwila-wu
   where-VBLS-PST fish-3s.PSSR lyrebird-GEN
   “Where is that fish belonging to that pheasant?” (DM-AM-1874-260-Ull/Th-Ec)

A.6.5.1 Double possession marking

The following two Dharrawal examples show an unusual sequence in the possession marking. The construction is complex due to the possessor brother/father also having a possessor, i.e. ‘his brother’s x’ and ‘your father’s x’. We would expect warranganj to be marked with a third person possessive pronominal clitic, as demonstrated by (29) and (32). However, (35) and (36) show that the sequence of possessive marking occurs prior to person, i.e. ‘father-of his-your’.

(35) warrangan babamurravulingun
   [warranganj [[baba-mara-wuli]=ngun]]
   boomerang father-KIN-GEN = 2s.PSSR
   a boomerang to thy father belongs (A-M.1.4-133)

(36) dyadyumurravillionhung warrangan
   [[[djajda-mara-wuli]=nhung] warranganj]
   brother-KIN-GEN = 3s.PSSR boomerang
   his brother’s boomerang (A-M.2.6-1)

Note that the possessed noun is not marked with the possessive pronoun (or pronominal clitic); this is likely due to the construction being a predicate possession. Rather than being the possessive NP ‘your father’s boomerang’, the utterance could be more faithfully translated as ‘the boomerang is your father’s’.

78 Note here that warranganj is not marked for possession as it usually would be.
(37) bindinmädhə (he gave away) dyadyamurrinung warrangandyə
bindinma-dha djadj-mara = nhung warranganj-dja
give.away-PST brother-KIN = 3s.PSSR boomerang-INST
he gave his brother’s boomerang away (A-M.2.6-1)

(38) Thunbungaraiŋo wenkinkalino.
dhunbu ngaranga-yi-ngu wanggan-guli-nu
country wife-?2s.PSSR woman-GEN-3s.PSSR
Have a look at this place belonging to your wife. (DM-AM-1874-257-Ull/Th-Bu2)

Note that in example (38) one would expect the 3rd person possessor suffix to be
on ‘country’ rather than ‘woman’.

A.6.6 Clause Syntax

A.6.6.1 Simple Clauses

Simple clauses can be verbal or non-verbal. Verbal clauses contain a verbal predicate
that is marked for tense-aspect-mood (TAM), while non-verbal clauses consist of a NP
in S function with a non-verbal predicate, i.e. another noun, modifier or demonstrative,
which express quality or quantity, temporal or spatial attributes of the clause subject.

A.6.6.1.1 Verbless clauses

Verbless clauses contain information about ownerships, attributes, location and spatial
relationship and number; TAM is not expressed in these clauses.

(39) jumm-ma-ga nga-a-ga
djamaga ngayaga
good 1s
I am good (U-M.2.2-7)

(40) goonarə ngud’yen noonga boonbala
wadjan nunga bunbal-a
possum that/there tree-LOC
there is a possum in that tree (DJ-M.2.2-58)
A.6.6.1.2 Intransitive verbal clauses

Intransitive clauses contain a predicate verb with one core argument (S), which, due to the ergative case marking system in the SCLs, is not overtly marked, i.e. the absolutive case is zero marked. The intransitive clause contains either a fully expressed noun phrase in S function plus predicate, or just the predicate with person/number marking in form of bound pronouns. The word order for the former seems to be free. In elicited examples, the observed word order tendency seems to be subject-verb; but within collected stories and narratives, fully expressed noun phrases (in S function) rarely occur.

(42) “Wurrin nūngāna, waranj nunga-na
child cry-nPST
Children are crying. (DM-AM-1878:269-JB-Gy)

(43) Maiilowa mayi-la-wa
sit-PST-3p
They sate [sic] down. (DM-AM-1878-271-Wand/No-Tu)

(44) baiil bagama
bayiil baga-ma
man sit-PRES
the man sits (DJ-M.1.5-161)

A.6.6.1.3 Copula clauses

The previous examples (43) and (44) raise the issue of whether the verb functions as copula verb or not. Dixon (2002b:1) points to problems with distinguishing between “a copula verb and an inchoative derivational suffix, and the distinction between the existential use of a verb of rest or motion and a copula verb”. This problem is prevalent in the analysis of the SCLs due to the nature of the material and the
difficulties or inability to clearly identify transcriptions and/or translations. Dharumba and Dhurga use the verb *maya*-'sit/be/live/stay’ for what may well be copula verb clauses, see (45) below.

(45) *Barũnga maiñana Paoderi, tubărain marūlila wanda*
    *baranga maya-na Paoderi dhabaranj maru-li-la wanda*
    *ship/island sit-nPST New.Bristol night go?-3PST perhaps*

    There is a vessel lying off New Bristol; she must have come in last night. (DM-AM-1874:253)

    The use of the verb ‘sit’ as a copula verb is observed in other AALs such as Wambaya (Nordlinger and Sadler, 2006:18); “[i]n Wambaya the verb otherwise meaning `sit' can be used as a copula, normally with a stage level interpretation, while the non-verbal predication again implies a characteristic property”.

    According to Dixon (2002b:1), copula clauses contain a subject and a complement. “For a verb to be identified as a copula, it must occur with these two arguments and show a relation of identity/equation or of attribution” (Dixon, 2002b:1). In the SCLs, copula verbs are found in Dharrawal and Djirringanj language material, and in one possible isolated instance in Dharumba. Dharrawal’s and Dharumba’s copula verb *bumba- and Djirringanj’s *gaya-* are found in lists of sentences eliciting bound pronouns in ‘I am strong’, ‘you are strong’ etc., and in isolated examples in the stories. (Note that example (48) suggests that a copula can be transitive.)

(46) *nuggung bumbyau-a*
    *nagung bumba-ya = wa*
    *good be-PST =3p*
    *they (pl) have been good (A-M.2.6-14)*

(47) *mundoor mooroomègee(strong) giamungga(I am)*
    *murumadji gaya-ma-ngga*
    *strong be-PRST-1s*
    *I am strong (DJ-M.2.2-56)*

(48) “*Babang, gūnŭng ụnyaiangai gūnŭng(wrong) bumbadhağun(I have been to thee)*
    *baba-ng garnang bunja-ya = ngay garnang bumba-dha = gun*
    *father-ADD wrong do-PST =1s wrong be-PST = 1s/2s.OBJ*
    *Father, I have sinned against heaven and before thee.' (A-M.2.6-21-PoPS)

297
Copula clauses without a copula verb are grammatically indistinguishable from noun phrases. The problem may lie in the misinterpretation or translation of the earlier collectors. Sentences such as ‘the man is big’ are identical in structure to the noun phrase ‘the big man’.

(50) dyabady jummang’oo-dhoo
djabadj djamagang-gudhu

djabadj79 good-INTENS
djabadj is a good man (U-M.2.2-40)

A.6.6.2 Transitive clauses

Clauses with a transitive verb have both a subject that is marked for ergative function and an object. Both subject and object are presented as either fully expressed NPs or in form of bound pronouns (or pronominal clitics in Dharrawal) on the verb. The order of the pronouns is always subject pronoun-object pronoun.

A.6.6.2.1 Transitive clauses with fully expressed NPs

Repeating here from A.6.2, word order is relatively free and we have examples with SOV, SVO and VSO. SOV is the most commonly occurring word order in the SCL corpus, bearing in mind though that the texts contain very few examples with fully expressed NPs. Examples (52), (54) and (55) are three of those few examples; all are taken from Dharumba texts.

79 djabadj was the name for (King) Merriman, a well known South Coast elder.
SOV:

(51) **mirrigangga guraura babugaia**
    mirigang-ga gurawura babuga-ya
dog-ERG possum bite-PST
*a dog an opossum bit (A-M.1.4-131)*

(52) **ithungro, kānambū iliiolo, thogunko**
yidhungurr-u guna-mbulu yili-ya-wula dhugan-gu
mother-ERG duck-3d.PSSR carry-PST?-3d.OBJ camp-ALL
*Their mother took them to the camp. (DM-AM-1878:269-JB-Gy)*

SVO:

(53) **yuinburmangga bulmaia mirrigang**
yuwinjburmang-ga bulma-ya mirigang
man big-ERG beat-PST dog
*a big man beat a dog (A-M.2.6-1)*

(54) **Bithai-gala Karugāndhilla Pūlungūl,**
bidhaygal-a garugandhi-la Bulungul
pelican-ERG call.out-PST Bulungul
[A] pelican called out to Pooloongool (DM-AM-1877-272-Wand/Hu-TuPu)

VSO:

All VSO examples are found in the texts; elicited sentences do not show this sequence.

(55) **Būthilāla Tūtawai thulinyo:**
budhula-la Tutawa-yi dhalinj-u
cut-PST Tutawa-ERG tongue-3s.PSSR
*Tootawa split his tongue, (DM-AM-1877-272-Wand/Hu-TuPu)*

A.6.6.2.2 Ditransitive clauses with fully expressed NPs

Verbs are either transitive or intransitive. Ditransitive verbs such as ‘give’ have an additional syntactic role other than subject and object; they also include an indirect object, which may be unmarked.

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80 The identity of the main characters is not clear to me; they could possibly be ducks guna, which would make sense in this sentence ‘the mother took the two ducks to the camp’. Or this is another word for ‘mother’. However, this word has not been found in all of the SCLs sources as ‘mother’. -mbulu may also mark for dual number and suggest that the two children are ducks.

81 There is no overt tense marker on the verb. We would expect -la for past tense.
ee-dhungooroo murnawarno mirreej’ig-ga ngoo-man
yidhungurr-u murnawar-nu miridjiga\textsuperscript{82} nguma-n
mother-ERG daughter-3s.PSSR bandicoot give.PRST-nPST

A woman gives a bandicoot to her daughter. \textit{(U-M.2.2-15)}

In most instances, subject and/or object are expressed in the form of bound
pronouns on the verb.\textsuperscript{83}

maran(fish) ngamâooogooñ(I’ll give you) koongara(opossum) ngamâooinga(give to me)
mara ngama-wu-gun gungara ngama-wu-yi-ngga
fish give-IRR-1s/2s.OBJ possum give-IRR-2s-1s.OBJ

I will give you fish and you will give me possum. \textit{(U-M.2.2-148)}

Bindyawulung ngubbamurra’lanhung dhuñbulaligangga(fish two small ones)
wur’ria’lanhai(they played with).
bin=dja=wulung ngaba=mara=wulanhung dhanj-bulali-gang-ga wari-ya=wula nhay
give-PST=3d.OBJ mother-KIN=3d.PSSR fish-DU-DIM-INSTR play-PST=3d that

Their mother gave them two small fish to play with. \textit{(A-M.2.6-24-GW)}

A.6.6.3 Complex Sentences

The Dharrawal and Dharumba corpora show examples of relative clauses and
strategies for subordination that have also been observed in other AALs (see Hale,
1976). These are found within the story/texts material; none are found in the Dhurga
and Djirringanj material, which consists mainly of elicited simple sentences.

There are no examples found where an interrogative pronoun is found in a role
of a determiner within a clause.

A.6.6.3.1 Subordination

Examples in both Dharrawal and Dharumba texts show the use of a subordination
markers =dha and =ya. One example that exemplifies how the English sentence ‘the
man [who went away]’ is conveyed in the SCLs is shown in (59). In this Dharrawal
construction is a combination of two simple clauses, i.e. ‘the man went away’ and ‘he

\textsuperscript{82} Note that we would expect miridjiga to show an instrumental suffix here.

\textsuperscript{83} Note that (55) is an elicited sentence and not taken from a story, we therefore do not know the
context of this example.
stole a boomerang from me’ where the cross reference between the two clauses is the subordination marker on the verb in the clause that indicates that the same person that went away also did the stealing.

(59) *yuwinj dhalluga yendadha – warrangandya gurrangamadadhan*

*the man yesterday went [away] - a boomerang stole he from me, (A-M.1.4-138)*

The man who went away yesterday stole my boomerang

The subordination markers =*dha* and =*ya* are also found in examples that indicate a temporal relation between the two clauses.

(60) *Yūgun-gai dyurwammaiadha [wallunhunggo(added on side)] būrwarna marria nguddhaŋbulali nhari(along)[inserted] yau-angga(on path)*

*and while he continued scattering his seed, some of it fell on the side of the path, (A-M.2.6-18-PoS3)*

(61) *Bullawilaiadha nguria namarungguli bēddhabā waling gundū nhai gurman[hung][added] gundū balawila-ya = dha? nguri-ya namarung-guli badhaba-ya nhay return-2-PST-SUB camp-LOC 3s-GEN hang.up-PST that garma = nhung gundu net.bag = 3s.PSSR tree*

*As he returned to his camp (and) hung up that bag in a tree. (A-M.2.6-25-GW)*

(62) *dhurrandhawa(they several trod) yūungai(at the time) yernēauai(a as they went away).*

*and was trodden on (A-M.2.6-17-PoS2)*

*then they stepped on (the seeds) as they walked away.*

A.6.6.4 Purposive constructions

Purposive constructions are marked by either the purposive case marker (see Chapter 4 (Nominal Morphology)) or with the purposive verbal suffix which is -*ri* in all SCLs. In

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84 Although this looks like the subordination marker =*dha*, it does not seem to fit here.
85 We would expect a locative or dative marker on *gundu* here.
all cases the verb in the main clause is marked for tense and person, leaving the verb in the purposive clause to be marked with -ri only.

(63)  ngullaiangai nhamurri
    ngala-ya = ngay nhama-ri
      sit-PST = 1s watch-PURP
    * I am sitting watching *(A-M.2.6-1)
    I sat down to watch.

(64)  Bidboriawula(they threw) dyirrambungga(with bushes) gujagambulali(the two children)[circled to suggest alternative word order] buddherri(to hide),
    bidbari-ya = wa djirambang-nga gudjaga-mbulali badha-ri
    cover-PST = 3p bushes-INSTR child-DU hide-PURP
    They covered the children with bushes to hide them. *(A-M.2.6-25-GW)*

**A.6.6.5 Conjunctions**

Conjunctions are almost exclusively found in the stories, rarely from the elicited material. They conjoin NPs as well as act as a linking device between two independent clauses. The conjunctions ya ‘or’ and ba ‘and’ are found in the Dharrawal and Dharumba corpora, but no conjunctions have been identified in the Dhurga or Djirringanj language material.

**A.6.6.6 Conjoining NPs**

(65)  Ngindaŋŋal thuŋŋ po munny.
    nginda = ngal dhangang ba marni
      bring = 1id food and meat
    *Let us take some bread and meat with us.* *(A-AM-1874:251)*

(66)  ngannun nha gumbulluídhung-nha mega ya yu军事
    nganung nha gumbalu-wudhung nha miga ya yuwinj
    who that strong-INTENS that woman or man
    *who is the strongest, the man or the woman* *(A-M.2.6-2)*

(67)  kûnyû, bethaigal, pa kûna, pa tora, pa mûnda. pa maia.
    gunyu badhaygal ba guna ba dura ba mundha ba maya
    black.swan pelican and duck and ? and black.snake and ?
    *the black swan and the pelican and the duck and the ? and the black snake and the ?* *(DM-AM-1877-272-Wand/Hu-TuPu)*
A.6.6.7 Questions

Wh-questions are found predominantly in Mathews’ elicited material; only few examples are contained in the story material. (See Part B (Source Material) for both.)

A.6.6.7.1 Questions with interrogatives

This section looks at questions formed with interrogative such as ‘who’ and ‘what’. These can be marked with case suffixes and other nominal suffixes. As a general rule, interrogatives occur in clause initial position.

(69) yakaiaolanna “wadthain bundamiai?”
yaga-ya = wula = nhay “wadha -yiin bundhama-ya-yi”
say-PST = 3d = 3s.OBJ where-ABL take-PST-?
they said “where have you come from?” (A-AM-1874:255-Nu)

(70) Wuddûna jirabar?
wadha nha djirabar
where that/there gun
Where is the gun? (A-AM-1874:251)

(71) mingang bumbadi
mingang bamba = di
what do = 2s
what wantest thou? (A-M.1.4-141)
What are you doing?

(72) Meena goongara kam-ba-djâlee-noon
minja gungara gambadja-li-nun,
what possum kill-PST-?
What did you kill it with? (U-M.2.2-14)
(73) *Minya yellabang*

*minja yili-ba-ng*

*what carry-PST-2s*

*What did you carry? (DJ-M.2.3-12)*

Interrogatives can also be marked with a verbaliser, as (74) and (75) show. These examples are only found in Dharrawal, Dharumba and Djirringanj, although the examples in Djirringanj are not confidently analysed; the examples are isolated and the morphology leaves unanswered questions, see example (76).

(74) “*Wudthaola maranū Jakwilao?*”

*wadha-wu-la mara-nu djagwila-wu*

*where-VBLS-PST fish-3s.PSSR lyrebird-GEN*

“Where is that fish belonging to that pheasant?” (DM-AM-1874-260-Ull/Th-Ee)

(75) *waddhoobee*

*wadha(-wu)=bi*

*where-VBLS=2s*

*where art thou? (A-M.1.7-4)*

(76) *wandyawili*

*wandja-wi-li*

*where-VBLS?2s?*

*where art thou (DJ-M.1.5-167)*

**A.6.6.7.2 Polar questions**

Only a few examples of polar questions are found in the corpus. With regards to the structure, polar questions show the same word order as in statements. There are no question particles.

(77) *Wammaban/goongara?*

*wama-ba-ng gungara*

*kill-PST-2s possum*

*Did you kill an opossum? (DJ-M.2.2-59)*

We can assume that this Djirringanj sentence would have been expressed with a rising intonation at the end of the utterance. This is also a commonly observed feature in Aboriginal English (Eades (n.d.))
http://www.hawaii.edu/satocenter/langnet/definitions/aboriginal.html). Thus the utterance would be more literally translated into English as ‘You killed a possum?’

**A.6.6.8 Clause linking**

Clauses can be linked by using the conjunctions *ya*, *ba* and *madha/ma* 'because'.

**A.6.6.8.1 ya ‘and’**

Other than conjoining NPs, *ya* is also found as a clause linker between two independent clauses. In all cases the subjects of the two clauses differ and *ya* could be the device that signals a change in subject between the two clauses, whilst marking a relationship between the two clauses. In (78) to (81), which occur consecutively within the same story, the two subjects were introduced previously and in this part the spirit follows the main character for a period of time.

(78)  *Ya jauîna bulgo, thobarâralunbilla,*  
      *ya djawa-ya nha balga dhabara-ra-lun-bila*  
      *and run-PST that sea jump.in-PST?%-AGAIN*  
      *He get up, runs to the sea; jumps in; (A-AM-1874-250-YK)*

(79)  *ye maunda wunanye.*  
      *ya man-dha wunanji*  
      *and catch-PST spirit*  
      *the spirit very near catches him. (A-AM-1874-250-YK)*

(80)  *Kainŋoyia yangariya, ya wudjut yendan.*  
      *gayinngayi-ya yan-garu-ya ya wadjad yan-dha-ng*  
      *sea-LOC? go?-PST and beach go-PST?*  
      *He goes into the sea, the spirit walks along the beach. (A-AM-1874-250-YK)*

(81)  *Barîŋanga thallybunbilla, ya kûrubun jîya Yîrâmâ-*  
      *baranga-nga dhaliba-(n)biila ya guraban-dju-ya yirama*  
      *island-LOC go.up-AGAIN and stone-BECOME-PST spirit*  
      *He got upon an island; the spirit went to the rocks. (A-AM-1874-250-YK)*

Similarly, in (82) the subjects in the two clauses differ but are already known.
They slept, the eel was burning. (DM-AM-1874-260-Ull/Th-Ec)

They slept and it was burning.

A.6.6.8.2 ba ‘and’

The following is the only example of ba linking clauses. This instance alone suggests that there is a distinguishing function between ya and ba. In previous examples showing ya, the subject of the two clauses were not the same, whereas in (83) ba links two independent clauses with the same subject, i.e. ‘he stepped on a log and jumped (over a creek)’.

As he was carrying them away, he stepped on a log and jumped/tripped on a log. (A-M.2.6-25-GW)

A.6.6.8.3 madha/ma ‘because’

madha is found in a few examples that clearly show that this particle is a clause-linking device. In all examples madha links two independent clauses. All examples with madha are found in the text material. Examples (86) and (87) are found in Mathews’ elicited Dharrawal and Dharumba sentences; in these example this particle is a reduced form ma.

You stop here, because the game runs this way.’ (DM-AM-1874-257-Ull/Th-Bu2)
(85) Dyurwaliila (sprung of it) bullijullaia (died it after) nhai (it), madha (because) bunnaiana (rain none) yaddhaia (not any) yeddha yedda yenna [dyurwaliilaia (grew it up) – bullijullaia nhai (died it)]

djurwa-la-yaya nhay madha [bana-yana yadha-ya seed-INEPT-PST-THEN die-AFTER-PST that because [rain-PRIV wet-PST dha-yana] yadha-yadha-yana [djurwali-la-ya bali-djala-ya nhay] that?-PRIV] wet-PRIV [grow-PRIV-PST die-AFTER-PST that] and as soon as it grew, it withered away, because it had no moisture. (A-M.2.6-17-PoS2)

(86) bunbari nhai jauaierr, ma yuiñ nhai irrandaia
bunbari nhay djawayarr ma yuwinj nhay yiranda-ya
boy that fast because man that overtake?-PST
boy this very swift, because man this he overtook. (A-M.1.4-150)

(87) Yanūūnye, ma māra kunna, nombimunnōls;
yanu-wu-nji ma mara garna, ngamba-munu-la 86;
go-IRR-1IP because fish bad give-?-PST
[‘Wife and children speaking] ‘Let us run away because bad, nasty fish (are what he gives you, understood). (DM-AM-1874-256-Ull/Bi-Bu1)

A.6.6.9 Comparative sentences

Comparative structures are not formally linked but are two juxtaposed clauses. In (88) the English translation would be ‘you have more than I’ and in (89) the literal translation is ‘the woman is very thirsty, that man is thirsty’.

(88) burramurrandhurrabi – mirraguyungai
baramarang-dharra = bi mirra-guyang = ngay
plenty-HAVING = 2s not-PRIV? = 1s
thou hast plenty (I have none) (A-M.1.4-149)

(89) jimbi (jimbowuddhumbi) nthia ngurrunggal – jimbi nthia yooiñ
djambay (djamba-wudhu(ng)-mbay) nhaya ngaranggal djambay nhaya yuwinj
thirsty (thirsty-INTENS-?) that woman thirsty that man
the woman is more thirsty than the man (A-M.2.2-163)

86 Note that the word final s in the transcription may be a typesetting mistake and I assigned a instead.
A.6.7 Modality and clause structure

A.6.7.1 Dharumba subjunctive

There is one example available that shows a subjunctive construction. The most remarkable feature of this construct is the use of the past tense marker, which could denote that the state of affairs is considered by the speaker and based on the speaker’s knowledge as assured and hence is marked accordingly.

(90) Mūrīra thākāla bukiai nyellāga; barūnga mainbala nēnji, kulāgundēmbala mūrīra
muriyira dhuga-la bagiya naya-la-ga
whale spout-PST yesterday see-PST-1s
baranga mayi-mba-la njiinj gula-gandi-mba-la muriyira
island/ship sit-CONT-PST this/her spear-?-CONT-PST whale
I saw a sperm whale spouting yesterday; if the vessel stops here she will catch plenty of whales.
(DM-AM-1874:253)

A.6.7.2 Dharumba Counterfactual

One example possibly resembles a counterfactual construction, based on the translation, which might be roughly translated to ‘if the fire hadn’t burnt him, he would have devoured all the children’.

(91) māna wurrin(-page)burritbundthimbula yakunyo waori kaiadtha bānda kun(-page)millowa.
mana waranj baridba-ndhi-mbulu yagunja wawari gayadha baan-dha
? child devour-?-3d.OBJ then far ? fire-INSTR
gana-ma-la-wa
burn-CAUS-PST-3p
He would have devoured all the children, only for the fire burning him. (DM-AM-1878:269-JB-Gy)
A.6.8 Particles and their use

A.6.8.1 Modal particles

Modality refers to the speakers’ perception of the likelihood of the state of affairs to eventuate. This includes (amongst other things) potentiality, possibility and desire. SCLs use either suffixes on verbs or freestanding particles, as well as both of them together to convey modality. Modal verbal suffixes were discussed in Chapter 5 (Verb Morphology); here we look at modal particles.

Modal examples are only found in Dharrawal and Dharumba language material. Four particles have been identified, *wandha* (Dharumba), *djuwa* (Dharrawal) and *yuwa* (Dharumba). The Dharrawal post-inflectional clitic =marra is also included here.

All particles are translated by Mathews and Mackenzie as ‘perhaps’ or ‘might’, which expresses potentiality or possibility, and ‘must have’, which expresses the speaker’s assumption that the state of affairs is likely to have been realised based on observed actual events. Modal particles often co-occur with modal verb inflection in the same sentence.

From the few examples available, it seems that a clear distinction in the semantics occurs between examples that show both freestanding lexeme and verbal suffix and sentences that only use one or the other.

The pattern that emerges most consistently seems to be that *djuwa* occurs clause initially, whereas *wanda* is found following the verb.

A.6.8.1.1 *djuwa* and *yuwa*

*yuwa* (Dharrawal) and *djuwa* (Dharumba) always occur sentence initially to mark the whole clause in Dharrawal and Dharumba as a modal construction.
A.6.8.1.1.1 yuwa

(92)  Iūa beruŋle mūka kullywawaŋaldo kūndo mūka.
    yuwa  baru-wa=ngal  muga  galiwa-wa=ngal  da  gunda muga
    perhaps  find-IRR=1id  honey  cut-IRR=1id  that  tree  honey
    Perhaps (too) we might find a honey tree and cut it down. (A-AM-1874:251)

A.6.8.1.1.2 djuwa

(93)  Wēlera yamūdha, jūa mūrira kūlāla,murūndalawāna Kunamarambalāna
    wilera yamadha  djuwa  muriyira  gula-la  marunda-la-wa=na
    whalerlooks.like  perhaps  whale  spear-PST  fetch-PST-3p=THEN
    ganama-ra-mba-la-na
    burn-?-CONT-?-nPST87
    She looks like a whaler; perhaps she has killed a whale, and fetched it in, and is tiring it out.
    (DM-AM-1874:253)

A.6.8.1.2 wanda and = marra

The Dharumba particle wanda is always transcribed as a freestanding particle in the corpus; and examples are only found in Mackenzie’s material. All instances transcribing the Dharrwal particle =marra were collected by Mathews, who transcribed this modal particle to be part of the verb complex. Whether wanda is indeed freestanding compared to =marra being a clitic is therefore based on a few isolated examples only.

wanda and =marra indicate modality, and follow the verb. Compare this Dharumba example (94) to the above Dharrwal version (92).

A.6.8.1.2.1 wanda

(94)  Ngerawonye wanda jerawaunye naui thurgaunyena
    ngara-wu-nji  wanda  djara-wa-nji  nawi  dhurga-wu-nji-nha
    perceive-FUT-1ip  possible  cut-FUT-1ip  honey.tree  cut-FUT-1ip-THEN
    Perhaps (too) we might find a honey tree and cut it down. (DM-AM-1874:248)

87 The verb here makes little sense compared to the translation. The morphology could perhaps be alternatively glossed as ganama-ra-mba-la-na ‘burn-?-CONT-PST-3s.OBJ’?
(95)  
*Barunga maiäna Paoderi, tubärain marülila wanda*
baranga  maya-na  Paoderi  dhabaranj  maru-li-la  wanda
ship/island  sit-nPST  [name]  night  go-?-3PST  perhaps

*There is a vessel lying off New Bristol; she must have come in last night. (DM-AM-1874:253)*

**A.6.8.1.2.2 = marra**

(96)  
nuggoongamurra bumbeng
nagung  =  marra  bumba-ng
good  =  perhaps  be-FUT

*perhaps I’ll be good (A-M.2.2-163)*

(97)  
bulmangamurra yereemiangamurra
bulma  =  ngay  =  marra  yirima-ya  =  ngay  =  marra
strike  =  1s  =  perhaps  throw-?  =  1s  =  perhaps

*I may strike (A-M.2.2-166)*

**A.6.8.1.3 wanda and djuwa**

One example in the corpus contains both *wanda* and *djuwa* in the same clause. This looks like a desiderative construction, which can be interpreted as ‘I might talk to myself’.

(98)  
*Jeewa(might) jenjalleejū nga wanda.*
djuwa  dja-ndjali-dju-ga-ngga  wanda
perhaps  talk-REC-FUT?-1s-1s.OBJ possible

*Perhaps I’ll talk to myself. (DM-M.2.6-28)*

**A.6.9 Post Inflectional Clitics**

Two clitics have been identified and analysed for function. =*marra* the Dharrawal modal clitic has already been presented previously in 6.8.1.2.2. The other clitic is a Djirringanj clitic that has a directional function.

**A.6.9.1.1 = way ‘this direction/to here/towards’**

The Djirringanj directional clitic =*way* is found in two examples (and their respective published versions) in Mathews’ notebook with the verb *yili- ‘bring’. Example (99) is Mathews’ unpublished and (100) the published version.
(99) yelleenyilleewi
    yili-njili = way
carry-hither = towards
    *bring to us (PL excl) (DJ-M.2.3-14)

(100) yellinyilliwa
    yili-njili = way
carry-hither = towards
    *bring this direction (DJ-M.1.5-166)

The following example shows =way attached to the noun ‘boomerang’. Note
that the word order in the published version (102) differs to that in Mathews’
notebooks (101). It is therefore difficult to posit a rule whether the clitic attaches to the
last word or the first word in a sentence, but it is likely that the latter is the case and
that Mathews changed the word order for the publication.

(101) Yelleenyilee warranganwi
    yili-njili  warranganj = way
carry-hither  boomerang = towards
    *Bring to me that boomerang! DJ-M.2.3-8

(102) warranganwai yellindyarria
    warranganj = way  yili-ndja-ra-ya
boomerang = towards  carry-?.-IMP-IMP
    a boomerang  bring to me DJ-M.1.5-166

A.6.10 Temporal words

The SCLs use temporal words to express details about the time of action or the event
occurring. The words in this category contain both particles such as *bagiya
‘yesterday’, *buraadja ‘tomorrow’ and *buraagawalin ‘day after tomorrow (all Dhurga).
The range of words varies greatly between the individual corpora. More of these
temporal words are found in wordlists in the original sources, and are listed in the
SCLs dictionary; see Part B (Language Material). Here are examples that show how
these words are used within a sentence.
A.6.10.1.1 Dharrawal

A.6.10.1.1.1 dhagula ‘yesterday’

(103) yuĩĩ dhallaug yendadha – warrangandy a gurrangamadadhan
   yuwinjdhaluga yan-dha = dha warranganj-dja garangama-dha = dhan
   man yesterday go-PST = SUB boomerang-INSTR steal-PST = 1s.OBJ
   the man yesterday went [away] - a boomerang stole he from me, (A-M.1.4-138)

A.6.10.1.1.2 dhadjan ‘soon’

(104) watgawangi dhadjan
   wadga-wa = ngay dhadjan
   make-IRR = 1s soon
   I shall do it by the bye (A-M.2.2-175)

A.6.10.1.1.3 njilamung ‘now’

(105) watgawangi nyillamung
   wadga-wa = ngay njilamung
   make-IRR = 1s now
   I shall do it now (A-M.2.2-175)

A.6.10.1.2 Dharumba

A.6.10.1.2.1 bagiya ‘yesterday’

(106) Mûrîria thûkâla buckai nyellâga; barûngâ maimbala nênjî, kulaghundêmînta mûrîria
   muriyira dhuga-la bagiya naya-la-ga
   whale spout-PST yesterday see-PST-1s
   baranga mayi-mba-la njinji gula-gandi-mba-la muriyira
   island/ship sit-CONT-PST this/here spear-?CONT-PST whale
   I saw a sperm whale spouting yesterday; if the vessel stops here she will catch plenty of whales.
   (DM-AM-1874:253)

A.6.10.1.3 Dhurga

A.6.10.1.3.1 nhaway ‘today’

(107) goo-lâl’-la-ga bir-ree’-wai bir-ree-bañ nthow-ay
   gula-la-ga biriway biribanj nhaway
   spear-PST-1s spear emu today
   I speared an emu today. (U-M.2.2-17)
A.6.10.1.3.2 dhaba ‘before’

(108) dhumbâmolee (did you ever see) dhab’a (before) nyooong’a OR dhumbâmooolee
dhambamu-li dhaba njunga
see-2sPST before that
*did you ever see him before? (U-M.2.2-49)*

A.6.10.1.4 Djirringanj

A.6.10.1.4.1 bala ‘soon’

(109) bulla(by the by) yendabullaabee(I’ll go) koolgoonbeâla(for fish -or after fish)
bala yanda-bala-bi gulgun-biyala
soon go-FUT-2s fish-PURP
‘I will go for fish soon’ (DJ-M.2.2-150)

A.6.11 Conclusion

This chapter offered some insight into the syntactic strategies that the SCLs employ. The analysis here relied on the morphological analyses given in earlier chapters. The following chapter looks at some features that were not discussed in here; aspects and features related to discourse and narrative analysis.
Chapter A.7 Narrative and Discourse Analysis

The data for this chapter comes predominantly from Mackenzie’s texts, and, to lesser extent, from Mathews’ collected language material. There are altogether seventeen transcribed texts between the Dharrawal and Dharumba languages. Mathews’ Dharrawal texts are translations of two biblical stories; four slightly varying versions of *The Parable of the Sower*, and *The Prodigal Son*; as well as the story of *<Gwayamiñ>*, a local mythological story. All three stories are transcribed in his handwritten notebooks (A-M.2.6). Mackenzie transcribed eleven mythological stories in both Dharrawal and Dharumba that were published between 1874 and 1878 in the *Journal of the Anthropological Society of Great Britain and Ireland*. In an accompanying letter Mackenzie stated that the particular stories were told in their own elliptical and dramatic fashion and taken, word for word, from the mouth of the narrator, a native of Shell harbour [Shoalhaven]. (Mackenzie, 1874:250)

Due to Mackenzie’s transcriptions recording actual language use, his stories contribute data to the SCLs corpus that few corpora of ‘sleeping’ AALs in south-eastern Australia contain: features of natural speech. The rich content of these stories was not a focus on previous language work on the SCLs; neither Capell (n.d.) nor Eades (1976) utilised Mathews’ or Mackenzie’s texts for their language analyses.

But for the main part, because the [Mathews’ transcribed biblical stories of the *Parable of the Sower* and the *Prodigal Son*] stories are only partially glossed or translated, they are of no great value. (Eades, 1976:11)

As with R. H. Mathews’ texts, Mackenzie’s stories are unfortunately not very helpful but they do illustrate some of the grammatical points made in R. H. Mathews’ grammar. (Eades, 1976:11)
This chapter aims to raise the importance of incorporating natural speech aspects into language work in the realms of language recovery and revitalisation. Surprisingly very little has been published on aspects of narrative styles and discourse in AALs. This makes a discourse-focussed analysis of the Dharrawal and Dharumba stories difficult, as there is no means to verify or get further information on any of the structures found in the texts. The data presented here is therefore a list of observed features rather than an in-depth analysis. The narrative and discourse features that have been identified are repetitions; reduplication; change of tenses in parts of stories; use of direct speech rather than reported speech; use of sequential markers; exclamations and sound words; and a cultural aspects reflected in language use: the mother-in-law avoidance.

The features shown in this chapter are by no means exhaustive and these stories deserve further and more detailed analyses with focus on narrative styles, pragmatics and natural speech that can be used to teach a more natural language in language revitalisation programs. Some language revitalisation/teaching projects have already begun to incorporate the traditional story telling characteristics in their language teaching material. One community project in La Perouse translated stories that were told by Elders (in English) into Dharrawal, using features of natural speech to create more animated and exciting stories for the children.

A.7.1 Narratives in Australian Aboriginal context

Aboriginal cultural knowledge is traditionally passed on in the form of songs, narratives and stories. Telling stories is a way of educating, maintaining, reinforcing and passing on information about belief systems and the collective history of the
cultural group. Because storytelling is not merely serving as entertainment, and plays a pivotal role in Australian Aboriginal culture, it requires skills to transmit stories effectively to the listeners.

In Australian Aboriginal culture storytelling is a highly valued skill and people are usually well aware of who in their community the good storytellers are. [Name] is a gifted and inspired storyteller who delivers her story in a vivid and highly engaging manner. She makes frequent and effective use of expressive modulation of voice, intonation and tempo, and thus manages beautifully to bring alive the various scenes and dialogues through which she dramatises the narrated action. (Klapproth, 2004:220).

This notion of the good storyteller appears frequently in literature on AALs. Comments such as an informant being “acknowledged as a good story teller by the community” (Patz, 2002:221) or “[name] was an enthusiastic story teller” (Sharp, 2004: Dedication) are commonly recurring in AALs grammars. These mentioned characteristics of a good narrative and/or storyteller were also noted by Mackenzie (1874:250) in his statement (as quoted earlier) that he transcribed the stories true to the “elliptical and dramatic fashion”. This animated style of story telling is an inherent feature within AALs.

What emerges as indisputable from the anthropological descriptions, as well as comments made by the [local community Klapproth worked with] themselves, is the fact that in Australian Aboriginal culture there is an intrinsic interconnectedness between traditional verbal narratives, songs and ritual performances, including dance, dramatisation and visual representations. (Klapproth, 2004:23)

Although we cannot see the “dramatic fashion” in which Mackenzie’s transcribed stories were told, the texts themselves provide plenty of features that allow us — with a little imagination and familiarity with how stories are still told in the AALs that thankfully are still spoken in everyday context — to visualise the story being told with animation and perhaps the skill of a good story teller.
A.7.2 Cultural information embedded in the stories

Australian Aboriginal societies function within a complex kinship system that governs, amongst other aspects, inter-personal relationships between members of the same or different social groups. Kinship systems and rules not only assist in maintaining a social structure and avoid inbreeding between closely related family members; they assure a continuation of ownership and connection to land, language and cultural practices. Kinship systems come with rules that may affect how people may interact communication and speech.

In most tribes relations between certain kin are taboo. Elkin (1964:152) mentions that there is a widespread avoidance rule concerning brothers and sisters. Once they are grown up they cannot talk to one another freely; if they need to talk, they have to face the opposite directions. Elkin conjectures that this constraint may have its origin in an attempt to prevent incest.

The most widespread taboo concerns mothers-in-law. In some areas it extends to potential mothers-in-law, to a mother’s mother’s brother’s daughter for instance, since her daughter will be a distant cross-cousin and a favoured choice for a spouse. The taboo usually involves total avoidance. If a man meets his mother-in-law coming from the opposite direction, he must detour. If he has to be near her, he must hold one hand to his face as a blinker to avoid seeing her. He must avoid talking to her and in some areas he must use a kind of secret language if she is within earshot...(Blake, 1981:40)

This mother-in-law avoidance, for example, may well have been part of cultural practices in the South Coast societies. The two versions of the same story *<Gwayamiñ>* (A-M.2.6-25-GW) and *<Guayamin>* (DM-AM-1878:269-JB-Gy) (see Text 9 in B.1.1 and Text 7 in B.2.1), show what possibly is an avoidance technique between son-in-law and mother-in-law.

(1) *Gaînha*(he said) ngurrunggal(*wife*) murranhung(*his*)
ga-ya nha ngaranggal-mara nhung
say-PST that woman-KIN=3s.PSSR

Gwayaminj said to his wife: *<A-M.2.6-26-GW>*
(2) “yûggari(tell) nanaridyang(mother in law) yendâwanda(go for) murnja(the meat) nhaia[inserted] beddhabalinda(hanging up) nharria(yonder) wurridyang(far) gundu(tree)”

’yaga-ri nanari = djan = di yanda-wa-ndha marnidja nhaya

tell-PURP mother.in.law = 1s.PSSR = KIN go-FOR-HORT meat that

badhaba-li = ndha nharaya waridjan gundu

hang.up-DTRSV = SUB that far tree

‘tell mother-in-law to go for the meat hanging in that tree over there’. (A-M.2.6-26-GW)

Similarly, in Mackenzie’s versions of the same story, <Guayamin> asks his wife (and someone else) to tell his mother-in-law to get the meat that was contained in a bag hanging off a tree. In this version the direct speech between the wife and her mother is seen in example (3).

(3) Nunnaridtha jiamûno yandthaonidtha gaianji,

nanari-dha djiya-mu-nu yandha-wu-nidha ngaya-ndji

mother.in.law-1s.PSSR tell-FUT-2d go-IRR-3s.HORT that-PURP

“you two tell my mother in law to go over there for my meats. (DM-AM-1878:269-JB-Gy)

A.7.3 Structure of narratives

Michael Walsh (date unknown, talk at Australian National University) opened a talk at a conference with a recollection of his drive down from Sydney to Canberra. He told the story in English but structured like a narrative in an AAL. It evoked a lot of amusement in the audience; more likely due to the audience being familiar with this style of telling stories than because of the ‘strangeness’ of the short sentences, repetitions, reiterations and pauses Walsh used in his story telling.88

This is a story from yesterday
the story I’m going to tell now
yesterday I was at my place
one place called Austinmere
alright
at Austinmere
gotta come south

88 I would like to thank Rachel Hendery for supplying me with the audio file of Michael Walsh’s story, and Michael Walsh for permitting me to use this story here.
going going going ging going
loooong way
going going going going
loooong way
getting hungry now
I’m getting hungry
I pull into that other place, whatchamacallit
that place now
Mittagong
go to that cafe, ey
go to that cafe
no good
closd up, alright
keep going going going going
keep going going going going
still hungry but now I gotta urinate
alright
go to that rest stop
coming
coming up to that rest stop
no good, got no [toilets]
 alright, keep going going going going
get to that next rest stop
aaaaaaaahhhhhh, good one
I do that, alright
keep going going going
now I got here
this is how I got here
alright

This short story captures and demonstrates some of the features that characterise narratives in AALs. Although Mackenzie’s texts do not reveal dramatic pauses or intonation, we still find some of the same strategies in his collected texts. Here we also have repetition of the information as in the following example.

(4) Yanaoya maranji; Kulambaroga maranji;
yana-wu-ga  mara-ndji  gula-mba-ru-ga  mara-ndji;
go-FUT-1s  fish-PURP  spear-CONT-FUT-1s  fish-PURP
[Bundoola speaking] ‘I go fishing, I am going to spear fish; (DM-AM-1874-256-Ull/Bi-Bu1)

Here we have particles that introduce sequence of events and perhaps convey to the listener that new information will be given. See examples (17) - (28) in A.7.5.1 (Discourse particles).
The content of the texts gives little clues whether stories were possibly women’s or men’s stories. It looks like the second last sentence in <Jerra Thura- waltheri - Mēgaalōlē, Warragul> (A-AM-1874:255-Nu) reveals that the narrator decided that no further information could be given.

“I am bringing mullet from the river.” That will do, women corrobory gesticulating with the left hand; they fall dead. This was at Bendθualaly.

### A.7.4 Direct speech and conversations

Narratives in AALs commonly use direct speech and interaction between the characters in the story, rather than using reported speech, i.e. ‘and he told her to get the meat’. In terms of the clause structure this means that direct speech is an independent clause embedded within the story. McGregor (1990:413) refers to this as ‘projection of speech’, where the direct speech “represents an utterance concerning the world as it might have been, or might be spoken; it does not directly refer to a situation or relation in the world”. In the Dharrawal and Dharumba stories, only direct speech is found; there are no examples of reported speech.

Not just isolated utterances, but also conversations between characters are given as direct speech. In the following example the background and event is given by the narrator.

(5) Dhedya(after) wurraialaia(playing a bit) dhurring(bymistake) a-malanaaula(one anothers they took) nha dhundya(fish) gujaga[inserted] manmaia(took) midhanga(one) dhundya(fish).
dhadja wara-ya = wula = ya dharunga malana-ya = wula nha then play-PST = 3d = SUB mistake take-PST = 3d that dhanj-dja gujaga manma ya midhangga dhanj-dja fish-DAT child take-PST one fish-DAT

After the two played for a while, they took each others’ fish by mistake. (A-M.2.6-24-GW)
The other child said ‘that is mine’. *(A-M.2.6-24-GW)*

‘No, mine is the small one.’ *(A-M.2.6-24-GW)*

“Mother, you go and get the two meats; *(DM-AM-1878:269-JB-Gy)*

How the direct speech is relayed by the narrator so that the listener is able to distinguish them from an utterance by the speaker that refers “to a situation or relation of the world” *(McGregor, 1990:413)*, is explained in the case of Gooniyandi narratives.

When a clause is not projected by a clause of speech [i.e. ‘he said”…”], the fact that it is a representation of what what said (rather than what happened’ or will happen) may be signalled by a change in voice quality.

It is expected that this was also a strategy employed by narrators of the SCLs stories and the following excerpt from the story of *Gwayaminj* would have required several changes in voice quality.

That *Gwayaminj* said to his wife: *(A-M.2.6-26-GW)*

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89 *nummo* is phonemicised as such because it is the form it is transcribed as in other instances.
(11) “yūggar(tell) nanaridyandi(mother in law) yendāwanda(go for) murnja(the meat) nhāja[inferred]
beddhabalinda(hanging up) nharria(yonder) wurridyang(far) gundu(tree)”
yaga-ri nanari = djān = di⁹⁰ yanda-wa-nhāja murnja nhāja
badhaba-li = ndha nharria wārijan gundu
‘tell mother-in-law to go for the meat hanging in that tree over there’. (A-M.2.6-26-GW)

(12) Nanarimurranhung yenda nanda(she saw) na(the) gurma(bag) gumirrdirra(with hole)-
nanari-mara = nhung yan-dha nan-dha nhā gurma gumirr-dharra
mother.in.law-KIN = 3s.PSSR go-PST see-PST that net.bag hole HAVING
The mother-in-law went and saw that bag with the hole. (A-M.2.6-26-GW)

(13) gurrugaia(called) “mirra(nothing) nyinyi(in it) murnyanha(meat none)”-
garuga-ya ‘mirra njinji murnidja-yanha’
call-PST no here meat-PRIV
She called out ‘there is no meat in it’. (A-M.2.6-26-GW)

(14) “Nha-nha(there there), beddhabangai(hung it up I)”
‘nha nhā badhaba(-ya) = ngay’
there there hang.up(-PST) = 1s
‘there there I hung it up’ (A-M.2.6-26-GW)

(15) She = “mirragwiung(nothing) nyinyi(here), gurndhi(xxx nothing at all) nyin(this) gurma(bag)”
‘mirra-guyang njinji gurndhi njin gurma’
not-HAVING here nothing this net.bag
‘there is nothing here, nothing at all in this bag’. (A-M.2.6-26-GW)

Within the narratives, the subject is often not overtly marked or represented in sentences. This is not an unusual feature; in Kayardild, Evans (1995b:530) noted the ‘thematically neutral discourse conditions’:

The least marked discourse sequence is a series of actions performed by the same subject. After the first appearance, SUBJ is usually omitted anaphorically… Where the objects remain in the same syntactic function over a stretch of discourse with an unchanging and topical subject, they too are anaphorically omitted. (Evans, 1995b:530)

⁹⁰ Note that the final -di suffix could perhaps be -ndi and have the same function as -ndi on baba in the Parable of the Prodigal Son story (Text A.8). It is unlikely that is marks for a specific possessor because ‘mother in law’ is already marked for possession both in (142) and (143).
Stories are also often told with the voice of the protagonist. In *Yirrama Karwēr*, the story starts with the spirit announcing or perhaps thinking to himself “I am going for wild figs”.

(16)  
\[\text{Yandigay karwerallaŋo gai,}\]  
\[\text{yan-dhi = ngay garwaray-langu = ngay}\]  
\[\text{go-PRST = 1s wild.fig-PURP = 1s}\]  
\[\text{I am going for wild figs. (A-AM-1874-250-YK)}\]

The story then continues to be told from the perspective of an observer, but the previously mentioned direct speech throughout the story brings the narration back to the voice of the participants.

**A.7.5 Discourse analysis**

There are commonalities in the narrative styles found in AALs across the mainland. Observations from NSW languages are scarce due to the higher incidence of language loss in the south-eastern parts of Australia, which was caused by a more severe invasion of Europeans and settlers in that area compared to the rest of the Australian continent.

**A.7.5.1 Discourse particles**

The stories contain a number of particles or demonstratives that are used as strategies to convey to the listener the sequence of events or a change in subject.

**A.7.5.1.1 Change of subject particle**

In Dharrawal, the conjunction *ya* (see Chapter 6 (Syntax)) is used to signal when a change of subject is about to occur. Compare the first three examples taken from the text *Yirrama Karwēr*. Here the subject is the same in the consecutive sentences.
As soon as the subject changes, the utterance (or verb?) is preceded by the conjunction *ya*. In (17) - (19) the spirit is the subject, in (20) the subject is the other character that gets up and runs away, then in (21) the subject changes back to the spirit.

A.7.5.1.2 Sequential marker

One of the most recognisable features of AALs’ narrative style is the use of short sentences, repetition of information and also omission of actor in sentences, as well as topicalisation and use of demonstratives that function as sequential markers, meaning ‘and then’. In Dharrawal, the particle ‘and then’ *yagun* is found in Mathews’ collected stories; it also occurs in three texts in Dharumba (three different informants), and in one elicited sentences in Dhurga.
This particle is found frequently in both Mackenzie’s and Mathews’ stories. In all occurrences yagun is inflected with either -du (see (22) and (23)) or -gay (examples, (24) and (25); the functions of these suffixes have not been identified at this stage.

(22) Yugundu gamaiadha:
yagundu gama-ya = dha
thus talk-PST = SUB
Then he spoke. (A-M.2.6-23-PoS4)

(23) 14. yagundu burratbundhaia, dhung-ang (food) gunnaia (none) nham (that) dhūlga (everything), guggarnyaia (he was hungry)
yagun-du baradj bandha-ya dhanang-ganha-ya nham dhalga gaganja-ya
then-? all use-PST food-PRIV-? that ground hungry-PST
‘And after he had spent all, there arose a mighty famine in that land; and he began to be in want.’ (A-M.2.6-21-PoPS)

The following examples show yagun with the suffix -gay. All examples are found in Mathews’ *Parable of the Sower.*

(24) dhurrandhawa (they several trod) yāungai (at the time) yernēaaia (as they went away).
dharan-dha = wa yagun-gay yana-ya = wa = ya
step.on-PST = 3p then-? go-PST = 3p = SUB
and was trodden on (A-M.2.6-17-PoS2)

(25) Yāungai yerrimaiaadha būrwa marraia nguuttambulali nhari yauangga.
yagun-gay yiri-ma-ya = dha burwa-mara-ya ngadhanj-bulali
then-? throw-CONT-PST = SUB fall-SOME-PST side-DU
nhari yawang-ga
deviation path-LOC

As he threw them, he dropped some on the sides of the path. (A-M.2.6-23-PoS4)

The particle yagu(n)- is also found in Dharumba. Here is it suffixed with -(n)ga.
The following two examples are taken in the order of occurrence from the Dharumba story *<Jakwila, Bombi, yanilla Didthullo>.*

(26) Yukūŋa nangaiila , ya Kunilluŋa,
yagun-ga nanga-yi-la ya gani-la-nga
then-? sleep-NEXT-PST and burn-PST-SUB?
They slept, the eel was burning. (DM-AM-1874-260-Ull/Th-Ee)
The pheasant came in and put him in the jukulu (bark of the excrescence of a tree, used as a vessel for holding honey or other food), (DM-AM-1874-260-Ull/Th-Ee)

In Dhurga yagun is found on this one example, which is likely to be translated as ‘I spoke then’.

**A.7.5.2 Exclamations**

One of the aspects that define a natural language is the use of exclamations and sound words. In narratives, exclamations have the function of presenting or retelling the story animatedly and expressing sentiments and emotions.

Mathews included exclamations in some of his elicited wordlists as part of a vocabulary. Most of these were published in his grammars, which indicates that he acknowledged the vital role of ‘interjections’ and exclamations in the languages he was describing.

The following are all identified exclamations in the SLC corpus and are given here with all occurring instances in order to show their use.

**A.7.5.2.1 yagay!**

The exclamation yagay! is commonly found also in other NSW AALs (Amanda Lissarrague, pc and Ray Kelly, pc) and in Yorta Yorta it has been labelled as “an explanation of pain or sorrow” by Curr (Bowe and Morey, 1999:96). Yagay! has...
various functions, such as surprise, which Mathews listed in his ‘interjections’ 
<yukkai> (A-M.1.4-150) and <yukki> (A-M.1.7-4).

Yagay! is found in two instances in two different Dharumba stories told by two different narrators; an unnamed member of the Jervis Bay tribe for the first and Thooritgal from the Ulladulla tribe for the second example. The second example shows a slightly different form yagaw!

In both cases it is used in direct speech when the speaker expresses surprise, notably an undesired surprise. In (29), <Guayamin> falls asleep and his enemies make a fire around him and he wakes up being burned.

(29) yakai, yakai, yakai, yakai! thunnadtha, joali kunnaiwoniga
yagay! yagay! yagay! yagay! dhana-dha djawali gana-yiwani-ga
EXCL-REDUP feet-1s.PSSR ? burn-?-1s
“Oh! oh! oh! oh! my feet! they’re killing me outright with fire! (DM-AM-1878:269-JB-Gy)

In the second example, Bundoola’s wife’s family try to lure him to stand close to the edge of a cliff and by standing so closely he may have lost his spear (and/or other weapons he was carrying).

(30) Yukau! mudjeri kaoja! yiriganjka! gaiilijima!
yakaw! mudjari gama-dja yiragandji ngayi-lidjima
EXCL canoe spear-1s.PSSR? fish.spear here-?
Oh dear! my two-pronged spear and tea-tree javelin! (DM-AM-1874-257-Ull/Th-Bu2)

A.7.5.2.2 yay!

Yay! is given in Mathews’ Dharrarwal and Djirringanj material <yai!> (A-M.1.4-150) and (DJ-M.1.5-167); and <yi> (A-M.1.7-4). In all cases he translates it as “interjection” or “calling for attention”, “hey!” Mathew further adds that this particle can be inflected for number such as <yaiawul!> or <yaianyu!>.

The use of this calling for attention is demonstrated in an example in Mackenzie’s collected story in Dharumba <Guayamin> (Mackenzie, 1878), see Text
7 in B.2.1; name of narrator is not known but the person was from the Jervis Bay tribe.

(31) “Yai, yai, yai! wir wir! bukara yenāna.
    yay! yay! yay! wirr wirr bagara yana-na
    EXCL~REDUP ONOM~REDUP sun go-nPST
    “Come! come! come! make haste! make haste! the sun is going down. (DM-AM-1878:269-JB-Gy)

In (32) Ridley transcribed yay in an example from Wodi Wodi (southern dialect of Dharrawal) example calling out ‘hey! Come here!’. Ridley’s informant for this sentence was Lizzy Malone “daughter of a Illawarra woman” (Ridley, 1866:111).

(32) yai yunmaluŋ
    yay! yanma-la=ng
    EXCL come-HERE =2s
    Come here. (WW-WR-1877:265-LM)

### A.7.5.2.3 ma!

Only found in one instance in a Dharumba story narrated by Noleman, a member of the Wandandian tribe, see Text 6 in B.2.1 (Dharumba Texts). Ma! is used here by the bat <Nadjigajon> or <Wunbula> who encourages or perhaps orders his women, the brown snake and the black snake, to bathe with him. (This is the story of the formation of a stellar constellation the Pleiades.)

(33) “Ma! jurabaona ɲatēnwalla yaoaliŋa naiaga tūlũnya.”
    ma! djaraba-wu-na ngadhanjwala yawaliya ngayaga dulunja
    EXCL dive.down-na this.side this.side 1s middle
    “Come on! let’s bathe - you on one side, and you on the other, I in the middle.” (DM-AM-1875-144-Wand/No-Wu1)

### A.7.5.2.4 ba!

Both examples are taken from the same narrative <Tūtawa, Pūlūŋgūl> by Huggany a member of the Wandandian tribe. The two senses of this exclamation share a sense of urgency. In (34) Pooloongool is urged to be quiet so that his son-in-law does not hear
what he is saying about him; in (35) the pelican who is paddling the boat urges Pooloongool to jump into the canoe quickly because the latter was in danger of drowning. See Text 5 in B.2.1 (Dharumba Texts).

(34) “Bu! Pëlûngül, żarinma żara[-page break]undtha.”
ba! Bulungul żarinma ngara-wa-ndha
EXCL Bulungul son.in.law perceive-IRR?

“Hush! Pooloongool, your son-in-law will hear you.” (DM-AM-1877-272-Wand/Hu-TuPu)

(35) “Bu! indygág bundûgan jînna.”
ba! yindiga-ga bandju-gun djina
EXCL 2s-ERG? carry-1s/2s.OBJ that

“get along! I’ll carry you in my canoe.” (DM-AM-1877-272-Wand/Hu-TuPu)

A.7.5.2.5 gal!

(36) paiilla kul!
bayi-la gal!
kill-PST EXCL

struck him, whack ! DM-AM-1878:271-No-Wnd-Tu

A.7.5.2.6 guway!, gaway!

Only two instances appear with this exclamation, both are translated as oh dear! But are used in different situations. The two examples are from two different stories by different narrators.

In (37) it seems to express a sense of pity, hence the translation ‘oh dear’. However it is not clear whether this expression conveys a sense of urgency for Poolongool to join the party. This exclamation is found in Dharumba Text 5 in B.2.1. Narrator is Huggany from the Wandandian Tribe.

(37) “Kûwai-aī! Pëlûngûl! Kununga-lûni yai yûkûrûn, guway!-yay-yay Bulungul ganagaluni yay yawuga-rang
EXCL-REDUP Bulungul shore? ? ?-2d.IMP?

“Oh dear, Pooloongool, you must try to get ashore with us. (DM-AM-1877-272-Wand/Hu-TuPu)

Gaway! expresses perhaps an undesirable surprise or realisation as the people see Gwayaminj approaching who is coming to take their hidden children away in order
to eat them. See Text 7 in B.2.1 (Dharumba Texts). The name of the narrator of this story is not given but we know he is from the Jervis Bay tribe.

(38) “Kawai-i; Guayamin wurrija-nya,”
gaway!-yi Guwayaminj waridja-nja
EXCL~REDUP Guwayaminj over.there-that
“Oh dear! there’s Guayamin.” (DM-AM-1878:269-JB-Gy)

A.7.5.2.7 gwag!

Mathews listed <gwak> (A-M.2.2-98) in between two elicited sentences ‘this dog bites’ and ‘this dog is biting me’. This implies that the interjection was likely to elicited as part of a warning ‘look out! That dog is known to bite’. See B.1.2.2 (Dharrawal Sentences) example (268).

(39) Gwak!
gwag!
EXCL
Look out! (A-M.2.2-98)

A.7.5.2.8 gay!

This exclamation is only found in this instance occurring in the Dharumba story <Bundoola>, as told by <Thooritgal> from the Ulldadulla tribe. It is translated as the old English exclamation of hilloa! which would now be more aptly translated as ‘hello!’ . See Text 2 in B.2.1 (Dharumba Texts).

gay!-ay-ay njugu-lili guya-ya-nggal naya-ga guya-ya-nggal
EXCL~REDUP there?-? south?-?-BELONG see.PRST-1s south?-?-BELONG
‘Hilloa! there they are, the southerners.’ (DM-AM-1874-257-Ull/Th-Bu2)

A.7.5.2.9 dha!

This exclamation is only found in these two instances in Mathews’ <Gwai-a-miñ> (A-M.2.6-24-GW) story in Dharrawal. The informant of the story is unknown. The two examples are part of a successive conversation where the parents of the two
hidden children answer to Gwayaminj’s question about their whereabouts that they do not know where the children are. To which Gwayaminj answers something along the lines of ‘ha! But I can hear them crying’.

(41) Yuggaiaua(they said) “dha-waddhawiuala(we know not wither gone)”.

\[
\begin{align*}
yaga-ya &= wa & dha! & wadha-wa-ya &= wula \\
say-PST &= 3p & EXCL\ where-VBLS-PST &= 3d \\
\text{They said ‘Ha! Where did they go?’}. & (A-M.2.6-25-GW)
\end{align*}
\]

(42) Dha!(heath?) ngurrandhingumbula(hear them) nūnganbulaia(sobbing)!

\[
\begin{align*}
dha! & ngara-ndhi = ngay = mbula & nunga = mbula = ya \\
EXCL\ hear-PRST &= 1s = 2d.OBJ & cry &= 3d = THEN \\
‘Ha! I can hear you sobbing!’ & (A-M.2.6-25-GW)
\end{align*}
\]

A.7.5.2.10 ay!

One example shows the use of ay! that seems to express surprise, but the underlying story is that the speakers plan to shove their brother-in-law (who is Gwayaminj) over the edge of the cliff in order to kill him. So the exclamation might also express a sense of pretence. This is only speculative and has not been confirmed with other examples.

(43) Ai! naiima, minaorokumbera, jambi. Ai! kutgakūla, jambi.

\[
\begin{align*}
ay! & ngayima \ mina-wu-ragambara djambi & ay! & gadga-gu-la djambi \\
EXCL\ here & hold-FUT-? & brother.in.law & EXCL\ bad-?-PST brother.in.law \\
Hullo! it has broken again, brother-in-law. & (DM-AM-1874-257-Ull/Th-Bu2)
\end{align*}
\]

ay! also looks like the expression ‘ouch’ in English. Gwayaminj woke up being burnt by the fire and ay may be expression of the pain.

(44) "A-a-ai, ban kunana kuwai!"

\[
\begin{align*}
a-a-ay! & baan gana-na gaway \\
EXCL-REDUP\ fire & burn-nPST \ ?
\end{align*}
\]

“Oh dear, the fire burns me!” (DM-AM-1878:269-JB-Gy)

A.7.5.2.11 djay!

djay! seems to express a pleasant surprise because the two children are being brought fish to play with.
\((45)\) “Ji! birikālumbra yenna.
djay! birigala-mbara-yina
EXCL yellow.tail-DU-1ip.PSSR
“There are two yellow tails for us, (DM-AM-1878:269-JB-Gy)

**A.7.5.2.12 aa!**

\((46)\) Nūngailaora, ah, ah, ah! Navainyella
nunga-la-wara aa! aa! aa! nhaway njala
cry-PST-3d EXCL-REDUP day that
They cried all day. (DM-AM-1878:269-JB-Gy)

\((47)\) Eh nangainga ithullabumbatijaluiloga.”
aa! nanga-yi-ga yidhala bumba-dhidjaluyila-ga
EXCL sleep-POT-1s hungry be?-1s
Oh! “I must sleep, I’m hungry, “(DM-AM-1878:269-JB-Gy)

**A.7.5.2.13 aw!**

This example shows an unusual transcription of an ʰ initial grapheme. The narrator was from the Jervis Bay tribe, but the name is not given. This exclamation was uttered by the mother whose daughter had just told her that her husband *Gwayaminj* (the mother’s son-in-law) had ordered the mother to go and look for the meat that he hung up in the tree. Perhaps this could be translated like the English ‘ok’. See Text 7 in B.2.1 (Dharumba texts).

\((48)\) Hoü Yanilla wurri ɲaiamo, nyulla,
aw! yani-la wari ngaya-ma njala
EXCL go-PST far see?-? there
“Ay!” She went away, looked. (DM-AM-1878:269-JB-Gy)

**A.7.5.3 Sound words**

An onomatopoeic word “imitates or suggests the source of the sound that it describes” (Wikipedia). It is difficult to categorise the following examples as words as no information is available on their behaviour or function in use other than found in these examples. They are therefore best classified as ‘sound words’.
Example (49) is repeated here from (31) and contains the sound *wirr*, which is perhaps the sound of a fast object, something like ‘whoosh’.

**A.7.5.3.1 wirr**

(49) “Yai, yai, yai! *wirr* bukara yenāna.
yay! yay! yay! *wirr* *wirr* bagara yana-na
EXCL-REDUP ONOM ONOM sun go-nPST
“Come! come! come! make haste! make haste! the sun is going down. (DM-AM-1878:269-JB-Gy)

**A.7.5.3.2 djirr**

This is presumably the sound the spear makes when it enters the body.

(50) *Yukūŋa yandhilora kulalaora chir-r, chir-r.*
yagunga yandhi-la-wara gula-la-wara *djirr* *djirr*
then go-PST-3d spear-PST-3d ONOM ONOM
*then those two stuck the spear inside him.* (DM-AM-1874-260-Ull/Th-Ee)

**A.7.5.3.3 wayi**

(51) *Waiē-ē! Nyuŋa Kīlālā jambydhain.*
wayi-yi-yi njunga gula-la *djambi-dha-yin*
ONOM-REDUP there spear-PST brother.in.law-ERG-1ip.PSSR
*Whizz-z-z! Our brother-in-law has speared him.*’ (DM-AM-1874-257-Ull/Th-Bu2)

**A.7.5.3.4 i-yu i-yu**

The following is the only example in the whole SCLs corpus that recorded an animal sound; in this case the owl sounding *i-yu i-yu*. From the description of the sound and Mathews’ notes, the owl in question could well be a lesser sooty owl (visit http://www.owlpages.com/sounds/Tyto-multipunctata-1.mp3 for the sound).

(52) *nharabulla (between us) yendra[y]andha (walking to you people) dhin’hurring kubbudyandi your [your enemy, my [cousin]]. I’-u i’-u!*
nharabala yan-dha yan-dha dhinharr-ung gabudja-ndi *i-yu i-yu*
between come-PST come-PST people-2s.PSSR cousin-KIN ONOM
*(the dyunidyunuty (night owl or small grey owl) says this.*) (A-M.2.4-53)
A.7.5.4 Reduplication

In this section I look at reduplication as a pragmatic device. As well as being “a widely attested poetic device in songs” (Koch and Turpin, 2008), reduplication is a commonly used tool for narrators of stories in AALs to emphasise parts of the story such as an action being undertaken for a long time etc. The following example demonstrates partial reduplication of the second syllable of the verb buru- ‘jump’ as a means of conveying continuing or continuous action.

(53)  Tutawa pūrūrūngāla, pū-rū-rū-rū-rū.
      Tutawa      buru-ru-nga-la      buru-ru-ru-ru-ru
      Tutawa      jump-REDUP-?-PST  jump-REDUP
      Tootawa jumped about with rage, jump, jump, jump, jump, (DM-AM-1877-272-Wand/Hu-TuPu)

Also conveying the sense of temporal or spatial continuation or extended length is shown in (54), where someone had to travel a very long way to the mountain.

(54)  Jaugūnalaia war-r-ry bobārdha-
      djawa-gunala-ya war-[r-r-ji  bubara-dha
      run-AWAY-PST  far-REDUP  mountain-LOC
      Goes a long long way to the mountain. (A-AM-1874-250-YK)

      Full reduplication of wara ‘dead’ could emphasise this part of the story, as in ‘they really fell dead’; similarly in (56) where ‘your spears really break’.

(55)  wuraoranbala
      wara-war = nbala
      dead-REDUP = THEN
      they fall dead. (A-AM-1874:255-Nu)

(56)  Ya paialla Guayamin “tungurkurri, kulikurriwa kurrkurriwa.”
      ya  bayal-ya Guwayaminj dhanga-garri  galid-garri-wa
      and say-PST Guwayaminj long.handled.spear-all  break-all-3p
      garr~garri-wa91
      all~REDUP-3p
      Guayamin said, “ All your weapons break, all your spears.” (DM-AM-1878:269-JB-Gy)

91 This is a strange construction, or perhaps a verbless clause ‘all your weapons are broken’. -wa is possible the subject agreement marker on the predicate, and galid- and garri- are the two predicates.
A.7.5.5 Repetition

Repetition occurs on phrase level as well as on sentence level. In the following examples, repetition of the nouns conveys the excitement of the two children (fish hawks) when their mother returns with two fish for them to play (and perhaps later eat?) with.

(57) *Miŋăli, miŋăli, miŋăli, măra. măra, măra!*

mother-KIN mother-KIN mother-KIN fish fish fish

*our mother has got fish.* (DM-AM-1878:269-JB-Gy)

Similarly, the repetition of the verb ‘look/see’ in (58) conveys excitement, although less likely to be positive than in (57) above, and also an urgency for the addressee to become aware of the fact that the boat is going to sink soon.

(58) *Mudjeri tharatkila! nya, nya, nya,*

canoe get.hole?-PST look look look

*“The canoe has a hole in it, look! look! look!”* (DM-AM-1878:269-JB-Gy)

Excitement and/or urgency are also expressed by the repeated calling of *bala* in (59).

(59) *“Pulla, pulla, pulla, pulla!*

bala bala bala bala

near near near near

*“This way! this way! this way! this way!”* DM-AM-1878:269-JB-Gy

A.7.6 Conclusion

The narrative and discourse features found in the collected stories are numerous and the stories could easily be exploited for further analysis with focus on discourse and narrative style and aspect, placing the observed features into a wider context of narrative studies in AALs. Here I have only pointed to some of the strategies that have
been observed in the narratives; strategies that make stories and discourse a lively and natural way of retelling stories and passing on the cultural knowledge and history of at least some of the SCLs. With the increasing work on narratives and discourse in AALs, the analyses presented here, as well as further findings, will be able to enrich future language reclamation programs to develop language teaching material that goes beyond grammar and phonology.
Chapter A.8 Conclusion and Further Implications

This chapter presents a summary of the purpose of this study and its content, and thoughts on its role in future language reclamation of the South Coast languages (SCLs hereon).

A.8.1 Summary and Significance

This research study aimed to serve a number of purposes:

1. to produce a comprehensive bibliography of, and metadata on, the historic and archival material that is available on the New South Wales SCLs.

2. to provide a collated database of all the language material found in these sources, which can be utilised by communities to add to their existing language knowledge, or as a starting point for language reclamation or revitalisation projects.

3. to provide more elaborate language descriptions on the SCLs than have to date been available, in order to allow Aboriginal communities and schools to teach the languages to a higher proficiency level than had previously been possible.

4. to fill the gap between recently produced language descriptions of Australian Aboriginal Languages (AALs hereon) from other parts of New South Wales and SCLs, and to add to the body of knowledge of AALs overall. To date there has been little information collated on the south-east NSW languages, and the findings in this study will assist in further typological studies of AALs.

5. to provide insight into the stages and processes involved in working exclusively from written archival material. To date very little has been published on the
methodologies of working with historic material in the context of AALs, and the
discussion in this study will hopefully evoke public responses and further discussion
from other researchers working in similar conditions.

Part A of this work looked at the available language material of the SCLs, the
philological aspects of working from/with this material and the analyses of the
languages. Chapter A.1 functions as an annotated bibliography, listing all published
and unpublished archival materials on the SCLs that have been located and identified
to date, i.e. the material that provided the language corpus for this study. The list also
contains later work on the SCLs grammars, including audio recordings produced
between 1956 and the early 1970s that were not included in the corpus for the analysis
in this study, and why. Each annotation to the archival material provided details of
informants, where material was collected and any reference made to social and/or
linguistic boundaries mentioned in that particular item, if information was given.

Chapter A.2 gave insight into the processes and stages of working with the
historic material. Analytical work on languages from archival/historic material requires
philological work in order to understand spelling systems that were employed in the
old sources, definition of terminology used at the time, and which educational
literature was available at the time, that would have influenced the early collectors’
methodologies for their language work or collecting.

The grammatical descriptions of the four SCLs covered in this study (Dharrawal,
Dharumba, Dhurga and Djirringanj) were presented in chapters A.3-A.7 These
chapters contained analyses that could be authoritatively derived from the historic
material, which included the previously unanalysed eleven stories collected and
transcribed by Mackenzie (1866, 1877, 1878). As a large part of working with these
stories, morphemes were isolated and identified as having a particular function. This
was in most cases only possible when several examples showing the use of the
morpheme were identified in the SCLs corpus, and through comparison of the more closely related NSW languages, and AALs from other parts of Australia.

Whereas form and function of nominal suffixes were relatively easy to identify, verbal morphology leaves many questions unanswered at this stage. Mackenzie’s collected stories contain some verb constructions in which several morphemes remained unanalysed as to their function. Further studies and comparative work with the increasingly elaborate language work on AALs in the south east of Australia from archival material is likely to answer some of the questions regarding the form and function of these morphemes.

Finally, Part B presented the heart and soul of this research study: the previously unanalysed texts of Mathews and Mackenzie, as well as all glossed sentences taken from unpublished and published sources. The inclusion of the texts and sentences in the main body of the dissertation may be considered unconventional. Traditionally, grammars are presented with texts and stories as appendices to support the analysis, but here, they were presented as part of the analysis for various reasons.

For many AALs that have not had speakers for many decades, the available language corpus tends to be relatively small and may be limited to elicited material only. The linguistic and contextual features of these stories/narratives therefore supplied the SCL corpus with more than just morphological and lexical data, and are a rare occurrence amongst ‘sleeping’ AALs that are relying on purely archival material for language reclamation purposes.

Since there is no opportunity to verify observations on the function of the languages with speakers, the texts need to be easily accessible for the reader, or future researchers of these languages, to allow cross-referencing. Furthermore, the analysis of these texts took up the majority of time on this research project, and was an arduous

92 For explanation of this term see further in this chapter in section A.8.2.
process and not merely a matter of adding data into *Shoebox/Toolbox* and waiting for an interlinear glossing to appear. Due to the inconsistent spellings within each collector’s materials, different spelling systems between collectors and the misrepresentation of individual phones, as well as clustering or breaking up of words, the analyses of texts were not a straightforward task, but demanded (or resulted in) numerous reanalyses of phonemic transcriptions as well as morphological break-downs and identification and labelling of individual morphemes. At the time of writing, the texts are still far from having been completely exploited for their grammatical information, but future and ongoing work with the SCLs as well as the growing number of other NSW AALs being reanalysed will add to the ongoing analysis.

Mackenzie’s collection of Dharrawal and Dharumba texts provide information on narrative styles and features of natural speech such as reduplication, use of onomatopoeic words, ideophones and/or exclamations and other discourse features identified in the direct speech and conversations embedded in the stories. Extracting information on these features allows Aboriginal communities to reclaim and teach their languages that show these aspects of natural languages, rather than reconstituting a carefully constructed language that lacks the features of actively spoken languages.

Since so much information on the SCLs can be gained from the texts and stories, the exclusion of these texts and stories from previous language work on the SCLs seems an oversight, but an understandable oversight given the limited time Eades was given to undertake and publish her language analysis. Eades’ statement:

As with R.H. Mathews’ texts, Mackenzie’s stories are unfortunately not very helpful but they do illustrate some of the grammatical points made in R.H. Mathews’ grammar. (Eades, 1976:11)

probably reflected the then generally held low opinion amongst the Australian linguistic community on language work based on archival material. Previously greater importance was placed on fieldwork linguistics and describing languages that were
still spoken at the time. But defining concepts such as ‘documentary’ versus ‘descriptive’ linguistics, that address the need for change in the methodology of language description of languages that are no longer spoken, has become an increasing topic of discourse amongst linguists (for example see Himmelmann (1998) and (2006), and Bowern (conference presentation in 2009)).

The recent years have also seen a remarkable productivity in language work on the ‘sleeping’ AALs in south-east Australia, see Dharggati (Lissarrague, 2007), Gathang (Lissarrague, 2010), Gumbaynggirr (Morelli, 2008), Darkinyung (Jones, 2008), Hunter River Lake Macquarie language (Lissarrague, 2006), Gamilaraay/Yuwaalaraya (Ash et al, 2003); Canberra language and neighbouring inland languages (Koch, 2009 and 2011a+b), Sydney language (Steele, 2005), and Gandangara (Besold, 2003). As part of this activity in language work on NSW languages, the Muurrbay Aboriginal Language and Culture Cooperative also published the (long awaited) *Handbook of Aboriginal Languages of New South Wales and the Australian Capital Territory* (Wafer et al, 2008) which, amongst other things, contains basic information on available source material, wordlists and phonemic inventories of all the presently identified indigenous languages of NSW.

These works are based solely on archival material in some languages, and a combination of archival material and data collected on recordings and/or last remaining speakers in others.

All published grammars referred to above are on coastal and neighbouring NSW languages. Grammars and/or dictionaries/wordlists of NSW languages in central and western regions have been produced more than 10 years ago. These include Paakantji (Hercus, 1982 and 1993), Nguyampaa (Donaldson, 1980), Wiradjuri (Rudder and Grant, 2005, 2010, and McNicol and Hosking, 1994, McNicol, 1989 unpublished Honours thesis), Muruwari and Barranbinya (Oates, 1988a and 1988b), amongst
others. No extensive formal research has been undertaken or published on the languages of the south-eastern NSW, excluding the continuing work that Rev. John Harris has been conducting since the 1960s with a local Aboriginal group in Batemans Bay (Harris, pc). Although this work has not been published, it has been used extensively in the local Aboriginal church community. Eades’ (1976) and Capell’s (n.d.) analyses were very limited, as previously discussed in Chapter A.1. The NSW South Coast languages analyses presented in this study therefore not only tie in in a timely manner with the recently published grammars on other NSW AALs, but also fill the geographical gap of NSW language descriptions.

**A.8.2 Language Reclamation**

One property that all these recently produced, or re-worked, grammars have in common is that they are written with the intention of supporting language reclamation and revitalisation projects in the appropriate languages. But what exactly is meant by language ‘reclamation’ and ‘revitalisation’? The use of appropriate terminology within this context proves to be of great importance, The New South Wales Department of Aboriginal Affairs distinguishes three sub-types within language revival (DAA website, http://www.alrrc.nsw.gov.au/default.aspx?nav_id=12, visited 3rd May 2011).

**Revitalisation** where a language still spoken by the older generation needs special support for it to be passed on to the younger generations.

**Renewal** where a language is no longer spoken ‘right through’ by anyone, but enough knowledge exists to develop a language learning program.

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93 I congratulate Rev. Dr John Harris for having been awarded the prestigious Lambeth Doctor of Divinity by the Archbishop of Canterbury in “recognition of his outstanding contribution as a Bible scholar and translator, his advocacy on behalf of Aboriginal Australians and his unstinting endeavours to raise awareness of indigenous issues within the church and the wider Australian community.” (Archbishop of Canterbury website, visited 16th February 2011)
Reclamation where there has been a complete break in the transmission of the spoken language, but there is sufficient evidence (e.g. historical records, related languages) for language reconstruction and learning.

However, the terms stated above under 1 and 3, are now often used interchangeably; both imply the idea of bringing a language that is no longer spoken back into the communities. This concept then differs greatly from language ‘maintenance’; another concept that applies to languages that still have remaining speakers. Grenoble and Whaley (2006:13) point to the distinct difference between ‘language maintenance’ which “supports a language that is truly vital”, and ‘language revitalisation’ that aims to “increase the relative number of speakers of a language and extend the domains where is employed”.

If an appropriate terminology is undeniably important to researchers working with endangered languages, it is equally so for community members. ‘Extinct’ languages are defined as “one with no remaining speakers”, and being “characterized by a lack of intergenerational transmission” (Grenoble and Whaley, 2006:18). But although these definitions may apply to a particular language, the use of the terms ‘dead’ and ‘extinct’ languages has caused disapproval among both researchers and community members. Bradley and Bradley (2002:xii) comment on the use of this terminology by people working in the realms of endangered languages:

Those people who did work in this area [of endangered languages] used terms such as language death and other lugubrious metaphors. (Bradley and Bradley, 2002:xii)

Rob Amery supplies this quote from a Kaurna Elder that expresses the perceived insensitivity of these terms:

Some people have described Kaurna language as a dead language. But Kaurna people don’t believe this. We believe that our language is a living language and that is has only been sleeping... (Cherie Watkins in Warranna Purrura video DECS, 1997 - quoted in Amery, 2000:1)

This sentiment is also prevalent in SCLs communities. For example, in a funding application for a language-teaching project, some community members listed their
language status in the application as ‘endangered’, even though the language would be classified as ‘dead’ or ‘extinct’ according to the conventionally used terms shown above. Many community members refuse to label their traditional language status as ‘extinct’, stating that they still speak their language, not fluently, but that it is used in daily context, even if it is reduced to words such as djilawa ‘urinate’, mirigaan ‘dog’ or bindji bindji ‘pregnant’ and taboo words. The problems with terms such as ‘extinct’ are also experienced in indigenous communities outside Australia (see Leonard (2008), for example, for discussion on the use of the term ‘extinct’ in regards to the Miami language in the USA).

The NSW Department of Aboriginal Affairs agrees, and also cautions against the use of these terms and reflects the opinion of communities.

… whilst some [NSW] languages are rarely spoken, there is no such thing as a 'dead' or 'extinct language- that is, given adequate resources, most languages can be revived. (http://www.daa.nsw.gov.au/landandculture/langfacts.html, visited 3rd May 2011)

The increasing emphasis on language reclamation in recent times has led to a rethinking of classifications used in the context of language endangerment and revitalisation (Lewis and Simons (2009)).

Brown and Ogilvie (2009:326) suggest that “even in cases of [language] extinction, there may be a variety of levels of lingering knowledge”. This means that although there may no fluent speakers of the SCLs, some older community members may be classified as ‘language rememberers’. The definition of the term ‘language rememberer’ is given by Knab (1980:232, in Tsunoda, 2005) as a person “who passively remembers fragments of the language”. These fragments can consist of words only or small phrases, songs, and in some cases “entire texts without understanding their meaning” (Brown and Ogilvie, 2009:320).

This concept of ‘rememberer’ was demonstrated during a workshop session with teachers and two Elders in Vincentia. As part of a meeting it was decided to play some
of the early 1960s recordings of local (deceased) community members in elicitation sessions by Janet Mathews and/or Luise Hercus in order to familiarise participants at the meeting with the type of material available for the SCLs. As the CD played a song in the local language, the two women Elders started to giggle and quietly sing along to the lyrics. When asked how they knew the words (even though both had previously claimed not to know any language other than a few words) they replied, “our dad/uncle always used to sing that song”.

Many indigenous languages across the globe face extinction, many of them already are extinct. Within Australia, the estimated number of languages no longer spoken is set at around 160 out of 250 languages that were formerly spoken on the continent (Walsh, 1993:2). The United Nations Indigenous Rights Declaration (2007) addresses the right of Indigenous people to access and speak their languages.

Article 13
1. Indigenous peoples have the right to revitalize, use, develop and transmit to future generations their histories, languages, oral traditions, philosophies, writing systems and literatures, and to designate and retain their own names for communities, places and persons.
2. States shall take effective measures to ensure that this right is protected and also to ensure that indigenous peoples can understand and be understood in political, legal and administrative proceedings, where necessary through the provision of interpretation or by other appropriate means.

Article 14
1. Indigenous peoples have the right to establish and control their educational systems and institutions providing education in their own languages, in a manner appropriate to their cultural methods of teaching and learning.
2. Indigenous individuals, particularly children, have the right to all levels and forms of education of the State without discrimination.
3. States shall, in conjunction with indigenous peoples, take effective measures, in order for indigenous individuals, particularly children, including those living outside their communities, to have access, when possible, to an education in their own culture and provided in their own language.

Of course, this declaration does not only apply to Australian indigenous languages. There are indigenous languages in other parts of the world that are in the course of being reclaimed and revitalised by their communities. In northern America, for example, one such language that shares a similar fate to that of the SCLs, is the
Miami-Illinois language formerly spoken by the Miami Tribe that has its homelands “within the boundaries of the states of Indiana, Ohio, Illinois, lower Michigan and lower Wisconsin” (kiiloona myaamiaki site, http://www.miamination.com/mto/about.html, visited 26th April, 2011). The corpus for this language consists of, among other things, a 580 page long Jesuit manuscript from the late 1600s, which is in the process of being translated but “will take many more years to finish” (Myaamia Project site, http://www.myammiaproject.org/research.html#jesuit, visited 26th April 2011). The language has been labelled a ‘sleeping’ language which also shows the use of this term outside the context of AALs. (The Myaamia Project site, and see Costa (1991) for his account on working from the historic sources of the Miami language).

Language reclamation and revitalisation projects and initiatives have been productive for more than 15 years in south-eastern Australia including around Adelaide, which suffered the same fate of loss of indigenous languages due to being one of the earliest and most severely affected areas of early European colonisation. Without doubt the most significant and best-documented language revival/reclamation program in coastal Australia is the case of Kaurna, the language of the Adelaide Plains in South Australia (Amery, 2000). The Kaurna language recovery was based on archival material, and Amery’s work with the Aboriginal community has been a signpost for similar revival work in other parts of Australia.

In Victoria, the Victorian Aboriginal Corporation for Languages (VACL) has been actively involved in helping Victorian Aboriginal communities reclaim their languages since 1994 (http://www.vaclang.org.au/, visited 4th May 2011).

Before 1788, there were more than 70 Aboriginal languages that were spoken across New South Wales. Today, most Aboriginal languages in New South Wales do not have enough speakers to function properly and only ten languages are being significantly revitalised.

The Wiradjuri language (central NSW) has been in the process of being revitalised since 1992\(^4\) (Restoration House website, http://rosella.apana.org.au/~jtr/profile.html, visited 2\(^{nd}\) May 2011). In northern NSW, Gumbaynggirr communities set up the Muurrbay Aboriginal Language and Culture Cooperative in 1986 (http://www.muurrbay.org.au/about_us.html, visited 2\(^{nd}\) May 2011) in order to “revive their language and hand it down”. Similarly, Gamilaraay (including its dialects Yuwaalaraay and Yuwalaayay) has been taught in schools and to communities for many years now.\(^5\) See Austin (2008) for the history of the study of the Gamilaraay language and language reclamation work.

A.8.3 Language Reclamation in New South Wales

Article 14-§3 in the aforementioned United Nations Declaration on Indigenous languages states that, “states shall, in conjunction with indigenous people, take effective measures...to have access, when possible, to an education in their own culture and in their own language”. In this respect, the NSW state government was ahead of the United Nations Recommendations. Even though various programs had been running successfully in NSW for some years, and possibly partly because of this, the NSW state government was the first Australian state to draft a Indigenous Languages Policy which was released by the then Minister for Aboriginal Affairs of

\(^4\) Stan Grant, with the assistance of John Rudder, have been working for many years with archival material as well as working with communities to bring back the Wiradjuri language into communities.

\(^5\) Steve Morelli and John Giacon have been actively involved in language description and teaching of Gumbaynggirr and GYY respectively for over 10 years (Giacon, pc).
the NSW Department of Aboriginal Affairs in 2004. But, as Hinton and Hale (2001:28) point out:

[a] policy alone does not guarantee positive results for local languages...the policy must be enforced...[and] move beyond a pure symbolic role.

(Within the context of Australian languages, see Malcom and Truscott (2010) and McKay (2011) for discussion on the gap between language policy and language maintenance/revitalisation practise.)

The launch of the NSW Indigenous Languages policy alone would therefore have had little impact on the continuation and success of language reclamation in NSW, except that the policy led to the composition (and subsequent implementation) of the K-10 Aboriginal Languages Syllabus by the NSW Board of Studies (2003). The aim of this syllabus was to allow and encourage schools across the state to teach local Aboriginal language in a structured format just like any other LOTE (Languages other than English).

A.8.4 Language Reclamation on the New South Wales Coast

Language reclamation of the local languages on the NSW South Coast is not a recent phenomenon. Communities and individuals have been actively collecting and utilising some of the archival source material for decades; although there is little public documentation on these projects apart from one well-documented attempt to teach the local languages in a local primary school. Between 1978 and 1980, Anne Nugent assisted local communities and Jervis Bay Primary School to design and implement a curriculum to teach Dharrawal and Dhurga (language and cultural awareness) on which her thesis Whose Knowledge, Whose Power and Whose Curriculum (1986) was
based. This project resulted in a Dharrawal language kit labelled *Building a curriculum on 300 words* (Nugent, 1981) and ultimately a *Final report to the Schools Commission of the Jervis Bay/Wreck Bay Aboriginal School/Community Project Feb. 1978 to June 1980* (1980, Macquarie). The final report considered the project as having failed in its aim to set up a permanent teaching program. One reason given for the failure was the lack of community consultation.

Very few South Coast community members so far have successfully completed the Masters of Indigenous Languages Education at University of Sydney\(^6\) (http://sydney.edu.au/koori/studying/Koori%20Masters%20Brochure.pdf, visited 10th April 2011). This program has given the graduates linguistic knowledge about AALs that has proven to be an advantage for these teachers.

### A.8.5 Realistic Expectation

One of the most important issues that needs to be addressed amongst communities, whose languages only exist in the form of archival and historic material, is ‘what can realistically be achieved with the available language material and analysis?’ (see also Stockley (2010)). The limitations that arise when working from purely archival material need to be pointed out to communities to allow them to set realistic goals for future language reclamation, and communities could achieve their goals by focussing on different approaches for the reclamation of their language(s). It must be acknowledged that not all aspects of an historic language can be recovered. Also, the question of what parts of a language should be, or need to be, taught for reclamation

\(^6\) This course has prepared students with tools such as knowledge about how AALs function, curriculum and teaching development within Indigenous language teaching. Furthermore, students get the opportunity to work on their own language as part of the course.
purposes in any given community needs to be addressed (see Thieberger (2002) for further discussion).

Despite the length and intensity of this research study, uncertainties remain regarding functions of some identified morphemes, inflectional systems, function and forms of demonstratives and whether there is phonemic vowel length distinction, to name just a few. These gaps will need to be filled if languages are to be taught at a more advanced level, and/or to be used in a daily context within communities. This will allow, and hopefully inspire and encourage, language teaching programs to go beyond teaching small phrases, such as ‘what is this?’ – ‘this is x’ and teaching simple songs like ‘head, shoulders, knees and toes’.\textsuperscript{97} (See Gale and Mickan (2008) for further discussion on going beyond teaching simple language in language revitalisation.) There is a danger that language teaching programs/projects do not go beyond being tokenistic if the language taught does not push past the easy stages of learning the sounds and words and the previously mentioned small interactive phrases.

There is no doubt that teaching even low levels of local languages exposes learners (Aboriginal or non-Aboriginal) and communities to the local language and culture, and can “help reduce the gap between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal students’ education levels” (Brown, 2010).\textsuperscript{98} But the need to establish long-term language teaching approaches for successful language reclamation is aptly noted by Grenoble and Whaley (2006:1):

Creating an orthography or producing a television program for children in a local language is a major accomplishment in its own right, but it will not revitalise a language. A longer-term, multifaceted program, one which requires a range of resources and much personal dedication, is needed.

\textsuperscript{97} The quality of Aboriginal language programs on the NSW South Coast very much depend on the understanding and proficiency of the language teachers. As there are no proficient speakers of the languages as such there, this is a cost and time involving process to train teachers in the language(s), which, to date, has been a struggle for the programs I have been involved with.

\textsuperscript{98} For further reflections and observations from Dhurga language teachers’ perspectives see Brown (2010) and Lane (2010).
Primarily, there needs to be realistic expectations as to how far language teaching programs/projects can revitalise the local language.  

A.8.6 Language Engineering

One of the most obvious problems is the limitation of the available vocabularies that are restricted to traditional concepts only. This creates a need for language engineering to expand the vocabulary to enable the traditional languages to be appropriated into a contemporary context. This issue can be, and has been, addressed with different approaches (see Amery (2000) for more discussion on “Adapting Kaurna to the 1900s” and filling gaps in the Kaurna lexicon). Gumbaynggirr (Morelli, 2008) for example uses various methods to extend its vocabulary.

1. Extension of meaning of words: *minya jalaarla* (what inside-LOC) to ‘table of contents’

2. Appropriating English words into the phonemic system of the Aboriginal languages: *dumadang* ‘tomato’

3. Creation of new words from compounding existing words: *marlawgay-bangarr* (strike-brain) ‘computer’

Another approach that has been discussed by community members on the South Coast is to use English words in the target language; treating English words the same way as the English vocabulary contains loanwords from German ‘kindergarten’ or French ‘liaison’, which would be a kind of code switching.

Because the sizes of the vocabularies for each of the SCLs vary greatly in number of lexemes, one approach that has been discussed is to fill gaps in any given language with a word (or morpheme) from one of the neighbouring languages, or from

other AALs, rather than the English word, in order to maintain a more ‘pure’ Aboriginal content in the language(s). Although all options could be used successfully, it requires extensive consultation and discussion between the appropriate Aboriginal communities who decide which approach(es) they are most comfortable with, if any.

A.8.7 Problems and Obstacles in Language Reclamation

Language reclamation is an emotion-laden domain and affects all generations; not only for older community members, many of who belong to the Stolen Generation\(^\text{100}\) and who experienced forced detachment from their cultural background. It is also painful for the members of the younger generation, who are desperate to see traditional knowledge and culture, including language, find their way back into everyday life and not just for special occasions such as NAIDOC (National Aborigines and Islanders Day Observance Committee) week, or at funerals etc. For many younger people involved in cultural and language reclamation, there is an underlying sense of urgency and determination to get projects off the ground while their grandparents are still alive. This urgency may risk the success of the project if projects are rushed into without the necessary planning.

But it would be counterproductive to criticise failed attempts to revitalise or reclaim the local languages at this still relatively early stage of reclamation in NSW. It is difficult at the best of times to structure a sustainable and successful reclamation

program/project due to different aspects and environment associated with each project. Hinton and Hale (2001:21) stress that “no simple/single framework for language reclamation can exist” because of these variations and that “they will, therefore, need reassessment at all stages of implementing a language revitalisation program”. This need for reassessing never becomes more apparent than when key project/program members leave the project, or when elected key members of a project turn out to be unsuitable for the role they were assigned to.

Some of the observed obstacles can be due to lack of appropriate teaching material, or available language analysis/grammatical description of the languages; initial lack of human resources, or interpersonal problems that make it difficult to maintain and sustain a successful team of members within the teaching program.

Another problem can be, and often is, the lack of funding, either initial funding or continuing support to maintain a program.

Last, but by no means least, political agendas and disagreements between and within local Aboriginal communities are common and often hinder reclamation programs.

Considering all these factors that can have detrimental effects on reclamation projects, it is therefore imperative that the processes of implementation of projects and programs are documented to some degree, so that future revival projects can learn from previous mistakes, and structure and plan accordingly.

Current and recent projects are addressing the need to enable communities to establish productive and successful reclamation programmes (for example see Eira and Couzens (2009); and Eira and Stebbins (2008) for recent discussion on these issues). Eira, Stebbins and Couzens (in progress) are currently undertaking a multiple-year project Meeting point: integrating Aboriginal and linguistics knowledge systems for description of contemporary revival languages in Australia which hopes to establish a
model that will assist Aboriginal communities in their quest to revitalise their languages:

“Practical outcomes will include clearer, more extensive and rigorous information available to Aboriginal communities and the linguists who work with them, and recommendations for optimal pathways for language revival which respond to the priorities and directions of the communities concerned.” (Paragraph taken from Australian Research Council Successful Linkage-Projects 2010, www.arc.gov.au/rtf/LP10_R2/La_Trobe_University.rtf)

A.8.8 Final Words

At the time of writing the final draft of this dissertation, I feel that although throughout the course of this research many questions regarding the function of the South Coast languages were answered, just as many question seemed to arise. Goddard (1996: 124) noted that “the description of a language is a process rather than a single event”, and this seems certainly the case in the description of the SCLs. Although the language corpus is limited, some of the analysis changed numerous times throughout the process of identifying and making sense of the available data. Often progress was made after gathering additional snippets of information from closer related languages, or via personal communication with other linguists working on these languages. Other times it was a case of the illusive penny dropping and patterns emerging in the data all of a sudden.

What this body of work does provide is a comprehensive (although by no means the final) description of four or five coastal languages\textsuperscript{101}, which significantly expanded the previously available analyses proposed by Eades (1976). These grammars can be used to produce standardised teaching material for future language reclamation projects.

\textsuperscript{101} Taking into consideration that I treated Dharumba and Dhurga as separate languages in this study. See Chapter A.1 for further details on this decision.
This study also presents a collective SCL dictionary\textsuperscript{102} (Appendix 1) that shows the phonemicised lexeme as well as variant spellings in the historic sources. This dictionary will be useful for communities as well as for comparative purposes for other language researchers. It can also be used as a master dictionary that individual communities can build onto for their own purposes. This study is also incorporating the rest of the SCL corpus, i.e. sentences collected by Mackenzie and Mathews (see Part B). This means that the whole of the SCL corpus is available for comparative purposes or to act as further templates for teaching purposes.

Lastly, the previously unanalysed stories collected by Mackenzie and Mathews (see Part B and Chapter A.7) have added an enormous potential for future language reclamation on the NSW South Coast. They have opened a window to natural language use that has been unavailable or overlooked until now. With the insight given here and further more elaborate research of this aspect of the SCLs, the possibilities of incorporating the information derived from their discourse and narrative styles are numerous.

The analysis presented in this study is therefore not only functioning as the basis for language teaching material for current and/or future reclamation work on the South Coast and southern parts of Sydney; its role is also to invite further research on these languages. The future research needs to focus particularly in areas of phonology, discourse and narrative analysis and comparative work between the audio recordings of the 1960s and the early-collected material (between 1830s and 1900) and still existing knowledge of language within the SCL communities.

\textsuperscript{102} The dictionary should be treated as work in progress. It does not contain all lexemes found in the sources, but will be added in future versions.
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