

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
The Australian National University.

Submitted January 2012

Revised May 2013

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

	Dharrawal		Dharumba		Dhurga		Djirringanj	
	subject	object	subject	object	subject	object	subject	object
1s	= <i>ngay</i>	= <i>(n)dhan</i> = <i>ndjan</i> = <i>yan</i>	- <i>ga</i>	- <i>ngga</i>	- <i>ga</i>	- <i>ngga</i>	- <i>ngga</i> PRST - <i>ga</i> PST - <i>ya</i> FUT	- <i>ndja</i>
2s	= <i>bi</i>	= <i>njin(g)</i>	- <i>ni</i> nPST - <i>li</i> PST	- <i>nji</i>	- <i>ni</i> nPST - <i>li</i> PST	- <i>nji</i>	- <i>ngi</i> PRST/PST - <i>yi</i> FUT	-(<i>n</i>) <i>bi</i> PST/FUT - <i>nj</i> PST/PRST
3s	Ø		Ø		Ø		Ø	
1id	= <i>nga(l)</i>	= <i>ngalung</i>	- <i>ng(a)</i>		- <i>ng</i>	- <i>ngal</i>	- <i>nga</i> PRST/PST/FUT -	- <i>ngala</i> PST
1ed	= <i>ngali(ng)</i>	= <i>ngalin</i>	- <i>ngala</i>		- <i>ngala</i>	- <i>ngalangga</i>	- <i>ngalu</i> PRST/PST - <i>nguula</i> FUT	- <i>ngalunga</i> PST
2d	= <i>(m)(b)ul</i>	= <i>wul</i> = <i>mbula</i> = <i>mbulung</i>	- <i>nu</i>	- <i>lu</i>	-(<i>w</i>) <i>u</i>	- <i>lu</i>	- <i>mbul</i> PRST/PST - <i>uul</i> FUT	- <i>mbulu</i> PST
3d	= <i>mbula</i> = <i>wula</i>	= <i>wulung</i>	- <i>wara</i>	- <i>wula</i>	- <i>wara</i>		- <i>mbula</i> PRST/PST - <i>uula</i> FUT	- <i>ndjana</i> PST - <i>lu</i> PST
1ip	= <i>nja(ng)</i>	= <i>njanung</i>	- <i>nj</i>	- <i>njana</i>	- <i>nj</i>	- <i>ngana</i>	- <i>njan</i> PRST/PST	
1ep	= <i>ngil</i>	= <i>njanin</i>	- <i>njina</i> - <i>njanga</i>		- <i>nga</i>	- <i>nganangga</i>	- <i>njila</i> PRST/PST - <i>njula</i> FUT	
2p	= <i>nhurr</i>	= <i>nhurr</i>	- <i>nu</i> - <i>na</i>		- <i>n</i>	- <i>nhurr</i>	- <i>nju</i> PRST/PST	- <i>njuru</i> PST
3p	= <i>wa</i>	= <i>dhanung</i>	- <i>wa</i>	- <i>dha</i>	- <i>waraga</i>		- <i>ndja</i> PRST/PST	- <i>na</i> PST

Dharrawal, Dharumba and Dhurga also use a fused form of 1st person (subject) doing something to 2nd person (object) *-gun*, which is shortened to 1s/2s.OBJ in the glossing.

- (1) *maran (fish) ngamâoogooñ (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

/a/. 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*.

Past	< <i>Bulmai</i> >	He struck
	< <i>Bulmaingul</i> >	We [two] struck, inclusive
Present	< <i>Bulmaia</i> >	He strikes
	< <i>Bulmaiangul</i> >	We [two] strike, inclusive
Future	< <i>Bulmang</i> >	He will strike
	< <i>Bulmangul</i> >	We [two] will strike, inclusive

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 bunnabiu 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 mawunmiri-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.

<i>Noun-dju-</i>	become
<i>babuga-</i>	bite
<i>badhaba-</i>	hang up
<i>badjba-</i>	jump up
<i>bala-</i>	return
<i>bali-</i>	die
<i>ban-</i>	do
<i>bandha-</i>	use
<i>bara-</i>	find
<i>barilanggana-</i>	disappear
<i>barma-</i>	step
<i>barra-</i>	step into
<i>baru-</i>	come
<i>bidbari-</i>	cover
<i>binda-</i>	give
<i>bindha-</i>	give
<i>bula-</i>	come?
<i>bulma</i>	hit, strike
<i>bumba-</i>	be

<i>bunda-</i>	cut
<i>burwa-</i>	fall, drop
<i>dhara-</i>	stand on
<i>dhara(d)ba-</i>	go through
<i>dhungga-</i>	cry
<i>dhura-</i>	spear
<i>dhurawa-</i>	spit out
<i>djaladjila-</i>	comes back
<i>djana-</i>	go
<i>djawa-</i>	run
<i>djurwa-</i>	grow
<i>gadbanha-</i>	bite through
<i>gagarnja-</i>	hungry, be in want
<i>gali-</i>	cut, break
<i>galina-</i>	dance
<i>gama-</i>	talk, speak
<i>garuga-</i>	shout
<i>garwa-</i>	scratch
<i>gundhama-</i>	burn

<i>gurulanga-</i>	bent down
<i>gurunga-</i>	meet
<i>manma-</i>	put in
<i>mumba-</i>	catch
<i>ngala-</i>	sit, stay, live
<i>ngarama-</i>	make listen
<i>ngayi-</i>	carry
<i>ngunduma-</i>	drink
<i>Noun-VBLS-</i>	after verbaliser
<i>wari-</i>	play
<i>yadha-</i>	jump

<i>yaga-</i>	say
<i>yana-</i>	go
<i>yanga-</i>	tickle
<i>yira-</i>	send
<i>yiranda-</i>	overtake
<i>yirangunda-</i>	wake up
<i>yiri-</i>	throw
<i>yirima-</i>	scatter
<i>yiriba-</i>	go into
<i>yuwangwu-</i>	leave behind

A.5.2.1.1.2 *-dha*

This is after *-ya* the second most commonly occurring variation of the past tense suffix.

- (4) *bindinmādhā* (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) *yuindyū bindadhan* (to me gave)
 yuwinj-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.

<i>bin-</i>	give	
<i>bindinma-</i>	give away	
<i>dharan-</i>	step on	
<i>djalundjurana-</i>	look back	
<i>garangama-</i>	steal	
<i>man-</i>	catch	
<i>ngal-</i>	want	

<i>ngayama-</i>	carry	also <i>-ya</i>
<i>ngubima-</i>	fill	
<i>wurwama-</i>	divide	
<i>yan-</i>	go	
<i>yanga-</i>	tickle	also <i>-ya</i>
<i>yun-</i>	put into	

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.

<i>gula-</i>	kill
<i>yuri-</i>	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) dhündyilbul (would have) nha bugganyunggang(husks or rhodes?) gulung-güdha dhündya.*
 ngal-dha dhanj-djilbal nhay baganjanggang 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.

- (9) *Nanaridyanda[wulung](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.

<i>burwa-</i>	fall
<i>djawi-njinda</i>	run away
<i>nan-</i>	see
<i>ngara-</i>	hear

<i>yan-</i>	go
<i>yanga-</i>	tickle
<i>yun-</i>	have

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) – *ṇurundthilanaṇi Guiaiṇi,*
 ngara-ndhi = lana⁷¹ guya -yiin
 hear-PRST-3p.OBJ south-ABL
The Southron [sic] heard them. (A-AM-1874:260-PI)

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 nthā 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)

- (13) *goo-row ra dhīne(eats)-mi jerramboonga(leaves)*
 gurawura dhanjma-yi djarambunga
 possum eat-PRST leaves
the possum eats leaves (A-M.2.2-98)

<i>babaga-</i>	bite
<i>bawanj-</i>	climb up
<i>bindi-</i>	give
<i>bulma-</i>	strike, hit
<i>bumba-</i>	be
<i>dhaliba-</i>	go up
<i>dhanjma-</i>	eat
<i>djamba-</i>	be thirsty
<i>dja-wula-</i>	run-HITHER
<i>gaganja-</i>	be hungry
<i>galima-</i>	like WW

<i>gama-</i>	speak
<i>nagung-VBLS</i>	good-be
<i>ngala-</i>	sit
<i>ngayi-</i>	bring
<i>wanama-</i>	put in
<i>yalamba-</i>	come back
<i>yangga-</i>	sing
<i>yan-gula-</i>	come-HITHER-
<i>yari-</i>	carry
<i>yiriba-</i>	go into

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 = 1p
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) *Ŋinda mundaboŋ kullywaŋal da bungun kullyawaŋal do kūndā.*

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) *yerriwanying yuindyū 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'.

present	<jummaganga-ri-la-ga>	<i>I am quite well.</i>
past	<jummaganga-bu-lla-ga>	<i>I was quite well.</i>
future	<jummagangu-rin-ga>	<i>I will be quite well.</i>

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) *Thitbūlo wakāra, guia, ŋurawan, kurrū,*
dhidhbu-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) *Bundulug 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) *kanyee moo'dhoo-gal'лага*
ganji mudhuga-la-ga
fire make-PST-1s
I made a fire just now (U-M.2.2-7)
- (23) *Wad-dhung-ara budhal ŋeeñ 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 *-n(a)* 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-nji* 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 jinggundi.*
dhadha-yina nanji-na baranga-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 baranga
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 mirreej'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) nun'nomañ-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 2nd and 3rd person subject, the non-past marker *-n(a)* follows the verb stem; for 1st 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 nēnjina*”

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) *Maiūnyi nēnji, madtha mundija marāna nēnji.*

mayu-nji njinji, madha marndidja mara-na njinji

stay.FUT-2s this/here because meat run-nPST this/here

You stop here, because the game runs this way.’ (DM-AM-1874-257-Ull/Th-Bu2)

- (33) *Yanoga,*
 yanu-ga
 go.FUT-1s⁷²
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-?
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 2nd 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 *-ba*.

⁷² The underling form here is likely to be *yana-wu-ga* 'go-FUT-1s'.

- (37) ~~mo~~ *gi-a-ba*
 mundur gaya-ba
 strong be-PST
he was strong (DJ-M.2.2-56)
- (38) ~~moendoor~~ *moondoor(strong) giaban'-gee*
 mundur gaya-ba-ngi
 strong be-PST-2s
thou wast strong (DJ-M.2.2-56)
- (39) ~~moendoor~~ *mooramajee(=big) giâbugga*
 muramadji 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 opossum. (DJ-M.2.3-1)
- (41) ~~moendoor~~ *mooroomâga(big) giâjâmung*
 murumaga gaya-dja-ma-ng
 big be-?-PRST-2s
thou art strong (DJ-M.2.2-56)
- (42) *Bîamungañ*
 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

(44) *moondoor gi-ee-bala*
 mundurr gaya-wi-bala
 strong be-2s-FUT
thou will be strong (DJ-M.2.2-57)

(45) *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)

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 incompleting 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 ŋaimathaua; Kūlwaiona*
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) *Pūlungūl Karāmbīla.*
 Bulungul gara-mba-la
 Bulungul immerse-CONT-PST
Pooloongool was getting drowned. DM-AM-Wan-Hu-TuPu
- (51) *Yanaoya maranjī; Kulambaroga maranjī;*
 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) *Bullâoogoonga 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 *-ndu*

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 yakūnjo 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’.

- (56) *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).*
 yaga-ya nanari = djan-da yan-ma-dja = wulung
 say-PST mother.in.law = 1s.PSSR-ERG go-CAUS-PST = 3d.OBJ
he said, ‘my mother in law let them go’ (A-M.2.6-26-GW)

- (57) *yuiñ yenda dyurwammurri(sow) [yerrimurri(scatter)(added above, alternative) wullanhungga namarungguli.*
 yuwinjyan-dha djurwa-ma-ri [yiri-ma-ri] walanhung-ga
 man go-PST seed-CAUS-PURP [throw-CAUS-PURP] seed-INSTR
 namarung-guli
 3s-GEN
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.

- (58) *Dyurwailaia(sprung of it) bullijullaia(died it after) nhai(it),*
 djurwa-la-ya-la bali-djala-ya nhay
 seed-INCEPT-PST-THEN die-AFTER-PST that
...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’.

- (59) *Kuritjabunjila, ililla thōgunko; Kunamimbūlilla!*
 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) *Ngubbamwuraualanhung*(their mother) ~~*manmadauwulung*~~ *manmagun*(got)-*nhalaiaulung*(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) *gūrrūbungga*.

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 = gun
speak-BEN = 1s/2s.OBJ (in Dhurga)
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 dhubbagamooleengga*
yuwinj-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.5.4.2.2.2 *-nama*

However, in example (65), the suffix *-nama* is employed for the same function.

- (65) *jamoonamagoon*
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) eejeemoongum ((dual) we'll do it)/moogângang(for him)*
warranga yidjima-muga-nga-ng
child do.it-BEN?-1ip-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) dhunggaiaula(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) *Yukūŋa paianjalila nyellunji 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) *ngamanjāleeang warranganburra(inserted)*
 ngama-ndjali-wang warranganj-bara
 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 imperative 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) *Wammadyagalūnyu*
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) *Bulmailingai*
bulma-yil-i = ngay
beat-REFL-PRST = 1s
I beat myself (A-M.1.4-144)
- (79) *Bulmailyangay*
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 bulmīeelee*
nguna = njan = da bulma-yil-i
ought = 1ip = ? bulma-REFL-PRST
we all ought to beat ourselves (A-M.2.2-175)
- (82) *ngoonawoolia bulmīeelee*
nguna = wula = ya bulma-yil-i
ought = 3d = ? beat-REFL-PRST
they 2 ought to beat themselves (A-M.2.2-175)
- (83) *Bulmailinhur*
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.

- (84) *Yukūṇa paianjalila 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.

- (85) *Jeewa(might) jenjalleeḡūṅa 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) *Jamunjalecoolaga*
 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), *-ngiili* 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) *yooindyoo jarrooga dhubbagamil-leel*
 yuwinj-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.5.5.1.1.1 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 jejūng flint kunbyūma.*
ngindadjadjung flint ganbi-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. 2nd 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).

- (96) *[bindiri mingganbūlaula ngaiawuli]*
 (bindi-ri minggang-bulawala ngaya-wuli)
 (give-PURP what-PL 1s-GEN)
Father, give me the portion of goods that falleth to me. (A-M.2.6-21-PoPS)
Give me my things/Give me what's mine.

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*.

- (97) *yendabeembooldyen*
 yandha-bii = mbul = djan
 come-NEG.IMP = 2d = 1s.OBJ
do not ye two come to me (A-M.2.2-164)

- (98) *Bulmambinhur*
 bulma-mbii = nhurr
 beat-NEG.IMP = 2p
Strike you not (A-M.1.4-143)

In constructions with a 2nd 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 2nd 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.

- (99) *Bulmambin*
 bulma-mbiin
 beat-NEG.IMP
Strike thou not A-M.1.4-143

- (100) *yendâbeendyen*
 yandha = bii = ndjan
 come = NEG.IMP = 1s.OBJ
do not thou come to me A-M.2.2-164

 *yandha-biin = bi = ndjan
 come-NEG.IMP = 2s = 1s.OBJ
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.IMP	-r(a)
2d.IMP	-ru
2p.IMP	-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 2nd person markers as in Dharumba, with the previously mentioned vowel truncation.

- (104) *Jamoor*
 djamu-r
 talk.FUT-2s.IMP
Talk (thou) (U-M.1.1-57)
- (105) *wabbooroo thogandool*
 wabu-ru dhugan-dul
 return.to.FUT-2d.IMP camp-belonging
ye two go to your camp (U-M.2.2-145)
- (106) *Jamooran*
 djamu-ran
 talk.FUT-2p.IMP
Talk (you all) (U-M.1.1-57)

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) *Yoongee 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-?-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)

(110) *wammul*
 wam(a)-ul
 beat-2d.IMP
Dual Beat (DJ-M.1.5-165)

(111) *wammanyu*
 wama-nju
 beat-2p.IMP
Plural 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) *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.

(113) *Yendañil bobaruŋo wēyagatīry 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) būmbūrū(grass-seed)*
 yan-dha yalaganj yiri-ma-ri bamburu
 go-PST worker throw-CONT-PURP 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*
 bindi-ri = ngala(ng) warranganj-dja
 give-PURP = 1id.OBJ boomerang-INSTR
give me that boomerang (A-M.2.2-129)
Give us that boomerang.

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 than in Dharrawal. In Dharumba, examples are found exclusively in Mackenzie's texts.

- (116) *Minimbarā no mūmdabain, pairinidtha,*
 mini-mbara⁷³ na mundabanj bayi-ri-ni-dha⁷⁴
 hold-? that tomahawk 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) *ḡullari jungiri*
 ngala-ri djangi-ri
 sit-PURP quiet-PURP
Sit down quietly. (DM-AM/WR-265)

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.

- (120) *Nuggungwianda*
 nagung-wi-ya = ndha
 good-be-HORT = 3s
Let him be good, (A-M.1.4-135)
- (121) *Nuggugwiumbulaia*
 nagung-wi-ya = mbula-ya
 good-be-HORT = 3d-?
Let them be good, dual (A-M.1.4-135)
- (122) *Nuggungwiunhaia*
 nagung-wi-ya = nha-ya
 good-be-HORT = 3p-?
Let them be good, plural (A-M.1.4-135)

A.5.5.3.1.2 -l

In one of his published grammars, Mathews lists ‘let’ constructions with a suffix *-l*. 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) *bulmulngul*
 bulma-l = ngal
 strike-HORT? = 1id
Let us two strike him, (A-M.1.4-143)
- (124) *bulmulnyang*
 bulma-l = njang
 strike-HORT? = 1ip
Let us all strike him, (A-M.1.4-143)

The constructions with *-l* 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 Dharawal 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 minamūgōlo, thunnumbarūnyidtha.*
mara mina-mu-g-ulu dhana-mba-ru-nji-dha
fish hold-FUT-1s-2d.OBJ eat-CONT-FUT-1ip-HORT
I'll catch you fish. we'll eat them." (DM-AM-1878:269-JB-Gy)

- (127) *yanūūnye, wurrūṇa, wunnianye, bangūnadtha,*
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, Kūlaṇiyema,*
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*
dyamu-ya-Ø
talk.FUT-HORT-3s
Let him talk (U-M.1.1-57)
- (130) *Jamooyawurra*
dyamu-ya-wara
talk.FUT-HORT-3d
Let them talk [dual] (U-M.1.1-57)
- (131) *jamooyâwa*
dyamu-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) *yerreemīabee warangandya*
yirima-yira = bi warranganj-dja
throw-POT = 2s boomerang-INSTR
can you throw a boomerang? (A-M.2.2-98)

- (133) *gamirabee?*
 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 *djuwa*, translated as ‘might’, and/or the modal suffix *-ya*. Examples with particles are shown in Chapter 6 (Syntax).

- (135) *yanūūnye, wurruṇa, wunnianye, bangūnadtha,*
 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) *nyamundyaliang*
 ngama-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 verbstem 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) *Thunnumbarinabagun̄ga.*
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 warɲri*
 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.5.5.5.4 Djirringanj negative

The negating suffix *-nja* 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) *Wamma-ña-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*

yuwinj yana-yiri-ya ngayaga-ndin
man go-AWAY-PST 1s-ABL
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).*

yun-da = wulung garma namarung-guli ngayi-nja-yiri-ya = wulung
put-PST = 3d.OBJ net.bag 3s-GEN carry-?-AWAY-PST = 3d.OBJ
He put them into his bag and carried them away. (A-M.2.6-25-GW)

A.5.6.1.2 *-njinda* ‘AWAY’

- (147) *yauinyeendau-wandha*

djawi-njinda-wa = ndha
run-AWAY-IRR = 1s.OBJ
going to run away from me (A-M.2.5-45)

A.5.6.1.3 *-gunala* ‘AWAY’

- (148) *Jaugūnalaia war-r-ry bobārādhā-*

djawa-gunala-ya war[-r-r-]i bubara-dha
run-AWAY-PST far[iterative] mountain-LOC
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)*
būnyerrindhadawulaia(about) dunggaiari(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) *yuindy(a man) burruwulaia(come towards) ngaiagandi(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 dyaulaiadha(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 jauiāna bulgo, thobarāralunbilla,*

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)

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 Dharawal 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) *bungayūga kutthuŋo.*

banga-yi-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) *Yannaira ngurndinga thoogan’dhadha’*

yana-yi-ra ngarndi-nga dhugan-dha-dha
go-AWAY-2s.IMP place-LOC camp-LOC-1s.PSSR
Go away from my camp. (DM-M.2.6-29)

- (155) *Yanilla wurri Pūndutbai-Yanaila undi na Pūlinjira-*

yani-la wari Pundutba-yi yana-yi-la ngundi = na
go-PST far Pundutba-LOC go-AWAY-PST away.from.there = THEN
Pulinjera
Pulinjera
Went all the way to Pundutba. thence to Pulinjera. (DM-AM-1874-260-Ull/Th-Ee)

- (156) *yanainrilanya thurinmōla, jerwala Didthul.*

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 Didthul. (DM-AM-1874-260-Ull/Th-Ee)

A.5.6.2.2 -wulu ‘HITHER’

- (157) *Yanaolila guiangul: yanaonyi marumbulluny-yukāu!*

yana-wulu-la guya-ngal: yana-wu-nji mara-mbala-nji
go-HITHER-PST south-BELONG go-FUT-1ip fish-?-PURP
‘Blackfellow came from southward. We’ll go and fish. (DM-AM-1874-257-Ull/Th-Bu2)

- (158) *Yennaaloo-loo-ra dhainggu ngaiaga(n)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) *Karrūgaia 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 jauiāna bulgo, thobarāralunbilla,*
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) *Jauagūnalaia, yallumbuṇa, yangundabillajaia-*
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 mamarūdthana*.
gurana-yu-wa mama-rudhana⁷⁷
stone-VBLS = 3p elder sister-?
the sisters became stone (A-AM-1874:260-Pl)

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) *yuiñ nyinyawaia*
yuwinj njinja-wa-ya
man this/here-VBLS-PST?
the man is here (A-M.1.4-140)
- (165) *Yuggaiaua(they said) “dha-waddhawiauala(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-oo-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 punyūnye bungaonye? Kulutbaiōnye bungaonye, mitundhāli minumbarūna bungoji*
yagunarani banj-(w)u-nji banga-wu-nji galadba-yu-nji banga-wa-nji
how.many carry-FUT-1ip paddle-FUT-1ip four-VBLS-1p paddle-IRR-1ip
midhandhal-i mina-mba-ru-na banga-dji
one-ERG? hold-CONT-FUT?-nPST paddle-INSTR
‘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-wull 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 Djirringanj 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.