

Language Recovery of the New South Wales South Coast Aboriginal Languages

Part A Analysis and Philology

Jutta Besold

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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 15 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 15. Semantic roles and case suffixes in the South Coast languages

Semantic Role	Case	Dharrawal	Dharumba	Dhurga	Djirringanj
Subject of transitive verb	ERG	-dju -ya -ga -a -da -yi -du* -dji*	-da -la -nja -a -dji -di -yi -u	-ngga -a -dju -u	-a -ga -u
Instrument	INSTR	-dja -ga -dji	-(n)dji -yi	-dha	-ga* -da*
Location 'near, at, on' possibly 'in' Object location	LOC	-ga -ya -nga -dja -yi -i -u	-dha -ga -nja -yi -dji	-dha -da -a -dji	-ga -a -yi -dji
Motion 'away from' place/object of reference Prior location Material prior to transformation	ABL	-yiin -diin -ndiin -ndjiin	-yin -ndi -da	-di -din	-djin -djan -wang/-yang
Motion 'towards' place/object of reference Later location Goal, fighting 'towards something'	ALL	-yu -ngu -yi -dhi	-gu -ngu -u -a -da -yi	-a -da	-u -ni**
Beneficiary	DAT	-gunhung -gu	-gu -ngu	-dha -gul**	-ni**
Possessor	GEN	-wuli -guli	-wu -gu -wuli -guli	-guli** -dha -dja -a	-gulal -la -ga
Purpose 'for'	PURP	-langu	-ndji	-wuran -buran	-biyala

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

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- \emptyset 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 < *ngunning nyinyim?* > ‘who there?’ (A-M.1.4-140):

If “who” refers to an act described in a transitive verb, it becomes *ngunningga*, 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) *ngunningga 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).

-dju	/inj- (occurs in Mathews' sentences and only with yuwinj)
-dja	/inj, -anj
-da	/an-
-ya	/inj- (instances only after yuwinj)
-ga	/Vng-
-a	/arr-, al-
-dji	/inj- (one instance following Guwayaminj)
-yi	/ri-, ru-
-du	/an- (isolated example on bawan only, could be -da)

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) *juggarnañdya 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*
būddyanda(birds) *dhundyawa*(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) *gaianda yuindyu dhūrraia būrru*
 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-?-PST
a dog an opossum bit A-M.1.4-131
- (10) *Yenda Jejū, mulliwauthana Jejuŋko,*
yan-dha djadju maliyuradhana djadjung-ga
go-PST moon enamoured? moon-ERG
The Moon came, the Moon was enamoured, A-AM-1874:260-PI

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) *Gwaiaminjji(Gwaiaymin) ngurrandhaulung(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) *Garwaiadhan būrr[u]i*
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.

<i>-da</i>	/an-
<i>-la</i>	/n(g)ga-
<i>-nja</i>	/la-
<i>-a</i>	/al-, inj-
<i>-dji</i>	/inj-
<i>-di</i>	/an-
<i>-yi</i>	/ru-, wa-
<i>-u</i>	/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) *Yukūnja yanailūwunna ya Jakwilanya, jūkūluṅ pulungumbāla,*
 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 Karugāndhilla Pūlūngūl,*
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 wuthāla: murilla yūinya kulālawa, 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-Ee)

A.4.1.1.2.5 -dji

- (20) *Yuindyi bingala wawurna warrangandyinu.*
yuwinj-dji binga-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-di 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) *Burruī garrulūnyi*
buru-yi gara-la-nji
kangaroo-ERG scratch-PST-2sOBJ
A kangaroo scratched thee. (DM-M.1.8-59)
- (23) *Būthūlāla Tūtawai thulinyo:*
budhula-la Tutawa-yi dhalinj-(y)a
cut-PST Tutawa-ERG tongue-DAT
Tootawa split his tongue, (DM-AM-1877-272-Wand/Hu-TuPu)⁵²

A.4.1.1.2.8 -u

- (24) *ithungro, kūnambūlo iliaōlo, 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) *koongaranga jiroura thunnan*
gungara-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 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)

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 yerrabandya 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) *wuragalangga 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) *kundthumaiaoa paiaminganga, kaiunga, Pulinjirunga, kanda -*
gundhama-ya-ra bayaminga-ngga⁵³ gayung-a⁵⁴ Poolinjerungga Kān-dha
burn-PST-? bayaming-INSTR gayung-INSTR Poolinjerungga Kān-LOC
were roasting with hot stones piaming(1) and kaioong(2), at Poolinjerunga near Kān. (A-AM-1874:260-PI)

A.4.1.2.1.3 *-dja*

- (35) *yuiñdya 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) *yooraryangullang(hit us)3 yooindyoo(that man)1 warangandyee(with a)2*
yura-nja = ngalung yuwinj-dju warranganj-dji
hit-PST = lid 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 būngutbula pūnanji*;
 djira-ndji būngadba-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.4.1.2.2.2 *-dji*

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

A.4.1.2.2.3 *-yi*

- (39) *Yerrunggūnyūnye nyelinja Korūgamai*
 yarungga-wu?-nji njilinja gurugama-yi
 go.quick-FUT?-iep this westerly.wind-INSTR⁵⁵
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-

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 gabi banja-la-ga
possum boomerang-INSTR COMPLETE kill-PST-1s
I killed the possum with a boomerang (U-M.2.2-41)

- (41) *yooiin 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-ndja 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 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.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) *yarrowangga narri irribaingai*
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 dharagang-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) *yuiñ yendi nharría (away) wurrijang (far)*
yuwinjyan-dhi nhari-ya waridjang
man go-PRST there-LOC yonder
man walking far away (A-M.2.6-14)

- (48) [~~*dyurwalea(grew)nhai(it), dhung-ang dyurwa(grew)linhaia(it)dhurranhaianai*~~]
Dyurwalea(grew)nhai(it) - dhung-ang(food(fruit)) burramurrang gurnunggularn(a lot)
ngunyaia(on it) dyurwalinyaia
djurwa-li-ya nhay dhangang bamararang 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) *Barũngaŋa thallybunbĩla, ya kũrubun jũya Yirãma-*
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)

A.4.1.3.1.4 -dha

- (50) *kundthumaiäoa paiaminganga, kaiunga, Pulinjirunga, kanda -*
gundhama-ya-ra bayaminga-ngga⁵⁶ gayung-a⁵⁷ Poolinjerungga Kãn -dha
burn-PST-? bayaming-DAT gayung-DAT Poolinjerungga Kãn -LOC
were roasting with hot stones piaming(1) and kaoong(2), at Poolinjerunga near Kãn. (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 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.4.1.3.1.5 -*dja*

- (52) *yugundu(that time) dyurwamaiaadha(he sowed) wullanhunggo burwaia(dropped) yuangga burwa(drop)|marraia(some) nguttañdya(on the side) nguttañbulailē*
 yagun-du djurwa-ma-ya = dha walanhung-ga burwa-ya
 then-? grow-CAUS-PST = SUB seed-INSTR 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 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)

A.4.1.3.1.8 -*u*

- (55) *[Kurrabungga(rock)dūnggulu(round hole)(circled to suggest alternative wordorder)]
 yūnmadaualung dūnggulgangga(in a hole) Kurrubungga(in a rock)*
 [gurabang-ga dūnggul-u] yunma-dha = wulung dūnggul-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-
- nja* /dja-
- yi* /V- (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, thunbūla mudjikūruŋ, warri thunganuŋgo;*

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 mundijon maiamboga, ma Korūgamadadtha."*

ngayaga mandidja-ng maya-mba-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 ūmūngo*;
binda-la ngumung-ga
rise-PST knee-LOC
rose on his knee, (DM-AM-1878-271-Wand/No-Tu)
- (60) “*ḡurawunko 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) *unnīḡuro yunambarila yanila yakūḡa*
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 Pūndutbai-Yanaila undi na Pūlinjira-*
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 undīna 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) wullindyngu-dyi(in the rear of thee)*
 warridja walindju-ngu-dji
 yonder rear-2sPOSS-LOC
over there behind you (DM-M.2.6-30)

- (67) *yambūla waungāla 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 *dhugan* ‘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) *bungī thoogandha*
 bangay dhugan-dha
 back camp-LOC
he is a back of hut (U-M.2.2-146)
- (69) *yooindhurreen (other side) buddī [or ā] 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) nghoonang (in her) thoo-gan-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) *yoin nēenjeelan 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 bieel*
baga-ma gumirr-a bayiil
sit-PRST hole-LOC man
A man is sitting in the hole. (DJ-M.2.3-12)

- (77) *dhumala dhurātyububugga*
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-gī-dha*
burga-yi-dha
back-LOC-1sPOSS
Behind me (DJ-M.2.3-11)

A.4.1.3.4.5 *-dji*

- (81) *Boolambeerk birreewangoo 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*

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*.

- yiin* /dha-, ra-, bi-, rri, ndi-, ya-
- diin* /ung-, irr-
- ndiin* /ga-
- ndjiin*/un- (one example)

A.4.1.4.1.1 *-yiin*

- (82) *ngurrungalla buddaiin nadyungo ngaimilai*
 ngarungal-a badha-yiin nadjung-(g)u ngayi-mila-yi
 woman-ERG creek-ABL water-INSTR carry-?-PRST
the woman from the hole water carries (A-M.1.4-133)
- (83) *Bunnabee-een*
 Bunabi-yiin
 Bunabi-ABL
from Bunnabee “oblativè” (A-M.1.2-106)

A.4.1.4.1.2 *-diin*

- (84) *ngunnundin*
 nganung-diin
 who-ABL
who from ? (A-M.1.4-141)
- (85) *Buddyanbuloala(birds many) mirrirdin(from above) dhan-dyā-wa(they ate)*
 budjan-bulawala mirirr-diin dhanj-dja = wa
 bird-PL top-ABL eat-PST = 3p
and the birds of the sky ate it all.’ (A-M.2.6-17-PoS2)

A.4.1.4.1.3 *-ndiin*

- (86) *jauanga ngaigandeen*
 djawa-nga ngayaga-ndiin
 run-PST? 1s-ABL
(someone) ran away from me (A-M.2.3-50)

A.4.1.4.1.4 *-djiin*

- (87) *ngundyin*
 ngun-djiin
 here-ABL
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) *yuiñ nyilli warrangandya gungaledin jindama*
yuwinjnjili warranganj-dja gungala(n)-diin djindama⁵⁹
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 Dharawal 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) *Dhadhūyine nanyēna barūngain 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, pūrū minilla wanēkundi 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)

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.4.1.4.2.3 *-da*

- (91) *Thuganda*
dhugan-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.

-di(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) wabee-wangga*
dhugan-da ngarn-din wabi-wa-nga
camp-LOC place-ABL go-IRR-1ep
we are going from the camp (U-M.2.2-48)

- (93) *n̄in-dyoo-wurraga Dh̄ulbo Dh̄ulboo 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) *yooi boolballungundi (from the tree) boongoballin kamboolalin*
yuwinjbunbal ngarn-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, *-djan* and *-djin*. There are two additional examples that show different forms of a different marker, which also seems to mark for ablative function, *-yan* and *-wang*.

-djan /ra-, gi-
-djin /ndji-
-wang, -yan /ga-

A.4.1.4.4.1 *-djan*

(95) *nguradyan*
ngurra-djan
camp-ABL
from a camp (DJ-M.1.5-162)

(96) *warrabiggidyan*
warabigi-djan
yonder-ABL
from yonder (DJ-M.1.5-167)

A.4.1.4.4.2 *-djin*

(97) *wandyidyin*
wandji-djin
where-ABL
whence (DJ-M.1.5-167)

A.4.1.4.4.3 *-wang, -yan*

Only these two examples show these slightly varying forms. It is possible that (98) could also be phonemicised as *burga-wan*.

(98) *yannan burgian*
yana-nj burga-yan
go.PST-3s back-ABL
He stepped backwards (DJ-M.2.3-13)

- (99) *yandama burgawang*
 yanda-ma burga-wang
 go-PST back-ABL
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) *ngooraaoo*
 ngura-yu
 camp-ALL
to the camp (A-M.1.2-106)

- (101) *yuiñ yenda Bunnabi-u*
 yuwinjyan-dha Bunnabi-yu
 man go-PST Bunnabi-ALL
a man went to Bunabee (A-M.2.6-1)

- (102) *yandhangai bullawurriu nhamurri*
 yan-dha = ngay balawarri-yu nhama-ri
 go-PST = 1s hill-ALL see-PURP
I walked up onto the hills to look (A-M.2.4-23)

- (103) *ngurawulaliu yendigulling*
 ngura-wulali-yu yan-dhi = ngaling
 camp-DU-ALL go-PRST = 1ed
camps two to go we (dual excl) (A-M.1.4-133)

A.4.1.5.1.2 *-ngu*

- (104) *Yendaṅil bobaruṅo wēyagatīry windērong*
 yandha = ngil bubarūngu 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*
 nga-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-
-nggu /ru-
-u /irr-
-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 thōgungo.*
 yanu-wa-na-nji dhugan-gu
 go-IRR-?-1ip camp-ALL
Let us go to the camp. (DM-AM-1874-257-Ull/Th-Bu2)

- (108) *Yennaaloo-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 jilluṅō; kūrowa kalandthun!*
 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 kutthuṅo.*
 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 Mierunṅgo,*
 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 merīro;*
 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) *ṅarinmadthai, jambīnūro mindija Kunda bundilla.*

ngarinma-dha-yi djambi-nu-ra 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)

(114) *Yanilla Kolumbri, yētbuṅillawa Kollijaga Mūṅai; 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 *-ngu* is used in the sense of ‘to fight over something’ (which in this case could be more appropriately translated ‘to fight towards something’).

(115) *Yukūṅa 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 extent 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) *yooiin yenneewan wabbeewan boonbala (tree) jelloo (over there)*
 yuwinjyani-wa-n bunbal-a djalu
 man go-?-nPST tree-ALL over.there
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) *yooiin murrān thoogandun*
 yuwinjmara-n dhugan-dan
 man run-nPST camp-ALL
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 *-(giru)u*

- (119) *Nyingeeroo buddangga*
 njin-giru badha-ngga
 this/here-towards? creek-LOC
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.

- (120) *Ngurani*
ngura-ni
camp-ALL
to a camp (DJ-M.1.5-162)

A.4.1.6 Dative Case Marking in the SCLs

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 yuiñgunhung*
mundubang yuwinj-gunhung
tomahawk man-DAT
a tomahawk for the man- (A-M.1.4-133)
- (122) *ngunnunggunhung*
nganung-gunhung
who-DAT
who for? (A-M.1.4-141)

A.4.1.6.1.2 *-gu*

- (123) *mingangoo'bee bunya nthan*
mingang-gu = bi ban-ya ndhan⁶⁰
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;*
wangan yani-la mara- mbali-nggu⁶¹
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 ηaiunko wenkinbra.*”
yana-wa-nji ngayung-u wangan-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 be a purposive construction.

A.4.1.6.2.3 *-ru*

(126) *ṅarinmadthai, 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) *wannungalool 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) *minyanē?*
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.

-wuli /V-
 -guli /C-

A.4.1.7.1.1 -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 -wuli

- (133) *mirrigan-bulanhung yuiñbulaliwuli*
 mirigan = 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 /V-

-wu /V-

-gu /C-

A.4.1.7.2.1 *-wuli*

- (134) *burruwuli murrarnu* (*murrar tail*)
buru-wuli murrarr-nu⁶²
kangaroo-GEN tail-3s.PSSR
A kangaroo's tail. (DM-M.2.6-30)

A.4.1.7.2.2 *-guli*

- (135) *wangganguli wurranyu*
wangan-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* is 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-
-a /urr-
-dja /inj-
-nggul/ga-
-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 ñeeñ*
wanggan-a waggurr-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) *yooiñda 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 ñeen*
yuwinj-guli dhugan-u njiinj
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 njiinj
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 /il-, ri-
-gulal /ang-. ung-

A.4.1.7.4.1 *-a*

- (144) *baiilla mirrigangwa*
bayiil-a mirigang-wa
man-GEN dog-3sPOSS
a man's dog (DJ-M.1.5-162)

A.4.1.7.4.2 *-gulal*

- (145) *wannung-gulal*
wanang-gulal
who-GEN
whose (DJ-M.1.5-163)
- (146) *warangan ngi'aloonggolal*
waranganj ngayalung-gulal
boomerang 1s-GEN
this is my boomerang (DJ-M.2.2-58)

A.4.1.8 Purposive Case Marking in the SCLs

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

Only one example shows an identified isolated suffix that has a purposive function according to Mackenzie's translation. The form of this marker is *-langu* or *-langa*, the final vowel is difficult to phonemicise, but is generally *a* in similar examples that can be compared with Mathews' transcriptions. However, a common form for the purposive marker in AALs is *-gu* (Dixon, 2002a:134), which might lead to the analysis of the word-final transcribed *o* as /u/.

A.4.1.8.1.1 *-langu*

- (147) *Yandinay karwerullajo ηai,*
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 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)
- (149) *Nunnaridtha jiamūno yandthaonidtha ηaianji,*
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 guiangul: yanaonyi marumbulluny-yukāu!*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'añ 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] gumbâwowooreñ*
 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

		Dharrawal	Dharumba	Dhurga	Djirringanj
lack of ‘without’	PRIV	<i>-yanha</i> <i>-ganha</i>	<i>-(wa)lan</i> <i>-gayila*</i>		
‘with’	COM	<i>-ndi</i>	<i>-djina</i>		
‘having’	PROP	<i>-yiri</i> <i>-yira</i> <i>-dharra</i>	<i>-yila*</i> <i>-wana*</i>		
‘other’	OTHER	<i>-wal</i> <i>-ngal</i>			
‘belonging to’	BELONG	<i>-ngal</i> <i>-gal</i> <i>-gali</i> <i>-wali</i>			
‘very’	INTENS	<i>-wudhung</i> <i>-gudhung</i>		<i>-gudhu</i> <i>-gunda*</i>	
‘little’	DIM	<i>-gang</i>		<i>-yangga</i>	
kin	KIN	<i>-marra</i> <i>-ndi</i>	<i>-li*</i> <i>-yi*</i>		

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.4.2.1.1.1 -*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) *bullijullaia*(died it after) *nhai*(it), *madha*(because) ~~*bunnaiana*~~(rain none) ~~*yaddhaia*~~(wet was) ~~*dhaiana*~~(not any) *yeddha yeddha yenna* [*dyurwalaiia*(grew it up) – *bullijullaia nhai*(died it)]

djurwa-la-ya-la bali-djala-ya nhay madha
seed-INCEPT-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-INCEPT-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) *murnyeanha*(meat none)”-

garuga-ya ‘mirra njinji marnijda-yanha’
call-PST no here meat-PRIV

She called out ‘there is no meat in it’. (A-M.2.6-26-GW)

A.4.2.1.1.2 -*ganha*

- (156) *bullia*(died) *nhai*(it), *madha*(because) *nguddya*(xxx)-*nguddyung*(ground) *gün’ nha*

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 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-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, yirraganji; kutthū kawā kūrūaolan!*
mudjari yirragandji 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/Bi-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 Djirringanj.

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 ngaiagandi*
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 <*Thurawaldthey*> or <*Thurawaldtheri*> ‘Dharrawal-having’.

A.4.2.3.1.1 *-yiri*

(166) *yuiñ wurriin yengulaia-guggaiiri*

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) *Gurrugarnyaia 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 yennulai*
 miga gudjaga-yira 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 irrungi*
 madjari-yira = ngay
 canoe-HAVING = 1s
I have a canoe (A-M.2.2-175)

A.4.2.3.1.3 -*dharra*

(170) *ngunning warrangandhurra?*
 nganung warranganj-dharra
 who boomerang-HAVING
who has the boomerang? (A-M.1.4-141)

(171) *burroomrrun(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 thaogulywollun kaoraïla;*
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 maruᅅgo, 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 bianalywal, ᅅoby māiā Kurwēry-*
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 *guyanggal* ‘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) *Yakūlily guianggal, 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-ring’an nēen*

wananga-gal waranganj njiin
who-BELONG boomerang this/here

whose boomerang is that? (U-M.2.2-22)

A.4.2.5.3 *-gali*

(181) *mirrigullimangga būddyanda 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, thuṇa bianally.*

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 gumbulluūdhung-nha mega ya yuiñ*
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) *kiangoodhung(the largest) ba!(inserted) murrangoodhung(the smallest)*
gayan-gudhung ba marrangang-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-gang'goodhoo booroo jing-'an-dee'-jee ban'-go-ree'-jee now'-ay*
dhambamu-la-ga birangang-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.

- (186) *jam'aga jee-jee jung'un-de-a jama-gang-goo'dhoo*
 djamaga dji~dji djangan djiya djamagang-gudhu
 good this~this ? that good-INTENS
This is good but that is better (U-M.2.2-17)

A.4.2.6.2.2 *-gunda*

- (187) *dyabady warreegoonda wab'-bool*
 Djabadj wari-gunda wabu-l
 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 Gūrambūnda ngubbamurra-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) *Bindyawulung ngubbamurrau'lanhung dhuñbulaligangga(fish two small ones)*
wur'riau'alanhai(they played with).

bin-dja = wulung⁶⁵ ngaba-mara = wulanhung dhanj-bulali-gang-ga wari-ya = wula
give-PST = 3d.OBJ mother-KIN = 3d.PSSR fish-DU-DIM-INSTR play-PST = 3d
nhay
that

Their mother gave them two small fish to play with. (A-M.2.6-24-GW)

(191) [*Kurrabungga(rock)dūnggulu(round hole)(circled to suggest alternative wordorder)*
yūnmadaualung dunggulgangga(in a hole) Kurrabungga(in a rock)

[gurabang-ga dunggul-u] yunma-dha = wulung dunggul-gang-ga
[stone-LOC round hole-LOC] put.in-PST = 3d.OBJ 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.4.2.7.2 Dhurga diminutive

There is one instance that suggests a diminutive marker *-yanga*.

A.4.2.7.2.1 *-yanga*

(192) *koo'-bee-ji-ang-a*
gubidja-yanga
small-DIM
small toe (U-M.1.1)

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.

⁶⁵ See examples of *bin-dha-* 'give-PST' in B.1.2.3 (Dharrawal sentences).

Table 17. Number marking in the South Coast Languages

	Dharrawal	Dharumba	Dhurga	Djirringanj
Singular	-∅	-∅	-∅	-∅
Dual	-wulali	-bara	-wara	-wula
	-bulali	-mbara	-bara	-bula
	-mbulali		-mbara	-mbula
	-lali			-la
Pural	-wulawala	-baraga	-waraga	-ma
	-bulawala	-mbaraga	-baraga	
	-mbulawala		-mbaraga	
	-lawala			
	-walawali			

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’ < *bī-eelwoola* > (DJ-M.2.2-59)
dhana-bulala ‘foot-PL’ < *dhunnabulola* > (A-M.2.6-23)

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) *bundāwurriwulali yuindyū bulmaiā'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 yuindyū 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 *mirrigang*:

- (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).

-bara /C-
-mbara /V- (and possibly after ng-)

A.4.3.1.2.1 *-bara*

- (200) “*Yanaonyi ŋaiunko wenkinbra.*”
 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)
- (201) *Warranganburrandha*
 waranganj-bara-ndha
 boomerang-DU-1s.PSSR
boomerangs both mine (DM-M.1.8-59)

A.4.3.1.2.2 *-mbara*

- (202) *Murilla munna munna Mierunngo, unia maiiladtha Juimbāra*
mari-la mana~mana Mirroo-nggu nguna-ya mayi-la-dha djuwi-mbara
emerge-PST hand~hand mirroo-ALL that/there-LOC be-PST-? fish.hawk-DU
*News went over then to Mirroo, where the two Jea (fishing hawk) [were] (DM-AM-1874-260-
Ull/Th-Ee)⁶⁶*
- (203) *Pullir yabunjarimal-laora marumburai.*
balirr yabanjarima-la-wara mara-mbara
hand? drop-PST-3d fish-DU
the fish slipped out of their hands. (DM-AM-1878:269-JB-Gy)

A.4.3.1.3 Dhurga dual

<i>-bara</i>	/C-
<i>-wara</i>	/N-, 1- (one example)
<i>-mbara</i>	/N-

A.4.3.1.3.1 *-bara*

- (204) *warranganburra illeegool*
warranganj-bara yili-g(a)-ul
boomerang-DU carry.PRST-1s-2d.OBJ
a pair of boomerangs carry-I (U-M.1.2-104)

A.4.3.1.3.2 *-wara*

- (205) *boo-roo-wur-ra (kangaroo two) thambā'mullagool (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 Mirroo, 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.

<i>-bula</i>	/	nj-,
<i>-wula</i>	/a-, l-, rr-	
<i>-mbula</i>	/i-	
<i>-la</i>	/u-	

A.4.3.1.4.1 *-bula*

- (208) *waranganboola ngialoongolal*
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) *Bagamīn 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 mūndurwula 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) *būrrula nyabugālu*
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.

<i>-bulawala</i>	/C- (also /ng-)
<i>-walawali</i>	/V-
<i>-mbulawala</i>	/ng-
<i>-wulawala</i>	/V-
<i>-lawala</i>	/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) *Gurrugarnyaia guriyirra(wulola) (added)(ear if) ngurramai'andha*
garuga-nja-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) *Kūruṇaiālū mēgaaloāli Kangargraon pūrrūwānga;*
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-rawang (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) *bunguloala 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 yūinbrāga,*
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) “*gurawunko bunga-iluwa thaorumbrao,*
ngurawan-gu banga-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) *warranganburruga 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 bundtha 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 jarroogamburruga 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) *warangañma 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 18. Case and number marking on SCLs interrogatives

		what	who	where	how	why	when	which
Dharrawal	ABS	<i>mingang</i>	<i>nganung</i>	<i>wadha</i>	<i>Yiling</i>			<i>winggala</i>
	ERG	<i>-ga</i>	<i>-ga</i>					
	GEN	<i>-guli</i>	<i>-guli</i>					
	DAT	<i>-gunhung</i> <i>-gu</i>	<i>-gunhung</i>					
	ABL		<i>-diin</i>	<i>-yiin</i>				
	DU		<i>-mbulali</i>					
	PL	<i>-bulawala</i>	- <i>mbulawala</i>					
		<i>mingarang</i> 'how many'						
Dharumba	ABS	<i>minja</i> <i>mina</i>	<i>wanangga</i>	<i>wadha</i>	<i>yuga (M)</i> <i>yagun*</i> <i>(M/AM)</i>			
	ERG		<i>-la</i>					
	GEN		<i>-wuli</i>					
	DAT	<i>-wa</i> 'what for = why'	<i>-lula</i>					
					<i>yagunarani</i> 'how many'			
Dhurga	ABS	<i>Minja</i>	<i>wananga</i>	<i>wadha</i>	<i>yuga</i>	<i>mali</i>	<i>wandung</i>	
	GEN		<i>-gal</i> <i>-lul</i>					
Djirringanj	ABS	<i>minja</i>	<i>wananggal</i>	<i>wandja</i>	<i>yuga</i> <i>yuwa</i>		<i>wandji</i>	
	ERG		<i>-a</i>					
	GEN		<i>-(gu)lal</i> <i>-al</i>					
	DAT	<i>-ni</i>						
	ABL			<i>-djin</i>				

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 is 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 mingganbūlala ngaiawuli*] *wūrwamaran* (*divide*) *ngaiawulala* (*all my*) *mingganadyangga* (*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 minggan-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) *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 = 1sPOSS

I left my boomerang with my father (A-M.2.4-22)

(227) “*Minggarang yuinbulola babundindi burrimurrundhurra dhung-ang* , *bah ngullainmari*(*to share*)
[būngallainmari (*put some away*)

minggarang yuwinj-bulala baba-ndi-ndi bamarang-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 *dhalī* ‘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) *dyadyamurrawillinhung warrangan*
 djadja-mara-wuli = nhung warranganj
 brother-KIN-GEN = 3s.PSSR boomerang
his brother's boomerang (A-M.2.6-1)
- (230) *babamura-ingun(at your yūn(left)-nguriangai(I) warrangandye[r])(boomerang mine)*
 baba-mara-yi = ngun yuwangari-ya = ngay⁶⁹ warranganj-dja
 father-KIN-LOC = 2s.PSSR leave.behind-PST = 1s boomerang-INSTR
I left my boomerang with your father. (A-M.2.4-23)
- (231) *Bunbariwulaligang ngullaiawula Gūrambūnda 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)
- (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.baghole-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) nhaia[inserted] beddhabalinda(hanging up) nharria(yonder) wurridyang(far) gundu(tree)*”
 ‘yaga-ri nanari = djan = di⁷⁰ 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) *Ngubbandy~~ung~~en ngullainbi ngurānhung [nungainung(camp)]*
 ngaba = (n)djan ngala-yi-nbi ngura = nhung
 mother = 1sPSSR sit-PRST-? camp = 3s.PSSR
my mother is sitting in her camp (A-M.2.4-22)

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) ngariandha(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 Dharawal examples.

A.4.5.2.1 *-li*

(236) *Miṅāli, miṅāli, miṅāli, māra. māra, māra!*
 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) *“Miṅai muniĵambra 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.

< <i>Ngaigangdyina</i> >	<i>ngayagang-djina</i>	(COM) ‘with me’ (DM-M.2.6-27)
< <i>ngaiagañ</i> >	<i>ngayaga-nji</i>	(ABL) ‘away from me’ (DM-M.2.6-28)
< <i>ngaiagangu</i> >	<i>ngayagang-gu</i>	(ALL) ‘come towards me’ (DM-M.1.8-60)
< <i>naiaganḡuli</i> >	<i>ngayaga-ngguli</i>	(GEN) ‘mine’ (DM-AM-1878:269-JB-Gy)

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:

[t]he 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

	Dharrawal	Dharumba	Dhurga	Djirringanj
1s	<i>ngayagang</i>	<i>ngayaga</i>	<i>ngayaga</i>	<i>ngayalu</i>
2s	<i>njindgang</i>	<i>yindiga</i>	<i>yindiga</i>	<i>yindigal</i>
1id	<i>ngunangal</i> <i>ngulgang (A-M.1.4-137)</i>	<i>ngayawungul</i>	<i>ngayawung</i>	<i>ngayanga</i>
1ed	<i>ngunanjan</i> <i>ngungaling (A-M.1.4-137)</i>	<i>ngayawungala</i>	<i>ngayawangala</i>	<i>ngayangulu</i> <i>ngayalunga</i>
2d	<i>ngunawula</i> <i>bilgang (A-M.1.4-137)</i>	<i>yindiwu</i>	<i>yindiwu</i>	<i>yindigumbul</i> <i>yindigulul</i>
1ip	<i>njulgang</i>	<i>ngayawanji</i>	<i>ngayawanj</i>	<i>ngayanjin</i>
1ep	<i>njunaling (A-M.1.4-137)</i>	<i>ngayawanjaga</i>	<i>ngayawanga</i> <i>ngayawinga</i>	<i>ngayanjila</i>
2p	<i>njirgang (A-M.1.4-137)</i>	<i>yindiwunhu</i>	<i>indiwan</i>	<i>yindiganju</i> <i>yindiginjoo</i>

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

	Dharrawal	Dharumba	Dhurga	Djirringanj
this/here	<i>nhay</i>	<i>njindji</i> <i>njilu</i>	<i>njinj</i>	<i>njan</i> <i>njin</i>
that/there	<i>nha</i> <i>nham</i> <i>nharri</i>	<i>djin</i>	<i>djinj</i> <i>njun</i> <i>djiya</i>	<i>njanja</i> <i>njandu</i> <i>njandi</i> <i>njangi</i> <i>nungu</i>
yonder	<i>nhariya</i>	<i>djinadha</i> <i>djinganda</i>	<i>djinadha</i> <i>djinganda</i>	
far	<i>wari</i>	<i>wari</i>	<i>wara</i>	<i>wari</i> <i>wara</i>
then	<i>yagun</i>	<i>yagun</i>	<i>yagun</i>	

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 meri-ro;*

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) *Yukūŋa 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)

(240) *Wunna, pūrū minilla wanēkundi Tutawanyella;*

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).