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Introduction to the language

1.1. Introduction

This thesis aims to follow the changes that occur in Ngarrindjeri, a language from South Australia, over a period of 130 years. Over this period of time the speakers underwent great social and cultural change, with the settlement of white people, and the language changed from being a vibrant living language to one where only a few lexical items can be remembered. Particular attention is given to the syntactic changes, with a focus on case, the pronominal system and the antipassive function.

A range of sources have been used, however Meyer's grammar from 1843 and the Berndt texts, recorded in the 1940s, plus the accompanying analysis provided by Cerin (1994), will receive the main focus because they are the most extensive descriptions of the language. However the other sources will also be used when necessary to fill in the gaps.

The thesis contains the following sections.

Chapter one introduces the language and the source material that will be used as the foundation of the research. It also discusses general concepts in language attrition.

Chapter two deals with nominal morphology, with a particular focus on how the cases have changed. It also contains some reanalysis of the forms, which differs slightly from previous analyses.

Chapter three address the pronominal morphology and identifies and explains discrepancies among the sources. This chapter contains information on the personal pronouns, reflexive pronouns and also a small section on how the pronominal system influenced a change in word order.

Chapter four addresses the antipassive in Ngarrindjeri. Previous work on the antipassive has been scarce, so firstly this chapter establishes the form of the antipassive. Next it identifies the semantic uses of the construction. Finally, there is an investigation into the existence of a syntactic antipassive and the type of pivots the may also exist.

1.2. The language and its speakers

The language Ngarrindjeri is located South of Adelaide near the mouth of the Murray River. The northern boundary ran from Cape Jervis to Swanport, the eastern border was from Swanport to Kingston, and the final border to this triangular territory was the Southern Ocean (Jenkin 1979: 11). This area was one of the most densely populated areas of Australia before the arrival of Europeans, due to the favourable natural environment produced by living at the mouth of the river, the largest waterway on the continent, and its surrounding lakes. Population estimates at the time of European arrival are between 6000 and 8000. The ‘constellation’ consisted of five main tribes Raminjdjeri, Jaralde (Yaraldi), Taŋalun (Tan-gani), Warki (or Warkend) and Portaulun (McDonald 1977: 14). Each of these languages had its own dialect, and each greater tribe was further divided into smaller clans. Dixon (2002: xxxvi) classifies it as belonging to the lower Murray area group; other members of this group

extend to the northeast up the Murray River and include Ngayawang, Yuyu, Kermin and Yitha-Yitha.

The Ngarrindjeri people's environs allowed for a semi-sedentary lifestyle, having more or less permanent camping grounds in the winter and less sheltered ones in the summer. Its culture is quite unique: It had a formalized inter-clan council or court called a *yanurumi*, unique in Aboriginal Australia, which consisted of elected members of their clans, and had a paramount leader, (Berndt 1993: 58-9).

Today, the Ngarrindjeri community is still strong and powerful, and is possibly the most numerous indigenous group in South Australia. Although there are no more fluent speakers, the cultural knowledge has been retained (Amery 2000). For further information, *A world that was: the Yaraldi of the Murray River and the Lakes, South Australia* by Ronald and Catherine Berndt (1993) provides further information on the traditional society and culture. And *Conquest of the Ngarrindjeri* by Graham Jenkin (1979) provides a history of the Ngarrindjeri from the time of European settlement.

1.2.1. Use of the term Ngarrindjeri

Like many Australian languages, the spelling of this tribe in various publications has varied including Narinjeri, Narinyeri, Narrinjeri, Narrinyeri and Ngarrinyeri. The dialectal group Yaraldi has also been referred to as Jaralde, Yeralde and Jaridekald (Carrington and Triffit 1999). Berndt and Berndt (1993: 19) state that the term Kukabrak was traditionally used to differentiate the group from its neighbours. There are several reasons why Ngarrindjeri was the term chosen to be used in this thesis. Firstly, it is more appropriate than the tribe Yaraldi, because this is a term for a specific tribe, and the sources used here are from several different tribes, so a broader term must be used. Secondly, although Ngarrindjeri and Kukabrak are both cover-

terms for the constellation of tribes that covered the same area, Ngarrindjeri is the more consistently used in literature and also is also used today by people whose predecessors came from this region.

1.3. Sources of Material

The sources described below provide the basis for the longitudinal study of Ngarrindjeri. Each one provides a snapshot of the language at a particular time as it shifted from being used by all as a first language to the point where only lexical items are remembered and it has been replaced by English. The sources are described below, listed in chronological order from when the data was collected.

1.3.1. H. E. A Meyer

In 1843 H.E.A Meyer published the first grammar and vocabulary on Ngarrindjeri: *Vocabulary of the Language spoken by the Aborigines of the Encounter Bay Tribe; South Australia*. Meyer was a Lutheran Missionary who arrived in Australia in 1840, and who spent just over two years living with the Raminyeri tribe of the Encounter Bay area before publishing his grammar and vocabulary. He lived at Encounter Bay until 1848, and published an anthropological text *Manners and Customs of the Aborigines of the Encounter Bay Tribe; South Australia* in 1846 (republished 2000).

Meyer was part of an Adelaide based community of missionaries from the Dresden Missionary School, which placed great emphasis on learning the language because it believed in the importance of communicating with the Aboriginal people in their own language (Schurmann 1987:7). He also had continuing contact with other missionaries who were also involved in writing grammars, such as Clamor Schurmann who had published a grammar of Kaurna, the language to the North of Ngarrindjeri, just before Meyer's arrival. This background, as well as the assertion in his introduction to the

1843 grammar that the whole publication had ‘been twice reviewed with different natives, so that the meaning assigned to the words may be relied upon as correct’ (Meyer 1843: vii) has resulted in a text that is considered to be a reliable reflection of the language at the time, and a good grammar for its time.

His grammar includes information on cases, pronouns, verbs, place names, adverbs and conjunctions. He also includes a description of the antipassive construction, which only received its modern name in 1968 - 125 years after he identified it (Dixon 1994). Both the grammar and vocabulary contain a large amount of example sentences, which will be used as data in the body of the thesis. The vocabulary is also useful for checking words from other sources.

1.3.2. G. Taplin

The next grammar, by Rev. George Taplin, was published almost forty years after Meyer. It was first published in 1879 in the appendix of *Folklore, Manners, Customs and languages of the South Australian Aborigines*, and a revised version titled *Grammar of the Narrinyeri Tribe of Australian Aborigines* was published in 1880. The revised version is used in this thesis because it is considered to be the final version (Gallop 1975: 4). Taplin also published some translations of Bible extracts called *Tungarar Jehovald, Yarildewallin : extracts from the Holy Scriptures in the language of the tribes inhabiting the lakes and lower Murray, and called Narrinyeri* in 1864 (reprinted in 1926).

Taplin worked among the Ngarrindjeri from 1859 until 1979 at the Mission he established at Point McLeay, west of where Meyer lived. His training in linguistics was not as rigorous as Meyer’s, if existent at all, however the length of time he spent

with the people and his genuine interest and regard for them means that his grammar is still a valuable resource. The mission at Point McLeay was where people from different tribes congregated, the language he recorded was mostly from the Yaraldi dialect but also with ‘a slight admixture’ of Tan-gani and Portawulen’ (McDonald, 1977; p. 13). The grammar has chapters on letters used in the language, nouns, pronouns, verbs, adjectives, adverbs and syntactical notes. The sample sentences and paradigms in the grammar will be used in this thesis, however the Bible translations are used to a lesser extent because their quality as an accurate reflection of the language at the time is in doubt.

Accompanying Taplin’s grammar is a reworked grammar by Yallop (1975) and a comparison of the printed grammars with the original manuscripts by Grimwade (1975). Yallop’s comparison is useful because it recasts Taplin’s grammar from a modern perspective and it makes comparisons with recordings made in the 1960s. Furthermore, Yallop also provides some analysis of the Bible translations, although he concludes that their reliability is dubious (Yallop 1975: 7). Grimwade’s study is useful because there are several typographical errors in the printed versions, which are clarified by comparison with the original handwritten manuscripts.

1.3.3. C. Berndt and R Berndt

Ronald and Catherine Berndt were anthropologists who in 1939, 1942 and 1943 spent time at Point McLeay with some Ngarrindjeri with the purpose of ‘recreating a vision of the traditional society and culture’ by recording information from speakers in a series of interviews (Berndt, et al. 1993; p10). The text includes anthropological information, and also most importantly for this thesis 163 dictated interlinearized texts

in the appendix, Ronald Berndt had a small amount of linguistic training. These texts are mostly narratives; from myths to personal stories to descriptions of cultural practices. This range of genres is valuable because well known traditional stories that are often retold are more likely to preserve archaic ways of talking modern texts such as personal narratives. The texts are from a small group of Yaraldi people who had been born in the nineteenth century and although they once spoke the language fluently, they only spoke it with other people their age at that time of the recordings. They were young people when the last of the ‘tradition-oriented’ Yaraldi elders were alive. The main informant Albert Karloan, who was the last surviving wholly initiated Yaraldi man, was from Point McLeay and spoke the Manangki dialect of Yaraldi (Berndt 1993: 6). These texts are a useful resource because they are the largest collection of dictated texts of the language. However, the lack of free translations, although descriptions of some texts are included elsewhere in the book, can make it difficult to ascertain the precise meanings of some clauses.

Accompanying these texts is the *Pronominal system of Yaraldi* by Mark Cerin (1994), who completed the considerable task of compiling a grammar based on the texts, with particular focus on the pronominal system. The paradigms he provides are based on the Berndt texts and provide a snapshot of the language almost a century after Meyer’s grammar.

1.3.4. L. Hercus and C. Ellis

The penultimate snapshot of the language is the collection of tape recordings made by Luise Hercus and Catherine Ellis in 1963 and 1964. Their main informant was a James Kartinyeri, who was still quite proficient in the language. Although the

original recordings have not been used in this thesis, reference is made to the analyses provided by Yallop (1975) and McDonald (1977).

1.3.5. M. McDonald

Maryalyce McDonald's MA Thesis *A Study of the Phonetics and Phonology of Yaraldi and Associated Dialects* (1977) provides useful phonetic information on the language based on her own fieldwork with ten informants who could remember lexical items, as well as the Ellis-Hercus, recordings made by Hercus in 1965-5. She provides information on syllable structure, stress and the phonetic inventory, as well as changes that have occurred in the language. This study is particularly useful when considering the orthography of the previous sources.

1.4. Limitations of Sources

The sources used in this thesis are extensive enough to provide enough information for several studies, however it should be noted that they have several shortcomings.

Firstly, their informants for the different studies were from different tribes, and could have spoken different dialects, although it is not clear how different these dialects were. Another possibility is that the later informants may speak a language that is a mixture of dialects. Although no explicit distinction is made between dialects, it should be noted that various sources may correspond to different dialects.

Furthermore, an ideal study of a language would require a range of texts recorded in different genres. Ideally the texts would be recorded under natural circumstances

rather than by elicitation or dictation (Himmelman 1998:167-9). The texts from Meyer (1843) and Taplin (1880), which are in the form of illustrative sentences, are quite limited in this regard. The sentences given analysis from recordings are also limited in range. The Berndt texts fare much better against these expectations because there is a variety of texts and a considerable amount of them, although most are narratives and they are obtained by dictation. However, despite the contrived way that the data was elicited, it is still useful for the analysis of case, pronouns and grammatical constructions.

Another limitation is that, after Meyer (1843) and Taplin (1880) the number of informants was very small. Therefore, some features peculiar to one speaker may be incorrectly generalised to be a reflection of the larger speech community. However this is unavoidable as the number of speakers decreased.

Lastly, because this is a longitudinal study, and uses many sources from different times and authors, the possibility for discrepancies between authors increases. Some of these differences reflect a genuine difference in the language, but others are due to differences in orthography or analysis, or an error in the manuscript. For example Meyer (1843) and Taplin (1880) did not reliably record the interdental stop.

Although the corpus is not ideal, it is able to provide a wealth of information and it is important to have faith in what reliable information that it can provide.

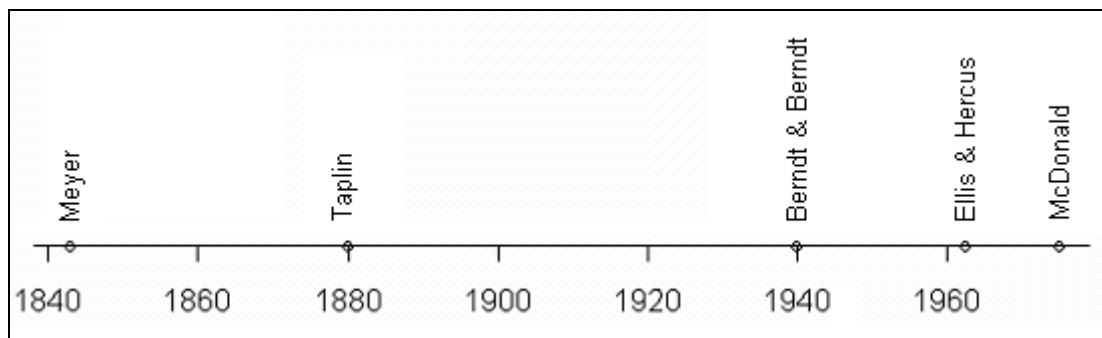
Acknowledging the existence of unavoidable problems with the sources is perhaps the best way to deal with them without disregarding the entire source.

1.5. Concepts in Language Obsolescence

1.5.1. Classification of Speakers

The sources used in this thesis provide snap shots over time when Ngarrindjeri was gradually dying out. From the 1790s to the 1960s- about 170 years- Ngarindjerri was replaced by the dominant language, English, to the extent that only a few lexical items are now still used. It was a fairly gradual process that spanned several generations. Assuming that the language Meyer and Taplin recorded was fairly similar to pre-contact, the first sign of great change is in the Berndt texts recorded in the 1940s, from here the speed of degeneration increased; within twenty years there were only rememberers left. A timeline of the speakers is provided in Figure 1 below.

Figure 1 Time line of sources



The types of speakers from the various sources will be identified following Austin (1986). These terms are not absolute measures, but rather a way to compare speakers, based on the fluency of previous and later speakers. Fluent speakers are those that speak the language with perfect competency; the informants for Meyer (1843) and Taplin (1880) were fluent speakers, it is unlikely that the language contact situation before then would have had any effect on the language.

The speakers who were informants for the Berndt texts (1993) in the 1940s will be defined as semi-speakers. They could speak the language fluently, but their linguistic

competence was somewhat reduced compared to earlier speakers of the language. Examples of this include the lack of allomorphy that is present in previous sources and the inconsistent derivation of the antipassive. Furthermore, the two main informants for the texts, Albert Karloan (65 years old) and Pinkie Mack (85), were the last fluent speakers of the language, so although their interest and pride in their language was evident, it is likely the competency from their youth was somewhat lost due to less use in later years.

Based on the Yallop's (1975: 6-8) description, the main informant of the Ellis-Hercus recordings, James Kartinyeri, was a former speaker. That is, although he spoke the language more fluently when he was younger, years of speaking English and not using Ngarrindjeri, had lessened his fluency. This is reflected by the loss of the use of case that was observed in earlier sources.

The informants for McDonald's (1977: 20) fieldwork will be classified as rememberers. That is, they were able 'to recall a limited amount of lexical material or fixed locutions in a language which they had once heard spoken but never really learned' (Austin 1986: 202). These elderly informants were able to provide from 38 to 126 words each.

1.5.2. Changes in moribund languages and their linguistic causes

There are several characteristics that are common to languages where the competency of the speakers is declining. These include changes in the phonology, morphology, syntax, lexicon and discourse choices. It is common for there to be fewer phonological distinctions, a reduction and simplification of morphology, syntactic

reduction and a move towards simpler clauses and the curtailing of certain options useful for discourse (Campbell and Muntzel 1989). All of these changes have occurred in Ngarrindjeri, although the focus of this study will be on the loss of nominal and pronominal morphology and the antipassive with respect to syntax and discourse choices.

The linguistic, rather than sociological causes, of causes of the changes outlined above can have three broad causes: external factors, internal factors and multiple causation (Campbell and Muntzel 1989). External motivations for language change are those that are caused by influence from the language that is replacing it.

Examples of Ngarrindjeri being influenced by English include the shift towards subject-verb-object (SVO) word order, and the loss of the dual, because it is not a category in English. Internal factors are those that are caused by marked and unmarked linguistic phenomena in the language. Marked features are more likely to disappear than unmarked ones, because they tend to be more complex. Multiple causation is when there are several factors that could have caused a particular change, but just one of them could have triggered the change.

The main reference used in this thesis when considering the features of an increasingly moribund language is *Young people's Dyirbal : an example of language death from Australia* (Schmidt 1985). This study compared data from informants who were of various ages and competencies in the North-East Queensland language, thus providing a simulation of how the language changed over time. Schmidt used a grammar by Dixon (1972) based on fluent speakers with which to compare her own data. Of particular interest in this study is the examination of the change in the

antipassive in Dyirbal, as the change in the antipassive in Ngarrindjeri will also be examined in this thesis.

1.6. Glossing of examples

The glossing of examples in this thesis is described in example(1) below:

(1)	<i>Kornil</i>	<i>lakkin</i>	<i>māme</i>
	Korn - il	lakk - in	māme-Ø
	man - by	spear - PRES	fish-Ø
	N - ERG	V - TNS	N-ABS
	A		O
	‘The man spears the fish’ (Meyer 1843: 39)		

The explanation of the layout of the above example is as follows.

The number in brackets to the left is the number of the example.

The first line of the example is the sentence exactly as the original source presented it, including any morpheme breaks that were in the original.

The second line includes my morpheme breaks, and underlying forms.

The third line contains morpheme glosses, the key to which is in section 1.7 below.

The morpheme glosses are consistent with the original author, except when the analysis discussed in the thesis differs. I have tried to keep the glossing consistent, and within the framework proposed in this thesis, rather than the authors’ original interpretation. For example the ablative in Meyer is called the ergative here.

The last line contains a free translation. In the case of an example from the Berndts, this is my own because there are no free translations, otherwise it is the same as the original. Also included in this line is the source of the text. For the Berndts’

examples, the reference will be followed by the text number, as it is in the appendix 4 of *A world that was*, and the line in that text. For example: (Berndt 1993: 74.8) means that the example came from line 8 of text 74 in appendix 4 in the Berndts (1993). References from Meyer that have a word rather than a page reference refer to the entry in the vocabulary that they were attached to.

There may also be a line above the last line that indicates the subject and object, or actor and undergoer. In the example above, it is showing ‘the man’ to be A, transitive subject, and ‘the fish’ to be O, the object.

Parts of the example marked in bold are those that are relevant to the current discussion.

1.7. Abbreviations and symbols used in glossing

~	Vowel or consonant length
:	Vowel or consonant length
[+A]	Actor
[-A]	Undergoer
1	First person
2	Second person
3	Third person
A	Transitive subject
A/P	Antipassive
ABL	Ablative
ABS	Absolutive case
Acc	Accusative case
C	consonant
DAT	Dative case
Du	Dual
ERG	Ergative case
FUT	Future tense
GEN	Genitive case
NMSLR	Nominaliser
Nom	Nominative case
O	Transitive object
PI	Plural
PRES	Present tense

PST	Past tense
RCP	Reciprocal pronoun
PURP	Purposive
RFL	Reflexive pronoun
S	Intransitive subject
Sg.	Singular
V	Vowel

2. Nominal Morphology

2.1. Introduction

The class of nominals includes common nouns, proper nouns, adjectives and locational qualifiers. These form a discrete class because they all take the same morphology. The nominal morphology consists of both core and peripheral cases. These are discussed in sections 2.2 to 2.6.

The nominal morphology in Ngarrindjeri has undergone some change, particularly the reanalysis of the semantic domains of the cases, the loss of the dual, and the eventual replacement of the case system with the use of adpositions. The changes in nominal morphology are discussed in section 2.7.

2.2. Formation of a nominal

A nominal consists of a stem with some kind of case marking. If the case is a core case, it is preceded by number, and if it is a peripheral case it has no number marking. This is shown in Figure 2 below:

$$N = \text{STEM} + \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{NUMBER+CORE CASE} \\ \text{PERIPHERAL CASE} \end{array} \right\}$$

Figure 2 - Formation of a nominal

2.3. Number

Number markers indicate the plurality of the nouns to which they are attached, and occur in the singular, dual and plural. Table 1, below, contains the number markers as

presented by previous authors. The forms given by Cerin (1994) are based on the Berndt texts from the 1940s, and the forms given by Yallop (1975) are from the 1960s recordings.

Table 1 - Number markers as given by previous authors

	Meyer (1843: 10-11)	Taplin (1880:7)	Cerin (1994: 20)	Yallop (1975: 38)
Sg	-i or -e, or C	-i or -e	-i	-i
Du	-engk	-engk	-angk	-engk
Pl	-ãr	-ar	-a	-a:r

The main differences in the number paradigm are due to orthographical and analytical differences rather than a change in the language. The only significant change in the number markers due to language attrition is the less frequent use of the dual number marker, and the subsequent reanalysis of the plural marker to be ‘more than one’ rather than ‘more than two’ this is discussed in section 2.7.1.

The labels and interpretation given to these suffixes has varied among sources. Meyer (1843), Taplin (1880) and Yallop (1975) have referred to the dual and plural endings as number markers, but also as nominative markers when presenting a sample conjugation of a noun. The nominative case label of the earlier authors is due to misanalysis and is best interpreted as the absolutive case, which has a null realisation in many Australian languages. McDonald (1977) and Cerin (1994) have considered these markers to be solely number markers, and unmarked for case. This more recent interpretation has been adopted. There has also been some disagreement among authors about whether the singular marker is indeed a singular marker or actually part

of the noun stem, in this thesis it will be interpreted as the singular marker. Further discussion of this issue is in section 2.7.4.

The different initial vowel in the dual can be explained by a transcriptional difference resulting from the sources having no precise way to represent [ə].

There are several factors that could account for the differences in the plural form, namely the lack of /r/ in the Berndts' 1940s data. Firstly, the phonetic nature of what has been written as /r/ is debateable, given the number of sounds the orthographic symbol could represent. Meyer (1843; 10) and Taplin (1880; 7) say that /r/ represents [ɹ], Yallop (1975: 12) claims that it is an alveolar tap and McDonald (1977; 22) explains it as a retroflex tap. Also, Yallop (1975: 10) notes that Taplin could have chosen to represent a long vowel by following it with an /r/. It could also possibly be a case of allomorphy. McDonald (1977; 22) notes from speakers in the 1960s and 1970s that the 'norm realization of /aɹ/, the plural morpheme, is simply [a:]' and Cerin gives the third person plural subject pronoun, which is identical to the number marker in other sources, as either *a* or *ar*, which suggests that this allomorphy might also operate in the plural marker. This loss of the final vowel might be due to the external influence of Australian English, which does not have a post-vocalic /r/. This is even consistent with the unusual feature of some Ngarrindjeri English speakers who sometimes pronounce a post-vocalic / ɹ /. This sound only appears if it is within a stem, if it is word final, such as in the plural marker, then it is not realised. For example 'arts board' is pronounced [aɹts bɹd] because the post vocalic [ɹ] is followed by a consonant in both words, but 'flour' is pronounced [flæ:] because the [ɹ] is word final (Sutton 1989: 161).

2.4. Core Case Markings

In this section the paradigms for each core clausal function will be presented from each source. These paradigms will be reanalysed from a modern perspective and compared. Core cases are taken to be inflectional affixes that assign a function at a clausal level (Dixon 2002; 145-6).

The core cases in Ngarrindjeri are the Ergative and the Absolutive. They are considered to be core cases because they express grammatical functions and share the common morphological property that distinguishes them from other cases, namely they follow number marking. The grammatical function of the ergative case is to mark the transitive subject (A), and the grammatical function of the absolutive is to mark transitive object (O) and intransitive subject (S). This ergative-absolutive pattern for common nouns is illustrated in the two examples below from 1843:

- (2) a. *Kornil lakkin māme*
Korn -i -l lakk -in mām-e-Ø
man -Sg-ERG spear -PRES fish -Sg-ABS
A O
 ‘The man spears the fish’ (Meyer, p. 39)
- b. *Kurlald māru māme ngantin*
 Kurl -alde māru **mām-e-Ø** ngant -in
 head -GEN over **bird-Sg-ABS** fly -PRES
S
 ‘The bird flies over my head’ (Meyer, 16)

In the above two examples *māme* is glossed as both ‘fish’ and ‘bird’, this is because it is a general term for ‘animal food generally’. The ergative-absolutive marking is still found in the 1940s in Albert Karloan’s speech, although it is not always present:

- (3) a. *Ungu miminel baiin itjanan napi*
 Ungu **mimin-i-l** bai-in itjan-an **nap-i-Ø**
 When **woman-Sg-ERG** curse-PRES 3:Sg:O-GEN **husband-sg-ABS**
A O
 ‘When a woman curses her husband’ (Berndt 1993: 123.1)
- b. *Wonya mama wurikung...*
 wony-a mam-a-Ø wurik-ung...
 then-3:Pl:Nom fish-PL-ABS swim-PRES
S
 ‘Then the fish swim...’ (Berndt 1993: 33.38).

There are not enough sentences containing proper nouns in either Meyer (1843) or Taplin (1880) to show the ergative-absolutive split for proper nouns. However the pattern is shown by the semi-speakers in the 1940s in the examples in (4), below. Since it is still present in semi-speakers, it is fair to assume that ergative-absolutive marking was the same for earlier sources:

- (4) a. *Wonyilian p'reldan ilin*
 Wony-il-yan p'reld-un il-in
 Then -3:Sg:A -3:Sg:O chase -PRES 3.sg.A-3:Sg:O
A
Ngurunderil itjan Pondi
Ngurunder-i-l itjan Pondi-Ø
Ngurunder-Sg- ERG 3:Sg:O Pondi-ABS
O
 ‘Then Ngurunderi chased the Great Murray Cod (Pondi)’ (Berndt 1993: 97.3)
- b. *Wonitj lewun itji Ngurunder*
 Wony-itj lew-un itji **Ngurunderi-Ø**
 then-3:Pl:S sit-PRES 3:Pl:S **Ngurunderi-ABS**
S
 ‘Then Ngurunderi sits down’ (Berndts, 433; text 4.97 line 8)

The examples in (4) above are from a myth about how the bends in the Murray River were formed. The great mythic deity Ngurunderi was following the great Murray Cod, Pondi, and this frightened the cod so it swished its tail, this action transformed

the formerly narrow stream into the now meandering Murray River (Berndts 1993: 223). The ergative-absolutive case marking system is not always maintained, however, and its presence in these examples is probably because the story of Ngurunderi is a well known one.

2.4.1. Absolutive

The absolutive case has a zero realisation, although nouns in this case will retain their number marking. Its function is to mark the subject of an intransitive clause (S) and the object of intransitive clauses (O). This can be seen in the examples in (2) and (3) above, for common nouns and in examples (4) above for proper names. Although Meyer (1843; 17), Taplin (1880; 9) and Yallop (1973; 36) called the absolutive case the nominative case, this is just a different name rather than a difference in interpretation.

The zero realisation of the absolutive case in Ngarrindjeri is consistent across all sources, and also with Australian languages generally (Dixon 1980: 294).

2.4.2. Ergative

The function of the ergative case is to mark the subject of a transitive clause (A). The ergative case presented by previous sources is in Table 2, below. The forms from Cerin are based on analysis of the Berndt texts from the 1940s. Yallop (1975: 14) does not note any ergative marking in the 1960s recordings.

Table 2 - Ergative paradigm as presented by previous authors

	Meyer (1843;12)	Taplin (1880; 8)	Cerin (1994; 22)
Author's label	Ablative	Causative	Ergative
Singular	-il	-il	-il ~ -ild ~ -u
Dual	-eñggul	-enggul	-angkel ~ -angku

Plural	-ar	-ar	Ø
---------------	-----	-----	---

The singular and dual allomorphs identified by Cerin in the Berndts' data are the first point of difference because they are absent from earlier descriptions of the language. The rarer singular allomorphs *-ild* and *-u*, and the rarer dual allomorph *-angku* are not considered to be 'semantically or functionally significant' (Cerin 1994; 23). The examples in (5) below show the singular *-u* and *-il* in similar environments, where they appear to be in free variation:

- (5) a.
- | | | | | |
|-----------|-----------------|--------------|----------------|---------------|
| <i>Il</i> | <i>konu</i> | <i>menpa</i> | <i>malalw'</i> | <i>parrgi</i> |
| Il | kon- u | menpa | malalw' | parrg-i |
| 3:Sg:A | man- ERG | kills | some | wallaby-SG |
- 'That man kills a wallaby' (Berndt 1993: 2.23)

- b.
- | | | | | |
|-----------|-----------------|--------------|----------------|----------------|
| <i>Il</i> | <i>konil</i> | <i>menpa</i> | <i>malalw'</i> | <i>wangyum</i> |
| Il | kon- il | menpa | malalw' | wangyum |
| 3:Sg:A | man- ERG | kills | some | kangaroo |
- 'That man kills a kangaroo' (Berndts 1993: 2.21)

The dual ergative allomorphs *-angkel* and *angku*, also seem to be in free variation in the examples in 0 below:

- (6) a.
- | | | | |
|---------------|----------------------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| <i>Anggul</i> | <i>mimin-angg-u</i> | <i>yamaiyam</i> | <i>kili-amb</i> |
| Anggu | mimin- angg-u | yamaiyam | kili-amb |
| 3:Du:Nom | women- DL-ERG | one at a time | she takes one |
-
- | | |
|------------|-----------------|
| <i>kil</i> | <i>kili-amb</i> |
| kil | kili-amb |
| 3:Sg:A | the other |

'Then those two woman take one each' (Berndts: 2.5)

- b.
- | | | | | |
|----------------|---------------|----------------------------|---------------|-----------------------|
| <i>Ananang</i> | <i>anggul</i> | <i>mimin-anggal</i> | <i>kalt-a</i> | <i>pungguldul-a</i> |
| Ananang | anggul | mimin- anggal | kalt-a | pungguldul-a |
| and.those | 3:Du:Nom | women- ERG | dig | those kangaroo.rat-Pl |

'And those two women dig those kangaroo rats' (Berndts 1993:2.26)

It seems quite likely, as noted by Cerin (1994; 23), that these rare unconditioned allomorphs are the result of a recording error. It is possible the singular *-il* was mistaken for *-u* and the dual *-angkel* for *angku*, if the handwriting in the original was cursive. The alternative is that it is a reflection of the language, rather than a transcription error. Evidence for this is that the proto-Australian form of the ergative is *-lu*, so perhaps it is a result of metathesis, to get *-ul*, and then the /l/ was deleted to result in just *-u*. Another possibility is external influence from English. In South Australian English it is common for /l/ to be vocalised, which can lead to it being perceived as /u/. If Albert Karloan did this in the above examples then /il/ might have been pronounced [iu] and then mistranscribed as [u].

The other singular allomorph *-ild*, seems less likely to be due to the same kind of error as the misreading of the manuscript, or influence from South Australian English. This form is also quite rare relative to *-il*. It is possible that it is a genuine variant in the language, in free variation by the 1940s but absent from the language earlier, perhaps an extension of the allophony of nasals and the corresponding nasal and homorganic stop (Yallop 1975; 64). Evidence against *-ild* being a genuine allomorph, and an error in transcription instead, is the fact that it is relatively rare, and that its occurrence clusters in a small amount of texts.

Once *-u*, *-ild* and *-angku* have been removed, and Cerin's (1994; 22) analysis has been adopted by dividing the ergative endings into number and case the paradigm is fairly similar across sources.

From this point it is possible to present the ergative suffix as simply *-l*, and the resulting forms a product of some phonological rules when the ergative suffix is preceded by the number marker. These phonological rules are illustrated in Table 3 below.

Table 3 Formation of the ergative suffix as NUM+l

	Underlying form	Surface form	Phonological rule
Sg	-i+l	-il	
Du	-eŋk+l	-eŋg ə l	kl-> k ə l vowel insertion rule k->g/ _V voicing stop rule
Pl	-ar+l	-ar	l-> Ø/ r_ deletion rule

This is also preferable to Cerin's interpretation, because it explains why there is no form for the plural.

The vowel insertion rule in Table 3 seems to exist to break up the /kl/ and /rl/ consonant cluster with a schwa in order to maintain a CVC structure. This is supported to some extent by McDonald (1977; 71), who lists neither /kl/ nor /rl/ as possible word-final clusters and also indirectly by Meyer, whose texts do not contain this consonant cluster either.

Furthermore, if the penultimate vowel is a schwa, the fact that there is no consistent way to represent this sound in the Roman alphabet may also explain why in the Berndt texts it is recorded as *-angel* and in other sources as *-enggul*

The voicing stop rule is mentioned by most sources and states that if a final voiceless stop is followed by a vowel, the stop will become voiced.

Due to the similar sonority of the phonemes /r/ and /l/, the final consonant deletion rule for the plural form can also apply. Because the most sonorous phoneme is assigned the nucleus of the syllable, the fact that /r/ and /l/ are of the same sonority makes it difficult to form a syllable, so it is deleted (Katamba 1989: 158-9). The alternative to this rule is that the plural form does not have any ergative suffix.

The interpretation of the ergative to be just *-l* is preferable to previous analyses because it is consistent across all numbers, and explains why there is no overt plural ergative marking.

The forms of the ergative in Australian languages are commonly *-dhu* for common nouns and *-lu* for all other nouns (Dixon 2002: 156). It seems quite likely that Ngarrindjeri's form of the ergative is *-lu*, where the *-u* has since been deleted.

2.5. Peripheral Clausal Cases

Peripheral cases are those that have semantic meaning and function at a clausal, rather than phrasal, level. In Ngarrindjeri, it is not possible to dismantle these cases so easily, and forms appear to have been fossilised.

2.5.1. Dative and Allative

The dative and allative cases are closely related in Ngarrindjeri, and in languages generally (Blake; 145). The main function of the dative is to mark the indirect object, but it also has many semantic uses, such as marking instruments, goals of motion and

accompanied persons. In addition to these functions of the dative Meyer (1843; 18) says these forms cover the meanings of ‘at, near, beside’ and ‘against’. The allative case covers goals of motion. The forms of the dative and allative, and the mapping of their semantics over time are in Table 4 below.

Table 4 - Dative and allative as presented by previous authors

Meyer (1843; 11)		Taplin (1880;8)		Berndt (Cerin 1994; 25)	
Sg	-ungai	‘on, by’	-ungai	Sg Dative	-ungai
	-angk	‘to, by’	-angk		
Du	-ungeñgul	Du	-ungengul	Dative Non-singular	-unga
Pl	-ungar		-ungar		
				Allative	-ang(k)
				all numbers	

There is little variation in the form between sources. The *-ungeñgul* in Meyer and the *-unga* from the Berndts are transcriptional idiosyncrasies. The dual has been lost by the Berndts’ time, and as a result the plural means ‘two or more’, rather than ‘three or more’. It also seems that dative case, with the exception of *-angk* in Meyer and Taplin, can be identified as formed by the stem *-ung*, with addition of the singular *-i*, dual pronoun *engg-ul* or plural *-ar*.

A point of interest is the two singular forms of the dative, *-ungai* and *-angk* given by Meyer and Taplin, and the subsequent division of these into allative and dative cases

in the speech of the 1940s speakers according to Cerin's analysis. Meyer (1843; 11) states that the two forms 'though synonymous, cannot, however, be used for each other', and notes that although both can be used on common nouns, only *-angk* can be used with pronouns. Taplin (1880; 8) says that *-angk* means 'to and by' and *-ungai* 'on, by', but continued that the two singular forms are 'used so interchangeably we can only say that both are forms of the dative'. Examination of Meyer's text reveals that there is little to distinguish the use of these two forms on common nouns, and that the same applies to Taplin.

However, in the speech of the semi-speakers from the 1940s these singular dative forms appear to be used differently. *Ungai* remains a singular dative marker, but *-angk* is an allative marker that can appear on non-singular nouns as well, which is shown in examples(7) and (8) below:

(7) *Ungin* *nganda* *ngopun* *wart* *wel*
 Ungu -ind ngand -a ngop -un wart wel
 When -2:Sg:Nom 2:Sg:Nom-? walk -PRES about around

yapulin *an* *nawandang.*
 yap -ul -in an nawand-**ang**.
 enter-A/P-PRES 3:Pl:O camps -**ALL**
 'When you walk around entering those camps' (Berndt 1993: 149.3)

(8) *Wonyap* *malkung* *moru* *watjang*
 Wony-ap malk -ung moru watj -**ang**
 then 1:Sg:S crawl-PRES into lignum.bushes-**ALL**
 'Then I crawl into the lignum bushes' (Berndt 1993: 86.4)

It seems that what has occurred is that over the course of one hundred years the cases have split in two; one form of the singular has moved to having a primarily allative meaning for all numbers, and the other case has become the singular marker of a more narrowly defined, that is non-allative, form of the dative. It is perhaps possible to

interpret Taplin’s description of *-angk* meaning ‘to, by’ to be a ‘missing link’ between the earlier form which included both allative and dative meanings and the later form which is allative. Further discussion of this change is in section 2.7.2.

2.5.2. Genitive and Locative

The genitive marks the possessor of a possessed item, and the locative covers ‘being located at’. In Meyer and Taplin both the genitive and locative meanings were covered by the same pronouns. However, by the Berndts’ time the cases had split so that the plural of 1843 now marked all three numbers of the genitive and the singular form of the genitive now marked the locative. This is illustrated in Table 5 below.

Table 5 - Genitive and Locative forms

	Meyer (1843)	Taplin (1880)		Berndts' texts (Cerin 1994)	
Sg.	-alde	-ald	→	Locative	-ald
Du.	-eñgal	-enggal	→	Genitive (Sg, Du, Pl)	-an
Pl.	-an	-an	→		

An example of the use of *-an* used as a singular genitive in the 1940s is:

- (9) *Ngatata anawula wiwuringgulan*
 Ngatat-a an -awula wiwuringgul-**an**
 Egg -Pl 3:Pl:O -GEN mallee.hen -**GEN**

‘Eggs belonging to the mallee hen’ (Berndts p. 335, tx 4.2, line 26)

The motivation for this split may be that place names generally have a tendency to be singular. The majority of place names listed in Meyer's grammar (1843: 49) are singular, although there are some exceptions such as the dual *Witt-ungeñggul* 'Islands or rocks at Freeman's Nob'. A similar case happens in English where plural place names such as 'The Granites; or 'The Seychelles' are less common than singular ones. So the tendency for locations to be singular may have made it more natural for the singular form to be more closely associated with a locative meaning. And if this shift of the singular to a more locative meaning began, then this may have triggered the shift for the plural form to become more general and also take on marking the genitive of singular nouns. However, Cerin notes that although in the 1940s there was a tendency to use *-ald* in a locative sense, it was still possible for it to be used as a singular genitive, suggesting that the shift was not complete.

2.5.3. Ablative

The ablative marks the departure from a location (Blake 1994:39). The forms of the Ablative as presented by the authors are in Table 6 below.

Table 6 Ablative case as given by previous authors

	1843 (Meyer)	1880 (Taplin)	1940s (Cerin)
Sg.	-nende -anmant	nend	ineind
Du.	-neñggulund -an-neñggulund	-nenggulund -engulund -nend	anand
Pl.	-nānde -an-nānde	nend annand	

The main difference here, beyond transcriptional differences, is the loss of allomorphs, which is not unusual in cases of language attrition (Austin 1986:203).

Meyer and Taplin list two forms for each of the singular, plural and dual, while Cerin only has one form each for plural and singular. The dual has been lost, and plural now means ‘two or more’.

Below is an example from Meyer (1843), when the dual is present:

- (10) *Ngãne muttun pok-an-neñggulund*
 Ngãne mutt -un pok-**an-neñggulund**
 1:Sg:O drink-PRES well-**Du:ABL**
 ‘We get water from two wells’ (Meyer 1843: 15)

An example from the Berndt texts is in (11) below. Note that *mand* ‘from’ appears as a preposition, and is a similar form to a singular allative allomorph given by Meyer, *anmant*:

(11) *Wonyili-an morokul mand ruwineind*
 Wony-il -yan morok-ul **mand** ruw-**ineind**
 then-3:Sg:A-3:Sg:O take-A/P **from-sg** ground-**Sg:ABL**

itjanan mari
 itjanan mar-i
 3:Sg:O other.end-Sg
 ‘Then he takes from the ground that other end’ (Berndt 1993: 68.37)

2.5.4. Purposive/Benefactive

The purposive/benefactive in the Berndts marks the beneficiary of an action, and also the purpose for which an action was performed (Cerin1994: 28). This is the same semantic domain given by Meyer (1843: 17), although he also gives the dative to cover the same domain. The formation of the purposive appears to be genitive+*amb*. For example Sg:GEN+*amb* is *ald-amb*.

(12) *Tyll-ald-amb*
 Tyll-ald-ambe
 rice -Sg:GEN -PURP
 ‘For the rice’ or ‘to eat with the rice’ (Meyer 1843: ‘ämbe’)

Once again, the forms from the sources, presented in Table 7 below are fairly similar across sources, apart from Taplin’s incomplete paradigm, and the loss of the dual by the 1940s.

Table 7 Purposive/Benefactive forms from sources

	Meyer (1843; 17)	Taplin (1880; 8)	Berndts (Cerin 1994; 25)
Sg.	ald-ãmb	ald-amb	-aldam
Dl.	eñgg-al-ãmb		-anamb
Pl.	-ãn-ãmb		

2.6. Locational qualifiers

The function of locational qualifiers is to locate one noun relative to another noun.

Locational qualifiers are considered to be a sub-class of common nouns, even though they are semantically different, because they take the same case markings as nominals. These are described in Meyer (1843; 16-7) using sample sentences, which have been reproduced in examples (14) to (20), below

Taplin also lists locational qualifiers, but gives no explanation for their use beyond stating that they do not change with number, and noting that they can be used in verbless clauses when motion is indicated. They are not discussed by Cerin, however they are present in the Berndt texts, particularly in verbless clauses:

- (13) *Wonyanan* *loru* *tjiwa*
wony-angan loru tjiwa
then -1:Pl:Nom up shore
'Then we go up to shore' (Berndt 1993: 1.10)

The locational qualifiers outlined below are those that are given by Meyer (1843).

They have been divided into groups according to whether there is a case marking on the qualifier or its frame of reference, or both.

2.6.1. Dative marking on locational qualifiers

This group of locational qualifiers is formed by attaching the dative case to the qualifier, and the genitive case to the noun phrase that forms the frame of reference.

Examples (14) to (16), below, illustrate this pattern. In example (14) the qualifier is *gurr* ‘front’, so it has a dative suffix, and the frame of reference is *korn* ‘the man’, so it has a genitive case.

- (14) *Kitye* *tanggul-un* ***gurr-ang*** *korn-ald*
Kitye tanggul-un **gurr-angk** korn-ald
3:Sg:S stand -PRES **front-Sg:DAT** man-GEN
‘He is standing in front of the man’ (Meyer 1843: 16)

- (15) *Mint-angk* *mant-ald*
Mint **-angk** mant **-ald**
inside-Sg:DAT house -GEN
‘Inside the house’ (Meyer1843: 14)

- (16) *Tunt-angk* *korn-engg-al*
Tunt **-angk** korn **-engkal**
middle-Sg:DAT man-DI.GEN
‘Between the two men’ (Meyer 1843: 17)

2.6.2. No dative marking on locational qualifier

This group of qualifiers has genitive marking on the frame of reference, but no marking on the locational qualifier. Examples (17) to (20) illustrate this pattern. In example (17), the frame of reference is *ngurl*, ‘the hill’, so it receives the genitive case, but unlike the cases in the previous sections, there is no dative marked on the qualifier *lõru*, ‘up’.

- (17) *Ngãpe* ***lõru*** *wank-in* *ngurl-ald*
Ngãpe **lõru** wank -in ngurl **-ald**
1:sg:S **up** climb-PRES hill **-GEN**
‘I am going up the hill’ (Meyer 1843: 16)

(18) *Lälde mant-ald*
Lälde mand-ald
outside house-GEN
 ‘Without the house’ or ‘on the outside of the house’ (Meyer 1843: 16)

(19) *Kurl-alde m̄aru m̄ame ngant-in*
 Kurl -alde **m̄aru** m̄am-e ngant -in
 Head-GEN **over** bird-Sg fly -PRES
 ‘The bird flies over my head’ (Meyer 1843: 16)

(20) *Ngēr-ald aiyuke*
 Ngēr-ald **aiyuke**
 net -GEN **under**
 ‘Under the net’ (Meyer 1843: 16)

‘Under’ is also spelled *aiyuke* and *āiyuke* in different parts of Meyer’s (1843) grammar and vocabulary. In his vocabulary entry for this word Meyer suggests that ‘is probably really a noun, signifying the under part, or the place beneath’.

2.6.3. Other markings of locational qualifiers

These examples do not follow either of the patterns above, but differ for various reasons.

Tār is an exception because it takes dative case on the frame of reference, as shown in example (21):

(21) *Tār-angk mant-ungar*
 Tār **-angk** mand-ung -ar
 open.space -Sg:DAT house-DAT-Pl
 ‘Between the houses’ or ‘in the midst of the houses’ (Meyer 1843: 17)

Mōruw is an exception because the location takes the dative case, perhaps because it is a verbless clause:

(22) *Mōruw-appē pōk-angk*
Mōruw-appē pōk-angk
down -1:Sg:S well-Sg.DAT

‘(I am going) down the well’ (Meyer 1843: 16)

2.7. Changes in nominal morphology

The following differences among the sources in the nominal morphology appear to be a reflection of a change in the language, rather than due to misanalysis or mistranscription. The mostly likely cause of these changes seems to be the caused by the increasing influence of English.

2.7.1. Loss of dual

The loss of the dual as both a case and number marker is noticeable by the 1940s and even further progressed by the 1960s. This is most probably due to the influence from English which does not have an equivalent form. Furthermore, losing the dual case markings simplifies the case paradigm, which is a common feature of langue attrition. The dual case markings were not in use, or in very limited use, by the 1940s in Ngarrindjeri.

The dual number fares better than the dual case markers, surviving in the recordings from the 1960s, albeit in limited form. James Kartinyeri, who was a former speaker prefers to place a numeral before the noun, rather than the dual suffix, although the dual suffix is kept for things that frequently come in pairs, such as eyes and legs (Yallop 1975: 38). For example:

(23) *pi:lengk*
pi:l-engk
eye-two
‘two eyes’ (Yallop 1975: 38)

Twenty years earlier, the dual number was still common in the Berndts’ texts, however, as Cerin notes there is a tendency for the plural to be used on nouns which

are dual. For example in appendix 4.110 (Berndt 1993: 456), a Dreaming story about why the Emu (Pindjali) has no feathers on its neck, there is reference to two emu children, of the six times they are mentioned, the plural suffix rather than the dual suffix is used twice. Firstly the dual suffix is used to answer the question ‘how many children?’:

- (24) *Anggai polanggan*
 Anggai pol -anggan
 two child-Du-Acc
 ‘Two children (Berndt 1993: 110.5)

Later in the text she beats the two children, but a plural instead of dual suffix is used:

- (25) *anan pola*
 anan pol -a
 3:Pl:O child-PL
 ‘the children’ (Berndt 1993: 110.15)

It is difficult to determine from Meyer’s and Taplin’s grammars whether the dual number was used with more consistency, because the examples they give have been carefully chosen to illustrate a specific case. However, it is a fair the assumption that the dual was maintained in discourse more regularly when the speakers were more fluent.

2.7.2. Splitting of the peripheral cases.

The splitting of the dative and allative (section 2.5.1) and the locative and genitive (section 2.5.2), seems to be quite unusual, because it is more common for languages to undergo a loss of allomorphy and for a single morpheme to widen its semantic range (Schmidt 1985: 385).

The fluent speakers had a paradigm that covered both locative and genitive meanings, however this pattern was reanalysed by the semi-speakers of the 1940s to the singular becoming a locative case, and the plural become the genitive case. Although this is a

narrower meaning for each of the respective cases, it also results in two cases that do not vary for number, which is a case of reduction in allomorphy. The motivation for this change could be due to the singular form having a closer association with locative forms, and so it shifted towards having only that meaning, forcing the plural form to cover the genitive for all numbers. A further motivation could be the fact that the genitive and the locative have two separate prepositions in English, ‘of’ and ‘at’ respectively.

A similar situation occurred in the dative and allative suffixes. However, a singular and non-singular distinction remained in the dative case, because there were two singular allomorphs used by the fluent speakers. So when one of the singular allomorphs was reanalysed by the semi-speakers to be the allative marker, the other singular marker maintained a separate singular dative marker.

2.7.3. Later loss of entire case system

By the 1960s, the case system was not in use at all, and had been replaced by the use of adpositions. Yallop (1975: 36-7) was unable to clearly identify any instance of the ergative in James Kartinyeri’s speech in recordings made in the 1960s, and also found that prepositions were used instead of cases. James Kartinyeri made particular use of *mang* and *mlaw*, for example:

(26) *Mang punuwi*
 Mang punuw-i
 in pouch (Yallop 1975: 37)

(27) *Ya:rnura:m mlaw klamathar*
 Ya:rn-ura:m mlaw klamathar
 hit -PURP with stick
 ‘(He) hit me with a stick’ (Yallop 1975: 37)

This is fairly typical of a moribund language. The same situation was observed in Dyirbal (Schmidt 1985: 58), where less fluent speakers used very few bound morphemes, and used word order to mark core cases and an English preposition to mark peripheral ones.

2.7.4. The final vowel on noun stems

There is conflicting evidence for whether or not the final vowel on stems, first mentioned in section 2.3, is a singular marker or part of the stem. The difficulty in making a conclusion either way lies in the fact that there is a vowel deletion rule that occurs whenever a vowel initial suffix is added, and most of the case markers start with a vowel, so no form with a consonant initial plural suffix has been found on a noun.

Evidence for the final vowel being a singular suffix is that it appears only on singular nouns, but not on dual or plural nouns, and that it allowed for a neat analysis of the ergative cases (section 2.4.2). Furthermore modern studies, namely Cerin (1994) and McDonald (1977), interpreted it as a singular marker. Lastly, it is certain that in the 1960s that was a singular marker. In one of the Hercus recordings from the 1960s an informant says that [niŋgaɛŋ ko□□□] ‘two man’ is wrong because the –i is only singular, and cannot occur with ‘two’ (McDonald 1977; 22).

However there is also an argument against the singular marker. Firstly Meyer (1843: 11-12) and Taplin (1880: 7) claim that it is part of the stem, and that it does not appear on dual or plural nouns because the dual and plural suffixes begin with a vowel and cause the deletion of the vowel on the stem. Furthermore, Meyer gives the example of a consonant initial suffix where the vowel remains on the stem:

(28) *Pooke-nende*
Pooke-nende
well -Sg:ABL
'From the well' c/f *pooke* 'a well' (Meyer 1843: 11)

However, since this is a singular noun, it is not a very useful example. There are no examples of a consonant initial plural suffix, which would not trigger the vowel deletion rule, and so show whether or not the vowel was part of the stem.

Further evidence that this final vowel is part of the stem comes from McDonald (1977; 22-3). McDonald states that final consonants are usually devoiced if followed by a vowel-initial suffix, and in the case of nouns with a final vowel, this does not occur. Furthermore, this final vowel appears where it would not be appropriate to interpret it as a singular marker, such as on adjectives and plural pronouns.

McDonald suggests that the marker originally had a different use, but it has been reanalysed to the singular marker, as the language became less fluently spoken.

Further evidence for this theory is that earlier pronominal paradigms have final vowels, while later ones do not, which suggests that the reanalysis of the final vowel as being singular had the knock-on effect of it being removed from any non-singular pronouns.

3. Pronominal Morphology

3.1. Introduction

The most extensive study of the pronominal system in Ngarrindjeri is Cerin's (1994: 26) *Pronominal System of Yaraldi*, which focused mainly on the Berndts' texts collected in the 1940s, although he made use of the interpretations given by previous sources. Additional material exists on the pronominal system at different stages; for the 1840s Meyer (1843), for the 1860s Taplin (1880), and Yallop (1975) provided comments on the use of pronouns in the recordings from the 1960s.

The main focus of this chapter is how the pronouns have changed across sources and the reasons for these changes.

Personal pronouns are discussed in section 3.2, reciprocal and reflexive pronouns in section 3.3 and in section 3.4 there is a discussion of pronouns with reference to syntax.

3.2. Personal Pronouns

3.2.1. Introduction to the pronominal system

The system for personal pronouns outlined by Cerin (1994: 44-5) also holds for Meyer and Taplin. The system is as follows: Personal pronouns inflect for singular, dual and plural numbers, and first, second and third person; there is no inclusive-exclusive distinction. Each pronoun has two forms: full and reduced. The full forms are the basis of the reduced forms, which follow the same inflectional system.

The full forms are always free pronouns, and the reduced pronouns can appear as clitics or free morphemes. Meyer (1843: 22-25) offers the same paradigm with full

and reduced forms. The examples in (29) below show a free full pronoun in (a) and a reduced bound pronoun in (b):

- (29) a. **Kitye** *lěw-in* *kur-angk*
Kitye *lěw-in* *kur-angk*
3:Pl:S sit-PRES *river-Sg:DAT*
‘He is at the river’ (Meyer 1843: 14)
- b. *Pull-un-ap* *walde-nende*
Pull -un **-ap** *walde-nende*
bathe-PRES-**1:Sg:S** heat -ABL
‘I bathe on account of the heat’ (Meyer 1843: 13)

The bound forms are more common than the free forms. In the example sentences in Meyer’s vocabulary the 3:Sg:S full form occurs twice, and the reduced forms appear nineteen times.

It is also possible for a reduced form to appear as a free morpheme. An instance of this is illustrated in example (30) below, from the Berndt texts, from a dreaming story about how magpies got their white stripes (Berndt 1993: 236):

- (30) *Wonyil* ***il*** *Mulduru* *wurinthin* ‘...
Wony-**il** ***il*** *Mulduru* *wurinth-in* ‘...
then **-3:Sg:A** ***il*** *Magpie* *answer -PRES*
‘Then Magpie replied “...’ (Berndt 1993: 105.7)

In the above example, the third person singular pronoun *-il* is the reduced form of *kil*. It appears as both a clitic on *wonyil* and as a free form. The subject in this example is also unusually expressed by three elements- the clitic, the full pronoun and the name itself.

The occurrence of reduced forms as free morphemes was also noted by Meyer (1843: 22):

- (31) *Ityan* *grauw -un*, *ityan* *kulk*
Ityan *grauw -un*, **ityan** *kulk*
3:Sg:O bury -PRES, **3:Sg:O** burn
 ‘Some are buried, some are burned’ (Meyer 1843: 23)

- (32) *Atte-m-angg-añte* *pemp-il*
 Atte -m -angg-añte pemp-il
 1:sg:A -2:Sg:Acc -dat-then give -will
 ‘Then I will give to you’ (Meyer 1843: ‘-atte’)

In example (31) above, *ityan* is the reduced form of *kitye*, and since it occurs in clause initial position, it is not possible for it to cliticise to anything, making it a free pronoun. Similarly in example (32), the reduced form of *ngãte*, *atte*, occurs in clause initial position, making it more like a free pronoun.

In Ngarrindjeri, personal pronouns either follow a tripartite system or a nominative-accusative system. The first person singular, third person singular and third person dual forms follow a tripartite system. All other pronouns follow a nominative – accusative system.

Tripartite pronouns will be labelled A (transitive subject), S (intransitive subject) or O (intransitive subject). When there is a nominative-accusative system, A and S will be labelled Nominative, and O will be labelled Accusative. This analysis differs slightly from previous authors, who maintained a three way split even when A and S were identical forms.

3.2.2. Personal Pronouns and the Silverstein Hierarchy

The personal pronouns operate on a [\pm second person] distinction. This is unusual with respect to the animacy hierarchy proposed by Silverstein (Silverstein 1976: 117),

which would expect pronouns to operate on a [\pm third person] distinction. This is illustrated in Figure 3 below. The pronouns in the same column are expected to inflect in the same way according to the Silverstein Hierarchy, and the dashed line indicates the distinction that pronouns in Ngarrindjeri follow, with their specific inflection (either A/S/O or nominative-accusative) given in the bottom row. The third person plural pronouns are treated as having an underlying tripartite system although their surface form is nominative-accusative (see section 3.2.7).

Figure 3 Pronouns in the Silverstein Hierarchy

first person	1 Singular	
	1 Dual 1 Plural	
second person	2 Singular	
	2 Dual 2 Singular	
third person		3 Singular
		3 Dual
		3 Plural
Nominative-Accusative		A/S/O

The key column in Figure 3 is the centre one, where the Silverstein hierarchy expects the singular first and second person to have the same inflection, but instead the first person singular is tripartite, and the second person singular is nominative-accusative.

The introduction of a [\pm second person] distinction means that second person pronouns in the centre column, and the pronouns that occur to the left of it, operate on the nominative accusative system, and pronouns which are not second person in the centre column, and all those occur to the right of it, are tripartite. This is contrary to the more common [\pm third person] which the Silverstein hierarchy illustrates.

3.2.3. Common differences in personal pronouns in the sources

In comparing the pronominal paradigm, there are several differences between the authors' forms, which are recurring. The reason for differences across sources can be due to a reflection of the language changing, a different dialect or the idiosyncrasies of the sole informant, or perhaps due to an orthographical difference. Although it can be difficult to pinpoint a particular reason, it is possible to make some suppositions. The absence of several forms from Yallop is probably due to the limited amount of data, rather than their absence from the language. Some other differences are due to transcriptional differences. Below I discuss some of the major differences.

The differences in vowel and consonant length are transcriptional differences.

McDonald (1977: 43) states that it is unlikely the vowel length is a contrastive feature, it may have been distinctive in the Raminyeri dialect which Meyer (1843) recorded, but it has been since lost.

3.2.4. Changes in the pronominal paradigm

The inconsistent presence of final vowels across sources occurs in all persons; the first person pronouns illustrate this phenomenon in Table 8 below:

Table 8 First person pronouns with and without a final vowel

	Meyer (1843)	Taplin (1880)	Berndt (1994)	Yallop (1975)
1:Sg:A	ngãp <u>e</u>	ngap <u>e</u>	ngap	nga:p <u>i</u>
1:Sg:S	ngãt <u>e</u>	ngat <u>e</u>	ngath	

1:Sg:O	ngañe	ngan	ngan	ngan
1:Du:Nom	ngẽle	ngel	ngal	nge:li

Generally, the consistency with which Meyer put a vowel at the end of his pronouns, and the Berndts did not suggests a transcriptional difference between the two, although taking into account Taplin's and Yallop's data, makes the issue less clear-cut. Alternatively, if /i/ was not a singular marker in Meyer's time, but was later reanalysed to be so, this could explain the loss, although Yallop's 1:Du:Nom is still inconsistent.

Another common difference in the personal pronouns across the sources is the disappearance of allomorphs, particularly by the 1960s recordings. The biggest loss of allomorphy is in the dual pronouns. Yallop (1975: 40) says that the dual was poorly attested in the 1960s recordings. Like the loss of dual case markers, the loss of dual pronouns, is probably due to the influence from English which does not have an equivalent form. The loss of allomorphs, such as the reduced 1:Sg:A has three forms in Meyer (1843) and only one form after this, is a similar case of simplification of the language.

3.2.5. First Person pronouns

The forms of first person pronouns given by previous authors are in Table 9 below. Blank spaces indicate that the authors found no forms in this instance. The forms from Yallop (1975) are those he collected from the 1960s recordings of James Kartinyeri, the blank spaces in Cerin are those that are predicted to occur but which have not yet be found in the Berndt texts. The differences across the sources are outlined below.

Table 9 First person pronouns from previous authors

		Case	Meyer (1843: 22)	Taplin (1880;11)	Berndts (Cerin 1994: 49)	Yallop (1975: 41, 45)
Full forms	Sg.	S	Ngāpe	Ngape	ngap	nga:pi
		A	Ngāte	Ngate	ngath	
		O	Ngañe	Ngan	ngan	ngan
	Du.	Nom	Ngēle	Ngel	ngal	nge:li
		Acc	Lām	Lam		
	Pl.	Nom	Ngāne	Ngurn	ngun/nangan	ngan?/ngun?
Acc		Nām	Nam	ngun/ngunang		
Reduced forms	Sg.	S	-ap~ -app~ -appe	-ap	-ap	-ap
		A	-at ~ -att~ -atte	-at, -atte	-ath	
		O	-an~ -añ	-an	-an	-an
	Du.	Nom	-angall	-angel	-angal	
		Acc	-alamm	-alam	-angalang	
	Pl.	Nom	-angañ		-angan	
		Acc	-anamm	-anam	-anganang	

The differences in the final vowel across sources, as well as the differences in vowel and consonant length are explained in section 3.2.3 above.

The differences in the first person singular forms, are reproduced in Table 10 below:

Table 10 1:Sg:A forms

	Meyer (1843: 22)	Taplin (1880;11)	Berndts (Cerin 1994: 49)
1:Sg:A	Ngāte	Ngate	ngath

The different 1:Sg:A forms are probably due to the final sound being an interdental stop, noted by the Berndts as <th>. This sound posed some difficulty for Meyer, who never recorded it, and Taplin, who mainly noted when it was word initial (McDonald 1977: 17), however Meyer and Taplin may have noted the different quality of the interdental stop, and chosen to represent it with <te>.

The differences in the plural forms are discussed below Table 11 , which reproduces the forms which will be discussed

Table 11 Plural first person pronouns

	Meyer (1843)	Taplin (1880)	Berndt (1994)	Yallop (1975)
Nom	Ngãne	Ngurn	ngun/nangan	ngan?/ngun?
Acc	Nãm	Nam	ngun/ngunang	

The difference in the plural full forms is unusual. The first two authors have different nominative forms: Meyer (1843: 22) gives *Ngãne* and Taplin (1880: 11) gives *Ngurn-* and then the subsequent authors give both forms as a possibility, although Yallop (1975: 41) presents *ngan* and *ngun* as uncertain. Furthermore, in the Berndts the form given by Taplin, *ngurn*, stays the same, whereas the form given by Meyer has added an extra syllable to become *nangan*, probably as a back formation so that it is longer than the reduced form *ngan*. This shift has also occurred in the plural accusative form (Cerin 1994, pp. 51-3). The reason that these reanalysed forms do not appear in the recordings used by Yallop (1975), may be due to his forms being based on the speech of only one speaker, James Kartinyeri, and the shift that is documented in the 1940s not being uniformly adopted by the partial speakers in the 1960s. However an alternative explanation for the extra syllable in the Berndt texts, is that the *na-* has a

modal meaning that was not always expressed in the glossing, and is added to the pronoun *ngan*. The proof for this is that sometimes *nangan*, is glossed as ‘we will’ and sometimes, misleadingly glossed a only ‘we’.

Lastly for the full form plural accusative, and the reduced dual and plural accusative forms in the Berndts' texts are different from previous sources: *ngunang*, *-angalang* and *-anganang* all terminate with 'ang', which may be the Allative *-ang* found in the Berndts' data, or it may be the singular dative from earlier sources. It is possible that the forms from the previous sources were lost, and that these new forms were created to fill the void by affixing the allative to the nominative case. The choice of the allative or dative case can be explained by this case ‘marking goals of motion’, which is similar to the semantics of the accusative case

Meyer gives several allomorphs of the reduced forms, the conditioning environments of which are detailed below. The absence of these allomorphs in later sources is probably a reflection of the change in Ngarrindjeri, as loss of allomorphs is common in cases of language attrition (Austin 1986: 203).

For the 1:Sg:A reduced allomorphs in Meyer, *-att* and *-at* are used when the following suffix is vowel initial, as in example (34):

- (33) *Yun-att-im* *memp-ani*
Yun-att *-im* *memp-ani*
 soon-1:Sg:A-2:Sg:Acc hit -FUT
 'I shall presently give you a beating' (Meyer 1843: '-im')

It is not clear if there is a genuine distinction between *-att* and *-at* is, but *-att* is used less frequently than *-at* in Meyer's examples, so it is probably not significant.

In all other environments, that is word finally and before suffixes that are not vowel initial, *-atte* is used. For example,

- (34) *Lakk-in-atte kōye*
Lakk-in **-atte** kōy-e-Ø
speak-PRES-1:Sg:A basket-Sg-ABS
'I make a basket' (Meyer 1843: 43)

3.2.6. Comparison of Second person free pronouns

All second person pronouns have a nominative-accusative system. The forms at different periods are given in Table 12. The forms given by Yallop are those from the recordings of James Kartinyeri in the 1960s.

Table 12 Second person free pronouns

			Meyer (1843: 23)	Taplin (1880: 11)	Berndt (Cerin 1994: 49)	Yallop (1975: 41)
Full forms	Nom	Sg	Nginte	Nginte	ngint/ngand	nginti ngum
		Du	Ngurle	Ngurl	∅	
		Pl	Ngũne	Ngun	nangun	ngu:ni
	Acc	Sg	Ngũm	Ngum	ngum/num	ngum
		Du	Lõm	lom	∅	
		Pl	Nõm	Nom	ngom	
Reduced Forms	Nom	Sg	-inde~ -nde	-ind~ - inde	-ind	-inti -um
		Du	-ngull	-ung-url	-ungul	
		Pl	-unguñ	-ũng' -ũn	-ungun	-ungun
	Acc	S	-um~ -im~ -m	-um~ -m	-um	-um
		O	-olomm	-olom	-ulomb	
		A	-onomm	-onom	-unomb	

There are not many differences in the second person forms. The variation of the final vowels is similar to the first person pronouns discussed in section 3.2.3 above. The alternation between <i> and <a> in the second person nominative *ngint/ngand* in the Berndt texts and Yallop's *ngum/nginti* is possibly due the allophonic alternation between *i~e~æ* noted by McDonald (1977: 57). Lastly *nangan*, full 2:Pl:Nom form in

the Berndt data, appears to be a modal *na* affixed to the pronoun *ngun*, the same as Meyer and Taplin. This is the same as the first person plural forms.

The allomorphs for the nominative reduced forms in Meyer and Taplin are determined by the following rules. These rules are consistent for the personal pronominal forms, however kinship terms do not follow the same pattern:

Table 13 Conditioning environments for second person bound pronouns

2:Sg:Nom	$-inde \rightarrow ind / \underline{\quad}V$ $\rightarrow nde / \overline{V} \underline{\quad}$ $\rightarrow -inde / \text{elsewhere}$
2:Sg:Acc	$-im \rightarrow -m / V \underline{\quad}$ $\rightarrow -um / u\overline{V} \underline{\quad}$ (Vowel harmony)

Also note that the information given by Yallop may be limited by the nature of the texts on the recordings, rather than a lack of these forms in the language. However, it is possible that these forms were less commonly used, particularly the dual.

3.2.7. Third person pronouns

Third person pronouns follow a tripartite system, however surface forms of the plural pronouns follow a nominative-accusative system. The forms given by previous authors are in

Table 14.

Table 14 Third person pronouns as given by previous sources

		Meyer (1843: 23)	Taplin (1880: 11)	Berndt (Cerín 1994: 49)	Yallop (1975: 41)
Free Forms					
Sg	S	kitye	kitye	kitj(i)	itj(i)
	A	kīle	Kīl	kil	
	O	kiñ	Kin	kin	
Du	S	kengk	kengk	nangk	
	A	keñgg-ul	kenggul	kanggul	
	O	keñgg-un	kenggun	kanggun	
Pl	A	kar	kar	kar	a:rika:r a:r
	S	kar	kar	kar	
	O	kān	kan	(kan)	
Bound Forms					
Sg	A	-il~ -el	-il	-il	-itji~ - itjikay~ -itj
	S	-itye~ -tye	-itye	-itji~ -itj	
	O	-ityan~ -yan~ -in	-in	-itjan~ -yan ~yin	-in
Du	A	-eñggul	-eng'gul	-anggul	
	S	-engk	-engk	-angk	
	O	-eñg-un	-eng'gūn	-anggun	
Pl	Nom (underlying S)	-ar	-ar	-a ~ ar	
	Acc	-ān	-an	-an	-a.r
	(underlying A)	*-arl			

The underlying tripartite system of the plural third person pronouns is relevant to the discussion of the Silverstein Hierarchy in section 3.2.2 above.

The allomorphy of the 3:Sg:S bound forms is determined by the preceding vowel: *-tye* is used when preceded by a vowel.

The allomorphy of the 3:Sg:O forms are similarly determined by the preceding vowel. *yan* is used after a vowel, and *-ityan* is used elsewhere, and also as a free pronoun. In his vocabulary, Meyer (1843) glosses the pronouns *-ityan* and *-yan* to be ‘him, her, it’ and *-in* as the more specific ‘him’. It seems that in the speech of the 1960s, as recorded by Yallop (1975), only *-in* was used. This is no doubt due to a general trend of allomorphy reduction, and perhaps the reason *-in* rather than *-ityan* was kept was because it is similar in sound to the English equivalent ‘him’.

Except for the forms given by Yallop, the forms across the sources are quite similar. The differences in vowel length are not considered to be significant, as discussed in section 3.2.3. Cerin (1994) states that the 3:Du:S *nangk* from the Berndt texts is quite rare, once again indicating that the because dual forms generally were being lost.

The plural pronouns appear to follow a nominative-accusative system in that S and A are both represented by *-ar*. An alternative explanation is that underlyingly it is tripartite. This can be shown by analogy with the singular and dual forms, it is reasonable to assume that the A marker is *-l*, and that the underlying form of the plural A is *-*arl*, which is a distinct form from the S argument’s *-ar*. In the surface from *-l* is deleted from *-arl* because *-rl* is not a possible coda cluster. Deletion is

used, rather than vowel insertion, because, as suggested earlier, deletion operates to reduce CC of similar sonority to C. This results in the same surface form as the S argument, and the appearance of a nominative-accusative system. The same process occurs with the ergative case on plural nouns.

3.3. Reflexive and Reciprocal pronouns

Reflexive and reciprocal pronouns were described in Meyer (1843) and Taplin (1880). They were not mentioned in Cerin’s (1994) analysis of the 1940s Berndt texts, or in Yallop’s (1975) analysis of the 1960s recordings. Reflexive and reciprocal pronouns are also of interest with respect to the antipassive, discussed in chapter four.

Reflexive and reciprocal clauses are derived from transitive verbs. Reflexive constructions are used to express a situation where the A and O functions are the same. Reciprocal constructions contain at least two participants, and each participant is both in the A function and the O function (Dixon 2002: 320). In Ngarrindjeri these constructions are formed by using a special pronoun in conjunction with the antipassive construction. This derives an intransitive verb from a transitive one and puts the A into the S argument. This method of forming reciprocals and reflexives is common in many Australian languages, as is the use of the same form for reflexive and reciprocals (ibid). Examples of reciprocal and reflexive constructions are in (35) and (36) below. –ul and –el are allomorphs of the antipassive morpheme glossed A/P.

- (35) *Ngãp-an-angk* *drêtul-ur*
Ngãpanangk *drêt-ul* -ur
1:Sg:RFL cut -A/P -PST
 ‘I have cut myself’ (Meyer 1843: 28)

- (36) *Ngěle-nangk laggel-ãmbe*
Ngělenangk lakk -el -ãmbe
2:Du:RCP/RFL spear -A/P -IMP
 ‘Let us two spear each other, or throw spears at each other’ (Meyer 1843: 29).
 This may also have the reflexive meaning, ‘Let us two spear ourselves’

The forms of the reflexive/reciprocal pronouns are provided by both Meyer and Taplin. However, only Meyer also presents equivalent clitic forms. Meyer also gives a second set of pronouns that only have a reciprocal meaning, which by definition only have forms for the second and third person. The pronouns vary for person and number, they can be free or cliticise to the first element in the clause.

The pronouns which can have a reflexive or reciprocal meaning presented by Meyer and Taplin are in Table 15, below. If it is ambiguous whether the meaning should be reciprocal or reflexive, then it is resolved by the context.

Table 15 Reciprocal/Reflexive pronouns

Number	Person	Meyer (1843: 28)	Taplin (1880: 16)
Singular	1	Ngãp-an-angk	Ngap an angk
	2	Nginte-m-angk	Nginte nangk
	3	Kity-en-angk	Kitye nangk
Dual	1	Ngěle-nangk	Ngele nangk
	2	Ngūrle-nangk	Ngurle nangk
	3	Keng-enangk	Kenggenangk
Plural	1	Ngãne-nangk	Ngurn an angk
	2	Ngune-nangk	Ngun en angk
	3	Kãr-enangk	Kan en angk

The forms are fairly similar, despite the transcriptional choice of whether or not to include a dash or a space between morphemes. The difference between the sources for the singular second person, and plural third person will be discussed following the discussion of the formation of these pronouns.

Meyer notes that the singular pronouns are transparently formed by the process in figure 3 below.

Figure 4 Formation of the singular reflexive pronouns in Meyer

Singular S or Nom pronoun	+	Reduced Singular O or accusative pronoun	+	dative
---------------------------	---	--	---	--------

The two pronouns are of the same person- singular, dual or plural. For example *ngapan-angk* is glossed as 1sgS-1sgO-DAT.

It is also possible to represent the non-singular pronouns to be derived as in figure 4 below.

Figure 5 Formation of the non-singular reflexive/reciprocal forms in Meyer

Full nominative/S pronoun	+	enangk
---------------------------	---	--------

Accompanying the rule in figure 4 is the phonetic rule that if *-enangk* follows a vowel-final pronoun, then the first vowel is deleted. The suffix *-enangk* consists of the 3:Sg:O pronoun and the dative case. This is logical for a reflexive meaning, because it indicates that the action of each person is directed to one person ‘himself’, rather than to a group of other people ‘each other’, which would be the case in a plural reciprocal situation.

Taplin’s pronouns can be derived in the same way, except for the following two exceptions. The form of the singular second person given by Taplin, *Nginte nangk*, differs from Meyer’s, *Nginte-m-angk*, because it is formed using the non-singular rule in Figure 5 rather than the singular rule in Figure 4 above. The form of Taplin’s third person plural, *kan en angk*, is unusual because it uses the accusative third person nominal pronoun, rather than the nominative. This difference between Taplin and

Meyer could also be due to misanalysis on Taplin's part or a genuine reflection of regularisation of the pronominal paradigm in the language. A further possibility is that Taplin's forms are typographical errors misreading of handwriting, such as 'n' for 'm' and 'n' for 'r' are common mistakes. Unfortunately Grimwade (19875), does not provide any information on the forms of reflexive/reciprocal pronouns in Taplin's handwritten manuscripts.

Meyer forms the clitic reflexive the same way as in Figure 4 and Figure 5, except the first pronoun is in the reduced rather than full form. These are in the table below, and there is an illustrative sentence below showing that these forms cliticise to the first constituent in the clause.

Number	Person	Meyer (1843: 28)
Singular	1	-ap-an-angk
	2	-inde-m-angk
	3	-ity-en-angk
Dual	1	-angall-nangk
	2	-ungull-nangk
	3	-ēngg-enangk
Plural	1	-angañ-nangk
	2	-unguñ-nangk
	3	-ãr-enangk

There is no evidence to show that these forms can appear anywhere else apart from second position.

- (37) *Laggel-ãmb-angall-enangk*
 Lakk -el -ãmb-angallenangk

speak -A/P -IMP-2:Du:RCP/RFL
 ‘Let us two spear each other’ (Meyer 1843: 29)

In addition to the above pronouns, Meyer also presents a second set of pronouns that only have a reciprocal meaning, and so this set only has forms for the dual and plural. These pronouns, reproduced in the table below and with an example in (38) below, do not have equivalent reduced forms according to Meyer.

Table 16 Reciprocal Only forms from Meyer (1843: 29)

	Person	
Dual	1	Kiñg-angall-ung
	2	Kiñg-ungall-ung
	3	Kiñgeñgg-ung
Plural	1	Kiñg-angañ-ung
	2	Kiñg-unguñ-ung
	3	Kiñg-ār-ung

- (38) *Kiñg-ār-ung* *laggel-in* *kornar*
kiñgārunɡ lakk -el -in korn -ar
3:Pl:RCP spear -A/P -PRES man -PL
 S
 ‘The men are spearing each other’ (Meyer p42, text 72d)

Meyer (1843: 29) claims that these pronouns are formed by infixing the bound nominative pronoun into the word *king- -ung*. This is very unusual because there is no other evidence of infixing in the language. It is more likely that *kiñg* appears in clause initial position, which then means that the pronoun cliticises to it in second position, this is then followed by the suffix *-ung*, which is the nominal marking for the dative,

although for a pronoun it is usually *-angk*. Meyer also gives *Kiñgung* in his vocabulary to mean ‘separately, standing opposite to each other’. This is connected to the fact that these pronouns can also be used with intransitive verbs, with the meaning of ‘separately’ (Meyer 1843; 29), as shown in example (39) below:

- (39) *Kiñg-angall-ung ngopp-ãmbe*
 Kiñgangallung tant -ãmbe
 1:Du:RCP walking -IMP
 ‘Let us two walk separately’ (Meyer 1843: 29)

For further discussion of reflexive and reciprocal constructions see section 4.4.4 for how it uses the antipassive and for comparison with examples found in the Berndt’s data.

3.4. Pronouns, case and word order

The change in case and word order in Ngarrindjeri has three main points of interest. Firstly, compared to the variety in word order that was suggested in earlier sources, there is a shift to Subject-Verb-Object word order as the only word order. Secondly there has been a move towards using a pronoun in conjunction with a noun. Lastly, ergative-absolutive case marking was disappearing. These changes probably occurred together, the ergative marking began disappearing while the nominative-accusative marking of some pronouns, being the same as English, made it logical to have SVO order, and SVO order made it natural to use pronouns that were nominative-accusative.

It is worth noting that since the texts from Meyer (1843) and Taplin (1880) are not a reflection of natural speech, they cannot be considered to be a reflection of the

frequency a particular choice in word order. Nevertheless, they do indicate what word orders were possible.

One aspect of word order that also need to be taken into consideration is the existence of clitics in the language. As described by Cerin (1994: 45-6) there are three kinds: clausal, nominal and possessor. Of interest here are the clausal clitics because they are the most common and have an affect on word order. Clausal clitics are always the reduced pronominal forms, and attach to the first element in the clause, and so are in second position. The same occurs in Meyer's data, although he is less precise in his description saying that 'pronouns...stand before or are affixed to the verb or some other word in the sentence', despite this vague description the bound pronouns are always in second position in Meyer (Meyer 1843: 43). The presence of clitics that need to be in second position, also has an influence on word order because it can limit the number of combinations of S, V and O. Furthermore, if the subject is a pronominal clitic then it will be close to the front of the clause, often attached to a adverb or conjunction, such as *wony* 'then', which puts it in the same position as English.

In Meyer's vocabulary (1843), the word order was most commonly SVO, SOV, VSO and OSV. If the subject was a bound pronoun it would, of course, be in second position, as in VSO and OSV clauses, if it was a free pronoun it would be in clause initial position. The clause initial position was probably used for greater emphasis on the subject. Common nouns could occur in a greater variety of positions.

Comparatively, in the Berndt's data the word order did not show a variety in word order which was suggested in Meyer. In an examination of 50 unambiguous transitive clauses, the results were:

Table 17 Word order in 1940s clauses

Order	Amount	Percentage of Total
SVO	37	74%
SOV	7	14%
S-OV	5	10%
VSO	1	2%

S-OV indicates that the Object was a bound pronoun. This examination shows that almost three-quarters of clauses were SVO, and that 98% had the subject as the first element. This indicates a significant shift to English word order. Cerin (1994: 37) also notes a similar tendency towards SVO word order.

The shift to English word order occurred with the weakening of the ergative marker, which Yallop (1975: 14) noted was completely absent by the 1960s recordings. Because there was no case marking, the preferred method of marking arguments was the position of the argument before or after the verb. Another thing which occurred with the shift to SVO order was the tendency to cross-reference nouns with a pronoun. This did not occur in Meyer (1843), but in Taplin's Bible translation (1926), no Ergative marking was found on proper names, and instead they were accompanied by a pronoun indicating the case, a similar thing occurred with common nouns, although they could take ergative marking. An example is in (40), below, where the

analysis, such as the modal affix in the Berndt data. However the differences in the pronominal system that were due to changes in the language were mainly due to simplification of the system: reduction of allomorphs and the loss of the dual.

The changes in word order were undoubtedly due to English influence, however this change occurred with the loss of the ergative, and the increased use of pronouns in conjunction with nouns.

4. The Antipassive in Ngarrindjeri

This chapter aims to describe the form and function of the antipassive in Ngarrindjeri as it appears in previous sources, and then to compare these forms and functions.

Firstly, it defines the semantic meanings of the antipassive. Secondly it investigates the possibility of a syntactic antipassive, and also the ways that the language deals with conjoined clauses.

Generally, antipassive constructions can be divided into two broad categories: semantic or syntactic. Semantic antipassives are used when the speaker wishes to convey a particular perspective with regard to the participants, these will be discussed in section 4.4. Syntactic antipassives are used to fulfil a particular structural requirement, with regard to subordinate or co-ordinate clauses; the investigation of the existence of these in Ngarrindjeri is in section 4.4.7.

4.1. Previous analyses of the antipassive

The antipassive construction was first identified by Meyer, as the ‘duplex form of the verb’; that he identified it is an impressive achievement. His discussion was based around an explanation of paired examples, given in (44) and (45) which seemed to have the same meaning, but where the subject and object had swapped cases.

(44) a. *Ngâte-yan lakk-in*
‘I spear him’ (Meyer 1843: 38)

b. *Ngãp-il laggI-in*
‘I spear him’ (Meyer 1843: 38)

(45) a. *Korn-il lakk-in mãm-*
‘The man spears the fish’ (Meyer 1843: 38)

- b. *Korne laggel-in mām-il*
'The man spears the fish' (Meyer 1843: 38)

He concluded that antipassive verbs, in the (b) examples above, 'are to be regarded as participles or adjectives' and their subjects are marked with the absolutive case.

Active verbs, in the (a) examples above were termed 'verbal substantives, or gerunds' and their subjects are marked with absolutive case. (Meyer 1843: 38)

Except for the terminology, which did not exist at the time, his explanation matches a modern description of the antipassive. He also remarked on the use of the antipassive on reflexive and reciprocal pronouns, and in his vocabulary he provided a few dozen pairs of 'verbal substantives' and corresponding 'participles'- or active and corresponding antipassive- verb forms.

Following Meyer's work, Taplin's (1880) mention of the antipassive was minimal and somewhat unclear. He provides a sample conjugation of the antipassive under the name of 'participles', and his 'reflective mood' contains the antipassive construction (ibid; 16-17).

Taplin also identified two classes of verbs: one class which changed its form in the indicative and present participle, and the other class which did not. These are given in Table 18.

Table 18 Active and Antipassive verb pairs from Taplin (1880) and Meyer (1843)

		Taplin (1880: 19)		Meyer (1843)	
		indicative mood	present participle	verbal substantive	participle
do not change form	<i>merippin</i> 'cut'	<i>merippin</i> 'cutting'	<i>Meripp-in</i> 'cutting'	<i>Merild-in</i> 'being cut, divided, stopped'	
	<i>pempin</i> 'give'	<i>pempin</i> 'giving'	<i>Pemp-in</i> 'giving'	<i>Pembēl-in</i> 'giving, presenting'	
	<i>morokkun</i> 'seize'	<i>morokkun</i> 'seizing'	Mōrokk-un 'taking hold, taking up, fetching'	No form found	
do change form	<i>drekin</i> 'chip'	<i>dretulun</i> 'chipping'	<i>Drēk-in</i> 'cutting'	<i>Drētul-un</i> 'cutting'	
	<i>pornun</i> 'die'	<i>pornelin</i> 'dying'	<i>Porn-un</i> 'dying'	<i>Pornul-un</i> 'dying'	
	<i>nampulun</i> 'hide'	<i>nampundelin</i> 'hiding'	<i>Nampund-un</i> 'hiding, concealing'	<i>Nampul-un</i> 'being hidden, concealed'	
	<i>nyrippin</i> 'wash'	<i>nyribbelin</i> 'washing'	<i>Yrippin</i> 'making clean, cleansing'	<i>Yribbel-in</i> 'cleaning'	
	<i>milipundun</i> 'speaking a foreign language'	<i>milipulun</i> 'speak a foreign language'	No form found	<i>Milipul-un</i> 'speaking a foreign language'	

From Table 18 it appears that the verbs Taplin interpreted as the 'present participle' are equivalent to Meyer's participle, which in turn are verbs in the antipassive.

Furthermore, some verbs which Taplin said did not change, namely *merippin* and *pempin*, do so in Meyer's earlier vocabulary.

Taplin also includes a short discussion of verbs which change 'from the intransitive to the transitive'. The examples he gives are reproduced in (46) to (48) below, with the intransitive examples in (a) and the transitive examples in (b). Also included are equivalent verbs from Meyer's vocabulary (1843).

- (46) a. *Yelkulun ap*
 ‘I move’ (Taplin 1880: 19)
 cf. *yilkul-un* ‘moving away’ (Meyer 1843)
- b. *Yelkundun atte ityan*
 ‘I move it’ (Taplin 1880: 19)
 cf. *yilkundun* ‘moving away, pushing’ (Meyer: 1843)
- (47) a. *Pingkin ap*
 ‘I fall’ (Taplin 1880: 19)
 cf. *pingk-in* ‘falling’ (Meyer 1843)
- b. *Pinggen atte ityan*
 ‘I throw it down’ (Taplin 1880: 19)
 cf. *pingg-e:n* ‘causing to fall’ (Meyer 1843)
- (48) a. *Nampulun ap*
 ‘I hide’ (Taplin 1880: 19)
 cf. *nampul-un* ‘being hidden, concealed’ (Meyer 1843)
- b. *Nampundun atte ityan*
 ‘I hide it’ (Taplin 1880: 19)
 cf. *Nampund-un* ‘hiding, concealing’ (Meyer 1843)

On inspection, and comparison with words in Meyer’s vocabulary, it appears that Taplin also identified the antipassive construction, but reversed the interpretation. Instead of describing the verbs as being detransitivised, he says they are transitivised (Taplin 1880: 19). However, his interpretation is inferior to Meyer’s, not only because it is reversed, but because he does not include any examples where there is a demoted object in an oblique case, a feature of an antipassivise clause.

There are many occurrences of the antipassive in the Berndts' (1993) texts, which will be used as a form of comparison to Meyer's earlier examples. Sentences that were used as data from the Berndts were those that appeared to have some sort of antipassive marking on the verb, and where there was an equivalent active form elsewhere in the text or from another source. Antipassive constructions are not addressed in Cerin's (1994) analysis of the Berndt texts, because the focus was on the pronominal system.

Lastly, Yallop (1975: 33) notes that the reflexive constructions in Taplin, which use the antipassive, are absent from the recordings of James Kartinyeri's speech in the 1960s. The copula, which has the same form, is prevalent, however it can be distinguished from the antipassive because it appears before, rather than after the tense marker on the verb.

4.2. Notation

In the analysis of the antipassive in Ngarrindjeri, the analysis set out by Foley (2004) will be used. Firstly, the antipassive is one of the tools a speaker has to cast a 'conceptual event' from a particular perspective. The particular perspective that the antipassive can create concerns the core arguments in a clause: the actor and undergoer. The antipassive construction brings the actor to greater prominence, and reduces the transitivity of the clause.

The following terminology and notation will be used in this chapter. The actor, marked as [+A], is usually the subject of a transitive verb, and can be identified as volitionally causing or initiating the action. The undergoer, [-A], is the participant

affected by the event, they can undergo a change in state, be causally affected, or be moved, an example of this is in (49), below. For intransitive verbs, the single argument can be actor, [+A], or undergoer, [-A]. The single argument is an actor if the verb describes an action caused or initiated by the core participant, or unergative, illustrated in (50) below. The sole argument of an intransitive verb is an undergoer if the verb is unaccusative, which means the verb denotes states or processes that the argument is in or undergoes, (51) below. Oblique arguments, marked [+OBL], are not governed by the verb but rather by another specific predicator, such as a peripheral case suffix. Oblique arguments are non-core arguments, so core arguments can optionally be marked [-OBL].

It is a universal feature of language that a verb root can have only one [+A], but a verb root may have none, one or several [-A] participants, if ditransitive verbs exist in the language. In Ngarrindjeri, however, there can only be one [-A], because verbs that may have three participants, such as 'give', always use an oblique argument.

The notation is illustrated in examples (50) to (51):

(49) Transitive

<i>Kilan</i>		<i>drekir</i>		<i>drekurmungai</i>	
kile	-an	drek	-ir	drek	-urmi -unga -i
1.sg.A	-1.sg.O	cut	-PST	cut	-NOMSLR -DAT -SG?
[+A]	[-A]			[+OBL]	

'He has cut me with a cutting thing (knife)' (Meyer 1843:15)

(50) Unergative Verb

<i>Kitye lewin</i>	<i>Kurangk</i>
kitye lew -in	kur -angk
3.sg.A sit -PRES	river -DAT
[+A]	

Figure 6 The Antipassive: Alternations in case for common nouns

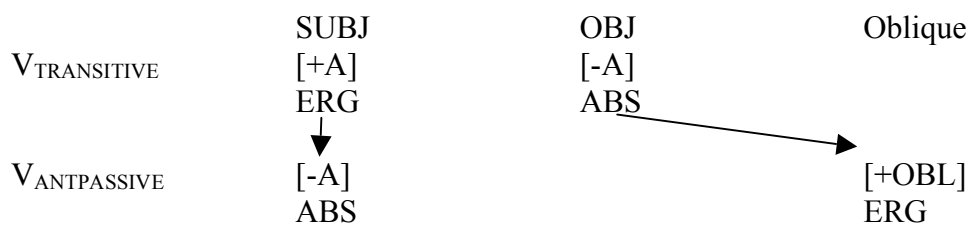


Figure 7 Alternations in case from active to antipassive for pronouns

	Tripartite pronouns		Nominative-accusative pronouns	
	[+A]	[-A]	[+A]	[-A]
$V_{\text{TRANSITIVE}}$	A. Pron	O Pron	Nom	Acc
	↓	↓	↓	↓
$V_{\text{ANTPASSIVE}}$	S Pron	A. Pron	Nom	OBL

The case that marks the demoted object differs among languages, the oblique marking can be anything other than the absolutive (Cooreman 1994: 50). Common choices are the dative, instrumental and locative cases. (Dixon 2002: 530). In Ngarrindjeri the ergative case is used, which is less common in the world's languages. However the semantic range of the ergative suffix accommodates that of a demoted object. Meyer (1843: 12) gives the semantic range of the ergative, which he calls the ablative, as agentive, 'by (an agent)', and causative 'from (a cause)' (ibid: 18). In example (52) below, the spear is identified as the cause of the sickness, and is marked with the ergative case. Similarly in (53), the disease is the cause of the death. In example (54), the moonlight allows the person to be walking at night.

- (52) *Wir-in-ap* *yarntil*
 wir -in -ap yarnd -i -I
 sick -PRES -I spear -SG -ERG
 ‘I am sick from a spear wound’ (Meyer 1843: 12)
- (53) *Porn-ur-itye* *wiwir-il*
 porn -ir -itye wiwir -i -I
 die -PST -3.Sg.S disease -SG -ERG
 ‘He died of disease’ (Meyer 1843: 12)
- (54) *Marger-il-ap* *ngopp-un*
 marger -i -I -ap ngopp -un
 moon -SG -ERG -1:Sg:S walk -PRES
 ‘I walk in the moonlight’ or lit. I am walking with the moon light. (Meyer
 1843: ‘marger’)

So as the above examples show, the ergative case has some influence on the event, which is similar to the function of the demoted object in antipassive constructions. Since the ergative is used to mark transitive subjects in active clauses and demoted objects in antipassive ones, it gives the impression that the case marking of [+A] and [-A] swaps in an antipassive clause.

The final universal criterion for antipassive constructions is the marking on the verb. In Meyer (1843) an antipassive construction is formed by adding the affix *-el* to a transitive verb. It has been proposed that this can be derived from the Proto-Australian antipassive suffix **dharri* through a process of sound changes (Dixon 2002: 531). The *-el* suffix in Ngarrindjeri also has allomorphs *-ul* and *-l*.

A typical example of an antipassive derivation in Ngarrindjeri is Meyer’s paradigm example, reproduced in (55) and (56) below.

(55) Transitive Clause ‘The man spears the fish’ (Meyer 1843: p. 38)

<i>Korn-il</i>	<i>lakk-in</i>	<i>mām-</i>
<i>Korn-il</i>	<i>lakk-in</i>	<i>ma:m-∅</i>
man-ERG	spear-PRES	fish-ABS
[-A]		[+A]

(56) Antipassive Clause

<i>Korne</i>	<i>laggel -in</i>	<i>mām -il</i>
<i>Korn-e-∅</i>	<i>lagg- el -in</i>	<i>mām -il</i>
man-Sg-ABS	spear A/P -PRES	fish -ERG
[+A]		[+OBLIQUE]

‘The man spears the fish’ (Meyer; p. 38)

This process is the same as the proto-typical antipassive derivation proposed by Foley and Van Valin (1984: 183), Dixon (2002; 530) and others. In contrast, the appearance of the antipassive in the Berndt texts is less proto-typical, as the antipassive seems to have changed since Meyer’s time. The only antipassive examples examined were those that had the suffix *-el* on the verb, however the appearance of the subject in S case or the object in an oblique case did not always occur. One example has been found in the Berndt texts where all the cases did change for a detransitivised clause:

(57)	<i>Ngapaiyuru</i>	<i>yayil</i>	<i>il</i>	<i>mamul</i>
	Ngap -aiyuru	yay- il	il	mam-e -l
	1:Sg:S –only	eat - A/P	3:Sg:A	meat -Sg -ERG
	[+A]		[+OBL]	

manda	itji	narambi
manda	itji	narambi
because	3:Sg:S	novice’s meat

‘Only he eats of that meat because it was killed by a novice’ (Berndt 1993: 23.9). It is not clear why *Ngapaiyuru* appears because it although it contains a 1:Sg:S pronoun, it is glossed as with a third person ‘he only’. In the text, the story is in third person.

The pragmatic function of the antipassive varies across and within languages. The most obvious purpose is to demote the topicality of the object by putting it in a

peripheral case, or by deleting it entirely (Givón 1984: 624); this object is less likely to have been important in the preceding discourse and is unlikely to appear in later discourse. This is usually because the demoted object is obvious, and it is not necessary to give it a more prominent position. Other common functions of the antipassive include: a change in aspect, specifically that the event is incomplete or non-punctual; reduced affectedness of the object and lack of volition of the agent (Cooreman 1994). Furthermore, in Australian languages, including Ngarrindjeri, the antipassive is also used to mark the reflexive constructions (Terril 1997). Semantic antipassive constructions, and how they have changed from Meyer's time in 1843 and to the 1940s in the texts collected by the Berndts are discussed in 4.4

The antipassive construction can also take part in a syntactic construction. It is used this way in languages that have pivots, and which have constraints for the omitted NP in conjoined clauses. The possibility that Ngarrindjeri has pivots, and so whether the antipassive also has a syntactic use is discussed in section 4.5

4.4. Semantic antipassive

This section discusses what meanings the antipassive can have. The glossing of antipassive clauses in Meyer (1843) and the Berndts (1993) does not always convey the precise semantic meaning of the antipassive. However it is possible to speculate using comparisons with different languages as a template. Generally, the antipassive is used in Ngarrindjeri when there is reduced affectedness of the object, a durative meaning or the object is self-evident or unimportant. It is also used on speech act verbs and for mental processes.

In the two examples above, the objects were not very affected. In (58), the man doesn't necessarily eat all of the meat, and in example (59) above, the object was shot at, but not actually hit.

4.4.2. Durative meaning

A durative meaning of the antipassive is described by Hopper and Thompson (1980) as non-punctual or those that are on-going. This meaning is compatible with the antipassive's function of demoting the object because the object of a non-punctual action is less affected than an object which has been subjected to an action that has 'no transitional phase between inception and completion' (Hopper and Thompson 1980: 252).

The durative meaning of the antipassive is also suggested by Taplin's (1880) and Meyer's (1843) terms for the antipassive verbs 'present participle' and 'participle' respectively.

The following example from Meyer (1843), illustrates this durative meaning:

- (60) *Ngãpe laggel-in kōyil*
 ngãpe lakk -el -in kōye -i -l
 1:Sg:S spear -A/P -PRES basket -Sg-ERG
 [+A] [+OBL]
 'I am making a basket' (Meyer 1843: 44)

In this example, the basket is in the process of being made, rather than being completely finished; the emphasis is on the process rather than on the end result. No similar examples have as yet been found in the Berndt texts, however it is possible that this meaning was still being used in the 1940s. The concept of using the

antipassive to describe an aspectual function or an incomplete or non-punctual meaning is common cross-linguistically (Cooreman 1994: 57).

4.4.3. Object is already known and not important

The following three examples, from a dreaming story from a speaker in the 1940s, illustrate the discourse factors for when the object is already known and irrelevant to the discourse, although it appears as a bound pronoun. The story begins with a meeting for talking and dancing (Berndt 1993: 235). When the Whale danced he emitted sparks, and the others, excited at seeing the fire, discussed how it could be obtained. Skylark said that that the best way to obtain the fire was to spear the whale, and the Wagtail volunteered:

- (61) *Ngati -in lakun*
Ngath -in lak -un
1:Sg:A-3:Sg:O spear -PRES
'I will spear him' (Berndt 1993: 104:13)

Here an active clause is used, the unmarked clause choice, as a simple declaration of intention, to establish who will do what.

When Whale started dancing again, Skylark jumped ahead of wagtail and said:

- (62) *Nati -an lakil*
Ngath -yan lak-il
1:Sg:A-3:Sg:O spear-A/P
'I'll spear now' (Berndt 1993: 104.20)

Here the clause is antipassive, and although the cases are the same as in an active clause there is marking on the verb. The choice of the antipassive is used because the

focus is on the action of spearing, and the object is already known from previous discourse.

Next in the story, the Whale danced near Skylark, and:

- (63) *Wonyili-in lakil*
Wony-il -in lak -il
then -3:Sg:A -3:Sg:O spear –A/P
'Then [Skylark]he speared him' (Berndt 1993: 104.22)

Once again an antipassive is used on the verb, although the case is consistent with an active clause. And once again, it seems that the antipassive was used because the object was already implied, and the focus was on the action of spearing. The use of the antipassive coincides with the shift in focus towards who will do the spearing. This indicates that the antipassive is used in Ngarrindjeri when the object is known or unimportant to the discourse. Unfortunately there are no long narratives in Meyer, so it is impossible to check this hypothesis against data from him. However, because it is unlikely to have been an recent innovation with the construction in the 1940s being in decline, it is likely that the antipassive was also used this way in 1843 and earlier times.

4.4.4. Reflexive pronouns

Like the majority of Australian languages that have the antipassive, Ngarrindjeri uses the same morphology to mark reflexive constructions (Terril 1997). In Ngarrindjeri, the reflexive pronoun can also have a reciprocal meaning. The pronoun consists of two pronouns in the same number and person, where one is the intransitive subject case and the other is in the dative case This contrasts to non-reflexive antipassive clauses where the demoted object is put in the ergative case. This is illustrated in examples (64) from Taplin (1880) and in example (65) from Meyer (1843):

(64) *Kitye nangk laggelir*
 Kitye -en -angk lakk -el -ir
 3:Sg:S-3:Sg:O-DAT spear-A/P -PRES
 ‘He speared himself’ (Taplin 1880: 16)

(65) *Ngãp-an-angk dretul-un*
 ngape -an -angk drek -el -un
 1.sg.S -1.sg.O -DAT cut -A/P -PRES
 ‘I am cutting myself’ (Meyer 1843: 41)

Meyer (1843:42) notes that the same verb form can optionally be used for sentences that use pronouns that have only a reciprocal meaning:

(66) *King-ãr-ung laggel-in korn-ar*
 King-ãr-ung lakk -el-in korn-ar
 3:Sg:RCP spear-A/P-PRES men-Pl
 ‘The men are spearing each other’ (Meyer 1843: 42)

By the 1940s the reflexive/reciprocal construction still used the pronouns and the antipassive case, as in the following example, discussion of the precise meaning follows:

(67) *Wonitj yama kon murikulwolam*
 wony-itj yama kon-Ø murik -ul -wol -amb
 then -3:Sg:S one man-ABS support-A/P-CAU-RMPST
 Then.he one man supports

karinangk murikulwolild.
kar -in -angk murik -ul -wol -ild.
 3:Pl:Nom-3:Sg:O-DAT support -A/P-CAU -OPT
 the.other supports

(Berndt 1993: 4.05)

The fourth line of glossing in (67) is the original glossing from the Berndt texts, and it makes the precise meaning unclear. *Karinangk* is the same as Meyer's (1843: 28) third person plural reflexive pronoun *Kārenangk*, so it is probably best to translate it as 'each other'. This gives the meaning of the clause as, 'then one man supports; they support each other'. This shows that the reflexive/reciprocal construction is the same as it was in the 1840s, with a specific pronoun and the verb in the antipassive.

4.4.5. Mental processes

A further function of the antipassive for mental processes. This is indicated in the 1940s data, where there is a contrast in the glossing of the word *kung*. In an active clause it is glossed 'hear', however when *kung* is antipassive, it is glossed as 'think' or 'listen', which are mental processes.

In example (68), the clause is active with subject as A and object as O, and *kung* is translated as 'hear':

(68) *Ungu ilin mungkumbuli kungamb itjanan*
 Ungu il -in mungkumbul-i **kung-amb** itjanan
 when 3:Sg:A-3:Sg:O leader -Sg **hear** -RMPST 3:Sg:O
 [+A]

yanarumi
 yan-arumi-Ø
 talk-NMSLR-ABS
 [-A]

'When the leader **heard** their talk' (Berndt 1993: 4.01)

However, when *kung* is antipassive, it is glossed as 'think' or 'listen'. In (69) and (70) below which are glossed as 'listen' the cases are fairly consistent with a typical antipassive clause. So in (69) the subject is an S pronoun and the object is the combination of an O pronoun and an ergative noun:

(69) *Wonitj kungelung ina kreintal*
 Wony-itj kung-el -ung in-a kreint-i-l
 then -3:Sg:S hear -A/P-PRES 3:Sg:O stick-Sg-ERG
 [+A] [-A]

‘Then he thought of that stick’ (Berndt 1993: 68.42)

In (70) the subject is an S pronoun, and the object is direct speech, unmarked for case:

(70) *Wonitj kungelung ‘...’*
 Wony -itj kung-el -ung ‘...’
 then -3:Sg:S hear -A/P -PST
 [+A]

‘Then he thought, “...”’ (Berndt 1993: 68.44)

. In (71) and (72) below, which are glossed as ‘think’, the case marking is more inconsistent.

However, in contrast to the above examples, examples (71) and (72) below, which are also glossed as ‘think’ and contain an antipassive verb, the case marking is more inconsistent. In (71) the verb is antipassive, the subject is an S pronoun and the cases of the objects are the same as an active clause, with a combination of a free accusative pronoun and an absolutive noun:

(71) *Wonitj kungelamb itjan mungkumbuli*
 Wony-itji kung-el -amb itjan mungkumbul-i-Ø
 then -3:Sg:S hear -A/P-RMPST 3:Sg:O leader-Sg-ABS
 [+A] [-A]

‘Then he **listens** to the leader’ (Berndt 1993: 4.07)

In (72), although it is a mental process and the verb is antipassive, the case marking is the same as an active clause, the subject is an ergative noun, and the object is a free accusative pronoun:

(72) *Konil kungelel anggun*
 Kon-i-l kung-el -el anggun
 man-Sg-ERG hear -A/P-? 2:Du:Acc
 [+A] [-A]
 ‘The men **listen** to them’ (Berndt 1993: 7.11)

The inconsistency of the case marking shows that the antipassive does not consistently detransitivise the clause and make the subject intransitive and that it can now also allow the object to appear when it is not oblique

The use of the antipassive to contrast ‘hear’ with ‘think’ and ‘listen’ suggests either that the antipassive is used to express intent on behalf of the [+A] , or it is used to express a durative meaning. The verb ‘hear’ indicates less purposefulness than ‘listen’ and ‘think’. It also suggests a punctual activity, whereas ‘listen’ and ‘think’ are non-punctual. So it seems that ‘hear’ is more transitive than ‘listen’ or ‘think’ according to the criteria suggested by Hopper and Thompson (1980: 252), therefore it receives the more transitive active grammatical construction, and ‘think’ and ‘hear’ receive the detransitivised antipassive.

It is unclear whether this is a recent development in the language. Both Meyer and Taplin give *kung* as meaning ‘hear’, however neither provides a word which means ‘think’ or ‘hear’ as a contrast.

4.4.6. Speech act verbs

An interesting case of the antipassive appears with the speech act verb *ram-*. They behave similarly in both Meyer (1843) and for the speakers in the 1940s in the Berndt texts. The following examples illustrate what occurs in Meyer:

- (73) *Ngapenangk rammelin*
 ngape -en -angk ramme -el -in
 1.sg.S -3.sg.O -DAT tell -A/P -PRES
 [+A] [+OBL]
 ‘I am telling him’ (Meyer 1843: 41)

In the above example, the antipassive is used and the agent is the sole syntactic participant, although the person being told is also a semantic participant and expressed as a dative pronoun. However, the same construction can also be used in the active, where the person told is still expressed with a dative pronoun, but the subject is now a transitive one:

- (74) *Kil-en-angk rammir*
 kile -en -angk ramm -ir
 3:Sg:A -3.sg.O -DAT tell -PST
 [+A] [+OBL]
 ‘He has told him’ (Meyer 1843: ‘kil-’)

Also, if what the person said is included in the clause, the active is used:

- (75) *Katyil-il ramm-ir*
 Katy -i -l -il ramm-ir
 Truth-Sg -ERG -1:Sg:A speak-PST
 [+OBL] [+A]
 ‘He is speaking with the truth’ (Meyer 1843: ‘katyil’)

In the Berndt texts collected in the 1940s, the interpretation of the verb and cases is slightly different. In example (76) below, the antipassive is used with reported speech, but the person told is still expressed in the dative case as a free pronoun and the speaker is still in the transitive subject case, rather than intransitive. It is possible that this is due to the emphasis placed on the subject by the unusual threefold expression of the subject in the bound pronoun *-ath*, the free pronoun *ngath* and the noun itself *Kaloni*:

- (76) *Wonyath ngath Kaloni anggenang*
 Wony-ath ngath Kaloni-Ø anggun -ang

then -1:Sg:A 1:Sg:A Karloan-Ø 3:Du:O -DAT
 [+A] [+OBL]

rramul lunuk, ‘...
 rram-ul lunuk ‘...
 tell -A/P thus ‘...
 [-A]

‘Then I, Karloan, say to those two “...” ’ (Berndt 1993: 36.04)

However, it is also possible to have a speech act verb with the same structure as the above example but with an active verb, and the person told still in the Dative case:

(77) *Wonya kona rramung anggunang luk, ‘...
 Wony-a kon -a rram-ung anggun -ang luk, ‘...
 then -3:Pl:Nom man-Pl tell -PRES 3:Du:O -DAT thus, ‘...
 [+A] [+OBL] [-A]*
 ‘Then the men say to those two thus, “.... ’ (Berndt 1993: 7.15)

The sets of examples from Meyer and the Berndt texts above show that the verb *-ram* could appear in the antipassive in the 1840s with the expected absolutive case subject, but with a meaning very similar to that of the normal verb (which has an ergative suffix). In the Berndt's material both normal and antipassive forms of the verb appear, but the antipassive form appears with an ergative subject. Possibly the similarity in meaning has led to this use.

In Meyer, the antipassive can be used if there is no reported speech (73), although it seems that the active can also be used in this situation (74). In examples (76) and (77) from the Berndt texts, a century after Meyer, the active or antipassive can be used when there is an actor, a recipient in the dative case and reported speech. The difference between Meyer and the Berndt texts is that when the antipassive is used in Meyer, the [+A] is put in the absolutive case.

The unpredictability of the use of the antipassive with speech act verbs is possibly due to such verbs not really being measurable in terms of transitivity which is often a trigger for the use of the antipassive and also the similarity of meaning between the passive and antipassive has bleached it of meaning.

4.4.7. How the semantic antipassive has changed over time

Tracing the changes in the antipassive can only be based on the information in Meyer (1843) and the Berndt (1993) texts from the 1940s, because there is not adequate information from other sources. Furthermore, this comparison is based on the supposition that the antipassive construction was intact in Meyer's (1843) time, because it matches the description of antipassive constructions of other languages. Taplin's (1880) description of the antipassive is somewhat erroneous, and so it is not a reliable indicator of the use of the antipassive at the time. From the recordings in the 1960s, Yallop (1975: 33) notes that the reflexive constructions described by Taplin, which are the same as Meyer's and therefore reliable, are not existent in the speech of James Kartinyeri. However it is likely that antipassive constructions were not present in his speech because the language had also lost its ergative marking. Therefore the comparison in the change of the antipassive is based around the sentences provided in Meyer (1843) and those found in the 1940s texts (Berndt, Berndt et al. 1993). The main reason for the changes in the antipassive is the fact that it is a marked construction, which is more susceptible to loss in language attrition situations (Campbell and Muntzel 1989: 191).

The main change in the antipassive is the less predictable case alternation between active and antipassive clauses in the speech of the 1940s semi-speakers. A summary of the most common cases used for [+A] and [-A] in antipassive clauses is given in the table below:

Table 19 Cases used in antipassive clauses in 1940s

Reason for antipassive	Subject [-A]		Object	
	Pron	Noun	Pron	Noun
Prototypical A/P	S	ABS	A	ERG
Reflexive	*		*	
Mental process	*		O	*
	*			
		ERG	ACC	
Speech act	*		O	
	A			
Reduced affectedness of Object	*		*	*
Object known or obvious	A		O	
	A		O	
* indicates situations where the proto-typical case for an antipassive construction was used				

The most likely reason that the reflexive keeps the proper case marking is because it is fossilised in the reflexive pronominal form.

For the mental processes ‘think’ and ‘listen’ the [+A] might change case because the use of the antipassive on the verb stem *kung* ‘hear’ might have become fossilised, and with it the intransitive nature of the derivation, although this does not explain why the object still appears. Further evidence for this is that the antipassive examples of *kung* are more frequent than any other antipassive examples.

For the other situations, it seems that these meanings are not specifically connected to any particular verb or pronoun, so the motivation for changing the case is not reinforced by anything else.

Another motivation for maintaining the proto-typical cases in the antipassive is whether or not the participants are expressed with nouns, pronouns or both. Common nouns follow an ergative-absolutive system and more clearly shows the ‘swap’ of the case.

The loss of the case marking which demotes the object and highlights the agent suggests the decline in the use of the construction. By definition, the antipassive suffix on the verb should render the clause intransitive, and the object may be only included as an oblique (Givón 1984: 625-6). So the fact that the object remains present in a core case is a sign of a breakdown in the function of the antipassive, bleaching it of any marked meaning. The loss of the antipassive means that speakers have fewer options for presenting a conceptual event, and is another sign of language attrition (Campbell and Muntzel 1989: 195). The motivation for this change in case marking is discussed in section 4.6.3.

4.5. Pivot investigation

The investigation of pivots is being pursued in this thesis because there is a syntactic use for the antipassive with regard to pivot feeding. The majority of Australian languages do not have a syntactic pivot, and those that do are widely scattered on the Eastern part of the continent (Dixon 2002: 520-528). Sections 4.5.2 and 4.6 below provide evidence for and against the existence of pivots and their type, and section 4.6.3 provides some conclusions. In the 1940s data, there appears to be an A/S pivot, but in purposive clauses it is possible that there was once an antipassive derivation required for feeding an S/O pivot.

4.5.1. Definition of Pivot

Pivots are used when two clauses are linked, and an noun phrase (NP) which is common to both clauses is omitted. Pivots are a way to determine the control of the omitted NP. They have certain grammatical properties including verb agreement, a preverbal position, and most importantly the controlled NP in non-finite infinitive complement (Foley 2004: 38).

In a language that has pivots, if there are conjoined clauses, and one has an omitted NP, the controller of the clause is the pivot in the previous clause. Languages differ as to whether the pivot in transitive clauses is A or O. If A is the pivot then the omitted NP has the same identity as the A in the main clause. If O is the pivot then the omitted NP must have the same identity in the subordinate clause. If underlyingly the pivot and the missing NP do not correspond, then some transformation, such as the passive or antipassive, must apply so the derived clause is intransitive, and the required participant can be controlled by the pivot. When the transformation is the antipassive, the underlying A is put into derived S position.

In languages with an ergative-absolutive pivot, also known as an S/O pivot, two clauses can be linked to share the same argument only if the argument is in the same function. If the common argument is S or O in one clause, and A in the other, the antipassive is used to put the underlying A argument into derived S function, thus allowing it to control or be controlled (Dixon 2002: 523). This function of the antipassive, known as ‘feeding’ a pivot, is a syntactic rather than semantic property, and this will be investigated in Ngarrindjeri.

Dixon's (1994: Chapter 6) *Basic framework for pivot investigation* is followed here. The method of investigation is based on the fact that pivot constraints apply when two clauses with a common NP are combined. When two clauses are syntactically linked the common NP can be either A, S or O in the first clause and A, S or O in the second clause, depending on whether the clause is transitive or intransitive. When investigating a language for pivots, and it is assumed that the pivot is S/O, the following situations would require the antipassive. The subscripts indicate whether the argument is in the first or second clause:

- $A_1=S_2$: First clause transitive, second intransitive, omitted NP
- $S_1=A_2$: First clause intransitive, second clause transitive, omitted NP:
- $A_1=O_2$: Both clauses transitive, omitted NP
- $O_1=A_2$: Both clauses transitive, omitted NP

These types of clauses are the ones that would reveal whether an antipassive construction would be required, thus indicating the existence of a syntactic antipassive and an S/O pivot.

The best source of conjoined clauses is in the Berndt texts, however, there is some difficulty in analysing the texts recorded by the Berndts (1993) in the 1940s. Firstly, narrative texts and spoken texts have a low proportion of relative clauses and the use of relative clauses in a moribund language is reduced (Hill 1989). Furthermore, relative clauses are a marked construction, and if Ngarrindjeri had pivots it would also employ the marked antipassive construction, which by this time, as shown earlier in the chapter, was used less precisely than a century earlier. Lastly, relative clauses are

complex sentential adjuncts and the lack of precise free translations in the Berndt texts can make it difficult to confidently discern a precise meaning.

4.5.2. Constructions without pivots

This section outlines constructions, mostly conjoined clauses, where there is potential for there to be an omitted NP, and for pivots to be used, but instead some other device is used, namely cross referencing in the second clause with a pronominal clitic. This cross-referencing of conjoined clauses appears in both Meyer (1843) and the 1940s Berndt texts. This suggests that rather than using pivots, cross-referencing is the preferred method of participant tracking.

In Meyer’s 1843 Grammar, there are few complex sentences, and all but one (example (83) discussed below) uses cross-referencing with pronominal clitics. In the example below $O_1=S_2$, and the cross-referencing pronoun is in the first clause:

(78)	<i>Yũn-atte-yan</i>	<i>přĩm -ani</i>	
	<i>Yũn -atte-yan</i>	<i>přĩm -ani</i>	
	Soon-1:Sg:A-3:Sg:O	tether -FUT	
		O₁	
	[põte	ngopp-i-ãmbe]	
	[põt-e-Ø	ngopp-i -ãmbe]	
	[horse-Sg-ABS	walk -NEG -OPT]	
	[+A ₁] [-A ₁]	[+A ₂]	
	S₂		

‘I will presently tether the horse that he may not go away’ (Meyer 1843: 46).

In this example the horse is referred to by a pronoun in the first clause and the noun itself in the second. This suggests that with conjoined clauses, the use of cross referencing pronouns in the subordinate clause can be used instead of invoking pivots.

A further example of using pronominal clitics in conjoined clauses is in example (79)

below where $A_1=[+OBL]_2$ and $A_2=[+OBL]_1$

- (79) *Ngint-en-angk morokk-ilde yammalaitye*
 Ngint -en -angk morokk-ilde yammalaitye
 2:Sg:Nom -3:Sg:O -DAT fetch -COND one
A₁ [+OBL]₁
- wullaki, kīle-m -angg-añte pemp-ildal*
 wullaki-Ø, **Kīle -m -angg -añte** pemp-ildal
 black.cockatoo-ABS, **3:Sg:A-2:Sg:Acc -DAT -then** give -COND
O A₂ [+OBL]₂
- māyingg-ar*
 māyingg-ar
 property -Pl

‘If you would bring him a black cockatoo he would give you clothes’ (Meyer 1843: 45)

This is not directly useful in pivot investigation, the NPs which appear in both clauses, ‘you’ and ‘he’, are in oblique positions in one clause. However it does provide another example of cross referencing where there are two participants.

The speakers from the 1940s also employed cross referencing on the subordinate clause:

- (80) *Wonyil an ngolumind [e wonitj*
 Wony-il an ngolumind [e wonitj
 then -3:Sg:A 3:Pl:O wear- [until then -3:Sg:S
A O S

konuwal]
 kon-e-wall-in]
 man-Sg-become-PRES]
 ‘Then he wears them until he is a young man’ (Berndt 1993: 29.03)
 (From Meyer: *Korne-wall-in* v. ‘becoming a man’)

Are rare occurrence of an omitted NP from the 1840s is in example (83), below. The other sentences in Meyer’s (1843) grammar and vocabulary that have the potential to omit an NP more commonly use cross-referencing with pronouns:

- (83) *Ngãte prim-in põte ngopp-i-ãmbe*]
Ngãte prim-in põt-e-Ø ngopp-i -ãmbe]
 1:Sg:A tether-PRES horse-Sg-ABS walk -NEG -OPT]

‘I hobble the horse that he may not go away’ (Meyer 1843: ‘I’)

In this example $O_1=S_2$, but this example is problematic because it is not clear whether the NP *põte* ‘horse’ is part of the first or second clause, so it is also unclear whether the omitted NP is in the first or second clause. This ambiguity is caused by the intransitive subject and the object both being the absolutive case. If *põte* is the object in the first clause, then the omitted NP in the second clause, S, would be controlled by the object, suggesting that the language had an S/O pivot. If *põte* is the S argument of the second clause, then it controls the omitted object of the first clause, and does not give any clues as to whether the pivot is A/S or O/S. Given that examples (81) and (82) above from the Berndts’ 1940s texts give evidence that the pivot is A/S, and also that example (83) from Meyer (1843) is exceptional, it seems likely that it is not an S/O pivot.

4.6.2. Pivots in Purposive clauses

Until now, all the situations discussed have had the possibility of using pivots or cross-referencing with pronominal clitics. However, purposive clauses, which are frequent in the Berndts’ 1940s texts but rarer in Meyer (1843), are an exception because they always omit the subject. This can not only show that pivots exists, but

also can be used to see whether the antipassive has a syntactic function to feed pivots. If the antipassive is used to feed pivots then the pivot must be S/O because the antipassive puts the underlying A into derived S position, which would then allow it to be controlled. However, several assumptions need to be made for the possibility of the antipassive having a syntactic function in purposive clauses:

- The antipassive has an allomorph, *-Vr*, which only appears in subordinate clauses.
- The purposive is the result of a fossilised form of A/P+ *amb*
- the original meaning of the antipassive has been lost and it can now appear with objects in the absolutive case and on intransitive verbs.

Each of these points is explained below.

Firstly, it needs to be assumed that the verbal antipassive affix has an allomorph, *-er*, which only appears in subordinate clauses. This allomorph would be in contrast with *-el* which only appears in main clauses. This supposition is not too implausible, as the existence of different antipassive forms for syntactic and semantic appears in other languages; Cooreman (1994: 75) notes this distinction in Mayan.

If it is acceptable that there is an antipassive allomorph *-er*, then it is possible to re-analyse the purposive suffix, *-urambe* in Meyer (1843: 46) and *-uramb*, *-eramb*, *-erambul* in the Berndts (Cerin 1994: 15) to consist of the antipassive suffix, *-Vr* and *-amb*. This is plausible because in both sources *-amb* is also an independent suffix.

In the Berndts' texts Cerin (1993: 15) translates it as the remote past. In Meyer (1843: 46) *ãmbe* is 'optative as respects the subject of the verb' (Meyer 1843: 46) as in example (84) below, and also it is a purposive suffix on nouns, as in example (85):

(84) *Nakk-ãmb-il*
Nakk-ãmbe -il
see -OPT -3:Sg:A
'He wishes to see' (Meyer 1843: 46)

(85) *Ngaity-ãmbe*
Ngaity -ãmbe
friend -PURP
'For a protector, as a protection' (Meyer 1843: 'Ngaitye')

In examples from Meyer (1843) where *ãmbe* is used, there is rarely an overt object, and the focus is on the action.

If it is possible that the purposive was once two suffixes, the next step to establish the possibility of a syntactic antipassive is to then suppose that the antipassive and *-amb* became fused together. And that since becoming fossilised, the suffix has lost its antipassive meaning. This new suffix can then appear in places a proto-typical antipassive could not, such as on intransitive verbs, and with an accusative subject. Fossilisation and generalisation of the purposive suffix has occurred in young people's Dyirbal. Dyirbal underwent a process of language attrition and less fluent speakers only used the antipassive suffix in purposive clauses, as a fossilised form with the purposive clause (Schmidt 1985: 117).

In example (86) below, the A in the first clause controls the omitted NP in the second clause. However, the antipassive on the verb *mam* does not prevent the object appearing in a non-oblique case. Furthermore, the common NP is the A argument in

both clauses, so there is no need for the antipassive to be used, which shows that if *eramb* does contain the antipassive suffix, that it no longer has that meaning:

(86)	<i>Wonya</i>	<i>talk</i>	<i>kaiinu</i>	<i>[lambula</i>	<i>mameramb</i>
	Wony-a	talk	kaiinu-Ø	[lambula Ø	mam- eramb
	then -3:Pl:Nom	make	fire-ABS	[for Ø	cook- PURP
	A₁			A₂	
	<i>an</i>	<i>mam-a</i>]		
	an	mam-a	- Ø]		
	3:Pl:O fish	-Pl-ABS]		

‘They they make fire for cooking that fish’ (Berndt 1993: 1.19)

Example (87) below illustrates the difference between the allomorphs *eramb* and *ermbula*. The first is used in conjunction with *lambul* ‘for’, and the latter is used when it is omitted.

(87)	<i>Wonyangan</i>	<i>thuldu</i>		<i>lewerambula</i>
	wony-angan	thuldu	[Ø	lew-eramb-ula
	then -1:Pl:Nom	assemble	[Ø	sit-PURP -for
	S₁			S₂
	<i>lambul</i>	<i>yan-eramb</i>		
	[lambul Ø	yan-eramb]]		
	for	Ø eat -PURP		
		S₃		

‘Then we assemble so we can sit down to eat’ (Berndt 1993: 35.17)

Furthermore, in example (87), the verb *yan* ‘eat’ in the final dependent clause appears to have been detransitivised because it does not have an object. Furthermore, its omitted subject is underlyingly A, and it is controlled by an S argument. This suggests, perhaps, that the purposive does contain the antipassive, and it was invoked in order to feed an S/O pivot.

Similarly, in Meyer’s grammar it is possible to omit the object in a purposive clause as in (88) below and to also keep the object in the absolutive case as in (89) below. In (88) it is once again possible that the antipassive is invoked to feed an S/O pivot. The controlling NP is an S argument, and the underlying argument of the subordinate clause is A. Therefore, the antipassive may have been invoked to put it into derived S form, and omit the object:

- (88) *Ngãpe ngopp-un lakk-urãmbe*
 Ngãpe ngopp-un Ø lakk-urãmbe
 1:Sg:S walk -PRES Ø spear-PURP
 ‘I am going for the purpose of fighting’ (Meyer 1843: ‘urãmbe’)

Example (89) provides contrary evidence for the purposive containing the antipassive, because the object is present in the absolutive case, which would make the controlled NP is an A argument:

- (89) *Ngape-in-angk punt-ur* [Ø *Kuñg-ur-ãmbe*
 Ngape-in-angk punt-ur [Ø *Kuñg-ur-ãmbe*
 1:Sg:S-1:sg:O- DAT come-PST [Ø hear-A/P-COND
 S₁

ngũm-awe kald-e]
ngũm-awe kald-e]
 2:Sg:Acc-POSS language-Sg]
 O₂

‘I have come [to you], that I may hear your language’ (Meyer 1843: 46)

So essentially the argument for a syntactic antipassive in Ngarrindjeri is based on a series of suppositions which, if true, run parallel to what has occurred in Dyirbal (Schmidt 1985: 117). If the series of changes did occur, then one would assume that this would be due to language attrition, as was the case in Dyirbal. However example (89) above, which was acceptable for speakers in the 1840s, has an object expressed

in the purposive clause which is in the absolutive case and this is contrary to the idea that it is antipassive .

4.6.3. Conclusion of Pivot investigation

In conclusion, most complex clauses are finite clauses and show cross-referencing with pronominal clitics as the main strategy for reference tracking. This occurs in both the Meyer (1843) vocabulary and the 1940s Berndt texts. There is some evidence for omitted arguments in coordinate constructions and purposive clauses. The pivots in coordinate constructions in the Berndts are A/S. Based on the one example found in Meyer that did not include reference tracking, it is not clear whether this was also the case in the 1840s.

The purposive construction in Meyer and the Berndts appears to contain an antipassive construction, which would suggest a syntactic function of the antipassive and S/O pivot. However in both Meyer and the Berndt texts it is possible for there to be an overt object in the second clause.

Since it was possible in the 1840s for an antipassive purposive clause with an omitted subject to have an object in the absolutive case, this may be what caused the shift to absolutive objects in semantic antipassive constructions.

It is possible in the 1840s there were two systems operating, illustrated in Table 20 below:

Table 20 Antipassive possibilities in 1840s

Verb	Subject	Object
-------------	----------------	---------------

Finite Antipassive	Absolute	Ergative
Purposive Antipassive	Omitted (understood A)	Often omitted, but can be present as absolute

The most important distinction between the finite antipassive clauses and purposive clauses is the case of the overt object. It is possible that by analogy with the purposive clauses, absolute undergoers became possible in finite antipassive clauses in the 1940s. Learners would encounter both absolute and ergative objects in antipassive clauses, and simplification occurred, so that only absolute subjects appeared. This would have been reinforced by active clauses which have the same case marking.

5. Conclusion

This thesis has attempted to make a longitudinal study of the decline of Ngarrindjeri, over a time when its speakers suffered considerable upheaval and cultural and social change. An attempt has been made to keep the sources of information separate in order to retain distinctions that are due to different dialects and eras of speakers, while at the same time, using the common points to make dependable conclusions.

There have been several changes that have occurred in Ngarrindjeri since 1843. One of the most prevalent has been the loss of allomorphy in the case and pronominal system with particular mention of the loss of the dual. This has been a process of simplifying the language, and making it more similar to English.

There has been a weakening of the case system, so that a shift to SVO word order occurred. A further sign of this is the case marking in the antipassive construction which adopted the less marked active case marking of subject and object.

Changes in the syntax due to the influence from English may have been another factor which made pivot investigation difficult. It was possible to show that there could be both S/O pivots and A/S pivots, and give evidence that a syntactic antipassive may have existed. However further investigation of the Berndt texts would provide further insights.

Suggestions for further research include further investigation of the verbal morphology, it is in need of further clarification both within in and across sources. Further examination of the Berndt (1993) texts would be fruitful as there is a large amount of unexplained morphology. Another area of interest is the kinship terms mentioned in Meyer (1843), Taplin (1880) and chapter four of the Berndts (1993). There are other areas in Meyer which could also benefit from further research including the morphology on place names, and verbal morphology. Furthermore, if it could be established how reliable Taplin's (1926) Bible translations are, it could potentially be a useful resource for further research.

Finally, this research would not have been possible had the Ngarrindjeri people not so generously shared their language, and if others had not shown a genuine interest in recording it. Language attrition is an unfortunate event, leading to less diversity in the world's languages and reflecting greater loss of culture and social cohesion, however,

due to the efforts of Ngarrindjeri forebears and documenters it has not been completely lost.

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