

Chapter 8: Case

Given its head-marking nature, Enindhilyakwa makes little use of nominal morphology to encode information about core grammatical functions. Determination of subject (intransitive and transitive) and object functions is done by the pronominal prefixes on the verb (though we will see that it is possible for nominals in these core functions to be case-marked). Only the indirect object argument of ditransitive verbs regularly receives case. Case-marking is primarily exploited as a strategy for semantic roles such as location, goal, and source, and to mark nominals in oblique grammatical functions. Case suffixes can also relate one NP to another NP, and they frequently appear on fully inflected verbs, where they have a subordinating function. I will assume the following labels for the different types of case suffix in Enindhilyakwa, as they have been used in the Australianist literature (see e.g. Hale 1976; Blake 1977; Dixon 1980; Dench & Evans 1988; Simpson 1991):

- (i) Grammatical case: also called ‘syntactic’ case, is primarily used to show that the nominal to which it attaches bears a particular grammatical function. This can be an oblique function (which is not cross-referenced on the verb), or a core function (which is cross-referenced on the verb by the pronominal prefixes, and includes: intransitive subject, transitive subject, direct object, and indirect object)
- (ii) Semantic case: also called ‘local’ case, provides information about the setting of an event, implying motion to or from, or rest at, a place or thing. The primary use of semantic case is to create argument-taking predicates, much as do prepositions in languages like English (as *in* in *John is swimming in the sea*)
- (iii) Adnominal case: often treated as derivational case, relates NPs to NPs within one NP constituent (I use the term ‘NP’ or ‘NP constituent’ here without the implication of a hierarchical structure; I defer discussion about the syntactic structure of Enindhilyakwa NPs to section 8.10). A paradigm example of adnominal case in Enindhilyakwa and other Australian languages is the possessive, as in [wallaby-POSS fur] ‘the wallaby’s fur’
- (iv) T-complementiser case: occurs on verbs and has a clause as its complement. It creates an adverbial subordinate clause that specifies temporal or logical relationships with another clause

Enindhilyakwa has six case suffixes, which are all very productive and may be used in the above functions. They are listed in Table 8.1. The grammatical functions that are expressed only rarely by the case markers are presented in parentheses.

Suffix	Adnominal	Semantic	Grammatical	Complementiser
<i>-ma ~ -mvrra</i>	PROprietive/PRIVative, COMitative	-	INSTRumental	-
<i>-lhangwa</i>	POSSessive	ABLative	DATive (transitive subject)	T-complementiser
<i>-manja</i>	-	LOCative	direct object of 'hit' verbs; (direct object, indirect object)	T-complementiser
<i>-wa</i>	-	ALLative	(indirect object, direct object), oblique GFs	T-complementiser
<i>-lhangwiya</i>	-	ABLative-PerGressive	-	T-complementiser
<i>-kba</i>	DENIZen	-	-	T-complementiser

Table 8.1: Enindhilyakwa case suffixes and their functions

As can be seen from this table, the same case morpheme can have different functions and operate at different syntactic levels. In other words, there is no one-to-one relationship between the case forms and the case relations that are distinguished in the syntax - as is common in Australian languages (e.g. Blake 1977).

8.1 Organisation of chapter

This chapter first examines each case suffix as it appears on nominals individually. Section 8.2 starts with a description of the marking of the core grammatical functions (i.e., those that are cross-referenced on the verb). This includes the indirect object of ditransitive verbs. Section 8.3 investigates the *-lhangwa* suffix with its bewildering range of functions and concludes that this suffix represents a number of different case relations: POSS, ABL and DAT. Section 8.4 examines the PROP/PRIV suffix *-ma ~ -mvrra*, which also has a comitative and an instrumental meaning. This is followed by the semantic cases: LOC case in section 8.5, ALL case in section 8.6, and ABL-PRG in section 8.7. The not so common DENIZ adnominal case is described in section 8.8. Section 8.9 examines case concord, where case concord with relative clauses is discussed in section 8.9.1. Section 8.10 investigates the related issue of NP constituency. Section 8.11 then turns to the T-complementising cases on verbs that create adverbial subordinate clauses. Section 8.12 finishes this chapter with a summary.

8.2 Case-marking on core grammatical functions

Before proceeding to a discussion of the case suffixes, it is useful to first demonstrate that core arguments of the verb do not, in principle, receive case. Core arguments of the verb are cross-referenced in the pronominal prefixes on the verb. At most two arguments can be cross-referenced on the verb (Chapter 4): intransitive subject, and transitive subject and object. For ditransitive

verbs, the subject and indirect object (recipient) are represented on the verb, whereas the direct object (theme) is represented outside the verb (if represented at all). The following examples illustrate the absence of case on intransitive subjects in (1), and on transitive subjects and objects in (2).

- (1) a. *n-angkarrv-na n-akina*
 3m-run-P2 3m-that
 'he ran' (VL1 p.304)
- b. *enuwa n-errekbi-na*
 3m.PRO 3m-vomit-P2
 'he vomited' (anin2_pw_au_004)
- c. *wurri-yukwayuwa wurr-akina ka-ngambee-yi-na*
 3a-little.PL 3a-that IRR.3a-bathe-RECP-NP2
 'the children will bathe' ('Yabungurra' l3)
- (2) a. *ngayuwa ngarra-rrvngka wurruwarda*
 1.PRO 1/COLL-see.PST COLL.dog
 'I see the dog' (anin4_dl_au_001)
- b. *enuwa nv-ma-wurra malharra*
 3m.PRO 3m-VEG-throw.P1 VEG.rock
 'he threw the rock' (anin2_pw_au_004)
- c. *Kamv-dhaka-ma nvngk-akina m-akina makarda...*
 IRR.VEG/2-sting.PST-ma 2-that VEG-that VEG.sea
 'If the sea [where the bristleworm has been] stings you...' ('Yininya' m6)

It has to be noted that overt subject and object nominals are probably less common than clauses that only contain an inflected verb. Overt nominals appear to be used to add specific information about the subject or object.

For inherently ditransitive verbs such as 'give', 'tell', and 'show', the recipient is represented on the verb, while the theme argument occurs outside the verb and is caseless, as shown in (3) and (4). The marking on the nominal that represents the recipient is variable: it can be marked with LOC or ALL case, as in (4a) and (4b), respectively, but these case suffixes can also be omitted. The same cases occur on the recipient of 'give', as in (5a,b), but here DAT case is another possibility (5c), or the 'change of referent' suffix in (5d) (see Leeding 1989: 304-7). There are no instances in the data of an overt recipient nominal of the verb *-kwV-* 'give' without any suffix.

- (3) ...*akena narra-mv-kwa-ma ekbarra.*
 but 3a.O-VEG.S-give.P2-ma NEUT.headache
 '...but they [roots of *mayukwarra* 'VEG.mauve convolvulus'] gave them a headache.'
 (GED p.57)
- (4) a. *ngayuwa ng-enu-wilyaka-ju-wa dokto(-manja) nganyangwa yinungurnda*
 1.PRO 1-3m-bring-CAUS-P2 " (-LOC) 1.PRO.POSS MASC.scar
- b. *ngayuwa ng-enu-wilyaka-ju-wa doctor(u-wa) nganyangwa yinungurnda*
 1.PRO 1-3m-bring-CAUS-P2 " (-ALL) 1.PRO.POSS MASC.scar
 'I showed the doctor my scar' (anin4_dl_au_003)

- (5) a. *yu-kwa ngayuwa-wa*
 IMP.2/1-give.NP1 1.PRO-ALL
 ‘give [it] to me!’ (VL1 p.307)
- b. *dhi-yukwayuwa-manja narrv-nga-kwa-ma arrakvdharrba-ma eeka vmba*
 FEM-small-LOC 3a-FEM-give.P2-*ma* NEUT.short-INSTR NEUT.stick but
dh-arvma-manja dhvdija-ma
 FEM-big-LOC metal(NEUT)-INSTR
 ‘they gave the little ones [*dhvngarrbiya* ‘FEM.crocodile’] (flesh) with a short stick but the
 big ones with a metal rod’ (‘Zoo-lhangwa’ e12-3)
- c. *kvnga-ku-na ena ngalh-lhangwa jurra*
 IRR.1/3f-give-NP2 NEUT.this 3f.PRO-DAT book(NEUT)
 ‘I will give this book to her’ (VL1 p.334)
- d. *yu-ku-na nganja awilyaba bajikala*
 IMP.2/1-give-NP2 1.CofR NEUT.one billycan(NEUT)
 ‘give one billycan to me!’ (VL1 p.414)

It seems likely that the case suffixes on the recipient argument of ditransitive verbs are present to indicate that the object prefix on the verb has an unusual semantic role: that of recipient, rather than the regular patient/theme role of direct objects.

This hypothesis is supported by the marking of arguments introduced by the benefactive applicative. These new arguments often have a semantic role other than patient/theme, and the corresponding overt nominals are case-marked as such. Introduced beneficiaries are marked with DAT case, as in (6a,b), and goals with ALL case, as in (6c,d).

- (6) a. *nv-mvn-akarrngv-na-ma akungwa env-lhangwa*
 IMP.2/3m-BENE-get.water-NP2-*ma* NEUT.water 3m.PRO-DAT
 ‘get water for him!’ (VL1 p.445)
- b. *Nara kvrri-yukwayuwa-lhangwa ngv-mvvn-ngekvrakv-ma.*
 NEG 2a-little.PL-DAT NEGNP-BENE-make-NP3
 ‘We don’t make them [*yikarba* ‘MASC.woomera’] for you children.’ (‘Lionel’ i16)
- c. *ngalhuwa-wa nga-mvni-yika-ja anhvnga wurri-yukwayuwa-wa*
 3f.PRO-ALL IMP.2/3f-BENE-bring-NP2 NEUT.food 3a-small.PL-ALL
 ‘Take the food to her and the children!’ (VL1 p.307)
- d. *nenv-mvn-andheeyv-ma n-akinu-wa=dha*
 3m/3m-BENE-look.P2-*ma* 3m-that-ALL=TRM
 ‘he looking for him’ (‘Hawk’)

In conclusion, object arguments that are cross-referenced on the verb only regularly receive case when they have an unusual semantic role - i.e. other than patient or theme. We will see in section 8.5 that the objects of one class of verbs, namely verbs of impact, display differential object marking. Their object is exceptionally marked with LOC case. Otherwise, the standard is for subject and object arguments to be unmarked. We can now proceed to examine the individual case suffixes as they appear on recipients, oblique arguments of the verb (which are not represented on the verb), and adjuncts.

8.3 The dative / ablative / possessive suffix *-lhangwa*

The suffix *-lhangwa* has a wide range of functions, from grammatical (marking an argument of the verb, glossed DATIVE), adnominal (indicating relations between NPs, glossed POSSESSIVE), to semantic (indicating the semantic role of an adjunct nominal, glossed ABLATIVE), and an EMPHATIC marker. Blake (1987: 35-6) lists the grammatical case functions in (i) - (vi) below among typical functions of DAT case in Australian languages (which he purports to as the ‘Dative Group’). It is for that reason that I gloss the *-lhangwa* suffix in these examples as DAT, even though this is not without problems, as pointed out below. In all cases, when the modifier and the head are adjacent, only the modifier needs to be case-marked. I return to this issue in section 8.10.

(i) the indirect object of intransitive verbs

- (7) a. *ngayuwa nvngu-werrik-awarriya-dhv-nv-ma y-akina-lhangwa*
 1.PRO 1-chest-bad-INCH-P2-*ma* MASC-that-DAT
 ‘I felt sorry for them [*yinvkarrmungkwarda* ‘MASC.hermit crabs’]’ (anin1_dl_au_001)
- b. *n-akbardhe-na-ma angura-lhangwa*¹
 MASC-be.afraid-NP2-*ma* NEUT.fire-DAT
 ‘they [*yinvngungwangba* ‘MASC.animals’] are afraid of the fire’ (‘Ekalhara’ g14)

(ii) recipient of verbs of giving (not common)

- (8) *kvnga-ku-na ena ngalhv-lhangwa jurra*
 IRR.1/3f-give-NP2 NEUT.this 3f.PRO-DAT book(NEUT)
 ‘I will give this book to her’ (= [5c])

(iii) purpose

- (9) a. *Nvngv-ngayindhe-na-manja alvdha menungkwa-lhangwa yenjerrikina*
 1/NEUT-want-NP2-LOC NEUT.paint VEG.spear-DAT there
nvngv-lhvka-ja-ma nvngv-mvngkadhv-na-ma akina-lhangwa
 1-go-NP2-*ma* 1-dig-NP2-*ma* NEUT.that-DAT
 ‘When I want paint for spears, I go there and dig for it.’ (‘Brolga’ q107-9)
- b. *nvngi-lyingv-na-ma m-akina-lhangwa dvraka awarnda*
 1/NEUT-keep-NP2-*ma* VEG-that-DAT truck(VEG) NEUT.money
 ‘I keep the money for that truck’ (‘Vehicle hire’ k15)

(iv) beneficiary

- (10) a. *yingv-nv-dhaka-ma yimadhuwaya nganyangwa*
 3f-MASC-cook.P2-*ma* MASC.stingray 1.PRO.DAT
 ‘she cooked a stingray for me’ (anin1_em_002)

¹ Dixon distinguishes an ‘aversive’ case in Yidiny, which marks a NP whose referent is feared. It can also be included with an intransitive verb ‘to be frightened’ (1980: 299-300). However, since the suffix that marks the NP which is feared is *-lhangwa* in Enindhilyakwa, formally identical to DAT case, I do not see any reason to postulate a separate case relation to mark items that are feared and will assume the suffix represents DAT case.

b. *Mema ma-k-ambarrvnga dalvda nara kvrr-akwalha-lhangwa karnv-mamalya*
 VEG.this VEG-NSR-sit toilet(VEG) NEG 2a-other-DAT 2a.m-people
vmba wulka wurr-ibina na-wardhu-wardhe-na-mv-lhangwa libvriya-manja.
 but only 3a-that.unseen 3a-RDP-work-NP2-DAT library-LOC
 ‘This is not a public toilet (lit: ‘for you other people’), but only for people who work in the
 library.’ (sign in Angurugu library)

(v) cause

- (11) a. *Akwa akina-lhangwa kembera nvng-ena nvngu-werrik-awarriya-dhv-na-ma nvng-ena.*
 and NEUT.that-DAT then 1-this 1-chest-bad-INCH-NP2-*ma* 1-this
 ‘And because of that (the money that has disappeared) I am upset.’ (‘Vehicle hire’ k13)
- b. *Ebina lhaka ayakwa yi-maka-mv-lhangwa nungkuwa, ebina*
 NEUT.that.same just NEUT.word 2/1-tell.P2-*ma*-DAT 2.PRO NEUT.that.same
nvng-env-kv-lhvka-lhangwa engku-wa, akina-lhangwa nvngu-warv-ma
 1-m-NSR-go-ABL NEUT.other-ALL NEUT.that-DAT 1-not.want.P1-*ma*
 ‘Because of what you told me about me going away, because of that I didn’t want [to
 stay]’ (‘Search’ z119)

(vi) possessor

- (12) a. *marluwiya-lhangwa wurri-yukwayuwa*
 emu(FEM)-POSS 3a-children
 ‘Emu’s children’ (VL1 p.294)
- b. *nganyangwa arvngka, ... nganyangwa mamvdhakba ... nganyangwa awa!*
 1.PRO.POSS NEUT.head 1.PRO.POSS VEG.tail 1.PRO.POSS NEUT.liver
 ‘the head is mine ... the tail is mine ... the liver is mine!’ (‘Kurrirda’)
- c. *emeba amakalyuwakbv-lhangwa*
 NEUT.song NEUT.Bickerton.Island-POSS
 ‘Bickerton Island’s song’ (VL2 p.224)

(vii) ablative

- (13) a. *M-akina nvmv-lhvke-nv-ma a-mvrndak-akina-lhangwa amiyerriya akwa*
 3m-that VEG-go-P2-*ma* NEUT-many-that-ABL NEUT.nest and
awuruku-wa...
 NEUT.billabong-ALL
 ‘The roads went from the many nests to the billabong...’ (‘Awurukwa’ w23)
- b. *na-lhvke-nv-ma arvmv-lhangwa alhvkvra*
 3a-go-P2-*ma* NEUT.big-ABL NEUT.house
 ‘they came from the big house’ (JS2 p.112)
- c. *alhawudhawarra ena nvngu-makv-na-ma Dhukururrkwa-lhangwa*
 NEUT.story NEUT.this 1/NEUT-tell-NP2-*ma* FEM.brolga-ABL
 ‘I am telling this story about the Brolgas’ (‘Brolga’ q1)

(viii) emphatic marker

- (14) a. *Akwa ebina yiningilya-kba alkwa enuwa*
 and NEUT.that.same MASC.sandbar-DENIZ NEUT.bait.crab NEUT.flatback.turtle
ngarri-yengbi-ji-na awurmurra ngakurruwa ngarnv-mamalya-lhangwa...
 12a/NEUT-speak-CAUS-NP2 pretending 12a.PRO 12a.m-people-EMPH
 ‘That bait crab that lives on the sandbars, the one we people call ‘turtle crab’ for fun...’
 (‘Crabs’ d7)

b. *Ngalha-ja env-lhangwa-dhangwa dh-adhv-ngiy-enikba ying-ambilyv-ma*
 3f.PRO-CofR 3m.PRO-POSS-EMPH 3f-f-spouse-3m.KIN 3f-stay.P2-*ma*
angalya-manja.
 NEUT.place-LOC
 ‘His own wife was at home.’ (GED p.188)

The suffix *-lhangwa* as an EMPH marker varies with *-dhangwa*. Wubuy has a cognate suffix with a similar meaning: the plurality intensifier suffix *-lhangu* ~ *-dhangu* (Heath 1984: 199).²

Even though the *-lhangwa* suffix caters for the expression of the beneficiary, purpose and cause roles, which are typically covered by a DAT suffix in other languages, labelling this suffix ‘dative’ in Enindhilyakwa is not unproblematic. This is because the main function of this suffix is *not* to mark the indirect object of ditransitive verbs.³ In fact, the example in (8) is the only instance in the data of the recipient of a ditransitive verb marked with *-lhangwa*. The recipient of inherently ditransitive verbs usually bears a different case suffix: either ALL *-wa* or LOC *-manja* (as in [4] and [5] above). Thus, although the *-lhangwa* suffix may mark beneficiaries, purposes, and so on, it does not convey the most prototypical meaning of DAT case: that of recipient. Nevertheless, I will label this grammatical case suffix ‘dative’, as a cover term for the range of dative-like meanings listed in (i) - (v) above.

Given this range of meanings and functions, it is difficult to determine whether *-lhangwa* represents distinguishable case relations (syncretism), or whether one case form covers different, but related, semantic concepts (polysemy). Although POSS and DAT case are often syncretized in Australia (Blake 1977: 35; Dixon 1980: 321), several morphosyntactic features indicate that these are distinct case relations in Enindhilyakwa. There is furthermore evidence that ABL is also a distinct case relation. Firstly, a distinction that is not made by the morphological case suffixes can be made by the cross-referencing pronominal prefixes on the verb. DAT case is distinguished from POSS and ABL by being cross-referenced on the verb, whether as a core argument in (8) above (albeit rare), or as an introduced argument by the benefactive applicative, as in (6a,b) above. This normally does not happen for ABL case, which marks an adjunct nominal denoting the source of movement, or which means ‘about’ for verbs of speech, as in (13c) (though it also has a rare usage as a marker of transitive subjects - see [19] below). The nominal marked with POSS case, the possessor, is never cross-referenced on the verb, as shown in (15) and (16a). When body parts are

² Hardening of the lateral to the stop is predictable and productive in Wubuy, and happens when following a stop or nasal (Heath 1984). In Appendix D I suggest that this hardening is also marginally present in frozen combinations in Enindhilyakwa. It is unclear why the hardened variant appears in (14b). It is certainly not the case that if two *-lhangwa* suffixes follow each other, the second one is the hardened variant - see e.g. (18) below.

³ This has also been noted by Leeding (1989: 305-7), who argues that Enindhilyakwa has no dative case at all. She proposes that indirect objects can receive one of four markers: POSS *-lhangwa*, ALL *-wa*, PURpositive *-yadha*, or the ‘change of referent’ *-aja*. Beneficiaries and purposes are marked with POSS case in her analysis.

concerned, the possessor *can* be represented on the verb as a core argument, but the corresponding overt nominal does then not appear in POSS case, as in (16b).

(15) *Ngv-nga-lhukwa-murrkaji-na-ma nganyangwa dhv-dharrvngka...*
 HORT.1-3f-track-?follow-NP2-*ma* 1.PRO.POSS 3f-woman
 ‘Let me track down my wife ...’ (‘Search’ z32)

(16) a. *nganyangwa alhakba nuw-arrkujeeyi-na-ma*
 1.PRO.POSS NEUT.leg NEUT-be.painful-NP2-*ma*
 ‘my leg hurts’ (anin1_em_au_001)
 b. *ngayuwa nvngv-lhakbak-arrkujeeyi-na*
 1.PRO 1-leg-be.painful-NP2
 ‘my leg hurts’ (Ansec2)

The construction in (16b) is known as ‘possessor raising’ in the literature and was discussed in section 7.10.1. Note that there is no noun class harmony between the possessor noun marked with POSS case and the possessed in (15) and (16a), which is unusual in a language where modifiers normally agree with their heads. In section 8.10 I will argue that the modifier-head relation is expressed by different means when POSS case is involved: the possessor marked with POSS case and the possessum form a constituent.

A second morphosyntactic distinction between the various types of case relations expressed by the suffix *-lhangwa* is that only POSS case can be followed by another case suffix, which sets it apart from ABL and DAT. Some examples are given in (17).

(17) a. *y-aka yinvngvmambalba n-ambilya-ma warnv-mamalya-lhangwa-manja*
 MASC-that MASC.bat MASC-live.NP2-*ma* 3a.m-people-POSS-LOC
alhkvra
 NEUT.house
 ‘bats live under people’s houses’ (GED p.91)
 b. *ak-ambilya nungkwa-lhangwa-manja mangma akwa madha*
 HORT.NEUT-stay.NP2 2.PRO-POSS-LOC VEG.mind and VEG.ear
 ‘let them [my words(NEUT)] stay in your mind and ears’ (‘Mother’s advice’ j42)
 c. *narr-akbilya-ngv-ma yilyakwa-lhangwa-ma amvlhvka merra-manja.*
 3a/NEUT-stick-P2-*ma* MASC.bee.POSS-INSTR NEUT.bees’.wax VEG.string-LOC
 ‘they stuck them [*adhvdhvra* ‘NEUT.bone’] on string with bees’ wax’ (GED p.117)
 d. *Kvngv-lhvka-ja angalyu-wa ngalha-lhangu-wa alhkvra ...*
 IRR.3f-go-NP2 NEUT.place-ALL 3f.PRO-POSS-ALL NEUT.house
 ‘She will go home to her house...’ (‘Burrawang’ o13)

The followability property is only shared with the other adnominal cases: proprietive/privative suffix *-ma* ~ *-mvrra* (section 8.4) and DENIZ *-kba* (section 8.8). The grammatical (e.g. DAT) and semantic (e.g. ABL) cases are never followed by another suffix. Adnominal case suffixes are commonly the only cases that can be followed by another case suffix in Australian languages (e.g. Blake 1977, 1987; Dench & Evans 1988).

Therefore, when two *-lhangwa* suffixes follow each other, I will assume that the inner one represents POSS case, and the outer one ABL case as in (18a), or DAT case as in (18b) (or the rare EMPH marker as in [14b] above]):

- (18) a. *ying-ambilya-ma mamvdhangkwa-manja adhalyvma-lhangwa-lhangwa*
 FEM-stay-NP2=*ma* VEG.sand-LOC NEUT.river-POSS-ABL
 ‘they [click beetles(FEM)] live in the sand from rivers’ (GED p.94)
- b. *aka-ku-ni=yadha awarnda m-akina-lhangwa ngalha-lhangwa-lhangwa*
 IRR.12a/3a-give-NP2=*ma* NEUT.money VEG-that-DAT VEG.PRO-POSS-DAT
 ‘so that we can give them money for it, for our [truck(VEG)]’ (‘Vehicle hire’ k29)

The above morphosyntactic differences are reasons to believe that the *-lhangwa* suffix in effect represents three distinct case relations:

- (a) grammatical DAT case: indicates the grammatical relation between an argument and a predicate; can be cross-referenced on the verb; cannot be followed by another case suffix
- (b) adnominal POSS case: indicates the relation of one nominal (or NP) to another nominal (or NP); is not cross-referenced on the verb; can be followed by other case suffixes
- (c) semantic ABL case: indicates the semantic role of an adjunct nominal; is not cross-referenced on the verb; cannot be followed by other case suffixes

However, the boundaries between these case relations are fuzzy. For example, as pointed out by Heath for Ngandi (1978a: 43), when used predicatively, the distinction between POSS and DAT case is hazy: ‘that is mine’ in (12b) above can be taken as semantically dative, i.e. involving a recipient or beneficiary (‘that is for me’). Likewise, the POSS suffix in ‘Bickerton Island’s song’ in (12c) could also be read as involving ABL case: ‘song from Bickerton Island’. Furthermore, the prototypical DAT semantic role of recipient is often expressed by other cases in Enindhilyakwa: ALL and LOC. And finally, very occasionally, the *-lhangwa* suffix is used as a nuclear case to mark the transitive subject. This may happen when the pronominal prefixes do not unambiguously identify the subject and the object, for example when both participants have the same person and gender features, as in (19). These are the only two attested examples in my corpus of an agent marked with the *-lhangwa* case suffix;

- (19) a. *biya Nibka-lhangwa nenv-ngaja Nrvmbu-wa*
 then 3m.Pheasant-ABL 3m/3m-hit.PST 3m.Seagull-ALL
 ‘and then Pheasant hit Seagull [on the head]’ (‘Seagull and Pheasant’ u44-5)
- b. *ngalhv-lhangwa nanga-lyang-barra arvngkv-manja akinv-mvrra*
 FEM.PRO-ABL FEM/FEM-head-hit.P1 NEUT.head-LOC NEUT.that-INSTR
dhukururrku-manja
 FEM.brolga-LOC
 ‘she [Emu(FEM)] hit Brolga on the head with that [stick(NEUT)]’ (VL1 p.310)

In line with analyses by Heath (1984: 204) and Evans (2003a: 138) for Wubuy and BGW, respectively, who propose that ABL case can occasionally be used as a marker of transitive subjects, I will assume that the *-lhangwa* suffix here represents ABL case. Since the pronominal prefixes *nen-* in (19a) and *nanga-* in (19b) do not specify who is the agent and who the patient - as both participants of the verb are of the same noun class - this is resolved in (19a) by putting Pheasant in the ABL and Seagull in the ALL case. In other words, the logically opposed ‘from’ and ‘to’ case markers are being used here to explicitly differentiate the subject from the direct object, in a context where confusion might otherwise result. In (19b), the direct object is marked with LOC case, which frequently happens with impact verbs such as ‘hit’ (section 8.5).

The unclear boundaries between the various case relations, notably of the grammatical and semantic cases, have been noted by other researchers for other Australian languages (e.g. Blake 1977, 1987; Heath 1978a for Ngandi; Simpson 1991 for Warlpiri), and other languages in the world (e.g. Blake 2001).

In sum, in spite of the somewhat hazy distinctions, I propose that the *-lhangwa* suffix represents three distinguishable case relations in Enindhilyakwa: grammatical DAT, adnominal POSS and semantic ABL case. Syncretism of DAT and POSS case is very common in Australia (Blake 1977, 1987). Syncretism of ABL case with DAT and/or POSS, by contrast, is more rare.

8.4 Proprietary / privative, comitative and instrumental *-ma ~ -mvrra*

The *-ma ~ -mvrra* case suffix also has a functional range, from adnominal PROPrietary (‘having, being equipped with’), PRIVative (‘not having’) and comitative (‘with’), to grammatical INSTRUMENTAL case that introduces a participant to the verb. The INSTR suffix expresses the instrument or means with which an action is performed, or the material from which something is made. It occurs on oblique arguments only, and has no usage as a marker of core arguments - as opposed to the very common Australian pattern of syncretism between INSTR and ERGative case (Blake 1977). Some examples of INSTR case are presented in (20).

- (20) a. *nv-ngak-bvrra-nga* *lyelyinga-ma*
 3m/NEUT-wavy.shape-split-P2 knife(NEUT)-INSTR
 ‘he split along its [*akwalya* ‘NEUT.fish’] back with a knife’ (GED p.168)
- b. *Biya engembu-wa* *nvngv-lhvke-nv-ma* *trainv-ma* *Narrabriyu-wa*
 and NEUT.place.called-ALL 1-go-P2-*ma* " -INSTR Narrabri-ALL
 ‘I went by train to a place called Narrabri’ (‘A trip south’ a16)
- c. *Ngayuwa-dhangwa* *yiba-ngaji-na-ma* *eeka-mvrra...*
 1.PRO-EMPH IRR.1/2-hit-NP2-*ma* NEUT.stick-INSTR
 ‘I will hit you with a stick...’ (‘Children’ h26)
- d. *Nara nvng-ena* *ayarrka-ma* *ng-ardharrv-ma* *akwalya*
 NEG 1-this NEUT.hand-INSTR NEGNP-spear-NP3 NEUT.fish
 ‘I can’t spear fish with (my) hands’ (‘Lionel’ i33)

- e. *Warnvngkwarba narrv-ngekbvrakv-na-ma enungkwa enena-mvrra*
 3a.man 3a/NEUT-make-NP2-*ma* NEUT.spear NEUT.this-INSTR
e-me-m+eeka.⁴
 NEUT-INALP-INALP+NEUT.tree
 ‘Men make spears from the wood of these bushes [*kuralba* ‘spear bush(NEUT)]’.
 (GED p.15)

The noun marked with INSTR case is never cross-referenced on the verb.

The *-ma ~ -mvrra* suffix also has a comitative reading (Leeding 1989), as illustrated in (21).⁵ This example comes from my fieldnotes and shows that *-ma* is an short form of *-mvrra*, because two informants used the different forms to translate the same sentence.

- (21) *n-enungkwarba ni-jadhv-nga n-akina yimadhuwaya-ma* (DL)~ *yimadhuwaya-mvrra* (CW)
 3m-man 3m-appear-P1 3m-that MASC.stingray-COM MASC.stingray-COM
 ‘then a man appeared with a stingray’ (Fieldnotes 28/11/08)

In its comitative usage, the suffix is adnominal rather than grammatical: whereas in (20) the suffix expresses the relation between an argument and a predicate, in (21) the suffix relates one noun to another noun [man stingray-COM] ‘man with stingray’. As with nouns marked with POSS case discussed above, there is no noun class agreement between the head noun and the attribute (i.e. **n-akina ni-yimadhuwaya-ma*).

The *-ma ~ -mvrra* suffix also has an adnominal function as proprietive case. Interestingly, when combined with the alienable possession (ALP) prefix *envng- ~ adhvng-* (section 3.4.5.3), this suffix has a privative meaning (Leeding 1989, 1996; Waddy n.d.-a, n.d.-b). This contrast is illustrated in (22) from the dictionary.

- (22) a. *nvngv-dharrvngka-ma*
 1-woman-PROP
 ‘I have a wife’
 b. *nvng-envngv-dharrvngka-ma*
 1-m.ALP-woman-PRIV
 ‘I don’t have a wife’

Though PROP/PRIV syncretism is very unusual, there are some echoes of this elsewhere in Australia: cognacy of proprietive and privative was first mentioned by O’Grady (1979) for Pama-Nyungan languages, and Evans (1990) provides some discussion from Gunwinyguan languages.

As can be seen in (22), there is agreement between the head noun and its attribute: a noun marked with PROP/PRIV case obtains an additional noun class prefix that allows it to agree with the

⁴ This noun has two INALP prefixes, one of which is lexicalised. See section 3.4.5.1.

⁵ Leeding does not distinguish between the comitative and instrumental meanings, and labels this case suffix comitative case (1989: 317).

head noun - or, when used predicatively, to represent the subject argument. This is illustrated for the proprietive construction in (23) and the privative in (24).

- (23) a. *ni-jinabv-mvrra n-akina*
 3m-gun(NEUT)-PROP 3m-that
 ‘he has a gun’ (JS2 p.101)
- b. *dvraka m-alhvkvra-ma*
 truck(VEG) VEG-NEUT.house-PROP
 ‘caravan’ (Lit: ‘truck having the property of a house’) (WD)
- c. *ekbvlkv-makardv-mvrra*
 NEUT.plain-VEG.sea-PROP
 ‘mud flats’ (JW2 p.52)
- d. *Karna kvrrv-dharrvngka kvrr-angkarree-yi-na-ma wurrv-balandu-wa. Mena?*
 2a.this 2a-woman 2a-run-RECP-NP2-ma 3a-whitefella-ALL why
Wi-yama! Wurr-amvrndakijika-mvrra, wurrv-mani-mvrra.
 IMP.2a-say.NP1 3a-NEUT.things-PROP 3a-money(NEUT)-PROP
 ‘You women are running off to whitefellas. Why? Tell me! They have things, they have money.’ (‘Mixed marriages’ e42-6)
- (24) a. *dh-adhvng-inungkwarbv-ma*
 3f-f.ALP-man-PRIV
 ‘widow’ (Lit: ‘she without a man’) (VL1 p.222)
- b. *nvngk-envng-angbilyuwa-ngv-ma nvngk-envngv-mijawara-ma*
 2-m.ALP-NEUT.sickness-?-PRIV 2-m.ALP-VEG.sadness-PRIV
 ‘you will be without sickness and without sadness’ (‘Mother’s advice’ j24-5)
- c. *nara ngarnvng-arvngka-ma*
 NEG 12a.m.ALP-NEUT.head-PRIV
 ‘we are not wise’ (‘Mixed Marriages’ e232)
- d. *n-envngi-yekirrerrv-ma*
 3m-m.ALP-happy-PRIV
 ‘unhappy man’ (VL1 p.193)

The PROP/PRIV suffix in these examples converts a noun with a frozen noun class marker into an adjective with a flexible noun class. For instance, the NEUT noun class marker *a-* of *alhvkvra* ‘NEUT.house’ in (23b) is inseparable from the noun root. When marked with PROP case, however, the noun obtains an additional class prefix that allows agreement with the head noun (here: *dvraka* ‘truck(VEG)’). Such double noun class marking is typologically uncommon, but it also occurs in other contexts in Enindhilyakwa, including the inalienable and alienable possession derivational prefixes described in Chapter 3.

Further evidence that the PROP/PRIV suffix converts a noun into an adjective comes from noun incorporation. As discussed in Chapter 7, noun incorporation is restricted to adjectives and verbs. However, nouns marked with the PROP/PRIV suffix may incorporate a generic noun, as in (23c) above.

There is an exception to the claim that nouns marked with PROP/PRIV case obtain an extra noun class prefix to show agreement. This involves NEUT class head nouns, which do not appear to show class agreement. Consider the following examples.

- (25) a. *nara a-lhvka-ngvma dhvngarrbiya-mvrru-wa*
 NEG NEGNP-go-NP3 FEM.crocodile-PROP-ALL
 ‘Don’t go to where there are crocodiles.’ (JS2 p.110)
- b. *kuw-ambilya-ma wurr-akina yilyaku-mvrrv-manja*
 IRR.3a-stay.NP2-*ma* 3a-that VEG.wild.honey-PROP-LOC
 ‘They will stay where there is wild honey.’ (JS2 p.100)

The subject argument in these examples presumably is *angalya* ‘NEUT.place’. However, this is not represented on the modifier: that is, we do not get **a-dhvngarrbiya-mvrru-wa* in (25a) or **a-yilyaku-mvrrv-manja* in (25b). This could mean that NEUT noun class is excluded from agreement on adjectival nouns derived with the PROP/PRIV suffix. Indeed, in the above examples agreement is with other classes, with the exception of (23c); here, the incorporated generic is *ekbvlk-* ‘plain’, in which we cannot tell whether an additional NEUT class prefix is present, as this would be absorbed by the initial vowel of the incorporated generic.

Considering the above range of meanings and functions of the *-ma ~ -mvrra* suffix, the question arises again whether these are distinguishable case relations, or that one suffix caters for all these meanings and functions. Syncretisms of PROP and INSTR are very common in Australia (Blake 1977), where the INSTR meaning could be an extension of an original ‘having’ meaning: ‘having, being equipped with’ > ‘using as an instrument’ (Evans 2003a: 139). However, despite their similar semantics, there are clear differences between PROP/PRIV case on the one hand, and INSTR and COM on the other in Enindhilyakwa. The former is evidently derivational, because this case suffix derives adjectives from nouns. Moreover, only PROP/PRIV case can be followed by another case suffix, as in (25) above and (26), whereas the INSTR and COM cases cannot.

- (26) *nv-ngurjirakv-na angalya-mvrrv-manja Amalyikba*
 3m/NEUT-deepen-P2 NEUT.camp-PROP-LOC A.
 ‘he made a big well [*edhvrra*(NEUT)] at the camping place, Amalyikba’ (Lit: ‘at the place having a camp’ (VL1 p.523-4))

Given this distinct morphosyntactic behaviour, I propose that the *-ma ~ -mvrra* suffix represents three distinct case relations:

- (a) grammatical INSTR case: indicates the grammatical relation of an argument to its predicate; only appears on oblique functions, so it is never cross-referenced on the verb; it cannot be followed by other case suffixes
- (b) adnominal COM case: indicates relation of one NP to another NP; is not cross-referenced on

the verb; does not convert nouns into adjectives; cannot be followed by other case suffixes

- (c) adnominal PROP/PRIV case: indicates the relation of one NP to another NP; is not cross-referenced on the verb; is a derivational suffix that converts nouns into adjectives; can be followed by other case suffixes⁶; is often used predicatively

However, again, the boundaries between these functions may be fuzzy as they involve very similar meanings. For example, is the suffix in *mamarra-mvrra* in (27a) PROP case ('land having little paperbark swamp'), where the NEUT head noun *ariba* 'NEUT.land' fails to be represented on the modifier (cf. [25])? Or does the *-mvrra* suffix represent COM case ('land with little paperbark swamp'), which does not require noun class agreement? Similarly, does the case suffix in *a-malyelyikba-ma* in (27b) represent INSTR case denoting the material from which something is made, which is not uncommon in Australia (Blake 1987: 42-3) and which does not require noun class harmony, or is it PROP case that lacks agreement with the NEUT class head noun?⁷

- (27) a. *Malkalha, ebina yakujina ariba-manja eyukujiya ekbvlku-warriya*
 M. NEUT.that there NEUT.land-LOC NEUT.small NEUT.plain-bad
mamarra-mvrra
 VEG.paperbark-PROP
 'Malkalha, that place there on the land with the little paperbark swamp' ('Brolga' q87)
- b. *bangkilya na-ngekburaka-jungu-nv-ma a-malyelyikba-ma bajikala*
 tomahawk(NEUT) NEUT-make-REFL-P2-*ma* NEUT-lid-PROP tin(NEUT)
 'tomahawks that were made from the lids of tins' ('Awurukwa' w10)

Given these similar meanings and hazy boundaries, it is possible that the synchronically distinct functions have developed from a single suffix. And this in turn may have entered the language through diffusion. Several languages in the region (some genetically unrelated) have an INSTR or PROP case suffix *-mirri* (e.g. Wubuy INSTR *-mirri*, Warndarang INSTR *-mirri*, Ritharrngu PROP

⁶ Followability has been one of the main criteria for considering a case suffix as derivational in many grammatical descriptions. For example, Dixon (1980: 300) argues for Yidiny that, since the POSS can be followed by other case suffixes it must be derivational; the case suffix derives a nominal stem that then takes an inflectional ending appropriate to its function in the sentence. Simpson (1991) observes that the criteria for classifying case suffixes as derivational in Warlpiri are elastic, as they have properties of both derivation and inflection. Like derivational suffixes, derivational cases can create nominals that are referential (e.g. *ngangkayi-kirli* [healing.powers-PROP] 'shaman, medicine man'), but like inflectional case suffixes, show concord (1991: 58).

Dench & Evans (1988: 10-3) counter the derivational analysis and claim that the 'followability' criterion is controversial and is not in itself sufficient for considering a suffix to be derivational rather than inflectional. The reason why adnominal suffixes can be followed by semantic suffixes, they argue, is because the outer suffixes originate in a higher constituent than the inner ones. They conclude that adnominal cases have a syntactic, hence inflectional, status; they relate phrases, not words, although of necessity they are marked on words (ibid p.12).

The followability criterion does not do much for Enindhilyakwa either, as both the POSS and the PROP/PRIV can be followed by other case suffixes, but only the PROP/PRIV is derivational. Adding the POSS suffix to a nominal does not result in a flexible noun class marker, so there is no reason for treating the POSS suffix as derivational.

⁷ This example is in fact rather complex. The nominal marked with the *-ma* case suffix is an adjective derived from the noun *alyelyikba* 'NEUT.lips' by the INALP prefix: *a-m-alyelyikba bajikala* [NEUT-INALP-NEUT.lips tin(NEUT)] expresses that part of a tin that resembles lips, i.e. that has thin lining. This is interpreted as the lid of the tin. Hence the NEUT noun class marker on the derived nominal represents *bajikala* 'tin(NEUT)', and not *bangkilya* 'tomahawk(NEUT)'. See Chapter 3 for a detailed discussion of the INALP construction and the body part nouns that participate in it.

-mirri, Djambarrpuyngu PROP *-mirr(i)*). Heath (1978b: 78-9) suggests that the Ritharrngu PROP suffix is archaic, as it is well-established in all Yolngu languages and is reconstructable for proto-Yolngu. He notes this suffix only occurs in a block of three continuous non-Pama-Nyungan languages: Wubuy, Enindhilyakwa and Warndarrang (and not Ngandi). The most likely explanation for this distribution, Heath proposes, is that Wubuy borrowed this suffix from Ritharrngu, specialising PROP as an INSTR, and that subsequently Enindhilyakwa and Warndarrang borrowed the INSTR from Wubuy.

However, Heath missed the PROP and COM uses of the Enindhilyakwa *-mvrra* ~ *-ma* suffix. If the original meaning of the suffix is PROP, it is perhaps more likely that it was the PROP suffix that diffused into Enindhilyakwa, which then extended its meaning to COM and INSTR - rather than borrowing the INSTR from Wubuy as suggested by Heath, and converting it to PROP:

(28) PROP ‘having’ > COM (‘accompanied by’) > INSTR (‘using as an instrument’)

Most likely the composite PRIV suffix developed from the PROP by addition of the ALP prefix. The *-mvrra* suffix could then have been shortened to *-ma* in Enindhilyakwa.

In common with Wubuy, the Enindhilyakwa INSTR suffix does not function as ERG case. The two languages differ in this from the Pama-Nyungan languages, where syncretism of INSTR suffix and ERG is extremely common (Blake 1977, 1987), but also from some non-Pama-Nyungan languages, including Gunwinyguan languages (e.g. BGW, Rembarnga, Ngalakgan and Ngandi [Heath 1978b: 76]). Apart from the very occasional use of ABL case on transitive subjects, as in (19) above, Wubuy and Enindhilyakwa both lack a systematic ERG case.

8.5 Locative *-manja*

The primary use of the LOC suffix is as a semantic case expressing a static location:

- (29) a. *ambarri-ya arvmv-manja eeka*
 IMP.2.sit-NP1 NEUT.big-LOC NEUT.tree
 ‘sit next to the big tree!’ (VL1 p.308)
- b. *kembirra kvngv-ma-rerrma-ji-na mukwena-manja m-ardvdarra-manja*
 then IRR.3f-VEG-dry-CAUS-NP2 VEG.heat.of.sun-LOC VEG-hot-LOC
 ‘then she will dry them [*mvnhvnga* ‘VEG.burrawang’] in the hot sun’ (‘Burrawang’ o10)
- c. *Mema mawulbvrda nvm-ambilya-ma awurukwa-manja, adhalyvma-manja*
 VEG.this VEG.cormorant VEG-live.NP2-*ma* NEUT.billabong-LOC NEUT.river-LOC
akwa mijiyelya-manja.
 and VEG.beach-LOC
 ‘Cormorants live in billabongs, beside rivers and at the beach.’ (GED p.75)

LOC case indicates a stationary position of an item. An additional adverb can be used to specify this location:

- (30) *n-ambambilyv-mvrra n-akukawura arrawa medhvrrv-manja karrawara*
 3m-RDP.stay.P2-*ma* 3m-alone inside VEG.cave-LOC above
mamvdhangku-manja
 VEG.sandhill-LOC
 ‘he kept on sitting alone inside the cave high up in the sand hills’ (VL1 p.452)

LOC case can also be used as a matrix predicate:

- (31) a. *mijiyelyv-manja wurr-akina*
 VEG.beach-LOC 3a-that
 ‘they are at the beach’ (JS2 p.98)
- b. *Dh-angaba Jenny-lhangwa-manja angalya.*
 3f-that.over.there J.-POSS-LOC NEUT.place
 ‘She is at Jenny’s place.’ (JW1 p.50)

Note that the subject argument of LOC case is not represented on the nominal bearing this case; in other words, LOC case is not a derivational suffix that can add a flexible noun class prefix to a noun (cf. PROP/PRIV suffix discussed in the previous section).⁸

The LOC case suffix can also function as a grammatical case, in three different contexts. It can optionally mark a semantically unusual object that is cross-referenced on the verb, that is, an object other than patient/theme. This was shown in (4a) and (5b) above for the recipient argument of the ditransitive verbs ‘show’ and ‘give’, and it is illustrated again below for the recipient argument of the verbs ‘tell’ and ‘ask’ (see also Leeding 1989: 309). The (32b) and (33) examples show that LOC case on the object nominals is not obligatory.

- (32) a. *bvngv-maka nungkuwa-manja?*
 3fdu/2-tell.PST 2.PRO-LOC
 ‘[what] did they tell you?’ (‘Search’ z16)
- b. *Enena kemba nvngarra-maka-ma wurru-kwalha warnungkwarba=dha, [...]*
 neut.this then 1/3a-tell.PST-*ma* 3a-some 3a.man-TRM
akina bujiked a nvngv-rrvngka-ma.
 NEUT.that cat(NEUT) 1/NEUT-see.PST-*ma*
 ‘Then I told some other men [...] (about) the cat I had seen.’ (‘Bujikeda’ y113)
- (33) *Narra-yendhaba-rna abvrrv-lhangwa(-manja) wurru-ngw-arngwa*
 3a/3a-ask-P2 3a.PRO-POSS(-LOC) 3a-father-3a.KIN
warnv-k-abvrangki=yadha yaraja.
 3a.m-NSR-hunt=PURP MASC.goanna
 ‘They asked their fathers to hunt for goanna.’ (Fieldnotes 2/12/08, DL, ML)

⁸ Leeding (1989: 311) claims that the inflectional LOC case suffix *-manja* also has a derivational usage, as it can create new lexemes. However, her examples either involve place names (e.g. *mv-ngwarndv-manja* [VEG-stone-LOC] ‘Jagged Head’), or nouns derived with the ALP prefix (e.g. *n-envng-akarrngv-manja* [3m-m.AL-NEUT.tooth-LOC] ‘male dentist’). Forming place names with LOC case is a regular strategy in Australia, so this is not sufficient evidence for the derivational status of LOC case. In the second example the noun *akarrnga* ‘NEUT.tooth’ is converted into an adjective with a flexible class prefix, but this is due to the ALP derivational prefix, not to the LOC case suffix. Hence, I claim that LOC case, as well as the other semantic cases, have no derivational usage.

Another grammatical usage of LOC case involves disambiguation: a direct object argument of a transitive verb can be marked with LOC case if the pronominal prefixes on the verb are ambiguous as to who is the direct object. This can happen when both participants are of the same noun class, or when the prefix itself is ambiguous. The following examples come from Waddy (n.d.-b).

- (34) a. *nvng-env-rrvngka n-akina n-enjarrngalyilya mijiyelya-manja*
 1-3m-see.PST 3m-that 3m-boy VEG.beach-LOC
 ‘I saw that boy at the beach.’
- b. *nenv-rrvngka n-akina-manja n-enjarrngalyilya mijiyelya-manja*
 3a/3m-see.PST 3m-that-LOC 3m-boy VEG.beach-LOC
 ‘They saw that boy at the beach.’
- c. *nenv-rrvngka wurr-akina-manja wurr-enjarrngalyilya mijiyelya-manja*
 3m/3a-see.PST 3a-that-LOC 3a-boy VEG.beach-LOC
 ‘He saw those boys at the beach.’

In (34a), the pronominal prefix *nvngen-* unambiguously identifies the subject and the object argument, and the object nominal is not marked with LOC case. The prefix *nen-* in (34b,c), on the other hand, is ambiguous between a 3m/3a and 3a/3m reading, and LOC case is used to identify the object argument.

A third type of grammatical usage of LOC case, as already suggested in section 8.2, is to mark the object argument of verbs of surface contact, which includes ‘hit’, ‘grab’, ‘pull’, ‘rub’, ‘bite’, et cetera. When the object is animate (or a part of an animate) these have a strong tendency to be marked with LOC case.

- (35) a. *nvngkuwa yi-ngaja-ma ngayuwa-manja*
 2.PRO 2/1-hit.PST-*ma* 1.PRO-LOC
 ‘you hit me’ (VL1 p.400)
- b. *narrv-ma-lyungkwe-nv-ma mamvngba-manja kajungwa mv-lhvngajirrvri=yadha*
 3a-VEG-rub-P2-*ma* VEG.hair-LOC so.that VEG-long=PURP
 ‘women used to rub their hair [with seed pods of white cloud tree(FEM), so that it became long]’ (GED p.25)
- c. *David nenv-rrak-bajv-ma Goliath-lhangwa-manja arra*
 D. 3m/3m-forehead-hit.P1-*ma* G.-POSS-LOC NEUT.forehead
 ‘David hit Goliath on the forehead / Goliath’s forehead’ (Ansec1)

The pronominal prefix *nen-* in (35c) does not specify whether David or Goliath is the agent, but this is indicated by the POSS case that marks the possessor of the body part that is hit. Hence LOC case is not required for disambiguation purposes here: it is present on the object argument because its predicate is a verb of surface contact.

By contrast, inanimate object arguments of verbs of surface contact do not tend to be marked with LOC case. This is illustrated by the following two minimal pairs both involving a human and an inanimate patient.

(36) *Narri-lyang-baju-wa-manja angwarnda narr-ararvka-ma dhvngarrkwa-lhangwa*
 3a/NEUT-hard.and.round-hit-P2-LOC NEUT.stone 3a/NEUT-tie.PST-*ma* FEM.spear.grass-POSS
amarda warnv-mukurra-manja, ayarrka-kiya-manja akwa alhakba-kiya-manja
 NEUT.grass 3a.m-face-LOC NEUT.hand-DU-LOC and NEUT.leg-DU-LOC
kajungwa nari=yadha a-ngajv-ma angwarnda abvrruwa-manja.
 so.that NEG=PURP NEGNP-hit-NP3 NEUT.stone 3a.PRO-LOC
 ‘When they were hitting the stone they tied spear grass over their faces and around their
 arms and legs so bits of stone wouldn’t hit them.’ (GED p.47)

(37) a. *narri-lyungkwe-nv-ma abvrra-lhangwa-manja alhakba kajungwa nari=yadha*
 3a/NEUT-rub-P2-*ma* 3a.PRO-POSS-LOC NEUT.leg so.that NEG=PURP
karr-env-marnda-nga yarrnga
 IRR.3a.O-MASC.S-stick-P2 MASC.leech
 ‘they rubbed their legs [with the gum from *yinvbarrnginja* ‘MASC.ghost.gum.tree’] so
 leeches wouldn’t stick on them’ (GED p.24)

b. *Biya ni-lyungkwena y-akina arakba m-amvrrijungwa-mvrra malharra*
 and 3m/MASC-paint-P2 MASC-that compl.act VEG-black-INSTR VEG.manganese
 ‘And he painted them [*yiraka* ‘MASC.didgeridoo’] with black manganese’ (GED p.183)

Differential object marking on the class of verbs of surface contact has been tested with speakers.⁹ All speakers approved of LOC case on the object of these verbs, but there was some variation as to how obligatory they considered it to be. Elaine Mamarika did not allow LOC case on the animate object of the non-verb of surface contact ‘wash’ (38a). She judged LOC case on the inanimate object of ‘hit’ as optional (38b), but said that it is obligatory on the human body part object of ‘hit’ in (38c). She also did not allow omission of LOC case on the human object of ‘stab’ in (38d), and thought ALL case was ungrammatical here.

(38) a. *nvng-en-ajirra-nga nu-warda*(-manja)*
 1-3m-wash-P2 3m-dog*(-LOC)
 ‘I washed the dog’

b. *nvng-en-arrku-warda-nga yinungwalya(-manja)*
 1-MASC-small.and.round-tap-P2 MASC.oyster(-LOC)
 ‘I was tapping on the oysters (to open them up)’

c. *wurri-yukwayuwa aka-ngina-dhadhe-na-ma yina*(-manja) akwa*
 3a-small.PL IRR.12a/3a-joints-poke-NP2-*ma* MASC.knee*(-LOC) and
arnda(-manja)*
 NEUT.elbow*(-LOC)
 ‘we will poke the children’s knees and elbows’¹⁰

d. *ngayuwa ng-en-adhukwa enuwa*(-manja) / (*-wa)*
 1.PRO 1-3m-stab.PST 3m.PRO*(-LOC) / (*-ALL)
 ‘I stabbed him’ (anin4_em_au_002)

⁹ Elaine Mamarika: female, 54 years old, resident of Angurugu, but originally from Umbakumba (Map 1.2), fluency in other languages besides Enindhilyakwa and English not known. Milly Mamarika: female, 56, resident of Umbakumba, fluency in other languages not known. Dugururu Lalara: female, 56, resident of Angurugu, fluent in Wubuy, Ritharrngu and Kriol. The Umbakumba dialect is considered ‘purer’ than the Angurugu dialect (Leeding 1989), or “strong lingo” according to the speakers.

¹⁰ Elaine Mamarika provided the information that, in the olden times, when a baby is about to crawl, people used to take one of the crabs along the beach and poke the baby on the knees and joints with it so it crawls quickly.

Milly Mamarika judged omission of LOC case on the human object of verbs of surface contact ‘bite’ (39a), ‘pull’ (39b) and ‘hit’ (39c) as ungrammatical. On the other hand, she did not approve of LOC case on the human object of ‘see’ in (39d).

- (39) a. *n-enjarrngalya nang-anga-ma dh-adhiyarv*(-manja)*
 3m-boy 3m/3f-bite.PST-*ma* 3f-girl*(-LOC)
 ‘the boy bit the girl’
- b. *nvng-en-arrka-rnu-ma nenungkwarbv-lhangv*(-manja) ayarrka*
 1-3m-pull-P2-*ma* 3m-man-POSS*(-LOC) NEUT.hand
 ‘I pulled the man’s hand’
- c. *yiba-ngaji-na-ma nungkuwa*(-manja)*
 IRR.1/2-hit-NP2-*ma* 2.PRO*(-LOC)
 ‘I will hit you’
- d. *ngayuwa yiba-rrvngkvnama nungkuwa*(-manja) adhalyvmv-manja arnungkwaya*
 1.PRO IRR.1/2-see-NP2-*ma* 2.PRO*(-LOC) NEUT.river-LOC tomorrow
 ‘I will see you at the river tomorrow’ (anin4_mm_au_001,002)

And Dugururru Lalara thought the LOC case on human objects of ‘hit’ verbs in (40) was optional.

- (40) a. *nara a-ngajv-ma alhakbv-manja ~ alhakba*
 NEG NEGNP-hit-NP3 NEUT-leg-LOC NEUT.leg
 ‘don’t hit his leg’
- b. *nara a-ngajv-ma ni-yukujiya-lhanga(-manja) alhakba*
 NEG NEGNP-hit-NP3 3m-small-POSS(-LOC) NEUT.leg
 ‘don’t hit the boy’s leg’ (anin4_dl_au_001)

I conclude that the human object of verbs of impact verbs of surface contact are differentially marked with LOC case in Enindhilyakwa. Differential object marking for ‘hit’ verbs is common cross-linguistically (Tsunoda 1981, 1985).

To summarise, LOC case is primarily a semantic case that occurs on adjuncts and provides information about the location of an event. It can also be used as a grammatical case on object arguments that are represented on the verb: ‘surprising’ objects (e.g. recipients), objects that are not unambiguously identified by the verbal prefixes, and on objects of verbs of surface contact.

8.6 Allative -*wa*

The main use of ALL case -*wa* is to denote the goal of movement, and is glossed as ‘to’:

- (41) a. *nv-lhvk-ena arvma-wa alhvkvra*
 3m-go-P2 NEUT.big-ALL NEUT.house
 ‘he went to the big house’ (JS2 p.108)
- b. *Yadvkina makarda-lhangwa akwa angerriba akungwa-wa ngarnvngka*
 from.there VEG.sea-ABL and to.over.there NEUT.freshwater-ALL also
kvnu-wilyakv-na.
 IRR.2/MASC-take-NP2
 ‘Then you will also take it [yimadhuwaya ‘MASC.stingray’] from the sea to the freshwater.’
 (‘Yimadhuwaya’ b22)

- c. *Engkvrra-ja ayakwa ena nungkuwa-wa nvngi-yengbi-na-ma.*
 IMP.2.listen-NP2 NEUT.word NEUT.this 2.PRO-ALL 1-speak-NP2-*ma*
 ‘Listen to these words I am speaking to you.’ (‘Mother’s advice’ c3)

In this usage ALL case is semantically dative.¹¹

Some verbs have two alternants, where one is transitive and takes a caseless object nominal, while the other is intransitive and takes an object nominal in ALL case. Consider the following examples from my fieldnotes, with two different translations of the same sentence given by two speakers (same age, same dialect).

- (45) a. *wurr-akina narra-lharrvma-ngv-ma wurrendhindha* (CW 28/11/08)
 COLL-that COLL/COLL-chase-P2-*ma* COLL.rat
 b. *wurr-akina na-lharrvma-ngv-ma wurrendhindhu-wa* (DL 28/11/08)
 COLL-that COLL-chase-past2-*ma* COLL.rat-ALL
 ‘it [dog(COLL)] was chasing the rat’

Caroline Wurramara (female, 56 years old) took the verb *-lharr(v)ma-* ‘chase’ in (45a) as transitive with a regular, unmarked, patient object argument. Dugururru Lalara (female, 56), by contrast, treated this verb as morphologically intransitive in (45b) and put the object argument in ALL case. The following examples show a similar alternation with the transitive verb ‘see’, the object of which can be optionally marked with ALL case, which then has a slightly different meaning:

- (46) a. *ngayuwa ngarra-rrvngka wurruwarda*
 1.PRO 1/COLL-see.PST COLL.dog
 ‘I saw the dog.’ (anin4_dl_au_001)
 b. *ngayuwa ngarra-rrvngka wurruwarda ~ wurruwardu-wa*
 1.PRO 1/COLL-see.PST COLL.dog COLL.dog-ALL
 ‘I was looking at the dog.’ (anin4_dl_au_001)

When the object is marked with ALL case the meaning of the clause is more like directed towards a goal than without the case marker.

In sum, ALL case is a semantic case that provides information about the setting of an event (its goal). It can also be used as a grammatical case on object arguments: on unusual objects other than patient/theme, or on objects of intransitive intentional verbs. In this usage it shows some overlap with the DAT case. ALL case is also occasionally used to mark the object when the pronominal prefix on the verb is ambiguous as to who is the subject and who the object.

¹¹ In Wubuy, one suffix is used for both ALL and DAT: *-wuy ~ -kuy* (with hardening occurring after a stop or nasal). In dative function, the suffix marks a noun that is already cross-referenced on the verb, while this is not true of allative uses (Heath 1984: 201). ALL/DAT case in Wubuy also has special nuclear use to mark the object when the prefix does not specify this (ibid p.204). The Wubuy suffix *-wuy ~ -kuy* may be cognate with Enindhilyakwa ALL *-wa*, which has the same range of functions (see Chapter 9 for the sound correspondences between Enindhilyakwa and Wubuy).

8.7 Ablative-pergressive *-lhangwiya*

The semantic ABL.PRG case suffix *-lhangwiya* formally consists of ABL *-lhangwa* plus pergressive clitic *=wiya* (Leeding 1989), but functions semantically as a unit. The meaning of the pergressive clitic *=wiya* is difficult to capture and will be left for further research. Leeding (1989: 313) suggests it denotes progression through time or space, while the dictionary lists additional meanings of ‘plural’ when used on nouns and ‘just, only, still’ when used on adverbs. Some examples of this clitic are given in (47).

- (47) a. *dhvrija anhvnga=wiya*
 dress(FEM) NEUT.food=PRG
 ‘food-covered dress’ (VL1 p.300)
- b. *Arakba=wiya yirruwa yirri-yukwayuwa=wiya...*
 compl.act=PRG 1a.PRO 1a-small.PL=PRG
 ‘Long ago when we were children ...’ (‘Awurukwa’ w1)
- c. *Nvbardvbarda-manja neni-karra-ngv-ma lhukwakwa yukurna-mvrru=wiya*
 N.-LOC 3a/3m-roast-P2-ma on.the.way MASC.bailer.shell-INSTR=PRG
ngawa=dha
 still=TRM
 ‘they roasted Nvbardvbarda on the way with the bailer shells’ (‘Nvbardvbarda’ s128)

The ABL.PRG case suffix *-lhangwiya* denotes movement along a path or through space (Stokes 1982; Leeding 1989; Waddy n.d.-b). Leeding notes that some speakers spell this suffix as *-lhangwiya*, which confirms its composite nature (1989: 314).¹²

- (48) a. *nv-lhvke-na mi-yukujiya-lhangwiya mamvrukwa*
 3m-go-P2 VEG-small-ABL.PRG VEG.road
 ‘he went along the little path’ (JS2 p.116)
- b. *nvm-angkarrv-na arrawu-lhangwiya*
 VEG-fly-P2 inside-ABL.PRG
 ‘it [plane (VEG)] flew very low’ (Lit: ‘along a path inside the sky’) (JS2 p.118)
- c. *nv-lhvke-nv-ma angandhingv-lhangwiya amarda*
 3m-go-P2-ma NEUT.sharp-ABL.PRG NEUT.grass
 ‘He was going through the sharp grass.’ (VL1 p.314)
- d. *Yaka yinvbvrva ngenv-rrvngkv-na-ma akwalhiyadha n-angkarrv-na-ma*
 MASC.that MASC.frigate.bird 12a/MASC-see-NP2-ma sometimes MASC-fly-NP2-ma
mukumukwa-lhangwiya makarda-lhangwiya.
 VEG.deep.sea-ABL.PRG VEG.sea-ABL.PRG
 ‘We sometimes see frigate birds flying over the deep sea and the sea.’ (GED p.72)

The ABL.PRG suffix has no attested usage as a grammatical case.

¹² Wubuy has a similar ABL-PRG composite suffix *-walawaj ~ -kalawaj* ‘(going) along X’, which consists of the ABL *-wala* and pergressive *-waj* (Heath 1984: 210).

8.8 Denizen *-kba*

DENIZ case *-kba* is an adnominal case that expresses the habitat of an animal or species (Waddy n.d.-b). It attaches to the nominal that expresses the habitat (or its modifier). There are no attested examples of the inhabitant being human.

- (49) a. *Dhvngarrbiya dh-aka ngawa [...] arvmvrvma-kba adhalyvma*
 FEM.crocodile FEM-that still NEUT.RDP.big-DENIZ NEUT.river
 ‘Crocodile still lives in big rivers’ (‘Crocodile and Bluetongue’)
- b. *Akwa ebina yiningilya-kba alkwa [...]. Vmba ebina*
 and NEUT.that.same MASC.sandbar-DENIZ NEUT.bait.crab but NEUT.that.same
anhvma-kba alkwa ngarrv-mungkwadhv-na-ma...
 NEUT.mangroves-DENIZ NEUT.bait.crab 12a-dig-NP2-*ma*
 ‘That bait crab that lives on the sandbars [it’s not edible]. But that bait crab that lives in
 the mangroves, that we dig up [it’s edible].’ (‘Crabs’ d7-8)

There is no noun class agreement between the modifier and the head. DENIZ case is semantically very similar to LOC case *-manja* that equally denotes a static location. The difference, however, is that the former is adnominal and the latter semantic:

- (50) *Vmba ngalha-ja ebina envng-anhvma-kba alkwa,*
 but NEUT.PRO-CofR NEUT.that.same NEUT.m.ALP-NEUT.mangroves-DENIZ NEUT.bait.crab
akina anvma-manja nuw-ambilya-ma...
 NEUT.that NEUT.mangroves-LOC NEUT-live.NP2-*ma*
 ‘The bait crab that belongs in the mangroves, it lives in the mangroves...’ (‘Crabs’ d24)

Adnominal *-kba* relates the noun *alkwa* ‘NEUT.bait crab’ to the noun *anhvma* ‘NEUT.mangroves’, whereas semantic LOC case provides information about the setting of ‘living’.

Being adnominal, DENIZ case may be followed by a semantic case suffix. Only one example is attested:¹³

- (51) *yi-nungu-makardv-kbv-manja*
 MASC-m.ALP-VEG.sea-DENIZ-LOC
 ‘sea snake’ (VL2 p.231)

Adnominal DENIZ case is not a common case marker and it has no usage as a grammatical or semantic case.

8.9 Case concord

Case concord is optional in Enindhilyakwa when the modifier and the head are adjacent. In fact, in continuous NPs, usually only the modifier receives case (Stokes 1982; Leeding 1989). This is true for every case type, as can be seen in many of the examples above, and in (52).

¹³ Leeding (1996: 213) calls the *-kba* suffix a marker of “some sort of possession”.

- (52) a. *ambarri-ya arvmv-manja eeka*
 IMP.2.sit-NP1 NEUT.big-LOC NEUT.tree
 ‘sit next to the big tree!’ (VL1 p.308)
- b. *nvngi-lyingv-na-ma m-akina-lhangwa dvraka awarnda*
 1/NEUT-keep-NP2-*ma* VEG-that-DAT truck(VEG) NEUT.money
 ‘I keep the money for that truck’ (= [9b])
- c. *narr-akbilya-ngv-ma yilyakwa-lhangwa-ma amvlhvka merra-manja.*
 3a/NEUT-stick-P2-*ma* MASC.bee.POSS-INSTR NEUT.bees’.wax VEG.string-LOC
 ‘they stuck them [*adhvdhvra* ‘NEUT.bone’] on string with bees’ wax’ (= [17c])
- d. *y-aka yinvngvmambalba n-ambilya-ma warnv-mamalya-lhangwa-manja*
 MASC-that MASC.bat MASC-live.NP2-*ma* 3a.m-people-POSS-LOC
alhvkvra
 NEUT.house
 ‘bats live under people’s houses’ (= [17a])
- e. *ngayuwa kvnga-wilyaka-ji-na-ma dh-akina Judie mvnhvnga m-akina-lhangwa*
 1.PRO IRR.1/3f-take-CAUS-NP2-*ma* 3f-that J. VEG.cycad VEG-that-ABL
 ‘I will teach Judie about that burrawang [bread].’ (‘Burrawang’ o23)

In most cases the modifier precedes the head, but it is also possible for it to follow the head, as in (52e). In the absence of a modifier, case attaches to the head, as in many examples above. When there are two or more modifiers in a continuous NP, only one of them needs to be case-marked, as shown in (53a). Stokes (1982: 99) notes that if one of the modifiers follows the head, its case suffix is optional (53b). In the textual data though, both non-adjacent modifiers are usually case-marked, as illustrated in (53c,d).

- (53) a. *nenv-malyangkee-yi-nv-mvrra abvrnv-lhangu-mvrra a-yukwayuwa enungkwa*
 3mdu-play-RECP-P2-*ma* 3mdu.PRO-POSS-INSTR NEUT-small.PL NEUT.spear
 ‘the two [boys] were playing with their little spears’ (VL1 p.310)
- b. *nv-lhvke-na m-angabv-lhangwiya mamvrukwa mi-yukujiya(-lhangwiya)*
 3m-go-P2 VEG-that.over.there-ABL.PRG VEG.path VEG-little(-ABL.PRG)
 ‘he went along that little path’ (JS2 p.116)
- c. *nvng-ena nvngi-yengbi-na-ma mema-lhangwa adhuwaba dvraka*
 1-this 1-speak-NP2-*ma* VEG.this-ABL today truck(VEG)
ngakurra-lhangwa-lhangwa
 12a.PRO-POSS-ABL
 ‘I am talking today about that truck of ours’ (‘Vehicle hire’ k1)
- d. *dh-ababvrnv-lhangwa dhymbala ngakurrv-lhangwa karrawara*
 FEM-many-POSS clothes(FEM) 12a.PRO-POSS high
akvnga-wurdi-ji-na-ma eeka-manja
 IRR.12a/FEM-climb-CAUS-NP2-*ma* NEUT.tree-LOC
 ‘we will put our many clothes up high in the tree’ (VL1 p.294)

Also when case is used predicatively do both arguments receive case when they are non-adjacent:

- (54) *yirra-lhangwa yikarba yirr-arvma-lhangwa*
 1a.PRO-POSS MASC.woomera 1a-big-POSS
 ‘woomeras are for us adults’ (‘Lionel’ i14)

There are however a handful of examples of a continuous NP where both the head and the modifier are case-marked, some of which are given below.

- (55) a. *kembirra kvngv-ma-rerrma-ji-na mukwena-manja m-ardvdarra-manja*
 then IRR.3f-VEG-dry-CAUS-NP2 VEG.heat.of.sun-LOC VEG-hot-LOC
 ‘then she will dry them [*mvnhvnga* ‘VEG.burrawang’] in the hot sun’ (= [29b])
 b. *akwalha narri-yena-nga-ma alyarrngandhv-manja amarnvvn-manja*
 NEUT.some 3a/NEUT-roast-P2-*ma* NEUT.hot-LOC NEUT.coals-LOC
 ‘they cooked some in the hot coals’ (‘Malhamukwa-lhangwa’)

These examples suggest that case on the head of a continuous NP is optional, rather than obligatorily absent, as it would seem from (52)-(54).

In discontinuous NPs, by contrast, the modifier and the head both obligatorily receive case:

- (56) a. *dvngkiyv-manja arakba mi-yukujiyv-manja yirrv-ribijee-yi-na*
 dinghy(VEG)-LOC compl.act VEG-small-LOC 13a-disembark-RECP-P2
 ‘we went ashore in the small dinghy’ (VL1 p.308)
 b. *ngarr-ibina-lhangwiya kembirra ngarrv-minjirrv-mvrdha-lhangwiya ena*
 12a-that-ABL.PRG then 12a-skin-dark-ABL.PRG NEUT.this
angalya akv-mvn-ambilyi=yadha
 NEUT.place IRR.12a/NEUT-BENE-stay.NP2=PURP
 ‘so we can keep this place according to our full-blood way’ (‘Mixed marriages’ e115)

Complete concord for discontinuous NPs and marking of only one member of continuous NPs happens in other languages also; Dench & Evans (1988: 5) mention Diyari, for example.

In coordination structures, all conjuncts are case-marked:

- (57) a. *nenv-ma-ngv-ma yi-nv-mangwurracija yukungba-lhangwa akwa*
 3a/MASC-take-past-*ma* MASC-m-fur MASC.possum-POSS and
yelyuwarra-lhangwa
 MASC.sugar.glider-POSS
 ‘they took fur from possums and from sugar gliders’ (GED p.202)
 b. *Amarnvna-ma akwa ajirvngka-ma kvnv-karre-na...*
 NEUT.ashes-INST and NEUT.sand-INST IRR.2/MASC-roast.in.ashes-P2
 ‘You will roast it [burrawang(MASC)] with hot sand and ashes ...’ (‘Burrawang’ b11)
 c. *Mema mawulbvrda nvm-ambilya-ma awurukwa-manja, adhalyvma-manja akwa*
 VEG.this VEG.cormorant VEG-stay.NP2-*ma* NEUT.billabong-LOC NEUT.river-LOC and
mijiyelya-manja.
 VEG.beach-LOC
 ‘Cormorants live in billabongs, beside rivers and at the beach.’ (= [29c])

In sum, case concord is optional when the modifier(s) and head are adjacent, but obligatory for discontinuous NPs and in coordination structures.

8.9.1 Case concord involving relative clauses

Relative clauses are obligatorily marked with the subordinate clause marker *-ma ~ -mvrva* that follows the tense/aspect inflectional suffixes (section 6.7). The *-ma ~ -mvrva* suffix also very frequently appears on verbs in the main clause, where I analysed it as a ‘first person focalisation marker’, hence relative clauses may look identical to main clauses:

- (58) *narrv-m-angka-rnv-ma mvnhvnga m-ibina narrv-ma-lyakukwa-ma akungwa-manja*
 3a-VEG-collect-P2-*ma* VEG.burrawang VEG-that 3a-VEG-soak.P2-*ma* NEUT.water-LOC
 ‘they collected the burrawang nuts that they had soaked in water’ (GED p.85)

The pronominal prefix on the verb shows what the relative clause modifies: here the object represented on the verb in the relative clause is the same as the object of the main clause. An alternative translation of this example could therefore be: ‘they collected the burrawang nuts, they had soaked them in water’.

The verb in a relative clause is fully inflected, but it behaves like a nominal in that it agrees in case with the head noun in the main clause. The distribution of the case suffixes involving relative clauses is identical to that of nominals discussed above: only the modifier obligatorily receives case in a continuous NP. Compare for instance [big-ALL tree] ‘to the big tree’ with [woman 3f-sit-NP2-*ma*-ALL] ‘to the woman that is sitting’. It is always the verb of the relative clause that receives case. Only in discontinuous NPs are the head and the relative clause obligatorily case-marked.

This is pattern illustrated in the following examples for: LOC in (59); ALL in (60); ABL in (61); DAT in (62); and INSTR in (63). When two examples are given for a particular case suffix, the noun in the main clause and the relative clause are adjacent in the (a) examples - and thus only the verb of the relative clause is marked for case - whereas they are non-adjacent in the (b) examples, and both the noun and the verb of the relative clause are case-marked.

- (59) a. *narri-lyungkwe-nv-ma ebina nuw-arrkujeeyi-nv-mvrrv-manja a-madhangkwa*
 3a/NEUT-rub-P2-*ma* NEUT.that NEUT-be.painful-P2-*ma*-LOC NEUT-body
 ‘... they rubbed [the leaves of *engbajengbaja* ‘NEUT.boronia’] on the part [of their body] that was hurting’ (GED p.9)
- b. *nvng-akvma-rna amawalyuwa ebina-manja angalya na-jungu-na-mvrrv-manja*
 1/NEUT-put-P2 NEUT.flowers NEUT.that-LOC NEUT.place COLL-die-P2-*ma*-LOC
 ‘I put flowers on the place where it [bird(COLL)] died’ (anin1_ ‘my dream’ _dl)
- (60) a. *nuw-errikbi-nv-ma akina nvm-angkarrv-nv-mvrru-wa m-ibina mamarika*
 3a-throw-P2-*ma* NEUT.this VEG-run-P2-*ma*-ALL VEG-that VEG.southeast.wind
 ‘they tossed them [leaves(NEUT)] to the southeast wind that was blowing’ (GED p.58)
- b. *lhvki-yee=ka nungkwa-lhangu-wa angalya arakba*
 2.IMP.go-NP1=EMPH 2.PRO-POSS-ALL NEUT.place now
nvngkv-ngekbvraka-mvrru-wa, nungkwa-ja!
 2/NEUT-make.PST-*ma*-ALL 2.PRO-CofR
 ‘Go to your place that you have made, you!’ (‘Crocodile and Bluetongue’)

- (61) a. *akina edhvrira nvngv-mungkwadhv-nv-ma-lhangwa kembirra nvngu-wurda-ngv-ma*
 NEUT.that NEUT.hole 1-dig-P2-*ma*-ABL then 1-climb-P2-*ma*
 ‘I climbed out of the hole that I dug.’ (Fieldnotes, ML 3/12/08)
- b. *nvngv-lhvka-rna ngi-jadha-nga akina-lhangwa angalya ngayuwa*
 1-go-P2 1-appear-P2 NEUT.that-ABL NEUT.place 1.PRO
ngv-ngekvraka-ma-lhangwa
 1/NEUT-make.PST-*ma*-ABL
 ‘I went out of the house that I built.’ (Fieldnotes, ML 3/12/08)
- (62) *vmba n-akina nara kenu-kwa ngayuwa-wa awarnda a-mvrndak-akina*
 but 3m-that NEG IRR.3m/1-give.P2 1.PRO-ALL NEUT.money NEUT-many-that
m-ibina kvrramu-wurraki-lyilya-ngv-mv-lhangwa
 VEG-that VEG/2a-many-take-P2-*ma*-DAT
 ‘but he didn’t give me all that money for the truck(VEG) that took you out’ (‘Vehicle hire’ k18)
- (63) *Biya wurr-ibina nuw-ambilyv-mvrrv-mvrra angalya-manja narrv-dhaka-ma*
 and 3a-that 3a-stay.P2-*ma*-INSTR NEUT.place-LOC 3a/NEUT-cook.P2-*ma*
arndvrrba
 NEUT.waterlily.roots
 ‘And they cooked the waterlily roots with those who stayed at the camp’ (‘Awurukwa’ w29)

In the last example *angalya-manja* is part of the relative clause ‘those who stayed at the camp’.

The cases that appear on the verb in a relative clause have the same meaning and function as they do on nominals: semantic LOC case in (59), for instance, denotes the location of an event, and grammatical DAT case in (62) denotes the purpose of an event. And in (64a) DAT case occurs on the oblique complement of ‘fear’ in the main clause (identical to the use of this case on nominal complements of ‘fear’). The matrix NP and the subordinate clause are adjacent, so only the relative clause receives case. However, it is also possible for both the noun and the adjacent relative clause to be case-marked, as in (64b). This shows that, as with nominals, case on the head noun of a continuous NP is not obligatorily absent, but merely optional.

- (64) a. *Warnv-mamalya nuw-akbardhe-na-ma y-akina kvn-awiyeba-mv-lhangwa*
 3a.m-people 3a-be.afraid-NP2-*ma* MASC-that IRR.MASC-enter.P1-*ma*-DAT
abvrra-lhangwa-manja madha.
 3a.PRO-POSS-LOC VEG.ear
 ‘People are afraid of them [*ylhama* ‘MASC.bug’] getting into their ears.’ (GED p.95)
- b. *Arakbawiya warnv-mamalya nuw-akbardha-ngv-ma y-akina-lhangwa*
 long.time.ago 3a.m-people 3a-be.afraid-P2-*ma* MASC-that-DAT
kvnv-ngekvraka-mv-lhangwa edhvrira emindhama-manja.
 IRR.MASC/NEUT-make.P2-*ma*-DAT NEUT.hole NEUT.nose-LOC
 ‘A long time ago people were afraid of them [*yangungwa* ‘MASC.eel’] making a hole in their noses.’ (GED p.101)

Case suffixes that specify various kinds of co-reference relationships between main and subordinate clause arguments are called C-complementisers in the literature (e.g. Dench & Evans 1988). The case suffixes as they appear on the verb in relative clauses in Enindhilyakwa, although

reminiscent of C-complementisers, are not analysed as such, because they do not have a subordinating function: it is the *-ma ~ -mvrra* suffix that functions as the subordinator. The case suffixes on the verb in the relative clause are added to the subordinate clause marker and only appear in agreement with the head noun in the main clause.

In sum, nominal case suffixes are used on fully inflected verbs in relative clauses in the same way as they appear on nominals. Case suffixes appearing on finite verbs, rather than say, non-finite nominalised verbs, are typologically unusual. Other instances are given in section 8.11.

8.10 NP constituency

Some researchers have claimed for particular Australian languages that these do not have noun phrases, but that instead nominals are simply juxtaposed in the syntax. For example, Heath (1978a: 52) claims for Ngandi that “noun phrases which have more than one constituent are typically formed by apposition [...] where the various constituents are often formally independent of each other [...] and may be separated from each other”. Similar claims for a flat structure have been made by Blake (1983) for Kalkatungu, Evans (1995) for Kayardild, Wilkins (2000) for Mparntwe Arrernte, Gaby (2006) for Kuuk Thayorre (cited in Sadler & Nordlinger 2009), and Heath (1986) for Wubuy. Other languages may have clear NP structures for head-modifier relations, but simultaneously have a range of constructions that are seemingly appositional without any evidence of syntactic asymmetry. Examples are the part-whole and generic-specific constructions, or various other types of nominal-nominal ‘appositions’ (Sadler & Nordlinger 2009). In section 7.10 I argued for an appositional analysis of part-whole and generic-specific constructions in Enindhilyakwa.

The situation is different for head-modifier relations. We have seen above that when a head and a modifier are adjacent, only the modifier needs to be case-marked. Hence the head of the NP can clearly be identified: it is the one that does not bear case (although admittedly the head can optionally receive case as well). The fact that case can be factored out over the members of the NP suggests that these form a constituent. In discontinuous NPs, by contrast, both heads and modifiers receive case. Together with the fact that any nominal (allowing for its semantics) can act as a predicate, this makes it impossible to determine the head of the phrase and thus these nominals can be seen as in apposition.

This asymmetry does not exist for POSS case (and probably not for COM and DENIZ case either but the data are too scarce to draw any firm conclusions). The modifier marked for POSS case is always adjacent to the head which is caseless. This was true for all the above examples, and the following.

- (65) a. *ak-akvma-manja ngakurra-lhangwa ayarrka ena-lhangwa-manja*
 IRR.12a/NEUT-put.NP1-LOC 12a.PRO-POSS NEUT.hand MASC.PRO-POSS-LOC
edhvrra...
 NEUT.mouth
 ‘if we put our hands into their [*yulkwa* ‘MASC.toadfish’] mouths...’ (GED p.115)
- b. *ne-beki-nv-ma m-akina ma-malyirra akena abvr-ra-lhangwa mulkwa*
 3a-drink-P2-*ma* VEG-that VEG-liquid but 3a.PRO-POSS VEG.stomach
nvm-arrkujeeyi-nv-ma
 VEG-be.painful-P2-*ma*
 ‘they drank the liquid(VEG) but their stomachs hurt’ (GED p.7)

It is always the caseless head noun that is cross-referenced on the verb. There is no noun class agreement between the noun marked with POSS case and the head noun. This lack of agreement is somewhat remarkable, because modifiers always agree in noun class with their head. The question then is how the modifier-head relationship is represented. One plausible answer is that this is done by configurational means, as the modifier bearing POSS case and its head form a tight unit. The lack of noun class harmony could thus be made up for by adjacency. When this NP constituent is in a non-zero case category, i.e. other than subject and direct object, only the modifier is marked for peripheral case, as in (52d) and (53a,c) above, and the following.¹⁴

- (66) *biya n-eniyuwangku-lhangu-manja alhkvra yirr-ambilyv-ma*
 then 3m-old.man-POSS-LOC NEUT.house 1a-stay.p2-*ma*
 ‘then we were staying at the old man’s house’ (VL1 p.309)

LOC case denoting the location of the event is factored out over the NP constituent.

If the analysis of NP constituency of possessor nouns marked with POSS case and their heads is correct, we would expect case to be able to be factored out over a coordination structure as well. This expectation is borne out:

- (67) *Nara angkarrkajv-ma dambakwa vmba wurr-ambilya karnvngaba*
 not NEGNP.smoke-NEGNP tobacco(FEM) but 2a.IMP-live.NP2 2a.good
yik-arrvngkv-na=yadha nungkurrv-lhangwa angkuwa akwa
 IRR.2/NEUT-see-NP2=PURP 2.PRO-POSS NEUT.child.of.daughter and
ambinya
 NEUT.child.of.son
 ‘Don’t smoke, live well to see your grandchildren.’ (Angurugu Linguistics)

¹⁴ This structure then differs from the Wubuy structure of possession NPs: Heath (1986: 392-4) suggests that the syntactic asymmetry between possessor and possessum is blurry. Although the possessor is marked with the Wubuy equivalent of POSS case, and verb agreement is with the possessum only (similar to the Enindhilyakwa situation), the major evidence for an appositional analysis comes from case-marking when the possessum is not subject or object. In this event, POSS case on the possessor is frequently replaced by a copy of the case suffix found on the possessum. The result is a surface string that has the appearance of an appositional juxtaposition: *he-went to-me to-the-house* ‘he went to my house’. This is very different from Enindhilyakwa, where we would find *he-went to-POSS-me house* ‘he went to my house’.

Coordination takes place *within* a constituent, so POSS case can be factored out over both coordinates. This coordination structure can be represented as follows.

(68) [you-POSS [[child of daughter] and [child of son]]]

In conclusion, Enindhilyakwa appears to have both nominal appositional structures, where neither nominal can be identified as the head, and asymmetrical head-modifier NP structures, where a head can easily be identified.

8.11 T-complementising case

As we have seen in section 8.9.1, the domain of nominal case marking is readily extended to finite verbs in a relative clause, where the case suffixes follow the subordinate clause marker *-ma ~ -mvrra* and agree with the head noun in the matrix clause. However, case suffixes can also appear on fully inflected verbs in another type of subordinate clause: in adverbial subordinate clauses that specify temporal or logical relations with the main clause. Case suffixes that take two clauses as their arguments are called ‘T-complementisers’ in the Australianist literature (e.g. Hale 1976; Simpson 1988; Dench & Evans 1988). Complementising case suffixes are most common on non-finite nominalised verbs in Australian languages, but in the eastern Gunwinyguan languages (Ngalakgan, Rembarrnga, Wubuy - but not Ngandi) they occur on finite verbs.¹⁵ Nominalised verbs are very rarely case-marked in Enindhilyakwa. The only morphemes they take are some enclitics, such as PURPOSIVE =*yadha* (Appendix H) and REASON =*baba* (see Leeding 1989) (these clitics have similar semantic functions to case suffixes but with a different distribution).

All T-complementiser case suffixes except LOC case obligatorily occur with the subordinating *-ma ~ -mvrra* suffix. A difference with the case markers appearing on verbs in relative clauses - which were *not* analysed as complementising cases - is that they are not triggered by agreement with a head noun in the matrix clause. They indicate the relationship of a subordinate clause with the main clause, with adjusted semantics, so the T-complementation analysis is justified. Table 8.2 lists the various Enindhilyakwa T-complementiser suffixes and their meanings.

Suffix	Label	Gloss as T-complementiser
<i>-manja</i>	LOC	‘if, when’
<i>-lhangwa</i>	ABL	‘after’
<i>-wa</i>	ALL	‘until’
<i>-lhangwiya</i>	ABL.PRG	‘while’
<i>-kba</i>	DENIZ	‘see whether’

Table 8.2: T-complementiser case suffixes and their meanings

¹⁵ Other languages in which this happens are Kamilaroi and Yuwaaliyaay (Dench & Evans 1988: 18), and Martuthunira (Dench 1995, cited in Nordlinger 1998).

An example of each T-complementiser case suffix is presented below. LOC case with realis mood prefixation means ‘when’, as in (69), and with irrealis mood prefixation yields conditional ‘if’ (70). I demonstrated in section 6.7 that the absence of the *-ma ~ -mvrra* suffix with LOC T-complementising case was not due to haplology, as the two suffixes do occur together in relative clauses (see examples in [59] above). Instead I suggested the absence of *-ma ~ -mvrra* with LOC T-complementising case is for semantic reasons, as this suffix is incompatible with unrealised events. However, this issue clearly needs more research. The use of ABL case as a T-complementiser meaning ‘after’ is illustrated in (71); of ALL meaning ‘until’ in (72); of ABL.PRG meaning ‘while’ in (74); and of DENIZ meaning ‘see whether’ in (75). LOC and ABL are the most common T-complementiser cases. No examples of DAT and INSTR cases in this function have been found.

- (69) a. *nvm-awiyebe-nv-manja m-ibina mamawura arakba*
 VEG-enter-P2-LOC VEG-that.same VEG.sun already
yirru-mvrndak-arrv-mvrndukwa-ma bajikala
 13a/NEUT-many-small.and.round-gather.P2-*ma* tin(NEUT)
 ‘when the sun set we gathered our tins’ (‘Awurukwa’ w35-6)
- b. *Nvm-abvlhvwendha-ma ngarra-mv-rrvngkv-na-manja ngarnv-mamalya...*
 VEG-bow.down.NP1-*ma* 12a.O-VEG.S-see-NP2-LOC 12a-people
 ‘They [*mamvkiyeliya* ‘VEG.shy crab’] tuck their heads in when they see us people...’
 (‘Crabs’ d28-9)
- (70) a. *nvngk-akina kvnv-ngalyakv-manja y-akina yingarna ken-ardhvrri-ya-ma*
 2-that IRR.2/MASC-tread.on.NP1-LOC MASC-that MASC.snake IRR.MASC/2-spear-NP1-*ma*
 ‘If you stand on that snake it will bite you.’ (VL1 p.491)
- b. *kenu-warde-na-manja, nungkwa-ja kvnu-warde-na arrkalha*
 IRR.3m/2-hit-NP2-LOC 2.PRO-CofR IRR.2/3m-hit-NP2 on.the.other.hand
 ‘if he hits you, you can hit him back’ (‘Children’ h15-6)
- (71) a. *akv-dhakv-na-mv-lhangwa akwalya iya yimendha, aku-wurymbiji-na-ma*
 IRR.12a/NEUT-cook-NP2-*ma*-ABL NEUT.fish and MASC.turtle IRR.12a/NEUT-cover-NP2-*ma*
y-aka-mvrra yi-nv-m-amarda
 MASC-that-INSTR MASC-m-INALP-NEUT.grass
 ‘after we cook fish and turtles, we cover the meat with the leaves of these trees
 [*yawurdarra* ‘MASC.red jungle berry’]’ (GED p.3)
- b. *Kembirra nenv-ringandha-ngv-mv-lhangwa nuw-awurikee-yi-na wurr-ababvrnalhangwa*
 then 3a/MASC-cut-P2-*ma*-ABL 3a-share-RECP-P2 3a-everyone
 ‘After they had cut up the turtle, they shared it with everyone’ (GED p.172)
- (72) *n-embvmbivrarv-nv-ma ngawa wurr-ababvrnv-lhangwa*
 3m-RDP.wait-P2-*ma* cont.act 3a-many-POSS
ka-mungku-mungkulhi-jee-yi-nv-mvrriu-wa
 IRR.3a-RDP-sleep-CAUS-RECP-P2-*ma*-ALL
 ‘he kept on waiting until everyone was sleeping’ (VL1 p.405)
- (73) *kv-lhvka-ja-mv-lhangwiya ngayuwa nvng-env-m-alhvka yikv-lhukwa-mvrrkaji-na*
 IRR.1-go-NP2-*ma*-ABL.PRG 1.PRO 1-m-INALP-NEUT.foot IRR.2a/1-track-follow-NP2
 ‘while I will be going [through the area], you can follow my tracks’ (VL1 p.314)

- (74) *n-embvrrarv-nv-ma kenu-kwa-mvrrv-kba wun-alh-akina wurrawuminya*
 3m-wait-P2-*ma* IRR.3a/3m-give.P2-*ma*-DENIZ 3mdu-du-that COLL.duck
 ‘he was waiting to see if they two would give him a duck’ (VL1 p.493)

As for relative clauses (section 8.9.1), T-complementisers occur on the head of the subordinate clause only. In the presence of the negator *nara*, the case suffix attaches to this element instead, as in (75). The negator can thus be assumed to be the head. The example in (75b) shows that *nara* can also be the matrix predicate.

- (75) a. *akv-lhvka-ja-manja erriberriba-wa akwa nara-manja a-rrvngka-ma dh-akina*
 IRR.12a-go-NP2-LOC NEUT.bush-ALL and NEG-LOC NEGNP-see-NEGNP FEM-that
 ‘if we go to the bush and if we don’t see that snake(FEM)...’ (GED p.102)
 b. *Nara-manja alyukurra ak-akvmv-rna-ma awalyuwa akwalya*
 NEG-LOC NEUT.paperbark IRR.12a/NEUT-put-NP2-*ma* NEUT.ripe NEUT.fish
ngalha-lhangwa-manja amarda.
 NEUT.PRO-POSS-LOC NEUT.leaves
 ‘If there is no paperbark, we put the cooked fish on their leaves.’ (GED p.17)

Finally, T-complementiser case can also appear on adjectives:

- (76) a. *kembirra yirrv-kalharu-kwa-ja-ma akina amarda, vmba*
 then 13a/NEUT-burnt.off.bush-FACT-CAUS.NP1-*ma* NEUT.that NEUT.grass but
nara engkalya-manja, engbvrngka-manja
 NEG NEUT.wet-LOC NEUT.dry-LOC
 ‘then we start burning off the grass, but not when it is wet, when it is dry’ (‘Ekalhara’ g4-8)
 b. *yi-ma-warrukwa-ji-na arakba mu-walyuwa-mvrrv-kba*
 HORT.12-VEG-cross-CAUS-NP2 already VEG-ripe-*ma*-DENIZ
 ‘let’s turn it [*mvnhvnga* ‘VEG.burrawang’] over now to see if it is already cooked’
 (‘Burrawang’ o49-50)

Note that the LOC case in (76a) does not appear on the negator *nara*, as it does in (75), but on the predicate. This is because these examples have different structures: in (75), the suffix *-manja* has scope over [*nara a-rrvngka-ma*] in (75a) and over [*nara alyukurra*] in (75b); but in (76a) *nara* has scope over [*engkalya-manja*]. This difference can be represented as follows:

- (77) a. [*nara a-rrvngka-ma dh-akina*]-*manja* (if [not see snake])
 b. [*nara alyukurra*]-*manja* (if [not paperbark])
 c. *nara* [*engkalya-manja*] (not [if dry])

In other words, the examples in (76a) do not contradict my claim that T-complementisers occur on the head of the subordinate clause only.

The meanings of the case suffix as it appears on nominals and as a T-complementiser on verbs are clearly related: the ABL meaning ‘from’ is extended to ‘after’ (from having done X, we did Y), and the ALL meaning of ‘to, towards’ becomes ‘until’ (waiting towards X). Similar meaning extensions have taken place in for instance Pitta-Pitta (Blake 1987: 143), and in Wubuy (Heath

1984: 573). The development of LOC case *-manja* to denote ‘if’ or ‘when’ is less clear (LOC case as a T-complementiser in Pitta-Pitta means ‘while’; ‘at a time’ is parallel to ‘at a place’). We will see below that Wubuy has a cognate suffix *-ma(ny)jii* that is used exclusively on conditionals (i.e. it does not function as LOC case on nominals).

8.11.1 Complementising cases in Gunwinyguan languages

It has often been claimed for polysynthetic languages that they have little in the way of formal marking of subordinate clause types (e.g. Heath 1975; Mithun 1984b, cited in Evans 2003a). Dixon (1980: 460) notes that this is true for the non-Pama-Nyungan languages of Australia, where subordination is usually shown by parataxis (juxtaposition of clauses). Indeed, in for example BGW there is a paucity of formally distinct subordinating structures. Evans (2003a: 628-31) suggests that the complex verbal morphology and obligatory argument registration of the language reduces the need for subordination. For example, the semantic relationships between clauses can to a large extent be inferred from a comparison of the TAMs of each clause: (78) has a sequence of three tenses signalling cross-clausal relations: past imperfective in the framing ‘when’ clause, past perfective for the framed event (an act of perception), then the non-past for the perceived event.

(78) *Kum-kuyin-re-y Ø-bekka-ng kabene-mim-baye man-mim...*
 3Phither-almost-go-PI 3/3P-hear-PP 3ua-seed-biteNP III-seed
 ‘As he was coming closer he heard two people eating seeds...’ (Evans 2003a: 631, ex.14.15)

However, in some Gunwinyguan languages case suffixes are used to mark subordinate clauses. Although rare, LOC case can be used in BGW on fully inflected verbs to signal temporal relations between clauses, as in the following.

(79) *Na-mekke Ø-wam nungka kornkumo bi-nahna-ng-kah Ø-wam.*
 MASC-DEM 3P-gOPP he father3REF 3/3P-watch-PP-LOC 3P-gOPP
 ‘His father went off (to find him) while (the clever man) watched him.’ (ibid, ex. 14.19)

This example is much more like the type of subordination that we have seen in Enindhilyakwa. In addition, Evans notes that Dalabon also has extensive possibilities for inflecting verbs for case showing interclausal relations (2003a: 628, fn1). Heath discusses two examples in Ngandi of a relative clause that is formed “by simply adding a case suffix to the inflected verb to agree with the case of the head noun in its clause” (1978a: 126) - similar to the Enindhilyakwa way of forming relative clauses. Ngalakgan and Rembarrnga also use a range of semantic cases, plus the POSS, as complementisers on finite verbs (Brett Baker, p.c.). And in Wubuy too, case suffixes occur as subordinators on finite verbs, creating either relative clauses or adverbial subordinate clauses. Heath (1984: 573) lists the following case suffixes with such functions, some of which are uncommon:

(80) <u>Suffix</u>	<u>Label</u>	<u>Gloss as T-complementiser</u>
<i>-wala ~ -kala</i>	ABL	‘after’
<i>-waj ~ -baj</i>	PRG	‘while’
<i>-waj ~ -kaj</i>	retrospective PRG	‘back when’
<i>-wuy ~ -kuy</i>	ALL-DAT	‘as soon as’
<i>-majii ~ -manyjii</i>		‘if, when’

The Wubuy system is quite similar to the Enindhilyakwa system in Table 8.2. Although *-ma(ny)jii* is not a case suffix in Wubuy but is only used as a conditional, it could be related to LOC *-manja* in Enindhilyakwa that appears in conditional clauses (Heath n.d. recorded this suffix as *-maja*). The semantics of the case suffixes as T-complementisers are very similar in the two languages: ABL means ‘after’, ABL.PRG (Enindhilyakwa) and PRG (Wubuy) mean ‘while’, and ALL case means ‘until’ in Enindhilyakwa, similar to the Wubuy meaning ‘as soon as’.

8.12 Summary

Enindhilyakwa case morphemes conform to the case typology proposed by Dench & Evans (1988): the same case morphemes operate at a number of different syntactic levels with related meanings. They may indicate that the nominal to which they attach bears a particular grammatical function (grammatical case); they may express the semantic role of an adjunct nominal (semantic case); they may be used to relate nominals to other nominals within the noun phrase (adnominal case); and they can be used on verbs and function at the clause level (T-complementising case).

Even though polysynthetic languages universally may have little or no formal marking of subordinate clauses (see e.g. the BGW example in [78]), the eastern Gunwinyguan languages and Enindhilyakwa do employ a formal subordination strategy. The use of semantic cases as T-complementisers appears to be most elaborate in Enindhilyakwa.

Furthermore, despite the possibility of relatively free word order, NP constituents can be identified in Enindhilyakwa. A nominal marked for POSS case is always adjacent to, and forms a tight unit with, the nominal denoting the possessum.