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Encoding of arguments in south-eastern Australian languages

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Overview

- Theoretical preliminaries
 - Why this topic and why now?
 - Tour of case studies
 - A new picture emerges
 - Discussion and conclusions
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Theoretical preliminaries

Nichols (1986) seminal paper on predicate-argument encoding identified two major types:

- ❑ **Head-marking** – predicate-argument relations are indicated on the clausal head (verb, auxiliary, particle), typically by affixes or clitics. Haspelmath (2013) labels this “indexing of arguments”;
 - ❑ **Dependent-marking** – predicate-argument relations are indicated on the clausal dependents (NP), typically by case affixes, clitics, or particles. Haspelmath (2013) labels this “flagging of arguments”
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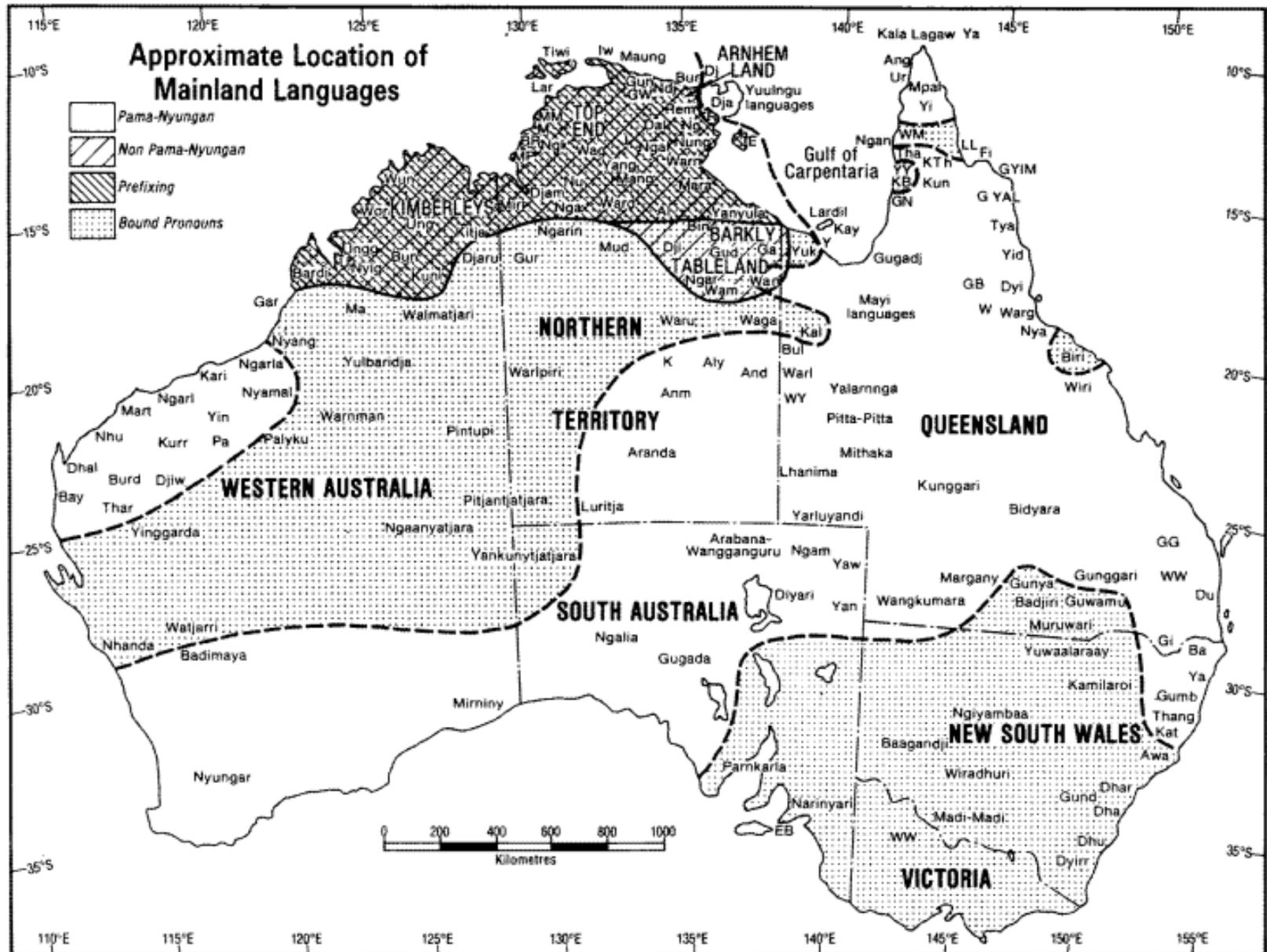
Theoretical preliminaries

Nichols allowed for a third type called **Double-marking** (DM) combining these two, but held it was minor cross-linguistically. However, Nichols and Bickel (2013) state:

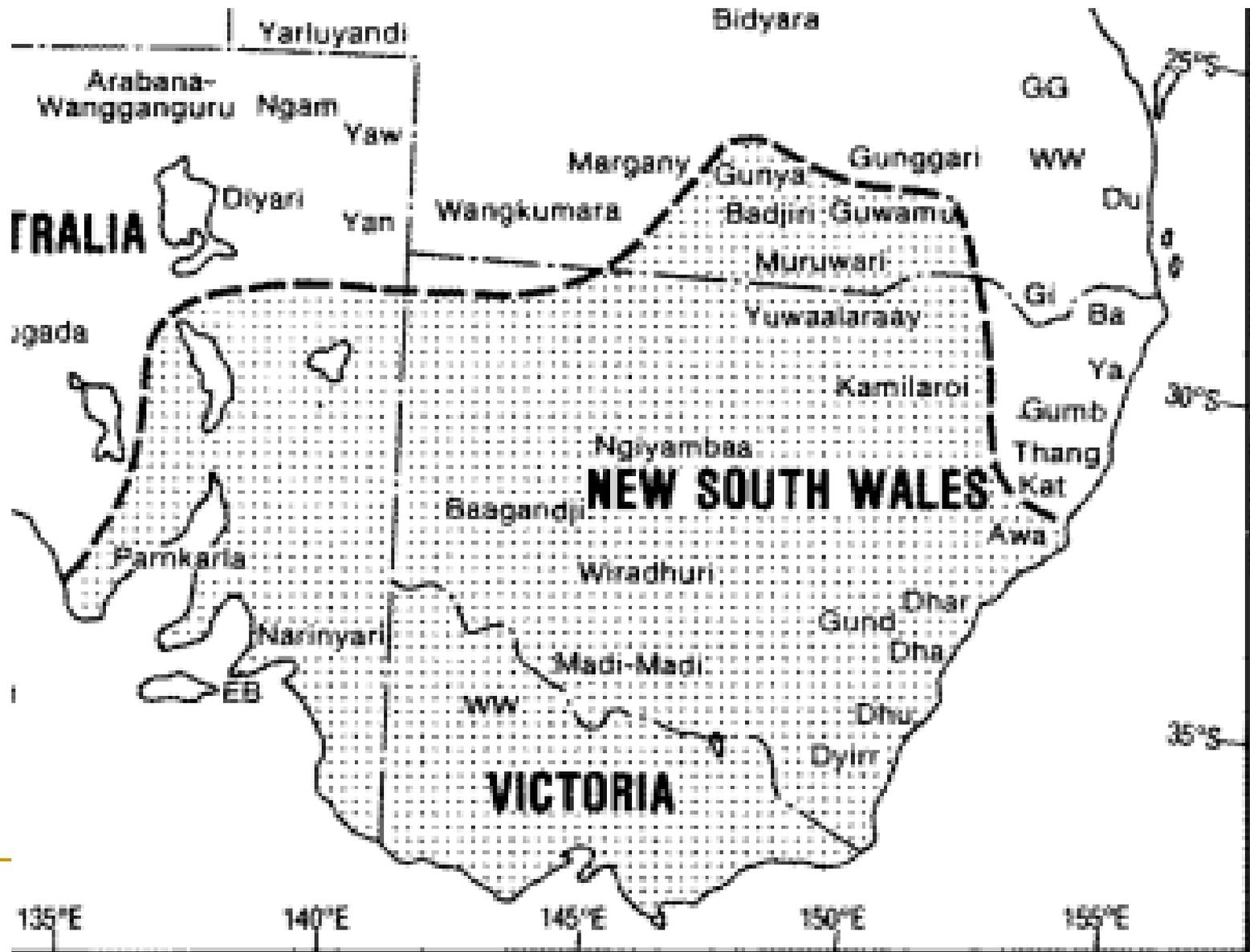
“Double marking is moderately well attested in the Americas, Australia-New Guinea, and the southern fringe of Eurasia (chiefly in the Caucasian and Himalayan mountain enclaves), and seems to be **avored particularly in Australia** and the westernmost Americas.” [my emphasis]

Blake (1979, 1987) showed that DM is areally distributed in Australia with two major blocks: (1) south-east Pama-Nyungan, (2) central and western Pama-Nyungan plus Barkly Tableland non-PNY.

Blake: marking types in Australia



South-eastern Australia



Affix transferrance

Capell (1967, 1972: 5) identified a sub-type of DM languages that he called “Affix-Transferring (AT)” (see also Wurm 1969), where: “The most obvious feature ... is the transference of person markers (subject and object) from the verb, where they logically belong, to the head-word of the utterance.”

This may suggest a synchronic movement process, or a diachronic one. As Donaldson (1977: 160) points out: “Wurm's typology is explicitly developmental. But he suggests a development in the contrary direction, that languages change from an "affix-transferring" stage to a "markers-suffixing" stage, in which "a sometimes fused person-marker unit is consistently suffixed to the verb" (Wurm 1969:69).”

Why re-examine SE Australia now?

Since 1980, lots of detailed research and publications on south-eastern Australian languages have appeared, many due to Blake and colleagues, so we can now develop a better empirically-based typology and drill down into areal distributions:

1982. Hercus. Baagandji, Darling River

1985. Skinner. Guwamu, southern Queensland

1986. Hercus. Victorian languages

1989. Hercus. Far southwestern New South Wales

1991. Blake et al. Woiwurrung, Melbourne

1993. Austin. Gamilaraay, northern New South Wales

1994. Cerin. Yaraldi, Murray River mouth

1998. Blake et al. Wathawurrung, Geelong-Ballarat area

1998. Blake et al. Colac language

Why re-examine SE Australia now?

- 1999. Blake et al. Pallanganmiddang, Upper Murray
- 2002. Blake et al. Dhudhuroa, northeastern Victoria
- 2003. Blake. Bunganditj (Buwandik), Mount Gambier Region
- 2005. Steele. Sydney Language, New South Wales
- 2006. Lissarrague. Hunter River and Lake Macquarie
- 2011. Blake et al. The Mathi group, north-central Victoria
- 2013. Besold. South coast NSW
- 2014. Giacom. Gamilaraay-Yuwaalaraay, central New South Wales
- 2014. Grant et al. Wiradjuri, central New South Wales
- 2021. Gale et al. Ngarrindjeri, Murray River mouth
- 2023. Austin. Guwamu, southern Queensland
- 2024. Theatre. Mak Thang. Gippsland
- 2024. Austin. Malyangapa, southern Queensland

Overall results

1. The area defined by Blake (1977, 1987) is **not** homogeneous;
2. The Upper Murray languages plus the Mathi group comprise an area of **no DM** in the middle of the map, and to the north Gurnu, Badjirri, Gunya, northern Guwamu lack pronominal agreement affixes or clitics;
3. There are two types of DM that are areally distributed:
 - Languages with head-marking on the **verb only** (V-only);
 - Languages with head-marking associated with the **second position** in the clause (P2), typically following topic or focal information, or certain adjuncts or particles with clause-level semantics.
4. Languages near the isogloss separating DM from non-DM (purely dependent marking) have **partial or irregular DM**

A (clockwise) tour of the area

We begin in south-west of DM area with Thura-Yura languages and proceed north and east in a clockwise direction.

1. Thura-Yura

Data on Kaurna, Parnkala, Adnyamathanha – V-only DM

Adnyamathana (from Schebeck)

Pronominal affixes attach to verbs after TAM markers in an ergative-absolutive paradigm (S/P versus A). They are clearly diachronically related to free pronouns missing their first consonant or syllable. The description of the system is partial.

Person	S/P	A		Free S	Free A
1sg	<i>-ai</i>	<i>-athu</i>		<i>ngai</i>	<i>ngathu</i>
2sg	<i>-ina</i>	<i>-untu</i>		<i>nhina</i>	
3sg	<i>-wa</i>	<i>-alu</i>		<i>vanha</i>	
1du	<i>-adli</i>			<i>ngalpu</i>	
2du					
3du	<i>-pila</i>				
1pl				<i>ngalpula</i>	
2pl				<i>nhura</i>	
3pl		<i>-adna</i>		<i>yadna</i>	

Schebeck (1974: 30) “Two pronominal suffixes can combine in a transitive verb form. The relative position in such cases is strictly determined , but cannot be stated in simple terms. In general, first person suffixes precede second and third persons and second person suffixes - with exceptions - precede third person suffixes.”

Free pronouns and affixed pronouns can co-occur in the same sentence (cf. Ngiyambaa below).

Parnkala (Clendon 2015)

Full paradigm of suffixes for all persons and numbers encoding subject (S/A), but Clendon (2015: 44) also says: “it is likely that pronouns in any grammatical function (subject, object, possessive, etc.) could be suffixed to verbs”.

garrba-nga iridin-ngu-dhu-w-adli

house-ERG separate-APPL-PRES-EP-1du.P

‘The house separates us’

mayi ngadyi pulyu gula-ga-adyi
food 1sg.DAT little cut-IMP-1sg.DAT
'Cut me a little bread'

Kaurna (Clendon 2015: 45)

Has S/P versus A suffixes and can attach A plus P to verb:

tidna-rla nguyu-athu-rla
foot-3du warm-1sg.A-3du.P
'the feet, I will warm them'

2. Yarli

Data on Malyangapa (Austin 2024)

In singular ergative: S/P versus A

In non-singular S/A versus null

Verb-only, 2 slots V-A-P

Person-number	P (animate)	S	A
1 sg	<i>-nyi</i>	<i>-nyi</i>	<i>-dhu</i>
2 sg	<i>-ni</i>	<i>-ni</i>	<i>-ndu</i>
3 sg	<i>-nha</i>	<i>-nha</i>	<i>-mbu</i>
1 du		<i>-li</i>	<i>-li</i>
2 du		<i>-la</i>	<i>-la</i>
3 du		<i>-bula</i>	<i>-bula</i>
1 pl		<i>-ngana</i>	<i>-ngana</i>
2 pl		<i>-rra</i>	<i>-rra</i>
3 pl		<i>-rna</i>	<i>-rna</i>

dhadja-ngarnda-mbu-nyi gunyu-ngu

bite-PAST-3sg.A-1sg.P dog-ERG

‘The dog bit me’ (SW1/1Bs05)

warla dhilga-rnda-dhu-nha

not know-PRES-1sg.A-3sg.P

‘I do not know him’ (SW1/8Bs09)

S/A can be doubled with a pronoun or NP, but P cannot

gurri-yi warla ngadhu dhingma-ngarnda-dhu wan.ga-nu

no-EMPH not 1sg.ERG steal-past-1sg.A meat-2sg.POSS

‘No, I did not steal your meat’

3. Baagandji

Data on Southern Baagandji, Bandjigali, Barundji, Gurnu. (Hercus)
Hercus (1982: 127) “The nominative-accusative distinction applies ... to the bound cross-referencing forms of the pronouns” but note the paradigm she gives on p128 has S, A, P all different in 1/2 sg

Person	S	A	P
1sg	<i>-aaba</i>	<i>-adhu</i>	<i>-ayi</i>
2sg	<i>-imba</i>	<i>-indu</i>	<i>-uma</i>
3sg	<i>-adhu</i>	<i>-adhu</i>	<i>-ana</i>
1du	<i>-ali</i>	<i>-ali</i>	<i>-alina</i>
2du	<i>-uba</i>	<i>-uba</i>	<i>-ubana</i>
3du	<i>-uulu</i>	<i>-uulu</i>	<i>-uuluna</i>
1pl	<i>-ina</i>	<i>-ina</i>	<i>-inana</i>
2pl	<i>-urda</i>	<i>-urda</i>	<i>-urdana</i>
3pl	<i>-iga</i>	<i>-iga</i>	<i>-ngga</i>

There are two affix slots on verbs, and Hercus (1982: 128) says:
“The bound pronoun subject thus always precedes the bound
pronoun object, regardless of what persons are involved. The
combination subject+object always remains analysable.”

waga-waga-dhu-ma

REDUP-strike-1sg.A-2sg.P

‘I strike you’ (Hercus 1982: 129, ex. 260)

gila gulba-adhu-urdana

not speak-1sg.A-2pl.P

‘I am not talking to you people’ (Hercus 1982: 129, ex. 264)

Parundji dialect (and Gurnu) marks tense on free pronouns, e.g. *gathu* 1sg.A.FUT versus *ngathu* 1sg.A.PRES, however the bound form *-adhu* is ambiguous:

waga-adhu

strike-1sg.A.FUT/PRES

'I (will) chop' (Hercus 1982: 146, ex. 348)

The Gurnu dialect has no bound pronouns. It is the most northerly dialect, so falls outside the isogloss for DM.

4. Guwamu

Data from Wurm 1955 (Skinner 1985, Austin 2025)

There are two dialects of this Maric language: Ngarragirri (Northern) and Baragiri (Southern). Northern Guwamu is not DM but Southern Guwamu is, having a **single slot** coding S/A on verbs. Free pronouns may co-occur with bound pronouns. The system is transparently derived from free pronouns diachronically.

Person	sing	dual	plural
1	<i>-ya</i>	<i>-li</i>	<i>-na</i>
2	<i>-nda</i>	<i>-balu</i>	<i>-rra</i>
3	<i>-la</i>	<i>-bula</i>	<i>-ana</i>

yamba-gu ngali-nguning-gu warda-ya-yurra
camp-DAT 1du-POSS-DAT come-IMPER-2pl.S

‘You all come to our camp’ (Wurm 7A)

ngali yinda waba-lgu-li
1dl.NOM 2sg.NOM go-FUT-1du.S

‘You and I will go’ (Wurm 14B)

5. Gamilaraay-Yuwaalaraay

Data from Wurm 1955, Williams 1980, Austin 1993, Giacom 2015

Bound pronouns encode S/A for 1st and 2nd persons and are suffixed to negative particles, and to question words. They are **not** used with verbs. 2nd person forms are common in the data.

Person	sing	dual	plural
1	<i>-dhu</i>	<i>-li</i>	<i>-ni</i>
2	<i>-nda</i>	<i>-ndaali</i>	<i>-ndaay</i>

waal-ndaali gaba gigi-la-nha
not-2du.S good be-CONT-PRES
'You two are not good' (Giaccon 2014: ex. 233)

gariya-ndaali yana-ya
neg.imper-2du.S go-IMPER
'Don't you two go!' (Austin 1993: ex 5.10)

yaama-nda nhama ngay wuu-rri
Q-2sg.A that 1sg.DAT give-FUT
'Will you give that to me?' (Austin 1993: ex 5.8)

dhalaa-nda yana-waa-n
where-2sg.S go-CONT-PRES
'Where are you going?' (Austin 1993: ex 5.10)

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where-2sg.S go-CONT-PRES
'Where are you going?' (Austin 1993: ex 5.10)

6. Ngiyambaa

Data from Donaldson (1977, 1980)

Donaldson (1977: 155): ““There are bound pronominal forms for the representation of the case functions A (agent), S (intransitive subject), O (object), IO (indirect object) and POSS (possessive). ... These are **enclitic on the first word or first constituent** of the sentence, irrespective of whether the sentence is subordinate or not, i.e. they are enclitic on its **'topic'** [sic. should be **focus** PKA]. .. They occur in a fixed order with respect to one another, after any enclitic particles.”

Donaldson (1977: 156) “bound pronouns appear in the order first person, second person, third person, irrespective of their case and number”

galaay=djii=lu=na nhayu dhunmiyi
again=1sg.OBL=3sg.A=3sg.P knife.ABS remove.PAST
'He's taken my knife again.' (Donaldson 1977: 156, ex. 5-18)

guya=ligii=lu ngaaraymiyi
fish.ABS=1dl.OBL=3sg.A show.PAST
'He showed us the fish' (Donaldson (1977: 156, ex. 5-18)

Ngadhu=lugu=na giyiyi
1sg.A=3sg.OBL=3sg.P say.PAST
'I said it to him'

Donaldson (1977: 285) “The bound forms of pronouns are attached to the sentence topic.” – this can be an NP, part of an NP, or the verb.

ngadhay	guya=ndu	dha-yi
tasty.ABS	fish.ABS=2sg.A	eat-PAST

‘You ate a **tasty fish**’ (Donaldson (1977: 285, ex. 9-5))

ngadhay=ndu	guya	dha-yi
tasty.ABS=2sg.A	fish.ABS	eat-PAST

‘You ate a **tasty fish**’ (Donaldson (1977: 285, ex. 9-6))

guya=ndu	ngadhay	dha-yi
fish.ABS=2sg.A	tasty.ABS	eat-PAST

‘You ate a tasty **fish**’ (Donaldson (1977: 285, ex. 9-7))

Donaldson (1977: 286) “A number of particles occur sentence-initially, in topic position”, expressing negation and epistemic evaluation (cf. Gamilaraay). These host the pronominal clitics.

garraa negative imperative

wangaay negative statement

ngadhangaa believed true

yama-gaa dubitative

mandanggul just as well

gaambada unfortunately

mandanggul=dhii=ndu

luckily=1sg.OBL=2sg.A

wangaay

not

giyiyi

say.PAST

'Good job you didn't tell me!' (Donaldson 1977: 287, ex. 9-17)

Pronominal clitics follow discourse clitics, like counterfactual:

yana-nhaarra-ma=dhu,

go-CIRCUM-CNTRFACT=1sg.A

nginuu-ma=dhu

2sg.ACC-CNTRFACT=1sg.A take-PRES

gaa-nha

'If I were going, I would be taking you' (Donaldson (1977: 302, ex. 9-53)

Conclusion: P2 after topic, multiple slots, S/A versus P, 1>2>3 order, cannot double free pronouns

7. Wiradjuri

Data from Grant and Rudder (2005)

Grant and Rudder (2005: 54) “The pronoun suffixes are usually attached to the word in the sentence which is in **focus**. That is, to the word or idea that the sentence is about. They can attach to question words, to the noun, the verb, or an adverb that is the topic of the sentence and is usually found at the beginning of a sentence, as a person normally starts speaking with what is in focus or being emphasized.”

The examples given suggest the system is the same as for Ngiyambaa.

Yama-ndhu balu-dha-rra

Q-2sg.S dead-bite-PRES

‘Do you feel cold?’ (Grant and Rudder 2005: 54)

Ngandhu-nhal murun-guruwa-lgirri

who-1sg.P alive-save-FUT

‘Who will save me alive?’ (Grant and Rudder 2005: 54)

Minya-ndhu dha-lgunha-nha

what-2sgA eat-CONT-PRES

‘What are you eating?’ (Grant and Rudder 2005: 54)

Ya-la-dhi minya-minya-mbul
tell-IMPER-1sgP REDUP-what-INDEF

‘Tell me something about it.’ (Grant and Rudder 2005: 55)

Wiray-dyu ngurang-gu yanha-girri dhalan
not-1sgScamp-allat go-fut soon

‘I cannot go to the camp today’ (Grant and Rudder 2005: 56)

Guya-dhi ngungga
fish-1sg.P give.IMPER

Give me **fish**! (Grant and Rudder 2005: 37)

Ngadhi guya ngungga
1sg.P fish give.IMPER

Give me some fish!

8. Hunter River Lake Macquarie

Data from Lissarague 2006

Lissarague (2006: 45) “In HRLM the bound pronouns are singular in number. They are generally attached to the **first constituent of a clause**, thus qualifying them as a type of clitic. When there is more than one participant in a clause, the order of the bound pronouns is partly dependent on person.”

Singular	Nominative	Accusative
1	= <i>pang</i>	= <i>tja</i>
2	= <i>pi</i>	= <i>piN</i>
3 (m)	= <i>nyuwa</i>	= <i>puN</i>
3 (f)		= <i>NuwaN</i>

wiya-la=pi=tja

speak-IMP=2sg.A=1sg.P

‘Speak to me!’ (Lissargue 2006: 46, ex. 107)

yari=puN=pi

pu-marapanpi-yikura

neg=3sg.P=2sg.A

hit-UNIVPERM-NEG

‘Let no one strike him’ (Lissarague 2006: 46, ex. 108)

9. Sydney language

Data from Steele (2005), Koch (p.c.), Angelo (p.c.)

Pronominal suffixes cross-reference subject (S/A) and object (P); order is A>P. They attach to a sentence-initial verb, negative particle, or a topical NP. It is unclear if the affixes can be doubled by a free argument.

bada-ba-ngun

eat-FUT-1du.A

“We shall or will eat” (Steele 2005: 164, ex. X7.1)

bayi-ba-wi-nga

beat-FUT-3pl.A-1sg.P

“They will beat me” (Steele 2005: 173, ex. X7.18)

biyal-mi-nga

baya-buni

no-2sg.A-1sg.P

speak-PRIV

“You did not speak to me” (Steele 2005: 164, ex. X7.2)

muding-[ng]un

ngayiri-ba

fish.spear-1du.A

bring-FUT

“We will carry a fish gig with us” (Steele 2005: 165, ex. X7.5)

walu=mi

biyal

ganga-lyi-buni

chin=2sg.S

no

wash-SELF-NEG

‘You haven't washed your chin’ (Angelo (p.c.), Dawes Bp26)

10. South Coast languages NSW

Data from Besold (2023)

Besold (2023: 225) “bound pronouns function in a nominative case marking system where subjects of transitive and subjects of intransitive verbs share the same form which differs to the object form.” Besold (2023: 231) “The SCLs use bound pronouns more so than free pronouns. Subject and object are marked in that order in verb-final position.” Besold (2023: 232) “Numerous examples show the person marking on the first word in a sentence, rather than having to be on the verb.”

Summary: V-only, Dharrawal P2 after topic?, multiple slots, S/A versus P, A>P order, cannot double free pronouns?

yaga-ya=wula=nhay “wadha-yiin bundhama-ya-yi”

say-PAST=3du.A=3sg.P where-ABL take-PAST-?

They said to him “where have you come from?” (Besold (2023: 303, ex. 69)

mara ngama-wu=gun gungara ngama-wu=yi=ngga

fish give-IRR-1sgA>2sg.P possum give-IRR-2sg.A-1sg.P

I will give you fish and you will give me possum. (Besold (2023: 300, ex. 57)

No examples found of non-verbs taking pronominal clitics

11. Gippsland Victoria

Data from Theatre (2024)

Theatre (2024: 402) “bound pronouns occur on the verb or following the conjugation *pal-*”, Theatre (2024: 413) “the pronominal suffix represents the agent of a transitive clause or the subject of an intransitive clause - so we have ‘I see’ or ‘I speak’. There are very few examples of a pronominal clitic functioning as the object of a transitive clause. The three examples that we do have all relate to the first-person singular.”

Theatre (2024: 421) “A common strategy for using pronominal clitics in the initial position seems to have been to attach the clitic to a shape *pal*, as in *pal-ngath yan-ing* ‘I am going’.

Not described by Theatre (2023), I have found two examples of pronominal clitics attached to the clause-initial adverb ‘early in the morning’:

wruka-ngal-werna pla-pa-na
early-1du.S-EXCL go-FORM-FUT

‘Early in the morning we two go’ (Theatre 2023: 423, ex. 361)

There are also examples of their use with clause-initial interrogatives that are not reported:

wul-ngin kika-n
where-2sg.S go-TENSE

‘Where are you going?’ (Theatre 2023: 466, ex. 459)

I also found pronominal affixes attached to clause-initial negative, again not reported by the author:

ngala-ngat puwanga(n)

neg-1sg.S know

‘I do not know’ (Theatre 2023: 472, ex. 481)

Summary: P2 after verb, adverb, negative, single slot?, S/A versus P, cannot double free pronouns?

12. Dhudhuroa

Blake and Reid (2002: 189)

“Enclitic pronouns representing the subject are attached to the verb and to certain other words, mostly interrogatives, appearing in the first position in a sentence. Mathews also records what appears to be an enclitic for third person singular direct object, namely *-nye*. Where subject clitics are used, the free pronoun appears to be optional.”

Summary: P2, two slots, S/A versus P (3sg only)

13. Kulin languages

Data from Hercus and Blake various publications

Wemba-wemba

Hercus (1986: 4) pronominal suffixes exist for S/A and P (1/2 person only) and are attached to clause-initial verb; when initial word is interrogative, negative, or demonstrative adverb of time and place it carries the S/A affix.

dagina-nda ginmer bembenggug bialu djeligdjelig

hit-1sg.A DEM children stick.INSTR yesterday

'I hit these children with a stick yesterday'

Note that A and P affixes do not co-occur:

dagi-nya-ngudag

hit-FUT-2pl.P

'I will hit you all' (Hercus 1986: 42)

nyaga-ngurag

see-1pl.P

'He sees us' (Hercus 1986: 42)

nyaga-ngur nyunyam

see-1pl.A 3sg.P

'We see him' (Hercus 1986: 42)

gumba-nda

sleep-1sg.S

'I sleep'

wemba-nda gumba

NEG-1sg.S sleep

'I'm not sleeping'

Wathawurrung

Blake et al. (1998: 74) ““Wathawurrung had ... enclitic pronouns for subject, direct object, indirect object and possessor.” Blake (1998: 77) “Wathawurrung is a verb-first language, but the negative word and various interrogative words usually occur in first position and attract enclitic pronouns.”

Woiwurrung

Blake (1991: 73-77) “it is likely that the bound pronouns could attach to the first word or phrase in the clause ... Consider, for instance, the apparently inflected negative form [only one instance given] and interrogative forms [also only one instance given].”

Mathi sub-group of Kulin

Blake et al. (2011) lack pronominal suffixes – not DM

NOTE: neighbouring Upper Murray languages (Dardi-dardi, Letji-Letji, Nari-nari) also lack pronominal suffixes – not DM

14. Bunganditj

Data from Blake (2003)

Blake (2003: 38) “The subject is regularly represented by a bound form either on the verb or on an interrogative” and Blake (2003: 39) “there are no free-form pronouns for object; rather pronominal suffixes are used on the verb”. The order is A>P.

Krit-an=in=ayn.

scratch-PAST=2sg.A=1sg.P

'You scratched me.' (Blake 2003: 40, ex. 19)

nha-ngin yaan

where-2sg.S go

'Where are you going?' (Blake 2003: 38, ex. 15)

Nhawer=in wata

when=2sg.S come

'When will you return?' (Blake 2003: 54, ex. 46)

There is one example of an NP host in clause-initial position:

Payika=ayn wutha.

tobacco=1sg.P give.IMPER

'Give me tobacco.' (Blake (2003: 41, ex. 25)

15. Ngarrindjeri

Data from Cerin (1994), Gale et al. (2021)

Cerin (1994: 92) ““The subject of a clause is usually indexed by a clitic pronominal. If a clause contains one clitic, that clitic will typically index the subject; where the clause contains two clitics, it is usually **subject and either direct or indirect object** which are indexed. ... they encliticise to the **first constituent** of the clause. ...

Where two clitics occur as a cluster, their ordering depends on person and on grammatical function: 1st and 2nd person always precede 3rd person, and elsewhere subject precedes direct or indirect object.” Cerin (194: 130) “clitic pronominals and external noun phrases occur in **complementary distribution** ...

Where a discourse participant is introduced for the first time and is coded as subject, it is possible (though not mandatory) for this participant to be introduced both by a clitic and by an external NP.”

Summary: P2, two slots, S/A versus P, 1>2>3, 3A>3P

yan-ani=angan in-angk mimin-ungai
talk-FUT-1pl.S 3sg-DAT woman-SG.DAT
'We will talk to the woman' (Cerin 1994: p94, ex. 501)

nem-in=il=yan uwal
leave-PRES=3sg.A=3sg.P over.there
'He leaves it over there' (Cerin 1994: p106, ex. 533)

Initial adverb:

wony=a=yan kindun k'rik-kur
then=3pl.A=3sg.P from.all.sides question-ask
'Then they question him from all sides' (Cerin 1994: p94, ex. 502)

lun=a=yan tamb-aramb

thus=3pl.A=3sg.P choose-PURP

‘That’s what they do to choose him’ (Cerin 1994: p94, ex. 520)

Interrogatives:

yar=ap loru wuruk-el

how=1sg.S across swim-TAM

‘How will I swim across?’ (Cerin 1994: p103, ex. 524)

i=in(d)=an-angk peinp-ang

Q=2sg.A=1sg.OBL give-PRES

‘Will you give it to me?’ (Cerin 1994: p103, ex. 525)

Grand summary

We can correct Blake's map as follows:

1. Some languages he included actually lack head-marking and hence are not DM: Gurnu (northernmost Baagandji), northern Guwamu, Gunya, Badjirri, Upper Murray, and Mathi sub-group
2. languages can be categorised as either V-only or P2, where the typical host is verb, topical NP, interrogative, or adverb
3. the V-only and P2 types are areally distributed (see below)
4. some languages allow both head markers and dependent NPs, i.e. DM, but some do not, being either head-marking or dependent-marking in complementary distribution
5. some languages have exceptional systems: (a) Adnyamathanha ergative (S/P + A) (b) Malyangapa split-ergative with no P in non-singular, (c) Gamilaraay P2 but verbs cannot host, (d) HRLM in singular only. These are located along the isogloss of DM.

Grand summary

Language group	Language	Pro double	Slots	Type	Typology	Note
Thura-Yura	Adnyamathanha	yes	two	S/P + A	V-only	
	Parnkala	yes	one	S/A/P/BEN	V-only	
	Kaurna	yes	two	S/A + P	V-only	
Yarli	Malyangapa	S/A only	two	S/P + A sing S/A non- sing	V-only	
Baagandji	Southern Baagandji	yes	two	S/A + P	V-only	1/2sg seems to be S/A/P
Maric	Guwamu	yes	one	S/A	V-only	

Central NSW	Gamilaraay- Yuwaalaraay	yes	one	S/A	P2	particle, question. NO verb
	Ngiyambaa	no	one	S/A	P2	verb, topic
	Wiradjuri	no	one	S/A	P2	verb, topic
	Hunter River Lake Macquarie	??	two	S/A + P	P2	verb, topic, negative
	Sydney language	??	two	S/A + P	P2	verb, topic, negative
	South Coast	??	two	S/A + P	V? P2?	A>P
	Gippsland	??	one	S/A	P2	
Kulin	Wemba-wemba, Wathurrung, Woiwurrung	no	on	S/A	P2	
	Bunganditj	no?	two	S/A + P	P2	verb, topic, interrogative
	Ngarrindjeri	yes	two	S/A + P	P2	verb, interrogative,
						adverb



Thank you!

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