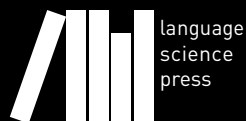


Australian Pama-Nyungan languages

Lineages of early description

Clara Stockigt

History and Philosophy of the Language
Sciences 8



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ISSN (print): 2629-1711

ISSN (electronic): 2629-172X

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Clara Stockigt. 2024. *Australian Pama-Nyungan languages: Lineages of early description* (History and Philosophy of the Language Sciences 8). Berlin: Language Science Press.

This title can be downloaded at:

<http://langsci-press.org/catalog/book/330>

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ISBN: 978-3-96110-488-8 (Digital)

978-3-98554-117-1 (Hardcover)

ISSN (print): 2629-1711

ISSN (electronic): 2629-172X

DOI: 10.5281/zenodo.13880534

Source code available from www.github.com/langsci/330

Errata: paperhive.org/documents/remote?type=langsci&id=330

Cover and concept of design: Ulrike Harbort

Typesetting: Clara Stockigt, Apoorva Mothukuri, James McElvenny, Yanru Lu, Sebastian Nordhoff

Proofreading: Amir Ghorbanpour, Carrie Dyck, Conor Pyle, Elliott Pearl, Jean Nitzke, Jeroen van de Weijer, Katja Politt, Ludger Paschen, Maria Zielenbach, Mary Ann Walter, Rebecca Madlener, Raquel Benítez Burraco, Sebastian Nordhoff, Tom Bossuyt

Fonts: Libertinus, Arimo, DejaVu Sans Mono

Typesetting software: Xe_{La}T_EX

Language Science Press

Scharnweber Straße 10

10247 Berlin, Germany

<http://langsci-press.org>

Storage and cataloguing done by FU Berlin

Freie Universität  Berlin

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1 The peculiar nature of the language

When the Australian continent was colonised by the British in 1788, what is arguably a single family of languages (Bower & Atkinson 2012) termed Pama-Nyungan¹ was spoken across a large proportion – ninety percent – of the land-mass, from the islands off the tip of the continent’s northeastern extremity, Cape York Peninsula, down across the entire southern portion of the continent. The estimated 290 Pama-Nyungan (henceforth PN) languages and their dialects (Bower & Atkinson 2012: 817) show a degree of grammatical similarity that stands in contrast to the linguistic diversity found in the remaining and comparatively much smaller areas in Australia’s north, northwest and Tasmania (see Table 1.3 on p. 43).²

This study assesses what was discovered about the morphology and syntax of Australian Aboriginal languages prior to the era of institutionalised academic

¹The status of Pama-Nyungan as a phylogenetic entity has been much debated by Australian linguists. The notion has been contested by Dixon who, while recognising the group typologically, believes that diffusion of features between languages that have existed side by side for exceptionally long periods of time renders the comparative linguistic method invalid for Australia (1980: 225–226, 226–227, 2002a: xix, 48, 53). His claims have been widely refuted (Bower 2006, Bower & Atkinson 2012; Evans & McConvell 1998; Koch 2014: 40) and sometimes vehemently opposed. O’Grady & Hale (2004: 69) write:

For decade after decade, Dixon ... has persisted in the same wrong-headed assessment of the phylogenetic status of the large Pama-Nyungan group of Australian Aboriginal languages. His claim, which is extravagantly and spectacularly erroneous, is that it has no genetic significance in the wider Australian linguistic context. Moreover he denies that the Comparative Method can be applied to Australian languages. This approach is so bizarrely faulted, and such an insult to the eminently successful practitioners of Comparative Method Linguistics in Australia, that it positively demands a decisive riposte.

²The languages spoken in this smaller northerly region are referred to as non-Pama-Nyungan, a category defined by the features these languages do not share with Pama-Nyungan. The present day boundary between the Pama-Nyungan and non-Pama-Nyungan languages, although still subject to conjecture, was largely established by the American linguist Ken Hale (1961). Hale coined the term Pama-Nyungan, by compounding words meaning “man” in the languages spoken in the recognised extremities of the Pama-Nyungan region; *Pama* “man” in Cape York and *Nyungar* “man” in the southwest of Western Australia. In employing this “man-man” naming method, Hale followed the practice employed by Schmidt when naming Australian linguistic subgroups (Koch 2004b: 20).

1 *The peculiar nature of the language*

investigation into Australian linguistic structure. By defining the body of historical grammatical records and examining the nature of the intellectual network in which appreciation of PN morphosyntactic structure evolved, this study traces the developing understanding and ability to describe Australian languages. The extent to which missionary-grammarians working in remote and diverse locations across the vast Australian continent had access to their predecessors' descriptions, or alternatively, worked in intellectual isolation, has not previously been well understood.

The title of this chapter, "The peculiar nature of the language" (Meyer 1843: vii; Kempe & Schwarz 1891: 1), is drawn from two early grammars of Australian Aboriginal languages by Lutheran missionaries. These authors, and their fellow early Australian grammarians, encountered languages with word and phrase structures that were beyond what was considered linguistically possible. Australian Aboriginal languages were commonly described as "peculiar" (Threlkeld 1834: x; Meyer 1843: vii; Günther 1892: 57; Brough Smyth 1878: lxii; Haeckel 1876: 315). Haspelmath explains:

It was only towards the end of the 20th century, as more and more had become known about the grammatical properties of the languages of the rest of the world, that linguists realised how peculiar the core European languages are in some ways when seen in the world-wide context. (Haspelmath 2001: 1492)

Eurocentric linguistic understanding, informed largely by knowledge of standard average European languages (Whorf 1941; henceforth SAE), skewed early nineteenth-century perspectives of unfamiliar structures. When accounting for the distortion of Inuktitut syntactic structures in early grammatical descriptions, Nowak (1993) puts it metaphorically, describing the language as having been viewed through a "looking glass".

In appraising lineages of PN grammatical description, this historiographic investigation focuses particularly on aspects of morphology and syntax that the early grammarians perceived as peculiar. It is the description of these areas of grammar, in which an early grammarian was theoretically and descriptively out of his depth, that evince reliance on the work of predecessors. The description of case systems, of ergative forms and function, and of processes of clause subordination have been found to be fruitful areas of historiographic enquiry.

In seeking to "reconstruct the linguistic thought of earlier times" (McGregor 2008b: 1), this examination of early morphosyntactic description of PN languages

is essentially an epistemological task. Although early wordlists, which were sometimes illustrated with sentence examples, and textual material contain much morphosyntactic content, these are excluded from this study, which confines itself to assessing the early *analysis* of Australian morphosyntax.

Interest in the historiography of Australian languages is a fairly recent phenomenon. Due to Australia's relatively late colonisation, much missionary linguistic effort in the country postdates the era before 1850, upon which global missionary linguistic historiography has focussed (Zwartjes et al. 2014: vii). In the introduction to the only edited volume dealing with the historiography of Australian languages, McGregor writes:

[R]ather little has been written on the historiography of Australian Aboriginal linguistics. One might say that the subject has barely been born, though it has at least been conceived. (McGregor 2008b: 2)

While historiographic studies of Australian languages are becoming less rare (McGregor 2008c: 122–123), few works investigate the development of morphosyntactic description. As both Newton (1987) and McGregor (2008a: 13) have pointed out, Australian linguistic histories have tended to be chronological overviews of existing materials. When they have ventured into the historiographic realm, the focus has largely remained on the developing understanding of phonology and its orthographic manifestation (e.g., Austin 2008) rather than on the developing understanding of morphology and syntax. Newton's (1987) own study of developing ideas about Australian Aboriginal languages before 1860 similarly compares early orthographies but does not probe the nature of the early grammatical analyses.

A few works are unusual in illuminating how and why particular PN structures were misconstrued within developing understandings of morphosyntactic structure. They include Koch's (2008) assessment of R. H. Mathews' large body of grammatical material and Blake's (2015, 2016) discussions of the early linguistic work carried out in the southeast of the country. But even these works, and others like them (e.g., Simpson et al. 2008; Wafer & Carey 2011), do not attempt to place the analysis made by individual grammarians, or groups of grammarians, within a broader picture of early PN description.

Further, the role that Australian missionaries' grammars played in German philologists' understandings about ergativity in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries has remained unnoticed, indicating the infancy of Australian linguistic historiographic investigation. H. C. von der Gabelentz's and F. Müller's passive analyses of Australian ergativity (Stockigt 2015) pre-date Schuchardt's

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1896 passive reading of ergativity in Caucasian languages by some decades, but unlike Schuchardt's work their role has been overlooked. Similarly, the earliest world-wide usages of the term "ergative" to describe both a peripheral case (§7.3.4) and the syntactic case (§2.6) occurred with the description of Australian languages and have only recently been recognised.

Within the near vacuum of Australian linguistic historiography, the influence of the earliest grammar of a PN language (Threlkeld 1834) on later work has been assumed (e.g., Carey 2004: 264–269; Simpson et al. 2008: 91). Threlkeld's published work is described as having been:

[...] essential in establishing a framework for the study of his fellow-missionary linguists including Watson and Günther at Wellington, and Meyer, Schürmann and Teichelmann in South Australia. He set a standard for other missionary work in the field which followed soon after. (Carey 2004: 269)

But without properly comparing the terminology and descriptive practices that Threlkeld employed with later descriptions of Pama-Nyungan languages, it is impossible to know which standards he may have set, and which aspects of his description were – and were *not* – followed by later grammarians.

McGregor's (2008b: 2–13) "history of the histories of Australian languages" shows many Australian linguists agreeing that the 1930s was a watershed decade in Australian linguistic thought (O'Grady et al. 1966; Capell 1970; Wurm 1972; Dixon 1980; Blake 1981; Blake & Dixon 1991). It was then that a wave of urgency to record fast disappearing linguistic and ethnological data from people and cultures generally considered to be doomed to extinction (Haeckel 1876: 325; Harris 1994: 28; Anderson & Perrin 2007: 21) activated systematic recording of Australian languages by the country's academic institutions. McGregor establishes three periods of Australian linguistic description, the first before 1930, the second 1930–1960 and the third 1960–present (2008b: 9–20). The pre-contemporary era of Australian linguistic description (henceforth 'early description') considered in this study coincides roughly with McGregor's first era. This study examines works written between 1834, the year missionary Threlkeld published the first PN grammar, and 1910, when C. Strehlow wrote a comparative Arrernte and Luritja grammar. Not a single new grammatical analysis of a PN language was written between 1910 and 1930. Coincidentally, the first works to appear in the 1930s were of the same, or closely related, languages recorded by C. Strehlow (1910). These are a grammar of Western Arrernte, written by T. G. H. Strehlow (1944), who was C. Strehlow's son, and R. Trudinger's grammar of Pitjantjatjara (1943), which was based, in part, on J. R. B. Love's (1937) manuscript grammar of the

language. The only other PN grammar known to have been produced during the same period is a first grammar of Wik-Mungkan by U. McConnel (1888–1957), written close to 1940 (Peter Sutton, pers. comm.) based on fieldwork conducted between 1927 and 1934 (Sutton In Preparation).

Thoroughgoing linguistic investigation did not commence in Australia until the 1960s, when inaugural chairs of linguistics were established at Australian universities. Stephen Wurm (1922–2001) had been appointed senior fellow in linguistics at the University of Sydney in 1957, and Ulf Göran Hammarström (1922–2019) was appointed professor of linguistics at Monash University in 1965. Some academic investigation of Australian languages did, however, commence on the cusp of the first and second descriptive eras, within the discipline of anthropology at the University of Sydney, where A. R. Radcliffe-Brown (1881–1955) had been appointed Australia’s first chair of the discipline in 1926, and a little later at the University of Adelaide, by a multi-disciplinary team that in 1930–1931 formed “a small language committee ... [which formulated] after much consideration, a working list of phonetic symbols applicable to the general study of central Australian languages” (Tindale 1935: 261). The University of Adelaide language committee consisted of N. Tindale (1900–1993), C. Chewings (1859–1937), and J. A. FitzHerbert (1872–1970).

Fewer than ten percent of PN languages were grammatically described before 1930. European philologists commonly mentioned the scarcity of Australian linguistic material (e.g., von der Gabelentz 1861: 489; Müller 1867: 241, 1882: 2; von der Gabelentz 1891: 403). The Austrian linguist and ethnologist W. Schmidt (1868–1954; 1946: 941) described “a desolate lack of scientifically recorded materials for most Australian languages”.³ In a review of Schmidt’s classification of Australian languages (1919b) the American anthropologist A. L. Kroeber observed that “the international contribution” to Australian linguistics stood in contrast to the apathy of linguistic researchers in Australia:

It is remarkable that there does not exist a single first-class monograph or body of material on any one of the native languages of this continent. This distressing fact should burn into the minds of all who profess interest in learning and science. Perhaps the realisation that the first scholarly attempt to deal seriously with these tongues was made in German by an Austrian priest will stir Australians into effort. (Kroeber 1921: 226)

The commencement of the second descriptive era of linguistic research in Australia (c. 1930–1960) is characterised as having focussed “strong attention on

³⁶De[r] trostlose[] Mangel an wissenschaftlich aufgenommenem Material [...] bei dem grössten Teil der [...] australischen Sprachen” (Schmidt 1946: 941).

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structural and typological features” (Wurm 1972: 17). Its onset is demarcated by three typological studies: the study of Australian languages made by the British linguist S. Ray (1858–1939; 1925), who had previously written grammars of Paman languages (1893, 1907), and the studies produced in 1937 by the Australian linguistic researchers A. Capell (1902–1986) and A. P. Elkin (1891–1979), both of whom steered Australian linguistics towards the modern era (Table 1.2 on p. 38). Ranging freely over the early descriptions of Australian languages, these three works collated and synthesised data presented in the primary sources examined in this study. They provide valuable insight into the understanding of PN structure that was discoverable at the time.

The early descriptions of Australian morphology and syntax examined in this study initially received little attention within the most recent era of grammatical description (1960–). Assessment of the value of the data contained in these antique records was understandably not prioritised by linguists in the modern era, who concentrated on documenting languages from the last generations of fluent speakers. The early grammars were most likely to be mentioned in accounts of “earlier work on the language” given in the introductions to modern grammars. The brevity of summations like the following assessment of Schwarz & Poland’s (1900) and Roth’s (1901) descriptions of Guugu-Yimidhirr is not uncommon:

All this work [in early sources] suffered from a basic misunderstanding of the sound system of the language [...] and from a heavy reliance on grammatical categories derived from the study of European languages and decidedly inappropriate for an analysis of Guugu-Yimidhirr. (Haviland 1979: 35)

The grammatical description of dying Australian languages made during the last decades of the twentieth century by linguists such as Haviland now brings a wealth of valuable insight with which to assess the early grammars (§2.1).

Nevertheless, there has been a tendency within the third era of Australian linguistic description to dismiss the body of work considered in this study as having been produced by “amateurs” (e.g., Dixon 1980: 15; Blake & Dixon 1991: 4). The tendency to ignore, or to downplay, the contribution that missionaries made to the understanding of Australian linguistic structures sits within a general disregard of missionary linguistics, both within Australia (Carey 2004: 260–261) and globally (McGregor 2008c: 121).

Considering the training and preparation received by many of the early missionary-grammarians, it is difficult to conceive of an intended meaning of the term “amateur” which is not overly anachronistic. Rev. W. Ridley (§4.4), who

published on Gamilaraay spoken in New South Wales between the 1850s and the 1870s, was trained at King's College London, held an MA from the University of Sydney, and had learnt Gaelic. His first publication on Gamilaraay appeared in the London-based *Transactions of the Philological Society*. Ridley is no better described as “amateur” than are some of the well-read “armchair” philologists in Europe, such as S. Ray (§10.2) and H. C. von der Gabelentz (1807–1874), who similarly described Australian languages with no formal philological or linguistic training, but who are not usually described as amateurs.⁴ While it is perhaps true that *some* of the early grammars produced in Australia are not as professionally compiled as *some* of the primary descriptions produced outside the country by men of academic standing – Hale (1846), Ray & Haddon (1893), and Ray (1907) – the insightful and sometimes *inaugural* description of PN structures given in many of the Australian sources evince skilful analyses that are better described as “pioneering” works written by “forerunners” on a pre-theoretical descriptive frontier. To appropriate Elkin's (1975: 1) description of early anthropologists in Australia, we can say that the early grammarians may have been amateurs, but they were not necessarily amateurish.

The historiography of Australian linguistics complements recent investigations of the development of anthropological understandings of Aboriginal people (Veit 2004; Kenny 2013; Gardner & McConvell 2015; Kelly & McConvell 2018). Regarding the historical treatment of Threlkeld's legacy, Roberts observes:

Historians have made extensive use of the larger body of material, but have tended to gloss over [Threlkeld's] linguistic works ... their significance and their relevance have not been well understood by historians. (Roberts 2008: 108)

This observation that Threlkeld's linguistic achievements have not received adequate historical attention equally applies to other early Australian grammarians considered in this study. It is, for instance, surprising that despite making detailed study of diaries, letters and anthropological work, the major biographical studies of the missionary-grammarian C. Strehlow (Strehlow 2011; Kenny 2013) and of his son T. G. H. Strehlow (McNally 1981; Hill 2002) do not enquire into the nature of their subjects' grammatical analyses in order to properly probe their linguistic work for signs of influence and collaboration. While it is true that “there has been increasing fascination with the social and cultural evidence that missionary linguistics provides about interaction with indigenous peoples

⁴Ray's first description of a language (Ray & Haddon 1893) was written *before* he visited the region.

across the contact zone” (Wafer & Carey 2011: 13), these early grammatical descriptions warrant closer interdisciplinary examination. Tracing philological influence through the comparative study of the early grammatical sources is of broad historical relevance.

Due to the high rate of linguistic extinction in Australia,⁵ the historic record of PN morphosyntax is of increasing significance within a number of fields of philological enquiry. Grammars that stand as the sole record of a lost language have received considerable attention from within the language reclamation and revitalisation movement that has gained considerable momentum among Aboriginal descendants of speakers (Hobson et al. 2010). For example, the revival of Kurna (Amery 2016: 2000), the language of the Adelaide plains, would have been impossible without the grammar produced by Lutheran missionaries Teichelmann and Schürmann (1840). Similarly, the reconstitution of Awabakal (Lissarrague 2006; Oppliger 1984) is based on Threlkeld (1827; 1834; 1850).

Beyond the revival context, the optimal reclamation of material from the early grammars is crucial in the reconstruction of the Australian pre-contact linguistic landscape. These documents play a role in the description of endangered languages as linguists are “forced to turn to work by these linguistically naïve recorders to augment their own inadequate corpora” (McGregor 2000: 445). Philological investigation of these early materials continues to contribute to the understanding of Pama-Nyungan typology (e.g., Dixon 2002a) and to the ongoing internal classification of Pama-Nyungan languages (e.g., Bower & Atkinson 2012). The documents considered in this study are precious and rare resources of increasing relevance. As such, they deserve careful and close scrutiny.

One might conceive of a fourth era of Australian linguistic studies, commencing towards the end of the twentieth century, with a focus on the description of language contact varieties (Meakins 2014: 365–366; Dickson In press) and on the philological investigation of nineteenth-century records.

1.1 The corpus of early PN description

Table 1.1 summarises the corpus of early PN grammatical description, which covers twenty-four languages. It shows that most early grammars of PN languages were made by missionaries. With the exception of the otherwise anomalous

⁵Australia’s indigenous languages have suffered a high rate of extinction since colonisation. The second National Indigenous Languages Survey (NILES 2) puts the number of “strong” Aboriginal languages that continue to be acquired by children in 2014 at 13, a decrease of five languages since the first NILES report in 2005 (Marmion et al. 2014: xii).

grammars by the self-taught philologist and ethnologist R. H. Mathews (1841–1918), who published in numerous Australian and international journals (see Koch 2008), only about one quarter of the grammars in the corpus (henceforth corpus grammars) were not written by missionaries. Although missionaries produced a substantial proportion of the corpus, it is important to realise that their efforts were unusual. Australian missionaries tended *not* to investigate Aboriginal languages (Harris 1994: 805). The more general disinterest in Aboriginal languages from missionaries sits within what missionary Threlkeld described as

almost sovereign contempt with which the Aboriginal language of New South Wales has been treated in this Colony, and the indifference shown toward the attempt to gain information on the subject, are not highly indicative of the love of science in this part of the globe, and for which it is difficult to account. (Threlkeld 1850: 10)

With exception again to Mathews, whose numerous works substantially enlarge the body of “non-missionary” description, the grammars written by non-missionaries were either written outside the country (Ray & Haddon 1893; Ray 1907; Planert 1907a, 1908; Gatti 1930) or by men appointed to the office of Protector of Aborigines (Symmons 1841; Moorhouse 1846; Roth 1901). While the duties of Protector extended to learning Aboriginal languages (Jones 1996: 50; Blake 2016), grammatical study was made only by those who happened to possess the required aptitude and inclination.

A relatively small number of early grammatical descriptions are excluded from the corpus on the grounds that they do not contain detailed enough description to warrant comparison with other sources. The criterion for inclusion is that a work contains a reasonably comprehensive description – for the era and relative to other grammars – of *both* nominal and verbal morphology. Notable exclusions include a description of Dharuk (1790–1791a; 1790–1791b) spoken in Sydney made by W. Dawes (1762–1836), C. Smith’s description of Bunganditj spoken in the southeast corner of South Australia (1880) – the material for which was supplied by Smith’s son, Duncan Stewart – J. Dawson’s descriptions of Jab-Wurrung and Peek-Whurrung spoken in western Victoria (1881), and W. Thomas’ analysis of Woiwurrung spoken in Melbourne (Hagenauer 1878: 118–120). These works tend to be sketchy grammatical notes appended to larger vocabularies or ethnographic descriptions.

It should be noted, however, that Dawes’ grammatical notebook (1790–1791a; 1790–1791b) is remarkable within the history of Aboriginal language description, in having been written so soon after the colonisation of New South Wales and decades before any subsequent grammatical description is known to have occurred.

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Table 1.1: The corpus of early grammatical descriptions of Pama-Nyungan languages. Shaded works are those that were dependent on earlier missionary analysis.

Language	Year	Published	Author	Author's vocation	Language written in
Awabakal	1834	✓	L. E. Threlkeld (1788–1859)	Missionary, London Mission Society	English
Wiradjuri	c. 1835–1838	Lost ms	W. Watson (1798–1866)	Missionary, Church Mission Society	English
	c. 1835	Lost ms	J. S. C. Handt (1783–1863)	Basel-trained, Church of English missionary	Unknown, probably German
	1838 & 1840	ms	W. J. Günther (1806–1879)	Basel-trained, Church of English missionary	English
Kaurna	1840 [†]	✓	C. G. teichelmann (1807–1888) & C. W. Schürmann (1815–1893)	Missionaries, Lutheran, Dresden Mission Institute	English
Nyungar	1841	✓	C. Symmons (1804–1887)	Sub-guardian of Natives, Swan River Colony (Perth)	English
Barngarla	1844a [†]	✓	C. W. Schürmann (1815–1893)	Missionary, Lutheran, Dresden Mission Institute	English
Ramindjeri	1843 [†]	✓	H. A. E. Meyer (1813–1862)	Missionary, Lutheran, Dresden Mission Institute	English

[†]These grammars are of languages spoken in South Australia, which until 1911 included the Northern Territory and were made by Lutheran missionaries.

1.1 The corpus of early PN description

Language	Year	Published	Author	Author's vocation	Language written in
Ngarrindjeri	1867	MS	G. Taplin (1831–1879)	Missionary, Congregationalist	English
	1870, 1872, 1874, 1879	MS			
	1878, 1880	✓			
Ngayawang	1846	✓	M. Moorhouse (1813–1876)	Protector of Aborigines, South Australia	English
Gamilaraay and Turrubul	1866	✓	W. M. Ridley (1819–1878)	Missionary, Presbyterian	English
Gamilaraay	1856b 1855a	✓ MS			
	1875	✓			
Diyari	1868 [‡] [†]	MS	W. Koch (1848–1869)	Teacher at the Lutheran mission	German
	1947 [1872] [†]	MS	C. Schoknecht (1841–1905)	Missionary, Lutheran, Hermannsburg Mission Society	German
	1880 [†]	MS	J. Flierl (1858–1947)	Missionary, Lutheran, Neuendettelsau	German
	1981 [1899] [†]	MS	J. G. Reuther (1861–1914)	Missionary, Lutheran, Neuendettelsau	German
	1908	✓	W. Planert (1882–post 1940)	Student of Prof. Luschan, at the Royal Museum for Ethnology, Berlin	German

[†]These grammars are of languages spoken in South Australia, which until 1911 included the Northern Territory and were made by Lutheran missionaries. [‡]This grammar is assigned to W. Koch, a teacher at the mission, on internal historical evidence (§8.3.4). The document does not attribute authorship.

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Language	Year	Published	Author	Author's vocation	Language written in
	1930	✓	G. Gatti (dates unknown)	Italian linguist	Italian
Wangkangurru	1880 [†]	MS	J. Flierl	See above	German
	1981 [1901] [†]	MS	J. G. Reuther	See above	
Yandruwandha	1981 [1901] [†]	MS	J. G. Reuther	See above	German
Ganai	1878	✓	J. Bulmer (1833--1913)	Missionary, Church of England	English
Wergaya	1878	✓	F. A Hagenauer (1829--1909)	Missionary, Moravian	English
Minjangbal	1892	✓	H. Livingstone (dates unknown)	Missionary, Presbyterian	English
Western Arrernte	1891 [†]	✓	H. Kempe (1844--1928)	Missionary, Lutheran, Hermanns- burg Mission Society	German
	1907	✓	W. Planert	See above	German
	1910	MS	C. Strehlow (1871--1922)	Missionary, Lutheran, Neuendet- telsau	German
	1931 [c.1907] [†]	MS	C. Strehlow	See above	German
	1931 [c.1923] [†]	MS	J. Riedel (1885--1961)	Missionary, Lutheran, Neuendet- telsau	
	1908 [†]	✓	C. Strehlow	See above	German
Luritja	1910	MS	C. Strehlow	See above	German
Pitta-Pitta	1897	✓	W. E. Roth (1861--1933)	Medical doctor	English

[†]These grammars are of languages spoken in South Australia, which until 1911 included the Northern Territory and were made by Lutheran missionaries.

1.1 The corpus of early PN description

Language	Year	Published	Author	Author's vocation	Language written in
Kalaw Lagaw Ya, Western Torres Straits	1893*	✓	S. Ray (1858–1939) & A. Haddon (1855–1940)	Linguist (Ray) Cambridge biologist (Haddon)	English
Yadhaykenu	1907*	✓	S. Ray	Linguist, Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to the Torres Straits	English
	1907*	✓	S. Ray		English
Guugu-Yimidhirr & Nggerrikwidhi	1907*	✓	S. Ray		English
Guugu-Yimidhirr	1900* *	MS	G. H. Schwarz (1868–1959) & W. G. F. Poland (1866–1955)	Missionaries, Lutheran, Neuendettelsau	German & English
Nggerrikwidhi	1901	✓	W. E. Roth	Protector of Aborigines for the Northern District of Queensland	English
	1903	✓	N. Hey (1862–1915)	Missionary, Moravian	English
R. H. Mathews' grammars of some dozen Pama-Nyungan languages, predominantly from the southeast of the continent.					

*Grammars by Ray & Haddon (1893) and Ray (1907) are presented within an extensive classification of languages of the Torres Strait and thus differ from other works considered in the corpus by being written for historical and comparative purposes. ** Earlier grammatical notes on Guugu-Yimidhirr written in German by Poland in a letter sent to Neuendettelsau (18/08/1889; Haviland & Haviland 1980: 133) have, unfortunately, not been sourced for the purpose of this study.

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While Dawes *does* attempt to conjugate numerous verbs, the work does *not* make any description of case morphology on nouns or on pronouns. Thus, Threlkeld's grammar of Awabakal (1834) is described in this study as the earliest Australian grammar.

Although T. G. H. Strehlow's MA thesis, "An Aranda grammar" (Strehlow 1938), published in *Oceania* as part of "Aranda Phonetics and Grammar" (1944), sits outside the timeframe of this study (1834–1910), the work is difficult to ignore. There are seven grammars of Arrernte written by five different authors that pre-date T. G. H. Strehlow's long and detailed analysis, including three by his own father C. Strehlow (1931a; 1908; 1910), who was the missionary at Hermannsburg mission where T. G. H. Strehlow grew up (Hill 2002; Strehlow 2011). Arrernte has a longer analytical history than any other Australian language (Green 2012: 159). The time depth of Diyari grammatical description, commenced by Lutheran missionaries in the late 1860s (Koch 1868), is shorter than that of Arrernte, commenced by Lutheran missionaries in the late 1870s (Kempe 1891), only because Arrernte has continued to be spoken and grammatically described throughout the modern descriptive era, whereas the last speakers of Diyari were recorded in the 1970s (Austin 1978). Arrernte is in fact the only corpus language that continues to be acquired by children. As such, the language provides a rare opportunity to make a longitudinal study of the history of description of a single language. Stockigt (2017, 2023b) examines the ways in which T. G. H. Strehlow's analysis of Arrernte articulates into a tradition of descriptive practice established by his Lutheran forefathers.

1.1.1 The naming of languages

The naming of Aboriginal languages and the way they are spelled is not straightforward or apolitical (Sutton 1979, Rosenberg & Bown 2023). The terminology employed in this study is chosen primarily for ease of reference. Many of the names used to refer to languages – Awabakal, Kaurua, Ngarrindjeri and Arrernte – are the product of post-colonial linguistic and anthropological investigation. They were not recorded in the early sources. The language Threlkeld described was first named "Awabakal" by J. Fraser (1892: v), the term being derived from the name of Lake Macquarie *Awaba* marked with the associative suffix *-kal*. The language is nowadays also referred to as "Hunter River and Lake Macquarie language" or "HRLM" (Lissarrague 2006; Wafer & Carey 2011). The title of Threlkeld's earliest grammar: *Australian grammar comprehending the principles and natural rules of the language spoken by the Aborigines in the vicinity of Hunter's*

River, Lake Macquarie, &c (1834) is typical of many works in the corpus in identifying the language by the location in which it was spoken. Examine, for example, the titles of Threlkeld (Threlkeld 1827, 1850), Teichelmann & Schürmann (1840), Meyer (1843), Moorhouse (1846), Hagenauer (1878), and Kempe (1891). The mechanisms by which many language names – with all their variant spellings⁶ – came to be the accepted descriptors of languages, and of the people speaking them, can be difficult to retrieve from the historical record and remain generally not well understood. Sutton (1979: 89) comments: “[T]he question of what language names or labels actually refer to, and how they function in Aboriginal societies, has in general been neglected”. So too have the processes by which the nomenclature has developed since colonisation and has been assumed by Aboriginal people, who now identify as owners of newly named varieties, which are themselves sometimes post-colonial constructs. Section 5.1.1 discusses the evolution of the term “Kurna” (see Stockigt 2023a,b for discussion of the evolution of the term Arrernte).

While the study examines only Pama-Nyungan languages, the corpus languages may be referred to as “Australian” rather than “Pama-Nyungan” in order to better reflect the early grammarians’ point of view. Although the division of mainland Australian languages into two high level groups – *Sprachstämme* – was recognised in very early philological publications (Bleek 1858; Müller 1867: 241) and later by W. Schmidt (1919b; see Koch 2014 for a history of ideas about the internal relations of Australian languages), scarcely anything was known about non-Pama-Nyungan languages (Stockigt 2023a,b). The term “Pama-Nyungan”, and a grammatical distinction between languages in the far north and those featured in the corpus was meaningless to the early grammarians.

1.1.2 Lutheran grammarians

A large proportion of the missionary grammars were written by Lutherans. Lutheran missionaries made comparatively detailed grammatical descriptions of seven Aboriginal languages spoken in South Australia before the turn of the twentieth century: Kurna, Ramindjeri, Barngarla, Diyari, Wangkangurru, Yandruwandha and Arrernte (see Table 1.1).⁷ The swiftness with which missions were

⁶See for instance, Austin (1993: 8) for a list of the twenty-one spellings of the language name “Gamilaraay”, to which this investigation adds “Gammilurai” (§4.1.1).

⁷Koonibba, established in 1901, was the last Lutheran mission to Aboriginal people established in South Australia. Pastor C. A. Wiebusch, who ministered at Koonibba from 1910, compiled a “Julbara” (Wirangu) wordlist, and other vocabularies of Wirangu, Mirning and Kokatha were collected at the mission (Hoff 2004). No grammatical description appears to have been made at Koonibba.

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established in the Colony of South Australia, after its founding in 1836, is atypical of the wider Australian experience.⁸ In 1838, the founding chairman of the South Australian Company, George Fife Angas (1789–1879), assisted the passage to the colony of graduates from the Evangelical-Lutheran Mission Society of Dresden to work among the Aboriginal population of the South Australian colony (Lockwood 2014: 61–65). Consequently, Lutheran missionaries dominated the early grammatical description of South Australian languages – including those spoken within the present-day Northern Territory, which was not separated from South Australia until 1911.

The earliest wave of Lutheran description in South Australia (Chapter 5 & Chapter 6) has previously been recognised as belonging to a descriptive school termed “the Adelaide School” (Simpson 1992: 410). While S. Ray described “the existing material for the study of Aboriginal languages” as “of a very unsatisfactory manner” (1925: 2), he lists these earliest South Australian Lutheran grammars among the “the best of the early grammars” (1925: 2). The calibre of grammars produced in South Australia was also noted by Capell (1970: 667).⁹

The accuracy with which Lutheran missionaries described languages spoken in South Australia has, however, been overlooked by Carey when positioning the important linguistic contribution made by Threlkeld:

Early missions to the Australian Aborigines ...were rarely successful whether success is measured in terms of conversions and baptisms, or the more common linguistic coin of wordlists, grammars and scripture translations. Only a handful of missionaries produced published or unpublished records of their linguistic work that necessarily proceeded prior to evangelisation. (Carey 2004: 258–259)

Roberts (2008: 110) similarly unwittingly extrapolates the sparseness of early grammatical description of languages spoken in the earliest settled colony of New South Wales to Australia more broadly. So too does Dixon (1980: 12), who

⁸The 1834 South Australian colonisation act was passed relatively late within British imperial history. Secretary of State to the Colonies, Lord Glenelg, was among a group of humanitarians who insisted in letters issued to the Colonisation Commission in 1836 that the welfare and rights to land of Aboriginal people in South Australia be formally protected by the Colonial Office (Reynolds 1987: 94–102). Missions to Aboriginal people in South Australia were subsequently better considered and supported, albeit still inadequately, than in other states

⁹Capell (1970: 668) incorrectly describes Teichelmann and Schürmann as Moravian, and he confuses the publication dates of Teichelmann and Schürmann’s and Schürmann’s grammars with one another.

delineates a period of linguistic research in Australia running between the mid-1840s and mid-1870s and characterises it as exhibiting a scarcity of linguistic description with “just a little new material coming from the missionaries”. Here Dixon might be forgiven for failing to notice the unpublished Lutheran grammars of Diyari written in German during the 1860s and 1870s, but dismissing the handful of high quality, published South Australian grammars that were written in the early 1840s, places his assessment within a broader trivialisation of missionary description.

Recent treatments of the Lutherans’ grammatical legacy in Australia have rightly emphasised that it was a conviction that the “heathen” would be better converted to Christianity in their mother tongue that necessitated the Lutherans’ acquisition and description of Aboriginal languages (Graetz 1988: 9; Kenny 2013: 87). Teichelmann, for instance, attributed the resistance to Christian conversion entirely to his own inadequate mastery of the language and his pietistic conviction that conversion would *necessarily* follow his ability to preach in the vernacular. He wrote (19/01/1840): “when we have their language in our power, the lord will through his Word perform signs and wonders on these natives however low they have sunk”. The case is made with reference to Luther having given “the German people scriptures in their own language” (Graetz 1988: 9; Hill 2002: 523–527) and to the related conviction that conversion should occur through the free will provided by understanding the scriptures in one’s first languages (Kenny 2013: 87). Lutheran mission activity has been characterised as resting in German philosophical traditions hailing from J. G. Herder (1744–1803), which asserted that understanding a people’s language provided a window into their *Volksgeist* that was necessary for successful conversion (Kenny 2013: 99).

However, such accounts obscure the fact that the same conviction was held by other evangelical denominations, as well as by Catholics working with non-PN languages at Beagle Bay and in the Daly River. Lutheran missionaries did not hold a monopoly on the belief that the “heathen” were best converted to Christianity in their mother tongue (Stockigt 2020: 21–26). They were certainly not “singular in their embracing of Indigenous language in the service of mission” (Kneebone 2005b: 362). Protestant missionaries of differing denominations in Australia were expected to learn the Indigenous language spoken by the people they wished to convert. Missionary Threlkeld (Chapter 3), for example, “shared a devout belief that the scriptures alone (*scriptura sola*) were sufficient for salvation” (Wafer & Carey 2011: 116) and his linguistic achievements were made as part of an established tradition of London Mission Society Bible translation (Roberts 2008: 107). The acquisition of Indigenous languages was seen as one of the principal

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tasks of London Mission Society missionaries in the South Pacific (Hughes & Fischer 1998: xxiii). Missionary Watson (§4.1) of the Church Mission Society, who established the Wellington Valley Mission in 1832, was instructed to “learn the language and reduce it to writing” (Bridges 1978: 297) and Archdeacon Broughton in New South Wales encouraged the writing of grammars as part of missionary activity (*ibid.*, 275). Congregationalist missionary Taplin (§7.3) similarly wasted no time in advancing the grammatical descriptions of Ngarrindjeri, and Moravian missionaries in Australia (§7.2, §10.1.3) were trained and also expected to learn the local language (Edwards 2007: 319). The importance of linguistic analysis in order to translate religious texts is not even an exclusively Christian mission philosophy (Ostler 2004: 33).

Note here also that Queensland is the only state other than South Australia in which there were nineteenth-century Lutheran missions: Zion Hill (Nundah) (1838–1848), Nerang Creek (1869–1879), Cape Bedford (Elim, Hopevale) (1886–1942), Bethesda (Queensland) (1886–1881), Bloomfield (1887–1901), and Mari Yamba (1887–1902). Yet Queensland’s Aboriginal languages were scarcely recorded before the twentieth century. Manuscript grammatical descriptions of Guugu-Yimidhirr written by Neuendettelsau missionaries Schwarz & Poland (1900) at Cape Bedford, the longest enduring Queensland mission, are the only surviving Lutheran analyses of a Queensland language.

At Protestant missions around the country grammars and vocabularies were collated in order to carry out two interrelated tasks essential to evangelism: the translation of religious texts and the preparation of materials for use in vernacular literacy programmes. The Lutherans’ work can be said to differ from that of missionaries from other denominations only in terms of the *extent* to which the Lutherans produced vernacular literacy materials and in terms of their *success* in teaching young Diyari, Arrernte, and Guugu-Yimidhirr Christian converts to read and write in their own language. Both factors were enabled more by circumstantial opportunity for missionaries to interact with Aboriginal people at missions that lasted for uncharacteristically long periods of time in Australia (§8.1) than by particular missiological convictions.

1.1.3 Collaborations with Aboriginal people

The production of these early grammars of Australian languages necessitated exchanges that were exceptional to the brutal impacts of colonisation: the ensuing theft of land, devastation from disease, relocation, murder, institutionalisation and the deterioration of biotas that had sustained and been sustained by Aboriginal people for tens of thousands of years. The alliance between Aboriginal

people and missionary-grammarians required to produce the grammars tells of dedicated intellectual collaborations and concerted attempts to bridge a sociolinguistic divide which otherwise characterises early colonial encounters. Some degree of reciprocity between Aboriginal informants and missionary-grammarians was necessary to produce the grammars. The exchange was aptly expressed by Schürmann, writing from Port Lincoln to the Committee of the Evangelical Lutheran Mission Society in Dresden:

The learning of the language, which must precede any immediate and specific mission activity, is a difficult and laborious task, which can be less perfected by application and enthusiasm, than by patience and endurance[...] When the physical sphere of the language is exhausted and one then comes to the spiritual side of abstract concepts and ideas, all devices and urging are fruitless. *Here the missionary stands on one side* pondering and striving for the meaning of a spoken word, or ferreting out a relevant word for a given concept; *with the aborigine on the other* often just as eager to make himself understood...Patient observation, quick comprehension and lively fantasy alone can produce a result in such cases. (Schürmann 1844b; emphasis added)

Counter to the still widely received notion which construes as amoral the missionaries' avowed intention to Christianise Aboriginal people stands the irony that missionaries, more than any other group, came to grips with the complexity and diversity of the languages spoken in Australia. That said, it is important to remember that only a small minority of missionaries in Australia learned and described Aboriginal languages (Harris 1994: 805–806), although most of the earliest missionaries made some attempt at translating liturgical texts. The popular trope that Aboriginal people were punished for using their own languages at the missions is perhaps informed by the experience and memory of twentieth-century government policy. Accounts which cast missionary engagement with Aboriginal people as solely culturally destructive and as having facilitated genocide (Dixon 1980: 77–79) have recently been contested in a growing body of literature. A more balanced story of missionary relations with Aboriginal people has emerged which places the missionaries' role in providing welfare, medical assistance, and physical protection against the backdrop of neglect and abuse from other quarters of colonial society (Kneebone 2005a; Harris 1994; Edwards 2007; Strehlow 2011).

Opening pages of nineteenth-century missionary grammars often contain qualifying remarks about the complexity of the described language which are framed

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to counter the opinion, still prevalent today, that Aboriginal languages were simple and less evolved than European languages. G. Taplin observed:

The Narrinyeri have a language, and do not, as an English farmer once told me[...] only make noises, like beasts of the field. They have a highly organised one too, possessing inflections which ours do not. (Taplin 1879b: 123)

It was not usual for early missionary-grammarians to acknowledge their Aboriginal informants, nor document their method of fieldwork. The identity of the numerous Aboriginal informants who chose to share their language with early missionary-grammarians is frequently unknown. The colonial power imbalance and the inherent sense of superiority held by the European recorders created a situation in which it was generally thought unnecessary to acknowledge Aboriginal collaborators. That the Aboriginal people who enabled the production of the grammars tend to remain unacknowledged, even as nameless identities, is characteristic of the rather disembodied corpus of early descriptions of Australian languages.

Early Lutheran missionaries in South Australia were explicitly instructed to “take on a teacher and study the grammar, as well as meet the people in order to grasp the spoken language in their day-to-day life” (Rheinwald 1840: 681).¹⁰ In reality the productive relationships formed between missionaries and Aboriginal people were likely to have been initiated by Aboriginal people choosing to engage in an interchange of cultural ideas and practices with the Europeans, as detailed by Sutton (In Preparation: 166–167, 178).

In the case of most, if not all, of the missions examined in the timeframe of this study, Aboriginal people were under no obligation to work and stay at the mission. Aboriginal people were generally free to leave, and did, judging by the missionary-grammarians’ frequently aired frustration at their “wandering habits” (Threlkeld 1834: xi; Meyer 1843: v; Kempe 1891: 1). In 1888, at the Elim mission in north Queensland, Lutheran missionary Poland commented:

While it was certainly difficult enough to keep the young people at the station, it seemed to be virtually impossible to persuade older people to stay. Adults did not settle at Elim, at best they made Elim a staging-post. This usually occurred during the wet (Summer) season when the food that sustained their nomadic existence became scarce. (Poland 1988: 16)

¹⁰“Einen Lehrer annehmen und die Grammatik studieren, als auch unter den Volk gehen werden, um den mündlichen Ausdruck aus Leben aufzufassen” (Rheinwald 1840: 681).

Drawing on the autobiographical account of Moses Tjalkabota (below), who was a boy when Lutheran missionaries arrived as the first wave of Europeans in Western Arrernte country in Central Australia in 1877, Latz (2014: 25–26) explores the reasons that Tjalkabota’s father Tjita may have led his family away from the Hermannsburg mission, including desecration of sacred sites, and fear of losing influence over his children. Rations of food, tobacco, blankets, and at Hermannsburg, music, particularly singing (ibid.: 23–25), were used to entice adults to stay at the mission.

1.1.3.1 The relationship between informant and missionary

In some instances, the relationship between the missionary-grammarian and his Aboriginal informant might aptly be characterised as one of friendship. In his earliest grammar, Ridley (1855b: 76) stated: “The permissive voice of **buma** is **bumanbilla**, which I learned from a black fellow, who, at my request, was explaining his idea of friendship.”

- (1) Kamil Yarri ngununda bumanabilla.

Harry will not *allow-any-one-to-beat* me.

(Ridley 1855b: 76)

Gamil Yarri nganunda buma-na-bi-li

NEG Harry-[ERG] 1sgLOC hit-VD?-LET¹¹

The “Yarri” to whom Ridley refers is “Harry of Bungulgully”, who Ridley (1875: 170) had initially met on the Upper Paterson, close to Newcastle, in 1851 when Harry was engaged as a farm labourer some 600km south of his own country. It was Harry who initially re-inspired Ridley’s calling for mission work (Gunson 2016b). At this stage Ridley wrote that Harry

was pleased at being recognised as one for whom the minister cared: and I found that by merely acting on the rule – “honour all men” – treating him as a fellow creature, I had won his friendship.

Four years later, Ridley was reacquainted with Harry back on his own country at Bungulgully in the Namoi River catchment in northern New South Wales:

He had heard of my coming and went out on the track to meet me. His countenance expressed joy. He gave me help in learning the Kamillaroi, and listened with earnest attention ...

¹¹See Giacon (Giacon 2014: 355, 363) for account of permissive voice glossed “LET”

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Ridley provides this detail not in any of his Kamilaroi grammars (1855b, 1856a, 1866, 1875; see §4.5), but in a closing section headed “Random illustrations of Aboriginal life and character” (1875: 166–170). Although Aboriginal informants are rarely acknowledged in the grammars, their identity and contribution are sometimes evident in other documents including missionary-grammarians’ letters and journals.

Not all missionary-grammarians, however, benefitted from the willingness of Aboriginal people to interact freely. Teichelmann attributed an early inability to discuss important religious matters as resulting from the language being “withheld” (*zurückgehalten*) by its speakers (1839–1846, 09/01/1840). Moravian missionary A. F. C. Täger (1811–1870) at Lake Boga (1850–1856), the short-lived and earliest Moravian mission in Victoria (§4.5), described how Aboriginal people controlled their communication with the missionaries:

We have not yet been able to spread the word of God, because we are still missing too many words ... we are totally convinced that some Aborigines are starting to speak a different language in our presence, when they are speaking about something that we should not know. (Täger, quoted in Jenz 2010: 81)

Nor were all missionary-grammarians able to forge relationships with people who were established bi-cultural negotiators (see further in the next section). At the Wellington Valley mission in New South Wales, for instance, misgivings about the missionaries’ intentions preceded the arrival of Watson and Handt in the region, possibly affecting the nature of the relationships formed with local Aboriginal people. White settlers had told the Aboriginal occupants that the missionaries intended on stealing and imprisoning their children (Handt 1831–1843, 30/09/1832; 24/09/1832). The settlers’ perception of the missionaries’ method of Christianising Aboriginal people was not entirely incorrect. Handt writes:

One woman had a half cast [sic] little infant. I had been informed that they had a girl of about four years old among them of the same description. It was said that she had lost her mother, and was taken care of by an old woman. This child I should have endeavoured to obtain by giving the old woman a trifle, had she not gone into the bush with it the day previous. (Handt 1831–1843, 30/03/1834)

And in 1838, missionary Gunther at Wellington Valley presented the following Wiradjuri clause.

- (2) Ngungu-dhi nhila buraay-nhu ngadhu-nhu; Minyaminyambul
 Give-! That child-your I-for-you; Something-something
 ngum-biya-girri.
 give-constantly-will
 ‘Give me that child and I will give you plenty of compensation’
 (Transcription, gloss and translation, Grant et al. 2000: 39)¹²

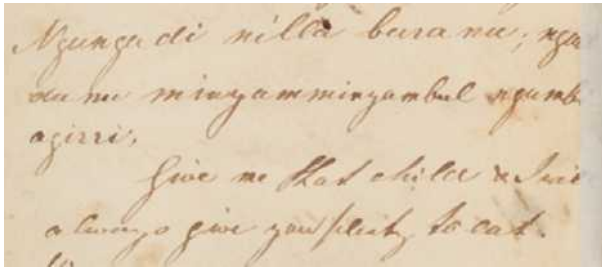


Figure 1.1: Page from Günther (1838: 270)

Schürmann’s encounter with speakers of Barngarla on the Eyre Peninsula (§6.2) stands in contrast to the ease with which he, Teichelmann and Meyer had earlier garnered the trust of Kurna and Ramindjeri men. Acting as Deputy Protector of Aborigines, Schürmann had little time for mission work, and was immediately swept into police investigations of a series of murders of Aboriginal people and Europeans, in which he felt morally and professionally compromised. Frontier hostility on the Eyre Peninsula was better recorded than in most areas of Australia thanks to Schürmann’s elicitation from Aboriginal people of their version of events, which he detailed in letters and in his journal (Schürmann 1838). It took Schürmann almost two months to establish any significant contact with Aboriginal people from the district, and he related (in Schurmann 1987: 113) that “everyone discourages the natives as much as possible, that they are regarded as a nuisance, and their presence could cause animosity towards me”. Perhaps people were choosing to keep clear of the small and remote European settlement at Port Lincoln for good reason. The morning after establishing peaceful contact with nine adult men, with whom Schürmann hoped to form an ongoing association, he discovered that these people had been imprisoned and physically mistreated by police (Schurmann 1987: 113)

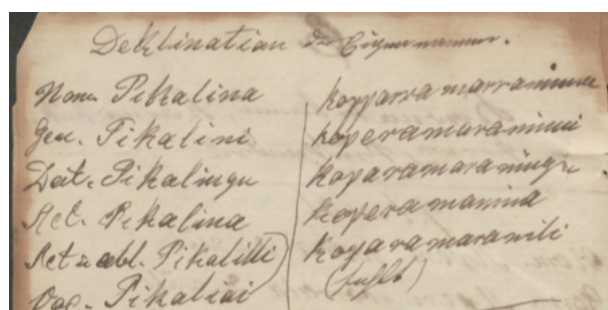
¹²Note that Rudder & Grant’s translation of the clause, “... plenty of compensation” differs from the “plenty to eat” given in the 1838 grammar (Table 3.8 on p. 140). Their translation presumably comes from another version of the same clause.

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Missionaries interacting with Aboriginal people close to the frontier witnessed hostilities between the local land-owning people and the European settlers. Schürmann's account of frontier violence on the Eyre Peninsula includes one of at least two recorded incidents in which an Aboriginal man who had forged a trusting relationship with a missionary-grammarian was slain by colonial authorities for a crime he did not commit. Schürmann (in Schurmann 1987: 151–152) mourns the execution of Nummalta, who had previously acted as his guide. Just over a decade later, in Western Victoria, Moravian missionary Spieseke laments the execution of Bonaparte, a Wemba Wemba cattle drover, described as “an esteemed linguistic informant” (Jensz 2010: 85), who was killed in 1854 by police as retribution for a crime committed by another man.

In the case of the parties of Lutheran and Moravian missionaries who in 1867 established themselves in Diyari country at Lake Killalpaninna and Lake Kopperamanna respectively (§8.3.1), concurrent with the expansion of pastoralism into the unsettled north of South Australia, the missionaries were themselves threatened by frontier hostility. Both parties were forced to retreat to southern, settled districts due to imminent attack from local men (Proeve & Proeve 1952: 72–83). The missionaries were informed of the threat to their lives by the Diyari man Pikali, “Macky”, whose name appears in Koch's 1868 *Deklination der Eigenamen* (Declension of proper nouns; Figure 1.2). Gößling recorded that:

an old man, whom we have working for clothing food and tobacco (they do not know any other pay), and who adheres to us really faithfully, informed us of it [the planned attack]. He told us, the blacks in Perigundi are very angry, and they want to murder all the whites here in the North at Lake Hope. (Gößling, quoted in Proeve & Proeve 1952: 72–83)



The image shows a handwritten document titled 'Deklination der Eigenamen.' (Declension of proper nouns). It contains two columns of text. The left column lists the name 'Pikali' in various German grammatical cases: Nom. Pikalina, Gen. Pikalini, Dat. Pikalingu, Acc. Pikalina, and a circled 'Singular' entry 'Pikalili'. The right column shows the corresponding forms in a local language, likely Diyari: kopyara maranina, kopyaramaranina, kopyaramaranga, kopyaramanina, and kopyaramarini. There is a small signature or mark at the bottom right of the right column.

Deklination der Eigenamen.	
Nom. Pikalina	kopyara maranina
Gen. Pikalini	kopyaramaranina
Dat. Pikalingu	kopyaramaranga
Acc. Pikalina	kopyaramanina
Singular Pikalili	kopyaramarini
Plural Pikalini	(Hülft)

Figure 1.2: Koch's declension of a male personal name (Koch 1868: no pag.)

1.1.3.2 **Aboriginal informants**

Where missionaries operated soon after initial contact, the Aboriginal men who attached themselves to the mission were often already recognised and respected identities within colonial society, having acted as intermediaries in other capacities before embarking on more dedicated linguistic work. Several Aboriginal men who worked with the missionary-grammarians had already established themselves as bicultural frontier figures of notoriety. Sometimes their activities are described in other colonial records and additional biographical detail is retrievable.

A case in point is Biraban, “Eaglehawk” (John McGill; c. 1800–c. 1846), who had acted as a respected cultural broker before commencing work with Threlkeld in 1825 (§3.2). As servant to an officer in the military barracks, Biraban had helped establish a penal settlement at Port Macquarie and had been recognised as the “tribal King” by L. Macquarie, Governor of New South Wales. Transitioning into the role of the missionary’s main linguistic informant was a natural progression. An early portrait of Biraban, titled “Magill” (Figure 1.3) had been taken by the convict artist R. Brown in 1819 (Gunson 1966), prior to Threlkeld’s arrival.



Figure 1.3: Richard Brown’s portrait of Biraban McGill (c. 1819). Kerry Stokes collection, Perth

Similarly, G. Taplin’s anthropological and linguistic publications (§7.3) were underpinned by the knowledge of James Unaipon (1835–1907), who had earlier

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acted as an interpreter and been baptised by the travelling missionary Rev. J. Reid. After Reid's drowning in a boating accident, James attached himself to the Point McLeay mission in 1864, intending to "improve himself in reading and writing". Here he was known by his Potawolin name, Ngunaitpon, of which "Unaipon" is a phonological approximation. By 1865 Taplin was training Unaipon as a teacher and native evangelist, enabling him to preach to outlying Ngarrindjeri people along the Coorong, southeast of the mission (Lane 1997: 114) and in 1871 he was appointed the first Ngarrindjeri church deacon (Jones 2005). An image of his son, David Unaipon (1872–1967), who was born at the mission, appears on the Australian fifty dollar note.

Two of the several Aboriginal men of the Adelaide Plains who informed Teichelmann and Schürmann's grammar of Kurna (§5.2), Mullawirraburka (c. 1811–1845; "King John", "Onkaparinga Jack"), Kadlitpinna ("Captain Jack") were renowned cultural brokers before working with the missionaries. In 1838, Mullawirraburka and Kadlitpinna had been appointed as honorary constables by the Governor of South Australia, and Mullawirraburka had been sketched by W. H. Leigh in 1837 (Gara 1998: 91), where he is not named (Leigh 1839: 84–88). A wax portrait by T. Walker (Figure 1.4) of an individual named "Kertamaroo" (*kartamiru* meaning "first born") is most probably Mullawirraburka (Gara 1998: 92). A painting



Figure 1.4: "Kertamaroo, a Native of South Australia", wax portrait by Theresa Walker (c. 1840)

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by G. F. Angas (Figure 1.5) of “a warrior of the Adelaide tribe” is of Kadlitpinna (Gara 1998: 96). In October 1838 these two men along with Ityamaitpinna (“King Rodney”) are depicted in Martha Berkeley’s watercolour “The first dinner given to the Aborigines” (1838; Figure 1.6), where they are recorded using their European names (Hylton 2012: 60). Teichelmann and Schürmann, who had arrived in South Australia just weeks before the ceremony, attended, and Schürmann (1838, 28/10/1838) describes the dressing of King John and Captain Jack, who had been marked out for special distinction due to their intelligence and ability:

Their right shoulders were decorated with a corsage of yellow silk tassels, the right side of their cap with a bunch of multi-coloured bands. Likewise,



Figure 1.5: “A warrior of the Adelaide tribe ...” George French Angas (1847) Plate 22, no.1



Figure 1.6: Detail from M. Berkeley “The first dinner given to the Aborigines” (1838). From left: Kadlitpinna Mullawirraburka, and Ityamaitpinna (Gara 1998: 103)

on the right side of the breast and on the right arm, each of them had three stripes like a Hanoverian sergeant major. On the left side of their cap, dark red aiguillettes hung down to their shoulders, where tassels of similar colour served as epaulets. The outfit gave them a kind of military appearance. Contributing to this effect, each of them carried his spear (*wieda*), his club (*waddi*), and his woomera (*womarra*) in his hands. (Schürmann 1838, 28/10/1838; translation by G. Lockwood)¹³

Mullawirraburka and Kadlitpinna are generally recognised as Teichelmann & Schürmann’s main linguistic informants (e.g., Amery 2016: 64), yet it is another Kurna man who is most frequently named as a linguistic informant in Schürmann’s diaries. Wauwitpinna told Schürmann the names of the constellations (Schürmann 1838, 05/06/1839, and Schürmann 1838, 21/08/1839) shared a creation story in which the deity *Nganno* “named the places of the country as we know them today”. Schürmann here observes that

^{13a}Unter ihnen hatte man zwei d[urch] Klugheit u Tüchtigkeit hervorragende Männer, König Johann u Capitain Jack, besonders ausgezeichnet. Ihre rechte Schulter schmückte ein Bündel gelbseidener Quasten, die rechte Seite ihrer Mütze ein Strauss von verschiedenfarbigen Bändern, eben so die rechte Seite der Brust u auf dem rechten Arm hatte jeder 3 Striche, wie ein hanöverscher Wachtmeister. An der linken Seite ihrer Mütze hingen dunkel rothe Fangschnüre auf die Schultern herab und Troddeln von ähnlicher Farbe dienten hier als Epaulets. [54] Die Ausstaffirung gab ihnen eine Art von kriegerischen Ansehen. Dazu kam dass jeder seinen Speer (Wieda), seine Keule (Waddi) und seine Womarra in den Händen trug.”

[t]he language that Wauwitpinna used in the speech of the characters introduced varied from what is now in use. According to him, it was the language of the **Munana Meyu** (ancestors). (Translation G. Lockwood).¹⁴

Although these Kurna men are not formally acknowledged in Teichelmann and Schürmann's grammar (1840), they are among eight people named in the vocabulary (1840: 36) by their Aboriginal name, which were first recorded by the missionaries. The name Mullawirraburka means 'senior man from the dry forest county' (*murla*- 'dry', *wirra*- 'forest' and *-purka* 'senior man'), and Kadlitpinna means 'father of dog' (*kadli*- 'dingo / dog', *-itpinna*, 'father of'). Each of these names are likely to be a means of identifying and referring to an individual while avoiding the use of another culturally sensitive name.

Under the entry *Pangkarra*, 'district or tract of country belonging to an individual which he inherits from his father',¹⁵ Teichelmann and Schürmann illustrate methods of forming male names with the segment *-burka* 'old man' and *-itpinna* 'father of'.

Pangkarra, s. a district or tract of country belonging to an individual, which he inherits from his father. *Ngarraitya paraiyo pangkarra*, there is abundance of game in my country. As each *pangkarra* has its peculiar name, many of the owners take that as their proper name, with the addition of the term *burka*; for instance, *Mulleakiburka* (Tam O'Shanter), *Mulla-wirraburka* (King John), *Kalyoburka*, *Karkulyaburka*, *Tindoburka*, &c. Another mode of giving names to themselves is to affix the same term, or *itpinna*, to the surname of one of their children; as *Kadlitpinna* (Captain Jack), *Wauwitpinna*, *Wirraitpinna*, &c.

Figure 1.7: Teichelmann & Schürmann's illustration of methods of forming male names, giving the names of some of their collaborators (Teichelmann & Schürmann 1840: 36)

The names of the Aboriginal people who informed the missionaries' work also sometimes appear in grammatical paradigms. In 1834, Threlkeld used Biraban's name when exemplifying the case marking of proper nouns (§3.4.7, Figure 3.11), and half a century later at the inland Lutheran mission, Bethesda, Reuther used the name of the Diyari evangelist Pingilina, discussed below (Figure 1.8).

By contrast, the missionaries' records of interaction with Wiradjuri people at Wellington Valley in New South Wales in the 1830s (§4.1) shows that missionaries

¹⁴Die Sprache, welche Wauwitpinna in den Reden der eingeführten Personen gebrauchte, wich von der jetzigen ab, und war nach seiner Aussage, die Sprache der Munana Meyu (Vorfahren)." (Schürmann 1838, 21/08/1839)

¹⁵Schürmann's observation is an early incisive statement about patrilineal acquisition of country estate. It was first made in a letter to G. F. Angas (12/06/1839, in Schürmann 1987: 50).

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N. Pingilina ist *Namunim* *Mamun*.
G. Pingilini
D. Pingiliningu
Acc. Pingilina
Voc. Pingilai
Abt. Pingilili.

Figure 1.8: Reuther's declension of a male personal name (Reuther 1894: 13)

Watson and Handt tended to refer to their Aboriginal informants generically using expressions such as 'the Blacks' or 'a Native'. Handt (1831–1843, 22/19/1832), for instance, writes that he "[w]as endeavouring to get some words from the Natives", and "[e]ngaged in getting words and phrases, and in talking to the Blacks" (Handt 1831–1843, 07/01/1835). While several Aboriginal people, mostly children, are named by the Wellington Valley missionaries in their writings, there is no evidence of enduring collaborations with adults.

Aboriginal people sometimes accompanied missionaries with whom they had formed an attachment to new mission fields remote from their own country and language. Moravian missionary Spieseke at Lake Boga in Western Victoria (§7.2) collaborated with the Wotjobaluk man Nathaniel Pepper (c. 1841–1877), who had taken his surname from the Irish colonist John Pepper (De Araugo 2005). The son of a respected senior Wotjobaluk man of the Wergaia people, Pepper would have been approximately 18 years old when the Moravians established themselves in the area in 1859. Baptised "Nathanael" by Spieseke in 1860, as the first Moravian convert at Ebenezer, the missionaries recognised Pepper as a talented student. From 1865 he received a mission salary for his evangelical work, preaching in Wergaya and in English at the mission and in the bush (Jensz 2010: 136–137). In 1869, Pepper travelled with missionary Hagenauer to Ramahyuck in eastern Victoria (Jensz 2010), where he also taught at the mission school and preached to adult Kurnai people. Hagenauer's Western Victorian Wergaya material, spoken by the "Pine Plains tribe" in Brough Smyth (Brough Smyth 1878: 39, vol. II.: 39) was collected off-country in east Gippsland from Aboriginal men relocated from the Moravian Ebenezer mission to the Ramahyuck Mission (Figure 1.9). It is probable that at least one of these informants was Nathaniel Pepper.

Pepper operated at roughly the same time and in the same capacity as James Unaipon in South Australia, and the pair may be seen as precursors to the Di-yari and Arrernte evangelists who preached to Aboriginal people away from



Figure 1.9: Map of Moravian mission in Australia, 1869 (“Mission der Brüder Unität in Australien 1857–1869”), with permission from Unitätsarchiv (Bd. 30.13)

their own country decades later in Central Australia. The Diyari evangelist Johannes Pingilina (birth date unknown but c. 1904), who had attached himself to the Bethesda mission in the outback desert regions of South Australia, travelled to Cape Bedford in far north tropical Queensland in 1886 with C. A. Meyer, before returning to Bethesda in 1892. Pingilina assisted the Neuendettelsau missionaries in Queensland in learning Guugu-Yimidhirr, and Kuku-Yalanji spoken at the Bloomfield mission. The important linguistic contribution made by the Diyari evangelist Johannes Pingilina was noted by the Protector of Aborigines and

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grammarian W. E. Roth (1901: 8), who stated that the use of Guugu-Yimidhirr in the school was achieved with Pingilina's assistance. The Western Arrernte man Moses Tjalkabota (1869–1964), “the blind evangelist”, was baptised by missionary Kempe on Christmas day in 1890. With his wife Sofia Ingkamala, Moses travelled by foot, donkey and camel, often providing the first point of Christian contact with remote Arrernte and Luritja speaking peoples. Moses Tjalkabota and A. Heidenreich translated the appendix to the 1924 *Arrernte Christian Instruction Book*, compiled by C. Strehlow and published posthumously (§9.2.3.3).

1.1.3.3 Field work methods

As in other productive relationships between ethnographers and Aboriginal people in Australia (see Sutton 2009: 163–193), the missionaries who learned Aboriginal languages lived alongside Aboriginal people sometimes for decades. The Aboriginal people with whom they worked linguistically were integral to the missionaries' survival as they strove to sustain themselves in the fledgling colonies and, in some instances, beyond the frontier. Aboriginal people acted as guides when missionaries ventured beyond the settled districts, directed them to water, acted as interpreters, and sometimes (e.g., Schürmann, in Schurmann 1987: 132) saved the missionaries from life-threatening circumstances. In such situations, language was learnt embedded in the field, while communicating with Aboriginal people about everyday needs. When arriving at Cape Bedford mission in far north Queensland in 1888, missionary Poland was advised by his Lutheran brother Schwarz (Poland 1988: 16) to

[t]ry and pick up as much [of the language] as you can through personal contact with the Aborigines. That is the best way of acquiring correct pronunciation and sentence-structure. What you hear will leave an indelible impression on your memory.

In a rare instance illustrating the means by which a missionary learnt a grammatical structure, Schürmann's Adelaide diary entry titled “Fünf Tage mit den Eingeborenen im Busch” (Five days with the natives out bush) evinces this field-work method:

What I promised myself from this journey has been more than confirmed: a closer acquaintance with the life and the language of the natives. My progress in the language consists not only in a number of new words but also in the consolidation and more fluent use of what I already knew. In particular, the discovery of a **modus conjunctivus** which is formed by attaching

the little syllable **ma** to the stem of the verb, and is used very regularly. (Schürmann 1838, 13/09/1839; translation by Lois Zweck)

The closeness that developed between some missionaries and Aboriginal people is sometimes evident in the illustrative material given in the grammars. In the following Ngarrindjeri example, given by Meyer in 1843, the Aboriginal voice is in the first person:

- (3) Ngate pant-ir porle, balb-êmb-itye
 By me (a) bringing forth has been child, white was it
 “I brought forward a child and it was white: or, My child was white when it was born”
 (Meyer 1843: 36)
 Ngati pant-ir po:rli palp-emb-itji
 1sgERG bear-PAST child-[ACC] white-RPAST-3sgNOM

The clause is starkly revealing of early colonial contact and a carries rare instance of Aboriginal perspective. Teichelmann and Schürmann present the following Kaurna clauses:

- (4) Pulyunna meyu tittappe-urti,
 ‘Don’t hang the black man,
 pindi meyu nurru-ttoai
 that the European be not charmed [ensorcelled]’
 (Teichelmann & Schürmann 1840: 69)
 Pulyurn miyu tita-api-rti pinti miyu nuru-tuwayi
 black man hang-CAUSE-NEG.IMP European curse-AVERS
- (5) Pulyunna meyurloyakko yailtyapindi meyubudnitina
 ‘The black man did not think that the white man would come’
 (Teichelmann & Schürmann 1840: 69)
 Pulyurn miyu yaku yailtya pinti miyu pudni-tina
 Black man NEG think European come-PRIV

Missionary-grammarians also engaged more formal fieldwork methods, sometimes resulting in frustration at the unwillingness of Aboriginal people to play their required role.

Meyer is known to have engaged in a style of enquiry that made Ramindjeri people uncomfortable and resulted in them avoiding contact with him (Gale 2011: 66–74). The missionaries’ initial, and perhaps ongoing, insensitivity to polite conversational pragmatics practised in Australia probably contributed to ineffective

formal elicitation strategies. Differences between Australian and Western conversational strategies of silence, turn-taking, deference, ellipsis, and questioning (Walsh 1997, Blythe & Mushin 2023) are likely to have been misinterpreted by both parties, thereby causing communication breakdown. Culturally different expectations about how knowledge is acquired (Eades 1982) may also have played into an uneasy exchange of information. In 1841 Moorhouse and Teichelmann were, nevertheless, successful in quickly eliciting dialectal pronominal variation within neighbouring groups holding country around the lower Murray River in South Australia (§6.4). They had evidently navigated communicative barriers with people who had had little or no previous contact with Europeans and had developed an effective method of formal elicitation.

As a reminder of the ontological divide between the scholarly European missionary-grammarians and the non-literate hunter-gatherer people whom they sought to understand, consider the astonishment expressed by missionaries upon discovering that there was no Indigenous grammatical tradition. Meyer (1843: v) described his Australian informants as “incapable of answering or even comprehending, grammatical questions”. Similarly, Congregationalist missionary G. Taplin (§7.3) lamented that “enquiries are useless when addressed to minds upon whom the idea of grammar has never dawned” (1880: 6), and Lutheran missionary Kempe (1891: 4; §9.1) expressed the same frustration, appearing almost exasperated that the “natives” could not explain the difference between Arandic past tense suffixes *-ke* and *-kele* (1891: 1). Teichelmann wrote:

We have had to collect the language from the mouth of a people who do not have the faintest idea of the grammar and etymology embodied in their language, and who are even not capable of giving us a minimum of lessons, but for whom every question about their language seems to present an insoluble puzzle. ... Let me give the following example to illustrate their [Aboriginal people’s] behaviour when we want to learn something from them: If we ask about the first person pronoun, they answer in the second person, and when we ask about the second person, they answer in the first. If we ask about the meaning of a word, they add either a noun or an adjective to it and produce an expression with a narrower meaning. Or they give us an example that describes a situation in their lives, in which the word that we asked for appears. Or they say: “There is only one word for that,” or “yes, that’s what it’s called,” and then they repeat the word. (Teichelmann to H. C. von der Gabelentz, 6/1/1841; translation by J. McElvenny)

Teichelmann and Schürmann (1840: v) did, however, describe a “*natural inability*” (my emphasis, C.S.) to answer grammatical questions. The average German peasant would not have been very different.

It is possible that such comments were published to raise awareness among an international audience that missionaries in Australia were presented with this specific difficulty that was additional to that experienced in mission fields where there existed some Indigenous grammatical tradition utilised by missionaries. In 1836, C. T. E. Rhenius had published a grammar of Tamil, in which he described using the existing tradition of grammatical description for the language (Rhenius 1836: i; §2.4). Rhenius had been trained for missionary work in India by J. Jänicke in Berlin before 1814, as had Teichelmann and Schürmann, and Schürmann is known to have studied “dictionaries” of Tamil and Malay while in Australia (Rathjen 1998: 67).

A distinctive and somewhat questionable formal method of fieldwork engaged by some authors involved eliciting material from Europeans who had “learnt” an Australian language. In some instances, the European informant became acquainted with the language as a child growing up with Aboriginal children. C. Symmons’ (1841) grammar of Nyungar was informed by Francis Armstrong (§7.1), W. Ridley’s (1866) grammar of Turrubul was informed by Thomas Petrie (§4.5.2), and C. Smith’s (1880) description of Bunganditj spoken in the southeast corner of South Australia (1880) was informed by her son, Duncan Stewart, all of whom are said to have acquired the language naturally as children while mixing freely with their Aboriginal playmates (Gunson 2016a). Thomas Petrie’s daughter, when writing her father’s reminiscences, recalls Ridley’s method of learning Turrubul:

In the early days the Rev. W. Ridley came to Brisbane to learn what he could about the Queensland aborigines, and he sought out my father [Thomas Petrie], who was quite a lad at the time, to get information from him. He seemed very clever, and as fast as the boy [Thomas Petrie] could speak the language he [Ridley] was able to write it down. He took a part of the Bible and read out verse after verse, and the lad followed in the black’s tongue. Afterwards reading out the aboriginal version for his young companion’s approval, it was almost as though a blackfellow spoke. (Petrie & Petrie 1904: 140)

More dubiously, the linguistic data upon which some grammarians based their description of morphosyntactic structure were translations of liturgical texts

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made by previous missionaries. This dubious practice of drawing up a grammar based on the structure of the language presented in a Bible translation was utilised by G. Gatti, whose grammar of Diyari (1930) was largely informed by the structure of the language presented in Lutheran missionaries G. Reuther and C. Strehlow's translation of the New Testament (1897; §8.4.2). S. Ray's (1893) description of Kalaw Lagaw Ya, spoken in the western Torres Strait, similarly used a missionary's translation of the Gospel of St Mark. Ray & Haddon (1893: 119) were at least aware of the limitations of the method, describing his source as "the only text available for the elucidation of the Saibai grammatical forms".

Grammarians of the Adelaide School (§5.1) may have been the first grammarians in Australia to elicit data about a second Aboriginal language via bilingual Aboriginal speakers. Relationships with speakers who were bilingual in the target Aboriginal language and a language with a previously described structure provided some missionary-grammarians with rapid and direct access to material. When in Adelaide, Schürmann commenced learning the Ramindjeri dialect of Ngarrindjeri from Tammuruwe Nankanere, "Encounter Bay Bob", compiling a comparative "Adelaide/Encounter Bay" wordlist (Amery 2016: 68). Tammuruwe spoke both his own language, Ramindjeri, as well as Kurna, and had learnt English while working in the whaling industry, which operated off the coast of South Australia prior to colonisation. A sought-after guide and interpreter on government expeditions (Lockwood 2017), Tammuruwe later assisted missionary Meyer linguistically at Encounter Bay.

The grammar of Ngayawang published by M. Moorhouse (1846: v; §6.4) acknowledges that the work was dependent upon an unnamed bilingual speaker of Kurna and Ngayawang. Moorhouse described his field-work methodology in the following terms:

I have produced the material, mainly, through the aid of an interpreter, who knows the Adelaide and Murray dialects; and had it not been for his assistance, I could not have gathered many of the grammatical remarks, which are now given, in the few months that I have been engaged with this dialect. (Moorhouse 1846: v)

He does not name his interpreter, and it is not clear whether the material informing Moorhouse's (1846) Ngayawang grammar and vocabulary was collected in Adelaide or in the Murray lands where the language belonged.¹⁶

¹⁶When describing having been "engaged with the dialect" for only a few months, Moorhouse presumably implied that the period was intermittent and interspersed over the few years since his 1843 report.

1.1.4 Secondary source material

The nature of linguistic work carried out in Australia during the nineteenth century runs counter to the *Zeitgeist* of genealogical and typological linguistic classification. While similarities between words in Australia and those from around the world were observed by researchers in Australia (Grey 1845; Taplin 1879b; Curr 1886; Fraser 1892) as part of what Capell (1970: 667) described as an “endemic of origin hunting”, the early PN grammars written in the country were predominantly synchronic, non-comparative, non-classificatory works made mostly by missionaries for largely evangelistic purposes.

Studies of comparative linguistics, historical linguistics and, to a lesser extent, of linguistic typology probed the central question of linguistic and human origins within the nineteenth century preoccupation with speculative historicism. As scientific theories of evolution revolutionised mid-nineteenth century thinking, the focus of philologists concentrated on genealogical classification of languages in order to determine the origins of people (Di Gregorio 2002). The empirical, non-classificatory and synchronic grammatical research produced in Australia informed a body of historical and classificatory literature which was overwhelmingly produced outside the country. The primary sources produced by missionaries in Australia, describing individual languages, provided fodder for the philological study of “Language” made overseas. There is, however, as pointed out by Newton (1987: 365–366), a curious neglect of Australian Aboriginal languages in some of the comparative philological works produced in Europe during the second half of the nineteenth century, for example, Pott (1884) and F. Max Müller (1861).

Table 1.2 shows the major secondary studies of Australian linguistic structure that were informed by the corpus grammars. Following are brief overviews of some secondary works referred to throughout the study.

As previously noted, the production of such material by the Australian academics Capell (1937) and Elkin (1937) heralded the arrival of a new descriptive era.

Fraser’s (1892) edited volume republished grammars from the primary corpus – Threlkeld (1834), Günther (1838, 1840), Taplin (1872) – and presented Livingstone’s grammar of Minjangbal (1892) for the first time. In the introduction, Fraser also presented a classificatory study (ibid.: xi–lxiv) and a typological study of the phonology (ibid.: 1–8) of Australian languages drawing from a range of primary material. Both studies are anomalous within the body of nineteenth-century secondary literature in being written and published in Australia. Another early anomaly is the material presented by Threlkeld (1850), which compares Awabakal with predominantly Polynesian languages.

Table 1.2: Secondary sources based on the corpus

Author, year of publication	Based on the earlier grammars by:	Type of work	Metalanguage	Author's vocation
Early secondary materials				
H. Hale, 1846	Threlkeld, 1834; Watson, no date	Classificatory	English	Philologist on the United States Exploring Expedition 1838–1842
J. C. Prichard, 1847	Grey, 1841 Meyer, 1843 Schürmann, 1844	Classificatory. Prichard's Australian material was presented in the fifth volume of <i>Physical History of Mankind</i> , which was added to the polymath's life's work the year before his death.	English	British ethnologist and physician.
W. Bleek, 1858, 1872	Extensively sourced material contained in Sir G. Grey's library	1858, Discussion of Australian linguistic structure 1872, Classificatory	English	German linguist with expertise in African languages and curator of the library of Sir George Grey held in Cape Town, South Africa

1.1 The corpus of early PN description

Author, year of publication	Based on the earlier grammars by:	Type of work	Language written in	Author's vocation
F. Müller, 1867	Threlkeld, 1834; Watson, no date, Teichelmann and Schürmann, 1840, Schürmann, 1844a; Meyer, 1843; Moorhouse, 1846	Linguistic report of the Voyage of the Austrian Frigate <i>Novara</i> . Discussion of Australian linguistic structure. Classificatory	German	Viennese professor of Oriental languages and later of Sanskrit, and member of the Imperial Academy of Science in Vienna
F. Müller, 1882	Threlkeld, 1834; Watson, no date, Teichelmann and Schürmann, 1840, Symmons, 1841, Schürmann, 1844a; Meyer, 1843; Ridley, 1866	Classificatory. Contains an edited collection of previously published PN grammars given within a four volume classification of the world's languages (1876–1888)	German	
J. Fraser, 1892: xi-lxiv	Threlkeld, 1834, Günther, 1840, Symmons, 1841, Taplin, 1879	Classificatory and typological. Contains an edited collection of PN grammars	English	Interested individual
W. Schmidt, 1919a, 1919b	Vast range of extensively sourced lexical and grammatical material	Classificatory	German	Eminent Viennese linguist, ethnologist and priest

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Author, year of publication	Based on the earlier grammars by:	Type of work	Language written in	Author's vocation
S. Ray 1925	Most available material	Discussion of Australian linguistic structure	English	British comparative and descriptive linguist
Later secondary materials				
A. P Elkin, 1937	Most available material	Discussion of Australian linguistic structure	English	Anglican clergyman, professor of anthropology at the University of Sydney
Capell 1937	Most available material	Discussion of Australian linguistic structure	English	Anglican clergyman and professional Australian linguist

1.1.4.1 Wilhelm Bleek (1858, 1872)

In 1858, the German philologist W. H. I. Bleek (1827–1875), an authority on Khoisan languages, prepared a catalogue of the library of Sir George Grey (1812–1898), Governor of Cape Colony (1854–1861), which was held in Cape Town. As the Governor of South Australia (1841–1845), Grey had supported the publication of missionary grammars (§5.1), and as an explorer in Western Australia had himself published about Australian Aboriginal languages (1839). Upon Grey's departure from Cape Town to take up the position of Governor of New Zealand (1861–1868) – for the second time, the first being 1845–1853 – Bleek was appointed curator of Grey's library, a position he held from 1862 until his death (Di Gregorio 2002). The library contained an unusually comprehensive collection of linguistic material from around the world. Bleek's (1858) catalogue presents the Australian material in Vol. II Part I, with a short *addenda* in Part III of the same volume.

Bleek had received a doctorate in linguistics from the University of Bonn and had spent time at the University of Berlin, where he studied under K. R. Lepsius

(1810–1884). Bleek collaborated intellectually with his cousin E. Haeckel (1834–1919), professor of comparative anatomy at the University of Jena.

Grey's continuing patronage allowed Bleek to broadly pursue philological studies (Gilmour 2006: 170). Bleek later authored "On the position of Australian languages" (1872).

1.1.4.2 Friedrich Müller (1867, 1882)

The most renowned early classification of Australian languages was published in German (1919a) by the Viennese linguist, anthropologist and Roman Catholic priest Father Wilhelm Schmidt (1868–1954; see Koch 2004a: 18–25). Much less well-known, but equally as informed for their time, are the classifications made by another Viennese philologist, Friedrich Müller (1834–1898), who was professor of Sanskrit and comparative philology at the University of Vienna.

Note that Friedrich Müller is easily confused with the German-born Oxford Professor of comparative philology, Friedrich Max Müller (1823–1900), generally referred to as Max Müller, who in 1854 (Müller 1854: 158) classified languages from the "Great Southern Continent" within the southern branch of the putative Turanian family.

As a member of the Imperial Academy of Science in Vienna, F. Müller authored the linguistic (1867) and ethnographic (1868) reports of the Voyage of the Austrian Imperial "Novara" Expedition. The frigate circumnavigated the world between 1857 and 1859, and docked in Sydney for a month in 1858. Müller did not, however, take part in the expedition or ever visit Australia (contra Newton 1987: 367). Müller sourced his material from Bleek, with whom he corresponded. With twenty-six pages of the report devoted to the description of Australian languages (1867: 241–66), this Viennese publication introduced European philologists to a large amount of information about Australian morphosyntactic structure.

Between 1876 and 1888, F. Müller published *Grundriss der Sprachwissenschaft* (Outline of Linguistics) in four volumes, which presented grammars of over one hundred languages from around the world. The material is presented according to the "race" of the people speaking the languages. Müller, Bleek, and Haeckel theorised about the origin of language within biological evolutionary frameworks. Their ideas form a sub-school of comparative linguistics that was particularly well-developed in Germany (Di Gregorio 2002). Müller classified and ranked races according to hair-type (1882: 24), and on this matter he referred to Haeckel (1876: 72–73). The Australian material is presented in Vol. 2 (1882: 1–98) "Der schlichthaarigen Rassen" (of the smooth-haired races).

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F. Müller's works have been overlooked in histories of Australian linguistics, including Elkin (1937), Dixon (1980: 8–17, 2002a), Koch (2004a), and McGregor (2008b). His work has, however, been reviewed by Ray (1925: 2) and by Newton (1987: 366–367). F. Müller's (1882) work is significant to this study because this republication and translation of Australian grammars into German *reanalyses* some of the data presented in the original.

In this way, F. Müller's work differs from the translation into German and publication of Australian grammatical material by the self-funded German ethnographer E. Eylmann (1860–1926; 1908). Eylmann visited the Hermannsburg mission for three months on his first inland Australian expedition of 1896–1898. He spent six weeks at Bethesda on his second expedition in 1900, and in the same year visited Point McLeay for eight days (Schröder 2011: 193–194). In 1908 Eylmann republished much of Kempe's (1891) Arrernte grammar (ibid.: 84–92), Taplin's (1872) Ngarrindjeri grammar (ibid.: 92–93), and Reuther's (1894, 1899) Diyari grammar (Reuther 1981a: 93–98).

1.2 The corpus languages

Figure 1.10 shows the location of the Australian languages that were grammatically described in the pre-contemporary descriptive era. It shows the lower level PN subgroups in which each language is classified (Bower & Atkinson 2012: 820). Table 1.3 provides a key to the map and shows the higher-level PN subgroup in which each language is classified (Bower & Atkinson 2012), as well as the source material for each language.

Only twelve of the thirty-two currently recognised lower level PN subgroups (Bower & Atkinson 2012: 820) are sampled in the corpus. The four higher-level subgroups – Western, Northern, Southeastern and Central (Bower & Atkinson 2012: 837–838) – are unevenly represented (Table 1.3 & Table 1.4). Only two corpus languages belong to the Western group. There is a small cluster of descriptions of languages from the Northern group.

The high proportion of Southeastern languages, none of which survive, is partly attributable to that fact that these languages were spoken in the earliest-settled regions, and to the extensive work of R. H. Mathews, whose grammatical descriptions have been previously assessed by Koch (2008). Mathews' large body of work (Koch 2008: 211–216), while broad in scope, is narrow in depth. Mathews developed his own schema of Australian language description based on the traditional framework (§4.3).

Table 1.3: Map and key showing location of languages described in the corpus, and lower-level PN subgroups (after Bown & Atkinson 2012: 820, used with permission of the authors).

	Language	Higher level PN sub-group [†]	Lower-level PN subgroup	Early source material
1	Awabakal (HRLM language)	South-eastern	Yuin-kuri	Threlkeld 1834, Hale 1846
2	Wiradjuri	South-eastern	Central nsw	Watson no date (lost) Günther 1838, 1840, Hale 1846, Mathews 1904
3	Kaurna	Central	Thura-Yura	Teichelmann & Schürmann 1840
4	Nyungar	Western	Nyungic	Symmons 1841
5	Ngarrindjeri	South-eastern	Lower Murray	Meyer 1843, Taplin 1867, 1872, 1880
6	Barngarla	Central	Thura-Yura	Schürmann 1844a
7	Ngayawang	South-eastern	Lower Murray	Moorhouse 1846
8	Gamilaraay	South-eastern	Central nsw	Ridley 1855a,b, 1856b, 1866, 1875, Mathews 1903b
9	Turrubul	South-eastern	Durubalic	Ridley 1866
10	Diyari	Central	Karnic	Koch 1868, Schoknecht 1947 [1872], Flierl 1880, Reuther 1981a, Planert 1908, Gatti 1930
11	Wergaya	South-eastern	Kulin	Hagenauer 1878, Mathews 1902 (Djadjala)
12	Ganai	South-eastern	Eastern Victoria	Bulmer 1878
13	Western Arrernte	Central	Arandic	Kempe 1891, C. Strehlow 1931a, 1908, 1910, Mathews 1907b, Planert 1907a, Riedel 1931, T. G. H. Strehlow 1944
14	Minjanggal	South-eastern	Bandjalangic	Livingstone 1892
15	WTS	Northern	Paman	Ray & Haddon 1893, Ray 1907
16	Pitta Pitta	Central	Karnic	Roth 1897
17	Guugu-Yimidhirr	Northern	Paman	Schwarz & Poland 1900, Roth 1901, Ray 1907
18	Wangkangurru	Central	Karnic	Reuther 1981c
19	Yandrruwandha	Central	Karnic	Reuther 1981c
20	Nggerrikwidhi	Northern	Paman	Hey 1903, Ray 1907
21	Yadhaykenu	Northern	Paman	Ray 1907
22	Luritja	Western	Wati	Mathews 1907a, C. Strehlow 1910

[†] According to Bown & Atkinson (2012: 820)

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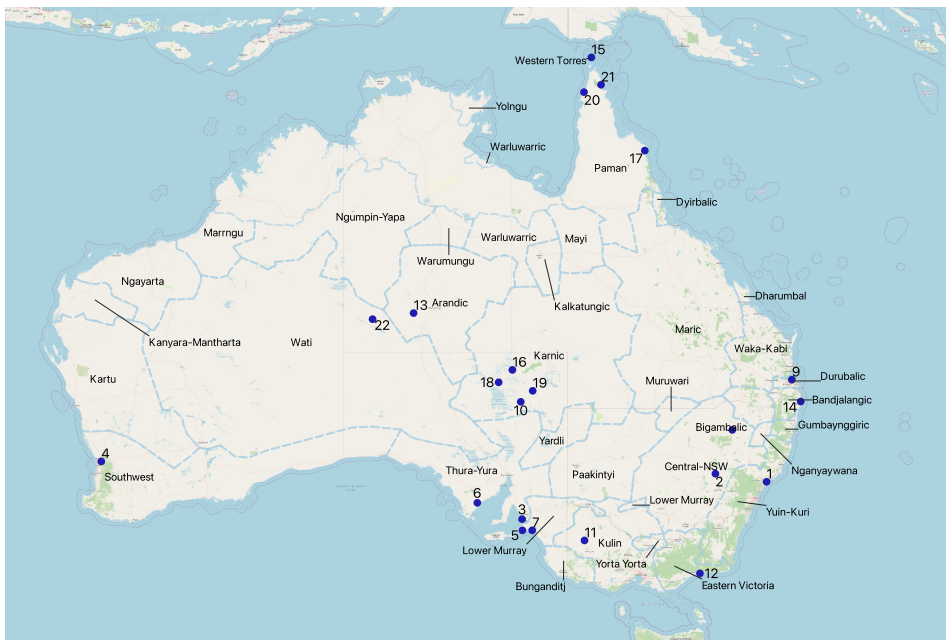


Figure 1.10: Map showing location of languages described in the corpus, and lower-level PN subgroups in areas not shaded (after Bower & Atkinson 2012: 820, used with permission of the authors). See key in Table 1.3.

The high proportion of languages from the Central group – all of which were spoken in South Australia, including areas now in the Northern Territory, annexed by South Australia from 1863 until 1911 – is entirely due to an active and prolonged Lutheran missionary effort administered from Adelaide and the Barossa Valley (§8.1).

1.2.1 Linguistic structure

The following brief overview of the structure of PN languages attends specifically to areas of the grammar treated in this study. See Dixon (1980, 2002a) and Koch (2014) for broader overviews of PN structure, and grammars cited in Table 2.1 for further description of individual languages.

1.2.1.1 Phonology

PN languages have fairly similar phonemic systems by cross-linguistic standards. Systems with three vowel phonemes are common, although some Arandic vari-

eties are analysed as having only two (Breen 2001). Consonants typically show a limited number of manner contrasts but a more extensive set of place of articulation contrasts. Figure 1.4 shows a maximally contrastive inventory, although Arrernte and Diyari show additional distinctions: a series of pre-stopped and rounded consonants in Arrernte (Breen 2001) and a voicing distinction in Diyari restricted to apico-alveolar and retroflex stops in non-word-initial positions (Austin 2013: 13). Guugu-Yimidhirr follows the pattern of many languages in the country's eastern third in having no retroflex series.

Table 1.4: The inventory of consonant phonemes common to many PN languages.

	Labial	Inter-dental	Apico-alveolar	Retroflex, Apico-domal	Palatal	Velar
Stop	p	th	t	rt	ty	k
Nasal	m	nh	n	rn	ny	ng
Lateral	–	lh	l	rl	ly	–
Trill	–	–	rr	–	–	–
Glide	w	–	(r)	r	y	(h)

Early orthographic treatments of Australian phonologies tended to give a broad transcription of vowel quality, while phonemic articulation contrasts of consonants tended to be under-represented. The filter of the European ear saw the orthographic collapse of coronal consonant phonemes, with the letters: “t”, “n”, “l” used generically to represent stops, nasal and laterals at all coronal articulatory places. The velar nasal was often also undifferentiated, or not represented word-initially. Palatal stops were more likely than other coronal consonants to be distinguished, and were represented as “ty”, “tj” or “ch”. While the velar nasal was often undifferentiated from other nasals, or not represented word-initially, some very early grammatical sources (Dawes 1790–1791a: 1ff. Hale 1846) represented the phone using engma (ŋ). Rhotic phonemes were sometimes, but always inconsistently, distinguished. Assessments of individual grammarians’ orthographies – for example, Koch’s (2008: 183–186) study of the system employed by Mathews – point out exceptions to this general collapse of the system. Impressionistically, the phonemes least likely to be distinguished in the corpus grammars are the retroflex series and interdental nasals and laterals. A comprehensive comparative study of the early representation of Australian phonology remains to be done. Newton (1987) makes a comparative study of orthographies before 1860, and Stockigt (2023a: 15–17) investigates the periphonemic analysis and orthography developed by the University of Adelaide language committee in the 1930s.

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Threlkeld (1834: vi) adopted the spelling system employed in the description of languages from Polynesia, where he had spent six years at London Mission Society missions prior to coming to Australia, because he sensed propriety in adopting the “same character to express the same sounds used in countries which are adjacent”. Although Teichelmann & Schürmann (1840: v), Günther (1840: 338), and Ridley (1856b: 290) were subsequently able to reassure their readers that they followed Threlkeld’s “method of spelling words”, early researchers were aware of, and frustrated by, the inadequacy of writing systems.

Phonological science was slow to enter Australian description. The earliest presentations of the sounds of Australian languages in systematic diagrams that set out consonant inventories in tables mapping place of articulation against manner of articulation, and vowels in triangular displays mapping height against backness occur in descriptions of Australian languages published in Europe (Lepsius 1855: 64, 1863: 226; Müller 1867, 1882; Planert 1907a; 1908; Gatti 1930: 1; Sommerfelt 1938: 42, 45; Table 1.2), by men who never visited Australia or heard an Australian language.

The earliest such representation of an Australian language is in Lepsius (1855: 64, 1863: 226), which refers specifically to Teichelmann & Schürmann’s grammar (1840; Figure 1.11) but mentions no other Australian work. Lepsius’ representation of Kaurna phonology was first published in 1855 in German, and then in 1863 in English translation. It is possible that the 1840 grammar from Adelaide came to the attention of Lepsius via the missionaries’ connection with H. C. von der Gabelentz, whom the missionaries had met at the time of their ordination in Altenburg, and with whom Teichelmann corresponded. Lepsius’ publication predates Bleek (1858), which first introduced many European philologists to information about Australian languages.

Informed by the missionaries’ grammar, Lepsius (1863: 226) produced a table of consonants and a vowel triangle purporting to represent Australian sound systems. Unlike modern practice, however, manner of articulation is shown on the horizontal axis instead of the vertical, and the vowel triangles are inverted, with the low vowels at the highest, rather than lowest, point of the diagram.

Soon after Lepsius’ presentation, F. Müller (1867: 245) presented a very similar grid of Australian consonants. Later graphic representations of Australian vowels and/or consonants appear in Müller’s (1882) publication in German, in W. Planert’s (1907a: 551–552) publication in German (Figure 1.12), in an Italian publication by G. Gatti (1930: 1), and in a French publication by A. Sommerfelt (1938: 42, 45).

These presentations of both consonants and vowels based on articulatory parameters made by European philologists appear not to have been read by gram-

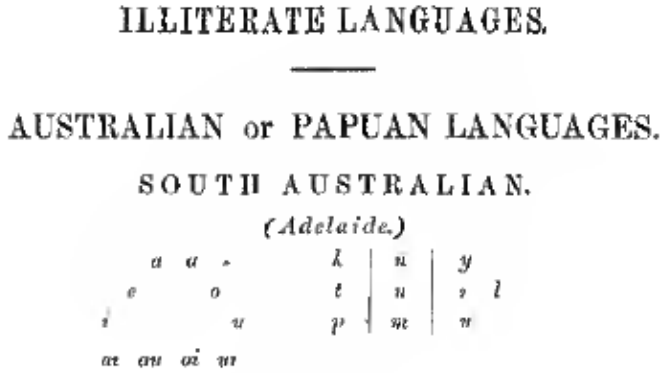


Figure 1.11: Lepsius' representation of Kaurna (Lepsius 1863: 266)

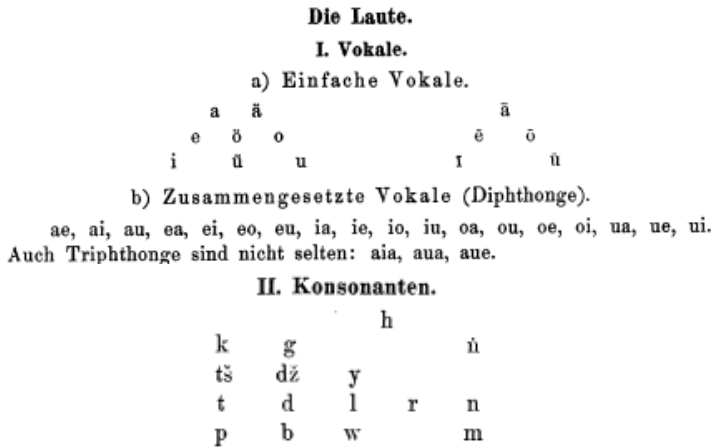


Figure 1.12: Planert's two-dimensional representations of Australian phonology (Planert 1907a: 551–552)

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marians in Australia, and if they were, not understood or assimilated into Australian practice. Aside from a confused attempt to show consonants in a grid made by Fraser (1892: 8; Figure 1.13), the earliest graphic representation of consonants published in Australia was Capell (1956: 8), and the earliest two-dimensional representation of vowel shape given in a grammar produced in Australia appears in T. G. H. Strehlow's grammar of Western Arrernte (1944: 4).

The consonants, then, may be thus arranged :—

<i>Gutturals</i> —	k	kh	g	gh	ḡ	h.
<i>Palatals</i> —	é	...	j	...	...	y.
<i>Cerebrals</i> —	?	...	...	...	...	r.
<i>Dentals</i> —	t	th	d	dh	n	l.
<i>Labials</i> —	p	ph	b	bh	m	...
<i>Liquids</i> —	...	...	...	...	n	l.

Figure 1.13: Fraser's grid of Australian consonants (1892: 8)

1.2.1.2 Morphology

PN languages are synthetic, agglutinative and suffixing. Words can be multi-morphemic. Suffixes attach to the root or to the stem and tend to be mono-morphemic rather than portmanteau.

The languages share a similar range of derivational processes, exhibiting productive nominalising processes, which form verbs from nouns, and processes which alter verb valency. T. G. H. Strehlow (1944: 62) described such processes as “a grean (*sic*) [great] boon to the missionaries translating the New Testament into the native language.” Examine, for example, the following Arrernte term, which shows the inchoative suffix *-irre* attached to a nominal root *tyelke* ‘flesh’ to derive a verb meaning ‘to become flesh’. The verb is then nominalised with the suffix *-nty* to derive a lexeme used to translate ‘incarnation’.

(6) Tjálkerintja = incarnation

(Strehlow 1944: 62)

tyelke-irre-nty

flesh-INCH-NOM

Verbs are morphologically complex, generally inflecting for tense, aspect, mood and a range of language-specific and wider areal categories, such as the category of associated motion in Arrernte (Wilkins 1989: 270; Koch 1984: 23; §9.3.2). Tense is marked word finally, although inflection for tense is sometimes followed by subordinating morphemes.

The degree to which the shape of inflectional suffixes is phonologically conditioned by the preceding stem varies between languages (Baker 2014). Guugu-Yimidhirr for example shows a high degree of allomorphy (Haviland 1979: 43–47), while Arrernte, which historically has lost vowel-final distinctions (Breen 2001; Koch 1997), shows virtually none.

Nouns are not obligatorily marked for number, but in some instances may optionally be marked for dual and plural.¹⁷ Nouns that are unmarked for number have no specific or default number reference, and number is instead determined through context (Dixon 2002a: 77).

Nominals do not generally exhibit grammatical gender, with a relevant exception found in Minjambal (Livingstone 1892; Crowley 1978; §4.6.1).

1.2.2 Case systems

The Australian continent presents “the richest large-scale concentration of inflectional case languages anywhere in the world” (Blake 2001: xv–xvi). Pama-Nyungan languages have sophisticated inflectional case systems that are entirely synthetic (Blake 2001: 9), with case inventories that are large by world standards (Iggesen 2013).

1.2.2.1 Syntactic case

The core arguments of the verb – agent, subject, and object – are morphologically differentiated using split ergative systems (Blake 1977: 6; Dixon 2002b: 72) that are sensitive to an animacy hierarchy (Silverstein 1976). The conception of case taken in this paper assumes a universal distinction between agent (A) marked by ergative case, intransitive subject (S) in nominative case and the object (O) in accusative case. *Pronouns* often exhibit an accusative system (AS/O) in which the O is marked by an overt inflection, while the A and S remain unmarked. *Nouns*, however, generally exhibit an ergative system (A/SO) in which the subject and the object are both unmarked and the agent in ergative case is morphologically differentiated.

This study maintains a three-case analysis of syntactic case (Goddard 1982; Wilkins 1989; Nordlinger 2014: 224–226) in which the nominative and the accusative cases are taken to remain underlyingly intact for classes of nouns on which they are identically marked. Correspondingly, the nominative and ergative cases are taken to exist even when these cases are identically marked.

¹⁷Wangkangurru nouns may also be marked for trial number (Hercus 1994: 64).

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The three-case analysis upholds the conception of case maintained by traditional grammar, in which case is seen as a substitution class in which different classes of nominals may be marked differently in the same syntactic environment (Baerman et al. 2002). Note that under this three-case analysis the reference of the term “nominative” differs from its traditional usage in referring *only* to a nominal acting as the subject of an intransitive clause. The traditional usage of the term, developed to describe the entirely accusative systems of SAE languages, refers to the relation carried by a nominal functioning in the role of subject as well as agent.

Table 1.5 shows the idiosyncratic and sometimes complex splits of the languages under consideration. Guugu-Yimidhirr exhibits the canonical Australian ergative split. The situation in Diyari is shown at Table 8.3. For languages such as Kurna, Barngarla and Ngayawang, in which all nominal types show either ergative (A/so) or undifferentiated (ASO) systems and thus have *no* overt accusative marking, a two case, ergative / absolutive analysis is sufficient. Core arguments are nevertheless consistently glossed as standing in ergative, nominative and accusative cases in all languages in this study.

1.2.2.2 Peripheral cases

In addition to the three “core”, “syntactic” or “core clausal” (Dixon 2002a: 132) cases – nominative, ergative and accusative – PN case systems commonly have dative, ablative, allative, locative, instrumental, genitive, and comitative cases (Blake 2001: 158). It is important to bear in mind that some peripheral cases, especially the dative, have a syntactic function when marking “the adjunct of intransitive verbs or the complement of semi-transitive verbs” Blake (1979b: 330–331).

Dixon identifies fourteen “case functions” commonly carried by nominals in Australian languages (2002a: 132–143). These functions are always carried by a lesser number of *case forms*, usually between eight and ten, in any given language (2002a: 152). Because a greater number of case functions are usually carried by a smaller number of case markers, a single case inflection may carry a range of case functions. While there are strong, shared tendencies in the way that case functions group together to be marked by a single case form cross-linguistically, there are also regional and individual idiosyncrasies in the syncretism of case functions.

1.2.2.3 Pronouns

Sets of pronouns in singular, dual and plural number and in first, second and third-person are common. In some languages sets of third-person pronouns are

Table 1.5: The split in marking the syntactic cases in the languages treated in the corpus.

Language	Ergative alignment A/so	Accusative alignment AS/o	Tripartite marking A/s/o	Undifferentiated ASO
Awabakal	Common nouns	Pronouns, Proper nouns, Some nouns referring to people	Personal interrogative, Personal names	–
Kaurna, Barngarla & Ngayawang	Sg personal pronouns, All Sg nouns, Demonstratives, Interrogatives	–	–	All non-singular nouns, Non singular pronouns.
Ngarrindjeri	Proper nouns	All 2 nd person pronouns, 1dl & 1pl pronouns	1sg, 3sg, 3dl & 3pl pronouns, Demonstratives, Interrogative pronouns	Common nouns* (see Bannister 2004: 24–27)
Guugu-Yimidhirr	Nouns, Interrogatives	Personal Pronouns	–	–
Western Arrernte	Common nouns, Interrogatives	All pronouns except 1sg	1sg pronouns, Higher animate nouns	–

replaced by sets of demonstratives (Ray 1925: 5; Dixon 1980: 276–277, 2002a: 243).

Forms of pronouns marked for syntactic case are sometimes suppletive. Pronouns in peripheral cases are often marked by the suffix that attaches to nouns to mark the same function. The case of the pronominal stem to which peripheral case inflection attaches varies between languages.

A number of languages examined in this study are among languages covering a continuous bloc of the continent's southeast that have a set of bound personal pronouns, or pronominal enclitics (Dixon 2002a: 337–401; §3.4.8.1; §4.4.6; §5.5; §6.3).

1.2.2.4 Syntax

Clausal word order is generally free, although unmarked pragmatic word order tends to be AOV. Phrase-internal word order tends to be stricter. A NP may

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be continuous or non-continuous. The particular phrasal constituents on which case is marked is language-specific. Case can be marked on the final constituent, as in Arrernte (Wilkins 1989: 102; Henderson 2013: 14) or on each constituent of a continuous NP, as in the following Pitta-Pitta clause. Note here that the adjective follows the noun.

- (7) Machoomba-lo wapa-lo pooriti-na pokara-na tichea
'the kangaroo's pup is eating all the grass'
(Roth 1897: 12)
matyumpa-lu warrpa-lu ?-nha pukarra-nha thatyi-ya
kangaroo-ERG young-ERG ?all-ACC grass-ACC eat-PRES

Complex sentence constructions vary between languages (Nordlinger 2014). Commonly, relative clause constructions are conveyed through the "adjoined relative clause" (Hale 1976), as in the following Ramindjeri example:

- (8) Ngāte nakk-ir korne, yarn-.....ir an-ang-itye watañgrau
'I saw the man, he spoke to me yesterday'
(Meyer 1843: 33)
Ngati nak-ir ko:rni yan-ir-anangk-itji watanggrau
1sg.ERG see-PAST man-[ACC], speak-PAST-1SG.DAT-3SG.NOM yesterday

Arrernte and Diyari are among an areal group of languages that exhibit a system of "switch reference", in which subordinating suffixes attaching to a finite verb vary according to whether the subordinate verb has the same or a different subject from the main verb (Austin 1981b; §8.5.8, §9.3.5). Arrernte has fully embedded relative clauses (Wilkins 1989: 414–423; §9.3.5).

1.3 Outline of the study

Following this chapter, which establishes the corpus of early morphosyntactic description of PN languages as a previously under-researched and valuable field of historiographic enquiry, Chapter 2 presents the philological methodology by which the grammars are investigated, and discusses challenges and opportunities presented by the data. It concludes with a review of the role descriptions of case in Australian languages play in the historiography of the terms "ergative" and "absolutive" (§2.6). Chapters 3–10 examine the corpus grammars in roughly chronological order. The study is arranged primarily by language, rather than by morphosyntactic topic, and is structured around schools of descriptive practice.

The study identifies three descriptive schools: a New South Wales school (Chapters 3 & 4), a South Australian school (Chapters 5, 6, 8 & 9), and a Queensland school (Chapter 10). Each school is delineated by the constitutionally independent Australian colonies in which the described languages were spoken. Australian federation occurred in 1901, and the Northern Territory, where Arrernte is spoken, was not separated from South Australia until 1911.

Each early grammar is assessed in terms of its relative strength compared with other works in the corpus. Examined morphosyntactic categories are *not* presented following conventional practice but are rather chosen with regard to the extent that the examined account is descriptively innovative or evinces influence from an earlier Australian source. For each grammar, the size of nominal case paradigms, the ordering of cases, the case names assigned to case functions, and the description of ergative function are observed. Emphasis is given to morphosyntactic categories which evince lineages of descriptive descent, including bound pronouns and processes of clause subordination. Descriptive breakthroughs, or instances of an author successfully accounting for a previously undescribed grammatical category are thus highlighted, as are the shortcomings of individual analyses in relation to the examined corpus. Brief biographical material is presented for most grammarians. More detailed material is available in the cited sources.

Chapters 3–7 discuss grammars of languages of which there is no, or little, modern record. The discussion in these chapters sometimes diverges to investigate the missionary-grammarians' description of grammatical features of which there are different contemporary analyses, or of which the interpretation taken in this study differs from that usually made today based on the available source material. This type of investigation is made of Threlkeld's presentation of compound pronouns (§3.4.8.2), of bound pronouns in Awabakal (§3.4.8.1) and in Kaurua (§5.5), and of Symmons' description of ergativity in Nyungar (§7.1.1.1). The intention is to highlight the suppositions that have led to different interpretations.

Chapter 3 investigates Threlkeld's descriptive responses to the structure of Awabakal (1836) given in this first grammar of an Australian language, spoken in the earliest-settled colony of New South Wales. Since Threlkeld's grammars have been described (Carey 2004: 269) as "essential in establishing a framework" for later description, the assessment of his description of case marking on Awabakal nouns and pronouns and his response to the large Awabakal case systems, as well as his description of case allomorphy, establishes a baseline from which later corpus grammars are measured.

Chapter 4 investigates other languages spoken in New South Wales, commencing with Günther's grammars of Wiradjuri (1838, 1840) written at the Wellington Valley Mission, showing that similarities between Threlkeld's grammar (1834) and Günther's grammars (1838, 1840) beyond those engendered by the inherited descriptive framework the authors shared are few. By comparing Günther's grammars with later descriptions of Wiradjuri (Hale 1846; Mathews 1904), the study helps establish the provenance of early works emanating from Wellington Valley mission and discusses reasons for discrepancies in the sources. The discussion then turns to Ridley's grammars of languages spoken in northern New South Wales and southern coastal Queensland, predominantly Gamilaraay (1855–1875). It then examines the grammar of Minjangbal (1892) written by Rev. Hugh Livingstone, for whom virtually no biographical information has been discovered. This section establishes that materials held by Museum Victoria (Livingstone 1876a; Livingstone 1876b) contain part of the manuscript Minjangbal grammar, which was later published by Fraser (Livingstone 1892). Both Ridley's and Livingstone's grammars are found to have had little influence on later works in the corpus, with the possible exception of one tenuous link between Ridley (1875) and Roth (1897) regarding the presentation of peripheral cases.

Chapter 5 and Chapter 6 consider grammars of languages spoken in South Australia – Kurna (1840), Ramindjeri (1843), Barngarla (1844a) and Ngayawang (1846) – which were made by Lutheran missionaries or written in the realm of their grammatical influence. While much of this part of the corpus has previously been subsumed under the label of the Adelaide descriptive school (Simpson 1992: 410), the discussion here shows that these texts nevertheless employ a range of divergent descriptive techniques when accounting for case systems. These strategies are compared with one another in order to demonstrate the influence that different aspects of these grammarians' analyses exerted on later grammars.

Chapter 5 considers Teichelmann & Schürmann's grammar of Kurna (1840), spoken on the Adelaide Plains. This earliest grammar of a South Australian language is found to employ schemata that are substantially different from those used in earlier grammars of languages spoken in New South Wales. The discussion concentrates on the description of features that proved to be influential on later PN description.

Chapter 6 presents Meyer's description of Ramindjeri (1843), spoken south of Adelaide, observing a new descriptive strategy for accommodating the case system. The chapter focuses on Meyer's presentation of ergative NPs, which differs from that of most other early grammarians. Following is an examination of Schürmann's grammar of Barngarla (1844a), spoken on the Eyre Peninsula, which focusses on Schürmann's modification of descriptive practices made in

his second grammar of an Australian language. The discussion briefly diverts to an overview of middle-era understandings (Ray 1925; Capell 1937; Elkin 1937) of bound pronouns in Australian languages, based on the sources thus far examined, since these describe the only corpus languages known to exhibit systems of bound pronouns. The chapter concludes with a study of Moorhouse's grammar of Ngayawang (1846), the last and least detailed grammar of the "Adelaide school".

Chapter 7 investigates other grammars written in the southern portions of the continent, commencing with Symmons' grammar of Nyungar (1841), spoken in the Swan River Colony (Western Australia, Perth), which depicted ergativity in a manner similar to Meyer's account. It then turns to Congregationalist missionary G. Taplin's substantial descriptions of Ngarrindjeri (1867, 1872, 1878), a language closely related to Ramindjeri, which had previously been described by Meyer (1843). Taplin's earliest analysis is shown to have been strongly influenced by Meyer. Taplin, whose grammars were written for an international academic audience, constantly adapted his framework in order to make better representations of the language, and his last analysis (1878) shows fresh influences from Teichelmann & Schürmann. The chapter then turns to the grammatical sketches of languages from southeast of the country that appeared in Brough Smyth (1878), Bulmer's Ganai material from eastern Victoria (1878: 24–26) and the grammatical sketches of Wergaya, from western Victoria, by the Moravian missionaries A. Hartmann, F. W. Spieseke and F. A. Hagenauer (1878: 50–52, 56–58, 39–43 respectively). This body of material reproduces Taplin's second to last case paradigm (1872), which is shown to play an important part within the historiography of the term "ergative".

Chapters 8–9 assess the grammars written by Lutheran missionaries of Diyari and Arrernte, for which there is good modern description. The accuracy of early records of Diyari (1868–1901; Chapter 8) are assessed in terms of Austin's (2013) analysis, and the early records of Arrernte (1891–1910; Chapter 9) in terms of Wilkins's (1989) and Henderson's (2013) analyses. Both chapters attend closely to the provenance of analyses of the same language made by successive generations of missionaries at each mission and examine the ways in which each analysis sits within the larger South Australian Lutheran descriptive school that had been instigated by Teichelmann & Schürmann (1840). Chapter 8 presents the earliest grammar of Diyari (1868), a manuscript written by W. Koch, which was located during the course of this study. Chapter 9 presents manuscript grammars written by C. Strehlow (1931b, 1931a, 1910) which have not previously been critically examined.

1 The peculiar nature of the language

Chapter 10 investigates the description of languages spoken in Queensland, importantly Roth's grammar of Pitta-Pitta (1897; §10.1.1) showing that relatively late in the pre-academic time frame of Australian linguistic study, Roth instigated a new set of descriptive practices that showed little or no influence from earlier grammarians. Roth's novel descriptive template was subsequently implemented in later grammars of languages spoken in Queensland, including his own grammar of Guugu-Yimidhirr (1901), Hey's description of Nggerrikwidhi (1903), which Roth edited, and the manuscript grammar of Guugu-Yimidhirr written by Lutheran missionaries Schwarz & Poland (1900). The chapter then presents the context in which Ray & Haddon (1893) and Ray (1907) wrote grammars of Western Torres Strait (WTS) and languages spoken in far north Queensland.

2 Theoretical considerations

This chapter first classifies the corpus grammars according to the types of other documentation available for the languages they describe (§2.1). The early grammars of languages of which there is no other comprehensive grammatical record can be difficult to assess, while grammars of languages of which there is a good modern record present opportunities to understand the early grammarians' descriptive intent. The traditional grammatical framework, which was used in all the early sources, to different degrees and for different reasons, is then characterised (§2.2). The discussion focuses on the processes by which PN structures were overlooked and misrepresented, thereby expounding a philological methodology for retrieving morphosyntactic data from the early sources (§2.3). The chapter concludes with a discussion of how the traditional word and paradigm descriptive model (Hockett 1954; Robins 1959) is ill-suited to the representation of PN agglutinative typology and shows that some early grammarians innovated more appropriate models (§2.4).

2.1 Methodological limitations

It is not possible to assess each corpus language from an equally well-informed point of view, since the quality of morphosyntactic description varies. For some languages there is reasonably good old and modern description, while the record of others survives only in early skeletal sketches. Thus, the corpus languages present different types of methodological challenges.

Without a good modern description of the language sketched in the early sources, the early grammatical description requires a degree of initial interpretation in order to reconstruct the putative original form of the language. This can be problematic. It can be difficult to decide whether the absence of the description of a particular grammatical construction in an early source that is known to be common in surrounding PN languages reflects a true absence in the described language or a gap in the data. The identical marking of inalienable and alienable possessed NPs (§8.5.7) in reclaimed Awabakal (Lissarrague 2006: 33) is one such instance. PN languages commonly show a difference in the marking of alienable

2 Theoretical considerations

and inalienable possessive constructions (Dixon 2002a: 59). When the possessed nominal is implicit to the relationship between the two items within a possessive NP, the dependent modifier remains unmarked. Thus, inalienable possessive constructions are marked through juxtaposition as in the following Pitta-Pitta clause in which the possessor **mochoomba** ‘kangaroo’ is morphologically unmarked:

- (1) Mochoomba wapa
 ‘a kangaroo’s pup’
 (Roth 1897: 8)
 Matyumpa warrpa
 Kangaroo-[NOM] pup-[NOM]

The juxtaposition of the inalienably possessed constructions contrasts with the morphological marking of alienably possessed NPs. Given that Awabakal ceased to be spoken at a time when the unmarked inalienably possessed NP was undescribed in Australia, it is difficult to be sure whether Awabakal followed the common practice of indicating an inalienably possessed NP through juxtaposition rather than morphological marking (Dixon 2002a: 59).

Further, it can be difficult to distinguish which elements of an early description relate to idiosyncratic structure and which might result from poor recording. Livingstone (2002a: 8; §4.6.1), for example, gave *bula*, a common PN form marking the dual (Dixon 2002a: 116–117) as the numeral two in Minjangbal, but he did not describe morphological marking of dual number on nouns. Regarding pronouns, he stated: “MinyuG has no simple dual, although there are compound terms and phrases denoting number” (Dixon 2002a: 6). Livingstone described the plural pronoun, suffixed with the dual morpheme *bula* as “dual compounds”. It might be tempting to assume that the description is an error, since Livingstone’s description does not conform to the PN norm. But in this instance, modern descriptions of nearby languages confirm Livingstone’s analysis (Cunningham 1969: 15; Smythe 1978[1949]: 258). Crowley (1978: 78) explains the unusual situation: “Note that the dual pronouns of most Australian languages are absent. What seems to have happened is that the earlier plural forms were lost and that the original duals were generalised to become plurals”.

That all early sources underdifferentiated coronal consonant phonemes (Table 1.4, p. 45) hampers the reclamation of inflectional and derivational morphology from the early records. The extent of the difficulty is highlighted when considering the early description of languages that have been described well in recent times. The missionaries’ orthography developed for Diyari, for example, failed to distinguish apico-alveolar, apico-domal and lamino-dental nasals. Consequently, inflections marking the locative case *-nhi*, the dative/possessive case

-rni and nominative case *-ni* on different nominal types were all represented as *-ni* (Table 8.3). The complexity of the Diyari case system could not be reclaimed from the historical record.

Consider also the Western Arrernte suffix marking accusative case on animate nouns *-nhe*, and the suffix marking the allative case *-werne*. The difference between these forms was not noted in the earliest grammars (Kempe 1891; Mathews 1907b) and consequently the functions marked by formally distinct suffixes were described as being marked by a single case with *-na*. This phonemic underdifferentiation of interdental and retroflex nasals contributed to misrepresentations of the marking of allative, accusative and dative functions in the early descriptions of Arrernte (Stockigt 2017). That allative function is marked by a distinct case form in Western Arrernte would not be retrievable from the earliest sources alone.

Table 2.1 tabulates the corpus languages according to the type of contemporary description available for that language.

Of the languages that ceased to be spoken before being described in the modern descriptive era (categories 1 & 2) most have, to some degree, been reclaimed within language revival programmes (category 2). Hey's (1903) grammar of Nggerrikwidhi appears to be a different variety from that recorded in the region in more recent time by Hale (1966) and Crowley (1981; §10.1.3.1) and this grammar has received little modern scrutiny.

Contemporary understanding of languages in category 3 has been obtained both from early records and from elicitation from twentieth-century speakers, who have retained different degrees of spoken competency. For these languages it can be difficult to determine whether discrepancies between early and contemporary records result from descriptive misconstrual or oversight in the early sources, or from diachronic language change. Indeed, some of the modern source material for this group of languages aims specifically to document language shift. Bannister's description of Ngarrindjeri (2004) examines language shift under pressure from English by comparing twentieth-century speech with the structure recorded in the early sources, noting loss of case allomorphy, loss of morphological marking of dual on nouns, loss of dual pronouns, and loss of ergative marking. Douglas (1968) makes a synchronic study of "Neo-Nyungar" spoken by twentieth-century speakers and does not attempt to reconstruct the variety described in the earliest grammatical record by Symmons (1841).

Posing further methodological difficulties for this study is the fact that the source material on which a language has been reclaimed, and the reasoned decisions which must sometimes be made without definitive substantiation, are often not clearly documented. For instance, Grant and Rudder's grammar of Wiradjuri

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Table 2.1: The modern grammatical descriptions of the languages described by early grammarians in Australia

Category	Language	Modern source material	Modern source material based on:
1	Nggerikwidhi	None, other than references in Dixon (2002a)	
2	Ganai	Fesl (1995), Gardner & Mathews (1996)	The early source material
	Awabakal	Oppliger (1984), Lissarrague (2006)	
	Wiradjuri	Grant & Rudder (2001, 2014)	
	Kaurna	Amery & Simpson (2013), Amery (1998), Amery (2016)	
	Barngarla Ngayawang	Clendon (2015) Horgen (2004)	
3	Nyungar	Douglas (1968)	Both the early sources material and the speech of remembering speakers
	Ramindjeri Ngarrindjeri	Yallop & Grimwade (1975), Cerin (1994), McDonald (2002), Bannister (2004), Gale (2009), Gale & French (2010)	
	Gamilaraay	Austin (1993), Giacon (2014)	
	Pitta-Pitta	Blake & Breen (1971), Blake (1979a)	
	Yadhaykenu Wergaya	Crowley (1981) Hercus (1969)	

Category	Language	Modern source material	Modern source material based on:
4	Diyari	Austin (2013)	The speech of fluent speakers
	Wangkangurru	Hercus (1994)	
	Yandrruwandha	Breen (2004)	
	Arrernte	Capell (1958) (W. Arrernte), Wilkins (1989) (Mparntwe Arrernte), Henderson (2013) (Eastern & Central Arrernte), Pfitzner & Schmaal (1991) (W. Arrernte)	
	Luritja	Hansen (1978)	
	Guugu-Yimidhirr	Haviland (1979)	
	Minjangbal	Smythe (1978[1949]), Cunningham (1969), Geytenbeek & Geytenbeek (1971), Crowley (1978)	

(2014) does not divulge the extent to which the presented structures are based on historic documents, calquing from better-remembered neighbouring languages, or from the remembered speech of the community.

At the other end of the spectrum are languages that have been described from fluent speakers in the modern era (category 4). One can be fairly certain that the structures recently described are the same as those encountered by nineteenth-century grammarians. The contemporary analysis of these languages provides an ideal analytical platform from which to view the relative merit of an early grammar.

Modern grammars of some of the languages treated in this study are among the best and most informative materials written on PN languages. These are the grammars of Pitta-Pitta (Blake & Breen 1971; Blake 1979a), Guugu-Yimidhirr

(Haviland 1979), Diyari (Austin 2013), Yadhaykenu (Crowley 1981), Wangkangu-rru (Hercus 1994), and Arrernte (Wilkins 1989; Henderson 2013). These works drew on an eclectic range of theories in order to accommodate newly encountered linguistic structures during the last quarter of the twentieth century. All but the earliest (Blake & Breen 1971) are characterised by an approach emanating from the Australian National University school of Australian grammatical description (see Wilkins 1989: 58–72), which produced works that “evolved in parallel to the evolution of theory and practice in linguistics” (Wilkins 1989: 59) and have shaped the contemporary understanding of PN structures.

Comparative reading of these sophisticated modern grammars with early grammatical description *of the same language* provides training in the type of philological method required to interpret morphosyntactic data from the early sources. One becomes attuned to the particular mistakes or obscure representations that are likely to be made, and alerted to the possibility of their occurrence in languages that did not survive to be described in the modern era. Making sense of an early grammar of a language for which there is good contemporary analysis is like cheating in a puzzle. It is not necessary to struggle to discover what exactly the early missionary-grammarian was attempting to describe because the structure is clearly explained in modern terminology and using currently accepted linguistic conventions. Reading old grammatical material while informed about the structure of the language from a contemporary record brings into sharp focus the particular limitations of language reconstitution based solely on old material.

Note that most comprehensive, contemporary descriptions of Arrernte (Henderson 2013; Wilkins 1989) are of different varieties from that recorded in the early sources at the mission. The less extensive manuscript grammars by Capell (1958) and Pfitzner & Schmaal (1991) are of the same Western Arandic variety. The assessment of the early description of Western Arrernte presents some of the same methodological difficulties as languages which ceased to be spoken before a contemporary record was made.

Making sense of the description of a language of which there is no modern description (categories 1 & 2) depends on consideration of material from three sources: the historical record, the surviving material of closely related and/or contiguous languages, and the contemporary understanding of other PN morphosyntax and its likely historical evolution. This philological method is described by Oppliger:

[A]n analysis of Awabakal grammar is limited to one source ... Comparative material from nearby languages ... is however helpful as supportive evidence ... Also commonly occurring Australian pronominal features some-

times suggest an analysis as well as lending support to certain hypotheses. (Oppliger 1984: 64)

The process is one of triangulation (Amery 2016: 33, 147), since it involves the weighing up of the relative value of three source of information, and some degree of educated guesswork.

But this process of triangulation is dependent upon *initially recognising* the structures that are described in the early sources. Reclaiming morphosyntactic systems and structures from early sources in which their description is obscured by an absence of appropriate frameworks, accepted terminology, and phonemic orthographies is not straightforward. The potential difficulty is epitomised in the three conflicting accounts of the pronominal system of marking syntactic case in Awabakal based on Threlkeld's grammar (1834; Oppliger 1984; Lissarrague 2006; Dixon 2002a; §3.4.8.1). While these divergent analyses probably result from a complex morphosyntactic idiosyncrasy that is now irretrievable, attempting to account for the differences requires viewing the structure of Awabakal through the looking glass of Threlkeld's nineteenth-century expectations.

This type of hermeneutic investigation of the source material pinpoints the processes by which morphosyntactic data might be skewed when cast in an inappropriate descriptive framework and reveals the type of filters through which obscure explanations should be screened if the source material is to be accurately reclaimed. Rather than seeing the source material as a foundation upon which the triangular process of language reclamation rests, any philological methodology of language reclamation from historical sources must also articulate processes of extracting data from pre-contemporary grammars (§2.3).

A. P. Elkin, professor of anthropology at the University of Sydney in the 1930s, assessed the early grammatical description of Australian languages as generally inadequate. He did, however, perceive that careful scrutiny of early Australian grammars yielded valuable linguistic material, and described the process of retrieving material from the early sources as "careful sieving" (1937: 9). By stripping back the veil of arcane terminology and inappropriate descriptive frameworks, and by recreating the author's logic, the close and comparative study of the early grammars is sometimes "punctuated by the occasional sudden realisation of the point of a piece of writing, an understanding of what the writer is really on about" (McGregor 2008b: 2). Despite the fact that language reclamation processes currently underway across Australia profit from proper historiographical investigation of the source materials, Elkin's process of "careful sieving" remains untheorised.

2.2 The traditional grammatical framework

This section investigates the processes by which morphosyntactic features were likely to be obscured when fitted into the schemata of an ill-suited grammatical framework.

The traditional descriptive practices that missionary-grammarians tended to employ when describing PN languages evolved from the study of Greek, particularly the ancient writings of Dionysius Thrax (c. 100 BC; English translation in Kemp 1986) and subsequently of Latin, in the writings of Varro (c.100 BC; Taylor & Varro 1996) and Priscian (c. 500 AD; see Luhtala 2005). As the system became codified and was applied to the description of other European languages, the grammatical categories conveyed within the schemata came to be seen as atheoretical universal categories that required no introduction or clarification. Koch, in an assessment of R. H. Mathews' grammatical descriptions, characterised the traditional grammatical framework as having:

emerged from Greek and Roman grammarians [and which] was further developed in Western Europe during the Middle Ages, Renaissance and subsequent centuries, and inherited into nineteenth-century Britain ... This is the system that underlay the pedagogy of not only Latin and Greek but also modern languages and English itself. Its basic framework can be seen most easily in nineteenth century textbooks of Latin and Greek that have been used into the twentieth century. (Koch 2008: 187)

The term "traditional grammar" is used here to invoke both the schemata and descriptive model of grammars that developed to best capture the structure and typology of classical European languages. It entails firstly the conventional arrangement of headings and subheadings in which the existence of certain structures was anticipated (§2.3.1) as well as the word and paradigm model of description (§2.4) that had developed to convey the fusional morphology of SAE languages.

Beyond the ubiquitous schoolboy Latin, which provided all early grammarians with a ready-made scaffold on which to hang nascent awareness of PN structures, the grammarians' exposure to nineteenth-century grammars of Latin, Greek and Hebrew varied according to their education and their training for mission. Lutheran missionary-grammarians were likely to have learnt Greek and Hebrew, which were seen as important source languages for translation of the Scriptures (Rathjen 1998: 67–78; Strehlow 2011: 332). The Lutheran seminary in Adelaide, for example, holds *Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Sprachidioms als sichere Grundlage der neutestamentlichen Exegese* (Winer 1844; Grammar of the

idiomatic speech of the New Testament as a sound basis for New Testament Exegesis), which belonged to missionary Schoknecht, who wrote a grammar of Di-yari in 1872 (§8.3.3). Copies of other books held in their collection, including *Ausführliches Lehrbuch der Hebräischen Sprache des Alten Bundes* (Ewald 1844; A detailed textbook of old Testament Hebrew) and *Elementargrammatik der lateinischen Sprache* (Kühner 1841; An elementary grammar of Latin) were probably donated to the seminary upon the death of their owner. Kühner had earlier produced *Ausführliche Grammatik der griechischen Sprache* (1834–1835; A detailed grammar of the Greek language; Figure 2.1).

Later missionaries from a British background were likely to have studied works such as B. H. Kennedy’s grammars of Latin (Kennedy 1879; Figure 2.2, Figure 2.4).

The content of works such as these shaped the missionary-grammarians’ expectations about how a language should work and equipped them with the tools to describe Australian languages, whose morphosyntax had never previously been analysed.

Besondere Bemerkungen über die drei Personalpronomina.		
166.	a. Personalpronomina der ersten und zweiten Person	593
167.	b. Personalpronomina der dritten Person	595
168.	Reflexivpronomina	596
169.	Reciprokpronomina	601
170.	Adjektivische Personalpronomina oder Possessivpronomina	601
171.	II. Demonstrativpronomina	603
172.	ὅ, ἡ, τό; ὅδε, ἡδε (ἧδε), τούδε	603
173.	Αὐτός, ἡ, ὅ; αὐτός, αὐτή, αὐτό; ἐκεῖνος, ἐκείνη, ἐκεῖνο	605
173 b.	Bemerkungen	606
174.	III. Relativpronomina	608
175.	IV. Unbestimmte und fragende Pronomina	610
176.	Deklination von τίς, τις; τίς, τίς; τίς, τίς	611
177.	Deklination von ὅς, ἡ, ὅς, ἡ	615
178.	Korrelative Pronomina	615
179.	Korrelative Adverbialpronomina	617
180.	Verlängerung der Pronomina	619

Figure 2.1: Kühner’s categories of pronoun in Classical Greek (1890: xxiii [1834–1835])

2.2.1 Categorical particularism and the absence of appropriate schemata

In 1844, Schürmann perceived a tension between the premises underlying received descriptive linguistic schemata and the new linguistic structures he encountered. He advised that the description of Australian languages required authors to:

3. RELATIVE.							
Qui, <i>who</i> or <i>which</i> .							
SINGULAR.				PLURAL.			
Nom.	qui	quae	quod	qui	quae	quae	
Acc.	quem	quam	quod	quos	quas	quae	
Gen.		cuius		quorum	quarum	quorum	
Dat.		cui			quibus <i>or</i> quib		
Abl.	quo	quā	quo		quibus <i>or</i> quib		

Figure 2.2: Kennedy's declension of Latin relative pronouns (Kennedy 1879: 140)

divest their minds as much as possible of preconceived ideas, particularly of those grammatical forms which they may have acquired by the study of ancient or modern languages. (Schürmann 1844a: vi)

Schürmann and some other nineteenth century grammarians in Australia were aware that the description of Australian languages might be compromised by “categorical particularism”, defined by Haspelmath (2010: 2) as “one of the major insights of structuralist linguistics of the 20th century (especially the first half) that languages are best described in their own terms ... rather than in terms of a set of pre-established categories that are assumed to be universal”. The realisation that the study of language should be non-aprioristic is widely associated with Boas (1911: 81; Haspelmath 2010: 4ff.) but is traceable to the writings of Wilhelm von Humboldt (1767–1835), who observed:

Normally we come to the study of an unknown language from the point of view of a known language, be it our mother tongue or Latin, we try to see the grammatical relationships of this language expressed in the new one ...; to avoid this mistake we must study each language in its peculiarities. (Wilhelm von Humboldt 1827, quoted in Morpurgo-Davies 1975: 105)

Some early Australian description was similarly made with awareness that linguistic principles deduced from the study of classical languages did not have universal application. Threlkeld was aware that the structural complexities he encountered could not adequately be described by the existing descriptive framework:

The arrangement of the grammar now adopted, is formed on the natural principles of the language, and not constrained to accord with any known grammar of the dead or living languages. The peculiarities of its structure being such, as to totally prevent the adaptation of any one as a model. (Threlkeld 1834: x)

But even with this awareness, the early grammarians' description of PN languages was hampered by the absence of appropriate frameworks and terminology to describe the foreign structures. With reference to Threlkeld's grammar of Awabakal (1834), H. Hale appreciated the difficulty in framing a "mass of information which is entirely new" (Hale 1846: 482) without appropriately developed descriptive tools:

It is not surprising that the novelty and strangeness of the principles on which the structure of the language was found to rest, should have rendered a clear arrangement, at first a matter of difficulty; and some degree of obscurity and intricacy in this respect have caused the work to be less appreciated than its merits deserved. (Hale 1846: 482)

Investigation of the early analysis of PN languages shows that the missionary-grammarians' ability to use the language sometimes outstripped their descriptive ability. Wafer & Carey (2011) assess the language used by Threlkeld in translation of scriptural texts by examining processes of clause subordination, concluding (ibid.: 132) that "Threlkeld's command of the language was surprisingly good." They observe, however, (ibid.: 114) that "Threlkeld's handling of this cryptic feature of the language [i.e., processes of clause subordination with the clitic *-pa*] was surprisingly idiomatic, *in spite of the fact that he was able to unravel only a small part of it in his grammatical analysis*" (but see §3.4.10). The observation is also relevant to other PN grammarians who managed to engage deeply with the structure of the language. Teichelmann & Schürmann (1840: 13), for example, described "observing" subordinating structures in Kaurana, which they illustrated without attempting to provide any accompanying analysis (see §5.6.2).

In other instances, some of the more astute early PN grammarians liberated aspects of their grammatical description from the stranglehold of the traditional grammatical framework and innovated pre-theoretical descriptive solutions and invented new terminology and schemata to better convey foreign PN structures.

2.3 Philological methodology

By reimagining the authors' logic when trying to capture previously undescribed structures, this study articulates a philological methodology for optimally reclaiming the structure of the languages, which was the target of the early grammarians' descriptive attempts.

Just as histories of Australian linguistic description have focussed on the developing understanding of phonology, existing studies treating the methodology of

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reclaiming Australian languages from historical sources (e.g., Thieberger 1995) have tended to concentrate on phonological rather than morphosyntactic content. The emphasis on phonology is partly due to the dearth of grammatical analysis in comparison with more easily collected vocabularies, a fact noted before the end of the nineteenth century (Fraser 1892: xvi).¹ The necessary dependence of language reclamation on more commonly available wordlists has sidelined the importance of the systematic study of the early representations of Pama-Nyungan morphosyntax. Koch's (2011b) treatment of G. A. Robinson's linguistic legacy demonstrates the kind of "philological methods ... that need to be done by anyone engaged in the recovery of language material known only through old sources" (Koch 2011b: 141). While this work is rare in showing how morphological data can be extracted from early wordlists (Koch 2011b: 157), Koch nevertheless concentrates on the methodology of reclaiming phonology from pre-phonemic orthographies. Relatively little has been written about the method of retrieving morphological data from early documents.

Recognising the morphosyntactic categories that are likely to be overlooked or disguised in the early sources requires awareness of the grammatical divergence between the language under investigation and the languages informing the inherited descriptive framework. When considering the nature of the looking glass through which PN structures were viewed, it is helpful to recognise two interrelated processes by which morphosyntactic categories are likely to be obscured when cast in the schemata of traditional grammar.²

The first occurs when categories that were *not* present in the target language were nevertheless described because they were a standard feature of the received traditional framework. This results from the failure of a grammarian to "divest their minds as much as possible of preconceived ideas" (Schürmann 1844a: vi) and consequently from the unnecessary and inappropriate specification of grammatical categories (§2.3.1).

The second process occurred when grammatical structures in the target language were overlooked because the traditional grammatical schema did not readily describe them. It occurred when authors failed to formulate the description

¹The greater number of vocabularies are, however, unevenly distributed across Pama-Nyungan languages and consequently there are also unsatisfactory lexical records of many languages.

²Historically it has been the grammatical traditions of Classical Greek and subsequently Latin into which the structures of other languages have been framed, although a tradition of Sanskrit description has similarly resulted in the imposition of an inappropriate grammatical tradition on the non-Indo-European languages from the Indian subcontinent. The problem was identified by R. Caldwell of the London Missionary Society in a grammar of Dravidian (Caldwell 1856: 203).

around the “natural principles of the language”, as Threlkeld (1834: x) had advised (§2.3.2).

2.3.1 The description of unnecessary categories

Many of the categories of traditional grammar that are unnecessary when applied to PN languages are among those that establish SAE as a *Sprachbund* (Haspelmath 2001). Haspelmath describes twelve morphosyntactic Europeanisms that are found in “the great majority of core European languages” but “are not found in the majority of the world’s languages” (Haspelmath 2001: 1493). Many are not common to PN morphosyntax,³ and four are pertinent to this examination of the early description of PN morphosyntax:

1. Both definite and indefinite article
2. The comparative marking of adjectives
3. Passive constructions⁴
4. Relative clauses signalled by relative pronouns

The corpus grammarians’ treatment of these features tells much about the authors’ approach and perspective. The first three are discussed below and the description of “relative pronouns” is discussed within the relevant sections.

The corpus grammars are standardly arranged under chapter headings describing the word classes, or parts of speech that are functionally motivated in SAE languages. These provided the “fundamental organisational principle of descriptions” (Koch 2008: 187). In the more detailed grammars up to eleven parts of speech were given in roughly the following order: Articles, Nouns, Adjectives, Numerals, Pronouns, Verbs, Adverbs, Pre/post-positions, Particles, Conjunctions and Interjections (Figure 2.3). Functionally motivated classes of words in a modern grammar of a PN language are likely to include: nominal classes (common nouns, proper nouns, locational nouns, adjectives, pronouns, demonstratives), verbs, adverbs, particles, conjunctions and interjections (Dixon 1980: 271). Chapter headings detailing SAE word-classes such as “articles” and “postpositions” given in many early PN grammars are particularly conspicuous instances of unnecessary specification.

³Some PN languages, including Diyari have a passive construction (Dixon 2002a: 530).

⁴Haspelmath describes the passive construction formed with a participle as defining of the SAE *Sprachbund* (2001: 1496–1497). Passive constructions are reasonably common in the world’s languages (Siewierska 2013).

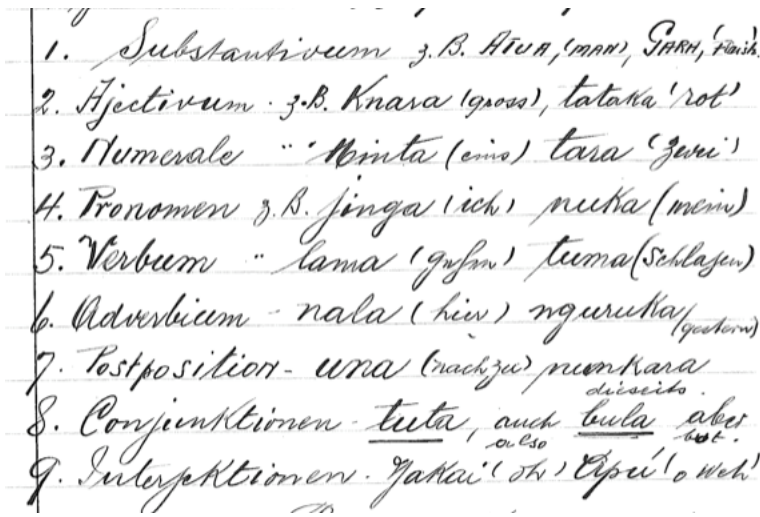


Figure 2.3: Kramer's 1931 copy of C. Strehlow's grammar of Western Arrernte (Kramer 1931)

The common inclusion of case forms termed “vocative” in the early grammars similarly results primarily from a need to fill a slot in the traditional schema. In Latin the vocative form differs from the nominative in the singular of the second declension and is consequently included in case paradigms for structural reasons. Forms that are labelled “vocative” in the early grammars and included in case paradigms do not mark a case relation, and vocative expressions are not considered to mark case in Australian languages (Blake 2001: 8). In Arrernte, the suffix –*aye* termed “vocative” by the early grammarians (Figure 9.3) is a more general emphatic morpheme (Wilkins 1989: 353). Similarly, in Diyari, the missionaries’ vocative forms (Figure 8.35) described by Koch (1868: no pag.) as “carelessness of speech”,⁵ are currently analysed as a shouted speech phenomenon (Austin 2013: 39).

Discussion of comparative and superlative adjectival degrees under the prescribed traditional heading “the comparison of adjectives” (Figure 2.4) epitomises the sway of traditional grammar over early Pama-Nyungan description.

The existence of a particle in the SAE comparative construction: “X is bigger than Y” and the marking of the adjective for comparative and superlative (the *groß, größer, am Größten* paradigm in German) (Haspelmath 2001: 1499, 1501–1502) stand in contrast to the constructions presented in many PN languages.

⁵“Nachlässigkeit des Sprechens” (Koch 1868: no pag.)

ii. Examples :

Com- parison of Ad- jectives.	Pos.	Compar.	Superl.
dur-us	<i>hard</i>	dur-ior	dur-issimus
trist-is	<i>sad</i>	trist-ior	trist-issimus
fel-ix	<i>happy</i>	felic-ior	felic-issimus
lib-er	<i>free</i>	lib-er-ior	lib-er-issimus
nig-er	<i>black</i>	nig-r-ior	nig-er-issimus
salub-er	<i>healthy</i>	salub-r-ior	salub-er-issimus
simil-is	<i>like</i>	simil-ior	simil-issimus

Figure 2.4: Kennedy's paradigm of Latin comparative and superlative degrees of comparison of adjectives (Kennedy 1879: 132)

The semantics of comparison and extreme are often conveyed lexically rather than through morphology:

- (2) nhandru nguyama-yi marla ngakunga
 3SG.F.ERG know-PRES more 1SG.LOC
 'she knows more than me'
 (Austin 2013: 112)

Alternatively, the semantics of comparison and extreme may be conveyed through the syntactic frame of juxtaposition (X big, Y little). The description of a morphological process was sometimes falsely specified in early descriptions of Australian languages.

In descriptions of Arrernte, for example, T. G. H. Strehlow (1944: 86–87) – following C. Strehlow (1931b: 28–30, 1910: 8), following Kempe (1891: 7) – showed derivations of the adjective with the morpheme *-alkura* to denote the comparative and *-indora* to denote the superlative. Both are currently analysed as “free-forms and not as suffixes” in the Western Arrernte dictionary (Breen 2000). The first, *alkwerre* functions as a quantitative adjective, translated as ‘more’. The second, *nthurre* is listed by Wilkins (1989: 587) as a word meaning true, proper, exact, real, which “in modifying adjectives means ‘very’”. The structures are not formally equivalent to the *-er* and *-est* of English. All early authors expressed some awareness that the forms they represented as suffixes attached to the adjective were in fact just words meaning ‘more’ and ‘very’ but nevertheless represented their structure in order to conform to the prescribed traditional schema. While an adjective in an Arrernte NP that is modified by *alkwerre* ‘more’ has a similar semantic function to the SAE morphological comparative construction, an adjective modified by *nthurre* is not correctly described as marking superlative degree.

Similarly, the Lutheran missionaries Poland & Schwarz's description of a morphological superlative in Guugu-Yimidhirr (1900: no pag.) repeated by Roth (1901:

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26; §10.1.4) represented the form *kana* as a superlative adjectival prefix. The form *kana* (*ganaa*) is currently listed as a particle meaning ‘alright’, ‘OK’ (Haviland 1979: 169). Constructions formed with *ganaa* are not functionally equivalent to the superlative category predicted by the traditional grammatical framework:

- (3) Nyundu ganaa? Ganaa
 2SG.NOM OK OK
 ‘how are you [=are you OK]? I’m fine [=OK]’
 (Haviland 1979: 152)
- (4) Nyundu mayi buda-y ganaa, ngali dhada-a
 2SG.NOM food-[ACC] eat-PAST OK 1DL.NOM go-NONPAST
 ‘When you have eaten [enough?], then we’ll go’
 (Haviland 1979: 152)

Yet Roth (1901: 26) translated *ganaa* preceding the adjective meaning ‘weak’ as ‘weakest’ (Figure 2.5). Haviland does not describe this construction. It appears that it was constructed as a morphological and semantic equivalent to the SAE superlative by either Roth or by Poland & Schwarz.

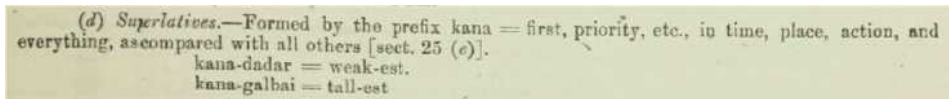


Figure 2.5: Roth’s description of the superlative degree of adjectives (Guugu-Yimidhirr; Roth 1901: 26)

Based on Roth’s analysis of Guugu-Yimidhirr, the idea that some Australian languages have a morphological superlative later entered into mainstream Australian linguistic thought (Elkin 1937: 165; Capell 1937: 55).

In 1874, G. Taplin (§7.3) circulated a questionnaire in order to gather information about Aboriginal customs and languages. The material was published in *Manners, customs and Languages of the South Australian Aborigines gathered from Enquiries made by authority of South Australian Government, Edited by the late Rev. G. Taplin, of Point Macleay* (1879a). Fourteen of the questions he asked relate to language (1879a: 6). Several of Taplin’s respondents provided no answer to questions eliciting linguistic data. In answer to question 31, which requested information about nominal declension, Police-trooper Provis, for instance, reported that “Ku-ka-tha’: “is altogether too crude and meagre to admit of these nice grammatical distinctions” (Provis in 1879a: 97). The nature of the questions Taplin formulated is, however, revealing of his own developing understandings

of PN structure and of the type of issues that he perceived as important or in need of clarification. Six questions sought information about potentially unnecessary categories:

30. Has the language any articles? If so, what are they? Are forms of the pronouns used as articles?
35. Is there any gender to pronouns?
38. How is the passive form of the verb constructed?
39. Is there any verb “to be,” or “to have” in the language?
40. Is the letter s used in the language, or f, v, z ?
41. What are the numerals? How high can a native count in their own language?

Grammatical gender,⁶ about which Taplin enquired, is another feature inherent to the traditional descriptive framework but generally not applicable to the description of PN languages. Since the term “gender” is used within traditional grammar to describe both the category held by nouns with which other word classes agree as well as the lexical marking for biological gender (e.g., Gildersleeve 1895: 10–11; Ramshorn 1824: 19–32), the category gender is maintained in a body of early Pama-Nyungan grammars of languages with no system of gender.

Some of the earliest grammarians working in South Australia were aware that these categories were not pertinent to their analyses. Many of these features are among a list described as absent in Australian languages by Schürmann (1846: 250–251; §6.2.1) and by Moorhouse (1846; §6.4.1). Yet they continued to be included in PN descriptions for the following century.

It is, however, likely that the classical grammatical rubric was the preferred vehicle to carry PN structures, for reasons that were not linguistic in nature, even when a grammarian realised that it was not a good morphological fit. The traditional framework may have been chosen for the utilitarian reason that it was the simplest and most easily understood way to convey grammatical structure. Whether employed by missionaries in unpublished MS grammars intended

⁶The term “gender” is used here to refer to both noun class systems and pronominal gender systems, which are taken to exhibit grammatical gender on the grounds of agreement because “the control of anaphoric pronouns by their antecedent (the girl ... she) [is seen] as part of agreement” (Corbett 2013). Note that this usage differs from that used by Dixon (2002a: 452).

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for circulation only within the mission, or by grammarians writing for international publication in prestigious philological journals, the framework was the only available framework that could render the material immediately accessible to a linguistically trained reader. Such pedagogical motivation for engaging the traditional framework has previously been suggested for the missionary grammatical analysis of Polynesian languages:

It is not ... certain that it always and only was ignorance and lack of insight into the grammatical structure of Polynesian languages that dictated the descriptive solutions of the missionary grammar. There are several indications that there were other and more pedagogical reasons behind their choices (Hovdhaugen 1993: 109).

Further, it has been argued that when describing Awabakal, Threlkeld was motivated to show that the language was spoken by intelligent and sophisticated people (Roberts 2008). Many of the corpus grammarians stressed that the structure they described evinced intelligence on the part of the speakers (Teichelmann & Schürmann 1840: iv; Kempe 1891: 24). Missionary-grammarians appear to have also sought to elevate the status of Aboriginal languages not only by drawing attention to grammatical structure but also by showing that the Aboriginal language was capable of being construed using the same terminology and framework as Classical Greek and Latin, the languages placed at the pinnacle of human potential linguistic achievement. When, for example, T. G. H. Strehlow – son of missionary C. Strehlow – introduced “the verb” in a grammar of Arrernte (1944) he explained that “the tenses and moods given below all bear familiar and easily intelligible names not very much different from those borne by the moods and tenses in Latin and Greek.” This tendency has similarly been observed in colonial Africa (Gilmour 2006), and elsewhere.

The traditional grammatical framework also continued to be engaged when a grammarian recognised that the inherited framework was inappropriately designed to capture the morphosyntactic structure of the target language. Early grammarians continued to present the traditional grammatical schema even when providing evidence that the predicted categories did not apply to the described language. Schemata were sometimes presented as vacuous headings with an accompanying apologetic note that the feature had not been found. Grammarians commonly note the lack of grammatical gender in their introductions to the “substantive” where the category “gender” is conventionally given (Teichelmann & Schürmann 1840: 4; Meyer 1843: 10; Schürmann 1844a: 2; Taplin 1880: 7; Kempe 1891: 2; Strehlow 1931a). Similarly, under the heading “the article”, Symmons (1841) and Roth (1897, 1901) state that there is none.

2.3.1.1 **The description of foreign PN structures**

An array of “foreign” PN features that the traditional grammatical framework could not readily deal with was described by the early grammarians. The description of categories that were not integral to the inherited descriptive framework required a grammarian to either extend himself beyond what was descriptively familiar or to borrow techniques innovated by previous grammarians. Early grammarians were most likely to look for guidance from their predecessors’ descriptions when venturing to describe structures that the traditional grammatical framework was powerless to convey. These areas of the grammar for which the early missionary-grammarians were theoretically and terminologically ill equipped provide particularly rich fields of historiographic study, evidencing lineages of descriptive practice. They include:

- The marking and function of the ergative case (throughout)
- The large case systems of Pama-Nyungan languages (throughout)
- Systems of bound pronouns
- The juxtaposition of constituents in inalienably possessed phrases (§8.5.7)
- The inclusive and exclusive pronominal distinction (Stockigt 2017)
- The morphological marking of clause subordination

Note here that Hebrew has both “separate” pronouns and “pronominal suffixes” (Gesenius & Kautzsch 1910: 105–109). It might therefore be expected that grammarians of Australian languages who were familiar with the structure of Hebrew would be better placed to describe the bound pronouns of some Australian languages.

Five of the questions Taplin (1879a: 6) circulated sought information about points of PN grammar for which the traditional framework is deficient:

11. What is the system of kinship in the tribe? Give names for following relationships.

A note to this item states: “It is also desirable to discover whether there is not a slight variation of the word according as it is borne or attributed to the speaker; for instance, a variation for my father, your father, his father, &c”.

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31. What is the form of the declension of nouns? In the case of a word for “man,” how do they say “of a man,” “to a man,” “by a man” [as an agent], “by a man” [situated near a man], “from a man,” or “a man” objectively? (Parentheses original).
32. Is there a dual form of the noun – i.e., is there not only a word for man and men but a word for two men?
34. Is there an abbreviated form of the pronoun, for the sake of euphony, used in composition?
36. Has the verb any indicative mood? Or has the verb only a participle construction? Is the form in which the verb is used in the indicative the form in which the same word is used adjectivally? Give a specimen.

Thirty-five years after Threlkeld had written the first grammar of an Australian language (1834), these questions show that Taplin was aware that Australian languages were likely to exhibit pronominal morphology sensitive to kinship (Qu. 11) (§6.2.1.4), systems of bound pronouns (Qu. 34), and that he was fairly well informed about the type of arguments that were likely to be morphologically marked, and about ergative morphology (Qu. 31). See how ergative forms are elicited with the prepositional phrase: “by a man”, which Taplin anticipates will be different from the locative or comitative form elicited with the phrase “by a man [situated near a man]”.

The inclusion of these questions seeking information about foreign structures marks a change in perspective from both Moorhouse’s and Schürmann’s earlier typologies of Australian languages, which were essentially deficit models, listing features that the languages lacked.

Taplin’s elicitation of examples of verb participles in question 36 relates to a particular analysis of syntax given by missionary Meyer (1843) in Ramindjeri (§6.1.2.7), which Taplin subsequently assumed in descriptions of Ngarrindjeri (1867; 1872; 1878).

Note that dual number is not strictly a deficient category because it occurs in Homeric and Classical Greek and in Sanskrit and is reconstructed for Proto-Indo-European. It is described in all of the corpus grammars. Dual pronouns were shown by Dawes (1790–1791a: 30) and were described in Threlkeld’s earliest work (Threlkeld 1827: 4–8; §3.2), published the same year as W. Humboldt’s treatise *Über den Dualis* (On the dual form; GS Vol. 6, S. 4–30), which surveyed the occurrence of dual morphology in known languages. Prichard (1847: 276) noted that both Australian and Polynesian languages had “three numbers, singular,

dual, and plural”. Threlkeld was familiar with the morphological marking of dual number on pronouns from his knowledge of Polynesian languages. In 1834 he described dual number as a regional feature: “[I]n this part of the hemisphere, all the languages in the South Seas in common with New South Wales, possess a dual number, and so essential is it to the languages, that conversation could not be carried on without this form of speech” (Threlkeld 1834: viii).

2.3.2 Difficulties in describing the case system

Taplin’s (1874b: 6) method of seeking case forms in Question 31 of the circular he distributed highlights the difficulties associated with identifying and naming Australian case functions that are evident throughout the corpus.

Taplin does not seek the nominative form because it was known to be the unmarked root. Only the accusative and ergative forms are requested using traditional grammatical terminology, viz. “objectively” and “as an agent”. For other cases Taplin seeks a form that translates an English prepositional phrase. The translation of PN inflected case forms with prepositional phrases in English, German, and sometimes Latin, is common to the corpus, and reflects the partially analytic case systems of SAE languages (Blake 2001: 9).

Case forms marking functions carried synthetically in SAE languages were readily assigned case labels, whereas case forms marking functions carried analytically in SAE languages tended to be translated with prepositional phrases and described as prepositions.

Both strategies depicted case forms in a way that was potentially ambiguous, and both were problematic in assuming an isomorphic correspondence of case functions between SAE and PN case systems. The methodological limitations of representing the function of PN case forms has serious consequences for the reclamation of case systems based on historical materials.

Many of Taplin’s prepositional phrases could have elicited more than one case suffix. The prepositional phrase “of a man”, for example, would have elicited either an NP marked for possessive case or for dative case in a language like Awabakal, in which this range of functions is formally differentiated (see Table 3.1).

- (5) kuri-kupa *or* kuri-ku
man-POSS man-DAT
‘of a man’ ‘of a man’

Further, Taplin’s prepositional phrases are likely to have elicited differently marked NPs depending on the predicated verb. For example, “to a man” used

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with the verb “to give” would have elicited an accusative NP in a language like Arrernte (Wilkins 1989: 169; Henderson 2013: 294) in which the second argument of this di-transitive verb stands in accusative case:

- (6) artwe-nhe
man-ACC
‘to a man’

But “to a man” used with a verb of motion may have elicited an allative form:

- (7) artwe-werne
man-ALL
‘to a man’

In some languages, like Arrernte, the form marking allative function would have been dedicated to marking this function alone. In other languages (see Blake 1977: 60), the allative form might also have been used to translate “at a man”, “for a man” and “of a man”, if the allative case showed syncretism for locative, dative, and genitive functions respectively. Taplin’s prepositional phrases used with the same verb in different languages would also have elicited NPs marking the same role but standing in different cases. Used with the verb “to speak”, for example, “to a man” would have been translated using a locative NP in Diyari (Austin 2013: 131) but a dative NP in Arrernte (Wilkins 1989: 179).

The organisation of PN case systems varies between languages and consequently “[c]omparing cases across languages is problematic” (Blake 2001: 155). The functional range marked by a suffix designating a particular case-label in one language may only partially overlap with the functional range of a suffix bearing the same label in a different language.

Another factor contributing to the difficulty in describing case is a lack of clarity about the primary function that should attract a certain case label. Traditional case labels cannot be accepted at face value (Blake 2001: 155). This is true especially of the cases labelled “dative” and “ablative” (§3.4.4 & §5.4.3), both of which mark a diverse range of functions in Latin (Gildersleeve 1895: 218–230, 246–265; Blake 2001: 157–162). That the particular function that early grammarians named “dative” and “ablative” differ had ramifications for the representations of Australian case systems.

2.3.3 Appropriation of the traditional framework

While maintaining the traditional grammatical framework, early grammarians employed techniques by which the traditional framework was subverted and

used to construe foreign PN “peculiarities”. Section headings inherent to the traditional schema which accommodated Europeanisms that were not to be found in PN languages provided a vacant schema into which foreign structures for which the traditional framework was deficient could be conveyed. This occurred both when it was strikingly apparent that the two structures bore no formal equivalence, as well as when a grammarian was unaware that the described PN structure was not equivalent to SAE structure associated with the schema in which it was shown. In these ways foreign structures were colonised by the traditional framework.

For example, the allative case suffix tended to be under-specified in the corpus grammars because allative function is not marked by the morphological case systems of the languages in which the missionaries were trained. Diyari grammarians, however, exemplified allative case marking under the heading “correlative pronouns”, a morphological category inherent to the descriptive framework of Classical Greek (Figure 2.1) but unnecessary when applied to PN languages.⁷ Each Diyari grammarian (Koch 1868; Schoknecht 1947 [1872]: 8; Flierl 1880: 28; Reuther 1981d: 18) provided the following pair (8, 9) under the heading “indefinite correlative pronouns”. They showed the marking of allative and ablative case on the spatial location nominal *yerla* ‘elsewhere’. Spatial locational nominals are a small, closed class of nouns which inflect only for allative *-nhi* and ablative *-ndru* cases and are unmarked in locative case (Austin 2013: 41; Austin 2013: 54–56). There is, however, no suggestion in these early sources that the suffixes marking these cases were pronominal.

- (8) Jerlauandru
 irgend woher, von weit her [from anywhere, from far away]
 (Koch 1868: no pag.)
 yarla-wa-ndru
 elsewhere-DIST-ABL

- (9) Jerlauanni
 irgend wohin von Entfernung [to anywhere distant]
 (Koch 1868: no pag.)
 yarla-wa-nhi
 elsewhere-DIST-ALL

Other instances include the construal of ergative morphology as marking passive (§7.1.1.1) constructions, the depiction of bound or enclitic pronouns as verbal

⁷Correlative pronouns or “correlative pronominal adverbs” are sets that correspond with one another in both form and meaning, for instance, “whither?” and “hither”, “whence?” and “hence”.

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inflections for number and person (§5.5), and the description of deictic forms as third-person “neuter” pronouns (Threlkeld 1834; §3.4.3).

Foreign PN structures were slotted into the traditional grammatical framework under traditionally prescribed section headings when the PN structure was perceived to be *functionally rather than structurally* equivalent to the SAE structure traditionally described under that heading. For example, under the heading “passive verbs”, grammarians frequently noted that there were none, before going on to describe their perception of the way the European passive function is carried in PN languages. Grammarians commonly described active clauses with no overt subject as passive constructions. In the first grammar of Diyari, for example, (Koch 1868: no pag.) stated, “Passive verbs are missing in Diari”, before explaining that if one wanted to say “my father was slain”, one would place **aperi nakani** “my father” in accusative case and leave out the subject **tarnalia** “they”.

Similarly, Taplin also described a transitive clause with an elided agent as passive (Figure 2.6).

Singular.		PASSIVE.	Dual.
Ngan lakkir—I am speared			Lam lakkir—We two are speared
Ngum lakkir—Thou art speared			Lom lakkir—You two are speared
Kin lakkir—He is speared.			Kenggun lakkir—They two are speared.
Plural.			
Nam lakkir—We are speared			
Nom lakkir—Ye are speared			
Kan lakkir—They are speared.			

Figure 2.6: Taplin’s exemplification of “passive” constructions (Taplin 1878: 17)

- (10) Ngan lakkir
 I am speared
 (Taplin 1878: 17)
 Ngan lak-ur
 1sgACC spear-PAST
 ‘speared me’

Much later, Roth (1901: 20) also presented a syntactically equivalent Guugu-Yimidhirr construction (Figure 2.7) as “passive” within a discussion of verbs after stating: “There is no special form of the verb to express the Passive but it is rendered by the person passive being placed in the objective case, the individual whence the action proceeds being understood”. Threlkeld also showed a transitive clause with an elided agent as the “passive” (1834: 28), as did Symmons (1841:

xx) and Hale (1846: 494). The constructions carry the same discourse function as European passives in de-emphasising the agent.

ngayu kundal = I strike.
ngani kundal = (somebody) me strikes, i.e. I am struck.

Figure 2.7: Roth’s illustration of passive constructions (Guugu-Yimidhirr; Roth 1901: 20)

Another prominent instance where a foreign PN structure is presented as a prescribed traditional category by virtue only of its *functional* equivalence is found in the Lutheran missionaries’ exemplifications of reciprocal and reflexive verb morphology under the heading “reciprocal and reflexive pronouns”. Flierl and Meyer (1880: 26; Figure 2.8), for example, gave the following Diyari reciprocal and reflexive constructions showing valency altering derivational verbal morphology under the heading “pronoun”:

- (11) Ngani demateraia
Ich schneide mich
(Flierl 1880: 26)
nganhi dama-tharri-yi
1SG.NOM cut-REFL-PRES
‘I cut myself’

- (12) Ngaiani antjama laia
Wir lieben einander
(Flierl 1880: 26)
ngayani ngantya-mali
1PL.EXCL love-RECIP
‘We love one another’

Lastly, when describing “the article”, T. G. H. Strehlow wrote:

While there is no separate word in Aranda corresponding to the English “the” the French “le” or “la” or the German “der,” “die,” “das” the third-personal pronoun (era) is very frequently put after the noun in an Aranda sentence, and then undergoes a change in meaning until its force is practically identical with that of the definite article in modern European languages. (Strehlow 1944: 57)

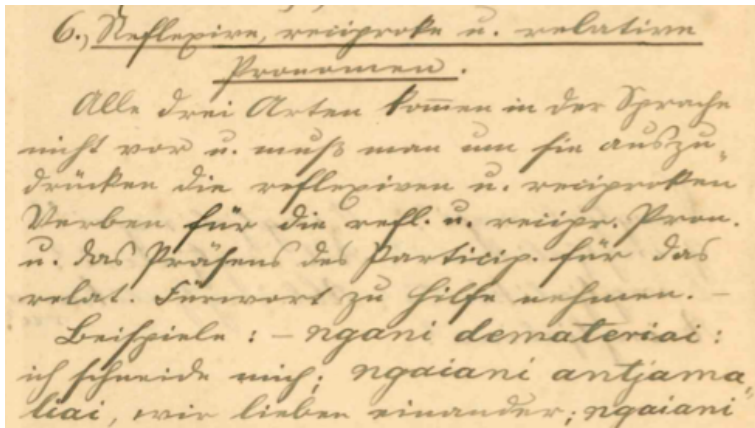


Figure 2.8: Flierl's discussion of reflexive and reciprocal verb morphology under the word-class heading "pronoun" (Diyari; Flierl 1880: 26)

In referring to the French and German articles, Strehlow indicates that his knowledge of European vernacular languages informed his expectations about language structure as much as did the Classical languages.

That grammarians described PN grammatical categories in sections of the traditional grammatical framework that accounted for SAE structures that were perceived to be *functionally rather than structurally* equivalent helps to account for the range of functionally diverse content that is given under the word-class heading pre/post-position in the early grammars. Many grammarians are unperturbed by the contradiction in describing what they represent as "affixes" as the *class of word* "preposition". For example, as a note attached to his declension of Diyari nouns, Koch (1868: no pag.) wrote: "Additional mention must also be made of various adjuncts, so-called postpositions, being attached instead of the ending. However, we will deal with those separately as a particular class of words".⁸ Structures that are included under the word class heading pre/postposition are those that are *functionally* equivalent to SAE prepositions regardless of the structure. As Roth (1897: 13) explained: "[P]repositions, or what would correspond to them in our language, are signified in the Pitta-Pitta language by various suffixes ... or by separate words" (emphasis added).

⁸Original: "Nachträglich sei noch bemerkt, daß verschiedene Anhängsel an Sustantive s.g. Postpositionen statt der Endung angehängt werden, welche wir jedoch für sich als besondere Wortklasse behandeln werden."

2.4 Traditional descriptive models

Blevins notes that the traditional word-based model of European grammatical description:

project[ed] morphological analysis primarily upwards from the word, and treat[ed] the association of words with paradigms or other sets of forms as the most fundamental morphological task. (Blevins 2013: 375)

The recognition of sub-word units – roots, stems, prefixes and suffixes – as well as accounts of word-internal morpheme constituent order were not part of the Greek or Latin grammatical tradition. The word and paradigm (henceforth WP) model of description (Hockett 1954; Robins 1959), which developed to best convey the fusional and synthetic typology of SAE languages, takes the word, rather than the morpheme, as the minimal unit of analysis.

The WP model, which is implicit to the traditional framework, was widely applied to the description of PN languages because, like categories inherent to traditional grammar, it was the only available framework.

The WP model developed to accommodate the case systems of classical European languages in which the marking for case was frequently fused with the marking for number and gender. The model is able to simultaneously represent three grammatical categories within a single word. This paradigmatic presentation of words was suited to the fusional morphology of SAE languages, where multiple categories might be carried by a single portmanteau morpheme.

Alternative descriptive models recognising word-internal constituents post-date the early description of Australian languages. Blevins (2013: 383) describes A. Schleicher's (1821–1868) analysis of *wurzeln* “roots” and *beziehungslauten* “inflections” – literally “relational sounds”, given in an 1859 description of Lithuanian as “*almost entirely* without precedent in the classical tradition” (emphasis added). Note that it was in this work that Schleicher coined the term “morphology” on a biological analogy (1859: 35). The term “morpheme” was not coined until 1895, by the Polish linguist J. Baudouin de Courtenay (1845–1929).

Inspection of the corpus grammars shows that sub-word units were commonly recognised and represented by the earliest PN grammarians. Missionary grammarians in Australia, faced with the pre-theoretical challenge of describing the structure of agglutinative languages, *combined* the word and paradigm descriptive model with presentations of sub-word units. Suffixes were referred to as “signs”, “terminations”, “terminating syllables”, “affixes”, “postfixes”, and “particles”. In 1838, for example, Günther presented the “terminations of cases” showing case inflections as sub-word units (Figure 2.9). In 1840 Teichelmann and

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Schürmann presented “affixes or terminating syllables” (Figure 2.10), which like Günther’s earlier Wiradjuri grammar conveyed the functional load carried by word internal constituents by assigning case labels to them.

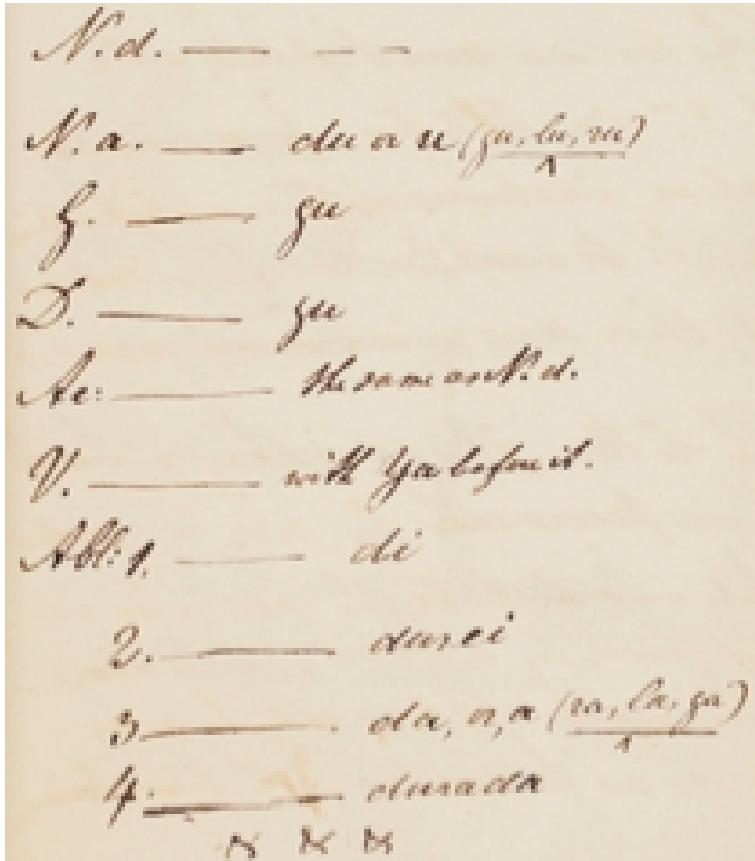


Figure 2.9: Günther’s presentation of case suffixes as unattached morphemes (Wiradjuri; Günther 1838: 45)

In 1843 Meyer described bound pronouns in Ngarrindjeri in the following terms: “the inseparable [forms] are fragments of the separable pronouns, attached as affixes to other words” (1843: 22).

The missionaries also stated rules explaining the attachment of inflectional morphology to the roots. Meyer (1843: 11) wrote: “The relations expressed by the Latin and Greek cases are in this language expressed by particles added to the root”. Roth (1897: 8) stated: “when the possessor is a person, -ng-ā is suffixed”

	<i>Sing.</i>	<i>Dual.</i>	<i>Plur.</i>
<i>Nom.</i>		la (rla, dla,)	nna
<i>Gen.</i>	ko (nna,)	kò,	ko (itya)
<i>Dat.</i>	nni,	nni,	nni
<i>Acc.</i>		la (rla, dla,)	nna
<i>Act. } Abl. }</i>	lo (rlo, dlo)		

Figure 2.10: Teichelmann & Schürmann's presentation of case suffixes (Kaurna; Teichelmann & Schürmann 1840: 5)

and “the noun objective takes the suffix *-nā* in the present or past time, and *-kō* in future time”.

Similarly, London Mission Society missionary J. Davies (1722–1855) had earlier discussed “prefixing” constituents and “adding particles” to words in a grammar of Tahitian (1851: 16[1823]). He did this despite also creating maximal word boundaries when representing a language in which the concept of the word is “notoriously difficult” (Hovdhaugen 1993: 108).

The missionaries' presentations of sub-word units and their discussion of the ways in which these attached to other word-internal constituents given in a-theoretical, synchronic, pedagogical grammatical descriptions is presumably the marginal type of work leading Blevins (2013: 383) to qualify Schleicher's widely read, academically based discovery as being “almost entirely” without precedent. There were earlier precedents.

It is possible that German missionaries who described PN pronominal suffixes – Günther (§4.4.6), Teichelmann and Schürmann (§5.5), and Meyer (§6.1) – did so by analogy with Hebrew. Gesenius' account of suffixing pronominal morphology in Hebrew was first published in German in 1813 (see *ibid.*: 158).

Further, Lutheran missionaries who trained at the Jänicke Mission Institute (§5.1.2) are likely to have been acquainted with methods of describing agglutinative morphology through reading the grammar of Tamil written by the Church Missionary Society missionary C. T. E. Rhenius (1836). Tamil, like PN languages, is agglutinative and is largely suffixing. The language has its own classical tradition of grammatical description. Rhenius wrote:

[I]n constructing the chapters on Orthography and Etymology [morphology], I have followed more the order of the native Grammars, than that of the European languages, because I judged it expedient to introduce the student at once to the native manner of treating the subject; and to facilitate the study of native grammars. I have, however, everywhere noticed the

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difference between the Tamil and the European languages. (Rhenius 1836: i)

Rhenius identified and described discrete word-internal units of meaning. Like grammarians in Australia, Rhenius discussed nominal declension (ibid.: 44–49) in terms of “terminations” attaching to the nominative form. He also discussed verb morphology in terms of “roots” and “affixes” (ibid.: 76).

Blevins (2013) accounts for the theoretical recognition by academic European philologists of models and terminology accommodating the description of agglutinative morphology. More research is required to trace the development of practices in far-flung missionary fields and to establish how innovations that were made in response to non-SAE structures were influenced by, and influenced, schools of SAE description.

2.4.1 The word and paradigm descriptive model

The application of the WP descriptive model to PN languages was reasonably well suited to the synthetic character of PN languages. The WP model of grammatical description anticipated that the nominal inflectional categories of case, number and gender and the verbal inflectional categories of tense, and agreement with the number of the subject would be carried *within* the word. The application of the WP descriptive model to PN structure resulted in an effective representation of an important range of Pama-Nyungan morphosyntactic data. A Diyari pronominal paradigm, for example, supplied by Missionary Homann but rearranged by Fraser (Figure 2.11) shows person on the horizontal axis, case on the vertical axis and number through separate structurally identical paradigms. A fourth category, natural gender in the third person, is also presented as a separate division of the horizontal axis (Fraser 1892: 43–44).

Like Homann, all the corpus grammarians used some sort of WP model to represent pronominal forms.

But unlike the synthetic and fusional morphology of SAE, where the marking of gender, case and number is fused within single morphemes, PN nominal morphology is generally both synthetic and agglutinative. Individual grammatical categories carried within the word are generally inflected discretely. While the agglutinative structure of PN words made the earlier grammarians’ analytical task easier, because the shape of a morpheme was easily associated with the marking of a single function, the wholesale application of the WP model resulted in descriptions that were unnecessarily repetitive.

PERSONAL PRONOUNS.				
<i>Singular</i>				
	1st	2nd.	3rd.	
			<i>Masc.</i>	<i>Fem.</i>
<i>Nom.</i> 1.	Nani	Yidni	Nanya	Nania
2.	Nato	Yundru	Nulia	Nandruya
<i>Gen.</i>	Nakani	Yinkani	Nunkani	Nankani
<i>Dat.</i>	Nakaḡu	Yinkaḡu	Nunkaḡu	Nankaḡu
<i>Acc.</i>	Nana	Yidnana	Nanya	Nania
<i>Voc.</i>		Perlaia		
<i>Dual</i>				
<i>Nom.</i> 1.	Nali, naliena	Yudla	Pudlaia	
2.	Naldra	Yudla	Pudlali	
<i>Gen.</i>	Nalina, naldrani	Yudlani	Pudlani	
<i>Dat.</i>	Naliḡa, naldraḡu	Yudlaḡu	Pudlaḡu	
<i>Acc.</i>	Nalina, naldrana	Yudlana	Pudlanaia	
<i>Voc.</i>		Yudla	Pudlaia	

44 AN AUSTRALIAN LANGUAGE.			
<i>Plural</i>			
<i>Nom.</i> 1.	Naiana, naiani	Yura	Tanana
2.	Naiani	Yura	Tanali
<i>Gen.</i>	Naianana	Yurani	Tanani
<i>Dat.</i>	Naianaḡu	Yuraḡu	Tanaḡu
<i>Acc.</i>	Naianana	Yurana	Tananaia
<i>Voc.</i>		Yura	Tanani

Figure 2.11: Homann's use of the Word and Paradigm model. (Diyari; in Fraser 1892: 43–44)

2.4.1.1 Declension

Some early grammarians considered that the agglutinative marking of case and number of nouns did not constitute “declension”. The term “declension”, from the Latin *declinare* ‘to lean’, has its origin in a conception of the marking for “case” – from the Latin *cadere* ‘to fall’, *casus* ‘falling’ – as falling away from the nominative.

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Teichelmann & Schürmann (1840: 4) wrote: “there is no declension of substantives in the common sense of the word”, and Moorhouse stated:

It is difficult to determine whether the terminations in the above examples strictly form declensions, or whether they might not be considered particles added to the roots, to indicate the relations expressed. I have preferred giving them as declensions as the terminating syllable of the root is always changed. (Moorhouse 1846: 5)

Taplin (1880: 8) noted a similar concern. The idea, which was expressed solely by early South Australian grammarians, was later pursued at some length by Capell (1937: 49–50, 56), who described the Arrernte case paradigm he provided (*ibid.*: 50) as “not quite true declension, because the same suffixes are found in the dual and plural as well as in the singular”.

The application of the word and paradigm model to Pama-Nyungan agglutinative structure resulted in descriptions that, while reasonably accurate, are not always economical. This is less true of languages like Ngarrindjeri, in which the ordering of number and case suffixes varies according to whether the case is syntactic or non-syntactic (Meyer 1843; Horgen 2004: 101), or of languages like Diyari with complicated splits in the systems of marking syntactic case (Table 8.3).

But the wholesale application of the WP descriptive model to Australian languages, such as that made by T. G. H. Strehlow to Arrernte (Stockigt 2017: §2.4.1.2), with their predictable agglutinative morphology, minimal nominal classes, and no morphophonemic variation between the stem and inflectional and derivational morphology, resulted in repetitive and superfluous paradigmatic description.

2.4.2 Alternative descriptive models

Most early PN grammarians, especially those who wrote detailed grammars and had learnt the language relatively well, blended different descriptive models when describing PN languages. Additional to descriptive strategies imported from grammars of vernacular and Classical European languages, from grammars of Hebrew (§5.3.2), and from Polynesian languages (§3.1), missionary-grammarians developed *in situ* models in direct descriptive response to previously undescribed categories, which in turn influenced later grammarians of Australian languages.

The WP model, inherited from the classical description of fusional European languages was often blended with a word-internal model befitting the agglutinative typology of the languages at hand. The presentation of case inflections

independent of the stem to which they attach (Figure 2.9, Figure 2.10), and the labelling of these word-internal morphemes as markers of case, was an efficient way of conveying that these forms always mark the same case irrespective of the number and gender of the nominal. Missionary grammarians in Australia innovated *pre-theoretical common-sense strategies* to better describe the agglutinative morphological structure.

Ancient constituency-based grammatical traditions are indigenous to the Indian subcontinent and culminated in Pāṇini's fourth century BC description of Sanskrit (Blevins 2013: 375). Blevins attributes the "extraordinary success of the Neogrammarian School" to the "consolidation of ... 'external' and 'internal' perspectives on word structure" (Blevins 2013: 382). He suggests that it was a knowledge of the descriptive tradition of Sanskrit that first brought syntagmatic description – statements about the relative ordering of sub-word constituents – to the Neo-grammarians' attention, writing: "While the classical word-based model would continue to serve as the basis of Greek and Latin pedagogy from Priscian's time until the present, the Western rediscovery of Sanskrit ensured that it did not remain unchallenged as a general model of linguistic description" (Blevins 2013: 382). Further, Rocher describes how in the nineteenth century:

Sanskrit was first taught to Europeans ... according to the tradition of rigorous analysis by Pāṇini and other Indian grammarians and phoneticians. The identification of the root as the smallest common denominator of derived forms, vocalic alternation, derivational and inflectional suffixes, substitution rules, zeroing ... were the procedures according to which Europeans learned Sanskrit from pandits. (Rocher 2008: 748)

Syntagmatic analysis, which had been partially introduced to the European Neogrammarians in the late nineteenth century through familiarisation with traditions of Sanskrit grammar, was later developed in the work of Bloomfield (Blevins 2013: 382–5). Alternative descriptive models, the Item and Process (henceforth IP; Hockett 1954: 128) and the Item and Arrangement (henceforth IA) models (Hockett 1954: 114) differ from the WP model in *not* according centrality "to the word as a fundamental unit in the grammar as a whole and as the basic syntactic unit" (Robins 1959: 118). The IP model developed in America in response to the structure of Native American languages in the early decades of the twentieth century. In the 1940s a refined IA descriptive model emerged (Hockett 1954: 112). Hockett (*ibid.*: 111) writes: "*in this country* [America] Boas (1911: 27f.) established IP, and Sapir (Sapir 1991, esp. Ch. 4) elaborated it" (emphasis added).

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Concurrent with Neogrammarians' theoretical responses to the descriptive requirements of Sanskrit, some nineteenth century grammarians in Australia not only recognised and represented sub-word units of meaning but also innovated pre-theoretical practical descriptive responses that described the relative ordering of word-internal constituents either in terms of process or arrangement, without of course using these terms. This descriptive response to agglutinative structure occurred *before* Boas and Sapir were active in American linguistics.

Examine, for example, W. E. Roth's description of Pitta-Pitta (1897: 8) in which he instigated a distinctive method of conveying the relative ordering of inflections for number and case on nominals that was more efficient than the traditional exposition of the forms in lengthy paradigms. Like Meyer (1843) and Schürmann (1844a; §6.1.2.1 & §6.2.1.1), Roth chose not to construct a case paradigm for nouns in different number. Under a subsequent heading "number", Roth presented an intelligently arranged set of examples designed to clearly exemplify the relative ordering of inflection for case and number with the noun (Figure 2.12).

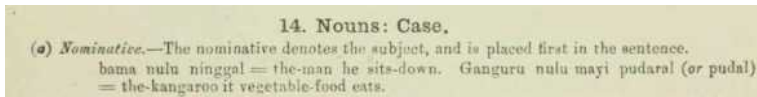


Figure 2.12: Roth's descriptive response to agglutinative morphology (Pitta-Pitta; Roth 1897: 8)

The clauses he gave illustrated in turn:

1. An NP unmarked for number standing in the unmarked nominative case
2. An NP inflected for plural number standing in the unmarked nominative case
3. An NP inflected for plural number subsequently inflected for ergative case
4. An NP inflected for plural number subsequently inflected for accusative case
5. An NP inflected for plural number and subsequently marked as being possessed by a third-person (Blake 1979a: 200) and then subsequently inflected for accusative case.

This final form is:

- (13) umma-lo uttapeukka-pityiri-wara-na
 ‘a mother [is striking] her children’
 (Roth 1897: 8)
 ngama-lu ngathapiyaka-pityiri-wara-nha
 mother-ERG offspring-PL-POSS-ACC
 ‘A mother (hits) her children’⁹

Roth then stated an IA-type rule regarding the marking of dual number: “the dual is expressed by **pa-koo-lā** = ‘two,’ which is used in exactly the same manner as **pityiri** [plural]” (Roth 1897: 8). Such predictive syntagmatic statements about word-internal constituents made in terms of either process or arrangement occur rarely in the corpus grammars, but they do occur.

Explicit demonstrations of and statements about word-internal productive constituency are theoretically in conflict with the word and paradigm descriptive model, which takes the word as the smallest analysable unit.¹⁰ The earliest descriptions of PN languages show that the drive to make better presentations of agglutinative morphology prompted new methods of linguistic analysis in Australia. Unlike the similar developments in America described by Hockett (Hockett 1954: 111), these developments in Australia did not impact on a theoretical development of novel descriptive models more appropriate to the description of agglutinative morphology.

2.5 The nature of recorded varieties

When assessing the authenticity of the historical record of PN languages, it is important to keep a number of factors in mind. First, missionary-grammarians may have filled in the slots of grammatical paradigms with forms they had not actually heard, but which were anticipated through the identification of patterns. Missionary Günther (1840: 350), for example, wrote: “It must be understood as a matter of course that these words are carried out into all the principal cases for the sake of example, though not every word may be used in every case”. Almost a century later T. G. H. Strehlow (1944: 171) included forms in his verb paradigms which he described as “grammatically possible; but I cannot recollect for certain having heard them.”

⁹The Pitta-Pitta word for “mother” is *ngamaRi* according to Blake (1979a: 234). The form *ngathapiyaka*, which Roth translates as “children”, is recorded by Blake (1979a: 235) as only being used by a man speaking of his offspring.

¹⁰Contemporary discussion of the word and paradigm model has developed different senses of the idea of the word and has introduced the notion of the lexeme (Koch 1990; Aronoff 1994).

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It is also important to realise that the data provided in the descriptions may not always reflect “native speaker usage”. This is likely to be the case where a grammarian had not “mastered” the language. In other instances, “native speaker usage” may not have been the linguistic variety the missionary-grammarian aimed to describe.

Many missionaries began preaching in the vernacular very soon after their arrival at the mission, at a time when their grasp of the language was at best minimal. Authors of grammars frequently stated that their understanding of the language was undeveloped, especially with regards to verb morphology (Threlkeld 1834: 28; Teichelmann & Schürmann 1840: 13; Schürmann 1844a: 16). Dresdener missionary S. G. Klose (1802–1889), for example, described the Kaurna hymns sung at the Pirltawardli School in 1843 as being “written in the first years and because of that still in a very imperfect language. Up to now time has not permitted a revision” (in Graetz 1988: 27). Similarly, the publication of service books, containing translations of hymns, the catechism and Bible stories written in the vernacular occurred at the very commencement of the missionaries’ linguistic studies at the Bethesda and Hermannsburg missions. The missionary-linguists’ first attempts to produce grammatically correct texts were thus frozen in the published print. It is probable that the language printed in these early mission publications was a “missionese”, i.e., a simplified variety of the Aboriginal language used by the missionaries that reflected their limited grasp of the language.

Indeed, Austin (2013: 246–247) assesses the language used to translate the New Testament into Diyari *Testamenta Marra* (1897), thirty years after the Lutherans started investigating the structure of the language, as “clearly not typical of Diyari especially in the relative clause structure [showing] little *attempt* ... to produce ‘natural’ Diyari” (emphasis added). It is pertinent that Austin perceives that the missionaries did not *try* to produce natural Diyari. The *target* variety of the Diyari grammars may have been a “missionese” i.e., as used in scriptural translations, sermons, and possibly in the mission domain by Aboriginal people, rather than the language spoken away from the mission in a broad range of contexts. Missionary Siebert termed the variety used at the mission *Küchen-Dieri* (Kitchen Diyari; quoted in Kneebone 2005b: 372–373) and described how it was structurally simple compared with the variety used away from the mission (§8.4.2.3).

The findings of this study suggest that the variety recorded in the corpus grammars may be dependent upon the purpose for which a grammar was written. Pedagogical grammars written at missions solely for evangelistic purpose appear to be more likely to describe a “missionese” than do grammars written for publication, which were aimed at philologically educated audiences.

2.5.1 Mission Guugu-Yimidhirr

Evidence of linguistic varieties developed by missionaries is found in the grammars of Guugu-Yimidhirr written by Lutheran missionaries at Cape Bedford mission (Schwarz & Poland 1900), and following them by Roth (1901; §10.1.5.2). The ergative marking of NPs recorded in these grammars is dissimilar to the language recorded by Haviland (1979).

These early grammars of Guugu-Yimidhirr, along with Hey's (1903) grammar of Nggerrikwidhi (§10.1.3) give the poorest account of ergative function and marking in the corpus. Despite the fact that Roth (1897) had previously described the unusual sensitivity of ergative morphology to verb tense in Pitta-Pitta on nouns (*ibid.*: 7) and on pronouns (*ibid.*: 10; see Blake & Breen 1971: 84–90; §10.1.5.1), ergative morphology is not accounted for in Roth's later grammar of Guugu-Yimidhirr (Figure 2.13) or in Schwarz & Poland's (1900) MS grammar of the same language. These grammars make no reference to the ergative marking of the agent of a transitive clause (Figure 2.13).

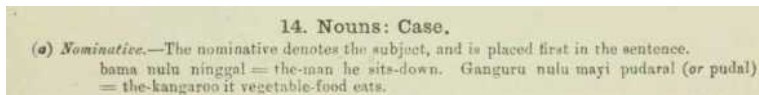


Figure 2.13: The absence of description of ergative morphology on nouns in Roth's grammar of Guugu-Yimidhirr (Roth 1901: 16)

An exceptional complexity of ergative allomorphy (Haviland 1979: 51) and optional ergative marking on intransitive subjects (Haviland 1979: 154–156) presented these early grammarians with a considerable descriptive challenge, and apparently also motivated the missionaries to invent a strategy that avoided the need to mark any noun as ergative. Haviland (1979: 133) says that the missionaries “clearly never grasped basic grammatical structure”.

In *all* example sentences supplied in the early Guugu-Yimidhirr grammars, a noun acting in the role of agent is *always* followed by a third-person pronoun, which shows accusative alignment (AS/O). Examine, for instance, examples (14) and (15). The final constituent of the ergative NP is in each clause a pronoun, which carries the case marking for the entire NP. In example (14), the noun *gaan-gurru* ‘kangaroo’ and adjective *warrga* ‘tall’ are both unmarked in ergative case, but are followed by the 3sg pronoun, which takes the same form in ergative and nominative cases. Similarly, in example (15) the possessed kin-term *biibi-ngadhu* ‘my father’ is unmarked in ergative case and is followed by the 3sg pronoun.

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- (14) Ganguru warka nulu goda dabelbi
 ‘tall kangaroo was kicking the dog’
 (Roth 1901: 23)
 gaangurru warrga nyulu gudaa dhabil-?dhi
 kangaroo-[ERG] tall-[ERG] 3SG.ERG tame-dog-[ACC] kick-PAST
- (15) Peba-ngato nulu kalka dirainggur-be uma
 father-my he the spear old man’s gives
 ‘my father gives the old man’s spear’
 (Roth 1901: 29)
 biibi-ngadhu nyulu galga dyiirraanhgurr-bi wu-maa
 father-1SG.POSS-[ERG] 3SG.ERG spear-[ACC] man-POSS give-PRES

All example clauses in the early Guugu-Yimidhirr grammars showing an NP acting in the role of A have a pronoun as the final NP constituent. Haviland (1979: 102–5) describes how in Guugu-Yimidhirr case is marked optionally on each NP constituent but usually on the last constituent. Unlike the early grammarians he gives numerous examples, such as (16) and (17), in which a noun is overtly marked for ergative case:

- (16) Dyidyii-nda ngani dyindal-y ngaabaay
 Bird-ERG 1SG.ACC peck-PAST head-[ACC]
 ‘the bird pecked me [in the] head’
 (Haviland 1979: 58)
- (17) Yarrga-aga-mu-n gudaa gunda-y biiba-ngun
 Boy-POSS-mu-ERG dog-[ACC] hit-PAST father-ERG
 ‘The boy’s father hit the dog’
 (Haviland 1979: 57)

Haviland (*ibid.*: 104) also describes how “if a referent of the noun phrase is an animate being, especially a human ... it is normal for the whole NP to begin with an appropriate person pronoun” (emphasis added). His account of Guugu-Yimidhirr NP structure does not describe pronominal-final NPs. In natural Guugu-Yimidhirr an animate NP in ergative case is likely to have appeared with a third-person pronoun, which would have preceded other NP constituents taking ergative case marking. It appears that the missionaries invented a variety in which a correctly marked case form of the ergative pronoun was placed in NP-final position, eliminating the necessity to mark the noun as overtly ergative.

Two other factors further suggest that the missionaries employed third-person pronouns to avoid marking case on ergative nouns. The first relates to the structure of the example clauses supplied in the early grammars. Neither of the accusative noun phrases in Roth's examples (14) and (15) *gudaa* 'tame dog' and *galga dyiirraanhgurr-bi gudaa* 'old man's spear' appears with a personal pronoun. Yet Haviland (ibid.: 104) states: "Not all animate NPs are adjoined to a personal pronoun, but most animate NPs in A, S or O function are". The early grammarians recorded third-person pronouns in ergative NPs but not in animate accusative NPs, which Haviland says would occur in fluent native speaker usage.

The second factor indicates that Roth (1901) *accurately recorded* a variety that had developed at the mission in which non-pronominal constituents of ergative NPs did not receive ergative morphology. In Guugu-Yimidhirr the ergative case shows syncretism with the instrumental case (Haviland 1979: 47). Although Roth did not account for ergative marking of nouns in the role of agent, he did record a range of ergative/instrumental allomorphy in Guugu-Yimidhirr (1901: 30; §10.1.5.2), which he exemplified as only occurring on NPs with instrumental function. That Roth identified a list of suffixes that mark ergative/instrumental case functions in Guugu-Yimidhirr, but only exemplified this morphology in instrumental function, and made no mention of ergativity, suggests that the variety he recorded, either independently or by reproducing the missionaries' data, was that used by the missionaries rather than fluent native speaker usage. When assessing the early grammatical materials examined in this study, it is important to remain mindful that the target language of an early grammar might not necessarily have been the natural variety used away from the mission.

2.5.1.1 Kneebone's (2005b) account of mission Diyari

Kneebone (2005b: 28,36) argues that the phonologically altered, standardised and scripted variety of Diyari used by Lutheran missionaries and Diyari Christians at the Bethesda mission substantially influenced the structure of Diyari spoken away from the mission. She argues that the variety of language which was frozen in print, and which was used by the missionaries for proselytisation, and perhaps by a few score of literate Diyari Christians, became a prestige form, which outlived other varieties. In support of her argument she seeks to identify features of the mission idiom that have been retained into the twentieth century language recorded by Austin (1981a). Kneebone writes:

The question must be asked as to the nature of the Diyari spoken retrieved by Austin in the 1970s and whether this language is in fact significantly influ-

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enced by mission written forms, vocabulary and grammatical organisation. (Kneebone 2005b: 72)

Kneebone's argument, however, overemphasises the importance of the mission in people's lives and underestimates their ability to code switch as they moved between mission habitation and a semi-traditional lifestyle. While she views the demise of Diyari as consistent with the high rate of language loss in South Australia, one of the central tenets of her thesis (ibid.: 23) is that the path of Diyari to extinction, and its loss of sociolect diversity, were atypical of other languages. She writes:

One of the major unintentional effects of the development of a mission idiom in the context of unwritten languages was the promotion of custodianship of the language, from tribal elders and traditional oral transmission to the mission as educator and authority on the standard written form of the language. (Kneebone 2005b: 4)

Kneebone draws attention to two grammatical features. The first concerns the semantic organisation of a vocabulary compiled by the missionaries J. Flierl and C. A. Meyer (Flierl & Meyer 1883). Observing that the vocabulary is organised under a set of semantic head-words, which are similar to a small closed set of generic nouns described by Austin (2013: 44; Figure 2.14), Kneebone (2005b: 83) suggests that "it is quite possible that these generic terms were at least in part the product of the categories set in place by the earliest missionaries". She observes that the following categories given by Flierl and Meyer (1883) – **anti** 'food', **paia** 'birds', **tjo tjo** 'worms, reptiles' and **pita** 'woods and grasses' – were later reported by Austin as *nganthi*, *paya*, *thutyu* and *pirta* respectively.

But the marking of a noun class through juxtaposition of a generic noun belonging to a small, closed word set with a specific noun belonging to a large open set of nominals is a widespread feature of Australian languages (Dixon 1980: 102) and many of the semantic fields designated by the nine Diyari generic nouns listed by Austin are widespread in PN languages. Diyari's northeasterly, and grammatically close neighbour Ngamani has a similar system (Austin pers. comm. 11/08/2013) and the missionaries did not teach or support this language. Wangkangurru (Hercus 1994: 102) has the "prefixing noun" *paya* 'bird', which was used almost obligatorily when referring to birds that were ancestral beings, which presumably pre-dated missionary influence. In Mparntwe Arrernte (Wilkins 1989: 107), which came under no Lutheran missionary pressure, generic

<i>karna</i>	human beings, excluding non-Aboriginal people
<i>paya</i>	birds which fly
<i>thutyu</i>	reptiles and insects
<i>nganthi</i>	other edible animates
<i>puka</i>	edible vegetable food
<i>pirta</i>	trees and wood
<i>marda</i>	stone and minerals (including introduced metallic entities)
<i>thurru</i>	fire
<i>ngapa</i>	water

Figure 2.14: Generic noun classifiers in Diyari (Austin 2013: 44)

nouns denote similar semantic fields as those noted by Kneebone: *merne* ‘vegetable food’, *kere* ‘animal food’, *thipe* ‘birds’, *tjape* ‘grubs’ *arne* ‘trees and bushes’, *name* ‘long grasses’, etc.

The second piece of evidence Kneebone gives to support her claim that the scripted missionary variety of Diyari survived at the expense of more natural forms is equally seriously flawed. Kneebone (2005b: 72) suggests that in twentieth century Diyari “one would expect to find ... the ‘overuse’ of auxiliary verbs, which accords nicely with the system of tense forming auxiliaries in German”.¹¹ Without clarifying what an “over-use” might look like, she suggests that the Diyari auxiliaries, which are described by Austin (2013: 13, 91–94) as a set of six optional, non-lexical auxiliary verbs that interact with verb suffixes to express fine tense and modal distinctions (Figure 2.15) were used in Diyari through a process of morphosyntactic calquing from German.

auxiliary	homophonous root	function	non-finite inflection	auxiliary inflection
<i>wanthi-</i>	‘to search’	distant past	participial	present
<i>wapa-</i>	‘to go’	habitual	participial	present
		intermediate past	participial	past
<i>parra-</i>	‘to lie’	recent past	participial	past
<i>wirri-</i>	‘to enter’	yesterday past	future	present
<i>wara-</i>	‘to throw’	immediate past	participial	present
<i>ngana-</i>	‘to be’	future	future	present

Figure 2.15: Auxiliary verbs in Diyari (Austin 2013: 92)

¹¹ *können, müssen, wollen, mögen, dürfen* and *sollen*.

However, Kneebone fails to notice that, while this auxiliary system is a “fairly unusual feature for an Australian language ...[that] seems to have developed [from main verbs (Austin 2013: 13)] fairly recently” (Austin 2013: 70), the auxiliary verbal structure is an areal/genetic feature that predates any European contact in the Lake Eyre Basin. Indeed, some Diyari auxiliary verbs were recorded by S. Gason, an English-speaking policeman at Lake Hope, as early as 1874 (Austin 2013: 39), when one would expect Kneebone’s proposed process of calquing from German at the mission to be still underway. Similar auxiliary sets also occur in Ngamini (Austin pers. comm 11/08/2013), for which no calquing from German can be invoked. It is unlikely that the system of auxiliaries has diffused from Diyari to Ngamini subsequent to the development that Kneebone suggests.

2.6 Historiography of the term “ergative”

Early worldwide usages of the term “ergative” to describe nominals marked as agents of transitive clauses in Australian languages occur in the pre-academic era of Australian language description. This fact has until recently remained unnoticed in historiographies of the term, as have the earliest worldwide usage of the term “ergative” to describe a peripheral case in Taplin’s grammar of Ngarrindjeri (1870; §7.3.1), and the earliest oppositional usages of the terms “ergative” and “absolutive” in Planert’s grammars of Arrernte (1907a) and Diyari (1908; §2.6.1).

Singular.			
Absolutiv:	atua	Allativ:	atuăna, atuauna
Ergativ:	atuăla	Ablativ:	atuanga
Genitiv:	atuăka	Vokativ:	atuai
Dual.		Plural.	
	atua tăra		atuirbera
	atua tăraka		atuirberaka
	atua tărana		usw.
	usw.		

Figure 2.16: Planert’s case paradigm showing the terms “absolutive” and “ergative” (Planert 1907a: 555)

The historiography of the term “ergative” has altered considerably over the last decades. Seely (1977: 191) followed Regamey (1954: 363) in assuming that the first usage of the term “ergative” was made by the German linguist and ethnographer Adolf Dirr (1867–1951), who in 1912 described the marking of the agent of

transitive clauses in Caucasian languages. Dixon (1994: 3) similarly suggests that Dirr’s 1912 usage was the earliest. Manaster-Ramer (1994: 211) showed that usages of the term “ergative” antedate Dirr’s usage and marks the first usage of the term at Ray and Haddon’s (1893; Ray & Haddon 1897) grammatical descriptions of languages of the Torres Straits – the Papuan languages Miriam (Meryam Mir) and Daudai (Kawai) and the PN language Saibai (WTS). Note that these works were published at the time when Ray had been engaged by Haddon, who was then a Cambridge biologist, and before Ray had visited the area (§10.2).

As Manaster-Ramer (1994: 212) pointed out, Ray and Haddon did not apply the term to the syntactic case to which it currently refers but rather they use the term to describe a peripheral case function. The functions of the Western Torres Straits (henceforth WTS) case, initially called “ergative” by Ray (Ray & Haddon 1897: 130–8) but which he later named “locative of motion” (1907: 19) are translated using the prepositions ‘with, by alongside’ and using the verb ‘to have’. The case is said to “express the doing of a thing by means of, or at the same time with, another ... but the exact meaning seems difficult to define” (1907: 138). The described case suffix *-ay* marks the comitative case (Alpher et al. 2008: 19) which is common to the large case inventories of PN languages (Dixon 1976: 9). Manaster-Ramer (1994: 213) proposed that the source etymology informing Ray’s coinage of the case label “ergative” to name this case was taken from “the Latin preposition *ergā*, rendered in English as ‘right against, next to’.”

In an article titled “Ergative Historiography Revisited” (2014), Lindner’s thorough investigation of the historical records of PN grammatical description showed that usages of “ergative” as a descriptor of case antedate Ray’s 1893 description. The term “ergative” as a descriptor of peripheral case originates in Taplin’s first published grammar of the South Australian language Ngarrindjeri (1872) and in MS (1870; Lindner 2014: 188–189). It is probable that Ray, who is known to have collated large collections of linguistic data prior to collaborating with Haddon (Shnukal 1998: 183) borrowed the terminology from Taplin (1872; 1874b; 1879a), or from Thomas (1878) (§7.2).

Contrary to Lindner (2014: 189), however, the forms that Taplin labelled “ergative” (Figure 7.13) were not given as the case called “For” by Meyer (Figure 7.11). Nor can the preposition “for” be said to “correspond closely with Meyer’s English glosses” (Lindner 2014: 190). Taplin’s perception of the functions of the Ngarrinyeri case suffix to which he assigns the term “ergative” are now irretrievable, the situation being confounded by now non-traceable dialectic differences in recorded Ngarrindjeri varieties (see Stockigt 2015: 364–368).

After Ray’s 1897 usage, the next known usage of “ergative” is soon made by Schmidt (1902: 88) in a description of the Papuan languages Kai and Miriam

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(Meryam Mir) and again of the PN language Saibai (WTS). Schmidt's source for Meryam Mir and for WTS is Ray (Manaster-Ramer 1994: 211). In this work Schmidt engages the term "Casus ergativus" to name the syntactic case marking the agent of a transitive verb designated by the term today. He does so, however, falteringly, choosing also the terms "ablative" and "transitive nominative" to name the case in other languages in the same essay. Schmidt's first tentative usage of the term "ergative" to name the ergative case in languages including the PN language Saibai (WTS; 1902) marks the genesis of the term "ergative" with modern reference.

Manaster-Ramer has suggested that Ray's usage of the term "ergative" to describe a syntactic case occurred through a misinterpretation by Schmidt of Ray's 1893 usage. Remembering the term, but forgetting its original reference, Schmidt is said to have reused the term "ergative" utilising an etymology that, instead of being based in Latin, is based on the Greek root *erg* 'work' (verbal), thus applying the term to the subject of a transitive verb (Manaster-Ramer 1994: 213). Without an alternative explanation as to how the term "ergative" evolved to have such different reference within such a short space of time when describing ergative languages spoken in the same region, Manaster-Ramer's supposition is viable. It is, however, also possible that Schmidt re-etymologised the term "ergative" deliberately rather than accidentally.

The next usage of the term "ergative" to name the ergative case in an Australian language occurs in Planert's Arrernte grammar (1907a) published in Berlin (§9.2.3.2). As an associate of F. von Luschan (1854–1924), then the Director of the Africa and Oceania Department at the Königliches Museum für Völkerkunde, Planert's grammar was written close to the intellectual origin of Schmidt's coinage of the term with contemporary reference (Schmidt 1902). The term was subsequently also used by C. Strehlow's grammar of the same language (1908), written in reponse to Planert's publication, and also published in German. The following year (1908), Planert published a grammar of Diyari (§8.5.3). Planert's (1907a) work also marks the earliest usage in the world of "ergative" in opposition to the "absolutive" with modern reference (§2.6.1).

During the following half-century the use of "ergative" to describe the ergative case in PN languages is maintained in European publications by Schmidt (1919b), Gatti (1930) and by Holmer (1963). Note that Gatti, who names the case "nominativo agente" in case paradigms but describes the forms as "ergativo", does not refer to the work of Planert (1908). Gatti's well-referenced discussion of Australian languages and particular investigation of Diyari probably inherits the use of the term from Alfredo Trombetti (1866–1929), professor of linguistics at the University of Bologna, who had first used the term in 1903 (Manaster-Ramer 1994: 211).

Nils Holmer reintroduced “ergative” into the Australian literature, at first tentatively (1963; 1966), but later (1971: 7) firmly: “Other names for this typically Aboriginal case are agentive [...] agent case, active and operative”. It is Dixon (1972: 59–60), however, who established the term as the accepted descriptor of the case in which stands the agent of a transitive verb, at least for classes of nominals for which this function is formally differentiated from the marking of the subject of an intransitive verb. He recalled having first heard the term “ergative” from Michael Halliday after returning from field work in Queensland to University College London in 1964 (Dixon 1983: 127).

2.6.1 Planert’s usage of the terms “ergative” and “absolutive” (1907a, 1908)

In 1907, Wilhelm Planert (1882–post 1940), a student of linguistics associated with the Königliches Museum für Völkerkunde (Royal Museum for Ethnology) in Berlin, published a grammar of Arrernte (1907a; §9.2.3.2) in the well-regarded German ethnographic journal *Die Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*. This Arrernte grammar appeared as “Australische Forschungen I. Aranda-Grammatik” and was followed in 1908 by a grammar of Diyari which appeared as “Australische Forschungen II. Dieri-Grammatik” (§8.4.3). Planert’s PN grammars of Arrernte (1907a) and of Diyari (1908) are anomalous to the corpus in being synchronic descriptions published outside the country.

Planert had previously studied Khoisan languages spoken in German South West Africa (present day Namibia) publishing *Über die Sprache der Hottentotten und Buschmänner* (Planert 1905) and *Handbuch der Nama-sprache in Deutsch-Südwestafrika* (Planert 1905). His description of languages spoken in the German colonies continued with a study of Samoan, *Einige Bemerkungen zum Studium des Samoanischen* (Planert 1906), and the publication of his Ph.D. dissertation, *Die Syntaktischen Verhältnisse des Suaheli* (1907b), which appeared in the same year as his first Australian grammar. Given this academic background, it is not surprising that Austin (2013: 245) assesses Planert’s 1908 Diyari grammar as showing “a much keener awareness of linguistics and an insight into the workings of the Diyari language [than the missionaries’ grammars]”. Written within the heart of German philological discourse, these works sit within a different theoretical framework from grammars of PN languages written in Australia.

Planert’s descriptions of case in Arrernte (1907a: 555) and in Diyari (1908: 689) present very early usages of the terms “ergative” and “absolutive” with modern reference, and are significant within the global history of ergativity in giving the earliest paired oppositional use of the terms “ergative” and “absolutive”.

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Planert's grammar of Arrernte (1907a: 555) set up the same small six case forms as the Lutheran commencing with Kempe (1891; Figure 9.4), but altered the naming of the cases and, importantly, the conception of syntactic case. Planert presented the ergatively aligned nouns (A/so) as standing in two cases, which he named "ergative" and "absolutive" (Figure 2.17; §2.6.1), stating: "the absolutive can represent our nominative and accusative cases and the ergative refers to the actor" (1907a: 555).¹² This section was presumably among those that Planert (1907a: 551) described as having been "re-worked ... according to linguistic principles".¹³

Singular.	
Absolutiv: atua	Allativ: atuăna, atuauna
Ergativ: atuăla	Ablativ: atuanga
Genitiv: atuăka	Vokativ: atuai
Dual.	Plural.
atua tăra	atuirbera
atua tăraka	atuirberaka
atua tărana	usw.
usw.	

Figure 2.17: Planert's Arrernte case paradigm showing the terms "absolutive" and "ergative" (Planert 1907a: 555)

The term "absolute" had been used with grammatical reference from the sixteenth century to refer to the form of a word that is "not inflected to indicate relation to other words in a sentence" (OED 1933 vol. I: 37). The first application of the term "absolutive" to a case realised by nominals that remain unmarked in the role of subject and object was made by William Thalbitzer (1904: 242–243) in a description of Kalaallisut (West Greenlandic; Lindner 2013: 198; Lindner 2015: 231, 226). In this work, Thalbitzer named the ergative case "relative".

In the Diyari work (1908: 689), Planert presented a four-case analysis of a split syntactic case system (Dixon 2002a: 132). He employed the terms "ergative", "absolutive", "accusative" and "nominative" with identical reference to that used in the most complete modern description of the language (Austin 2013: 52). Planert's paradigm of Diyari interrogatives, which shows ergative alignment (A/so) lists no accusative case but gave an ergative and an absolutive (Figure 2.18).

^{12a} [...] der Absolutiv unseren Nominativ und Akkusativ vertreten kann, der Ergativ den Täter bezeichnet" (Planert 1907a: 555).

^{13a} nach sprachwissenschaftlichen Prinzipien ausgearbeitet" (Planert 1907a: 551).

2.6 Historiography of the term “ergative”

Interrogativa.	
1. Einfache Formen.	
Abs. worana wer	mina was
Gen. wani, wahini	minaia
Dat. worangu	minani
Erg. warle	minali
2. Zusammengesetzte Formen.	
Nom. worana-nau welcher	
Gen. wani-nunkani	
Dat. worangu-nunkangu	
Acc. worana-nina	
Erg. warle-nulu	

Figure 2.18: Planert’s case paradigm of Diyari interrogatives (Planert 1908: 689)

Because non-singular first and second-person Diyari pronouns show accusative alignment (AS/O) and other pronouns show tripartite marking (A/S/O), pronominal paradigms necessarily listed all three syntactic cases (Planert 1908: 689; Austin 2013: 52, Figure 2.19).

Dieri-Grammatik.

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Pronomen personale.

Pronomina.

I. Person.

Dual

Plur.

Sing.	Inklusiv	Exklusiv	Inklusiv	Exklusiv
Nom. nga-ni	ngaldra	ngali	ngaiana	ngaiani
Gen. nga-ka-ni	ngaldra-ni	ngali-ni	ngaiana-ni	ngaiani-ni
Dat. nga-ka-ngu	ngaldra-ngu	ngali-ngu	ngaiana-ngu	ngaiani-ngu
Acc. nga-na	ngaldra-na	ngali-na	ngaiana-na	ngaiani-na
Erg. nga-to	—	—	—	—

II. Person.

Dual

Plur.

Sing.	Dual	Plur.
Nom. jid-ni	judla	jura
Gen. jin-ka-ni	judla-ni	jura-ni
Dat. jin-ka-ngu	judla-ngu	jura-ngu
Acc. jid-na, jid-na-na	judla-na	jura-na
Erg. jun-dru	—	—

III. Person.

Sing.

Dual

Plur.

masc.	fem.	Dual	Plur.
Nom. nan	na-ni	padla	tana
Gen. nan-ka-ni	nan-ka-ni	padla-ni	tana-ni
Dat. nan-ka-ngu	nan-ka-ngu	padla-ngu	tana-ngu
Acc. ni-na*)	na-na	padla-na	tana-na
Erg. na-lu	nan-dru	padla-li	tana-li

Figure 2.19: Planert’s case paradigm of Diyari personal pronouns (Planert 1908: 689)

Under this four-case analysis, nominals showing accusative alignment (AS/O), like the non-singular first and second-person pronouns, are shown standing in either the nominative or the accusative case, and the term nominative is used

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in its traditional sense. Nominals showing tripartite marking, like the first and second-person singular, and third-person pronouns, are shown standing in either nominative, accusative or ergative cases. The subsequent dual reference of the term “nominative” – used to refer only to subject where the pronoun shows tripartite marking, but referring to both agent and subject where the pronoun shows accusative alignment – is a consequence of Planert’s four-case dichotomous scheme.¹⁴

An absolutive case had earlier been implied in the description of Australian languages by the Austrian philologist F. Müller (1882: 19) when rearranging Threlkeld’s Awabakal case paradigms (1834: 13–16; Figure 3.8). The only suggestion of an absolutive case in the Australian literature is given by Teichelmann and Moorhouse in 1841 in a rearranged Kurna paradigm (§5.4.1).

Planert’s theoretical and terminological innovations, made in a German academic journal before the First World War, have not been noticed by modern linguistic theorists or historians. Dixon (1972: 9), who reached the same four-case analysis independently when describing Dyirbal more than sixty years after Planert, was unaware of Planert’s analysis, as was Austin (2013) when reaching the same analysis of Diyari. M. Silverstein (1976: 112) who reintroduced the term “absolutive” into grammatical descriptions of PN languages, does not refer to Planert’s earlier usage of the term.

¹⁴See Wilkins (1989: 163–166) for a discussion of other problems arising from a four-case analysis of syntactic case in Arrernte.

3 Lancelot Threlkeld's earliest analyses of an Australian language

This chapter discusses L. E. Threlkeld's (1788–1859) grammar of Awabakal (1834), which gave the earliest account of both nominal and verbal morphology in an Australian language. After providing some historical context in which this inaugural Australian grammar was written, Threlkeld's presentation of the case system and his account of ergativity are investigated in detail, thus establishing a baseline to which later corpus grammars can be compared. Section 3.3.6 unravels Threlkeld's description of bound pronouns and his description of compound pronouns, which were termed by the author "the conjoined dual case", and which have both resulted in different contemporary reclamations of the systems that Threlkeld described.

3.1 Historical overview

Threlkeld, the son of a London brush-maker, pursued a range of diverse occupations – tradesman, circus performer, actor and businessman – before commencing missionary training (Gunson 2016b). He trained at Gosport, a Congregationalist Missionary Seminary in Hampshire, which had been established by Rev. D. Bogue (1750–1925), founding member of the London Missionary Society (Champion 1939: 291).

Newton (1987: 165) details Threlkeld's grammatical influences. He names R. Lowth (1710–1787) – whose influential and early pedagogical grammar of English (Lowth 1762) first claimed that "preposition stranding" was improper in English – the lexicographer S. Johnson (1709–1784), and Threlkeld's tutor at the Gosport seminary, M. Wilks, "who taught him English grammar and provided a foundation for the study of other grammars".

Although seemingly lacking the rigorous classical training of some of the later missionary-grammarians, Threlkeld demonstrated a broad linguistic knowledge, describing (1834: x) Awabakal as having "much of the Hebrew form in the conjugation, the dual of the Greek and the deponent of Latin". He observed (1834: vi) that Australian "tongues" were similar to Polynesian languages in marking dual

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number but were “more definite in the use of tenses”. In his reminiscences he recalled that the Australian language presented greater challenges than Polynesian languages, noting particularly the “conjoined dual case” in Awabakal pronouns (§3.4.8.2), and the number of declensions and conjugations of the verb (Threlkeld 1974: 42).

Threlkeld arrived in Sydney in 1824 on what was supposed to be a return voyage to England. By 1826, nearly four decades after the colonisation of New South Wales, he had established the colony’s first mission, on the eastern side of Lake Macquarie, north of Sydney, at a site called Reid’s Mistake or Bahtabah. After a dispute over mission expenditure in 1828, Threlkeld was dismissed by the London Mission Society, but pursued his linguistic studies while working as protector and court interpreter in collaboration with his Aboriginal friend and main linguistic informant Biraban (§1.1.3). Mission work resumed the following year after land was granted on the western side of the lake at a site named “Ebenezer” (Gunson 2016b).¹

Prior to making successive descriptions of Awabakal, Threlkeld had spent six years at London Mission Society missions in Polynesia. Threlkeld (1834: vi) was explicit about his choice to use the orthography which he was familiar with from working in Polynesia (Figure 3.1).

2. There appears to be a certain propriety in adopting universally, if possible, the same character to express the same sounds used in countries which are adjacent; as, Polynesia and Australia, even though the language be not akin. Especially when those characters have been adopted upon mature consideration, and confirmed by actual experience in the Georgian and Society Islands, the Sandwich Islands, the Fejee Islands, the Friendly Islands, New Zealand, and numerous other places in these Seas.

Figure 3.1: Threlkeld’s deliberation about the orthographic system (1834: vi)

It is highly likely that Threlkeld had read the grammar of Tahitian written by fellow London Mission Society missionary J. Davies (1823), whose work “had the greatest prestige and influence of older Polynesian grammars and was the one to form the framework for most of the following missionary grammars” (Hovdhauge 1993: 109). It is also likely that Threlkeld, and early missionaries at Wellington Valley, had read, or were exposed to W. P Crook’s 1799 grammar and dictionary

¹Missions of the same name, “Ebenezer”, were later established, one by the Lutheran missionary Teichelmann close to Adelaide in 1843, and another by the Moravian missionaries Hagenauer and Spieseke in western Victoria in 1858.

of the languages of the Marquesas (§4.1). Threlkeld was thus perhaps better prepared for an encounter with languages bearing little resemblance to SAE than were most early grammarians in Australia.

Threlkeld produced three works describing Awabakal morpho-syntactic structure – Threlkeld (1827; §3.2), Threlkeld (1834; §3.4), and Threlkeld (1850) – of which the 1834 work is the most comprehensive, and is treated in detail here. While the 1850 publication, *A key to the structure of an Australian language*, contains valuable “illustrative sentences”, it does not present additional analysis of the language, other than elaborating on the phono-semantic theory, which was outlined in 1827 (§3.3). Written when Threlkeld (1850: 3) described the language as “all but *extinct*”, there is something wistful about the 1850 publications, which includes (ibid.: 5–7) “reminiscences of Birabān”.

In 1836 Threlkeld produced *An Australian spelling book in the language as spoken by the Aborigines....* It is the first of four nineteenth-century primers printed in an Aboriginal language in order that an Aboriginal Christian congregation would be literate and able to access Christian teachings in their first language. The others are Ridley’s Gamilaraay primer (1856a), Homann & Koch’s Diyari primer (1870), and Kempe’s primer in Arrernte (1880). A Wiradjuri primer, which remained unpublished, was also drafted at Wellington Valley by missionary Watson in 1835 (Bridges 1978: 413). The tradition of vernacular literacy at missions in New South Wales, instigated by the Presbyterian missionaries Threlkeld and Ridley, precedes the earliest publication of similar materials by Lutherans in South Australia (§8.3.2, §9.1).

In 1873 Rev. W. Ridley (1873: 275) wrote that Threlkeld’s grammars, which were printed in a modest print-run (Newton 1987: 169) were “now not to be purchased”. Like other PN grammars considered in the corpus, particularly Günther (1840) and Symmons (1841), Threlkeld’s linguistic works were rescued from obscurity through republication in Symmons (1892; §1.1.4). Fraser presented a slightly edited version of Threlkeld’s 1834 work and a heavily edited and abbreviated version of the 1850 work. Threlkeld’s translations of Christian texts (see Newton 1987: 170) were also first published in Symmons (1892).

3.2 Threlkeld 1827

Threlkeld’s earliest work, *Specimens of a dialect of the Aborigines of New South Wales, Being the First Attempt to Form Their Speech Into a Written Language* (Threlkeld 1827), was published within two years of the establishment of the mission at Bahtabah. Although Threlkeld stated in his introduction that “no speculative

arrangement of grammar [wa]s attempted" (Threlkeld 1827: iii), the work, which does not contain a vocabulary, is grammatical in nature. This thirty-page publication shows progress towards the grammatical analysis of Awabakal (Threlkeld 1834).

The 1827 publication includes a table of nominative pronouns in singular, plural and then dual number (Threlkeld 1827: 4–8), providing up to thirteen example clauses for each. Following are hundreds of simple clauses selected "from upwards of fifteen hundred Sentences" (ibid.: iii), grouped either as "interrogative sentences" or "imperative sentences", and thoughtfully arranged in order to illustrate specific constructions. Examine, for instance, clauses showing the function of the interrogative *minyaring* 'what?' inflected with *-pirang*, marking ablative case 'from what?', with *-tin* marking causal case 'on what account?', and with *-ku* marking instrumental case 'with what?' (Lissarrague 2006: 51; Figure 3.2). They are given with a free and an interlinear-style translation, described by Threlkeld as "word for word, without regard to English arrangement or grammar, in order to shew the idiom of the aboriginal tongue" (Lissarrague 2006: iii).

1	Minnahring berung umah unnoah?	What is that made of?
	What is from made that?	(i. e. from, out of.)
2	Koli berung; Brass berung tah unne.	Of wood; it is of brass—
	Wood from; Brass from, It is this.	this.
3	Minnahring berung kah. (an Idiom.) ✓	for, what can it be
	What is from being.	made of?
4	Minnahring tin be kah-kah-lah buk-kah?	On what account wast
	What is from thou wast furious.?	thou so furious?
5	Ngukung tin bahng kahkahlah bukkah.	On account of Wife
	Wife from I was furious.	I was furious.
6	Minnahring tin ngahtohng. (an Idiom.) ✗	From no cause.
	What is from no one.	
7	Minnahring ko be noun turah?	What didst thou
	What is for thou her pierced?	pierce her with?
8	Kotah ro, Wahre ko, Bibi to.	With a Waddy; Spear
	Waddy with, Spear for, Axe has.	The Axe has.
		From what cause didst

Figure 3.2: Threlkeld's presentation of clauses illustrating case marking (1827: 10; Awabakal)

Threlkeld's relationship with Biraban was formed during this earliest phase of mission at Bahtabah, as shown by the inclusion of his informant's name in the 1827 publication, at this stage spelled "Berehbahn" (Figure 3.3)

The work concludes with a two-page discussion of verbal morphology (ibid.: 26–27). Here Threlkeld presented nineteen morphemes, called "signs", which he showed unattached, and in isolation from the verb stem (§2.4.2). Each is then illustrated in a number of clauses (Figure 3.4).

11	Won nayn kanoah ye terrah? Where the way be he named?	Which way is he named? (or what is &c.)
12	Berahbahn ye-terrah-buhl Eagle Hawk named (not known)	Eagle Hawk is named.
13	Threlkeld ye-terrah-buhl bahng (———) named (———) I	I am named Threlkeld.

Figure 3.3: Threlkeld's reference to "Berahbahn" (1827: 13; Awabakal)

SPECIMENS OF THE DIFFERENT TENSES OF THE VERB.	
Ahn.	The Sign of the present tense, as We-ahn bahng. I speak. Mahn-tahn-be thou takest. Kow-wol to be great or much, or large. Kow-wol-lahn unnouh, that is large. Kur-kur, Cold. Kur-kur-rahn-bahng. I am cold. (Tah Kur rah. It is cold, alias Tuggerer.) The consonants are doubled, in order to preserve their full sound, and to divide the syllables according to the pronunciation thus, forming rahn.
Eyn.	Forms the present participle thus, wah-leyn. Moving. Tu-rah-leyn, Spearing. Wah-leyn bahng Nar-rah-bo, kah ko, I am going to sleep. Literally; I am moving, for to be, to sleep. Buhn keyn nouh. He being to be beat.
Ah.	The sign of the past tense, as, Weah bohn bahng. I told him. Nah-kah-lah bahng. I saw, or did see, rather. Buhn-kah-lah nouh. He smote, or struck, or fought.
An.	The sign of the perfect, as Tah-ka-an bahng. I have eaten. Tuh-ka-an wahl, bahng. I have just eaten. Wi-tah wah-la-an ngann. We have departed. Tah-nan wah-la-an wahl Bah-rur. They have just arrived.
Nun.	Forms the future; as, Buhn-nun bohn bahng, I will beat him. Kuhn ba bo wital bahng wah-nun. I shall depart to-morrow. Wital wahl bahng wah-nun. I am just about to depart. Wital wahl bahng pah-lah wah nun. I must depart. (about to.)

Figure 3.4: Threlkeld's presentation of tense inflections as "signs" (1827: 26; Awabakal)

3.3 Phono-semantic theory

Threlkeld delineated word-internal constituents using hyphens. His perception of the word-internal units differs from the few later corpus grammarians who also used hyphens. When introducing the initial section of his 1834 grammar dealing with phonology and orthography, Threlkeld (1834: 1) explained that "Words are composed of Syllables, and Syllables of Letters". Like later grammarians, Threlkeld differentiates between a sound and an arbitrarily chosen symbol used to represent that sound, and attempted to employ a standardised orthography. In 1827 Threlkeld quotes Johnson:

The Orthography of a new Language formed by a synod of Grammarians upon the principles of Science would be to proportion the number of letters

3 *Lancelot Threlkeld's earliest analyses of an Australian language*

to that of sounds, that every sound may have its own character, and every character a single sound. (Threlkeld 1827: 1)

Here Threlkeld (1827: 1) also explained that “Dr Lowth’s rule hath been attended to in syllabication, namely ‘divide the syllables in spelling as they are naturally divided in the right pronunciation’”. Words were divided into syllables so that “syllabication shall be the picture of actual pronunciation”.

While Threlkeld’s primary motivation for dividing words into syllables using hyphens may have been to guide pronunciation, he also perceived a one-to-one correspondence between syllables and minimal units of meaning. Threlkeld’s interlinear-style glosses tend to represent syllables delineated with hyphens as meaningful sub-word units. In 1827 discrete function tends to be overly assigned to individual syllables through an interlinear-style translation (1 & 2). The following phrase, for example, was given in answer to the question: What is fish for?

- (1) Tah-ke-le-ko
eat-be-to-for
‘for to be eat’
(Threlkeld 1827: 11)
Tjaki-li-ku
eat-NMSR-PURP
‘for eating’
- (2) Won-tah ko lahng bulah
Whither for do ye two
‘Whither are ye two going?’
(Threlkeld 1827: 8)
wantja-kulang pula
INTER-ALL 2DL.NOM

Bi-syllabic mono-morphemic sub-word units tend not to be glossed in Threlkeld’s interlinear-style translations.

Large passages from the 1850 publication (Threlkeld 1850: 19–30, 38–43) pursue a spurious phono-semantic theory, which Threlkeld had introduced in 1827 (Threlkeld 1827: 1–3) in which “every sound forms a root” (1850: 90). Threlkeld set out to “demonstrate the correctness of the supposition” that:

every character which represents those sounds, become likewise a visible root, so that every letter which forms the Alphabet of the Language, is in

reality a root, conveying an abstract idea of certain governing powers which are essential. (Threlkeld 1850: 9)

It is difficult to reconcile the overall strength of Threlkeld's analysis with this aspect of his work, and these sections were omitted in Fraser's 1892 republication of Threlkeld (1850). The passages have been politely disregarded by modern linguists, who have used Threlkeld's analyses to reconstruct the structure of the language (Oppliger 1984: 46; Lissarrague 2006).

The use of hyphens to mark syllables and word internal sub-units was not widely adopted by later grammarians. Those who segregated words into hyphenated sections did so either solely as a pronunciation guide (e.g., Symmons 1841) or in recognition of meaningful word-internal units that were not necessarily monosyllabic and which approach a modern analysis of morpheme boundaries (e.g., Meyer 1843) or for both reasons (Roth 1897).

3.4 Threlkeld (1834)

Threlkeld's major grammatical study was published in 1834. Its title, *Australian Grammar Comprehending the Principles and Natural Rules of the Language ...*, is telling of the author's perception of his achievement in not constraining the description within the existing classical paradigm. He later reiterated that the work was "formed on the natural principles of the language, and not constrained to accord with any known grammar of the dead or living languages. The peculiarities of its structure being such, as to totally prevent the adaptation of any one as a model" (Threlkeld 1834: x).

This major grammatical work was a completed MS by 1832, when Archdeacon Broughton obtained a grant to have it and Threlkeld's translation of the Gospel of St Luke published (Bridges 1978: 277). Only the grammar was published. The 1834 grammar is arranged very differently from Threlkeld's earliest grammatical analysis (Threlkeld 1827). It is worth contemplating that Threlkeld's 1834 analysis may have been guided by the Basle-trained Lutheran minister and Church Missionary Society missionary J. S. C. Handt, who was waylaid in Sydney between June 1831 and August 1832, before establishing the Wellington Valley Mission (§4.1). But in the absence of a shred of evidence beyond inference (§4.1), the grammar is here assumed to be Threlkeld's own. The only reference Threlkeld makes to previous Australian linguistic material is to the wordlist by Isaac Scott Nind (1797–1868), medical surgeon at the King George Sound military garrison in Western Australia (Nind 1831).

Threlkeld's 1834 analysis has been highly regarded in overviews of early Australian linguistic description (Ray 1925: 2; Capell 1970: 664; Wurm 1972: 14; Newton 1987: 165). Threlkeld's descriptive accomplishment prompted Capell (1970: 264) to describe Threlkeld's work as having "reached an unusually high standard, especially in comparison with the deplorable work done in Australia for almost the next hundred years" (1970: 664). Carey (2004: 253) goes as far as to state that Threlkeld's work was "the *most accomplished* linguistic investigation of any of the 250 Aboriginal languages of Australia undertaken prior to the twentieth century" (emphasis added). Without systematic comparative reading of the sources, the statement remains impressionistic. This study shows that inaugural investigations of some other PN languages, for example, Meyer's 1843 description of Ngarrindjeri, Kempe's 1891 description of Arrernte, and Roth's 1897 description of Pitta-Pitta are of comparable length and descriptive insight, and are as richly exemplified. They are no less accomplished than Threlkeld's works.

In comparison with most later corpus works, Threlkeld's 1834 grammar (Chapter 1, part I: 1834: 1–78) is relatively long and analytically comprehensive. The grammar is followed by a twenty-five page Awabakal to English vocabulary arranged alphabetically under subheadings, some of which are semantic domains and others parts of speech (Chapter 1, Part II: 1834: 79–104). The final section of the publication, headed "Illustrations" (Chapter 2: 105–131) presents a vast array of data grouped in order to illustrate grammatical principles. This tripartite arrangement of a grammar, a vocabulary and a concluding section providing samples of text occurs frequently within the corpus (Günther 1838; Teichelmann & Schürmann 1840; Müller 1882; Roth 1901; Planert 1907a).

3.4.1 Threlkeld's influence on later PN grammarians

Threlkeld was himself aware that his inaugural grammar of an Australian language would aid later grammarians in Australia. In Threlkeld (1834: vii), he stated: "[W]hen one dialect becomes known, it will assist materially in obtaining a speedier knowledge of any other that may be attempted, than had no such assistance been rendered". In a letter to C. Schürmann, who had sent him a copy of the vocabulary he collected in Adelaide, Threlkeld (1842) wrote:

It is vexing that ...[my linguistic work] should now be of no use excepting as a help to others engaged in similar pursuits, indeed that was one of the principle objects I had in view when composing it.

Newton (1987: 169) describes how Threlkeld had a flair for self-promotion, and "selectively directed copies of his printed works into the private libraries of royalty and public institutions in Britain and elsewhere". The potential influence of

Threlkeld's work was enabled by this dissemination, and his works were well known to the earliest corpus grammarians. W. Watson and J. S. C. Handt, who established the Wellington Valley Mission in 1832 (Chapter 4) were given a preliminary copy of Threlkeld's 1827 work while they were still in London, before it had even reached publication (Bridges 1978: 410; Graetz 1988: 12). Similarly, the earliest South Australian missionaries, Teichelmann and Schürmann, were acquainted with Threlkeld's grammar *prior* to leaving Europe in 1838 (§5.2.2). C. Strehlow's German editor was conversant with Threlkeld's grammar in the early twentieth century (§9.3.4.1). Ridley (1856a: 293; §4.4), who states that he had recently spent time with Threlkeld, was acquainted with Threlkeld's grammar (1834). Ridley also pointed out that it was through his suggestion that Threlkeld undertook to send a copy of his 1850 publication to Dr. Hodgkin (1788–1866), to whom Ridley had sent his earliest produced description of Gamilaraay society and language (Ridley 1856b).

Threlkeld's grammar (1834) was referred to more frequently by other corpus grammarians than was any other early grammar of an Australian language.

Later corpus grammarians noted that they followed Threlkeld's "method of spelling words" (Günther 1840: 338; Teichelmann & Schürmann 1840: v; Ridley 1856b: 290), which they recognised as having also been used "by other missionaries experienced in the Polynesian languages" (Teichelmann & Schürmann 1840: v). Ridley (1866) later explained that his system of spelling was used "in accordance with the practice of those who have reduced to writing the Polynesian languages". Moorhouse (1846: vii) indirectly referred to Threlkeld's spelling system in the same way, stating that he used the "orthography ... recommended by the Royal Geographical Society, and in which most of the Polynesian and New Holland languages are recorded".

Threlkeld's grammatical analysis was also referred to by later grammarians. Moorhouse (1846: vi) referred to Threlkeld's grammar in a comparison of Australian pronominal forms. Ridley (1855b: 76), after confessing that he was uncertain about verbal morphology in Gamilaraay, presented Threlkeld's analysis of the "Newcastle and Lake Macquarie dialect" as illustration of the potential complexity of the Australian verb. Meyer (1843: 40–41) referred particularly to parts of "Mr Threlkeld's" analysis of the verb (1834: 68, 127; §6.1.2.8) and Threlkeld's examples given by Meyer were subsequently republished by H. C. von der Gabelentz (1861: 489).

A number of remarks made by Threlkeld in the introduction to his grammar (1834: v–xii) are echoed in later works, for example, the hindrance that Aboriginal peoples' "wandering habits" posed to missionary activity and language acquisition (Threlkeld 1834: xi; Meyer 1843: v; Kempe 1891: 1), the description of the

linguistic structure as “peculiar” (Threlkeld 1834: ix; Thomas 1878: lxii; Kempe 1891: 1), and the self-effacing remark qualifying the completeness of the work (Threlkeld 1834: ix; Meyer 1843: v). While it is possible that these reiterations were independently motivated by shared frustrations, they also suggest the degree of primacy held by the work.

In assessing the extent to which Threlkeld’s grammar was “essential in establishing a framework for the study of his fellow-missionary linguists” (Carey 2004: 269), later chapters of this study compare later descriptions of case with that given by Threlkeld. They consider Australian structures that were not described by Threlkeld, but which were accounted for in later grammars. The study notes instances in which Threlkeld’s descriptive innovations fell into disuse.

Threlkeld’s phono-semantic theory (§3.3) was not pursued by subsequent grammarians.

3.4.2 Subversion of the traditional framework

Threlkeld subverted the traditional descriptive framework in order to convey the “peculiarities” of Awabakal. Although content is given under the ten classical parts of speech and their subheadings, Threlkeld adapted the familiar structure for his own purpose. Rather than the heading “the article”, Threlkeld gave “of the *substitute* for the article” (emphasis added) (1834: 9), without in fact describing any “substitute” method of marking definiteness, but instead describing that a pronoun might be marked for the case and number of the noun.

Similarly, of comparatives and superlatives (1834: 17), Threlkeld wrote: “The following are the methods used in comparison, there being no particles to express equality”. Unlike later corpus grammarians (Schwarz & Poland 1900; Roth 1901; Strehlow 1944), Threlkeld did not intend to show that the comparative and superlative were morphologically marked. He gave a construction that he recognised as serving the same semantic purpose of the SAE inflectional marking of comparative degree.

- (3) Ke-kul ko-ri-en un-ni yan-ti un-noa ki-lo-a
 This is not so sweet as that
 (Threlkeld 1834: 17)
 kaykal-kuriyaN aNi yaNTi aNuwa-kiluwa
 sweet-PRIV-[NOM] this-[NOM] thus that-SEMB
 (Lissarrague 2006: 62)

3.4.3 Third-person “neuter” pronouns

By subverting the category of neuter pronouns in the traditional framework, Threlkeld accounted for the inflection for case of demonstrative pronouns in Awabakal. Awabakal is among the minority of PN languages that make a two-way gender distinction in third-person singular pronouns. Like other early grammarians describing PN languages that morphologically mark gender in third-person pronouns – Diyari, Pitta-Pitta, Minjangbal and Kalaw Lagaw Ya – Threlkeld easily described the distinction, since third-person pronouns in SAE language also mark gender. Threlkeld, however, also presented *neuter* third-person pronouns, although no PN languages make a three-way third-person pronominal gender distinction.

As with many PN languages, Awabakal has demonstratives that inflect for case (Dixon 2002a: 335). Threlkeld first presented a paradigm of “neuter” third-person pronouns showing case-inflected forms of *ngali* translated as ‘this, present’. Following is a paradigm showing *ngala* ‘that, at hand’, and a paradigm showing *ngalawa*, ‘that, beside’ (Figure 3.5). Note that Threlkeld’s “nominative 2” forms in each paradigm have a distinct deictic stem. The vacant schema of an anticipated third gender of pronouns provided a useful slot in which to describe three sets of Awabakal demonstratives (Lissarrague 2006: 34–36).

Unlike in many PN languages, however, Awabakal demonstratives act as noun modifiers, and do not function as the head of a NP. Lissarrague (2006: 34) explains that they “do not stand in the place of a singular third-person pronoun but may be used with that pronoun to emphasise who has done the action”.

Threlkeld perceived that his “neuter” 3sg pronouns were not functionally equivalent to SAE neuter pronouns, and he understood that their grammatical number was indicated by a suffixing pronoun: “These pronouns are singular and plural according to the pronoun attached to them” (1834: 22). He perceived (*ibid.*: 21) that the forms were “inexpressible in English in consequence of the locality of the person being included in the word used as a pronoun”, because he could not translate these bi-morphemic phrasal forms (4) with an equivalent English word-for-word translation. Instead, he gave the phrasal compounds a relative function, “this is he who”:

- (4) Ngali-noa
 This is he who
 (Threlkeld 1834: 22)
ngali-nyuwa
 this-[ERG]-3SG.ERG
 ‘this one’

FIRST.		
Nom.	1. Nga-li,	This is that, which, or who, present, &c.
	2. Un-ni,	Thus, present, or the subject spoken of as present.
Gen.	Nga-li ko ba,	This is that which, &c. belongs to; the accusative case always follows.
Dat.	1. Nga-li ko,	This is for, governed by the corresponding dative.
	2. Un-ti ko,	This, to this place.
Ac.	Un-ni,	This, governed by active verbs.
Abl.	1. Nga-li tin,	From this, on account of this, therefore as a cause.
	2. Un-ti bi-rung,	From this, hence.
SECOND.		
Nom.	1. Nga-la,	That, or the object spoken of, at hand.
	2. Un-no-a,	That is that, which, or who, at hand.
Gen.	Nga-la ko ba,	That is that which belongs to &c.
Dat.	1. Nga-la ko,	For that, &c.
	2. Un-ta ko,	To that, &c.
Acc.	Un-no-a,	That.
Abl.	1. Un-ta tin,	On account of that.
	2. Un-ta bi-rung,	From that.
THIRD.		
Nom.	1. Nga-lo-a,	That is that, which, or who, beside the person addressed.
	2. Un-to-a,	That, &c.
Gen.	Nga-lo-a ko ba,	That is that, which, or who belongs to, &c.
Dat.	1. Nga-lo-a ko,	For that, &c.
	2. Un-to-a ko,	To that, &c.
Acc.	Un-to-a,	That, &c.
Abl.	1. Nga-lo-a tin,	On account of that, &c.
	2. Un-to-a bi-rung,	From that, &c.

NOTE.—These pronouns are singular or plural according to the pronoun attached with them to denote such numbers: as,

Nga-li noa, This is he who. Nga-li ba-rur, These are they who.

Nga-li ta, It is this that. Nga-li ta-ro, These be they that.

Figure 3.5: Threlkeld's presentation of "neuter" third-person pronouns (1834: 22)

His accompanying explanation that the forms were “so compound in their significance as to include the demonstrative and the relative” (Threlkeld 1834: 21) results only from the mapping of the syntax of the English translation onto the described structure.

3.4.4 Case paradigms

The large case systems of Australian languages (Iggesen 2013) challenged early grammarians, who were equipped with a descriptive framework which accommodated the Latin case system with five morphologically marked cases (nominative, accusative, genitive, dative and ablative), or the Greek and German systems with four (nominative, accusative, genitive, dative).

Threlkeld (1834) extended the SAE case paradigm to include suffixes marking functions not carried by the SAE morphological case systems (Figure 3.6). He gave between nine and eleven cases paradigmatically, depending on the class of nominal. Awabakal is currently described as inflecting for ten cases (Lissarrague 2006: 26).

In contrast to Threlkeld’s enlarged paradigms, many other early grammarians maintained classically conservative five-case Latinate paradigms (§5.3.1).

III. DECLENSION.	
Ko-re, Man.	
N.	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 1 \text{ Ko-re, A Man.} \\ 2 \text{ Ko-re-ko, The Man is the agent spoken of who ———.} \end{array} \right.$
G.	Ko-re-ko-bo, Belonging to Man.
D.	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 1 \text{ Ko-re-ko, For a Man.} \\ 2 \text{ Ko-re-ká-ko, To a Man.} \end{array} \right.$
A.	Ko-re, Man.
V.	El-la Ko-re, O! Man.
Abl.	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 1 \text{ Ko-re-tin, From, as a cause, on account of the Man.} \\ 2 \text{ Ko-re-ká-bi-rung, From, procession, away from a Man.} \\ 3 \text{ Ko-re-ko-a, With, in company with Man.} \\ 4 \text{ Ko-re-ka-ba, At, remaining with the Man.} \end{array} \right.$

Figure 3.6: Threlkeld’s ten-case paradigm (1834: 14)

Threlkeld altered the basic schema of the traditional framework by employing a numbering system to name the additional cases. He gave two dative cases and four ablative cases.

According to Blake (2001: 157–162) the cases that are present in the case system of a language adhere to a hierarchy of inclusion (Figure 3.7). Cases sitting higher on the hierarchy, i.e., to the left, are included in the case system before cases to

nominative → accusative → genitive → dative → ablative

Figure 3.7: Hierarchy of inflectional cases (Blake 2001: 159)

the right. In small case systems the lowest ranked case on the hierarchy, i.e. the case furthest to the right, assumes oblique or “elsewhere” function.

In languages with a four-case system it is the dative case that assumes the “elsewhere” function. In the five-case system of Latin, the ablative has the broadest oblique function. Threlkeld and other early PN grammarians thus anticipated that heterogeneous case function might be marked by suffixes labelled dative and ablative. By providing numbered “ablative” and “dative” cases, Threlkeld recognised that some of the functions traditionally termed “dative” and “ablative” were marked by different case forms in Awabakal. Table 3.1 summarises the labels given to Awabakal case suffixes in different sources.

Threlkeld’s earliest nominal paradigms of a PN language are solid examples of a description responding to the data presented by the language rather than the demands of a prescribed descriptive framework.

Table 3.1: The labels given to Awabakal case suffixes in different sources. The suffix marking the “allative 2” case (Lissarrague 2006: 30) *-ko-láng -kulang*, expressing “motion towards” was described by Threlkeld only as a preposition. See Figure 3.2

Form as shown by Threlkeld	Reconstruction Lissarrague (2006: 26)	Threlkeld (1834: 14) Fraser (1892)	Müller (1882: 7)	Lissarrague (2006)
Ko-re “Man”	<i>Kuri-Ø</i>	nominative 1	<i>nominativ, subjektiv</i>	nominative
Ko-re-ko	<i>Kuri-ku</i>	nominative 2	<i>nominativ agentiv</i>	ergative/ instrumental
Ko-re-ko-ba	<i>Kuri -kupa</i>	genitive	<i>gentiv</i>	genitive
Ko-re-ko	<i>Kuri -ku</i>	dative 1	<i>dativ</i>	dative
Ko-re-ká-ko	<i>Kuri -kaku</i>	dative 2	<i>adessiv</i>	allative 1*
Ko-re	<i>Kuri-Ø</i>	accusative	<i>accusative</i>	accusative
Ko-re-tin	<i>Kuri -tin</i>	ablative 1	<i>ablativ</i>	causal
Ko-re-ká-bi-rung	<i>Kuri -kpirang</i>	ablative 2	<i>abessiv</i>	ablative
Ko-re-ko-a	<i>Kuri -kuwa</i>	ablative 3	<i>social</i>	perlative
Ko-re-ka-ba	<i>Kuri -kapa</i>	ablative 4	<i>commorativ</i>	locative

F. Müller (1882: 7–8) rearranged the order, and altered Threlkeld’s case terminology, when re-publishing Threlkeld’s paradigms (Figure 3.8). Much of the terminology he used: “social”, “adessiv”, “abessiv”, and “commorativ”, is not found in other early grammars of PN language written in Australia, suggesting the theoretical divide separating Australian practice and developing European linguistic thought.

	<i>makoro</i> „Fisch“.	<i>biraban</i> „Adler“ (<i>Siguanine</i>).
Nom. subj. }		<i>birabān</i>
Accusativ }	<i>makoro</i>	<i>birabān-nun</i>
Nom. agent.	<i>makorō</i>	<i>birabān-to</i>
Social	<i>makorō-a</i>	<i>birabān-ka-to-a</i>
Adessiv	<i>makorā-ko</i>	<i>birabān-kin-ko</i>
Abessiv	<i>makorā-birun</i>	<i>birabān-kā-birun</i>
Commorativ	<i>makorā-ba</i>	<i>biraban-kim-ba</i>
Dativ	<i>makoro-ko</i>	<i>birabān-nun</i>
Genitiv	<i>makoro-ko-ba</i>	<i>birabān-um-ba</i>
Ablativ	<i>makor-in.</i>	<i>birabān-kai.</i>

Figure 3.8: F. Müller’s Awabakal case paradigms (1882: 7)

3.4.5 The structure of pronouns in peripheral cases

Threlkeld declined singular, dual and plural Awabakal pronouns for each person in nine cases. He supplemented these paradigmatic presentations with syntagmatic statements. After providing a full paradigm for first-person inclusive dual pronouns (1834: 23; Figure 3.9) he wrote (*ibid.*: 23): “It will be perceived that the particles form the accusative into the other cases”. Here he described how the peripheral case forms, i.e., his numbered “ablative” cases, were built through attachment of case suffixes – termed “particles” – to the accusative pronominal stem. This type of statement is not characteristically found in the description of the fusional structures of SAE language (§2.4) and represents an innovative descriptive response to agglutinative morphology. Threlkeld’s explanation that it was the accusative pronominal stem to which inflections for peripheral cases attached was followed by Teichelmann & Schürmann (1840: 8), who also attempted to account for similar pronominal structures in Kaurna.

Threlkeld’s ability to conceive that suffixes marking peripheral case functions on pronouns were part of the morphological case system of Awabakal is sophisticated in comparison to some later grammarians. Capell (1937: 71), for example,

DUAL.

The Dual number is essential to this language, and so necessary, that conversation could not be continued without it. The Dual is common to all the Islands in the South Seas.

N.	Ba-li,	We two, Thou and I, both present.
G.	Nga-lín ba,	Belonging to us two, ours, thine, and mine.
D.	1. Nga-lín ko,	For us two, thee and me.
	2. Nga-lín kin ko,	To us two, thee and me, where we are.
A*.	Nga-lín,	Us two, thee and me.
Abl.	1. Nga-lín kai,	From, on account of us two, thee and me.
	2. Nga-lín kin bi-rung,	From, away from us two, thee and me.
	3. Nga-lín ka-to-a,	With, in company with us two, thee and me.
	4. Nga-lín kin ba,	At, with us two, thee and me.

He and I.

N.	Ba-li no-a,	We two, he and I.
G.	Nga-lín ba bón,	Belonging to us two, ours, his and mine.
Ac*.	Nga-lín bón,	Us two, him and me.

* NOTE.—It will be perceived that the particles form the accusative into the other cases. So also in the following.

She and I.

N.	Ba-li Bo-un-to-a,	We two, she and I.
G.	Nga-lín ba no-un,	Belonging to us two, ours, hers and mine.
Ac.	Nga-lín no-un,	Us two, her and me.

Figure 3.9: Threlkeld's presentation of 1dl pronouns (1834: 23; Awabakal)

followed most earlier accounts of pronouns in Arrernte (§9.3.3) in conceiving of suffixes marking functions that are not carried by the morphological case systems of SAE languages as “pre/post-positions”. He wrote: “In some languages they [postpositions] may themselves require a case other than the nominative, just as in the Classical languages”. He gave this example in order to “show how a post-position may be used with a special case” (Capell 1937: 71):

era, he;

ekura, of him;

ekura gata, with him

Capell’s **ekura gata** *ikwerekerte* is the 3SG pronoun in propriative case, with comitative function. In Arrernte the dative forms of the pronoun, here 3SGDAT *ikwere*, is the stem to which the peripheral case suffix *-kerte* attaches. Teichelmann & Schürmann’s (1840: 8) presentation of Kurna pronouns in comitative case as single words, for example, 3sgCOM **padlaityangga** better represents the forms than does Capell’s presentation of pronouns with similar function in Arrernte, made a century later.

3.4.6 Prepositions

Under the word-class heading “preposition”, Threlkeld (1834: 77) listed case suffixes carrying functions that are outside the Latin case inventory and not associated with the case systems of SAE languages *again* (Figure 3.10), despite already including *most* case suffixes in the nominal case paradigms (1834: 13–16; Figure 3.6). The only suffixes which are reclaimed as case markers, but which are not included paradigmatically by Threlkeld and are described by Threlkeld only as “prepositions” are the comitative form *-kaTuwa* and the suffix *-kulang* marking ‘motion towards’, currently termed allative 2 (Lissarrague 2006: 30).

Observe here briefly the note below the allomorphs of the ergative and instrumental cases (Figure 3.10), which according to Threlkeld are marked with the same forms on all nominal types, as occurs in many Australian languages (Dixon 2002a: 135). Threlkeld (1834: 77) wrote: “Expressed in English only when instrumental by the particles with, by, for”. The comment indicates that Threlkeld was aware that these forms marked two distinct case functions. When marking instrumental function, he translated the form with an English prepositional phrase, while noting that such a translation was not appropriate for a nominal with the same shape when functioning as the agent of a transitive verb. The comment shows considerable insight, and a penetrating description of ergative and

OF PREPOSITIONS.	
Ba,	Of, denoting possession when used to the personal pronouns.
Ko-ba,	Of, the same meaning used only to nouns.
Kul,	Part of: as, Un-ti kul, Part of this, of this, hereof.
Bi-rung,	Of, out of, from, opposed to ko-lang.
Ko-láng,	To, towards, tendency towards, opposed to Bi-rung, from.
Tin,	From, on account of, for because of, in consequence of.
Kai,	The same meaning, only this is used to personal pronouns, the above to nouns.
Ko, Lo, O, Ro, To,	Particles denoting agency or instrumentality.
NOTE.—Expressed in English only when instrumental by the particles, with, By, For.	
Ka-to-a,	With; to be in company with, and not instrumental.
Ka,	In, or, at such a period: as, Ta-rai ta, Yella-anna ka. In another moon.
Ka ba,	In, on, at such a place: as, Sydney ka ba, at Sydney.
Mur-ra-ring,	Into.
Mur-rung,	Within.
War-rai,	Outside, without opposed to within.

Figure 3.10: Threlkeld's listing of prepositions (1834: 77)

instrumental syncretism, in comparison with some later grammarians, notably Reuther (§8.5.2.3). The understanding was not shared by all later grammarians, notably H. A. E. Meyer (§6.1.2), who translated nominals in ergative case as “by X”.

The discussion of inflectional case morphology under the word-class “preposition” resulted from *functional* rather than *structural analogy* with SAE prepositions. PN case forms carrying functions that were carried by a prepositional phrase in SAE languages were commonly described as “prepositions” in the corpus grammars. That some PN case morphology was discussed under the heading “case” and other case morphology was discussed as “prepositions” reflected the particular way in which SAE case systems are in part synthetic and are in part analytic.

Like other subsequent grammarians (Hale 1846: 492, Roth 1901: 27, Hey 1903: 19, Taplin 1880: 8, Meyer 1843: 13–17), Threlkeld maintained the term “preposition”, as opposed to “postposition”, to describe PN suffixing case morphology. Table 3.2

Table 3.2: The reclaimed function of morphemes listed as prepositions by Threlkeld

Prepositions given by Threlkeld (1834: 77)	Translated by Threlkeld as:	Reclaimed form (Lissarrague 2006)	Function (Lissarrague 2006)
ba	of (pronouns)	<i>-pa</i>	Possessive suffix on pronouns
ko-ba	of (nouns)	<i>-kupa</i>	Possessive suffix on nouns
ku	part of	?	?
bi-rang	of, out of, from	<i>-pirang</i>	Ablative case suffix
ko-láng	to, towards	<i>-kulang</i>	Allative 2 “Motion towards”
tin	from, on account of, for, because of, in consequence of (nouns)	<i>-Tin</i>	Causative case suffix on nouns
kai	from, on account of, for, because of, in consequence of (pronouns)	<i>-kay</i>	Causative case suffix on pronouns
ko, lo, o, ro, to	particles, denoting agency or instrumentality	<i>-ku, -lu, -u, -ru, -Tu</i>	Ergative and Instrumental case suffix
ka-to-a	with	<i>-kaTuwa</i>	Comitative case suffix
ka	in (denotes time)	<i>-ka</i>	Locative case suffix (Variant)
ka ba	in, on, at	<i>-kapa</i>	Locative case suffix
mur-ra-ring	into	?	?
mur-rung	within	<i>marrang</i>	Locational word, “within”
war-rai	outside	?	?

shows the reclaimed function of the morphemes Threlkeld lists as “prepositions”. Of the fifteen forms Threlkeld presented as “prepositions”, ten mark case (Figure 3.3). Some forms are described as occurring only on pronouns and some only on nouns. The last three forms are translated as “into”, “within” and “outside”. The presentation of such “locational qualifiers” (Dixon 1980: 282) as “prepositions” is common to the corpus, occurring in descriptions of Kaurua (§5.3.2), Diyari (§8.5.6), and Arrernte (§9.3.3.1.) and is also observed in Mathews’ grammars (Koch 2008: 204).

Different corpus grammarians classified morphology included under the heading “pre/post-positions” in ways that are diagnostic of the descriptive school to which they belonged. Threlkeld’s treatment of case suffixes and locational qualifiers as “pre/post-positions” differs from practices later initiated by Teichelmann & Schürmann (1840; §5.3.2) and by Roth (§10.1.1).

3.4.7 Declension classes

Like many PN languages, Awabakal case suffixes undergo morphophonemic alternation. The recorded historical forms have been used by Lissarrague (2006: 26) in her reclamation efforts; see Table 3.3.

Awabakal case marking is sensitive to animacy distinctions for the syntactic cases marking A, S and O, as well as for some of the peripheral cases. Compare, for example, the different form of the genitive suffix on proper and common nouns in the following clauses. In Example 5 the interrogative pronoun referring to a person is marked with the possessive suffix *-ampa*. In the second clause the interrogative pronoun referring to a non-animate entity is differently marked for the same function, with *-kupa*.

- (5) Ngan-umba unni wonnai? Biriban-umba unni
 ngan-ampa aNi waNay Pirapan-ampa aNi
 INTER-POSS this-[NOM] child-[NOM] Pirapan-POSS this-[NOM]
 wonnai
 waNay
 child-[NOM]

Whose child is this? Biriban’s, this child.
 (Transcription Lissarrague 2006: 42)

- (6) Minnaring kopa unni?
 minyaring -kupa aNi
 INTER-POSS this-[NOM]

What does this belong to?
 (Transcription Lissarrague 2006: 51)

Table 3.3: Morphophonemic alternation to case suffixes in Awabakal
(from Lissarrague 2006: 26)

	Erg./Inst.	Perl.	Loc.	All.	Abl.	Caus.
Following a stem-final vowel or velar nasal	<i>-ku</i>	<i>-kuwa</i>	<i>-kapa (-ka)</i>	<i>-kaku</i>	<i>-kapirang</i>	<i>-Tin</i>
Following a stem-final liquid	<i>-u</i>	<i>-uwa</i>	<i>-apa(-a)</i>	<i>-aku</i>	<i>-apirang</i>	<i>-iN</i>
Following a stem-final palatal nasal or semi-vowel	<i>-tju</i>	<i>-tjuwa</i>	<i>-tjapa (-tja)</i>	<i>-tjaku</i>	<i>-tjapirng</i>	<i>-TjiN</i>
Following a stem-final alveolar nasal	<i>-tu</i>	<i>-tuwa</i>	<i>-tapa (-ta)</i>	<i>-taku</i>	<i>-tapirang</i>	<i>-tiN</i>

Lissarrague reconstitutes a situation in which “pronouns, proper nouns and some nouns which refer to people use the nominative/accusative pattern and common nominals use the ergative/absolutive pattern. The personal interrogative/indefinite *ngaN* ‘who’ uses “tripartite marking” (Lissarrague 2006: 26; Table 3.4). However, Lissarrague (2006: 39) explains that there is “some discrepancy in the data with human nouns”. Elsewhere (ibid.: 42), Lissarrague describes how “proper nouns and human nouns are also marked for accusative case” with *-Nang*, which also marks the tripartite personal interrogative as accusative.

Threlkeld adapted the traditional descriptive framework to accommodate both morphophonemic alternation and sensitivity to animacy.

Latin nominal morphology is conceived of as having five noun classes, traditionally called declensions, which each mark case differently. Threlkeld presented Awabakal as having “Seven Declensions of Nouns ... declined according to their use *and* termination” (emphasis added; 1834: 10). Two declension classes

3 *Lancelot Threlkeld's earliest analyses of an Australian language*

Table 3.4: The syntactic alignment of nominal types in Awabakal (following Lissarrague 2006: 26)

Ergative alignment A/SO	Accusative alignment AS/O	Tripartite marking A/S/O
Common nouns	Pronouns ? Proper nouns and some nouns referring to people ?	Personal interrogative

were motivated by different case marking on types of nominals and five by morphophonemic alternation. Threlkeld explained:

When used for the name of an individual person, they are declined in the 1st declension, whatever may be the termination of the word; but when used as the name of a place they are declined in the 7th Declension. (Threlkeld 1834: 10)

Threlkeld's presentation is especially skilful. He exemplified the sensitivity of Awabakal case marking to animacy using "Biraban", the name of his Aboriginal friend and main linguistic informant. He explained that since his friend's name also "means the bird called Eagle-hawk ... it must be declined in the second declension" (Threlkeld 1834: 13). Threlkeld juxtaposed the case marking for the noun *biraban*, used as proper noun (declension 1) and as a common noun (declension 2; Figure 3.11). This presentation of nominal declensions allowed Threlkeld to show that the accusative case takes zero marking on common nouns and is marked with the suffix *-(N)ang* on proper nouns (Threlkeld 1834: 10; Lissarrague 2006: 42) and that possessive function is marked differently on common and proper nouns in Awabakal.

Threlkeld's ability to convey the different marking of lower and higher animate nouns in Awabakal through the presentation of declension classes was effective compared with the extent to which many later grammarians dealt with the different markings for the same case function on different types of nouns (see, e.g., §8.5.5). Threlkeld's adeptness in this regard recurs only in Günther (1838; 1840). The marking of case on different noun-types tended to confuse early grammarians.

Bi-ra-bán, an Eagle-hawk.

- N. { 1 *Bi-ra-ban*, This form would be in answer to who is he ?
 2 *Bi-ra-ban-to*, This form would be in answer to who will do, or does, or did ?
- G. *Bi-ra-ban-úm-ba*, Belonging to *Bi-ra-ban* or *Biraban*'s.
- D. { 1 *Bi-ra-ban-núng*, For *Biraban*, personally to use or have, &c.
 2 *Bi-ra-ban-kin-ko*, To *Biraban*, locally, as to the place in which he is.
- A. *Bi-ra-ban-nung*, The objective case, no change in English.
- V. *El-la Bi-ra-ban*, O! *Biraban*, equivalent to, or I say *Biraban*.
- Abl. { 1 *Bi-ra-ban-kai*, From as a cause on account of *Biraban*.
 2 *Bi-ra-ban-ka-bi-rung*, From, procession, away from *Biraban*.
 3 *Bi-ra-ban-ka-to-a*, With, in company with *Biraban*.
 4 *Bi-ra-ban-kin-ba*, At, remaining with, *Biraban*.

II. DECLENSION.

Bi-ra-ban, an Eagle-hawk declined as a Bird.

- N. { 1 *Bi-ra-bán*, An Eagle-hawk, or the Eagle-hawk.
 2 *Bi-ra-ban-to*, The Eagle-hawk did, does, or will do, governed by the verb.
- G. *Bi-ra-ban-ko-ba*, Belonging to the Eagle-hawk.
- D. { 1 *Bi-ra-ban-ko*, For the Eagle-hawk.
 2 *Bi-ra-ban-ta-ko*, To the Eagle-hawk.
- A. *Bi-ra-ban*, The Eagle-hawk.
- V. ———, No Vocative.
- Abl. { 1 *Bi-ra-ban-tin*, From, on account of the Eagle-hawk.
 2 *Bi-ra-ban-ka-ta-bi-rung*, From, procession, away from the Eagle-hawk.
 3 *Bi-ra-ban-to-a*, With, in company with, the Eagle-hawk.
 4 *Bi-ra-ban-ta-ba*, At, remaining with the Eagle-hawk.
 5 *Bi-ra-ban-kin-ba*, At the Hawk's-place.

Figure 3.11: Threlkeld's first two declension classes (1834: 13)

After first explaining that the inflection for ergative case altered “perhaps merely to coalesce readily in pronunciation” (Threlkeld 1834: 6)), Threlkeld justified the remaining five declension classes by stating rules governing the form of “the particle of agency”, i.e. ergative inflection (ibid.: 11; Figure 3.12). Rules 4 and 5 discuss how allomorphy was determined by word size, a feature which is common to PN languages (Baker 2014: 152), but otherwise not recognised in the corpus grammars.

Not all of the detail regarding complex allomorphy, to which Threlkeld alludes, has been properly understood. The distinct case marking of place names, allomorphic sensitivity to word size and the exact nature of the animacy divide have not been reclaimed.

1. Nouns or participles ending in *i*, or *n* require the particle of agency *-to* to be annexed when spoken of as an agent : as, *Ki-ko-i*, a native cat ; *Ki-ko-i-to*, the cat did, does, or will do according to the tense of the verb subjoined.
Tib-bin, a bird ; *Tib-bin-to*, the bird did, does, or will do, &c.
Ngur-rul-li, the active participle or infinitive according to the particle affixed, to hear, believe, obey, &c. *Ngur-rul-li-to*, faith, or belief, did, does, or will do, &c.
2. Nouns ending in *ng*, *a*, *e**, *o*, *u*, require the particle of agency *ko* annexed when spoken of as an agent : as,
Nu-kung, a woman ; *Nu-kung-ko*, the woman did, does, or will do, &c.
Mai-yá, a snake ; *Mai-ya-ko*, the snake did, does, or will do, &c.
Ko-re, a man ; *Ko-re-ko*, the man, did, does, or will do, &c.
Wo-i-yo, grass ; *Wo-i-yo-ko*, the grass did, does, or will do, &c.
Tin-ku, a bitch ; *Tin-ku-ko*, the bitch did, does, or will do, &c.
3. Nouns ending in *l* require the particle of agency *lo* to be annexed when spoken of as an agent : as,
Pun-nul, the sun ; *Pun-nul-lo*, the sun did, does, or will do, &c.
Yi-nál, a son ; *Yi-nál-lo*, the son did, does, or will do, &c.
4. Nouns of three syllables ending in *ro* require the accent shifted to the *ó* when spoken of as an agent : as,
Ma-ko-ro, fish ; *Ma-ko-ró*, the fish did, does, or will do, &c.
5. Nouns of three syllables ending in *re* change the *e* into *ó* when spoken of as an agent : as,
Ko-ke-re, a hut, house ; *Ko-ke-ró*, the house did, does, or will do, &c.
6. Nouns of four syllables ending in *r* require the particle of agency *ró* to be annexed when spoken of as an agent : as,
Kul-mo-ti-ur, a woman's name ; *Kul-mo-ti-ur-ró*, K did, does, or will do, &c.

Figure 3.12: Threlkeld's rules governing ergative allomorphy (1834: 11)

3.4.8 Pronouns

When describing Awabakal pronouns, Threlkeld appears to have encountered a wealth of complexity, the likes of which were not presented to other early grammarians of Australian languages. In deconstructing Threlkeld's analysis of bound pronouns (§3.4.8.1) and of phrasal A + O pronominal sequences (§3.4.8.2), the following sections present analyses of the systems that Threlkeld strove to describe, which differ from other modern analyses of the available data.

3.4.8.1 Bound pronouns

Threlkeld (1834) was the earliest of a group of corpus grammarians (Günther 1838; Günther 1840; Teichelmann & Schürmann 1840; Meyer 1843; Schürmann 1844a;

Hale 1846; Ridley 1866; Ridley 1875) who were presented with the additional descriptive challenge of having to account for bound pronouns. These grammarians described languages covering a continuous bloc of the southeast of the continent that exhibit sets of bound personal pronouns (Dixon 2002a: 337–401). Note that no distinction is made here between suffixing and clitic forms (Dixon 2002a: 353). Pronouns of either type are here referred to as “bound pronouns”.

Bound pronouns generally mark the core syntactic arguments A, S and O, and less frequently the dative case. Systems of bound pronouns differ between languages in terms of both function and syntactic constraints. It is probable that no two systems encountered by the early grammarians were identical, although with limited data it is hard to tell how similar the Gamilaraay system was to that of the related Central New South Wales language Wiradjuri, for example, or the Barngarla system was to the system in the related Thura-Yura language Kaurua. The cases for which bound pronouns are marked, their positioning within the clause, the parts of speech to which they can attach, their status as either obligatory or optional, their ordering relative to one another, and the way in which the systems interrelate with the marking of other grammatical categories are language-specific. Different types of systems resulted in different types of treatment in the corpus grammars, not because grammarians were aware of all the linguistic parameters, but because of the way particular systems drew their attention.

Usually, the bound form is a truncation of the free-form pronoun having lost initial C(V). In Kaurua, for example, the 1sgERG free-form is *ngathu*, and its bound form counterpart is *-athu*. Awabakal is the only corpus language exhibiting bound pronouns in which most bound forms are *not* transparently related to that of a free-form pronoun.

Some Awabakal free and bound pronouns are closely related to the free-form pronouns in the neighbouring language Gathang (Holmer 1966: 61–63; Lissarrague 2010: 62–72; Table 3.5). Gathang has no bound pronouns in core arguments (Dixon 2002a: 356) and free pronouns are accusatively aligned (AS/O). Some bound pronouns and some free-form pronouns in Awabakal resemble Gathang pronouns. Dixon (2002a: 356–357) writes that “at some time in the past there must have been borrowing of pronominal forms and possible merging of paradigms [between the two languages]”.

Although Threlkeld represented the forms, which are reclaimed as bound pronouns, as free-standing words in pronominal paradigms, he did represent them as attached morphemes in the imperative mood of the verb (Threlkeld 1834: 51) in a schema of the traditional framework in which bound pronouns were commonly illustrated in the corpus grammars.

Table 3.5: Awabakal and Gathang pronouns (Lissarrague 2010: 62–72)

	Awabakal (Lissarrague 2006)		Gathang (Lissarrague 2010)
	Free Pronouns	Bound Pronouns	Free pronouns
1sgAS	ngatjuwa	-pang	ngathuwa, ngatha
1sgO	amuwang	-tja	barrangang
2sgAS	ngiNtuwa	-pi	biyay
2sgO	Ngiruwang	-piN	biinang, biyangang
3sgAS. M	Nyuawa	-nyuwa	nyuwa
3sgO. M	Ngikuwang	-puN	nyuguwang, nyuguwangang
3sgAS. F	puwaNTuwa	NO FORM	nyunda, nyunduwa
3sgO. F	puwaNuwaN	-NuwaN	nyun-gung

It is not clear whether all Awabakal bound pronouns followed the same accusatively aligned system of the free-form pronouns (AS/O) or that exactly the same ranges of case functions were carried by free and bound form pronouns. Awabakal is the only language considered in this study in which bound forms *may* not all have followed the system of marking syntactic case exhibited by free-form pronouns.

There are different views put forward by analysts as to what Threlkeld's representation tells us about the syntactic alignment of bound pronouns in Awabakal (Capell 1937; Oppliger 1984; Lissarrague 2006; Dixon 2002a). It is possible that Threlkeld's confusing representations of pronouns reflects a now irretrievable asymmetrical marking of the case function on free and bound pronouns in different number, person and gender.

All sources agree that there were no non-singular bound pronouns, and no 3sgF bound form.

Threlkeld is the only corpus grammarian who placed free and what are currently analysed as bound pronouns in different positions of the same pronominal paradigm, i.e., some cases in the paradigm are shown to be carried by a free-form pronouns and others only by a bound pronoun (Figure 3.13).

The form *-tja*, which is reclaimed as the *bound* 1sgACC pronoun, is shown as the sole 1sg accusative form. The form *amuwang*, which Lissarrague reclaims as the *free* 1sgACC pronoun (2006: 46), is shown by Threlkeld as the 1sg pronoun standing in the case called 'dative 1', which was translated 'for X', and which is reclaimed as marking the dative case on nouns (Table 3.1). Compare Lissarrague's

DECLENSION OF THE PRONOUNS.

FIRST PERSON SINGULAR.

Nom.	{	1. P. N. Nga-to-a, I, in answer to an interrogative of personal agency: as <i>Ngán-to-wi-yán?</i> Who speaks? the answer would be <i>Nga-to-a</i> , It is I who, the verb understood, and not No. 2, which would only declare what I do.
		2. V. N. Bang, I, in answer to an interrogative of the act: as, What art thou doing now? <i>Mín-nung-bul-lín-bi?</i> <i>ta-tán-báng</i> , I eat; and not No. 1, <i>Nga-to-a</i> .
Gen.	Em-mo-um-ba,	My, or mine governed by the noun or substantive verb, the noun always precedes: as <i>ko-ke-ri em-mo-em-ba</i> , my house. <i>Em-mo-em-ba-ta</i> , It is mine.
Dat.	{	1. Em-mo-ung, For me, personally to receive, or some other act.
		2. Em-mo-ung-kin-ko, To me, where I am. Dative of place.
Acc.	Ti-a	Me, governed by active verbs. This pronoun is used to form the equivalent to the passive voice: as <i>Bún-tán bang</i> , I strike; <i>Bún-tán tia</i> , I am struck. Literally strikes me.
Voc.	Ka-ti-óú,	Merely an exclamation, as Oh me! Ah me!
Abl.	{	1. Em-mo-ung-kai, From, on account of, through me, about me.
		2. Em-mo-ung-kin-bi-rung, From me, opposed to No. 2, Dative.
		3. Em-mo-ung-ka-to-a, With me, in company with, beside me.
		4. Em-mo-ung-kin-ba, With me, at my place, remaining by me.

Figure 3.13: Threlkeld's pronominal case paradigm (1834: 19–20)

analysis of the forms *amuwang* and *-tja* in the following example (7) with the labels assigned to the same forms in Threlkeld's paradigm (Figure 3.13):

- (7) Ammoung be weah-lah. Weah-lah be teah
 Amuwang-pi wiya-la. wiya-la-pi-tja
 1SG.ACC-2SG.NOM speak-IMP speak-IMP-2SG.NOM-1SG.ACC
 'Speak to me. Do tell me'
 (Transcription Lissarrague 2006: 46)

See also that the forms Lissarrague reclaims as 1sgA/S free pronoun *ngatjuwa* and 1sgA/S bound pronoun *-pang* (Table 3.5) are shown in Threlkeld's paradigm (Figure 3.13) as marking different cases. *Ngatjuwa* is labelled 'nominative 1' (nominative) and is placed in the first position, and *pang* is labelled 'nominative 2' (ergative) and is placed in the second position.

It is not clear whether Threlkeld's presentation of bound and free-forms in the same paradigm resulted from his failure to understand that there were two pronominal systems of marking case – which may have been differently aligned from one another – or whether it reflected a situation in which free and bound forms were part of a single pronominal case system.

Threlkeld described the two variants of the 1sgNOM pronoun *ngatjuwa* and *pang* partly in terms of a distinction between bound and free-forms. He invented new terminology to describe this unfamiliar phenomenon. In his introduction to pronominal paradigms he described the free and bound "nominative" forms, which are placed in the first two positions in the paradigm (Figure 3.14).

OF PRONOUNS.

The primitive or personal Pronouns in the first, second, and third Person Singular are, distinct from the Pronouns for such Persons when used to the Verb, and as such are used by themselves, in answer to an Interrogative, or emphatically with the Verb. These always precede the Verb when they are used as Nominatives to the Verbs, and always call the attention to the Person and not to the Verb: these will therefore be designated Personal Nominative Pronouns, and marked as such: thus, P N, for Personal Nominative; but the Personal Pronouns used as the Nominative to Verbs and never by themselves, nor in answer to Interrogatives will be marked V N, to denote Verbal Nominative; the Verb being the prominent feature to which the attention is called, and not to the person, these always follow the Verb. The strictest attention is absolutely necessary to the Pronouns in all their persons, numbers, and cases, by them the distinction is made between the persons, numbers, and cases.

Figure 3.14: Threlkeld's account of the "personal nominative" and the "verbal nominative" (1834: 18)

Free-forms were labelled “personal nominative” – abbreviated “P. N.” and described as the “primitive” forms. They were said to be “used by themselves, in answer to the Interrogative or emphatically with the Verb”. Bound pronouns were labelled “verbal nominative” – abbreviated “V. N.” and were “never by themselves nor in answer to the Interrogatives”. Lissarrague’s interpretation (2006: 39–46) (Figure 3.5) that both free and bound forms were ergatively aligned assumes that Threlkeld’s distinction between “P. N.” and “V. N.” related only to free and bound form distinction and not to a case distinction.

Threlkeld provided further explanation of the functions of the forms labelled P. N. and V. N. in notes included within the paradigm (Figure 3.13), explaining that the form labelled “P. N.”, i.e., a free-form pronoun, is given “in answer to the interrogative of personal agency”, and that the form labelled V. N., i.e., the bound form, is given “in answer to an interrogative of the act”. Here his explanation *might* be seen to be distinguishing the forms on the basis of case, the free-form standing in ergative case and the bound form standing in nominative case. This is Oppliger’s interpretation (1984: 64–69). She describes a situation in which free-forms were ergatively aligned (A/SO) and bound forms accusatively aligned (AS/O).

In another section of the grammar, Threlkeld used the term V. N. explicitly to refer to a case distinction. Of his “neuter” 3SG pronouns, i.e., demonstrative forms (§3.4.2), he wrote: “[T]hey govern the verbal nominative pronoun and not the Nominative 1 [i.e., nominative case]” (1834: 21). This juxtaposition of the term “V. N.” with the “nominative 1” (nominative) case suggests that the term implied overt marking for ergative case. Threlkeld appears to be explaining that these demonstrative forms showed ergative or tripartite alignment, a situation recounted by Hale (1846: 490–491; see also Oppliger 1984: 74–75).

Observe also that the “V. N.” forms are placed in the second paradigmatic position (Figure 3.13), where Threlkeld placed his “nominative 2” (ergative) forms, and the “P. N.” forms are placed in the first position, where Threlkeld placed nominative case forms (§3.4.9), further suggesting that the forms were distinguished on the basis of case. Interestingly, the earliest readings of Threlkeld (Hale 1846: 488; Müller 1867: 251) interpreted the difference between Threlkeld’s “personal nominative” and “verbal nominative” as relating to both a case distinction and a bound/free distinction. Müller (1867: 251) described the Awabakal “nominativ subjectiv” (ergative) pronoun (Figure 3.15) as only occurring “with verbs for example, *tatan-pañ* ‘I eat’”.

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I. Person.				
Singular.				
Nominat.	{ präd.	<i>natoa</i> , ¹	Accusativ	<i>tia</i> ,
	{ subj.	<i>pañ</i> , ²	Ablativ	<i>emmo-un-kai</i> ,
Dativ		<i>emmo-un</i> ,	Abessiv	<i>emmo-un-kinpirun</i> ,

¹ Westaustralisch *nanga*.
² Kommt nur beim Verbum vor z. B. *tatan-pañ* „ich esse“.

Figure 3.15: F. Müller's Awabakal pronominal case paradigm (1867: 251)

Hale (1846: 488) and Dixon (2002a: 351,395) assert that the language had no free-form singular accusative pronouns (Table 3.6).

Table 3.6: Dixon's analysis of Awabakal free and bound form pronouns (2002a: 351)

	Singular Pronouns	Non-Singular Pronouns:
S & A	FREE & BOUND FORMS	ONLY FREE-FORMS
O	ONLY BOUND FORMS	ONLY FREE-FORMS

This conclusion rests upon the assumption that accusative function could only be marked by the bound accusative forms *tia* (1sgO) *bin* (2sgO) and *bon* (3sgmO) (AS/O) described by Threlkeld as “the object of transitive verbs” (1834: 20) and called “accusative”. Dixon’s analysis implies that the free-form pronouns, which are *reclaimed* as marking the accusative case (Oppliger 1984; Lissarrague 2006) – *amuwang* (1sgO) *ngiruwang* (2sgO) and *ngikuwang* (3sgmO) – mark a different case. Threlkeld assigned the label “dative 1” (1834: 19–22) to these forms.

The scenario proposed by Dixon is, however, unlikely. In Example 7, it is possible to treat the 1sg free-form *amuwang* as dative, marking the addressee of the verb “to speak” rather than as accusative (see, e.g., Wilkins 1989: 179). But in the following clause, the free-form *amuwang* and the bound form *tja* appear to be marking the same accusative argument.

- (8) Karai tia nguwa emmoung takilli ko
 Karay-tja ngu-wa amuwang tjaki-li-ku
 Flesh-[ACC]-1SG.ACC give-IMP 1SG.ACC eat-NMSR-PURP
 ‘Give me flesh to eat’
 (Gloss and transcription from Lissarrague 2006: 42)

An accusative argument frequently marks the second argument of a ditransitive verb “to give” in PN languages (Blake 1977: 35–36; Schebeck 1973: 2; Wilkins 1989: 169; Henderson 2013: 294; Hercus 1999: 75). Lissarrague (2006: 42) explains: “In a sentence with two objects, a pronoun with dative function is in accusative case”. This example suggests that Threlkeld failed to see that there were two formally distinct ways of marking the same case function.

Capell (1937: 56) was of the view that Threlkeld’s paradigm represented a single pronominal system, rather than an inadvertent conflation of a bound system and a free system into a single paradigm. Writing in the early middle descriptive era, when understanding of systems of bound pronouns in PN languages remained largely undeveloped (§6.3), he took Threlkeld’s paradigms at face value, believing that the case forms of Awabakal pronouns were highly irregular, and described Awabakal as unusual among Australian languages in “subject[ing] the pronoun to a real declension” (see §2.4.1.1).

That Threlkeld’s discussion of bound pronouns in Awabakal is opaque and has confused contemporary reclamations is not surprising given the complexity this earliest Australian grammarian tackled. The system of bound pronouns that Threlkeld described in Awabakal appears to have interacted with the marking of the syntactic cases in a way that is atypical of what is known about systems in other languages described by corpus grammarians. Threlkeld’s convoluted account of what was a complicated system consequently provided little assistance to later corpus grammarians, and his terminology “personal nominative” and “verbal nominative” fell into disuse.

3.4.8.2 The “conjoined dual case”

Threlkeld presented a partial paradigm of A + O pronominal sequences in Awabakal, which he termed the “conjoined dual case” (Figure 3.16). The forms were given after presentation of the dual pronouns and before the plural.

The forms Threlkeld presented are compound pronouns, which he described as “governed by the active transitive verbs” (Threlkeld 1834: 24). Each compound pronoun comprises a constituent acting as the agent and a constituent acting as the object of the same clause, or as Elkin (1937: 152) put it: “a combination of pronoun in the nominative and accusative cases”. For example:

- (9) Minnung bunnun ngaiya biloa?
 minyang wupa-NaN ngaya piN-luwa
 INTERR:ABS do-FUT then 2SG.ACC-3.SG.NOM.M
 ‘What will he do to you?’
 (Gloss and transcription from Lissarrague 2006: 42)

CONJOINED DUAL CASE.

So designated in consequence of the two opposite cases being conjoined in one word, namely, the agent nominative and the accusative case; a peculiarity of this language. Active transitive verbs govern this case. N. A. means nominative and accusative, the figures refer to the person, M. masculine, and F. feminine.

1 Person N.	and 2 person A.	Ba-núng, I, thee.
1 Person N.	and 3 person A. F.	Bá-nó-un, I, her.
2 Person N.	and 3 person A. M.	Bi-núng, Thou, him.
2 Person N.	and 3 person A. F.	Bi-nó-un, Thou, her.
3 Person N. M.	and 2 person A.	Bi-ló-a, He, thee.
2 Person N. F.	and 2 person A.	Bín-tó-a, She, thee.

Figure 3.16: Threlkeld's "conjoined dual case" (1834: 24)

The ordering of constituents relative to one another is determined by pronominal person, regardless of case. The order is 1 > 2 > 3. All constituents are singular. Lissarrague writes:

Compound pronouns follow verbs, conjunctions, negations, interrogative particles, interrogatives and even interjections. It is not understood when a conjoined form is used instead of the usual bound pronoun forms. It is not known if compound pronouns stand alone, or if they are phonetically attached to the word they follow ... Threlkeld represents them as both a phonetic part of the preceding word and as elements that stand alone. Only the compounds which appear in the above paradigm [reproduced in Figure 3.17] are permitted. (Lissarrague 2006: 47–48)

Lissarrague's analysis of the forms (Figure 3.17) updates Threlkeld's phonological representation and shows that the first constituent of the compound form is related to the Awabakal bound pronouns and the second constituent to the Awabakal free pronouns (Table 3.5).

However, it is possible to speculate that the first constituent takes the form of the corresponding bound pronoun. In this scenario (Table 3.7), the placement of the morpheme boundary differs from that suggested by Threlkeld and reproduced by Lissarrague (2006: 47). Here the first constituent is an entire bound pronoun (column 4, Table 3.7) rather than a form that "resembles the first syllable of bound forms" (2006: 47). The first constituent is either a 1sgA, a 2sgA or a 2sgO bound form.

Table 26. Compound pronouns

	Threlkeld (1834, p. 24)	Reconstruction
1sgNom-2sgAcc	<i>Ba-núng</i>	pa-Nung
1sgNom-3sgAcc(F)	<i>Bá-nó-ian</i>	pa-NuwaN
2sgNom-3sgAcc(M)	<i>Bi-núng</i>	pi-nyung*
2sgNom-3sgAcc(F)	<i>Bi-nó-ian</i>	pi-NuwaN
3sgNom(M)-2sgAcc	<i>Bi-ló-a</i>	piN-luwa
3sgNom(F)-2sgAcc**	<i>Bín-tó-a</i>	piN-Tuwa

1sgNom resembles the the first syllable of the bound form: =pang.

3sgAcc(F) resembles the final two syllables of the free pronoun: puwaNuwaN.

2sgNom is identical to the bound form: =pi.

2sgAcc (the final variant form) is identical to the last two syllables which occur in two free pronouns, ngiNTuwa (2sgNom) and puwaNTuwa (3sgNom Fem).

*See example [42], Part 3, regarding the form of this pronoun.

**labelled by Threlkeld as ‘2nd person Nominative Feminine — 2nd person Accusative’.

Figure 3.17: Lissarrague’s (2006: 47) analysis of compound pronouns

The second constituent is the final phonological segment or segments of the free-form pronouns, 2sgO, 3sgfO, 3sgmO, 3sgfA or 3sgmA (column 6). Only one of these segments, 3sgfO –*NuwaN*, is the same form as the equivalent bound pronoun that occurs freely in other environments. Each other second-constituent bound form does not occur elsewhere.

Allowing for the reduction of clusters of nasals with unknown places of articulation, represented as “N”, across the boundary between the two constituents in the “I her” form – which may result from a recording error – as well as for the rounding of the final vowel in the second 2sgO constituent of the “I thee” form, this analysis works reasonably well. Note, however, that the forms *pi-Nang* “thou him” and *pi-Lawa* “he thee” show phonological variation at the morpheme boundary (column 5) and cannot be fully accounted for by this alternative analysis.

Contrary to Lissarrague (2006: 48), Threlkeld did not describe the forms in which the first constituent is a second-person accusative bound pronoun “in the wrong order”. The translation into English of the two forms of which the first constituent is in accusative case, “He, thee” and “She, thee” (Table 3.7), is correct. Threlkeld’s free translations *do not* use English word order to convey the case frame of the compound. These are not interlinear translations. That Threlkeld was aware that the first constituent of each form was an accusative second-person pronoun is evident by his translation using “thee” rather than “thou”.

Similar compound pronouns with “prefixing” singular bound-form pronouns are reclaimed for Wiradjuri (Grant & Rudder 2014: 51–54), although these were

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Table 3.7: Reclamation of compound A and O pronominal sequences described by Threlkeld as the “conjoined dual case”

Threlkeld (1834: 24)	Lissarrague (2006: 47)	Alternative structure	1st constituent Bound pronoun	Phonological changes required	2nd constituent Last phono- logical segment(s) of free pronoun:
Ba-núng “I, thee”	Pa-Nung	Pang-wang	pang- 1sgA	Rounding of second vowel	Ngiru-wang 2sgO
Bá-nó-un “I her”	Pa-NuwaN	Pang- NuwaN	pang 1sgA	Reduction of nasal + nasal cluster	puwa- NuwaN 3sgfO
Bi-núng “Thou, him”	Pi-nyung	Pi-Nang	pi- 2sgA	Unexplained additional nasal	Ngikuw-ang 3sgmO
Bi-nó-un “Thou her”	Pi-Nuwan	Pi-Nuwan	pi- 2sgA	None	Puwa- NuwaN 3sgfO
Bi-ló-a “he, thee”	piN-luwa	Pi-lawa	Pi(N)- 2sgO	Unexplained lost nasal and additional lateral	Nguw-awa 3sgmA
Bín-tó-a “She, thee”	piN-tuwa	piN-Tuwa	piN- 2sgO	None	PuwaN- Tuwa 3sgfA

The analysis offers an alternative to that given by Lissarrague (2006). See also Koch (2011b) for an historical reconstruction of compound, free and bound pronouns in Awabakal and related languages. Note that the pronouns that are shown as either nominative or ergative in Table 3.5 are shown here as agents because these compounds always constitute both arguments of a transitive verb. Note that the form of compound pronouns proposed here (column 3) follows Lissarrague’s (2006: 40–41) reclamation of the vowels in free-form pronouns.

not explicitly described in the early sources (Günther 1838, 1840; Hale 1846). While it is unfortunately not clear on what grounds the structure has been said to have existed in Wiradjuri, it is presumably an examination of early Wiradjuri texts, or the speech of the last fluent speakers which had given rise to the assertion.

3.4.9 Description of ergativity

This final section detailing Threlkeld's analysis of Awabakal discusses his presentation and understanding of ergative morphology and function. This aspect of his analysis, like his presentations of the large case system, is especially important in establishing his influence on the schools of descriptive practice that subsequently developed in Australia.

Subsequent to Threlkeld's earliest account of PN ergative morphology, the ergative case is well described by later PN grammarians, who would certainly have been better prepared to describe this "peculiar" pattern of case-marking having read Threlkeld's work. It is, however, difficult to know with certainty whether ergative systems of marking syntactic case would have been adequately described by later PN grammarians without the guidance provided by Threlkeld.

The ergative case is the only case outside the Latin inventory that is consistently included and named in early PN case paradigms and descriptions of case. The only exceptions are the early descriptions of Guugu-Yimidhirr (Schwarz & Poland 1900; Roth 1901) and Nggerrikwidhi (Hey 1903; §2.5.1, §10.1.5.3), neither of which give ergative forms in case paradigms. The important role that the ergative case plays in disambiguating the arguments predicated by the verb apparently forced the inclusion of ergative case forms in even the most conservative case paradigms.

3.4.9.1 Terminology and explanation of ergative function

By attempting to describe this new morphological phenomenon, Threlkeld experimented with a variety of terminological and descriptive techniques. Some were followed by later grammarians, some were not. Table 3.8 presents the terminology used to describe the ergative case in the corpus grammars, and in some later descriptions of Australian languages. It shows which of Threlkeld's terms were, and were not, employed by later grammarians, as well as the terms commonly used by the other corpus grammarians, but which Threlkeld had not employed. Works that were written outside Australia are placed in bold. The table is referred to throughout the following chapters.

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Table 3.8: Case labels assigned to the ergative case in early grammars of Pama-Nyungan languages (Works in bold are those written outside Australia)

Name given to the ergative case	Author, date, language (<i>variation</i>) [additional information]
Active nominative	Threlkeld 1834: 7 Awabakal Günther 1838: 43, 1840: 35 Wiradjuri (<i>nominative active</i>) Fraser – based on Günther –, 1892: 57 Wiradjuri Schürmann 1844a: 4 Barngarla Moorhouse 1846: 3–4 Ngayawang Bleek 1858: 2 Australian languages
Active	Teichelmann & Schürmann 1840: 5–9 Kurna Meyer 1843: 38 Ngarrindjeri [in discussion of anti-passive] Koch 1868: no pag. Diyari (<i>Activ</i>) Homann 1879: 86 Diyari (<i>Activus</i>)* Schoknecht 1947: 2[1872] Diyari Flierl 1880: 10 Diyari (<i>Activ</i>)
Subjective nominative	F. Müller 1867: 247–250 Australian languages but predominantly Awabakal
Nominative 2	<i>Threlkeld 1834: 12 Awabakal</i> Ridley 1855b: 74 Gamilaraay (<i>2nd Nominative</i>) Ridley 1866: 5, (<i>2nd Nominative</i>) Ridley 1866: 61 Turrubul Fraser – based on Threlkeld – 1892: 16 HRLM Fraser – based on Homann – 1892: 43 Diyari T. G. H. Strehlow 1944: 74 Arrernte
Agent (nominative)	<i>Threlkeld 1834: 6 Awabakal</i> Ridley 1855b: 74 Gamilaraay (agent- given in brackets after <i>2nd Nominative</i>) Livingston, in Fraser 1892: 9 Minjangbal Mathews 1903b: 261 Gamilaraay (<i>Nominative Agent</i>) F. Müller 1882: 7, 20 NEW SOUTH WALES languages (Agens) Gatti 1930: 21, 58 Diyari (Nominativo agente) Tindale 1937a Wanjiwalku (<i>Agentive</i>) Capell 1937: 50 Australian languages (<i>Agent</i>) Holmer 1966 Kattang, Thangatti (<i>Nominative agentive</i>)

Nominative transitive	C. Strehlow 1931a [c.1907]: 28 Arrernte J. Riedel 1931 [c.1923]: 104 Arrernte C. Strehlow 1910: 1 Arrernte and Luritja
Nominative	Symmons 1841: xiii Nyungar [for pronouns] Fraser – based on Symmons – 1892: 52 Nyungar [for pronouns] Kempe 1891 : 3 Arrernte Roth 1897 : 7 Pitta-Pitta Ray 1907: 272 Yadhaykenu
Instrumental	F. Müller 1882: 50, 66, 75 South Australian languages Ray 1897: 127, 136 wts
Active instrumental	Ray 1907: 19 WTS G. von der Gabelentz 1891: 151 Australian languages (<i>Activo-instrumentalis</i>)
Agent causative	<i>Threlkeld 1834: 10 Awabakal</i>
Causative	Taplin 1867: no pag., 1880: 9, 11 Ngarrindjeri [for nouns and pronouns] Taplin 1975[1870]: 124–126, 1879b: 124 Ngarrindjeri [pronouns only] R. H. Mathews 1907: 324 Arrernte and several languages J. M. Black 1920: 83, 85, 91 Kurna, Narungga, Kukarta respectively Ablative Symmons 1841: ix [for nouns] Fraser – based on Symmons – 1892: 49 Nyungar [for nouns] Meyer 1843: 12. Ramindjeri [for nouns and pronouns] Moorhouse 1846: 10–18 Ngayawang [for pronouns] Taplin 1975[1870]: 123, 1879b: 123–124 Ngarrindjeri Taplin 1880: 13 Ngarrindjeri [for demonstrative pronouns] Fraser 1892: 46 – based on Moorhouse – Ngayawang (<i>ablative 6</i>) Fraser 1892: 29 – based on Taplin, 1879b –. Ngarrindjeri (<i>ablative 1</i>) Hagenauer 1878: 43 Wergaya Bulmer 1878: 31 Kunai Reuther 1894: 5 (<i>Ablativ</i>) 1981[1899]: 3 [Diyari] Reuther 1981[1901]: 31 Wangkangurru Reuther 1981 [c.1901]: 57 Yandrruwandha

Ergative	Schmidt 1902 WTS
	Planert 1907a: 555 Arrernte
	1908: 689 Diyari (also Ngarrindjeri : 693)
	C. Strehlow 1908: 699 Arrernte
	Schmidt 1919b: 43 Ngarrindjeri
	Gatti 1930: 58 Diyari (<i>Ergativo</i>)
	Holmer 1963: 59 Australian languages
	Holmer 1966: 47 Kattang, Thangatti
	Holmer 1971: 7–8 Australian languages
	Smythe 1975[1949]: 275 Bandjalang
Operative	Capell 1956: 63–64 Australian languages
	Hercus 1969: 46, 128 Victorian languages
	Blake & Breen 1971: 48 Pitta-Pitta

Threlkeld's inaugural account of Australian ergativity (1834) occurs reasonably early within European linguistic encounter with the twenty-five percent of the world's languages exhibiting ergative structures. Scrutiny of the early presentation of PN ergative structures affords the opportunity to examine the nature of the relationship between linguistic theory and descriptive methodology in Australia and in Europe. The range of terminology Threlkeld experimented with suggests that he *may* have been acquainted with some existing descriptions of some ergative languages. Of the terms he employed, "active" had previously been used to describe ergativity by A. Oiherart (1638; Oiherart 1656) and following him by W. Humboldt in descriptions of Basque (1801; 1817; see Lindner 2013: 186, 198). The term "agent" (*agens*) had been used in Oiherart's seventeenth-century descriptions of Basque as well as in an 1820 description of Hindi (see Lindner 2013: 198).

Other terms which had previously been employed to describe the ergative case outside Australia, but which were not employed by Threlkeld, include O. Fabricius' (1801[1791]; 1801[1791]) use of "nominativus transitivus" in Kalaallisut (see Lindner 2013: 186, 198) and the term "instrumental" in description of Marathi (1805) and Hindi (1827; see Lindner 2013: 198).

Threlkeld's grammars show that he had a sound understanding of ergative function and forms. Threlkeld conceived of the ergative case as a special type of nominative. In discussion under the word-class "substantives", he differentiated "the two nominative cases" (1834: 7) by explaining that "the first nominative is simply declarative wherein the subject is inactive; as, this is a bird ... The second nominative is when the subject is an agent causative of action: as ... in the bird eats" (1834: 10). Elsewhere in the grammar he differentiated the two cases by

explaining that the ergative has “the power of operating” (1834: 6), while the nominative “merely declares the person, or thing or the quality” (ibid.: 5).

Reflecting this conception of the ergative case as a special sort of nominative case, Threlkeld placed ergative case forms in second position after the nominative forms at the top of his case paradigms.

Of the many terms Threlkeld chose to name the case, all include the term “nominative”: “agent nominative”, “nominative 2” and “active nominative”. The term “agent nominative” was only used in the introduction to case and not as a case label. In some nominal declensions, Threlkeld translated nominative forms as “a X”, and ergative forms as “the X is the agent who ...”, or “The X is the agent spoken of”. The “nominative 2” was used in most case paradigms (Figure 3.11, Figure 3.13) where it contrasts with the “nominative 1” (nominative case). But when presenting interrogative pronouns, the ergative case was labelled the “active nominative” and opposed to the “simple nominative” (1834: 7; Figure 3.18).

** Model of the particles used as affixed to the Interrogatives.*

	Interrogative pronoun	Ngán ?	Who ?
S. N.	Simple nominative	Ngan-ke ?	Who is ?
A. N.	Active nominative	Ngan-to ?	Who is the agent ?
G.	Genitive	Ngan-úm-ba ?	Whose ?
		1 { Ngan-núng ?	For whom ?
			to possess, &c.
D.	Dative	2 { Ngan-kin-ko ?	To whom ?
			towards ?
		{ Ngan-nung ?	Whom ? or
A.	Accusative		who is the object ?
V.	Vocative	A-la, as O.	
		1 Ngan-kai ?	From, on account of whom.
		2 Ngan-kin-bi-rung ?	From, away from whom ?
Ab.	Ablative	3 Ngan-ka-to-a ?	In company with whom ?
		4 Ngan-kin-ba ?	Being with whom ?

Figure 3.18: Threlkeld's interrogative case paradigm (1834: 7–8)

All of these terms were subsequently employed in the primary corpus, except the term “nominative 2”. It was, however, re-employed by Fraser in his edition of Threlkeld's work (1892) and in Fraser's presentation of missionary Homann's Diyari pronominal paradigm (1892). The practice was resurrected by T. G. H. Strehlow (1944). Note that D. Trudinger (1943: 207) and, following him, N. Tin-

dale (1963: 3) reversed the order of “nominative” cases, employing “nominative I” for the ergative and “nominative II” for the nominative case.

In the first case paradigm of a noun (Figure 3.11) and of a pronoun (Figure 3.13), Threlkeld provided further clarification of the different functions of the unmarked nominal in nominative case and that marked with the ergative suffix. He did this by stipulating the type of question that the different forms might be given in answer to. This particular way of clarifying the functional difference between ergative and nominative cases, in terms of the type of interrogative each is given in answer to, became a characteristic feature of later grammars of languages in NSW, being utilised by Günther (1838) in description of Wiradjuri (§4.4) and by Ridley in his earliest description of Gamilaraay (1856b; §4.5).

3.4.9.2 Split systems

Although Threlkeld adequately accounted for ergative functions and forms, it is important to observe that the ergative case is not conferred equivalent status to that of the accusative case, which is so entrenched in the classical paradigm. Threlkeld perceived that the overt marking of an agent brought about a split in the marking of the subject, but attributed no significance to the different marking of a subject and an object. Ergative case forms are, for example, omitted from paradigms of nominals showing accusative alignment (AS/O) in the dual pronouns (Figure 3.9). By contrast, Threlkeld's case paradigms of nouns showing ergative alignment (A/so) do include the accusative case forms even when they are formally identical to the nominative. Examine, for example, the second declension (Figure 3.11) and the third declension (Figure 3.6). Rather than having theoretically assimilated the ergative case into the case system, Threlkeld sees it as a marked form of the nominative subject. Only nominals that are *overtly* marked for ergative case, taking a different shape from the nominative case forms, are described as ergative and included in Threlkeld's case paradigms.

3.4.10 The syntax of complex clauses

Threlkeld accounted for the subordinating function of a range of verbal morphology in Awabakal in lengthy tables of verb conjugations that constitute more than half his grammar (Threlkeld 1834: 33–77). Under the heading “subjunctive”, verbs marked with dependency-marking suffixes are described as being “in *regimen*”, i.e., ruled by something else. For example, verbs inflected with the suffix *-wil*, were described by Threlkeld (1834: 49) as being “in regimen denoting the purpose of the subject”. The suffix is described by Lissarrague (2006: 77) as the

Wi-yán no-a ba,	Present tense,
	While he speaks, now, or as, &c.
— yel-li-él-la no-a ba,	Imperfect past aorist,
	While he was talking, &c.
— yun-nun no-a ba,	Future aorist,
	When he tells, or, if he, &c.
NOTE.—The whole of the Indicative mood may be thus conjugated with Ba.	

Figure 3.19: Threlkeld’s presentation of *-pa* in a discussion of the subjunctive mood of the verb (1834: 70)

desiderative or purposive suffix, which “occurs in a subordinate clause and indicates subsequent action resulting from the main clause”. Threlkeld’s description of subordinating morphemes marking forms as being in *regimen* was not used again in the description of an Australian language.

A range of morphology with subordinating function was accounted for by Threlkeld (1834: 70), including the subordinating clitic *-pa* (Lissarrague 2006: 93) marking the subjunctive mood of the verb. Clauses marked with the clitic are translated as temporal relative clauses “while X”, given without the main clause (Figure 3.19; 10). In a detailed investigation of Threlkeld’s description and use of this subordinating clitic *-pa*, Wafer & Carey (2011: 126–132), however, state that the clearest reference Threlkeld made to *-pa* occurred under the heading “adverbs of time” (1834: 75–76), concluding that his idiomatic usage of the clitic was better than his ability to describe its function. That Threlkeld’s account of the subordinating clitic *-pa* within a discussion of verbal mood is overlooked by Wafer and Carey signals the potential opaqueness of structures in early grammars even to the most astute observer.

- (10) Wi-yán no-a ba
 ‘While he speaks’
 (Threlkeld 1834: 70)
 Wiya-N nyuwa-pa
 speak-PRES 3SG.M.NOM-SUB

3.5 Concluding remarks

Threlkeld’s inaugural description of a PN language accounts for a remarkable range of foreign morpho-syntactic complexity, or as Hale (1846: 482) put it, a “mass of information which is entirely new”: ergative morphology, compound pronouns, bound pronouns, and a morphological case system with a large case

3 *Lancelot Threlkeld's earliest analyses of an Australian language*

inventory. The work is substantially more detailed than many early PN grammars, with the exception of Meyer (1843; §6.1), Kempe (1891; §9.1.2), and Roth (1897; §10.1.1).

Threlkeld tackled the description of new grammatical categories boldly. He invented terminology – e.g., “verbal nominatives” and “personal nominatives” – and introduced new schemata, such as the “conjoined dual case”. More than many other later grammarians he was prepared to abandon the traditional framework, presenting, for example, extended case paradigms, and *not* attempting to describe the morphological marking of comparative and superlative degrees of the adjective. As Hale (Roth 1897: 482) pointed out, however, the “strangeness of the principles on which the structure of the language was found to rest ... rendered a clear arrangement, at first a matter of difficulty.” Aspects of the analysis – e.g., the description of bound pronouns – are difficult to decipher, and the grammar is not without error. That Threlkeld did not shy away from attempting to account for morphosyntactic complexities probably curbed the potential influence of his work. That he was not tempted to produce a more easily digestible, if regularised, description reflects the respect he had for the intelligence of Aboriginal people, and his desire to provide what he later described as:

[A] testimony against the contemptible notion entertained by too many, who flatter themselves that they are of a higher order of created beings than the aborigines of this land, whom they represent as “mere baboons, having no language but that in common with the brute!” (Threlkeld 1850: 4)

4 Later grammars of languages from New South Wales

This chapter examines bodies of work describing languages that belonged to regions of what became New South Wales that were written after Threlkeld's grammar of Awabakal. These languages are Wiradjuri, Gamilaraay and Minjangbal. Section 4.1 identifies the grammars of Wiradjuri written at the Wellington Valley Mission by W. Günther (1838, 1840) and discusses the existence of earlier, but now lost, grammars written by missionaries W. Watson and J. S. C. Handt. These works were written at the time when Threlkeld continued to describe Awabakal. Günther's analyses are compared to Threlkeld's earlier work and are assessed in terms of the similarity of the descriptive frameworks they employ, and their relative insight. Section 4.2 investigates of the comparative grammar of Wiradjuri and Awabakal written by the American ethnologist H. Hale (1846), which helps establish the provenance of early works emanating from Wellington Valley Mission.

Sections 4.4, 4.5 and 4.6 assess Günther's analysis of Wiradjuri, Ridley's grammars of Gamilaraay (1875, 1866, 1855a, 1855b, 1856b) and Livingstone's grammar of Minjangbal (1876–1886) respectively.

4.1 Descriptions of Wiradjuri and the Wellington Valley Mission (1832–1842)

The Wellington Valley Mission was established in 1832 by the Church Mission Society on the “newly opened” agricultural and pastoral frontier on the western side of the Great Dividing Range in New South Wales (Bridges 1978: 324). The abandoned infrastructure of what had previously been a remote convict station (1823–1830) was chosen as the site in an area that had been encroached upon by hopeful squatters ahead of official colonial planning (Bridges 1978: 285). Hence the earliest missionaries encountered Aboriginal people who were accustomed to Europeans (Bridges 1978: 326). The brutal contact with lawless Europeans experienced by Wiradjuri people in the decade before the missionaries' arrival is

typical of post-invasion encounter across Australia. The situation does, however, contrast with the pre-mission experience of some Aboriginal people in the south of South Australia where the nature of the encounter was at least monitored and discussed by colonial officials (Scrimgeour 2007), and with the situation in the north of South Australia (Chapter 8 & Chapter 9), where the missionaries were among the earliest European people to encroach upon Aboriginal territory.

Wiradjuri, the language described at the mission, was spoken by several thousand people (Krzywieki 1934: 317) and covered an area of central New South Wales that was large by PN standards. The mission lasted for twelve years. Grammatical description of Wiradjuri was not published in Australia until fifty years after the missions' closure, when the 1838 and 1840 analyses made by missionary J. W. Günther (1806–1879) appeared in Günther (1892). Wiradjuri grammatical material emanating from the mission was, however, published in America by H. Hale (1846).

Extant original grammatical documentation of Wiradjuri is contained in two of missionary Günther's notebooks held by the State Library of New South Wales. The grammars are dated 1838 and 1840. Both MS grammars appear to be works in progress, containing crossed-out passages and blank pages where more detail was presumably intended to be added later. As a Lutheran who initially trained at Basel Mission Institute in Switzerland, Günther received further training at the Church Missionary Society College in London and was ordained in the Anglican ministry in London in 1833. He arrived at the Wellington Valley Mission in 1837, five years after the mission's establishment. Considerable linguistic work had been undertaken at Wellington Valley prior to Günther's arrival (Bridges 1978) by W. Watson (1798–1866) and by Günther's fellow Basel-trained, German-speaking missionary J. C. S. Handt (1783–1863).

Watson had entered the Church Missionary Society in Yorkshire in 1829, after working as a teacher and a grocer. He had received little training at the time of his selection to establish a Church Missionary Society mission in Australia, having been quickly ordained as deacon by the Church of England in 1830 and as a priest in 1831 in order to secure his services as a missionary (Bridges 1978: 256–263). By contrast, the training received by Günther and Handt at Basel “consisted of 40% theology, 22% linguistics and 38% ‘skills’ which were often far from practical, e.g., calligraphy, anatomy and botany” (Allen 2011: 45). Handt had entered Basel in 1822, where he was trained by Rev. Theophilus Blumhardt (Bridges 1978: 264).

Watson arrived in New South Wales in 1832 and was met by Handt, who had arrived the previous year. A Lutheran minister, who was never ordained by the Church of England, Handt had between 1827 and 1830 worked as a Church Missionary Society missionary in Liberia, before returning to London for health rea-

4.1 *Descriptions of Wiradjuri and the Wellington Valley Mission (1832–1842)*

sons and being sent to Australia (Bridges 1978: 263). While waiting for Watson, Handt commenced a “vocabulary of Wiradjuri from informant(s) who had spent time at the mission site” (Bridges 1978: 292).

During this time Handt married Mary Crook (1804–1844), the daughter of the London Missionary Society missionary Rev. W. P. Crook (1775–1846). The company in which this marriage placed Handt is tantalisingly suggestive of an alternative, but unsubstantiated path of development of linguistic ideas about Australian languages. Crook had been the first London Missionary Society missionary in the Marquesas Islands. Having left the crew of the *Duff* at Tahuata in 1797, he spent a harrowing year alone, before being rescued by the *Betsy* and being moved to Taioha’e. In nineteen months, before returning to London, Crook collected material for “An essay towards a Dictionary and Grammar of the Lesser-Australian Language, According to the Dialect Used at the Marquesas” (1799; see Hughes & Fischer 1998). The data is described (Hughes & Fischer 1998: xxiv) as “perhaps the finest to emerge from anywhere in Polynesia in the eighteenth century”. In 1803, Crook settled in New South Wales, where he held a number of prestigious positions, including Chaplain of the Colony, before emigrating to Tahiti in 1816, accompanied by his eleven-year-old daughter Mary, Handt’s future wife, where they stayed for the following fifteen years (Bridges 1978: 308).

By 1834, within less than two years of the mission’s establishment, Watson and Handt reported that they had prepared a vocabulary of 4000 “words” and had translated the Apostles’ Creed, the Lord’s Prayer, the Ten Commandments, portions of Genesis and the Gospel of St Matthew (Allen 2011: 12).

The relative contribution of Watson and Handt to these translations is not known. Given what is known about Handt’s background it does, however, seem likely that Handt’s input to these translations and to the analysis of Wiradjuri made before Günther’s arrival in 1837 outweighed Watson’s contribution. Handt is known to have commenced learning Wiradjuri before Watson’s arrival, and to have produced his own grammar (below). He had also had a more thorough linguistic training, and his previous years in West African mission fields, and marital connection to LMS missionary W. P. Crook are likely to have exposed him to missionary grammars of non-Australian languages. Handt was also later involved with the description of Turrubul spoken around Moreton Bay, where he worked with C. Eipper (1813–1894; §4.5.2). In a letter written from Moreton Bay, Handt described to Günther at Wellington Valley the similarity between the 1sg and 2sg pronouns in Turrubul and Wiradjuri (Newton 1987: 175).

Without any positive evidence, it is possible to summarise that during the sixteen months in which Handt bided his time in Sydney waiting for instructions and for Watson to arrive from London, that he assisted Threlkeld in preparing the

grammar of Awabakal (1834) that was a finished MS in 1832. The men moved in the same institutional circles within the small colonial capital.

Both Watson and Handt independently wrote Wiradjuri grammars, which have now been lost. How similar they were is not known (Bridges 1978: 414–415). Fraser (1892: xii) claimed that Watson’s MS grammar was sold “as waste paper”, but Bridges (1978: 799) asserts that it was sold “by his widowed wife to the New South Wales government in 1871 when the government collected Aboriginal language materials for the British linguist Prof. Max Müller ... [Mrs Watson] believed the grammar to be perfect”. The fate of Handt’s grammar is unknown.

Rev. W. Ridley, who later described Gamilaraay, spoken to the north of Wiradjuri (§4.5) did, however, hold copies of both Watson’s and Günther’s grammars and vocabularies, which he returned to the Colonial Secretary of New South Wales some time before 1873 (Ridley 1873: 275–276). He described Watson’s work as being in two volumes, and stated that Watson had “entered on the work with the hope of making a much more comprehensive collection of words than he succeeded in getting”. Ridley also described how:

the amount of information furnished by Messrs. Watson and Günther concerning the grammatical structure of the language, especially the modifications of the verbs and pronouns, is remarkable. Mr Watson’s manuscript includes dialogues illustrative of the modes of thought and expression in use among the aborigines. (Ridley 1873: 276)

Missionary work at Wellington Valley was hampered by personal disagreement between the missionaries, initially between Watson and Handt, who left in 1836, and later between Watson and Günther. Watson was dismissed early in 1840 and left in October. The mission was closed in 1842 and Günther remained until the following year (Allen 2011: 7–8).

There is conflicting evidence in the primary sources concerning the extent to which Günther’s acquisition of Wiradjuri was made independently of Watson’s (Bridges 1978: 483–490) or of Handt’s. The bitterness between missionaries extended to a disagreement about the intellectual ownership of the grammatical analysis. Bridges writes:

After Watson’s expulsion from the station Günther reported that Watson had avoided assisting him to any extent, giving only very little help with the vocabulary, but that he had almost completed a grammar on his own. Watson, on the other hand, claimed that he had lent Günther his manuscript grammar and that it was not returned for upwards of two years. (Bridges 1978: 485)

4.1 Descriptions of Wiradjuri and the Wellington Valley Mission (1832–1842)

By comparing the descriptions of Wiradjuri contained in Gunther's notebooks (1838; 1840) and that published in Hale (1846), this chapter establishes that Günther's analysis of Wiradjuri did not replicate Watson's work.

4.1.1 W. Günther's grammars of Wiradjuri (1838; 1840)

The notebook containing Günther's earliest grammar (1838: 5–89; Figure 4.1) also contains translations of The Creed (ibid.: 317–318), The Ten Commandments (ibid.: 319–321), and The Lord's Prayer (ibid.: 322).¹ It is not known whether these are replicas of, or improvements on, Handt and Watson's lost translations. This notebook also contains short vocabulary of "Wanggaibuwan" (Wangaaybuwan) (ibid.: 309–313) and a slightly longer vocabulary of "Gammilurai" (Gamilaraay) (ibid.: 229–306).

Note that this is the earliest, and previously unrecognised, written record of the language name Gamilaraay (see Austin 1993: 8–10; 2008: 40). It is not known from whom Günther collected this material. Although the word for "no", is given as *kamil*, which is diagnostic of the variety referred to as Gamilaraay, spoken to the north of Wiradjuri, not all of the entries are part of what is now identified as the corpus Gamilaraay vocabulary (John Giacon, pers. comm.). Soon after first encountering the language Ridley stated:

The language I refer to is called by those who speak it "Kamilaroi" ... The languages are named generally after the negative adverb ; thus, in Kamilaroi ... *kamil* means "no" : in Wolaroi, *wol* is "no" : in Wailwun, *wail* is "no" ... From a lecture delivered in Melbourne, I see that the same plan of naming languages prevails in Victoria. (Ridley 1855b: 73)

- (1) Gamil-araay
no-COM
'the language with the word "gamil"'

As also noted by Ridley (1873: 275), the etymology of the name "Wiradjuri" is similarly formed, although the missionaries at Wellington Valley are not known to have observed this:

- (2) Wirraay-dhurraay
no-COM
'the language with the word "wirraay"'

¹The pagination given for Günther's MSS is that of the State Library of New South Wales.

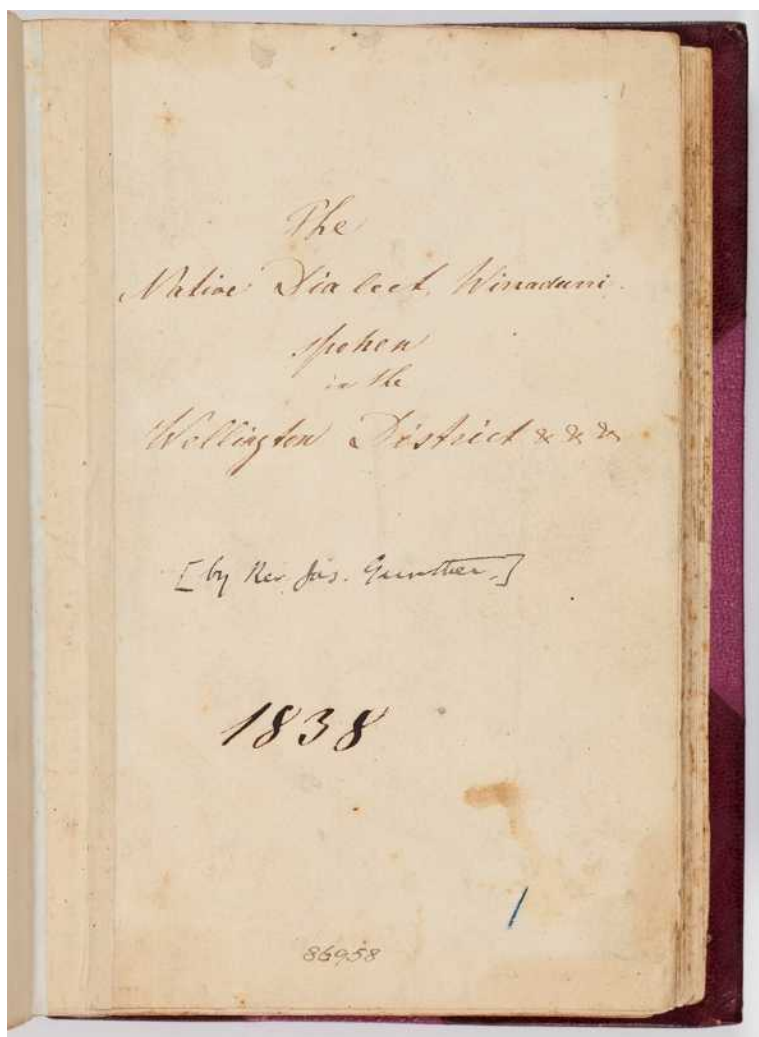


Figure 4.1: Title page of Günther's first Wiradjuri grammar (1838: 5)

The notebook containing Günther's later grammar (1840; Figure 4.2) commences with a section titled "Lecture on the Aborigines of Australia" (ibid.: 4–139). Following are *four separate* Wiradjuri vocabularies. The first and longest is dated 1837. The following two collections of "most essential words" and a "supplementary" vocabulary are all dated 1840. Interspersed between the vocabularies is a section headed "phrases in the optative, subjunctive" (ibid.: 308–309) and one describing demonstratives (ibid.: 310). There is also a translation of the first chapter

4.1 Descriptions of Wiradjuri and the Wellington Valley Mission (1832–1842)

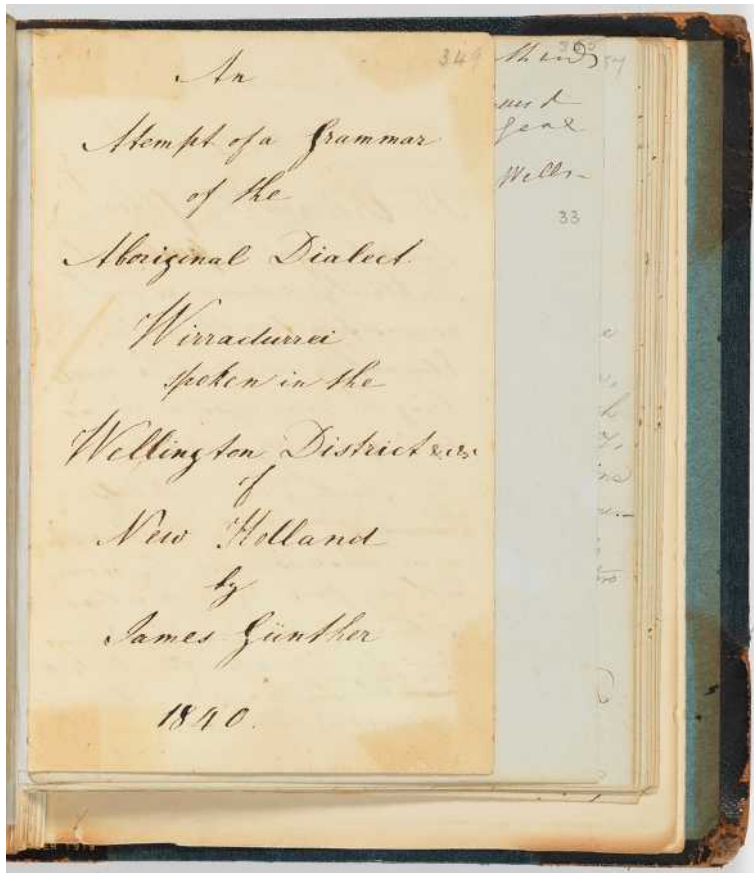


Figure 4.2: Title page of Günther second Wiradjuri grammar (1840: 337)

of Genesis (ibid.: 324–327) and a folded slip of paper upon which is written, “To be preserved / A comparison between Celtic and Aboriginal words”, which lists thirty-two Wiradjuri words “bearing affinity to the Celtic Language” (ibid.: 312, 314). This item is an early example of the “philological imagining” (Capell 1970: 633) that pervades the lexical study of Australian languages in the nineteenth century. The work concludes with the grammar, titled “An attempt of a Grammar of the Aboriginal Dialect Wirradurrei spoken in the Wellington District && [sic] of New Holland by James Günther 1840” (Figure 4.2).

Günther used multiple ampersands in the title of both grammars, after the location of the language, in order to convey “etc.”. Given the vast area in which Wiradjuri was spoken, it is probable that during twelve years of missionary activity, the missionaries were contacted by people speaking different regional va-

rieties of the language. This fact may explain some of the variation in the early sources of some of the illustrated forms, especially in the description of pronouns (Stockigt 2017; §4.4.5).

Günther's 1838 and 1840 grammars are fairly similar, although the 1840 grammar contains additional sections called "syllabication" (*sic*) and "accentuation", but does not contain sections describing the "formation of words" or, importantly, pronouns. The 1838 grammar declines personal pronouns, demonstratives, "relatives", and interrogative pronouns. This entire section is absent in the 1840 grammar. In the earliest grammar the language name is given as "Wirradurri", and in the latter as "Wirradhurrei". Otherwise, the orthography used in each work is similar.

The works are, however, different analyses, rather than incomplete versions of the same work. The way in which nominal classes of declension are set up in each work differs, as does the labelling of cases in tables of nominal declensions.

The grammars contain some clausal exemplification of the structures they describe. Most textual material is, however, contained in a section following the vocabulary headed "Sentences or phrases of the Wiradurri dialect" (Günther 1838: 249). Like other linguistic descriptions written soon after initial contact, this section provides rare insight into the intimate nature of Aboriginal contact with missionaries and Europeans (see, e.g., Example 2 on p. 23).

4.1.2 W. Günther in Fraser (1892)

Günther's MSS analyses were brought into the public arena through publication by Fraser who in his introduction to the publication of Günther's Wiradjuri material (Günther 1892) wrote:

I consider myself fortunate in having secured a publication of the Grammar and Vocabulary of so important a tribe. The following manuscript ... is especially reliable because of its author's character and experience, and because, at the time, the tribe had not yet begun to decay, and its language was entire ... The MSS. are the property of the late Mr. Günther's son ... who has lent them to me for this purpose. In editing them I have retained the author's mode of spelling the native words, and have made only some slight alterations in the form of the matter of the Grammar and Vocabulary, with the view of securing greater symmetry throughout. (Günther 1892: 56)

Günther's 1840 grammar is written in black ink. Many pages are annotated in pencil. Comparison of the MS (Günther 1840) with Günther (1892) shows that the

4.1 Descriptions of Wiradjuri and the Wellington Valley Mission (1832–1842)

notes made in pencil are Fraser's "alterations in the form of the matter" required to secure the "greater symmetry" Fraser desired. The pencilled alterations to the ordering and naming of cases in Günther's MS grammar (Figure 4.3) equate to that presented in Fraser's publication (Figure 4.4). See also Figure 4.10.

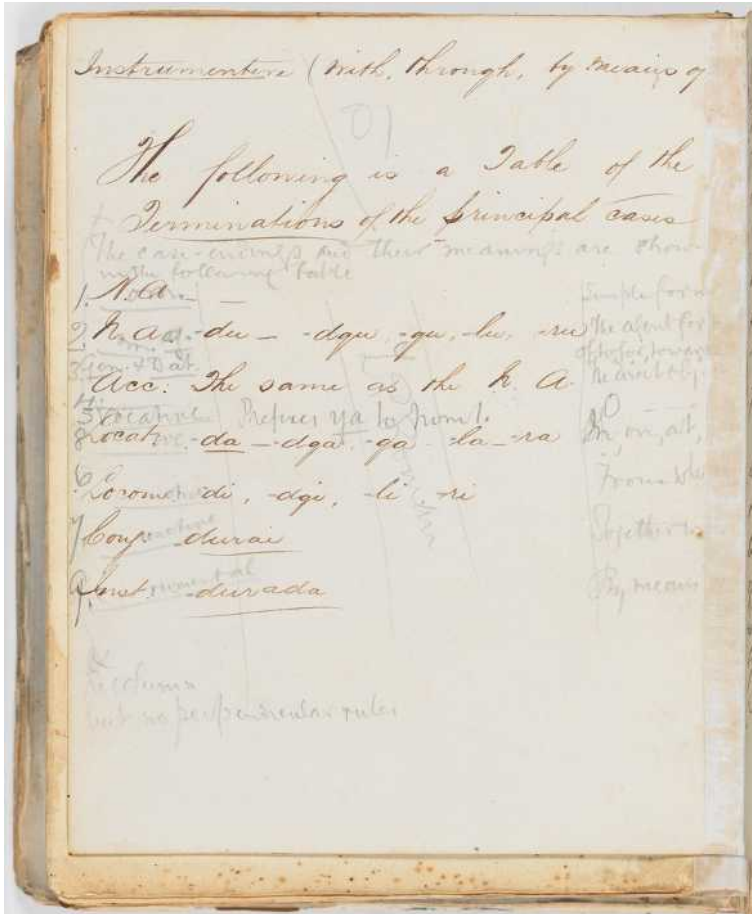


Figure 4.3: Günther's Wiradjuri case paradigm (1840: 347), showing notes made by Fraser in preparation for his 1892-edited publication. The numbers accord with those presented in 1892 (Figure 4.4)

Comparison of the two Günther MMS and Günther (1892) shows that Fraser also had access to the 1838 grammar, although this work is not annotated. Fraser's published work contains portions of analysis which were not included in 1840 but which were given in 1838, most notably the entire description of pronouns and the translations of the Lord's Prayer etc.

The case-endings and their meanings may be shown thus :—

Case.	Terminations.	Meaning.
1. <i>Nominative</i>		the simple form.
2. <i>Nom. agent.</i>	-du, -dyu, -gu, lu, -ru	the agent form.
3. <i>Genitive</i>	-gu	'of'; 'belonging to.'
4. <i>Dative</i>	-gu	'to,' 'for,' 'towards.'
5. <i>Accusative</i>	the same as <i>nom.</i> 1.	the direct object.
6. <i>Vocative</i>	prefixes <i>ya</i> to <i>nom.</i> 1.	
7. <i>Locomotive</i>	-dyi, -li, -ri	place from which.
8. <i>Conjunctive</i>	-durai or -durei	'together with.'
9. <i>Locative</i>	-da, -dya, -ya, -la, -ra	'in,' 'on,' 'at.'
10. <i>Instrumental</i>	-durada	'by means of.'

Figure 4.4: Fraser's Wiradjuri case paradigm (Günther 1892: 57)

4.2 H. Hale's comparative grammar of Wiradjuri and Awabakal (1846)

Horatio Hale (1817–1896), the American ethnologist and later mentor of Franz Boas, published a comparative grammar of two Australian languages in the *Reports of the United States Exploring Expedition* (1846). The work was made early in Hale's career after graduation from Harvard (1833–1837), where he had studied Algonquian. An early exponent of the study of linguistics within ethnology, Hale was selected as the philologist on the United States Exploring Expedition (1838–1842) and subsequently authored Vol. VI of the expedition report, *Ethnology and Philology* (1846). The work detailed people and languages of Oceania, Australia, South America and northwest America, and included the Australian comparative grammar (ibid.: 479–531).

Hale advocated that the examination of grammatical structure was equally important as lexical comparison in determining a relationship between languages, and hence people. In relation to the position of Australian languages he stated:

Besides the similarity of words ... it was considered important to ascertain whether an equal degree of resemblance was apparent in the grammatical structure of the different languages. With this view it was thought best to select two dialects as widely separated as possible, and determine ... their leading characteristics (1846: 481).

Echoing Hale is the statement given the following year by the British ethnologist and physician James Prichard (Prichard 1847: 272) in his well-informed overview of existing research into Australian languages: "correspondences in vocabularies would not have afforded by themselves sufficient proof of a family

4.2 *H. Hale's comparative grammar of Wiradjuri and Awabakal (1846)*

relation between the Australian languages. But the evidence afforded by it has been confirmed by grammatical researches”.

The two languages Hale “selected” – in reality, probably the only two he had good access to via established missions – were Awabakal and Wiradjuri. Hale visited New South Wales between November 1839 and March 1840 and stayed with missionary Threlkeld at Lake Macquarie mission and with missionary Watson at Wellington Valley (Wilkes 1845). Hale referred to the language that Threlkeld had not named, but had identified by location, as “Kāmlarai”. His reasons for doing so are not clear. Hale does not refer to the three Lutheran grammars of South Australian languages (Teichelmann & Schürmann 1840; Meyer 1843; Schürmann 1844a) or to Symmons’ description of Nyungar (1841) from Western Australia, which were all published in the years between the expedition’s visit to New South Wales and the publication of the Reports.

In the same year as the publication of the Expedition report, both Schürmann (1846: 249) and Moorhouse (1846: vi) discussed grammatical structures that they believed indicated that Australian languages belonged to a single family (§6.2, §6.4.1). These South Australians identified a greater number of shared features from a larger sample of languages than did Hale (1846: 479), who himself stated that “his field of inquiry did not extend beyond the limits of New South Wales”.

The Wiradjuri and Awabakal linguistic material Hale presented is almost entirely based on the missionaries’ analyses. In recollection of his time at Wellington Valley, Hale recalls that Wiradjuri grammatical description was supplied to him by Watson, who:

not only gave every assistance in obtaining a vocabulary from the natives, but did us the unexpected favour of drawing up an account of the most important peculiarities of the language, modelled as nearly as possible on Mr Threlkeld, for the purpose of comparison. This here is given with only a slight change of form. (Hale 1846: 482)

While it is not clear what process Hale implied when stating that Watson “drew up an account” of the language, it is probable that it involved copying out existing grammatical material, in the way that later missionaries at Bethesda and Hermannsburg are known to have reproduced the existing analyses of Diyari and Arrernte (§8.2, §9.3). It is not known whether “Watson’s grammar” reproduced the analysis by the Lutheran, Church Missionary Society missionary Handt, who had left the mission four years before Hale’s arrival, or whether Handt’s and Watson’s materials differed.

It is odd that Hale makes no mention of the German-speaking Basel-trained missionary Günther who was also at the mission in 1840. Günther had produced at least one MS grammar and vocabulary (1838) at the time of Hale's visit. The oddity is probably explained by the coincidence of Hale's visit with Watson's dismissal in early 1840, when tension between the two missionaries was likely to have been most heightened.

Capell (1970: 666) suggests Hale's "guiding hand" is evident in the spelling system employed in Günther's grammars, which he describes as "reasonably phonemic". This, however, cannot be the case, since Günther's 1838 grammar was completed well before Hale visited Australia, and because the orthography Günther used in the 1838 MS is not substantially different from that employed in 1840. Note that although the spelling of the language name used in Günther's MSS differs from (Figure 4.1, Figure 4.2) Hale's representation, "Wiradurei" differs again. Of the Awabakal material, Hale (1846: 482) stated: "The grammar ... which follows is therefore entirely due to Mr Threlkeld, the only changes being in the orthography, the arrangement, and some of the nomenclature". A small proportion of the analysis may, however, be Hale's own. Hale (1846: 482) also wrote that while at Lake Macquarie he "received [from Threlkeld] many useful explanations on the points not sufficiently elucidated in the grammar, together with free access to his unpublished notes, and the advantage of reference, on doubtful points to the natives".

Hale presented the "Wiradurei" and "Kāmilarai" (Awabakal) material in adjacent columns giving equivalent structures for each language side by side (Figure 4.5). Hale described the format as favourable because "the points of resemblance and dissimilarity may be seized at once ... [and because] the necessity of repeating many explanations is avoided" (Hale 1846: 484).

The same format was later engaged by Flierl & Meyer (1880) in a comparative grammar of Diyari and Wangkangurru (§8.4.1.1) and by C. Strehlow (1910) in a comparative grammar of Arrernte and Luritja (§9.2.3.3). Note that while Hale commented that the format allowed for an efficient presentation of points of grammatical similarity *and* dissimilarity, the later missionaries' use of this method tended to assume that the structure of the two languages presented side-by-side would necessarily be equivalent. Nineteenth-century corpus grammarians tended to overestimate the structural homogeneity of Australian linguistic structures, in keeping with conclusions drawn by Grey (1845; Figure 5.1; §6.4.1), Moorhouse (1846: v-vi), and Ridley (1856b: 293).

Hale (1846: 485) was the first to suggest that orthographic differentiation between voiced and unvoiced stops was superfluous, *contra* Koch (2011a: 154; 2008: 184) and Blake (2016), who attribute this discovery to Mathews' works, made

K Ā M I L A R A I.	W I R A D U R E I.
INDEFINITE FORM.	INDEFINITE FORM.
<i>boṇṇoa kotān</i> , she is	
<i>yēn kotān</i> , we are, &c.	<i>yiani yiyinya</i> , we are, &c.
Rem. Past. <i>katāla</i> , I was formerly	Inst. Pres. <i>yāwana</i> , I am
Rec. P. <i>kakōla</i> , I was lately	Past Aor. <i>yipyi</i> , I was
Plup. <i>kakōlata</i> , I had lately been	Inst. Past. <i>yāwani</i> , I was just now
Hod. P. <i>kakēn</i> , I was to-day	Pret. <i>yigwain</i> , I have been
Fut. Aor. <i>kakōnn</i> , I shall be	Inst. Pret. <i>yāwan</i> , I have just been
Cras. F. <i>kakin</i> , I shall be to-morrow	Rem. P. <i>yigunān</i> , I was formerly
Inc. F. <i>kakili-kolay</i> , I am going to be	Hod. P. <i>yiparin</i> , I was this morning
	Hest. P. <i>yigurani</i> , I was yesterday
	Plup. <i>yipini</i> , I had been
	Prox. Fut. <i>yigiri</i> , I shall soon be
	Inst. Fut. <i>yāwagiri</i> , I shall be immediately
	Rem. Fut. <i>yiparigiri</i> , I shall be hereafter
	Cras. Fut. <i>yipariwagiri</i> , I shall be to-morrow
	Fut. Pret. <i>yipyigiri</i> , I shall have been

Figure 4.5: Page showing tense terminology employed by H. Hale in a comparative grammar of Awabakal and Wiradjuri (1846: 498)

over half a century later. That Hale's practice has remained historically unrecognised tells of the infancy of Australian linguistic historiography. Hale also used engma (ŋ) to represent the velar nasal, before Ridley (1855a; §4.5), to whom Austin (2008: 41) attributes the accolade. Note, however, that Dawes (1790–1791a: 1ff.; 1790–1791b) had used engma well before either of these nineteenth century grammarians.

Since the Wiradjuri material presented in Hale (1846) was produced specifically for Hale by missionary Watson, the comparison of the Günther MSS (1838; 1840) with Hale (1846) shows the extent to which Günther's grammars are a result of his own analysis. While both show some influence from Threlkeld (1834), Hale's presentation of Wiradjuri is significantly different from either of the Günther MSS, suggesting that Günther and Watson made independent analyses of the language. The works differ from one another not only in the presentation of the material but also in terms of the data given to illustrate what appear to be the same structures.

4.3 R. H. Mathews

This short section provides some background for R. H. Mathews (1841–1918), whose grammars of Wiradjuri (1904) and Gamilaraay (1903b) are mentioned in

this chapter. Like Wiradjuri, Gamilaraay was spoken over a vast area of New South Wales (Austin 1992: 2–3). Like Wiradjuri, Gamilararray was described by a missionary close to the time of first contact (Ridley 1875; §4.5) and was subsequently described by Mathews early in the twentieth century.

Mathews' grammatical descriptions have been previously assessed by Koch (2008). His analysis of various PN languages, described as a bibliographer's nightmare (Koch 2008: 181), conforms to his developed framework with regularity. Koch (2008: 183) describes the formulaic nature of Mathews' description of phonology: "Each article gives essentially the same information, except that the examples are always taken from the language under description". The same is true of his morpho-syntactic analyses. Earlier evaluations of Mathews' work were similarly lacklustre. Elkin (1937: 133) appraised Mathews' linguistic work as "very superficial", and Ray commented:

Mathews published short grammatical notes of a great many languages but singularly failed to appreciate the necessity of a detailed account of the suffixes ... He gives usually only the number, gender and some cases of the noun, a brief account of the adjective, some forms of the pronouns (the interrogative and demonstrative often being without details) with the principal tenses of the verb and a few adverbs and prepositions. (Ray 1925: 2)

And C. Strehlow's German editor, M. von Leonhardi (1908b; §9.2.2) described Mathews' ethnographic observations as "practically totally useless".

Mathews' grammars are predominantly of languages from the southeast of the continent, where he initially encountered Aboriginal groups in the 1870s while working as a surveyor and later magistrate in district courts (Thomas 2011). Without underemphasising the importance of the record left by Mathews – a large number of Pama-Nyungan languages would otherwise be vastly less well understood without his Latinate tables of pronominal paradigms, nominal declensions and verb conjugations – his grammars portray PN languages as differing more in form than in structure. They are formulaic to the point of providing a single analysis for multiple languages. Mathews' grammatical work on Gumbaynggir (1902; 1910), for example, is described by Eades (1979: 256) as "very similar in organisation to his articles on many other N. S. W. languages". Mathews' lack of engagement with basic nuance of Gumbaynggir is indicated by the fact that "no mention is made of the split case system for nouns and pronouns ... processes of nominalisation and verbalisation ... the class of irregular verbs ... or derived adverbs ... There is no indication of complex sentence structures" (Eades 1979: 257).

Stockigt (2017; §4.4.5.1) compares these early missionary grammars with Mathews' later grammars of Wiradjuri (1904) and Gamilararray (1903b). Differences between Mathews' analysis of Wiradjuri and the early missionary sources are found to be mirrored by the differences between Mathews' analysis of Gamilaraay and the earlier missionary analysis of that language (Ridley 1875), indicating Mathews' regularisation of grammatical material previously documented by Eades (1979: 256). Further evidence of Mathews' tendency to fit linguistic structure to his own rigid framework is shown through a comparison of description of the inclusive/exclusive distinction in first-person non-singular pronouns in early grammars of languages spoken in New South Wales, Awabakal, Wiradjuri and Gamilaraay, and in Arrernte (Stockigt 2017; §4.5).

4.4 W. Günther's analysis of Wiradjuri

Günther's grammatical descriptions of Wiradjuri (1838; 1840), made towards the end of missionary engagement with Wiradjuri at Wellington Valley mission, were written with an air of descriptive confidence. The grammars are organised around a reduced inventory of the classical parts of speech. Günther (1838: 13) explained in his opening passage that the article was not relevant to the description, after which he wrote, "Postpositions are neither to be met with in this dialect, postfixes must serve for the purpose", and explained that the functions carried by the article and by some conjunctions in familiar languages were conveyed by "postfixes" in Wiradjuri. Günther did not discuss morphology under the word-class heading "pre/post-position" or under "postfixes".

While other early grammarians (e.g., Meyer 1843; §6.1.2.1) drew a parallel between the function of the word-class "pre/post-positions" and "case terminations", Günther's analysis is radical in abandoning the word-class "pre/post-positions" altogether. This particular remodelling of the traditional descriptive framework to better accommodate PN structure is atypical of the corpus grammars, but was later employed in grammars of languages spoken in New South Wales, by Ridley (1875; §4.5.4) and subsequently by Livingstone (1892; §4.6.1). While Livingstone's choice was well considered, the absence of this part of speech from Ridley's grammars probably reflects the general sparseness of Ridley's descriptions.

In other instances, Günther presented traditional schemata but stated that the category was not required to account for the structure of Wiradjuri. After providing a case paradigm for the "relative pronoun", for example, Günther explained that the forms functioned only as interrogatives:

Relatives seem to be the same thing with the following Interrogatives. It does indeed not appear that Relatives are used except in as much as they are interrogatives. (Günther 1838: 32)

Further, under the traditionally prescribed heading “comparison of adjectives”, Günther, like Threlkeld, did not attempt to force an analysis of the morphological marking of comparative and superlative degrees, but stated:

Comparisons are formed in a very imperfect manner, or, rather, expressed very indistinctly, for there is strictly speaking no form of comparatives [illegible section crossed out] Thus to say, this is better than that, **Nginna marong, wirai nginna**; “This is good, not this”. **Nginna marrombang na-naing**; “This very good, that also, or this is as good as that”. (Threlkeld 1834: 10)

Regarding the passive, Günther’s analysis is particularly astute. Initially he observed that the European passive is conveyed:

by putting the object [in] accusative and using the active form [of the verb], but the agent or instrument with whom or which the action suffered originates is not named. (Günther 1840: 366)

That a transitive clause with an elided agent was functionally equivalent to the SAE passive construction was commonly proposed in the early sources (§2.3.3). However, Günther went on to state that:

The form referred to is not in reality a Passive, but an Active sentence; only for the sake of laying more emphasis on the Verb or action done, the Noun or agent is ... omitted. (Günther 1840: 366)

The firmness with which Günther shows that the supposed passive forms are in fact not passive suggests that his statement was designed to correct an earlier analysis, either Watson’s or Handt’s grammar of Wiradjuri (no date) or Threlkeld’s grammar of Awabakal (1834: 28).

4.4.1 Description of number

Günther (1838: 57; 1840: 354) was the first PN grammarian to observe that nouns that are unmarked for number have no specific or default number reference, and number is instead determined through context (Dixon 2002a: 77). He wrote: “The plural ... appears to be very rarely made use of, the singular form being often

taken for plural signification". Later grammarians who similarly observed that "the singular is used ... where the context shows that the plural number is obviously required" (Strehlow 1944) include Roth (1901: 16), Livingstone (1892: 6), Schoknecht (1947 [1872]), Reuther (1894: 3) and Hey (1903: 11).

Günther described inflection on nouns for plural number (1838: 57; 1840: 354) but did not provide a paradigm. Nor did he state a syntagmatic rule regarding the relative ordering of inflections for plural number and case on nouns.

Neither Günther nor Hale (1846: 485) described the morphological marking of dual number on nouns. Nor had Threlkeld in his earlier grammar of Awabakal. In this way, their analyses resemble Livingstone's description of Minjangbal (1892; §4.6.1), also spoken in New South Wales.

4.4.2 Morphophonology

Günther's description of morphophonemic processes is sophisticated in comparison to that of other corpus grammarians. Ray (1925: 4) described Günther's grammar as among only a few works which note "the phonetic changes when particles are affixed". Ray's assessment is presumably based on Günther in Fraser (Günther 1892: 59), which is heavily edited and reads more succinctly than the original (Günther 1840: 348). Nevertheless, Günther's original description is in this regard remarkable.

Threlkeld (1834: 11) had earlier provided a detailed account of how the shape of stem-final phonological segments affects the shape of the case suffix. He did so by presenting a series of rules accounting for variation in the ergative suffix (Figure 3.12). Günther accounted for the variant forms of suffixes marking the same cases on nouns (1840: 348) and the same tenses on verbs (1840: 349) in terms of phonological process. He wrote:

[T]he letter "r" is changed into its relative liquid "l"[,] and "n" for the sake of euphony into "m" (vide Assimilation). Thus euphony also demands that "a" terminating the root be modified into the diphthong (sic) "ai". (Günther 1840: 349)

Attention to morphophonemic processes is not part of the older tradition of the description of classical European languages. It was not until the late eighteenth century, largely through the writings of M. Kruszewski (1851–1887) that linguistic theory developed to take account of morphophonology. In a history of morphophonemics, Kilbury writes:

When Western scholars finally turned their attention to problems in the area of morphophonemics and morphonology, it was largely though the influence of these [i.e., Semitic and Sanskrit] non-western grammatical traditions. (Kilbury 1976: 13)

Günther's pre-theoretical discussion used terms such as "assimilation", "euphony" and "liquid", in a way that is atypical of the corpus grammars. Of verbs Günther wrote:

Indeed there is only one original or fundamental conjugation which undergoes a little alteration according to the termination of the verb in the present tense [. ... I]t depends principally on the penultimate vowel or syllable, perhaps more properly speaking it depends on the termination, the last letter of the radical part of the word. (Günther 1838: 65)

Of nouns he wrote:

Properly speaking there is only one original or fundamental declension, but the assimilation of letters to which the language has a strong tendency causes in a few cases slight variation arguably to the last letter of the noun. (Günther 1840: 344)

Günther nevertheless established five conjugation classes of verbs (1838: 75; Figure 4.6). He presented seven declension classes of nouns in 1838 (pp. 50–56) and five in 1840 (pp. 349–353), from which Fraser (1892: 58) tabulated eight classes (Figure 4.7). Günther presented these verbal conjugation and nominal declension classes despite recognising, and being able to explain, that they were motivated by morphophonemic variation. In this way, Günther accounted for morphophonology twice, once using terminology and explanations not found in classical description, and second by conveying the variation within the traditional schema. This type of double representation using both an innovative descriptive technique and a traditionally prescribed schema to account for the foreign structure is also evident in some grammarians' presentation of cases marking functions outside the Latin inventory as both case suffixes and as prepositions (§3.4.6).

Mathews' later description of Wiradjuri (1904) gave only a single declension class of nouns and a single conjugation class of verbs. While acknowledging the existence of morphophonemic processes, Mathews' description (*ibid.*: 287) fails to provide any detail further than stating "the agent suffix has euphonic changes

according to the termination of the word it is attached to. This may be said of the suffixes in all the cases". He does not mention morphophonemic variation of verb morphology. In this regard Günther's grammar is a more informative source.

Günther's and Threlkeld's motivation to supply nominal classes of declension, which they made while recognising that in most instances these were induced by phonological alteration at the juncture of the "root" and the "termination", may have been motivated by another, non-linguistic factor. The provision of multiple declension classes may have been favoured in order to demonstrate the language's sophistication. Related to the superiority of the Indo-European "flectional" languages was the Humboldtian notion that the particular ways in which "sound-forms" are shaped within words to express meanings demonstrated and contributed to the mental development of these languages' speakers (see Losonsky 1999). T. G. H. Strehlow (1944) for example, held the prejudice when stating that the "single-type declension" of the noun in Arrernte highlights the "primitive character of the native language".

By way of comparison, Ridley's (1855b; 1856a) grammars of Gamilaraay do not attempt to convey case allomorphy (see Austin 1993: 62) by establishing classes of nominal declension or by stating morphophonemic rules.

According to Austin (1993: 63), although Ridley "failed to notice that there are four allomorphs of the ergative affix [he]... used the other allomorphs of this case affix correctly" when translating the Bible. By contrast, Giacon (2014: 5) de-

	Present	Imperfect	Perfect	Future	Imperative	Infinitive
1 Yanama	Yanama	Yanai	Yanamaia	Yanamaia	Yanamaia	Yanamaia
2 Yama	Yama	Yamai	Yamaia	Yamaia	Yamaia	Yamaia
3 Badama	Badama	Badai	Badamaia	Badamaia	Badamaia	Badamaia
4 Buama	Buama	Buai	Buamaia	Buamaia	Buamaia	Buamaia
5 Gadambama	Gadambama	Gadambai	Gadambamaia	Gadambamaia	Gadambamaia	Gadambamaia

The Imperative is often adverbial, naida - na, zalla - za, malla - ma.

Figure 4.6: Günther's five conjugations of the Wiradjuri verb (1838: 75)

PARADIGM OF THE DECLENSION OF NOUNS.							
Cases.	Declensions						
	1st. Maddan 'wood'	2nd. Barai 'log'	3rd. Giwaldain 'cook'	4th. Balli 'belly'	5th. Bulbin 'shirtwaist'	6th. Ugal 'young man'	7th. Inar 'woman'
8th. Wallang 'stone'							
1. Maddan	Burai	Giwaldain	Balli	Bulbin	Ugal	Inar	Wallang
2. Maddandu	Buradu	Giwaldandu	Balldiyu	Bulbindyu	Ugallu	Inardu	Wallangu
3. & 4. Maddangu	Buraigu	Giwaldangu	Balligu	Balbingu	Ugalgu	Inargu	Wallangu
5. Maddan	Barai	Giwaldain	Balli	Bulbin	Ugal	Inar	Wallang
6. Ya maddan	the vocative prefixes <i>ya</i> to the simple nominative						
7. Maddandi	Buraidyi	Giwaldaiydi	Balldiyi	Bulbindyi	Ugalli	Inarri	Wallandi
8. Maddandurai		Giwaldandurai	Balldurai	Bulbindurai	Ugalurai	Inardurai	Wallandurai
9. Maddanda	Burada		Balldiya	Bulbindiya	Ugalla	Inarra	Wallanga
10. Maddandurada	Buraidurada	Giwaldandurada	Balldurada	Bulbindurada	Ugalurada	Inardurada	Wallandurada
*These words are shown here in all the principal cases only for the sake of example.							
*Thus also is declined <i>ny</i> final, even when preceded by the vowel <i>i</i> ; as, <i>kaling</i> , 'water,' <i>nom. ag.</i> , <i>kalindyu</i> , &c., &c.							
NOTE.—By using other postfixes, additional cases may be formed; e.g., <i>birandi</i> and <i>biranga</i> , added to the proper name <i>Bidarai</i> , give <i>Bidarai-birandi</i> and <i>Bidarai-biranga</i> , 'from ('at') Bidarai's place.'							

Figure 4.7: Fraser's presentation of eight declension classes in Wiradjuri (Günther 1892: 58)

scribes the style of language used in the Gamilaraay primer (1856b) as “extremely simplified ... without ergative forms.” Although Giacon (2014: 23–24) concludes that the lack of ergative marking in Ridley’s translations results from morphosyntactic simplification, it is important to note that Ridley (1875) explicitly describes ergative optionality in Gamilaraay, stating: “Often, however, the agent suffix is omitted, even before an active verb”.

Although Mathews did not describe allomorphy in Wiradjuri, he did in Gamilaraay (Mathews 1903b: 262–262), referring to the modification of case suffixes attaching to words with different endings as occurring “for the sake of euphony”. Austin (1993: 64–65), however, suggests his description of dative allomorphy “perhaps attempt[ed] to overgeneralise along the lines of allomorphy for the ergative”.

4.4.3 Case paradigms

Table 4.1 summarises the labels given to nominal case markers in the early grammars of Wiradjuri, and the English prepositional phrase by which forms were translated and shows the case-labels assigned to forms in Grant & Rudder’s reclaimed grammar.

Günther extended the classical case paradigm to accommodate the larger PN case inventory, generally giving nine cases. It is likely that in doing so, he was influenced by Threlkeld (although note that an alternative but unsubstantiated

Table 4.1: Names given to case suffixes on nouns in different Wiradjuri sources

Forms (first declension, Fraser 1892: 58*)	Günther (1838)	Günther (1840)	Fraser (1892)	Form translated as:	Hale (1846)	Form translated as:	Grant & Rudder (2001, 2014)
Unmarked	nominative	nominative	nominative	"X"	simple	"X"	nominative
-du - <i>dhu</i>	declarative	declarative	nominative	"X does"	nominative active	"X does will"	ergative
-gu - <i>gu</i>	nominative agentive	nominative agentive	nominative agentive	"belonging to X"	nominative genitive -guna	"of X"	possessive, purposive, allative
-gu	genitive	dative	genitive	"to or for X"	-guba	"for X"	possessive, purposive, allative
Unmarked	dative	dative	dative	"X"	dative 1	"X"	accusative
-di - <i>dhi</i>	accusative	accusative	accusative	"from X"	-	"from by, about, concerning X"	ablative
-durai	ablative 1	locomotive	locomotive	"with X"	ablative	-	comitative
- <i>dthuray</i>	ablative 2	conjunctive	conjunctive	"in, on X"	-	-	locative
-da - <i>dha</i>	ablative 3	locative	locative	"being with X"	dative 2	"to, towards X"	instrumental
-durada**	ablative 4	instrumental	instrumental	"at X's place"	-	-	-
- <i>dhura-dhu</i>	ablative 5	-	-	-	-	-	-
- <i>birrangga</i> †	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

*Shows inflectional allomorph occurring on a stem ending in "a" or "n" (Grant & Rudder 2001: 22–24). **The fourth ablative case, later called "instrumentative" and translated as "being with" occurs only in some of Günther's paradigms. †In the earliest grammar Günther (1838: 55) gave a distinct declension for the proper name "Badarai".

lineage would place Handt as the originator of the practice in both languages; see §3.4, §4.1). Günther wrote:

The number of cases cannot easily be fixed, since almost every relation in which a noun may be placed, on account of the entire absence of prepositions, is signified by some postfix or other, hence cases must of necessity be numerous. (Günther 1840: 345)

Günther followed Threlkeld's method of naming additional cases in his earlier grammar (Günther 1838: 55). Like Threlkeld's case paradigms, Günther's case paradigms of nouns (1838: 49–56) show up to four numbered ablative cases (Figure 4.8). He did not, however, show numbered dative cases. Günther's choice to engage this numbering system was well considered. He stated:

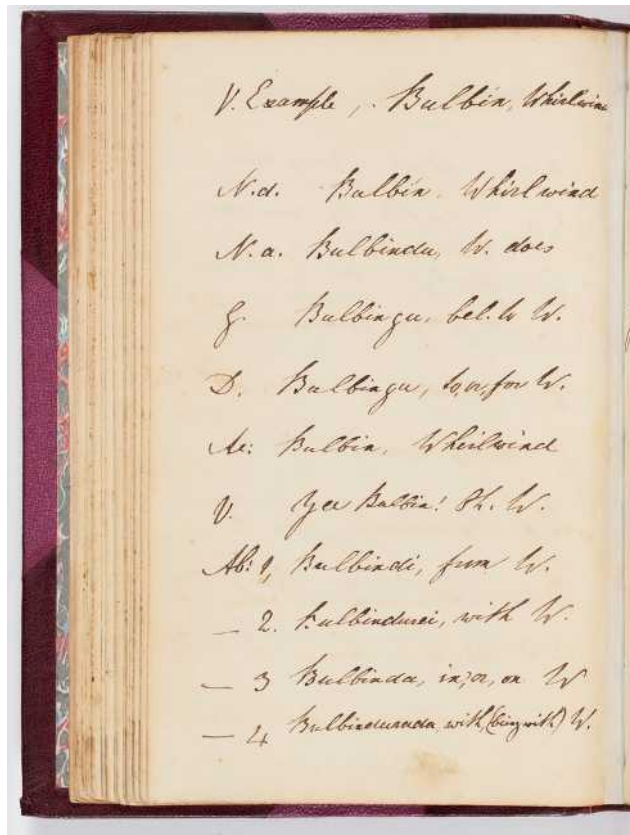


Figure 4.8: Günther's first Wiradjuri case paradigm (Günther 1838: 54)

If we do not invent new names for the cases peculiar to this language but confine ourselves to the cases known to Latin or Greek scholars we must speak of a 1. 2nd & Ablative terms locative, instrumentative or [illegible] might be accepted as appellations for these new or uncommon cases. (Günther 1838: 48)

Günther's more complete pronominal case paradigms also show multiple ablative cases, which are differentiated by letters (1838: 15–17).

In his later grammar, Günther abandoned Threlkeld's numbering system, and his own lettering system for pronouns, and instead provided names for the extra cases (Figure 4.9). He wrote:

To give a distinct significance to the uncommon or peculiar cases of the noun and to avoid speaking of 1st 2nd [illegible] Ablative, new apelations

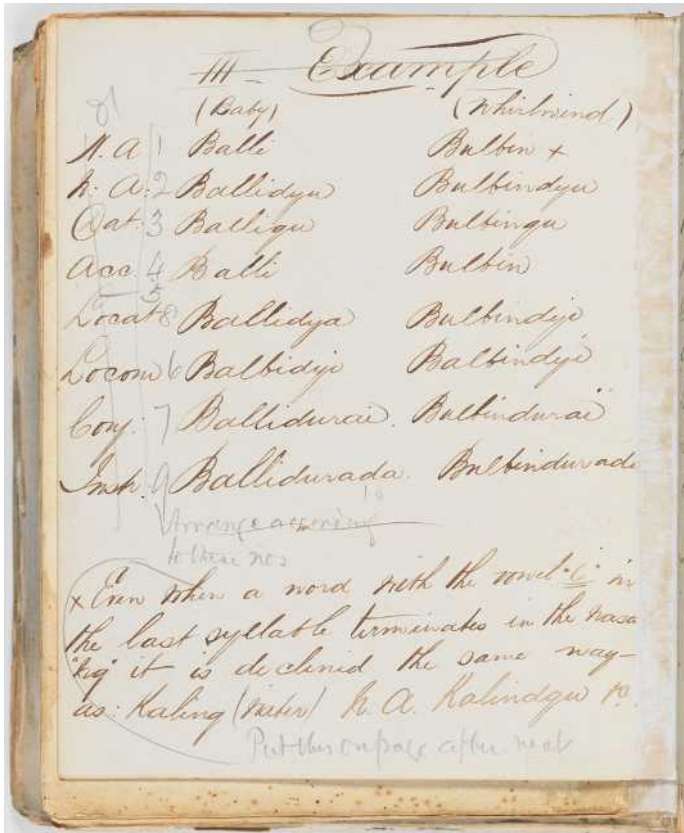


Figure 4.9: Günther's second Wiradjuri case paradigm (1840: 351)

[sic] have been adopted as far as practicable such as Locative (in, on, at) Locomotive (from whence) Conjunctive (with accompanying, conjointly) Instrumentative (with, through, by means of). (Günther 1840: 346–347)

The case termed “ablative 1” in 1838 is termed “locomotive” in 1840. The “ablative 2” is termed “conjunctive”. The “ablative 3” is termed “locative” and the “ablative 4”, “instrumentative” (Table 4.1). A minority of later corpus grammarians assigned names to cases that are extraneous to the Latin inventory (Meyer 1843, Taplin 1867; Taplin 1872; Taplin 1878; Hagenauer 1878; Bulmer 1878 and Strehlow 1908, 1910). None of these, with the possible exception of C. Strehlow (§9.3.4.1) show an influence from Günther or Günther in Fraser. Günther’s innovative presentation of Wiradjuri case had little, if any, further influence.

4.4.4 Ergativity

Günther’s descriptions of ergativity are very similar to the ones by Threlkeld. Günther placed the ergative, “nominative active”, case in second position at the top of the paradigm after the nominative “nominative declarative” case (Figure 4.10). He is the only corpus grammarian to label the nominative case the “nominative declarative”. Fraser later omitted this term from the 1892 Wiradjuri grammar based on Günther.

Note that Günther’s hand-written abbreviation of “nominative declarative” to “n.d.” in paradigms is difficult to differentiate from the abbreviation for “nominative active”, “n.a.”.

Other corpus grammarians who, like Günther and Threlkeld, placed ergative forms in second paradigmatic position were Ridley (1875: 6), Symmons (1841: xiii; 1892: 52) for pronouns but not for nouns, and Moorhouse (1846: 2–3) for nouns but not for pronouns. Later corpus grammarians, commencing with Teichelmann & Schürmann (1840), presented ergative forms differently (§5.4.2).

Günther’s (1838: 47) clarification of ergative function was also similar to Threlkeld’s posing of questions that the ergative and nominative forms would be given in answer to (§3.4.9.1; Figure 3.11, Figure 3.13). Günther wrote:

Particularly strange appears the peculiarity that there are two Nominatives, the simple nominative or the nominative declarative corresponding to the question, “Who is it” and the active nominative [used] when the person or thing is considered as an agent, answering to the question, “Who does it?”

Again, it appears that in these regards Günther was strongly guided by Threlkeld’s practices, although it remains unknown how Handt’s earlier Wiradjuri analysis was formulated, and indeed whether Handt had originally steered the presentation of Threlkeld’s Awabakal material (§3.4, §4.1).

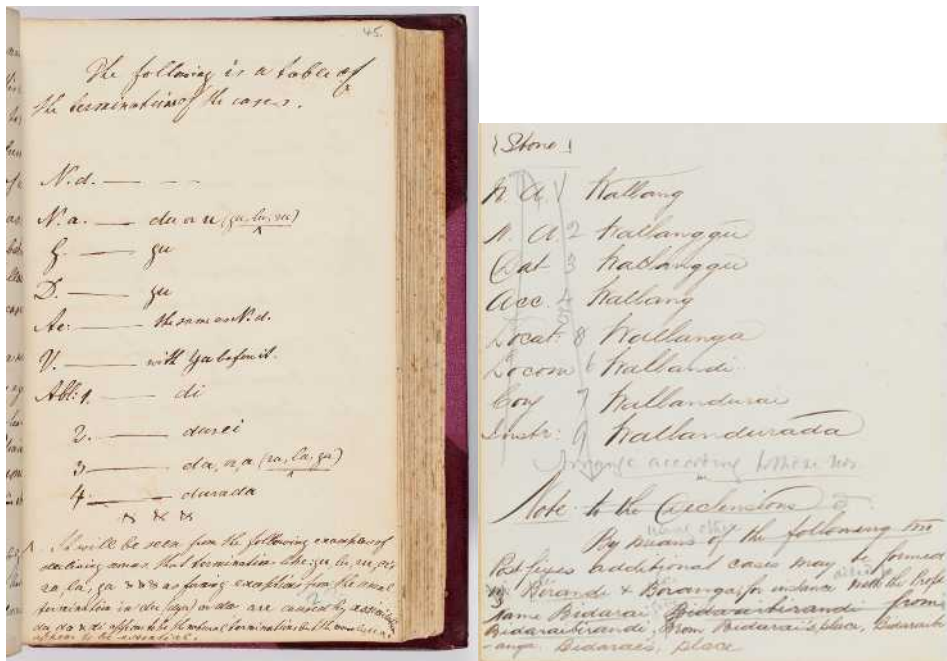


Figure 4.10: Günther's presentations of the ergative case termed "nominative active" (1838: 49; 1840: 353)

4.4.5 H. Hale's analysis of case

Threlkeld's 1834 presentation of the case paradigm showing ten cases with its naming of cases not included in the Latin inventory as separately numbered "ablatives" were practices followed by Hale (1846) when describing Awabakal. Importantly, these practices were *not* employed by Hale when describing Wiradjuri. Hale's presentation of Wiradjuri, which was based on Watson's (no date) analysis, shows seven cases and includes a *single* ablative case and a second dative case (Figure 4.12(a)). This difference shows that Watson's presentation of Wiradjuri, upon which Hale's grammar was based, was not the same as Günther's.

In support of the supposition that differences between Hale's and Günther's analyses result from Hale's replication of Watson's Wiradjuri paradigms, rather than from his own rearrangement of the missionaries' grammars, is the similarity between Hale's "Kāmilarai" (Awabakal) paradigm (1846: 486) and Threlkeld's (1834). Hale's Awabakal paradigm follows Threlkeld (Figure 4.12(b)) in providing multiple "ablatives". Suffixes marking cases included in Günther's paradigms (Table 4.1) are shown as prepositions by Hale (1846: 492). While Hale's Awaba-

kal analysis follows Threlkeld’s closely, his Wiradjuri analysis does not resemble Günther’s.

Thus, Günther’s presentation of Wiradjuri case differs from that given by earlier missionaries at Wellington Valley Mission.

WIRADUREI.

Inar, woman, and *burál*, bed, will serve as examples of the third declension.

Simple nom.	<i>inar</i>	<i>burál</i>
Act. nom.	<i>inaru</i>	<i>burálu</i>
Gen.	<i>inarguna</i>	<i>burálguba</i>
1st Dat.	<i>inargu</i>	<i>burálgu</i>
2d Dat.	<i>inara</i>	<i>burála</i>
Abl.	<i>inari</i>	<i>buráli</i>

The following is an example of a noun varied according to the first declension, or that appropriated to the names of persons.

Birabán, a man's name (meaning, properly, Eagle-hawk).

Simple nom. *Birabán*

Act. nom. *Birabáto*, B. does, did, will, &c.

Gen. *Birabánimba*, belonging to B.

1st Dat. *Birabánnuy*, for B.

2d Dat. *Birabánkinko*, to, toward B.

Acc. *Birabánnuy*, *Birabán*

1st Abl. *Birabánkai*, from, on account of B.

2d Abl. *Birabánkibiruy*, away from B.

3d Abl. *Birabánkatoa*, along with B.

4th Abl. *Birabánkinta*, remaining with B.

(a) Wiradjuri (Hale 1846: 487)

(b) Awabakal (Hale 1846: 486)

Figure 4.11: Hale’s case paradigms

4.4.6 Bound pronouns

Günther (1838; 1840) made only a single *explicit* reference to the existence of bound pronouns in Wiradjuri (Figure 4.12). Günther’s sound knowledge of the language allowed him to elucidate how the marking of a possessive NP for clausal case occurred in one of two ways, depending on whether the NP included a free or bound pronoun. He wrote:

If the Possessive Pronoun is put before the noun, it [i.e., the noun] accepts of its termination or in other words is declined. But the more common practice is to put the pronoun behind as a postfix in an abbreviated form. (Günther 1840: 355)

The forms given to illustrate the “postfix” being placed “behind” the noun are of the structure:

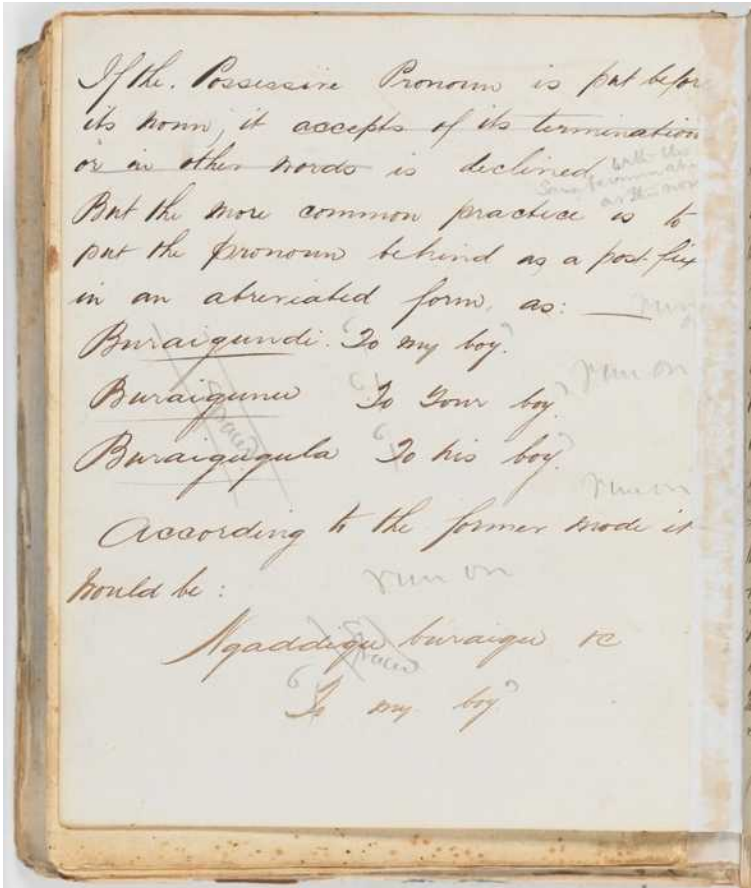


Figure 4.12: Günther's illustration of an "abbreviated" pronoun used as a "postfix" (1840: 355)

- (3) buraigundi
 'to my boy'
 (Günther 1840: 355)
 Burai-gu-N-dhi
 boy-DAT-?-1SG.POSS
- (4) Buraigunu
 'to your boy'
 (Günther 1840: 355)
 Burai-gu-nhu
 boy-DAT-2SG.POSS

- (5) Buraigugula ‘to his boy’
(Günther 1840: 355)
Burai-gu-gula
boy-DAT-3SG.POSS

Like other early grammarians (Teichelmann & Schürmann 1840; Schürmann 1844a; Spieseke 1878), Günther also illustrated the forms when conjugating the verb. His earliest paradigm (1838: 77) showed bound *and* free-form 2SG pronouns, while the later paradigm (1840: 362) did not show bound pronouns. Günther was clearly aware that pronouns might be “abbreviated” and occur as “postfixes”, yet the forms are not anywhere presented in a systematic way.

Wiradjuri is reclaimed (Dixon 2002a: 345) as being highly unusual in having 1SG and 2SG bound pronouns that mark a similar range of peripheral functions as the free-form pronouns: nominative/ergative, accusative, dative, genitive, locative and ablative. Bound pronouns typically mark only the core cases and the dative case. The scenario has been reclaimed based on Hale (1846: 488), who provided “full forms” and “contractions” or “adjunct pronouns” side by side in first and second-person singular pronominal paradigms.

The certainty of existence of 1SG and 2SG bound pronouns marking an extended range of peripheral functions (Dixon 2002a: 345) is brought into question by comparative reading of the early sources. The reclamation of these forms is based on the assumption that Hale (1846: 488–489) did not engage in “paradigm filling”. Note that with regard to phonology, Hale (1846: 493) mentioned that the linguistic material he collected during the two weeks he spent working with Watson at Wellington Valley Mission was reviewed and reassessed from notes *after* leaving Australia. Further, the certainty that bound pronouns existed *only* in 1SG and 2SG assumes that Hale did not, for the sake of space, simply choose not to give the “contracted” pronominal forms in the later third-person paradigms. He did after all state: “*All* the pronouns when postfixed to other words undergo contractions” (Hale 1846: 483; emphasis added). Grant & Rudder (2001: 28–38) reclaim a situation in which 3SG bound pronouns mark a full range of case functions.

4.4.7 Concluding remarks

Günther’s somewhat jumbled MS grammars of Wiradjuri (1838; 1840) were probably the culmination of previous missionary investigation of Wiradjuri made at Wellington Valley Mission. The analysis rests on a sound knowledge of the language. Günther’s discussion of morphophonemic alternation in terms of process is exceptional within the corpus, and only Threlkeld’s analysis (1834) comes close to matching Günther’s account of case allomorphy.

Shelving speculation that J. S. C. Handt may have played a larger role in the development of PN descriptive practices than the current record evinces (§3.4; §4.1), Günther's presentation of case and his deliberation about whether to number or to name additional "ablative" cases show unequivocal influence from Threlkeld. But like later early grammarians, Günther's work is also descriptively innovative. Unlike Threlkeld, Günther did not provide interlinear-style glosses. His paradigms demonstrate that he was prepared to develop new approaches independently. While opting for his own innovative nomenclature in the later grammar (1840), his continued use of extended case paradigms, which are atypical of later grammars, followed Threlkeld's plan.

Comparison of Günther's MS grammars (1838; 1840) with Hale's grammar (1846) shows that Günther's analysis differed from Watson's now lost Wiradjuri grammar, which preceded it. That these earliest grammars of Wiradjuri, written shortly after Threlkeld's analysis, differed not only from Threlkeld, but also from each other, further highlights the tendency shown by many corpus grammarians to produce their own novel descriptive responses to PN structure, rather than to reproduce schemata used by their predecessors.

No other early grammar of an Australian language approaches the sophistication of Günther's account of processes of morphophonemic variation. This suggests that the Basel Mission Institute, which trained missionaries to describe the structure of languages spoken at Protestant colonies around the world, was preparing missionaries for encounters with languages showing allomorphic variation before these structures were tackled by European linguistic theory. The terminology Günther employed to name cases in 1840 similarly suggests that the training he received at Basel was steeped in a theory of linguistic description that differed from that to which other early missionaries were exposed.

The potential trajectory of influence that grammatical analyses emanating from the Wellington Valley Mission had on later descriptions of PN languages was hindered by the fact that these works remained unpublished in Australia until 1892. The eventual publication of Günther's material in Günther (1892) may, however, have influenced C. Strehlow's later Arrernte case paradigm (1908; §9.2.3.2), which broke a long history of Lutheran descriptive practice. C. Strehlow's German editor, M. von Leonhardi, was conversant with Günther's descriptions (§9.3.4.1, §9.2.2).

4.5 W. Ridley's grammars of Gamilaraay (1875; 1855b; 1856b) and of Turrubul (1866)

After the closure of Wellington Valley mission in 1842, the grammatical structure of languages spoken in New South Wales received little further attention until Rev. W. Ridley (1819–1878) began describing Gamilaraay in 1852. Ridley learnt Gamilaraay while working as a missionary travelling throughout New England, west of the Dividing Range in the north central region of New South Wales. He was never funded to establish a mission.

Educated at Kings College, University of London (B.A., 1842), Ridley developed an interest in missionary work after commencing studies in Law. Having been rejected by the London Missionary Society “because he had once held Plymouth Brethren beliefs” (Gunson 2016b), Ridley was recruited to Australia by the influential Presbyterian clergyman Dr J. D. Lang (1799–1878) and was subsequently appointed Professor of Greek, Latin and Hebrew at the Australian College (Austin 2008: 40), a short-lived institution established by Lang. After ordination by the Presbyterian synod, Ridley ministered at Balmain in Sydney, and then in 1851 at Dungog, close to Newcastle, where friendship with an Aboriginal man named “Harry of Bungulgully” rekindled his interest in missionary work (Gunson 2016b; §1.1.3).

Of all the grammarians who resided in Australia that are considered in this study, Rev. William Ridley is the most strongly connected to the European intelligentsia. His earliest published grammatical analyses of Gamilaraay were written as letters to influential British academics and were subsequently read to learned societies and published in their journals. The only other Australian corpus grammarian known to hold a relationship with an epicentre of European philological thought similar to Ridley's connections is Carl Strehlow (§9.2.2).

Ridley fulfilled his evangelistic, ethnographic and linguistic passions while engaged as an itinerant minister in New England (1850–1852), and later (1853–1854) when conducting exploratory surveys in areas of New South Wales of his choice (Harris 1994: 229–230). He travelled throughout the Liverpool Plains and the Darling Downs, investigating Aboriginal languages and customs, especially Gamilaraay.

Ridley commented that the “fragmentary character of this contribution to the Philology of Australia” was due to “the shortness of the time spent in the research” (1866: v) and described (*ibid.*: vi) his knowledge of some of the languages included in the publication as “limited”. The sparseness of Ridley's analyses is partly due to the shorter time he spent immersed in the language compared to

many other grammarians considered in this study, who lived among Aboriginal people at missions for years and sometimes decades.

Ridley's early linguistic material was produced during a period of diminishing descriptive activity and waning interest in Aboriginal Australians. Ridley's materials (1855a; 1855b; 1856a), along with Teichelmann's MSS (1857; 1858a; §5.2.1), are the only grammatical works during the 1850s, and his lavishly produced grammar from 1866 is the only grammar published in Australia in the decades between Moorhouse (1846; §6.4) and Taplin (Taplin (1874c); §7.3.1). The only other works produced in the 1860s are MS grammars of languages spoken in South Australia: Taplin's grammar of Ngarrindjeri (1867; §7.3) and Koch's grammar of Diyari (1868; §8.3.4). The linguistic inactivity that characterises the decades between 1850 and 1870 stands in contrast to the preceding and later decades.

Yet Ridley published extensively, in both Australia and in Britain, on the languages, manners and customs of the Gamilaraay and other Aboriginal groups from north-central New South Wales and the region around Brisbane (1855b; 1856b; 1866; 1875). Ridley's grammars (1855a; 1855b; 1866; 1875), along with Taplin's grammars (1867; 1872; 1878; §7.3) occur within the earliest "survey-era of linguistics" in Australia (McGregor 2008a), in which attempts were made to systematically survey Australian languages (Taplin 1879a; Brough Smyth 1878; Curr 1886).

Missionary-grammarians in direct contact with Aboriginal people in the later decades of the nineteenth century held knowledge about Aboriginal languages and culture that was of increasing interest to Australian and international scholars. The ethnographic enquiries made by missionaries Ridley and Taplin contributed to international academic scholarship about Australian "primitive" people.

Ridley and Taplin's materials were disseminated broadly, and both men were regarded as experts on anthropological and linguistic matters by European intelligentsia. The Oxford linguist Friedrich Max Müller (1823–1900) approached Ridley directly for information about Australian languages (Gardner & McConvell 2015: 109). Bleek (1872: 96) took Ridley's Gamilaraay marriage "castes" as evidence that Australian languages were degenerate members of his "sex-denoting" class of languages. Ridley's work was read closely by F. Müller, who specifically referred to Ridley in his earliest linguistic work (1867: 8). In 1872, L. Fison (1832–1907) circulated L. H. Morgan's (1818–1881) expanded philological lists of kinship terms in questionnaires in the Australian press. The information supplied to Morgan by Ridley, as well as by Taplin, was utilised within the rapidly evolving discipline of anthropology (Gardner & McConvell 2015: 105–108).

Like Taplin, Ridley republished the same material in multiple locations. Table 4.2 summarises the dates of production and publication of Ridley’s linguistic materials. He made two different analyses of Gamilaraay morphosyntactic structure, the first (1855b), and the second (1855a), later published in 1866 and 1875. Austin (1993: 10) refers to grammatical notes given in the back of a copy of *Gurre Kamilaroi*. These have not been cited in this current study.

Table 4.2: Ridley’s descriptions of Gamilaraay

Year produced:	Year published:	Referred to as:	Work
1853	1856	1856b	“Kamilaroi Tribe of Australians and Their Dialect”: Letter to T. Hodgkin in <i>Journal of the Ethnological Society of London</i>
1854	1855	1855b	“On the Kamilaroi language of Australia: Letter to T. H. Key in <i>Transactions of the Philological Society</i>
1855	MS	1855a [republished in 1866, 1875]	“Kamilaroi Grammar and Vocabulary” Mitchell Library
unknown	1856	1856a	<i>Gurre Kamilaroi Primer</i>

Ridley’s earliest *produced* description of Gamilaraay society and language (1856b) was written in 1853 as a letter to Dr T. Hodgkin (1788–1866), member of the Royal College of Physicians, curator of the anatomical Museum at Guy’s hospital in London (Martin 2004), and founding member of the Ethnological Society of London. Hodgkin was an early British proponent of the notion that language was a racial trait and that philological data provided information on the history of mankind. This work does not contain a grammar, but it does contain Ridley’s earliest account of ergativity (§4.5.4.1).

Ridley’s earliest *published* Gamilaraay description (1855b) was written in 1854 as a letter to Professor T. H. Key (1799–1875) of University College London, who was a founding member of the Society for Philological Enquiries – a precursor to the Philological Society of London, of which he was later president. The letter

was read to the society and then published in the *Transactions of the Philological Society*. While not a complete grammar, this work does provide case paradigms. Four of the work's twelve pages discuss linguistic structure and are followed by an extended vocabulary. Note that this and Ridley's later vocabularies, which follow his grammars, are arranged alphabetically by English entry. In this, Ridley's work differs from most other vocabularies appended to corpus grammars, which arrange items in the Aboriginal language alphabetically, although Taplin also presented words in alphabetical order by English translation.

In 1855 Ridley produced a more substantial MS grammar (1855a), which was later published with some modifications in 1866 (on pp. 3–16 of the text) and again in 1875 with some additional remarks in the introduction and in the description of the phonology and spelling system.

Although Ridley's grammatical analysis of Gamilaraay is most commonly referred to as 1875 (Austin 2008; Giacon 2014), his analysis of Gamilaraay was finalised by 1855, during his early intense period of missionary engagement with Aboriginal people. His analysis was not developed further over the coming decades. Ridley's knowledge of Australian languages did, however, broaden in the course of his enquiries. This most substantial of Ridley's grammars is referred to here as "Ridley (1875)", although the MS grammar (Ridley 1855a) labels cases slightly differently from the published works.

Note that although Ridley uses "ng" to represent the velar nasals in the earliest publication (1855b; 1856b) and engma in the 1866 and 1875 publications – represented by an inverted "G" – his early MS (1855a) shows a handwritten engma. Thus, the absence of the symbol in the early publications resulted from typesetting limitations, rather than from an alteration in the orthography of choice. The only other earlier Australian grammar to employ the symbol is Hale (1846). There is no indication that Ridley was familiar with Hale's work.

Ridley's works and R. H. Mathews' grammar (1903b) are the most valuable of the older Gamilaraay sources. The lack of example clauses in these analytically sparse descriptions causes difficulty for the reconstruction of classical Gamilaraay structure (Giacon 2014: 5), although Mathews (1903b) provides a greater number of illustrative clauses than does Ridley.

4.5.1 Gamilaraay primer (1856b)

In 1856, Ridley published an extensively illustrated primer titled, *Gurre Kamilaroi*, or "Kamilaroi Sayings" (1856b). Portions of the primer were republished in Ridley (1866: 31–33) and Fraser later republished the entire primer as "Sentences in the Kamalarai Dialect" (1892: Appendix F: 127–131).

This work, the second of its kind in Australia – following Threlkeld (1836) – was designed to teach school children to read Christian texts in their own language.

4.5.2 Ridley (1866)

Ridley's 1866 publication *Kamilaroi, Dippil and Turrubul languages spoken by Australian Aborigines* is the only work by Ridley devoted almost exclusively to language. In addition to the inclusion of his Gamilaraay MS finalised over a decade earlier, Ridley included lexical material for neighbouring Maric languages and Dippil (Waka-Kabic) and a brief grammar of Turrubul (Durubalic) (ibid.: 61–64).

By 1866, Ridley's comparative assessment of Australian languages was more developed than in his earlier publications. He observed: "The pronouns of the first and second-person are nearly the same all over Australia" (1866: 43), drawing upon the South Australian data of Grey and Teichelmann, referred to as "Taihleman". He also drew a parallel between the religious belief of the Turrubul and the Ngarrindjeri from "Point Macleay" (sic) in South Australia (1866: 65). Taplin (§7.3) had not at this time published any material from the South Australian mission. Ridley is likely to have been informed about Taplin's material by Fison, with whom both Taplin and Ridley corresponded (Elkin 1975: 4–7, 9–12). The work contains two appendices. Appendix A, "Family names, classifications, and marriage and law" (1866: 35–38), established Ridley's reputation as an authority on Aboriginal social organisation and marriage. It was published six years before his first meeting with Fison. Appendix B, "Specimens of Languages Bordering on Kamilaroi" (ibid.: 39–44), provided a four-language comparative vocabulary of some forty lexical items, mainly body parts, fauna and pronouns. The languages are named "Kingki" and "Paiamba", both Maric languages spoken on the Darling Downs. There is additional lexical material for Bigambul, the northern most Central New South Wales language and for a language named "Kogai", now referred to as Mandandanji or Gunggari, another Maric language spoken on the Cogoon and Maranoa rivers in a more arid and linguistically under-sampled region (Bown & Atkinson 2012: 825) west of the Darling Downs towards the neighbouring Karnic languages. In this section Ridley shows that "the languages of neighbouring tribes differ very much, and are yet connected" (ibid.: 42) and notes the great similarity of pronouns (ibid.: 43) and that "bular or budela appears for 'two' almost all over the country" (ibid.: 44).

For each of the languages given substantial treatment in this publication – Gamilaraay, Dippil and Turrubul – Ridley acknowledged the linguistic assistance of a colonist who, "during many years' residence among that people, had learned

to converse with them in their own tongue" (1866: v). For Gamilaraay, he thanked Rev. C. Greenway (1818–1905), who leased land on the Barwon River from 1848. Greenway's analysis of Gamilaraay (1878; 1910–1912), some of which was published posthumously, has been characterised by Austin (2008: 41) as an unacknowledged reproduction of Ridley's work. Giacon (2014: 5), however, believes the provenance is less certain. The situation remains unclear.

Ridley thanked Thomas Petrie (1831–1910), who had learnt Turrubul in Brisbane as a child (§1.1.3), for assistance with the Turrubul material. Thomas was the son of Andrew Petrie (1798–1872), a Scottish mechanic, who like Ridley had been brought to Australia by Lang (Hall 1974). Ridley visited Andrew Petrie in Moreton Bay in 1855.

Ridley's Turrubul grammar is substantially shorter than the Gamilaraay grammar. Without elaboration, Ridley (1866: 63) stressed the complexity of verb morphology, an area of the languages' grammar of which many early grammarians were aware their understanding was inadequate: "The voices, active, reciprocal, causative, permissive, &c., are numerous; and the tenses are adapted to express various slight modifications of past and future tenses". The extent to which Ridley's analysis of Turrubul is based on material gathered from Aboriginal people or was made through Ridley's comparison of Petrie's translation of the Bible with his own Gamilaraay translations is not clear. Ridley (1866: vi) stated: "Before and after receiving this help [from the colonists], the author communicated with the Aborigines in the districts where these three languages are spoken; and verified and extended, by his own observations, the information thus supplied". The description of Turrubul concludes with a short ten-entry section headed "Dialogue", and a section headed "Paraphrases" containing translations of Genesis chapters 1–3 and Luke 7–8.

While working as an itinerant missionary, Ridley formed an association with J. G. Hausmann (1811–1901) and the pair sought to reopen the Zion Hill mission at Moreton Bay – present-day Brisbane – as an Anglican institution (Harris 1994: 233–234). Hausmann, who had been trained by Gossner in Berlin, had been brought to Australia by Lang in order to establish Zion Hill (Nundah, "German Mission") in 1837. While the plan to reopen the Moreton Bay mission did not eventuate, it is possible that Ridley's grammar of Turrubul (1866), spoken in the vicinity of Brisbane, was partly informed by the earlier acquisition of the language made by the Gossner-trained missionaries. In 1841, Hausmann's colleague C. Eipper (1831–1894; 1841) published a Turrubul wordlist (1841: 11) of less than one hundred words. Eipper's pronominal forms, *atta* "I", *inta* "thou", *ariba* "belonging to me", and *enuba* "belonging to thee", accord with those recorded by

Ridley (1866: 62). Note here that missionary Eipper was assisted in learning Turrubul by J. C. S. Handt (Ganter 2016a), a Lutheran minister who had trained at Basel, and worked at Wellington Valley mission (1832–1836) before Günther’s arrival (§4.1).

For Dippil, Ridley thanks a blacksmith named James Davies [Davis] (1808–1889), who in 1828, three years after arriving in New South Wales as a seventeen-year-old convict, was sent to Moreton Bay gaol, from where he soon escaped. Sustained by Aboriginal people from the region for thirteen years, Davis lived beyond the frontier, learning Aboriginal languages and tribal law before being found by Andrew Petrie in 1842. Ridley was evidently tenacious in collecting linguistic data, securing a session with Davis, who, after successfully re-integrating into colonial society, otherwise refused to discuss his experiences in the bush (Petrie & Petrie 1904: 140–141). As with Turrubul, Ridley’s initial field method of collecting data from Davis was to read verses of the Bible, which it is said Davis could not understand. Subsequently, Ridley collected some Dippil names of animals “and things like that” (ibid.: 141). Ridley’s Dippil investigations may have been further hampered by his inability to locate Aboriginal speakers of the language. Petrie recalls:

On Mr. Ridley’s return from his trip he told Father that nearly all the blacks he came across understood what he (Father) [T. Petrie] had told him, but on the contrary, he met only two who understood the words from Davis. This was because he had gone too far inland. (Petrie & Petrie 1904: 141)

That Ridley’s Dippil material (1856a: 47–57) does not contain a grammar or a translation of religious text is telling of the limitations of his fieldwork.

4.5.3 Ridley (1875)

Ridley’s (1875) republication of the Gamilaraay grammar is given alongside additional non-grammatical material. Written within the era of survey linguistics, and in the same year that Taplin circulated his questionnaire in order to collect linguistic data from a range of languages (§7.3.2), the 1875 work includes a “comparative table in twenty languages” (1875: 119–134). Ridley was by this stage acquainted with the contents of the MS grammars of Wiradjuri (§4.1). In 1871, Ridley, who was about to travel into Gamilaraay country for a period of “a few weeks” (Ridley 1875: v) was visited by Fison. Fison requested that Ridley further investigate marriage systems during his travels, the official purpose of which was to “make philological investigations requested by the Colonial Secretary of

New South Wales on behalf of Professor Max Mueller of Oxford" (Langham 1981: 30). The 1875 vocabulary follows the same format as the earlier vocabularies but contains additional entries. The type of lexical material added to the 1875 work is telling of the fields of enquiry Ridley pursued during his 1871 expedition. Notable is the greatly extended section headed "Man: his distinctive and relative names" (1866: 17; 1875: 18). Ridley expands the number of entries given in this section in 1875 by almost 50%, now including terms for "man" and "boy" at different stages of growth and initiation, and distinct terms for older and younger brother and sister.

4.5.4 Ridley's descriptions of case

Ridley presented three slightly different Gamilaraay case paradigms and one of Turrubul. Table 4.3 shows the forms that Ridley included in his Gamilaraay paradigms and their current analysis.

Here Ridley follows the practices of previous grammarians in New South Wales. His paradigms are similar to those given in Günther's Wiradjuri grammars (1838; 1840; §4.4.3) and in Threlkeld's Awabakal grammar (1834; §3.4.4). Ridley presented enlarged paradigms in order to include forms marking functions not associated with SAE case systems. He presents eight-case paradigms.

Unlike most other early PN grammarians, Ridley did not present the word class "pre/post-positions". The absence is characteristic of the sparseness of his analysis generally.

His earliest published Gamilaraay case paradigm of nouns (1855b: 74; see Figure 4.13) and his Turrubul case paradigm (1866: 61; Figure 4.14) maintain the for-

In expressing the relation of nouns they use suffixes, not prepositions; and their declension is fuller and more regular than Latin. For instance, *muté*=opossum, but there is a separate nominative when the subject is the *agent of some verb*, formed by subjoining *-du*. *Muté* simply names the animal,—as in answer to the question What's that? *Mutedu*=‘the opossum as an agent’; *mutedu yindal tatulle*=‘the opossum grass will eat.’ [N. B. Their syntax requires the following order: nominative, accusative, verb. I use the vowels *as in French*.]

1st Nom. <i>mute</i> , an opossum.	Acc. & Voc. like 1st Nom.
2nd Nom. <i>mutedu</i> , an opossum (agent).	Abl. <i>mute-di</i> , from an opossum.
Gen.... <i>mute-ngu</i> , of an opossum.	<i>mute-dā</i> , in an opossum.
(motion to) <i>mute-go</i> , to an opossum.	<i>mute-kunda</i> , with an opossum.

Figure 4.13: Ridley's earliest case paradigm (1855b: 74)

Table 4.3: Terminology assigned to Gamilaraay case suffixes

Form of suffix shown by Ridley	Case label assigned to form by Ridley (1855b)	Translated as:	Case label assigned to form by Ridley (1855a, 1866, 1875)	Austin's (1993) analysis
Ø	nominative	“a X”	nominative	absolutive
-du	nominative 2	“an X” (agent)	nominative 2	ergative
-ŋu	genitive	“of (or belonging to) X”	possessive	**
Ø	accusative & vocative*	“a X”	objective (1866; 1875) accusative (1855a)	absolutive
-go	motion to	“to an X”	listed under “accusative” but unnamed	dative/allative
-di	ablative	“from a X”	”	ablative
-da	listed under “ablative” but unnamed	“in a X”	”	locative
-kunda	listed under “ablative” but unnamed	“with a X” (stopping)	”	
-ŋunda†	–	with a X (going)	”	personal declension locative (Giacon 2014)
-kale	–	with a X (going)	”	?

*Ridley writes “like 1st Nom”. ** Austin (1993: 64) who describes the possessive function as marked with *-gu*, remarks that Ridley recorded the function as marked with *-ngu*. †The suffix *-ngunda* is only given in the 1855 MS (1855a).

mat used by Günther (Figure 4.3) and by Threlkeld (Figure 3.6) in presenting multiple forms under the heading “ablative”, although Ridley does not assign numbers or letters to the additional ablative cases as his predecessors had done. These large paradigms define the New South Wales descriptive school.

In the MS grammar (1855a) and later publications (1866; 1875), Ridley follows Threlkeld (§3.4.7) in choosing a noun meaning “eagle” to illustrate case marking.

Despite the publication of Ridley’s analyses (1866; 1875), his inclusion of suffixes marking functions not carried by the case systems of SAE languages and the abandonment of the word-class “pre/post-positions” had no discernible influence on grammars of Diyari (Koch 1868; Schoknecht 1947 [1872]; Flierl & Meyer 1880; Reuther 1981a) or of Arrernte (Kempe & Schwarz 1891; Strehlow 1907; Strehlow 1944), written by Lutheran missionaries in Central Australia in the decades

4.5 *W. Ridley's grammars of Gamilaraay and of Turrubul*

Example :—

1st Nominative :	duggai	a man
2nd Nominative :	duggaidu	a man (followed by a verb).
Genitive :	duggainūbba ...	of a man.
Dative :	dugganu	for or to a man.
Accusative :	duggana	a man.
Ablative :	duggaibuddi	with a man.
	duggaiti.....	at a man.
	duggaida	from a man.
Plural :	duggatin	men, people.

Figure 4.14: Ridley's Turrubul case paradigm (1866: 61)

after his works were published. However, there is some evidence that his analysis *may* have influenced Livingstone's (1892) grammar of Minjambal (§4.6.1) and Roth's (1897) grammar of Pitta-Pitta, and subsequently later grammars of languages spoken in Queensland (§10.1).

4.5.4.1 Ergativity

Ridley's earliest account of ergative function and "the difference between the two nominative cases" given in his earliest-written publication occurs in a section headed "phrases" without an accompanying case paradigm (1856b: 292; Figure 4.15). His explanation that the nominative case was given in answer to the question "what's that?" follows Threlkeld (1834: 14) and had similarly been employed by Günther (§4.4.4). A later explanation of the ergative case as "the agent of the act described in the following verb" (1855a; Figure 4.16) is, however, further developed than Threlkeld or Günther's elucidations.

The swallow built a nest . . . millimumbuldu gangan wollaï.
The eagle killed the young kangaroo, moliiondu nimmi bundarr kai.
The black-fellow lighted a fire . . . murridu wī ullanubbi. ["wī" is
fire.]

[N.B. "du" is a suffix added to the nominative to mark it as an agent: thus, Who's there? Answer, "Murri." Who lighted the fire? *Murridu wī ullanubbi.*"]

Figure 4.15: Ridley's earliest account of ergativity (1856b: 292)

In each of Ridley's paradigms, he followed Threlkeld and Günther in placing the ergative case in second position after the nominative at the top of the par-

adigm. He names the case the “2nd nominative”, following one of Threlkeld’s naming practices.

Ridley placed the term “agent” in brackets after the form for clarification (Figure 4.16), as had the earliest grammarians in South Australia.

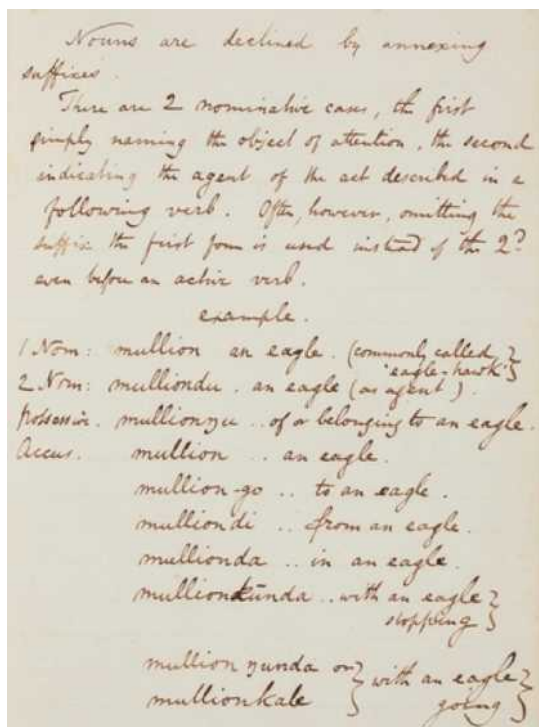


Figure 4.16: Ridley’s later case paradigm (1855a: 6)

4.5.4.2 Ridley’s later case paradigms

The nominal case paradigms that Ridley presented in the MS (1855a; Figure 4.16) are slightly different from those republished in 1866 and 1875 (Figure 4.17). The paradigms in all works labelled only the three syntactic cases and the possessive. The earlier MS (1855a) gave unnamed peripheral case forms under the term “accusative”. The paradigms in published works (1866; 1875) listed multiple “objective” forms, which were translated with English prepositional phrases. This presentation differed from Threlkeld’s and that given by all previous Australian grammarians. Ridley’s conception of multiple “objective” cases presents a unique

and innovative paradigm. It is this presentation that may have influenced Roth (§10.1.1).

The earlier MS paradigms (1855a) also gave two additional case forms not shown in the publications. One form is marked with the *-ngunda* reclaimed as the personal locative (Giacon 2014: 36–37) and the other is suffixed with *-kale*, which appears not to have been reclaimed.

Example.		
1st Nom.:	mullion, an eagle.	mulliondā, in an eagle.
2nd Nom.:	mulliondū, an eagle as agent.	mullionkūnda, { with an eagle at rest.
Possessive:	mullionḡū, of an eagle.	mullionkāle, { with an eagle in motion.
Objective:	mullion, an eagle.	
	mullionḡū, to an eagle.	
	mulliondi, from an eagle.	

Figure 4.17: Later publications of Ridley's MS case paradigm (1866: 5; 1875: 6)

4.5.5 Bound pronouns

Ridley did not describe any bound pronominal forms in Gamilaraay, despite his knowledge of Hebrew, which is described in nineteenth century grammars as having “separate” pronouns and “pronominal suffixes” (Gesenius & Kautzsch 1910: 105–109). Close reading of Ridley's grammars does, however, suggest the existence of a set of bound forms. They are always shown as a free word (6) and Ridley's earliest record (1855b) shows both 2SG and 2DL forms as vowel initial (ibid.: 75).

- (6) Murruba inda
 Good 2SG.NOM
 ‘you are good’
 (Ridley 1875: 39)

Ridley also observed that “the nasal at the beginning [of a pronoun, e.g., *nginda*] is sometimes softened down very much, especially in the second-person, which may be regarded at times as *inda*” (1875: 6). The reclamation of a bound pronominal system in Gamilaraay, which is based on a range of sources (Giacon 2014:

129–130), could not have been reconstructed from Ridley’s materials alone (Giaccon, pers. comm. 8/12/2016). This fact brings into question the certainty with which other languages of which there is *only* early source material – e.g., Ngayawang (§6.4) – can be said *not* to have exhibited such systems.

4.5.6 Concluding remarks

In comparison with earlier grammars of PN languages, Ridley’s works contain little analytical comment supplementing the paradigms, and provide few example clauses. His most frequently cited work (1875) is only twelve pages long. With the exception of some of Mathews’ grammars of PN languages, Ridley’s analyses of Gamilaraay are less detailed and show less grammatical understanding and insights than other grammars of languages spoken in New South Wales. Ridley’s account of case allomorphy is inferior to that given by Threlkeld in Awabakal (1834; §3.4.7) and by Günther in Wiradjuri (1838; 1840; §4.4.2). Ridley’s descriptions of bound pronouns (§4.5.5) and of case allomorphy (§4.4.2) are inferior to that later given by Mathews (1903b), although Mathews may have regularised his material. It is little wonder that Ray (1925) evaluated Ridley’s work as unsatisfactory.

The format of Ridley’s earliest case paradigms and his explanation of ergativity show influence from Threlkeld’s grammar.

Despite the renown of Ridley’s ethnographic investigations, and despite the publication of his material, his grammatical analyses had limited influence on later grammatical of Australian languages. There is no suggestion that grammarians of Diyari or of Arrernte at either of the two South Australian missions (§8.1) were aware of Ridley’s publications. His presentation of peripheral case forms in his later published paradigms (1866; 1875; Figure 4.17) may, however, have influenced Roth (1897) who adopted a schema showing multiple case forms labelled “objective” in his description of Pitta-Pitta case (1897: 4; §10.1.1).

4.6 Livingstone’s grammar of Minjangbal (1892)

The Rev. Hugh Livingstone’s grammar of “Minyung”, now known as Minjangbal, a middle Clarence dialect of Bandjalang (Crowley 1978: 142), spoken on the northeastern coast of New South Wales, is the only major work in Fraser’s compilation of grammatical material of PN languages (1892) that was specially written for that publication. While other works included in Fraser – Günther’s Wiradjuri grammar and Homann’s Diyari pronominal paradigm – had previously only been available in MS, they were not specifically produced for that volume.

Little is known about the Rev. Hugh Livingstone, or about the circumstances in which he collected his material, other than that he was a Presbyterian Minister in Lismore, in Minjangbal country, between 1876 and 1886, and later in Western Victoria, from where he wrote the material for Fraser.

Museum Victoria holds the MSS of his grammatical analysis of “Minyung” (1876–1866) and vocabularies (no date) in the Spencer and Gillen collection.² It is not known how these materials came into Spencer’s possession. The MSS (1876–1886) have not previously been identified as containing the grammatical analysis that was published in Fraser (1892). The MS vocabulary (no date) contains at least three times the volume of material published in Fraser (1892). It appears the MS vocabulary was not viewed by Smythe (1978[1949]), Cunningham (1969), Geytenbeek & Geytenbeek (1971), or Crowley (1978).

Livingstone’s grammatical materials (1876a; 1876b) are poorly organised. Originally written partly on the reverse pages of a long essay on Futurism, all pages have now lost their original order. The grammar is spread throughout two files, which are given different record numbers by Museum Victoria. The documents include more than a single attempt to write a complete grammar, and one (1876a) is introduced as a fourth revision. Further, the lucidity of material varies so greatly as to suggest that Livingstone was in different states of mind when compiling it.

Nevertheless, the documents clearly contain the material that was edited and published by Fraser. Like Livingstone’s MS vocabulary (no date), the MS grammars (1876a; 1876b) contain additional examples that were not included in Fraser (1892). Of “gender”, for example, Livingstone (1876a) wrote: “The distinction between the masculine and the feminine is denoted in Minyung, as in English, either by the use of a different word or by the use of the feminine termination, **-gun**”. Livingstone in Fraser (1892: 6) stated: “Gender / There are two ways by which the feminine is distinguished from the masculine – either by a different word, or by adding the termination **-gūn**”. While the MS then listed ten pairs of gendered terms, only five were included by Fraser. The section headed “Table of relationships in MINYUG” (Livingstone 1892: 21) is clearly taken from a longer section in the MS (1876b) which shows Livingstone’s method of eliciting his genealogical material, recording the conversation between Livingstone and his informants. For example: “What do you call your mother?”, “Waidyong”, “What do you call your mother’s sister?” “Waidyong, all the same”. The MS also gives a table of marriage classes, which was not included in Fraser, and other anthropological material, including “the marking of men”.

²Thanks to Margaret Sharpe for bringing this to my attention.

The document containing the vocabulary (no date) must have been written after 1912, because the discussion refers to R. R. Marett's publication *Anthropology* (1912).

Substantial portions of Livingstone's analysis in Livingstone (1892) are also *not* contained in the Museum Victoria MSS. Missing are the important sections describing case: "Suffixes to nouns" (1892: 9–11) and the description of adjectival agreement with noun classes (1892: 4–5). The nature of Fraser's edit to the material is therefore difficult to ascertain. The extent to which the material in Fraser replicates Livingstone's original analysis can, however, be deduced by comparing these documents with the way in which Fraser is known to have standardised Günther's description of case in Wiradjuri (§4.4.3) and Taplin's Ngarrindjeri material (§7.3; Figure 7.16). Fraser's presentation of Livingstone's material is starkly dissimilar in format to Fraser's edited publications of these other languages. It therefore seems likely that the unconventional description of Minjangbal case, given by Fraser, is Livingstone's original analysis.

4.6.1 Livingstone's analysis of Minjangbal (1892)

Livingstone's analysis was informed by an existing knowledge of Australian Aboriginal languages. In an introductory passage, Livingstone justifies his abandonment of the traditional descriptive framework on the basis of the agglutinative nature of Australian languages:

It is well known that the Australian dialects are agglutinative, everything in the nature of inflection being obtained by suffixes. To this, Minyug is no exception; so that if I give an account of its suffixes, that is nearly equivalent to giving an exposition of its grammar. It will therefore, be convenient to take, first, such suffixes as are used with the noun and its equivalents, and, afterwards, those that may be regarded as verbal suffixes. The words that take what may be called the noun-suffixes are (1) Nouns, (2) Adjectives, and (3) Pronouns. (Livingstone 1892: 3)

The first of the "suffixes to nouns" listed by Livingstone is the ergative inflection, of which he states (1892: 9) is "usually said to be the sign of the agent-nominative case but it also denotes an instrumental case". Here Livingstone distinguishes clearly between two case functions marked by the same case form.

His comment that the ergative case was "usually" termed "agent-nominative" is odd, since the term had previously only been used *in discussions* of case by Threlkeld, and by Meyer (1843: 38; §6.1.2.6). The term "agent" had only been used in description of case by members of the Adelaide School (§5.1) and by Ridley.

4.6 Livingstone's grammar of Minjangbal (1892)

The terms “agent” or “agent nominative” had not been used as a case label in any grammar written in Australia. The term “nominative agent” had, however, been employed by Fr. Müller (1882: 7, 20; Figure 7.4) in his ninety-four-page discussion and collation of existing PN grammatical material written in German. Müller replaced the original case labels in the source paradigms and employed the term “nominative agent”, but only when describing Awabakal and Wiradjuri spoken in New South Wales. The term “agent” (agens) had previously been used in Oihenart's seventeenth century descriptions of Basque as well as in an 1820 description of Hindi (see Lindner 2013: 198). Livingstone's choice of terminology suggests that his broad knowledge of Australian languages was informed by F Müller's most comprehensive treatment of the topic.

	Paradigmen.	
	<i>kikoi</i> „Katze“.	<i>kore</i> „Mann“.
Nom. subj. }	<i>kikoi</i>	<i>kore</i>
Accusativ }		
Nom. agent.	<i>kikoi-to</i>	<i>kore-ko</i>
Social	<i>kikoi-to-a</i>	<i>kore-ko-a</i>
Adessiv	<i>kikoi-ta-ko</i>	<i>kore-ka-ko</i>
Abessiv	<i>kikoi-ta-birun</i>	<i>kore-ka-birun</i>
Commorativ	<i>kikoi-ta-ba</i>	<i>kore-ka-ba</i>
Dativ	<i>kikoi-ko</i>	<i>kore-ko</i>
Genitiv	<i>kikoi-ko-ba</i>	<i>kore-ko-ba</i>
Ablativ	<i>kikoi-tin.</i>	<i>kore-tin.</i>

Figure 4.18: F. Müller's rearrangement of Threlkeld's Awabakal case paradigm (1882: 7)

By the turn of the century the term “nominative agent” had gained some currency in Australian grammars of languages spoken in New South Wales and Victoria. The term was employed by Mathews (1903b).

When describing the marking of cases on nouns, Livingstone (in Livingstone 1892: 9–11) initially listed suffixes and explained their function. This method of describing case had first been employed by Meyer (1843; §6.1.2.1).

Fraser (1892: Part IV, 14) then presented a conventionally organised paradigm, at the end of the discussion of nominal morphology. It is probable that this section had not originally been included by Livingstone. Fraser uses the case terminology he adopted from Threlkeld (1834; Figure 3.6) and used when editing

Taplin's Ngarrindjeri grammar (Figure 3.1). He gives, for example, a case termed "dative 1" (dative) but does not present numbered ablative cases.

4.6.1.1 Grammatical gender

Livingstone's grammar evidences an intelligent arrangement of the morpho-syntactic structure. Minjangbal is among a handful of Pama-Nyungan languages that exhibit systems of noun classes in which agreement is marked on a nominal modifier (Dixon 2002a: 450–453). Livingstone is alone among early PN grammarians in encountering a language that had noun classes. Livingstone's "classification" of Minjangbal nouns and adjectives (1892: 4–5) tabulates the agreement of adjectives with four classes of noun. Current analysis of Minjangbal noun classes (Crowley 1978: 43–45) is based entirely, and somewhat tentatively, on Livingstone (1892), which is the only source for this Bandjalang variety.

Minjangbal is also among the small group of about a dozen Pama-Nyungan languages that make a two-way gender distinction in third-person pronouns (Dixon 2002a: 461). Despite describing a system of grammatical gender on nouns, and a gender distinction in third-person pronouns, Livingstone did not present either of these systems as "gender". This is curious, given that the four noun classes are, as Livingstone describes them, semantically determined largely by the masculine/feminine, animate/inanimate oppositions underlying Indo-European gender systems (Kurzová 1993: 61). The term "gender" is used within traditional grammar to describe both the property of nouns with which other word classes show agreement, as well as lexical variation for biological gender. (e.g. Gildersleeve 1895: 10–11; Ramshorn 1824: 19–32). Livingstone reserved the term "gender" for a discussion of lexical gender and the naming of male and female pairs:

There are two ways the feminine is distinguished from the masculine- either by a different word or by adding the termination –gun ... (Livingstone 1892: 6)

This was the common application of the term "gender" in many early grammars of PN languages. Consequently, the category "gender" is maintained in a body of early Pama-Nyungan grammars of languages with no system of gender. Interestingly, this body does not include the works of German speaking missionaries (Teichelmann & Schürmann 1840; Meyer 1843; Schürmann 1844b; Kempe & Schwarz 1891; Günther 1892; Strehlow 1908; n.d.). The grammars that maintain the category "gender" give lexical pairs which refer to different genders of the same type: husband/wife, daughter/son, male kangaroo/female kangaroo etc.

(Threlkeld 1834: 10; Livingstone 1892: 6; Roth 1897: 15; Mathews 1907a: 324). T. G. H. Strehlow gives a similar and substantial discussion of lexical gender under the heading “Absence of Gender”, explaining that the language “has to add” adjectival modifiers denoting male and female to the names of species. He does this despite recognising that “[t]he Aranda nouns know no distinctions of gender” (Strehlow 1944: 59). R. H. Mathews, similarly fills the prescribed category with a description of adjectival modifiers. The fact that “exponents of nominal Gender were recognisable members of another part of speech was irrelevant” (Koch 2008: 192).

4.7 Concluding remark

Threlkeld’s enlarged case paradigms providing positions for case forms marking function that are not carried by morphological case systems in SAE languages, his placename of ergative case forms at the top of the paradigm alongside nominative forms (§3.4), and his method of clarifying ergative function by the posing of questions that the ergative and nominative forms would be given in answer to (§3.4.9.1) are descriptive techniques that were employed by both Ridley and Livingstone.

The following chapters show that grammars of languages belonging to country outside New South Wales convey PN case systems differently from the grammars by Threlkeld (1834), Günther (1838; 1840), and Ridley (1875; 1855b; 1856b). The description of case and ergativity across the grammars examined in Chapters 3 and 4 is found to be diagnostic of a nineteenth century school of descriptive practice operating in New South Wales.

5 The first grammar of a South Australian language: Teichelmann & Schürmann (1840)

This chapter discusses the grammar of Kurna, the language of the Adelaide Plains, written by the Lutheran missionaries C. G. Teichelmann and C. W. Schürmann (1840). The size of Teichelmann & Schürmann's case paradigms and the way in which cases are named is shown to be entirely different from the methods employed earlier by Threlkeld (Chapter 3) and by Günther (Chapter 4). Teichelmann & Schürmann's description of ergativity (§5.4.2) as well as a number of other descriptive practices (§5.3) influenced later grammars of South Australian languages, many of which were written by Lutheran missionaries (Chapter 6, 8 & 9).

5.1 Historical context

The earliest grammars of South Australian languages were written by men who were ordained and sent to Australia by the Evangelisch-Lutherische Missions-Gesellschaft zu Dresden (Evangelical Lutheran Mission Society of Dresden, Dresden Mission Institute), henceforth DMI. These "Dresdner" grammars are of languages spoken in the earliest settled coastal districts of the South Australian colony and were made in the decade after the Colony of South Australia was established (1836). They are a grammar of Kurna spoken on the Adelaide Plains (Teichelmann & Schürmann 1840; this Chapter), a grammar of Ramindjeri, a variety of Ngarrindjeri, spoken on the south coast of the Fleurieu Peninsula at Encounter Bay (Meyer 1843; §6.1), and a grammar of Barngarla spoken on the Eyre Peninsula (Schürmann 1844b; §6.2). These three "Dresdner" grammars were all published in English in Adelaide. Teichelmann & Schürmann (1840: viii) acknowledged M. Moorhouse (1813–1876) as having revised their work, since "English ... [was] not the vernacular tongue of the authors", and Meyer acknowledged "Mr Lindsay", whose identity is uncertain, as having assisted him with the English

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translation (1843: vi). Original German manuscript grammars are not known to have survived.

Together with a grammar of Ngayawang, spoken upstream from Ngarrindjeri on the Murray River, written by M. Moorhouse (1846; §6.4), and a brief five-page grammar of Kaurna written by Moorhouse & Teichelmann (1841), the three Dresdner grammars form a previously recognised sub-school of Australian linguistic description. These works have been termed “the Adelaide School of language researchers” by Simpson (1992: 410; see also Simpson et al. 2008: 123–126).

This body of work has been assessed positively in comparison with other early grammatical source materials (Ray 1925: 2; Capell 1970: 667), although it is important to recognise that Moorhouse’s grammar (1846), written within the intellectual sphere of the Dresdner missionaries’ grammars, is *not* of the same calibre as the other works.

With the exception of Moorhouse (1843), these grammars are shorter and less detailed than Threlkeld’s earlier published work (1834). As the Dresdner grammarians pointed out (Teichelmann & Schürmann 1840: v; Meyer 1843: v), their grammars were written shortly after first hearing the language: “Eighteen months is but a short period for the study of an unwritten language, where no means of instruction exist, and where all information must be gleaned from casual and trivial conversation” (Teichelmann & Schürmann 1840: v). Threlkeld had by comparison studied the language for nine years before producing his largest grammatical description (1834). His 1827 work (§3.2), written within roughly the same short two-year time frame as the Dresdner grammars, is much less substantial by comparison.

Each of the grammars produced by the three Dresdner missionaries was followed by an ethnographic publication describing the “manners and customs” of the people speaking the language (Teichelmann 1841b; Schürmann 1846; Meyer 1843). A climate of optimism characterised the relation between Aboriginal and European relations in the very early period of South Australian colonisation. In the introduction to their grammar (1840: v), Teichelmann and Schürmann explained that although postponing the publication would have allowed “greater maturity, and certainty of statements”, they were advised by colonial authorities to publish quickly for “the good which might arise from it to the natives”. Correlation between the degree linguistic and ethnographic investigation into Australian Aboriginal people and the climate of intercultural relations has previously observed by Dixon (1980: 12).

The prompt publication of grammars and ethnographic descriptions by the Dresdners contrasts with the relatively slow publication of material at later South Australian Lutheran missions, as well as with the type of materials that were

first published. None of the missionary grammars of Diyari written over a period of three decades by Lutheran missionaries at Bethesda were published until decades after the closure of the mission in 1915 (§8.2.1), and the first grammar of Arrernte, written by Lutheran missionary Kempe (1891; §9.1.2), was published fourteen years after he co-established the Hermannsburg mission.

At both of these later inland Lutheran missions the first published mission material was a primer (Koch & Homann 1870, Kempe 1880), which included translations of religious texts into the vernacular for use in mission schools. The same is also true of Ridley's missionary effort among the Gamilaraay (Ridley 1856a; §4.5).

Schürmann attempted but struggled to translate the Ten Commandments and the Lord's Prayer into Barngarla (Rathjen 1998: 78–81). Teichelmann and Schürmann translated the Commandments (Amery 2016: 111), six hymns, a school prayer, and Biblical truths (Amery 2016: 78) into Kurna, and Meyer translated prayers, the Commandments, and some hymns into Ramindjeri (Gale 2011: 75). None of the Dresdners' translations were published, and the Barngarla and Ramindjeri MSS have not been located.

The support of Sir G. Grey, the Governor of South Australia (1841–1845) underwrites much of the material published by the “Adelaide School”. Grammars by Schürmann (1844a: v: iii), Meyer (1843: iv), and Moorhouse (1846: v) are dedicated to Grey, who took an interest in Indigenous languages throughout his career – first as an explorer in the northwest of Australia (1837) and in the southwest of Australia (1839) and then while Magistrate at King George Sound (1839–1840) and later as Governor of South Australia (1841–1845), New Zealand (1845–1853 and 1861–1868) and of Cape Colony, South Africa (1854–1861). Grey published *Vocabulary of the dialects spoken by the Aboriginal Races of South-Western Australia* (1839). Grey later published a map of Australian languages (1845) in the *Royal Geographical Society Journal* (Figure 5.1). Grey's map, which showed five Australian “dialects” spoken across the southern portion of the continent, was informed by his own enquiry into the languages of Western Australian and by the work of the Lutheran missionaries in South Australia (Teichelmann & Schürmann 1840; Meyer 1843; Schürmann 1844a) and by the reports of M. Moorhouse (§6.4).

The initial goodwill towards Aboriginal people in the colony of South Australia, which saw the prompt publication of Dresdners' linguistic and ethnographic work, soon soured and was replaced by a degree of hostility. European anxiety over the perception of Aboriginal moral indecency and their unwillingness to adopt a European “work ethic” caused social tension (Scrimgeour 2007: 94–95). Teichelmann wrote to the German philologist H. C. von der Gabelentz:

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Figure 5.1: Grey's map of Aboriginal dialects (1845)

[T]his collection [of words] was published because we and our friends believed that it would make intercourse between the Aborigines and the Europeans easier. There does not seem to be very much interest in that, though, since a large number of the English would just like to hang or shoot all the Aborigines, rather than having them in the country. That is the old way of the English in their colonies. (Teichelmann 1841a)

Each of the Dresdner missions – Teichelmann & Schürmann's at Pirltawardli (1839–1848), Meyer's at Encounter Bay (1840–1848), and Schürmann's at Port Lincoln (1840–1845) – was short-lived. Each operated in poverty. With little and uncertain financial support from colonial authorities, or from Dresden, the enterprises strove to be economically self-sufficient. Missionaries struggled to feed and clothe themselves, let alone provide for the people who they had difficulty attracting permanently to the missions. The missionaries became despondent, as their linguistic efforts seemed increasingly futile: “[T]hose who speak our language are scattered all over the country and will probably not return within the coming months, if ever” (Teichelmann diary 10/11/1844).

As at Wellington Valley (§4.1) and at the later Lutheran missions (Chapter 8 & 9), the Dresdner missionaries focussed their evangelical efforts on the children (Gale 2011: 22), perceiving the adults to be beyond redemption (although note that Teichelmann took a different position and persisted in working with adults; see Lockwood 2007: 12). Yet not a single Aboriginal person was baptised at any of the four Dresdner missions before the Lutheran mission in South Australia was closed in 1848 in an atmosphere of disappointment and exhaustion.

The failures and successes of the Dresdner missionaries have been the subject of recent evaluations (Amery 2004; 2016; Scrimgeour 2007; Gale 2011; Lockwood 2007; 2014). Although the Dresdners' failed to baptise a single Aboriginal person before the missions' closures, the primacy of their work within Kaurna and Barngarla language reclamation programmes and within the revitalisation of Ngarrindjeri is a measure of their success.

A number of factors have been identified as contributing to the early closure of the Dresdner missions. Meyer believed that linguistic diversity and the "wandering habit" of Aboriginal people contributed to the closure and he perceived these factors as impediments to further mission work in South Australia (Zweck 2012: 43–45). But these factors were also experienced at later Lutheran missions that endured for decades. The Dresdners encountered a specific range of difficulties resulting from the proximity of each of the missions to heavily settled districts, which was contrary to the missionaries' desire to work among people who were removed from the influence of European vices. Proximity to European settlers was widely perceived as counterproductive to mission activity. The Church Missionary Society in New South Wales was, for example, aware of the need to establish missions beyond the frontier, although this was not achieved (Bridges 1978: 283). The site of the mission at Encounter Bay was chosen by colonial authorities against Meyer's wish (Lockwood 2007: 16). By contrast missionaries at later inland missions worked in the prototypical mission context as an elite racial minority in political control of an Indigenous majority who had little opportunity to contact other Europeans.¹

Further, the establishment of the earliest South Australian mission in Adelaide, the colony's capital, to where surrounding groups of Aboriginal people soon flocked, resulted in the outnumbering of the original Kaurna owners of the country by other Aboriginal people who traditionally may not have visited that territory regularly or for extended stays (see Moorhouse's report, in Foster 1990: 59–60). The marginalisation of the Kaurna in Adelaide is illustrated by the alteration of Teichelmann's terminology used to refer to their language. Initially he referred simply to "the language" (*die Sprache*) but by 1844 he discussed "our language" (*unsere Sprache*), reflecting the increasing numbers of speakers of other Aboriginal languages in Adelaide. By August 1845 he refers to "any who speak our branch of language" (*einige unseres Sprachstamms sprechen*; Teichelmann diary 24/08/1845).

¹In 1844, the Aboriginal population in Adelaide fluctuated from 300 to 500 people (Governor Grey's estimate, Scrimgeour 2007: 151). In the same year, the first South Australian Colonial census estimated the European population in Adelaide to be ten thousand.

5.1.1 The naming of Kurna

The first record of the term “Kurna” to refer to a group of people appears in W. Wyatt’s vocabulary of the “Adelaide and Encounter Bay Tribes”, in Woods, *The Native Tribes of South Australia* (1879: 180). Under the heading “Names of Tribes” (ibid.: 180) appear two entries: “Kurna Encounter Bay Bob’s” and “Meeyuna Onkaparinga Jack’s”.

Here the term “Meeyuna” refers to the people from Adelaide who are associated with Onkaparinga Jack (Mullawirraburka, King John) and the term “Kurna” refers to the name of people from Encounter Bay. Both words mean “men, people”.

(1) korn-ar
man-PL

(2) miyu-rna
man-PL

Korn(e) is recorded as the translation for “man” by Meyer at Encounter Bay (1843: 12) and *Meyu* is given as “man” by Teichelmann & Schürmann (1840: 23).

The next use of the term “Kurna” with reference to the people from South Australia was given in a key accompanying a map drawn by Charles Richards (no date) in 1892 (see Knapman 2011: 18–19). The label “Ka Orna” (item 194) is assigned to the area near Encounter Bay. Richards assigns the label “Mei Orna” (item 192) to the area around Adelaide. The caption Richards gave to the map reads: “Map showing the location of 208 Tribes, with their correct names – gathered during three years constant travel among them (over the whole area represented) and from available data”. It is likely that Wyatt (Woods 1879) was Richards’ available source data, although in 1891 there were still some speakers of the language, and Richards may have sourced his material independently (see Gara 1990: 78–80). Richards does not conform to any earlier spelling conventions in naming any of the tribes on the map.

The next known recorded usages of the term “Kurna” are also given on maps. In these sources the term is used to refer to the people from Adelaide, rather than Encounter Bay. A. W. Howitt (1904: opp. p. 44) placed the name across an area of land just north of Adelaide, extending towards the Murray River. He used the term “Narrinyeri” to refer to the area east of the Murray River, along the coast. Carl Strehlow (1907–1920, vol. 2), following Howitt, gave “Kaúrna” and “Nàrrinjèri” in the same locations.

That Howitt's and Strehlow's maps follow Wyatt's spelling (Woods 1879: 180) indicates that this was the source of the term. It seems that Howitt (1904) misinterpreted Wyatt when choosing a name by which to refer to the Adelaide language. There is no evidence that the term *Kaurna* meaning "man" in a neighbouring language was used to refer to the people and language of the Adelaide Plains exonymically. Note that W. Schmidt's 1919 map (Figure 8.17) refers to the same group as the "Meyu-Sprachen" (1919a: 41–42). The use of the term referring to the people and language of the Adelaide Plains became entrenched after the authoritative mapping of tribal boundaries and their "proper names" made by N. B. Tindale (1974: 213; Amery 2016: 4), although Tindale had used the term as early as 1926 (Amery 1998: Appendix B, 8). It seems probable that Tindale followed Howitt (1904) and/or Strehlow (1910), both of whom he listed as sources.

5.1.2 Training

The Dresden missionaries were initially trained at Germany's first mission school, the Jänicke Missionsschule in Berlin (Jänicke Mission Institute) in preparation for missionary work in India. The institute had been established by J. Jänicke (1748–1827) in 1800. Here Teichelmann, Schürmann and Meyer received a scholarly education that focused on the study of theology and foreign languages. They studied Latin, English, Greek and Hebrew (Schürmann 1838, in Schurmann 1987: 256). Schürmann had also studied some Chinese.

Jänicke trained missionaries to work for larger non-denominational mission societies in Basel, Rotterdam and London. Teichelmann and Schürmann were initially offered mission work with the Church of England in India. Refusing to be ordained in the Church of England (Schürmann 1838, in Schurmann 1987: 256), Teichelmann and Schürmann declined the offer and in 1836 became the first students of the Evangelisch-Lutherischen Missions-Gesellschaft zu Dresden (DMI), which had been specifically established to allow Teichelmann and Schürmann to complete their training. Here they received further training in English, Hebrew, Greek and the exegetic exposition of the Biblical text. Teichelmann and Schürmann were ordained as Lutheran missionaries in 1838 in Altenburg, where they became acquainted with H. C. von der Gabelentz. Under the patronage of George Fife Angas (1789–1879), they were sent to Adelaide.

5.2 C. G. Teichelmann & C. Schürmann's grammar of Kurna (1840)

C. G. Teichelmann (1807–1888) and C. Schürmann (1815–1893) arrived in South Australia in 1838, two years after the colony's official settlement. In collaboration with the Kurna people, they established a settlement and a garden on the north bank of the Torrens River at a site named “the native location” or “Pirltawardli” (possum house). Within two years of arriving in Adelaide, Teichelmann and Schürmann had published a twenty-four-page grammar of the language of the Adelaide Plains, later referred to as Kurna. The grammar appeared as the first component in a one hundred and eight-page book, which also included a Kurna to English vocabulary “of 1816 head entries, a phraseology of 141 entries, two short passages illustrating dialect differences and five short song lines” (Amery 2016: 87).² The grammar was the second published account of an Australian language, preceded only by Threlkeld (1834) and the unpublished grammars of Wiradjuri by Günther (1838; 1840) and those now lost by Handt and Watson (§4.1).

In their introduction (1840: vii–viii), Teichelmann and Schürmann situated the work within existing knowledge of Australian languages and their known relatedness to one another. They offered their work as confirmation that “all Australian languages are derived from one root”, a fact that, as the authors pointed out, had been suggested by Threlkeld (1834: 10) and by Grey (1839; 1841: 365–366). The contextualisation of the material within existing research is a feature of works of the Adelaide School, which stands in contrast to the later Lutheran descriptions of Diyari, and with most of the corpus of early grammars. The features that were seen as indicating common ancestry were reiterated by Schürmann (Schürmann 1846; §6.2.1) and by Moorhouse (Moorhouse 1846; §6.4.1).

Teichelmann and Schürmann were content to express uncertainty about some of the structures they encountered and to exemplify complex structures that they were unable to provide an account of. This trait is shared with some other more detailed, longer analyses (e.g., Kempe 1891; §9.1.2). Amery (2016: 106) points out: “[T]here are indications that Teichelmann and Schürmann tried as best as they could to base their analysis entirely on what they actually heard.” After the initial presentation of nominal case paradigms in three numbers (1840: 5–6), the authors stated that they are unable to account for morphophonemic variation in

²Note that the pagination begins again in the vocabulary. Pages cited here are in the initial grammatical section of the work, unless shown as 1840V, which designates pages in the vocabulary

the shape of the inflection for ergative/instrumental “active or ablative” case, and of inflection for dual and plural number: “[A]s yet, no fixed rule can be given for those letters by which the dual termination is joined to the root” (ibid.: 5). Importantly, they exemplified the variation. This stance differs from the certainty with which some grammarians with less grammatical insight into the languages they described, and here R. H. Mathews comes to mind (§4.3), presented their material as authoritative.

Nevertheless, there is also evidence that Teichelmann and Schürmann *did* engage in the “filling-in” of paradigms, for the sake of regularising the description, as Günther had admitted to doing (1840: 350). The amendments that Teichelmann later made to the published case paradigms (1858b; §5.2.1) suggest that this original analysis (Teichelmann & Schürmann 1840) had been regularised.

The grammar does not include reference to the word-class “article”, not even to state that it does not exist. Perhaps alerted to the needlessness of the category through reading Threlkeld's description “of the *substitute* for the article” (1834: 9; emphasis added), the absence of this grammatical category signals that the authors intended to compose their description in response to the structure of the language. Yet, like all other early grammarians, Teichelmann and Schürmann adopt aspects of the traditional descriptive framework which were not motivated or appropriate to the morphosyntactic structure. The missionaries stated that the purpose of their work was to

keep up good understanding and facilitate the intercourse, between Aborigines and Europeans; to give to the latter a medium of communication, and, especially, assistance to those who may be inclined to acquire the language. (Teichelmann & Schürmann 1840: iv)

The inclusion of familiar descriptive schemata may have been seen as helpful in ensuring the grammar remained accessible to its readers.

The grammatical component of the work commences with a description of “nouns” divided into three categories: “substantives”, “adjectives” and “pronouns”. The traditional division between substantives and adjectives, which the missionaries did not describe as functionally motivated, is maintained. They state: “declension of substantives also applies to adjectives” (Teichelmann & Schürmann 1840: 4). Simpson (2021) shows that Teichelmann and Schürmann's use of the term “noun” parallels the classical use of the term “nomen”, as a superclass covering both noun-substantive and noun-adjective (see Arnold 1781[1736]: 33–37). The missionaries used the term “noun” in the sense of the modern term “nominal”. The usage is repeated by Moorhouse (1846: 2).

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Substantives and adjectives are each divided into three classes: “primitive”, i.e., underived nominal roots, “derivative”, i.e., mostly nouns derived from verbs, and “compound forms”. Each is illustrated with a dozen or so examples showing a range of derivational and inflectional morphology, some of which is not overtly presented elsewhere in the grammar. Derivational application of the privative suffix *-tina*, for example, is shown under the heading “derivative adjectives”: “*yangarutanna*, unmarried, from *yangarra* wife” (1840: 6):

- (3) *yangarutanna*
 yangarra-tina
 wife-PRIV

Under the heading “derivative nouns”, the process through which words for items of European clothing were formed from existing lexical items is illustrated. Newly formed words for European items of clothing were commonly included by early grammarians in discussions of derivational morphemes (e.g., Meyer 1843: 19). Teichelmann & Schürmann (1840: 4) gave: *Mukartiana* ‘hat’ formed from *mukarta* ‘head’ suffixed with what may be inflection for allative case *-ana* (Amery & Simpson 2013: 122, 175):

- (4) *mukartiana*
 mukarti-ana
 hat-ALL

They also gave (ibid.: 4) *turtiana* ‘jacket’ formed through the same process from *turti* ‘upper arm’.

Although the inclusion of distinct categories of “substantives” and “adjectives” provided schemata in which the missionaries could illustrate a wealth of morphological processes, it is not clear that the processes shown as occurring on nouns and on adjectives are distinct or that the missionaries perceived a syntactic motivation for maintaining a distinction between the two classes of word. The “derivative adjective” *yangarutanna*, for instance, most probably functioned also as a noun referring to a man who is not married.

In the year of the publication of the Kurna grammar, Schürmann commenced work with Barngarla people on the Eyre Peninsula, and two additional DMI graduates arrived in South Australia. S. G. Klose assumed responsibility for teaching the Kurna school children at Pirltawardli, although Teichelmann continued to teach religious education in Kurna. H. A. E. Meyer was sent to establish a new mission at Encounter Bay on the southeastern tip of the Fleurieu Peninsula.

In 1844 a government school in which English was the sole language of instruction was opened in Adelaide to cater for the increasing numbers of Aboriginal people visiting Adelaide from the areas adjacent to the Murray River. In 1845, Pirltawardli was amalgamated with the government school and in 1846 Klose's contract was terminated from Adelaide and from Dresden.

5.2.1 Teichelmann's later linguistic work

While Schürmann may have been the more affable of the two earliest Dresdner missionaries (Kneebone 2005b), Teichelmann was the most linguistically active, if not astute, of the pair. Of the six Kaurna hymns which Klose sent to Dresden in 1843 (reprinted in Klose & Graetz 2002: 27–30), the two translated by Schürmann are by far the shortest, having two and three verses each. The remaining four hymns translated by Teichelmann are up to seven verses long.

In the same year in which Teichelmann produced his thirteen-page ethnographic description of “The South Australian Aborigines” (1841b), he co-authored a much more substantial “Report on the Aborigines of South Australia” with (Moorhouse & Teichelmann 1841; in Foster 1990: 38).

During the early 1840s Teichelmann collected specimens for the *Naturforschende Gesellschaft des Osterlandes* (Nature Research Society of the Osterland), based in Altenburg, and in 1841 commenced correspondence with H. C. von der Gabelentz, to whom he sent a Kaurna vocabulary and grammar. Gabelentz also had a copy of Meyer's grammar, from which he quoted. It is not known if this had also been supplied by Teichelmann, or whether Meyer corresponded independently with Gabelentz.

After the closure of the Lutheran missions in South Australia in 1848, Teichelmann continued to refine his analysis of Kaurna. In the face of the demise of the Kaurna, and while ministering to German settlers in the Bremer Valley, Teichelmann continued to revise his Kaurna linguistic data. At the request of Sir George Grey, then Governor of Cape Colony, South Africa, Teichelmann produced MSS analyses of Kaurna, which he sent to Cape Town, where they remain, held by the South African Public Library. They were catalogued by Bleek (1858: 40). The “Dictionary of the Adelaide Dialect” (1857) was described by Bleek (1858: 40) as containing 2400 “words” for which “the meanings are given much fuller and illustrated more copiously than in the [1840] Vocabulary”. More recently the MS has been assessed as “provid[ing] an additional source of grammatical data, entries are given with some comment on morpho-syntactic structure and often with illustrative sentences” (Simpson 1992: 411–12).

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Teichelmann also sent Bleek a three-page description of the verb, which he completed in 1858 (Teichelmann 1858b). Bleek (1858: 40) observed that the work “treats the formation of seven different kinds of verbs”.

In 1858, Teichelmann’s own copy of the 1840 Kurna grammar was also sent to Cape Town (1858b). Bleek (1858: 40) described this copy as having notes that “extend over the whole grammatical part”. The annotations are of exceptional interest to tracing Teichelmann’s developing understanding of Kurna structure. However, note that since this MS remained completely unknown in Australia, it was Teichelmann’s very early analysis (1840) that came to be most influential on later PN descriptions. Teichelmann’s alterations and additional comments concentrate on some of the analytically challenging morpho-syntactic structures that are examined in detail in this study: processes of clause subordination (§5.6.2) and the naming and presentation of the range of dative and possessive case functions (Stockigt 2017 §5.4).

5.2.2 Threlkeld’s influence

Prior to arriving in Adelaide, Teichelmann and Schürmann became acquainted with PN structure through copying by hand a MS version of Threlkeld’s grammar(s) (presumably 1834) while in London (Rathjen 1998: 68) and later by studying a copy of the 1834 publication which they had been lent *en route* to Australia in 1838 by fellow passenger Governor Gawler (Amery 2016: 65). Teichelmann and Schürmann’s work was to some degree influenced by Threlkeld’s grammar. They stated that they followed the system of spelling “adopted by Rev. Mr. Threlkeld ... and other missionaries experienced in the Polynesian languages” (1840: v). Their division of the document into three sections – grammar, vocabulary and phraseology – may also follow Threlkeld’s tripartite arrangement.

That the Lutheran missionaries did not, however, simply copy Threlkeld’s format is well recognised (Amery 2016: 87). Teichelmann and Schürmann did not provide interlinear-style translation of clauses, nor use hyphens to mark the boundaries of word-internal syllables or sub-word meaningful units as Threlkeld had done. Other than sharing structural similarities that are indicative only of commonly inherited influences, Teichelmann & Schürmann’s grammar (1840) shows a high degree of independent response to PN morphosyntax. In comparison to the way in which some later corpus grammarians borrowed previously developed descriptive templates, Threlkeld’s influence on Teichelmann and Schürmann’s analysis was marginal.

5.3 The beginning of a new descriptive tradition

Teichelmann and Schürmann's earliest grammar of a South Australian language had a major descriptive impact on later grammars written by Lutherans and other grammarians in South Australia. Comparison of later grammars of Diyari (Chapter 8) and Arrernte (Chapter 9) with Teichelmann and Schürmann's presentation of case (§5.3.1), postpositions (§5.3.2), the declension of possessive pronouns (§5.3.3), ergativity (§5.4.2), description of the syntax of complex clauses (§5.6), and the division of verbs into "transitive" and "intransitive" classes (§6.2.1.6) shows that "the Adelaide School of language researchers" (Simpson 1992: 410) generated a larger and more enduring school of descriptive practice than has previously been recognised.

5.3.1 Case paradigms

Unlike the paradigms of nominal case given by Threlkeld (1834) and Günther (1838; 1840), which extend the classical paradigms so as to embrace the larger systems of morphological case in PN (§3.4.4; §4.4.3), Teichelmann & Schürmann (1840) presented conservative five-place Latinate case paradigms (see Figure 5.2). Only case forms that were translated into SAE languages using a case-inflected word, rather than a prepositional phrase, were included in the paradigm and in the discussion of nominal case. While it is not clear that the case system of Kaurna was as large as that documented by Threlkeld for Awabakal, Teichelmann and Schürmann's presentation of case marks a radical departure from earlier PN descriptions.

	<i>Sing.</i>	<i>Dual.</i>	<i>Plur.</i>
<i>Nom.</i>	Tinyara, <i>a (or the) boy, youth,</i>	tinyarurla, <i>two boys</i>	tinyaranna, <i>boys</i>
<i>Gen.</i>	Tinyarunna,	tinyarurlakko,	tinyarannakko
<i>Dat.</i>	Tinyaranni,	tinyarurlanni,	tinyarannanni
<i>Acc.</i>	<i>(the same as the Nom.)</i>		
<i>Act.</i>	Tinyarurlo		
<i>Abl.</i>			

Figure 5.2: Teichelmann & Schürmann's case paradigm of a noun (1840: 5)

That Teichelmann & Schürmann presented a paradigm that was so radically different from Threlkeld's, with which they were well acquainted, shows that they approached the description of Australian languages with confidence in their own descriptive ability, and did not feel the need to replicate the descriptions from the Colony of New South Wales.

Subsequently, small Latinate paradigms commonly appeared in grammars of PN languages by later Lutheran grammarians such as Koch (1868), Schoknecht (1947 [1872]), Flierl (1880), Reuther (1894, 1981a), Kempe (1891), C. Strehlow (1931b), and by T. G. H. Strehlow (1944). Symmons (1841; Figure 7.2) is the only non-Lutheran to produce such a paradigm.

But Teichelmann and Schürmann were the only grammarians of the Adelaide School to present such a conservative paradigm. Meyer (1843; §6.1.2.1), Schürmann (Schürmann 1844b; §6.2.1.1), and Moorhouse (Moorhouse 1846; §6.4.1.1) each presented case systems differently. Teichelmann and Schürmann’s inaugural description of case in a South Australian language (1840) was independently influential on later Lutheran works.

Teichelmann and Schürmann’s paradigms of nominal case only include suffixes that they perceived to carry the same or a comparable function to those carried by one of the Latin cases. The notable exception is the inclusion of the ergative case, which despite marking a function that is not carried by SAE case systems, nevertheless attracted a case label. Current analysis of the suffixes described as case inflections are shown in Table 5.1.

Table 5.1: Current analysis of inflections described by Teichelmann and Schürmann as marking nominal case

Teichelmann & Schürmann (1840)		Amery & Simpson (2013)	
Form	Function	Form	Function
-∅	marks nominative case	-∅	marks nominative case
-ko(nna)	marks genitive case	-ku, -rna	marks possessive case
-nni	marks dative case	-ni	marks dative case (p. 120)
-∅	marks accusative case	-∅	marks accusative case
-lo (-rlo, dlo)	marks active and ablative cases	-rlu, -dlu	marks ergative/instrumental case

The form and function of nominal inflections marking cases in Kaurna with functions that are *not* associated with SAE case systems, but which are instead carried by prepositional phrases, were listed towards the end of the grammar under the heading “postpositions”. These include inflections now analysed as marking purposive, ablative, allative, locative, comitative and perlocative cases. These case inflections also tend to be illustrated inadvertently in other sections of the grammar where they are not overtly described.

Note here that Threlkeld had *not* shown inflections for case as separate units unattached to a nominal stem, as did Teichelmann & Schürmann (Figure 2.10)

and Günther in MS grammars of Wiradjuri (1838; 1840; Figure 2.9). There is no indication that Teichelmann and Schürmann had seen copies of the MS Wiradjuri grammars. Teichelmann & Schürmann may have innovated this type of description in response to the agglutinative structure of the language, without influence from other grammarians. It is also possible, however, that this style of presentation, which is not a feature of the traditional description of classical European languages, was suggested to the Dresdners through reading Rhenius' grammar of Tamil (1836).

5.3.2 Postfixa and postpositions

Teichelmann and Schürmann differentiated two classes of postposition on structural grounds. Their innovation was subsequently employed by later grammarians of Diyari (§8.5.3), and of Arrernte (§9.3.3.1), and in Taplin's last grammar of Ngarrindjeri (1878: 8).

The treatment of the word-class "pre/post-positions" by the corpus grammarians is, like the representation of case-systems broadly, diagnostic of schools of descriptive practice. It is Roth's (1897: vi) unconventional division of "prepositions" into the four categories of "motion", "rest", "purpose, reason and means" and "time" (§10.1.1) that, in part, establishes Roth's influence on the grammars of Guugu-Yimidhirr written by Neuendettelsau-trained Lutheran missionaries (Schwarz & Poland 1900; §10.1.2).

Making sense of Teichelmann and Schürmann's rationale for the division (Figure 5.3) is difficult, and one gets the impression that this section would have read better in the authors' first language. Postpositions are listed as being of two types, confusingly termed "postfixa" (Teichelmann & Schürmann 1840: 21–22) and "postpositions" (ibid.: 22–23). Entries presented under each type were given

POSTPOSITIONS.

EVERY relation in which two nouns are standing, or in which they either shall or can be thought to stand to each other, is expressed by particles affixed to that word to which another noun stands in relation—but not only by these particles, also by nouns to which again those particles are affixed, is this relation expressed, as sometimes in the Hebrew language. These particles have, therefore, been called *Postfixa*, and those nouns, *Postpositions*, properly, as they are always put after the word to which they relate. The following are hitherto known:—

Figure 5.3: Teichelmann and Schürmann's division of "postpositions" into two classes (1840: 21)

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because they are seen to serve the same grammatical and semantic functions as SAE prepositions. The first class was described as “affixes” and the second class as “words”.

Items belonging to the first class of affixes, termed “postfixa” (Table 5.2) were described as “particles affixed to the words”. The class “postfixa” included case inflections mostly marking local case functions, which translated into a SAE language using a prepositional phrase.

Items belonging to the second class were termed “postpositions” (Table 5.3) and were described as a class of noun to which postfixa can attach. Here Teichelmann and Schürmann included nouns inflected with their “postfixa”. Many are the locational words inflected for locative case common to Australian languages (Dixon 2002b: 68). Some are nouns derived from body parts in locative case. The reason for the inclusion of other items in this category remains unclear. Some translations remain semantically opaque. Each is translated by the missionaries as having either spatial or causal function.

An additional list of four “postpositions” was given (Table 5.4). These were seen to differ because they “cannot be derived from a noun” (Teichelmann &

Table 5.2: Analysis of nominal inflections listed by Teichelmann & Schürmann as “postfixa”

Original form	Current orthography	Analysis (Amery & Simpson 2013: 122–123)
-anna, -kanna	-(k)ana	allative: motion towards a place
-arra, -tarra	-(t)arra	perlative
-illa	-ila, -illa**	locative
-ngga	-ngka, -ngga†	locative
-itya*	-itya	allative: motion towards a person, and purposive (dative)*
-ityangga	-ityangka	comitative
-unungko	-unanguku	ablative (used with inanimates)
-ityarnungko	-ityanungku	ablative (used with animates)

*The analysis of the suffix *-itya* taken here differs from Amery & Simpson (2013: 122). Rather than analysing the suffix *-itya* as marking allative function towards an animate being as well as purposive function, the suffix is said here to mark the dative case (see Stockigt 2017 §5.4). **Note that the form *-ila*, described by Teichelmann & Schürmann as a “postfixa” was re-analysed by F. Müller (1882: 97) as the *localsuffix* which was listed among a group of other case suffixes in other Australian languages.†In reclaimed Kurna the orthographic representation of the locative suffixes on placenames has been maintained as *-ngga* and *-illa* because these representations are fixed in accepted spellings of many placenames. Compare for instance the name of the suburb Noarlunga with *Nurlungka* and **Nurlungka* ‘on the bend’.

5.3 The beginning of a new descriptive tradition

Schürmann 1840: 22). Two are locational words: *ngundarta*, ‘behind’ and *parnatta* ‘on this side’. Two are probably nominal inflections, possibly marking case, which have been analysed by the authors as words.

Teichelmann & Schürmann (1840: 21) likened the attachment of their “postfixa” to their “postpositions” to the structure of Hebrew. While the explanation of postpositions and postfixa (Figure 5.3) remains slightly opaque, it is likely that the perceived similarity between Kurna and Hebrew relates to placement of the

Table 5.3: Analysis of nominal inflections listed by Teichelmann & Schürmann as “postpositions”

Form	Original translation	Analysis
<i>wattingga</i>	In the midst of, between, on account of	<i>warti-ngka</i> middle-LOC
<i>wattewattingga</i>	On account of	<i>warti-warti-ngka</i> middle-REDUP-LOC
<i>wattedrukkungga</i>	In the midst of, the centre, amongst	<i>warti-trruku-ngka*</i> middle-centre-LOC
<i>wirrawirrangga</i>	On account of	<i>wirra-wirra-ngka</i> forest-LOC
<i>worngangga</i>	Before, in front of	<i>warnka-ngka</i> omentum-LOC
<i>tangkangga</i>	In the entrails” within	<i>tangka-ngka</i> liver-LOC
<i>trukkungga</i>	In the centre, amidst	<i>trruku-ngka</i> centre-LOC
<i>ngurrungga</i>	In the back, behind	<i>ngurru-ngka</i> back-LOC
<i>marrangga</i>	In or on the hand, alongside, with (accompanying)	<i>mara-ngka</i> hand-LOC
<i>martungga</i>	In the smell or taste, for, instead, in place of	<i>martu-ngka</i> taste-LOC
<i>martuity</i> [ʔsic]	For the smell or taste, in [sic] behalf, on account of	<i>martu-itya</i> taste-PURP*
<i>mikangga</i>	In the eye, before, in the presence of	<i>mika-ngka</i> ?eye-LOC
<i>minkaara</i>	Along the eye, before, in the presence of	<i>miina-(k)-arra</i> eye-PERL

*The form of “centre” shown here and below in Figure 6.2 follows Amery & Simpson (2013). It is, however, possible that the onset is cvc, rather than cc. In favour of the cc onset analysis is the form of the locative

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Table 5.4: Analysis of additional “postpositions” given by Teichelmann & Schürmann

Form	Original translation	Analysis
<i>birra</i>	on account of, about, for	case suffix <i>-pira</i> AFTER*
<i>ngundarta</i>	behind	<i>nguntarta</i>
<i>pulyo</i>	without	case suffix – privative**
<i>parnatta</i>	on this side	<i>parnata</i>

*This form is glossed AFTER, following Wilkins’s (1989: 210) analysis of the Arrernte case suffix *-iperre*, *-ipenhe*. **Two other suffixes are described with privative function: *-tina* and *-marraka*. The difference is unclear.

postpositions marked with a postfix after the head noun that they qualify, as in the following NP:

- (5) Worli worngangga
 Before, in front of the house
 (Teichelmann 1857)
 warli warnka-ngka
 house omentum-LOC
 ‘In front of the house’

In Hebrew and in Kurna adjectives follow the noun they qualify, differing from SAE languages. The adjective in Hebrew agrees with the noun in gender, number and definiteness, Hebrew having lost grammatical case. Teichelmann and Schürmann may also have intimated the construct-state (Gesenius & Kautzsch 1910: 247), in which the possessed noun *nomen rectum* follows the head it qualifies *nomen regens* and the relationship is marked by alteration to stress patterns and vowel quality of the first constituent. In constructions in which there are two dependent nouns – e.g., “the sons of David and his daughters” (Gesenius & Kautzsch 1910: 414) – or where a second genitive noun qualifies the *nomen regens* – e.g., “the hill of my holiness” or “my holy hill” (Weingreen 1954: 50) – the second *nomen rectum* is morphologically marked with a suffix to agree with the head *nomen regens*. Note that (Teichelmann & Schürmann 1840: 21) stated, “as *sometimes* in the Hebrew languages” (emphasis added), suggesting that it was to this less frequently occurring construction that they referred.

The division of “postpositions” into two structurally distinct classes was adopted by later generations of Lutheran missionaries, but was not employed by other grammarians of the Adelaide School. Teichelmann and Schürmann’s schema was

subsequently used by missionary-grammarians describing Diyari (1868–1899; see §8.5.3), by Kempe (Kempe 1891; see §9.3.3.1), and by T. G. H. Strehlow (1944) in a description of Arrernte (Stockigt 2023a). The schema was also employed by Taplin (1878: 8), but only in his final analysis of Ngarrindjeri (see §7.3.3).

5.3.3 Declension of “possessive or adjective pronouns”

In some PN languages the marking of “phrasal” or “adnominal” case – e.g., possessive or proprietive functions (Dixon 1976: 9; 2002b: 141) – occurs directly before clausal case marking, resulting in double case marking on a single word (see Austin 1995). Examine the following Awabakal clause (6) from Romans 8:14 in which the phrase-final noun in possessive case – *Eloi-kupa* ‘God’s’ – receives ergative marking. Both constituents of the possessive NP standing in the ergative case – ‘God’s spirit’ – are marked with different ergative allomorphs (see Lissarrague 2006: 26):

- (6) Yantin barun yemmam-an Marai -to Eloi-kupa-ku
 ‘God’s spirit leads them all’
 (Threlkeld 1834)
 Yantiyn paraN ?-N Maraye-tju Eloi-kupa-ku
 all 3PL.ACC lead-pres spirit-ERG God-poss-ERG

Nouns marked as possessive receive double case marking in languages in which clausal case is either marked on each constituent of the NP or is marked on the last constituent where the possessive noun follows the head it qualifies. In Kaurna case can be marked on each constituent of a discontinuous NP (Amery & Simpson 2013: 115, 132) and possessive pronouns can be marked for the clausal case.

Teichelmann & Schürmann accounted for this phenomenon by presenting a paradigm of “possessive or adjective pronouns” (1840: 11–12; Figure 5.4). This declension of possessive pronouns marked for clausal case reflects the importance of the word as the unit of analysis in the traditional descriptive framework. A modern representation would discuss the case marking of the noun-phrase. Teichelmann & Schürmann’s innovation was to have an enduring influence on some later grammars of PN languages.

The paradigm declines possessive pronouns for two cases, termed “genitive” and “dative”. The form labelled 2sgGEN *ninkuitya* in Figure 5.4 might translate as ‘for/to/towards your X’ (7), since the suffix *-itya* marks both dative and allative function (Amery & Simpson 2013: 122). There are no example clauses given in the Kaurna of possessive pronouns marked for these cases.

- (7) ninkuitya
ninku-itya
[2SGPOSS]-DAT/ALL

Teichelmann & Schürmann did not present an ergative case form of the possessive pronouns, labelled “active” in the paradigm. Such ergative forms are, however, exemplified. In the answer to the question “Whose child gave it to you?”, for example, the 1sgPOSS pronoun is marked for ergative case:

- (8) Ngangko wawkakurlo niinanni yüngki? Ngaityurlo
‘Whose child gave it to you?’ Mine
(Teichelmann & Schürmann 1840: 12)
ngangku wawkaku-rlu ninna-ni yungk-i? ngatiyu-rlu
INTER.POSS child-ERG 2sg-DAT give-PAST 1SG.POSS-ERG

As Moorhouse (1846: 14) later explained regarding his declension of Ngaya-wang “pronominal adjectives”, i.e. possessive pronouns, they “are formed from the genitive of the personal pronouns”. The pronoun termed “genitive” in the table of personal pronouns – i.e., a pronoun in possessive case – is the zero-marked form which is termed “nominative” in paradigms of “possessive or adjective pronouns”. Observe that in Teichelmann & Schürmann’s presentation of Kurna the 1sgGEN form in the declension of personal pronouns *Ngaityo* (Figure 5.5) is the 1sgNOM form in the declension of “possessive or adjective pronouns” (Figure 5.4).

Dual and plural forms of “nominative possessive pronouns” in each number and person are shown as regularly formed from the singular with the suffixes *-rla* and *-rna*, which mark the dual and plural respectively on other nominals in Kurna (Amery & Simpson 2013: 123). The function of these forms is not clear. It is probable that they resulted from the filling in of the paradigm. No later works that presented paradigms of possessive pronouns in each person and number show an additional axis marking number. Some later grammarians – such as Koch and Reuther in Diyari, and Taplin in Ngarrindjeri (§8.2) – did, however, confuse the number reference of the possessive pronoun, and incorrectly translated the forms with the number reference referring to the head noun. Reuther, for example (Figure 8.2), translated the nominative form of 1dIPoss as “my two” instead of “belonging to us two”. It is possible that Teichelmann & Schürmann were also somewhat confused.

Teichelmann & Schürmann’s method of accounting for the additional clausal case marking of a pronoun in possessive case became a feature of early South

5.3 The beginning of a new descriptive tradition

POSSESSIVE OR ADJECTIVE PRONOUNS.

First person singular, NGA1—I:

<i>Sing.</i>	<i>Dual.</i>	<i>Plur.</i>
<i>Nom.</i> Ngaityo,	ngaityurla,	ngaityurna
<i>Gen.</i> Ngaityunna,	ngaityurlako,	ngaityuitya
<i>Dat.</i> Ngaityurni,	ngaityurlanni	

Second person singular, NINNA—thou:

<i>Nom.</i> Ninko,	ninkurla,	ninkurna
<i>Gen.</i> Ninkunna,		ninkuitya
<i>Dat.</i> Ninkurni		

Third person singular, PA—he, she, it:

<i>Nom.</i> Parnu, or parnuko, parnukurla,	parnukurna
<i>Gen.</i> Parnukunna,	parnukuitya
<i>Dat.</i> Parnukurni,	

First person dual, NGADLI—we two:

<i>Nom.</i> Ngadliko,	ngadlikurla,	ngadlikurna
<i>Gen.</i> Ngadlikunna,		ngadlikuitya
<i>Dat.</i> Ngadlikurni		

Second person dual, NIWA—you two:

<i>Nom.</i> Niwadlukko,	niwadlukurla,	niwadlukurna
<i>Gen.</i> Niwadlukunna,		niwadlukuitya
<i>Dat.</i> Niwadlukurni,		

Third person dual, PURLA—they two:

<i>Nom.</i> Purlako,	purlakurla,	purlakurna
<i>Gen.</i> Purlakunna		purlakuitya
<i>Dat.</i> Purlakurni		

First person plural, NGADLU—we:

<i>Nom.</i> Ngadlukko,	ngadlukurla,	ngadlukurna
<i>Gen.</i> Ngadlukunna,		ngadlukuitya
<i>Dat.</i> Ngadlukurni		

c

Second person plural, NA—you:

<i>Nom.</i> Naako,	naakurla,	naakurna
<i>Gen.</i> Naakunna,		naakuitya
<i>Dat.</i> Naakurni		

Third person plural, PARNNA—they:

<i>Nom.</i> Parnako,	parnakurla,	parnakurna
<i>Gen.</i> Parnakunna,		parnakuitya
<i>Dat.</i> Parnakurni		

Figure 5.4: Teichelmann & Schürmann's "declension of possessive or adjective pronouns" (1840: 11-12)

PERSONAL PRONOUNS.

FIRST PERSON :

	<i>Sing.</i>	<i>Dual.</i>	<i>Plur.</i>
<i>Nom.</i>	Ngaii, <i>I,</i>	ngadli, <i>we two,</i>	ngadiu, <i>we</i>
<i>Gen.</i>	Ngaiyo, <i>of me,</i>	ngadliko, <i>of us two,</i>	ngadliuko, <i>of us</i>
<i>Dat.</i>	Ngaiinni, <i>to me,</i>	ngadliinni, <i>to us two,</i>	ngadliunni, <i>to us</i>
<i>Acc.</i>	Ngaii, <i>me,</i>	ngadli, <i>us two,</i>	ngadliu, <i>us</i>
<i>Act.</i>	Ngatto, <i>I, the</i> <i>agent</i>		

SECOND PERSON :

	<i>Sing.</i>	<i>Dual.</i>	<i>Plur.</i>
<i>Nom.</i>	Ninna, <i>thou,</i>	niwa, <i>you two,</i>	na, <i>you</i>
<i>Gen.</i>	Ninko, <i>of thee.</i>	niwadliuko, <i>of you two,</i>	nasko, <i>of you</i>
<i>Dat.</i>	Ninnanni, <i>to thee,</i>	niwanni, <i>to you two,</i>	nanni, <i>to you</i>
<i>Acc.</i>	Ninna, <i>thee,</i>	niwa, <i>you two,</i>	na, <i>you</i>
<i>Act.</i>	Nindo, <i>thou, the</i> <i>agent</i>		

THIRD PERSON :

	<i>Sing.</i>	<i>Dual.</i>	<i>Plur.</i>
<i>Nom.</i>	Pa, <i>he, she, or it,</i>	purla, <i>they two,</i>	parna, <i>they</i>
<i>Gen.</i>	Parnu or Parnu- ko, <i>of him,</i>	purlako, <i>of them two,</i>	parnako, <i>of them</i>
<i>Dat.</i>	Panni or Padni, <i>to him,</i>	purlanni, <i>to them two,</i>	parnanni, <i>to them</i>
<i>Acc.</i>	Pa, <i>him,</i>	purla, <i>them two,</i>	parna, <i>them</i>
<i>Act.</i>	Padlo, <i>he, &c.,</i> <i>the agent</i>		

Figure 5.5: Teichelmann & Schürmann's pronominal case paradigm (1840: 7-8)

Australian description, being employed by Meyer (1843: 25), Moorhouse (1846: 14–18), Taplin (1867: no pag; 1880: 12), but not by Schürmann (1844b). The earliest grammars of Diyari (§8.3) state that the declension of possessive pronouns is regular and follows that of the noun (Koch 1868: no pag; Schoknecht 1947 [1872]: 5; Flierl & Meyer 1880: 18–20). Reuther (1894; 1981a; Figure 8.2), however, included full case paradigms of Diyari possessive pronouns, and Homann (in Fraser 1892: 44) stated, “The possessive pronouns, which are the personal pronouns of the genitive case, are declined like substantives”, and presented first-person singular Diyari forms. Case paradigms of possessive pronouns appear in later South Australian Lutheran descriptions of Arrernte, in Kempe (1891: 8; Figure 5.6) and C. Strehlow (1931b: 68–71; 1910: 14–16). Case paradigms of possessive pronouns were later engaged by T. G. H. Stehlow (1944: 95–96; see Stockigt 2023a), extending Teichelmann & Schürmann's influence into the twentieth century.

The declensions of possessive pronouns had *not* been presented by Threlkeld. Paradigms of possessive pronouns are not shown in any grammars of languages spoken in New South Wales.

<i>Singular.</i>	
First Person.	
Nom.	katjia nuka, my child.
Gen.	katjia nukanaka, of my child.
Dat.	katjia nukana, to my child.
Accus.	katjia nuka, my child.
Abl.	katjia nukananga, from my child.
Second Person.	
Nom.	kwara unkwanga, thy girl.
Gen.	kwara unkwanganaka, of thy girl.
Dat.	kwara unkwangana, to thy girl.
Accus.	kwara unkwanga, thy girl.
Abl.	kwara unkwanganga, from thy girl.
Third Person.	
Nom.	kata ekura, his, her, its father.
Gen.	kata ekuranaka, of his father.
Dat.	kata ekurana, to his father.
Accus.	kata ekura, his father.
Abl.	kata ekurananga, from his father.

Figure 5.6: Kempe's declension of possessive pronouns (1891: 8) (Arrenrte)

Other grammarians who described double case marking include Mathews, who liked to point out that he was the first to report this grammatical feature (Koch 2008: 181), and Roth (1897: 7; §10.1).

5.4 Teichelmann & Schürmann's description of syntactic cases

5.4.1 Split system of marking syntactic case and recognition of an "absolute" case

Teichelmann and Schürmann's description of Kaurna and Schürmann's description of Barngarla (§6.2) present all singular nominals as showing ergative alignment (A/so) and all non-singular nominals as undifferentiated for the syntactic cases (ASO). Of ergative nouns, Teichelmann and Schürmann wrote, "for dual and plural of this case no termination is known" (1840: 6). Non-singular nouns are undifferentiated in the syntactic cases (ASO).³ Accusative forms are identical with the nominative on all nominal-types.

³Reclamation of Kaurna (Amery & Simpson 2013: 136) has rectified this seemingly unfeasible system by offering distinctly marked ergative forms, marked with *-rlu*, in all numbers. The situation, which is not supported in the source material, has been proposed in order to overcome potential ambiguities.

Like other early Australian grammarians, Teichelmann and Schürmann maintained a three-case analysis for nominals with an ergative system (A/SO) and included the accusative case in all paradigms. Its inclusion stands in contrast to the frequent omission of the ergative case from paradigms of nominals showing accusative alignment (AS/O; Figure 3.9; Figure 6.30). In some paradigms, however, rather than filling in the accusative forms, Teichelmann & Schürmann stated “same as the nominative” (Table 5.2). Further, when declining “possessive or adjective pronouns” (1840: 11–12) they wrote: “the accusative forms have been omitted because they are like the nominative”. In this way Teichelmann and Schürmann’s presentation approaches an analysis of an “absolutive” case. In a significant rearrangement of the pronominal case paradigm in response to the ergatively aligned system, Moorhouse & Teichelmann (1841: 49–53) placed nominative and accusative pronouns in a single position at the top of the paradigm (Figure 5.7). It is presumably this aspect of the grammar that Amery (2016: 108) describes as being “set out with greater clarity”.

PRONOUNS - 1ST PERSONAL.			
	SINGULAR	DUAL	PLURAL
Nom. & Acc. -	<i>Ngau</i> , I, and me	<i>Ngadli</i> , we two	<i>Ngadlu</i> , we
Gen. & Dat. -	<i>Ngaiyo</i> , of me, to me	<i>Ngadliko</i> , &c.	<i>Ngagluko</i> , &c.
Act. Case -	<i>Ngatto</i> , I (the agent)		
2nd PERSONS:-			
N. & Acc. -	<i>Ninna</i> , thou, thee	<i>Niwa</i> , you two	<i>Na</i> , you
G. & Dat. -	<i>Ninko</i> , of or to thee	<i>Niwadluko</i> , &c.	<i>Naako</i> , &c.
Act. Case -	<i>Nindo</i> , thou (agent)		
3rd PERSONS:-			
N. & Acc. -	<i>Pa</i> , he, she, it	<i>Purla</i> , they two	<i>Parna</i> , they
Gen. & Dat. -	<i>Parnuko</i> , or <i>parnu</i>	<i>Purlako</i> , &c.	<i>Parnako</i> , &c.
Act. Case -	<i>Padlo</i> , he (agent)		

Figure 5.7: Teichelmann and Moorhouse’s later representation of case forms of Kurna pronouns, 1841 (in Foster 1990: 49). Note the typographical error in INOM, shown elsewhere as *ngaii*

In one sense this paradigm might be seen simply as a rearrangement motivated by a more economical presentation of identically marked forms, in which the two cases remain theoretically intact. Nevertheless, the presentation realises a necessary step towards a two-case analysis of ergatively aligned languages, which treats the roles of s and o as a single case, in the same way that grammars of accusatively aligned SAE languages treat the roles of A and s as the “nominative”.

The absolutive case is otherwise only suggested in early descriptions of PN languages made in Germany. The absolutive case was described and labelled “absolutive” in the paradigms presented in Planert’s grammars of Arrernte (1907a) and of Diyari (1908; §2.6.1). An absolutive case was suggested in F. Müller’s representation (1882: 19) of Threlkeld’s Awabakal case paradigms (1834: 13–16; Figure 3.8), in which cases of nominals showing ergative alignment are re-ordered. The accusative case is taken out of one of its traditional positions in the paradigm and placed at the top of the paradigm, bracketed with the identical nominative form and termed “nominative subject”. Note that there are two traditional orderings of case, one being *nom > voc > acc > gen > dat (> abl)* and the other being *nom > gen > dat > (abl >) acc > voc*.

5.4.2 The ergative case

Teichelmann and Schürmann’s grammar is atypical of the corpus grammars in not describing the function of overtly marked ergative nominals in the body of the text. The only explanation is given as the note stating “the agent” in the pronominal paradigms (Figure 5.5).

Unlike Threlkeld (1834), Günther (1838; 1840), and all later grammarians of languages spoken in New South Wales (Ridley 1866; 1875; Livingstone 1892), who placed ergative case forms in second position alongside the nominative case at the top of case paradigms, Teichelmann & Schürmann consistently placed ergative nominals in last position (Figure 5.2; Figure 5.8).

By placing the ergative case in last position, Teichelmann and Schürmann instigated a descriptive practice that had not been influenced by Threlkeld, and which was to become subsequently influential.

Teichelmann and Schürmann placed ergative forms in last paradigmatic position, the traditional position of the ablative case in Latinate paradigms, because the ergative inflection usually took the same shape as the inflection marking Kaurua case functions that are marked by the Latin ablative.

Later grammarians who placed ergative case forms in positions at the bottom of case paradigms, which were separated by other cases from the nominative case form placed at the top of the paradigm, were influenced by Teichelmann & Schürmann’s paradigm. The placement of the ergative case in the position of the Latin ablative may have been innovated only once in Australia, by these two missionaries, although Symmons’ (1841) grammar of Nyungar (§7.1), belonging to country in southwest Western Australia, more than 2500 kilometers distant from Adelaide, also placed ergative nouns, termed “ablative”, at the bottom of Latinate paradigms. Symmons’ work, which was of no further influence, may have been

influenced by Teichelmann & Schürmann, although there is no other indication that Symmons had access to the publication. Symmons aside, Teichelmann & Schürmann's placement of ergative case forms in this unusual position had two trajectories of influence, both within Lutheran description.

Missionary Meyer, Teichelmann & Schürmann's colleague from the Dresden Mission Institute, also placed the ergative case in this position, but *reinterpreted* the term "ablative". Meyer's template became subsequently influential on later grammarians working in the southeast of the country (§2.6). But Teichelmann and Schürmann's most substantial impact on the placement of ergative case forms paradigmatically is found in Lutheran grammars of Diyari (§8.5.1), and this influence reached as far as W. Planert's 1908 Diyari grammar published in German (§8.5.2.1).

In paradigms of nouns, Teichelmann & Schürmann gave the labels "active" and "ablative" to the ergative form (Figure 5.2), while in pronominal paradigms the ergative form is termed simply "active" (Figure 5.5).

In Kurna, ergative and instrumental case functions appear to have been identically marked on all types of nominals except interrogative pronouns. The missionaries' interrogative paradigm (Figure 5.8) shows how the missionaries used the terms "active" and "ablative" to refer to distinct functions. The term "active" is used to label the ergative form, and the term "ablative" is used to label the instrumental form. Distinct "active" and "ablative" case forms of the interrogative pronoun are placed side by side at the bottom of the case paradigm (Figure 5.8).⁴

INTERROGATIVE PRONOUNS.			
NGANNA— <i>who</i> , or <i>what</i> :			
	<i>Sing.</i>	<i>Dual.</i>	<i>Plur.</i>
<i>Nom.</i>	Nganna,	ngandourla,	ngandoanna
<i>Gen.</i>	Nganko,	ngandourlakko,	ngandoannako
<i>Dat.</i>	Nganna,	ngandurla,	ngandoanna
<i>Acc.</i>		<i>(the same as the Nom.)</i>	
<i>Act.</i>	Ngando		
<i>Abl.</i>	Ngannarlo		

Figure 5.8: Teichelmann & Schürmann's case paradigm of interrogative pronouns (1840: 9)

Syncretism between ergative and instrumental cases on some nominal types is widespread in PN languages, as is the marking of this functional range with a single suffix on *all* nominal types (Dixon 2002a: 135).

⁴Dixon (2002a: 328) assesses Kurna as among a minority of PN languages in having a single form for both "who?" and "what?". Teichelmann & Schürmann, however, provide clauses suggesting that the language had distinct forms for these interrogatives (see 2013: 141–148).

Note here that despite the fact that ergative and instrumental functions are commonly marked with the same form in Australia, the term “instrumental” is not used to label the ergative case in early PN languages written in the country.

A later era of PN description sees the engagement of the term “operative” to name the case marking both ergative and instrumental functions (Smythe 1978[1949]; Hercus 1969; Blake & Breen 1971). In 1956, Arthur Capell wrote:

The term “operative”, first suggested to me by Dr.C. M. Churchward some ten years ago, is preferable to the “agentive” because it covers more neatly two different usages of the suffix – the first to express the instrument by which an act is performed and the second the person who performs it. (Capell 1956: 63–64)

Note that Churchward was a missionary and a linguist, who wrote grammars of Tongan, Fijian and Rotuman. His communication with Smythe marks an instance of Oceanic influence on Australian descriptive practice.

The term “instrumental” was rarely used in Australia, and always to refer to peripheral case functions (§9.3.4.1). The term “instrumental” was, however, used to describe the ergative case in grammars written outside Australia. Müller (1882) renamed the ergative case “instrumental” in grammars of South Australian languages. G. von der Gabelentz (1891) used the term “Activo-instrumentalis” to name the ergative case and Ray employed the terms “instrumental” (Ray & Had-don 1897) and “active instrumental” (1907).

The missionaries demonstrated their understanding that interrogatives showed distinct marking for these two case functions when stating, “the active or ablative case has here two forms” (Teichelmann & Schürmann 1840: 9–10). They juxtaposed the following clauses in order to clarify the different function of the interrogative **ngando nganthu** labelled “active” and the interrogative **ngannarlo ngana-rlu** labelled “ablative”:⁵

- (9) Ngando aityo mudlinna metti
 Who has taken away my implements?
 (Teichelmann & Schürmann 1840: 10)
 Nganthu-aityu mudli-rna mitti
 INTER.ERG-1SG.DAT implement-[ACC]-PL steal-[PAST]
 ‘who has taken away the implements on me’⁶

⁵The form of ergative interrogative pronoun shown here follows that given by Amery & Simpson (2013: 141). The expected form according to reconstruction of Proto-PN (Koch & Nordlinger 2014: 67) is ngantu.

⁶See §7.3.3 for further discussion of this clause.

- (10) Ninna ngannarlo minkarni
 By what have you been wounded?
 (Teichelmann & Schürmann 1840: 10)
 Niina ngana-rlu minka-rni
 2sgACC INTER-INST wound-INCH-[PAST]

In other paradigms Teichelmann & Schürmann engaged the term “active” in order to capture a form’s ergative function and employed the term “ablative” to capture its instrumental function, recognising that the two functions were marked by the same form on nouns.

The labelling of these pronouns with the sole descriptor “active” reflects the fact that they are likely to function as agents but unlikely to function as instruments.

Teichelmann & Schürmann’s use of the term “active” to name the ergative case in Australia was new to the description of PN languages, although Threlkeld had used “active nominative” when describing interrogative pronouns, and Günther had labelled all ergative forms “active nominative”. The term “active” was later used by H. A. E. Meyer (1843) – but only in discussion of antipassive construction (§6.1.2.6) – and in most grammars of Diyari (Koch 1868; Schoknecht 1947 [1872]; Flierl 1880; §8.5). It is the terms “active” and “active nominative” that have the widest currency in the earliest decades of PN description (Table 3.8).

5.4.3 The use of the term “ablative”

The case labelled “ablative” in traditional grammars of Latin is a conflation of three historically distinct cases – the ablative, the locative and the instrumental (Blake 2001: 7) – and assumes a broad range of oblique functions (§3.4.4). The functions that the early grammarians termed “ablative” differ in the corpus grammars.

Teichelmann and Schürmann assigned the term “ablative” to a different range of case functions than did the grammarians who preceded them (Threlkeld 1834; Günther 1838; 1840) and many grammarians who came after them (e.g., Kempe 1881). They did not assign the term “ablative” to the suffix marking motion-away, despite the fact that this “ablative of separation” function is in traditional practice primarily associated with the case termed “ablative”. It is the function for which the case is named – from the Latin *ablātīv-us*, “to carry away”. In Kaurua this function is marked by the suffixes *-nangku* and *-ityanungku*, which the missionaries described as “postfixa” (§5.3.2).⁷ Teichelmann and Schürmann were

⁷The functional difference between the ablatives is reclaimed as depending on whether the marked nominal is a place or a person (Amery & Simpson 2013: 122).

motivated to assign the case label “ablative” to a different range of functions by the distinctive syncretism in the marking of case functions in Kurna.

Teichelmann & Schürmann explained the range of functions that they labelled “ablative”, stating:

[T]he ablative case, which has the same termination as the active case, is put not only where the medium of an action is an instrument, but also in cases where merely shall be expressed by what means something is to be performed; as, *Parndarlo ngatto wodli taieta* – I shall build a house with bricks. (Teichelmann & Schürmann 1840: 24)

- (11) *Parnda-rlo ngatto wodli taie-ta.*
 ‘I will build the house with bricks’
 (Teichelmann & Schürmann 1840: 24)
 Parnta-rlu ngathu wardli tayi-tha
 limestone-INST 1SG.ERG house-[ACC] build-FUT

In Kurna, the instrumental suffix, which was termed “ablative” by the missionaries, and which takes the same shape as the ergative suffix on all nominal types except interrogatives, marks two functions of the Latin ablative. It marks the Latin ablative-of-means (Gildersleeve 1895: 257–259) or the weapon or instrument used to carry out the verb action, which is the primary function of the instrumental case in PN languages (Dixon 2002b: 135). The same suffix also marks the Latin ablative-of-material (Gildersleeve 1895: 254–255) or the material out of which something is made. This syncretism between Latin ablative-of-means and the Latin ablative-of-material (Table 5.5) which occurs in some PN languages but is not typical (Dixon 2002b: 136) gave Teichelmann and Schürmann reason to assign the term “ablative” to the suffix that marked a different range of functions from the Latin ablative of origin.

Later grammarians – Symmons (1841), Meyer (1843), and Reuther (1894) – employed the term “ablative” to describe the ergative case. It is not always entirely clear whether in doing so they were invoking another function of the Latin ablative – the-ablative-of-personal-agent (Gildersleeve 1895: 272), which marks the agent by whom the action of a passive verb is performed – or had simply failed to appreciate that Teichelmann & Schürmann had used the terms “ablative” and “active” with distinct reference.

Because the term “ablative” had been “used up” to describe instrumental function, Teichelmann & Schürmann did not include the suffixes *-nangku*, and *-ityanungku* which mark the function of “motion away from” a place and a person

Table 5.5: The mapping of various functions of the Latin ablative case onto PN case functions in some early grammars of Australian languages

Latin	Ablative of personal agent i.e., the agent of a passive construction 'by X'	Ablative of means or instrument 'made with X'	Ablative of material 'made from X'	Ablative of separation 'from X'
Pama-Nyungan	Agent of a transitive verb	Instrument used to carry out verb action	Material out of which something is made	Motion from a place
Kaurna (Teichmann & Schürmann 1840)	active	ablative	'postfixa'	'postfixa'
Ngarrindjeri (Meyer 1843)	ablative	ablative	uncertain and variable See §8.2	
Nyungar (Symmons 1841)	ablative	ablative	uncertain	uncertain
Diyari Schoknecht, (1868-1880)	Koch, Flierl active	ablative	postposition	postposition
Diyari (Reuther 1981a)	ablative	ablative	postposition	postposition
Awabakal (Threlkeld 1834)	nominative 2	nominative 2	ablative 2	ablative 2
Wiradjuri (Günther 1838)	nominative agentive	ablative 4	uncertain	ablative 1
Wiradjuri (Günther 1840)	nominative agentive	instrumental	uncertain	locomotive
Arrernte (Kempe 1891)	nominative	postposition	ablative	ablative

in their description of the case system. Nor do later Lutheran grammars of Diyari, upon which Teichelmann & Schürmann's grammar was influential. The description of ablative form and function in grammars of these languages occurs *only* in a discussion of "postpositions" (§8.5.6). In this, these works differ from the other early descriptions of PN languages.

5.5 Bound pronouns

Because there was no existing schema in which to describe the form and function of bound pronouns, and because their function and structure was not always initially recognised, bound pronouns tended to either not be described, or to be accounted for in a ways that may not seem immediately intuitive to a modern reader.

The presentation of bound pronouns given by Teichelmann and Schürmann tells of a dawning recognition of the existence of the system and of its function. The missionaries first *mention* the presence of pronominal affixes without explicitly describing their form or function in relation to the "conditional mood of the verb": "Whether this mood is changed in its significance when the personal pronouns are affixed must remain for farther enquiry" (Teichelmann & Schürmann 1840: 19).

At the end of the grammar, in a section appearing as an addendum headed "Grammatical Remarks", the authors wrote: "The nominative is frequently put twice, the answering pronoun being affixed to the verb" (1840: 23). They gave two examples. The first presents 1plS as a free and a bound form pronoun:

- (12) Niina narta padne-ota, ngadlu yaintya wandi-adlu
 'You are going, (but) we, we shall sleep here'
 (Teichelmann & Schürmann 1840: 23)
 niina narta padni-utha, ngadlu yaintya wanti-adlu
 2SG.NOM now go-FUT 1PL.S here sleep-1PL.S

Teichelmann & Schürmann (ibid.: 24) then wrote, "The same takes place for the accusative (the object)", and gave a second example (13).

- (13) Tidnarla nguuyuatto purla
 'The feet, I will warm them'
 (Teichelmann & Schürmann 1840: 23)
 Tidna-rla nguuyu-athu purla
 feet-3DL.ACC warm-1SG.ERG 3DL.ACC

They included an additional bracketed construction (14), explaining (ibid.: 24): “The contracted form in the parenthesis is the usual way of speaking; the separate forms have been chosen for the sake of illustration”. In this example the bound 3dlACC pronoun is attached to the bound 1sgA pronoun, which is attached to the verb:

- (14) (nguiyuatturla)
 (Teichelmann & Schürmann 1840: 23)
 nguyu-athu-rla
 warm-1SG.ERG-3DL.ACC
 ‘I warm them’

That these comments and illustrations appear at the end of the grammar, almost as an afterthought, suggests that the missionaries’ unpreparedness to describe bound pronominal forms resulted in less coverage in the body of the grammar than their function warranted.

Teichelmann & Schürmann’s most comprehensive presentation of bound pronouns occurred within descriptions of the optative and imperative moods of the verb. The presentation suggests that the missionaries were alerted to the existence of bound pronouns when hearing these short utterances. The optative and imperative moods provided the missionaries with a schema in which bound pronouns were accommodated while maintaining the traditional descriptive format. The same strategy was used by Threlkeld (1834: 51; §3.4.8.1), who showed bound pronouns under the heading “the imperative mood”.

Blake’s (2015: 18–19) unravelling of Spieseke’s (1878) and Mathews’ (1903a) descriptions of bound pronouns in Wergaya and in Bunganditj respectively, and Koch’s (2008) overview of Mathews’ description in multiple languages, confirm that even when bound forms could appear on other clausal constituents, the forms were more likely to be depicted as verb inflections. This occurred both when a grammarian recognised that the forms were pronominal, and in instances when this was apparently not understood. Of Spieseke’s analysis of the bound pronouns in Wergaya (Spieseke 1878; Figure 5.9), Blake writes:

Although verbs in many Australian languages appear to inflect for person ... and number ...the person number forms are actually enclitics, abbreviated, unstressed pronouns that can be attached to words other than the verb. Spieseke gives past and “perfect” forms of the verb **who-räg** ‘speak’. ... His perfect forms are the same as the past forms with the addition of **mala** ‘then’, but note how the person marking **-n** and **-r** now appears on **mala**.

The third-person is often unmarked. Spieseke, presumably unfamiliar with this practice, has filled in the demonstrative *kinya* ‘this one’. (Blake 2015: 18–19)

Woh-rüg—To SPEAK.			
	Singular.		Plural.
Woh-rüg-ngan -	I speak.	Woh-rüg-ango -	we speak.
Woh-rüg-ngar -	you speak.	Woh-rüg-angot -	you speak.
Woh-rüg-e kinya	speaks that one, he speaks.	Woh-rüg-angits -	they speak.
Woh-rüg-in-ngan -	I spoke.	Woh-rüg-in-ung-o -	we spoke.
Woh-rüg-in-ngar -	you spoke.	Woh-rüg-in-ugot -	you spoke.
Woh-rüg-in kinya	he, she spoke.	Woh-rüg-in-ugits -	they spoke.
Mul-lan woh-rüg-in -	I have spoken.	Mul-lung-o woh-rüg-in	we have spoken.
Mul-lar woh-rüg-in -	you have spoken.	Mul-lat woh-rüg-in -	you have spoken.
Mul-la kinya woh-rüg-in	he, she has spoken.	Mul-latts woh-rüg-in -	they have spoken.

Figure 5.9: Spieseke’s presentation of bound pronouns marking number and person on the verb (1878: 57) (Wergaya)

Teichelmann & Schürmann showed all bound first-person pronouns, except 1sgACC, attached to the verb in “optative” mood (1840: 18; Figure 5.10), which was described as expressing “the wish or the will of a person”. Importantly, the authors recognised that inflection for optative mood was pronominal, stating (ibid.: 18) that the mood “is not marked by a particular termination; but the personal pronouns are affixed to all the tenses of the indicative, and form, in this manner, a new mood.”

4.—THE OPTATIVE MOOD.

This mood, named thus because it expresses the wish or the will of a person, is not marked by a particular termination ; but the personal pronouns are affixed to all tenses . of the indicative, and form, in this manner, a new mood ; but the present tense has, in the second and third persons, the same termination as the imperative, which peculiar use leaves farther room for inquiry. The following are the first persons of every tense, and it will not be difficult for the reader to form the remaining :—

Present.

Sing. Nakkoatto, *I will* (or, *let* }
me) see, }

Dual. Nakkoadli,

Plur. Nakkoadlu,

Preterite.

nakkettiatto

nakkettiadli

nakkettiadlu

Perfect.

Sing. Nakkeatto,

Dual. Nakkeadli,

Plur. Nakkeadlu,

Future.

nakkotatto

nakkotadli

nakkotadlu

Figure 5.10: Teichelmann & Schürmann’s presentation of bound pronouns as the “optative mood” of the verb (1840: 18)

Most second and third-person dual and plural bound pronouns are shown under the heading “the imperative mood” (1840: 17; Figure 5.11). Ergative forms are shown attached to the “active” transitive verb *kundo-* ‘to beat’, and the nominative forms are attached to the “neuter” intransitive verb *tikka-* ‘to sit’. Again, the authors explained that the mood inflection is pronominal:

There occurs no common termination for the imperative, neither does there appear to be any distinction of time in it; the following may give to the reader an idea of the formation of this mood ... It will be seen that each person of this mood is formed, in most instances by the last or more syllables of the answering pronoun[.] (Teichelmann & Schürmann 1840: 17)

2.—THE IMPERATIVE MOOD.			
There occurs no common termination for the imperative, neither does there appear to be any distinction of time in it; the following may give the reader an idea of the formation of this mood :—			
	<i>Active Verb.</i>		<i>Neuter Verb.</i>
<i>Sing.</i>	<i>Kundando, beat, thou</i>		<i>Tikka, sit, thou</i>
	<i>Kundaingki, let him beat</i>		<i>Tikkaingko, let, &c.</i>
<i>Dual.</i>	<i>Kundaingwa, beat, you two</i>		<i>Tikkaingwa</i>
	<i>Kundarla, let them two beat</i>		<i>Tikkarla</i>
<i>Plur.</i>	<i>Kundainga, beat, you</i>		<i>Tikkainga</i>
	<i>Kundarna, let them beat</i>		<i>Tikkarna</i>
It will be seen that each person of this mood is formed, in most instances, by the last or more syllables of the answering pronoun, except in the third person singular, where there are other forms (<i>ki</i> for the active, and <i>ko</i> for the neuter verb.) The second person singular of the neuter verb, and those that terminate in <i>ndi</i> , is the pure root of the verb, or the present when the termination <i>ndi</i> is thrown off.			

Figure 5.11: Teichelmann & Schürmann’s presentation of bound pronouns as the “imperative mood” of the verb (1840: 17)

The missionaries’ understanding that the “inflection for imperative mood” was pronominal was sufficiently advanced to enable them to point to instances of suppletion in the paradigm. They noted that the 3sg forms *kundaingki* and *tikkaingko* were marked by “other forms”, describing that here the imperative was marked by *-ki* on the transitive verbs and by *-ko* on intransitive verbs (Teichelmann & Schürmann 1840: 17). These forms are probably cognates of the Thura-Yura imperative suffix *-ka* (Hercus & Simpson 2001: 279), although an intervening segment *-ing*, which as consonant-final is phonotactically aberrant, remains unexplained. These 3sg imperative forms appear to be marked with an imperative

verbal suffix *-ing-kV*. Third-person singular bound pronouns commonly have zero-realisation in PN languages (Dixon 2002b: 343).

- (15) kundaingki
 ‘let him beat’
 (Teichelmann & Schürmann 1840: 17)
 kunda-ing-kV-Ø
 beat-?-IMP-3SG.ERG
- (16) tikkaingko
 ‘let him sit’
 (Teichelmann & Schürmann 1840: 17)
 tikka-ing-kV-Ø
 sit-?-IMP-3SG.NOM

Table 5.6 shows the section of Teichelmann and Schürmann’s grammar in which each bound pronoun was exemplified. The morpheme *-ing* in the 3sgA, 3sgS/O, 2dl, 3dl and 2pl forms precedes the bound pronoun in the imperative mood.

1sgS/O and 2sgS/O bound pronouns were not given in the imperative and optative paradigms, but their existence is attested elsewhere in the corpus. The anticipated form of the 1sgS/O bound pronoun *-ai* is shown in the following clauses:

- (17) Kauwitya kundowarponendi ai
 ‘I wish to have water’
 (Teichelmann & Schürmann 1840)
 kauwi-tya kuntuwarpu-rni-nthi-ai
 water-DAT chest bone-INCH-PRES-1SG.NOM⁸
 ‘I long for water’
- (18) Kundo punggorendaii ngaityo yungakko
 ‘I am concerned about, or long for my elder brother’
 (Teichelmann 1857)
 Kuntu pungku-rri-nth-ai ngaityu yunga-ku
 chest hit-REF-PRES-1SG.NOM 1SG.POSS older brother-DAT
 ‘I am concerned about my older brother’

⁸Where *kuntuwarpu-rni* ‘chest bone-INCH’ is a metaphor for “desire” (Amery & Simpson 2013: 165)

Table 5.6: Bound pronouns in Kurna. The forms shown in bold are not reclaimed as bound pronouns in Kurna (Amery & Simpson 2013: 138).

Free-forms	Bound forms			
	A	Shown as:	S/O	Shown as:
1sg	<i>-athu\begin</i>	Optative mood	<i>-ai</i>	(Example 17)
<i>ngathu</i> (A)				
<i>ngai</i> (S,O)				
2sg	<i>-nthu*</i>	Imperative mood	<i>-iina</i>	(Example 18)
<i>ninthu</i> (A)				
<i>niina</i> (S,O)				
3sg	<i>-ing-ki-Ø</i>	Imperative mood	<i>-ing-ku-Ø</i>	Imperative mood

Free-forms	Bound form ASO	Shown as:
1dl <i>ngadli</i>	<i>-adli</i>	Optative mood
2dl <i>niwa</i>	<i>-ing-wa</i>	Imperative mood
3dl <i>purla</i>	<i>-ing-rla</i>	Imperative mood
1pl <i>ngadlu</i>	<i>-adlu</i>	Optative mood
2pl <i>na</i>	<i>-ing-a</i>	Imperative mood
3pl <i>parna</i>	<i>-rna</i>	Imperative mood

*The form of the 2sgERG pronoun shown here, *ninthu*, follows Amery & Simpson (2013: 136). The expected form according to reconstruction of Prono-PN (Koch & Nordlinger 2014: 62) is *nintu*.

Regarding the 2sgS/O form, the missionaries (Teichelmann & Schürmann 1840: 17) explained that the form of the 2sg imperative, when used with the intransitive verb **tikka** ‘to sit’ was “the pure root of the verb”. While this bound pronoun was apparently not used in imperative commands, the anticipated form of the 2sgS/O bound pronoun *-iina* is shown attached to an interrogative in the following example:

- (19) Ngando inna pulyunna meyorlo anto-kartando yungk-i?
 ‘What black man has given you the kangaroo skin?’
 (Teichelmann & Schürmann 1840: 68)
 Nganthu-iina pulyuna miyu-rlu nantu-kartantu yungki?
 who.ERG-2SG.ACC black man-ERG kangaroo-skin-[ACC] give-PAST

Current reclamation of the language (Amery & Simpson 2013: 138) does not propose a complete set of bound pronouns, but rather suggests that the bound system was partially fused with the marking of imperative mood. The form 2pl *-inga* attached to the verb in the following example is, for instance, currently interpreted as a single portmanteau morpheme marking mood and agreeing with the number and person of the agent.

- (20) Itto ngaityo yungaitya kattinga
 ‘these bring, carry to my elder brother’
 itu ngaityu yunga-itya kat-inga
 DEM.PL 1SG.POSS older brother-ALL bring-IMP.2.PL

The analysis taken here proposes that the verb is better glossed:

- (21) Kat-ing-a
 Bring-?IMP-2PL.ERG

The forms that are not reclaimed by Amery & Simpson (2013) as bound pronouns (shaded in Figure 5.6) are:

1. Zero realisation of 3sg forms
2. 2sgERG *-nthu*.⁹
3. Those which follow the segment *-ing* in imperative mood, 2dl *-wa* and 2pl *-a*. Although note that 3dl *-rla* is reclaimed.

While the bound form may commonly have occurred in an optative or an imperative construction, bound pronouns are also found in declarative statements. The 2sgACC form *-iina* appears only to have been used in declarative clauses (Example 19). There is ample evidence for the 2sgERG bound form *-nthu* (see Examples 22 & 23).

While no examples of the bound pronouns 2dl *-wa* and 2pl *-a* have been located in a declarative clause, example 14 shows the 3dl form *-rla* operating in a declarative clause without the preceding imperative marker *-ing*.

It is possible that the forms 2dl *-wa*, 2pl *-a* have not been as well recorded, or as properly retrieved from the record, as were the other bound pronouns which have an obstruent onset. The initial liquid in 3dl *-rlu* may also have been more easily discerned.

⁹The form of 2sgERG pronoun shown here follows that given by Amery & Simpson (2013). The expected form according to reconstruction of Proto-PN (Koch & Nordlinger 2014: 62) is *ngantu*.

5.6 The syntax of complex clauses

As with other parts of their grammatical description, grammarians of the South Australian Lutheran school explained the processes of marking clausal dependency using methods that differed from those utilised by Threlkeld (1834). Lutheran grammarians presented processes of clause subordination in discrete and sometimes unexpected sections of their grammars. Like Threlkeld and other early grammarians, they presented subordinating morphology within a discussion of “conditional” moods of the verb (§5.6.2). The description subordinate clauses as apprehensional constructions (§5.6.1) and under the heading “the relative pronoun” (§5.6.3) is, however, unique to the Lutherans’ description.

5.6.1 Teichelmann & Schürmann’s “negative optative or preventative” mood

The apprehensional, lest, or aversive construction (Example 19) is common to many PN languages. Verbs marking apprehensional constructions have a subordinating, non-finite usage (Dixon 2002b: 87) and often also a modal, finite usage (ibid.: 210). Apprehensional constructions are described in Teichelmann & Schürmann’s earliest grammar of a South Australian language (1840) in a listing of moods of the verb, where they were named the “negative optative or preventative mood”. Later South Australian grammarians termed this “verbal mood” the “denunciative” (Koch 1868: no pag.), the prohibitive (Taplin 1879a: 32), and the “metutiv” (Planert 1908: 692). Teichelmann and Schürmann’s work provides the most succinct analysis, and instructive account of the construction, which was not subsequently matched in the early descriptive era, nor by T. G. H. Strehlow’s account (1944) written on the cusp of the modern descriptive era (Stockigt 2023a).

Teichelmann & Schürmann (1840: 18–19) described the Kaurna apprehensional, or aversive, morpheme *-tuwayi*, which attaches to a verb marking it as subordinate and indicating that the main verb action should be executed in order to avoid the action denoted by the verb that is marked as subordinate. They described the function of their “negative optative or preventative mood” well, stating: “This termination expresses that something will, may, or shall not take place, in consequence of another action” (Teichelmann & Schürmann 1840: 18). They described the verb marked with the apprehensional morpheme as non-finite when judiciously observing, “since this mood always depends on the proposition, there is no need for any tense in it, being always expressed by the tense of the proposition” (ibid.: 18).

Teichelmann & Schürmann exemplified the construction within entire matrix clauses (Examples 22 and 23), showing both main and dependent constituents. In each, the apprehensional clause immediately follows the main clause. It is not known whether other orderings were possible. Their description and exemplification of the subordinating usage of the apprehensional construction is good compared with that of many other early grammarians.

- (22) Tarralyoanna mutyertanna wondando, yerta buttonettoai
 ‘Put the clothes on the table, lest they be (or become) spoiled by the earth’
 (Teichelmann & Schürmann 1840: 18)
 Tarraly-ana mutyarta-rna wanta-nthu,¹⁰ yarta-purtu-rni-tuwayi
 table-ALL clothes-PL put-2SG.ERG earth-full-INCH-AVERS
- (23) Yurrepaiaiaandunna, kundattoai parna.
 ‘You must pay attention to them (the goats) lest they kill (them)’
 (Teichelmann & Schürmann 1840: 18)
 Yuri-payi-nthu-rna, kuntu-tuwayi parna
 ear-examine-2SG.ERG-3PL.ACC kill-AVERS 3PL.ACC

They also noted that “sometimes the first sentence is omitted, and must be supplied by the hearer”. Teichelmann and Schürmann also exemplified the structurally similar purposive construction, which is common to PN languages marking “an action which happens by virtue of some earlier action, referred to in a previous clause” (Dixon 2002b: 71) as another mood of the verb. Under the heading “infinitive mood”, Teichelmann & Schürmann (1840: 19) explained: “No exclusive termination is yet known for this mood. Sometimes when an intention or purpose of an action is to be expressed, the termination *titya* (i.e., *itya*) is affixed”. They gave two examples: “I came in order to hear you speak” and example 24. As in the apprehensional constructions, the purposive morpheme was shown attached to a verb in a subordinate clause that was exemplified alongside a main clause. It is not known whether the Kurna purposive morpheme *-titya* had modal non-finite function.

- (24) Ngatto punggetitya wārpunna pingga
 ‘I have made the dagger for the purpose of stabbing’
 (Teichelmann & Schürmann 1840: 20)
 ng.athu pungku-titya warpu-rna pingka
 1SG.ERG kill-PURP dagger-PL-[ACC] make-[PAST]

¹⁰For discussion of the form of the 2sgERG pronoun, in this and the following example, see Footnote 9

5.6.2 “The conditional or potential mood of the verb’

Teichelmann & Schürmann (1840: 19) exemplified two types of conditional constructions in a discussion of the “conditional or potential” mood of the verb. Although Bleek (1858: 40) described the annotations Teichelmann made to the copy of the 1840 grammar of Kurna he sent to Teichelmann (1858b) as extending “over the whole grammatical part”, it is this section that Teichelmann marked most heavily.

The first construction exemplified in a discussion of verbal moods (Example 25) is fairly certainly a hypothetical finite construction. The suffix *-ma* is shown attaching to verb roots in two adjacent clauses. Teichelmann & Schürmann (1840: 19) perceived that the morpheme *-ma* did not mark clausal dependency when stating: “this termination expresses not only the condition, but at the same time, the consequence”. In 1858, Teichelmann (1858b: 19) described this inflection as “a particle expressing the possibility or if you like what might be the case [illegible]”. The suffix *-ma* appears to be a finite verb inflection that occurs in the place of tense and marks the verb as conditional but not as subordinate. Following Wilkins (1989: 233), *-ma* is glossed as hypothetical, after the Arandic morpheme *-mere*, which marks the verb as irrealis but has no subordinating function. That this construction was firmly described by the missionaries as finite is relevant to later descriptions of Diyari made by Lutheran missionaries in South Australia, whose analysis appears to have been influenced by this section of Teichelmann and Schürmann’s work.

- (25) Ninna ngattaityangka wānggama, nindaitya aii budnama.

‘If you had spoken to me, I would have come to you.’

(Teichelmann & Schürmann 1840: 19)

Niina ngathaityangka wangka-ma, ninthaitya-ai¹¹ pudna-ma
2SG.S 1SG.COM speak-HYPO, 2SG.DAT-1SG.ACC arrive-HYPO

The missionaries also provided this example elsewhere in the grammar:

- (26) Niwa yakko ngarkoma, niwa yakko padloma

‘If you two had not eaten, you would not have died’

(Teichelmann & Schürmann 1840: 67)

Niwa yaku ngarku-ma, niwa yaku padlu-ma
2DL.NOM NEG eat-HYPO, 2DL.NOM NEG die-HYPO

¹¹The form of the 2sgDAT pronoun, *ninthaitya*, shown here follows Amery & Simpson (2013: 137). The form is likely to be *nintaitya* (see Koch & Nordlinger (2014: 62)

In both of examples (25 & 26) two juxtaposed finite hypothetical clauses are translated as a conditional complex clause construction.

The second “affix” that Teichelmann & Schürmann presented as marking the “conditional or potential mood of the verb” was introduced by the following statement:

Besides **ma**, another affix occurs ... **ntyidla**, which, when added to the verb renders it either as a participle of the present tense, or a verbal substantive, but is frequently used in the sense of this mood. (Teichelmann & Schürmann 1840: 19)

They supplied Example 27, which shows *-ma* attached to the verb of the second component and *-ntyidla* to the verb of the first. The suffix *-ntyidla* appears to mark the verb *nguri-* “to throw” as both conditional and dependent. The main verb action *yungku-* “to give”, marked with *-ma*, might occur, if the dependent verb action were to occur.

- (27) Ngatto ngurrintyidla, ninna yungkoma
 Were I permitted to throw, I would give (the bird) to you
 (Teichelmann & Schürmann 1840: 19)
 Ngathu nguri-ntyidla, niina yungku-ma
 1SG.ERG throw-COND, 2SG.ACC give-HYPO

Again, Teichelmann had more to say about these constructions in the annotations he sent to Grey: “**ntyidla**, I do not doubt any more, is an affix which gives the verb the character of the participle, which may be affixed to any tense” (Teichelmann 1858a: 22). He added the following note comparing and clarifying the different syntactic functions of *-ntyidla* and *-ma*:

The termination – **ntyidla** expresses that if a certain thing had taken place, another would have been the consequence, but because the one did not take place, the other would not be expected, or not follow. But the above instance where the condition is expressed by **-ma** the consequence too, is a simple conditional case which might or might not have happened. (Teichelmann 1858a: 19)

These processes of marking clausal dependency that Teichelmann & Schürmann (1840) discussed under the heading “the conditional or potential mood of the verb” influenced the development of ideas about clausal subordination in the Lutheran sub-corpus (§8.5.8).

5.6.3 “Relative pronouns”

The category “relative pronoun” is generally not included in the corpus grammars, other than to note that the forms were not to be found. Mathews (1907b: 327), for example, wrote that there were no relative pronouns “in the Aranda tongue and in this respect it resembles all other Australian languages with which I am acquainted.” However, by functional analogy with the SAE relative pronoun, Lutheran missionaries, commencing with Teichelmann and Schürmann, and after them T. G. H. Strehlow (Stockigt, in Preparation), categorised certain subordinating clause types under the heading “relative pronouns.” Teichelmann & Schürmann discussed other subordination processes under the heading “relative pronoun”, based on their perception that those structures were functionally equivalent to the relative pronoun in European languages. Their presentation is a classic example of how foreign PN structures were presented as traditional grammatical categories, which conventionally convey structures that were perceived as functionally equivalent to the newly encountered PN structure (§2.3.3). The vacant slot “relative pronoun” was colonised by processes of clause subordination that Teichelmann & Schürmann struggled to understand.

Teichelmann & Schürmann (1840: 13) initially observed the absence of a relative pronoun – “if there be any, they are hitherto unknown” – before providing examples (28, 31, 32) to show how “the relation between two nouns is expressed.” Here the missionaries simply illustrated the construction without providing accompanying analysis. It is fortunate that they did so, because these examples add to our understanding of how complex clauses in Kaurna may have been formed, although the subordinating processes they exemplified remain poorly understood. With limited data, assigning function to morphemes remains speculative. The first example they gave was:

- (28) Ngurluntya ai kunda, tikkandi urlu
 ‘That man struck me, who is sitting there’
 (Teichelmann & Schürmann 1840: 13)
 ngurlu-ntya-ai kurnta, tika-nthi-urlu
 DEM.ERG-INDEF-1SG.ACC hit-[PAST] sit-PRES-?
 ‘Someone hit me, the one sitting’

Here the verb *tika* ‘to sit’, in the ostensible relative clause, is marked with the present tense morpheme *-nthi*, which is in turn followed by a morpheme, *-urlu*. Presumably the comma in the original shows two separate independent clauses, and the morpheme *-urlu* is in some capacity marking some sort of clausal

relation that the missionaries understood as relative in nature and which they conveyed though their awkward English translation. The function of *-urlu* is not entirely clear (see Amery & Simpson 2013: 191–192).

Teichelmann (1858b) later showed that *-urlu* was an encliticised form of the ergative distal demonstrative *ngurlu* (Teichelmann & Schürmann 1840: 9) that marked a temporal or causal relationship, which he translated as English relative constructions: “when X, then...”. Examine the following seemingly dependent non-finite examples:

- (29) manyarendurlo (manyarendi ngurlo)

when it rains then ...

(Teichelmann 1858b)

manya-rri-nthi-urlu

rain-RECIP/REFL-PRES-?

- (30) wakwakurlo ngurretti urlo (ngurlo)

just when the boy had thrown then ...

(Teichelmann 1858b)

wakwaku-rlu ngurru-thi-urlu

child-ERG throw-PAST-?

While this evidence does not show that the contracted form of *ngurlu* was necessarily anaphoric, it is significant that Teichelmann (1858b) translated these additional examples of *-urlu* in dependent temporal clauses.

However, in Example 28, there appears to be no such temporal or causal relationship. The ergative enclitic *-urlu* could be seen to be referencing the transitive subject of the initial clause *ngurlu-ntya* ‘someone’. The same strategy seems to be at work in Example 31.

The next clauses (Examples 31 & 32) are supplied under the heading “relative pronoun”, given without explanation.

- (31) Idlo atto numa nakkoma, padlo ngai turnki yungkoma idlo

‘him I would love, who would give me clothing’

(Teichelmann & Schürmann 1840: 13)

idlu-athu numa naku-ma, padlu ngai turnki

DEM.ERG-1SG.ERG well look-HYPO, 3SG.ERG 1SG.ACC cloth-[ACC]

yungku-ma idlu

give-HYPO DEM.ERG

‘This one, I might love [him], he might give me clothing, this one’

- (32) Ngatto pa wadli nakko-ndi, ngai turnki padlo yakko yungkondi
 ‘but him I hate who gives me no clothing’
 (Teichelmann & Schürmann 1840: 13)
 Ngathu pa waadli naku-nthi, ngai turnki padlu yaku
 1sgERG 3sg.ACC dislike see-PRES, 1sg.ACC cloth-[ACC] 3sg.ERG NEG
 yungku-nthi
 give-PRES

The co-referentiality of the object of the first clause, “I hate him”, with the subject of the second clause, “he gives me no clothing”, is represented in translation as a relative clause: “but him I hate who gives me no clothing”. There is, however, no morphology marking clausal dependency in the original, and both verbs remain finite. A literal translation would therefore read: “Him I view badly. He does not give me clothes”. The co-referentiality is simply understood from the juxtaposition of the two clauses, and from the context, particularly from the fact that this matrix (32) follows an initial utterance (31) translated as: “Him I would love who would give me clothing”.

In this first construction (31) both verbs are marked with the morpheme *-ma*, marking the verb as conditional without subordinating function (§5.6.2). The ergative demonstrative *idlu* ‘this’ (Teichelmann & Schürmann 1840: 9), at the beginning of the utterance and then right at the end, appears to be coreferential with 3sgA pronoun *padlu*, the agent of the second clause “he might give me clothing”, and to be establishing its referent as a salient argument. That the ergative form is used to track this argument suggests that the role of the agent in the second clause is being focussed on, and that the first clause is providing qualifying information. Although it is difficult to be sure of the structures that Teichelmann & Schürmann presented without explanation, it is clear that they perceived that demonstrative pronouns played a role in marking clausal dependency in Kaurra. Of the closely related Thura-Yura language Barngarla, of which Schürmann sadly provided no exemplification of clausal dependency, Schürmann wrote:

Relative pronouns there are none in this language, their place being supplied partly by demonstrative pronouns, partly by repetitions and circumlocutions. (Schürmann 1844b: 10)

The notion that demonstrative pronouns, or pronouns more generally, had subordinating function recurs in later descriptions of South Australian languages, notably in Meyer’s (1843) description of Ramindjeri (§6.1.2.9) as does the description of other subordinating processes under the heading “relative pronoun” (see §8.5.8.3, §9.3.5).

5.7 Concluding remarks

Teichelmann & Schürmann's grammar of Kaurna provides a detailed morphosyntactic analysis in comparison with other grammars in the corpus. It is similar in length to Symmons' grammar of Nyungar, which appeared the following year (1841; §7.1) but contains less detail than the published grammar that immediately preceded it (Threlkeld 1834; Chapter 3) or followed it (Meyer 1843; §6.1). The presentation of paradigms of possessive pronouns (§5.3.3) demonstrates that Teichelmann and Schürmann had engaged deeply in the structure of the language in a relatively short space of time, as do the missionaries' recognition of irregularities in the way that bound pronouns marked imperative verbs (§5.5) and their inclusion of processes of marking dependent clauses (§5.6).

This earliest South Australian grammar of the language of the Adelaide Plains (1840) had a decisive and extended influence on subsequent grammars of languages spoken in South Australia, and indirectly elsewhere in the country. Teichelmann & Schürmann's descriptive influence is shown in following chapters to have persisted beyond the previously recognised "Adelaide School" (Simpson 1992: 410). Echoes of their descriptive responses to the case system (§5.3.1), nominal suffixes, "postpositions" (§5.3.2), the marking of clausal case on pronouns (§5.3.3), ergative case (§5.4.2), and clause subordination (§5.6) are found throughout the South Australian Lutheran sub-corpus, as well as in grammars written by Congregationalist missionary G. Taplin (§7.3). Importantly, Teichelmann & Schürmann's description of these areas of grammar differs from that given by Threlkeld in 1834, whose influence on Teichelmann & Schürmann's analysis was minimal.

6 Later grammars of the Adelaide School

This chapter presents the three grammars of the Adelaide descriptive school which followed Teichelmann & Schürmann's (1840) grammar of Kaurna. Each was published in English and describes a language belonging to country in the earliest settled southern and coastal regions of South Australia.

Lutheran missionary H. A. E. Meyer's (1843) long and detailed grammar of Ramindjeri is presented first (§6.1). Despite being acquainted with Teichelmann and Schürmann during his training at the Evangelisch-Lutherische Missions-Gesellschaft zu Dresden (DMI) in Germany, and working collaboratively with Schürmann in Australia, Meyer's description of case given in this second published grammar of a South Australian language is very different than that given by his Lutheran colleagues Teichelmann & Schürmann (1840). That said, Meyer's placement of the ergative case in the case paradigm, which subsequently influenced Taplin's grammars (§7.3) of another Ngarrindjeri variety, was guided by Teichelmann & Schürmann's innovative design. Meyer's account of ergativity, which is atypical of the corpus, was read widely by European philologists and informed the earliest typological accounts of ergativity in Europe (§6.1.2.7).

The third published grammar of a language belonging to country in the colony of South Australia was written by C. Schürmann (1844a; §6.2), who had earlier published the 1840 Kaurna work with Teichelmann.

The discussion diverges to examine what middle-era linguists in Australia were able to discover about bound pronouns in Australian languages based on the corpus grammars examined thus far in the study (§6.3). Other later grammars in the corpus are of languages that are not known to have exhibited bound or enclitic pronouns.

The chapter concludes by examining the final South Australia grammar of the Adelaide School, written by M. Moorhouse (1846; §6.4), who was not a missionary, but the Protector of Aborigines in the colony.

6.1 Meyer's grammar of Ramindjeri (1843)

After being trained for three years at the Jänicke Mission Institute (1833–1836), Lutheran missionary H. A. E. Meyer (1813–1862) commenced training at the DMI in 1837, a year later than Teichelmann & Schürmann. Unlike Teichelmann, Schürmann and Klose,¹ Meyer was partially trained at the University of Erlangen, where he learnt Tamil in preparation for missionary work in India. At Erlangen, Meyer was taught by F. Rückert (1788–1866), Professor of Oriental languages and a renowned poet (Lockwood 2014: 74).²

Meyer travelled to Australia, rather than to India, in order to work with Schürmann, with whom he had formed a close friendship. The pair had expected to work collaboratively at a new mission station at Encounter Bay, and Schürmann had commenced learning Ramindjeri from Tammuruwe Nankanere, “Encounter Bay Bob” (§1.1.3), compiling a comparative “Adelaide / Encounter Bay” wordlist (Amery 2016: 68). Schürmann was instead appointed by Governor Gawler as deputy Protector of Aborigines at Port Lincoln. He did, however, accompany Meyer on his first journey to Encounter Bay, south of Adelaide, in 1840, and visited Meyer on at least three subsequent occasions (Gale 2011: 65).

Meyer's initial introduction to Ramindjeri, a dialect of Ngarrindjeri, was thus supplied by Schürmann's comparative wordlist. Meyer quickly concluded that the languages were structurally dissimilar (Gale 2011: 65–66). Indeed, although geographically proximate, the Thura-Yura languages (Hercus & McCaul 2004), described by Teichelmann & Schürmann (1840) and Schürmann (1844a), are separated from the Lower Murray language Ngarrindjeri (Horgen 2004) by a major cultural and linguistic divide that runs along the watershed of the Mount Lofty Ranges (Dixon 2002a: 670).

In 1840, Meyer settled at Encounter Bay and commenced ministering to Aboriginal people in the Lower Murray region. He was an astute linguistic observer. In 1841, he described having communicated with a member of the Milmajerar people, whose territory was southeast of the Murray mouth, and about whom little was known. Governor Gawler was at the time keen to establish peaceful relations with these people after the reprisal hanging of two Aboriginal men in 1840 in retribution for the murder of survivors of the shipwreck *Maria*. Meyer

¹Klose appears to have been less linguistically capable and was presumably trained at the DMI as a missionary school-teacher, rather than as a preacher (see Lockwood 2014: 4). Klose taught at the Pirltawardli school from 1840 until its closure in 1845.

²This is *not* Pastor Johann Wilhelm Rückert, who had trained the missionaries at the Jänicke Mission Institute.

(10/03/1841, quoted Gale 2011: 68) realised that cross-linguistic comprehension did not necessarily indicate linguistic similarity:

The most peculiar thing is that I was understood by the Milmajerar man and that he answered me comprehensively. We were not able to discover whether he understands two languages or whether they share the one and the same language.

By 1841, Meyer reported that he had completed the outlines of a grammar (Gale 2011: 68) and had translated the commandments and hymns into Ngarrindjeri. The work was completed and ready for publication early in 1843, two years and four months after Meyer first heard the language.

In the year that the grammar was published, Governor Grey withdrew financial support for the mission at Encounter Bay, after which Meyer himself leased government land nearby at the mouth of the Inman River and attempted to establish an ultimately unsuccessful agricultural settlement (Lockwood 2007: 15). During 1847 Schürmann worked with Meyer at Encounter Bay. In 1848, the mission settlement, school and farm were abandoned, and Meyer left to work as a Pastor at Bethany and Hoffnungsthal in the Barossa Valley.

Unlike Kurna and Barngarla, described by Meyer's fellow Dresdner colleagues, a variety of the language described by Meyer continued to be grammatically described after the closure of the Encounter Bay mission. The ways in which G. Taplin's analyses of Ngarrindjeri (1867; 1872; 1880) were guided by Meyer's initial analysis and by other grammars of the Adelaide School are examined in §7.3.2.

6.1.1 The naming of Ngarrindjeri

M. McDonald (2002: 11), in a study of Ngarrindjeri phonetics and phonology, explains that she adopts the term "Ngarrindjeri" as "a convenient cover term applying to a language and people of a group of related tribes of Aborigines". She expands:

In 1870, when the original tribal and dialect groupings had been obscured by white settlement, the Reverend George Taplin termed the group at his Point McLeay Mission the Narrinyeri – from the word for "mankind". Subsequent repetition in scholarly studies, government reports and religious materials has established the name firmly in the minds of people, who know themselves now as Ngarrinjeri. (McDonald 2002: 11)

The term “Narrinyeri” was in fact first used by Taplin in his diaries as early as 1861 (Lane 1997: 65) and appears in his 1867 MS grammar.

Norman Tindale (1900–1993), anthropologist at the South Australian Museum, records:

Narinjeri: generalised term selected by Taplin for the aborigines along the Lower Murray River and Lake Alexandrina – it is not a tribal name but a term meaning “indigenes” as distinct from strangers and white man. Name of the peoples of Lower Murray River as selected by Taplin for a non-native “nation” concept. (Tindale n.d.)

Dixon (1980: 241) terms the same entity “Yaralde”, as do McDonald (2002) and Horgen (2004; albeit as “Yaraldi”), who worked with him. Radcliffe-Brown (1918: 227) had used the term “Yaralde” to denote one of five groups, including “Encounter Bay”, who “spoke closely related languages”. Dixon here describes the process by which he adopted the term:

The name of one tribal language has been chosen fairly arbitrarily, as the name for the complete language. (Dixon 1980: 241)

Similar redeployment in scholarly literature of a name classically referring to a small social entity or linguistic variety to a larger, higher-level social and/or linguistic group, which may not have been a meaningful or named entity in pre-contact Aboriginal society – the “non-native ‘nation’ concept”, as Tindale put it in the 1930s – has occurred elsewhere in Australia, notably in the evolution of the term “Arrernte” (Stockigt 2023a), and in Radcliffe-Brown’s (1930–1931: 223) later use “Yarlade-type” to classify Australian kinship systems.

The suffix *-indjeri* (and the variant *-inyeri*; Tindale 1937a: 107), which is present in the group names Ngarrindjeri (Narrinyeri), Ramindjeri, Milmendjeri, and others, is the associative suffix meaning “belong to” or “pertaining to” (Meyer 1843: 63). The following glossed example with free translation given by Meyer as illustration contains his only usage of the term *Raminyeri*, the language being referred to as “The Encounter Bay Language” in early sources. A locative suffix *-ong* appears on the place named *Ram* in its citation form.

- (1) Ram- ... inyeri -ap porl
 Ramong of I child
 ‘I am a native of Ramong’
 (Meyer 1843: 63)
 Ram-inyeri-ap po:rli
 Ram-ASSOC-1SG.NOM child

Regarding the etymology of the term Ngarrindjeri, Meyer (1843: 84) gave *Narrinyeri* 'Australian native; mankind'. Taplin (1879a: 34) suggests that the term *Narrinyeri* is a contraction of *Kornarrinyeri*, literally 'belonging to men'. Here the initial syllable of *korna*, meaning 'men' – after which the Kurna are named (§5.1.1) – has been lost, and the second segment *-injeri* is the associative suffix, 'pertaining to'. Taplin also suggests an alternative etymology in which the first segment *narr-* means 'plain, intelligible (referring to language)'. The second etymology is in my opinion more plausible since initial syllable loss is not otherwise reported for the language.

6.1.2 Meyer's analysis of Ramindjeri (Ngarrindjeri) (1843)

Meyer's grammar of Ramindjeri, a dialect of a language which Taplin later termed "Ngarrindjeri", is the longest (42 pages) and most detailed of the works produced by the Adelaide School, and appears with a vocabulary of some 1750 entries (Gale 2011: 64). The work contains rich ethnographic content. Like other works in the corpus, Meyer's grammar now provides rare insight into Aboriginal experience of early colonial contact (see Example 3 on p. 33).

As well as being referred to more frequently by nineteenth-century philologists in Europe than any other grammar of an Australian language (§6.1.2.7), later Lutheran grammarians in Australia read and referred to Meyer's work. Meyer's analysis was reiterated by Lutheran missionary C. Strehlow (1931b) in a comparative grammatical study of three languages (§9.2.3.1; §9.3.5.2). Strehlow referred to the language Meyer described as "die Encounter Bay Sprache" (the Encounter Bay language). It is clear that Lutheran missionary Kempe (§9.1.2) had also read Meyer's work, although Kempe (1891) did not refer specifically to Meyer. Compare the similarity of this comment made by Meyer in his introduction to his Ramindjeri grammar:

I submit these sheets ... with the hope that ... they will be interesting to the philosopher and philologist, as exhibiting the peculiar structure of a language spoken by a people very generally considered the lowest in the scale of civilisation. (Meyer 1843: vii)

with this statement given by Kempe in first grammar of Arrernte:

The pages are submitted in the hope that they will prove interesting to the philologist, as exhibiting the peculiar structure of the language spoken by a people generally considered among the lowest in the scale of mankind, and

will contribute a little towards perpetuating the knowledge of a language of one of the Australian tribes of natives before their probable entire extinction at a not very remote period. (Kempe 1891: 1)

6.1.2.1 Non-paradigmatic descriptions of case system

Meyer did not present an initial formal case paradigm for nouns. After the customary introduction to “substantives” (nouns; 1843: 10–11), which dealt first with gender: “there is no difference of form on account of gender”, and then with number: “the dual is formed by adding the termination ‘**engk**’ ... the plural ... by adding ‘**ar**’ and rejecting the terminating vowel ...”, Meyer treated case, the third category prescribed for substantives, under the traditional framework. He wrote: “The relations expressed by the Latin and Greek cases are in this language expressed by particles added to the root in the following manner”. There follows an eight-page listing of thirty-three “particles” (ibid.: 10–17).

Although Meyer did ultimately present an informal nominal paradigm (Figure 6.2), he pursued a different descriptive tradition that was subsequently used by Schürmann (1844a; §6.2.1.1), Livingstone (1892; §4.6.1) and Roth (1897; §10.1.1). These grammarians broke from the tradition of presenting the morphology of nouns in paradigms. Instead, they chose what they presumably perceived was a preferable method of presenting case. Livingstone, whose analysis of Minjangbal benefited from the decades of research subsequent to the Adelaide School, justified his abandonment of the traditional descriptive framework in terms of the agglutinative nature of the morphology:

It is well known that the Australian dialects are agglutinative, everything in the nature of inflection being obtained by suffixes ... so that if I give an account of its suffixes, that is nearly equivalent to giving an exposition of its grammar. (Livingstone 1892: 3)

Unlike Teichelmann & Schürmann (1840) and Threlkeld (1834), but like Günther (1838; 1840), Meyer did not provide the word-class heading “pre/postposition” towards the end of the grammar. Instead, he discussed the full range of nominal inflectional morphology, called “particles”, under the heading: “Of substantives and their cases, and of prepositions” (1843: 10). This break from the traditional grammatical framework allowed Meyer to avoid having to decide whether a nominal suffix should, or should not, be described as a marker of case. The practice was later employed by Schürmann (1844a; §6.2.1.1) and by Livingstone (1892: 9–11; §4.6.1). Formal criteria for identifying whether or not a nominal suffix

marks case – like the ability for the inflected nominal to relativise (see Wilkins 1989: 157–159) – were developed in a descriptive era much later than that considered here.

Meyer listed his “particles” (1843: 10–17) first under headings naming the classical European cases, and second as European prepositions. While the division still reflected whether the case form translated into a SAE language as either a case inflected word, or a prepositional phrase, this presentation better conveyed that these “particles” were part of a single system.

This section of Meyer's grammar suggests a direct influence from Threlkeld that is not present in Teichelmann & Schürmann's work (1840). In a preamble to the main section of the grammar headed “etymology”, Threlkeld (1834: 5–7) had discussed the importance of “particles”. While the term had been used by Teichelmann and Schürmann, they predominantly discussed “terminations” or “affixes” (1840: 3). The similarity between Meyer's and Threlkeld's discussions relates not only to the choice of terminology, but also to the approach to the description of case. The inclusion of this initial section headed “etymology” in Threlkeld's grammar is curious. He presented material here that is also presented paradigmatically in the main, much longer body of the grammar. It is as if Threlkeld experimented with an alternative, less formal presentation of *describing* the function of “particles”, before resorting to the traditional and familiar style of presentation.

Such an arrangement additionally afforded the flexibility of showing that a single function might be differently marked on different types of nominals. An emphasis on the description of *function* rather than *form* allowed Threlkeld, for example, to explain that higher-animate nouns in accusative case were overtly marked, while common nouns took the same unmarked form as the nominative, a pattern commonly found in PN languages (Blake 1977: 14) and accounted for by Silverstein (1976) in terms of an animacy hierarchy. Threlkeld stated:

names of persons have the terminating particle –nung ... **Threkeld-nung** ... other common substantives ... are placed before the active verb without change from the simple nominative, nor can any error arise, because when used as an agent, the sign of that case would be attached. (Threlkeld 1834: 6–7)

By contrast, later grammarians of Western Arrernte (Kempe 1891; Mathews 1907b), which has a similar split in the marking of syntactic case of higher-animate nouns (Stockigt 2017; §9.3.5) failed to appreciate this different marking of the

same function on different nominal types. They presented an account of the case system only through traditional paradigms.

Meyer listed English prepositions and then discussed how the same function was marked on different nominal types in Ramindjeri. The preposition *to* (Meyer 1843: 13), for example, was exemplified with nouns marked for allative case with the forms **-ungai** and **-angk**: “I will go to the river”. Meyer explained that the two forms “may not be used for one another, but no rule can at present be given for their correct application, except that **-ungai** may never be used with pronouns.” The preposition *to* was then listed again in order to exemplify allative marking on place names (Figure 6.1).

13. The same preposition “to,” in connexion with the proper names of places, is expressed by -au, -ald, -ar, singular, engg-al, dual.

Polt-au, to Poltong. Rām-au, to Ramong. Ngartt-au, to Ngartong.

Kōt-ald, to Kotungald. Mutabarri-ar, to Mutabarringar. Witt-engg-al, to Wittingenggul.

These words, Poltong, Kotungald, Wittingenggul, signify at the place which they designate. What one would suppose from analogy to be the simple nominatives appear not to be used. These, together with the names of several other places, will be given, with their inflexions, at a future page.

Figure 6.1: Meyer’s translation into Ramindjeri of the English preposition “to” (1843: 13)

Meyer clarified the meaning of many “particles” by giving both English and Latin prepositions. The use of both Latin and English reduced the ambiguity of assigning function to nominal inflections with translation of prepositional phrases. For example, Meyer translated the “particles” *-ambe* and *angk* as the preposition ‘for’. The first is additionally equated to the Latin *pro* indicating ‘instead of’, the second is described as “indicating the end or motive of an action” (1843: 17).

At the conclusion of this long discussion Meyer presented an informal paradigm that captured the detail of the discussion (Figure 6.2). The absence of case-labels, except “nominative”, “accusative” and “vocative”, and the inclusion of multiple functions for some suffixes, is very different from earlier grammarians’ presentation of case. Note that although other suffixes are not assigned case labels, their ordering roughly follows the traditional paradigm, genitive > dative > ablative. The ergative suffix *-il*, translated with the preposition ‘by’, is placed in the position of the Latin ablative.

6.1 Meyer's grammar of Ramindjeri (1843)

SINGULAR.	DUAL.	PLURAL.	SIGNIFICATION.
-alde -war*	<u>-eñggal</u>	<u>-ān</u>	of (belonging to), on, upon, to (in sense of giving to)
-ungai -angk	<u>-ungeñggul</u>	<u>-ungar</u>	to (a place), to (giving), for (an object), at, with (in company), by (near), beside, against, in, into, with (an instru- ment or material)
-il	-eñggul	-ar	by (an agent), from (a cause)
-nende -anyir-	<u>-neñggulund</u>	<u>-nānde</u>	from (a place), out of (ex, e), on on account of
-an-mant	-an-neñggulund	an-nānde	from (a place), out of (ex, e) (opposite of into)
-āmbe -au -ald- -ar	-eñggal	} to a place.	
-ald- -ungald- -angk ong ingar -war	-ungeñggul	} at a place.	
-mant, -an-mant -bant, -an-bant -an-dalt -nont,	-ungeñggulund	} These eighteen particles are used only with the proper names of places. No plu- ral forms are known.	

Figure 6.2: Meyer's informal case paradigm of nouns (1843: 17–18)

6.1.2.2 Reclaiming the Ngarrindjeri case system

When a language is reclaimed for revitalisation purposes from limited or conflicting source data, it is sometimes necessary to make informed but arbitrary decisions so that the language might again be viable in some capacity. Those decisions are not always well documented. The degree to which authors of reclaimed grammars, or learners' guides, detail their decision-making processes depends in part on the purpose of the publication, and the audience for whom the work is written. Clendon (2015) reconstructed grammar of Barngarla, based on Schürmann (1844a), attends in detail to the processes of inference from the early source and from surrounding languages. Authors of material written primarily for a linguistically uneducated audience – for instance, Gale & French's (2010) *Ngarrindjeri learners' guide* – tend not to document decisions as transparently.

The certainty with which a case suffix can be said to mark a particular range of case functions in a reclaimed grammar depends not only on the skill of the early grammarian, but also on the level of complexity he encountered. Meyer's grammar suggests a system of marking case on different types of nominals that may have been more complicated than that encountered by other corpus grammarians, and which is now not easily reclaimed. The reclamation of the "Ngarrindjeri" case system is further complicated by conflicting data from different varieties, recorded at different intervals after contact (Table 2.1). The way in which different nominal types formally delineated the marking of several non-syntactic cases is not clear. One comprehensive attempt (Horgen 2004: 95) does not account for the different marking of the dative/allative or the associative/ablative/causal functional continuums on different nominal types. Horgen writes:

A number of forms are given for the Yaraldi locative, allative and ablative. In Meyer (1843: 12–18) and Taplin (1880: 8) a number of "prepositions" are given, in addition to case markers. These have not been incorporated. (Horgen 2004: 95)

When assessing the potential to reclaim languages solely from archival sources, it is important to here observe that the Diyari case system, recorded from speakers in the modern era (Austin 1981a), could not have been retrieved from the record left by nineteenth century missionaries (§8.5). The isomorphic patterning of case function on different nominal types in Diyari would have been lost if that language had not survived into the modern descriptive era.

6.1.2.3 Pronominal case paradigms

Although Meyer and his colleague Schürmann did not present formal case paradigms for nouns, they did so for pronouns. Meyer initially presented paradigms of the syntactic cases for first, second and third-person on three numbers. Ergative case forms were placed in third paradigmatic position after the nominative and accusative cases. Ergative forms were labelled “ablative” (Figure 6.3).

1. Pronoun of the first person, “I.”		
SINGULAR.	DUAL.	PLURAL.
NOM. Ngāpe, I	Ngēle, we two	Ngāne we
ACC. Ngāñ, me	Lām, ns two	Nām, us
ABL. Ngāte, by me	Ngēle, by us two	Ngāne, by us.

2. Pronoun of the second person, “Thou.”		
NOM. Nginte, thou	Ngurle, you two	Ngāne, you
ACC. Ngām, thee	Lām, you two	Nām, you
VOC. Ngint-ā, O thou!	Ngurl-ā, you two!	Ngānā, you!
ABL. Nginte, by thee	Ngurle, by you two	Ngāne, by you.

3. Pronoun of the third person, “He,” “she,” “it.”		
NOM. Kitye, he, she, it	Kengk, they two	Kar, they
ACC. Kiñ him, &c.	Keñgg-un, them two	Kān, them
ABL. Kile, by him, &c.	Keñgg-ul, by them two	Kar, by them.

Figure 6.3: Meyer's pronominal case paradigm showing only the syntactic cases (and vocative; 1843: 22–23).

Meyer's choice of the term “ablative” as the descriptor of the ergative case was *not* conventional practice at the time (*contra* Lindner 2014: 190). In choosing the label “ablative” to name ergative pronouns, Meyer may have intentionally invoked the “ablative-of-personal-agent”, rather than the “ablative-of-means-of-instrument” invoked by Teichelmann & Schürmann to name instrumental function (Table 5.5). Alternatively, Meyer may have, at least initially, been confused about how the earlier Dresdner missionaries had used the terms “active” to name ergative function and “ablative” to name instrumental function, and the type of nominals in Kaurna and in Ramindjeri that marked this functional range uniformly or distinctly.

Meyer was probably motivated to provide a pronominal paradigm for the syntactic cases because he needed to record the unpredictable marking of pronouns in different numbers in ergative and nominative cases. The traditional Word and Paradigm representation best recorded the sensitivity to number of the marking of syntactic case on pronouns.

The Ngarrindjeri split on nominals (Table 6.1) has been reclaimed by Bannister (2004) from Meyer's record of Ramindjeri (1843), from Taplin's analyses of the language spoken at the mission (1872 and 1880), and from twentieth-century recordings.

Table 6.1: Reclaimed split in the marking of syntactic case in Ngarrindjeri

Ergative alignment A/SO	Accusative alignment AS/O	Tripartite marking A/S/O
Nouns, proper nouns	All 2 nd person pronouns, 1dl, 1pl & 3pl pronouns	1sg, 3sg, 3dl pronouns, demonstrative, interrogative pronouns

Meyer then presented a full case paradigm for first-person pronouns (Figure 6.4). Unlike Teichelmann & Schürmann (1840), he extended the case paradigm beyond the classical five-case paradigm. Threlkeld (1834) and Günther (1838) had previously presented enlarged paradigms. There is no evidence that Meyer had seen Günther's manuscripts. Unlike Threlkeld, Meyer assigned case labels to the additional forms.

The syntactic cases are again placed in the first three positions, labelled "nominative", "accusative" and "ablative". This repositioning of the "ablative" (ergative) and accusative cases out of their traditional fourth and last position in the traditional paradigm (nom > gen > dat > acc > abl) as well as Meyer's initial presentation of these three cases alone (Figure 6.3) suggests that Meyer conceived that these cases were functionally distinct from the peripheral cases.

Since the term "ablative" had been "used up" to describe the ergative case, Meyer invented a new label to name the suffix marking the "ablative of separation", which in many other early grammars is termed "ablative" (Table 5.5) and after which the case is named, from the Latin *ablātīv-us*, 'to carry away'. Meyer instead named the pronoun marking this in an orthodox way as the "ablative" function, using the English preposition "From" and translated the form as "from X".

He named the pronoun marked with the suffix *-angk* "dative", and translated it as "to X". The suffix is reclaimed as marking the allative and locative cases on pronouns and common nouns (Gale & French 2010: 22; 53) but dative on kin terms (*ibid.*: 24).

SINGULAR.	
NOM.	Ngāpe, I
ACC.	Ngāñ, me
ABL.	Ngate, by me
GEN.	{ Ngāñ-auwe, of me Ngāñ-auwüle, of me
DAT.	Ngāñangk, to me
FROM	Ngāñ-anyir, from me
FOR	Nāñ-āmbe, for me.
DUAL.	
NOM.	Ngēle, we two
ACC.	Lām, us two
ABL.	Ngēle, by us two
GEN.	{ Lām-auwe, of us two Lām-auwüle, of us two
DAT.	Lām-angk, to us two
FROM	Lām-anyir, from us two
FOR	Lām-āmbe, for us two.
PLURAL.	
NOM.	Ngāne, we
ACC.	Nām, us
ABL.	Ngāne, by us
GEN.	{ Nām-auwe, of us Nām-auwüle, of us
DAT.	Nām-angk, to us
FROM	Nām-anyir, from us
FOR	Nām-āmbe, for us.

Figure 6.4: Meyer's extended pronominal paradigm for first-person pronouns (1843: 24)

The pronoun marked with the suffix *-ambe* was named “For”, and translated as “for X”. The range of dative functions that this suffix marked on different nominal types is uncertain.

6.1.2.4 Bound Pronouns

In 1840, just after arriving in South Australia, and three years before his grammar of Ngarrindjeri was published, Meyer wrote:

The difference [between Kurna and Ngarrindjeri] consists not only in words but also in the formation of the same. In Adelaide, to the best of my knowledge, the pronoun is placed before the substantive, here by comparison one makes use of suffixes ... although they also make use of the pronoun for several things, **nanauwe**, **namauwe** and **lomauwe**. (Meyer 1839)

Teichelmann and Schürmann's grammar of Kurna was complete at the time Meyer wrote this. Although the forms Meyer provided as exemplification – “**Gelano**: brother, **Gelanowe**: my brother, **Gelauwe**: your brother, **Gelauwalle**: his

brother and so forth in several cases” – were possessed kinterms (§6.1.2.5), Ngar-rindjeri bound pronouns were immediately recognised by Meyer in his earliest encounter with the language. That the Kurna forms remained unknown to him suggests that the systems of bound pronouns operated differently in the two languages.

Meyer (1843) gave the earliest representation of case forms of bound pronouns paradigmatically, alongside the free-forms under the word-class heading “Pronouns”. He tabulated nominative, accusative and ergative “ablative forms” (Figure 6.5).

47. The inseparable pronouns are				
1. First person.				
	SINGULAR.	DUAL.	PLURAL.	
NOM.	-ap, -app, -appe, I	angall, we two	-angañ, we	
ACC.	-an,* -añ, me	-alamm, us two	-anamm, us	
ABL.	-at, -att, atte, by me	-angall, by us two	-angañ, by us	
2. Second person.				
NOM.	-inde, -nde, thou	-ngull, you two	unguñ, you	
ACC.	-um, -im, a-m, -m, thee	-olomm, you two	-onomm, you	
VOC.	ind-ā, thou!	-ul-ā, you two!	-un-ā, you!	
ABL.	-inde, by thee	-ungull, by you two	-unguñ, by you	
3. Third person.				
NOM.	-itye, -tye, he, she, it	engk, they two	ar, they	
ACC.	-ityan, -yan, -in, } -en, him &c. }	-eñg-un, them two	-an, them	
ABL.	-il, el, by him, &c.	eñgg-ul, by them two	-ar, by them.	

Figure 6.5: Meyer’s paradigm of bound pronouns in nominative, accusative and ergative cases (and vocative; 1843: 23)

Meyer does, however, appear to have recognised that bound pronouns also inflected for other cases, as is evident from the note attached to the asterisked form of the 1sgO form in the paradigm. He (1843: 23) states: “an occurs sometimes as a prefix, as, *Yarn-ir an-angg-itye* he spoke to me” (Example 2). Here the form *an-angg* is shown marking the second argument of the verb “to speak”.

- (2) *Yarn-ir-an-angg-itye*
yarn-ir-anangk-itye
 speak-PAST-3SG.DAT-3SG.NOM³

³Note that the 1sg pronominal suffix *-anangk*, which is here said to mark the dative case, is reclaimed by Gale *et al* (2010: 56) to maintain Meyer’s bi-morphemic analysis. Gale proposes that the form comprises the 1sg accusative form *-an* suffixed with *-angk*, which is reclaimed as marking the indirect object on pronouns (ibid.: 56) or the allative case and locative cases on nouns (ibid.: 51).

6.1.2.5 Kin possession

Meyer also provided case paradigms for a nominal subclass, termed “pronominal substantives” (Figure 6.6) and which he described as:

probably contracted forms of compound words, but for which the etymology cannot, for the most part, be at present traced. They are all, as far as hitherto known, words expressing relationship of consanguinity. (Meyer 1843: 34)

Here he described how possessive marking on kin relationship terms differed from that on other noun types, a phenomenon found in some other Australian languages (Dixon 2002a: 396).

Importantly, Meyer (*ibid.*: 34) recognised that case marking differed on this nominal subclass, stating: “They differ from substantives in the formation of the cases”. He supplied separate declension tables. He also listed additional terms (*ibid.*: 36) which he did not decline: his/her father, my brother, his/her brother, my sister, thy sister, his/her sister.

Note that in these paradigms of “pronominal substantives”, the ergative forms termed “ablative” are placed towards the bottom of the paradigm in the traditional position of the Latin ablative. That this occurs here and in the paradigm of substantives (Figure 6.2) but not in the paradigm of pronouns (Figure 6.3) may reflect a syncretism of the ergative case with other functions of the Latin ablative, which did not occur on pronouns.

More than half a century later, C. Strehlow (1931b: 50–51 [composed c. 1907]; §9.2.3.1), the last early Lutheran missionary-grammarian, recognised that Meyer's “pronominal substantives” had the same function as a parallel set in Arrernte and as a set described by Reuther in Diyari. Strehlow presented the terms meaning “my father” in the three languages and used Meyer's terminology “pronominal-substantive” to name the nominal subclass (Figure 6.7).

The inseparable possessive pronouns Strehlow described in Arrernte are currently referred to as “pronominal kin suffixes” (Wilkins 1989: 133–135; see also Henderson 2013: 260). The Diyari forms Strehlow referred to were first tabulated by Reuther (1894: 10) but are not recorded by Austin (2013: 56) in the modern descriptive era.

By analogy with circumstances surrounding Reuther's description of the function of relative pronouns in clause subordination (§8.5.8.4), Reuther's record of the distinct case marking on kinship terms (1894: 12), which had *not* been recorded by earlier Diyari grammarians, nor reported by Austin (2013: 56[1981a]) but *had*

Examples:

1. Naŋgai-ye, my father, and Naink-owe, my mother.

NOM.	Naŋgai-ye, my father	Naink-owe, my mother
ACC.	Naŋgai-yin, my father	Naink-in, my mother
GEN.	Naŋgai-yin, of my	Naink-in, my mother's
DAT.	Naŋgai-yin-angk, to my	Naink-in-angk, to my m.
ABL.	Naŋgai-yin-de, by my	Naink-in-de, by my mother
FROM	Naŋgai-yin-añyir, from	Naink-in-añyir, from my m.
FOR	Naŋgai-yin-ambe, for	Naink-in-ambe, for my m.

Words of this class are used only in the singular. The dual and plural must be formed by affixing the inseparable pronouns (§ 47) to the dual and plural of ngäyeri, father, and ninker, mother, as näyer-eŋg-an, my two fathers; ninker-eŋg-an, my two mothers; ngäyer-ar-an, my fathers; ninker-ar-an, my mothers. These latter forms are to be declined in the same manner as tart-eŋg-an and tartr-ar-an (see § 52, 2). The dual and plural of the pronoun is to be expressed by the inseparable dual and plural pronouns, affixed to ngäyeri, as ngäyeri-alam, father of us two; ngäyer-eŋg-alam, two fathers of us two; ngäyer-ar-alam, fathers of us two, &c., similar to tarte-alam, tart-eŋg-alam, tart-ar-alam (§ 53, 6).

2. Nink-owe, thy mother, and Nark-owalle.

NOM.	Nink-owe, thy mother	Nark-owalle, his or her m.
ACC.	Nink-an, thy mother	Nark-owan, his or her m.
GEN.	Nink-in, thy mother's	Nark-owan, his &c. mother's
DAT.	Nink-in-angk, to thy m.	Narrk-owan-angk, to his
ABL.	Nink-in-de, by thy m.	Nark-owan-de, by his
FROM	Nink-in-añyir, from thy	Nark-owan-añyir, from his
FOR	Nink-in-ambe, for thy	Nark-owan-ambe, for his

3. Ngäy-owe, thy father, and Gäl-auwe, thy brother.

NOM.	Ngäy-owe, thy father	Gäl-auwe, thy brother
ACC.	Ngäy-in, thy father	Gäl-an, thy brother
GEN.	Ngäy-in, thy father's	Gäl-an, thy brother's
DAT.	Ngäy-in-angk, to thy	Gäl-an-angk, to thy brother
ABL.	Ngäy-in-de, by thy f.	Gäl-an-de, by thy brother
FROM	Ngäy-in-añyir, from thy	Gäl-an-añyir, from thy br.
FOR	Ngäy-in-ambe, for thy	Gäl-an-ambe, for thy brother

Figure 6.6: Meyer's case paradigm of terms denoting kin possession (1843: 23).

6.1 Meyer's grammar of Ramindjeri (1843)

Aranda. Soeloff in der Sprache gibt es eine besondere Pronominal-Substantive bezeichnete Namen, da sie aus Substantiven bestehen, die mit Pronomina poss. oder dem unzertrennlich verbunden sind, welche letztere im Deutschen am besten mit – "Eigener" eigen – wiedergegeben werden. Z. B. katiltja – (mein eigener Vater)	Aranda als in der Dieri & Enc. B. Sprache gibt es eine besondere Art von Nomina, die man als Pronomina-Substantive bezeichnen kann, da sie aus Substantiven bestehen, die mit Pronomina poss. oder dem unzertrennlich verbunden sind, welche letztere im Deutschen am besten mit – "Eigener" eigen – wiedergegeben werden. Z. B. katiltja – (mein eigener Vater)	Aranda als in der Dieri & Enc. B. Sprache gibt es eine besondere Art von Nomina, die man als Pronomina-Substantive bezeichnen kann, da sie aus Substantiven bestehen, die mit Pronomina poss. oder dem unzertrennlich verbunden sind, welche letztere im Deutschen am besten mit – "Eigener" eigen – wiedergegeben werden. Z. B. katiltja – (mein eigener Vater)
ngapami	"	"
ngapi-ye	"	"

Sowohl in der Aranda als in der Dieri & Enc. B. Sprache gibt es eine besondere Art von Nomina, die man als Pronomina-Substantive bezeichnen kann, da sie aus Substantiven bestehen, die mit Pronomina poss. oder dem unzertrennlich verbunden sind, welche letztere im Deutschen am besten mit – "Eigener" eigen – wiedergegeben werden. Z. B. katiltja – (mein eigener Vater) (C. Strehlow 1931b: 50–51 [c. 1907]).

In the Aranda as well as in the Dieri and Encounter Bay language there is a particular type of noun, which one can define as a pronominal substantive, since they consist of substantives, which are inseparably combined with pronouns, poss[essive] or dem[onstrative], with the latter best being rendered in German as – 'one's own'. For example, *katiltja* (my own father).

Figure 6.7: C. Strehlow's presentation of terms denoting kin possession in three languages (1931b: 50–51 [c. 1907])

been described by Meyer (1843: 34) as "Pronominal substantives", and reiterated by C. Strehlow (Strehlow 1931b: 50–51; Figure 6.7) should perhaps be treated with a degree of circumspection. It is, however, also possible that an awareness of these kinship terms in Ramindjeri (*Die Encounter Bay Sprache*) motivated Reuther to elicit the Diyari forms, which may have fallen into disuse by the time of Austin's recording.

6.1.2.6 Meyer's description of ergativity

Meyer's description of the ergative case differs from that made by all other early grammarians, except Symmons (1841; §7.1). It is possible that Symmons' work influenced Meyer's, although there is no other evidence suggesting that Meyer, or any other grammarian, was aware of Symmons' 1841 description of Nyungar. It is likely that Meyer (1843) and Symmons (1841) were independently prompted to make similar analyses, perhaps both having been influenced by Teichelmann & Schürmann's (1840) presentation of case and of ergativity.

Meyer (1843: 38) described ergative forms as having "the force of Latin ablatives", and the ergative suffix (*ibid.*: 61) as "corresponding to the ablative case in Latin, by". Here Meyer implied the "ablative of personal agent", marking the agent performing the action of a passive verb. Consequently, Meyer glosses an

overtly marked NP in ergative case with the English preposition “by” in translations of forms supplied in paradigms, in interlinear translation of clauses, and sometimes in free translation of clauses (Example 3). His use of the preposition “by” to translate the ergative NP in a transitive clause, which is rendered in English passive voice, is atypical of the corpus grammars, being otherwise employed only by Symmons (1841; §7.1.1.1).

- (3) Ngate nakk-ir korne
 ‘by me seeing has been a man’
 (Meyer 1843: 33)
 ngati nak-ir ko:rni
 1SG.ERG see-PAST man-[ACC]
 ‘I have seen the man’
- (4) Ngand-im memp-ing
 ‘by whom have you been beaten’
 (Meyer 1843: 33)
 ngand-im memp-ing
 INTER.ERG-2SG.ACC hit-PAST

Meyer’s translation of the overtly marked ergative noun-phrase using a prepositional phrase “by X” renders an English passive construction, in which the agent is demoted to an oblique argument, and the verb is forced into a participle form. Like other early grammarians of Australian languages, Meyer was, nevertheless, capable of imagining that a noun phrase with overt ergative case marking could be translated using a noun in unmarked nominative case, rather than the prepositional phrase “by X”. Thus, he gave a free translation, “I have seen the man”, next to his passive interlinear translation “by me seeing has been a man”. Here it appears that Meyer did not intend to convey that Australian ergative constructions were passive.

6.1.2.7 Meyer’s “Duplex form of the verb”: The antipassive

The convoluted syntax of Meyer’s (1843) interlinear and free translations of AOV clauses (Example 3) probably arose from the need to account for the existence in Ngarrindjeri of a valency decreasing syntactic process, which occurs in some but not all PN languages (Dixon 2002a: 206–207), and which has been termed “antipassive” (Silverstein 1972) by analogy with European passive constructions. Under the heading the “Duplex form of the Verb” (1843: 38–42), Meyer described an antipassive process in Ramindjeri (Terrill 1997; Dixon 2002a: 206; Dixon 2002a:

146–152), which is thought not to have been subsequently described in another Australian language for over a century.

The antipassive process involves alteration to verb transitivity through a de-transitivising morpheme, occurring before the tense suffix, which places the agent into the unmarked nominative case and the object into peripheral case function. In Ngarrindjeri the object is demoted to a peripheral case that shows syncretism with the ergative. The antipassive counterpart of:

- (5) Korn-il lakk-in mame
 Ko:rn-il lak-un ma:mi
 man-ERG spear-PRES fish-[ACC]
 'The man spears the fish.'

is

- (6) Korne laggel-in mam-il
 Ko:rni lak-el-in ma:m-il
 man-[NOM] spear-ANTIP-PRES fish-INST⁴
 'The man spears the fish.'

In this section of the grammar the interlinear gloss of the underived AVO structure, 'man by spearing fish' was said to be equivalent to the English: *by the man is spearing the fish* and *there is a spearing the fish by the man* (ibid.: 39).

Meyer's unusual account of ergativity in an Australian language and his convoluted translations of underived simple AOV clauses, given under the heading the "Duplex form of the Verb" (1843: 38–42) captured the attention of linguists in Germany. Meyer's grammar of Ramindjeri is consequently referred to and is quoted in the secondary German literature more than other corpus grammars. His clauses were later rendered in German in the earliest philological literature theorising about ergativity (H. C. von der Gabelentz 1861: 489–490; F. Müller 1882: 2). Although Meyer did not intend to convey that Ngarrindjeri had a passive voice, these subsequent interpretations of his depiction of ergativity, which

⁴The function of the suffix *-il* marking the oblique argument in these antipassive constructions is not clear. It is glossed here as instrumental, in part by analogy with the neighbouring Lower Murray language Ngayawang in which both instrumental and ergative functions are marked with the seemingly related suffix *-al* (Horgen 2004:95, 209). The marking of instrumental function in Ngarrindjeri is not well understood. Based on Meyer (1843) and Taplin (1880) instrumental function has been reclaimed by Horgen (2004: 105–106) as being marked with the forms *-angk* or *-ung(g)-ay* on singular nouns, which show syncretism with the allative case, but with the form *-ung-engg-ul* on dual nouns, which shows syncretism with the locative case. The marking of instrumental function on plural nouns has not been reclaimed.

differs from the analysis given in other corpus grammars, resulted in the finding that some Australian languages had a passive voice (Stockigt Forthcoming). Further, such passive interpretations of Meyer's account of ergative morphology in Ramindjeri were used in the German literature to support claims about the relative evolutionary status of Ramindjeri in comparison with other Australian languages (Stockigt 2023b: 55). The absence of passive voice was seen to be especially indicative of more lowly-ranked languages. H. C. von der Gabelentz, for example, described languages "which do not have a passive at all ... [as] allocated to the lowest rank of formation" (1861: 464),⁵ and T. G. H. Strehlow (1944: 112) described this absence as one of the "hallmarks of a primitive language".

6.1.2.8 Meyer's reference to Threlkeld (1834)

Meyer believed that his view of the antipassivisation process in Ramindjeri was supported by Threlkeld's illustrative Awabakal material. He stated:

Whether our explanation be, or be not, regarded as theoretically correct, these distinctions will at least serve the useful purpose of showing when it is proper to use the forms **ngape** and **korne**, and when **ngate** and **korn-il** ... our view of the case is supported by the analogy with the New South Wales dialect [Awabakal], and the opinion of Mr Threlkeld. (Meyer 1843: 4)

Such presentation of another grammarian's material in order to substantiate an analysis is atypical of the corpus. The only other grammarians who reproduce material given in another corpus grammar are Ridley (1855b: 76), who, struggling to analyse the Gamilaraay verb, presented Threlkeld's analysis, and C. Strehlow (1931b [c. 1907]).

Meyer notes that the "participle" of the verb and the alteration to the case of the interrogative in Ramindjeri is similar to the following examples given by Threlkeld.

- (7) Nganto wiyān?
 'Who speaks?'
 (Threlkeld 1834: 127)
 NgaN-Tu wiya-n
 INTER-ERG speak-pres

⁵ "[D]es Passivum in den einzelnen Sprachen selbst über, so begegnen wir zunächst einer ganzen Reihe derselben Welche das Passivum überhaupt nicht besitzen und welche also nach dieser Richtung auf der niedrigsten Stufe der Ausbildung stehen" (von der Gabelentz 1861: 464).

d. As far as the derived forms, *laggel-in*, from *lakk-in*; *drētul-un*, from *drēk-in*, &c., are concerned, our view of the case is supported by the analogy of the New South Wales dialect, and the opinion of Mr Threlkeld, who gives the form “*wiyellin*” as the participle corresponding to “*wiyan*,” (he) speaks (See Threlkeld's Grammar, page 68, Conjugation Communicative). Here also the same difference as respects the agent is observable in the two parallel forms of expression.

1. Ngánto wiy-án? }
who speaks? } (Threlkeld's Grammar, page 127.)
1. Ngan-de ramm-ing? }
by whom speaking? } (Encounter Bay dialect.)
2. Ngán unnung wiyellin yóng? } (N. S. Wales dialect.
who there talking out there? } T.'s Grammar, p. 127)
2. Ngañgge rammēl-in lalde? }
who talking out there? } (Encounter Bay dialect.)

Figure 6.8: Meyer's reference to Threlkeld's (1834) grammar (1843: 40)

(8) Ngan unnung wiyellin yong

Who there talking out there

(Threlkeld 1834: 127)

NgaN aNang wiya-li-N yung
INTER.NOM thatNOM speak-DTR-PRES there⁶

Contrary to Meyer's (1843: 41) suggestion that Threlkeld had “not noticed” these features, it is probable that Threlkeld *did* notice that the first of these interrogative pronouns stood in the “active nominative” (ergative) case and the second in the “simple nominative” (nominative), and that the alteration was associated with the shape of the verb. Threlkeld's case paradigm of interrogative pronouns (ibid.: 7–8) shows *ngan-to* as the active nominative and translates *ngan* as “who?”.

Following Meyer, these same Awabakal clauses were again republished by H. C. von der Gabelentz (1861: 489) in a discussion of ergative function.

6.1.2.9 “Relative pronouns”

Although Meyer's innovative approach to the description of case was forged independently of the analysis given by Teichelmann and Schürmann (1840; §6.1.2),

⁶The gloss of the morpheme *-li* as detransitivising differs from the assessment made by Lissarague (2006: 79), who shows the morpheme in the same construction as marking continuous aspect. Oppliger (1984: 117) names the morpheme “continuative derivational”. It is possible that the language had two formally distinct morphemes, one marking continuative aspect and the other with derivational application, which remain phonemically undifferentiated in the modern interpretation (see, e.g., Threlkeld 1834:48).

his description of processes of clause relativisation imports his Lutheran predecessors' analysis across language boundaries. Meyer assumes Teichelmann and Schürmann's treatment of Kaurna and imposes it directly on Ramindjeri.

Meyer (1843: 33) supplied Example 9 to illustrate his assertion that sometimes personal pronouns could also at times act to relativise a clause. He stated, somewhat hesitantly, "[T]he personal pronoun *kitye*, he, *seems* also sometimes to perform the office of a relative" (emphasis added=).

- (9) Ngāte nakk- ir korne, yarn-... ir an-ang-itye watañgrau
 By me (a) seeing has been man, speaking was me to he yesterday
 'I have seen the man who spoke to me yesterday'
 (Meyer 1843: 33)
 Ngati nak-ir ko:rni, yarn-ir-anang-itye
 1SG.ERG see-PAST man-[ACC] speak-PAST-1SG.ALL/DAT-3SG.NOM
 watangrau
 yesterday

Unlike in Teichelmann and Schürmann's examples (28 on p. 236 & 31 on p. 237), there is no morphology indicating dependency. Meyer shows two independent clauses: "I saw the man. He spoke to me yesterday". The bound pronominal compound *-anang-itye*, which Meyer represented as a free-form and into which he inserted two morpheme boundaries, is comprised of the first-person dative bound form pronoun *anang* (see note at Example 2), to which is attached the third-person nominative bound pronoun *-itye* (Figure 6.5), of which the free-form is *kitye*. It is this last element *-itye* which Meyer analysed as "fulfilling the function of the relative".

Meyer (1843: 32) also stated, again hesitantly, "[T]he demonstrative pronoun *nāiye*, that, *appears* also to be sometimes used as a relative, as in the following examples" (emphasis added; Figure 6.9). Again, there is no morphosyntactic motivation for analysing any of the clauses he supplied (Examples 10 & 11) as subordinate.

- (10) Nāiye lēw-...in mant-angg-an
 That living is house at my
 'He who lives at my house'
 (Meyer 1843: 32)
 Naiyi le:w-in mant-angk-an
 DEM sit-PRES house-LOC-1POSS
 'that one lives at my house'

Ngañde-m...angk wāiy....in pōte? } Who is leading the
 by whom you to (a) leading is horse? } horse to you?
 Charl-....il } Charley. | Nañd- il ? } What Charley?
 Charley by } by whom by him?
 Nāiye lēw-...in mañt-.. (§ 9, note)...angg-.. (§ 7, note) an (§ 51, l)
 That living is house at my
 He who lives at my house (my servant).
 Ngande-....m-..angg-.. (§ 7, note)..engg-ul ramm-.....ing?
 by whom you to them two by (a) speaking was?
 Who are the two who told you?
 Henggullekengk, nak-ak wald-...āk lēw-....in.....āk
 by those two those two there they two sitting are they two.
 Those two who are sitting there.

Figure 6.9: Meyer's illustration of demonstrative pronouns acting to form subordinate clauses (1843: 32). The notes to which Meyer refers explain processes of morphophonemic alternation.

Example 11 has an interrogative rather than a demonstrative pronoun:

- (11) Ngande-....m-..angg-.....engg-ul ram-.....ing?
 By whom you to them two by (a) speaking was?
 'Who are the two who told you?'
 (Meyer 1843: 32)
 ngandi-mangk-engkul ram-ing
 INTER.ERG-2DAT-3DL.ERG speak-PAST
 'which two spoke to you?'⁷

Example 10 can only be translated as "that one lives at my house", and Example 11 as "which two spoke to you?". Despite Meyer's claim, there is *no* evidence that pronouns form relative or subordinated clauses in this Ramindjeri data. It seems that Meyer has misapplied the conclusions drawn from Teichelmann & Schürmann's Kurna data onto his own.

Meyer imported Teichelmann & Schürmann's claim that demonstrative pronouns could act to relativise clauses in Kurna, and sought to find evidence that personal pronouns in Ramindjeri could similarly act to subordinate clauses. His misappropriation of the Kurna data served to feed a developing doctrine in the Lutheran sub-corpus that pronouns act to relativise clauses in Australian languages (§8.5.8.3, §8.5.8.4, §9.3.5.1).

⁷The number of the 2DAT -*mangk* bound pronoun is unspecified. See §7.3.2.

6.1.3 Concluding remarks

This second published description of a South Australian language is descriptively innovative. Rather than implementing the traditional paradigmatic presentation used by his fellow Dresden-trained colleagues Teichelmann & Schürmann (1840), Meyer's presentation of case (§6.1.2.1) and his conception of the syntactic case frame of transitive verbs (§6.1.2.6) differ from that of his Lutheran predecessors. Neither of these aspects of Meyer's grammar were subsequently as influential on the Lutheran sub-corpus as were the schemata employed by Teichelmann & Schürmann, but Meyer's paradigm influenced G. Taplin (§7.3) who commenced description of Ngarrindjeri two decades after the closure of Meyer's Encounter Bay mission. Meyer's influence on Taplin's paradigms resulted in the genesis of the term "ergative", although *not* referring to the syntactic case (§2.6).

Meyer's listing of "particles", and his description of their function, may show a direct influence from Threlkeld that is not present in Teichelmann & Schürmann (1840). Other aspects of Meyer's description that resemble Threlkeld's work, but which are not shared with Teichelmann & Schürmann, include the use of hyphens to mark the meaningful word-internal units, and the inclusion of interlinear-style translations.

Although the format of Meyer's grammar differs from Teichelmann & Schürmann's earlier work (1840), Meyer's analysis of certain PN structures was made with the benefit of the accumulated understanding gained within the Adelaide School. Meyer's description of kin-possession (§6.1.2.5) is especially sophisticated. The clarity with which Meyer presents bound pronouns (§6.1.2.4) shows a marked improvement on Teichelmann & Schürmann's burying of the forms in traditional schema that were seen to be functionally equivalent (§2.5).

Teichelmann and Schürmann's grammar nevertheless held sway over Meyer's analysis. While Meyer's pronominal case paradigms differed from all preceding PN representations of case, the placement of the ergative case forms towards the bottom of the paradigm shows Teichelmann & Schürmann's influence, and Meyer's discussion of processes of clause subordination (§6.1.2.9) is unmistakably guided by his Lutheran predecessors.

6.2 Schürmann's grammar of Barngarla (1844b)

This and the following section investigate the last two grammars that comprise the "Adelaide School": Lutheran missionary Schürmann's (1844a) grammar of Barngarla and Moorhouse's (1846) grammar of Ngayawang. Comparison of these works with the earlier grammars of the school, Teichelmann & Schürmann (1840)

and Meyer (1843), shows that while these grammarians learned from one another, these works employ a range of diverse descriptive practices.

In 1840 Schürmann was offered the position of Deputy Protector of Aborigines at Port Lincoln, which had been settled the previous year (Lockwood 2014: 93, 121). Schürmann was reluctant to relocate to such an isolated outpost, as he had anticipated working at Encounter Bay with Meyer. His choice was, however, made for him, as he himself described: "His Excellency [i.e., the Governor of South Australia] ... refuted all my objections, saying that I had been sent to S. A. generally and not to any particular portion of it" (Schürmann 1844a, reprinted in Schürmann 1987: 109).

Thus, Schürmann ceased to work in close connection with his Dresdner brothers Teichelmann and Klose among the Kauria in Adelaide, and Meyer among the Ramindjeri at Encounter Bay, and commenced working as Protector at the remote settlement of Port Lincoln, an area which at the time covered most of the Eyre Peninsula.

Schürmann was retained in the area in some missionary capacity until early 1846, although his ability to act as a two-way interpreter between Aboriginal people and the European justice system kept him in high demand, and in 1842 he was recalled to Adelaide to act as court interpreter. It was on his return to Port Lincoln in 1843 that Schürmann commenced working on a MS dictionary of Barngarla, which was sent to Grey that year. Schürmann perceived this work, which contained 2000 entries, as incomplete (Rathjen 1998: 77). In 1844 he published *A vocabulary of the Parnkalla, spoken by the natives inhabiting the western shores of Spencers' Gulf. To which is attached a collection of grammatical rules*. It is not clear whether the attached grammar had also been sent to Grey. Schürmann described that the work was written

[t]o assist those settlers in Port Lincoln who may feel disposed to acquire the native language. In more thickly populated districts around Adelaide, the colonists have less occasion to learn the language of the Aborigines, since the latter can speak English intelligibly. But in Port Lincoln where the white population bears so small a proportion to that of the black, quite the reverse obtains, so that to establish and maintain intercourse with the natives there, it seems almost necessary that the Settlers should endeavour to make themselves acquainted with the language. (Schürmann 1844a: iii)

Schürmann's stated pedagogical motivation for producing the Barngarla grammar contrasts with the impetus Meyer described in the introduction to his Ramindjeri work (1843: vii), hoping it would prove "interesting to the philosopher

and philologist”. Simpson (2021) points out that the different reasons described by Meyer and Schürmann for publishing their grammars are likely to have affected the style in which each was written, and the schemata engaged. While sections of Meyer’s work are almost impenetrable – “The duplex form of the verb” (§6.1.2.7), for instance – Schürmann’s work is targeted towards a broader audience. Like Meyer, Schürmann does, however, abandon the traditional and easily understood framework when describing case marking on nouns (§6.2.1.1).

In the year that his ethnographic description was published (1846), Schürmann left the Eyre Peninsula to work with Meyer at Encounter Bay, and in 1848, after witnessing the final stage of the Encounter Bay mission and after the closure of Lutheran missions in South Australia, he returned to Port Lincoln as court interpreter (1848–1853). At the request of H. Young (1803–1870), Governor of South Australia (1848–1854), he opened a school for Aboriginal children just to the north of Port Lincoln in 1849. The school operated until 1852, when students were moved to the nearby, better-funded Anglican mission school at Poonindie, which had opened in 1850. Aboriginal people with whom the Dresdners had worked in Adelaide were also relocated to Poonindie near Port Lincoln. Finally, Schürmann moved to Western Victoria in 1853, where, like Meyer and Teichelmann, he worked as a pastor in European Lutheran congregations until his death. No further grammatical analysis of Barngarla or any other Aboriginal language was made by the Anglicans at Poonindie.

Like Kempe (1891), who made an inaugural description of Arrernte close to first contact (§9.1.2), and like missionaries Hey and Ward at the Mapoon mission in far north Queensland (§10.1.3), Schürmann (1846: 249) observed a multitude of regional dialects: “The principal mark of distinction between the tribes is the difference of language or dialect”. He observed that of the several “tribes” inhabiting the Eyre Peninsula, two were in daily contact with Europeans, the Barngarla who inhabited the eastern coast of the peninsula, and the Nauo from “the southern and western parts of the district”. Schürmann collected Barngarla data at Port Lincoln from people who had already shifted away from traditional territory towards European settlements and replaced the previous Nauo populations (Hercus & Simpson 2001).

6.2.1 Schürmann’s analysis of Barngarla (1844a)

When naming his twenty-two page grammatical analysis (1844a) a “collection of grammatical rules ... ‘prefixed’ to a vocabulary”, Schürmann reveals his own view of the work. While the dictionary contains some 3000 entries (Rathjen 1998: 83), approximately the length of the Kurna vocabulary (1840), the grammar contains

far less exemplification than do the earlier Dresdner grammars (Teichelmann & Schürmann 1840; Meyer 1843). There is no accompanying “phraseology” section.

Schürmann (1844a: iv) noted the lexical similarities between Kurna and Barngarla, while also observing that “[i]n forming an opinion on the affinity of languages or dialects, one has to look not only to the number of similar words, but still more to the grammatical structure and idiom”. Schürmann's lexical comparison is sophisticated in comparison with others of the same era (Grey 1839; Moorhouse 1840). He shows that while some verb stems are similar in “Adelaide” and “Parnkalla” (Figure 6.10) the final “syllable”, i.e., inflection for present tense, differed.

1.—The verbs which end with the Adelaide tribe in the syllables— <i>andi</i> , <i>endi</i> , <i>ondi</i> , assume in the Parnkalla, the terminations— <i>ata</i> , <i>iti</i> , <i>uti</i> ; for instance :—	
Adelaide.	Parnkalla.
<i>Kundandi</i>	<i>Kundata</i> , to strike
<i>Kattendi</i>	<i>Kattiti</i> , to bring
<i>Padlondi</i>	<i>Padluti</i> , to die
2.—In many words that in Adelaide begin with a T., this letter is either dropped altogether; as :—	
Adelaide.	Parnkalla.
<i>Tidna</i>	<i>Idna</i> , foot
<i>Titta</i>	<i>Itta</i> , string
<i>Tikkandi</i>	<i>Ikkata</i> , to sit down
Or it is changed into the softer consonant Y; as :—	
Adelaide.	Parnkalla.
<i>Ta</i> ,	<i>Ya</i> , mouth
<i>Toka</i> ,	<i>Yoka</i> , mud
<i>Turti</i> ,	<i>Yurti</i> , arm
<i>&c.</i>	<i>&c.</i>

Figure 6.10: Schürmann's comparative Barngarla and Kurna vocabulary (1844a: iv)

Schürmann also observed that the initial consonants of lexical items in Kurna were commonly dropped or lenited in Barngarla (Simpson & Hercus 2004: 189). Note that there is no evidence that missionaries working at the Hermannsburg mission between 1877 and 1920, who were learning two languages, Arrernte and Luritja, at the mission observed initial consonant deletion in Arrernte (see Koch

2004a: 135–136) on words that are cognate in these two languages. This observation was first made by W. Schmidt (1919a: 50; see further Koch 2004b: 24).

Having previously prepared his analysis of Kurna for publication with Teichelmann & Schürmann (1840), and probably having assisted Meyer, or at least partially overseen Meyer’s analysis of Ramindjeri, Schürmann approached the description of Barngarla with confidence. The work casts aside some of the traditional schemata engaged in the earlier Kurna grammar and provides instead concise description of structures in their own terms. Of the adjective he (1844b: 9) observed: “The adjective differs with regard to form in no wise from the substantive, it being susceptible not only of a dual and plural numbers, but also of all the suffixes”.

Schürmann (1844a: 9–10) also provided clear descriptions of the marking for case and number on a noun-phrase (Figure 6.11). Schürmann’s simple statement and demonstration efficiently conveys that number (and case) are marked only on the final constituent of the Barngarla noun phrase. Schürmann’s examples do not, however, clarify the relative ordering of inflection for number and case.

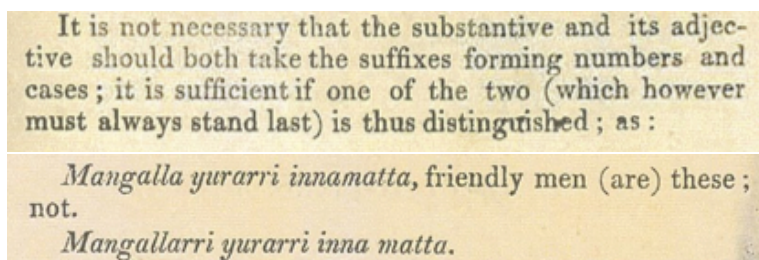


Figure 6.11: Schürmann’s explanation and exemplification of plural marking (and case) on the NP (1844a: 9–10)

- (12) Mangalla yurarri innamatta
 ‘friendly men (are) these’
 (Schürmann 1844a: 10)
 Mangarla yurha-rri inha-madla
 Friendly man-HUM.PL this-PL
 (Gloss and transcription, Clendon 2015: 161)

In discussing Barngarla structure, Schürmann references an existing body of knowledge about Australian morphology and syntax. He listed (1844a: v) all the previously published Australian material. This placement of the work within a broader body of literature is not characteristic of later Lutheran description in

South Australia, or of early Australian grammars more broadly. When discussing the inflection for ergative case on nouns, for example, he wrote: “*nga* forms what has been *termed by other writers upon the idiom* of Australia, the ‘active nominative case’ ” (emphasis added).

Concerning gender, Schürmann (1844a: 3) wrote: “*In accordance with the other Australian dialects* no distinctions on account of gender have been discovered in the Parnkalla language” (emphasis added). Note that, despite this statement, Threlkeld had clearly described the Awabakal gender distinction on 3rd person pronouns (§3.4.3). Similarly, Livingstone (1892; §4.6.1.1) did not describe the third-person pronominal gender distinction in Minjangbal as “gender”. Pronominal distinction in third-person pronouns was not seen as constituting the category “gender” by early grammarians.

In his ethnographic description, Schürmann (1846: 29–30) summarised the most “striking peculiarities” of the language. The material was also published in the Dresden *Missionsblatt* (Rathjen 1998). Schürmann listed nine “peculiarities” common to the structure of the languages he knew. His list is similar to that given by Moorhouse (1846; §6.4.1) and to that captured in Taplin’s 1875 circular (§7.3.1). Most of Schürmann’s discussion concerns features that the languages were perceived as lacking: fricatives, articles, grammatical gender, numerals greater than three, reflexive pronouns, passive voice and prepositions. He also observed that the languages shared: morphological marking of dual number, pronominal sensitivity to kinship, suffixation of nouns with case inflection, and complex verb morphology (1846: 250–251).

The impression emerging in the 1840s was that Australian languages belonged to a single family (Grey 1845) by nature of their shared grammatical structure, as well as shared lexicon. The idea was supported by empirical grammatical evidence in three publications made in the same year: H. Hale (1846: 479), Moorhouse (1846: vi), and Schürmann (1846: 29–30).

6.2.1.1 Case suffixes or prepositions

Like Meyer, Schürmann did not present case paradigms of nouns, but instead listed and described the function of nominal suffixes. Following Meyer’s earlier innovation, he listed twenty-four nominal suffixes (1844b: 4–8) in place of a case paradigm. The choice of presentation allowed Schürmann to show that the suffix marked different nominal types with different function. Examine, for instance, Figure 6.12, in which Schürmann describes the function of suffixes marking locative and allative cases on proper nouns and pronouns.

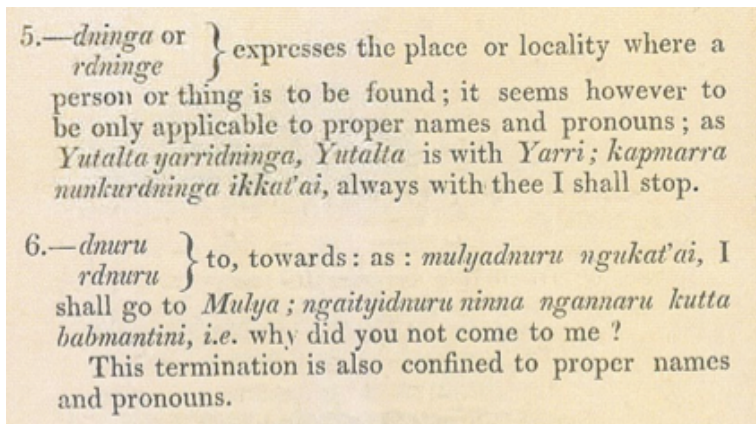


Figure 6.12: Schürmann's non-paradigmatic representation of locative and allative case on proper nouns (1844a: 6)

Schürmann's grammar of Barngarla (1844a) has previously been assessed by Rathjen (1998: 83–88) who focuses on Schürmann's method of description, concluding that the 1844 grammar:

reveals a significant progression in linguistic thought from the conventionally documented Adelaide grammar. Schürmann is attempting to record the language outside of the classical grammatical framework in which he had been trained, a task which required him to develop new linguistic models and ways of thinking. (Rathjen 1998: 88)

Rathjen's assessment of Schürmann (1844b) is made in comparison with Teichelmann & Schürmann (1840) as well as with Schoknecht's 1872 description of Diyari (Schoknecht 1947 [1872]; §8.3.3). Rathjen's finding that Schürmann innovated new descriptive schemata in order to frame Barngarla structure rests largely on his description of case suffixes. She writes:

In the Parnkalla grammar, there is no attempt to provide noun paradigms (declensions), although there is a rudimentary attempt to do this in the Adelaide grammar, Schürmann is now aware of the suffixing nature of the language where a "variety of terminations supply the place of cases and prepositions, conjunctions and adverbs" ... Whereas Schoknecht's *Grammar of the Language of the Dieri Aborigines* some 30 years later provides classical paradigms ... Schürmann is already aware of the inappropriateness of reducing the native language to such a structure. (Rathjen 1998: 86)

Rathjen's assessment fails to recognise that Schürmann's practice followed Meyer's, original innovation.

Schürmann put to good use this method of listing and discussing the function of sub-word units in order to demonstrate the multiple functions of a single morpheme. He showed that the ergative "active nominative" suffix *-nga* marked instrumental "ablative" function, the locative case spatially and temporally, and had a causal function (1844b: 4–5; Figure 6.13; Example 13)

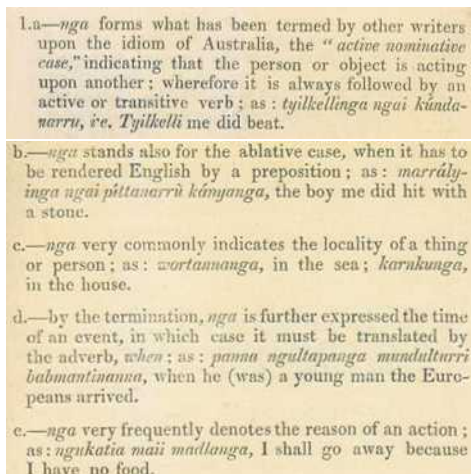


Figure 6.13: Schürmann's non-paradigmatic presentation of the function of the suffix marking ergative, instrumental, locative and causal case functions (1844a: 4–5)

(13) Marrályinga ngai píttanarrù kányanga

'The boy me did hit with a stone'

(Schürmann 1844a: 5)

Marralyi-nga ngayi birda-nga-aru ganya-nga

Boy-ERG 1SG.ACC hit/pelt-PAST-3SG.ERG stone-INST

Schürmann's application of Meyer's descriptive innovation also drew Elkin's attention, who in 1937 commended Schürmann's choice of presentation:

In some languages there are suffixes to indicate what seems to be every conceivable condition of the noun. Schuermann gives twenty-four for Parnkalla ...Schuermann rightly described these particles by their function and did not try to invent terms to describe them, like exative (=from) ergative (=with) ablative (=by) which were used by the Rev. J. Bulmer. (Elkin 1937: 150)

The alternative practice, which Elkin judges so unfavourably, was in fact instigated by Taplin in his description of Ngarrindjeri (1872; 1878) and was followed by both Hagenauer (1878) and Bulmer (1878), who replicated Taplin's paradigm in descriptions of Wergaya and Ganai published in Brough Smyth (§7.2).

Schürmann's choice not to provide case paradigms for nouns may additionally have been motivated by his perception that nominal inflection for case in Barngarla did not constitute declension, since the marking of case was not fused with the marking of number (§2.4.1.1). He wrote: "there is no declension of substantives in the common sense of the word" (Schürmann 1844a: 4).

6.2.1.2 Pronominal case paradigms

Like Meyer (1843), Schürmann did, however, "reduce" Barngarla pronouns to declension (Schürmann 1887: 10–14). Unlike Meyer, and the earlier grammar Schürmann co-authored with Teichelmann & Schürmann (1840), Schürmann placed the ergative case, here termed "active nominative", in second position next to the nominative form (Figure 6.14). There is no association of the ergative case with the label "ablative", or with the position of the ablative case in Latin paradigms. Unlike previous presentations of ergativity given in South Australia (Teichelmann & Schürmann 1840; Meyer 1843), Schürmann (1844b) conceived of the ergative case as a second type of nominative.

First person plural	
<i>Nom.</i>	Ngarrinyelbo, <i>we</i>
<i>Poss.</i>	Ngarrinyelburu, <i>our</i>
	Ngarrinyelbudni, <i>of us</i>
	Ngarrinyelbudninge, <i>with us</i>
	Ngarrinyelbudniru, <i>to us</i>
Second person plural.	
<i>Nom.</i>	Nuralli, <i>you</i>
<i>Poss.</i>	Nuralluru, <i>your</i>
	Nurallidni, <i>of you</i>
	Nurallidninge, <i>with you</i>
	Nurallidniru. <i>to you</i>
Third person plural :	
<i>Nom.</i>	Yardna, <i>they</i>
<i>Poss.</i>	Yardnakkuru, <i>their</i>
	Yardnakudni, <i>of them</i>
	Yardnakudninge, <i>with them</i>
	Yardnakudniru, <i>to them</i>

Figure 6.14: Schürmann's singular and plural pronominal case paradigm (1844a: 11)

6.2.1.3 Bound pronouns

Schürmann's description of Barngarla, made the year following Meyer's publication, continued to present bound pronouns within a discussion of "verbs" rather than presenting the forms as an additional pronominal paradigm, as Meyer had done. Rather than showing the forms as marking a mood of the verb, he shows them as person and number markers. His choice probably does *not* indicate that bound pronouns were largely restricted to attachment to verbs. There is evidence in both languages that they could also attach to interrogative and demonstrative pronouns (Examples 31 & 32 on p. 237).

Regarding his exemplification of the forms of pronouns used with transitive and intransitive verbs (§6.2.1.6; Figure 6.18; Figure 6.19), Schürmann stated:

In the above paradigms the pronouns have been placed before the verb to show the full form of both the verbs and the pronouns; but the natives very commonly pronounce the pronoun after the verb and more or less contract the two into one word. (Schürmann 1844a: 22)

He provided an additional paradigm showing nominative bound pronouns attached to the intransitive verb *nguka-ta*, go-PRES/FUT, and ergative bound pronouns attached to the transitive verb *witti-ta*, spear-PRES/FUT for each person in singular, dual and plural number (Figure 6.15). Note that the anticipated 3dl bound pronoun *-alanbi* is not given, indicating that Schürmann did not "fill-in" anticipated forms in this paradigm.

In the above paradigms the pronouns have been placed before the verb to show the full form of both verbs and pronouns; but the natives very commonly pronounce the pronoun after the verb and more or less contract the two into one word, as will be seen from the following specimen :

	NEUTER VERB <i>Present.</i>	ACTIVE VERB.
<i>Sing.</i>	1. Ngukatai or ngu- katia, <i>I go or shall go</i>	1. wittitatto, <i>I spear</i> or <i>shall spear</i>
	2. Ngukatinni, <i>thou goest</i>	2. wittitunno
	3. Ngukatao, <i>he goes</i>	3. wittitarru
<i>Dual</i>	1. Ngukatadli	1. wittitadli
	2. Ngukatuwalla	2. wittituwalla
	3.	3.
<i>Plur.</i>	1. Ngukatarrinyelbo, <i>we go</i>	1. wittitarrinyelbo
	2. Ngukaturalli, <i>you go</i>	2. wittiturralli
	3. Ngukatardna, <i>they go</i>	3. wittitardna

Figure 6.15: Schürmann's presentation of bound pronouns (1844a: 22)

Although Schürmann did not tabulate bound forms of pronouns in accusative function, there is evidence that an object could be marked by a bound pronoun. Examine the following example in which the form *-adli*, a reduction of the 1dlACC pronoun *ngadli* (Figure 6.16), stands in accusative case.

- (14) Karpanga iridningutu adli
 ‘the house/room separates us’
 (Schürmann 1844a: V:8)
 garrba-nga iridni-ngu-dhu-w-adli
 house-ERG separate-CAUS-PRES-EP-1DL.ACC
 (Gloss and transcription from Clendon 2015: 44)

In contrast to this analysis of bound pronouns, Dixon (2002b: 345) concludes that the system of bound pronouns in Barngarla is unusual among Australian languages in not marking object function. Dixon’s error results from taking the early sources at face value without unpicking the grammarians’ rationale for describing the language in ways that the traditional paradigm could accommodate. Bound pronouns in accusative function were not as easily illustrated within traditional schemata, because verbs in SAE languages do not agree with pronouns in accusative case. Koch (2008: 203–204) points out that Mathews attempted, but struggled, to account for the agreement of verbs with their object, i.e., the attachment of accusative bound pronouns to verbs.

6.2.1.4 Pronouns specifying kinship relations

Schürmann’s choice to present paradigms of pronouns may have been motivated by his wish to show in an organised manner his analysis of pronouns specifying kin relationship. The forms Schürmann described were probably part of what was a much larger system of pronouns specifying the kin relationship that may have resembled the complexity recorded by Schebeck (1973) in Adnyamathanha, a northern member of the Thura-Yura family (see also Hercus & White 1973).

Numbers placed inside Schürmann’s dual paradigms (Figure 6.16) were marked to indicate that the form showed a kinship reference between the pair referred to by the dual pronoun (Schürmann 1844a: 11–13). These pronouns that refer to dyadic kin relations (Evans 2003) denote kin pairs and are thus categorically different from the possessive kinterms Meyer had described in Ngarrindjeri (§6.1.2.5).

The number “3” placed next to a form in Schürmann’s paradigm (Figure 6.16) is footnoted to indicate that marked 1dl and 2dl forms specified that the referents were “certain relatives, as a mother and her children, uncle and nephew”. The

First person dual :	
<i>Nom.</i>	Ngadli, ngadlaga, (3) ngarrinye, (4) <i>we two</i>
<i>Poss.</i>	Ngadluru, ngadlagguru, ngarrinyuru, <i>our</i>
	Ngadlidni, ngadlagadni, ngarrinyidni, <i>of us</i>
	Ngadlidninge, ngadlagadninge, ngarrinydninge, <i>[with us</i>
	Ngadlidniru, ngadlagadniru, ngarrinyidniru, <i>to us</i>
Second person, dual.	
<i>Nom.</i>	Nuwalla, nuwadnaga, (3) nuwarinye, (4) <i>you two</i>
<i>Poss.</i>	Nuwalluru, nuwadnagguru, nuwarinyuru, <i>your</i>
	Nuwallidni, nuwadnagadni, nuwarinyidni, <i>of you</i>
	Nuwallidninge, nuwadnagadninge, nuwarinyid- ninge, <i>with you</i>
	Nuwallidniru, nuwadnagadniru, nuwarinyidniru, <i>[to you.</i>
Third person dual :	
<i>Nom.</i>	Pudlanbi, (5) <i>they two</i>
<i>Poss.</i>	Pudlanbiru, <i>their</i>
	Pudlanbidni, <i>of them two</i>
	Pudlanbidninge, <i>with them two</i>
	Pudlanbidniru, <i>to them two</i>

Figure 6.16: Schürmann's dual pronominal case paradigm (1844a: 11–12)

number “4” next to other forms in the same paradigms marked that the referents were “a father and one of his children only”. The number “5” placed next to the 3dl form indicated the referents were spouses “husband and wife”.

Schürmann placed the number “2” next to an alternative 2sg form *nuro*, which was declined alongside the unmarked 2sg form *ninna*. The form *nuro* was described as being used “by a father and his children addressing each other”.

Schürmann was not, however, the first Australian grammarian to record such forms. Symmons (1841: xiv–xv) had earlier recorded three sets of dual pronouns in each number in Nyungar (Figure 6.17). The first specifying same generation “brother and sisters and friends”, the second different generation “uncle and nephew, parent and child” and the third spousal “husband and wife”. Schürmann is not known to have been acquainted with Symmons' Western Australian grammar.

That some Australian languages had sets of pronouns expressing kinship relations was observed as a typological feature by Ray (1925: 5), who gave Schür-

Besides the above, there are three separate forms of Dual Pronouns. "The first is used with relation to Brothers and Sisters, or, between two friends, implying that two people are to each other as brothers and sisters, or very nearly connected,"—as,

Ngai-li, we two, brothers and sisters, or friends
Nu-bal, ye two, " " "
Bu-la, they two, " " "

(36)

"The second Dual expresses two persons standing to each other in the relation of parent and child, uncle and nephew,"—as,

Ngai-la, we two, parent and child, &c.
Nu-bal, ye two, " "
Bu-la-la, they two, " "

"The third Dual expresses, that, two persons of the different sexes are man and wife, or, greatly attached to each other,"—as,

Ngan-nik, we two, husband and wife
Ngan-na-na, we two, brothers in law
Nu-bin, ye two, husband and wife
Bu-len, they two, " "

Figure 6.17: Symmons' presentation of pronouns specifying kinship (1841: xiv-xv)

mann's "Parnkalla" forms as illustration. Ray (*ibid.*: 5) also observed that "[i]n Western Australia similar terms are very numerous". It is not known whether Symmons (1841) was Ray's Western Australian source.

6.2.1.5 The naming of the ergative case

Schürmann used the term "active nominative" to describe the ergative case. The term had, as Schürmann himself observed, been used by previous grammarians in Australia: Threlkeld (1834) and Günther (1838, 1840). The term had not, however, been used by Schürmann in the grammar of Kaurua written with Teichelmann & Schürmann (1840), or by Symmons (1841), or by Meyer (1843), except in the section of his grammar describing the "duplex form of the verb" (§6.1.2.7). Following Schürmann the term "active nominative" was subsequently used only by Moorhouse (1846), W. Bleek (1858), and in Fraser's republication of Günther (1892; Table 3.8).

6.2.1.6 Clarification of ergativity under the heading "The Verb"

Starting with Threlkeld (1834), early Australian grammarians classified verbs according to the arguments that they selected. In what is a confusing discussion, Threlkeld subclassified verbs into two overarching categories, an "active" class (transitive), which attributed "an act to an agent" and a "neuter" (intransitive) class, which attributed "a state of being to a subject". Each of Threlkeld's two classes was subject to fifteen listed "accidents" (1834: 28), which accounted for forms derived through reciprocal, reflexive, and other valency altering processes. Threlkeld's terminological opposition, "active" vs "neuter", had been previously used in accounts of Tibetan ergativity from the 1830s (Vollmann 2008: 130).

Teichelmann and Schürmann's grammar (1840: 14–15) introduced the terms "transitive" and "intransitive" into the description of the Australian verb. Their source for these terms is not clear. They gave six genera of the verb, the first of which was termed "active, or transitive", and the second "neuter or intransitive". The division of verbs into these two classes was motivated by the rigidity with which Kaurna verbs select either a single S argument or an A and an O argument. The tendency is shared with most Australian languages, in which very few verbs are ambitransitive (Dixon 2002b: 176–178). The division became a common feature of the Adelaide School grammars (see Simpson et al. 2008: 123–124) and grammars of Diyari. It was in a discussion of these subtypes of verb that Schürmann, and the later grammarians who followed him, clarified the different function of nominals in ergative and nominative cases.

Schürmann showed "the application of the two nominative cases of the Pronouns [by] select[ing] one Neuter and one Active Verb" (1844a: 16). Each tense and mood of the verb was exemplified twice, first using the neuter intransitive verb *nguka*- 'to go' (Figure 6.18) with pronouns in nominative case, and then using the active transitive verb *witti*- 'to spear' (Figure 6.19) with pronouns in ergative case. Schürmann thus successfully conveyed the role of verb transitivity in argument predication.

<i>Sing.</i>	1.	Ngai ngukanna, <i>I went or did go</i>
	2.	Ninna ngukanna, <i>thou didst go</i>
	3.	Panna ngukannawo, <i>he went</i>
<i>Dual</i>	1.	Ngadli ngukanna, <i>we two went</i>
	2.	Nuwalla ngukamanna, <i>you two went</i>
	3.	Pudlanbi ngukamanna, <i>they two went</i>
<i>Plur.</i>	1.	Ngarrinyelbo ngukanna, <i>we went</i>
	2.	Nuralli ngukanna, <i>you went</i>
	3.	Yardna ngukananna, <i>they went</i>

Figure 6.18: Schürmann's "neuter" verb showing pronouns in one type of "nominative" case (1844a: 17)

	<i>Imperfect.</i>
<i>Sing.</i>	1. Ngatto wittinni, <i>I speared</i>
	2. Nunno wittinni, <i>thou ditto</i>
	3. Padlo wittinnarru, <i>he ditto</i>
<i>Dual.</i>	1. Ngadli wittinni, <i>we two speared</i>
	2. Nuwalla wittimanna, <i>you two ditto</i>
	3. Pudlanbi wittimanna, <i>they two ditto</i>
<i>Plur.</i>	1. Ngarrinyelbo wittinni, <i>we speared</i>
	2. Nuralli wittinnanna, <i>you ditto</i>
	3. Yardna wittinnanna, <i>they ditto</i>

Figure 6.19: Schürmann's "active" verb showing pronouns in another type of "nominative" case (1844a: 20)

Following Schürmann, a group of grammarians explained ergative function not in a discussion of nominal morphology, but rather under the word-class heading "the verb". The grammarians who elucidate the function of an ergatively marked nominal through demonstrating the role of verb transitivity in determining syntactic case frames include Moorhouse (1846: 19), Taplin (1880: 14) and grammarians of Diyari (Koch 1868: no pag.; Schoknecht 1947 [1872]: 9; Flierl & Meyer 1880: 32; Reuther 1981d: 43–449 [1899]).

A remark explaining the relationship of verb transitivity to argument predication within a discussion of the verb classes became a feature of the Lutheran descriptive template. As missionaries refined their craft to suit Australian case systems, the description of ergativity under the heading "the verb" became a feature of a developing template of case description. Presenting the role of the ergative case in this section of the grammar was a strategy which Taplin also adopted, but only in his final (1878) grammar of Ngarrindjeri (§7.3.4).

6.2.2 Concluding remark

Schürmann's presentation of case (see §6.2.1.1) is found to have followed Meyer (see §6.1.2.1), although Schürmann has previously been credited for having developed the innovative descriptive practices. Schürmann's method of explaining ergative function under the heading "the verb" (§6.2.1.6) had not previously been employed by grammarians of the Adelaide School, and exerted an influence on later Lutheran PN description (§8.5.2) that was independent of the earlier Dresdners' materials.

Schürmann's grammar of Barngarla is the shortest of the Dresdner grammars. Yet it gives a succinct and clear analysis of case (§6.2.1.1) and includes an insightful description of pronouns that refer to dyadic kin relations (§6.2.1.4). The clarity of the description might explain why Schürmann's short work is referred

to more frequently by Ray (1925) and by Elkin (1937) than are other grammars of the Adelaide School.

6.3 Middle-era understanding of bound pronouns

While the Dresdner missionaries may have been alerted to the possible existence of a class of pronouns that are “never used by themselves” (Threlkeld 1834: 18), they could not have found Threlkeld’s analysis of an atypical system (§3.4.8.1) overly helpful. Threlkeld’s terminology, “personal nominative” and “verbal nominative” fell into obscurity.

Bound pronouns were described as “affixes” in Kaurna (Teichelmann & Schürmann 1840: 23; §5.5), as “contractions” in Barngarla (Schürmann 1844a: 22; §6.1.2.4), as “inseparable” in Ramindjeri (Meyer 1843: 23; §6.1.2.4), and as “euphonised” by Taplin (1867: no pag. §2.3.2). Bound pronouns are not found in Diyari or in Arrernte, described by later Lutheran missionaries.⁸ Meyer gave the most transparent description and Teichelmann and Schürmann the most opaque. The extent to which the forms were obscured in the early grammars was probably related to the nature of the system and its functional load in comparison with the free-form pronouns.

Despite these numerous, but sometimes opaque, descriptions of bound pronouns in the early grammars of PN languages, the recognition of these systems in middle-era overviews of Australian languages (Ray 1925; Capell 1937; Elkin 1937) are confined to material gleaned from Mathews’ grammars, and relate largely to the marking of possession in languages from the southeast of the country.

Ray (1925), who had *not* encountered bound pronouns in his own study of Western Torres Strait (1893; 1907) or Paman languages (1907; §10.2), refers to their function only in marking the possessed constituent of a possessive NP, which he described as confined to “[t]he Victorian languages, some of the eastern languages and a few others [which] denote possession by means of a suffix” (Ray 1925: 5). His findings were informed by Mathews’ grammars of Bungan-ditj (1903a), Thaguwurru (Daungwurrang; 1902), Thurrawal (Dharawal; 1901) and Tyatyalla (Djadjala; 1902). Similarly, Elkin’s (1937: 148–149) awareness of bound pronouns is limited to bound pronouns in possessive case and is informed by Mathews’ description of Djadjala (Mathews 1902), spoken in Victoria.

Koch (2008: 188–189) shows that in the languages from New South Wales and Victoria described by Mathews possession is marked not only by the possessive

⁸Arrernte has a specialised set of possessive bound pronouns that attach only to kin terms (Wilkins 1989: 133–135). A similar set was recorded in Diyari by Reuther (1894), although Austin (2013: 56–57) could not find the forms in late twentieth century speech.

case suffix attached to the dependent possessor element of the possessed NP, as usually occurs in PN languages. In these languages the possessed constituent, which is the head of the NP, is also marked with an enclitic possessive pronoun. The English translational equivalent of a possessive phrase might be: “man’s boomerang-his”. Mathews conveyed this structure in the standard fashion in his grammars, presenting paradigms of nouns inflected with a portmanteau morpheme marking possessive case and number and person (Figure 6.20). As Koch (2008: 194) observes, Mathews was aware that these suffixes were pronominal.

Person.		Singular.
1st	My boomerang,	Gattimgattimek
2nd	Thy boomerang,	Gattimgattimin
3rd	His boomerang,	Gattimgattimuk

Figure 6.20: Mathews’ exemplification of Djadjala bound pronouns in possessive case (1902: 78)

Mathews’ (1902:78) statement, “Anything over which possession can be exercised is subject to inflection for person and number”, was quoted by Capell (1937: 58), who also presented Mathews’ Djadjala paradigm to show that “suffixed pronouns” marked possession in some languages. Capell (1937: 55) described how in the southeast “the genitive relationship is doubly indicated”.

Unlike Ray (1925) and Elkin (1937), Capell (1937: 68–69) did describe bound pronouns in other cases. Capell had conducted field-work in “incorporating languages” – non-Pama-Nyungan prefixing languages – in which verbs mark agreement for the number and case of the predicated arguments. Capell (1937: 68) used Mathews’ description of Dharawal (Mathews 1901; Figure 6.21) to substantiate

Several languages of New South Wales show forms that, if not actually to be classed as incorporation, in the same sense as in the Northern Kimberley languages, at any rate show development in the same direction. Thus in Gundungurra :

yuruinga, I beat ; *yuburinji*, thou beatest ; *yubuminji*, thou beatest me.
yubujin, he beats ; *yubujinja*, he beats me.
yuberijanyi, I hit you.
yuburijuluy, we two beat ; *yubunyanyuluyi*, we two beat you.

The system has never been investigated in full, but looks on the surface remarkably like that of Worora.

Figure 6.21: Capell’s description of bound pronouns in ergative and accusative cases based on Mathews’ (1901) grammar (1937: 68)

the hypothesis that some of the non-prefixing languages of New South Wales “show development in the same direction” as the “incorporating languages” of the Kimberley, but noted, “the system has never been investigated in full”.

That Ray (1925) and Elkin (1937) did not retrieve the existence of bound pronouns in other cases as a feature of some PN languages is due to the opaque nature of their description in early grammars. Elkin refers to both Teichelmann & Schürmann's (1840) grammar and to Schürmann's (1844a) work, in which bound pronouns were illustrated.

The oversight might be also due to the curious and unexplained absence in Elkin's overview of reference to Meyer's (1843) grammar, which gave such a succinct analysis of bound pronouns (§6.1.2.4). Elkin (1937: 133) did, however, refer to Taplin (1879a), which presented a paradigm of Ngarrindjeri bound pronouns (Figure 7.7), but without any exemplification. While Ray (1925: 2) does list Meyer's work, it is not clear that the “Narrinyeri” material to which he refers did not also come from Taplin's grammars. Note that Capell (1937), too, does not refer to Meyer.

Blake (2016) describes how the early MS and published descriptions of Australian languages “lay in libraries for decades largely forgotten”. Many early grammars became collector's items that were priced beyond the reach of scholars and sometimes libraries. That the print-run of some early grammatical material on Australian languages was so small, and the works were generally unavailable to later researchers, may also have hindered the dissemination of the valuable description of bound pronouns contained in Meyer (1843).

6.4 Moorhouse's grammar of Ngayawang (1846)

M. Moorhouse (1813–1876), a trained medical practitioner, arrived in South Australia in 1839 to take up a position as the first permanent Protector of Aborigines in the colony. His responsibility for the welfare of Aboriginal people extended to linguistic and ethnographic description, as well as to Christian “civilisation”. In these capacities he had dealings with the Dresdner missionaries.

Moorhouse assumed appointment as protector amidst some controversy that previous protectors – G. Stevenson (1837), W. Bromley (1837), and W. Wyatt (1837–1840) – had not done enough to understand the local Aboriginal populations during their brief appointments. According to Foster (1990: 5), “[t]he pressure on Moorhouse, and the missionaries with whom he worked, to produce detailed descriptions of Aboriginal culture was intense.”

Moorhouse gave detailed ethnographic and linguistic descriptions in the official reports required of him as protector. His twenty-six-page report from 1841,

which he co-authored with Teichelmann, was included in the catalogue of Sir G. Grey's library (Bleek 1858: 5; Figure 6.22). It is at least as informative as the ethnological publications made by the Dresdners (Teichelmann 1841a; Schürmann 1844b; Meyer 1846). The section headed "language" (Moorhouse & Teichelmann, in Foster (1990): 49–53 [1841]) contains a five-page description of Kurna, which presents a case paradigm of pronouns (Figure 5.7), systematic exemplification of the formation of adjectives and inchoative verbs from nouns, a long listing of verbal "modifications", and a short listing of "postpositions" and "postfixa". The work makes use of some of the schemata developed by Teichelmann and Schürmann but is also descriptively innovative.

VII. *The Protector of Aborigines' Annual Report.*

Dated: *Aborigines Location, November 24th, 1842. Signed M. Moorhouse.* Pages 26, on pages 49–84. Contains: *Physical Appearance*, p. 49; *Habits of life. Clothing*, p. 50; *Food. Procuring and preparing food*, p. 51; *Food eaten at different ages*, p. 54; *Dwellings*, p. 55; *Weapons*, p. 56; *Implements and mode of preparing*, p. 57; *Habits.—Assumed or acquired*, p. 60; *Government*, p. 64; *Marriage*, p. 65; *Nomenclature*, p. 65; *Natural habits or laws*, p. 67; *Ceremonies*, p. 68; *Superstitions*, p. 69; *Empirics*, p. 71; *Numbers*, p. 72; *Causes of so limited a population*, p. 73; *Diseases*, p. 73; *Language*, p. 75; *Crimes*, p. 81; *Attempts at improving their condition*, p. 82.

Figure 6.22: Bleek's (1858: 5) summary of Moorhouse's report (1841)

In his role as protector, Moorhouse travelled to the edges of the frontier around Adelaide reporting on the Aboriginal people living in different regions. One of the main purposes of his early journeys, on which he was sometimes accompanied by the Dresdner missionaries, was to establish which languages were spoken in what regions and how similar they were to one another.

In a letter written to Schürmann in 1841, Moorhouse described a journey upstream along the Murray, stating that he had a boy with him from Mt Barker "who sp[oke] the Adelaide and Pitta languages and could communicate with all the Natives we saw along the Murray, Rapid and Rufus rivers. In this respect the journey was an important one". The term "Pitta" is a Kurna word meaning "native goose" and referred to people from the Murray River (Teichelmann & Schürmann 1840V: 40).

Teichelmann (diary 9/12/1840) described the purpose of a journey he made with Moorhouse in December 1840, via the Adelaide Hills to Lakes Alexandrina and Albert, as being "to research how far to the east our language was understood and spoken ... [and] how far Brother Meyer's sphere of activity could extend".

Describing the linguistic research he and Moorhouse carried out on the journey, Teichelmann stated that they “made as much progress in a few hours in this language as we had previously only been able to make in 6 months among our own natives.”

Moorhouse collated this linguistic material in a letter to the Private Secretary (1840), which included a comparative pronominal paradigm in four languages termed “Adelaide”, “Encounter Bay”, “Pomunda” and “west of the lake” (Table 6.2) and a comparative list of numerals and the marking of number on nouns.⁹ The forms shown in this paradigm evince the linguistic diversity of the resource-rich region. Each set of pronouns differs from that given in his 1846 grammar of “Murray River” (ibid.: vi-v, 10–12; Figure 6.24).

Moorhouse's investigations into the forms of pronouns in languages converging near the lakes at the Murray estuary (1840, 1846: vi [sent to Grey in 1845]) informed Grey's (1845: 365) precise location of the “five principal dialects” on his map (Figure 5.1).

Moorhouse's “Annual Report of the Aborigines Department” in 1843 provided information that supplemented that given in the 1841 report, and was organised in a similar outline (Figure 6.22). Under the heading “language”, Moorhouse (in Foster (1990): 60[1843]) wrote: “This branch has not been neglected in the past year, and a vocabulary of the Murray dialect, accompanied by some sketches of the grammar should now have been forwarded, had not those who are able to instruct in the language been absent in the bush”. The work to which Moorhouse refers presumably became part of his grammar and vocabulary of Ngayawang titled: *A Vocabulary and Outline of the Grammatical Structure of the River Murray Language spoken by the natives of South Australia from Wellington on the Murray, as far as the Rufus* forwarded to Grey in 1845 (Moorhouse 1846: v) and published in 1846.

Like each of the earlier published grammars of a PN language, except Schürmann (1844b), Moorhouse identified the variety he described in the title of the

⁹On this trip Moorhouse attempted to make contact with the people from the Adelaide Hills, writing in December (1840), “We left Adelaide on the 4th and reached the Angas River in the evening. We expected to meet 70 Natives located on that river, but they had left a few days before we arrived. On the following day we rode over the two Special Surveys in that district, one taken by J. Morphet & the other by G. H. Davenport Esquires, but could meet with no Natives at their usual place of encampment”. The Davenport survey was located in the upper catchment of the Angas River around Macclesfield. Thus, Moorhouse just missed out on recording the language spoken by the people living on the upper reaches of the Angas River before they disappeared. It is now unclear whether the territory of the Ngarrindjeri groups extended from the lakes to the top of the catchment. Virtually nothing is known of the “Peramangk”, the language from the Adelaide Hills, and it remains unclassified (Simpson 1996: 170)

Table 6.2: Moorhouse's comparative pronominal paradigm (1840)

	"Adelaide"	"Encounter Bay"	"Pomunda"	"West of the Lake"
1sg	Ngaii	Ngapuna	Ngap	Ngapo
1dl	Ngadli	Ngal	Nganal, Ngel	Ngeli
1pl	Ngadlu	Ngunu	Nangan	Nangano
2sg	Ninna	Nginti	Ngint	Ngint
2dl	Niwa	Ngul	Ngul	Ngulo
2pl	Na	Nommu	Ngunu	Ngun
3sg	Pa - Padlo	Ka	Kiyika	Tikai
3dl	Purla	Kangge	Kukuka	Ukukuk
3pl	Parna	Kar	Kukuki	Kukuku

grammars in terms of the geographical region in which it was spoken: "The Murray River Language spoken by the natives of South Australia from Wellington on the Murray, as far as the Rufus". The described area is curiously large, or long and narrow along the River, especially considering the linguistic diversity Moorhouse had described to the south (1840). Moorhouse (in Taplin 1879a: 30) gave the name of the tribe as "Meru", 'man'. The language was also referred to as "Pitta" in the 1840s. The earliest record of the term "Ngayawang" was given by E. J. Eyre (1845), who gave the name as "Aiawong" (ibid.: 396, 399) or "Moorunde" (ibid.: 396), "Moorunde" being a place name. Eyre (1845: 396,399) described "Aiawong" as a chain of very similar dialects running along the same length of the Murray River that Moorhouse had identified and observed that the languages spoken just either side of the river were mutually unintelligible. Ewens (in Taplin 1879a: 30) named the language "Niawoo", and described it as spoken by the "Moorundee Tribe".

6.4.1 Moorhouse's analysis of Ngayawang (1846)

Moorhouse introduced his grammar of Ngayawang with an overview of Australian linguistic structures (1846: v–vii; Figure 6.23), which drew on the existing analyses of PN languages. It is one of three such descriptions – the other two being Schürmann (1846) and Hale (1846) – published in 1846 providing empirical *grammatical* evidence that Australian languages belonged to a single family.

6.4 Moorhouse's grammar of Ngayawang (1846)

1. Suffixes, or particles, added to the terminal parts of words, to express relation.
2. Dual forms of substantives, adjectives, and pronouns.
3. Limited terms, being only five, for time, distance, and number.
4. No sibilant sounds.
5. No articles.
6. No auxiliary verb.
7. No relative pronoun.
8. No prepositions.
9. No distinctions in gender.*
10. No distinct form of the verb to express the passive voice.

Figure 6.23: Moorhouse's typological summary of Australian languages (1846: vi)

Eight out of ten of the features Moorhouse listed as evidence that Australian languages “had their origin from one common source” (1846: vi) related to grammar. Moorhouse observed that there were no articles, auxiliary verbs, relative pronouns, prepositions, gender, or distinct forms of the passive voice. Each of these categories receives no further mention in the description of Ngayawang, other than some explanation of “passive” constructions (§7.1.1.1). Regarding point nine, “gender”, Moorhouse noted that Threlkeld had described gender in third-person pronouns (§3.4.3), a feature that Schürmann (1846: 3) had not described as gender. Few other early grammarians positioned their grammatical description as being of a language belonging to a larger family for which shared grammatical features had been identified.

Moorhouse also offered the “striking similarity in the pronouns” (Schürmann 1846: vi) as evidence of shared heritage and provided a comparative paradigm in six languages, including “Swan River”, informed by Grey (1839; 1841) and New South Wales, informed by Threlkeld (1834; Figure 6.24). While this approach and conclusion followed Grey (1841; Figure 6.25), Moorhouse additionally observed the relative dissimilarity of third-person forms in comparison with other pronouns. This had not previously been noted.

On the grounds that first and second-person pronouns and the form of the dual suffix on nouns were the same in many languages, Moorhouse (1846: vii) made the fanciful claim that Aboriginal people had “separated in pairs, and these words, being in daily use were retained ... as children were born ... the terms for the third-person had to be invented.”

While emphasising that Australian languages belonged to one family on grammatical and phonological grounds, Moorhouse also stressed:

English.	Swan River.	Port Lincoln.	Adelaide.	Murray River.	Encounter Bay.	N. South Wales.
I	Nganya	Ngaii	Ngaii	Ngape	Ngape	Ngatoa
Thou	Nginni	Ninna	Ninna	Ngurru	Nginte	Ngintoa
We two	Ngalli	Ngadli	Ngadli	Ngedlu	Ngele	Bali
Ye two	Newbal	Nuwulla	Niwa	Ngupul	Ngurle	Bula
We	Nganneel	Ngarrinyelbo	Ngadlu	Ngennu	Ngane	Ngéen
Ye	Nurang	Nuralli	Na	Ngunnu	Ngune	Nura
He, she, it	Bal	Panna	Pa	Ninni	Kiyte	Nluwoa
They two	Boola	Pudlambi	Purla	Dlauð	Kingk	Buloara
They	Balgon	Yardna	Parna	Naua	Kar	Bara

Figure 6.24: Moorhouse's comparative pronominal paradigm (1846: vi-vii)

WESTERN AUSTRALIA.	NEW SOUTH WALES.	SOUTH AUSTRALIA.
Nganya	Ngatoa	Ngau
Ngianee	Ngintoa	Ninna
Bal		Ba
Ngalee	Ngalin	Ngadli
Nurang	Nura	Niwa
Boola	Bulo-ara	Burla
Nadjoo		Ngaidjo
Nimedoo		Nindo
Ngando	Nganto	Ngando
Ngannee	Ngan	Nganna
Nganno	Nganbo	Ngangko

Figure 6.25: Grey's comparative pronominal paradigm (1839)

The term “dialect” is scarcely applicable to the languages of New Holland. They differ in root more than English, French and German ... yet there is evidence sufficient to satisfy any one they belong to one family. (Moorhouse 1846: v–vi)

It is important to observe that Moorhouse established the *difference* in languages by referring to their lexicon but established their *similarity* by examining their phonological and grammatical structure. Ridley (1856b: 293) similarly pointed out that the relatedness of Australian languages was evident through their grammatical structure, in spite of their lexical diversity, writing: “Though not one *word* in a thousand in Kamilaroi resembles that dialect [‘Lake Macquarie language’, Awabakal] I already perceive important points of resemblance in *grammar*”. These views are likely to have contributed to a prevailing assumption in the later part of the nineteenth century that Australian languages were of the same structure and that their diversity and mutual unintelligibility was more a matter of lexicon. That the grammatical homogeneity of Aboriginal languages was over-estimated resulted in later Lutheran missionary-grammarians borrowing from the works of the Adelaide School more than was warranted (§8.5.9).

Moorhouse's grammar (1846) is sparsely exemplified but contains more example clauses than Schürmann's grammar of Barngarla (1844b). At least one example clause is given for each of his “particles”. There are no clauses given in the section headed “verbs”, other than a single reflexive construction (Moorhouse 1846: 20). The vocabulary gives close to 1000 entries. Most are given with a single definition and none with an illustrative clause.

The relative sparseness of Moorhouse's work might explain its curious omission from F. Müller's otherwise fairly comprehensive republication of available Australian grammatical material (1882). Like all other work of the Adelaide School, Moorhouse's grammar had been catalogued by Bleek (1858, Vol. II, Pt I: 15) and was accessible to Müller.

Much of Moorhouse's description of Ngayawang (1846) was reproduced in Taplin (1879a). The responses Taplin had received to the linguistic questions included in his 1875 circular from Police Trooper Ewens (Taplin 1879a: 30) at Blanchetown were sparse. Taplin consequently supplemented information from that area using Moorhouse's work, as well as his own knowledge (1879a: 32). Taplin wrote: “no tribe in South Australia has died with such rapidity as this” (Taplin 1879a: 31).

Moorhouse's account of case (§6.4.1.1) and of ergativity (§6.4.1.5) employed some of the schemata and terminology innovated by the Dresdner missionaries. Following Teichelmann & Schürmann (1840), for example, Moorhouse also used

the term “preventative or negative optative” mood to describe the apprehensional construction (§5.6.1). When illustrating instrumental case function, grammarians of the Adelaide School presented clauses with the English translation: “I shall build a house with stone”, where the term for “stone” or “brick” is marked in instrumental case function. Compare Example 11 on p. 223, given by Teichelmann & Schürmann, with the clauses given by Meyer (1843: 15) and Moorhouse (1846: 6; Figure 6.26), each illustrating what Moorhouse termed the “instrumental particle”, Meyer (1843: 15) “the expression of the preposition ‘with’”, and Teichelmann & Schürmann (1840: 24) “the ablative case”.

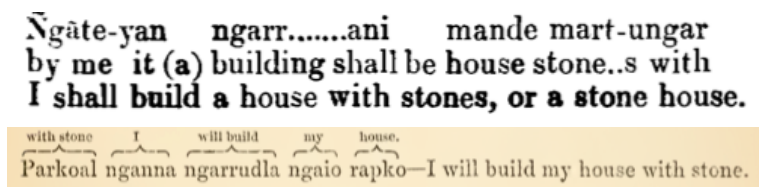


Figure 6.26: Similar clauses given in Meyer (1843: 15) and in Taplin’s reproduction of Moorhouse (1879a: 33 [1846: 6])

Such provision of a translational equivalent of a clause previously presented in a grammar of a different language occurs elsewhere in the corpus. W. Koch’s reproduced Teichelmann & Schürmann’s Kurna examples in *Diyari* (§8.5.8.2) and Schwarz & Poland (1900) and Hey (1903) reproduced Roth’s (1897) *Pitta-Pitta* examples, in *Guugu-Yimidhirr* and *Nggerrikwidhi* respectively (§10.1.4).

But beyond Moorhouse’s use of the Dresdnern’s schemata, terminology, and even example clauses, there is evidence that the structures Moorhouse described were imported into the description of Ngayawang from Teichelmann & Schürmann’s description, on the assumption that the languages were structurally identical. Moorhouse’s description of case suggests that this description of Ngayawang was mapped onto the system previously employed by the Dresdnerns.

6.4.1.1 Case systems

Under the heading “parts of speech”, Moorhouse (1846: 2) abandoned the class “preposition” stating: “relation, expressed in English by prepositions, is expressed in this language by cases or particles, used as terminal affixes”. Moorhouse presented the heading “particle” straight after “substantive”, where he listed and described the function of cases common to PN languages that are not shown in the case paradigms, i.e., Teichelmann & Schürmann’s “postfixa”, as well as the range

of locational words, and Teichelmann & Schürmann's "postpositions". The placement of this content directly after the discussion of case, rather than at the end of the grammar under the heading "postposition", was informed by the awareness that some of the forms listed as "particles" were functionally equivalent to the suffixes that were included in the case paradigms. The same awareness was earlier reflected in the schema engaged by Threlkeld (1834) and Meyer (1843; §6.1.2.1), and Schürmann (1844b; §6.2.1.1). Later Lutheran presentation of case (§8.5.1) followed the traditional presentation inspired by European case systems which was employed by Teichelmann & Schürmann (1840; §5.3.1).

6.4.1.2 System of marking syntactic case

It is likely that Moorhouse's description of case in Ngayawang was guided as much by what his knowledge of previously described South Australian languages led him to anticipate, as it was by information gathered from speakers of the language.

The missionaries had described Kurna (Teichelmann & Schürmann 1840) and Barngarla (Schürmann 1844b) as having identical systems of marking syntactic cases, showing an ergative system (A/SO) on all singular nouns, and undifferentiated marking (ASO) on non-singular nouns (Table 6.3). These Thura-Yura languages, Kurna and Barngarla (Table 1.3), belong to the higher PN subgroup "Central" (Bowern & Atkinson 2012). The system Moorhouse described for the distantly related language Ngayawang, a Lower Murray language (Table 1.3) belonging to the higher level subgroup "South-eastern" (Bowern & Atkinson 2012), was identical.

On the basis of key morphological paradigms, Ngayawang is thought to be more closely related to Ngarrindjeri languages than to Kurna (Simpson 1996: 170). Phonologically, it shares phonotactic features with languages spoken up and down-stream along the river that are atypical of PN languages (see Horgen 2004: 62–74). The language also shares phonotactic features with Kurna that are not shared with Ngarrindjeri, for example, the "tp" cluster, and pre-stopped nasals and laterals.

While it is possible that Ngayawang, spoken upstream on the Murray River from Ngarrindjeri, shared diffused grammatical features with Thura-Yura varieties spoken over the west of the Mt Lofty Ranges, the similarity in the presentations of syntactic case (Table 6.3) should be treated with circumspection, given what is known about Moorhouse's method of data collection. Moorhouse's record is, however, the most extensive source from which the language can be reclaimed.

Table 6.3: The alignment of syntactic case marking on nominals in Kaurna, Barngarla and Ngayawang, as described in the early sources.

Kaurna, Barngarla, Ngayawang	
Ergative alignment A/so	Undifferentiated Aso
All singular nouns & all singular pronouns,	All non-singular nouns & non-singular pronouns

After giving case paradigms (Figure 6.28; Figure 6.29), Moorhouse (1846: 6) mentioned that “[a]nother form of the plural is sometimes used, which might be termed the active nominative, as it appears to be used only as causative of action”. Given the substantiating clause (Figure 6.27), it is hard to understand why the form *merinnamara* was not entered as the “active nominative” in the plural paradigm. The precise structure of the form, based on *mera* ‘man’ and the ergative marker *-ana*, is not clear. The way in which number and case marking may have interacted in Ngayawang has not been reclaimed (Horgen 2004: 94–96). What is important for the purpose of this historiographical investigation is that Moorhouse seemingly overlooked the form initially, assuming that the grammatical structure of the language he described must necessarily have mirrored that described by Teichelmann & Schürmann (1840) and Schürmann (1844b).

Merinnamara *ngape* *pardkul*
the men me beat did

but to express the following, “there men are standing,” a native would say—

Warradla *mera* *terrin*
there men standing are

and not *merinnamara*.

Figure 6.27: Moorhouse’s demonstration of the ergative marking on plural nouns (1846: 6)

Ngarrindjeri, which was preserved into the twentieth century at the Point McLeay mission, is the best documented variety of the Lower Murray Areal group. The complexity of the split in marking Ngarrindjeri syntactic case stands in contrast to Moorhouse’s record. If the same complexity of split existed in Nga-

yawang as was documented by Meyer in Ngarrindjeri, Moorhouse's field method would have failed to elicit the data.

With a limited number of clauses, and given that there is evidence that Moorhouse's data was collected via translation of specific words and phrases from what was probably a simplified form of Kurna used in European interface, the authenticity of Moorhouse's grammar as a representation of Ngayawang structure is questionable. His description of the alignment of the syntactic cases suggests that he did not only borrow aspects of the Dresdners' descriptive template, but that morpho-syntactic structures were also transferred across language boundaries.

The assumption at the time that Aboriginal languages were of similar grammatical structure and that linguistic divergence related more to lexicon led Meyer to import structures described in Kurna (Teichelmann & Schürmann 1840) into his description of processes of clause subordination in Ramindjeri (§6.1.2.9). The belief that Ngayawang is said to belong within an island of languages extending further upstream along the Murray River which do not exhibit pronominal enclitics (Dixon 2002a: 340) when neighbouring languages Kurna and Ngarrindjeri have bound pronominal systems should consequently be treated with a degree of caution. Given what is known about Moorhouse's method of fieldwork and the scantiness of the grammar, it is possible that the absence of a bound pronominal system in Moorhouse's grammar is a descriptive oversight. Teichelmann & Schürmann's inexplicit description of bound pronouns in Kurna (§5.5) is unlikely to have alerted Moorhouse to the possibility of their existence in Ngayawang.

6.4.1.3 Case paradigms

Despite presenting a language in which all nominals were ergatively aligned or were undifferentiated – i.e., where there was no overt accusative marking – Moorhouse did not opt to re-employ the realignment of pronominal case forms that he had engaged with Teichelmann when presenting Kurna in 1841 (in Foster 1990: 49; Figure 5.7).

Unlike Meyer (1843) and Schürmann (1844b), Moorhouse presented paradigms declining nouns for case (1846: 3–5), although with some reservation that the forms did not “strictly form declensions” (ibid.: 5; §2.4.1.1). Ngayawang case inflection was seen, after deliberation, to constitute declension by virtue of phonological alteration at the stem and inflection boundary.

Like other grammarians of the Adelaide School, and indeed of the larger Lutheran school of South Australian description, Moorhouse's case paradigms are

<i>Nom.</i>	Meru,	<i>man.</i>
<i>Act. Nom.</i>	Merinnanna,	<i>man did, does, or will act upon</i>
		<i>a subject.</i>
<i>Gen.</i>	Merining,	<i>of the man.</i>
<i>Dat.</i>	Merinnanno,	<i>to the man.</i>
<i>Acc.</i>	Meru,	<i>man (the patient).</i>
<i>Ab.</i>	Merinnanno, or Merinni,	<i>with, in company, or remaining with the man.</i>
	Merinnainmudl,	<i>from, away from the man.</i>

Figure 6.28: Moorhouse's case paradigm on *meru* 'man' (1846: 3–4)

<i>Nom.</i>	Nguilpo,	<i>a child.</i>
<i>Act.N.</i>	Nguiyanna,	<i>a child, the agent.</i>
<i>G.</i>	Nguiyung,	<i>of, belonging to, the child.</i>
<i>D.</i>	Nguiyanno,	<i>to, locally, the child.</i>
	Nguilpallarnu,	<i>to, giving to, the child.</i>
<i>Acc.</i>	Nguilpo,	<i>the child.</i>
<i>Ab.</i>	Nguiyanno,	<i>at, remaining with, the child.</i>
	Nguiyanmudl	<i>from, away from the child.</i>

Figure 6.29: Moorhouse's case paradigm on *nguilpo* 'child' (1846: 4)

conservative (Figure 6.28; Figure 6.29) in comparison with those previously presented of languages spoken in New South Wales (Threlkeld 1834; Günther 1838; 1840). The paradigms do, however, include two functionally and formally distinct “ablative” cases. The first “ablative” case inflected with *-anno* and translated “at, remaining with X” is the locative (Horgen 2004: 95) and possibly also marked comitative function. Although the second “ablative” case is in fact unnamed, it is likely that Moorhouse had another “ablative” form in mind, since the form is translated with the prototypical ablative function, “from, away from X”. The nominal inflections included in Moorhouse's paradigms are shown in Table 6.4.

Moorhouse presented two paradigms of case on nouns, first for *meru* ‘man’ and then for *nguilpo* ‘child’, explaining, “it will be seen that the modes of inflection differ; so much so, as to lead one to suspect the existence of several declensions. I have not yet been able to discover how or in what class of words these variations occur” (1846: 5). That Moorhouse was unable to describe the type of

Table 6.4: Case forms and functions given by Moorhouse on nouns

Form	Translation	Case label	Horgen 2004: 95
- ø	'(a/the) X'	Nominative	Absolutive
-anna	'a X, the agent'	Active nominative	Ergative
-ning, -ngo, -ung	'of, belonging to X'	Genitive	Genitive
-anno	'to, locally X'	Dative	Locative
-allarnu*	'to, giving to X'	Dative (unnamed)	Not reclaimed
- ø	'(the) X'	Accusative	Absolutive
-anno	'at, remaining with X'	Ablative	Locative
-nnainmudl	'from, away from X'	Ablative (unnamed)	Ablative

* Only in singular paradigm of "child" (see below)

nouns incurring particular inflections, or to describe morphophonemic processes, as Threlkeld (1834; Figure 3.12) and Günther (1838; 1840; §4.4.2) had done, is not surprising given his comparatively short engagement with the language.

The singular paradigm for *nguilpo* 'child' gives two functionally and formally distinct "dative" cases. All other paradigms show a single "dative" case. The form in the singular paradigm that is not included in the non-singular paradigms terminates in *-allarnu*, and is translated 'to, giving to X'. Again, although the case is unnamed, it is assumed here to be a "dative 2" because of its translation as the iconic dative. It is possible that the suffix *-allarnu*, although unreclaimed, is marking the accusative case. It is shown in the paradigm attached to the indirect object of the verb "to give", which would immediately have attracted the label "dative", but which is often marked by the accusative suffix in PN languages (Blake 1977: 35–36; Schebeck 1973: 2; Wilkins 1989: 169; Henderson 2013: 294; Hercus 1999: 75).

6.4.1.4 Moorhouse in Taplin (1879a)

In reproducing Moorhouse's work, Taplin (1879a: 31) renamed the cases and adjusted the paradigms, applying another variation on the numerous conventions he experimented with when representing Ngarrindjeri case (§7.3.4). Moorhouse's "active nominative" case is now termed "causative" in the singular paradigm (A/s/o). Taplin deleted Moorhouse's comment "the agent" next to the ergative form and inserted instead "by X" (Figure 6.30).

Taplin's representation of some other case forms given by Moorhouse is peculiar. He introduced his own invented term "exative" to name the spatial function of the ablative case carried by dual and plural pronouns ending in *-mudl* and

SINGULAR.	
Nominative—	Nguilpo, a child.
Causative—	Nguilyanna, by a child.
Genitive—	Nguilyong, of a child.
Dative—	Nguilyanno, nguipallarno, to a child.
Accusative—	Nguilpo, a child.
Ablative—	Nguilyanmudl, from the child.
DUAL.	
Nominative—	Nguilpakul, the two children.
Genitive—	Nguilyamakul, of the two children.
Dative—	Nguilyakullamanno, to the two children.
Accusative—	Nguilyapakul, the two children.
Ablative—	Nguilyakullamanno, at, or with the two children.
Exative—	Nguilyakullamainmudl, from the two children.
PLURAL.	
Nominative—	Nguilpa, children.
Genitive—	Nguilyarango, of the children.
Dative—	Nguilyarumanno, to the children.
Accusative—	Nguilpa, the children.
Ablative—	Nguilyaramanno, at the children.
Exative—	Nguilyaramainmudl, from the children.

Figure 6.30: Taplin's rearrangement of Moorhouse's Ngayawang case paradigm (1879a: 31 [1846])

translated as it 'from x'. But singular pronouns marked with the same form and given the same translation were termed "ablative". The forms termed "ablative" in the dual and the plural are marked by *-anno*. This form was left out of the singular paradigm, presumably because it was the same as the "causative".

6.4.1.5 Description of ergativity

Moorhouse termed nouns in ergative case "active nominative" and placed them in second paradigmatic position (Figure 6.28; Figure 6.29). In doing so, he followed Threlkeld's (Table 3.4) and Schürmann's representation of pronouns (Figure 6.14). This practice differs from Teichelmann and Schürmann's and Meyer's placement of ergative case in last position, which was to become influential on later Lutheran PN description. Moorhouse (1846: 3) provided additional clarity within the tables of nominal declension by translating ergative forms as 'X did, does or will act upon a subject'.

Moorhouse placed ergative pronouns in different paradigmatic position from ergative nouns. Ergative pronouns were placed last in the paradigm and were called both "active nominative" and "ablative" (Figure 6.31). The use of both "active nominative" and "ablative" to name the ergative pronouns was influenced by

FIRST PERSON.

Singular.

Nom. Ngape, *I*
Gen. Ngaiyo, *of me, or mine*
Dat. Nganne, *to me*
Acc. Ngape, *me*
Act. Nom. or Abl. Nganna, *I, the agent, or by me*

Figure 6.31: Moorhouse's 1sg pronominal case paradigm (1879a: 10)

Teichelmann & Schürmann (1840). Next to the “active nominative/ablative” form, Moorhouse placed the note “the agent or by me”. While previous grammarians had used the term “agent” to describe ergative case forms, Moorhouse also used the term “patient” (1846: 4) to describe accusative forms, a usage that is unique in the corpus.

Moorhouse adopted Schürmann's presentation of ergative function through exemplification of the case frame of arguments predicated by transitive and intransitive verbs (Figure 6.18; Figure 6.19). He used the neuter verb *terri*- ‘to stand’ followed by the active verb *parldke*- ‘to strike’ (1846: 19–23) and clearly described the arguments predicated by each:

- 1st – Neuter or intransitive, or those which describe the state or condition of a subject; or an action which has no effect upon an object ...
- 2nd – Active or transitive, or those which describe an act which passes from an agent to some external object (Moorhouse 1846: 20)

6.4.2 Concluding remarks

Moorhouse's understanding of PN structure was developed in conjunction with the Dresdner missionaries. Teichelmann's description of Kaurna (1840), which appeared in a report co-authored with Moorhouse, as well as the comparative pronominal paradigms of Lower Murray languages (1840) that Moorhouse collected on a tour of the area with Teichelmann, probably primed Moorhouse to prepare his own grammar. His grammar of Ngayawang (1846) is unlikely to have been produced if not for the practice of grammatical description instigated by the Dresdners. In writing the last of the flurry of grammatical work emanating from the appointment of the Dresdner missionaries to South Australia, Moorhouse

utilised a mixture of descriptive techniques developed by Dresdner missionary-grammarians as well as some of his own.

While Moorhouse's grammar of Ngayawang is well informed about Australian grammatical typology, his lack of long-term engagement with speakers of the language and his mapping of the structure onto a template supplied by the Dresdeners produced a grammar that failed to provide a nuanced account of the structure of the language.

6.5 Conclusion: The Adelaide School

The Adelaide School missionary-grammarians honed their descriptive skills in response to their increased understanding of PN structures. As Simpson (1992: 410) has observed, their "grammars and vocabularies ... show[] how ... [the grammarians] learned from one another". That said, the descriptive frameworks employed by the Adelaide School grammarians are far from homogeneous. Such proclivity for descriptive independence is evident in other early grammars. Watson's lost Wiradjuri grammar differed from Günther's manuscripts (1838–1840), for instance. A notable exception to this tendency is, however, found in the Lutherans' descriptions of Diyari (Chapter 8).

Various aspects of the analyses innovated by grammarians of the Adelaide School influenced different groups of later grammarians. Teichelmann & Schürmann's case paradigms came to be particularly influential on grammars of Diyari (Chapter 8). Schürmann's neat exposition of the different marking of ergative and nominative pronouns with transitive and intransitive verbs (§6.2.1.6) followed by Moorhouse (§6.4.1.5) was employed by Taplin (1878), but only in his last grammar of Ngarrindjeri (§7.3) and in grammars of Diyari (§8.5.2), and Meyer's conception of the ergative case was to have repercussions for Taplin's later presentation of case. Meyer employed a framework that is *less* similar to Teichelmann & Schürmann's (1840) than are the later Lutheran grammarians' descriptions of Diyari (Chapter 8).

Both Meyer's (1843) and Schürmann's (1844b) diminished reliance on the traditional paradigm to convey the function of case forms, in comparison with Teichelmann & Schürmann (1840), shows an increasing awareness within the Adelaide School that the complexity and size of PN case systems could not adequately be conveyed through simply assigning traditional case labels to case forms. This realisation was not carried forward into later Lutheran descriptions of South Australian languages.

After the closure of the Dresdner missions, the retiring missionaries were quickly engaged within the growing German Lutheran communities in Australia,

for which there was a shortage of pastors. Despite the following decades of missionary inactivity in South Australia, the Dresdner missionary-grammarians supported the establishment of the later inland South Australian Lutheran missions (§8.1). This continuity provided an environment in which the earliest morpho-syntactic analyses of South Australian PN languages were preserved and passed down to later generations of Lutheran missionaries trained at the Hermannsburg Mission Society and the Neuendettelsau Mission Society.

7 Other grammars of languages spoken in southern Australia

This chapter investigates remaining grammars written in the southern regions of Australia, albeit of a language belonging to the extreme southwestern region of the continent and of languages belonging to southeastern regions, and separated by some 3000 kilometres.

The chapter begins with an overview of C. Symmons' under-researched grammar of Nyungar (1841), spoken in southwestern Western Australia (§7.1). It then provides background to the grammatical material provided by missionaries working in Victoria that is presented in Volume II of R. Brough Smyth's (1878) *The Aborigines of Victoria*, which is devoted to language (§7.2).

The remainder of the chapter investigates the grammars of Ngarrindjeri, spoken near the mouth of the Murray River in South Australia, which were written by Congregationalist missionary G. Taplin (1867; 1872; 1874b; 1878; §7.3). The discussion considers the influence of the Adelaide School (Chapter 5 & 6) on Taplin's analysis, especially the grammar of the closely related language Ramindjeri, described by Meyer (1843; §6.1). Section §7.3.4 presents Taplin's case paradigms, which were reproduced by Moravian missionaries in Brough Smyth, and details the earliest usage of the term "ergative" (§2.6).

7.1 Symmons' grammar of Nyungar (1841)

The earliest grammar of a language spoken in Western Australia (1841) was written by C. A. J. Symmons (1804–1887), the Protector of Aborigines, twelve years after the establishment of the Swan River Colony (1892; renamed Perth in 1832). It is the only early grammar of a language spoken in Western Australia, other than R. H. Mathews' short publication on the same language (1910), which is based on Symmons, and Carl Strehlow's rather superficial presentation of Luritja (§9.2.3.3), completed in the same year (1910).

Symmons came from a colourful family of Welsh clergymen, scientists and politicians.¹ His father J. Symmons III (1745–1831) was a scientist, barrister and collector of books, art and botanical specimens, and a founding member of the Royal Society (Conole n.d.). Symmons arrived in the Western Australian colony in 1839 to take up an appointment as the Protector of Aborigines in 1840. He combined the position with the duties of magistrate until 1873. The grammar of Nyungar was printed in the *Perth Gazette and Western Australian Journal* (1841) and in the *Western Australian Almanac* in 1842. It was later republished by Fraser (1892), who noted: “This short sketch of the Grammar of the language of Western Australia is the only one that I can find anywhere” (Fraser 1892: 48).

Symmons (1841: i) acknowledged that the material for his grammar was “furnished by the Native Interpreter”, F. F. Armstrong (c. 1813–1897), who had arrived in the colony in 1829 as a teenager and had befriended members of the local population and learnt their languages. Armstrong became superintendent of the Native Institution (1834–1838). The Wesleyan Native School (1840–1845) was initially established in his home. In addition to informing Symmons’ article (1841), Armstrong wrote a piece describing Aboriginal society in the *Perth Gazette and Western Australian Journal* (1836). A “Perth” wordlist published in Curr (1886 vol. I: 334–335) was probably also collected by F. F. Armstrong. That it is attributed to C. F. Armstrong is likely to be a misprint.

7.1.1 Symmons’ analysis of Nyungar (1841)

There is some evidence that Symmons’ analysis was written in collaboration with the then Governor of Western Australia, J. Hutt (1795–1880; Ferguson 1951: 305), who supported the education of Aboriginal people in the colony, and helped fund G. F. Moore’s descriptive vocabulary of Nyungar (1842). It is not known whether Symmons or Hutt had access to the two published PN grammars existing at the time (Threlkeld 1834; Teichelmann & Schürmann 1840).

Symmons’ grammar evinces a sound understanding of the language, giving more example clauses than many other early Australian grammarians, including Taplin, Moorhouse and Ridley. The work gives the earliest description of pronominal sensitivity to kinship (Symmons 1841: xiv–xv; §6.2.1.4) and describes

¹C. A. J. Symmons’ uncle, Rev. C. Symmons (1749–1826), was a well-known poet and scholar, who obtained a Bachelor of Divinity at Cambridge University (1786). His brother-in-law, Sir Anthony Carlisle (1767–1840), was a fellow of the Royal Society, Surgeon to King George IV, curator of the Hunterian Museum, and the likely author of the gothic novel *The Horrors of Oakendale Abbey* (1797).

what appears to have been an unusual and complicated pattern of ergative marking.

Symmons' work has received virtually no attention within the discipline of linguistics, and a biographical sketch of Symmons (Conole n.d.) fails to appreciate the significance of his grammatical analysis, describing his grammar as an "aboriginal language dictionary".

The work is among the few comprehensive grammatical descriptions of Nyungar, the most widely available being Wilfred Douglas's 1968 grammar of the variety he called "Neo-Nyungar", which gives a synchronic description of the variety already having shifted syntactically under influence from English. Two years before Douglas' description, O'Grady et al. (1966: 30) described that the "number of active speakers of Nyungic dialects was close to zero". Remarkably, Symmons' 1841 grammar is the only published grammatical description which attempts to describe the language as it was spoken at the time of colonisation.

7.1.1.1 Passive interpretation of ergative constructions

Like other early grammarians, Symmons described transitive constructions with an elided agent as passive (§2.3.1), explaining (ibid.: xix) that the passive could be conveyed by "an elliptical or defective form of the sentence" (Figure 7.1).

Singular,
I am beaten, Ngan-ya-in bu-ma, (some one) beats me
Thou art beaten, Ngin-nin bu-ma, (some one) beats thee
He is beaten, Bal-in bu-ma, (some one) beats him

Figure 7.1: Symmons' exemplification of "passive" constructions (1841: xx; Nyungar)

In his paradigm of nouns, Symmons named the ergative case in Nyungar "ablative" and placed forms marked with the ergative suffix *-al* in the last position of conservative Latinate case paradigms (1841; Figure 7.2). It is possible that in doing so, he was influenced by Teichelmann & Schürmann (1840). Note, however, that Symmons treated pronouns in ergative case differently (below).

Like Meyer (1843), Symmons (1841) translated ergative NPs as "by X". He consistently translated transitive clauses with an overtly marked agent, an object and a verb, which appears to show no derivational morphology (Examples 1 & 2) as English passive constructions (Figure 7.3). Like Meyer, he also described the transitive verb in a clause with an overtly marked agent as a "participle".

<i>Singular.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>
Nom. Ya-go, a woman	N. Ya-go-mân, women
Gen. Ya-go-âk, of a woman	G. Ya-go-mân-âk, of women
Dat. Ya-gol (or) Ya-go-âl, to a woman	D. Ya-go-mân-âl, to women
Acc. Ya-go-in, a woman	A. Ya-go-thân-in, women
Abl. Ya-go-âl, with or by means of a woman.	A. Ya-go-mân-âl, with or by means of women.

Figure 7.2: Symmons' case paradigm of a noun (1841: ix; Nyungar)

- (1) Bud-jor Yag-go-âl bi-an-a-ga
The ground was dug by the woman
(Symmons 1841: x, xxii)
Bud-jor Yaggo-âl biana-ga
ground-[ACC] woman-ERG dig-PAST
'The woman dug the ground'
- (2) Ngan-ya wau-gâl-âl bak-kan-a-ga
I was bitten by the snake
(Symmons 1841: xiv)
Nganya waugâl-âl bakkana-ga
1SG.ACC snake-ERG bite-PAST
The snake bit me

The Ablative is expressed by affixing *âl* to the Nominative case,—as, Ngad-jo boat-âl Perth-âk bar dâ-ga, I went in a boat to Perth; Ngai-a-ta ky-bra-âl watto bar-dâ-ga, We went away in a ship; Bal gun-âl bu-ma-ga, She was killed by a gun; Dur-da cart-âl bar-duk bar-dâ-ga, The dog went away with the cart.

Figure 7.3: Symmons' explanation of the "ablative" case (1841: ix; Nyungar)

While Meyer (1843) did not interpret transitive clauses as passive constructions, Symmons did. Example 1 was given twice. First in order to demonstrate "the use of the ablative" (Symmons 1841: x), i.e., ergative case, marked with *-âl* on the stem *Yag-go* 'woman', and second (ibid.: xxii) to illustrate passive constructions.

Like Symmons, other corpus grammarians, including R. H. Mathews in some of his earlier grammars, interpreted AOV clauses with overtly marked agents as

passive constructions. Grammarians who did this usually assigned the label “ablative” to the ergative case. Koch (2008: 193) reproduces the following sections from two of the scores of Mathews' grammars. He points out that while Mathews' logic is topsy-turvy, he used the term “ablative” to name the agent of a transitive clause, because “the Ablative Case in Latin is used to express the agent of a passive clause” (§5.4.3):

The sense of the ablative is often obtained by means of the accusative case, thus, instead of saying, “The man was bitten by a snake,” a native says, a snake bit the man. (Thurrawal; Mathews 1901: 133)

The sense of the ablative is often obtained by means of the objective: “**Wud-dungurr-a koongara buddhal**” –the dog the opossum bit; that is, the opossum was bitten by the dog. (Thoorga; Mathews 1902: 53)

Moorhouse (Moorhouse 1846: 24; §6.4) also argued that an AOV clause was equivalent to the SAE passive construction, although he did *not* label the ergative case “ablative”. He wrote: “The English passive voice is not expressed by the inflection of the verb, but by the application of the active nominative case”, and that “[t]he existence of an active nominative supersedes the necessity of having a form for the passive voice”:

- (3) Purnangu-nnanna laplap-nanna ngape mukkana
 “Large knife me did wound” or its equivalent
 ‘With a large knife I was wounded’
 (Moorhouse 1846: 24)
Purnangu-nnanna laplap-nanna ngape mukka-arna
 large-ERG knife-ERG 1SG.ACC wound-?
 ‘The large knife wounded me’

Taplin occasionally provided passive translations of transitive clauses. In this regard, Taplin followed Meyer (§6.1.2.6):

- (4) Kile yan pettir
 ‘by him it was stolen’
 (Taplin 1872: 88)
 Kili-yan peth-ur
 3SG.ERG-3SG.ACC steal-PAST

But more frequently Taplin gave a passive “interlinear-style” translation and an active free translation:

- (5) Ngate yan ellani
 By me it will be done
 'I will do it'
 (Taplin 1872: 88)
 ngati-yan el-ani
 1SG.ERG-3SG.ACC do-FUT

7.1.1.2 Symmons' account of ergativity

Symmons' description of ergativity in Nyungar is the most opaque of the early PN sources. Like sections of other early grammars which are difficult to decipher – for instance, Threlkeld's description of pronouns in Awabakal (§3.4.8.1) – there are currently different interpretations of the system Symmons attempted to describe. Thieberger (2004: 54–55) describes the language as non-ergative, showing accusative alignment on all nominal types, with agents and subjects both marked with the suffix *-il/-al*. Blake (1977: 65) gives the ergative/locative/instrumental/dative suffix on nouns as *-ak*. Douglas (1968: 64) gives it as *-il* in Neo-Nyungar, and Dixon (2002a: 313) suggests that the ergative suffix on nouns was *-al*, and shows 1sg and 2nonsg pronouns as tripartite (A/S/O). It is not clear to what extent these different interpretations are based on Symmons' account. Reliance on data provided in the *Descriptive Vocabulary* (1842) of G. Moore, who (*ibid.*: 72) described the grammatical structure of the Western Australian language as “simple - rudimentary - and not very copious” may also have contributed to the discrepancies.

But Symmons' discussion has more to offer a reconstruction of the system of marking syntactic case in the Whadjuk variety of Nyungar, spoken close to Perth soon after colonisation, than has currently been reclaimed. His interpretation of transitive clauses as passive constructions and resultant burying of the exemplification of ergative constructions in sections of the grammar unanticipated by a philologically ill-equipped modern reader has rendered his material thus far inaccessible. As with the different readings of Threlkeld's description of pronouns in Awabakal, the difficulties in interpreting Symmons' account appear also to be the upshot of a system that was uniquely complicated, and which may not now be entirely retrievable.

Symmons material supports a fairly incontrovertible analysis in which animate nouns show tripartite marking (A/S/O) and inanimate nouns are ergatively aligned (A/SO). Examine clauses 1, 2, 6 and 7.

- (6) Ya-go my-ak-al yu-gow bar-da-ga
 ‘The woman has come to the house’
 (Symmons 1841)
 Yaku miyak-al yuka-w parta-ka
 woman-[**NOM**] house-ALL stand-?PRES house-PAST
- (7) Ngad-jo yân-gor-in ngan-gow bru
 ‘I do not see the kangaroo’
 (Symmons 1841)
 Ngatyu yankor-iny ngana-?w-buru
 1sgA kangaroo-ACC see-PRES-NEG

Making sense of Symmons’ attempt to describe the system of marking the syntactic cases on pronouns is, however, more difficult. And here it is judicious to note that the current understanding of a linguistically interesting relationship between tense and syntactic case alignment in Pitta-Pitta (Blake & Breen 1971: 84–90; Blake 1979b: 193–196; §10.1.1) is partially dependent on the nineteenth century record left by W. E. Roth (Roth 1897; see Breen 2008: 135–136). Symmons made numerous references to the role that the tense of the verb had to play in determining the forms of the 1sg and 2sg pronouns in Nyungar (see Stockigt 2017). That tense may be a controlling factor has not, however, informed the reclamation of Nyungar. It is important to remember that Symmons had no impetus to record a sensitivity of case marking to verb tense. Since the likelihood of such a phenomenon would have been unknown to him, the factor motivating such an account is likely to have been an astute perception of the structure of the language.

7.2 R. Brough Smyth (1878)

R. Brough Smyth (1830–1889), a civil servant and mining engineer, was appointed honorary secretary to the Board for the Protection of Aborigines in Victoria in 1860. He collated materials about Victorian languages that he published in the second volume, devoted to language, of the two-volume work *The Aborigines of Victoria* (1878). The work, described by O’Grady *et al* (1966: 5) as “quantitatively impressive but qualitatively appalling”, is among a handful of such materials produced within the first “survey-era of linguistics” in Australia (O’Grady *et al* 1966: 5; McGregor 2008b), of which Barry (1867) is the earliest and Taplin (1879a) and Curr (1886) the most renowned. While Curr’s *The Australian Race* spread the broadest net and is the most renowned of these survey works, Curr did not

specifically elicit grammatical material from his informants as did Taplin, and as Brough Smyth appears also to have done.

Of the twenty-three informants whose work is included in Brough Smyth, only a small portion described morphosyntactic structure. Other than the grammatical description of Woiwurrung (Brough Smyth 1878: 118–120) from Melbourne’s Yarra River drainage by the Protector, W. Thomas (1774–1867), and the grammatical description of Ganai (*ibid.*: 24–31) recorded at Lake Tyers mission in Gippsland by Church Missionary Society missionary, J. Bulmer (1833–1913; 1878: 24–31), grammatical material in Brough Smyth detailing languages from Victoria was contributed by Moravian missionaries. The Moravian grammatical contribution to Brough Smyth includes description of Wergaya from country close to the Ebenezer Mission (Lake Hindmarsh) in Western Victoria by A. Hartmann, F. W. Spieseke and F. A. Hagenauer (1878: 50–52, 56–58, 39–43 respectively).

The Moravian missionary presence in the colonies of Australia had been instigated by Charles J. LaTrobe (1801–1875), the first Lieutenant Governor of Victoria, who came from an influential family of British Moravians (Jensz 2010: 57–62). Moravian missions were first established in Victoria at Lake Boga (1850–56), Ebenezer (1858–1904), and Ramahyuck (Lake Wellington 1862–1907). After a failed attempt to establish a mission in South Australia – at the same location and at the same time (1866–1868) as the Lutheran’s ultimately successful missionary endeavour to the east of Lake Eyre (§8.3.1) – the Moravians set their sight on Northern Queensland (§10.1.3), where they established Mapoon (1891–1919), Weipa (1898–1932), and Aurukun (1898–1919).

The grammatical materials in Brough Smyth do not, however, constitute complete grammatical sketches. Blake (2016) assesses Bulmer, Spieseke and Hagenauer’s analyses, and observes that the material Bulmer supplied in Brough Smyth does “not inspire any confidence in his ability to have mastered the language”. Bulmer’s paradigm of nouns (Figure 7.15) appears to show case marked by prepositions, a situation that does not accord with PN languages, or with Mathews’ (1902) record of languages from the region. The grammatical materials contributed by Hagenauer (1829–1909) and Bulmer are nevertheless considered in this study because they include case paradigms that are significant to the history of the development of the term “ergative” (§2.6).

Hagenauer commenced missionary training at the Moravian institution Herzhut in 1851. He arrived in Melbourne in 1858 with F. W. Spieseke (1820–1877), who was making his second journey to Australia, having returned to Germany in 1856 after the closure of the Moravian Lake Boga mission in western Victoria. Hagenauer moved to Gippsland in 1862, at the request of the Presbyterian

7.3 Taplin's grammars of Ngarrindjeri (1867; 1872 [1870]; 1874c; 1878)

Church, in order to establish a new mission at Lake Wellington, which he named Ramahyuck.

Bulmer arrived in Melbourne in 1853 and after working in the Victorian gold-fields, where he witnessed the mistreatment of Aboriginal people (Harris 1994: 166). He established Yelta (1854–1866), a Church of England mission, near the junction of the Murray and Darling rivers. In 1862 Bulmer was sent by the Church Mission Society to establish a mission on the south-eastern Victorian coast at Lake Tyers (Shaw 194?: 5–7).

In addition to his grammatical material in Brough Smyth, Bulmer provided a wordlist and some phrases in “Murray”, Marrawarra, a dialect of Baagandji spoken at Yelta (Bulmer 1878: 33–37). Some of this material is presented alongside “Gippsland”, Ganai spoken at Lake Tyers for comparison.

The presentation of Bulmer's Ganai material (1878: 24–26) suggests that it was structured in response to a questionnaire. Content is given in answer to the questions: “In what way is the article expressed...?”, “Is there such a thing as gender ...?”, “How is the plural formed?” etc. It is likely that Brough Smyth circulated a questionnaire, as both Taplin and Curr did in the same era. The original has, however, not been located.² That Bulmer and Hagenauer's case paradigms (1878) (Figure 7.14; Figure 7.15) are identical, and reproduce Taplin's paradigm for nouns (NOM > GEN > DAT > ACC > VOC > ABL > EXAT > ERGAT) published in 1872 and 1874, suggests that this lost questionnaire included a template paradigm taken from Taplin's publications. It is, however, also possible, that this case paradigm was originally drawn up the Moravians and was then appropriated by Taplin (below).

7.3 Taplin's grammars of Ngarrindjeri (1867; 1872 [1870]; 1874c; 1878)

Close to the time of the Lutheran missionaries' earliest encounters with Diyari (Chapter 8), spoken in the Lake Eyre Basin in northern South Australia, and when W. Ridley was publishing about central New South Wales languages (§4.5), Congregationalist missionary G. Taplin (1831–1879) was compiling his first MS grammar of Ngarrindjeri (Taplin 1867), belonging to the estuarine regions of the Murray River in South Australia. A related variety of the same language had previously been described by Meyer (Meyer 1843; §6.1).

With a private school education and intent on working as a missionary, Taplin arrived in Adelaide in 1849. He commenced work as a gardener for Rev.

²Blake (2015) suggests that Brough Smyth sent Bulmer a questionnaire in 1863.

T. Q. Stow (1801–1862), founder of the Congregationalist Church in South Australia, from whom he received some training for ministry. In 1854 Taplin opened a school at Port Elliot in the Congregationalist Chapel. Here he worked among the Ngarrindjeri people, who were divided into numerous regional groups speaking related linguistic varieties (Yallop & Grimwade 1975: 2–3). Lutheran missionary Meyer had ceased missionary work and closed a nearby school at Encounter Bay eleven years before Taplin opened his school at Port Elliot.

In 1859, Taplin was appointed as “missionary agent” by the Aborigines’ Friends’ Association, an organisation founded the previous year. He established a mission on the eastern shores of Lake Alexandrina at Point McLeay (sometimes “Point Macleay”, or Raukan), a site removed from other centres of European industry and which Taplin had himself recommended. The Congregationalist mission was a success in comparison with previous South Australian missionary endeavours, closing not until 1916, when control was assumed by the state. Fifteen years after the mission’s establishment, Taplin wrote: “The Narrinyeri possess (for Aborigines) a remarkable vitality, and I do not fear their speedy extinction as a nation” (1874a: 7).³

Taplin was visited by Moravian missionary G. Meißel for a period of eight months in 1865–1866. Meißel was among a group of four Moravians – the others being C. C. W. Kramer, W. Kühn, and H. Walder – who arrived in Melbourne at the end of 1864 in order to establish an inland mission on Coopers Creek in South Australia, beyond the northern edge of agriculturally viable land (§8.3.1).

During the nearly two years in which time the Moravians’ inland journey was frustrated by permissions and unfavourable rainfall, the missionaries worked among Aboriginal people in Victoria and South Australia. Meißel travelled first to Ebenezer mission in Western Victoria with Walder, where Spieseke and Hartmann were stationed. In May 1865 the pair arrived in South Australia by ship and were invited by the Aborigines’ Friends’ Association to Point McLeay, where they spent two weeks with Taplin (Figure 1.9). Meißel visited again a second time alone (Edwards 2007: 210–212), and it was presumably on this visit that he produced two watercolours titled “Mr Taplins School” (*sic*; Figure 7.5 & Figure 7.6).

Meißel stayed with Taplin the year before Taplin produced his earliest-known MS Ngarrindjeri grammar in 1867 and eight years after he established the mission. It is therefore possible that Meißel encouraged and had input into the structure

³Taplin’s remark was presumably made in response to a comment made by Bleek (1874: 6) published in the same report: “I thought it my duty to put aside for the time the, to me, very important work of a Comparative Grammar of the South African Languages, and to try to rescue, while it was still possible, something of the language and literature of this dying-out nation.”

7.3 Taplin's grammars of Ngarrindjeri (1867; 1872 [1870]; 1874c; 1878)

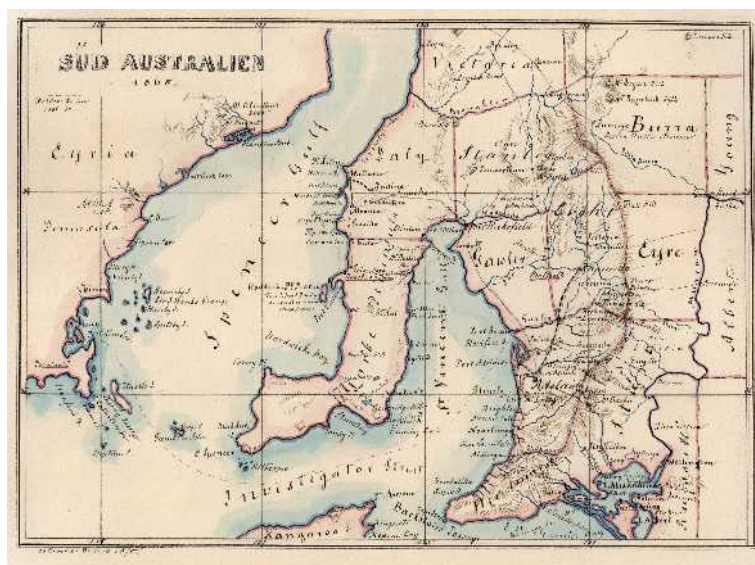


Figure 7.4: “Süd Australien (1868)”, produced by Moravian missionaries showing “Walders Reisen 1865–1866”, with permission from Unitätsarchiv (Bd.30.11.a)

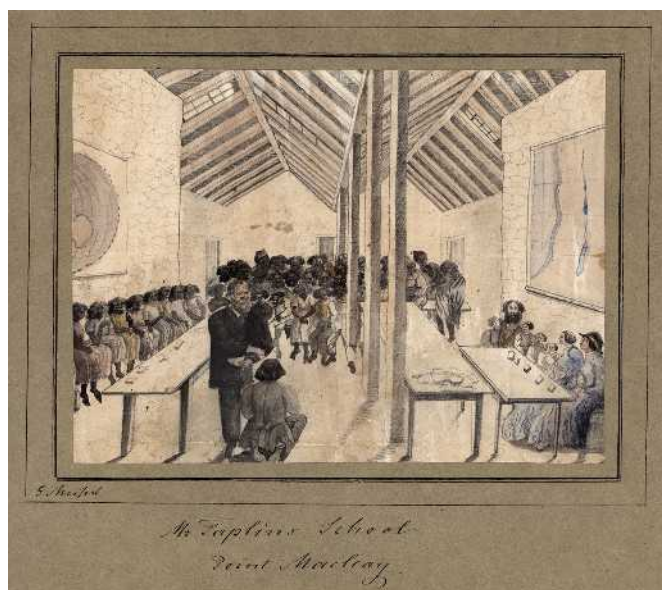


Figure 7.5: “Mr Taplins School Point Macleay”, watercolour, signed “G. Meißel”, with permission from Unitätsarchiv (Bd.30.14.b)



Figure 7.6: “Mr Taplins School Point Macleay”, watercolour signed “G. Meißel(1866)”, with permission from Unitätsarchiv (Bd.30.17.a) Taplin’s analyses of Ngarrindjeri (1867; 1872 [1870]; 1874b; 1878).

of Taplin’s first Ngarrindjeri grammar. Since Meißel had earlier visited Ebenezer, where Spieseke, Hartmann and earlier Hagenauer were posted (Edwards 2007: 109–112). It is possible that the Moravians’ lost analyses of Wergaya presented a case paradigm for nouns (nom > gen > dat > acc > voc > abl > exat > ergat) that influenced Taplin’s work through Meißel’s cross-fertilisation.

Ngarrindjeri is the only language from the Southern districts of South Australia to have survived colonial pressure long enough for missionaries to make substantial translations (see Simpson et al. 2008: 122–123). Within five years, Taplin had published extracts from the scriptures (1864) which were the first scriptures published in an Australian Aboriginal language. In 1874 his *Native Book of Worship* was printed at the Southern Argus Printing Office in Strathalbyn. Coincidentally, the Southern Argus building, “Argus House”, is currently owned by the present author and is where this study was largely researched and written.

Taplin made successive grammatical descriptions of Ngarrindjeri, producing four distinct representations of the language (1867; 1872; 1874b; 1878). Like Ridley he published similar, but non-identical, analyses in different locations. His earliest grammar was produced as a MS nearly a decade after the mission opened (1867). The next analysis was first published in 1872, appended to Taplin’s *Com-*

parative Table of Australian Languages (below). This published grammatical material is almost identical to an earlier MS "philological notes" (1870), which was attached to some comparative Australian vocabulary, both of which were reprinted by Grimwade (1975: 132–144). The 1872 publication omits discussion of some word-classes given in the 1867 MS, including adverbs, adjectives or prepositions. An even shorter version of this analysis, which omits an extended description of the verb, was republished 1874 (Taplin 1874c) and 1879 (Taplin 1879b). Taplin's final representation of the language was first published in 1878, and posthumously in 1880, with identical page numbers. At seventeen pages this is Taplin's most comprehensive work.

Taplin's last analysis has previously received detailed examination by Yallop & Grimwade (1975), who "attempt to widen our present understanding of the language" (Grimwade 1975: 8) by supplementing historical information collated from the speech of James Kartinyeri, described as "probably the last speaker of Narinjari" (Grimwade 1975: 1). The authors' understanding of the language would have further been widened had they also utilised Meyer's description.

Taplin sought to improve his understanding of the structure of the language until his death. In his last work he wrote: "I know that I am always discovering something in the language which I did not know before" (1880: 6[1878]). Taplin's successive grammars show that he was constantly reconsidering the best way to present grammatical structures. He produced three different case paradigms (1867; 1872; 1878). The alterations Taplin made in his successive grammars stand in contrast to other analyses made at the time. The analysis of Diyari made by missionaries at Bethesda mission, and Ridley's grammars of Gamilaraay, show much less alteration over decades of reproduction.

7.3.1 Taplin the philologist

In addition to publishing broadly on Ngarrindjeri language and culture while engaged in the demands of running a mission, Taplin took it upon himself to collate and publish comparative information about Aboriginal people in the South Australian colony. Aware that the linguistic material he was able to record as a missionary was of value to those tracing the history of human development, he compiled a comparative vocabulary of twenty Australian languages prior to the publication of any of his own work (1870, reprinted in Grimwade 1975). When in 1870 Taplin sought to have his material published, he wrote to the Governor of South Australia, J. Fergusson (1832–1907):

7 Other grammars of languages spoken in southern Australia

It has for some time been my conviction that some of the most difficult questions in Ethnology can only be answered when a very extended study of Aboriginal languages has been accomplished by scientific comparative Philologists in Europe. (Taplin to Governor Fergusson, quoted in Grimwade 1975: 118)

Fergusson considered Taplin's comparative vocabulary with attached "philological notes" – i.e., with an attached MS grammar of Ngarrindjeri – as "worth transmission to England" (Grimwade 1975: 119), resulting in Taplin's earliest philological publication (1872). It is clear that Taplin was researching comparative philology in the 1860s, referring to the belief of the German philologist Max Müller that "the savage languages are of as much importance as those of more civilised races" (1870, quoted in Grimwade 1975: 117). With the exception of Ridley (§4.5), who may be seen as Taplin's counterpart in New South Wales, Taplin's philological research was commenced at a time when little other enquiry into Australian Aboriginal languages was being undertaken elsewhere in the country.

Taplin (1872: 84) described his comparative table of Australian languages as having been "constructed so as to correspond as nearly as possible with the comparative table of Polynesian and Melanesian dialects found in Dr George Turner's work". In 1861 the London Missionary Society missionary Turner (1818–1891) had published a comparative vocabulary of Polynesian languages at the back of an authoritative work, *Nineteen years in Polynesia* (1861: opposite 536). The words Taplin sought from respondents in his 1874 circular (below) were also taken from Turner (1861) with some modification.

When in 1874 the then South Australian Governor, Sir A. Musgrave (1828–1888), received a request from W. Bleek for information concerning the manners, customs and folklore of the natives of the colony, Musgrave (quoted in Bleek 1874: 6) recommended Taplin as "one of the best informed men in the Colony on all subjects respecting the natives". Musgrave forwarded Bleek's initial letter to Taplin, whose letter of response was published with notes added by Bleek in the 1874 "Report of the sub-protector of Aborigines [South Australia]". It followed an article by Bleek titled: "On enquiries into Australian Aboriginal Folklore".

Prompted by the interest from this internationally acclaimed scholar, Taplin drew up a questionnaire, which was circulated throughout the colony to those in contact with Aboriginal people: missionaries, police troopers and pastoralists. The 1875 report of the Sub-Protector stated:

In the previous report from this Department, reference was made to a communication from Dr. Bleek of Cape Town ... suggesting the desirability of

steps being taken to collect aboriginal folk-lore and information of an ethnographic nature ... With this view ... a series of questions on these subjects were proposed by Mr Taplin, adopted, and embodied in a circular, about 100 copies of which were distributed early last year ... affording a prospect that eventually valuable contributions will be ... arranged in a collected form, and published.

Taplin's questionnaire was circulated close to the time that Ridley published his largest and final investigation of Gamilaraay (1875) and close to the time that Brough Smyth was compiling data for inclusion in Volume II of *The Aborigines of Victoria* (1878). Taplin's survey collated the translations of English words taken from Turner (1861) and answers to a list of questions seeking specific information about Aboriginal cultural practices and language (§2.3.1) The results were published as *The folklore, manners, customs, and languages of the South Australian Aborigines* (1879a) that appeared *after* Woods (1879a), in which Taplin also published (Taplin 1879b; see Taplin 1879a: 109).

7.3.2 Influence from Meyer (1843) and the Dresdners

Comparison of Meyer's 1843 grammar of Ramindjeri with Taplin's grammars of Ngarrindjeri show unequivocal influence of the former on the latter, not least in the paradigms of bound pronouns (Compare Figure 6.5 with Figure 7.7).

			FIRST PERSON.					
SINGULAR.			DUAL.			PLURAL.		
Nom.,	<i>ap p,</i>	I.	<i>angal,</i>	we two.		<i>arn,</i>	we.	
Ac.,	<i>an,</i>	me.	<i>alam,</i>	us two.		<i>anam,</i>	us.	
Caus.,	<i>atte,</i>	by me.	<i>angal,</i>	by us two.		<i>arn,</i>	by us.	
			SECOND PERSON.					
SINGULAR.			DUAL.			PLURAL.		
Nom.,	<i>ind, inde,</i>	thou.	<i>ungul,</i>	you two.		<i>ungune,</i>	you.	
Ac.,	<i>um,</i>	thee.	<i>olom,</i>	you two.		<i>enom,</i>	you.	
Voc.,	<i>inda,</i>	O thou.	<i>ula,</i>	O you two.		<i>una,</i>	O you.	
Caus.,	<i>inde,</i>	by thee	<i>ungul,</i>	by you two.		<i>ungune,</i>	by you.	
			THIRD PERSON.					
SINGULAR.			DUAL.			PLURAL.		
Nom.,	<i>itye atye,</i>	he, she, it.	<i>engk,</i>	they two.		<i>ar,</i>	they.	
Ac.,	<i>in ityan ian,</i>	him.	<i>enggun,</i>	they two.		<i>an,</i>	them.	
Caus.,	<i>il ile,</i>	by him.	<i>engk,</i>	by them two.		<i>ar,</i>	by them.	

Figure 7.7: Taplin's paradigm of bound pronouns (1872: 86)

In his final comment on Ngarrindjeri structure (1878: 6), Taplin is unduly eager to marginalise the importance of Meyer's influence on his work, describing the earlier missionary's work as "a brave attempt to master the grammar of this language in 1843, and with some success, but yet his attempt presents a great number

of ludicrous mistakes to one better acquainted with it.” Dixon has assessed the relative merit of the two grammars very differently:

Meyer’s grammar is full of wonderful insights; for example, he clearly recognises an antipassive ... Meyer’s work was followed by Taplin (1879a) an Anglican missionary of considerably lesser intelligence. Taplin criticised Meyer’s work but that did not hinder him from plagiarising large portions of it (those bits he could understand; he ignored other bits). (Dixon 2002a: 7)

Unlike Meyer, Taplin did not analyse or exemplify the anti-passive construction (§6.1.2.7), presumably the section Dixon perceived that Taplin ignored. Note, however, that Taplin (1878: 19) did discuss derivational morphology on the verb. He recognised the difference between a verbal root and one inflected with the detransitivising morpheme *-el*, but did not demonstrate the alteration to the arguments of the verb (see Figure 7.8).

4.—There appears to be different classes of verbs in the Narrinyeri language. They are distinguished by the variation or non-variation of the word which expresses the indicative mood when it expresses the present participle. For instance—*Ngati yan merippin* signifies “I cut it:” In this case the word *merippin* expresses the indicative present, first person. It is also *merippin* for “cutting”—that is the present participle. Then *Ngati yan drekin* is “I chip it;” but it is not *drekin* in the present participle, but *dretulun*. So that we thus have two classes of verbs—the first does not change in assuming the participial form, as *mempin* (strike), *pempin* (give), *morokkun* (seize); the second does change in assuming the participial form, as *pornun* (die), *pornelin*, (dying); *nampulun* (hide), *nampundelin* (hiding); *nyrippin* (wash), *nyribbelin* (washing); *milipulun* (speak a foreign language), *milipundun* (speaking a foreign language). Possibly a more exact knowledge of the language might reveal subdivisions of these classes.

Figure 7.8: Taplin’s discussion of derivational morphology on the verb (1878: 19)

In his final analysis (1878), Taplin made one major improvement to his earlier works. He included a description of a set of kinship terms that are “used in conjunction with the propositus term to refer to people in the third-person” (Gaby & Singer 2014: 304–305; Figure 7.9). In this, Taplin was probably guided by Morgan, via Fison, who made contact with Taplin in 1872 (Gardner & McConvell 2015: 125). Question eleven of the survey of Australian Aboriginal people that Taplin circulated in 1874 (§2.3.1) asked: “What is the system of kinship in the tribe? Give names for following relationships” (1879a: 6). An attached note further stipulated: “It is also desirable to discover whether there is not a slight variation of the word

7.3 Taplin's grammars of Ngarrindjeri (1867; 1872 [1870]; 1874c; 1878)

according as it is borne or attributed to the speaker; for instance, a variation for *my father*, *your father*, *his father*, & c". Taplin had listed *some* of these terms in his 1867 MS grammar (no pag.).

But even this addition to Taplin's later publication (Figure 7.9) had previously been more extensively described by Meyer (1843: 11, 34–36; §6.1.2.5).

The declension of words signifying human relationships is peculiar.

There are different forms of the word meaning a relationship, in order to express whether it is *mine*, *yours*, or *his*. For instance :—

nanghai— <i>my father</i> .	narkowalli— <i>his mother</i> .
ngaiowe— <i>your father</i> .	gelanowe— <i>my elder brother</i> .
yikowalle— <i>his father</i> .	gelauwe— <i>your elder brother</i> .
nainkowa— <i>my mother</i> .	gelauwalle— <i>his elder brother</i> .
ninkuwe— <i>your mother</i> .	

This word *nanghai* (*my father*) is declined thus :—

NOMINATIVE		nanghai— <i>my father</i> .
ACCUSATIVE		nanghaiyin— <i>in my father</i> .
GENITIVE		nanghaiyin— <i>of my father</i> .
DATIVE		nanghaiyinandk— <i>to my father</i> .
CAUSATIVE		nanghaiyiniinda— <i>by my father</i> .
ABLATIVE		nanghaiyinyir— <i>from my father</i> .

For—nanghaiyinambe—*for my father*.

Figure 7.9: Taplin's paradigm of kinship terms (1878: 10)

Taplin's grammars did not substantially add to Meyer's 1843 analysis of the closely related variety Ramindjeri, other than suggesting some dialectal difference. None of Taplin's grammars are as long or as intricately detailed as Meyer's work, nor do they include the grammatically and culturally rich exemplification given by Meyer.

When tracing Taplin's developing ideas about the best way to convey the Ngarrindjeri case system, it is striking that his final grammar (1878) has more in common with the Dresdners' works than do his earlier grammars. Taplin's descriptions of case, given in each of his different Ngarrindjeri grammars (1867; 1872; 1878) were differently influenced by aspects of the earlier grammars of South Australian languages.

One significant alteration to the presentation of case that Taplin made to his last grammar (1878: 8) is the inclusion of an informal listing of the functions of case suffixes, without assigning them case-labels (Figure 7.10). In this he followed Meyer (1843) and Schürmann (1844b).

While Taplin's earlier conventional paradigmatic presentation may have appeared more concise and pleasingly familiar to the general reader, the choice to

SINGULAR.	DUAL.	PLURAL.	
ald	enggal	an	= of, at, upon.
ungai	ungengul	ungar	= { to, on, in, by, at; sometimes used with instrumentally.
angk	—	—	—
il	enggul	ar	= { by, through, because of; instru- mentally, or causatively.
nend	nend	nend	= from, out of.
—	nenggulund?		
anyir	—	—	= { of, the form of the genitive; in pronominal adjectives, with.
anmant	—	—	= from a place.
No difference from number:—			
ungunai	} in front of.	tunti—	in the middle.
ungunel		loru—	up.
ungul		moru—	down.
maremuntunt—	beneath.	ambe—	for.
tarangk—	between.	ngurukwar—	outside, without.
tepangk—	close to.	ngungkura—	before.
tuntangk—	between two.		

Figure 7.10: Taplin's later listing of case suffixes (1878: 8)

present traditional paradigms lost the descriptive flexibility of Meyer's prose-like presentation, which was able to illustrate different functions of the same suffix through exemplification on different nominal types. Given that the marking of Ngarrindjeri case functions appears to have been asymmetrical on different nominal types, the rigidity of Taplin's earlier framework struggled to encapsulate the system. Taplin's later presentation (Figure 7.10), while gaining some additional power to assign variant function to a single suffix, still lacked the multiplicity of example clauses that is characteristic of the richness of Meyer's grammar. Of this new presentation of case, Taplin wrote:

It is really difficult to say how many cases the nouns have, all prepositions are joined as affixes to the nouns to which they relate, but only some of them change their form, according as the noun is in the singular, dual or plural number. The following list of prepositional affixes and prepositions, shewing where they change in the dual and plural, and where they do not. (Taplin 1878: 8)

In the above passage, Taplin suggests the classically conservative definition of case in which a true case suffix must also be a portmanteau morpheme conveying other categories. The marking of number appears to be modified by the marking of case in Ngarrindjeri (Horgen 2004: 94, 101). Whether Australian case systems constituted classes of declension had previously been considered by Schürmann (1844b: 4) and by Moorhouse (1846: 5).

The passage also introduces another schema of the Adelaide School, but one that had been instigated by Teichelmann & Schürmann and had *not* been employed by Meyer. Taplin's "prepositional affixes" and "prepositions" are Teichelmann & Schürmann's "postfixa" and "postpositions" (§5.3.2).

The explanation of ergativity that Taplin gave in his last grammar also shows an influence from the Dresdners that is not apparent in his earlier works.

7.3.3 Ergativity

Taplin used the term "causative" to name the ergative marking on all types of nouns in some works (1867; 1878) but only on pronouns in others (1870; 1872; 1879a). Although Threlkeld had discussed the "agent causative of an action" (1834), the term "causative" was seldom used in early PN description. The use of the term "causative" to name the ergative case appears *not* to have occurred outside Australia. Mathews later used the term in grammars of Mathews (1904) and Arrernte (1907b), as did J. M. Black (1920) to name the ergative case on pronouns in vocabularies of South Australian languages. Both were probably influenced by Taplin, who innovated a range of case terminology.

In his two earliest grammatical analyses, Taplin provided no clear description of ergative function. He did not convey that he understood that subject nominals might be differently marked according to argument predication of intransitive and transitive verbs. He clarified the function of overtly marked nominals in ergative case only by translating them as 'by X' in paradigms and in interlinear and free translations. That Taplin may not have clearly understood ergativity, at least initially, is suggested by the fact that he assigned different case labels to nouns and pronouns that are morphologically marked for ergative case. The only other corpus grammarian to assign different labels to ergative nouns and ergative pronouns was Moorhouse (1846). Taplin labelled ergative nouns "ablative", but ergative pronouns "causative", a difference which may have been intended to capture the instrumental function of nouns in "ablative" case. One of the linguistic questions which Taplin included in a survey which he circulated in 1874, however, indicates that by this stage he clearly understood how ergative function was likely to be morphologically marked:

What is the form of the declension of nouns? In the case of a word for "man," how do they say ... "by a man" (*as an agent*) "by a man" (situated near a man)? (1879a: 6; emphasis added).

Taplin explained the difference between the nominative and ergative case for the first time in his last analysis of the language (1878: 14–19) under the heading

“the verb”. Here he employed a descriptive strategy innovated by Teichelmann & Schürmann (1840), refined by Schürmann (1844b; §6.2.1.6), followed by Moorhouse (1846), but *not* employed by Meyer. Taplin presented phrases showing the case forms of pronouns in different moods and tenses for intransitive verbs and then transitive verbs. He wrote:

The transitive verbs are distinguished from the intransitive by the former using the causative case of the pronoun; whereas the latter uses the simple nominative. This will be seen in the following conjugation of the verb. (Taplin 1878: 18)

7.3.4 Case paradigms

Table 7.1 shows the different names assigned to case forms of singular nouns in grammars of Ngarrindjeri. From Taplin’s earliest analysis, his naming of the ergative case and his placement of ergative forms in the case paradigms was influenced by the Adelaide School. Like Teichelmann & Schürmann (1840) and Meyer (1843), Taplin *sometimes* labelled the ergative case “ablative” and placed ergative case forms in the traditional paradigmatic position of the Latin ablative. Like Meyer (1843), Taplin presented an extended seven case paradigm, excluding the vocative (Figure 7.12; Figure 7.13).

Taplin thought hard about the labelling of cases, reconsidering his options over time and inventing his own terminology to label cases not included in the classical case paradigm (Table 7.1). In relation to his re-presentation of Moorhouse’s Ngayawang case paradigm for instance, he wrote:

It has often lately suggested itself to me that, in the cases where we put ablative to these forms of words, the word locative would more exactly express the shade of meaning of the inflection. (Taplin 1879a: 32)

While Taplin never engaged the case label “locative” in his grammars of Ngarrindjeri, the statement indicates his continuing search for better ways to present PN case systems.

In Taplin’s earliest case paradigm (1867; Figure 7.12), he initially followed Meyer and named the ergative case “ablative” but then reconsidered the choice and crossed out “ablative” and inserted instead “causative”. The term “ablative” was thus reserved for a slot further down the paradigm, to label a peripheral case form translated as “with X” and marked with the suffix *-anyir*. In this earliest case paradigm Taplin coined the term “exative” to name the case marked by a

7.3 Taplin's grammars of Ngarrindjeri (1867; 1872 [1870]; 1874c; 1878)

SINGULAR.

NOM.	Ngāpe, I
ACC.	Ngāñ, me
ABL.	Ngāte, by me
GEN.	{ Ngāñ-auwe, of me Ngāñ-auwūle, of me
DAT.	Ngāñangk, to me
FROM	Ngāñ-anyir, from thee
FOR	Nañ-āmbe, for me.

Figure 7.11: Meyer's Ngarrindjeri case paradigm (1843: 24)

Singular

<i>Nom.</i>	<i>Korni</i>	<i>a man</i>
<i>Gen.</i>	<i>Kornald</i>	<i>of a man</i>
<i>Dat.</i>	<i>Kornangk</i>	<i>to a man</i>
<i>Accus.</i>	<i>Korni</i>	<i>a man</i>
<i>Voc.</i>	<i>Korninda</i>	<i>O man</i>
<i>Abbl.</i>	<i>Kornil</i>	<i>by a man</i>
<i>Exative</i>	<i>Kornanmant</i>	<i>from a man</i>
<i>Abblative</i>	<i>Kornanyir</i>	<i>with a man</i>

Figure 7.12: Taplin's earliest Ngarrindjeri case paradigm (1867)

SINGULAR.

Nom.	<i>Korni,</i>	a man.
Gen.	<i>Kornald,</i>	of a man.
Da.	<i>Kornangk,</i>	to a man.
Ac.	<i>Korn,</i>	a man.
Voc.	<i>Korninda,</i>	O man.
Ab.	<i>Kornil,</i>	by a man.
Exative.	<i>Kornanmant,</i>	from a man.
Ergative.	<i>Kornanyir or Kornald,</i>	with a man.

Figure 7.13: Taplin's later case paradigm (1975 [1870]: 123; 1872: 85; 1879b: 123)

Table 7.1: Table showing names assigned to case forms of singular nouns in grammars of Ngarrindjeri. Forms are given in their original order. Cases in upper case designate the label assigned in the reclamation by Horgen (2004: 95–96).

Meyer (1843) 1SG PRONOUNS			Singular nouns				
		Taplin 1867	Taplin 1870, 1872, 1879	Taplin 1878, 1880, 1878	Taplin in Fraser 1892		
Ngāpe	Nom NOM	Korni	Nom ABS	Porle	Nom ABS	Porl-y	Nom 1 ABS
Ngān	Acc ACC	Kornald	Gen GEN	Porlald	Gen GEN	Korn-ald Porl-ald	Gen GEN
Ngāte	Abl ERG	Kornank	Dat DAT	Porlangk Porlangai	Dat DAT	Korn-agk Porl-agk Porl-uḡar	Dat 2 DAT
Ngān- auwe	Gen	Korni	Acc ABS	Porlil	Caus ERG	Korn Porl-y	Acc ABS
Ngānangk	Dat ††	Kornil	Caus* ERG	Porlenend	Abl ABL	Korn-il Porl-il	Abl 1 ERG
Ngān- anyir	From **	Kornanmant	Exative ABL	Kornanmant Exative ABL		Korn- anmant Porl- inend	Abl 2 ABL
Nan- āmbē	For †	Kornanyir	Abl ABL	Kornanyir Kornald	Ergative ABL	Korn- anyir	Abl 6 ABL

*Crossed out “ablative.” ** -anyir is reclaimed in this study as “associative”. The form is shown by Horgen as both ablative and locative. †This form is shown as allative by Horgen, Meyer (1843: 24) suggests its function on pronouns is dative. ††This form is shown by Horgen as dative on pronouns and locative elsewhere. Meyer (1843: 24) suggests its function on pronouns is allative.

7.3 Taplin's grammars of Ngarrindjeri (1867; 1872 [1870]; 1874c; 1878)

suffix *-anmant*. The form had been included in Meyer's informal paradigm of nouns (Figure 6.2) where it was translated as "from, out of X".

In 1870, Taplin rearranged his paradigm (Figure 7.13) and returned to his original inclination to follow Meyer in naming the ergative case "ablative". In need of a new label to name the case form suffixed with *-anyir*, Taplin invented the term "ergative". The case is still translated as "with X" but is now shown as additionally marked by the suffix *-ald(e)*.

The identical paradigm for nouns (nom > gen > dat > acc > voc > abl > exat > ergat) was subsequently published by Moravians in Brough Smyth; by Hagenauer in a grammar of Wergaya, spoken in Western Victoria (1878: 43; Figure 7.14) and by Bulmer in a grammar of Ganai spoken in Eastern Victoria (1878: 31; Figure 7.15). It is, however, possible that the paradigm originates with Moravians and that Taplin accessed it via Meißel (§7.2; §7.3).

Plural.		Plural.	
(The same as dual, only to use the word <i>Getyonwell</i> instead of <i>Booletye</i>), like—			
Nom.	- Men, <i>Getyonwell wootye</i> .	Voc.	- O men! <i>Getyonwell wootyoh!</i>
Gen.	- Of men, <i>Getyonwell wootyegitg</i> .	Abl.	- By men, <i>Getyonwell wootyookat</i> .
Dat.	- To men, <i>Getyonwell wootyook</i> .	Exat.	- From men, <i>Getyonwell wootyenoong</i> .
Acc.	- Men, <i>Getyonwell wootye</i> .	Ergat.	- With men, <i>Getyonwell wootyool</i> .

First person.

Singular.		Dual.		Plural.	
Nom.	- I, <i>Walloorack</i> - - We two, <i>Wallooranook</i> - - We, <i>Wallooringorack</i> .	Nom.	- I, <i>Walloorack</i> - - We two, <i>Wallooranook</i> - - We, <i>Wallooringorack</i> .	Nom.	- I, <i>Walloorack</i> - - We two, <i>Wallooranook</i> - - We, <i>Wallooringorack</i> .
Acc.	- Me, <i>Wallooroongeck</i> - - Us two, <i>Wallooroongnock</i> - - Us, <i>Wallooringorack</i> .	Acc.	- Me, <i>Wallooroongeck</i> - - Us two, <i>Wallooroongnock</i> - - Us, <i>Wallooringorack</i> .	Acc.	- Me, <i>Wallooroongeck</i> - - Us two, <i>Wallooroongnock</i> - - Us, <i>Wallooringorack</i> .
Caus.	- By me, <i>Wallooralleck</i> - - By us two, <i>Wallooroongnalloock</i> - - By us, <i>Wallooringorack</i> .	Caus.	- By me, <i>Wallooralleck</i> - - By us two, <i>Wallooroongnalloock</i> - - By us, <i>Wallooringorack</i> .	Caus.	- By me, <i>Wallooralleck</i> - - By us two, <i>Wallooroongnalloock</i> - - By us, <i>Wallooringorack</i> .

Figure 7.14: Hagenauer's case paradigm (1878: 43; Wergaya)

DECLENSION OF SUBSTANTIVES AND PERSONAL PRONOUNS, WITH EXAMPLES OF THE DUAL.			
	Singular.	Dual.	Plural.
Nom.	- <i>Kani</i> , a man - - - <i>Boolong kani</i> , two men - - - <i>Womba kani</i> , men.		
Gen.	- <i>Wa kani</i> , of a man - - - <i>Wa boolonga kani</i> , of two men.		<i>Thungo wanga kani</i> , of the men.
Dat.	- <i>Mo kani</i> , to a man - - - <i>Kinna boolonga</i> , to two men - - - <i>Thulona kani</i> , to the men.		
Acc.	- <i>Kani</i> , a man - - - <i>Boolong kani</i> , two men - - - <i>Womba kani</i> , men.		
Voc.	- <i>Wagrato kani</i> , O man - - - <i>Wagrato boolong kani</i> , O two men.		<i>Wakratgil kani</i> , O the men.
Abl.	- <i>Kinanga kani</i> , by a man - - - <i>Kinanga boolonga</i> , by two men - - - <i>Thana kani</i> , by the men.		
Exat.	- <i>Thingo wanga kani</i> , from a man.	<i>Wanga boola</i> , with two men - - - <i>Wanga thana kani</i> , from the men.	
Ergat.	- <i>Kihana thulona kani</i> , with a man.	<i>Thula wanga boola</i> - - - <i>Thitana worna kani</i> , with the men.	
First person.			
	Singular.	Dual.	Plural.
Nom.	- <i>Ngio</i> , I - - - - <i>Ngalo</i> , we two - - - - <i>Nango</i> , we.		
Acc.	- <i>Ngat</i> , me - - - - <i>Ngalo</i> , us two - - - - <i>Nango</i> , us.		
Caus.	- <i>Ngio</i> , by me - - - - <i>Ngango</i> , by us two - - - - <i>Werna</i> , by us.		

Figure 7.15: Bulmer's case paradigm (1878: 31; Ganai)

In both grammars, nouns labelled “ergative” stand in peripheral case function and are translated as “with X”. The same paradigm of Ngarrindjeri was also later republished in German by Eylmann (1908: 92).

Taplin’s 1872 paradigm was reproduced in Fraser’s Ngarrindjeri material (1892), which also takes content from Taplin’s 1878 grammar. Fraser presents a paradigm not only for **korni** ‘man’, but also for **porle** ‘child’, which had only appeared in Taplin’s 1878 grammar. Fraser (1892: 30–32) abandoned the case terminologies developed by Taplin and renamed the cases using the system he had developed based on Threlkeld’s method of supplying numbered “ablative” and “dative” cases (§3.4.4; Figure 7.16)

Korni, ‘a man.’			
	Singular.	Dual.	Plural.
Nom. 1.*	Korn-i	Korn-eḡk	Korn-ar
Gen.	Korn-ald	Korn-eḡk-al	Korn-an
Dat. 2. {	Korn-aḡk		
Acc.	Korn	Korn-uḡeḡun	Korn-uḡar
Voc.	Korn-inda.	Korn-ula	Korn-una
Abl. 1.	Korn-il	Korn-eḡgul	Korn-ar
2.	Korn-anmant	Korn-uḡeḡun	Korn-uḡar
6.	Korn-anyir	Korn-uḡeḡun	Korn-an

Note that Fraser showed the velar nasal as “ḡ”

Figure 7.16: Fraser’s Ngarrindjeri case paradigm (1892: 30, from Taplin)

The asterisk that Fraser placed next to the “nominative 1” form refers to a passage (Figure 7.17) in which Fraser (1892: 15) gave an explanation of the case functions to which he assigned case labels. Note, however, that the ergative case form **korn-il** is still labelled “ablative” (ablative 1) by Fraser, who appears not to have recognised that this was the “nominative active”, ergative case form.

[* In the paradigms of the pronouns and the nouns, *Nom. 1* is the nominative case in its simple form, used absolutely; *Nom. 2* is the form used as the nominative of the agent or instrument; the *Gen.* means, as usual, ‘of,’ or ‘belonging to’; *Dat. 1* is the dative of ‘possession’ or ‘use,’ = ‘for’ (him, her, it), to have and to use; *Dat. 2* is a sort of locative case ‘towards’ (him, &c.); the *Acc.* is the ‘object’ form of the word; the *Voc.* is used in ‘calling’; *Abl. 1* denotes ‘from,’ ‘on account of,’ as a cause; *Abl. 2*, ‘from,’ ‘away from,’ ‘procession from’; *Abl. 3*, ‘with,’ ‘in company with’; *Abl. 4*, ‘being with,’ ‘remaining with,’ ‘at’; occasionally there is an *Abl. 5*, which means merely place where, ‘at.’—ED.]

Figure 7.17: Fraser’s key to the functions of his case labels (1892: 15)

8 Grammars of Diyari (1868–1899)

This chapter presents several grammars of Diyari (Koch 1868; Schoknecht 1947 [1872]; Flierl 1880; Reuther 1894; 1981a) and other Karnic languages (Flierl 1880; Reuther 1981c; Reuther 1981c) that were written by Lutheran missionaries at Bethesda, east of Lake Eyre in South Australia, as well as the grammars of Diyari written by European philologists (Planert 1908; Gatti 1930), whose work was informed by the missionaries' analyses.

Comparison of the analysis of morphosyntactic features (Section 8.5) demonstrates that grammars of Diyari produced at the mission are generally descriptively and analytically homogenous, while grammars made by European philologists are descriptively innovative. The discussion considers the influence of Teichelmann & Schürmann's (1840) grammar (Chapter 5) on Koch's (1868) earliest description of case and of ergativity in Diyari. Koch's grammar, which is presented in this study for the first time, was largely reproduced by later missionaries, although Reuther's grammar (1894), the last and best-known missionary description of Diyari, shows independent influence from elsewhere within the Lutheran School.

8.1 Two inland Lutheran South Australian missions

Grammars of Diyari and of Arrernte were written at the two inland missions established by the Lutheran Church in the arid north of South Australia in the second half of the nineteenth century. These are the Bethesda mission (formerly Hermannsburg), Lake Killalpaninna (*Kirlawirlpanhinja*), Kopperamanna (*Kaparramaranha*), and Cooper Creek (1866–1915), situated to the east of Lake Eyre, and Hermannsburg mission (later Finke River; 1877–1982), situated in the Western MacDonnell Ranges (Figure 1.10). These Lutheran missions and the Cape Bedford Lutheran mission in Queensland (1886–1942) (§10.1.2) endured longer than most other missions at which early grammars were written.

The longevity of the Bethesda and Hermannsburg missions fostered the development of a tradition of grammatical description of Diyari and of Arrernte at each mission respectively. Grammars were written as pedagogical tools for

learning the language and for preparing sermons, and newly arrived missionaries copied out existing grammars, sometimes altering the orthography and the analysis. In a pre-academic era of linguistic description, and especially within the missionary sphere, unattributed borrowing from an earlier document was unproblematic. Consequently, establishing the original authorship of an analysis takes careful comparative study of the sources. At both missions later, better-known missionaries have been over-credited with having made grammatical analyses, while the analytical achievements of earlier, lesser-known missionaries, who made the inaugural grammatical descriptions, have been overlooked historically (see for example, Kenny 2013: 87; Hill 2002: 527). By examining the differences between grammars of the same language, this and the following chapter assign intellectual provenance to the different analyses of Diyari and Arrernte.

Second-generation missionaries at each mission also described languages belonging to country adjacent to the mission site, but which came within the extended reach of the mission. At Bethesda, Flierl described Wangkangurru (1880) and Reuther described both Wangkangurru (1981c) and Yandrruwandha (1981c) as well as collecting vocabulary lists of Arabana, Thirrari, Ngamini and Yawarrawarrka. At Hermannsburg, C. Strehlow described Luritja (1910).

The endurance of these missions was due to their remoteness, and to the ongoing support received from members of European Lutheran congregations in the settled southern districts of South Australia, with whom mission staff held close familial and community connections. Although the Dresdner missionaries (Teichelmann, Schürmann and Meyer, §5.1) had been instructed to “gather German settlers into congregations, which would provide a support base for Aboriginal work” (Lockwood 2007: 9), the fledgling migrant German populations around Adelaide had been unable to offer the early Dresdner missionaries the support they required. But by the second half of the nineteenth century, South Australian Lutheran congregations were sufficiently vigorous and were committed to sustaining the inland missions. Once established, the Bethesda and Hermannsburg missions also benefitted from the loyalty of Diyari and Arrernte Christian “converts”, whose work at the mission stations was essential to their economic viability.

Twenty years of Lutheran missionary inactivity had followed the initial and short-lived attempts of the Dresdners to Christianise Aboriginal people in South Australia (1838–1848). Missionary interest in Central Australia was rekindled by the first crossing of the continent from south to north by J. M. Stuart (1815–1866) in 1861–62, and by the encroachment of pastoralism into the arid interior. A mission site at Coopers Creek to the east of Lake Eyre was considered suitably remote from the disruptive influence of European populations. The site was also

chosen as a reciprocal gesture of Christian values towards the Aboriginal people who had saved King, the only survivor of the Burke and Wills expedition (Clark & Cahir 2013: 137).

Despite the decades separating the closure of the South Australian Dresdner missions (1848) and the second wave of inland mission activity, continuity of support from the Dresdner grammarians provided an intellectual link between these two phases of mission activity in South Australia. Meyer, who wrote a grammar of Ngarrindjeri (1843; §6.1.2), was president of the Bethany-Lobethal Synod (1848–1861; later the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Australia, henceforth ELSA) and was especially influential in establishing the alliance with the Hermannsburg Missiongesellschaft (Hermannsburg Mission Society, henceforth HMS) required to re-commence mission work. He is also known to have corresponded with Rev. W. Löhe, founder of Neuendettelsau Mission Institute, which trained the third wave of Lutheran missionaries in South Australia (J. Strehlow 2011: 249). Schürmann, who had earlier written a grammar of Barngarla (1844a; §6.2), had been the Church's first choice of missionary for the first inland Lutheran mission, but at the age of 48 he advised that two "young men of courageous faith" should be sourced from Leipzig or the Hermannsburg Mission Society in Germany (Zweck 2012: 60). Teichelmann, who co-authored the earliest South Australian grammar with Schürmann (1840; Chapter 5), was present at the 1866 dedication in Tanunda of the HMS missionaries who were to establish the mission to the Diyari (Proeve & Proeve 1952: 54). This continuity is relevant when assessing the potential influence of the Dresdner missionaries on the grammatical descriptions of their Lutheran successors.

Theological schisms and tentatively established alliances between factions of the Australian Lutheran synods threatened the continuity of each of the inland missions at different stages. These developments are relevant to this examination of the grammatical descriptions made by Lutheran missionaries, since the administering synod determined from which German seminary missionaries were recruited. Seminaries provided different degrees of linguistic training, with possible consequences for the type of linguistic material produced. Further, staff trained at the same German seminary and administered by the same Australian synod were moved between missions. This may have facilitated the dissemination of grammatical understanding across language boundaries.

In order to establish the earliest inland mission in the Lake Eyre Basin, a union between distinct South Australian synods (1863) was required before L. Harms, the director of the HMS in Germany, would agree to supply missionaries (Brauer 1956: 223–224; Proeve & Proeve 1952: 33–38). In 1874 this union dissolved and the South Australian Lutheran Church splintered into two main factions, contributing to the near abandonment of the mission to the Diyari for a period of four

years from 1872. In 1876, the Evangelical Lutheran Immanuel Synod (henceforth ELIS) assumed control of the mission and sourced missionaries from the Bavarian Neuendettelsauer Missionsgesellschaft (Neuendettelsau Mission Society, henceforth Neuendettelsau) from 1878.

Note that the Bethesda mission was officially named “Hermannsburg” before being administered by ELIS. During this phase, however, it was commonly referred to by its location, which shifted several times towards well-watered country. For the sake of clarity, the mission is consistently referred to here as “Bethesda”.

After ELIS assumed control of Bethesda, the ELSA faction established the second inland mission, called Hermannsburg, further inland in Central Australia, and continued to recruit missionaries from the HMS. A continuing relationship between the Australian synod and the HMS eventually became untenable (Harms 2003: 148) and the HMS ceased to support missions in South Australia. After the departure of the last HMS missionaries from Hermannsburg in 1891, the mission was left in the hands of a few unordained staff, as Bethesda had been in 1872. In 1894 the ELIS acquired the Hermannsburg mission station, after which both inland South Australian missions were run as collaborations between Neuendettelsau and ELIS, Bethesda from 1876 and Hermannsburg from 1894.

Unlike Bethesda at Lake Eyre, which had earlier been called “Hermannsburg”, the Hermannsburg mission on the Finke River to the Arrernte retained its naming after its founding seminary, even after missionaries were sourced from Neuendettelsau.

Relations between the missionaries, the mission staff and their families working at the two inland South Australian Lutheran missions were always particularly close. Bethesda was a resting place for Hermannsburg missionaries making the arduous journey to and from the mission and the Barossa Valley, facilitating a collegial exchange of ideas between these two mission stations. The movement of Aboriginal people between Hermannsburg and Bethesda also supported the missionaries’ aims. The first baptisms at Hermannsburg, made eight years after the mission’s establishment, occurred only after the Arrernte people Tekua (Thomas) and Kalimala (Andrea) met with Diyari Christians at Bethesda when accompanying the missionaries on the journey southwards (Harris 1994: 398; Latz 2014: 41).

Neuendettelsau missionaries were also sent to Aboriginal missions in Queensland: Cape Bedford (1886–1942; §10.1.2), Bloomfield (1887–1901), and Mari Yamba (1887–1902). There was considerable transfer of Neuendettelsau missionaries between the two South Australian missions and the Queensland mission.

The Neuendettelsau-trained missionary C. Strehlow (§9.2.2), who arrived at the Bethesda mission in 1892, was well acquainted with the structure of Diyari before he was transferred to Hermannsburg in 1894 and began to learn Arrernte. His ability to communicate in two Aboriginal languages is the most well recognised instance of cross-mission linguistic fertilisation (see Hebart 1938: 193; Albrecht 2002: 7; Kenny 2008: 32). The extent to which the movement of staff facilitated a transfer of linguistic analysis across language boundaries deserves consideration more generally. For instance, did the HMS missionaries' understanding of PN morphosyntactic structure acquired through learning Diyari in any way influence the earliest description of Arrernte made by HMS graduate Kempe? Further, did the Lutherans' analysis of Diyari made at Bethesda have any influence on the earliest descriptions of Guugu-Yimidhirr spoken at Cape Bedford mission in Queensland?

8.2 Missionary grammars of Diyari

Four grammars of Diyari are known to have been written at the Bethesda mission. Two were written during the HMS mission era, one by lay missionary and teacher W. Koch (1868) and one by missionary Schoknecht (1947 [1872]). Two grammars were written by Neuendettelsau missionaries (Flierl & Meyer 1880; Reuther 1981a[1894]).

All of these four Diyari grammars are similar enough to be treated as a single analysis, with points of difference noted. Examine, for example, the Diyari grammarians' paradigms declining possessive pronouns (Figure 8.2; Figure 8.3).

Such paradigms, which account for the additional clausal case marking of a pronoun in possessive case, were introduced into descriptions of South Australian languages by Teichelmann and Schürmann (1840; §5.3.3). Reuther's (1981a) grammar of Diyari, which was translated into English by Hercus & Schwarzschild (1981d), and which is the last, and most well known of the early Karnic sources, provides paradigms declining dual possessive pronouns for each number (Figure 8.2). Austin (1981b: 27) observes that when translating dual possessive pronouns Reuther "inadvertently associated number with the thing possessed rather than the possessor, i.e., he has translated **ngaldrani**, *ngaldranha* 1dINCL. POSS, and **ngalini**, *ngalirni* 1dEXCL. POSS, as 'my two' instead of as 'belonging to us two' ". The same problem occurs in all early Diyari grammars. The mistake had first been made in the earliest Diyari description from the mission (Koch 1868; Figure 8.3), who translated the nominative form of the dual possessed pronoun as *unserer beiden* ('our two') rather than "belonging to us two'.

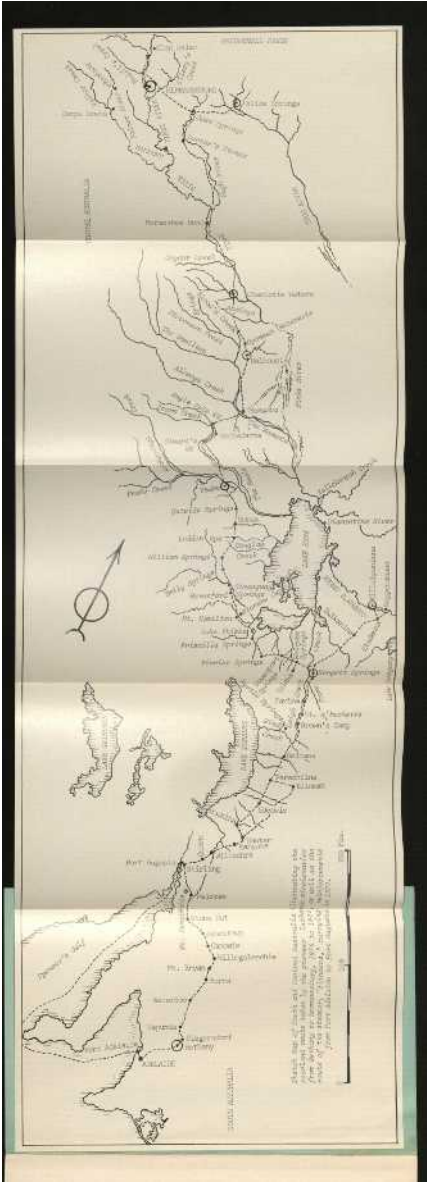


Figure 8.1: Sketch map of South and Central Australia illustrating the overland route taken by the pioneer Lutheran missionaries from Bethany to Hermannsburg, 1875–1877 (Scherer 1973)

Dual.

N:	ngaldrani	vs.	ngalini	~~(supra brian)~~ ~~(subina brian)~~
G:	ngaldranaia	vs.	ngalinaia	~~supra~~ ~~subina~~ brian
D:	ngaldranani	vs.	ngalinani	supra brian
Ac:	ngaldrani	vs.	ngalini	supra brian.
Ab:	ngaldranali	vs.	ngalinali	supra brian, v.m. b.

Plural.

Figure 8.2: Reuther's declension of dual possessive pronouns (1894: 21)

2. Pronomina Possessiva, seu
Genetivus Sub Personalis
 non nomina alla nupur 14. Diklation
 Sub Substantivis declinunt

Paradigmon.

Singularis.

Nom.	napani	jinkani	nunkani
	main	dui	pin

Dualis

Nom.	^{supra brian} natini	^{supra brian} juellani	^{supra brian} puellani
	naldrani	nuin brian	ti brian

Pluralis.

Nom.	naianani	juranani	tanaxani
	supra	nuin	ipr

Figure 8.3: Koch's description of possessive pronouns (1868)

Note that Taplin made exactly the same mistake, before correcting himself in his MS grammar of Ngarrindjeri (1867; Figure 8.4). Both Taplin and Koch may have been independently led astray by Teichelmann & Schürmann’s analysis (§5.3.3).

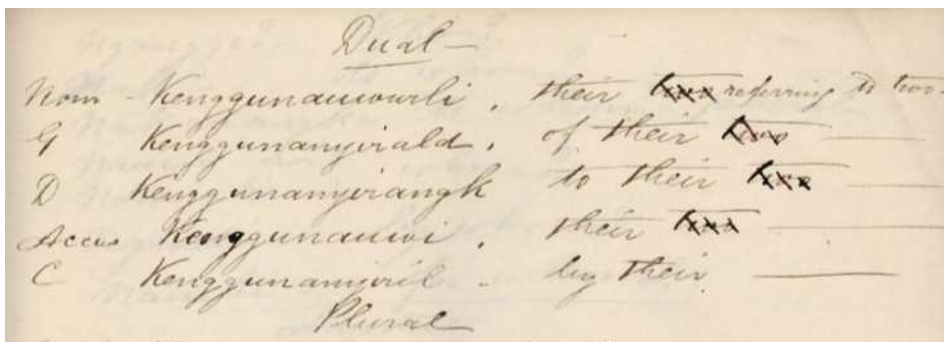


Figure 8.4: Taplin’s description of possessive pronouns in Ngarrindjeri (1867)

Structurally, the Diyari grammars are organised under the same headings and subheadings, employ the same numbering of sections, and often give the same Diyari example clauses. The extent to which the later grammars replicate the structure and schemata of the first grammar (Koch 1868) is especially evident when comparing the pages detailing verb morphology. In each work – with the possible exception of Schoknecht (1947 [1872]; §8.3.3), the original of which has not been sighted – pages are ruled in the same, unconventional manner and present some content in portrait format. Compare, for example, Koch (1868; Figure 8.5) with Flierl (1880; Figure 8.6). Note that the authors used different illustrative verbs. Koch used the verb *rnandra*- ‘to hit, to strike’, and Flierl *nganka*- ‘to make’. Note also the absence of the velar nasal in Flierl’s representation *anka*-.

8.2.1 Neglect of Diyari grammars in histories of Australian linguistic research

No missionary grammars of Diyari were published or translated into English during the time of the mission. The only Diyari grammatical materials emanating from the mission that were published in *Australia* before Austin (1981c) are E. Homann’s pronominal paradigms in Taplin (1879a: 86) and in Fraser (1892: 43–44) and three Karnic wordlists presented in Curr (1886) attributed to “F. E. Jacobs” (1886a; 1886b; 1886c), where the author’s initials and surname are given



Figure 8.5: Koch's template of verbal morphology (1868: no pag.)

incorrectly. The wordlists were supplied by laymissionary J. E. Jacob, a German-born South Australian wagoner, who helped establish the mission and became integral to its longevity. Jacob's wordlists are of unnamed languages identified by the location: "North-West of Lake Eyre", "The North Shore of Lake Eyre", and Kopperamana. The languages are Wangkatyaka, Ngamini and Diyari respectively (Hercus 1994: 19).¹

The Diyari grammars remained obscure unpublished German MSS well into the twentieth century, and some remain so. The only missionary analysis published in the pre-contemporary era is a grammar by Planert (1908), published in Germany, based on missionary Wettengel's documents (1908; §8.4.3). In 1874 S.

¹The vocabularies supplied by Jacob, who is said to have been a fluent Diyari speaker (Proeve 1946: 11), present the most bizarre orthographic convention attested in this corpus. Jacob uses the trigraph "sth" to represent all word-initial nasals other than the bilabial. The spelling was so unconventional as to receive the following explanation in Curr's introduction (1886 vol.ii: 12): "I have thought it necessary to call attention to the nationality of my correspondent, as in many cases the spelling of the words of his vocabulary, taken from an English point of view, represents sounds which it would be impossible for an Australian black to utter. The *sth* which occurs so frequently, I take to represent the nasal sound which is generally expressed by *ng*."

Paradigma ankana, mufaw.					
Indicativus	Optat.	Denunc.	Condi- tional.	Imperativus. —	
ngato ankai, " ankala wapaia, " ankala pia, " ankaila, if mufaw	ngato ankana wai, if mufaw mufaw	ngati ankai ai, if mufaw fupo. " ankaiatila, fut. si mufaw deuri muf fupufuf. —	ngato ankana ni, wana if muf.	ankau! ankamai, mufaw. nulia } ankaiaitimai! nandruya } w. fin. mufaw! ankalau, ankalumai! ifw brida fflayant! puddalia ankaiaitulu mai! fin brida fflayant! ankana u, ankanimai fflayant! tanalua ankaiaitiani mai! fin fut. fflayant!	ngato puddra nulia nandruya ngati ngaldra pudda puddalia ngaiani fura tanalaia tanaua
ngato ankana wai, " ankala wiri, " ankana piraia, " ankana wiraia, " ankana nti: if folin gumufi	ngato ankana wai, if mufaw mufaw if mufaw mufaw, ifw if mufaw. mufaw.			ngati puddra nulia nandruya ngati ngaldra pudda puddalia ngaiani fura tanalaia tanaua	ngato puddra nulia nandruya ngati ngaldra pudda puddalia ngaiani fura tanalaia tanaua
ankana, mufaw,				ngati puddra nulia nandruya ngati ngaldra pudda puddalia ngaiani fura tanalaia tanaua	ngato puddra nulia nandruya ngati ngaldra pudda puddalia ngaiani fura tanalaia tanaua
ankala, imu zu mufaw.				ngati puddra nulia nandruya ngati ngaldra pudda puddalia ngaiani fura tanalaia tanaua	ngato puddra nulia nandruya ngati ngaldra pudda puddalia ngaiani fura tanalaia tanaua
ankani, mufaw				ngati puddra nulia nandruya ngati ngaldra pudda puddalia ngaiani fura tanalaia tanaua	ngato puddra nulia nandruya ngati ngaldra pudda puddalia ngaiani fura tanalaia tanaua
ankanala, gumufi fut. nti.				ngati puddra nulia nandruya ngati ngaldra pudda puddalia ngaiani fura tanalaia tanaua	ngato puddra nulia nandruya ngati ngaldra pudda puddalia ngaiani fura tanalaia tanaua

Figure 8.6: Flierl's template of verbal morphology (1880: 48)

Gason (?1845–1897), the mounted constable at Lake Hope (1865–1871), published *The Dieyerie tribe of Australian Aborigines*, which contained vocabulary, example sentences and some poorly spelled verb forms. The material was republished in Woods (1879) and, in part, in Curr (1886) and in Fraser (1892).

This situation contrasts with the prompt publication of grammars by the earlier Dresden Mission Institute missionaries (Teichelmann & Schürmann 1840; Meyer 1843; Schürmann 1844b) and with the publication of grammars by Taplin (1872; 1874b; 1879a; 1880; §7.3) and by Ridley (1866; 1875; §4.5), which appeared close to the time of the Lutherans' first MS descriptions of Diyari. While missionary Günther's manuscript analyses of Wiradjuri (1838; 1840) were brought to a greater public through publication in Fraser (1892), the Diyari grammars are not included in Fraser's volume. The only Diyari material that is included in Fraser are a pronominal paradigm supplied by HMS missionary E. Homann (1892: 43–44) and Gason's material (1874: 44–45).

The unpublished Lutheran grammars of Diyari did not inform later non-Lutheran descriptions of PN languages examined in this study. W. E. Roth appears

unaware of, or was at least unable to access, these German MSS when preparing his 1897 grammar of the related Karnic language Pitta-Pitta. The Lutheran Diyari material does not appear in Roth's substantial bibliography. F. Müller's (1882) otherwise fairly thorough collation of Australian grammatical material does not note the existence of the Diyari grammars.

The grammars have also been overlooked in histories of Australian language description. They are not referred to by Ray in an otherwise comprehensive description of "existing material available for the study of Aboriginal languages" (1925: 2). Elkin (1937: 9) refers only to Planert's (1908) Diyari grammar, published in Germany. There is no chapter discussing the early description of Diyari in McGregor's seminal volume on the historiography of Australian languages (2008b). The overview of research and documentation of South Australian languages given by Simpson *et al* (2008: 120) provides no detail of the missionaries' morphosyntactic analysis of Diyari, and incorrectly states that Austin (1981c) was the first published grammar of Diyari, overlooking Eylmann (1908), Planert (1908), Gatti (1930), and Schoknecht (1947 [1872]). That the earliest two of these Diyari grammars were written in German, the third in Italian, and the last produced as a self-published pamphlet has certainly contributed to this oversight.

The oversight is also due to the fact that the role that the missionaries' analyses may have played in language reclamation programmes, which began in South Australia in the 1980s, has been supplanted by comprehensive analysis informed by speakers in the modern descriptive linguistic era (Austin 1981c). The early grammatical descriptions of Diyari do not have the contemporary relevance of earlier Dresdner grammars upon which language reclamation has so entirely depended.

Austin (1978), however, gives a good overview of most of the early Diyari linguistic material. This section was excluded from his 1981 published grammar due to space considerations, but now appears in the second edition which is available online as Austin (2013: 241–245).

In comparison with the recent historical attention focussing on Neuendettelsau-trained missionaries (e.g., Reuther 1981d; Jones & Sutton 1986; Nobbs 2005), the HMS missionaries at Bethesda have been under-investigated and their grammatical contribution, upon which the Neuendettelsau missionaries relied, has been under-recognised. Kneebone (2005a: 24) aims to "highlight the sophistication and reliability of the early documentation of the Dieri language by Hermannsburg missionaries", thus redressing the historical oversight of the earliest HMS grammarians. It appears, however, that Kneebone was unaware of Austin's (1978) review of earlier research. Despite the studies made by Austin (1978) and Kneebone (2005a), the initial HMS missionaries' analysis of Diyari, that occurred prior to

the arrival of Neuendettelsau men, continues to be overlooked in histories of the mission (see for example, Kenny 2013: 87).

8.3 The Hermannsburg Mission Society missionaries at Bethesda

This section surveys the linguistic work made during the first HMI period of missionary activity at Bethesda (Table 8.1).

Table 8.1: The grammatical descriptions of Diyari produced during the HMS phase of mission activity at Bethesda

	Occupation at Bethesda	Dates at Bethesda	Produced grammar in:	Status
W. Koch (1848–1869)	Teacher	1868–1869	1868	Unpublished German MS
E. Homann (1838–1915)	HMS-trained missionary	1867–1871	Pronominal paradigm in Taplin 1879a: 86	
C. H. Schoknecht (1841–1905)	HMS-trained missionary	1872–1873	1872	Unpublished German MS, published in English translation 1947
H. H. Vogelsang (1832–1913)	HMS-trained mission assistant	1867–1913	Copy of Diyari grammar sent to Howitt in 1878	

The HMS was founded in 1849 by L. Harms (1808–1865). The mission seminary was philosophically similar to Gossner’s of the Berlin Mission Society, established in 1836, which trained some of the missionaries who established the Zion Hill mission at Moreton Bay (present-day Brisbane). Ganter (2016b) writes that these two mission societies:

formed break-away institutions from already established mission societies with the express purpose to accept candidates who were being turned away

8.3 *The Hermannsburg Mission Society missionaries at Bethesda*

by the other training colleges, and to prepare them for “heathen mission”. They commenced with very basic curricula but eventually succumbed to external pressures and integrated more demanding standards, and the Bible languages, into their programme in order to achieve ordination for their candidates.

That the Bible used at the Hermannsburg seminary was written in Plattdeutsch, a “low” German dialect, is telling of the mission philosophy. The early HMS candidates received only a basic academic education without instruction in any classical languages. The training received by the HMS Lutheran missionaries lacked the classical orientation and academic rigor of that received by the earlier Dresdner, the later Neuendettelsau Lutheran missionaries, and those trained at Basel Mission Institute (§4.1).

8.3.1 **The earliest phase of the HMS mission at Bethesda**

The HMS missionaries sent to Australia to establish the first inland mission – J. F. Gößling (1838–1917), E. Homann (1838–1915), and missionary assistant H. H. Vogelsang (1832–1913) – arrived with G. A. Heidenreich (1828–1910) and C. G. Hellmuth (1827–1895). All of these men played important roles in Australian Lutheran mission.² The HMS administered the Lutheran mission at Lake Eyre during a period of instability and uncertainty. Continuity of staff was poor.

Concurrent with the Lutherans’ decision to establish a mission among South Australian Diyari populations, the Society for Promoting Moravian Missions to the Aborigines of Victoria was similarly motivated to establish a mission in the area (Edwards 2007: 209). Unbeknownst to each other, a Moravian party consisting of G. Meißel, H. Walder and C. C. W. Kramer left Adelaide only ten weeks before the Lutheran party, consisting of missionaries Homann, Gößling, Vogelsang, and the Australian-born wagoner J. E. Jacob, left Langmeil in the Barossa Valley. Both parties arrived at Lake Hope in December (1866; Edwards 2007: 215–218). The location was chosen partly because it was hoped evangelisation would be more successful among remote populations unaffected by perceived European corruption, and partly as an act of goodwill towards the Diyari people, who had sustained John King, the sole survivor of the Bourke and Wills expedition to the Gulf of Carpentaria. The Lutherans maintained a mutually supportive relationship with the Moravian missionaries, who in October (1867) had settled

²Hellmuth founded the German-Scandinavian Lutheran synod in Queensland, which supported the Mari Yamba mission, where HMS graduate A. C. Claussen (1846–1897) was the first missionary.

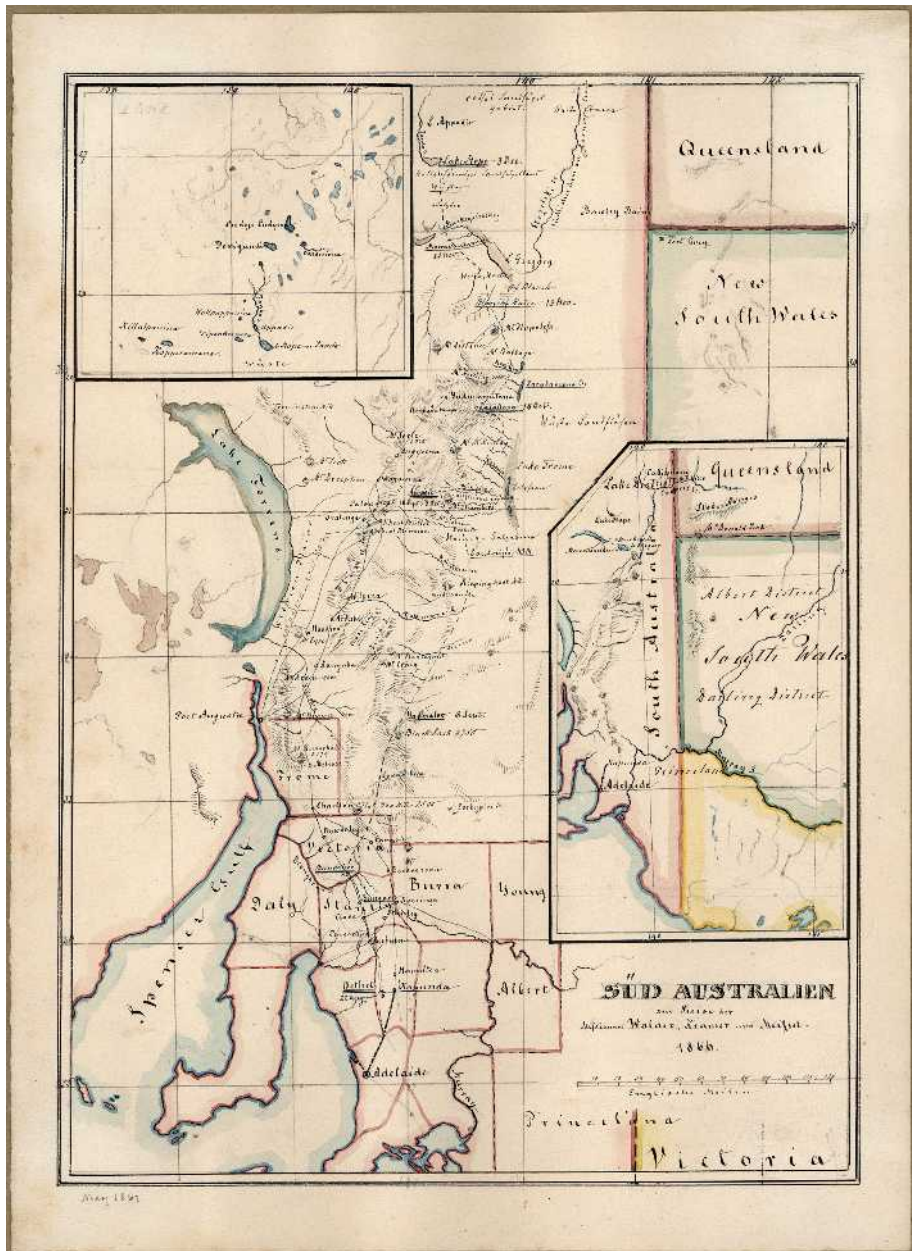


Figure 8.7: “Süd Australien zur Reise der Missionare Walder, Kramer und Meißel. 1866”, produced by Moravian missionaries, with permission from Unitätsarchiv (Bd.30.10)

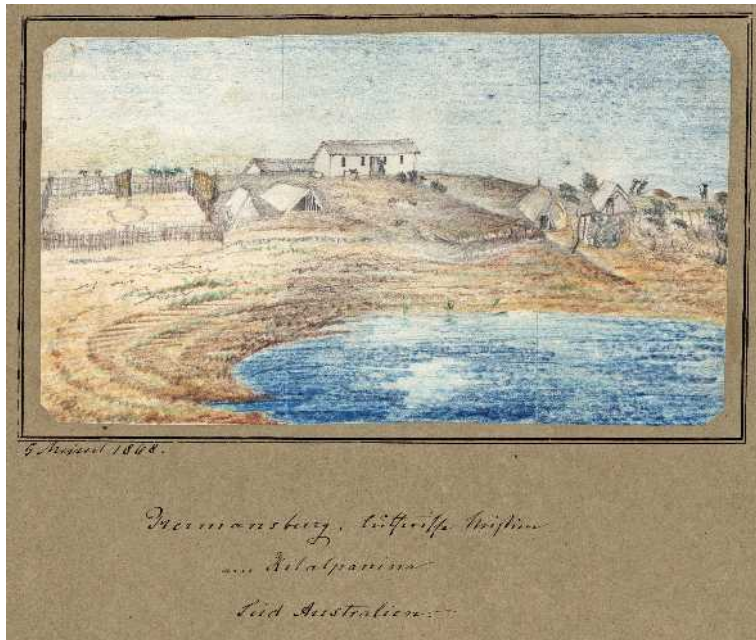


Figure 8.9: “Hermansburg, lutherische Mission am Kilalpanina Süd Australien”, watercolour signed “G. Meißel 1868”, with permission from Unitätsarchiv (Bd.30.17.b)

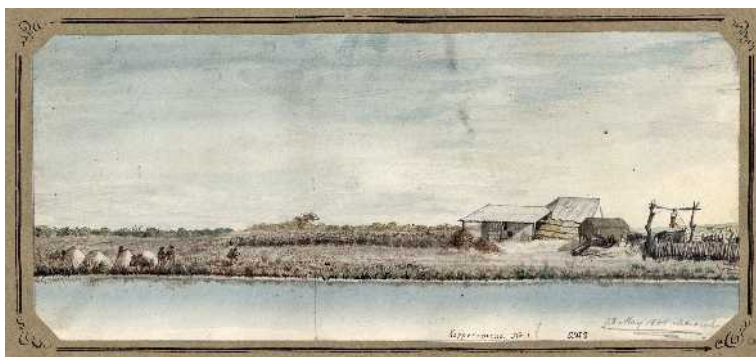


Figure 8.10: “Kopperamana No. 1”, watercolour signed “Meißel 28 May 1868”, with permission from Unitätsarchiv (Bd.30.18.a)

at Lake Kopperamanna, sixteen kilometres from Killalpaninna (see Figure 8.7 & Figure 8.8). Meißel produced watercolours of both mission stations (Figure 8.9; Figure 8.10).

The arrival of both parties, however, contributed to existing tension in the region, resulting from the recent expansion of pastoralism and the ensuing pressure on scarce water supplies. In early 1867, only ten weeks after first establishing themselves at Killalpaninna, the Lutheran party retreated south to the Barossa Valley, and at the same time the Moravians retreated to Boolcaltaninna (*Bucaltaninna*). While the Lutherans re-established their settlement at Killalpaninna in 1868, the Moravian mission was closed the following year, due to lack of support from its directing board in Saxony and from the Moravian committee in Melbourne, although Moravian missionary Walder remained until May 1869. The Moravians had made some progress in learning Diyari, establishing a school in which missionary Kramer taught (Proeve & Proeve 1952: 67). Missionary Meißel later contributed a Diyari wordlist from Lake Kopperamanna to G. Taplin's "Comparative Table of Languages of the Australian Aborigines" (1872[1870]).

There are different accounts of the Lutheran missionaries' progress in learning Diyari during this earliest phase of mission activity. Theodor Harms, the then HMS director, noted the existence of a wordlist collated before the missionaries' 1867 retreat:

The natives assist them in their work, and see how the missionaries snatch one word after the other from their lips. So far they have succeeded in collecting a few hundred words. (Harms 1867, quoted in Proeve & Proeve 1952: 68)

In addition to this evidence that the missionaries elicited their own material before leaving the mission early in 1867 is a letter from Gößling (quoted in Brauer 1956: 229) that was written during the first short ten-week stint at Killalpaninna March 1867, in which he admits difficulty in learning the language, but states that they had "learned several hundred native words from Mr. Gosse [*sic*: Gason] at Lake Hope".³ Kneebone's investigation also shows that Gason had dictated "a few hundred words", which provided Homann and Gößling with the "first working vocabulary in Dieri [*sic*]" (2005a: 80).

Note that Homann and Koch had initially referred to the people at the mission as *Körni* and *Karna* (2005a: 259), meaning "Aboriginal person" in Diyari – the

³This is probably a transcription error. W. Gosse (1842–1881) led an expedition from Alice Springs to Perth in 1873 on which he discovered and named Ayres Rock. He is not known to have travelled to the Lake Eyre Basin.

origin of the modern name for the language family “Karnic” – rather than Dieri, Diari or Diaeri. Compare this with the naming of the Adelaide language and people as “Kaurna”, which also means “men”, but in a neighbouring language (§5.1.1).

8.3.2 Koch: the second phase of HMS at Bethesda

In January 1868, after being assured of adequate police protection, the Lutherans returned and established a settlement at Lake Killalpaninna. The party returned without HMS missionary Gößling, but with women who had married the lay missionaries – D. Vogelsang (née Heistermann) and M. E. Jacob (née Auricht)⁴ and a young German teacher named Wilhelm Koch (1848–1869).

Teacher W. Koch initially met Gößling, Homann and Vogelsang on the sea voyage to Australia. Fleeing financial and moral dishonour (Kneebone 2005a: 89–90), Koch decided to join the missionaries and to travel with them to Lake Eyre, but his initial application to Hermannsburg was rejected. Koch later became reacquainted with the missionaries while working as a teacher in the Barossa Valley during the missionaries’ 1867 retreat south. Koch reapplied to join the mission, and was this time accepted.

Koch – who had studied, although had not completed, four years of *Gymnasium* education, including Latin and Greek – is described as “a gifted young man” (Hebart 1938: 187) who “brought to the mission a classical education and considerable natural talent for language” (Kneebone 2005a: 10). At the time of their acquaintance, Koch is said to have “helped [the missionaries] to explore the Dieri language about which the missionaries knew nothing except for a wordlist of 300 Dieri words” (Ganter 2016b).

On arrival at Bethesda, Koch was given responsibility for teaching in the mission school and used Diyari as the language of instruction (Harms 2003: 51). Substantial linguistic progress was made in 1868. Homann was assisted in improving his Diyari sermons by Pikally, the first Diyari person to be baptised. In 1869 Homann was preaching to more than fifty people, and he perceived that the Diyari people were beginning to understand his message (Harms 2003: 52).

The first Diyari primer (Koch & Homann 1870; Figure 8.11) was produced for publication during the initial HMS phase of mission work at Bethesda (1866–1873). Assigning authorship to the translations made in the primer is not straightforward. Two of the seven Diyari hymns are shown as having been translated by

⁴After the death of his first wife, H. Vogelsang married Jakob’s wife’s sister, A. M. Vogelsang (née Auricht). These women were the daughters of the influential Pastor J. C. Auricht (1832–1907), who established Auricht’s Printing Press in Tanunda, which printed German newspapers. Another daughter, Luise Auricht, married J. Flierl and also lived at Killalpaninna before travelling with her husband to New Guinea.

8.3 The Hermannsburg Mission Society missionaries at Bethesda

Koch & Homann (1870: 26). Although the translator of the remaining five hymns, the commandments, psalms and catechism is not given, the *Report of the Lutheran Mission* (1868) stated that Koch “translated the Creed, the Ten Commandments, and the Lord’s Prayer” (ibid.: 3). Yet the work has been attributed to Homann & Gößling (Graetz 1988: 100), and elsewhere to Homann alone (Harms 2003: 59). The 1870 primer is here attributed to Homann & Koch.



Figure 8.11: The first Diyari primer (Koch & Homann 1870)

This first productive period of missionary activity ended abruptly. The engagement of a large number of Diyari people with missionary activity had coincided with a drought. Lack of fresh food and the increasing salinity of the water at the mission caused illness (Harms 2003: 56). W. Koch died from typhoid in April 1869 at the age of 21. After summer rain fell at the end of 1869, school attendance decreased as Aboriginal families returned to the filled watercourses and lakes away from the mission (Harms 2003: 57).

Koch’s death doubled Homann’s workload, who was now too busy to pursue further linguistic work (Harms 2003: 56). Homann left disheartened and embittered in 1871, after having been accused by the mission committee of being “of little faith” (Ganter 2016d).⁵

⁵H. A. E. Meyer had similarly been forced to defend the decision to close the mission at Encounter Bay against the accusation that the Dresdner missionaries had “lacked the patience and the persistence, and above all the watchword ‘Love’” (J. M. Torbitzki, 03/04/1862, quoted in Zweck 2012: 50).

In the months before the arrival of a replacement for Homann, the mission was sustained by the Vogelsang and Jacob families. The Vogelsangs maintained a longstanding commitment to the Diyari community. H. H. Vogelsang remained at the mission until his death in 1913. His son H. Vogelsang, one of eight Vogelsang children born at the mission, was literate in Diyari and was the last teacher in the school before the closure of the mission in 1915. Another son, E. T. Vogelsang, who was also a capable literate user of Diyari (see Figure 8.12), worked at the South Australian Museum in the 1920s as an attendant, where he attempted to make a translation into English of Reuther’s extensive MS (§8.4.2.1). He later worked with H. K. Fry on his publication of Diyari legends (1937a; 1937b) and co-authored anthropological articles about the Diyari with Ronald Berndt (Berndt & Vogelsang 1939; Berndt & Vogelsang 1941). A grandson, Colin Jericho, continues to uphold the connection, maintaining contact with Diyari descendents of people born at the mission, and placing commemorative plaques on the graves of Diyari people.

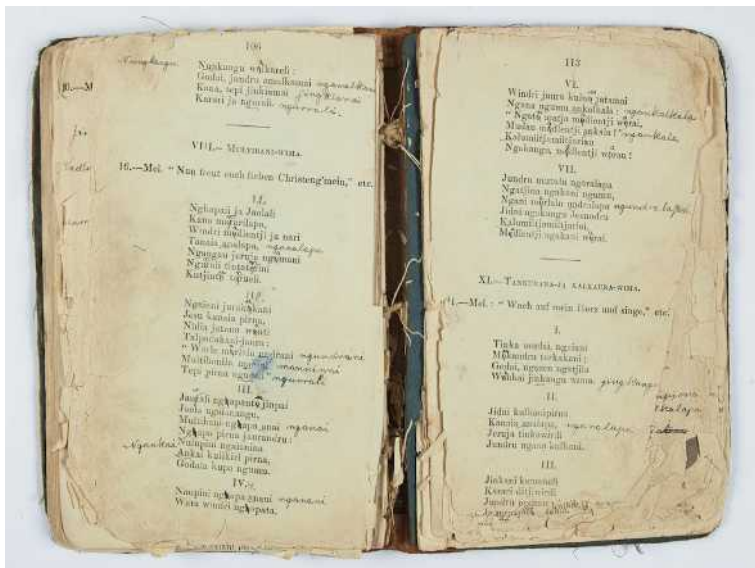


Figure 8.12: E. T. Vogelsang’s annotated copy of Flierl & Meyer (1880)

8.3.3 Schoknecht: the final phase of HMS missionary work at Bethesda

In January 1872, Homann was replaced by C. H. Schoknecht (1841–1905), the last HMS-trained missionary to work at Bethesda. Mission activity moved between

Mundowdna, Cooranina, to Tankimarina and then Bulcaltaninna due to lack of water, and the future of the mission was less than certain (Harms 2003: 63–67). After less than two years' service, Schoknecht followed Gößling and Homann to the more hospitable southern regions and did not return. Thus concluded the involvement of HMS-trained missionaries among the Diyari, and other groups of people at Lake Eyre. Again, the station was managed by the tenacious Vogelsang and Jacob families, this time for a period of four years, until they were partially relieved by the arrival of lay missionary C. A. Meyer, an "elder of the Langmeil congregation" in South Australia (Hebart 1938: 189), and in 1878 by the first Neuendettelsau missionary, J. Flierl.

8.3.4 Provenance of the early analysis of Diyari

All later missionary grammars of Diyari (Schoknecht 1947 [1872]; Flierl 1880; Reuther 1894; 1981a) replicate almost the entirety of the *existing parts* of Koch's MS grammar (1868). All were written in German and contain little additional analysis. A few passages are, however, given in this earliest Diyari grammar that are not reproduced in later works.

Schoknecht's MS grammar of Diyari, written in German in 1872, was published in English translation by Schoknecht's descendants (1947 [1872]) and is reproduced in Kneebone (2005b). The original German MS remains with the family and has not been sighted for this study.

The existence of a grammar predating Schoknecht's analysis (1947 [1872]) written by W. Koch was first established in 2005 (Kneebone 2005a: 13–14). In correspondence with HMS mission director Harms, Koch refers to his grammar of Diyari as *Grundzüge der Grammatik* [Basics of a Grammar], a copy of which is known to have been sent by the missionaries in Australia to Harms in Germany (Harms 2003: 297). Kneebone refers to it as the "lost handwritten manuscript by Wilhelm Koch" (2005a: 14).

However, another copy of the earliest grammatical description of Diyari produced before Homann's departure (1871), remained in Australia. After the final withdrawal of the last HMS missionaries, lay missionary C. A. Meyer prepared to travel to Bethesda in order to relieve Vogelsang and Jacob. In the days before his departure from the Barossa Valley, it appears that Meyer wrote to Homann requesting that Homann supply him with the missionaries' analysis of Diyari. Homann's response communication shows that a grammar of Diyari predating Schoknecht's analysis remained in Australia:

I am quite happy to allow my work regarding the Dieri language to be copied, but I would not like to let it out of my hands, the works are too

dear to me for that. In case you want to copy them here, I am happy to be at your disposal to impart important information about them regarding learning the language and if necessary to make them more complete. (Homann 1875)

In 2013, when researching this current study, a copy of Koch's original MS grammar was located in a box of papers acquired by the University of Adelaide's Barr Smith Library Rare Books and Special Collections (henceforth BSL) from Professor J. A. FitzHerbert, who was the Hughes Professor of Classics at the University of Adelaide between 1928 and 1957. Comparison of handwriting samples shows that the BSL MS grammar is written in the uneducated hand of H. H. Vogelsang, who is said to have had "a good, basic primary school education as judged by the quality of his written German" (J. Strehlow 2011: 265; Stockigt 2017 §8.4).

The "Diari" notebooks are likely to have come into the possession of Professor FitzHerbert during the 1920s, when H. H. Vogelsang's son E. T. Vogelsang was employed at the South Australian Museum as an attendant and was attempting to translate the Reuther MS (1899–1908) into English for publication. FitzHerbert, at the University of Adelaide, situated adjacent to the South Australian Museum, was at the same time investigating Australian languages, having himself translated Vol. V of Reuther's MS.⁶

FitzHerbert supervised the first grammars of Australian languages written for academic award: J. R. B. Love's (1938[1933]) grammar of Worora, and the grammar of Western Arrernte written by T. G. H. Strehlow (1944[1938]) in which Elkin (1944: 1) described FitzHerbert's role as that of "the helpful godfather". In 1930 FitzHerbert formed "a small language committee at the University of Adelaide" (Tindale 1935: 261) with South Australian Museum ethnologist N. B. Tindale (1900–1993) and South Australian pastoralist and geologist C. Chewings.

While the BSL MS was written by Vogelsang, its content is not Vogelsang's original analysis. Passages of the BSL grammar which are *not* contained in later corpus Diyari grammars confirm that the author was highly educated. Examine, for example, the following remark:

It is easily explainable why we have not found any other tenses apart from the main forms. In a language which moves only within the sensual and

⁶FitzHerbert's translation is held by the BSL and is presumably the grammar and vocabulary which Austin (2013: 247[1981a]) refers to as being "compiled by the late Professor FitzHerbert apparently based upon Reuther (1981a). I have searched for this material in Adelaide but was unable to find it."

the coarsely material, as does the Diari language, it follows that there is no mention of any historical tenses. (Koch 1868: no pag.)⁷

Observe also the use of Latin terminology, and the etymological remark about the term *Zeitwort*, literally “time word”, which appear in the following introductory section to “the verb”, but which are absent from other missionary grammars of Diyari:

About the *Zeitwort* (verb).

The verb expresses an activity in both or one voice and, at the same time, defines the time it is happening, which is also where it has its name from.

For each verb, one has to note:

1. the gender or (genus)
2. the mood “ (modus)
3. the tense “ (tempus)
4. the number “ (numerus)
5. the person “ (persona)
6. the conjugation “ (conjugation)

(Koch 1868)⁸

The BSL Diyari grammar is established as Vogelsang’s copy of Koch’s *Grundzüge der Grammatik* [Basics of a Grammar] (1868) on internal orthographic evidence. The Hermannsburg missionaries’ atypical orthographic representation of the lamino-palatal stop using the Greek letter “x” is diagnostic. This usage follows Lepsius’s universal alphabet (1855; 1863), in which the symbol was used to represent the uvular and velar fricatives, or, with an acute accent, palatal fricatives (Whitney 1861: 323–324; Stockigt 2017 §8.4.1). The lamino-palatal stop was standardly represented in early orthographies using the digraphs “ty”, “tj”, or “ch”. See for example the use of the letter “x” in the title of the first Diyari primer

⁷Es ist leicht erklärlich, warum wir keine weiteren Tempora, als die Hauptformen gefunden haben. In einer Sprache, die sich nur im sinnlichen u. grob materiellen bewegt, wie die Diari Sprache, ist deshalb auch nicht von historischen Tempora die Rede.

⁸Vom *Zeitwort* (Verbum) Das *Zeitwort* drückt eine Thätigkeit, in beiden oder einem Zustand aus, u. bestimmt zugleich die Zeit wann es geschieht, woher es auch seinen Namen hat. Bei jedem Verbum hat man zu merken: 1. die Gattung oder (Genus) 2. die Art [oder] (Modus) 3. die Zeit [oder] (Tempus) 4. die Zahl [oder] (Numerus) 5. die Person [oder] (Persona) 6. die Abänderung [oder] (Conjugation)

(Koch & Homann 1870; Figure 8.11) in the representation of the suffix *-yitye* “habitual association” (Austin 2013: 45[1981a]). This practice was done away with by the Neuendettelsau-trained missionary Flierl (§8.4.1).

Koch’s authorship is confirmed through comparative examination of the analysis given in the early Diyari sources. The differences between the sources are important when establishing that the BSL manuscript grammar of Diyari is a copy of Koch’s *Grundzüge der Grammatik* [Basics of a Grammar] (1868). Although no MS vocabulary survives from the earliest HMS phase at Bethesda (1866–1868), it is probable that the vocabulary appended to Schoknecht’s grammar (1947 [1872]), which gives over 1,000 Diyari-German entries, followed by German-Diyari, was largely compiled by Homann, Gößling and Koch, and perhaps incorporated the lexical material collected by Gason (§8.3.1) and by Moravian missionary Meißel (in Taplin 1872[1870]).

8.3.4.1 Concluding remark

Significant grammatical description of Diyari was produced during HMS’s involvement at Bethesda (1868–1872). The HMS missionaries laid the groundwork for the later and more enduring Neuendettelsau phase of the mission at Bethesda. They secured the co-operation of members of the local community and forged relationships which continued to benefit the Neuendettelsau missionaries in acquiring the language.

8.4 Neuendettelsau Missionaries

The second group of Lutheran missionaries at the Bethesda mission were trained at the Neuendettelsau Mission Society. The society had been established in 1841 in Bavaria by Rev. W. Löhe in response to the need of German emigrants in America for German clergy. Before forming an alliance with the South Australian ELIS in 1875, the society did not train candidates for mission work, termed *äussere mission* (outer-mission), but concentrated on producing pastors for *innere mission* (inner-mission), who would serve existing Lutheran and German-Protestant congregations. The preparation of graduates for outer mission in Australia, and in the German colonies in New Guinea and East Africa, commenced in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Unlike the training received at the HMS, but like that at the Dresden Mission Institute, Neuendettelsau prepared men for ordination as Lutheran pastors as well as missionaries. The young candidates usually came from grammar schools and received either three or four years of training. Regarding the training missionaries received at Neuendettelsau, Ganter writes:

From its humble beginnings, the curriculum was steadily built up. In 1859 the teaching timetable started at 8am and ended at 7pm, including half a day on Saturdays, with five hours of formal instruction, interspersed with two hours of independent study. About half of the teaching was dedicated to instruction in English, Hebrew, Latin and Greek. Next to theological training, candidates were also instructed in piano, violin and singing, and writing and oratory. It was hardly possible to extend the daily routine, so more years were added to the training. The 1861 graduates had spent three years at the college. From 1892 this increased to four years, and by 1913 the training had grown to six years. (Ganter 2016d)

Missionary training became increasingly rigorous under the directorship of Johannes Deinzer (1842–1897), who trained all of the Neuendettelsau missionaries who wrote grammars of PN languages, except for J. Riedel. These were: Flierl & Meyer (1880), Reuther (1894, 1981a,b,c), C. Strehlow (c. 1907; 1908; 1910), and Schwarz & Poland (1900), as well as Siebert (§8.4.2.3) and Wettengel (§8.4.3; Table 8.2).

Equipped with this training, the PN grammars written by the Neuendettelsau missionaries might be expected to be of a higher quality and more analytically insightful than grammars written by missionaries trained at the HMS seminary, who had received a less demanding training.

8.4.1 J. Flierl

J. Flierl, the first Neuendettelsau-trained missionary in Australia, arrived at Bethesda in 1878 at the age of twenty. Flierl had completed three years' training under Deinzer, who described him as “one of my most gifted pupils” (quoted in J. Strehlow 2011: 250).

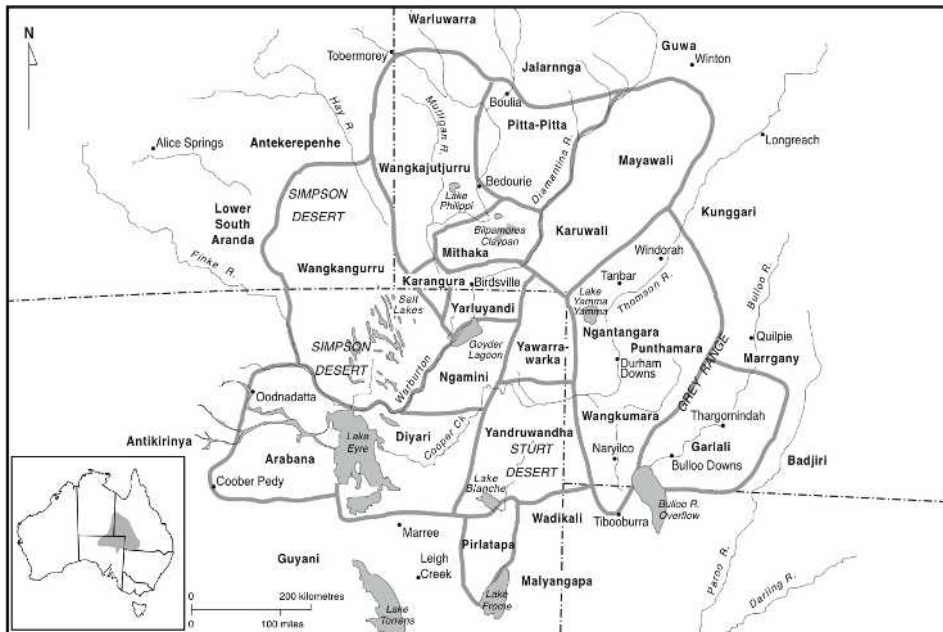
Flierl engaged deeply in the linguistic aspects of mission work, making revisions and additions to the first Diyari primer (Koch & Homann 1870; Figure 8.11), which was published in 1880 as: *Christianeli ngujangujara-pepa Dieri jaurani & Papaia buru kulnolu*. On the basis of this work, Austin (2013: 242[1978]) states: “Flierl had a good command of the language”. Flierl produced a Diyari reader, Bible history and hymnal which was published in 1883 titled *First Reading-book in the Dieri language, Wonini-Pepa Dieri-Jaurani Worapala*. Both of these booklets continued to be used in the mission school over the coming decades and were not updated until W. Riedel (1914). Flierl also improved and updated the orthography used by missionaries to represent Diyari.

Table 8.2: Neuendettelsau missionary-grammarians trained by Deinzer

Missionary	Mission	Grammar	Notes
J. Flierl (1858–1947):	Bethesda 1878–1885 Cape Bedford 1886	Diyari 1880 Wangkangurru 1880	Based on Koch (1868)
G. J. Reuther (1861–1914)	Bethesda 1888–1906	Diyari 1899 Wangkangurru 1901 Yandrruwandha 1901	Based on Koch (1868)
C. Strehlow (1871–1922)	Bethesda 1892–1894; Hermannsburg 1894–1922	Arrernte c.1907, 1908, 1910 Luritja 1910	
O. Siebert 1871–1957	Bethesda 1896–1902		Possible author of the Wangkangurru and Yandrruwandha material in Reuther (1981d)
N. Wettengel (1869–1923)	Bethesda 1896–1902; Hermannsburg 1902–1906		Informed Planert (1907; 1908)
G. H. Schwarz (1868–1959)	Elim/Cape Bedford 1887–1942	Guugu-Yimidhirr 1900	Informed Roth (1901) although the tem- plate of the 1900 description is taken from Roth (1897)
W. G. F. Poland (1866–1955)	Elim/Cape Bedford 1887–1909		

8.4.1.1 Flierl's comparative grammar of Diyari and Wangkangurru (1880)

Flierl's major grammatical contribution to further analysis of Karnic structure was his brief grammar of Wangkangurru. Maintaining contact with Aboriginal people at Lake Eyre was a continuing challenge during this stage of mission work, and Flierl travelled to the northeast of the mission in order to contact surrounding Aboriginal populations. Lay missionary Jacob, who contributed vocabularies of other Karnic languages to Curr (Jacobs 1886a,b,c), also contacted speakers of surrounding languages who did not reside at the mission. Earlier mission references to this neighbouring Karnic language had been made by Schoknecht (Hercus 1994: 19) and by Homann (Koch 1868), who wrote that he taught children from five tribes, "Diaeri, Wonkanurro, Terrari, Aumeni und Wonkarappanna [Diyari, Wangkangurru, Thirrari, Ngamini, Arabana]" (quoted in Harms 2003: 259; see Figure 8.13).



Thirrari was spoken to the west of Diyari on the shore of Lake Eyre (Austin 2013: 14[1981a])

Figure 8.13: Languages of the Lake Eyre Basin (Anggarrgon 2008).

Flierl's Wangkangurru grammatical material is given in a comparative grammar of Diyari Wangkangurru (1880). The Diyari material appears on the left-hand

side of a double page headed “D” and the equivalent, but less detailed, Wangkangurru material on the right, headed “W” (Figure 8.14). Flierl also compiled a comparative Diyari Wangkangurru vocabulary, which is set out in exactly the same fashion (no date a). This work is held in the Basedow papers in the Mitchell library, while its sister document, the grammar, is at the Lutheran Archives in Adelaide. Flierl also compiled a comparative vocabulary which tabulates pronouns in four languages: Diyari, Ngamini, Wangkangurru and Arabana (n.d.). This work was sent by Flierl to Deinzer and is held in Neuendettelsau (Figure 8.15).

Flierl left Bethesda in 1885 in order to establish a mission in German New Guinea (1884–1919). En route, while delayed in Cooktown, Queensland, he founded the Lutheran Elim mission (Cape Bedford, Hopevale) on an Aboriginal reserve north of Cooktown at Cape Bedford (§10.1.2).

Figure 8.14: Flierl's comparative Diyari and Wangkangurru grammar (1880)

8.4.2 J. G. Reuther

Flierl was replaced by another Neuendettelsau graduate, J. G. Reuther (1861–1914), who had received only two years' missionary training. Reuther, who was later described as being “lame at languages” (§8.4.2.3; see Kenny 2013: 88), was regarded

	Dieri	Aniani	Nonkanguru	Nonkarapana	
30	wirikana	wirikarkana	wiridnanta	wirikanta	famiffam
31	anahana	anahana	wajamanta	wajamanta	wajamanta
32	ankingana	anahana barhana	wajamanta juanta	wajamantakanta	juamiffam
33	ankilana	nganakarpana	tanhilata	tanhilata	ribanase
Furman's list of furman's list					
34	kupa	kupa	aloe	worde	aloe kupa
35	kupala	kupunka	aloeaku	wordeku	aloe kupa
36	kupani	kupama	aloeanga	wordunga	aloe kupa
37	kupa	kupa	aloe	worde	aloe kupa
38	kupai	kupai	aloei	wordei	aloe kupa
39	kupali	kupani	aloevara	wordevara	aloe kupa
40	kupa alu	kupa kuli	aloe pudla	worde pudla	aloe kupa
41	kupa alu etc.	kupa kuli etc.	aloe pudla ku etc.	worde pudla ku etc.	aloe kupa
42	kupa wora	kupa wora	aloe kari	worde kari	aloe kupa
43	kupa wora etc.	kupa wora etc.	aloe kariku etc.	worde kariku etc.	aloe kupa
Furman's list of furman's list					
44	jidni	jidni	aripa	aripa	aripa
45	jidkani	jidkani	aripuna	aripuna	aripuna
46	jidkangu	jidkanama	aripita	aripita	aripita
47	jidna	jidna	aridna	aridna	aridna
48	jidna	aripa	aripa	aripa	aripa
49	jidna	aripa	aripa	aripa	aripa
50	ngali	ngali	ari	ari	ari
51	ngalikuna	ngalikuna	arikuana	arikuana	arikuana
52	ngalikuna	ngalikuna	arikinta	arikinta	arikinta

Figure 8.15: Flierl's comparative vocabulary of four languages spoken close to the mission (1880)

by his teacher, Deinzer as linguistically *untrained*. Having struggled with classical languages at Neuendettelsau, Reuther dropped the study of Latin, but persevered with Classical Greek, since the Lutheran tradition uses Classical Greek – more correctly Koine Greek – as the source language for translation of the Holy Scriptures (J. Strehlow 2011: 332).

Reuther arrived at Bethesda in 1888 and remained until 1906, during which time the Christian instruction and vernacular literacy booklets prepared by Flierl (1880; 1883) continued to be used in the mission school. No new linguistic materials were produced by Reuther prior to the arrival of fellow Neuendettelsau graduate C. Strehlow in 1892. Strehlow worked with Reuther at Bethesda for two years before being transferred to Hermannsburg, where he made grammatical description of Arrernte and Luritja (§9.2).

Within a year of C. Strehlow's arrival, Reuther and Strehlow began the enormous task of translating the entire New Testament into Diyari (J. Strehlow 2011: 326). *Testamenta Marra* was published in 1897 at Auricht's Printing Office in Tanunda. It is the first whole translation of the New Testament into any Australian language.

8.4.2.1 Reuther's grammars

There is a gap of fourteen years between Flierl's comparative grammar (1880) and Reuther's earliest known Diyari grammar (1894). This MS grammar, which is held at the Lutheran Archives in Adelaide, is almost identical to a later grammar completed by Reuther in 1899. The later Reuther work is held within Volume 5 of Reuther's substantial unpublished German manuscript of 13 volumes, which records Diyari culture, language and belief, and is held at the South Australian Museum. Reuther's 1899 grammar is the most well-known missionary analysis of Diyari, having been translated into English by the eminent Australian linguist Luise Hercus and her mother, Theodora Schwarzschild, in 1981. Volume 5 also contains separate and less extensive grammatical descriptions of two other Karic languages, Wangkangurru and a dialect of Yandrruwandha (Austin 1981b: 73–74), which were also translated into English in 1981. The Yandrruwandha grammar is the least detailed of the three works, and the grammar of Diyari the most detailed. Austin (1981b) annotates the translation of the original three analyses.

In addition to the four languages given in an earlier comparative vocabulary by Flierl (n.d.) – Diyari, Ngamini, Wangkangurru and Arabana – Reuther (1981a) supplied data for Thirrari, Yawarrawarrka, Yandrruwandha, and the northern Thura-Yura language Kuyani (Figure 8.13).

Reuther's grammatical record of both Diyari and Wangkangurru better accord with modern analyses of the languages. His record of the distinctive marking in Diyari of case on singular and non-singular nouns and pronouns, shown in his nominal case paradigms (§8.5.2.3), substantially improves on the record left by Flierl & Meyer (1880), Schoknecht (1947 [1872]), and Koch (1868).

Parts of Reuther's grammars are overtly comparative, observing points of grammatical difference between the three languages. For example, Reuther wrote:

In Diari there are three declensions: two of common nouns and one of proper nouns but in Wangkangurru there are only two: one of common nouns and one of proper nouns. In Jandruwanta proper nouns are identical in declension with common nouns, kinship terms, however, have their own declensions: Jandruwanta thus has one declension of ordinary nouns and two declensions of kinship terms. (Reuther, Jandruwantha grammar 1901, translated by Hercus & Schwarzschild 1981d: 56)

Reuther (1981d: 38) also observed that in contrast to Diyari, which has a gender distinction on third-person singular pronouns, “Wonkanguru makes no difference of gender whatsoever: masculine, feminine and neuter are all rendered by the same third-person pronouns and demonstratives.”

8.4.2.2 Comparison of Reuther's and Flierl's grammars of Wangkangurru (1981b; 1880)

Reuther's Wangkangurru grammar (1981b) provides considerably more analytical detail and example clauses than Flierl's grammar of the same language (1880).

The 1981b grammar, for example, gives paradigms for inclusive and exclusive non-singular first-person pronouns (Reuther 1981d: 36), while Flierl's earlier work (1880) had provided only the inclusive terms. Interestingly, Reuther includes a description of the allative case suffix before the tables of nominal declension: "the ending **-ruku** is used as a post-position: it occurs when one wishes to imply movement towards the object in question" (Reuther 1981d: 31). While also described here as a "post-position", the description of the form and function of the allative case suffix *within the description of nominal declension* does not occur in any other missionary grammars written at Bethesda (§8.5.1).

The description of ordinal numbers in the 1901 Wangkangurru grammar is of considerable interest, differing from that given in all Diyari grammars. Reuther's Diyari grammar follows previous Diyari grammars (e.g., Schoknecht 1947 [1872]: 9 [1872]) in stating that there are no ordinal numbers. Under the heading "Ordinal numbers" the Wangkangurru grammar (1981d: 35 [1901]), however, lists forms translated as 'the first' ... 'the fourth', 'the last but one' and 'the last of all'. As Austin (1981b: 54) observes, "these words can scarcely be regarded as ordinal numbers. They are derivatives formed with *-nganha* (Reuther's **ngana**), an elative adjectival suffix meaning 'originating from', which is common to Wangkangurru". The elative suffix is described by Hercus (1994: 108) as rarely marking case on pronouns and "usually refer[ing] to locations and times." "Ordinal numbers" in Wangkangurru had not been described by Flierl (1880).

As noted by Austin (1981b: 54), there are problems with Reuther's listing of ergative and nominative case forms in the Wangkangurru and Yandrruwandha grammars. In Wangkangurru, the first-person plural pronouns are shown as tripartite (A/S/O), whereas Austin records them as marked with an accusative system (AS/O). This mistake was imported from Flierl's analysis (Figure 8.25), which appears to have extrapolated the tripartite marking of 1pl pronouns in Diyari into Wangkangurru. Further, in Yandrruwandha there is confusion concerning the nominative and ergative forms of demonstratives (1981b: 75).

8.4.2.3 Otto Siebert

Neuendettelsau-trained missionary Otto Siebert arrived at Bethesda in 1896. He was known as "the bush missionary" (Hercus & McCaul 2004: 36) and his task

was to “work among the aborigines living in camps in the surrounding districts” (Hebart 1938: 190). A tradition of travelling away from the mission site in order to preach to Aboriginal populations had been established at Bethesda at least since Flierl’s time. The advantages of evangelising away from the mission site had been similarly perceived by missionary Watson at the Wellington Valley mission in New South Wales (§4.1), although here the proposal did not eventuate (Bridges 1978: 339). Equipped with a tent, Siebert frequently visited Diyari and Wangkangurru camps far from the mission, which Reuther as mission-manager was unable to do.

Like Vogelsang, Siebert corresponded with Howitt, and contributed ethnographic Wangkangurru and Diyari material to Howitt’s *The Native Tribes of South-East Australia* (1904). As is evident from the title of Siebert’s (1910) publication, *Sagen und Sitten der Dieri und Nachbarstämme in Zentral-Australien* [Legends and customs of the Dieri and neighbouring tribes in Central Australia], his investigations included the study of Lake Eyre Basin cultural practices and belief systems.

Siebert was also an astute linguist. He observed (quoted in Kneebone 2005a: 372–373) that the style of language spoken at the mission and used in translation, which he termed *Küchen-Dieri* (kitchen Diyari) differed from *gemeinverständlichen Dieri* (commonly understood Diyari) spoken away from the mission. He translated a collection of eighty psalms while at Bethesda (Nobbs 2005: 42). They remain unpublished and are not held in the public domain. Preliminary investigation suggests that they are all written in Diyari. When writing to Howitt in 1899 (see Nobbs 2005: 32), Siebert confidently commented that the widely acclaimed publication by B. Spencer (1860–1929) and F. J. Gillen (1855–1912) *The Native tribes of Central Australia* (1899) was linguistically ill-informed. It is possible that Siebert contributed to the grammatical analysis of Karnic languages made during the later Neuendettelsau stage of mission activity.

The strongest suggestion that Siebert made his own independent analysis of Diyari language comes from his own recollections of his interaction with Reuther. Late in life, when in Germany, Siebert corresponded with E. T. Vogelsang, son of H. H. Vogelsang, who was attempting to translate the Reuther MS (1899–1908) while working at the South Australian Museum. Siebert (1935) recalls some academic jealousy between himself and Reuther. When N. B. Tindale travelled to Germany in the 1930s and interviewed Siebert as part of an ultimately unsuccessful attempt by the South Australian Museum to have the Reuther MS published in English, Siebert described Reuther as “lame at languages” (Tindale 1937b). Siebert also stated that the grammatical material in Eylmann (1908) was not Reuther’s

but his own analysis. Eylmann (1908: 93), however, acknowledged Reuther as supplying the Diyari grammatical material.

8.4.3 Planert's grammar of Diyari (1908)

The Berlin-based philologist W. Planert (§2.6.1) had his attention drawn to PN languages by the return to Germany from Central Australia of the Neuendettelsau-trained missionary N. Wettengel (1869–1923). Having been dismissed by the Immanuel Synod Mission Committee in 1906 (§9.2.1), Wettengel contacted the Berlin museum in order to sell ethnographic artefacts (J. Strehlow 2011: 960–962). Like other missionaries of the time in Central Australia, Wettengel attempted to supplement his income by supplying museums in Germany with desirable, and difficult to procure, ethnographic objects.⁹ Planert utilised the linguistic knowledge of Diyari and Arrernte that Wettengel had acquired while working at the Bethesda mission (1889–1901) with fellow Neuendettelsau graduates, Reuther, Siebert and Strehlow, and at the Hermannsburg mission (1901–1906) with Strehlow.

It is clear that Planert's grammar of Diyari was primarily based on a written copy of the missionaries' analyses, rather than Wettengel's knowledge of the language, or on Wettengel's memory of examples given in the written sources. In the grammar of Arrernte, Planert (1907a: 551) states that Wettengel possessed valuable manuscript vocabularies of Diyari and of Arrernte, which he intended to publish.¹⁰ Planert's grammars commence with a long initial section headed *Wortbildung* (Word formation), which is atypical of the corpus, and which provides richer exemplification of derivational processes than do the missionary sources. This section is assessed by Austin (2013: 245[1978]) as containing "very useful information although there are one or two errors". It is likely that Planert drew the illustrated derivational morphology from Wettengel's vocabularies.

Planert must have had access to the missionaries' MS grammars in addition to the vocabularies. In his Diyari grammar, when describing *Postpositionen* (1908: 692), Planert replicates the missionaries' presentation (Figure 8.37), giving suffixes in identical order, and with translations using the same German prepositional phrases. Planert's case paradigms (Figure 2.16; §2.6) also indicate that the

⁹The Wettengel collection remains at the Ethnological Museum in Berlin.

¹⁰"There are also two valuable manuscripts belonging to Mr Wettengel which should be published, namely an Aranda and a Dieri dictionary." (Auch sind zwei wertvolle Manuskripte des HrN. Wettengel, nämlich ein Aranda- und Dieri-Wörterbuch, zu publizieren; Planert 1907a: 551)

missionaries' grammars were used as a template, although his presentation of the syntactic cases differs vastly from the missionaries'.

The more complex areas of morphosyntax, including processes of clause subordination, exemplified by the missionaries (§8.5.8) are not, however, included in Planert's grammar. Perhaps these were left out because Wettengel was unable to provide clarification. When C. Strehlow became aware that the publication of an Arrernte grammar informed by Wettengel was imminent, he (1907) wrote to his German editor Leonhardi stating: "I am not at all afraid of missionary Wettengel's research, but rather surprised that he dares to write an Aranda Grammar at all, if one keeps in mind his weak grammatical knowledge". Further suggestion that Wettengel's linguistic skills were questionable is given by Siebert (quoted in von Leonhardi 1909) in a letter to Leonhardi: "The Wettengel'ian Dieri grammar is too good for W[ettengel]. He used the material before him and it was a good thing that he did so".

Unlike most other early PN grammars, both of Planert's works conclude with a section headed *Texte*. In the Diyari grammar these are Biblical texts, and in the Arrernte grammar these are legends. Planert supplied both interlinear-style and free translation. In this way Planert's works resemble F. Müller's (1882) grammars, also written in German, which included final sections headed *Sprachproben*. The inclusion of these sections perhaps reflects a Humboldtian descriptive tradition, which in America came to be known as the "Boasian trilogy" (Darnell 1999: 8–9; §3.4) in which investigation of *Volk* and language were branches of integrated investigation.

8.4.4 Gatti's grammar of Diyari (1930)

In 1930, Giovanni Gatti (dates unknown) published a grammar of Diyari in Italian *La lingua Dieri: contributo alla conoscenza delle lingue Australiane* (The Dieri language: The Australian contribution to the knowledge of languages). As the title suggests, Gatti presented the Diyari material within a broader discussion of Australian linguistic structure and classification, referencing an impressive range of available primary and secondary material.

Gatti's Diyari material is, however, based on a limited range of sources. Like Ray (1925: 2) and Elkin (1937: 9; §8.2.1), Gatti did not have access to the missionaries' MSS. More unexpectedly, Gatti did not refer to Homann in Fraser (1892) or to Planert (1908), which were then by far the most extensive available resources. He stated that his work was informed by Gason in Curr (1886), by Jacob in Curr (1886), and largely by Reuther & Strehlow's (1897) translation of the New Testament into Diyari (Gatti 1930: 47). The work is in this way similar to Ray & Had-

don's (1893) grammar of Western Torres Strait, which was based on the structure of the language used in the translations of the Gospel of St Mark (§10.2.1). Unsurprisingly, Austin (2013: 245[1978]) describes Gatti's grammar as "suffer[ing] from the deficiencies of the primary sources, especially in phonology".

It is not known whether the work was produced as a doctoral dissertation, or in what other context it was written. Further investigation might show the extent to which the grammar describes the mission idiom as printed in the New Testament and how this differs from the variety described by Austin (1981a, 2013).

A later paper (1934) prepared by Gatti discussed the use of different creoles and pidgins in the Pacific region. In this work Gatti listed Diyari terms for newly introduced items, which were collated from the New Testament translation. He also referred to material supplied by the outback pioneer and self-made ethnographer G. Aiston (1879–1943). The work contains a map of subgroups of Australian languages (Figure 8.16) which is similar, but not identical to, to the map produced by Schmidt (1919a) in German (Figure 8.17).

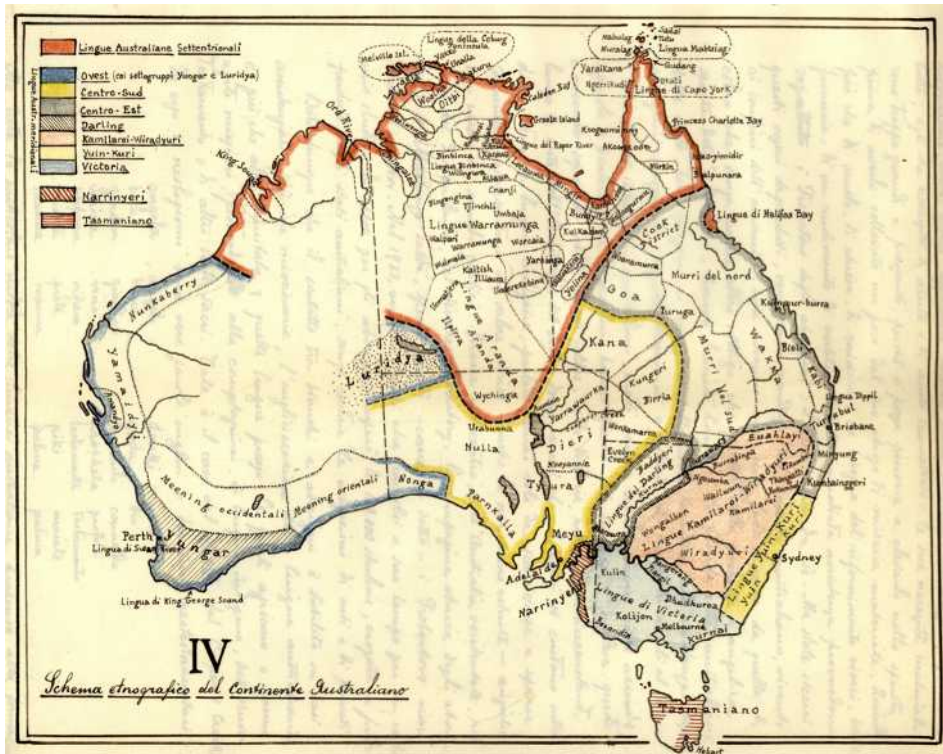


Figure 8.16: Gatti's map of Australian languages (1934)

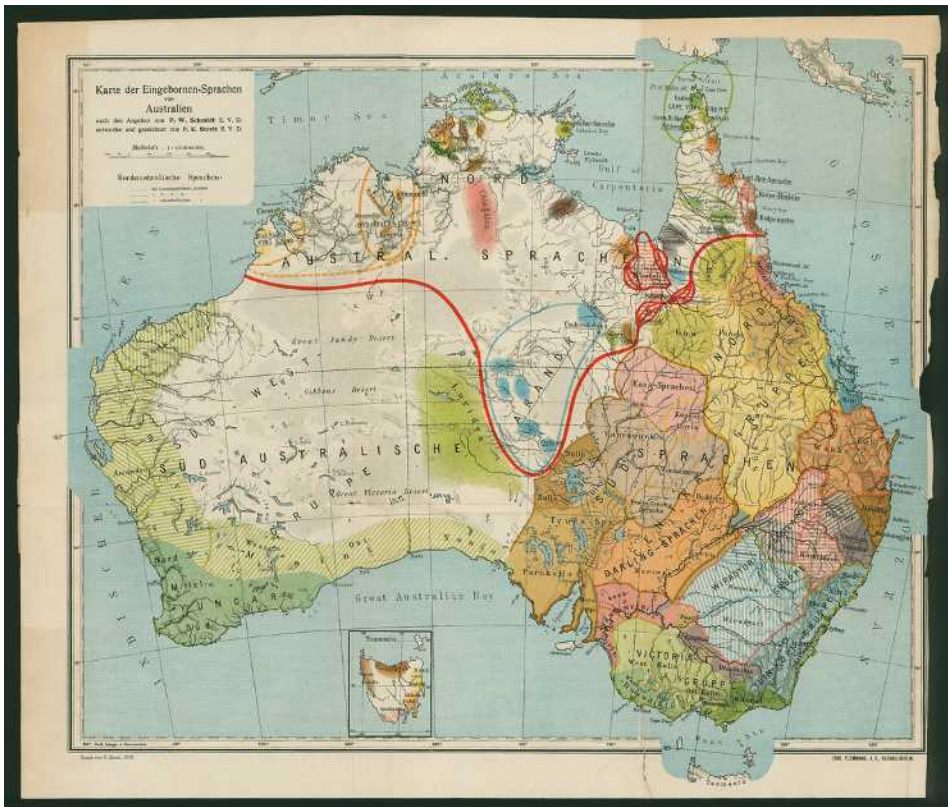


Figure 8.17: Karte der Eingebornen-Sprachen von Australien (Schmidt 1919a)

8.5 Early analyses of Diyari and other Karnic languages

Having introduced the large body of Diyari grammatical material produced in the pre-contemporary descriptive era, the remainder of this chapter assesses and compares the analyses given in different sources.

The missionary-grammarians' descriptions of Diyari morphology and syntax adhere closely to the structure and terminology inherent in the traditional grammatical framework. Each is a succinct and relatively short document compared with other early grammars, notably Threlkeld's inaugural PN grammar (1834; Chapter 3), Meyer's grammar of Ramindjeri (1843; §6.1), Kempe's grammar of Ar-rernte (1891; §9.1.2), and Roth's grammar of Pitta-Pitta (1897; §10.1.1), all of which made initial descriptions of previously undescribed languages.

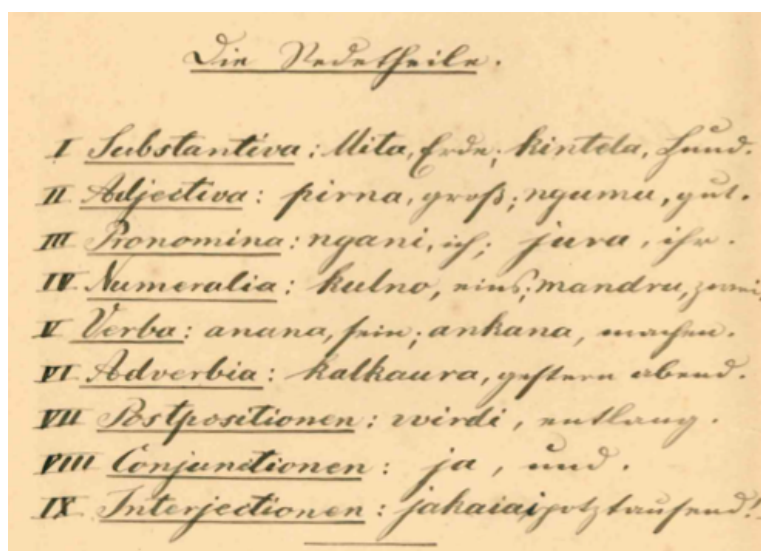
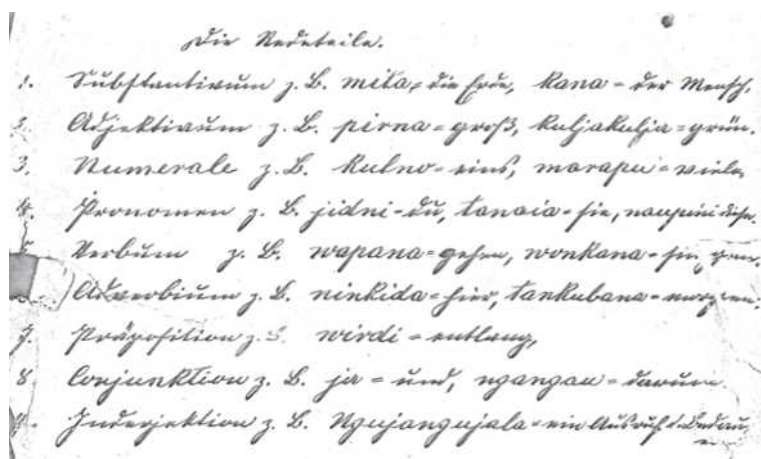


Figure 8.18: Flierl's Redeteile "parts of speech" (1880: 6)

Each missionary grammar of Diyari is organised around the nine classical parts of speech and the traditional subheadings thereof. Compare Figure 8.18 and Figure 8.19, given by Flierl & Meyer (1880) and Reuther (1894), which not only name the same *Redeteile* (parts of speech) in the same order using Latin terminology, but give the same illustrative example for each. In each grammar the Diyari missionary-grammarians list the subtypes of pronoun that are shown in Kühner's grammar of Classical Greek (1834–1835: xxiii; Figure 2.1): personal, personal possessive, demonstrative, interrogative, indefinite, reflexive/reciprocal/relative, and correlative. The collapse of the three traditionally distinct pronominal subheadings – reflexive, reciprocal and relative – into a single unit is discussed in §8.5.8.3.

Within this classical descriptive structure, the grammars of Diyari adequately conveyed a number of PN structures that are not found in classical European languages: ergativity, a split ergative system of marking syntactic case, the difference in the marking of alienably and inalienably possessed constructions, an inclusive/exclusive distinction in non-singular first-person pronouns, and processes of marking clausal dependency within the morphology of the verb. The grammarians tended to appropriate the European classical tradition in order to accommodate foreign structures for which the traditional grammatical framework was descriptively powerless. Koch's initial description (1868) of some of

Figure 8.19: Reuther's *Redeteile* (parts of speech; 1894: 2)

these PN “peculiarities”, written after a relatively short encounter with the language, is neat and concise relative to the PN corpus.

8.5.1 Case paradigms

Throughout more than three decades of successive descriptions of Diyari, the Lutheran missionaries strictly maintained the Latin six-case paradigm, presenting cases termed “nominative”, “genitive” (dative), “dative” (allative/locative), “accusative”, “vocative” and “ablative” (ergative/instrumental).

The Diyari grammars followed Teichelmann & Schürmann (1840) in only placing case suffixes marking functions associated with the case systems of European languages in the paradigm. The practice differs from that employed by Threlkeld (1834) and by Günther (1838; 1840) in description of languages spoken in New South Wales. Like Teichelmann & Schürmann (1840), Symmons (1841), Kempe (1891), C. Strehlow (1931b[c.1907]), and T. G. H. Strehlow (1938), each of the Diyari sources considered here, with the exception of Gatti (1930: 58, 64–65), accounted for the remainder of Diyari case morphology under the heading *Postpositionen*.

Gatti presented a ten “case” Diyari paradigm (Figure 8.20), which was largely informed by Reuther and Strehlow’s New Testament translation (1897). He included suffixes marking the ablative case *ablative*, and the dative on female nouns (Austin 2013: 55) *dativo di comado*. He also included a case form termed *comitivo*, which shows the proprietive suffix *-nthu*, which is analysed by Austin (2013: 48) as derivational. The function of the suffix Gatti calls *limitativo* consists of the

dative plus the post-inflectional suffix *-rlu* ‘STILL’, so that *Maria-ngulu* would mean “as far as Maria” (Austin pers. comm.).¹¹

Le declinazioni si sviluppano mediante suffissi. Come in altre australiane (analoga al basco) due sono le forme pel nominativo: l'una, senza suffisso, pel nominativo-soggetto; l'altra, col suffisso *-li*, pel nominativo-agente od ergativo.

	NOMI PROPRII DI PERSONA	ALTRI SOSTANTIVI
<i>nominativo soggetto</i>	Maria	kana
<i>nominativo agente</i>	Maria-li	kana-li
<i>accusativo</i>	Maria	kana
<i>vocativo</i>	Maria-jai	kana-jai
<i>genitivo</i>	Maria-ni	kana-ia
<i>dativo</i>	Maria-ngu	kana-ni
<i>dativo di comodo</i>	Maria-nanka	kana-nanka
<i>limitativo</i>	Maria-ngulu	kana-ntulu
<i>ablativo</i>	Maria-ngundru	kana-ndru
<i>comitativo</i>	Maria-ngunto	kana-nto

Il nominativo soggetto adoperasi con verbi denotanti stato, il nominativo agente con verbi denotanti azione ricadente su di un oggetto. Es.: *pariwilpaia* (la *karakara nganai* (dei cieli il regno - nomin. soggetto - vicino è = il regno dei cieli è vicino); *Godali mitala ngantjana wonti* (Dio - nomin. agente - il mondo - Dio amò il mondo). Il suffisso del nominativo agente è *-li*; dopo *n* ed *l*, ragioni di eufonia e tenuto presente quanto accennato al § 6, il suffisso è *-eli*; dop

Figure 8.20: Gatti's case paradigm (1930: 58)

8.5.2 Description of ergativity

Grammarians of Diyari followed Schürmann (1844a; §6.2.1.6) in accounting for the difference in the form and function of ergative and nominative nouns and pronouns within the discussion of the verb. It is here that the Diyari grammarians clarified the relationship of verb transitivity to syntactic argument case marking. Koch and Reuther (1981d: 3[1899]), however, also provided an additional account of ergative function within the description of nominal morphology. Koch (1868: no pag.) wrote: “The active form is one specific to this language which expresses the subject in an active manner.”¹²

When clarifying ergative function within a discussion of the verb, Koch explained:

¹¹Gatti gives the form of the ergative suffix, termed *nominativo agente*, on this female personal name incorrectly. No early Diyari grammarian recorded the different case marking on female person names (§8.5.5.1). The ergative form in Gatti's paradigm should be *Mariyandru* (Austin 2013: 53[1981a]).

¹²“Die Activform ist eine der Sprache eigenthümliche, welche das Subject activ oder thätig ausdrückt.”

For the transitive verbs, one always uses the active form as the subject (both for the pronoun and for the substantive). For the intransitives one uses the nominative, likewise also for the reflexive and reciprocal verbs. (Koch 1868: no pag.)¹³

Koch (1868: no pag.) also distinguished *Verba Activa* (active verbs) from *Verba Reflecciva* (reflexive verbs) and *Verba Reziproka* (reciprocal verbs). Active verbs were defined as “verbs describing an activity which is performed by the subject themselves”. These were divided into two classes named *transitiva* (Examples 1 & 2) and *intransitiva* (Examples 3 & 4) and exemplified.¹⁴ The terms “transitive” and “intransitive” had previously only been employed with the same modern reference by Moorhouse (1846: 20).

- (1) kuba natu nandrai
‘ich schlage den Knaben’
(Koch 1868: no pag.)
kupa ngathu nandra-yi
boy-[ACC] 1SG.ERG hit-PRES
‘I hit the boy’

- (2) Kintella kuballi nandrai
‘Der Knabe schlägt den Hund’
(Koch 1868: no pag.)
Kinthala kupa-li nandra-yi
dog-[ACC] child-ERG hit-PRES
‘The child hits the dog’

- (3) nanni wappai
‘Ich gehe’
(Koch 1868: no pag.)
nganhi wapa-yi
1SG.NOM go-PRES
‘I go’

¹³“Regel Bei den transitiven Verben gebraucht man als Subject stets die Act. form (sowohl beim pronomen als beim Subst.). Bei den intransitiven gebraucht man den Nom., gleicherweise auch bei den Reflecciven u. Reciproken Verben.”

¹⁴Note that Koch’s schema is problematic in first assigning reflexive and reciprocal verbs to a non-“active” class, before observing that they behave like the “intransitive” category of his “active” class of verbs.

(4) Kuba tikai

‘Der Knabe kehrt zurück’

(Koch 1868: no pag.)

kupa thika-yi

boy-[NOM] return-PRES

‘The child returns’

Each subsequent Diyari grammar gave similar, although not identical, clauses to illustrate ergative marking in introductions to the verb. Observe, for example, Flierl’s explanation (Figure 8.21).

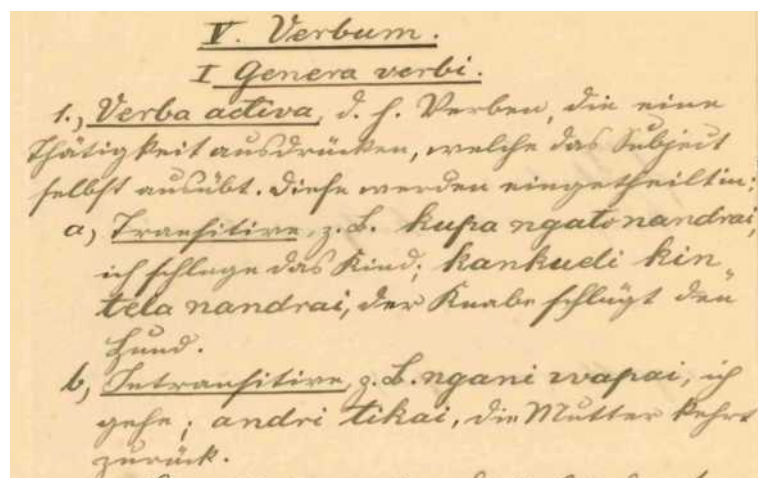


Figure 8.21: Flierl’s explanation of different marking of arguments of transitive and intransitive verbs (1880: 32)

While it is possible that the Diyari grammarians were independently motivated to clarify ergative form and function in this way, and had not been influenced by Teichelmann & Schürmann, other aspects of the grammars show unequivocal influence from Teichelmann & Schürmann (1840; §8.5.2.1; §8.5.2.4; §8.5.6; §8.5.8), lending weight to the hypothesis that in this regard the Diyari grammarians were guided by their Lutheran predecessors.

8.5.2.1 Placement of the ergative case in the paradigm

Following Koch (1868), ergative and instrumental case forms were placed at the bottom of case paradigms and labelled “active” and sometimes “ablative”, in each

missionary grammar of Diyari and of other Karnic languages (Figure 8.22; Figure 8.23).

Teichelmann and Schürmann had been motivated to place the ergative case at the bottom of the paradigm by the syncretism of *most* nominal types in Kaurua for ergative and instrumental function (§5.4.2). Their exemplification of formally distinct ergative and instrumental interrogatives in Kaurua showed that they used the term “active” to label ergative function and “ablative” to label instrumental function (Figure 5.8). In Diyari, however, there is no nominal class for which ergative and instrumental function have distinct forms.

In *nominal* paradigms, each Diyari missionary-grammarian, with the exception of Reuther (§8.5.2.3), assigned *both* labels “active” and “ablative” to the ergative-instrumental form at the bottom of the paradigm. In this, they followed Teichelmann and Schürmann. Note that Koch uses three German prepositions: *mit*, *von* and *durch* – roughly translatable into English as “with”, “from” and “by” – to translate the multi-functional form labelled both “active” and “ablative”.

Handwritten case paradigm for dual nouns in Diyari. The title is "Dual." The entries are:

Case	Form
Nom.	Kintella ulo
Gen.	Kintella uluja
Dat.	Kintella uluni
Acc.	Kintella ulo
Ab.	Kintella ulugai!
Ab. Inst.	Kintella ulujelli-mit, durch, von

Figure 8.22: Koch’s case paradigm of dual nouns (1868)

Handwritten case paradigm for singular nouns in Diyari. The title is "Sing." and "Dual." The entries are:

Case	Singular Form	Dual Form
N.	manhara	manhara pudla
G.	manharaia	pudlaku
D.	manharani	pudlanga
A.	manhara	pudlana
V.	manharai	pudlai!
Ab. Inst.	manharali	pudlaxu

Figure 8.23: Flierl’s case paradigm of singular nouns (1880: 10–11)

Like their Lutheran predecessors, the Diyari grammarians, again with the exception of Reuther (§8.5.2.3), used the term “active” in order to capture ergative function and the term “ablative” to capture instrumental function. This is evident from the pronominal paradigms (Figure 8.24; Figure 8.25) in which the term “ablative” is not used to name either the ablative or ergative cases. Recognising

that pronouns were unlikely to act in the role of instrument, the early grammarians did not assign the label “ablative” to the ergative/instrumental pronominal forms. Pronouns in ergative case are called “active”. In doing so, these Diyari grammarians, with the exception of Reuther, followed Teichelmann and Schürmann (Figure 5.5).

Singularis		Pluralis
I pers.	II pers.	III pers.
nom. nani	gi'ni	nauja
gen. makani	gi'ni kani	nauja kani
dat. makangu	gi'ni kangu	nauja kangu
acc. nana	gi'ni kani	nauja kani
instr. (nani)	gi'ni kani	nauja kani
act. nato	gi'ni kani	nauja kani

Figure 8.24: Koch's pronominal paradigm (1868)

Singularis		Pluralis
I pers.	II pers.	III pers.
nom. ngani	ngalingdra	ngaiani
gen. ngahani	ngalingdra	ngaiani
dat. ngahangu	ngalingdra	ngaiani
acc. ngana	ngalingdra	ngaiani
act. ngato	ngalingdra	ngaiani

Figure 8.25: Flierl's pronominal paradigm (1880: 18–19)

8.5.2.2 Teichelmann & Schürmann's legacy

Teichelmann & Schürmann's placement of ergative case forms in final paradigmatic position, which they instigated in their first grammar of a language spoken in South Australia (1840), was carried forward through the missionaries' unpublished descriptions of Diyari, into the grammars of the language published in German in the first decade of the twentieth century.

Planert's placement of the ergative case last in the paradigm was influenced either by Wettengel's memory of the missionaries' paradigms, or by a MS grammar Wettengel had in his possession (§8.4.3). Planert's Arrernte grammar (1907a; Figure 2.19), by contrast, follows existing grammars of that language (Kempe 1891; C. Strehlow 1931b [c.1907]) in placing ergative forms in second position next to the nominative.

Like Planert, Eylmann (1908: 94) placed Diyari ergative forms last in the paradigm. Gatti (1930: 58–65), however, broke from tradition and labelled the Diyari

ergative case *nominativo agente* and placed it in second paradigmatic position (Figure 8.20).

8.5.2.3 Reuther's case paradigms

Reuther's case paradigms (1894; 1899) differ from earlier grammars in the way they label the ergative case. In contrast to the earlier Diyari missionaries who use either one or both of the labels “active” and “ablative” to label nouns marked with a suffix that marks ergative and instrumental functions, Reuther's grammars (1894; 1981d [1899; 1981b; 1981c]) which are the last and best-known missionary descriptions of Karnic languages, only use the term “ablative” (Figure 8.26). The term “active” is absent from all of Reuther's case paradigms.

<u>Singular</u>	
N:	ngaperi = Eng. Vater father
G:	ngaperaia = Eng. Mutter?
D:	ngaperani = dem Vater
Acc:	ngaperia: = Acc. Vater
V:	ngaperiai = v. Vater
Abl:	ngaperali = v. t. Vater

Figure 8.26: Reuther's Diyari case paradigm (1894: no pag.) showing the ergative case at the bottom of the paradigm, labelled “ablative”

In this regard, Reuther's work is similar to Meyer's, in which the term “ablative” was used to name ergative case function. Note that in contrast to Koch (Figure 8.22), who translated nouns marked in ergative and instrumental function using three prepositions – *mit*, *von* and *durch* – Reuther used only *von*.

Providing English equivalents for German prepositions is fraught. The preposition *von* translates into English as either “by”, “of” and “from”. Hercus & Schwarzschild (1981d: 4) translate Reuther's German rendition of Diyari “ablative” nominal forms ‘by X’. Their translation of the Wangkangurru form labelled “ablative” (1981b: 31) is, however, translated as ‘from X’. This difference is motivated by the syncretism of ergative and ablative functions on nouns in Wangkangurru (Hercus 1994: 66). Given the absence of ablative pronominal forms, which do not show syncretism with the ergative case (Hercus 1994: 110) from all of Reuther's Wangkangurru paradigms, it is more likely that the translation ‘von X’ was used to invoke ergative function, as in the Diyari paradigms, rather than ablative. A

translation of Reuther's "von X" into English as "by X" better captures Reuther's intended meaning of the term "ablative".

Austin (1981b: 53) assumes that, when choosing the term "ablative" to name ergative/instrumental case, Reuther was "following the classical tradition [and] was aware of the Latin passive construction and therefore called this agentive case 'the ablative' ". This had been Meyer's reasoning for choosing the label "ablative". The "ablative of personal agent" was described by Meyer (1843: 38) as having "the force of Latin ablatives". However, it is possible that, when dropping one of the two case labels previously used by all Diyari grammarians, Reuther also realised that two case labels were unnecessary when naming case forms which never formally distinguish between ergative and instrumental functions. He dropped the term "active" and maintained the term "ablative".

8.5.2.4 "Ablative" interrogative pronouns

The paradigms of Diyari interrogatives from the second half of the nineteenth century show the extent of influence that Teichelmann and Schürmann's earliest grammar of a South Australian language had on these later Lutheran grammars. Like Teichelmann and Schürmann's paradigm of Kurna interrogatives (Figure 5.8), the descriptions of Diyari also show different "active" and "ablative" forms in the interrogative paradigm. The assumption that Australian languages were *structurally* similar (§6.4.1) led the early Diyari grammarians to import structures across linguistic boundaries, and to impose Kurna structures onto Diyari.

The interrogative that was shown in the Kurna paradigm (Figure 5.8) as "active", **ngando**, was illustrated in ergative function and the interrogative **ngan-narlo** labelled "ablative" was illustrated with instrumental function (Examples 9 and 10 on p. 222). Teichelmann and Schürmann provided these examples to show that these Kurna interrogatives marked the "active" and "ablative" cases distinctly. Interrogatives were the only nominal type which were not described as showing syncretism for ergative and instrumental case functions.

Influenced by Teichelmann & Schürmann's description, later Lutheran missionaries also provided distinct "active" and "ablative" forms of "personal interrogatives" in Diyari (Figure 8.27) as well as in Wangkangurru (Figure 8.28). While Teichelmann and Schürmann had carefully exemplified the functional difference of the ergative and instrumental interrogatives in Kurna (Examples 9 & 10), the distinction is not motivated in Diyari, in which all classes of nominals mark ergative and instrumental function identically (2013: 53[1981a]).

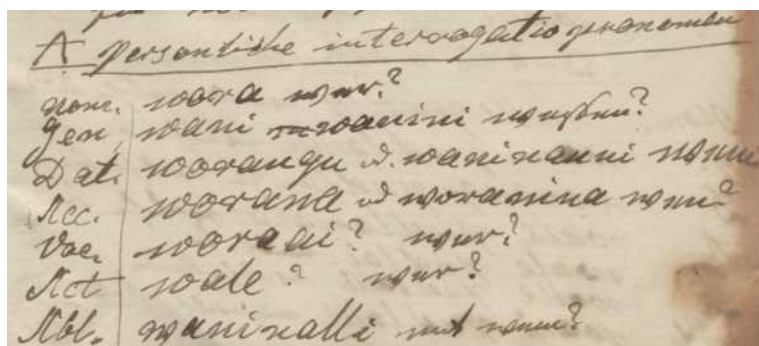


Figure 8.27: Koch's case paradigm of interrogatives (1868: no pag.)

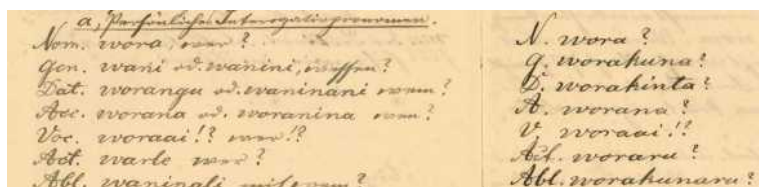


Figure 8.28: Flierl's case paradigm of interrogatives (1880: 22–23) showing Diyari forms on the left and Wangkangurru forms on the right

The Diyari interrogative **wale warli**,¹⁵ which is labelled “active” in the Diyari interrogative paradigms, is described by Austin (2013: 67 [1981a]) as the ergative interrogative form. The form that is shown as “ablative” in each of the missionaries’ interrogative paradigms is not, however, a regular interrogative case form (see Austin 2013: 67 [1981a]). The form that the missionaries slotted into the paradigmatic position is a pronoun marking possessive function, which is then marked for ergative case.

Interrogative pronouns with possessive function, translated into English as ‘whose?’, are labelled “dative” by Austin (2013: 66 [1981a]) and were labelled “genitive” by the missionaries. When in possessive function, these forms may be further inflected for the clausal case in which the possessed NP stands. In Diyari, case is usually marked on the final constituent of a continuous NP, but each constituent can receive case marking if the NP is discontinuous, or “where there is special emphasis or contrast intended” (Austin 2013: 97 [1981a]), as in Figure 8.29.

¹⁵There appears to be some confusion in case forms of interrogatives given by the missionaries. While Austin (2013: 67 [1981a]) describes the marking of syntactic case on interrogatives as showing ergative alignment (A/SO) the missionaries all show distinct nominative and accusative forms.

In this example the possessive 3sgnfDAT pronoun *nhungkarni* qualifies the head of the possessed NP *kinthala* dog. The NP “his dog” stands in ergative case, and ergative case marking occurs on both constituents. Note that the ergative suffix is “realised as *-li* after a and *-yali* elsewhere” (Austin 2013: 35[1981a]), except on female proper names which show *-ndru* (ibid.:53).

<i>kinthala-li</i>	<i>nhungkarni-yali</i>	<i>nganha</i>	<i>matha-rna</i>	<i>wara-yi</i>
dog-erg	3sgnf.dat-erg	1sg.acc	bite-ptcple	aux-pres
‘HIS DOG bit me’				

Figure 8.29: Ergative case marking on both constituents of a continuous NP in Diyari (Austin 2013: 97[1981a])

Thus, it is likely that a possessive interrogative might receive clausal case marking in Diyari. Indeed, Austin (2013 [1981: 67]) states: “It may be possible for interrogative-indefinites in dative case where there is an understood head noun to be followed by noun case suffixes ... but there are no examples in the corpus”. It is, however, these forms that are used to fill in the vacant position in the paradigm of interrogative pronouns, notwithstanding the discrepancies that exist between interrogative forms in early sources and modern sources. The possessive interrogative **warnini** marked with the ergative suffix **-li**, **warnini-li**, is the form shown as the Diyayi “ablative” interrogative pronoun. This has not previously been understood. The missionaries’ “ablative” interrogatives might occur in a phrase such as “Whose dog bit the child?”. Flierl’s Wangkangurru “ablative” interrogative (Figure 8.28) is of the same structure (see Hercus 1994: 127):

- (5) worakunaru
waRakunha-ru
INTER.POSS-ERG

Understanding the missionaries’ rationale for inserting these forms in their paradigms requires comparison of this body of material produced by HMS missionaries at Bethesda with earlier grammars of Australian languages written by the Dresdner missionaries, whose works guided later descriptive practices.

8.5.3 The ablative case

Teichelmann & Schürmann (1840), Meyer (1843), and the Diyari grammarians’ use of the term “ablative” differed from other corpus grammarians, who used the term “ablative” to name the nominal suffix that marked the primary function

of the Latin ablative, ‘motion away from’ (Table 5.5). A consequence of Teichelmann & Schürmann’s and the Diyari grammarians’ practice of naming of the case with ergative and instrumental functions either “active” or “ablative”, or simply “ablative”, is that nominals standing in ablative case marking the “location from which motion proceeds and indirect cause” (2013: 55[1981a]) were not described within the traditionalist Latin case paradigm. The term had already been “used up” as a descriptor of syntactic case.

Unlike Meyer (§6.1.2.3), who also labelled the ergative case “ablative”, Teichelmann & Schürmann and the Diyari grammarians did not introduce an additional place into the paradigm in order to accommodate the primary function of the Latin ablative. Other grammars – including later Lutheran grammars of Arrernte (Kempe 1891; C. Strehlow 1931b [c.1907]), which utilised a five-case Latin paradigm, but which conceived of the ergative as a second nominative case (§9.3.3.2) – adequately account for PN ablative functions under the heading “ablative”. The absence of ablative forms from nominal paradigms and the relegation of the discussion of ablative function to other sections of the grammar, most notably the section headed “postpositions”, are peculiar to the early Kurna and Diyari grammars. The Diyari grammarians also exemplified ablative marking and function under the heading “correlative pronouns” (§2.3.3; Example 8 on p. 79).

C. Strehlow’s earliest grammar of Arrernte (1931b [c.1907]; §9.2.3.1) presented comparative case paradigms of nominals in Arrernte, Diyari and Ramindjeri. The ergative case forms were placed in second paradigmatic position and labelled “nominative transitive”. Consequently, the ablative forms, labelled “ablative”, are included in the paradigm (Figure 8.30). In this way C. Strehlow’s presentation of case in Diyari differs from all other missionary grammars of Diyari.

<i>ARRERNTJE</i>	<i>DIYARI</i>	<i>DIYARI</i>	<i>ENCOUNTER BAY</i>
<i>Singular</i>	<i>1. Pers.</i>	<i>2. Pers.</i>	
<i>N. intr. HUA - man</i>	<i>KHUA man</i>	<i>NOA Semah</i>	<i>KORAE man</i>
<i>N. Trs. HUA</i>	<i>Kanali</i>	<i>noali</i>	<i>Kornil</i>
<i>Gen. HUKA</i>	<i>Kanaka</i>	<i>noakata</i>	<i>Korn.</i>
<i>Nat. Atura - aliamna Kame</i>		<i>noangu</i>	<i>Komungai.</i>
<i>Acc. Aluana</i>	<i>Kana</i>	<i>noana</i>	<i>Korne</i>
<i>Noc. aluai</i>	<i>Kanai</i>	<i>noajai</i>	<i>Kominda</i>
<i>Abl. aduanja</i>	<i>Kanandra</i>	<i>noandru</i>	<i>Korne mude ?</i>

Figure 8.30: Kramer’s copy of C. Strehlow’s comparative table of case forms (1931b: 48–49 [c.1907])

8.5.4 Split system of marking syntactic case and other case syncretism

The complexity of the ergative split on different nominal types in Diyari was more complicated than the splits encountered by most earlier grammarians, with the exception of Meyer and Taplin, who described Ngarrindjeri, and Threlkeld, who described Awabakal.

In Diyari the alignment of the marking of the syntactic cases – nominative, ergative and accusative – on different nominal types is sensitive to number and gender (Table 8.3). Similarly, peripheral cases – dative, allative, and locative – show allomorphic variation according to number, gender, and nominal-subclass (Table 8.4).

The record of the split in the marking of the syntactic cases, and the sensitivity to number and gender of nouns in peripheral cases, differs across the early sources. It took the missionaries at Bethesda some time to properly convey the marking of different nominal types in nominative, accusative and ergative (“ab-lative”) cases, and the different marking of allative/locative and dative cases on different types of nouns.

The following sections assess the missionary-grammarians’ record of case marking on different nominal types in Diyari. Attention is given to the obstacles that compromised the accuracy of the historical record. Table 8.3 and Table 8.4 are referred to throughout the discussion.

Table 8.3: The syntactic alignment of different nominal types in Diyari
(from Austin 2013: 52)

A/SO Ergative alignment	AS/O Accusative alignment	A/S/O Tripartite marking
Male personal names	First and second-person	First and second-person
Singular common nouns	non-singular pronouns	singular
Interrogatives		and third-person
		pronouns
		Non-singular common
		nouns
		Female person names

8.5.5 Sensitivity of case marking to number and gender

Adherence to the word and paradigm descriptive model was an especially effective method of conveying the sensitivity to number. The application of the model

Table 8.4: Syncretism of Diyari cases on different types of noun (content informed by 2013: 53–55)

Case label assigned by Austin	Case label assigned by the missionaries	Singular common nouns	Male personal names	Non-singular common nouns	Female personal names
Nominative	Ablative/Active	-Ø	-nha	-Ø	-ni
Accusative	Nominative				-nha
Ergative/Instrumental	Accusative		-li/-yali		-ndru
Ablative	-	-ndru		-ngundru	
Dative/Possessive	Genitive	-ya		-rni	-nhangka
Allative	Dative			-ngu	-nhangu
Locative	Dative	-nhi			

This table does not show the marking of case on spatial locational nominals, which are a small closed class, and which inflect only for ablative and allative cases (Austin 2013: 42[1981a]). Shaded cells indicate suffixes undifferentiated in the missionaries’ orthographies. Each was shown as -ni.

8.5 Early analyses of Diyari and other Karnic languages

in the initial grammar (Koch 1868; Figure 8.31) successfully conveyed the marking of each case included in the paradigms *on pronouns* in different numbers.

Note that the style of presentation of pronouns in the extant copy of Koch's analysis differs from later sources, which gave discrete paradigms for person, and placed number on the horizontal axis. Yet, the following discussion shows that it took the Diyari grammarians decades to properly record the complexity of the systems paradigmatically. Some aspects of the complexity, recorded by Austin, were never captured in the missionaries' analyses.

The figure consists of two handwritten pages from a manuscript. The left page is titled 'Singularis' and the right page is titled 'Pluralis'. Both pages show a grid of pronouns for different cases (Nominative, Genitive, Dative, Accusative, Instrumental, Locative, Ablative, Vocative) and numbers (Singular, Dual, Plural). The handwriting is in a cursive script, likely representing the Diyari language.

Singularis		Pluralis	
Case	Number	Case	Number
Nom.	masculine	Nom.	masculine
Gen.	masculine	Gen.	masculine
Dat.	masculine	Dat.	masculine
Acc.	masculine	Acc.	masculine
Inst.	masculine	Inst.	masculine
Loc.	masculine	Loc.	masculine
Abl.	masculine	Abl.	masculine
Voc.	masculine	Voc.	masculine
Nom.	feminine	Nom.	feminine
Gen.	feminine	Gen.	feminine
Dat.	feminine	Dat.	feminine
Acc.	feminine	Acc.	feminine
Inst.	feminine	Inst.	feminine
Loc.	feminine	Loc.	feminine
Abl.	feminine	Abl.	feminine
Voc.	feminine	Voc.	feminine

Third-person singular feminine pronouns are shown under the masculine.

Figure 8.31: Koch's WP presentation of Diyari pronouns (1868).

Koch's initial paradigms for *common nouns* (1868; Figure 8.32) failed to show the sensitivity of case marking to number. This earliest case paradigm of a Diyari noun shows the singular *kinthala* 'dog', and the dual *kinthalawurlu* 'two dogs'. Koch did not provide a paradigm for plural nouns. See that the singular accusative and dual accusative forms are each unmarked. Following Koch, no early grammarian before Reuther (1894) recorded that non-singular common nouns show tripartite marking (A/s/o) and are marked with the suffix *-nha* in accusative case (see Table 8.3 and Table 8.4). Instead, non-singular nouns were shown as having the same ergative alignment (A/so) as singular nouns.

The dual accusative form shown by Koch (1868: no pag. Figure 8.32) is unmarked:

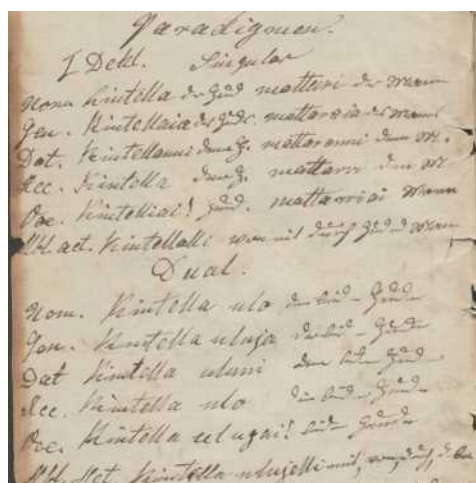


Figure 8.32: Koch's noun case paradigm (1868: no pag.)

- (6) kintella ulo
 *kinthala-wurlu
 dog-DL-[ACC]
 “two dogs”

Neither Schoknecht (1947 [1872]) nor Flierl (1880: 10, 12) declined dual and plural nominals for case, but rather gave syntagmatic rules stating that case inflection follows inflection for number. Presumably they also thought the situation was no more complicated than Koch had conveyed, and assumed that non-singular nouns were marked in the same way as singular nouns (A/SO).

Reuther's record of the distinctive marking of case on singular and non-singular nouns and pronouns shown in his nominal case paradigms (§8.5.2.3) substantially improves on the record left by Flierl (1880), Schoknecht (1947 [1872]), and Koch (1868).

It took grammarians of Diyari over two decades to accurately describe this complexity, with Reuther (1894) being the first grammarian to properly display the sensitivity to number of the marking of the syntactic cases on nouns. His paradigms show ergative alignment (A/SO) for singular number and tripartite marking on dual and plural common nouns (A/S/O; Figure 8.33).

The conservative case paradigms provided by the Diyari grammarians, which – unlike those given by Threlkeld (1834; §3.4.4) and by Günther (1838; 1840; §4.4.3) – only included forms marked by case suffixes carrying functions that are marked morphologically in SAE languages. As such, they were powerless to convey the

Singular

faulungu Nom. a. i. e. f. acc. aie, Dat. aieo,
 acc. yaii, tom. Voc. ai, Abl. ai.
 1. *I. I. nif* *faulungu* a. kana, *to* Muff.
 2. *kana* *to* Muff. *ma* *to* *ma*
 3. *kana* *to* Muff. *at* *to* *ma* *to*
 4. *kana* *to* Muff. *to* *to* *ma* *to*
 Acc. kana - *to* Muff. *to* *ma* *to*
 Voc. *kana* - *to* Muff.
 Abl. *kana* - *to* Muff. (*to* *ma* *to*)

Plural

faulungu Nom. a. i. e. f. acc. aie, Dat. aieo,
 acc. yaii, tom. Voc. ai, Abl. ai.
 1. *I. I. nif* *faulungu* a. kana, *to* Muff.
 2. *kana* *to* Muff. *ma* *to* *ma*
 3. *kana* *to* Muff. *at* *to* *ma* *to*
 4. *kana* *to* Muff. *to* *to* *ma* *to*
 Acc. kana - *to* Muff. *to* *ma* *to*
 Voc. *kana* - *to* Muff.
 Abl. *kana* - *to* Muff. (*to* *ma* *to*)

Plural

faulungu Nom. a. i. e. f. acc. aie, Dat. aieo,
 acc. yaii, tom. Voc. ai, Abl. ai.
 1. *I. I. nif* *faulungu* a. kana, *to* Muff.
 2. *kana* *to* Muff. *ma* *to* *ma*
 3. *kana* *to* Muff. *at* *to* *ma* *to*
 4. *kana* *to* Muff. *to* *to* *ma* *to*
 Acc. kana - *to* Muff. *to* *ma* *to*
 Voc. *kana* - *to* Muff.
 Abl. *kana* - *to* Muff. (*to* *ma* *to*)

Figure 8.33: Reuther's noun case paradigm (1894: 5–6)

asymmetry in the syncretism of allative, dative and locative cases on different nominal types. The function “motion towards X” is not marked distinctly from other case functions on any nominal type (Table 8.4). The suffix marking the allative case on singular common nouns *-ya* was, however, exemplified as a “mono-syllabic affix”, and allative function was also exemplified in a discussion of “correlative pronouns” (§2.3.3; Example 9 on p. 79). The missionaries’ discussion and exemplification of the marking of allative function falls short of showing the different marking of this function on different nominal types or on the same nominal type in different numbers. The different marking of the case function on male names and on singular and non-singular nouns may have been adequately conveyed if the Diyari missionary-grammarians had, like Threlkeld and Günther, included suffixes marking cases extraneous to the Latin inventory within their paradigms.

Similarly, the different marking of singular and non-singular nouns in the ablative case was unlikely to have been successfully recorded in the early sources because the ablative inflection was treated as a postposition, and postpositions were not declined for number (§8.5.3).

But differences in the marking of cases on different nominal types where cases were presented paradigmatically were also inadequately conveyed. The earliest Diyari sources failed to show that non-singular common nouns are marked differently for dative (“genitive”) case than are singular common nouns, and that the allative and locative cases, termed “dative”, are marked differently on singular and non-singular nouns (Stockigt 2017; §8.6.6). This is in part due to inadequate analysis and failure to recognise the potential complexity of splits, but also to the missionaries’ inability to recognise and/or to orthographically distinguish

nasal phonemes at interdental, retroflex and alveolar positions. Consequently, *-nhi*, marking the locative case on common singular nouns, *-rni*, marking dative case on non-singular common nouns and male personal names, and *-ni* marking the nominative case on female personal names (Table 8.4) were identically represented as *-ni*.

8.5.5.1 Nominal declension classes

In order to convey morphophonemic variation and the sensitivity of case marking to gender and animacy, the missionaries presented nominal declension classes.

Table 8.4 summarises a situation in which male proper names and singular common nouns show ergative alignment (A/SO). Male names are overtly marked with the suffix *-nha* in nominative and accusative cases. Singular common nouns are unmarked in these cases. Female proper names show tripartite marking, taking different nominative and ergative suffixes from male proper names. These three nominal types also display different syncretism for the peripheral cases.

All early Diyari sources fail to account for the unique marking for case on female names in the early sources (Table 8.4). That female names are overtly marked in accusative case (A/S/O) while male personal names are not (A/SO) was undescribed. The different marking on female personal nouns in the missionaries' "genitive" (dative) and "dative" (locative/allative) cases was also not recorded in any early source. Reuther (1894: 11; 1981d: 7[1899]) first provided paradigms for a female proper noun. He declined **Parubukana** *Parru-puka-nha*, literally "fish-bread-NOM" (Figure 8.34). The case forms given for this female name are, however, not the same as those recorded by Austin, including the nominative citation form, which in the variety recorded by Austin is marked for nominative case with *-ni*. While the difference may result from language shift, or dialect difference, it is more likely that the absence in the record results from oversight on

J. L. Parubukana - Parru-puka-nha

Singular

1. Nom: Parubukana

J. Parubukananka

D. Parubukanangu.

Acc. Parubukana

V. Parubukanijai

All. Parubukanali.

Figure 8.34: Reuther's case paradigm of a female personal noun (1894: 11)

the part of the missionaries. Note that Gatti (§8.4.4; Figure 8.20) also presented an incorrect paradigm of the female name “Maria”, a fact that is unsurprising given that his grammar was informed by the missionaries’ translations.

The different case marking on male personal nouns was, however, conveyed in the early grammars through the presentation of nominal declension classes. Each early Diyari source presented three declension classes. While membership of each class was differently defined in each early source, the third declension class consistently showed case marking on male proper nouns which accords with Austin’s modern record (2013 [1981a]). The third declension class was motivated by the different marking of case on common singular nouns and male proper nouns (Figure 8.35). The distinctive marking of male proper nouns was properly recorded through provision of a distinct declension class.

Nom. Pikalina	koyarra marra minna
Gen. Pikalini	koyera mara minai
Dat. Pikalingu	koyara mara mingr
Acc. Pikalina	koyera mara minna
Ret. & Abl. Pikalilli	koyara mara minli
Loc. Pikalini	(fulld)

Figure 8.35: Koch’s Deklination der Eigenamen (Declension of proper nouns; 1868: no pag.).
Shown as the third declension class in later sources.

The first two of the missionary-grammarians’ three declension classes were phonologically motivated by morphophonemic alternation, the complexity of which was never properly understood in the early descriptions of Diyari. Each author presented a slightly different range of nominals in the first two declension classes (see, e.g., Figure 8.36) in attempting to accommodate the morphophonemic processes which were later described by Austin (2013: 28 [1981a]). These are:

The neutralisation of final vowels of trisyllabic common nouns ending in *i* or *u*.

The ergative case suffix *-yali* → *-li* / *a*, *u* _

I.				
„Knabe“	„eigenes Kind“	„Ding“	„Mensch“	„Jüngling“
Abs. kanku	ngatamura.	poto	kana	teri
Gen. kanku-ja	ngatamura-ia	potu-ja	kana-ia	teri-[i]a
Dat. kanku-ni	ngatamura-ni	potu-ni	kana-ni	teri-ni
Voc. kanku-jai	ngatamura-jai	potu-jai	kana-jai	teri-[i]jai
Erg. kanku-jeli	ngatamura-jeli	potu-jeli	kana-li	teri-[i]jeli
II.				
	„Wüste“		„Vater“	
Abs. pitaru			ngaperi	
Gen. pitar-a-ia			ngaper-a-ia	
Dat. pitar-a-ni			ngaper-a-ni	
Voc. pitaru-ai			ngaperi-ai	
Erg. pitar-a-li			ngaper-a-li	

Figure 8.36: Planert’s first two classes of nominal declension in Diyari (1908: 690)

None of the early grammarians of Diyari attempted to account for morpho-phonemic variation by describing process, as Günther (1838; 1840) had done (see §4.4.2). The missionary-grammarians were unable to define membership of their claimed noun classes. Schoknecht wrote:

The Dieri language had three declensions, which we differentiate as first and second declension and the declension of the nomina propria ... The endings of the words do not enable one to decide according to which declension they are to be flexed. Here practical use must come to one’s aid. (Schoknecht 1947 [1872]: 2)

The examples provided by each grammarian of Diyari in the tables of declension show a good range of bi-syllabic and tri-syllabic common nouns ending in different vowels, indicating that each grammarian was able to assign individual items to different classes. Only Reuther (1981d: 8[1899]) explained that the number of syllables was a controlling factor.

8.5.6 Postpositions

Following Teichelmann & Schürmann (1840; §5.3.2), the Diyari missionary-grammarians distinguished two types of postpositions. Reuther (1981d: 25[1899]) wrote: “Many locational relationships can be expressed by postpositions, but there are

no prepositions. Postpositions are of two kinds, the first kind are strictly speaking not postpositions but simply monosyllabic affixes. The second type are true postpositions, they are free and independent words” (see also Flierl & Meyer 1880: 50; Schoknecht 1947 [1872]: 13). Reuther’s grammars of other Karnic languages (1981c) do not make this distinction. This section is absent from Koch’s incomplete grammar (1868).

The Diyari missionaries’ *einsilbige Affixe* (monosyllabic affixes) class corresponds to Teichelmann & Schürmann’s “postfixa”. Their “independent words” corresponds to Teichelmann & Schürmann’s “postpositions”. The second class of “independent words” includes mostly locational words – translated as “in front of”, “behind” etc. – as well as the following three anomalies (Table 8.5).

Table 8.5: Reuther’s class of “postpositions”, which are “independent words”

“Postposition”	Translated as:	Exemplification:	Recoded by Austin (2013)
mara	with	noa mara with the (lawful) husband	- <i>mara</i> kinship propriative (kin dyad) (p.48)
pani	without	kalti pani without a spear	<i>pani</i> Adj: “none”, “no” (pp. 49–50)
pota	with	Turupota with fire	<i>thurru putha</i> Fire ash A generic nominal followed by a specific nominal (p. 44)

Like Teichelmann and Schürmann’s “postfixa”, the Diyari grammarians’ list of monosyllabic affixes (Figure 8.37) given at the end of the grammar under the heading *Postpositionen* presents the balance of Diyari case inflections that are not included at the front of the grammar under the heading *Substantivum* (1880: 52) because they mark case functions that are not marked morphologically in SAE languages. The “monosyllabic affixes” also includes derivational morphology, as well as post-inflectional morphology.

Flierl’s *einsilbige Affixe* that do not mark case include the post-inflectional suffixes **ru** –*rlu* glossed ‘STILL’ (Austin 2013: 181; Example 7) and **ldra** –*lda* marking additional information (Austin 2013: 185 [1981a]; Example 8).

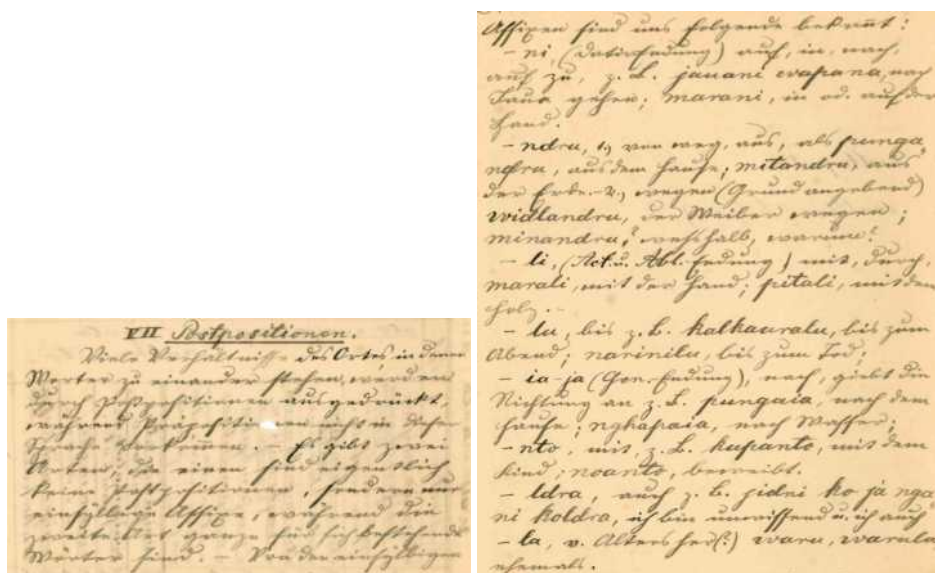


Figure 8.37: Flierl's (1880: 52) list of *einsilbige Affixe* (monosyllabic affixes)

- (7) kalkauralu,
 ‘until the evening’
 (Flierl 1880: 52)
 Kalkawarra-ya-rlu
 evening-ALL-STILL
- (8) jidni ko ja nga ni koldra
 ‘You are ignorant and so am I’
 (Flierl 1880: 52)
 Yini kuwu nganha kuwu-lda
 2SG.NOM ignorant 1SG.NOM ignorant-ADDINF

Also included as “mono-syllabic affixes” are two derivational suffixes, propriative suffix **-nto** *-nthu* (Austin 2013: 48 [1981a]; Example 9) and **-la** *-lha* “characteristic” (Austin 2013: 40 [1981a]; Example 10), the last of which is absent from Reuther’s grammar (1981a).

- (9) kupanto
 ‘with a child’
 (Flierl 1880: 52)
 Kupa-nthu
 child-PROP

- (10) waru warula
of old. Formerly
(Flierl 1880: 52)
waru-waru-lha
long ago-REDUP-CHAR
of old

The “monosyllabic affixes” that *are* markers of case include those marking locative, dative, allative and ergative/instrumental cases. Here the Diyari grammarians exemplified both the spatial (Example 11) and causal (Example 12) functions of the ablative case:

- (11) mitandru
out of the Earth
mitha-ndru
(Flierl 1880: 52)
ground-ABL
- (12) widlandru
on account of the woman
wilha-ndru
(Flierl 1880: 52)
woman-ABL

Inflection for locative case on singular common nouns was presented as a “mono-syllabic affix” (Example 13):

- (13) marani in or on the hand
mara-nhi
(Flierl 1880: 52)
hand-LOC

as was the marking of allative case function on singular common nouns (Example 14):

- (14) nghapaia
towards water
(Flierl 1880: 52)
ngapa-ya
water-ALL

As with other grammarians examined in this study, suffixes marking case functions not associated with the case systems of European languages that *were* included in the early PN case paradigms were accounted for and exemplified *again* by the Diyari grammarians under the heading “postposition”. The Diyari grammarians list the ergative/instrumental inflection as a postposition (Example 15), although it had already been accounted for within the case paradigms:

- (15) pitali
with the stick
(Flierl 1880: 52)
pirta-li
stick-ERG/INST

8.5.7 Inalienably possessed NPs

In most PN languages inalienable possession is distinguished from alienable possession. Inalienable possessive constructions, or “part whole” constructions (Dixon 2002b: 59), are often marked through juxtaposition, as in the following Pitta-Pitta example (Example 16) in which the “possessor” **mochoomba** ‘kangaroo’ is morphologically unmarked:

- (16) Mochoomba wapa
a kangaroo’s pup
(Roth 1897: 8)
Matyumpa warrpa
Kangaroo-[NOM] pup-[NOM]

Koch (1868) is the earliest PN grammarian to describe the absence of morphological marking of an inalienable possessed NP. Koch notes the differences in the marking of inalienably and alienably possessed NPs twice, once in a description of nouns (Figure 8.38) and again in a description of pronouns (Figure 8.39).

In the discussion of nouns, Koch (1868: no pag.) wrote: “Regarding the use of the genitive, also note that it is only used when the relevant object is not part of the subject itself” (Figure 8.38).¹⁶ In order to exemplify the difference, Koch supplied examples (Examples 17 & 18) to contrast the lack of marking on the “possessor” in an inalienably possessed NP with the suffixation of *-ya*, written by the missionaries as *-ia*, to the possessor in an alienably possessed NP.

¹⁶“Über den Gebrauch des Genetives merke noch, daß er nur dann angewandt wird, wenn das betreffende Object kein Theil des Gegenstandes selbst ist.”

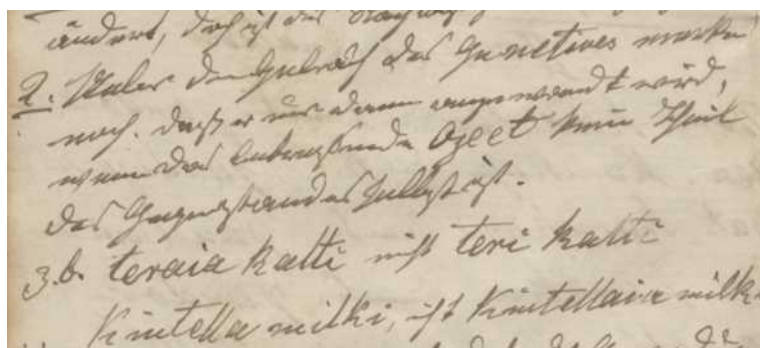


Figure 8.38: Koch's description of the unmarked inalienably possessed NP, where the possessor is a noun (1868: no pag.)

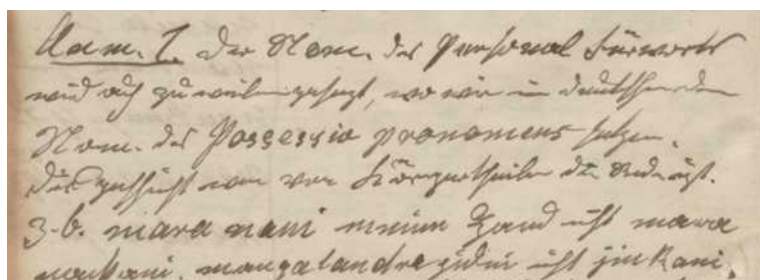


Figure 8.39: The unmarked inalienably possessed NP where the possessor is pronominal (Koch 1868: no pag.)

- (17) Teraia kalti *nicht* teri kalti,
 (Koch 1868: no pag.)
 tari-ya kalthi not tari kalthi
 boy-poss spear not boy-[NOM] spear
- (18) kintella milki *nicht* Kintellaia milki
 (Koch 1868: no pag.)
 kinthala milki not kinthala-ya milki
 dog-[NOM] eye not dog-poss eye

The juxtaposition of the constituents of the inalienably possessed NP was also shown by Schoknecht (1947 [1872]: 3) and Flierl (1880: 12) using an example which better clarified the difference:

- (19) *mataraiia kalti, der mannes speer, aber nicht mataraia milki, der mannes augen, sondern matari milki*
 (Flierl 1880: 12)
mathari-ya kalthi the man's spear, but not *mathari-ya milki* the man's eye, rather *mathari milki*
 man-POSS spear, 'the man's spear'; but not: man-POSS eye, 'the man's eye', rather man-[NOM] eye

Koch (1868: no pag.) also exemplified the construction in instances in which the possessor is pronominal:

Note. 1. On occasion, the nom. of the personal pronoun will also be used where we in German would use the nom. of the possessive pronoun. This occurs where one talks about parts of the body. For example, *mara nani* my hand, not *mara nakani*. (Koch 1868: no pag. Figure 8.39)¹⁷

Strangely, description of the construction is altogether absent from Reuther's grammars (1894; 1899; 1981b; 1981c).

Despite the occurrence of this astute observation in the earlier Diyari grammars, the earliest printed translations of liturgical texts into Diyari (Koch & Homann 1870) employed a possessive suffix on the "possessor" of body parts (see Kneebone 2005a: 142, 159). That Reuther did not describe this construction in his grammar, when earlier missionaries had, may suggest that the target language of his description was the variety of Diyari used within the mission domain, rather than fluent native speaker usage.

The earlier missionaries at Bethesda made the first description of the difference between these two constructions when analysing Diyari, and also explained the distinction more accurately than middle-era overviews of Australian structure. That inalienable possessive constructions are marked through juxtaposition was still unrecognised as a feature common to Australian languages in the 1930s. The structure was not mentioned by Elkin (1937), Capell (1937), or by Ray (1925), and was not described by T. G. H. Strehlow (1944[1938]) in his grammar of Arrernte.

The use of juxtaposition to convey other syntactical relations in Australian languages was, however, being observed at the time. Juxtaposition of phrases was discussed in the comparison of adjective (Capell 1937: 55; Elkin (1937): 41) as was the juxtaposition of clauses, rather than processes of subordination (Elkin 1937: 40).

¹⁷"Der Nom. Der Personalfürwörter wird auch zuweilen gesagt, wo wir im Deutschen den Nom. des Possessivpronomens setzen. Dies geschieht wenn von Körpertheilen die Rede ist. z.B. *mara nani* mein Hand nicht *mara nakani*."

8.5.8 The syntax of complex clauses

Despite there being a good record of complex sentences in the early Diyari sources, relative to other works considered in this study (e.g., Ridley 1875 [1855a] and Schürmann 1844b), the subordinating processes that are exemplified in the early Diyari grammars constitute less than half of the seven possible processes recorded in the modern era (Austin 2013: 86[1981a]). After thirty years of immersion in Diyari, the missionaries recorded only three of the seven verbal inflections marking clausal dependency: apprehensional constructions marked with *-yathi* (§8.5.8.1), DS imperfective clauses (marking relative clauses), and DS perfective clauses (marking sequential clauses) marked with *-rnanhi* and *-ni* respectively (§8.5.8.2; §8.5.8.3).

8.5.8.1 The *denunciativ* mood in Diyari

Apprehensional constructions (§5.6.1) in Diyari (termed “lest” by Austin 2013 [1981a]) are marked by the morpheme *-yathi*, which is the only dependent clause verbal inflection in Diyari which does not also mark switch reference, i.e., it does not also indicate whether the subject of the dependent clause is either the same or different subject as the main clause (Austin 2013: 229 [1981a]).

Following Teichelmann & Schürmann, the apprehensional construction was established as a mood of the verb in the earliest grammar of Diyari by Koch (1868: no pag.), who named it the *denunciativ* (denunciative) and described the mood as “Modus der Drohung oder Ankündigung” (mood of threat or notification). The exemplification, which is given by each later missionary-grammarian, is missing from the extant copy of Koch’s original analysis. The section occurs within the pages of the MS that are left blank (§8.3.4). Schoknecht’s description also discusses the “denunciative” in terms of a “threat”:

This is a mood that is not employed in any language, either ancient or modern of which we have any knowledge. It expresses an announcement [notification] or a threat, and always states, in the first part of the sentence, the means by which the threatened consequence may be averted. (Schoknecht 1947 [1872]: 10)

Schoknecht’s description and exemplification of apprehensional constructions (Examples 20& 21) can be assumed to have been taken from a non-extant section of Koch’s analysis (1868):

- (20) Ninkidani wapamai, nato nandraiati!

‘Come here, otherwise I strike!’

(Schoknecht 1947 [1872]: 10)

nhingki-rda-nhi wapa-mayi, ngathu nandra-yathi
here-vicin-ALL go.IMP-EMPH, 1sgERG hit-AVERS

Note that in example (Example 21) the name “*Jesu*” has not been not grammatically integrated. Diyari masculine names are normally marked with *-nha* in accusative case (Table 8.3).

- (21) Jesu antjanimai, jura paliati!

‘Love Jesus, or you will die!’

(Schoknecht 1947 [1872]: 10)

Yesu ngantya-ni-mayi, yura pali-yathi
Jesus-[ACC] love.IMP-NM-EMPH 2plNOM die-AVERS
‘love Jesus, lest you die!’

8.5.8.2 The conditional mood of the verb

The Diyari grammarians presented forms marked with inflection *-nani -rnanhi* in a discussion of the mood of the verb termed *Modus Conditionalis*. The form *-nan(n)i -rnanhi* is now analysed (Austin 2013: 226–229 [1981a]) as a subordinate marker carrying both aspectual and switch reference functions, i.e., marking a dependent clause as imperfective and as having a different subject to that of the main clause (Example 22).

- (22) pantha-ma-mayi kilthi ngakarni ngathu wayi-rna
smell-TR.IMP-EMPH stew-[ACC] 1sg.POSS 1sg.ERG cook-PTCP
wara-rnanhi

AUX-IMPERF.DS

‘smell my stew, that I cooked’ (Austin 2013: 214 [1981a])

Under the heading *Modus Conditionalis*, Schoknecht (1947 [1872]: 12), Flierl (1880), and Reuther (1894) discussed the semantic function of the form in marking the verb as conditional without attributing a syntactic dependency marking function to the morpheme. They each provided an example (Example 23) in which there are two clauses with *-nani -rnanhi* marking the verb as conditional in each. There appears to be no clausal dependency.

- (23) judla taji-nani, judla pali-nani
 ‘If you eat, you will die’
 (Schoknecht 1947 [1872]: 12[1872])
 yula thayi-rnanhi, yula pali-rnanhi
 2DL.NOM eat-COND, 2DL.NOM die-COND

Note that the dual form of the second-person pronoun – given in the missionaries’ orthography with a pre-stopped lateral (see Austin (2013): 27 [1981a]) – falls out only in Reuther’s translation: “If you two eat, you will die” (1894: 37; 1981d: 12 [1899]).

Such constructions do not, however, occur in the variety recorded by Austin (pers. comm. 13/08/2010), in which the verb in the second clause would be marked for tense (see Austin 2013: 94 [1981a]; Example 24), as in the example shown in Figure 8.40.

- (24) pali-lha ngana-yi
 die-FUT AUX-PRES
 ‘will die’

<i>wata</i>	<i>yini</i>	<i>murda-rnanhi,</i>	<i>wilhapina</i>	<i>yupa-rna,</i>
not	2sg.nom	stop-imperfDS	old woman.acc	tease-imperfSS
<i>ngathu</i>	<i>pirta</i>	<i>mani-lha</i>	<i>ngana-yi</i>	
1sg.erg	stick.acc	get-fut	aux-pres	

‘If you don’t stop teasing the old woman I’ll get a stick (to hit you with)’

Figure 8.40: Austin (2013): 221 [1981a]

There is an intriguing structural similarity between this abridged translation of Genesis 2:17 and 3:3 given by the Diyari grammarians to illustrate the conditional mood of the verb, and the construction given by Teichelmann & Schürmann (1840: V 67; see 26 on p. 234).

Although Teichelmann & Schürmann’s construction is negative and the Diyari construction is affirmative, the symmetry between the constructions is unlikely to be coincidental. While Teichelmann and Schürmann gave solid evidence that the Kaurna inflection *-ma* did not have dependency-marking function (§5.6.2), a parallel finite function of the Diyari inflection *-rnanhi* is not substantiated by Austin and was not demonstrated by the missionaries.

The Diyari morpheme *-rnanhi* was used frequently in the missionaries’ translations to mark the verb as hypothetical, but not as dependent. This does not

accord with the structures recorded by Austin. Examine the following translation of John 11:21:

- (25) Kaparajai, jidni ninkida ngana-nani, neji ngakani wata
 pali-nani
 ‘Lord if thou had been here, my brother would not have died’
 (Reuther & Strehlow 1897)
 Kaparra-yayi yini nhingkirda ngana-rnanhi, nhiyi ngakarni wata
 boss-EMPH 2SG.NOM here be-COND brother 1SG.DAT NEG
 pali-rnanhi
 die-COND

Although the English translation shows a subordinate clause as the first component of this counterfactual construction, both Diyari clauses are marked with *-rnanhi*, which in the variety Austin recorded is a different subject subordinator.

The translation into Arrernte of this same counterfactual construction, from John 11: 21, was later discussed by Kempe (1891: 23) and by T. G. H. Strehlow (1944: 108[1938]), who in 1938 stated that the passage was “impossible to translate...into good Aranda”.¹⁸

It seems probable that the use of *-rnanhi* in this clause and in “If you eat, you will die” (Example 23) was a syntactic feature of “mission Diyari” and did not reflect native speaker usage. This structure is likely to have been developed by the missionaries, who had poor control of the language, as a translational solution for conditional and counterfactual constructions required for developing Diyari liturgical material. The Diyari grammarians appear to have calqued this construction from Teichelmann & Schürmann’s exemplification of the Kaurna suffix *-ma* (Example 5.6.2) and showed two juxtaposed finite “conditional” clauses, which they translated as a conditional complex clause construction.

8.5.8.3 “Relative pronouns”

Like their Lutheran predecessors, the Lutheran Diyari grammarians illustrated the syntax of complex clauses not only in a discussion of the conditional mood, *Modus Conditionalis*, but also under the heading relative pronouns, *Relativa Pronomina*.

¹⁸Strehlow (1944: 108) later qualified this statement writing: “[I]t is possible to translate this sentence literally into Aranda”.

Following Koch (1868: no pag.), each subsequent missionary-grammarian of Diyari treated what are three discrete categories of pronouns in the traditional framework – reflexive, reciprocal and relative – under a single subheading, *Reflexive, Reciproka, und Relativa Pronomina*. Here it is explained that “the forms do not appear in the Diari language” (Schoknecht 1947 [1872]: 7). These three categories, which in the traditional framework are treated separately, were collapsed into a single unit in the early Diyari grammars, presumably because the function of each of these SAE pronominal categories is not carried pronominally. In keeping with the tendency of the corpus grammarians to identify as structures in PN features that they perceived to be functionally equivalent to the SAE structure traditionally described under that heading in the received grammatical framework (§2.3.3), the missionary-grammarians explained how the function of SAE reciprocal, reflexive and relative pronouns were conveyed in Diyari, under this single heading. They provided one example clause for each. Koch and following him Schoknecht and Flierl all stated:

...in order to express these pronouns, one will need the assistance of the reflexive and reciprocal verbs for our reflexive and reciprocal pronouns and the *present participle* for our *relative pronouns*. (Koch 1868: no pag.; emphasis added)¹⁹

Reflexive and reciprocal constructions are illustrated as marked within the morphology of the verb, by *-tharri-* (Austin 2013: 81 [1981a]) and *-mali-* (Austin 2013: 80 [1981a]) respectively.

The missionaries then presented two types of “present participles” that they believed “expressed the relative pronoun”. The forms *-ni* and *-nan(n)i* are currently analysed (Austin 2013: 194–209, 226–229 [1981a]) as marking the different subject of perfective (sequential; Example 26) and imperfective dependent (Example 27) clauses respectively. They mark the verb to which they attach as dependent and indicate that the subject of the dependent clause is different from the subject of the main clause. While there is no suggestion that any of the early missionary-grammarians appreciated a difference between a perfective (sequential) and an imperfective dependent clause, it is interesting that they recorded the forms that mark each.

¹⁹ “...um diese pronomina auszudrücken, muß man die Verba reflexiva und reciproka für unsere reflexiven u. reciproken pronomina, und das präsen partizipi für unsere relativen pronomina zu Hülfe nehmen.”

- (26) *nganhi wakara-rna wara-yi, yundru matya nganthi wayi-rna*
 1SG.NOM come-PTCP AUX-PRES 2SG.ERG already meat-[ACC] cook-PTCP
wara-ni
 AUX-SEQ.DS
 ‘I came after you had already cooked the meat’
 (Austin 2013: 227 [1981a])
- (27) *pantha-ma-mayi kilthi ngakarni ngathu wayi-rna*
 smell-TR.IMP-EMPH stew-[ACC] 1SG.POSS 1SG.ERG cook-PTCP
wara-rnanhi
 AUX-IMPERF.DS
 ‘smell my stew, that I cooked’
 (Austin 2013: 214 [1981a])

A pair of complex constructions (Examples 28 & 29) were given by Koch and Schoknecht to show how their “present participle” of the verb carried the function of the European relative pronouns. Each complex structure consists of a declarative clause followed by a dependent clause with a subject that is different from the subject of the main clause.

- (28) *Ninnaia anxale wappaia, nanna anxanalli*
 Den liebe ich, welcher mich liebt,
 (Koch 1868)
nhinha-ya ngantya-lha²⁰ wapa-ya, nganha ngantya-?
 3SG.ACC-near love-PTCP/FUT AUX-PAST 1SG.ACC love-?
 ‘I love the one who loves me’

²⁰Austin (2013: 94[1981a]) notes that the missionaries’ record of the participle *-lha* marking the main verb followed by the past auxiliary *wapa-ya* differs from his own data. The form of the verb in these clauses would in the variety Austin described be *ngantya-rna* and *kaLakaLari-rna*. The verbal suffix *-lha* marks future tense according to Austin.

- (29) nunkangu nani kalakalaila²¹ wappaia, nakangu kalakalai nanni²²
 und den hasse ich welcher mich haßt.
 (Koch 1868)
 nhungkangu nganhi kaLakaLari-lha wapa-ya, ngakangu
 3SG.F.LOC 1SG.NOM hate-PTCP/FUT AUX-PAST, 1SG.LOC
 kaLakaLari-rnanhi
 hate-IMPERF.DS
 ‘I hated the one who hates me’

The second complex construction (Example 29), “I hated the one who hates me”, appears to show a declarative clause, “I hate him”, which is marked for tense, followed by dependent clause, “hates me”, in which the verb is inflected with the morpheme *-rnanhi* marking its subject as different from the subject of the main clause, and as having imperfective aspect. It is not clear what inflection the missionaries showed attached to the dependent verb in the first matrix clause (Example 28) “I love the one who loves me”. Austin (pers. comm. 02/09/2016) suggests that the verb form is incorrectly recorded, since the imperfective different subject marker *-rnanhi* is the only inflection that could occur here.

Flierl (1880: 26) gave a *different* construction with the *same* German translation, suggesting that he had identified problems with the example provided by the earlier missionary-grammarians. In Flierl’s example, the dependent verb in the first matrix clause is marked with *-ni*, marking the subject of the dependent perfective sequential clause as different from the main clause (Austin 2013: [1981a]). While the morphology attached to the second dependent verb remains slightly unclear, again, the form is likely to be *-rnanhi*.

²¹This verb meaning ‘to hate’ is shown here as having a S, LOC argument frame. It is an intransitive verb which takes a locative complement. The verb, which is listed in Schoknecht’s vocabulary (1847: 23), is not given in Austin (2013 [1981a]). See Austin (2013: 130) for discussion of a small class of intransitive verbs with complements standing in locative case, most of which convey cognitive states, for instance *tyampa-* ‘to be fond of’. Austin (2013: 133 [1981a]) describes the locative case as indicating “the non-controlled cause of a more or less temporary physiological or mental state”.

²²It is possible that the missionaries were here attempting to reproduce a construction in which the abstract noun “love” is marked for ergative case and occurs with the copular verb *ngana-* “to be” (see Austin 2013: 124–125 [1981a]). There are also problems with this analysis. The form *nanna-* given in the example clause is, for instance, not inflected for tense.

- (30) Ninaia ngato antjai, ngana antjani,
 Den liebe ich, welcher mich liebt,
 (Flierl 1880: 26)
 nhinha-ya ngathu nganta-yi, nganha nganta-ni
 3SG.ACC-near 1SG.ERG love-PRES, 1SG.ACC love-SEQ.DS
 ‘I love the one who loves me’
 nunkangu ngani kalakalariai, ngakangu kalakala rina
 und den hasse ich welcher mich haßt.
 (Flierl 1880: 26)
 nhungkangu nganhi kaLakaLari-yi, ngakangu kaLakaLa
 3SG.FLOC 1SG.NOM hate-PRES, 1SG.LOC hate-?
 ‘I hate the one who hates me’

While there are problems with the missionaries’ command of the language, these clauses given under the heading “relative pronoun” show that after only two years’ encounter with Diyari, the missionary-grammarians were aware that the construction of complex clauses only involved verb inflection, rather than the use of relative pronouns.

8.5.8.4 Reuther’s description of relative pronouns in Diyari (1894)

Remarkably, under the heading “relative pronouns”, Reuther (1894: 29; 1981b: 17–18), in the last missionary grammar of Diyari, reported and exemplified an utterly different process of clause subordination than had any of the earlier three grammarians. Reuther did not suggest that clause subordination occurred through the “participle of the verb” or any other verb morphology. Rather than explaining how clause dependency was marked within the verb, Reuther (1894: 29) explained, “Personal pronouns are used in lieu of relative pronouns”, and supplied the following construction with a translation in German that differed slightly from Koch’s (Example 29) and Flierl’s (Example 30):

- (31) Ngato ninaia ngantjai, nulia ngakangu ngumu nganka-na warai
 ‘Ich liebe den, der mir gut gewesen ist’
 (Reuther 1894: 29)
 ngathu nhinha-ya nganta-yi, nhulu-ya ngakangu ngumu
 1sgERG 3sgACC-near love-PRES, 3sgnfERG-near 1sgLOC good
 ngank-nha wara-yi
 make-PART AUX-PRES
 ‘I love him who has been good to me’

The simplest interpretation of this Diyari example, in which verbs in both clauses are marked for tense, is that it is composed of two separate clauses, “I love him”, “He has been good to me”, or as juxtaposed co-ordinated clauses, “I love him and he has been good to me”, where co-referentiality between the pronominal object of the first clause and the subject of the second clause is signalled by suffixing both the pronouns with the same relative distance suffix *-ya* glossed here as ‘near’ (see Austin 2013 [1981a]).

Reuther, however, believed that the second clause ‘who has been good to me’ was marked as subordinate to ‘I love him’ by the third-person personal pronoun *nhulu-ya*, standing in the position of the SAE relative pronoun, which acted “in lieu of relative pronouns” to relativise the construction. His analysis resembles that given by Meyer’s (1843: 33) analysis of Ramindjeri, in which that the third-person pronoun was said to sometimes “perform the office of a relative” (§6.1.2.9).

It is curious that Reuther’s description of clause subordination is so different from preceding analyses of Diyari, when the rest of his grammar is reasonably similar to the previous works. This new process of clause subordination that Reuther presented is currently not described in Diyari (Austin 2013 [1981a]), while the earlier hypothesis that verbal morphology marked clause dependency is described in Diyari, and is a common feature of PN languages.

Just as the absence in Reuther’s grammar of an account of the unmarked inalienably possessed NP (§8.5.7) suggests that his target language was the language used within the mission domain, rather than fluent native speaker usage, the appearance of this process of clause subordination in Reuther’s grammar indicates that he recorded a standardised variety used by missionaries, and perhaps also by Diyari Christians, for religious and mission purposes.

It is noteworthy that Reuther proposed this analysis in his initial grammar (1894), three years after HMS-trained Kempe published a substantial grammar of Arrernte (§9.1.2). Reuther’s view that personal pronouns acted to relativise clauses in Diyari, which diverged from the analyses given in previous missionary descriptions of the language, is likely to have been influenced by a similar analysis of clause dependency in Arrernte presented by Kempe (§9.3.5.1; Example 12, p. 427). C. Strehlow’s 1894 transfer from Bethesda to Hermannsburg (§9.2) may have triggered the cross-fertilisation of linguistic analyses between the two missions.

Understanding this alteration to the description of marking clausal dependency in missionaries’ records of Diyari requires consideration of the influence of the description of such processes in other works within the South Australian Lutheran School.

8.5.9 Concluding remarks

The missionary grammars produced at the Bethesda mission, written by men trained at different Lutheran seminaries, and over three decades, present remarkably homogenous analyses of Diyari. They bear little resemblance to Threlkeld's inaugural description of an Australian language (1834). In addition to traits discussed in this chapter, the Diyari missionary-grammarians' work differs from Threlkeld's grammar in not using hyphens to mark syllable boundaries or meaningful sub-word units, and in not providing interlinear-style glosses. While Threlkeld may have "set a standard for other missionary work in the field which followed soon after" (Carey 2004: 269), the Diyari grammarians' analysis of a PN language made in the second half of the nineteenth century is clearly influenced by a later school of descriptive practice.

The prominent influence of their Lutheran predecessors' grammars of South Australian languages, made within the Adelaide School (Simpson 1992: 410), most particularly Teichelmann & Schürmann's (1840) grammar of Kaurana, is shown in the presentation of small Latinate case paradigms (§8.5.1), the explanation of ergative function in a discussion of verbs (§8.5.2), the placement of ergative case forms at the bottom case paradigms in the position of the Latin ablative case (§8.5.2.1), the declension of possessive pronouns (§8.2), the division of "postpositions" into two classes (§8.5.6), and descriptions of the syntax of complex clauses (§8.5.8.2). These similarities show that the earliest HMS-trained missionaries at Bethesda were equipped with copies of the published grammars made by the previous generation of Lutheran missionaries from the south of the state, a fact that is not surprising given the continuity of personal involvement in the 1840s and 1860s South Australian Lutheran missions.

An astute summary of unmarked inalienably possessed noun-phrases (§8.5.7) was given by W. Koch, who died at the mission sixteen months after arriving, in a grammar (1868) that is relatively short and succinct. Koch's discussion of the role of verb participles in clause subordination (§8.5.8.2) is equally perceptive. Koch's analysis was reiterated by later missionary-grammarians with minor and historiographically important alterations.

Comparison of the sources shows that Reuther's grammars (1894; 1981a) show substantial improvement to the missionaries' record of the idiosyncratic and unpredictable marking of case on nominals of different numbers.

That it took the Lutherans almost thirty years to come closer to describing the complexity of the system of case marking on different nominal types is of consequence to the certainty upon which some other early analyses can be relied. That after thirty years of intense engagement the different marking of cases on

female personal names appears to have remained undocumented at Bethesda should alert the linguist engaged in the reclamation of other languages from older sources written with much less exposure to the structure of a language to the type of material that is likely to have never been recorded.

On a related point, it would not have been possible to reconstruct the case system of Diyari based on the early sources alone. Case inflections marking distinct functions with the forms *-ni*, *-rni*, *-nhi* were orthographically undifferentiated by the missionaries and consequently the suffix *-ni* was shown to mark nominative, dative, allative and locative cases in the early grammars of Diyari (Table 8.4). Analysis of the Diyari case system is dependent upon the recorder hearing nasals at alveolar, retroflex and interdental positions and developing an orthography that consistently distinguishes these nasal phonemes. It is important to note this situation when considering the limitations to the reconstruction of a language that was lost before modern analysis.

While the last missionary grammar of Diyari written by Reuther (1894; 1981a) records the sensitivity of case marking to number more accurately than did earlier grammars, other aspects of his description, including the absence of reference to the unmarked inalienably possessed noun-phrase (§8.5.7), and his account of processes of clause subordination (§8.5.8.4) suggests that Reuther recorded a linguistic variety developed at the mission during decades of mission activity, rather than fluent native speaker usage. Further philological study is required to establish whether features of the language Reuther described also occur in liturgical translation.

The grammars of Diyari written by European philologists (Planert 1908; Gatti 1930) who had never heard Diyari, and whose grammars were informed by the missionaries' written records, produce strikingly different depictions of the Diyari case system. The conception of syntactic case presented in Planert's grammar (1908), which followed his Arrernte grammar (1907a) produced a year earlier, presents a four-case analysis of split syntactic case systems (Dixon 2002b: 132; §2.6.1).

9 Grammars of Arrernte (1891–1938)

This chapter presents the six grammars of Arrernte written at, or emanating from, the Lutheran mission at Hermannsburg, west of Alice Springs. The linguistic work done by missionaries at the Hermannsburg mission was the culmination of a tradition of Lutheran description of South Australian languages. Western Arrernte, the Arandic variety spoken at the mission, was the fifth and last language to be grammatically described by Lutherans administered from Adelaide. The Arrernte grammars were produced over a similar time frame (1891–1923) as the grammars of Diyari (1868–1899) but are more diverse in structure.

9.1 The HMS phase of Hermannsburg mission (1877–1891)

The Hermannsburg mission station was established on the Finke River west of Alice Springs in 1874 by the Immanuel Synod (ELIS), based in Langmeil (Tununda), South Australia, and the Hermannsburg Mission Society (HMS), in Lower Saxony, Germany. The first HMS trained missionaries sent to Adelaide in order to establish the mission were A. H. Kempe (1844–1928) and W. F. Schwarz (1842–1920). The arduous journey to the continent’s interior lasted two years, and the party rested for several months at Bethesda on the way. At the time of the missionaries’ stopover, Bethesda mission was staffed by C. A. Meyer and the Vogel-sang and Jacob families. Schoknecht, the last HMS-trained missionary to work at Bethesda, had already left and J. Flierl, the first Neuendettelsau missionary, had not yet arrived. Kempe and Schwarz reached Hermannsburg on the Finke River in 1877. They were joined by HMS missionary L. G. Schulz (1851–1924) the following year. These three men had entered the HMS seminary together in 1870.

Kempe felt their linguistic training was insufficient for the task of translation and described the difficulty:

[N]o one can imagine how difficult it is in the initial stages to reach the point where it is possible to proclaim even the basic truths of Christianity to the heathen - and this especially in view of the fact that no white people had ever been there before us and that we often had to drag every single word out of them. (Kempe, quoted in Scherer 1973: 13)

A school for Aboriginal children was opened in 1879. Mirroring the pattern of the production of printed material in Diyari by HMS missionaries at Bethesda, the first work in Arrernte produced at Hermannsburg was a primer for use in the school, *Intalinja Nkenkalalbutjika Galtjeritjika* (Kempe 1880), published within three years of the mission's establishment and a decade before the publication of an Arrernte grammar. The prompt publication of these primers at both inland missions reflects the focus of evangelistic effort on the children (Harms 2003: 55).

The Hermannsburg mission was abandoned close to the time of the publication of Kempe's substantial grammar (1891) in much the same circumstances in which Bethesda had been abandoned by the last HMS missionaries two decades earlier (§8.3). Lack of fresh food and water, illness and death again coincided with doctrinal disputes that threatened the continuity of the mission. Kempe was the last HMS missionary to leave after burying his wife beside their young son in 1891.

9.1.1 The first Arrernte primer

As with the earliest materials produced at Bethesda by HMS missionaries, assessing different missionaries' contribution to the production of the first Arrernte primer is not straightforward. This twenty-one-page work, which was printed in Adelaide, is attributed to Kempe (Graetz 1988: 103), who is usually credited with having done the linguistic work during the HMS phase of Hermannsburg mission. The primer was followed a decade later by the Christain instruction booklet *Galtjintana-Pepa Kristianirberaka Mbontala* (Kempe & Schwarz 1891), which was published in Hanover. Kempe is recognised as having collated and translated this material (Graetz 1988: 103), although the MS held at LAA attributes the work to both Kempe and Schwarz. A collaboration seems likely since Schwarz is known to have "completed an exegesis of Isaiah in 1881" (J. Strehlow 2011: 368). The 160-page work contained Old and New Testament stories, Psalms, Luther's Small Catechism, occasional prayers and 53 hymns.

The use of the term *Pepa* in the title – a phonological approximation to "paper" – to translate "book", had previously been used in the title of the first Neuendetelsau publication in Diyari (Flierl & Meyer 1880). The root *pepa* had earlier been incorporated into the Kurna lexicon, as recorded by Teichelmann:

- (1) Ninna ngannaitya yellarra yakko pepaitya budni
 'why do you not come to school today'
 (Teichelmann 1857)

9.1 The HMS phase of Hermannsburg mission (1877–1891)

niina ngana-itya yalarra yaku pepa-itya pudn-i
2SG.NOM INTER-PURP today NOT paper-ALL come-PAST¹

Aboriginal languages frequently employ the same term to name an object and the material from which it is made (Dixon 1980: 117). The application of the word *pepa* ‘paper’ to refer to a book, or to school, is likely to have been independently coined by Kurna, Diyari and Arrernte people who incorporated the English word “paper” into their languages.

Graetz (1988: 156) translates the title of the Arrernte primer: *Galtjintana-Pepa Kristianirberaka Mbontala* as “instruction book for the Christians on the wide open plains”. The first segment is

- (2) Galtjintana-Pepa
kalte- anthe- nhe- pepe
knowledge give NOM paper
‘book that gives knowledge’

The noun, or adjective, *kalte* meaning ‘knowledgeable’ is compounded with the stem of the verb *anthe-* ‘to give’, which is nominalised, with the suffix *-nhe*: “used in names for some things that describe some action associated with them” (Henderson & Dobson 1994: 499). This noun appears to be compounded with *pepa*. Regarding the next segment:

- (3) Kristianirberaka
Kristian- iRpeRa- ke
Christian PL DAT/POSS

Kempe (1891: 4) described *-irbera* as marking plural number, although T. G. H. Strehlow (1944: 77 [1938]) described this plural suffix as “antiquated and archaic”. The plural noun “Christians” is then marked for dative/possessive with the suffix *-ke*.

The next segment of the title **Mbonta** (*Mpurnte*) is cognate with *Mparntwe* in Eastern/Central dialects (Gavan Breen pers. comm., 10/09/2012) which is marked for locative case with the suffix *-le*.² *Mpurnta*, which occurs in the name given to

¹The suffix *-itya* is reclaimed as marking the allative case in Kurna when motion is towards a person (Amery & Simpson 2013:122), although it appears here marking motion towards a place.

²The use of the locative suffix here in natural Arrernte is unlikely. The sense would rather be expressed through affixation of associative suffix *-arenye* (Wilkins 1989: 202) to *Mpurnta*, deriving a lexeme meaning “people associated with/hailing from the wide open plains”.

the linguistic variety spoken in Alice Springs, “Mparntwe Arrernte”, is translated by Strehlow (1979: 42) as ‘wide timbered plains’. The word probably refers to the type of habitat that occurs around major watercourses in which the settlements of Hermannsburg and Alice Springs are situated.

The title of this Arrernte primer (1891) is morphologically similar to part of the title of the second Diyari primer (Flierl & Meyer 1880): *Christianeli ngujiangujara-pepa*, demonstrating a cross-mission linguistic influence. *ngujiangujara* appears to be a reduplication of *nyuyama*- ‘to know’, which is compounded with *pepa*, and placed alongside “Christian”, although the function of what looks like an ergative suffix on “Christian” is uncertain.

Of the first Hermannsburg missionaries, Kempe was the most prolific. In addition to publishing the first grammatical description of Arrernte (1891), Kempe compiled a list of native plants and supplied samples to Ferdinand von Müller (1825–1896). He also wrote the first major survey of Central Australia and its people, published in the *Hermannsburg Missionblatt* (Kempe 1881).

Kempe’s 1881 publication gives the earliest published reference to the *Altyerre* (ibid.: 55–56), *contra* Green (2012), who attributes the earliest written reference to the term to Schulze (1890).³ Kempe’s record is significant to this present study because he spelled *Altyerre* as *alxira*, representing the term’s lamino-palatal stop with the letter “x”. This orthographic treatment of the phone shows that Kempe had read and assimilated the HMS missionary’s analysis of Diyari, in which “x” was used to represent the lamino-palatal stop (§8.3.4), which Kempe would have encountered during his sojourn at the Bethesda mission to the Diyari *en route* to Hermannsburg.

While Kempe’s initial use of the letter “x” in 1881 and the structure of the title of the 1891 Christain instruction booklet show a cross-mission and cross-linguistic descriptive influence from Bethesda to Hermannsburg, the HMS missionaries’ analysis of Arrernte otherwise shows little influence from the Lutherans’ earlier analyses of Diyari, despite the considerable movement of staff between the two missions.

9.1.2 Kempe’s grammar of Arrernte (1891)

After thirteen years at Hermannsburg, Kempe published the first grammar of Arrernte (1891). The thirty-six-page work remained the most comprehensive pub-

³The term, which denotes a multifaceted abstract concept intrinsic to Arandic ontological belief, was chosen by the HMS missionaries to denote the Christian God. Interestingly, in Strehlow’s earliest grammar (1931b: 19 [c.1907]) he gave *Altjira* as an example of a concrete noun (“Concrete Substantive”) along with *inkata* ‘master’, *kwatja* ‘water’ and *alarkna* ‘mud’!

9.2 The Neuendettelsau phase of Hermannsburg mission (1894–1923)

lished grammatical description of Arrernte until missionary C. Strehlow's son, T. G. H. Strehlow, wrote a Masters thesis submitted to the University of Adelaide in 1938 titled "An Aranda Grammar". T. G. H. Strehlow's grammar remains the most comprehensive published of Western Arrernte morphology and syntax.

Unlike the MS grammars of Diyari written in German during the HMS phase of mission at Bethesda (Koch 1868; Schoknecht 1947 [1872]), Kempe's grammar was translated into English, and was published in Australia. The essay, which was read to the Royal Society of South Australia in December 1890, was edited by R. Tate (1840–1901), Elder Professor of natural science at the University of Adelaide and president of the Royal Society. The publication of the work in the Society's *Transactions* (1891) was to a degree a collaboration with Tate, the journal's editor. Since no earlier MS grammars of Arrernte have been located, the nature of Tate's edit is unknown. Tate was a natural scientist, as were other early scholars – such as W. Dawes, R. Brough Smyth and C. Chewings – who investigated Australian Aboriginal people and languages before the emergence of departments of linguistics and anthropology in Australia.

As a geologist, Tate travelled through Central Australia in 1882 preparing geological and mineralogical reports. He visited Hermannsburg, after Kempe's departure, as a member of the Horn Expedition, and contributed to the preparation of palaeontological, botanical and geological reports of the expedition.

Among the early grammars of Australian languages there is a tendency for the earliest descriptions of a language – Threlkeld (1834), Teichmann & Schürmann (1840), Meyer (1843), Koch (1868), and Roth (1897) – to be more morphologically wide-ranging and less formulaic than later works. Kempe's inaugural grammar of Arrernte (1891) provides a wealth of illustrative clauses that are socio-linguistically richer than those ubiquitous to missionary craft. The work also demonstrates a willingness to express linguistic complexities that were beyond Kempe's descriptive capacity. Like Teichmann & Schürmann (§5.6.3), Kempe (§9.3.5.1) illustrates processes of clause subordination under the heading "relative pronoun", without providing an analysis of the structures.

9.2 The Neuendettelsau phase of Hermannsburg mission (1894–1923)

In 1894 the Evangelical Lutheran Immanuel Synod purchased the Hermannsburg station in Central Australia, after which both inland South Australian missions were staffed by missionaries trained at Neuendettelsau. C. Strehlow, who had been working at Bethesda for two years, was appointed as the new missionary

to Hermannsburg. On his initial journey from Bethesda to Hermannsburg, Strehlow was accompanied by Reuther, with whom he was in the process of translating the New Testament into Diyari. Once stationed at Hermannsburg, Strehlow continued working on the final drafts of *Testamenta Marra*, published in 1897.

Strehlow remained at Hermannsburg until his death in 1922, leaving Central Australia only three times during his twenty-eight years of service, once in 1903 during which time missionary N. Wettengel was left in charge. Like Strehlow, Neuendettelsau-trained Wettengel had worked at Bethesda (1896–1902) before being transferred to Hermannsburg, where he remained until being dismissed by the Immanuel Synod Mission Committee in 1906 (Table 8.2). Wettengel then returned to Germany, where he met the Berlin-based philologist W. Planert. Planert published a grammar of Arrernte (1907a; §9.2.3.2) and a grammar of Diyari (1908; §8.4.3) based on information supplied to him by Wettengel.

9.2.1 C. Strehlow’s retranslation of Kempe’s materials

Two years after his arrival at Hermannsburg, C. Strehlow (1896) wrote to his brother-in-law C. Keysser (1877–1961) about the structure of Arrernte. He discussed the morphological negation on the verb (Wilkins 1989: 235; Henderson 2013: 356) and marking of past tense.⁴

Learning the language is a huge amount of work; it is much more difficult and complicated than the Dieri language. One must, for example, observe that for every positive form there is also a negative form [...]. For example, **Jinga lama** = I go, **jinga litjikana** = I do not go, **Jinga laka** or **lakala** – I went, **jinga litjina** = I’ll go **jinga litji-gunia** I will not go. In the first two negative-forms the word not = **itja** is placed in the middle of the word = **l-itji-kana**, **l-itji-makana** (before certain consonants, especially for “tj”, the a is turned into i). By contrast, in the negative future tense there is another word **gunia** that is placed at the end of the verb.

I used to think, as Missionary Kempe writes in his grammar, that there is to be found only a single perfect-form in the Aranda language. But I think that I can now safely assume that there are at least 2 of these forms. I have had, that is, for example, **inakala**, but I have often heard the form **initjita**. I

⁴D. Wilkins (pers. com. 26/08/2016) suggests that the Western Arrernte “past tense” inflection **-kala -kele**, which is not documented in other Arandic varieties, is in fact **-ka -ke** PAST found in Western Arrernte and in other Arandic varieties, suffixed with subsequent inflection either marking the same subject **-le** or with **-rle** the relative clause marker (§9.3.5). See Examples 12 & 16

now believe that the form **inakala** is used for the past several days. Should this opinion prove to be true, then the entire Bible history should have to undergo a thorough revision.⁵

In addition to showing Strehlow's engagement with the morphology and morphophonology of Arrernte, this passage shows that reasonably soon after arrival, Strehlow contemplated retranslating the HMS missionaries' work.

By 1904 C. Strehlow had prepared a revision and expansion of Kempe and Schwarz's Christian instruction book (1891). Strehlow's 264-page work (1904a) included the second of five translations of Luther's Catechism into Arrernte, prayers, and an enlarged hymnal with 100 hymns (Graetz 1988: 104). Strehlow became adept at employing morphological processes internal to the language's structure to coin new words expressing esoteric Christian concepts. His son, T. G. H. Strehlow, described his father's rewriting of his predecessor's work as a process of eliminating Latin terms (1979: 42).

Ironically the missionaries' pronunciation of Arrernte was so poor that the ingenious derivations upon which they coined new terms were sometimes lost on the Arrernte, who imitated the European's pronunciation. The word **lunaluna**, for example, was coined to translate "redeemer", derived from the verb root – *irlwe*, 'to let go, to untie', through a process of nominalisation marked with the suffix *-nhe* and reduplication, producing a noun that refers to an entity habitually involved in the action of the verb (see Wilkins 1989: 139–141). Of this created lexeme, T. G. H. Strehlow (1944: 363 [1938]) wrote: "[T]he natives copy the white missionaries' mispronunciation of the two original n sounds of this word!" That is, their speech failed to differentiate a phonemic interdental and alveolar nasals:

- (4) **lunaluna** = redeemer
(T. G. H. Strehlow (1944): 363 [1938])

⁵⁴Die Sprache zu lernen, ist eine Riesenarbeit; sie ist viel schwieriger und verwickelter, als die Dieri-Sprache. So z.B. muß man zu jeder Positiv-form auch eine Negativ-form [...] merken, z.B. *Jinga lama* = ich gehe, *jinga litjikana* = ich gehe nicht, *jinga laka* od. *lakala* - ich ging, *jinga litjina* = ich werde gehen *jinga litji-gunia* ich werde nicht gehen. In den beiden ersten Negatio-formen ist das Wort nicht = *itja* mitten in das Wort hineingesetzt = *l-itji-kana*, *l-itji-makana* [das *a* wird vor gewissen Consonanten, besonders for "tj-" in *i* verwandelt] in der Negativ-Futurform steht dagegen ein anderes Wort *gunia* am Schluß des Zeitworts. Früher dachte ich, wie auch Miss. Kempe in seiner Grammatik schreibt, daß nur eine Perfekt-Form in der Arandasprache sich findet. Doch glaube ich jetzt mit Sicherheit annehmen zu dürfen, daß es mindestens 2 solcher Formen gibt. Ich habe gehabt heißt z.B. *inakala*, doch habe ich dafür schon öfter die Form *initjita* gehört. Ich glaube nun, daß die Firm *inakala* für die Vergangenheit mehrerer Tage gebraucht wird. Sollte sich diese Meinung als wahr herausstellen, so müßte die ganze bibl. Geschichte einer gründlichen Revision unterzogen werden." (Strehlow 1896)

irlwe- nhe- irlwe -nhe
to loosen, untie- NMSR- HAB -RDP

C. Strehlow's retranslations of the HMS missionaries' works caused tension at the mission. Missionary Wettengel refused to use Strehlow's retranslations on theological grounds, and detailed the aspects of the texts to which he objected in correspondence with the mission board. Strehlow was subsequently forced to defend each translational change against charges of teaching false doctrine, maintaining that he tried to make as few changes as possible to Kempe's manual but aimed to:

[s]ubstitute Aranda words for terms which were imported from the Latin, Greek, English and German languages and only leave those foreign terms we also use in German. (Strehlow 1904a)⁶

Strehlow's retranslations of Kempe's Arrernte catechism and the commandments (1904b) play an important role within the historiography of the description of ergativity, because it was Wettengel's refusal to teach from Strehlow's 1904 translations that ultimately resulted in Wettengel's dismissal, and his return to Germany, where he subsequently met W. Planert. Planert's published grammars of Arrernte (1907a; §9.2.3.2) and of Diyari (1908; §8.4.3) based on missionary Wettengel's materials, gave very early global usages of the terms "ergative" and "absolute" to name the syntactic cases, and conceived of split ergative systems in a way that was not repeated in Australia until the modern descriptive era (§2.6.1).

9.2.2 C. Strehlow's German editor, Moritz von Leonhardi

C. Strehlow (1871–1922) is best known for his seven-volume German work *Die Aranda- und Loritja-Stämme in Zentral-Australien*, which details Arrernte kinship, totemism, social life and religion (1907–1920; see Kenny 2013). Regular communication with his German editor, M. von Leonhardi (1856–1910), an armchair anthropologist and private scholar, during the course of its production placed Strehlow at the epicentre of early twentieth-century European thinking, while conducting his research at Hermannsburg. Through correspondence between Hermannsburg and Germany, Strehlow was kept informed of the reception in Europe of Australian and European publications describing Australian Aboriginal languages and culture, which Leonhardi sent to Strehlow. The pair appraised

⁶“Die aus der lateinischen, griechischen, englischen u. deutschen Sprache herübergenommenen Wörter durch Aranda-Ausdrücke zu ersetzen u. nur die fremdsprachlichen Wörter stehen zu lassen, die wir auch im Deutschen gebrauchen.”

a range of material with an eye to the relative value to their own pending publications. When assessing Basedow's Arrernte vocabulary (1908) published in Germany, von Leonhardi demonstrates how conversant the pair was with available material describing Australian languages:

I had already anticipated that you would not be satisfied by Basedow's work. Our periodicals always accept such works; since – with very, very few exceptions – we have no other vocabularies. The vocabularies in the 3-volume work by Curr are hardly any better and, yet, we still have to work with them. And that is a great shame. With regard to phonetics, there are no correctly recorded Austr[alian] Languages whatsoever to be found in the literature, even the works of Threlkeld, Günther, Meyer are inadequate. (von Leonhardi 1908b)

In the year that Mathews' (1907a) grammar of Arrernte was published, von Leonhardi assessed Mathews' scholarly contribution unfavourably:

That Mr RH. Matthews (*sic*) in Paramatta churns out a terrible lot of writing and is an awful muddle-head who does not just flood Australian and American journals with his essays, but also French, Austrian and German ones. (von Leonhardi 1907)

Leonhardi's correspondence indicates that Strehlow's seven-volume publication was intended to contain more linguistic material than eventuated. Leonhardi often refers to the importance of the inclusion of comparative linguistic material, writing (1908a), for instance, "One could have the linguistic work published at later stage – possibly separately –, but in my view it is very important that a good grammar and dictionary of Aranda, Loritja and Dieri comes out together."

9.2.3 C. Strehlow's Arrernte grammars

At least three different grammatical descriptions of Arrernte written by Strehlow are known to survive (1931b & 1931a [c.1907]; 1908; 1910). All are written in German, and one was published (1908). The circumstances of their production are considered in the following sections.

9.2.3.1 C. Strehlow (1931b) & (1931a) [c.1907]

One of Strehlow's three analyses of Arrernte survives as two very similar but non-identical copies of a lost original. The date of the original lost document

from which the copies were made is not known. It is, however, probable that the lost original was Strehlow's earliest analysis of Arrernte, since the copies resemble Kempe's publication (1891) much more closely than do either Strehlow's 1908 published grammar, or his 1910 MS grammar. In this earliest work Strehlow expresses surprise that in Arrernte there is no third-person pronominal gender distinction.

Strangely gender of the personal pronouns cannot even be seen in the third-person. era serves to indicate he, she and it. Era pitjima as well as meaning he comes also means "she comes" and "it comes". (Strehlow 1931a: 30–31 [c. 1907])

It is likely that this observation was made by Strehlow soon after encountering Arrernte, since he was aware that Diyari *did* make this distinction.

The original analysis, from which the copies were made, is referred to here as [c.1907], the work's latest likely date, although it is possible that this earliest grammar by C. Strehlow is least a decade older, since Strehlow arrived at the mission in 1894.

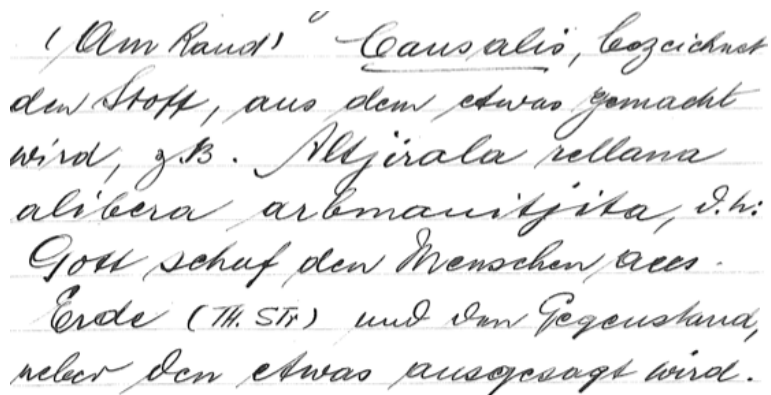
The grammar makes some comparative phonological and grammatical study of Arrernte, Diyari and Ramindjeri, the latter referred to as the *Encounter Bay Sprache*, for which Meyer (1843) is acknowledged as the source. Comparative case paradigms for nouns and pronouns are given in each number for the three languages.

One copy of the lost original "Grammar of the Aranda language" was made by the self-appointed missionary E. Kramer (1889–1958) and is dated as completed 12 May 1931. The notebook is held by the South Australian Museum. Strehlow is *not* named as the original author. Through comparative study of the MS with other Arrernte grammars (Stockigt 2017; §9.3.5), the analysis is attributed here to C. Strehlow and is referred to as Strehlow (1931b) [c.1907].

1931, the year Kramer completed copying Strehlow's grammar, was also the year in which T. G. H. Strehlow, C. Strehlow's son, made his first return journey to Alice Springs from Adelaide. Kramer provided Strehlow with important support on this initial field trip, supplying him with camels (Hill 2002: 150). Having completed his honours degree in English at the University of Adelaide, T. G. H. Strehlow was encouraged by his classics professor J. A. FitzHerbert to apply to the Australian National Research Council to make a comparative survey of dialects of Arrernte. 1931 was also the year that T. G. H. Strehlow's mother, Frieda Strehlow (1875–1957), returned to Germany, at which stage C. Strehlow's MSS came into T. G. H. Strehlow's possession (J. Strehlow pers. comm., 10/08/2013).

In 1934, when lecturing in Old and Middle English, Strehlow (1934) applied to have the title of his approved Masters thesis altered from “The Elizabethan conception of tragedy” to “Primitive elements in Old Icelandic Mythology and in Old Heroic verse, in the light of Aranda myths and legends”.

Kramer’s copy of C. Strehlow’s grammar refers to T. G. H. Strehlow, in a note *am Rand*, “in the margin” (Figure 9.1). It appears that Kramer copied the grammar from a document on which T. G. H. Strehlow had added additional notes to the margins. It is possible T. G. H. Strehlow lent Kramer C. Strehlow’s now lost original grammar, on which he had made notes while familiarising himself with his father’s grammatical analysis at the commencement of his own academic study of the language.



(Am Rand) "Causalis, bezeichnet
den Stoff, aus dem etwas gemacht
wird, z.B. *Aljirala rellana*
alibera armanitjita, d.h.:
Gott schuf den Menschen aus
Erde (Th. Str.) und dem Gegenstand,
neber dem etwas ausgesagt wird.

Figure 9.1: E. Kramer’s copy of C. Strehlow’s grammar (1931b [c.1907: 36]) showing reference to “Th. Str.”

This notebook into which Kramer copied Strehlow’s grammar also contains a second Arrernte grammar: “An abbreviated grammar according to Pastor Riedel”, which Kramer completed copying the following day (13/05/1931).⁷ J. Riedel (1885–1965), who studied at Neuendettelsau (1904–08), was chairman of the Finke River mission board (1926–1950) and served at Hermannsburg for six months after C. Strehlow’s death in 1923. His brother W. Riedel was missionary at Bethesda between 1908 and 1914.

A second mimeographed copy of C. Strehlow’s earliest analysis titled *Die Grammatik der Aranda-Sprache* was made by an unknown typist. It is nearly identical

⁷The South Australian Museum pagination of the two grammars, which is used here, is not straightforward. The Riedel grammar starts on page 87 and runs on double page spreads until the end of the notebook. From there it continues on the left hand side only of double page spreads at the beginning of the notebook (pp. 6, 8, 10) with the Strehlow grammar appearing on the right hand page. Kramer’s copy of C. Strehlow’s work is on pages 3, 5, 7, 9, 11–86.

to the copy made by Kramer but contains some additional material. The sections that are contained in this copy, but which are absent in the Kramer copy, mostly describe Diyari and Ramindjeri. This mimeograph document also makes more frequent reference to “Th. Str.” (Theodore Strehlow). Again, this material is noted as *Am Rand* (in the margin) where equivalent Luritja is also supplied. The work is held at the Lutheran Archives, where a previous archivist has attributed it to missionary Wettengel. The analysis bears no resemblance to Wettengel’s grammatical description of Arrernte, which is contained in Planert (1907a; §9.2.3.2). While it is difficult to disregard any possible unrecorded factors upon which the previous archivist attributed the grammar to Wettengel, the work is here attributed to C. Strehlow (1931a [c.1907]).

9.2.3.2 C. Strehlow (1908) and Planert (1907a)

In 1907 W. Planert published “Australische Forschungen I. Aranda-Grammatik” in the prestigious Berlin-based German ethnological journal *Die Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*. Material for the publication was furnished by missionary N. Wettengel, who had returned to Germany the previous year, having been dismissed by the mission committee because he refused to teach from Strehlow’s retranslation (1904b) of Kempe’s catechism (1891).

In his introduction Planert acknowledged Wettengel as having informed the work, and he outlined the limitations of his source:

Herr Wettengel has lived many years in Central Australia and has familiarised himself with both languages to the extent that he could preach in them fluently. It is therefore hoped that his statements are for the most part correct, although a lack of previous education leaves something to be desired. I have eliminated errors, as far as possible, and re-worked the grammar according to linguistic principles. Since Herr Wettengel only remained in Berlin for two weeks, my results will not of course properly convey the grammars of Aranda and Dieri. (Planert 1907a: 551)⁸

⁸“Hr. Wettengel hat mehrere Jahre in Zentralaustralien gelebt und sich mit den beiden Sprachen soweit vertraut gemacht, dass er darin geläufig predigen konnte. Es ist daher zu hoffen, dass seine Angaben im wesentlichen richtig sind, obschon der Mangel an Vorbildung in ihm mancherlei irrige Anschauungen über sprachliche Erscheinungen entstehen liess. Ich habe die Fehler nach Möglichkeit ausgemerzt und die Grammatik nach sprachwissenschaftlichen Prinzipien ausgearbeitet. Da Hr. W. sich nur zwei Wochen in Berlin aufgehalten hat, so sind natürlich meine erzielten Resultate nicht dazu angetan, die Grammatik der Aranda und Dieri zu erschöpfen.”

Shortly after the publication of the work, von Leonhardi wrote to Strehlow:

I suspected that you would not be impressed by the Wettengel-Planert grammar. It appeared immediately thin to me. The same is likely to apply to the Dieri grammar.... At the moment I do not want to make any comment on your judgment of the Planert Aranda grammar, which you would like to publish as a response. However, protest in one or another form will be voiced. (von Leonhardi 1908a; translation by Kenny 2008: 348)

The publication of Planert's grammar of Arrernte sparked a response publication from Strehlow, "Einige Bemerkungen über die von Dr. Planert auf Grund der Forschungen des Missionars Wettengel veröffentlichte Aranda-Grammatik" (Some remarks on the grammar published by Dr. Planert based on the research of missionary Wettengel; 1908). Strehlow's response appeared in the same journal as Planert's grammar of Diyari (1908). In the opening passage, Strehlow stated:

In the year 1890 missionary H. Kempe published a grammar and a dictionary of Wonkaranda, which may still, despite its many mistakes, be regarded as a good work. When after some 16 years Dr. Planert undertakes to write a new grammar of Aranda – based on material supplied by missionary Wettengel, one might expect it to be an improvement on the earlier work...Unfortunately one is in this regard mistaken...the Planert-Wettengel grammar is the poorer and more meagre of the two. (Strehlow 1908: 698)⁹

As suggested by the title, the work is not a complete grammar. Strehlow explained:

It is beyond my current intention to attempt to correct all the mistaken forms and words contained in the new Aranda grammar; I here limit myself to pointing out a few of its more significant mistakes, while hoping in time to publish myself a comprehensive work on the Aranda language. (Strehlow 1908: 698)¹⁰

⁹Im Jahre 1890 veröffentlichte Missionar H. Kempe eine Grammatik und ein Wörterbuch der Wonkaranda, [...] eine Arbeit, die trotz mancher Fehler doch als eine gute bezeichnet werden kann. Wenn nach etwa 16 Jahren Dr. Planert auf Grund ihm vom Missionar Wettengel gelieferten Materials es unternommen hat eine neue Aranda-Grammatik zu schreiben, [...] so könnte man erwarten, dass dieselbe gegen die frühere Arbeit einen Fortschritt bedeute, [...]. Leider sieht man sich in diesen Erwartungen getäuscht [...] die Planert-Wettengelsche Grammatik [ist] dürftiger und unvollständiger, als die Kempesche."

¹⁰Es kann nicht in meiner Absicht liegen und würde zu weit führen, wollte ich hier den Versuch machen, alle unrichtigen Formen und Wörter der neue Aranda-Grammatik zu berichtigen; ich beschränke mich daher darauf, auf einige gröbere Fehler hinzuweisen und hoffe in einiger Zeit selbst eine zusammenhängende Arbeit über Aranda-Sprache veröffentlichen zu können."

Despite Strehlow's hope, the work was the most extensive grammatical material that he published.

9.2.3.3 C. Strehlow (1910)

A MS comparative grammar of Arrernte and Luritja dated 1910, written by C. Strehlow, is held at the Strehlow Research Centre (Alice Springs, Northern Territory). It is the only early description of a language belonging to the Western Desert family of PN languages, many of which are still spoken today. It and Symmons' grammar of Nyungar (1841) are the only early grammars of languages spoken in Western Australia. It is, however, a rather superficial analysis. It does not, for instance, suggest the existence of classes of verbs which are found in Western Desert languages, but which are absent in Arrernte and in Diyari, with which C. Strehlow was much more familiar. The work gives little discussion, and hardly any German translation of the Luritja or Arrernte material. The work presents Arrernte material on the left of the page and the parallel Luritja material on the right. The same comparative format had previously been employed by Flierl (1880) and by Hale (1846).

Strehlow probably wrote this grammar for his own evangelistic purpose as an aid for the preparation of sermons into Luritja. This Western Desert language spoken to the west of Hermannsburg came into the sphere of mission activity as people migrated east towards the mission and towards centres of European industry. *Galtindjinjamea-Pepa* (1924), compiled by C. Strehlow and published posthumously, contained an appendix with a Catechism and hymns in Luritja, which were translated by teacher A. Heinrich and M. Tjalkabota (Moses; 1869–1964), the Arrernte “blind evangelist”.

In spite of the existence of these MSS grammars by C. Strehlow (1931b [c.1907]; 1931a [c.1907]; 1910), which describe not only Arrernte but Diyari, Ramindjeri and Luritja, a recent major biography of Strehlow written by his grandson, J. Strehlow, asserts (p. 1064) that C. Strehlow “seems not to have compiled a Dieri grammar at all, nor to have improved on the sketchy Luritja grammar Mathews published” (Strehlow 2011: 1064). This oversight is characteristic of the tendency, observed of historical accounts of Threlkeld (Roberts 2008: 108), for historians to “gloss over” their subjects' linguistic achievements.

9.3 Lutheran traditions of Arandic description 1891–1938

Kempe's grammar of Arrernte, made without recourse to earlier work and produced after thirteen years of mission work, has to an extent been overshadowed

by Strehlowian renown. It has not previously been recognised that C. Strehlow's earliest grammar of Arrernte (1931b [c.1907]) reproduced much of Kempe's work. Regarding the choice of the term "postposition" rather than the more conventional term "preposition", for example, Kempe (1891: 4) had written: "Concerning Prepositions, there are none in the language. The relative word always stands behind the noun as either a bound or stand-alone form. For this reason the word-class would better be termed 'post-position'." C. Strehlow (1931b: 17) wrote: "There are no prepositions in the Aranda language. The relationship word always stands behind the noun, whether it is attached, or is a stand-alone word. For this reason, the word-class would better be called 'postposition'".¹¹ In the spirit of collaborative research made towards the common aim of proselytisation, grammars written by Neuendettelsau men at Hermannsburg reproduced the analysis given by earlier Hermannsburg missionaries, as had previously occurred in grammars of Diyari written at Bethesda.

Moreover, Kempe (1891) is not recognised by linguistic historians as having presented the earliest description of kin-dyadics (§9.3.1) or the category of associated motion (§9.3.2).

9.3.1 *-nhenge* "kin-dyadic"

Many PN languages mark pronouns and other terms with a dyadic suffix showing a reciprocal relationship between the referents (Merlan & Heath 1982). In Arrernte members of these pairs are marked with *-nhenge*. Wilkins describes the structure in Mparntwe Arrernte:

-nhenge "kin-dyadic" attaches to certain kin terms...to form a lexeme which refers to a group of people (usually only two) who are related to each other in such a way that one member of the group would call the other member of the group by the kin term which is the root of the formation. (Wilkins 1989: 136)

Kempe (1891: 3) described a "particular form of the dual, which is only used personally by annexing the particle **nanga**, as wora, 'the boy'; **worananga**, 'the two boys'". Following Kempe, C. Strehlow wrote:

In instances in which the people stand in a close and friendly relationship with one another, the dual is commonly expressed with the ending **nanga**,

¹¹"Praepositionen gibt es in der Aranda Sprache nicht. Das verhältnis Wort steht immer hinter dem nomen, entweder verbunden mit ihm, oder als selbständiges Wort, deshalb wird diese Wortklasse besser mit den Wort 'Postposition' bezeichnet."

especially in sentences which are questions. For example, **kwarananga nta-na**? Where are both the girls? (literally girls both where?) **tjinananga**, the two friends. (Strehlow 1931b: 25)¹²

T. G. H. Strehlow's (1944: 61[1938]) later account of the suffix did not explain that the suffix marked a reciprocal relationship as effectively as had his predecessors' descriptions. He firstly described **naja** (*nhenge*) as alternative dual suffix, proposing that the form was the original dual suffix that has been replaced by **tara** (*therre*). He also exemplified the suffix in a list of items given under the heading "collective nouns": **tjóanaja** 'twins', **mánaja** 'mother and baby', **njínaja** 'father(s) and son(s)' and **kənanaja** 'two brothers'.

In an overview of the category in Australian languages, Evans overlooks the pre-contemporary descriptions of the category:

To our knowledge the first discussion of the term "dyadic" in the sense used here ... was given by Merlan & Heath (1982), though other Australianist scholars had discussed the same or related phenomena under other names, such as "kinship proprietives" (e.g. Breen 1976; Blake 1979a), "kinship duals" (Dixon 1972: 234–5), "reciprocal plurals" (Donaldson 1980: 104–5), "collective nouns" (Hercus & White 1973) and "kinship pairs" (Hercus 1982). (Evans 2003: 2)

The oversight of the pre-contemporary descriptions of the structure is characteristic of a discontinuity in the tradition of Australian grammatical description. Structures are described in the modern descriptive era as if for the first time, without recognition of the descriptive breakthroughs that had been made earlier.

9.3.2 Verb morphology and the category of associated motion

Kempe's grammar of Arrernte delved boldly into the complexity of verbal morphology in a way that is uncharacteristic of the corpus. Allusions to the complexity of verb structure are widespread within the corpus works (Teichelmann & Schürmann 1840: 13; Schürmann 1844b: 16; 1846: 30; Ridley 1855a: 76; 1866: 63), and Ray, in his 1925 overview of Australian languages observed that verbal morphology remained under-investigated (Ray 1925: 6). Grammarians frequently

^{12a}Bei Personen, die in einem näheren Freundschaftsverhältnis zu einander stehen, wird der Dual häufig besonders in Fragesätzen durch die Endung "nanga" ausgedrückt zB: **kwaranga ntana**? Wo sind die beiden Maedchen? (Woertlich: MAEDCHEN BEIDE WO?) Tjinananga = die beiden Freunde."

qualify this area of their description as incomplete, conveying that they are aware of a much greater complexity than their presentation attempted to account for. Kempe (1891: 25) wrote “[n]ow there are many forms, which have been considered in the foregoing chapters, which can be brought into all the moods and voices... there are 30 at the least which can be thus regularly conjugated, that means, from one mood can be made 9,000 different phrases.”

Kempe assigned the tables of verb conjugation, which are among the most comprehensive materials relating to the verb considered in this study, to a ten-page appendix (Kempe 1891: 26–36) and instead devoted the section describing verbs given in the main section of the grammar (*ibid.*: 17–24) to the description of inflection and derivation of a more complex nature. Chapter XIII (*ibid.*: 23–24) “Sundry moods and forms ...” presents subordinating morphology, including a discussion of the translation of the counterfactual construction from John 11: 21, “if thou hadst come here my brother would not have died”. The detail given here surpasses that provided in the grammars of Diyari written over three decades of mission work at Bethesda.

Arrernte is among a group of languages spoken in Central Australia with verbs specifying “that the verb action is associated in some way with a motion event” (Wilkins 1989: 270). The morphological system was first described as a “category of associated motion” by Koch (1984: 23) for the Arandic language Kaytetye.

Wilkins’ discussion (1989: 270–298) of associated motion in Mparntwe Arrernte appraises T. G. H. Strehlow’s account of some associated motion forms, which were listed by Strehlow in a discussion of “periphrastic verbs” (1944: 171–174 [1938]). Wilkins writes:

Strehlow himself never separates out the individual morphemes nor indicates in what manner the verb form is derived. Indeed, ... he lists reduplicated aspectual forms as well as combining reduplicated aspectual forms and associated motion forms. (Wilkins 1989: 273–274)

Some of the forms Strehlow gave had first been described by Kempe (1891: 19–22), and subsequently by Mathews (1907a: 334). The morphemes controlling different categories of verbal morphology were not identified. Kempe for instance, included Example (5), in which the verb root *-twe* “to hit” is marked with the morphological compound *-ety=alpe-*, a category of associated motion indicating that the “subject returns to a place and then performs the action described by the verb stem” (Henderson 2013: 241), before word final inflection for present tense.

- (5) *tutyalbuma*
 return to beat
 (Kempe 1891: 20; Mathews 1907a: 334)
Twe-ty=alpe-me
 hit-RETURN&DO-PRES

Kempe also supplied Example (6) showing inflection for continuous aspect, which fills the slot in the Arrernte verb directly after the marking of associated motion (Henderson 2013: 276). In this example the verb is inflected with the morpheme complex *-rle=pe-*: ‘do continuously while moving along’, indicating “an action which is done repeatedly or continuously while moving along” (Henderson 2013: 248; Wilkins 1989: 252).

- (6) *Tulabuma*
 ‘beating, by walking about’
 (Kempe 1891: 19)
Twe-rle=pe-me
 hit-CONT&MOT-PRES

Kempe (1891: 20) also recognised the associated motion forms: *ty=antye* DO UPWARDS and *tye=kerle* DO DOWNWARDS (Wilkins 1989: 272–273). He described *ty=antye* DO UPWARDS as *injama* ‘to rise or ascend’ (Example 7) and recognised that verbs containing this form implied motion upwards. While his analysis of the constituents of *tye=kerle* DO DOWNWARDS, *ikalama* (Example 8) was flawed, he demonstrated how both forms altered the meaning of verbs with which they co-occurred. Both illustrative examples convey the time of the day implied by the motion of the sun:

- (7) *Ilkutjinjama*
 ‘to eat in the morning, to breakfast’
 (Kempe 1891: 20)
irlkwe -ty=antye -me
 eat -DO UPWARDS -PRES
 ‘to eat while the sun rises’
- (8) *Ilkutjikalama*
 ‘to eat in the evening, to sup’
 (Kempe 1891: 20)

irlkwe -tye=kerle -me
eat -DO DOWNWARDS -PRES
'to eat while the sun goes down'

Like T. G. H. Strehlow, Kempe interspersed the verbs inflected for associated motion with verbs exemplifying other functions marked by aspect or reduplication.

Mathews (1907a: 334) listed forms illustrating that the Arrernte verb showed “repetition or continuance of the act described, and many complexities, which must only briefly be mentioned in this article” (Figure 9.2). In keeping with his propensity to assert that his analysis was the first to present Australian linguistic structures, he likened the Arrernte forms to verbs in “Kamilaroi, Wiradjuri, Thurawal and other Australian tongues, the grammars of which have been published by me.”

Each of the forms Mathews listed (Figure 9.2) were picked from Kempe’s four-page analysis (1891: 20–23). Mathews, however, failed to appreciate that some of the examples he picked from Kempe’s grammar described a category that was not shared by any of the languages he mentioned.

Tutyigunala, to beat by and by.
Tutyilbitnima, to come to beat.
Tutyalbuma, returned to beat.
Tutyikamanityikana, to beat not again.
Tualbuntama, to beat running away.
Tuatalbuma, to beat on the way home.
Tulinya tulindama, to beat always.
Tulatulauma, to beat seldom.
Tuatna lama, to beat on arrival at another place.

Figure 9.2: Mathews’ exemplification of verbal complexity (1907b: 334)

9.3.3 Early representations of Arandic case

9.3.3.1 Prepositions

Rather than presenting the word-class “preposition” in its conventional position towards the back of the grammar, Kempe discussed “prepositions” (1891: 4–5) straight after “substantive case”, and before “adjectives” and “pronouns”. This placement, which had previously been employed by Moorhouse (1846: 2; §6.4.1.1), reflects an awareness that some members of this class performed the same grammatical function as suffixes deemed to mark case. He explained that the term

“postposition” was more appropriate than “preposition”, since the particles were placed at the end of a word, but nevertheless maintained the term “preposition”.

Kempe (*ibid.*: 4) divided “prepositions” into two classes: “one consisting of separate words” (Table 9.1) and the other “consisting only of small particles annexed to the substantives, to which they belong as suffixes” (Table 9.2). This division had been established by Teichelmann & Schürmann (1840; §5.3.2) and was followed by Lutheran missionary-grammarians describing Diyari (§8.5.6). Following Kempe (1891: 4–6), the division was maintained in later descriptions of Arrernte, although the classes were assigned different labels, by Mathews (1907a: 335) and by T. G. H. Strehlow (1944: 199–207 [1938]). This division of pre/postpositions into two functionally distinct classes is unique to the South Australian sub-corpus of description.

Kempe’s first class (Table 9.1) corresponds to Teichelmann & Schürmann’s “postpositions” (Table 5.3). The class includes what are mostly locational words and spatial adverbs. The forms given by Kempe are mostly the same as those given by T. G. H. Strehlow as “postpositional suffixes”.

Kempe’s second class (Table 9.2), which corresponds to Teichelmann & Schürmann’s “postfixa” (Table 5.3), are termed “postpositional suffixes” by T. G. H. Strehlow. These are the peripheral case suffixes that were not included in the conservative Arrernte case paradigms, marking cases that are now called allative, instrumental/comitative, locative, proprietive and AFTER. They attach to the unmarked stem of nouns and to the dative stem of pronouns or, in the words of T. G. H. Strehlow (1944: 199 [1938]), “to the nominative cases of nouns and adjectives, and to the possessive cases of personal pronouns.”

Kempe divided his first class of “prepositions”, i.e., locational words, into two classes, those “governed” by the accusative case, and those “governed” by the ablative case. By “governed” he meant that the locational word was postposed to a nominal in a particular case, as in the NP *artwe-nge lwarre* ‘in front of the man’, given in Example (9)

- (9) Era atunga ulara tnama
 ‘he of man in front stands’
 (Kempe 1891: 4)
 Re artwe-nge lwarre irtna-me
 3SG.NOM man-ABL in front stand-PRES
 ‘he stands in front of the man’

Clauses given by Kempe to exemplify “postpositions” governed by the ablative case resemble the Mparntwe Arrernte “relative location construction”, in which

Table 9.1: Analysis of Kempe’s first class of “preposition”

Form	Original translation	Form	Currently described as:	Source
“governed by the ablative case”				
ulara	in front, against	<i>lwarre</i>	in front, front	Breen (2000)
topala	behind	<i>irtepe-le</i>	back-LOC	Breen (2000)
gatala	outside	<i>kethe-le</i>	outside-LOC	Breen (2000)
mbobula	between	<i>mpwepe-le</i>	Middle-LOC, between	Breen (2000)
ntuara	other side	<i>ntwarre</i>	other side	Breen (2000)
nankara	this side	<i>nhenh- ankwerr / nhangkwarr</i>	in this direction	Green (2010: 714)
nkelala	beside		?	
itinjawara	close by	<i>itenye- (lwarre)</i>	close by -?)	Breen (2000)
ntuarintjirka	though	<i>ntwarre-(?)</i>	?on the other side	Breen (2000)
“governed by the accusative case”				
katningala	upon	<i>kertnengele</i>	above	Breen (2000)
katningalagana	over	<i>Kertnegele-?</i>		
kwanakala	down	<i>kwanakerle</i>	downwards	Breen (2000)
kwanala	inside	<i>kwanale</i>	inside	Breen (2000)

Table 9.2: Analysis of Kempe’s second class of “preposition”

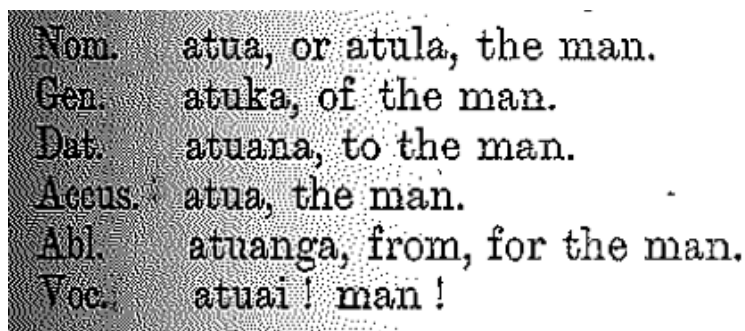
Form	Original translation	Form	Currently described as marking:	Source
-una	“on, upon, into”	-werne	allative case	Wilkins (1989): 189
-lela	“the instrument with which anything is made, or the person by whom anything is accompanied”	-LeLe	instrumental and comitative cases	Wilkins pers. com. 26/08/2016
-la	“the place where someone is”	-le	locative case	Wilkins (1989): 174
-gata	“with” (Latin <i>cum</i>)	-kerte	propriative case	Wilkins (1989): 197
-raba	“without”	repe	ADVERB “going along without a particular thing or person”	Henderson & Dobson (1994)
-gitjala	“for in exchange for”	-ketye-le	?	
-kaguia	“for the sake of”	unattested	unattested	
kiaka	“on, to”			
-ibera -ibena	“from, out of”	-iperre -ipenhe	AFTER	Wilkins (1989): 210

a subclass of spatial adverbs “enter into a special construction in which the NP representing the ground is suffixed with *-nge* ABL” (Wilkins 1989: 314). They are also shown in Pfitzner & Schmaal’s (1991: 64) description of Western Arrernte.

9.3.3.2 Case paradigms

Table 9.3 summarises the labels given to nominal case markers in the early grammars of Arrernte and contrasts them with Wilkins’ more recent analysis.

Following the missionary grammarians of Diyari (Figure 8.22) and Teichelmann & Schürmann’s description of Kaurana (1840; Figure 5.2), Kempe (Figure 9.3) produced conservative Latinate case paradigms when describing Arrernte. He (1891: 3) wrote, “There are six cases – nominative, genitive, dative, accusative, ablative and vocative”.



Nom.	atua, or atula, the man.
Gen.	atuka, of the man.
Dat.	atuana, to the man.
Accus.	atua, the man.
Abl.	atuanga, from, for the man.
Voc.	atuai ! man !

Figure 9.3: Kempe’s case paradigm of singular nouns (1891: 3)

While the case labels, and the ordering of cases that Kempe showed in his paradigms, are ostensibly the same as his Lutheran predecessors’, Kempe’s presentation of ergative morphology and function differ from that instigated by Dresdners. The practices Kempe employed were later followed by C. Strehlow (1931b [c.1907]) and mark an alteration to the South Australian Lutheran descriptive tradition.

Ergative case forms are no longer placed at the bottom of the paradigm in the position of the Latin ablative. Kempe is among the few early grammarians who described the ergative case as “nominative” and placed ergative forms along side “other” nominative forms at the top of case paradigms (Symmons 1841; Roth 1897; Ray 1907; Figure 9.3). Kempe’s explanation of ergative function is perfectly adequate:¹³

¹³Note, however, that Kempe’s (1891: 8) declension of possessive pronouns (Figure 5.6) did not list both a nominative and an ergative form under the heading “nominative”. The omission is odd.

Table 9.3: Nominal inflections on nouns in Arrernte which have been described as marking case.

	Wilkins 1989	Kempe 1891	Mathews 1907b	C. Streh- low C 1907	Planert 1907	C. Streh- low 1908	C. Streh- low 1910**	Riedel 1931 [c.1923]**	T. G. H. Strehlow 1944[1938]
-Ø	Nom / Acc	Nom Acc	Nom Acc	Nom intrans	Abs	Nom Acc	Nom intrans	Nom intrans	Nom I Obj
-le	Erg	Nom	Caus	Nom trans	Erg	Erg	Nom trans	Nom trans	Nom II
-nhe	Acc	Dat	Dat	Acc	All	Dat	Dat	Dat	Obj
-ke	Pronouns					Acc	Acc		
-kenhe	Dat	Gen	Gen	Gen	Gen	Gen	Gen	Gen	Poss
-nge	Poss								Poss
-werne	Abl	Abl	Abl	Abl	Abl	Abl	Abl	Abl	Abl
-le	All			Dat		All	Loc II	Loc 2	
-lela	Loc					Loc	Loc I	Loc 1	
-lela	*		Inst			Inst	Inst	Inst	
-ipenhe/ -iperre	AFTER				–	Causalis	Causalis	Causalis	

*Instrumental function is marked by *-le* in Mparntwe Arrernte, which also marks the ergative and locative cases. Instrumental function is described as distinctly marked in Western Arrernte with the form *-lela*, which also marks the comitative case.

** Riedel and C. Strehlow(1910) give an additional case form *-ngibera* termed “Loc 3”. It is not given by other early grammarians. It appears to be *-nge* ABL + *-iperre* AFTER.

The nominative is expressed in a double manner. The noun is unchanged if connected with an intransitive verb, as in *atua indama*, “the man sleeps”, or *katjia lima*, “the child goes;” but it is formed by adding the particle *la*, when it is unconnected (*sic*) with a transitive verb, as, *worala gama*, “the boy cuts,” & c., or *apmala utnuma*, & c., “the snake bites,” & c. (Kempe 1891: 3)

Unlike generations of Lutheran missionaries before him, who had used the term “ablative” to name the ergative case (Figure 5.5), Kempe used the term “ablative” to describe the suffix marking a range of functions currently associated with the case called “ablative” in Arrernte (Wilkins 1989: 185–187). Kempe gave a brief discussion of the marking and function of each case form and provided example clauses for each. He described the ablative suffix *-nge* as marking:

- (10) a. ‘the direction where a thing comes [*sic*]’:
 Ta kwatja nanjinga inama
 ‘I fetch water from the well’
 (Kempe 1891: 3)
 The kwatye ngentye-nge ine-me
 1SG.ERG water-[ACC] well-ABL get-PRES
- b. ‘the material from which a thing is made’:
 Era ulbainja ititjinga erbuma
 ‘he a boomerang from mulga makes’
 (Kempe 1891: 3)
 Re ulperrenye irtetye-nge arrpe-me¹⁴
 3SG.NOM boomerang-[ACC] mulga-ABL make-PRES
 ‘He makes a boomerang from mulga’
- c. ‘the cause for which a thing is done’:
 Jinga woringa tarama
 ‘I laugh for the sake of the boy’
 (Kempe 1891: 3)
 Yenge werre-nge therre-me
 1SG.NOM boy-ABL laugh-PRES
 ‘I laugh because of the boy’

While C. Strehlow’s earliest case paradigms (1931b: 50–51 [c.1907]; Figure 9.4) resemble Kempe’s, C. Strehlow’s treatment of the ergative case differed. Ergative

¹⁴While the Western Arrernte term for “boomerang” is listed as *ulperrenye* (Breen 2000), Kempe’s spelling *Ul bainja* suggests the term was *ulpeyenye*.

forms are now called “nominative transitive”, and are assigned their own position in the paradigm, occurring after the nominative form termed “nominative intransitive” (Figure 9.3; Figure 9.4; Figure 9.5):

ARRERNTA	TIERI	TIERI	ENCOUNTER BAY
Singular	1. Sg. M.	2. Sg. M.	
N. INTR. HTUA - man	KARA man	NOA Gamaah	KOTHE man
N. TRS. HTULA -	Kanali	noali	Kornil
Gen. HUKA	Kamaka	noakila	Kom.
Nat. HTUWA - aluana	Kamee	noangu	Komungai
Acc. HTUANA	Kana	noana	Kome
Noc. HTUAI	Kanai	noajai	Kominda
Ab. HTUANGA	Kanandru	noandru	Kome munda ?

Figure 9.4: E. Kramer’s copy of C. Strehlow’s comparative case paradigm of singular nouns in three languages (1931a: 50–51 [c.1907])

Dual		
1. Person	2. Person	3. PERSON
N. INTR. ilina wir beide	mbala ihr beide	eratare wir beide
N. TRS. ilina “ “ (Gen.)	mbalaka *	eratare “ “
Gen. ilinaka	mbalana 1	ekwataraka
Noc. ilinauna	mbalana	ekwatarana
Acc. ilinana	(Ab.) mbalanga 1	ekwatarana
Ab. ilinanga	N. TRS. mbala *	ekwataranga

Figure 9.5: E. Kramer’s copy of C. Strehlow’s comparative case paradigm of dual pronouns in three languages (1931a: 64–65 [c.1907])

Strehlow’s use of the term *nominativ transitiv*, given here in this comparative grammar of Arrernte and Luritja (1910) is unique in the Australian literature. Although Strehlow reproduced Kempe’s conservative five-case paradigm – excluding the vocative – Strehlow (ibid.: 17) did consider the idea of inserting other forms termed *locativ*, *instrumentalis* and *causalis* to name case forms in this earliest analysis. Strehlow’s discussion of these terms, and his choice of *nominativ transitiv* to name the ergative case may have been introduced via communication with Leonhardi. The term *Nomitivus transitivus* had previously been employed by Fabricius (1801[1791]: 78–79) in descriptions of Greenlandic (see Lindner, 2013: 186, 198).

Like Kempe, C. Strehlow accounted for the different marking of agents and subjects in terms of verb transitivity. In a note accompanying his case paradigm,

Strehlow reproduced in German part of Kempe's (1891: 3; quoted above) English explanation:

The nominative has a double form, depending upon whether the noun is connected with an intransitive or a transitive verb. If the subject nominative is connected with an intransitive verb, then the pure nominative is placed. That is, the word is not altered. If however, the word is connected with a transitive verb, then the syllable "la" is added to the word. (Strehlow 1931b: 27 [c.1907])¹⁵

9.3.4 C. Strehlow's later representations of case

When responding to Planert's Arrernte case paradigm (1907a: 555; Figure 2.17) – which presented the same six case forms as had Kempe, albeit with different case labels – C. Strehlow upped the *ante*.

Strehlow's 1908 case paradigms differ radically from those given in his earlier MS, and from the homogeneity of earlier Lutheran case paradigms of South Australian languages. C. Strehlow's later case paradigms (1908; 1910) are the last in the corpus, although his 1910 paradigm was later replicated by Riedel (1931 [c.1923]). They mark a radical departure from the Lutheran paradigmatic template established by Teichelmann & Schürmann (1840) that had been followed in the Lutheran descriptions of Diyari and by Kempe.

After criticising Planert's listing of cases as "incomplete and inadequate" (*dürftig und unvollkommen*), Strehlow (1908: 699) stated: "one must differentiate eleven cases" (*Man muss elf Kasus unterscheiden*; Figure 9.6).

C. Strehlow's 1908 paradigm includes case suffixes marking locative, instrumental, allative and a case marked by alternative suffixes *-iperre* and *-ipenhe*, glossed by Wilkins (1989: 210) as AFTER. These had previously been described as "prepositions" (Kempe 1891; C. Strehlow 1931b [c.1907]) and as "postpositional suffixes" by T. G. H. Strehlow (1944: 199–204 [1938]). Leonhardi (1909) noted that three of that cases Strehlow identified in the 1908 publication had been "included in Dr. P[lanert]'s postpositions".

C. Strehlow's response assimilated the new term *ergativ* from Planert's grammar, but not the term *absolutiv* (§2.6.1). Strehlow's paradigm shows the accusative

¹⁵Der Nominativ hat eine doppelte Form, je nachdem das Substantivum mit einem intransitiven oder transitiven Verb verbunden ist. Ist das Subjective Nomen mit einem verbum intransitivum verbunden, so wird der Nominativus purus gesetzt; d.h. das Wort erleidet keine Veränderung. Ist dagegen das Wort mit einem transitiven Verb verbunden, so wird die Silbe "la" dem Wort angefügt."

Die S. 555 gegebenen Deklinationsformen sind dürftig und unvollkommen. Man muss elf Kasus unterscheiden, z. B.

Nominativ:	atua, der Mann,
Ergativ:	atuala (gewöhnlich kontrahiert in átula),
Genetiv:	atualá („ „ „ átuka),
Dativ:	atuana („ „ „ atuna),
Akkusativ:	atunna („ „ „ „),

45

700

C. Strehlow:

Vocativ:	atuai,
Ablativus:	atuanga, von dem Mann,
Locativ:	atuala, in dem Mann (kontrahiert in átula),
Allativ:	atuaúna, zu dem Mann („ „ „ atuuna),
Instrumentalis:	atalela, mit dem Mann,
Causalis:	atibera, über den Mann (sprechen), von dem Mann (we nehmen).

Figure 9.6: C. Strehlow's later extended case paradigm of nouns, showing the term *ergativ* (1908: 699–700)

case as overtly marked with *-na -nhe* (A/S/O), as had his earlier work (1931b [c.1907]), differing from Kempe's representation (Figure 9.3). From this it can be concluded that Planert's material was based on Wettengel's adherence to Kempe's first representation of the language.

9.3.4.1 Case labels

C. Strehlow's 1908 paradigm employs a range of other case terminology not generally found in the corpus: *allativ*, *instrumentalis*, *locativ*, and *causalis*. His stimuli were from a diverse range of sources.

He imported the term *allativ* from Planert. It was used with modern reference to indicate motion towards the marked nominal. This term is not found elsewhere in the corpus. C. Strehlow's MS comparative grammar of Arrernte Luritja (1910; Figure 9.7) maintained the large paradigm but did not utilise the term "allative", opting instead for a numbered locative case. Parallel forms are given in Luritja. This paradigm was reproduced by Riedel (1931b [c.1923]; Figure 9.8), probably after Strehlow's death in 1923, indicating that Riedel copied his material from Strehlow's 1910 MS.

9.3 Lutheran traditions of Arandic description 1891–1938

jinga	nom. intr.	ngaiulu	
ata	nom. trs.	ngaiulu	
nuka	Gen.	ngaiuku	
jingana	Det.	ngaiuna	} ngaiina
jingana	Acc.	ngaiuna	
jingai	Voc	ngaimai	
nukanga	Abl.	ngaiulunguru	
nukalela	nukalela (intr.) (kontrah. nukalela)	{ ngaiuluwana { ngaiulu wananka	
nukala	Loc I	ngaiula	
nukauna	Loc II	ngaiulukutu	
nukibera	Caulis	ngaiunita	
nukangibera	Loc III (von meiner Seite)	ngaiunitanu	
nukibana	von mir (hat er ^{etwas} ~~nichts~~ in Empfang genommen)	ngaiukunuta	

Figure 9.7: C. Strehlow's comparative case paradigm of Arrernte and Luritja nouns (1910: 11)

Nom. intr.	Atara	der Mann
N. tr.	atula	" "
Gen.	atuka	
Loc.	atuna	
Voc.	atuai	
Abl.	atunga	
intr.	atualala	
Causalis	atungibera	oder
Loc. i.	atula	in dem
Loc. 2.	atuna	
Loc 3.	atungibera	

Figure 9.8: Riedel's case paradigm of nouns (1931: 104 [c.1923])

The term *causalis* was presented with a footnote (Strehlow 1908: 700) stating: “I am unclear of the correct signification of this case. The naming is therefore only provisional.”¹⁶ In March 1908 Leonhardi wrote to Strehlow: “About the *causalis* or *sublative*, I should probably best ask Father W. Schmidt in Mödlingen, when the occasion arises” (von Leonhardi 1908a). Strehlow’s connection to Leonhardi allowed him to seek advice on the naming of Arrernte cases from the European linguistic intelligentsia. By contrast, C. Strehlow’s naming of other cases appears to have been influenced by Australian grammarians.

C. Strehlow’s inclusion of suffixes marking functions not associated with the case system of SAE languages is reminiscent of the paradigms given in the earliest grammars of PN languages by Threlkeld (1834; §3.4.4) and by Günther (1838; 1840; §4.4.3). Strehlow was aware of Fraser’s (1892) publication. Leonhardi (1908c) mentioned both of these grammarians when writing to Strehlow, as if he was also conversant with their grammatical descriptions. It is possible that Fraser’s (1892) publication of these earliest two PN grammars influenced the shape of C. Strehlow’s paradigms and his choice of terminology.

The term “locative” had only been previously used in Australia by Günther (1840: 346–347) and by Livingstone (1892: 10), although Taplin (1879a: 31) contemplated using the term when describing Ngayawang. It is likely that in choosing the term *locativ* Strehlow was guided by grammars in Fraser (1892).

The term “instrumental” had previously been used by Günther, “instrumentative” (1840: 346–347) as well as by Moorhouse (1846: 6) to name a “particle”, and by Livingstone (1892: 9). Mathews, with whom C. Strehlow corresponded, also used the term (see Koch 2008: 192), including in his description of Arrernte (1907a). Strehlow’s stimuli for using the term are likely to have come from either Günther (1892) or Mathews (1907a), of which Strehlow is most likely to have become aware through his communication with Leonhardi.

9.3.5 Processes of clause subordination

Mparntwe Arrernte is described as having fully embedded relative clauses of the structure:

- (11) [X-*rle* (Y) Vb finite – (*rle*)]_{SREL} (3pnDEF) – CASE
(see Wilkins 1989: 414–423).¹⁷

¹⁶“Über die richtige Bezeichnung dieses Kasus bin ich nicht im Klaren, die Benennung *Causalis* ist daher nur eine vorläufige.”

¹⁷An alternative analysis of the structure (Henderson & Dobson 1994: 202) suggests that the marking with SREL -*rle* is optional on both the verb and the first constituent.

The first constituent of the relative clause, in which the verb is finite, is marked with the relative clause marker *-rle*, which occurs again optionally attached to the finite verb. The relative clause usually sits after the head that it modifies. The final constituent of the clause is marked to agree with the case of the head. This may be a third-person pronoun. The Western Arrernte fully embedded relative clause was described by T. G. H. Strehlow (Strehlow 1944 [1938]) and by Capell (1958; see Stockigt 2017; §10.5.1).

9.3.5.1 Kempe’s descriptions of subordinate clauses

In the first grammar of Arrernte, Kempe (1891: 11) wrote: “There are no Relative Pronouns in the language; they are expressed either by repetition of the demonstrative pronouns *nana* and *tana* ... or else by the participle of the verb” (Figure 9.9). Thus, Kempe exemplified two processes under the “relative pronoun” heading.

a. There are no Relative Pronouns in the language; they are expressed either by repetition of the demonstrative pronouns, *nana* and *tana*, as,
atua nala, nana tmurka albuka, worana tukala,
 “man this, this yesterday went away, the boy has beaten,”
 i.e., “the man who went away yesterday has beaten the boy;”
 or else by the participle of verb corresponding with the English participle, as,
ihupa tera, iltala mbakatnarakala, jiraka,
 “axes two, on house were leaning, disappeared.”
 i.e., the two axes, which were leaning on the house, disappeared.”

Figure 9.9: Kempe’s description of clause subordination (1891: 11)

The first process of clause subordination Kempe exemplified under the heading “relative pronoun” showed “the repetition of demonstratives” (Example 12).

- (12) *Atua nala nana tmurka albuka worana tukala*
 ‘the man who went away yesterday has beaten the boy’
 (Kempe 1891: 11)

Artwe nhale, nhenhe apmwerrke alpe-ke, werre-nhe atwe-ke-le
 Man that.ERG that.NOM yesterday return-PAST boy-ACC hit-PAST-SS
 ‘the man, who returned yesterday, is the one who hit the boy’

The clause that is given the relative translation in Kempe’s first example – *nhenhe apmwerrke alpe-ke*, “who went away yesterday” – is marked by a free-standing demonstrative pronoun, *nhenhe*, which is the first constituent. Although

the structure of the construction given by Kempe to show that a demonstrative pronoun acted to mark clausal dependency remains uncertain,¹⁸ it resembles the structure of the SAE relative clause constructions given in English translation. What is important for this historiographical investigation is that Kempe's (1891) discussion of demonstrative pronouns acting in a relativising capacity may have influenced Reuther's (1894) analysis of Diyari, which differed from that offered in previous Diyari grammars (§8.5.8.4), and that Kempe's analysis was probably influenced by the process Meyer had perceived and illustrated as occurring in Ramindjeri in 1843 (§6.1.2.9; Examples 9, 10 & 11 on pages 262, 262 and 263). It is clear that Kempe was acquainted with Meyer's published grammar (§6.1.2).

The second example provided by Kempe under the "relative pronoun" heading (Example 13) showed that the relative pronoun was "expressed" by the verb participle:

- (13) Ilupa tera iltala mbakatnarakala jiraka
 'the two axes, which were leaning on the house disappeared'
 (Kempe 1891: 11)

Both of Kempe's two examples were republished by Elkin (1937: 164) to show that "[t]he absence ... of certain parts of speech [i.e., relative pronouns] does not necessarily mean the absence of the process of thought which we express through them".

Interpretation of the morphological process used in Kempe's second example (Example 13) is complicated by the under-differentiation of lateral phonemes in the missionaries' orthography. There are two possible interpretations of the clause Kempe provided, depending on whether the suffix *-la* attached to *iltthe* "shelter" is *-le* marking locative case, or is *-le* marking locative case followed by *-rle*, the relative clause marker, where the segment *-le-rle*, may have been reduced or simply not heard, and was represented as *-la*.

A relative clause interpretation would be:

¹⁸Note that in Example 12, the clause *Artwe nhale [...]* *werre-nhe atwe-ke-le*, which is translated as the declarative clause "The man [...] has beaten the boy", is itself marked as subordinate. The past tense of the verb *atwe-ke* 'hit' is inflected with the same subject switch reference marker. This analysis follows D. Wilkins' (pers. comm., 26/08/2016) suggestion that the Western Arrernte inflection *-kala -kele*, which the missionaries analysed as a second past tense inflection (§9.2.1) and which is *not* documented in other Arandic varieties, is in fact *-ka -ke* PAST found in Western Arrernte and in other Arandic varieties subsequently marked with either the same subject inflection *-le*, or with *-rle*, the relative clause marker. See also Example 16.

- (14) Ilepe therre ilthe(-le)-rle ampeke-tne-rre-ke-rle uyerre-ke
 [ilepe therre]_{HD} [ilthe(-le)-rle ampeke-tne-rre-ke-rle]_{SREL}
 axe two-[NOM] [shelter(-LOC)-REL lean-stand-DL.S/A-PAST-REL]-[NOM]
 uyerre-ke
 disappear-PAST
 ‘the two axes, which were leaning against the house disappeared’

where the relative cause *ilthe-le-rle ampeke-tne-rre-ke-rle*, ‘which were leaning against the house’, is of the structure [X-rle Vb finite] and is unmarked for nominative case in agreement with the head ‘two axes’.

Alternatively, Example 13 might be given a switch reference interpretation, in which the finite verb in a dependent clause is marked to indicate that it either shares or does not share the subject of verb in the main clause (see Wilkins 1989; 1989: 454–470). In Western Arrernte the dependent verb is suffixed word finally with *-le* (SS) to indicate that its subject is shared with that of the main clause or the dependent verb is marked with *-nge* (DS) to indicate that the subjects of the two clauses have different identity.

The compound *ampeke-tne* ‘to lean against (standing)’ might be marked with *-le* as having the same subject as the verb *uyerre-* ‘to disappear’. This would give a relative tense interpretation (Wilkins 1989: 462), where the dependent verb event occurs prior to the time of the main verb event:

- (15) Ilepe atherre ilthe-le ampeke-tne-rre-ke-le uyerre-ke
 Axe two-[NOM] shelter-LOC lean-stand-duS/A-PAST-SS disappear-PAST
 ‘the two axes were leaning against the house before they disappeared’

Whatever the structure, Kempe correctly perceived that clause subordination was signalled on the verb and exemplified the process.

9.3.5.2 C. Strehlow’s descriptions of subordinate clauses

Carl Strehlow’s earliest analysis of Arrernte (1931a [c.1907]) utilised the previous analysis of Arrernte written by HMS missionary Kempe (1891). C. Strehlow reproduced Kempe’s explanation of clause subordination under the heading ‘relative pronouns’ (ibid.: 39–40). Strehlow’s explanation (Figure 9.10) is almost a word-for-word translation into German of Kempe’s English publication (Figure 9.9).

Like Kempe (1891), C. Strehlow (1931a [c.1907]) provided examples of two processes of clause subordination in this section of the grammar, but he provided

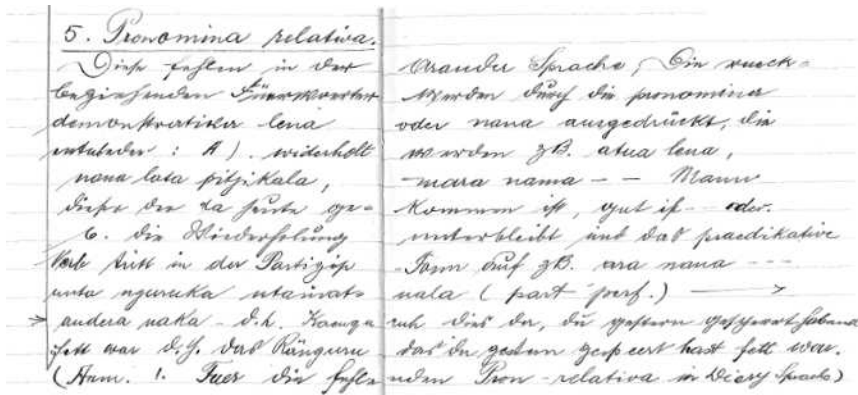


Figure 9.10: E. Kramer's copy of C. Strehlow's description of relative pronouns (1931b [c.1907]: 39–40)

different example clauses. Example (16) was used to show how repetition of a demonstrative acted to relativise a clause.

- (16) Atua lena, nana lata pitjikala, mara nama
'mann dieser, der da heute gekommen ist, gut ist'
(C Strehlow 1931b [c.1907]: 39–40)
Artwe lanhe, nhanhe lyete petye-ke-rle, marre ane-me
Man that.NOM this.NOM today come-PAST-REL good sit-PRES
'That man, the one who came today, is good'

Here the demonstrative, *nhanhe* 'this', which is the head of the parenthetical relative clause *nhanhe lyete petye-ke-rle* 'the one who came yesterday' makes anaphoric reference to the S of the main clause, *artwe lanhe* 'that man'.

Strehlow also illustrated a different process of clause subordination. He provided another example (Example 17) to show that where there was no repetition of the demonstrative; the participle form of the verb acted to relativise the clause. He stated: "The repetition does not occur and the predicative verb occurs in the participle form." (Strehlow 1931b: 39–40 [c.1907])¹⁹

- (17) Ara nana unta nguruka ntainatnala (part.perf.) andere naka
'kaenguru dies da, du gestern gespeert habend fett war'
(C. Strehlow 1931b [c.1907]: 39–40)

^{19a}Die Wiederholung unterbleibt und das praedikative Verb tritt in der Partizip-Form auf."

Aherre nhenhe unte ngwerreke irntarne-rtne-rle antere ane-ke
Kangaroo this 2sgERG yesterday spear-?-REL fat sit-PAST
'this kangaroo, that you speared yesterday, was fat'

In his earliest grammar of Arrernte (§9.2.3.1), C. Strehlow provided comparative Diyari and *Encounter Bay Sprache* (Ramindjeri) material. The typescript copy of Strehlow's grammar held at the Lutheran Archives (1931a [c.1907]) contains a more extensive note on the comparison of clause subordination in three languages (Figure 9.11) than does the copy made by Kramer held at the South Australian Museum.

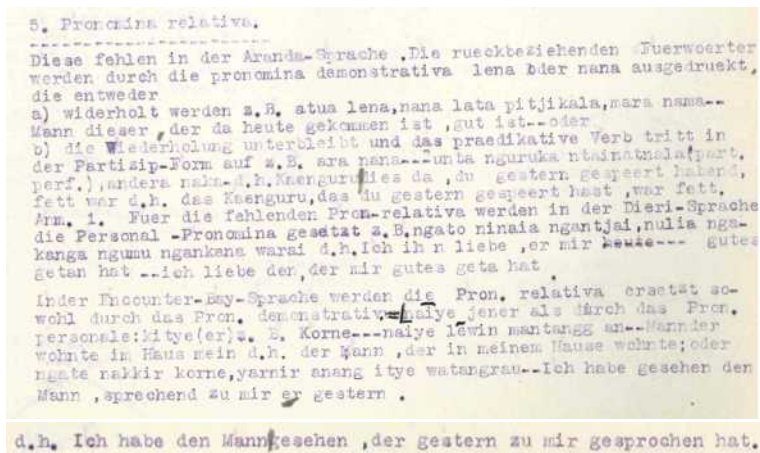


Figure 9.11: Copy of C. Strehlow's analysis of Arrernte (1931a [c.1907]) made by an unknown typist (no page). Annotations made by unknown reader

Here Strehlow reproduced the Ramindjeri example published by Meyer in 1843 (Example 10, on page 262) with slight variation (Example 18). He provided inter-linear and free translation:

- (18) Korne naiye lewin mantang an
Mann der wohnte im Haus mein
'Der Mann, der in meinem Hause wohnte'
(C. Strehlow 1931a [c.1907] after Meyer (1843): 32)

He reiterated Reuther's description of clause subordination in Diyari, which had differed from all four previous missionary-grammarians descriptions of that language – "personal pronouns replace the missing relative in Diyari" – and he reproduced the clause which had been given by Reuther (Example 19):

- (19) ngato ninaia ngantjai, nulia ngakangu nguma nankara warai
 Ich ihn liebe, er mir gutes getan hat
 ‘Ich liebe den, der mir gutes getan hat’
 (C. Strehlow 1931a [c.1907] after Reuther 1894: 29)

Drawing on the work of Meyer and Reuther, Strehlow concluded that the process of relativisation occurs similarly in all three languages. Meyer’s erroneous examples are recycled to substantiate the suggestion that personal or demonstrative pronouns function to relativise clauses in these Australian languages. While the year in which C. Strehlow made this analysis is unknown, it seems likely that these parallels between Meyer’s account of clause subordination in “Encounter Bay” and the structure of Diyari were drawn before Reuther completed his 1894 grammar, within C. Strehlow’s first two years in Australia. It is also likely that C. Strehlow was further alerted to the possibility of such structures occurring by Kempe’s (1891) published description of demonstratives acting to relativise clauses in Arrernte (Example 12).

The subordinating construction that Strehlow and Kempe described may have reflected a new method of marking subordinate clauses that developed as a syntactic calque from German and English, and which became a feature of the variety of language used at the mission. It may have been a feature of what Siebert described as *Küchen-Dieri* (Kitchen Diyari) at Bethesda (quoted in Kneebone 2005a: 372–373) and of Arrernte.

Gatti’s grammar (1930) of Diyari (§8.4.4), based on the language used in Reuther and Strehlow’s translation of the New Testament, shows the third-person pronoun acting to mark subordinate clauses in the variety used by the missionaries in liturgical translation. Gatti (*ibid.*: 67) quoted Luke 1: 19: “I am Gabriel, who stands in the presence of God” (Example 20). In presenting the construction, he specifically indicated that the Diyari third-person pronoun *nauja* corresponded functionally to the Italian relativiser *che*:

- (20) Ngani Gabrieli nganai, nauja Godani terkai
 io sono Gabriele che sto innanzi a Dio
 (Gatti 1930: 67)
 Nganhi Gabriel ngana-yi, nhawa Goda-nhi tharka-yi
 1sgNOM Gabriel be-PRES, 3sg.NF God-LOC stand-PRES
 ‘I am Gabriel, who stands in the presence of God’

Here it is important to observe that T. G. H. Strehlow (1944: 101 [1938]) described the shift to marking subordinate clauses with a pronoun in Arrernte as

having occurred among Arrernte speakers at the Hermannsburg mission. He suggested that Bible translation “necessitated the continual use of the interrogative pronouns (**ḡuṇa**, **iwuṇa**) and of the demonstrative pronoun **naṇa**, by the white missionaries in a strictly relative sense”, and he saw this usage as having influenced the speech of younger Arrernte generations. Capell (1958: 13) observed the same shift in function of Western Arrernte demonstrative pronouns. T. G. H. Strehlow gave this example:

- (21) *iwuṇa aṭa arugula altaraka, laṇa aṭa jusem-ila-ka*
 ‘what I first found, that I used’
 (T. G. H. Strehlow 1944: 101[1938])
 Iwenhe the arrekwele arltare-ke, lenhe the usem-ile-ke
 DEM 1SG.ERG first find-PAST DEM 1SG.ERG use-TR-PAST

Further philological investigation of religious texts in Diyari and in Arrernte would help establish the extent to which the linguistic variety used by the missionaries was the data source for their grammatical analyses.

9.4 Conclusion

The Lutheran school of South Australian linguistic description, which originated with the Dresdner missionaries’ descriptions (Teichelmann & Schürmann 1840; Meyer 1843; Schürmann 1844b) of languages made in the decade following the establishment of the Colony of South Australia held sway over the description of Arrernte into the twentieth century.

Kempe’s inaugural Arrernte grammar (1891), which is a remarkably comprehensive work describing verbs inflected for associated motion (§9.3.2) and kindyadic terms (§9.3.1), does not follow Teichelmann and Schürmann’s placement of the ergative case towards the bottom of the case paradigm. Teichelmann and Schürmann’s format was maintained over six decades of descriptions made in Australia, by Taplin (1867; 1872 [1870]; 1874b; 1878) (§7.3) and by those who replicated his paradigms in Brough Smyth (§7.2) and in all grammars of Diyari (Chapter 8), including Planert’s (1908) grammar published in Germany. Kempe’s choice to present ergative forms as an alternative “nominative” form was atypical, and marked a departure from established practice, but is characteristic of the descriptive independence displayed by many of the corpus grammarians, who confidently presented new and alternative representations of PN structures. Nevertheless, many aspects of Kempe’s analysis show that he did borrow descriptive

methods instigated by his South Australian Lutherans with whose work he was familiar.

Three descriptive features define the tightly-knit Lutheran school of descriptive practice. First, the division of post-positions into two classes (§9.3.3.1), made originally by Teichelmann & Schürmann (§5.3.2) and followed in grammars of Diyari (§8.5.6). Second, the inclusion of paradigms declining possessive adjectives (§5.3.2), which had similarly been initiated by Teichelmann & Schürmann and followed by the Diyari missionary-grammarians and by Kempe (Figure 5.6). Third, the description of theoretically challenging processes of clause subordination under the heading “relative pronoun” (§6.1.2.9).

10 The description of Queensland languages

This chapter examines the early description of languages belonging to countries in Queensland. With exception of Ridley's brief grammar of Turrbul (1866; §4.5.2), from country in what was then New South Wales, but not far over the border into Queensland established in 1859, Queensland languages were not described until the last decade of the nineteenth century. At this time, two distinct schools of descriptive practice were well established in Australia: that instigated by Threlkeld in the earliest grammar of an Australian language (1834; Chapter 3) and utilised in grammars of languages from New South Wales, and that instigated by Teichelmann & Schürmann (1840; Chapter 5) and utilised by grammarians describing languages from South Australia. Yet the grammars of Queensland languages were written using an independent template, innovated by the medical practitioner W. E. Roth. These works are examined section §10.1 of this chapter.

The following section of this chapter (§10.2) provides an overview of the grammars by S. Ray and A. H. Haddon, which were published in Great Britain and were also written without recourse to earlier grammars of Australian Aboriginal languages.

10.1 W. E. Roth

W. E. Roth (1861–1933) published two grammars of distantly related PN languages belonging to distant regions of Queensland. Roth's first grammar was of Pitta-Pitta (1897; §10.1.1), a Karnic language from the southwest of Queensland, and related to the languages described by Lutheran missionaries at Bethesda (Chapter 9). Roth collected the material while appointed as a medical officer at the Cloncurry and Boulia hospitals (1894–1897), a position that he described as having “afforded unrivalled opportunities for making enquiry into the language” (Roth 1897: v).

Material for Roth's second grammar of Guugu-Yimidhirr (1901; §10.1.2), from the east coast of Cape York Peninsula at the Lutheran Cape Bedford (Hopevale)

mission, was collected after Roth was appointed as the first Protector of Aborigines for the Northern District of Queensland. Roth then revised and edited a grammar of Nggerrikwidhi (1903; §10.1.3) recorded at Mapoon mission on the western coast of Cape York Peninsula, written by the Moravian missionary N. Hey (1862–1951).

One of seven sons who were educated in France, Germany, and at the University College School in London, four of whom became doctors and three of whom pursued ethnology (Reynolds 2008), Roth, a fellow of the Royal College of Surgeons, practiced both professions among Queensland Aboriginal people.

This body of work is of a different descriptive style and format to other early grammars of PN languages examined in this study, and together forms a discrete school of description. The grammatical component of Hey's (1903) Nggerrikwidhi publication (twelve pages) is far less detailed than Roth's previous grammars of Pitta-Pitta (thirty pages) and of Guugu-Yimidhirr (seventeen pages).

The inclusion in Roth's Guugu-Yimidhirr grammar (1901: 32–35) of a section headed "composition" is analogous to F. Müller's *Sprachproben* (1882) and Planert's *Texte* (1907a; 1908; §8.4.3). These arrangements sit within a descriptive tradition known as the "Boasian trilogy", which is most recognised in the work of Sapir and Boas (Darnell 1999: 8–9), yet it is clearly a feature of nineteenth-century Australian description, particularly that made within a German tradition, to which Roth's work might be seen to also belong. While Threlkeld's (1834: 105–131) "Illustrations", Günther's (1838: 249) "sentences or phrases", and Teichelmann & Schürmann's (1840) "phraseology" are also part of a tripartite arrangement, the illustrative sections given in these earlier grammars contain much shorter samples of text.

10.1.1 Roth's grammar of Pitta-Pitta (1897)

Roth's thirty-page grammar of Pitta-Pitta appeared as the first chapter of a much larger ethnographic work, *Ethnological Studies among North-West Central Queensland Aborigines* (1897), which had immediate impact within Australian anthropological circles and was reviewed at length and appreciatively by Spencer (Mulvaney 2008: 110–112).

The grammar is exceptionally rich in exemplification. Roth supplied up to ten clauses as illustration of a single grammatical point followed by their translations into English, which were given without interlinear translation. It is among the most grammatically insightful, detailed and better-informed early PN grammars. Roth's grammatical analysis of Pitta-Pitta has been assessed positively:

[Roth's] analysis of the morphology is good ... and only on a few points can the present authors dispute his conclusions. However, a number of grammatical forms which Roth did not find can now be described. On the other hand, some of Roth's statements cannot be confirmed because of the lack of knowledge of present day informants. (Blake & Breen 1971: 2–3)

Mulvaney (2008: 114) suggests Roth's investigations may have been "unpremeditated before he realised his unprecedented observational opportunities as an itinerant outback doctor". Roth is known to have read Fison & Howitt (1880) *after* the 1897 publication of Pitta-Pitta (Mulvaney 2008: 114). Scrutiny of Roth's Pitta-Pitta grammar (1897) similarly suggests that he was largely unaware of all previous descriptions of Australian languages. The unique style of his grammatical description suggests that his grammar was written "cold" and was uninfluenced by earlier analyses. Roth makes no mention of previous publications. The work evinces distinctive attempts to convey the structure of the language that set it apart stylistically from earlier works in the corpus.

For example, the ordering of word-classes is unconventional (Figure 10.1). The corpus grammars are usually arranged according to approximately ten parts of speech and their sub-headings, which are given in roughly the same order (Figure 2.3). Roth's presentation, by contrast, jumps from discussions concerning "pronouns" to "auxiliary verbs" to "articles" to "possessive pronouns" etc.

Section 1. Where Spoken. 2. Geographical Limits of the Boulia District. 3. Pronunciation. 4. Gender, Number, and Person. 5. Personal Pronouns—Nominative. 6. Personal Pronouns Objective—Direct Object. 7. Personal Pronouns Objective—Indirect Object. 8. Auxiliary Verbs. 9. Indefinite Articles. 10. Personal Pronouns—Possessive. 11. Nouns—Nominative. 12. Nouns—Vocative. 13. Nouns—Possessive. 14. Nouns—Objective. 15. Nouns—Plural and Dual. 16. Nouns—Gender. 17. Verbs—Active, Indicative. 18. Verbal Pronouns. 19. Verbs, Active—Imperative. 20. Adjectives. 21. Adverbs. 22. Prepositions—Motion. 23. Prepositions—Rest. 24. Prepositions—Purpose, Reason, Means. 25. Prepositions—Time. 26. Conjunctions. 27. Comparison of Adjectives. 28. Comparison of Adverbs. 29. Verbs—Active, Infinitive. 30. Verbs—Special Forms of the Future. 31. Verbs—Special Forms of the Imperative. 32. Reflexive Verbs. 33. Special Forms of Transitive and Intransitive Verbs. 34. Relative Pronouns. 35. Interrogative Pronouns. 36. Numerals, &c. 37. Ideas of Quantity and Size. 38. Ideas of Time. 39. Ideas of Place, Direction, and Distance. 40. Interrogation, Doubt, and Uncertainty. 41. Notes of Exclamation, &c. 42. Participles and Perfects. 43. Introduction to the Pitta-Pitta Vocabulary. 44. Pitta-Pitta Vocabulary.

Figure 10.1: Table of contents in Roth's grammar of Pitta-Pitta (1897: vi)

The logic informing the arrangement is underscored by the function of the described grammatical categories, rather than their form. Under the heading "auxiliary verbs", given in the midst of discussions about nominal morphology, Roth

in fact introduced the comitative suffix *-maru* (“concomitant”; Blake 1979a: 199), which attaches to nouns but is translated into English using the auxiliary verb “to have”.

Like other corpus grammarians, Roth presented case morphology marking case functions that are not marked by the morphological case system of SAE languages under the word-class heading “preposition”. Roth’s sub-categorisation of types of prepositions into four categories differs from other early PN grammarians, and is a feature of the Queensland School. The categories are “motion”, “rest”, “purpose, reason and means” and “time”.

Like some previous PN grammarians (Meyer 1843; Schürmann 1844b; Livingstone 1892), Roth opted not to provide case paradigms for nouns, but listed nouns in “nominative”, “possessive” and “objective” cases. This and his discussion of pronominal case forms as either “nominative”, “direct object” or “indirect object” were used in later grammars of languages spoken in Queensland and establish a distinctive sub-school of early PN description.

Roth’s presentation of pronominal case resembles Ridley’s paradigms of case on nouns (1866: 5; 1875: 6; Figure 4.16), marking an important, if tenuous, link between the description of Gamilaraay spoken in New South Wales and the description of Queensland languages. Both Ridley and Roth present multiple forms as cases termed “objective” or “indirect object” in order to account for cases outside the Latin inventory in the same way Ridley had presented Gamilaraay nouns.

Roth’s presentation of pronominal case in Pitta-Pitta was descriptively unique. Roth further sub-categorised his “objective–indirect object” pronouns into four classes, to which he assigned letters “a”, marked “motion towards”, “b” marked “rest with”, “c” marked “from whom something is obtained”, and “d” marked “for whose benefit, use or advantage, something is done” (Table 10.1). Roth observed that the suffixes that attach to the pronominal stem to mark pronouns in different cases (Blake & Breen 1971: 76) were formally similar to the “prepositions” that marked the same function on nouns. He wrote: “traces of ... preposition inflexions can be recognised in the ... series of personal pronouns objective”.

Each of Roth’s six pronominal case forms was shown in each person and number. Figure 10.2 shows declension for type “a”, allative case, and type “b”, locative case. The only other corpus grammar to provide a pronominal paradigm of a pronoun marking a case function that is not marked morphologically in SAE languages was Teichelmann & Schürmann (1840: 8) in a supplementary paradigm showing comitative case (Stockigt 2017; §5.3.2). In this regard, Roth’s description of Pitta-Pitta is the most comprehensive in the corpus.

Like Teichelmann & Schürmann (§5.3.3), Roth (1897: 7) innovated a descriptive solution to account for double case marking. Roth’s description of “secondary

Table 10.1: Roth's nomenclature of pronouns in peripheral cases (1897: 4) (Pitta-Pitta)

Subtypes of Roth's "pronouns objective – indirect object"	Form	Current label of form (Blake & Breen 1971: 82–83; Blake 1979b: 195)
a) "motion towards"	<i>-inu</i>	allative
b) "rest with"	<i>-ina</i>	locative
c) "from whom something is obtained"	<i>-inja</i> *	ablative
d) "for whose benefit, use, or advantage, something is done"	<i>-nga</i> *	dative, benefactive

Roth showed type "c" and type "d" as further inflected with either *-nha* (non-future) or *-ku* (future) marking a tense distinction (see Blake & Breen 1971: 90, 98).

Number.	Person.	a. Person—motion towards (in all tenses).	b. Person—rest with (in all tenses).
Singular.	1st.	nñn-yō-ā-nō = towards me	nñn-yō-ē-nā = with me, by my side
	2nd.	ing-ō-ā-nō = towards thee	ing-ō-ē-nā = with thee, by thy side
	3rd.	noong-ō-nō-ū = towards him, it, close up in front or side	nīng-ō-nī-ē, &c.
	"	noong-ō-nō-kā, &c.	nīng-ō-nā-kā
	"	noong-ō-nō-(m)ā-rī	nīng-ō-nā-(m)ā-rī
	"	nñng-ō-nō-ū	nñng-ō-nī-ē
Dual.	"	nñng-ō-nō-kā	nñng-ō-nā-kā
	"	nñng-ō-nō-(m)ā-rī	nñng-ō-nā-(m)ā-rī
	1st.	nñl-lī-ē-nō = towards both of us	nñl-lī-ē-nā = alongside, with, both of us
	2nd.	noo-lā-ē-nō, &c.	noo-lā-ē-nā, &c.
Plural.	3rd.	poo-lā-ē-nō-ū	poo-lā-ē-nī-ē
	"	poo-lā-ē-nō-kā	poo-lā-ē-nā-kā
	"	poo-lā-ē-nō-(m)ā-rī	poo-lā-ē-nā-(m)ā-rī
	1st.	nñn-ā-ē-nō = towards us all	nñn-ā-ē-nā = alongside, with, all of us
	2nd.	noo-rā-ē-nō, &c.	noo-rā-ē-nā, &c.
	3rd.	tñn-ā-ē-nō-ū	tñn-ā-ē-nī-ē
	"	tñn-ā-ē-nō-kā	tñn-ā-ē-nā-kā
	"	tñn-ā-ē-nō-(m)ā-rī	tñn-ā-ē-nā-(m)ā-rī

Figure 10.2: Roth's paradigm of pronouns in allative and locative cases (1897: 4; Pitta-Pitta)

possessives” formed from “personal pronouns possessive” (Figure 10.3) was, like other aspects of his description of Pitta-Pitta, innovated independently, and differs from all earlier corpus grammars.

From the personal pronouns possessive, article possessed—a thing, certain groups of secondary possessives are formed : the thing possessed is now understood to be the particular individual's place of residence or location, while the prepositional suffixes *-ē-nā*, *-ē-nō*, *ēn-yā* (sects. 22, 23) indicate respectively “rest in, motion towards, direction whence.” Thus :

nunyati-ena = in, or, at my place, residence, hut, &c.

nunkatiko-eno = towards the hut, &c, belonging-to-the-woman-at-the-back-of-me.

nooranga-enya = from the direction of your camp, &c.

Figure 10.3: Roth’s account of clausal case marking on a possessive NP (1897: 7; Pitta-Pitta)

10.1.2 Poland & Schwarz’s grammar of Guugu-Yimidhirr (1900)

The Cape Bedford mission (Elim/Hope Valley/Hopevale) was established by J. Flierl in 1886. Flierl was recruited by the Neuendettelsau Mission Society to establish a mission in New Guinea while he was working at the Bethesda mission in South Australia (§8.4.1). Flierl’s passage to New Guinea was delayed for a year, and while he was waylaid at Cooktown, he established a mission among speakers of Guugu-Yimidhirr, and many other languages. The mission was administered by the Evangelical Lutheran Immanuel Synod from South Australia and later missionaries were recruited from Neuendettelsau. Stability of mission staff was achieved by the arrival of Neuendettelsau graduates W. G. F. Poland (1866–1955) and G. H. Schwarz (1868–1959) in 1887 and 1888 respectively. Schwarz, who departed in 1944 is still remembered as *Muni* ‘black’, the Guugu-Yimidhirr translation of his surname.

Upon Flierl’s departure for New Guinea, he was replaced by the lay missionary C. A. Meyer,¹ who also travelled from Bethesda to Cape Bedford in 1886 with Johannes Pingilina, a Diyari evangelist who had been introduced to Christianity at the Bethesda mission (§1.1.3).

When introducing his published grammar of Guugu-Yimidhirr, Roth acknowledged Neuendettelsau-trained missionaries Poland and Schwarz, as having assisted him with the grammar:

¹Note that this is *not* H. A. E. Meyer (1813–1862; Chapter 6).

I purposely wish to give publicity to the assistance which has been invariably rendered [to] me by the Revs. G. H. Schwarz and W. Poland...Especially without the former's help I should never have discovered the various compounds derived from their simpler roots, nor the meanings of many inflections assumed by words, nor the why and wherefore of many a point which at first seemed inexplicable to me. (Roth 1901: preface)

Although he named Schwarz as his main informant, it is likely that Poland was responsible for a substantial part of the analysis. The earliest known grammatical MS of Guugu-Yimidhirr was apparently included in a letter written by Poland to Neuendettelsau close to two years after his arrival (Haviland & Haviland 1980: 133),² but the MS grammar, held at the Neuendettelsau archives, has thus far been unable to be sourced.

10.1.3 Hey's grammar of Nggerrikwidhi (1903)

The Victorian-based Presbyterian Foreign Mission Committee of Australia (henceforth PFMC) established the mission in far north Queensland in 1891. Originally called Batavia River Mission, but later Mapoon (1892), the mission was operated as a joint concern by the PFMC and the Moravian mission board in Saxony.

In response to a request from the Victorian mission board to Herrnhut, the Moravian seminary in Saxony, Hey was selected on account of his building skills and knowledge of stock and agriculture (Hey, quoted in Edwards 2007: 378). Hey left school at the age of thirteen, the year after his father's death, after which he worked on the family farm. Upon his mother's death, he applied unsuccessfully to the Basel Mission Society, for which he was deemed too old (Ganter 2016c). At the age of twenty-six, he applied to Moravian mission college at Niesky, where he received two years training before being called to Australia in 1891. Ganter writes:

As a Moravian, Hey is a somewhat unusual figure, because he did not come from a Moravian community, but rather asked for admission to the Unity of Brethren when he was already past his youth. Without the benefit of a fine Moravian school education, he was thrust into a position of responsibility when the leader of the mission died after a short period at Mapoon. (Ganter 2016c)

²The letter is dated 16/08/1889 (Haviland & Haviland 1980: 133).

The second missionary sent to Australia to establish the first Moravian mission in Queensland was Rev. J. G. Ward. Hey and Ward arrived at Cullen Point in 1891 “accompanied by four carpenters ... a police officer and two native troopers” (Edwards 2007: 234). They began their mission work in an environment of hostility from surrounding Europeans and suspicion from Aboriginal populations. The mission was established after the first wave of frontier violence had disrupted populations. Particular to the frontier history of the Cape York Peninsula is the exploitation of Aboriginal labour in the *bêche-de-mer* industry. The Aboriginal populations among whom the Moravians established themselves at Mapoon had experienced a high degree of social disruption prior to their interaction with missionaries. This situation contrasts most starkly with the Hermannsburg missionaries’ arrival on the Finke River (§9.1), where Aboriginal people’s first contact with Europeans was with the missionaries.

Initially the missionaries perceived a great variety of different languages spoken by diminishingly small bands of people around the mission. In 1892, soon after the mission was established, Ward (quoted in Edwards 2007: 267) wrote: “[T]he tribe is small and dying out, and ... their dialect differs widely from that of their neighbouring tribes”.

Nevertheless, Ward argued that “it is essential to acquire some of the idiomatic phrases and words in order to present the essential truth of the gospel” (ibid.: 267). The missionaries made progress with the languages. Three years after the mission’s establishment Ward “had translated the Christmas story into the local dialect [that he] insisted on sharing in Christmas services” (Edwards 2007: 242) shortly before his death. After Ward’s death in 1895, the mission was temporarily abandoned while Hey regained strength, before becoming mission superintendent until his retirement in 1919. Hey is known to have been preaching in the vernacular by 1896 and to have translated hymns, though no record of these translations appears to have survived. It is unfortunate that Hey recalls nothing about the local languages, or about his interaction with Roth in his autobiography, printed in translation in Edwards (2007: 367–383).

10.1.3.1 Difficulty in assessing Hey’s description of Nggerrikwidhi

At the time of Roth’s appointment as the Protector of Aborigines for the Northern District, Hey was appointed “Superintendent to the Blacks” by the Queensland government, which provided the two men professional contact.

Without a contemporary description of Nggerrikwidhi, it is difficult to assess Hey’s grammar (§2.1). In the introduction to his work Hey qualified the comprehensiveness of his grammar:

Although I have studied Nggerikudi for the last ten years, I must confess that there are still many points of the language which are quite inexplicable to me ... I am only justified in publishing the Grammar on the grounds that the aboriginals are fast disappearing, and that the continent is still a *terra incognita* to the philologist. (Hey 1903: 2)

Although Hey referred to the name of the language as Nggerikudi, *Nggerrikwidhi*, probably ‘sandbank-ASSOC’ (Breen 2008: 137), is now said to refer to the people who spoke a language called Yopo-timi, possibly *Yupu-thimri*, 1sgNOM-COM (Breen 2008: 137; Crowley 1981: 149). Within months of establishing Mapoon mission, Ward wrote that the language spoken by people at the mission differed “wildly from their neighbouring tribes” (quoted in Edwards 2007: 267). It is not known whether the linguistic variety that was first encountered at the mission in 1891 was that recorded by Hey in 1903.

There are two short modern grammars of languages from the region written in the modern descriptive era: Hale’s grammar of Linngithigh (1966) and Crowley’s grammar of Mpakwithi (1981). Available comparative data suggests that Hey’s Nggerrikwidhi should be viewed as a different language from both Mpakwithi and Linngithigh. Table 10.2 shows that each of the described varieties from the region has a distinctive set of free-form first-person nominative/ergative pronouns.

Table 10.2: First-person pronouns in languages spoken in the vicinity of Mapoon mission

	Nggerrikwidhi (Hey 1903: 12)	Mpakwithi (Crowley 1981: 170)	Linngithigh (Hale 1966: 181)*
1.sg.S/A	yube	aju	ayon
1.dl.S/A.incl	liba	laegi	lingay
1.dl.S/A.excl	naba	nini	nan
1.pl.S/A.incl	ambo	bwi	puy
1.pl.S/A.excl	nambo	paŋa	nan

10.1.4 Provenance of Schwarz & Poland’s (1900) and Roth’s (1901) Guugu-Yimidhirr analyses

The extent to which Roth’s 1901 Guugu-Yimidhirr publication was based on an existing analysis of the language made by missionaries at Cape Bedford mission

(Schwarz & Poland 1900) or his own previous published grammar of Pitta-Pitta (Roth 1897) has not been well-understood. Breen writes:

It is not clear how much of the work is actually Roth's. Probably the field-work was done by the missionaries ... Roth likely turned their unpublished efforts ... into a grammar, which followed the pattern of his earlier grammar of Pitta-Pitta. (Breen 2008: 136)

What has not previously been recognised about the intellectual reciprocity between Roth and the Lutheran missionaries is that Poland and Schwarz's Guugu-Yimidhirr grammar (1900) shows a strong influence from the structure of Roth's Pitta-Pitta grammar. While the missionaries may have provided the content, Roth provided the framework in which they described the language. Comparison of missionaries' documentation of Guugu-Yimidhirr (Schwarz & Poland 1900) with Roth's grammar of Pitta-Pitta (1897) also shows that Roth's influence extended as far as the nature of clauses given as illustration. Compare, for example, Examples (1) and (2):

- (1) Kana-lo nopo-na nungkarea ; kooyungo-ngooro
'The man takes care of his wife; (he is) a good fellow'
(Roth 1897: 24; Pitta-Pitta)
- (2) bama diral nangu(go) na-(mal)-ma : nulu bodan
'The man who looks after his wife is a good fellow'
(Schwarz & Poland 1900: no pag; Guugu-Yimidhirr)

The clause was also replicated in Roth's Guugu-Yimidhirr publication:

- (3) bama diral nangu-gobantchen-chil: nulu bodan
'The man who nurses his own wife is a good fellow'
(Roth 1901: 18; Guugu-Yimidhirr)

and in Hey's description of Nggerrikwidhi:

- (4) ma endranana-nu nguno-ma yi sea : ma tanko
man woman-to his-very-own food gives : man good
'The man who gives food to his own wife is good man'
(Hey 1903: 13; Nggerrikwidhi)

Poland & Schwarz's Guugu-Yimidhirr MS grammar follows Roth's descriptive template, employing his unconventional ordering of word-class headings (c.1900: no pag.) and his sub-categorisation of prepositions into the four classes of "motion", "rest", "purpose, reason and means" and "time" (Figure 10.1).

Poland & Schwarz's presentation of peripheral case forms of Guugu-Yimidhirr pronouns in the MS grammar held at AIATSIS (Figure 10.4) replicates the presentation innovated by Roth in his 1897 grammar of Pitta-Pitta employing the same lettering system (Table 10.1). Roth subsequently repeated the missionaries' presentation in his published Guugu-Yimidhirr grammar (1901; Figure 10.5). The pronominal case forms given left to right in the early sources mark cases termed by Haviland (1979: 66) abesive, adessive, purposive and dative.

Pir	a. b.	c	d	e
ig	ngaton-gach.	ngaton-gal ch.	ngaton-ngu ch.	ngaton
Sua	ngatinun-gach.	ngatin-gal ch.	ngatinngu ch.	ngatin
Pur.	ngantanun-ga ch.	ngantanun-ga ch.	ngatanunnga.	ngantan

Figure 10.4: Poland & Schwarz's pronominal case paradigm (1900: no pag. Guugu-Yimidhirr)

Number.	Person.	Person : motion towards. Person : from whom something is obtained or received.	Person : rest with.	Person : for whose benefit or advantage.	Person : direction to.
Sing.	1	ngato-n-ga	ngato-n-gal	ngato { -ru -ngu	ngato.
	2	nano-n-ga	nano-n-gal	nano { -ru -ngu	nano.
	3	wangu-n-ga	wangu-n-gal	wangu { -ru -ngu	wangu.
Dual	1	ngali-n-ga	ngali-n-gal	ngalin-ngu	ngalin-un.
	2	yubal-en-ga	yubal-en-gal	yubalen-ngu	yubal-en-be.
	3	buria-ngan-ga	buria-ngan-gal	buria-ngan-ngu	buria-ngan-be.
Plur.	1	ngantan-un-ga (or ngana-ngan-ga)	ngantan-un-gal (or ngana-ngan-gal)	ngantan-un-ngu (or nganan-ngan-ngu)	ngantan-un-be (or ngana-ngan-be)
	2	yura-ngan-ga	yura-ngan-gal	yura-ngan-ngu	yura-ngan-be.
	3	dara-ngan-ga	dara-ngan-gal	dara-ngan-ngu	dara-ngan-be.

Figure 10.5: Roth's pronominal case paradigm (1901: 18; Guugu-Yimidhirr)

Hey described his grammar as having been “drawn up ... section by section on the lines followed by Dr Roth” (1901: 1). It seems likely that upon Roth’s request,

Schwarz similarly “drew-up” a grammar of Guugu-Yimidhirr using the missionaries’ existing grammatical understanding acquired over the previous twelve years but using the template of the Pitta-Pitta publication (1897).

While Hey commenced his presentation of pronominal case forms as Roth had done in both Pitta-Pitta (1897) and in Guugu-Yimidhirr (1901), he was unable to give multiple “indirect object” forms, that is, locative, allative and purposive. Rather, under the heading “objective, indirect object”, Hey wrote: “there are other forms of the above pronouns, meaning: ‘for me’, ‘with me’, ‘from me’ etc.” (1903: 13).

10.1.5 Ergativity

This section examines the description of ergativity in Pitta-Pitta (Roth 1897), Guugu-Yimidhirr (Schwarz & Poland 1900; Roth 1901), and Nggerrikwidhi (Hey 1903). The discussion accounts for the fact that, although the template Roth established in his initial grammar of Pitta-Pitta (1897) was employed throughout this later body of works, ergative morphology was not described in these latter grammars. Consequently, S. Ray’s comparative sketch grammar of the Guugu-Yimidhirr and Nggerrikwidhi (1907: 267–270; §10.2.2), based on Roth (1901) and Hey (1903), would also fail to describe ergative morphology.

10.1.5.1 Description of ergativity in Pitta-Pitta

In learning Pitta-Pitta, Roth was presented with a peculiar morphological complexity that is not known to have existed in any other PN languages. Nouns and pronouns show tripartite marking in the non-future but have accusative alignment (As/o) in the future (Table 10.3).

Table 10.3: Syntactic case forms on Pitta-Pitta nouns

	A	S	O
Non-future	-lu	-Ø	-nha
Future	-ngu	-ngu	-ku

Roth made an exceptionally astute analysis of this unusual sensitivity of ergative morphology to verb tense in Pitta-Pitta on nouns (Figure 10.6) and on pronouns (Figure 10.7; see Blake & Breen 1971: 84–90). That Roth described the sensitivity of ergative marking to tense in Pitta Pitta has implication for a similar

scenario described and illustrated by Symmons (1841) in Nyungar (§7.1.1.2), which remains to be properly reclaimed.

11. Nouns—Nominative.

The nominative denotes the subject, and is usually placed foremost in the sentence. If the subject governs a transitive verb in present or past time, it takes the suffix *-lō* (sect. 18): with an intransitive verb, under similar conditions, no addition is made (sect. 18). In future time, with both transitive and intransitive verbs, the subject take the suffix *-ng-ō*.

kana [nung-ki-a] = the man [sits-down].

machoomba-lo [tiche-a] = a kangaroo [eats].

kana [nungka-ka] = a man [sat-down].

machoomba-lo [tiche-ka] = the kangaroo [was eating].

kana-ngo [nungka] = the man [will sit-down].

machoomba-ngo [tiche] = a kangaroo [will eat].

Figure 10.6: Roth's description of ergative marking on Pitta-Pitta nouns (1897: 7)

Under the discussion of nominative case, he stated:

If the subject governs a transitive verb in present or past time, it takes the suffix *-lō* ...: with an intransitive verb, under similar conditions, no addition is made ... In the future time, with both transitive and intransitive verbs, the subject take the suffix *-ng-ō*. (Roth 1897: 7)

- (5) Machoomba-lo wapa-lo pooriti-na pokara-na tichea

‘the kangaroo’s pup is eating all the grass’

(Roth 1897: 12)

matyumpa-lu warrpa-lu ?-nha pukarra-nha thatyi-ya

kangaroo-ERG young-ERG ?all-ACC grass-ACC eat-PRES

Of nominative and ergative pronouns, Roth (1897: 2; 10) stated: “Like other personal pronouns, these are inflexed according as they refer to present and past or future time”, and he carefully tabulated the forms (Figure 10.3).

Like other grammarians (§3.4.6), Roth accounted for ergative morphology twice, once in a discussion of case, and a second time under the heading “prepositions”. Roth (1897: 16) accounted for the function of the ergative suffix on nouns in Pitta-Pitta in the discussion of the prepositional sub-class “Prepositions of purpose, reason and means”.

Nominals translated with the English prepositions ‘with’, ‘by’ and ‘through’ were presented as a type “f” of this prepositional class, headed “With, by, through, the physical agency of” (Figure 10.8).

18. Verbal Pronouns.

The particular pronouns used with the verbs to distinguish the required number and person may be spoken of as verbal pronouns: there are three series of them—

- (a) With intransitive verbs, in present and past time, they are identical with the personal pronouns nominative for the corresponding tenses (sect. 5);
- (b) With transitive verbs, in present and past time, these verbal pronouns take on a special inflexion, identical with the -lō, already referred to in sect. 11 (which indicates a subject governing a transitive verb);
- (c) With transitive and intransitive verbs, in the future, the pronouns are identical with the personal pronouns nominative used in the corresponding tense (sect. 5).

Number.	Person.	a. Present and Past. Intransitive.	b. Present and Past. Transitive.	c. Future. Intrans. and Trans.
Singular.	1st	nūn-jā ootia, ootaka	nūl-lō tichea, ticheka	nūn-yō oota, tiche
	2nd	im-pā " "	nūn-lō " "	ing-ō " "
	3rd	noo-i-ō " "	noo-loo-ū " "	noong-ō-ū " "
	"	noo-ā-kā " "	noo-loo-kā " "	noong-ō-kā " "
	"	noo-ā " "	noo-loo-ā-rī " "	noong-ō-(ā-rī) " "
	"	nūn-i-ō " "	nūn-ōo-ū " "	nūng-ō-ū " "
	"	nūn-ā-kā " "	nūn-ōo-kā " "	nūng-ō-kā " "
Dual.	"	nūn-pā " "	nūn-ōo-ā-rī " "	nūng-ō-(ā-rī) " "
	1st	nūl-lī ootia, ootaka	nūl-lī-lō tichea, ticheka	nūl-ling-ō oota, tiche
	2nd	noo-lā " "	noo-lā-lō " "	noo-lāng-ō " "
	3rd	poo-lī-ō " "	poo-lā-lō-ū " "	poo-lāng-ō-ū " "
	"	poo-lā-kā " "	poo-lā-lō-kā " "	poo-lāng-ō-kā " "
Plural.	"	poo-lā " "	poo-lā-lō-ā-rī " "	poo-lāng-ō-(ā-rī) " "
	1st	nūn-ā ootis, ootaka	nūn-ā-lō tichea, ticheka	nūn-āng-ō oota, tiche
	2nd	noo-rā " "	noo-rā-lō " "	noo-rāng-ō " "
	3rd	tūn-i-ō " "	tūn-ā-lō-ū " "	tūn-āng-ō-ū " "
	"	tūn-ā-kā " "	tūn-ā-lō-kā " "	tūn-āng-ō-kā " "
	"	tūn-ā " "	tūn-ā-lō-ā-rī " "	tūn-āng-ō-(ā-rī) " "

Figure 10.7: Roth's presentation of nominative and ergative pronouns in future and non-future tenses in Pitta-Pitta (1897: 10)

Type "f" showed the non-future ergative suffix *-lu* and the future ergative suffix *-ngu*. Each of the examples Roth supplied shows both an ergative NP and an instrumental NP, which show syncretism (Blake 1979a: 193). For example:

- (6) wungata³-ngo kanari-ko moorra-ngo pite
 'The woman will hit the girl with the stick'
 (Roth 1897: 16, Pitta-Pitta)
 wangatha-ngu kiniyari-ku murra-ngu pithi
 woman-FUT/ERG girl-DAT stick-FUT/INST hit-[FUT]

³The form *wungata* 'woman' is not recorded by Blake (1979a)

24. Prepositions—Purpose, reason, means.

- a. To, donation, &c. = -ná in present or past, and -kô in future, time (*cf.* the simple objective case, sect. 14a)—
 upperi-lo makowata-na munguni-maro-na woonjea = (my) father gives a spear to the doctor.
 umma-ngo berdaje-ko kanari-ko woonje = mother will give the girl a dilly-bag.
- b. From—obtained or received—person or place = *ên-yâ* (sect. 7c) with the additional -ná in present or past time, and -kô in future time (sect. 14a)—
 koopa-koopa-nya-na makowata-na mare-ka nutto = I brought the spear from the old man.
 tillimurri-nya-na bibapooro-na tinchia niundo = then art cutting a boomerang from a gidyea tree.
 wungata-nya-ko berdaje-ko mare nunyo = I will fetch the dilly-bag from the woman.
- c. For—advantage, benefit, use—person or thing = -ng-â, with the additional -ná in present or past time, and -kô in future time (sect. 14a)—
 kana-lo wungata-nga-na munta-na indamullea = the man is begging food for the woman.
 pionli-nga-ko pokara-ko toka nunyo = I will bring grass for the dog (to lie upon, etc.)
 woonje-na nunya toota-na makowata-nga-na = give me grease for (*i.e.*, to smear on) a spear.

3

THE SPOKEN LANGUAGE OF THE PITTA-PITTA

- d. For—bargaining, swapping, exchanging something for something = -ng-â for all tenses—
 yuppieri-lo makowata-na bibapooro-nga pulkiwoonjea = the boy swaps a spear for a boomerang.
 kana-lo wungata-na berdaje-na tarembola-nga pulkiwoonje-mullea = the man is exchanging a dilly-bag for pituri with-the-woman.
- e. For—manufacturing, constructing, or building = -ng-âng-â—
 kunda-na moorra-nga kooroui-nganga = go after (*i.e.*, to fetch, sect. 22f) wood for a hut (*i.e.*, to build it with).
 mali-nganga pokara-na tinchia nunpa = she is cutting grass for a net (*i.e.*, to make it with).
- f. With, by, through—the physical agency of = -lô in present or past time, -ng-ô in future time—
 yuppieri-lo kope-na mali-lo kachea = the boy is catching a fish with the net.
 kana-pityiri-lo machoomba-na bibapooro-lo toue-ka = the men struck the kangaroo with a boomerang.
 wungata-ngo kanari-ko moorra-ngo pite = the woman will hit the girl with a stick.
- g. With, by, through—the effects of = -lâ
 kanari bilba tarembola-la kundia = the girl's fore-head goes-away (*i.e.*, is dizzy) through the effects of pituri (*i.e.*, drunk with pituri).
 munta-la poolki-kunna nunja = I am become full-up from the effects of food (*i.e.*, I have had enough food).

Figure 10.8: Roth's presentation of ergative morphology in Pitta-Pitta as a "preposition" (1897: 15–16)

10.1.5.2 Description of ergativity in Guugu-Yimidhirr

In contrast to Roth's insightful description of ergative marking in Pitta-Pitta, his grammar of Guugu-Yimidhirr (1901) did not record ergative marking of nouns either in a discussion of case (Figure 10.9) or as a sub-class of preposition (Figure 10.10). Since Guugu-Yimidhirr pronouns are accusatively aligned (AS/O), the forms of ergative pronouns were described simply as "nominative" (ibid.: 17). Similarly, Poland & Schwarz's grammar of Guugu-Yimidhirr (1900) did not describe ergative function.

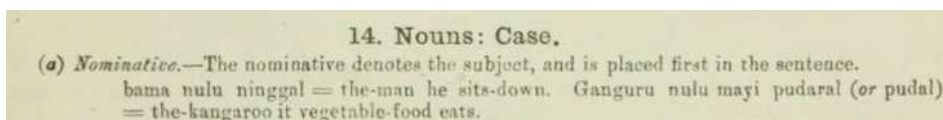


Figure 10.9: The absence of description of ergative morphology on nouns in Roth (1901: 16; Guugu-Yimidhirr)

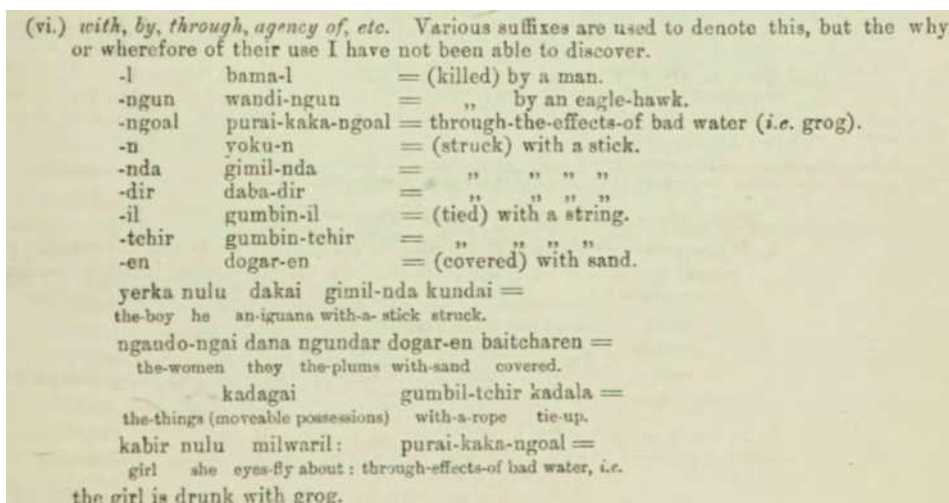


Figure 10.10: The absence of description of ergative morphology on pronouns in Roth (1901: 30; Guugu-Yimidhirr)

Under the prepositional sub-type labelled "prepositions of purpose, reason and means" and translated with the English prepositions 'with', 'by' and 'through', where Roth had accounted for the form of Pitta-Pitta nouns in ergative and instrumental functions (Figure 10.7), Roth's grammar of Guugu-Yimidhirr gave type "vi": 'with, by though, agency of'. Ergative and instrumental cases show syncretism in Guugu-Yimidhirr (Haviland 1979: 47). Of the nine suffixes Roth gave

as marking this functional range, he stated: “Various suffixes are used to denote this, but the why or wherefore of their use I have not been able to discover” (Roth 1901: 30).

Allowing for Roth’s orthographic under-differentiation of consonant phonemes, and the fact that he did not analyse processes of morphophonemic alteration to the vowel length of the preceding stem – indicated by Haviland (1979: 48) as a colon or a dollar sign preceding the suffix – Roth’s list (Figure 10.10) accounted for each of the seven main ergative/instrumental allomorphs given by Haviland (ibid.: 47): *-ngun*, *-nda*, *-:nh*, *-\$inh*, *-\$il*, *-:il*, and *-:*, except for the last, which shows just lengthening of the stem-final vowel, and which Roth would probably have perceived as an unmarked stem.

Yet all the examples Roth provided of NPs marked with any of these ergative/instrumental allomorphs are in instrumental function. That none of the examples show ergative/instrumental marking on the agent of a transitive clause is explained by the fact that Roth described the variety, which had been established at the mission, in which nouns in ergative case remained unmarked (§2.5.1). In *all* example sentences supplied in the early Guugu-Yimidhirr grammars (see Example 14 on p. 93 and 15 on p. 94) a noun acting in the role of agent is *always* followed by a 3rd person pronoun, which shows accusative alignment (AS/O). Pronominal-final NPs is not a feature of the variety described by Haviland (1979). Example 7, given by Roth (1901: 30) to exemplify this subclass of preposition, similarly shows a pronominal-final ergative NP. The plural ergative NP *ngaannndhu -ngay* ‘woman’ receives no ergative morphology but is followed by a 3^{pl}ERG pronoun. However, the NP *dyuugaar* ‘sand’ in instrumental function is marked with the ergative/instrumental allomorph *-\$inh*, which shortens the second syllable of a disyllabic stem.

- (7) Ngando-ngai dana ngundar ⁴ dogar-en baitcharen
 the-woman they the-plums with-sand covered
 (Roth 1901: 30, Guugu-Yimidhirr)
 ngaandhu-ngay dhana ? dyuugaar-\$inh baydya-rrin
 woman-PL 3^{PL}.ERG plum-[ACC] sand-INST cover-PAST

The oddity that Roth recorded morphology that marked the ergative/instrumental functional range in Guugu-Yimidhirr, but did not describe ergativity, and only exemplified instrumental function, is explained by the fact that the variety

⁴The form **ngundar** appears not to have been recorded by Haviland (1979), who does however (ibid.: 176) give *wunha*, which is translated as ‘wild “nanda” fruit’.

he recorded was not fluent native speaker usage, but was a variety used by the missionaries.

Guugu-Yimidhirr presented Poland, Schwarz and Roth with a range of ergative allomorphy larger than that encountered by other missionary-grammarians and which made accounting for ergative forms more difficult. The language also exhibits what Haviland (1979: 154) terms “ergative hopping”. Transitive complement clauses optionally cause ergative marking on the S argument of an intransitive verb (Haviland 1979: 154–156). So that in a construction translated as: ‘the boy doesn’t want to chop the tree down’ (ibid.: 154) the NP “the boy” can be marked as either nominative or ergative. This factor would have thwarted the early missionary-grammarians’ ability to understand ergative function. Motivated by a complexity in Guugu-Yimidhirr, that other early grammarians appear not to have encountered, the missionaries invented a strategy of placing the correct case form of the pronoun in NP-final position, which avoided the need to mark the noun as ergative.

10.1.5.3 Description of ergativity in Nggerikwidhi

Hey’s 1903 grammar of Nggerikwidhi, revised and edited by Roth and written using Roth’s descriptive template, does not describe ergative morphology in the discussion of nominal case. Under the prepositional subheading: “purpose, reason, means” type “vi”, where ergative/instrumental morphology was described in Roth’s previous grammars (1897; 1901), Hey (1903: 21) stated: “with, by, through, is in most cases translated with the suffix *-be*”. Like in Roth’s Guugu-Yimidhirr grammar (1901; Figure 10.10), the suffix *-be* is only shown attached to nominals in instrumental function. The NPs in ergative function are unmarked, but, unlike the Guugu-Yimidhirr ergative NPs, they do not occur with pronouns.

The three clauses given by Hey (1903: 21) to illustrate this prepositional subclass, i.e., instrumental morphology, are Nggerikwidhi translations of the almost identical English translations of Guugu-Yimidhirr clauses that were given to illustrate the same point in Roth’s grammar (1901; Figure 10.10). Compare the following example with Example (7).

- (8) Lante yi agoi-be aentchina (Hey 1903: 21)
 girl food sand-with cover up

The other two clauses: “man dog stick-with strikes”, “woman cold-through the effects of sick”, similarly show how closely Hey’s Nggerikwidhi (1903) grammar

mirrors Roth's (1901) Guugu-Yimidhirr grammar. Hey's 1903 description of Nggerrikwidhi gives no information about the marking of the agent of a transitive verb.

10.2 Ray & A. C. Haddon

S. Ray (1858–1939) had no formal linguistic training beyond the standard preparation for his profession as an elementary school teacher in east London. Having developed an interest in Oceanic languages as an “armchair philologist”, he corresponded with missionaries and amassed “as comprehensive a language data base as possible on one of the last groups of languages left to be investigated” (Shnukal 1998: 183) before conducting his own fieldwork in the region. He published two grammars (1893; 1907) of Kalaw Lagaw Ya, a Pama-Nyungan language spoken in the western Torres Strait, and sometimes referred to as “Western Torres Straits” (henceforth WTS). He also published short grammars of three PN languages spoken in the far north of Queensland (1907; Table 10.4).

Table 10.4: Ray's grammars of PN languages

Year	Language	Informed by	Length
1893	WTS	Existing wordlists including those collected by Haddon, (1888–9) MacGillivray's vocabulary of Gudang (1852) and the Gospel of St Mark (Scott 1879)	46 pages
1907	WTS	Ray's own data collected in 1898 and possibly also missionary translations	42 pages
1907	Guugu-Yimidhirr and Nggerrikwidhi	Roth (1901); Hey (1903)	4 pages
1907	Yadhaykenu	Thursday Island Police Officer named Oikantu, (Jimmy Matauri) and family	4 pages

10.2.1 Ray & A. C. Haddon 1893

Ray's first grammatical description of WTS was published in 1893, before he ever visited the Torres Straits. This grammar and associated linguistic material from the region were made in conjunction with A. C. Haddon (1855–1940), who was then a biologist at the University of Cambridge and later became an ethnologist (Mullins 1996). Haddon had sought Ray's assistance in preparing for publication the vocabularies he himself had collected when visiting the Torres Straits to study the area's marine biology in 1888–9.

Like most other PN grammatical material produced outside Australia, the primary purpose of the vocabularies, phonological comparisons and grammatical analyses appearing in the large 1893 publication was classificatory. The work attempts to make internal classification of Torres Straits languages and to establish their relatedness to the languages spoken on the Papuan mainland to the north and the Australian mainland to the south. An east-west linguistic divide in the Torres Strait had been observed prior to Ray's engagement in the field, notably by the English philologist R. G. Latham (1812–1888). Informed by data gathered on the 1846–1850 *Voyage of the Rattlesnake*, Latham (1852) classified the Eastern Torres Strait language, Miriam, as a Papuan dialect. By comparing the WTS dialect, Kala Lagaw Ya (Kowrarega, Kaiwaligau Ya), with Gudang and numerous other Australian languages from a wide variety of sources, he argued that WTS was related to the languages of mainland Australia. Ray's (1907: 509) investigations agreed with Latham's findings, as does current thought (Alpher et al. 2008), although the relatedness of WTS to the Paman languages spoken on Queensland's Cape York Peninsula has proven controversial (Dixon 1980: 234; 2002b: 608, 681; Hunter et al. 2011).

Ray stressed the inadequacy of the material upon which his earliest grammar of WTS was based (1893: 119, 279). The work was informed by Haddon's vocabularies and those of others, most notably MacGillivray's vocabulary of the non-WTS language Gudang (1852) as well as what Ray describes as: "the only text available for the elucidation of the Saibai grammatical forms" (Ray & Haddon 1893: 119), a missionary's translation of the Gospel of St Mark. The tenuous practice of drawing up of a grammar based on the structure of language used by missionaries in Bible translation was utilised also by Gatti (1930) when writing a grammar of Diyari (§8.4.4).

Ray's linguistic work is generally held in high esteem. His linguistic expertise was utilised by other members of the interdisciplinary expedition, notably by W. H. R. Rivers, the expedition's psychologist, who recorded local genealogies and developed a method that came to underpin social anthropology. Ray is known

to have been a tireless and meticulous recorder who worked his informants hard (Shnukal 1998: 190). Shnukal (1998: 181) observes that Ray made “sound grammatical description of the languages and the most comprehensive vocabulary lists published thus far ... the linguistic researcher can be assured that Ray’s observations are reliable”.

10.2.2 S. Ray (1907)

Ray and Haddon’s 1893 linguistic publication appeared as Haddon was garnering support for a return expedition to the area. Haddon envisaged an expedition that was to simultaneously establish his career as an anthropologist and secure the status of anthropology as an academic discipline within universities in the twentieth century.

After the success of the 1893 publication, Ray, the self-taught linguist, was chosen as the multi-disciplinary expedition’s linguist. His linguistic findings were published as Vol.I, Pt. III of the expedition Reports (1907), of which he was largely the sole author. In the quest to establish the linguistic relatedness, and the origins of the people speaking the region’s diverse languages, the 1907 publication cast a wide grammatical net. Divided into four sections, this work not only examined Torres Strait and Papuan languages – sections I and III respectively – but also devoted section II to the study of “languages of the Cape York Peninsula, North Queensland” and section IV to “The linguistic position of the languages of Torres Straits, Australia and British New Guinea”.

In addition to numerous vocabularies and the presentation of missionaries’ translations of liturgical texts with inserted interlinear gloss, Section I provides grammatical sketches of Meriam and WTS. Ray (1907: 5) describes the 1907 forty-two-page WTS description as “superseding all that was formerly written on the structure ... of the language”. The 1907 work is more extensive than the earlier 1893 WTS grammar and contains additional description of derivational processes, revised case terminology, lexical examples of dialect variation, and example clauses taken from his own data rather than from missionaries’ translations.

Section II presents the languages of Cape York Peninsula. It is the shortest section of the work. While a relationship between WTS and languages spoken at the northern extremity of the Peninsula had been recognised in 1893, this work sets out to “determine how far the particular languages in contact with those of the Straits represent those of Queensland more generally” (Ray 1907: 264)

Ray notes the meagre quantity and insufficient quality of lexical resources available, stating that grammatical material only became available in the years after the expedition but prior to the publication of its reports. He refers to Roth’s

grammar of Guugu-Yimidhirr (1901; §10.1), spoken relatively far south on the Peninsula, without acknowledging the contribution of the Lutheran missionaries, and to N. Hey's description of Nggerrikwidhi (Hey 1903; §10.1.3), spoken slightly south-west of the Peninsula's northern extreme. Informed by these two sources, Ray presented a four page "abbreviated" grammar of both languages which Ray described as having "practically an identity of structure" (1907: 267). The missionaries' orthography was altered in order to conform to other material presented in the Reports.

Following this grammar is a very short grammatical sketch of another Cape York language, Yadhaykenu, which Ray describes as having been obtained

from a Yayaikana native, named Oikantu, generally known at Thursday Island as Jimmy Matauri, a member of the native police force. He spoke English fairly well, and had to some extent forgotten his native language.

Ray noted a resemblance between this material and MacGillivray's vocabulary of Gudang (1852). Yadhaykenu is currently described as a dialect of Uradhi, a language closely related to its northern Paman neighbour, Gudang, both once spoken at the very tip of the Peninsula.

Shnukal (1998: 181) writes that, "although Ray is known to few contemporary scholars outside the field of linguistics, within this field his reputation is secure". That may be so, but Ray's contribution to the developing understanding of Australian linguistic typology, which heralded in the second descriptive era (1930–1960), has been under-recognised. His entry titled "Australian languages" in the Australian Encyclopaedia (Ray 1925: 2–15) is the earliest of three overviews written on the cusp of the second descriptive era collating what had been discovered about Australian languages in the pre-contemporary era. McGregor's "overview [of] existing histories of research on Australian Aboriginal languages" (2008c: 2), for instance, makes no mention of Ray's entry, published over a decade before Capell (1937) and Elkin (1937).

11 Conclusion

This history of ideas about the grammatical structures of Australian Aboriginal languages has identified three schools of descriptive practice that developed in Australia prior to the involvement of academic institutions. One of these was instigated by L. E. Threlkeld (1834) in the earliest attempt to comprehensively describe the grammatical structure of an Australian Aboriginal language.

While Threlkeld's grammar is one of the more detailed and intelligently compiled works considered in this study, to characterise it as "the most accomplished linguistic investigation of any of the 250 Aboriginal languages of Australia undertaken prior to the twentieth century" (Carey 2004: 253) devalues other remarkable early descriptions of Australian morphosyntax. The inaugural and detailed grammars of Ramindjeri (Meyer 1843), Arrernte (Kempe 1891), and Pitta-Pitta (Roth 1897) each gave outstandingly nuanced descriptions of morphosyntactic idiosyncrasies in those languages, which Threlkeld had not encountered in Awabakal, or at least not perceived. Meyer (1843) conveyed pronominal kin suffixes, bound pronouns, and the antipassive construction with descriptive clarity, and Roth (1897) described the different marking of syntactic cases in future and non-future tenses. Other early grammars of Australian languages that are shorter than Threlkeld's work, but which were written after substantially less exposure to the language than the eight years it took Threlkeld to produce his major grammar (1834), also evince considerable insight. Livingstone's (1892) grammar of Minjangbal is remarkable in describing a system of grammatical gender, which no other early grammarian appears to have encountered. Symmons' (1841) grammar of Nyungar, which presented pronouns referring to dyadic kin relations, appears to have recorded an as yet unreclaimed system of optional ergativity that interacts with tense. This work has received nowhere near the recognition it deserves. While Threlkeld's work certainly had its own strengths – his account of the sensitivity of case marking to animacy through the presentation of classes of nominal declension is better than that given in many later grammars – his work is better judged as among the best early grammars, rather than "the most accomplished".

Nor can Threlkeld's grammar be seen to have been "essential in establishing a framework" (Carey 2004: 269) for the later description of Australian languages.

11 Conclusion

Early Australian grammarians were probably guided by Threlkeld's choice of orthography more than they were by any aspect of his representation of morphology and syntax, although the ways in which Australian languages might have been differently represented orthographically if Threlkeld's work had not been produced is itself open to debate. Some grammarians (Günther 1840: 338; Teichelmann & Schürmann 1840: v; Ridley 1856b: 290) acknowledged complying with the "system of letters", which Threlkeld had imported from missionary descriptions of Polynesian languages, not because Australian and Polynesian languages were considered to be phonologically similar, but because they were geographically proximate (Threlkeld 1834: vi). Only Günther (1838) mentioned implementing a feature of Threlkeld's grammatical framework. That he did so when deliberating about abandoning Threlkeld's descriptive method in favour of his own innovation, i.e., providing labels to case forms rather assigning numbers to "ablative" cases, is characteristic of the tendency observable throughout much of the corpus to invent new descriptive methods, rather than to follow existing practices.

Threlkeld's inaugural account of Australian ergativity (1834) occurs reasonably early within European linguistic encounter with the twenty-five percent of the world's languages exhibiting ergative structures. It will remain a point of conjecture as to whether later grammarians would adequately have described ergative forms and function had they not been enlightened by Threlkeld's well-circulated description. But subsequent pre-contemporary grammarians developed techniques for explaining ergative function that Threlkeld had not employed, and much of the array of terminological innovations used to name ergative case forms in Australian languages had not been used by Threlkeld.

Threlkeld's influence on the later description of Australian morphology and syntax is largely confined to grammars of languages spoken in New South Wales. His method of clarifying ergative function, by the posing of questions that the ergative and nominative forms would be given in answer to (§3.4.9.1) was followed by W. Günther (1838) when describing Wiradjuri, by W. Ridley when describing Gamilaraay, but only in his earliest publication (1856b), and by H. Livingstone when describing Minjanbal (1892 [1876–1886]). This trait is not found in grammars of languages spoken outside New South Wales. Threlkeld's enlarged case paradigms, which provided positions for case forms marking function that are not carried by morphological case systems in SAE languages, were also appropriated by Günther and by Ridley in description of languages spoken in New South Wales, as was Threlkeld's technique of placing ergative case forms at the top of the paradigm alongside nominative forms.

Sometimes missionary-grammarians wrongly imported structures exhibited and described in one language into the description of another language. Based on the nineteenth century understanding that Australian languages were phonologically and grammatically similar, and that linguistic diversity was more a matter of lexicon (see Moorhouse 1846: v-vi; Fraser 1892), missionary-grammarians tended to underestimate how grammatically different Australian languages might be. Flierl (1880) incorrectly described tripartite marking of 1pl pronouns in Wangkangurru (§8.4.2.2) by analogy with the system in Diyari. Moorhouse's description of undifferentiated marking on non-singular nominals in Ngayawang (1846) (§6.4.1.2) appears to have extrapolated data from Teichelmann & Schürmann's Kurna grammar (1840), as does Meyer's attempt to show personal pronouns acting to relativise clauses in Ramindjeri (§6.1.2.9).

The second school of early grammatical practice that developed in the pre-academic era of Australian linguistic description was instigated by Lutheran missionaries describing languages spoken near Adelaide in the early 1840s, particularly Teichelmann & Schürmann (1840) grammar of Kurna, the second published grammar of an Australian language. Different aspects of Teichelmann & Schürmann's descriptive template, which had not been inspired by Threlkeld (1834) influenced a large body of South Australian grammatical description.

This South Australian School of grammatical description (1840–1938) of which the Adelaide School (Simpson 1992: 410; 1840–1858) is the earliest component, is the most strongly attested of the three identified schools. It is defined by a greater number of shared descriptive practices, which are found in a larger body of work, and it endured for a longer period. Descriptive practices innovated by the Lutheran Dresden-trained missionary-grammarians – Teichelmann & Schürmann (1840), Meyer (1843), and Schürmann (1844b) – were employed in later grammars of South Australian languages, including Diyari and Arrernte spoken at the inland Lutheran missions. The descriptive features that demarcate this body of work include: the implementation of a conservative Latinate paradigm (§5.3.1), the naming of the ergative case and placement of ergative forms in case paradigms (§6.2.1.6, §5.4.2), the method of clarifying ergative function within a discussion of the verb (§6.2.1.6), the division of “postpositions” into two functionally motivated categories (§5.3.2), and the inclusion of paradigms of “possessive pronouns” to account for double case marking (§5.3.3).

Yet the descriptive practices engaged by the Adelaide School grammarians are remarkably heterogeneous. Schürmann's abandonment of “substantive” case paradigms in his grammar of Barngarla (Schürmann 1844b), which alters the presentation given in the previous grammar of Kurna he had co-authored with Teichelmann (Teichelmann & Schürmann 1840), displays a reasoned descriptive

response to his developed understanding of Australian case systems. Aspects of Meyer's grammar of Ngarrindjeri (Meyer 1843) – his use of hyphens to mark meaningful sub-word units, the provision of interlinear-style glosses, and the presentation of an enlarged pronominal case paradigm including forms carrying functions not marked morphologically in SAE languages – suggest a direct influence from Threlkeld (1834) that is not evident in other grammars of the Adelaide School. Meyer's case paradigms generated their own trajectory of influence that was independent of his Dresden-trained colleagues. Taplin's 1870 presentation of case (Taplin 1872: 85) in the closely related language Ngarrindjeri, which was reproduced by Hagenauer and Bulmer in Thomas (1878), had been influenced by Meyer. These paradigms show the earliest use of the term "ergative", although not to describe the ergative case (§2.6).

The longitudinal study of the description of Diyari and Arrernte (Chapters 8 & 9) shows that, beyond the limitations imposed by pre-phonemic orthographies, there are serious limitations to the type of material that can be reclaimed from historical sources alone. It is instructive to observe the processes of clause subordination that could not be retrieved from the early grammars of Diyari and Arrernte without guidance from Austin's (2013[1981a]) and Wilkins' (1989) modern grammars of the languages, thus pinpointing the structures that are likely to remain unreclaimed in languages of which there is no modern description.

The third and final school of early Australian grammatical description was instigated by a medical practitioner, W.E. Roth (§10.1), in an insightful and well-exemplified grammar of Pitta-Pitta (1897), spoken in southwest Queensland. The features of Roth's template, which were subsequently utilised in later grammars of Guugu-Yimidhirr (Schwarz & Poland 1900; Roth 1901) and of Nggerrikwidhi (Hey 1903) and which define the Queensland School of description that Roth singlehandedly spawned, relate to the description of nouns and pronouns in peripheral cases. That such a descriptively innovative work was written relatively late in the pre-academic era of grammatical description in Australia, with little or no recourse to previous analyses, reveals much about the development of linguistic ideas in the country.

Australian languages were described without the benefit of coordinated academic effort, or the leadership of any home-grown or imported luminaries. The beginnings of institutionalised linguistics in Australia, which commenced within the discipline of anthropology at the University of Sydney in 1926, and with the formation of the University of Adelaide language committee in 1930–1931, occurred at least half a century after the founding of parallel institutions in North America (Campbell 1997: 35–37, 57). Missionary-grammarians were often unaware of works written in other remote areas of the country. Once stationed

in Australia, missionary-grammarians often worked in intellectual isolation from fellow grammarians who were posted across far-flung regions of the country.

The three schools of descriptive practice identified in this study, a New South Wales School, a South Australian School, and a Queensland School, are each delineated by constitutionally independent Australian colonies. The regional pattern of the development of ideas about the best way to describe Australian languages is due, in part, to the fact that missionary-grammarians operated within different Christian denominations, which were ethnically and linguistically distinct, and which had headquarters in the different colonial capitals.

The *ad hoc* nature of the development of linguistics in Australia before the 1930 meant that pioneering descriptive responses to newly encountered structures by missionary-grammarians in Australia were not reliably integrated into a central body of emerging thought. Although improvements to analyses of Diyari and Arrernte occurred at the Bethesda and Hermannsburg missions, where successive generations of missionaries described the same language, this study has found that little overall improvement in the analyses of PN languages occurred in the pre-academic era of description.

In this way, nineteenth and early twentieth century linguistics in Australia differs significantly from American Indian linguistics, described as generally being “up to date with and [having] benefitted directly from contemporary linguistic thinking” (Campbell 1997: 28). With exception of C. Strehlow, the corpus grammarians worked without sustained connection with European linguistic intelligentsia. While synchronic grammatical descriptions of PN languages produced in Australia before 1930 (Table 1.1) informed grammatical material produced outside the country (Table 1.2), the study of the early descriptions of PN ergativity shows that a movement of ideas between Europe and Australia was largely unidirectional. Grammatical material produced in Europe presenting a new conception of the marking of syntactic cases (Müller 1882; Planert 1907a; Planert 1908) failed to fuel subsequent linguistic theory or methodology in Australia. Similarly, presentations of both consonants and vowels based on articulatory parameters, which were employed in the pre-academic era of the description of Australian languages only by German philologists, appear not to have been read by grammarians in Australia, and if they were, not understood or assimilated into Australian practice.

When observing the relative influence that individual grammars came to have on later works in the corpus and establishing the existence of “traditions” of descriptive practice it is important to recognise that grammarians who came to be particularly influential did not do so because their work was perceived to be more descriptively concise, or insightful. In the absence of any emerging centralised

body in which the study of Australian linguistic structure could be fostered, some grammars simply had a greater potential trajectory of influence than did others. Symmons' description of Nyungar (1841), the third published grammar of an Australian language, published in the Swan River Colony (Perth) over two and a half thousand kilometres west of Adelaide and accessible at the time only by ship, appears to have been read by no later corpus grammarian. The greater impact of Teichelmann & Schürmann (1840) analysis than of Threlkeld's (1834) or Günther's (1838; 1840) had less to do with the relative merit of their analysis than it did with the circumstances optimising the South Australian Lutheran missionaries' influence. While Threlkeld's large case paradigms which placed ergative case forms in second position next to the nominative clearly influenced Günther, any ongoing influence emanating from the Wellington Valley Mission was stifled by the fact that Günther's MSS remained unpublished until 1892. The Wiradjuri grammars were not written within a continuing tradition of intra-denominational mission activity that might have facilitated the dissemination of linguistic material, as were the Lutherans' descriptions of South Australian languages.

While the strength of the South Australian Lutheran school of description might be called a "tradition" of Lutheran practice, it should also be kept in mind that the features shared by this body of work do not result from the type of training the Lutherans received, or from anything particular about their "Germanness". Their descriptive homogeneity does not ensue from a shared intellectual heritage, in the same way that European philologists' presentation of vowel triangles and tables of consonant do. The one possible exception is the Lutherans' description of possessive pronouns. German possessive pronouns agree with the case and gender of the noun they qualify. The forms are irregular and are tabulated in grammars of German (see, e.g., Bauer 1871: 40). It is, however, unlikely that this shared understanding would independently have motivated the paradigms in different corpus grammars, and Teichelmann & Schürmann's presentation can be assumed to have motivated the recurrence of the feature.

Descriptive breakthroughs made during the first era of Australian grammatical description, including the description of ergativity, the unmarked inalienably possessed NP, pronominal sensitivity to kinship, inclusive and exclusive pronominal distinctions, the juxtaposition of dependent clauses, and four case analysis of split syntactic case systems, have been largely unnoticed by modern Australian grammarians, who have tended to describe the same grammatical categories without acknowledgment that the inaugural description occurred in the pre-academic era. The oversight is symptomatic of a discontinuity in the tradition describing Aboriginal languages, which cast aside the pre-academic works as unworthy of serious consideration.

The ways in which the early grammars of Australian languages informed and inspired European linguistic theory remains under-investigated. Meyer's description of ergativity in Ngarrindjeri (1843), which is atypical of the corpus in equating the ergative argument with the function of the Latin ablative that marks the agent of a passive construction, was an original catalyst for passive interpretations of ergative structures (H.C. von der Gabelentz 1861). The ways in which the corpus grammarians' pre-theoretical syntagmatic analyses of agglutinative morphology, representation of word-internal units, and accounts of ergativity, which were read by European philologists, who were eager for more frustratingly rare Australian data, deserves further investigation.

The grammars examined in this study are important primary documents of colonial history in Australia and deserve closer interdisciplinary attention. That the early grammatical records of Australian Aboriginal languages have received little scholarly attention outside the discipline of linguistics might be explained by a scholarly aversion to anything grammatical. Impressionistically, and perhaps due to Australians' tendency to monolingualism, undergraduate-level linguistic principles are perceived to be too technical to inform historical investigations of the colonial Australian frontier. In the absence of such study, it would be simplistic to assume a correlation between the degree of linguistic training and the quality of a grammar produced by missionary-grammarians.

The popular assumption that a rigorously trained grammarian who had studied a greater number of classical languages would make better analyses of Australian linguistic structures than grammarians with lesser training is indeed not verified by this investigation. A causal link is firstly difficult to draw because what is known about the type of training provided at different mission institutions varies. Nevertheless, this study suggests that the relative rigor of the linguistic training received by missionary-grammarians who described Australian languages had little, if any, bearing on the quality of grammatical description they produced. Highly-trained grammarians did not make better descriptions of Australian languages than did grammarians with only ubiquitous school-boy Latin. The detail given in Threlkeld's inaugural PN grammar (1834), or in Koch's inaugural grammar of Diyari (Koch 1868), for instance, are in no way accounted for by what is known about the authors' formal training. Conversely, W. Ridley's grammars of Gamilaraay (1875 [1866; 1856a]; 1855a; 1856b) and of Turrubul (1866; §4.5) are among the least detailed descriptions considered in this study. Yet Ridley was educated at Kings College, University of London (B.A., 1842), and was later Professor of Greek, Latin and Hebrew at the Australian College. The sparsity of Ridley's descriptions might be excused given the short time he engaged with the language. But consider the first grammar of Diyari (Koch 1868) written

by W. Koch, who may have been bright, but had not completed a *Gymnasium* secondary education in Germany. This remarkable work was written by a man who died less than two years after first hearing the language.

Despite the better training received by Neuendettelsau missionaries in comparison to the HMI-trained missionaries, the grammars of Diyari (Flierl 1880; Reuther 1894; 1981a) and grammars of Arrernte (C. Strehlow (1931b) [c.1907]; 1908; 1910) written by the Neuendettelsau men are not of a noticeably different quality than earlier grammars of the same languages by HMI-trained missionaries. C. Strehlow's grammars of Arrernte are all less detailed than Kempe's (1891) first grammar. That Strehlow replicated entire passages from Kempe's work shows that he was to a substantial degree satisfied with the HMI missionary's analysis. Even the most rigorously trained classical grammarian remained descriptively and theoretically ill equipped to describe PN languages. The strength of individual descriptions has less to do with training than with the inherent intelligence and aptitude of the author and with the length of time and the type of exposure he had with the language.

The study of the circumstances surrounding the production of the early grammatical documents considered in this study shows that missionaries documented Australian Aboriginal languages for a variety of reasons, in addition to their primary motivation to convert people to Christianity. The missionaries' earliest linguistic investigations of Australian languages were sometimes as much intellectual and political endeavours as they were evangelistic.

Threlkeld, for example, continued to document the language spoken at Lake Macquarie, after the closure of the Ebenezer mission in 1841, and at a time when he perceived (1850: 3) that the language was extinct. Similarly, Teichelmann completed his later Kurna analyses (1857; 1858b) when he perceived that the language was no longer spoken. In correspondence to Grey, Teichelmann wrote:

Sir, – According to your wish, I have copied into English, my collection of words and grammatical remarks on the language of the Aborigines who once inhabited the district round about Adelaide; for they have disappeared to a very few ... Also, I do not entirely approve of the orthography of the native language, as we have spelt it, but it is now useless to alter anything in it after the Tribe has ceased to be. (Teichelmann, quoted in Bleek 1858: 40)

The very earliest grammatical description of Australian languages was ultimately made within a climate of salvage linguistics, where a record was being taken for posterity. In their engagement with the language, which outlived the

last generation of fluent speakers, Threlkeld and Teichelmann are early precursors of the more theoretically and less theologically motivated recording of Australian languages that characterises the later Neuendettelsau missionaries who wrote linguistic and ethnographic descriptions of Arrernte and of Diyari between 1880 and 1920 (G. J. Reuther, C. Strehlow [1907–1920], O. Siebert [1910]).

A response letter written by the Australian anthropologist A. W. Howitt's to lay missionary Vogelsang from 1878 (§8.3.4) specifies the motivation that might drive a missionary to describe and document an Aboriginal language:

As to the grammar ... I have been looking out for the best way to make use of it & fear that there would not be any chance of selling sufficient copies of your Dieri grammar to pay for bringing it out. ... I think the best plan with your grammar would be to ask one of the learned societies either in Adelaide, Melbourne, London, Paris or Berlin to publish it ... It is usual in such cases for the author to receive some 20 copies for himself and he of course *becomes known to the scientific men all over the world*. (Howitt 1879; emphasis added)

An undercurrent of thought that is counter to social Darwinism runs in many of the missionary sources. Missionary-grammarians sought to elevate the status of the “primitive” languages by drawing attention to grammatical complexity. By showing that the Aboriginal language was capable of being construed using the same terminology and framework as Classical Greek and Latin, early missionary-grammarians in Australia effectively afforded the languages’ speakers credibility as intelligent and equal humans. Schürmann put forward a particularly crafty argument in a grammar of Barngarla, spoken in South Australia:

[I]t has been thought unlikely that so rude and ignorant a nation, as the natives of this continent are admitted to be, should possess a regular grammatical system.¹ This argument is however evidently untenable, for else it would follow on the other hand, that the most civilized nation or the most cultivated language must have the most artificial and complex grammar...The English language for instance, highly cultivated as it is in all its branches of literature, has the simplest grammar imaginable, so that one might infer with as much reason... that the more a language is cultivated, the more its grammar will be simplified. (Schürmann 1844b: v)

¹Here Schürmann refers the reader to the descriptive vocabulary of the colonial settler G. F. Moore (1798–1886), who had described grammatical structure of the Western Australian language Nyungar as “simple and rudimentary and not very copious” (1842: 74).

11 Conclusion

The restitution of linguistic material from the early linguistic records examined in this study necessitates the generation of a range of linguistic materials with different purposes and written for different audiences. Language reclamation programmes made by descendant speakers of the recorded varieties may not, at least initially, depend on an exact knowledge of the intricacies of the case systems, where language is being used predominantly in naming, texting, or for “common conversation tropes such as enquiring about health, and commenting on the weather” (Blake 2016). That a reclaimed language will necessarily be a phonological and morphosyntactic variant of the original variety at which the corpus grammars were aimed is seen as inevitable, and perhaps desirable, within “revivalistic” contexts if tangible outcomes are to be achieved. Philological scholars are nevertheless obliged to pursue the best possible reclamation of morphosyntactic and phonological structures from early linguistic records regardless of their immediate objectives.

The reclamation of material from antique grammars of Australian language is enhanced when individual analyses are considered in relation to the entire body of early documentation. The type of description that was generated when Pama-Nyungan grammatical structure was mapped onto the descriptive framework developed to describe Standard Average European languages is to a certain degree predictable. By defining the looking glass through which Australian morphosyntax were observed, this study has refined a method of extracting precious morphosyntactic data from the early recordings of Australian morphology and syntax.

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Australian Pama-Nyungan languages

A substantial proportion of what is discoverable about the structure of many Aboriginal languages spoken on the vast Australian continent before their decimation through colonial invasion is contained in nineteenth-century grammars. Many were written by fervent young missionaries who traversed the globe intent on describing the languages spoken by “heathens”, whom they hoped to convert to Christianity. Some of these documents, written before Australian or international academic institutions expressed any interest in Aboriginal languages, are the sole record of some of the hundreds of languages spoken by the first Australians, and many are the most comprehensive. These grammars resulted from prolonged engagement and exchange across a cultural and linguistic divide that is atypical of other early encounters between colonised and colonisers in Australia. Although the Aboriginal contributors to the grammars are frequently unacknowledged and unnamed, their agency is incontrovertible.’

This history of the early description of Australian Aboriginal languages traces a developing understanding and ability to describe Australian morphosyntax. Focus on grammatical structures that challenged the classically trained missionary-grammarians – the description of the case systems, ergativity, bound pronouns, and processes of clause subordination – identifies the provenance of analyses, development of descriptive techniques, and paths of intellectual descent. The corpus of early grammatical description written between 1834 and 1910 is identified in Chapter 1. Chapter 2 discusses the philosophical methodology of retrieving data from these grammars. Chapters 3–10 consider the grammars in an order determined both by chronology and by the region in which the languages were spoken, since colonial borders regulated the development of the three schools of descriptive practice that are found to have developed in the pre-academic era of Australian linguistic description.