

Chapter 20

The reflexive voice construction in Anindilyakwa

Marie-Elaine van Egmond

University of Greifswald & Martin-Luther-University Halle-Wittenberg

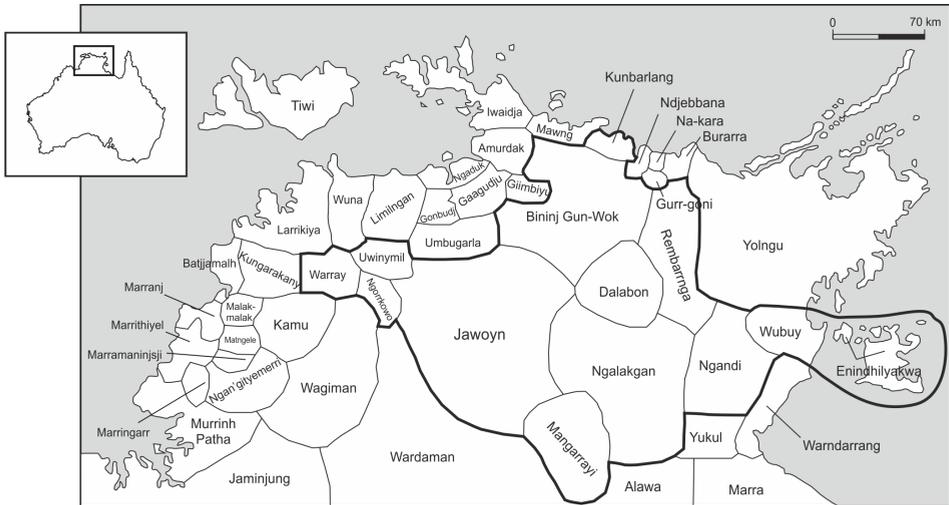
This chapter describes the reflexive voice in Anindilyakwa, a polysynthetic language of Northern Australia. In this language, up to two arguments of a verb are identified by means of pronominal prefixes on the verb. Reflexive voice in Anindilyakwa is marked by a verbal suffix that occurs on transitive verbs and reduces the valency of the verb by one. The suffix signals that the agent subject is co-referential with the referent that previously occurred as the transitive object pronominal prefix. This is mostly a patient referent, but it can also be a beneficiary introduced by the benefactive applicative, or the recipient referent of an inherently ditransitive verb. Although the language has free pronouns, there are no reflexive pronouns in Anindilyakwa; the sole reflexivizer is the verbal suffix.

1 Introduction

Anindilyakwa (pronounced [eniŋtiɬak^wa] in the language itself) is a non-Pama-Nyungan language spoken by over 1,400 people (Marmion et al. 2014) living on Groote Eylandt and Bickerton Island in the Gulf of Carpentaria, Northern Territory, Australia (see Figure 1). It is one of the very few remaining Australian languages that is still acquired by children and is thus spoken by all generations. Nonetheless, despite the efforts of the community and linguists, the language is, as are all of Australia's indigenous languages, endangered due to the pressure of English. Anindilyakwa was once thought to be “perhaps the most difficult of all Australian languages, with a very complex grammar” (Dixon 1980: 84), and classified as a language isolate by O’Grady, Voegelin, et al. (1966), O’Grady, Wurm, et al.



(1966), and Evans (2005: 250). However, the language has recently been demonstrated to be closely related to Wubuy, its nearest geographical neighbour spoken on the mainland and is thus to be subsumed under the Gunwinyguan family (van Egmond 2012; van Egmond & Baker 2020; see Figure 1). The previously presumed isolate status of Anindilyakwa may be due to: (i) its unusual phonological inventory, which departs from both the typical Australian pattern (including e.g. the phoneme /ə/), and from the typical Gunwinyguan pattern (due to e.g. the lamino-dental /l̪/ and lamino-palatal /ɬ/ phonemes, written *lh* and *ly*, respectively), (ii) its few recognizable verbal roots and inflections (Baker 2004, fn 25), and (iii) its idiosyncratic lexicon (Capell 1942: 376; Worsley 1954: 20; Heath 1981; Yallop 1982: 40). But despite its complexities, van Egmond (2012) shows that Anindilyakwa grammar is also fairly regular, and patterns much like the Gunwinyguan family of languages on the mainland to its west.



CC-BY-SA Marie-Elaine van Egmond

Figure 1: Anindilyakwa and the Gunwinyguan family, based on Harvey (2003: 204), Alpher et al. (2003), van Egmond (2012), Evans (2017), van Egmond & Baker (2020)

Like the other Gunwinyguan languages, Anindilyakwa is richly polysynthetic, exhibiting extensive cross-referencing of subject and object arguments on the verb by means of pronominal prefixes, noun incorporation, and a variety of valency-changing affixes, including the reflexive suffix that is the topic of this chapter. All nominals and verbs are obligatorily inflected for person, number and gender for humans, or one of five noun classes for non-humans.

The sole reflexivizer in the language is a verbal reflexive voice marker, which is a suffix that is added to the verb stem. There are no reflexive pronouns in Anindilyakwa. The reflexive suffix changes the argument structure of the verb: since the agent subject is now co-referential with the patient argument in object function, the verb becomes morphologically intransitive, and both agent and patient are represented by the same pronominal prefix on the verb. The reflexive suffix *-jungwV-* is related to the reciprocal suffix *-yi-*, which occurs in the same position and which also reduces the valency of the verb. Compare the transitive verb ‘kill’ (literally ‘make die’) in (1a) with the intransitive reflexive (1b) and reciprocal (1c) verbs:

- (1) a. *nə-ma-jungwa-ju-wa*
 3SG.M-VEG-die-CAUS-PST
 ‘he killed it (e.g. animal of VEG noun class, such as *mangma* ‘VEG.crab’)’
- b. *nə-jungwa-ja-jungu-na*
 3SG.M-die-CAUS-REFL-PST
 ‘he killed himself’
- c. *na-jungwa-jee-yi-na*
 3PL-die-CAUS-RECP-PST
 ‘they killed each other’

In (1a), the verb has a subject prefix *nə-* and an object prefix *ma-* representing the agent (‘he’) and the patient (an animal of vegetable [VEG] noun class, such as a crab), respectively. The reflexive verb in (1b), on the other hand, is intransitive and the pronominal prefix *nə-* represents both agent and patient, which are co-referential. Similarly, the verb in (1c) is also intransitive whilst specifying that the subject and object are co-referential, with the added reciprocal meaning of two or more agents each engaging in the same action (i.e. ‘to verb each other’).

After a brief overview of the principal typological features of the language (§2.1), nominals (§2.2), verbs (§2.3), the reflexive voice construction is described in detail in §3, followed by its potential historical source in §4, and a brief summary of the reflexive voice construction in §5.

2 Typological features

2.1 Introduction

The principal morphosyntactic typological features of Anindilyakwa are:

- As expected for a polysynthetic language, a single verb can express much of what is accomplished by the syntax in other languages – expression of arguments, causativization, reflexivization, reciprocity, and subordination.
- Arguments of the verb can be additionally expressed by optional free pronouns, demonstratives, or full nominals.
- Up to two arguments are prefixed to the verb (§2.3), and nominals are classified for one of five noun classes (non-humans) or one of three genders (humans) (§2.2).
- Four distinct series of pronominal prefixes on verbs encode an equal number of moods.
- Case-marking is primarily exploited as a strategy for roles such as locative, ablative, allative, instrumental, and to indicate relations between nominals. Anindilyakwa makes little use of nominal morphology to encode information about core syntactic functions; determination of subject (intransitive and transitive) and object functions is done by the pronominal prefixes on the verb.
- Most nominal case suffixes can also be used as complementizing cases on a verb in a subordinate clause to express temporal, causal and other relationships with the main clause (see examples in 7 below).
- A number of derivational affixes can alter the argument structure of the verb: the benefactive applicative prefix *mən-* turns a beneficiary participant into an object that is prefixed to the verb, and the reciprocal and causative suffixes change the valency of the verb (§2.3.3), as does the reflexive suffix (§3).
- Body part and generic nominals can be incorporated into verbs and adjectives, leaving the valency of the verb unaffected; the incorporable syntactic functions are restricted to the absolutive pattern (e.g. example 2b below)
- Verb stems can be complex, historically consisting of an uninflecting plus an inflecting element, the latter determining the conjugational class of the stem.
- Since the arguments of the verb are identified by the pronominal prefixes on the verb, word order is syntactically free, and pragmatically determined.

- All words end in [a], and the vowel [u] is not contrastive but generated by adjacent [+round] consonants. The first [u] in the reflexive suffix *-jungwV-*, for instance, is formed by assimilation of an underlying high vowel to the following labio-velar [ŋ^w]. The second vowel is realised as [a] when word-final (*-jungwa*), but when followed by another suffix, this vowel absorbs the rounding of the preceding [ŋ^w] and is realised as [u] (e.g. *-jungu-na*).

The following examples illustrate some of the above features: the pronominal prefixes on verbs and noun classes on nominals in (2a-2c), noun incorporation in (2b) and derivational affixes in (2c). All examples in this chapter come from van Egmond (2012) unless indicated otherwise.

- (2) a. *ngayuwa yiba-rrəŋkə-na-ma nungkuwa adhalyəmə-manja*
 1SG.PRO IRR.1SG/2SG-see-NPST-1.FOC 2SG.PRO NEUT.river-LOC
arnungkwaya
 tomorrow
 ‘I will see you at the river tomorrow’
- b. *nanga-lyang-barra arəŋkə-manja akinə-mərra*
 FEM/FEM-head-hit.PST NEUT.head-LOC NEUT.that-INS
dhukururru-manja
 FEM.Brolga-LOC
 ‘she [Emu(FEM)] hit Brolga on the head with that [stick(NEUT)]’
 (Leeding 1989: 310)
- c. *kərrenə-mənə-muku+lharri-ju-wa merra*
 3M/2PL-BEN-fluid+fall-CAUS-PST VEG.blood
 ‘he shed his blood for you’

As is common in Australian languages (e.g. Dixon 1980), two major word classes can be identified in Anindilyakwa along the traditional lines of the affixational potential of the individual lexemes: nominals (§2.2) and verbs (§2.3). These two classes are differentiated by taking distinct sets of inflectional and derivational affixes.

2.2 Nominals, noun classes and genders

All nominals apart from loanwords are obligatorily inflected for person, number and gender (humans), or noun class (non-humans). Noun class systems are very common in the non-Pama-Nyungan languages of Australia. They are grammaticalized agreement systems, where class may be overtly marked on the noun, on

articles and modifiers within the noun phrase, and on the predicate (e.g. Dixon 1986; Sands 1995; Aikhenvald 2000). The most typical Australian system has four noun classes, which can be broadly labelled as masculine, feminine, vegetable, and neuter or residual (e.g. Sands 1995: 258; Evans 2003: 182). Anindilyakwa has five noun classes that classify non-humans and three genders that classify humans and domesticated animals, as outlined in Tables tab:vanegmond:1 and 2. The pronominal prefixes (1st and 2nd person) are identical on nominals and intransitive verbs, whereas the gender and noun class prefixes (3rd person) differ. The table also lists the free pronouns for completeness.

Table 1: Anindilyakwa free pronouns and prefixes on nominals and intransitive verbs – humans and domesticated animals

	Gloss	Nominals	Intransitive verbs	Free pronouns
Pronominal prefixes	1	<i>nəng-</i>	<i>nəng-</i>	<i>ngayuwa</i>
	1PL	<i>yirr-</i>	<i>yirr-</i>	<i>yirruwa</i>
	1FDU	<i>yirrəng-</i>	<i>yirrəng-</i>	<i>yirrənguwa</i>
	1MDU	<i>yin-</i>	<i>yin-</i>	<i>yinuwa</i>
	12	<i>y-</i>	<i>y-</i>	<i>yakuwa</i>
	12PL	<i>ngarr-</i>	<i>ngarr-</i>	<i>ngakurruwa</i>
	2	<i>nəngk-</i>	<i>nəngk-</i>	<i>nəngkuwa</i>
	2PL	<i>kərr-</i>	<i>kərr-</i>	<i>nəngkurruwa</i>
Genders	2FDU	<i>kərrəng-</i>	<i>kərrəng-</i>	<i>nəngkərrənguwa</i>
	2MDU	<i>kən-</i>	<i>kən-</i>	<i>nəngkə(r)nuwa</i>
	3F	<i>dh-</i>	<i>ying-</i>	<i>ngalhuwa</i>
	3M	<i>n-</i>	<i>n-</i>	<i>enuwa</i>
	3PL	<i>wurr-</i>	<i>na- ~ nuw-</i>	<i>abərruwa</i>
	3FDU	<i>wurrəng-</i>	<i>nərrəng-</i>	<i>abərrənguwa</i>
	3MDU	<i>wun-</i>	<i>nen-</i>	<i>abə(r)nuwa</i>

One way in which Anindilyakwa stands out from all other Gunwinyguan (and, indeed, non-Pama-Nyungan) languages is that the class prefixes on nouns are completely lexicalized and tightly bound to the noun root.¹

¹In other Gunwinyguan languages, noun class prefixes may be omitted (as indicated below by the “-” sign), but in Anindilyakwa they are tightly bound to the noun root (as indicated by the “+” sign):

	Anindilyakwa	Wubuy	Ngandi
seagrass [VEG]	<i>ma+wurrəra</i>	<i>ama-wurruri</i>	<i>ma-wurruri</i>
ticks, fleas [COLL]	<i>wurr+amərnda</i>	<i>waa-murdik</i>	<i>a-murdik</i> ‘NEUT-louse’
hawk [MASC]	<i>ji+nəkarrka</i>	<i>jii-nikarrka</i>	<i>a-jikarrka</i> (NEUT)

Table 2: Anindilyakwa free pronouns and prefixes on nominals and intransitive verbs – non-humans

Noun classes	Gloss	Nominals	Intransitive verbs	Free pronouns
animate	MASC	<i>y-</i>	<i>n-</i>	<i>(yi)ngalhuwa</i>
	FEM	<i>dh-</i>	<i>ying-</i>	<i>ngalhuwa</i>
	COLL	<i>wurr-</i>	<i>na- ~ nuw-</i>	<i>abərruwa</i>
inanimate	VEG	<i>m(a)-</i>	<i>nəm-</i>	<i>(mə)ngalhuwa</i>
	NEUT	<i>a- ~ e-</i>	<i>na- ~ nuw-</i>	<i>(a)ngalhuwa</i>

The class prefixes on adjectives, on the other hand, are variable, as illustrated in (3) for *arəma* ‘big’, as are the gender prefixes for humans (4):

- (3) a. *y-arəma yaraja*
MASC-big MASC.goanna
‘big goanna’
- b. *wurr-arəma wurrendhindha*
COLL-big COLL.rat
‘big rat’
- c. *m-arəma memərrerra*
VEG-big VEG.flathead
‘big flathead’
- (4) a. *nə-balanda*
3M-white.person
‘male non-Aborigine’
- b. *dhə-balanda*
3F-white.person
‘female non-Aborigine’
- c. *wurrə-balanda*
3PL-white.person
‘non-Aborigines’

Besides their ability to be used derivationally on nouns, as in (4), where biological sex of the referent is determined by the prefix, gender prefixes differ from noun class prefixes in that they are used on loanwords, as in the Macassan loan *balanda* above (which ultimately derives from *Hollander*). Loanwords with

non-human reference do not take noun class prefixes, such as the English loans *jukwa* ‘sugar’ and *bajungkula* ‘bicycle’, and the earlier Macassan loans *jurra* ‘paper, book’ (<*surat*) and *libaliba* ‘canoe’ (<*lepa-lepa*). Their noun class membership becomes apparent through agreement as in (5)

- (5) a. *m-arəma dəraka*
VEG-big truck(VEG)
‘big truck’
- b. *koton nəngə-nga-rrəngka-ma*
cotton(FEM) 1SG-FEM-see.PST-1.FOC
narrə-nga-lhungkuwabi-ju-wa-ma
3PL-FEM-grow-CAUS-PST-1.FOC
‘I saw cotton that they were growing’

2.3 The verb

The verb is morphologically the most complex word class in Anindilyakwa. A single verb can express what may take a whole sentence in a language like English. Because of its internal complexity, much of what is accomplished by the syntax in other languages is carried out within the verb - expression of arguments, causativization, reflexivization, reciprocity and subordination. The complex templatic structure of the verbal word, where affix order is stipulated in the form of arbitrary position classes, is presented in Table 3.² The verbal template has a finite number of slots with a fixed order, and no embedding possibilities.

The only obligatory slots in this template are the pronominal prefixes in slots [-6] to [-4], the stem in [0] and the tense/aspect inflectional suffixes in [+3]. Note that the stem itself may be morphologically complex, and historically include compounded nominals (e.g. *-muku+lharri-* [fluid + fall] ‘to shed’ in 2c above). Although they are given separate positions in the template, the valency-changing causative suffix in [(+1)] and reflexive and reciprocal suffixes in [(+2)] contribute to the formation of the verb stem.

2.3.1 Main features of each slot

This section briefly summarizes the main features of each slot of the verbal template, in order to understand the basic morphosyntax of the language, which will

²A template is a flat structure where affixes are ordered with “no apparent connection to syntactic, semantic or even phonological representation” (Inkelas 1993: 560, cited in Nordlinger 2010). Templatic systems are not uncommon in the Australian context, especially for the head-marking polysynthetic languages of the north (Nordlinger 2010).

Table 3: Anindilyakwa verbal template (with optional elements in parentheses)

(+5)	Case
(+4)	<i>-ma ~ -mər̩ra</i>
(+3)	Tense + Aspect
(+2)	Reflexive, reciprocal
(+1)	Causative
0	Stem
-1	Body part/generic
-2	Benefactive
-3	Quantifier
-4	Object
-5	Subject
-6	Mood

be necessary in our discussion of the reflexive construction of the language.

The obligatory PRONOMINAL PREFIXES ZONE, in slots [-6] to [-4], contains up to two prefixes that represent the arguments of the verb, plus an indication of mood, as part of a complex paradigm. This zone includes the first and second person pronominal prefixes, and third person gender prefixes for humans, and noun class markers for non-humans. Transitive prefix complexes with human referents may be portmanteau forms, which is why the three slots are merged as a fusion zone in Table 2.

There are four distinct intransitive and four distinct transitive series of prefixes: (i) realis, (ii) irrealis, (iii) imperative, and (iv) hortative. As is characteristic of the non-Pama-Nyungan languages (Verstraete 2005), the prefixes are combined with the tense/aspect suffixes (slot [+3]) to mark a variety of modal meanings. The Anindilyakwa system of eight series of (positive polarity) prefixes is unusually high: many non-Pama-Nyungan languages have a basic realis/irrealis distinction in the prefixes, but they do not differentiate between imperative or hortative mood, whereas some Gunwinyguan languages do not distinguish mood in the prefixes at all (e.g. Bininj Gun-wok, Ngalakgan, Ngandi), but employ suffixes instead.

The QUANTIFIER slot [-3] contains the quantifiers *mər̩nda-* and *wurra-* ‘many’, which also occur on nominals.

The BENEFACTIVE slot [-2] contains just one morpheme: the benefactive applicative *mən-*, which introduces a beneficiary argument to the verb, which then

knocks the theme argument out of object position. Compare the following examples, which are both transitive, but with a different argument structure: in (6a), the theme argument in object function represented by the pronominal prefix on the verb is a neuter class item (i.e., *akungwa* ‘NEUT.water’), whereas in (6b) the object is the beneficiary introduced by the benefactive applicative:

- (6) a. *n-akarrngə-na akungwa*
 3M>NEUT-get-NPST NEUT.water
 ‘he is getting water’
- b. *ngəñə-mən-akarrngə-na akungwa*
 3M>1SG-BEN-get-NPST NEUT.water
 ‘he is getting water for me’

In (6b), the theme *akungwa* ‘water’ is no longer represented on the verb but only occurs outside of the verb.

The BODY PART/GENERIC slot [-1] is filled by a nominal root drawn from a set of about 80 forms, which are either body parts or generics that classify an external specific noun. An example was given in (2b) above.

As is typical of the Gunwinyguan languages (Alpher et al. 2003), the STEM slot [0] may be simple or complex. Simple stems consist of a verb root to which the inflection for tense and aspect may be added directly (e.g. *-kwa-* ‘give’, *-lhəka-* ‘go’). Complex verb stems, on the other hand, are synchronically frozen combinations of an uninflecting element followed by an element that takes the inflections (e.g. *-yeng+bi-* ‘speak’, consisting of the nominal root *yeng-* ‘voice’ and the inflecting element *+bi-* ‘?’). Verb stems can furthermore be formed from nominals by the productive inchoative and factitive suffixes (see §2.3.2 below).

The CAUSATIVE slot [(+1)] contains the causative suffix *-ji-*, which derives transitive verbs from intransitive verbs. For example, *-jungwa-ji-* ‘to kill’ is derived from *-jungwV-* ‘to die’ in (7) below (see §2.3.3).

The REFLEXIVE/RECIPROCAL slot [(+2)] contains the reflexive suffix *-jungwV-* and the reciprocal suffix *-yi-*. These mutually exclusive suffixes derive intransitive verbs from transitive verbs, as was illustrated in (1) above and will be discussed in more detail in §2.3.3 and §3, respectively.

The obligatory TENSE+ASPECT slot [(+3)] contains the tense and aspect inflections, which combine with the pronominal prefixes to express various modal meanings. There are six main conjugational classes, organised around the verb root or the inflecting element of the complex verb stem. The tense/aspect suffixes distinguish past [PST] and non-past [NPST] tense, together with neutral aspect or a subtype of perfective aspect.

The very common *-ma* ~ *-mər̩ra* suffix in slot [(+4)] occurs independently of tense and aspect, and is analysed by van Egmond (2012: 225–236) as a 1st person focalisation marker [1.FOC], indicating that the speaker expresses his or her perception of an event or state of affairs.

The CASE slot [(+5)] contains case suffixes, which can be used on a verb in a subordinate clause to relate it to the main clause (as they can in many other, mainly Pama-Nyungan, Australian languages). Such cases are called complementizing cases in the literature (Dench & Evans 1988), and can be divided into two basic types: C-complementizer case, where members of the subordinate clause are case-marked in agreement with a coreferential NP in the main clause, as in (7a), and T-complementizer case on members of the subordinate clause to express temporal, causal and other relationships with the main clause, as in (7b). The subordinate clause appears in square brackets.

- (7) a. *Arakbawiya warnə-mamalya nuw-akbardha-ngə-ma*
 long.time.ago 3PL.M-people 3PL-be.afraid-PST-1.FOC
y-akina-lhangwa [*kənə-ngekbəraka-mə-lhangwa edhər̩ra*
 MASC-that-DAT IRR.MASC>NEUT-make.PST-1.FOC-DAT NEUT.hole
emindha-manja].
 NEUT.nose-LOC
 ‘A long time ago people were afraid of them [*yangungwa* ‘MASC.eel’]
 making a hole in their noses.’
- b. [*kenu-warde-na-manja*], *nungkw-aja kənu-warde-na*
 IRR.3M>2SG-hit-NPST-LOC 2SG.PRO-CofR IRR.2sg>3M-hit-NPST
 ‘if he hits you, you can hit him back’

In (7a), the dative suffix on the verb in the relative clause agrees with the oblique object of the verb in the main clause (afraid of X-DAT). The LOC case on the verb in (7b) signals that the subordinate clause has a conditional meaning.

2.3.2 Verbalizing suffixes

New verbs can be created from nominals by the very productive inchoative *-dhə-* and factitive *-ka-* ~ *-kwa* derivational suffixes.

2.3.2.1 Inchoative *-dhə-* (INCH)

This suffix turns a noun or an adjective into an intransitive verb, which means ‘to become [X]’. Some examples are listed in (8), which also include the inchoative suffix added to recent loanwords.

- (8) a. *-arəma* ‘big’ *-arəmə-dhə-* ‘to become big’
 b. *awinyamba* ‘NEUT.anger’ *-awinyamba-dhə-* ‘to become angry’
 c. *kərrəndəna* ‘leprosy’ (<Eng *quarantine*) *-kərrəndəna-dhə-* ‘to quarantine’
 d. *bungkawa* ‘boss, ruler’ (<Mac *pungawa*) *-bungkawa-dhə-* ‘to become ruler’

The following (9a–9b) are some sentence examples.

- (9) a. *Wurr-adhədhiyara karrə-rrəngkə-na-manja akina*
 3PL-young.girl IRR.3PL>NEUT-see-NPST-LOC NEUT.that
karrə-m-abuwarrkə-na-ma abərra-lhangwa mingeemina mena
 IRR.3PL-VEG-COVER-NPST-1.FOC 3PL.PRO-POSS VEG.breast because
kəm-arəmə-dhə-mə=baba.
 IRR.VEG-big-INCH.NPST-1.FOC=REAS
 ‘If young girls see them [*engeemina* ‘NEUT.legless lizard’], they cover their breasts because they will get bigger.’
 b. *yirrə-ma-ngamba-ju-wa-ma nəmə-mərrkbalya-dhə-nə-ma ambaka*
 1PL-VEG-bathe-CAUS-PST-1.FOC VEG-soft-INCH-PST-1.FOC later
 ‘we soaked them [*mənhənga* ‘VEG.burrawang’] in water, and later they became soft’

As these examples show, a denominal verb behaves like any other verb in Anindilyakwa in taking full person/number/gender/mood and tense/aspect affixation.

2.3.2.2 Factitive *-ka-* ~ *-kwa-*

The factitive converts a noun or adjective into a transitive verb meaning ‘to make something [X]’, as illustrated in the dictionary entries in (10).

- (10) a. *-dharrba* ‘short’ *-dharrbu-kwa-* ‘shorten’
 b. *-abiyakarbiya* ‘three’ *-abiyakarbiya-ka-* ‘divide into three’
 c. *awinyamba* ‘NEUT.anger’ *-awinyamba-ka-* ‘to make angry’
 d. *alhəkəra* ‘NEUT.house’ *-lhəkəra-ka-* ‘erect, raise, build’

The examples in (11) are some textual examples of the factitive suffix.

- (11) a. *Nenə-ma-ngə-ma yərda biya*
 3PL>MASC-take-PST-1.FOC MASC.supplejack and
nen-abiyarbuwa-ka-ma y-akina.
 3pl>MASC-four-FACT.PST-1.FOC MASC-that
 ‘They took the supplejack cane and split it into four.’
- b. *a-mərndak-akina-ma amarda narr-ardadə-ka-ma*
 NEUT-many-that-INS NEUT.grass 3PL>NEUT-hot-FACT.PST-1.FOC
 ‘they heated them with leaves’

Factitive verbs can be reflexivized, as in example (20a) below.

2.3.3 Argument-changing affixes

As already mentioned, a number of derivational affixes alter the argument structure of the verb: the benefactive applicative prefix *mən-* in slot [-2] of the verbal template introduces non-subcategorized arguments, while the causative, reflexive and reciprocal suffixes change the valency of the verb. They are discussed here in turn, with the reflexive suffix given its individual §3.

2.3.3.1 Benefactive applicative prefix (BEN)

The prefix *mən-* is an applicative that adds a beneficiary or maleficiary object argument to the verb, that is, a person positively or negatively affected by the action denoted by the verb. This new beneficiary/maleficiary argument knocks out the previous patient/theme object argument, which now appears as a free nominal (as we have already seen in 6 above). Compare the following examples taken from texts, where the object prefix indexes a patient referent in examples (12a–13a), while an introduced beneficiary referent occurs on the verb in examples (12b–13b).

- (12) a. *y-akina yikarba nəng-əni-ngayindhu-ma*
 MASC-that MASC.woomera 1SG-MASC-want.PST-1.FOC
 ‘I want that woomera’
- b. *Akina awilyaba ngaya ngarra-mən-ngayindhe-na-ma.*
 NEUT.that NEUT.one 1SG PRO 1SG>2SG-BEN-want-NPST-1.FOC
 ‘That’s all I want for you.’
- (13) a. *biya na-ma-nga*
 and NEUT>NEUT-take-PST
 ‘and it [mother cat] took another [kitten]’

- b. *Arakbawiya narra-mənə-ma-ngə-ma*
 long.time.ago 3PL>3PL-BEN-take-PST-1.FOC
wurrə-mərrə-mərrkbalya-lhangwa wurr-angarə-ngariya engengkuwa.
 3PL-RDP-newborn.baby-POSS 3PL-RDP-young NEUT.spirit
 ‘A long time ago they took the spirits of newborn babies.’

In (12b), the argument introduced by the benefactive applicative is a beneficiary (‘you’), while in (13b) it is a maleficiary (‘they’, i.e. ‘newborn babies’). A beneficiary verb is a regular transitive verb which can be reflexivized, as we will see in §3 below.

2.3.3.2 Causative -*ji-* (CAUS)

The most usual meaning of the causative suffix is causal, hence ‘to make X [verb]’. The verb to which the suffix is added is normally intransitive and becomes transitive. The sentences in (14) are textual examples of causativized verbs.

- (14) a. *Adhənbawiya nə-ma-beka-ju-wa m-akina dəraka*
 first 3M-VEG-drink-CAUS-PST VEG-that truck(VEG)
amalyirra-mərra.
 NEUT.petrol-INS
 ‘First he filled the truck with petrol.’ (Lit: ‘he made the truck drink’)
- b. *kureya ngə-ma-ngarre-na-ma m-ibina*
 have.a.try HORT.1SG-VEG-visit-NPS-1.FOC VEG-that.same
kə-ma-ngamba-ji-ni=yadha
 IRR.1SG-VEG-bathe-CAUS-NPST=PURP
 ‘let me go and see if they [*mənhənga* ‘VEG.burrawang’] are ready for me to soak them’

A causative verb is a regular transitive verb in that it can be reflexivized (§3).

2.3.3.3 Reciprocal -*yi-* (RECP)

The reciprocal suffix -*yi-* occurs in slot [(+2)] together with the reflexive suffix discussed in the next section. The reciprocal decreases the verb’s valency by one, whilst specifying that the subject and object are co-referential, plus adding the reciprocal meaning of two or more agents each engaging in the same action (i.e. ‘to verb each other’). The suffix is usually added to a transitive verb, which may also include causatives. A textual example is given in (15).

- (15) *kembirra arakba na-kwee-yi-nə-ma*
 then compl.ACT 3pl-give-RECP-PST-1.FOC
na-məng-barri-yi-nə-ma yimərnda
 3PL-small.and.round-split-RECP-PST-1.FOC MASC.louse
na-kwee-yi-nə-ma arəngka-manja
 3PL-give-RECP-PST-1.FOC NEUT.head-LOC
nuw-arrka-milyi-jee-yi-nə-ma
 3PL-small.and.many-hold-CAUS-RECP-PST-1.FOC
 ‘then they gave lice to each other and shared them and they held each other’s heads’

The reciprocal suffix also has a collective reading (as in 16), which is not uncommon cross-linguistically (see Evans 2003: 495 and references therein), and which also happens in the related languages Bininj Gun-wok (Evans 2003) and Wubuy (Heath 1984).

- (16) a. *nenə-rrəngka wurr-ambilyuma wurrajija*
 3M>COLL-see.PST COLL-two COLL.bird
nuw-angkarree-yi-na-ma
 COLL-run-RECP-NPST-1.FOC
 ‘he saw the two birds flying away’ (Leeding 1989: 448)
- b. *yirrə-ngambee-yi-na*
 1PL-bathe-RECP-PST
 ‘we all bathed’

The reciprocal suffix can co-occur with the transitivity benefactive applicative prefix, resulting in a morphologically intransitive verb as in (17).

- (17) *Kərr-ambarrngarna arakba karna na-mən-angkarree-yi-nə-ma?*
 2PL-how.many? now 2PL.this 3PL-BEN-run-RECP-PST-1.FOC
 ‘How many of you [Aboriginal women] have they [whitefellas] run off with now?’

Here, the [RECP] suffix has scope over the BEN prefix. The intransitive verb *-angkarr-* ‘run’ is made transitive by the [BEN] (‘run off with’), which in turn is detransitivized by the RECP (‘run off all together’): [BEN-run-RECP].

3 Reflexive *-jungwV-*

3.1 Introduction

The reflexive voice marker in Anindilyakwa is the suffix *-jungwV-*, which occurs in the same slot in the verbal template as the reciprocal suffix *-yi-*. It reduces the morphological valency of the verb by one and indicates the coreference of two participants of the verb, as was illustrated in (1) above and again in (18) below. In (18a), the intransitive verb *-ngamba-* ‘bathe’ is transitivized by the causative suffix *-ja-* (bathe-CAUS = ‘wash’), with the agent ‘woman’ and the patient ‘dress’ both represented on the verb by subject and object pronominal prefixes, respectively. In (18b), by contrast, only the subject is cross-referenced on the verb, as agent and patient are now co-referential.

- (18) a. *dhə-dharrangka yingə-ma-ngamba-ju-wa dhərija*
3F-female 3F-VEG-bathe-CAUS-PST dress(VEG)
‘the woman washed her dress’
- b. *dhə-dharrangka yingə-ngamba-ja-jungu-na*
3F-female 3F-bathe-CAUS-REFL-PST
‘the woman washed herself’

As this example shows, there are no reflexive pronouns in the language; reflexivity is only signalled by the suffix *-jungwV-* on the verb. Identification of the arguments of the verb is done on the verb in Anindilyakwa; free pronouns are common but optional, as in (2a), (7b), (12b) above and other examples below. In (18b), the only possible reading is co-reference of agent and patient. The co-reference of the reflexive verb contrasts with the disjoint reference of the transitive verb in (19):

- (19) *dhə-dharrangka nanga-ngamba-ju-wa*
3F-female 3F>3F-bathe-CAUS-PST
‘the woman₁ washed her₂’

Here, the verb does not have a reflexive marker, plus its pronominal prefix represents both an agent and a patient. Therefore, there is no other reading possible but disjoint reference. The use of the reflexivizer is not subject to specific conditions relating to person or number: the same suffix is used for every person and number. Although the examples given so far all involve third person participants, the following textual examples involve 1st person plural (20a), 1st person singular (20b) and 2nd person singular (20c).

- (20) a. *Yirr-akakarəma-ka-jungu-na-ma ngawa*
 1PL-know.how.to-FACT-REFL-NPST-1.FOC CONT.ACT
wurru-balanda-lhangwa a-mərndakijika adhuwaba ena-manja
 3PL-non.Aborigine-POSS NEUT-things today NEUT.this-LOC
ayangkidharrba.
 NEUT.island
 ‘We have learnt about white man’s things on this island.’
- b. *ngalha-ja dh-akina narrang-anga-manja ena*
 FEM.PRO-EMPH FEM-that FEM>3PL-bite.PST-LOC NEUT.this
nəngə-dhaka-jungu-nu-ma
 1SG-burn-REFL-PST-1.FOC
 ‘when she [spider] bit them [me or you] I just burnt myself [where I got bitten by the spider]’
- c. *Kemba kə-lhəka-ja-ma nəngk-ena m-ardədarra-manja*
 then IRR.2SG-go-NPST-1.FOC 2SG-this VEG-hot-LOC
kə-karri-jungu-na-ma m-ardədarra-manja.
 IRR.2SG-roast.in.ashes-REFL-NPST-1.FOC VEG-hot-LOC
 ‘Then you should go in the hot [sun(VEG)] and roast yourself in the hot [sand(VEG)].’

The suffix can equally well be used with non-human, even inanimate, participants:

- (21) a. *mema ma-mə-ki-yelhiya m-ibina nəmi-yelhiye-na-ma*
 VEG.this VEG-INALP-NMLZ-be.shy VEG-that VEG-be.shy-NPST-1.FOC
nəm-abuwarrka-jungu-na-ma
 VEG-hide-REFL-NPST-1.FOC
 ‘the name *maməkiyelhiya* [shy crab] means “that one that is shy” [because] it always hides itself’
- b. *m-akinee=ka dəraka ngakurra-lhangwa,*
 VEG-that=EMPH truck(VEG) 12PL.PRO-POSS
nəma-mənu-wardhi-jungu-na-ma
 VEG-BEN-work-REFL-NPST-1.FOC
 ‘that truck of ours, it has to work for itself’

In (21b), the reflexive construction involves coreference of the agent not with a patient argument but with a beneficiary, which is introduced by the benefactive applicative. Without the reflexive suffix, the verb would be transitive (e.g. ‘the

truck has to work for us'), with both the subject and the beneficiary represented on the verb by pronominal prefixes. The reflexive suffix detransitivizes the verb: the truck has to work for itself. Coreference of the subject agent with semantic roles other than patient is the topic of the next section.

The reflexive suffix can also be used on nominalized verbs, which in Anindilyakwa can be used as non-finite verbs:

- (22) *Arakbawiya warnamamalya nenə-ma-ngə-ma*
long.time.ago 3PL.people 3PL>MASC-take-PST-1.FOC
y-akaka-lhangwa yi-nə-m-akarrnga warni-ku-mərndi-jungwi=yadha.
MASC-this-POSS MASC-M-INALP-teeth 3PL.M-NMLZ-COMB-REFL=PURP
'A long time ago people used to take the sawfish (*yikurrərrəndhangwa*)
teeth to comb their hair (Lit: to comb themselves)' (Dictionary 1993: 123)

Since in Anindilyakwa, the pronominal prefix on the verb can either encode the possessor of the body part ('the whole'), or the body part itself (the choice between the two is semantically motivated: see van Egmond 2012: Chapter 7), the subject agent argument being coreferential with the object theme argument in (22) is unproblematic: the combing of hair is perceived as not just affecting the hair but the whole person.

3.2 Coreference of the subject with other semantic roles

While the reflexive construction frequently expresses coreference of the agent subject with the patient referent in object function, the subject can be co-referential with other semantic roles as well. This is only possible for participants registered on the non-reflexive verb by the object pronominal prefix, which are: (i) recipient argument of inherently ditransitive verbs, and (ii) beneficiary argument introduced by the benefactive applicative. Coreference of the subject with other semantic roles, such as (iii) possessor, and (iv) spatial referent, cannot be expressed by a reflexivized verb in Anindilyakwa. These four instances are discussed here in turn.

3.2.1 Reflexivized ditransitive verbs: Coreference of subject with recipient

For inherently ditransitive verbs, such as 'give', 'tell' and 'send', the recipient is represented on the verb in object function, while the theme argument occurs outside of the verb, as shown in (23). When such a ditransitive verb is reflexivized, it is business as usual: the verb becomes morphologically intransitive, with the

subject agent being co-referential with the argument in object position, which now is the recipient, as in (24).

- (23) a. *nanga-kwa jurra*
 3F>3F-give.PST book(NEUT)
 ‘she gave her a book’
- b. *yirrenə-maka-mər̄ra ena alhawudhawarra akina*
 3M>1PL-tell.PST-1.FOC NEUT.this NEUT.story NEUT.that
 ‘he told us this story’
- (24) a. *yingu-kwa-jungu-na jurra*
 3F-give-REFL-PST book(NEUT)
 ‘she gave herself a book’
- b. *nə-maka-jungu-na-mər̄ra ena alhawudhawarra akina*
 3M-tell-REFL-PST-1.FOC NEUT.this NEUT.story NEUT.that
 ‘he told himself this story’

The examples in (24) are regular reflexive constructions; the only difference is that the subject is now co-referential with the recipient, rather than the patient.

3.2.2 Reflexivized benefactives: Coreference of subject with beneficiary

As already mentioned in §2.3.3, the benefactive applicative introduces a beneficiary argument to the verb, which knocks the theme/patient argument out of the object prefix position, as in (25a), repeated from (13b) above. When reflexivized, the subject thus becomes co-referential with the beneficiary, as in (25b).³

- (25) a. *Akina awilyaba ngaya ngarra-mən-ngayindhe-na-ma.*
 NEUT.that NEUT.one 1SG.PRO 1SG>2SG-BEN-want-NPST-1.FOC
 ‘That’s all I want for you.’
- b. *Akina awilyaba ngaya nəngə-mən-ngayindhe-jungu-na-ma.*
 NEUT.that NEUT.one 1SG.PRO 1SG-BEN-want-REFL-NPST-1.FOC
 ‘That’s all I want for myself.’

Here are some more examples of reflexivized benefactives:

³This example is made up by me based on my knowledge of the language and has not been tested with speakers. However, (26–27) are real life examples taken from texts, which support the validity of (25b).

- (26) *ngarrəbukurra-lhangwa engengkuwa ngarrəbə-mənə-rəngka-jungwa*
 12TRI.PRO-POSS NEUT.life 12TRI-BEN-look.after-REFL.NPST
ajungwa
 NEUT.sickness
 ‘we three must start looking after our own lives and sicknesses’
- (27) *nungkuwa-lhangwa ngə-məni-yakuwerribika-jungu-ma nara,*
 2SG.PRO-DAT NEG-BEN-think-REFL.NPST-1.FOC NEG
wurri-yukwayuwa yakuwa-lhangwa wurra-məni-yakuwerribiki-na
 3PL-small.PL 12PL.PRO-DAT IMP.2PL>3PL-BEN-think-NPST
 ‘don’t think about yourself, think about our children’

From these examples, it appears that the reflexive overrides the benefactive applicative. In (27), for example, the intransitive verb *-yakuwerribiki-* ‘think’ is made transitive by the benefactive marker (‘think of our children’), which in turn is detransitivized by the reflexive marker (‘think of yourself’): [BEN-think-REFL]. Regarding the ordering of semantic composition, it has not been tested with speakers whether reflexive formation can precede the benefactive and I have not found any instances in the textual data. Hence the question of how examples such as ‘he cut himself for them’ are realized, i.e. whether the object slot can be re-filled by the benefactive argument (i.e. [BEN-cut-REFL]), is an interesting topic for further research.

3.2.3 Coreference of subject with possessor

The possessor is expressed by a pronoun marked with possessive case, as in (28). The head noun is represented on the verb. When the subject and the possessor referent are the same person, number and gender, this can result in ambiguity, as in (29).

- (28) *nungkə-lhangwa yikarba nəngen-ngayindha*
 2SG.PRO-POSS MASC.woomera 1SG>MASC-want.NPST
 ‘I want your woomera’
- (29) *enuwə-lhangwa yikarba nenə-ngayindha*
 3m.PRO-POSS MASC.woomera 3M>MASC-want.NPST
 ‘he₁ wants his_{1/2} woomera’

Since the free pronoun *enuwa* and the subject prefix on the verb both mean ‘third person singular masculine’, they can be both coreferential and disjoint. The

intended meaning must come from the context or by specifying the possessor. However, even though constructions such as (29) potentially express coreference between two clause participants (here, agent and possessor), there is no special form that signals the coreference. Therefore, I do not consider such examples to represent reflexive constructions (see Haspelmath (2023 [this volume])).

3.2.4 Coreference of subject with spatial referent

A spatial referent is expressed by a nominal marked with e.g. locative case for a stative location. When the subject and the spatial referent have the same person, number, gender features, this again can result in ambiguity, as in (30).

- (30) *yingən-rrəngka yingarna dh-akina-manja*
 3F>MASC-see.PST MASC.snake 3F-that-LOC
 ‘she₁ saw a snake next to her_{1/2}’

Since the demonstrative *dhakina* and the subject prefix on the verb both mean ‘third person singular feminine’, they can be coreferential and disjoint and the sentence is ambiguous. But again, since there is no special form that signals the coreference, such examples do not instantiate the reflexive construction.

4 Related functions and diachronic development of -jungwV-

The reflexive suffix is homophonous to the verb *-jungwV-* ‘to die’, which belongs to the same verb class. The reflexive suffix and the ‘die’ verb can co-occur, suggesting they are not the same morpheme as shown in (31).

- (31) *akina akwalya na-jungwa-ja-jungu-nə-ma*
 NEUT.that NEUT.fish NEUT-die-CAUS-REFL-PST-1.FOC
 ‘the fish killed itself’

This could mean that the reflexive suffix is a grammaticalized form of the (intransitive) verb *-jungwV-* ‘die’ whose semantics has become bleached. However, there is another possible historical source for this suffix, which is the reflexive reconstructed for the ancestor of the Gunwinyguan languages, called proto-Gunwinyguan (Alpher et al. 2003). Most Gunwinyguan languages have a suffix that derives reflexive and/or reciprocal verbs from transitive stems. Alpher et al. (2003: 342) note that in many Gunwinyguan languages, reflexive and reciprocal

meanings are covered by the same suffix, except in Wubuy, Ngandi and Warray (see Figure 1) (as Anindilyakwa was still presumed an isolate then, they did not include this language in their discussion). Due to the great distance between Warray on the one hand, and Wubuy and Ngandi on the other, they argue, the distinctive reflexive and reciprocal forms cannot be an innovation (p. 342–343). The contrast between the two must therefore be archaic, and they reconstruct reflexive **-yi-* and reciprocal **-nji-* for proto-Gunwinyguan (pGN).

The Anindilyakwa reciprocal *-yi-* (which synchronically has a rare alternate form *-nji-*) could then have derived from pGN **-nji-* as suggested in (32).

(32) pGN reciprocal **-nji-* > **-ji-* (loss of nasal) > *-yi-* (lenition)

The reflexive suffix *-jungwV-* is more difficult to derive from pGN **-yi-*. It is possible that it is segmentable into *-ji.ngwV-*, where *-ji-* represents a hardened **-yi-*. The high vowel obtains its rounding from the rounded dorsal segment *-ngwV-* (recall that this is how [u] is formed in Anindilyakwa as shown in (33)).

(33) pGN reflexive **-yi-* > **-ji-* (hardening) > **-ji-ngwV-* (addition of *ngwV* segment) > *-jungwV-*

Perhaps it was the verb *-jungwV-* ‘die’ that triggered the formation of the reflexive suffix.

5 Conclusions

As expected of a polysynthetic language, the arguments of a verb are identified on the verb, in the case of Anindilyakwa by means of pronominal prefixes. Free pronouns are common but optional. The language has a range of argument-changing affixes, one of which is the reflexive suffix. Anindilyakwa reflexive voice is marked by a verbal suffix that occurs on transitive verbs and reduces the valency of the verb by one. It is used for all persons, numbers and degrees of animacy of the participants involved. The suffix signals that the agent subject is co-referential with the referent that previously occurred as the transitive object pronominal prefix. This is mostly a patient referent, but it can also be a beneficiary introduced by the benefactive applicative, or the recipient referent of an inherently ditransitive verb.

Acknowledgments

I would like to thank the many Anindilyakwa speakers who have tried to teach me their language, especially: †Dugururru Lalara, †Caroline Wurramara, Judy Lalara, Letoria Yulidjirri and Corey Amagula. I furthermore wish to thank the Groote Eylandt Language Centre in Angurugu and Umbakumba, and the Anindilyakwa Arts Centre in Angurugu, for their invaluable help and support.

My work was supported by fieldwork grants from the Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies (Grant G2008/7358); the Endangered Languages Documentation Programme at SOAS, London (Grant FTG0152); the ARC Centre of Excellence for the Dynamics of Language; and the THEORIA Scientific Programme for the Humanities of the Ministry of Education, Science and Culture, Mecklenburg-Vorpommern, Germany, for which I am also most grateful.

Abbreviations

This chapter follows the Leipzig Glossing Rules (Comrie et al. 2008). Additional abbreviations used are:

1.FOC	first person focalization marker	MASC	masculine noun class
COFR	change of referent	NEUT	neuter noun class
COLL	collective noun class	NPST	non-past
EMPH	emphatic	PGN	proto-Gunwinyguan
ENG	English	PRO	pronoun
FEM	feminine noun class	PURP	purposive
HORT	hortative	RDP	reduplication
INALP	inalienable possession	REAS	reason
INCH	inchoative	TRI	trial
MAC	Macassan language	VEG	vegetable noun class

References

- Aikhenvald, Alexandra Y. 2000. *Classifiers: A typology of noun categorization devices*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Alpher, Barry, Nicholas Evans & Mark Harvey. 2003. Proto Gunwinyguan verb suffixes. In Nicholas Evans (ed.), *The non-Pama-Nyungan languages of northern Australia: Comparative studies of the continent's most linguistically complex region*, 305–352. Canberra: Pacific Linguistics.

- Baker, Brett. 2004. Stem forms and paradigm reshaping in Gunwinyguan. In Claire Bowern & Harold Koch (eds.), *Australian languages: Classification and the comparative method*, 313–340. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Capell, Arthur. 1942. Languages of Arnhem Land, North Australia. *Oceania* 12(4). 364–392.
- Comrie, Bernard, Martin Haspelmath & Balthasar Bickel. 2008. *The Leipzig glossing rules: Conventions for interlinear morpheme-by-morpheme glosses*. Department of Linguistics of the Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology & Department of Linguistics of Leipzig University. Leipzig.
- Dench, Alan C. & Nicholas Evans. 1988. Multiple case marking in Australian languages. *Australian Journal of Linguistics* 8. 1–47.
- Dictionary, Groote Eylandt. 1993. *Eningerribirra-langwa jurra* ‘Book about all sorts of things’. Angurugu: Groote Eylandt Linguistics.
- Dixon, R. M. W. 1980. *The languages of Australia*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Dixon, R. M. W. 1986. Noun classes and noun classification. In Craig Colette G. (ed.), *Noun classes and categorizations*, 105–112. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Evans, Nicholas. 2003. *Bininj Gun-Wok. A pan-dialectal grammar of Mayali, Kunwinjku and Kune*, vol. 2. Canberra: Pacific Linguistics.
- Evans, Nicholas. 2005. Australian languages reconsidered: A review of Dixon 2002. *Oceanic Linguistics* 44(1). 242–286.
- Evans, Nicholas. 2017. Polysynthesis in Northern Australia. In Marianne Mithun Michael Fortescue & Nicholas Evans (eds.), *The Oxford handbook of polysynthesis*, 312–335. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Harvey, Mark. 2003. An initial reconstruction of Gunwinyguan phonology. In Nicholas Evans (ed.), *The non-Pama-Nyungan languages of Northern Australia: Comparative studies of the continent’s most linguistically complex region*, 205–268. Canberra: Pacific Linguistics.
- Haspelmath, Martin. 2023. Comparing reflexive constructions in the world’s languages. In Katarzyna Janic, Nicoletta Puddu & Martin Haspelmath (eds.), *Reflexive constructions in the world’s languages*, 19–62. Berlin: Language Science Press. DOI: 10.5281/zenodo.7874925.
- Heath, Jeffrey. 1981. A case of intensive lexical diffusion: Arnhem Land, Australia. *Language* 57(2). 335–367.
- Heath, Jeffrey. 1984. *Functional grammar of Nunggubuyu*. Canberra: Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies.
- Inkelas, Sharon. 1993. Nimboran position class morphology. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 11. 559–624.

- Leeding, Velma. 1989. *Anindilyakwa phonology and morphology*. University of Sydney. (Doctoral dissertation).
- Marmion, Doug, Kazuko Obata & Jakelin Troy. 2014. *Community, identity, well-being: The report of the second national indigenous languages survey*. Canberra: MAIATSIS.
- Nordlinger, Rachel. 2010. Verbal morphology in Murrinh-Patha: Evidence for templates. *Morphology* 20. 321–41.
- O'Grady, Geoffrey N., Carl F. Voegelin & Florence M. Voegelin. 1966. Languages of the world: Indo-Pacific, fascicle 6. *Anthropological Linguistics* 8(2). 1–197.
- O'Grady, Geoffrey N., Steven A. Wurm & Kenneth L. Hale. 1966. [map of] *Aboriginal languages of Australia (a preliminary classification)*. Department of Linguistics: University of Victoria.
- Sands, Kristina. 1995. Nominal classification in Australia. *Anthropological Linguistics* 37. 247–346.
- van Egmond, Marie-Elaine. 2012. *Enindhilyakwa phonology, morphosyntax and genetic position*. University of Sydney. (Doctoral dissertation).
- van Egmond, Marie-Elaine & Brett Baker. 2020. The genetic relationship of Anindilyakwa. *Australian Journal of Linguistics* 40(4). 492–527.
- Verstraete, Jean-Christophe. 2005. The semantics and pragmatics of composite mood marking: The non-Pama-Nyungan languages of northern Australia. *Linguistic Typology* 9. 223–268.
- Worsley, Peter. 1954. *The changing social structure of the Warnindiljaugwa*. Australian National University, Canberra. (Doctoral dissertation).
- Yallop, Collin. 1982. *Australian Aboriginal languages*. London: Andre Deutsch.

