

SOAS Department of Linguistics

# **7th European Australianists workshop 2012**

## **Book of Abstracts**

### **Wik-Ngathan and Wik-Alkenh demonstrative use as a frame of reference**

Louise Ashmore (Department of Linguistics, SOAS, University of London)

In representing the subdivisions of the spatial domain Levinson (2003: 66) distinguishes between *non-angular* static spatial descriptions where a referent is located in terms of being co-incident with a place (topology and toponymy) or region (deixis) and *angular* spatial descriptions where referents are located within a coordinate system of 'frames of reference'.

Frames of reference express spatial relations between a figure once it is removed in space from a ground or landmark by specifying an angle or direction relative to the ground in which the figure can be located. Three main types of coordinate systems have been described; absolute, relative and intrinsic (Pederson et al. 1998, Levinson 2003). A further linguistic strategy has been proposed that specifies orientation rather than location (Terrill & Burenhult 2008).

Deictics such as demonstratives have proved problematic to classify within this three-system typology of frames of reference because they describe *non-angular* location and typically do not encode angular specification or directional information except with accompanying gesture.

Burenhult (2008) provides evidence to the contrary in the identification of a cross-linguistically unusual spatial-coordinate demonstrative in Jahai (Malay Peninsula) that functions to project angular search domains. He proposes that the Jahai demonstratives constitute a type of intrinsic coordinate system or frame of reference.

Speakers of Wik-Ngathan and Wik-Alkenh, dialects of a Paman language spoken in Cape York Peninsula, Australia, have a variety of linguistic resources available to them to communicate spatial reference. Like many Australian languages, speakers employ an absolute system based on cardinal direction and verticality and an intrinsic system. Demonstratives feature frequently in location and motion expressions and distinctions between location and orientation in absolute terms are commonly coded in co-occurring demonstrative forms. Based on elicited 'men and tree' data, observed language use and narratives, this talk focuses on the role of Wik-Ngathan and Wik-Alkenh demonstratives in spatial orientation and discusses analyses for re-considering deictics as a particular type of frame of reference.

Burenhult, N. (2008). Spatial coordinate systems in demonstrative meaning. *Linguistic Typology*, 12, 99–142.

Levinson, S. C. (2003). *Space in Language and Cognition: Explorations in Cognitive Diversity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Pederson, E., Danziger, E., Wilkins, D., Levinson, S., Kita, S., & Senft, G. (1998). Semantic typology and spatial conceptualization. *Language*, 74(3), 557–589.

Terrill, A., & Burenhult, N. (2008). Orientation as a strategy of spatial reference. *Studies in Language*, 32(1), 93–136.

### **Meta-documentation and the challenges of work with legacy materials: some Australian cases**

Peter Austin (SOAS, University of London)

Meta-documentation refers to the principles and practices for documentation of language documentation and is essentially the theory and application of metadata, the 'data about data' that enables us to access, use, understand and preserve language materials. In the paper I outline current approaches to meta-documentation and show some of the challenges faced when working with legacy materials due to insufficient meta-documentation. Examples will be presented from my research on the late S.A. Wurm's Guwamu field materials, and missionary records of Diyari to be included in a bilingual dictionary of the language for the Dieri Aboriginal Corporation.

### **Preference Organization driving Structuration: Evidence from Australian Aboriginal Interaction for Pragmatically Motivated Grammaticalization**

Joe Blythe (Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics)

Please contact Candide Simard for a copy.

### **TAM puzzles in Jaminjung**

Patrick Caudal (CNRS-Université Paris 7) and Eva Schultze-Berndt (University of Manchester)

We will here aim at offering a general overview of some important and crosslinguistically significant structural properties of the TAM system of Jaminjung. It will specifically shed light on the semantic nature of the tense-aspect system of Jaminjung, and its interaction with modality, capitalizing on recent results obtained about other Australian languages (cf. Caudal & Nordlinger (2011a); Caudal & van Egmond (2011); Nordlinger & Caudal (forthcoming) – *contra* prior accounts such as e.g. Verstraete (2005)).

First, we will propose a fine-grained analysis the various kinds of perfective vs. imperfective meanings expressed in Jaminjung, and their interaction with Aktionsarten. In particular, we will determine whether the so-called past perfective imposes or only licenses perfective readings; while it seems that this tense can only receive perfective viewpoint readings when marking telic utterances, it also appears to be capable of imperfective viewpoint readings (in the sense of Smith 1991) with certain atelic event descriptions. Such data suggests that it is in effect a preterit, i.e. an aspectually underspecified past tense, and contrasts with a marked past imperfective viewpoint. We will show that vice versa, the past imperfective imposes rather unexpected aspectual type restrictions, as it is primarily used to describe habits, and is comparatively rarely found with extensional, single or iterated/pluractional event descriptions (the Jaminjung pseudo-progressive having vice-versa specialized in iterative, pluractional readings, cf. Schultze-Berndt (forthcoming)). This results in a highly complex (and unusual) distribution of imperfective meanings across the TAM system in the language.

In the second part of our talk we will explore the interaction between modality, polarity, and tense-aspect marking, focusing on the way that Jaminjung appears to contextually derive various kinds of modals (or modal forces) from a basic and underspecified modal category of *desirability* (as opposed to that of *root modality*, as known from e.g. studies of modal categories in Western European languages). An opposition

between desirable and undesirable events is consistently made with reference to future, i.e. not-yet-realised events with positive polarity. This opposition gets neutralised in utterances with negative polarity and future time reference, on the one hand, and in past counterfactuals, on the other hand, which occur only with past imperfective marking. This fact might appear to be at least potentially problematic given the marked nature of the imperfective; we will claim that this is a consequence of the complex organization of the Jaminjung tense-aspect system, and the original way in which it distributes various kinds of imperfective meanings across its tense-aspect paradigm.

Finally, while those facts suggest that the TAM system of Jaminjung patterns structurally like that of Murrinh-Patha (and differs from that of a language such as e.g. Enindhilyakwa) because it allows aspectual meanings to outscope modal meanings within tense-aspect marked modal expressions, they also indicate that these two languages exhibit substantial differences in *how* and *what kind of* aspectual meanings are (or are not) combined with modal meanings in order to achieve counterfactual interpretations. We will argue that the construal of counterfactual meanings in Jaminjung is original in the way it is constrained by the aspectual typing requirements of tenses (see the notions of aspectual coercion and aspect sensitive tenses in de Swart (1998)).

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### Why can't you be 'downstream of the house'? New approaches to Frames of Reference

Dorothea Hoffmann (University of Manchester)

This paper is concerned with new approaches to "Frames of Reference" (FoR) in Jaminjung and Kriol. Various proposals for a typology of FoRs are applied and tested and suggestions made for an analysis taking into account deixis and speaker-anchored situations to a much greater extent than previously done. Furthermore, I propose to treat two notions of "absolute" FoR separately from one another.

The notion of typological FoRs concerns the way speakers talk about locating objects in space. The basis for my analysis is a combination of the 'classic' three-part distinction between intrinsic, relative and absolute FoR (Levinson, 1996, Levinson, 2003, Pederson et al., 1998) and a number of additions, such as the notion of Direct FoR (Danziger, 2010), anchoring-types (Bohnenmeyer and O'Meara, in press), 'orientation' (T&B-orientation) (Terrill and Burenhult, 2008), and my own observations.

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Generally, horizontal absolute terms based on river-drainage in Jaminjung and Kriol are only used with ego as ground as in example (1) and in Jaminjung 'T&B-Orientation' settings only.

- (1) *burri=biyang* *luba=wung burri-jga-ny* *buya* *na..* *wajama*  
3PL=NOW many=RESTR 3PL-go-PST downstream NOW fishing  
'they now, all together, went downstream (from here), fishing'

Absolute FoR is realised differently in two varieties of Kriol, namely Roper and Westside Kriol, respectively. While in Roper Kriol absolute FoR can be realised in cardinal-type terms as well as such terms based on the direction of river flow, Westside Kriol speakers only make use of the latter. Additionally, only the cardinal-type fixed terms can be employed in non-egocentric anchorings when the ground is not the deictic centre (2).

- (2) *det ka bin ran en stap sangodan-said langa det haus*  
that car AUX.PST run and stop west-side LOC that house  
'the car went and stopped on the western side of the house'

This paper shows that in both languages the notions of deixis and absolute FoR are intrinsically linked in Westside Kriol and Jaminjung, but not in Roper Kriol suggesting a contact-induced system. As a result it proposes taking the notion of speaker-centered FoRs to a greater extent into account than previously acknowledged. Additionally, it recommends to introduce a separate notion for geomorphic and cardinal-type absolute FoRs to account for systematic conceptual distinctions in Jaminjung and Kriol.

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Terrill, Angela, and Burenhult, Niclas. 2008. Orientation as a strategy of spatial reference. *Studies in Language* 32:93-136.

### A team approach to Indigenous languages and cultures programs in NT schools

Patricia Joy (Dept of Education and Training NT, Indigenous Languages and Cultures Team)

The teaching/learning of Indigenous Languages and Cultures programs in NT schools requires a different approach to other learning areas of the NTCF (Northern Territory Curriculum Framework). This presentation will outline the different roles and how working in teams will ensure successful implementation and

sustainability even though there are currently huge changes taking place in education at the national and territory levels. The presentation will also describe some of the different ILC programs in schools in the NT.

### **You say Darug, and they say Eora: a case study of successful digital repatriation of the Dawes ms on the language of Sydney**

David Nathan (ELAR SOAS, University of London)

In October 2009, the William Dawes Project on the language of Sydney was launched at Macquarie University. The launch brought together Aboriginal elders, people from various communities, academics, government representatives, and the press, to celebrate the publication of a book and innovative website based on the notebooks of William Dawes (1791).

Behind this event lay a long process intensely involving several elements: technology, design, linguistic and historical research, consultation and negotiation with local communities. In the local communities, understandable stresses arise around the nature and naming of “the language of Sydney”. Two previous attempts to bring the project to completion and launch it had failed. However, among the lessons of those failures lay clues to the linguistic, historical, cultural and consultation work needed. This presentation will describe some of that work, and outline the project’s linguistic, technical, political and social history as an exemplar of a successful digital repatriation of Indigenous knowledge.

### **Why there is an ergative but no absolutive case in Gooniyandi (and nearby languages)**

William B. McGregor (University of Aarhus)

Gooniyandi (Bunuban, Kimberley), according to [McGregor 1990](#), has an ergative case-marker, one of a set of about a dozen bound case-marking postpositions. Unlike a number of other grammars of nearby languages (e.g. Bardi — [Bowern 2004](#):34; Bunuba — [Rumsey 2000](#):110; Jaminjung — [Schultze-Berndt 2000](#):16, 17; Nyangumarta — [Sharp 2004](#):120; Wagiman — [Wilson 1997](#):10; Wangkajunga — [Jones 2003](#):96-97; Yawuru — [Hosokawa 2011](#):237), McGregor’s grammar does not identify a corresponding zero absolutive case or case-marker; nor does it provide any discussion of why there is none. In this paper rectify this lacuna, even though it is not strictly speaking necessary (there is no need to motivate the “existence” of nothing, no category in the absence of any index for it), and outline the evidence against the recognition of an absolutive case-marker. The arguments concern both form (including the absence of evidence for a zero case-marker) and function (including that the erstwhile case-form has no identifiable semantic meaning and a diverse set of uses that have nothing in common with one another); nor is the grouping of intransitive subject and transitive object useful in terms of morphological generalisations (though it may be for some syntactic generalisations, though this is a different matter, irrelevant to case as a nominal category). Thus it is possible to find ergativity in a language without corresponding absolutivity, just as it is possible to find absolutivity without ergativity (e.g. [Gildea & Queixalós 2010](#)). I discuss the implications for the typology and theory of ergativity, and make some general suggestions concerning the conditions under which it makes sense to identify an absolutive case and/or case-marker in a language.

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**Emotions and abstract attributes of the person in Dalabon**

Maïa Ponsonnet (PhD Candidate, Linguistics, SCHL Australian National University)

Dalabon is a highly polysynthetic and agglutinative language of the Gunwinyguan family (non-Pama-Nyungan, Australian). A high proportion of its lexemes display clear morphological compositionality. Cognitive states, in particular, are often described using compound predicates where one of the elements is a body-part. For instance, *kodj-muk* “head” + “covered”, means “to forget”; *dolku-ngabbun* “back” + “give” means “turn one’s back” or “be in bad terms”. The literal interpretations of such lexicalised compounds are descriptions of physical states. As a result, the lexical descriptions of cognitive states of the person seem to be connected to descriptions of physical states of the person.

However, Dalabon also has a couple of nouns which belong to the same morphosyntactic class as body-parts, but denote purely abstract aspects of the person: *volh-no*, “feelings”, “enthusiasm”; *men-no*, “consciousness”, “judgements”; also *koh-no*, “gaze” or “look”, better translated by the French “regard”. In this presentation, I question the sense and etymology *koh-no* “gaze”. I will show how this word relates etymologically to a body-part, more specifically a part of the side of the face. I will then suggest that *koh-no* gained its abstract denotation via its insertion in emotional compounds denoting shame and shame-related behaviours – a prominent aspect of emotional life in the local social context.

**And NOW, for something completely different!**

**The particles =*biyang* and =*warla* in Jaminjung and Ngarinyman**

Eva Schultze-Berndt (University of Manchester), Marie-Eve Ritz (University of Western Australia), Candide Simard (SOAS, University of London)

In this talk we will compare the clitics =*biyang* in Jaminjung and =*warla* in Ngarinyman. The speakers of these genealogically “unrelated” languages are in a situation of long-term contact and stable multilingualism. Both can be encliticised to all free-standing parts of speech: coverbs, inflecting verbs, nominals including interrogatives and demonstratives. They are glossed as ‘now’, as they function as a sequential marker of

time, but they also serve other functions such as introducing new or contrasting topic, or more generally to emphasize new information, and in this sense they have sometimes been interpreted as focus marker at discourse level. We will examine each of these functions in more detail, and will particularly consider their prosodic manifestations. We will consider whether these markers, with their discourse-regulating functions, can be viewed as exponents of the concept of “fusion” (Matras 1998) in contact situations, in which bilingual speakers feel pressured to employ a single system of discourse markers.

Matras, Yaron, 1998. Utterance modifiers and universals of grammatical borrowing. *Linguistics* 36-2, 281-331.

### **Remarks on ‘to cry’ and ‘to laugh’ in Australian languages**

F. Schweiger (Salzburg)

The study reports on the words for ‘to cry’ and ‘to laugh’ in 48 languages. Dixon (2002) lists three roots for the verb ‘to cry’ (numbering according to Dixon): (54) *lu-* ~ *ru-* ~ *du-* ~ *yu-ng* (found in about 18 languages), (55) *ba:ri* ~ *ba:di* (in 11 languages) and (56) *nga(:)dhi* (in 6 languages). In about 13 languages the word for ‘to cry’ seems not related to one of these roots. Dixon (2002) gives just one widespread root for the verb ‘to laugh’, namely (57) *ginga* which is found in 5 languages of my sample. My sample shows that the root *ya:* ~ *wa:* is found in 7 languages, *thangk-* ~ *tyangk-* in 4 languages, and *garr* in 3 languages. For 22 languages the words for ‘to laugh’ cannot be arranged in greater groups. Clearly, there are some problems and some etymologies may be not correct. Occasionally the semantic is not clear (to cry, to sob, to weep or to shout loudly, to laugh or to smile?). A further observation is the existence of a prefix *i(n)-* in some cases. e. g. Pitjantjatjara *ikarringanyi* or Kalkatungu *itjama* ‘to laugh’.

### **Using rule-based computational linguistics for Australian languages: Electronic resources for Murrinh-Patha**

Melanie Seiss (University of Konstanz) & Rachel Nordlinger (Melbourne University)

Murrinh-Patha is a polysynthetic language spoken in the Northern Territory of Australia (e.g. Blythe 2009, Nordlinger 2010). Many aspects of the grammar of Murrinh-Patha make the language difficult to learn. In this paper, we present different electronic resources such as an electronic dictionary and translation system which is intended to help non-Murrinh-Patha speakers to learn and understand simple Murrinh-Patha sentences.

Murrinh-Patha has a very complex number system which distinguishes between singular, dual, paucal and plural forms, and exhibits further subcategories such as gender and sibling/non-sibling distinctions. Additionally, these features are encoded in different parts of the verb, i.e. in the verb stem and in different morphemes. This makes learning the Murrinh-Patha verbal forms difficult for non-Murrinh-Patha speakers.

The translation system intends to make learning these verbal forms easier. It can translate simple English sentences into Murrinh-Patha. If the English sentence contains a plural subject or object, it prompts the user to give more detailed information about the size of the group and its members and presents the user with the correct sentence and verb form at the end.

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The electronic dictionary targets another difficulty in the Murrinh-Patha verb. Murrinh-Patha has a bipartite verbal structure. The verb consists of a so-called classifier stem with a fairly generic meaning and a so-called lexical stem which contributes more detailed meaning. Most dictionaries, e.g. Street (1989) or Reid & Taggart (2008) for the neighbouring language Ngan'gi, thus list the lexical stem in the dictionary. For learners of Murrinh-Patha it is very complicated to detect the lexical stem in the verbal structure, as the verb may include additional morphemes and morpho-phonetic rules may apply. To overcome this difficulty, the electronic dictionary performs a morphological analysis for the input and presents the user with the entries of the lexical stem.

The system uses a finite-state morphological analyzer (Beesley & Karttunen 2003) for the complex Murrinh-Patha verbal morphology and a Murrinh-Patha grammar developed with the grammar development platform XLE (Crouch et al. 2012). For the translation system, additionally the English XLE grammar developed by PARC has been incorporated. Such rulebased computational linguistic methods are especially suited to implement complex linguistic data. Additionally, the implementations of the morphology, morpho-phonology and syntax of Murrinh-Patha can then be used in further applications for learners of Murrinh-Patha such as a phonological form checker, the generation of verb forms in different tenses etc., which have been implemented into the system already. Future work also includes using these resources in applications targeted at Murrinh-Patha speakers learning English.

### References

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### Aranda Syllable Structure with Plenty of Onsets

Shanti Ulfsbjorninn (PhD candidate, SOAS, University of London)

In this talk we will reveal that Aranda has a virtually unexceptional syllable structure non-branching ONON, a parametrically set ban on word-final consonants, and a stress assignment which is fixed, not onset-driven and always falls on the peninitial nucleus.

Aranda (Topintzi 2010)

[ilba]	ear
[kátungula]	ceremonial assistant
[arálkama]	to yawn

Topintzi (2010) argues that if an Aranda word is disyllabic stress is assigned to the left most SBU, while in larger words stress is initial iff it is onsetful (cf. Davis 1988). She assumes, therefore, that onsets are moraic in Aranda, which seems to make particular sense because it is argued that the language has no onsets, but that every consonant is coda and every word phonologically ends in a vowel (Breen and Pensalfini 1999; Evans and Levinson 2009).

We will account for the data using an empty nucleus analysis where consonant-initial words are wholly-empty onset and nucleus initial, while vowel initial words are only empty onset initial. From this we can hypothesise that stress is always peninitial. This is supported by four facts.

Firstly, where the representation is known for certain (the adaptation of Walpiri loanwords) we see that consonant initial words are derived from whole syllable loss (ON loss), while vowel initial words are products of consonant loss (McConvell 1996).

Secondly, confirmation of the empty structure representation of Consonant vs. Vowel initial words is supported by vowel-zero alternations revealed by differences between words' pronunciation in isolation and in connected speech. All words in isolation end in an epenthetic vowel which is retained in connected speech iff the following word is consonant initial (empty-ON initial) (Breen and Pensalfini 1999). These reveal that Aranda is a CVCV language where onset is followed by nucleus in each and every word. In fact, far from being a language where every word ends in a consonant, Aranda is a language where word-final consonants are parametrically disallowed.

Thirdly, the minimal word in Aranda is composed not of two nuclei but three (*contra* Takahashi 1999); we will stipulate this in this section, but justify it in the analysis of rabbit talk Aranda (cf. Nevins ms.).

Fourthly, the empty nucleus analysis allows Aranda to be seen as a fixed stress language with a single stress generalisation that applies to all words in the same way, including bisyllabic words, while the moraic onset analysis must make special provision in their case (Topintzi 2010).

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### **The genetic status of Enindhilyakwa**

Marie-Elaine van Egmond (PhD candidate, University of Sydney)

Enindhilyakwa is classified as family-level language isolate in the O'Grady et al. (1966) classification, based primarily on lexico-statistics. However, other researchers have observed that Enindhilyakwa "forms a unit structurally" with Wubuy (Capell 1942: 376), and that the two languages are "similar in grammar" (Yallop 1982: 40). Based on these structural similarities, Heath has claimed for decades that Enindhilyakwa constitutes a subgroup with Wubuy and Ngandi (1978b, 1984: 638, 1990, 1997, n.d.), though without providing much formal evidence to support this claim. Hence the currently accepted view is that the relationship of Enindhilyakwa to any other language has not "been demonstrated conclusively at this point

with any significant body of cognate lexical items or grammatical morphology” (Alpher, Evans & Harvey 2003: 308; Evans 2003b; Baker 2004; Evans 2005).

In this paper I will argue that Heath was right: Enindhilyakwa is not a language isolate, but is related to Wubuy and Ngandi, and consequently other Gunwinyguan languages. Focussing on Wubuy, I will demonstrate their genetic relatedness by examining: 1) shared vocabulary (an inspection of a list of core vocabulary yields at least 32% lexical cognacy); 2) systematic sound correspondences between the shared forms; 3) shared verbal suffixal paradigms. Ngandi will be brought into the discussion of the latter only, and the paradigms of an immediate ancestor can be reconstructed.

There are several reasons for why the significant amount of vocabulary shared between Enindhilyakwa and Wubuy has not been recognised before: 1) Enindhilyakwa has undergone dramatic phonological and phonotactic changes, which may obscure corresponding forms; 2) the two different orthographies developed in the previous work are conflicting and non-phonemic, which can also obscure cognates; 3) in some instances only Enindhilyakwa *incorporated* forms correspond to Wubuy (and Ngandi, and proto-Gunwinyguan) free forms. The reason why the similar grammatical paradigms had not been noted before may simply be that no-one had so far taken on the task of systematically comparing Enindhilyakwa with Wubuy.