

# 10

## Tracking a ‘novel’ first person subject pronoun within Pama-Nyungan: From north-west Queensland to the Western Australian coast

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### Introduction

Among Jane Simpson’s many and diverse contributions to our knowledge of Pama-Nyungan (PN) languages are her reconstructions of the ancestral pronoun inventories of proto Thura-Yura (Simpson and Hercus 2004) and of pre-Warumungu (Simpson 2008). Simpson (2008, 76) reconstructs the pre-Warumungu first person singular Nominative pronoun as \*-(a)rn and notes its correspondence with the subject bound pronoun *-rna* widespread in Nyungic languages to the west, and also with the Nominative free pronoun *ngarna* in Warluwaric (renamed Ngarna by Breen 2004) languages to the east, as well as with bound pronoun forms derived from *ngarna*, namely Yanyuwa *-arna* and Wakaya *-arn*. Simpson speculates that the Wakaya form may have been the source of the Warumungu first person singular Nominative pronoun.

In this chapter, I attempt to track down all plausible reflexes in Pama-Nyungan languages of a first person singular Nominative pronoun cognate with \**ngarna* in order to establish its place relative to the reconstructed

proto-Pama-Nyungan (pPN) case-paradigm of first person singular pronouns. Within the same set of languages, I compare the mostly parallel history of the first person singular pronoun paradigm with Nominative *\*ngarna* with the second person singular paradigm with the Nominative form derived from proto pPN *\*nyin*.<sup>1</sup> I then compare the Nyungic bound pronoun case paradigms, which strongly reflect pPN free pronoun case paradigms, with the weak reflexes of these in Nyungic free pronoun paradigms from which the reflexes of Nominative *\*ngarna* and *\*nyin* are mostly absent. Finally, I address what light the picture that emerges sheds on the prehistory of Pama-Nyungan.

## Background

O'Grady, Voegelin and Voegelin (1966) (henceforth OVV) divide languages in their Pama-Nyungan (PN) phylum into lower-level groups based on percentages of shared basic vocabulary and morphological paradigms. Their 'South Western group', which O'Grady (1966) referred to as the Nyungic language group, includes all PN languages spoken in Western Australia, most of those in South Australia and in the south-west quarter of the Northern Territory. The Nyungic group is bordered to the north and north-east by non-PN languages and to the east by PN languages belonging to the Warumungu, Arandic (including Kaytetye (Koch 2004b)) and Arabanic language groups.<sup>2</sup> OVV further divided the Nyungic group into a series of 12 subgroups. The geographical distribution of the Nyungic subgroups they distinguished, with some later revisions summarised by Koch (2004a, 35–37), which reduce them to 10, is shown on the map in Figure 10.1.

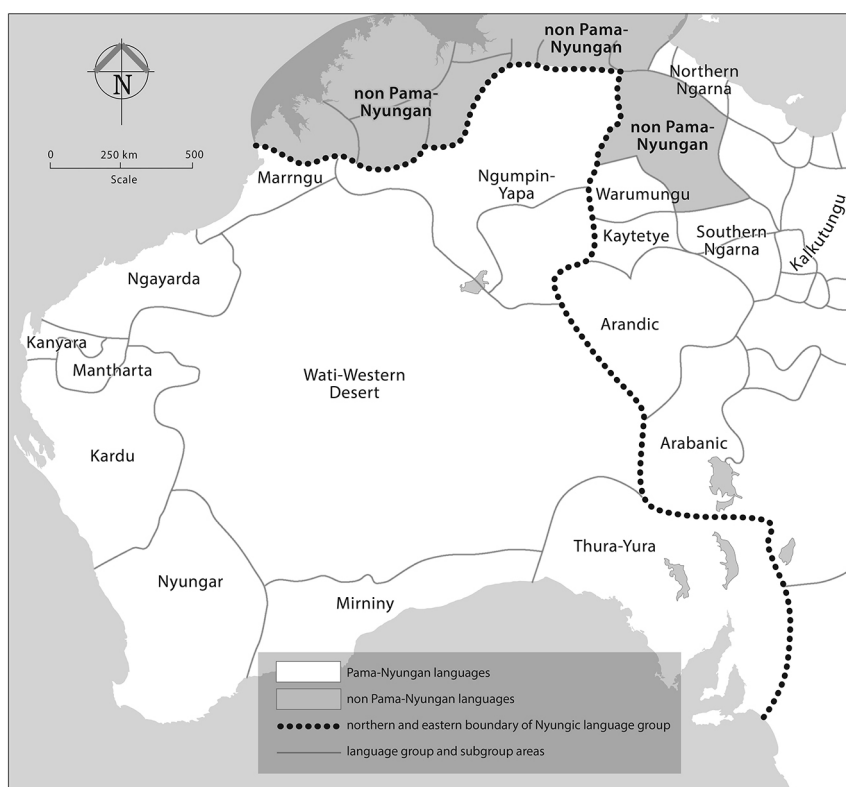
Bowern and Atkinson (2012) propose a Western Pama-Nyungan group identical to OVV's Nyungic except that it excludes the Thura-Yura subgroup, and they incorporate OVV's Mirniny subgroup into a larger Nyungar subgroup.<sup>3</sup> In the following discussion, I use Nyungic as a cover term for the languages in the subgroups shown in Figure 10.1, although I present evidence below that supports the exclusion of Thura-Yura languages from the Nyungic group.<sup>4</sup>

1 Henceforth my reference to first and second person pronouns will be restricted to singular forms.

2 OVV's Arabanic group belongs to what is now recognised as a larger Karnic group (Bowern 1998, 2001).

3 Thanks to Harold Koch for drawing my attention to the relevance of their revisions to the present work.

4 The Thura-Yura subgroup unites two of OVV's Nyungic subgroups: Yura and Nangga.



**Figure 10.1: Map of Nyungic language subgroups.**

Source: Brenda Thornley.

Languages in a subset of Nyungic subgroups have sets of bound pronouns, in addition to free pronouns. On the assumption that bound pronouns derive from free pronoun counterparts, they can provide a window into the prehistory of pronominal forms. It is unsurprising then that the first and second person singular bound pronoun inventories in languages in five of the Nyungic subgroups more closely reflect pPN pronominal case paradigms than do the free pronouns in those languages. Apart from the first person singular Nominative, the Nyungic bound pronouns in Table 10.1 show a regular pattern of correspondence with pPN forms in that the Nyungic bound pronouns lack the initial CV segments of the pPN forms.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>5</sup> See Blevins (2001) and Harvey (Ch. 8, this volume) for a discussion of initial consonant and CV deletion in Australian languages.

The first and second person bound pronouns reflect reconstructed pPN pronominal paradigms, except for the first person singular Nominative, which is *-rna* in all Nyungic bound pronoun inventories. While distinct sets of Nominative and Ergative subject pPN free pronouns have been reconstructed, this distinction does not carry over to the bound pronoun series, which has a unique subject form. This study is restricted to first and second person ‘singular’ paradigms because they have different formal properties from non-singular ones, while the third person is most often phonologically null.<sup>6</sup>

**Table 10.1: pPN and Nyungic bound first and second person singular pronouns compared.<sup>7</sup>**

| Case         | First person          |              | Second person <sup>8</sup>          |               |
|--------------|-----------------------|--------------|-------------------------------------|---------------|
|              | pPN                   | Nyungic      | pPN                                 | Nyungic       |
| NOM[INATIVE] | <i>*ngay/ngayu</i>    | <i>*-rna</i> | <i>*nyin/nyun</i>                   | <i>*-n</i>    |
| ERG[ATIVE]   | <i>*ngathu</i>        | –            | <i>*nyintu/nyuntu</i>               | –             |
| ACC[USATIVE] | <i>*nganya/nganha</i> | <i>*-nya</i> | <i>*nyina/nyuna</i>                 | <i>*-na</i>   |
| DAT[IVE]     | <i>*ngaju</i>         | <i>*-ju</i>  | <i>*nyingku/nyungku<sup>9</sup></i> | <i>*-ngku</i> |
| LOC[ATIVE]   | <i>*ngaja</i>         | <i>*-ja</i>  | <i>*nyinta/nyunta</i>               | <i>*-nta</i>  |

Neither of the pPN first person singular subject pronouns (Nominative and Ergative) is reflected in the Nyungic bound pronoun inventory, although the second person singular Nominative, reconstructed as *\*-n*, is cognate with the pPN Nominative pronoun *\*nyin/nyun*. By contrast, reflexes of pPN first and second person singular Ergative pronouns are reflected in Nyungic free pronoun inventories. The only plausible reflexes of a Nyungic language

6 In pre-Nyungic it is possible that these first and second person ‘singular’ paradigms only marked person and case features and not number, and that (most) non-singular forms reflect a later development in the history of Nyungic languages (see Sharp 1997, 333; 2004, 250–52 for her differentiation of pronoun types in Marrngu languages). The formal marking of case features in non-singular bound pronouns follows a different suffixal pattern to that of first and second person singular forms.

7 The pPN reconstructed pronouns are sourced from Alpher (2004), Capell (1956), Dixon (1970, 1980, 2002), O’Grady (1959) and Koch (1997, 2014). Additional sources are listed by Koch (1997, 292) and Koch (2014). Although Dixon (1997, 2002) disputes the status of pPN, his reconstructions of proto-Australian first and second person singular subject and object forms (Dixon 1980, 340; 2002, 300) are based on free form pronouns belonging to languages that are classified by others as belonging to the PN family.

8 In many eastern PN languages second person pronouns cognate with those in Table 10.1 have initial velar nasal *ng* in place of the palatal nasal *ny* (Dixon 1980, 2002).

9 Koch (2014, 62) reconstructs pPN *\*nyunu* as the second person singular Dative (discussed below). This form is also reflected in Nyungic free pronouns, but not in the set of bound pronouns in Table 10.1. Forms cognate with Dative *-ngku* in Table 10.1 have also been reconstructed as oblique forms, since they form the base on which a number of semantic cases are formed through suffixation, e.g. Hale (1976a, 24–25; 1976b, 56–57) reconstructs Paman *\*ngaju*- ‘1st.SG.OBLIQUE’, *\*nyungku* - *nyingku* ‘2nd.SG.OBLIQUE’.

free pronoun from which the Nominative bound form *-rna* is derived are the Eastern Mirniny non-Nominative pronouns *ngarna* or *ngarna.nya* 'me' (Accusative) and *ngarni.ya* 'my/for me' (Dative/Genitive) (OVV, 135; O'Grady 1967–68).<sup>10</sup>

As will be shown below, the correspondence between pPN and pNgarna pronouns is similar to that between Nyungic bound pronouns and pPN free pronouns in that, with the exception of the first person singular Nominative, the case forms closely reflect those of pPN. Unlike the Ngarna languages Yanyuwa and Wakaya in which, for the most part, the bound pronouns transparently reflect corresponding free forms, the formal correspondence between Nyungic bound and free first and second person pronouns is more remote. The picture that emerges in the Nyungic subgroups is one where ancestral free forms, mostly cognate with pPN pronouns, are retained as bound pronouns while 'new' sets of free pronouns are adopted. These free-form inventories show some significant variation from one subgroup to another and also between languages within subgroups, as will be discussed later in the chapter.

Among the languages possessing a reflex of first singular Nominative *\*ngarna*, Warumungu is exceptional in having a single set of pronouns that have both free and bound pronoun characteristics (Simpson 2008). The relationship between the Warumungu first and second singular pronouns and their cognates in both Nyungic and Ngarna languages will be discussed below, as will the possible Kalkutungu reflex of *\*ngarna* realised as the bound first person subject *-rna* (Blake 1979a, 69).<sup>11</sup>

The organisation of the remaining sections is as follows. First, I show the distribution of first and second singular bound pronoun paradigms in Nyungic language subgroups and propose a reconstruction at the subgroup and wider group level. I then compare corresponding free pronouns in these subgroups. Next, I examine the forms and distribution of the first person singular Nominative pronouns seemingly cognate with *\*ngarna* in languages outside the Nyungic group and compare them with second person forms. What the known distribution of *\*ngarna* as first person Nominative pronoun may imply for the genetic relationships within PN is discussed in the conclusion.

10 The Eastern Mirniny Nominative first person singular pronoun *ngathu* is cognate with the pPN Ergative. This language does not have bound pronouns.

11 See also the discussion of Warumungu pronouns in Baker (Ch. 13, this volume).

# Distribution of bound pronouns in Nyungic languages

Half of the revised set of Nyungic subgroups (see Koch 2004a, 34–37) contain languages with sets of cognate bound pronouns that mark grammatical features associated with major syntactic functions, including subject, direct object and indirect object. These bound pronouns are absent from the subgroups situated in the south of the area, namely Nyungar and Mirniny; nor do they occur in Thura-Yura. They are also absent from the western Nyungic subgroups, Kanyara and Mantharda, even though they are present in some languages in other western subgroups, namely Ngayarda and Kartu.

**Table 10.2: Nyungic subgroups (revised).**

| Bound pronoun subgroups | No bound pronoun subgroups |
|-------------------------|----------------------------|
| Marrngu                 | Nyungar                    |
| Ngumpin-Yapa            | Mirniny                    |
| Wati                    | Kanyara                    |
| Ngayarda                | Mantharda                  |
| Kartu                   | (Thura-Yura)               |

The five subgroups containing languages with bound pronoun reflexes of pPN free pronoun case paradigms vary in the distribution of forms across languages:

- All Marrngu and Ngumpin-Yapa languages have bound pronouns.
- All northern and central Wati languages have bound pronouns, but they are absent from languages spoken on the south-east edge of the Wati languages area, such as Gugada (Platt 1972).
- Only three Ngayarda languages out of the 10 listed by Koch (2004a, 37, Table 6) and two of the four better documented Kartu languages have bound pronouns, but at least one language in each of these groups has strong reflexes of both first and second person case paradigms.<sup>12</sup>

12 Following Blevins (1999) I have omitted Nhanta from the Kartu subgroup where it was classified by OVV.

There are traces of probable reflexes of both the Nominative and Dative first person bound pronouns in other western Nyungic languages, but they are not used to mark the person features of verbal arguments.<sup>13</sup>

The data on which the reconstructed bound Nyungic pronouns in Table 10.1 are based are shown in Tables 10.3 to 10.6, starting with the Marrngu languages, which retain the most conservative reflexes of pPN pronouns.

## Marrngu languages

The Marrngu group of languages is represented by three languages: Karajarri, Nyangumarta and Mangarla. These languages share with Ngumpin-Yapa and Wati languages the lack of a phonological contrast between dental and palatal laminal consonants, which are written as palatal (*j*, *ny*, *ly*, *y*).<sup>14</sup>

Marrngu first and second person bound pronouns are listed in Table 10.3a.

**Table 10.3a: First and second person bound pronouns in Marrngu languages.**

| Case            | NOM                  | ACC       | DAT                 | LOC     | DAT-AUG                  | LOC-AUG           |
|-----------------|----------------------|-----------|---------------------|---------|--------------------------|-------------------|
| <b>Language</b> | <b>First person</b>  |           |                     |         |                          |                   |
| Karajarri       | -rna                 | -nya/-nyi | (-nyara)<br>-ja/-ji | –       | –                        | -jara<br>-jara-la |
| Nyangumarta     | -rnV                 | -nyV      | -jV                 | –       | -ja/-jia <*-jira         | –                 |
| Mangarla        | -rna                 | -nya      | -ja <*-jura         | –       | -ja-la <*-jura-la        | –                 |
| pMarrngu        | *-rna                | *-nya     | *-ju                | (*-ja)  | *-jura                   | *-jara            |
|                 | <b>Second person</b> |           |                     |         |                          |                   |
| Karajarri       | -n                   | -nta      | -ngku               | –       | -ngkura                  | -ntara            |
| Nyangumarta     | -n(pV)               | -ntV      | -ngu                | –       | -nga/-ngua<br><*-ngura   | –                 |
| Mangarla        | -n                   | -na       | -ngka <*-ngkura     | –       | -ngka-la<br><*-ngkura-la | –                 |
| pMarrngu        | *-n                  | *-na      | *-ngku              | (*-nta) | *-ngkura                 | *-ntara           |

13 A plausible reflex of first person singular Dative enclitic *-ju* (< pPN *\*ngaju*) is attested in Kanyara languages marking the first person propositus on kin terms (Austin 1996) and in several languages *-rna* or *-ju* are found on first person non-singular free pronouns to mark an exclusive as opposed to an unmarked inclusive form (Capell 1956, 100).

14 Dixon (1970) discusses the distribution of this contrast in Australian languages.

**Table 10.3b: Marrngu data sources.**

| Language    | Sources                                                     |
|-------------|-------------------------------------------------------------|
| Karajarri   | Capell 1949, 1962; Johnson 1992; McKelson 1989b; Sands 1989 |
| Nyangumarta | O'Grady 1959, 1964, 1987, n.d.; Sharp 1997, 2004            |
| Mangarla    | Agnew 1994, 2020; Sharp 2004                                |

All Marrngu languages preserve a reflex *-nya* of the pPN first person Accusative pronoun *\*nganya*, but only Mangarla retains a reflex *-na* of the pPN second person Accusative *\*nyina/nyuna*. The second person Accusative in the other two languages is derived from the ancestral Locative *\*nyinta*. The quality of the Nyangumarta vowel shown as *V* is subject to vowel harmony. Vowel harmony also applies in Mangarla (Agnew 2020).

The Marrngu subgroup, as well as the Ngumpin-Yapa and Wati subgroups, features two series of pronouns in which a morpheme reconstructed as proto Marrngu *\*-ra* is added to the Locative and Dative bound pronoun stems. I refer to these as ‘Dative-augmented’ and ‘Locative-augmented’.<sup>15</sup> O’Grady (1987, 523) proposes that the Nyangumarta Dative-augmented forms *-ja* and *-nga* derive from *\*-ji-ra* and *\*-ngku-ra*, respectively, more clearly reflected in the alternate Nyangumarta forms *-jia* and *-ngua* (Sharp 2004) in which the rhotic glide /r/ has been reduced to a quality determined by the preceding vowel.<sup>16</sup> It is likely that the Mangarla Dative enclitics *-ja* and *-ngka* also derive from pre-Marrngu Dative-augmented pronouns and not from Locative forms, since second person *-nta* and not *-ngka* would be expected. Sharp (2004, 333) also notes that the Nyangumarta pronouns listed as Dative in Table 10.3a have both a Dative and a location function. Thus, it would seem that the pre-Marrngu Locative pronouns were lost and their function was assumed by the Dative (or augmented Dative). The original second person Dative-augmented form *-ngku-ra* is retained in Karajarri, but the first person form is not attested in the literature (possibly an unintentional data gap).<sup>17</sup> The Mangarla Dative-augmented is distinguished from the Dative by the addition of the suffix *-la*. The Locative-augmented is only attested in Karajarri, which also has a doubly augmented first person variant *-ja-ra-la*. The bracketed

15 Thus far these have not been reconstructed in pPN, but their distribution beyond Nyungic suggests a deep ancestry.

16 O’Grady gave further examples of this pre-Nyangumarta process in a hand-written personal communication to the author dated 24 June 1996, accompanied by relevant examples from class notes entitled ‘A first look at Nyangumarta (second version)’ (n.d.).

17 The Karajarri alternate Dative form *-ja* may derive from the Dative-augmented *\*-ji-ra*.

Locative forms, *\*-ja* and *\*-nta*, are reconstructed as pre-Marrngu forms on the basis of the augmented Locative and the presence of *-nta* as the second person Accusative in Karajarri and Nyangumarta.

In both Karajarri and Nyangumarta, bound pronouns are hosted by the verbal complex, whereas in Mangarla they encliticise directly to the initial phrase or are incorporated into an auxiliary complex which occupies that position (Agnew 1994, 2020). As observed by Sharp (1997, 333–34; 2004, 250–52), the Nyangumarta first and second person bound pronouns cognate with pPN pronouns fall into a small class of 'affix type pronouns' which also includes the third person singular Nominative and Dative, and the first person non-singular subject forms. The affixal pronouns include a plural affix *-ya*, which is also in the other Marrngu languages, and in Wati and Kartu languages. In Marrngu languages, the first person *-ma* is suffixed to the plural subject affix *-ya* to mark a first person plural subject, while in Wati languages such as Ngatjatjarra, a second person plural subject bound pronoun *-yan* is formed by suffixing the second person *-n* to plural *-ya* (Glass and Hackett 2003, 550). All other Nyangumarta bound pronouns are word-like and are postposed to the affixal pronouns suffixed to the verb. The word-like pronouns are transparently derived from free pronouns and have not been subject to the sound changes that have shaped the affixal pronouns.

## Ngumpin-Yapa languages

The Ngumpin-Yapa language area stretches from the north-eastern part of the Nyungic language area in the Northern Territory into Western Australia.<sup>18</sup> Along their northern and north-eastern border, the languages are in contact with non-PN languages, while PN languages Warumungu and Arandic are spoken to their immediate east. Like the Marrngu languages, all Ngumpin-Yapa languages have retained some reflexes of a common set of bound pronouns cognate with reconstructed pPN pronouns except for the first person subject form. Unlike in the Marrngu languages, the first and second person Ngumpin-Yapa paradigms present a uniform pattern.

First and second person singular pronouns are listed in Table 10.4a, in which the languages are divided into three subgroups: Yapa, Western Ngumpin and Eastern Ngumpin. Languages in the first two subgroups have not undergone the lenition of intervocalic stops to glides which characterises

18 The Ngumpin-Yapa subgroup includes the languages in OVV's Ngarga and Ngumbin subgroups (McConvell and Laughren 2004).

the Eastern Ngumpin languages (McConvell 1985). Only the Western Ngumpin languages retain reflexes of the pPN Locative as their Accusative form, along with the Locative-augmented, which is characterised by Hudson (1978) as having an ‘accessory’ function in Walmajarri. All other Ngumpin-Yapa languages have extended the reflex of the pPN Dative to the Accusative function. With the exception of Mudburra and Ngarinyman, all Ngumpin-Yapa languages retain Dative-augmented forms, cognate with those in the Marrngu languages. Although the absence of any Locative-derived form and the Accusative-Dative syncretism constitute the majority pattern in Ngumpin-Yapa languages, the presence of both the Dative-augmented and Locative-augmented pronouns in Western Ngumpin argues in favour of reconstructing distinct Dative and Locative pronouns in the proto language. A plausible scenario would be an initial syncretism of Locative and Accusative, as in second person forms in two Marrngu languages and other subgroups, followed by the loss of the Locative form and subsequent syncretism of Dative and Accusative, except in Western Ngumpin.<sup>19</sup>

**Table 10.4a: Ngumpin-Yapa (NGY) first and second singular bound pronouns.**

| Subgroup            | Language                 | NOM   | Acc    | DAT    | Loc    | DAT-AUG           | Loc-AUG  |
|---------------------|--------------------------|-------|--------|--------|--------|-------------------|----------|
| <b>First Person</b> |                          |       |        |        |        |                   |          |
| Yapa                | Warlpiri                 | -rna  | -ju/ji | -ju/ji | –      | -ju/ji-rla        | –        |
|                     | Warlmanpa                | -rna  | -ju    | -ju    | –      | -ju-rla           | –        |
| Western Ngumpin     | Walmajarri               | -rna  | -ja    | -ji    | >ACC   | -ji-rla           | -ja-rla  |
|                     | Jiwarliny                | -rna  | -ja    | -ji    | >ACC   | ?                 | -ja-rla  |
| Eastern Ngumpin     | Ngarti                   | -rna  | -yi    | -yi    | –      | -yi-rla<br>(-rni) | –        |
|                     | Djaru                    | -rna  | -yi    | -yi    | –      | -yi-la            | –        |
|                     | Wanyjirra                | -rna  | -yi    | -yi    | –      | -yi-la            | –        |
|                     | Gurindji                 | -rna  | -yi    | -yi    | –      | -yi-rla           | –        |
|                     | Bilinarra                | -rna  | -yi    | -yi    | –      | -yi-rla           | –        |
|                     | Mudburra                 | -rna  | -yi    | -yi    | –      | –                 | –        |
|                     | Ngarinyman <sup>20</sup> | -rna  | -yi    | -yi    | –      | –                 | –        |
|                     | pNGY                     | *-rna | *-ja   | *-ju   | (*-ja) | *-ju-rla          | *-ja-rla |

19 The alternative analysis would imply that pNgumpin-Yapa inherited Dative forms also marked Accusative case and that pPN Locative forms were not inherited, and that Western Ngumpin languages had later borrowed ‘Locative’ forms from a Western Desert language to mark Accusative as distinct from Dative forms and had extended *-rla* augmentation by analogy with the augmented Dative.

20 C. Jones et al. (2019, 31) also record an alternative Accusative-Dative enclitic *-nya* which was recorded from a single speaker (C. Jones, pers. comm.), not documented in C. Jones (1995).

## 10. TRACKING A ‘NOVEL’ FIRST PERSON SUBJECT PRONOUN WITHIN PAMA-NYUNGAN

| Subgroup             | Language   | Nom           | Acc            | DAT            | Loc            | DAT-Aug           | Loc-Aug          |
|----------------------|------------|---------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|-------------------|------------------|
| <b>Second Person</b> |            |               |                |                |                |                   |                  |
| Yapa                 | Warlpiri   | <i>-n(pa)</i> | <i>-ngku/i</i> | <i>-ngku/i</i> | –              | <i>-ngku-rla</i>  | –                |
|                      | Warlmanpa  | <i>-n(ku)</i> | <i>-ngu</i>    | <i>-ngu</i>    | –              | <i>-ngu-rla</i>   | –                |
| Western Ngumpin      | Walmajarri | <i>-n</i>     | <i>-nta</i>    | <i>-ngu</i>    | >ACC           | <i>-ngu-rla</i>   | <i>-nta-rla</i>  |
|                      | Jiwarliny  | <i>-n</i>     | <i>-nta</i>    | <i>-ngu</i>    | >ACC           | ?                 | <i>-nta-rla</i>  |
| Eastern Ngumpin      | Ngarti     | <i>-n</i>     | <i>-ngku</i>   | <i>-ngku</i>   | –              | <i>-ngku-rla</i>  | –                |
|                      | Djaru      | <i>-n</i>     | <i>-ngku</i>   | <i>-ngku</i>   | –              | <i>-ngku-la</i>   | –                |
|                      | Wanyjirra  | <i>-n</i>     | <i>-ngku</i>   | <i>-ngku</i>   | –              | <i>-ngku-la</i>   | –                |
|                      | Gurindji   | <i>-n(ku)</i> | <i>-ngku</i>   | <i>-ngku</i>   | –              | <i>-ngku-rla</i>  | –                |
|                      | Bilinarra  | <i>-n</i>     | <i>-ngku</i>   | <i>-ngku</i>   | –              | <i>-ngku-rla</i>  | –                |
|                      | Mudburra   | <i>-n</i>     | <i>-ngku</i>   | <i>-ngku</i>   | –              | –                 | –                |
|                      | Ngarinyman | <i>-n</i>     | <i>-ngku</i>   | <i>-ngku</i>   | –              | –                 | –                |
|                      | pNGY       | <i>*-n</i>    | <i>*-nta</i>   | <i>*-ngku</i>  | <i>(*-nta)</i> | <i>*-ngku-rla</i> | <i>*-nta-rla</i> |

Table 10.4b: Ngumpin-Yapa sources.<sup>21</sup>

| Subgroups       | Languages  | Sources                                                                    |
|-----------------|------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Yapa            | Warlpiri   | Hale 1973; Nash 1996                                                       |
|                 | Warlmanpa  | Nash 1979; Browne 2021                                                     |
| Western Ngumpin | Walmajarri | Hudson 1978; Richards and Hudson 1990                                      |
|                 | Jiwarliny  | Hale 1960                                                                  |
| Eastern Ngumpin | Ngarti     | Cataldi 1995a, 1995b; Ennever 2018, 2021                                   |
|                 | Djaru      | Tsunoda 1981                                                               |
|                 | Wanyjirra  | Senge 2015                                                                 |
|                 | Gurindji   | McConvell 1980; Meakins et al. 2013; Meakins and McConvell 2021            |
|                 | Bilinarra  | McConvell 1980; Nordlinger 1990; Meakins 2013; Meakins and Nordlinger 2014 |
|                 | Mudburra   | McConvell 1980; R. Green et al. 2019                                       |
|                 | Ngarinyman | C. Jones 1995; C. Jones et al. 2019                                        |

In both the Ngumpin-Yapa and Marrngu languages, a first person plural Nominative bound pronoun complex consists of person-marking *-rna* and a plural Nominative pronoun. In the Marrngu languages, Karajarri and Nyangumarta, *-rna* is affixed to the Nominative plural verbal suffix *-ya*,

21 Additional data on bound pronouns is from McConvell (1980).

while Mangarla has independently incorporated *-ngarni*, a former free form pronoun (Agnew 2020) as its first person plural Nominative. All Marrngu languages have incorporated a free second person plural Nominative pronoun *nyurra/nyurru* into their bound pronoun subject paradigm.

In the Ngumpin-Yapa languages, a plural subject morpheme *-lu/-li* is encliticised to *-rna*, to mark a first person plural exclusive subject as in (1b).<sup>22</sup> However, the independence of these enclitic morphemes is shown by the fact that a second person Accusative/Dative pronoun must immediately follow the first person Nominative, which is, in turn, followed by the plural subject pronoun, as in the Warlpiri sentence (1c).<sup>23</sup> The Dative enclitic *-ngku* in (1c) marks the person feature, but not number, since dual *-pala* can be added as in (1d).<sup>24</sup>

### Warlpiri

- (1) a. *Yanu-rna.*  
       went-1NOM  
       ‘I went.’
- b. *Yanu-rna-lu.*  
       went-1NOM-PL.NOM  
       ‘We went.’
- c. *Yanu-rna-ngku-lu.*  
       went-1NOM-2DAT-PL.NOM  
       ‘We went to (see) you.’
- d. *Yanu-rna-ngku-lu-pala.*  
       went-1NOM-2DAT-PL.NOM-DUAL  
       ‘We went to (see) you two.’

The second person plural Nominative clitic complex is formed in the same way, as shown in the Warlpiri sentences in (2a-c). Depending on the context, an augment *-ku* or *-pa* is added to second person Nominative *-n*.

22 This plural Nominative morpheme is exclusive to the Ngumpin-Yapa languages within Nyungic, but might have its origin in Ngarna *yalu* (McConvell and Laughren 2004, 165–67).

23 The Warlpiri examples in (1a–1d) and (2a–2c) are adapted from Hale (1973).

24 Due to a process of non-singular number neutralisation (Hale 1973) the Eastern Warlpiri equivalent of (1d) would employ the second person plural *-nyarra* in place of the discontinuous second person Dative plus dual *-ngku ... pala*.

## Warlpiri

- (2) a. *Yanu-n.pa.*  
 went-2NOM  
 'You (sg) went.'
- b. *Yanu-n.ku=lu.*  
 went-2NOM-PL.NOM  
 'You (pl) went.'
- c. *Yanu-n.ku-ju-lu.*  
 went-2NOM-1DAT-PL.NOM  
 'You (pl) went to (see) me.'

In Ngumpin-Yapa languages, the bound pronouns encliticise to an auxiliary morpheme, or to the initial phrase in a finite clause, or, depending on its modal properties, to the verb. Thus the behaviour of these bound pronouns resembles that of Mangarla bound pronouns, but differs from the behaviour of bound pronouns in the other two Marrngu languages.

## Wati languages

Within their Wati subgroup, OVV treat the Warnman language as representing a sister branch to their Western Desert (WD) branch. The Warnman first person bound pronoun inventory differs from the WD one in that Accusative *-nya*, cognate with pPN *\*nganya*, is either retained from the original pWati or is borrowed from a neighbouring Marrngu language. Another difference between Warnman and the WD languages is that the historic first person Locative *-ja* has a Dative function in Warnman, while the historic Dative *-ju* is maintained in the WD languages. The second person Dative pronoun *-ngku* is retained in Warnman and a subset of Wati languages. It is also found as a second person marker in the very distinctive Warnman free pronoun paradigm (OVV, 136).<sup>25</sup>

The WD languages Yurlparija and Yankunytjatjara, situated respectively at the north-west and south-east of the area in which WD languages have bound pronouns, have retained the historical Locative first and second person bound pronouns as Accusative forms. The other WD languages

25 First person is unmarked in the Warnman free pronoun paradigm whose base is *parra-*: *parra* 'I', *parra-kujarra* 'we DU.', *parra-warta* 'we PL.', *parra-ngku* 'you SG.', *parra-ngku-kujarra* 'you DU.', *parra-ngku-warta* 'you PL.' (OVV, 136).

have replaced first person Accusative *-ja* with *-rni*, which also serves a Locative function in a subset of WD languages. The presence of Locative *-rni* in Yankunytjatjara, which retains Accusative *-ja*, suggests that *-rni* may have been introduced into WD languages in place of the original Locative *-ja* following its reanalysis as an Accusative form; it then replaces *-ja* as the Accusative in most WD languages. The second person Locative *-nta*, however, retains a Locative function in a subset of WD languages, even though it also serves as the Accusative in all Wati languages.

**Table 10.5a: Wati first and second person bound pronouns.**

| Subgroup             | Language        | NOM          | ACC               | DAT           | LOC            | DAT-AUG          | LOC-AUG         |
|----------------------|-----------------|--------------|-------------------|---------------|----------------|------------------|-----------------|
| <b>First person</b>  |                 |              |                   |               |                |                  |                 |
| Warnman              | Warnman         | <i>-rna</i>  | <i>-nya</i>       | <i>-ja</i>    | <b>&gt;Dat</b> | –                | –               |
| Western Desert       | Yurlparija      | <i>-rna</i>  | <i>-ja</i>        | <i>-ju</i>    | –              | –                | <i>-jara</i>    |
|                      | Nyaatjatjarra   | <i>-rna</i>  | <i>-rni</i>       | <i>-ju</i>    | –              | –                | –               |
|                      | Nyaanyatjarra   | <i>-rna</i>  | <i>-rni</i>       | <i>-ju</i>    | –              | –                | –               |
|                      | Pitjantjatjara  | <i>-rna</i>  | <i>-rni</i>       | <i>-ju</i>    | <i>-rni</i>    | –                | –               |
|                      | Pintupi         | <i>-rna</i>  | <i>-rni</i>       | <i>-ju</i>    | <i>-rni</i>    | <i>-jura</i>     | –               |
|                      | Manyiljarra     | <i>-rna</i>  | <i>-rni</i>       | <i>-ju</i>    | <i>-rni</i>    | <i>-jura</i>     | –               |
|                      | Wangkajunga     | <i>-rna</i>  | <i>-rni</i>       | <i>-ju</i>    | <i>-rni</i>    | <i>-jura</i>     | –               |
|                      | Kukatja         | <i>-rna</i>  | <i>-rni</i>       | <i>-ju</i>    | –              | <i>-jura</i>     | –               |
|                      | Yankunytjatjara | <i>-rna</i>  | <i>-ja</i>        | <i>-ju</i>    | <i>-rni</i>    | –                | –               |
|                      | pWati           | <i>*-rna</i> | <i>*-ja /-nya</i> | <i>*-ju</i>   | <i>(*-ja)</i>  | <i>*-ju-ra</i>   | <i>*-ja-ra</i>  |
| <b>Second person</b> |                 |              |                   |               |                |                  |                 |
| Warnman              | Warnman         | <i>-n</i>    | <i>-nta</i>       | <i>-ngku</i>  | –              | –                | –               |
| Western Desert       | Yurlparija      | <i>-n</i>    | <i>-nta</i>       | <i>-ngku</i>  | –              | –                | <i>-ntara</i>   |
|                      | Nyaatjatjarra   | <i>-n</i>    | <i>-nta</i>       | <i>-nku</i>   | –              | –                | –               |
|                      | Nyaanyatjarra   | <i>-n</i>    | <i>-nta</i>       | <i>-nku</i>   | –              | –                | –               |
|                      | Pitjantjatjara  | <i>-n</i>    | <i>-nta</i>       | –             | <i>-nta</i>    | –                | –               |
|                      | Pintupi         | <i>-n</i>    | <i>-nta</i>       | <i>-ngku</i>  | <i>-nta</i>    | <i>-ngkura</i>   | –               |
|                      | Manyiljarra     | <i>-n</i>    | <i>-nta</i>       | <i>-ngku</i>  | <i>-nta</i>    | <i>-ngkura</i>   | –               |
|                      | Wangkajunga     | <i>-n</i>    | <i>-nta</i>       | <i>-ngku</i>  | <i>-nta</i>    | <i>-ngkura</i>   | –               |
|                      | Kukatja         | <i>-n</i>    | <i>-nta</i>       | <i>-ngku</i>  | <i>-nta</i>    | <i>-ngkura</i>   | –               |
|                      | Yankunytjatjara | <i>-n</i>    | <i>-nta</i>       | –             | –              | –                | –               |
|                      | pWati           | <i>*-n</i>   | <i>*-nta</i>      | <i>*-ngku</i> | <i>*-nta</i>   | <i>*-ngku-ra</i> | <i>*-nta-ra</i> |

**Table 10.5b: Wati sources.**

| Language       | Sources                            | Language            | Sources                      |
|----------------|------------------------------------|---------------------|------------------------------|
| Warnman        | OVV; Thieberger 1991               | Pintupi             | Hansen and Hansen 1978, 1991 |
| Yurlparija     | OVV; Burridge 1996; McKelson 1989a | Manyjiljarra        | Marsh 1992                   |
| Nyaatjatjarra  | Laughren and Giles 1996            | Wangkajunga         | B. Jones 2012                |
| Nyaanyatjarra  | Glass and Hackett 2003             | Kukatja (Balgo, WA) | Valiquette 1993              |
| Pitjantjatjara | Eckert and Hudson 1988; Bowe 1990  | Yankunytjatjara     | Goddard 1985                 |

The reconstruction of pre-Wati Locative *\*-ja* is inferred from its reflex in Yulparija as the Locative-augmented *-ja.ra* and from Warnman Dative *-ja* in place of pWati Dative *\*-ju*. This generalises a pattern of identical Accusative and Locative forms in both first and second person paradigms. Goddard (1985, 122) notes that younger Yankunytjatjara speakers use *-rni* for the Accusative in place of *-ja* but that this usage was attributed by Yankunytjatjara traditionalists to Pitjantjatjara influence. Goddard (1985, 123, Example 4-80) also notes a ‘Locative’ first person singular *-rni* (but gives no second person equivalent), while first person *-ja* is not recorded as having a Locative function.

These bound pronouns have not been recorded in WD languages such as Gugada (Platt 1972) spoken at the south-east periphery of the WD area where it is in close contact with southern languages such as Wirangu of the Thura-Yura subgroup.

## Ngayarta and Kartu languages

Enclitic pronouns have only been recorded in three Ngayarta languages: Palyku (also known as Nyiyapali), Panyjima and Nyamal. Only Palyku has both first and second person subject and non-subject bound pronouns, while Panyjima has no second person bound pronouns or a first person subject bound pronoun, and Nyamal has only subject bound pronouns, with a divergent second person subject bound form *-ngka*.

I have only been able to find reliable data for two Kartu languages with bound pronouns: Wajarri and Yingkarta. Wajarri retains a four-way distinction in first person case forms with Accusative *-rni* distinguished from both Dative *-ju* and Locative *-ja* – a mirror image of Yankunytjatjara first person non-subject forms. The second person Locative form *-nta* also serves

as the Accusative, a pattern already seen in Western Ngumpin and WD languages and in two of the three Marrngu languages. Yingkarta also shows an asymmetry in the distribution of first and second person forms, similar to that in the Ngayarta languages, Panyjima and Nyamal. The paucity of relevant data in these subgroups makes for highly tentative reconstructions at the subgroup level, but it is significant that the basic pattern that is reflected is one compatible with Marrngu, Ngumpin-Yapa and Wati bound pronoun paradigms, which in turn reflect pPN free pronoun paradigms, with the exception of the first person Nominative.

The bolded forms in Table 10.6 represent the most conservative forms, judged in comparison with other Nyungic inventories and with pPN cognates.

**Table 10.6: Ngayarta and Kartu first and second person bound pronouns.**

| Subgroup             | Language  | NOM                  | ACC                | DAT                   | LOC                | SOURCES                            |
|----------------------|-----------|----------------------|--------------------|-----------------------|--------------------|------------------------------------|
| <b>First person</b>  |           |                      |                    |                       |                    |                                    |
| <b>Ngayarta</b>      | Palyku    | <i>-rna</i>          | <i>-ja/-tha</i>    | <i>-ju/-thu</i>       | –                  | OVV; O'Grady 1958, 1966; Kohn 1996 |
|                      | Panyjima  | –                    | <i>-rni</i>        | <i>-ju</i>            | –                  | Dench 1991                         |
|                      | Nyamal    | <i>-rna</i>          | –                  | –                     | –                  | OVV; Dench 1994b, 2008             |
|                      |           | <b><i>-rna</i></b>   | <b><i>-ja</i></b>  | <b><i>-ju</i></b>     | –                  |                                    |
| <b>Kartu</b>         | Yingkarta | <i>-rna</i>          | –                  | –                     | –                  | OVV; Dench 1998                    |
|                      | Wajarri   | <i>-rna</i>          | <i>-rni</i>        | <i>-ju</i>            | <i>-ja</i>         | Douglas 1981; Marmion 1996         |
|                      |           | <b><i>-rna</i></b>   | <i>-rni</i>        | <b><i>-ju</i></b>     | <b><i>-ja</i></b>  |                                    |
| <b>Second person</b> |           |                      |                    |                       |                    |                                    |
| <b>Ngayarta</b>      | Palyku    | <i>-n(pa)</i>        | <i>-nta</i>        | <i>-ngku</i>          | –                  | O'Grady 1958, 1966; Kohn 1996      |
|                      | Panyjima  | –                    | –                  | –                     | –                  | Dench 1991                         |
|                      | Nyamal    | <i>(-ngka)</i>       | –                  | –                     | –                  | OVV; Dench 1994b, 2008             |
|                      |           | <b><i>-n(pa)</i></b> | <b><i>-nta</i></b> | <b><i>-ngku</i></b>   | –                  |                                    |
| <b>Kartu</b>         | Yingkarta | <i>-n(pa)</i>        | <i>-nta</i>        | <i>-ngu</i>           | <i>-nta</i>        | OVV; Dench 1998                    |
|                      | Wajarri   | <i>-n</i>            | <i>-nta</i>        | –                     | <i>-nta</i>        | Douglas 1981; Marmion 1996         |
|                      |           | <b><i>-n</i></b>     | <b><i>-nta</i></b> | <b><i>-ng(k)u</i></b> | <b><i>-nta</i></b> |                                    |

The Ngayarta bound pronouns encliticise to the inflected verb as in the Marrngu languages, Nyangumarta and Karajarri. In the two Kardu languages, Yingkarta and Wajarri, bound pronouns encliticise to the clause initial phrase, as in Mangarla and in the Wati and Ngumpin-Yapa languages. In Wajarri, the Nominative bound pronouns *-rna* and *-n(pa)* can also be suffixed to the corresponding free pronoun to mark emphasis (Douglas 1981, 233).

In the Ngumpin-Yapa, WD and Ngayarta subgroups, the *\*-ja* and *\*-nta* reflexes of pPN Locative pronouns replace the pPN Accusative, retained in Marrngu languages and reflected in the Warnman first person, while still retaining a non-Accusative function. While there is no direct evidence of this pattern of syncretism in the first person paradigm in the Kartu subgroup, both Yingkarta and Wajarri share this pattern in their second person paradigms. As in most WD languages, in Panyjima (Ngayarta) and Wajarri (Kartu), the 'new' Accusative first person *-rni*, presumably derived from *\*ngarni*, has replaced the earlier *-ja* derived from the Locative *\*ngaja*. Alternatively, *-rni* replaced the original *\*-nya* derived from pPN *\*nganya*, and was later replaced in some languages by the locative *-ja* by analogy with second person *-nta*.

## ProtoPN and Nyungic bound pronouns compared

The reconstructed first and second person (singular) pronouns in five Nyungic language subgroups are summarised in Table 10.7 in which they are compared with reconstructed pPN free pronouns.

**Table 10.7: First and second person bound pronouns in Nyungic subgroups and pPN.**

|                     | pPN                        | Marrngu       | Ngumpin-Yapa   | Wati          | Ngayarta    | Kartu       |
|---------------------|----------------------------|---------------|----------------|---------------|-------------|-------------|
| <b>First person</b> |                            |               |                |               |             |             |
| NOM                 | <i>*ngay</i>               | <i>*=rna</i>  | <i>*=rna</i>   | <i>*=rna</i>  | <i>=rna</i> | <i>=rna</i> |
| ACC                 | <i>*nganya/<br/>nganha</i> | <i>*=nya</i>  | <i>*=ja</i>    | <i>*=ja</i>   | <i>=ja</i>  | <i>=rni</i> |
| LOC                 | <i>*ngaja</i>              | <i>*=ja</i>   | <i>*=ja</i>    | <i>*=ja</i>   | –           | <i>=ja</i>  |
| DAT                 | <i>*ngaju</i>              | <i>*=ju</i>   | <i>*=ju</i>    | <i>*=ju</i>   | <i>=ju</i>  | <i>=ju</i>  |
| LOC-AUG             | –                          | <i>*=jara</i> | <i>*=jarla</i> | <i>*=jara</i> | –           | –           |
| DAT-AUG             | –                          | <i>*=jura</i> | <i>*=jurla</i> | <i>*=jura</i> | –           | –           |

|                      | pPN                  | Marrngu  | Ngumpin-Yapa | Wati     | Ngayarta | Kartu |
|----------------------|----------------------|----------|--------------|----------|----------|-------|
| <b>Second person</b> |                      |          |              |          |          |       |
| NOM                  | *nyin/nyun           | *=n      | *=n          | *=n      | =n       | =n    |
| Acc                  | *nyina/nyuna         | *=na     | *=nta        | *=nta    | =nta     | =nta  |
| Loc                  | *nyinta/<br>nyunta   | *=nta    | *=nta        | *=nta    | =nta     | =nta  |
| DAT                  | *nyungku/<br>nyingku | *=ngku   | *=ngku       | *=ngku   | =ngku    | =ngku |
| LOC-AUG              | –                    | *=ntara  | *=ntarla     | *=ntara  | –        | –     |
| DAT-AUG              | –                    | *=ngkura | *=ngkurla    | *=ngkura | –        | –     |

Apart from the first person Nominative, the reconstructed bound pronoun paradigms in Table 10.7 exhibit a pattern of regular correspondence with their reconstructed pPN free pronoun counterparts; the bound pronouns lack the initial CV of the pPN forms. As already noted, there is no reflex of the pPN Ergative subject pronouns. In all subgroups, a reflex of the second person pPN Nominative is retained, while the first person pPN Nominative pronoun has been replaced by a bound pronoun derived from ancestral *\*ngarna*.<sup>26</sup>

## Free pronouns in Nyungic languages

First and second person free pronouns, which most closely reflect those reconstructed in pPN are found at the north-west and south-east peripheries of the Nyungic area, in the Ngarla language classified as belonging to the Ngayarta subgroup (O’Grady 1966; OVV; Dench 1994a) and in the Thura-Yura languages (Simpson and Hercus 2004). Relevant forms are given in Table 10.8.

26 The augment *-ra* in Marrngu and Wati languages and *-rla* in Ngumpin-Yapa has the same form as the third person singular Dative enclitic in those languages.

**Table 10.8: Ngarla and Thura-Yura pronouns compared with pPN.**

|               | Language          | ERG            | NOM                        | ACC                  | DAT             | LOC              |
|---------------|-------------------|----------------|----------------------------|----------------------|-----------------|------------------|
| First person  | Ngarla            | <i>ngaja</i>   | <i>ngaya</i> <sup>27</sup> | <i>nganya</i>        | <i>nganu</i>    | <i>ngaja-pa</i>  |
|               | pThura-Yura       | <i>*ngathu</i> | <i>*ngayi</i>              | <i>*nganha/ngayi</i> | <i>*ngaju</i>   | ?                |
|               | pPN               | <i>*ngathu</i> | <i>*ngay</i>               | <i>*nganya</i>       | <i>*ngaju</i>   | <i>*ngaja</i>    |
| Second person | Ngarla            | <i>nyinta</i>  | <i>nyin.pa</i>             | <i>nyina</i>         | <i>nyinu</i>    | <i>nyinta-pa</i> |
|               | pThura-Yura       | <i>*nhintu</i> | <i>*nhini</i>              | <i>*nhina/nhini</i>  | <i>*nhingku</i> | ?                |
|               | pPN <sup>28</sup> | <i>*nyintu</i> | <i>*nyin</i>               | <i>*nyina</i>        | <i>*nyingku</i> | <i>*nyinta</i>   |

While Ngarla preserves a formal contrast between subject and object cases, at least some Thura-Yura languages have moved to an Ergative-Absolutive contrast as shown in Table 10.9, which accounts for the variable data across the languages in this group presented by Simpson and Hercus (2004, 199). Some languages have retained the Ergative and others the Nominative as a single subject form; similarly, some have retained the Accusative as an object form while others have reanalysed the Nominative as both a subject and object form.

**Table 10.9: Thura-Yura first and second person singular pronouns.**

|                |               |                |               |                |                 |
|----------------|---------------|----------------|---------------|----------------|-----------------|
| pre Thura-Yura | –             | ERG            | NOM           | ACC            | DAT             |
| pThura-Yura    | –             | ERG            | ABS           |                | GEN             |
|                | First person  | <i>*ngathu</i> | <i>*ngayi</i> | <i>*nganha</i> | <i>*ngatyu</i>  |
|                | Second person | <i>*nhuntu</i> | <i>*nhini</i> | <i>*nhina</i>  | <i>*nhingku</i> |

The conservative retention in Thura-Yura of the pPN case paradigms lends weight to the claim made by Bowern and Atkinson (2012) that these languages do not belong in the Nyungic group. As will be seen, no ‘other’ Nyungic subgroup so directly reflects the pPN paradigms shown in Table 10.1 in either its bound or free pronoun inventories. Similarly, Ngarla is unique among Nyungic languages (excluding Thura-Yura languages) in its near preservation of pPN first and second person pronominal paradigms.

The only deviation is in the Ngarla Ergative forms which reflect pPN Locative pronouns and serve as the Locative stem to which *-pa* is suffixed. An Ergative-Locative syncretism is very common in PN languages with

<sup>27</sup> Same form in Maric languages (Alpher 2004).

<sup>28</sup> To simplify Table 10.8 only one variant of proposed pPN second person singular forms is given here.

a unique nominal suffix marking both Ergative and Locative functions.<sup>29</sup> In other PN languages, these functions are formally distinguished by the suffix-final vowel: high vowel /i ~ u/ marks Ergative case while low vowel /a/ marks the Locative.

As observed by Dench (1994a, 169), the Ngarla second person Dative pronoun reflects an early PN Dative or Genitive pronoun *\*nyunu* also found in languages spoken in eastern Australia, such as Wargamay (Dixon 1981, 40) and Gumbayngir (Eades 1979, 291). Koch (2014, 62) reconstructs *\*nyunu* as pPN second person singular Dative. The Ngarla first person Dative may have been an innovation formed by analogy with the second person form. There is no reflex of the Dative or oblique pPN forms *ngaju* or *nyingku* in Ngarla.

## Ngayarta subgroup

While other Ngayarta languages retain some reflexes of the pPN pronominal case paradigms as shown in Table 10.10, languages in the other subgroups that have retained bound pronouns have innovated new free pronoun paradigms. These are typically based on the subject form to which regular case marking suffixes, mostly similar to those used on nouns or determiners, are added.

Apart from Ngarla, which retains a formal contrast between Nominative and Ergative case pronouns, Ngayarta languages have a single second person subject pronoun cognate with the pPN Locative form, but which may have functioned as an earlier Ergative subject form, distinct from a Nominative form, as in Ngarla. There is more variation in the first person subject forms than in second person forms:

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29 This pattern is also found in non PN languages such as Yukulta, a Tangkic language (Keen 1983).

**Table 10.10: Other Ngayarta pronouns (from Dench 1994a).**

|               | Languages           | NOM                     | ACC                 | DAT                 | LOC              |
|---------------|---------------------|-------------------------|---------------------|---------------------|------------------|
| First person  | Palyku              | <i>ngatha</i>           | <i>ngaju/ngathu</i> | <i>ngaju/ngathu</i> | –                |
|               | Panyjima            | <i>ngatha</i>           | <i>ngaju</i>        | <i>ngaju-</i>       | <i>ngatha-la</i> |
|               | Nyamal              | <i>ngaja</i>            | <i>ngaja-nya</i>    | <i>ngaju-ku</i>     | –                |
|               | Martuthunira        | <i>ngayu</i> (<*ngathu) | ( <i>ngana-ju</i> ) | ( <i>ngana-ju</i> ) | <i>ngatha-la</i> |
|               | Jurruru             | <i>ngathu</i>           | ( <i>ngana-ju</i> ) | ( <i>ngana-ju</i> ) | –                |
|               | Yinjibarndi-Kurrama | <i>ngayi</i>            | <i>ngayu</i>        | <i>ngayu-</i>       | <i>ngayha-la</i> |
|               | Ngarluma            | <i>ngayi</i>            | <i>ngaju</i>        | <i>ngaju-</i>       | <i>ngatha-la</i> |
| Second person | Palyku              | <i>nyinta</i>           | <i>nyinku</i>       | <i>nyinku</i>       | –                |
|               | Panyjima            | <i>nyinta</i>           | <i>nyinku</i>       | <i>nyinku-</i>      | <i>nyinta-la</i> |
|               | Nyamal              | <i>nyunta</i>           | <i>nyuna-nya</i>    | <i>nyuna-ku</i>     | <i>nyunta-la</i> |
|               | Martuthunira        | NOT COGNATE             | –                   | –                   | –                |
|               | Jurruru             | <i>nyinta</i>           | –                   | <i>nyinku</i>       | –                |
|               | Yinjibarndi-Kurrama | <i>nyinta</i>           | <i>nyinku</i>       | <i>nyinku-</i>      | <i>nyinta-la</i> |
|               | Ngarluma            | <i>nyinta</i>           | <i>nyinku</i>       | <i>nyinku-</i>      | <i>nyinta-la</i> |

While the pPN first person Accusative *\*nganya* is only retained in Ngarla, the pPN second person Accusative *\*nyuna* is retained in the stem of the Nyamal second person Accusative and Dative pronouns. The pPN first person Dative is retained in most languages, and in some also serves as the Accusative. Nyamal is exceptional in that it does not reflect the majority pattern in which the ancestral Accusative is supplanted by the Dative, but rather distinguishes Accusative from Dative forms, by suffixation and, in first person forms, by the stem form also. The Locative stem *ngatha* clearly reflects the pPN Locative, even in languages where the first person Nominative is not obviously derived from the Locative. The suffix *-ju* on the Martuthunira Accusative and Jurruru Dative stem *ngana-* (derived from a first person plural pronoun) is possibly cognate with the Dative enclitic *-ju* (<*\*ngaju*).<sup>30</sup> The form of the Yinjibarndi-Kurrama first person pronouns is due to intervocalic consonant lenition (Dench 1994a, 166; Wordick 1982). The second person Accusative/Dative *nyinku* may be cognate with

30 The innovation in the first person Accusative/Dative form in Martuthunira and Jurruru, but the retention of the second person Dative *nyinku* in these languages might have resulted from the collapse of the phonological distinction between the dental and palatal laminal stops which distinguish the Ergative *ngathu* from the Dative *ngaju*. To maintain the case distinction a 'new' Dative is coined. Dunn (1988, 51) reports a similar innovation in the Badimaya first person Dative.

pPN *\*nyungku*, but is more likely to have been independently formed in pre-Ngayarta by suffixation of Dative *-ku* to the ancestral Nominative stem *\*nyin/nyun*.

## Wati, Marrngu and Ngumpin-Yapa free pronouns

With the exception of Warnman, first and second person singular free pronouns in Wati, Marrngu and Ngumpin-Yapa languages are mostly based on their subject (and citation) form with case marked by suffixes similar to those used to mark case on nominal phrases. Where the Ergative subject form is distinguished from the Nominative and/or Accusative, it is also marked by suffixation. The base pronouns are typically cognate with the pPN Ergative form, i.e. *ngaju* (<*\*ngathu*) and *nyuntu*, except in Warlmanpa and WD languages in which the first person base is *ngayu*. Unlike Eastern Ngumpin languages with first person Nominative *ngayu* or *ngayi* (< *\*ngaju*) due to stop to glide lenition, WD languages do not exhibit traces of this sound change so their first person Nominative form must have some other source.<sup>31</sup>

In Warlpiri, western Ngumpin and in neighbouring Djaru, the case marking of free pronouns follows an Ergative-Absolutive pattern like other nominal expressions, but the other Ngumpin-Yapa languages have a unique subject-object form as shown in Table 10.11. Some Ngumpin languages have a distinctive oblique stem (for Dative, Locative, Genitive): first person *ngani*-, second person *nyunu*- similar to Ngarla Dative pronouns in Table 10.8.

Although Ngarti and Djaru show evidence of stop to glide lenition in the first person Dative bound pronoun *-yi* shown in Table 10.4a, their first person free pronoun is *ngaju*, plausibly borrowed from a non-leniting language such as Walmajarri or Warlpiri. Because of the effects of lenition in eastern Ngumpin languages, it is difficult to know if the first person forms in those languages, *ngayi* or *ngayu*, predate this change or result from it. This pattern of first person *ngayu* and second person *nyuntu* is the same as the WD pattern. On the other hand, given that Warlmanpa is a non-leniting Yapa language, its first person pronoun with the intervocalic glide is likely to have been borrowed from a neighbouring eastern Ngumpin language such as Mudburra.

31 *Ngayu/ngay/ngayi* are first person singular free pronoun forms in non PN languages bordering the Nyungic group such as the Nyulnyulan languages (Stokes and McGregor 2003, 41–42) and the Jaminjung languages (Schultze-Berndt 2000, 64).

**Table 10.11: Ngumpin-Yapa free pronouns.<sup>32</sup>**

| Language                |   | Nom        | ERG            | Acc        | DAT           | Loc           | Poss          |
|-------------------------|---|------------|----------------|------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|
| Yapa                    |   |            |                |            |               |               |               |
| Warlpiri                | 1 | ngaju(lu)  | ngajulu-rlu    | ngaju(lu)  | ngaju(lu)-ku  | ngajulu-rla   | ngaju-nyangu  |
|                         | 2 | nyuntu(lu) | nyuntulu-rlu   | nyuntu(lu) | nyuntu(lu)-ku | nyuntulu-rla  | nyuntu-nyangu |
| Warlmanpa               | 1 | ngayu      |                |            | ngayu-ku      | ngayinya-rla  | ngayi-nya     |
|                         | 2 | nyuntu     |                |            | nyuntu-ku     | nyintinya-rla | nyinti-nya    |
| Ngumpin                 |   |            |                |            |               |               |               |
| Walmajarri<br>Jiwarliny | 1 | ngaju/i    | ngaju-ngu      | ngaju/i    | ngaju-wu      | ngaju-nga     | ngaju-kura    |
|                         | 2 | nyuntu     | nyuntu-ngu     | nyuntu     | nyuntu-wu     | nyuntu-nga    | nyuntu-kura   |
| Ngarti                  | 1 | ngaju      | ngaju (-ngku)  | ngaju      | ngaju-ku      | ngaju-ngka    | ngaju-kuny    |
|                         | 2 | nyuntu     | nyuntu (-ngku) | nyuntu     | nyuntu-ku     | nyuntu-ngka   | nyuntu-kuny   |
| Djaru                   | 1 | ngaju      | ngaju-ngku     | ngaju      | nganinga      | nganinginy-ja | nganinga      |
|                         | 2 | nyundu     | nyundu-ngku    | nyundu     | nyununga      | nyununginy-ja | nyununga      |
| Wanyjirra               | 1 | ngayu      |                |            | nganinga      | nganinginy-ja | nganinga      |
|                         | 2 | nyundu     |                |            | nyununga      | nyununginy-ja | nyununga      |
| Gurindji                | 1 | ngayu      |                |            | ngayiny       | ngayiny-ja    | ngayiny       |
|                         | 2 | nyuntu     |                |            | nyununy       | nyununy-ja    | nyununy       |
| Bilinarra<br>Ngarinyman | 1 | ngayi      |                |            | ngayiny       | ngayiny-ja    | ngayiny       |
|                         | 2 | nyundu     |                |            | nyununy       | nyununy-ja    | nyununy       |
| Mudburra                | 1 | ngayi/u    |                |            | ngayinya-wu   |               | ngayinya      |
|                         | 2 | nyundu     |                |            | nyununya-wu   |               | nyununya      |

32 The sources from which these data are drawn are listed in Table 10.4b.

The Dative, Locative and possessive pronouns in the neighbouring and closely related Djaru and Wanyjirra are based on a stem which includes the roots *ngani-* and *nyunu-* which are plausibly cognate with the Ngarla Dative pronouns, *nganu* and *nyinu* seen in Table 10.9. In Mudburra, Bilinarra and Ngarinyman, the second person Dative, Locative and possessive pronouns are also based on a stem *nyunu-*, while the first person forms are based on the stem *ngayi-*, plausibly descended from Dative *\*ngaju*, although the loss of the dental versus palatal contrast in these languages results in a unique Ergative/Dative form.

The free pronouns in Marrngu languages also exhibit an Ergative-Absolutive case marking pattern. The WD free pronouns typically show a Nominative-Accusative-Dative pattern with the Accusative suffix *-nya* and Dative *-ku* affixed to the Nominative form. In some languages, an Ergative suffix distinguishes transitive subjects from unmarked intransitive Nominative ones. This WD pattern is also found in the Kartu languages discussed below. A comparison of the Ngayarta free pronouns with those in the Kartu, Marrngu, Ngumpin-Yapa and Wati languages reveals that the latter groups have diverged from pPN case paradigms more radically than the Ngayarta languages.

## Mantharta, Kanyara and Kartu free pronouns

In Mantharta languages, as in some Ngayarta languages, the first person singular Nominative is *ngatha/ngaja*, cognate with pPN Locative, while other case forms are marked by suffixation to this base (Austin 2015, 67–70). The second person Nominative in Mantharta languages is based on the ancestral plural *nhurra*.

In the Kanyara languages, the first person forms are also based on *ngatha* cognate with the pPN Locative to which case suffixes are added, with the exception of the Thalanyji Dative *jurti*. Second person singular forms are based on *nyinta* cognate with the pPN Locative (Austin 1981, 216).

Given the widespread syncretism between Ergative and Locative case forms in PN languages, it is likely that the reanalysis of the form descended from the pPN Locative as the Nominative passed by its use as a distinctive Ergative subject form as in Ngarla.

Kartu Nominative free pronouns are also based on pPN Locative/Ergative forms *ngatha* and *nyinta* with case mainly marked by nominal suffixes, with the exception of Badimaya in which they are based on pPN Ergative forms,

*ngathu* and *nhundu*.<sup>33</sup> The Badimaya second person singular Accusative and Dative pronouns are based on the stem *nhunu-* (Dunn 1988, 51) cognate with the pPN ‘Dative’ form reconstructed by Koch (2014, 62), while the first person Dative is based on a plural stem *ngana-*.

## Southern Nyungic subgroups

In the Nyungar subgroup (as defined by OVV) there is no trace of *\*ngarna* as a first person pronoun, although the data available to me is rather poor. A first person Nominative *ngany* based on a cognate of the pPN Accusative *\*nganha* is recorded by Douglas (1976, 6) as well as forms based on a stem *ngety-* cognate with pPN Locative. This pattern is replicated for second person pronouns. Douglas (1976) records second person forms based on *nyuna-* cognate with the pPN Accusative and *nyinta-* cognate with the pPN Locative in example sentences.<sup>34</sup> Within the Nyungic group, the use of ancestral Accusative pronouns as subject forms is restricted to Nyungar languages.

In OVV’s Mirniny subgroup, von Brandenstein (1980, 146) records *ngadyu* and *nyundu*, cognate with pPN Ergative pronouns, as Ngadjumaya first and second person subject forms respectively, in addition to first person *nga(ny)*. The only traces of first person *\*ngarna* in Nyungic free pronouns are those recorded by Hale and O’Grady in Eastern Mirniny: *ngarni.ya* ‘my/for me’ (Dative/Genitive) and *ngarna.nya* ‘me’ (Accusative) (OVV, 135). O’Grady (1967–68) also recorded *ngarna* ‘me’ (Accusative). However, the Nominative form recorded was *ngathu* (OVV, 135).

With the exception of the Ngarla second person Nominative *nyin.pa* and Thura-Yura *nhini*, there is no free form cognate of pPN *\*nyin* in the Nyungic languages. Thus, excluding Thura-Yura languages, there is a historical parallel in Western Pama-Nyungan languages between the first and second person Nominative forms; reflexes of Nominative *\*ngarna* and *\*nyin* are retained as subject-*bound* pronouns but not as subject-*free* pronouns. This places them in opposition to other case forms since traces of non-Nominative pPN pronouns do persist, particularly in Ngayarta free pronoun paradigms.

33 Kartu data are based on Watjarri (Douglas 1981), Badimaya (Dunn 1988), Malgana (Gargett 2011) and Yingkarta (Dench 1998).

34 Douglas (1976, 6) also lists *nyin* as the second person Nominative but gives no example of its use.

The place of Ngarla in relation to other Ngayarta languages and to the Nyungic group calls for further research, as do the internal relationships between Nyungic subgroups more generally.

The syncretism between Nominative/Ergative and Locative forms, which is such a pervasive feature in western Nyungic languages in the Ngayarta, Kartu, Mantharta and Kanyara subgroups, contrasts with the Accusative-Locative syncretism exhibited in the Nyungic bound pronoun paradigms, although restricted to the second person paradigm in Marrngu languages.

## Beyond the Nyungic group

### The Ngarna languages

The Ngarna (formerly Warluwaric) language group is a geographically discontinuous group of Pama-Nyungan languages (Blake 1988).<sup>35</sup> The northern Ngarna language, Yanyuwa, is separated from the four southern languages by the Garrwan languages. Breen (2004) renamed this group because of the reflexes of the first person Nominative pronoun *\*ngarna* in all languages of the group, as well as the Nominative bound pronouns derived from it, attested in Yanyuwa and Wakaya. Unlike the Nyungic bound pronouns, the Ngarna bound pronouns retain the initial vowel of their parent free form.

**Table 10.12a: Ngarna first and second person pronouns.**

|                     | PNGARNA                | YANYUWA             | WAKAYA                       | BULARNU           | WARLUWARRA        | YINJIRLANJI       |
|---------------------|------------------------|---------------------|------------------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| <b>First person</b> |                        |                     |                              |                   |                   |                   |
| NOM                 | <i>*ngarna</i>         | <i>ngarna/-Vrna</i> | <i>ngurninj/-arn</i>         | <i>ngarna</i>     | <i>ngarna</i>     | <i>ngarni</i>     |
| ACC                 | <i>*nganha</i>         | <i>ngarna/-Vnha</i> | <i>nganh/-anh</i>            | <i>nganha</i>     | <i>nganha</i>     | <i>nganhi</i>     |
| LOC                 |                        |                     |                              |                   |                   |                   |
| DAT                 | <i>*ngatha</i><br><LOC | <i>ngatha</i>       | <i>ngetha</i><br>-ath(a)     | <i>ngadha</i>     | <i>ngatha</i>     | <i>ngatha</i>     |
| Loc-AUG             | <i>*ngatha-rla-</i>    | <i>ngatha-ngka</i>  | (no form)                    | <i>ngadha-rla</i> | <i>ngatha-rla</i> | (no form)         |
| DAT-AUG (SNG)       | <i>*ngatha-ngu</i>     | (no form)           | <i>ngathi-ng</i><br>-athi-ng | <i>ngadha-ngu</i> | <i>ngatha-ngu</i> | <i>ngathi-ngi</i> |

35 OVV only included the southern Ngarna languages in their Warluwaric group, treating Yanyuwa as the sole member of a separate non PN family (OVV, 32, 74).

10. TRACKING A 'NOVEL' FIRST PERSON SUBJECT PRONOUN WITHIN PAMA-NYUNGAN

|                      | pNgARNA             | YANYUWA           | WAKAYA               | BULARNU  | WARLUWARRA | YINJIRLANJI |
|----------------------|---------------------|-------------------|----------------------|----------|------------|-------------|
| <b>Second person</b> |                     |                   |                      |          |            |             |
| NOM                  | *yin.(pa)           | yinda/yin<br>-nhu | yimb<br>-imb         | yiba     | yipa       | yimpi       |
| ACC                  | *yina               | yinda<br>-ina     | yin<br>-in           | yina     | yina       | yini        |
| LOC                  |                     |                   |                      |          |            |             |
| DAT                  | *yinta <LOC         | yinku/<br>-Vnda-  | yinda/<br>-ind(a)    | yida     | yinda      | yinda       |
| LOC-AUG              | *yinta-rla          | yinda-a           | (no form)            | yida-rla | yinda-rla  | (no form)   |
| DAT-AUG              | (SNG)*<br>yinta-ngu | (no form)         | yindi-ng<br>-inde-ng | yida-ngu | yinda-ngu  | yindi-ngi   |

**Table 10.12b: Ngarna language sources.**

| Language           | Sources                               |
|--------------------|---------------------------------------|
| Yanyuwa            | Bradley 1992; Kirton and Charlie 1996 |
| Wakaya             | Breen 1976b, 2000c                    |
| Bularnu            | Breen 1976a, 2000a                    |
| Warluwarra         | Breen 1976a, 2000b                    |
| Yinjirlandji       | Breen 2000d                           |
| Comparative Ngarna | Brammall 1991; Breen 2004; Carew 1993 |

Like the pronouns that can be reconstructed on the basis of the sets of bound pronouns in the Nyungic subgroups discussed above, pNgarna first and second singular pronoun paradigms are cognate with reconstructed pPN free pronouns, with the exception of the first person Nominative *ngarna*. The pPN Dative/oblique pronouns, retained in Nyungic bound pronoun paradigms, appear to have been replaced by ancestral Locative forms. The contrast in Wakaya and Yinjirlandji between Dative pronouns and Dative-augmented stems might reflect a case contrast between ancestral Locative and Dative series. A Locative-augmented series based on the pPN Locative can be reconstructed as pNgarna, while another series augmented by *-ngu* can only be reconstructed in southern Ngarna; this series functions

like the Dative-augmented pronouns in the Nyungic languages.<sup>36</sup> The comparison between pPN and Ngarna free pronouns and Nyungic bound pronouns is shown in Table 10.13.

**Table 10.13: Comparison of pPN and pNgarna free pronouns with Nyungic bound forms.**

|               | Case    | pPN            | pNGARNA               | PRE-<br>NYUNGIC | NYUNGIC   |
|---------------|---------|----------------|-----------------------|-----------------|-----------|
| First person  | NOM     | *ngay          | *ngarna               | *ngarna         | *=rna     |
|               | Acc     | *nganya/nganha | *nganha               | *nganya         | *=nya     |
|               | Loc     | *ngaja         | –                     | *ngaja          | *=ja      |
|               | DAT     | *ngaju         | *ngatha <LOC          | *ngaju          | *=ju      |
|               | LOC-AUG | –              | *ngatha-rla-          | *ngaja-ra       | *=ja-ra   |
|               | DAT-AUG | –              | (pSNG)<br>*ngatha-ngu | *ngaju-ra       | *=ju-ra   |
| Second person | NOM     | *nyin          | *yin                  | *nyin           | *=n       |
|               | Acc     | *nyina         | *yina                 | *nyina          | *=na      |
|               | Loc     | *nyinta        | –                     | *nyinta         | *=nta     |
|               | DAT     | *nyingku       | *yinta <LOC           | *nyingku        | *=ngku    |
|               | LOC-AUG | –              | *yinta-rla            | *nyinta-ra      | *=nta-ra  |
|               | DAT-AUG | –              | (pSNG)<br>*yinta-ngu  | *nyingku-ra     | *=ngku-ra |

## Warumungu

Simpson (2008, 76) reconstructs *\*(a)rn-* as the pre-Warumungu first person singular Nominative pronoun, noting the similarity to *-rna* in the Nyungic languages discussed above and also to the first person Nominative free pronoun *ngarna* and corresponding bound pronoun *-arn(V)* in Ngarna languages. Like the bound pronouns in neighbouring Yapa languages, Warumungu has a unique Accusative/Dative first person form plausibly

36 Carew (1993) reconstructs pNgarna second person singular Nominative as *\*y<sup>m</sup>pa* but it is more plausibly pSouthern Ngarna, since no reflex is attested in Yanyuwa which has innovated a pronoun derived from pPN Locative to mark both Nominative and Accusative patterning with the first person *ngarna*. Reflexes of Nominative *\*yin* (< pPN *\*nyin*) are present in Yanyuwa in restricted contexts and also in its Dative/possessive *yinku* based on the stem *\*yin* to which the regular Dative suffix *-ku* is added. This seems to be an innovation since the Dative bound pronoun is *-Vnda-* (< *\*yinda*) cognate with the pPN Locative *\*nyinta*. Bound pronouns cognate with pPN Accusative pronouns are attested in Yanyula, i.e. first person *-Vnha* < *\*nganha* and second person *-ina* plausibly from pNgarna *yina* < pPN *\*nyina*.

cognate with pPN Dative *\*ngaju* that Simpson reconstructs as *\*ajuli* from a pre-Warumungu consonant-initial word. While the second person Accusative/Dative *\*-ngk(V)* is cognate with Yapa Accusative/Dative *\*-ngku* and pPN Dative *\*nyungku*, the Warumungu second person Nominative is not cognate with the pPN Nominative *\*nyin* as reflected in Nyungic *\*-n*. Simpson (2008, 79) discusses the resemblance between the Warumungu second person Nominative and Accusative/Dative pronouns and Arandic forms, an observation which is interrogated further by Baker (Ch. 13, this volume). Recall that Warumungu is exceptional in having a single set of pronouns built on an ancestral base, now reduced to *a-* which hosts bound forms. These pronouns serve as both free and bound forms.

Simpson suggests that pre-Warumungu *\*(a)rn* may have its origin in borrowing from the Ngarna language Wakaya bound first person nominative *-arn*. Given the retention of reflexes of both Nominative *ngarna* and Dative *ngaju* in Warumungu, as in Yapa languages, it seems just as likely that the pre-Warumungu Nominative and Dative pronouns descend from an ancestral language shared with the other language groups and subgroups that retain reflexes of these forms. Recall that reflexes of pPN dative pronouns are absent from Ngarna languages.

## Kalkutungu and Karnic

Blake (1979a, 69) records a Kalkutungu first person singular bound pronoun *-rna*, hosted by the 'lest' complementiser *ku-* in combination with a second person object. In other clause types the first person singular subject is either unmarked by a bound form or is marked by a different bound form. However, the second person singular subject-bound pronoun is *-(i)n* in all finite clause types. The pPN non-Nominative case forms are not reflected in Kalkutungu bound pronouns. Kalkutungu bound pronouns also reflect a history of initial consonant or CV deletion.

In the Karnic language Wangka-Yutjuru, *ngarna* is the first person **plural** Nominative pronoun (Blake and Breen 1971, 79). Blake (1979b, 194) also cites *ngarna* as the first person plural Nominative pronoun in closely related Pitta-Pitta, although it is recorded as *ngana* in the earlier work by Blake and Breen (1971, 79). Similarly the Arabana-Wangkangurru first person plural Nominative is recorded as *arni* (Bowern 1998, 146), presumably derived from *\*ngarni*, also attested in Mangala (see section on Ngumpin-Yapa

languages).<sup>37</sup> Given the substitution of plural pronouns for singular forms in both first and second person paradigms in PN languages, it is possible that a first person plural *\*ngarna* replaced an earlier first person singular Nominative pronoun.<sup>38</sup>

## Other links

Another plausible cognate of Nyungic *-rna* is the widespread suffix *-rna*, reconstructed by Capell (1956, 100) as pPN, which marks the exclusive non-singular first person pronouns, as does *-ju*, plausibly cognate with the Dative bound pronoun *-ju* (< pPN *\*ngaju*) in many languages, including WD bound pronoun paradigms. (See further discussion of these forms in Bowern, Ch. 11, this volume.)

## Concluding remarks

First person Nominative *\*ngarna* is reflected in languages spoken over a large contiguous area from north-west Queensland to the Western Australia coast. This form dates to pre-Nyungic (ancestral to at least those language groups which retain bound pronoun reflexes) and to pre-Warumungu, proto Ngarna and possibly Kalkutungic. The first and second person (singular) bound pronoun paradigms in these languages have a unique subject form. There is no Ergative versus Nominative contrast as has been reconstructed for pPN. As subject, with the exception of Nyamal, only reflexes of the pPN second person Nominative *\*nyin/nyun* are found. While it's tempting to treat pronouns that may descend from an ancestral *\*ngarna* as reflecting an innovation within a subset of PN languages in which *\*ngarna* replaced Nominative *\*ngay*, it should not be disregarded out of hand that *\*ngarna* may have an older ancestry.

The case paradigms reflected in Nyungic first and second person bound pronouns correspond to reconstructed pPN case paradigms with the exception of the first person Nominative *\*ngarna*. The same pattern is reflected in Ngarna free and bound pronoun forms, except for the absence of pPN Dative forms. In Warumungu, reflexes of first person Nominative

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37 A fuller description of Karnic first person non-singular forms is given by Bowern (Ch. 11, this volume).

38 Baker (Ch. 13, this volume) discusses the substitution of a first person plural form for a first person singular pronoun.

*\*ngarna* and Dative *\*ngaju* in addition to second person Dative *\*nyungku* are retained, while in Kalkutungu only forms plausibly cognate with the Nominative Nyungic bound pronouns and Ngarna free pronouns are attested, namely first person *-rna* and second person *-n*.

The absence of any trace of *\*ngarna* in Thura-Yura, along with the retention of pPN case forms including both Ergative and Nominative subject forms, adds weight to the claim that it does not belong to the Nyungic group (Bowerman and Atkinson 2012).

The precise nature of the genetic relationships between Nyungic subgroups and their prehistory has not been established. Proto Nyungic has not been reconstructed. The distribution of the set of cognate bound pronouns examined herein, which are absent from the southern Nyungic languages, raises interesting questions about their significance for unravelling the prehistory of this group, as well as the nature of the relations between Nyungic and non-Nyungic languages which retain reflexes of a first person Nominative pronoun *\*ngarna*. The loss of Accusative bound forms in all groups apart from Marrngu suggests a split between this subgroup and the other Nyungic subgroups. The substitution of *-rni* for the original Accusative/Locative first person bound pronoun in subgroups other than Marrngu and Ngumpin-Yapa is also relevant for higher-level reconstruction. For low-level subgrouping, the free-form pronominal paradigms seem particularly relevant.

With the exception of Eastern Mirniny discussed above, *\*ngarna* is absent from Nyungic free pronoun inventories. Similarly, with the exception of Ngarla *nyin.pa*, there is no free pronoun in Nyungic languages (excluding Thura-Yura), which reflects the pPN Nominative *\*nyin/nyun*. These original Nominative pronouns, only reflected in bound forms, have been 'replaced' by subject forms cognate with Ergative/Locative forms, except in Nyungar, where pPN Accusative forms have assumed the subject function.

The time depth of *ngarna* in all language groups is considerable. It is found in both northern and southern Ngarna languages despite their long separation, indicated by the morphological recasting of the northern language Yanyuwa under the influence of non-PN neighbours. Similarly, the development of a conservative set of cognate bound pronouns in Nyungic languages compared with the later development of free pronouns with characteristics that differentiate subgroups seems to indicate their descent from an ancestor of the languages which have retained them at the very least. The reflexes of

first person Nominative *\*ngarna* and Dative *\*ngaju*, in addition to second person *\*nyungku* in Warumungu, further point to a deep history. Although Warumungu shares with most Ngumpin-Yapa languages the extension of the Dative form to the Accusative function, the relationship between free and bound pronouns in these languages reflects a very different morpho-phonological prehistory. Warumungu pronouns are built on an auxiliary base to which pronominal bound forms are suffixed. This is also true of the Warnman second person free pronoun, but its derivation is radically different from the Warumungu forms.

As well as excluding the Thura-Yura languages from the Nyungic group, Bowern and Atkinson (2012) posit a close relationship between Warumungu, Ngarna and Nyungic (their western Pama-Nyungan) languages. The closeness of these relationships is certainly supported by the shared distribution of a first person singular *\*ngarna* and the common retention of shared first and second person Accusative/Dative case forms. Bowern and Atkinson (2012) also found the genetic relationship of Warumungu to be ambiguous between Ngumpin-Yapa and Ngarna languages. The present study suggests that the retention of Dative forms in both Ngumpin-Yapa (and other Nyungic subgroups with bound pronouns) as well as in Warumungu, as opposed to their loss in Ngarna languages, argues that Warumungu is closer to Nyungic than to Ngarna; however, this evidence is open to other interpretations.

Further research could address these questions:

- Given that *\*ngarna* pairs with second person pPN Nominative *\*nyin*, do these forms predate the Ergative-Nominative distinction reconstructed for pPN?
- Does *\*ngarna* represent a single innovation in the ancestor of Nyungic, Warumungu, Ngarna, and maybe other groups such as Kalkutungic, or were there several independent instances of *\*ngarna* substitution for a pPN form, involving borrowing?

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## List of abbreviations

### Language groups

|     |                    |
|-----|--------------------|
| PN  | Pama-Nyungan       |
| pPN | proto Pama-Nyungan |

### Grammatical terms

|     |               |
|-----|---------------|
| 1   | first person  |
| 2   | second person |
| ACC | Accusative    |
| AUG | augmented     |
| DAT | Dative        |
| DU  | dual          |
| LOC | Locative      |
| NOM | Nominative    |
| PL  | plural        |
| SG  | singular      |

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