

## Wanyi Reflexive-Reciprocal Constructions

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### 1. Introduction

In this paper I present a preliminary account of the reciprocal-reflexive construction in Wanyi<sup>1</sup> which was traditionally spoken in the Nicholson River area to the south of the Gulf of Carpentaria, straddling the NT-QLD border. Its closest genetic relative is its northern and western neighbour, Garrwa, now spoken by people living mainly in the Borroloola (NT) area. The Garrwa-Wanyi block is flanked on its east and west sides by non-Pama-Nyungan languages: Tangkic languages on its eastern side and Mindi languages on its western side. The Garrwa-Wanyi block ‘cuts’ the Warluwaric group of Pama-Nyungan languages into two discontinuous areas: the northern coastal Yanyula language and the inland southern area made up of the Yindjilandji, Wakaya, Bularnu and Warluwarra languages.

To the best of my knowledge, the Wanyi language has only two remaining fluent speakers. The data reported on here is gleaned mainly from one of these, Mr. Roy Seccin Kamarrangi, who was interviewed by Luise Hercus and Mary Laughren in September 2000. Additional information about Wanyi comes from fieldwork carried out by Gavan Breen in the early 1980s and from recordings and transcripts of Wanyi made by Elwyn Flint (Queensland University) in 1964, and from the fieldnotes of Wanyi made by Charles Osborne (AIAS) also in the mid 1960s. The findings discussed in this paper are part of a larger on-going collaborative program of research into Wanyi being carried out by Breen, Hercus and Laughren.

In his continent-wide survey of pronouns and case suffixes in Australian languages, Blake (1988:25) found that:

“On the evidence of the pronouns it seems that Garawa and Wanyi are neither clearly northern nor clearly Pama-Nyungan. [...] they are the two languages in the whole continent that do not fall unambiguously into one set or the other [...].”

The pronouns in all the other languages he surveyed either belonged to his ‘northern’ set which correlates with non-Pama-Nyungan languages, or to his Pama-Nyungan set.<sup>2</sup> This mixed genetic affiliation of the Wanyi pronoun forms is shown in Table 1.

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<sup>2</sup> The Wanyi first person singular nominative form *ngawu* is found in some of its nPN western neighbours in the Mindi family including Wambaya, Gudandji and Binbinga. However it is also found in the east coast PN language Djabugay (Patz 1991:274) spoken to the north of Cairns.

Table 1. Some Wanyi pronoun forms

	NOMINATIVE	ACCUSATIVE	DATIVE	REFLEXIVE
1SG	**ngawu, ~ngawiji	nga(a)	nga.ki	nga.ka
2SG	ni.nji	ni-nya	nganyi	nganyi-ngka
3SG	*nyulu	(na)	na-nga-ngi	na-ngka
12	nungka	ni-ya-nya	ni-ya-ngi	ni-ya-ngka
13	ngali	ngali-ya-nya	ngali-ya-ngi	ngali-ya-ngka
2DU	**ni.mba	ni.mba-la-nya	ni.mba-la-ngi	ni.mba-la-ngka
3DU	*bula	bula-nya	bula-ngi	bula-ngka
12PL	*nga.mba	nga.mba-la-nya	nga.mba-la-ngi	nga.mba-la-ngka
13PL	nu.rri	nu.rri-nya ~nurra-nya	nu.rri-ya-ngi	nu.rri-ya-ngka
2PL	na.rri	na.rri-nya ~narra-nya	na.rri-ya-ngi	na.rri-ya-ngka
3PL	*yalu	yalu-nya	yalu-ngi	yalu-ngka

Shaded = nPN; Clear = PN; \* Also in Warluwaric languages; \*\*Ambiguous

I will show that although the Wanyi reflexive-reciprocal construction is, in the Australian context, of a rather unusual type morphologically, its syntactic and semantic properties are those found in languages with quite different ways of marking this relationship. The remainder of this paper is organized as follows: §2 presents the predominant reflexive-reciprocal construction types in Australian languages, §3 explores the Wanyi reflexive-reciprocal construction, §4 presents some comparative data on neighbouring languages, conclusions are presented in §5.

## 2. Reflexive constructions in Australian languages

The Wanyi reflexive-reciprocal construction under examination in this paper is shared with Garrwa—so we may be able to speak more generally of the Garrwa-Wanyi reflexive construction. However, the data presented in this paper is confined to Wanyi. This reflexive-reciprocal construction, also found in the neighbouring Warluwaric languages (with different forms) is of a rather unusual type in the broader Australian language context. The more widespread types of reflexive/reciprocal construction (often identical) involve verbal suffixation as illustrated by Kalkutungu in (1) and Yukulta in (2) below, or the replacement of the referentially ‘bound’ non-subject constituent (Direct Object, Indirect Object, Post-positional Phrase Complement, or Adjunct) by an anaphoric element as exemplified by Warlpiri in (3) and Martu Wangka in (4).

### 2.1 Reflexive/reciprocal verbal morphology

#### 2.1.1 Kalkutungu

In Kalkutungu, a Pama-Nyungan language, the reflexive construction (marked by *-ti* (<\*-*rri*)) (1b) is in a three-way Voice contrast with the active (unmarked) (1a) and anti-passive (marked by *-yi* or *-li*) (1c).<sup>3</sup> The Kalkutungu data is taken from Blake (1979).

- (1) a. ACTIVE  
*Ngathu na-nya matyumpa [...]*

<sup>3</sup> The abbreviations used in this paper are: ACC = accusative, ANAPH = anaphor, AP = anti-passive, COLL = collective, COMIT = comitative, D = dual, DAT = dative, DO= Direct Object, ERG = ergative, INTR = intransitive, IO = Indirect Object, NOM = nominative, PL= plural, PRES= present, PURP = purposive, RECIP = reciprocal, REFL = reflexive, S = subject, SG = singular, TR= transitive. Glossed Wanyi morphemes are separated by '-', other morpheme boundaries are indicated by a full stop (including some which can only be identified diachronically), an enclitic boundary is marked '='.

- 1SG.ERG          see-PAST          kangaroo  
'I saw the kangaroo.'
- b.      REFLEXIVE  
*Makathi ngayi          thuwa-ti-nha.*  
hand          1SG.NOM          cut-REFL-PAST  
'I cut my hand.'
- c.      ANTI-PASSIVE  
*Ngayi-yana ngithi maa-tyi          ari-li ati-nytyi-yana.*  
1SG.NOM-and here          veg.food-DAT eat-AP meat-DAT-and  
'And I down here will eat vegetable food and meat too.'

### 2.1.2 Yukulta

In the non-Pama-Nyungan Tangkic language, Yukulta, the reciprocal construction marked by the suffix *-nthu* ~*-nytyu* as shown in (2b) is distinct from the reflexive construction shown in (2c) in which the intransitive verbal suffix *-tya* contrasts with the transitive *-tha* on the verb in the active transitive (2a) and on the reciprocal verbs in (2b). The Yukulta data comes from Keen (1983).

- (2) a.      *Pala-tha=l=ka=nta          ngawu-wa          thungal-urlu-ya.*  
hit-INDIC=3PL=TR=PAST          dog-NOM          stick-COMIT-ERG  
'They hit the dog with a stick.'
- b.      *Purlti-nytyu-tha=li=ngka          wangalk-urlu,*  
pelt-RECIP-INDIC=3PL.INTR=PAST          boomerang-COMIT  
  
*laa-nthu-tha=li=ngka          miyarl-urlu.*  
spear-RECIP-INDIC=3PL.INTR=PAST          spear-COMIT  
'They pelted one another with boomerangs (and)  
they pierced one another with spears.'
- c.      *Parrunthaya=ka=ti          mirliya-tya,          nayipi-urlu.*  
yesterday=1SG.S.INTR =PRES cut-INDIC          knife-COMIT  
'Yesterday I cut myself with a knife.'

In both Kalkutungu and Yukulta, the NP associated with the transitive Subject function is in the Ergative case, while the Subject of the reflexive/reciprocal construction is in the Nominative (or Absolutive) case.<sup>4</sup> Transitivity is marked in Yukulta primarily in the clitic complex following the initial phrasal constituent: in the transitive active voice sentence (2a) the '3PL=TRANSITIVE=PAST' clitic complex *l=ka=nta* is used, whereas in the reciprocal clauses in (2b) the 3PL.INTRANSITIVE=PAST clitic complex is used. Similarly in (2c), the intransitive form of the clitic complex *ka=ti* '1SG=PRESENT' is used (the corresponding transitive form is *nga-nta*). The transitivity contrast is further marked by the presence of the Ergative suffix *-ya* on the instrument phrase in (2a) and its absence in both (2b&c).

### 2.2 Reflexive Pronoun

Another common reflexive strategy is to replace the bound non-Subject constituent by a special (anaphoric) reflexive/reciprocal pronoun, or by suffixing a reflexive/reciprocal suffix to the appropriate non-subject pronoun form - essentially the English strategy. The Warlpiri example in (3b) illustrates the former strategy.

<sup>4</sup> In Yukulta, a free Subject pronoun is always in the Nominative form.

### 2.2.1 Warlpiri

- (3) a. *Jakamarra-warnu-rlu ka-lu-jana Napaljarri-warnu nya.nyi.*  
 Jakamarra-COLL-ERG AUX-PL.S-3PL.O Napaljarri-COLL see  
 'The Jakamarras are looking at the Napaljarri.'
- b. *Jakamarra-warnu-rlu ka-lu-nyanu nya.nyi.*  
 Jakamarra-ERG AUX-PL.S-ANAPH see  
 'The Jakamarras are looking at themselves/each other.'

Note that in Warlpiri, unlike Kalkutungu and Yukulta, Ergative case marks the NP subject of both the non-reflexive transitive clause *and* the reflexive clause. This Warlpiri construction is found in all Ngumpin-Yapa languages (McConvell and Laughren 2001).

### 2.2.2 Western Desert languages

Similarly in the Martu Wangka variety of the Western Desert language, the Ergative case marking associated with the Subject of a transitive verb is maintained in the reflexive-reciprocal construction, as evidenced by the Ergative case-marking *-lu* on the modifying nominal expression *jurta-lu* 'fight-ERG'. The sentences in (4) are taken from Marsh (1992).

- (4) a. *Jurta-lu=pula pungkuni.*  
 fight-ERG=3D.NOM hit  
 'They (=those two) are hitting (him).'
- b. *Jurta-lu=ngku=pula pungkuni.*  
 fight-ERG=ANAPH=3D.NOM hit  
 'Those two are hitting each other in a fight.'

In other Western Desert languages in which the reciprocal and non-singular reflexive morpheme is *=nku* or *=ngku*, there is considerable variation in the order of the subject pronoun and the reciprocal-reflexive morpheme.<sup>5</sup>

### 3. Wanyi Reflexive-reciprocal Construction

In Wanyi, the reflexive-reciprocal is marked by a single reflexive pronoun, as shown in (6) which replaces **both** the Nominative Subject **and** Accusative Object pronoun forms of the corresponding non-reflexive sentences as seen in (5).

- (5) a. *Waka.daba=ngawu=ninya.*  
 wash=1SG.NOM =2SG.ACC  
 'I wash you.'
- b. *Waka.daba=ninyji=ngaa(n).*  
 wash=2SG.NOM =1SG.ACC  
 'You wash me.'
- (6) a. *Waka.daba=ngaka.*  
 wash=1SG.REFL  
 'I wash myself.'
- b. *Waka.daba=nganyi-ngka.*  
 wash=2SG.REFL  
 'You wash yourself.'

In both reflexive and non-reflexive constructions, the person and number features of the Subject and Object are expressed by pronouns (although there are some cases of

<sup>5</sup> See Hansen & Hansen (1978:120-128) for a discussion of this variation.

pronominal ellipsis), even where overt nominal phrases refer to some property of the referents of the Nominative, Accusative or reflexive pronouns. This is illustrated in (7) and (8)<sup>6</sup> in which the Ergative NP *kirriya-wiya-a* ‘two women’ is coreferent with the Nominative pronoun *bula* in (7a), while the Absolutive *kirriya-wiya* is coreferent with the Accusative *bula-nya* in (7b) and the reflexive *bula-ngka* in (8). The Absolutive *warliji* ‘animal’ is coreferent with the Nominative pronoun *nyulu* in the intransitive clause in (9).

- (7) a. *Daba=bula=ngaa(n)*      *kirriya-wiya-a.*  
 hit=3D.NOM=1SG.ACC      **woman-pair-ERG**  
 ‘Two women hit me.’
- b. *Daba=ngawu=bula-nya*      *kirriya-wiya.*  
 hit=1SG.NOM=3D-ACC      **woman-pair**  
 ‘I hit the two women.’
- (8) *Daba=bula-ngka*      *kirriya-wiya.*  
 hit =3D-REFL      **girl-pair**  
 ‘Two girls (they) are fighting.’
- (9) *Kudi.j.bi=nyulu*      *warliji.*  
 sleep-V=3SG.NOM      **meat/animal**  
 ‘The animal is sleeping.’ (Lit. ‘He’s sleeping - (the/some) animal.’)

### 3.1 The reflexive-reciprocal forms

All reflexive-reciprocal forms except the first person singular *ngaka* bear the suffix *-ngka*. However, the stems which host this suffix are of four types: (i) the stem of the second person singular reflexive *nganyi-ngka* is the same as the Dative pronoun form; (ii) the stem of the non-singular third person reflexive pronouns *bula-ngka* and *yalu-ngka* is the same as the Nominative form;<sup>7</sup> (iii) the stem of the third person singular reflexive is the root *na-*; (iv) the stems of the first and second person non-singular reflexive pronouns are complex in that they are composed of the initial pronominal stem (in some cases equivalent to the Nominative form) augmented by *-la* following stem final *a* or *-ya* following stem final *i*. These patterns of internal composition in the reflexive pronoun paradigm are shown in Table 2.

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<sup>6</sup> The non-case-marked NPs are analysed as being in the Absolutive (or Nominative) case; this is not indicated in the glosses.

<sup>7</sup> These forms are both identical to the corresponding Warluwaric Nominative pronouns, both of which can be reconstructed to proto-Warluwaric (Carew 1993).

**Table 2.** Wanyi reflexive-reciprocal pronouns

	root+ka	root+ngka	Dative stem +ngka	Nominative stem+ngka	root/ Nominative stem +ya+ngka	Nominative stem+la+ngka
1SG	nga-ka					
3SG		na-ngka				
2SG			nganyi-ngka			
3DU				bula-ngka		
3PL				yalu-ngka		
12					ni-ya-ngka	
13					ngali-ya-ngka	
13PL					nu.rri-ya-ngka	
2PL					na.rri-ya-ngka	
2DU						ni.mba-la-ngka
12PL						nga.mba-la- ngka

### 3.2 Case-marking of arguments and predicates

While sentences are not exclusively verb initial, the verb initial construction is clearly favoured in affirmative declarative clauses (in constructions such as interrogative and negative clauses other constituent types replace the verb and these host the argument pronouns (see (12) and (21) below). The verb and associated pronouns form a prosodic unit – spoken together with a characteristic intonation phrase – distinct from the following constituents such as the associated nominal expressions. For example, in (7) and (8) *kirriya-wiya(-a)* ‘woman-pair(-ERG)’ is pronounced in a separate prosodic phrase or contour from the preceding phrase made up of the verb and pronouns.

Nominal phrases referentially associated with Subject (Nominative) pronouns are in the Ergative case (marked by vowel lengthening on nominals, distinct suffixes on demonstratives) if the verb has a Direct Object as in (7a). They are in the unmarked Absolutive case if the verb is intransitive as in (9). An unmarked Absolutive nominal may express a property of the referent of the Accusative DO pronoun as shown by *kirriya-wiya* in (7b) coreferent with *bula-nya*. In (8) the Absolutive form *kirriya-wiya* expresses a property associated with the coreferring Subject and Object ‘jointly’ expressed by the reflexive pronoun *bula-ngka*.

A body part predicated of the referent of the Accusative DO pronoun is in the unmarked Absolutive case as shown in (10a). In the reflexive (10b) the Absolutive body part term *marni* ‘hand’ refers to the affected part of the addressee, expressed by the reflexive pronoun *nganyi-ngka*.

- (10) a. *Waka.daba=ngawu=ninya marni.*  
 wash=1SG.NOM=2SG.ACC hand  
 ‘I wash your hand.’ (Lit. ‘wash I you hand’).
- b. *Waka.daba=nganyi-ngka marni.*  
 wash=2GEN-REFL hand  
 ‘Wash your hands!’ (= ‘You wash your hands.’)

The instrument manipulated by the referent of the Subject of a transitive (11a) or reflexive construction (11b) and (12a) can be expressed as an Ergative case-marked phrase. This is also the case in languages such as Kalkutungu which has reflexive verb forms as seen in (1), although it is not the case in Yukulta in which both the Comitative and Ergative mark

the instrumental function—the Ergative being ‘suppressed’ with the reflexive and reciprocal verb forms.<sup>8</sup>

- (11) a. *Kard.bi.j.bi=nyulu kangkirinya-a.*  
 CUT=3SG.S knife-ERG  
 ‘He cut (him) with a knife.’
- b. *Makaraba=ngaka, jiba-a.*  
 cover=1SG.REFL paperbark-ERG  
 ‘I cover myself, with paperbark.’

### 3.3 Topicalized Subject

A nominal phrase may be topicalised by placing it at the left periphery of the clause, forming a distinctive intonational unit before the verb+pronoun phrase as in (10).

- (10) *Nang-kujarra kirriya-wiya, muwa.j.ba=bula-ngka.*  
 these-two girl-pair jealous=3D-REFL  
 ‘These two girls, they are jealous of each other.’

A pronoun may occupy the topic position. In a reflexive construction, however, the topicalized pronoun is in its Nominative form as in (11), while the reflexive pronominal complex remains in its non-topicalized position within the clause. It seems that the reflexive pronoun cannot be topicalized.

- (11) *Narri, daba=narri-ya.ngka jukuli-i.*  
 2PL.NOM hit=2PL-REFL boomerang-ERG  
 ‘You lot, you hit each other with boomerangs.’

### 3.4 Three place predicate verbs

Three place predicate verbs such as *windi.j.bi* ‘give’ map the ‘giver’ to the Nominative pronoun subject, the ‘receiver’ to the Accusative pronoun Direct Object, and the ‘given’ to a Dative case-marked phrase not obligatorily cross-referenced by a pronoun as shown in (12).<sup>9</sup>

- (12) a. *Winyjika(-a)=ninya windi.j.bi na.ng-kanyi mama-anyi?*  
 who(-ERG)=2SG.ACC give this-DAT bread-DAT  
 ‘Who gave you this bread?’
- b. *Nana-ngkaningandaara-a=nga-n windi.j.bi,na.ng-kanyi mama-anyi.*  
 that-ERG old\_woman-ERG=1SG.ACC-n give this-DAT food-DAT  
 ‘That old woman gave me (of) this food.’

In the corresponding reflexive construction, the ‘recipient’ is obligatorily coreferent with the Subject as seen in (13). It is noteworthy that in this sentence, the things given were merely listed in their Absolutive form—not in the expected Dative form. This is an area where further research is required, since this may have been a list merely appended to the sentence, or it may represent another possibility in terms of case-marking. This variation in case-marking is also found in Osborne's Wanyi notes.

<sup>8</sup> It is likely that a body part expression associated with the Subject thematic role would be expressed by an Ergative case-marked expression in reflexive as well as transitive constructions (as in languages such as Kalkutungu and Arrernte), but while we have examples of this with non-reflexive transitive verbs, our Wanyi data does not contain an example in a reflexive construction.

<sup>9</sup> An ‘ephemeral’ /n/ appears phrase-finally in Wanyi. It is simply glossed as ‘n’ here as in (12b).

- (13) *Windi.j.bi=yalu-ngka jukuli, mukura, barrku.*  
 give=3PL-REFL boomerang, spear, nullanulla  
 ‘They gave each other boomerangs, spears and nullanullas.’

### 3.5 Scope of the reflexive

Wanyi has a set of Dative pronouns distinct in form from the Nominative, Accusative and Reflexive sets, as shown in Table 1. From our data it would appear that Dative adjunct expressions do not fall within the binding domain of the reflexive, in that a coreferential relationship between a Dative adjunct (benefactive) expression and the Nominative subject cannot be expressed by a reflexive pronoun; instead, as seen in (14), the full Nominative and Dative pronoun forms are used even when coreferential.

- (14) *Ngarija.ba=nyulu; na-ngangi;j jukuli.*  
 carve=3SG.NOM 3SG-DAT boomerang  
 ‘He’s carving a boomerang for him(self).’

While it is rare to find an NP intervening between the Nominative and Accusative pronouns encliticized to the verb (or other clause initial constituent), there are quite a few examples in our data of an NP coming between the Nominative Subject pronoun and a Dative pronoun, as in (15). It would seem then that the Dative pronoun is outside the scope of the constituent formed by the Nominative and Accusative pronouns and their host.

- (15) a. *Nanga.nja=nyulu mama ni.ya-ngi.*  
 get=3SG.S food 12-DAT  
 ‘He’s getting food for us.’

### 3.6 Inherent reflexives

Some ‘intransitive’ verbs appear to be inherently reflexive in that they are only found in the reflexive construction. A frequent example in our data is *jurrangki-jbi* ‘play’ shown in (16). In (16b) both *jurra* ‘play’ and the subject pronoun *yalu* are topicalized outside the left periphery of the clause headed by the fully inflected form of the complex verb ‘play’ *jurra.ngki.j.bi*. At this stage of our research it is not clear if uninflected *jurra* is a verb followed by the Nominative Subject pronoun *yalu* or an action nominal followed by a second topic phrase consisting of the Nominative pronoun *yalu*.

- (16) a. *Jurra.ngki.j.bi=nurri-ya.ngka, wawurra. Wawurra-darra.*  
 play=1PL.EX-REFL child child-PL  
 ‘We played with each other, as kids. All the kids.’
- b. *Jurra yalu, jurra.ngki.j.bi=yalu-ngka*  
 play 3PL.NOM, play=3PL-REFL  
 ‘Play, them, they play (about).’ OR ‘They play, they play about.’

### 3.7 Aspectual contrast

Another interesting contrast between an intransitive verb in a reflexive and non-reflexive construction is found with *yany.ba* ‘speak, say’. The reflexive form does not have the transparent reflexive/reciprocal meanings ‘speak to self/each other’ but rather presents an aspectual contrast. The reflexive construction in (17c) has an unbounded (atelic) progressive interpretation, similar to the typical use of ‘play’ which is unbounded and progressive. This contrasts with (17a&b) in which the emphasis is on the moment of inception of a particular act of speaking or, as in (17b), on a particular instance of speaking at a precise moment. This aspectual use of the reflexive/non-reflexive contrast requires further investigation.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>10</sup> As pointed out by a reviewer, these aspectual semantic contrasts are often expressed with reflexive/antipassive morphology in Australian languages.

- (17) a. *Yany.ba=ngamba, murdungama. Turu-nu.*  
 talk=12PL.NOM morning sun-LOC  
 ‘We’ll talk (again) in the morning, after the sun comes up.’
- b. *Yany.ba=ngawu nganyi mirrirri.mbi=ninya – ngaki yanyi Wanyi.*  
 speak=1SG.NOM 2SG.DAT teach=2SG.ACC 1SG.DAT language Wanyi  
 ‘I am talking to you - teaching you my language, Wanyi.’
- c. *Yany.ba=bula-ngka yanyi=barri.*  
 talk=3D-REFL language/word=THEN  
 ‘They are having a yarn.’

### 3.8 Reflexive constructions and subordinate clauses

#### 3.8.1 Subject/object control from matrix into non-finite subordinate clause

The locative (-*nV*) case on the base form of the verb in a subordinate clause signals that the understood Subject of the verb-LOC predicate is coreferent with the Subject of the matrix clause (be it transitive, intransitive, or reflexive). The allative (-*k/wurru* ~ (*u*)*rru*) case-ending on the same base verb form signals that the understood Subject is coreferent with the DO of the matrix clause (in all the examples we have of this construction only the DO acts as antecedent which controls the reference of the non-overt Subject of the non-finite predicate, but it may be that a non-Subject expression in another grammatical function can serve as antecedent). The contrast between Subject and Object control is shown in (18). In these structures, the event in the matrix clause is contemporaneous with that expressed by the non-finite subordinate clause.

- (18) a. *Ku.j.bu=nyulu - ngata-nganyja-anyi ngindi-ni.* (Subject control)  
 search=3SG.NOM mother-ANAPH-DAT cry-LOC  
 ‘He’s searching for his mother - (he) crying.’
- b. *Mularri.j.bi=ngawu – ngindi-wurru.* (Object control)  
 pick\_up=1SG.NOM cry-ALLAT  
 ‘I picked (him) up (he) crying.’

In constructions with matrix reflexive clauses, whether with inherently reflexive verbs or in semantically reflexive/reciprocal constructions, the subordinate clause is only of the Subject control type as seen in (19).

- (19) a. *Jurra.ngki.j.bi=yalu-ngka - jungku-nu.* (Inherent reflexive)  
 play=3PL-REFL sit-LOC  
 ‘They are playing (while) sitting down.’
- b. *Daba=bula-ngka kirriya-wiya. Muwa.ji-ni.*  
 hit =D-REFL girl-pair jealous-LOC  
 ‘Two woman are hitting each other (i.e. fighting) being jealous.’

These non-finite clauses can have no overt Subject within the constituent over which the Locative case has scope. Within these non-finite clauses, then, there can be no reflexive pronoun.

#### 3.8.2 Adjoined finite clauses

The non-finite clauses with a controlled Subject differ from finite adjoined clauses; the latter have an overt non-controlled Subject. This type of dependent finite clause is illustrated in (20) to (22) in which the verb is followed by the pronominal complex, including a reflexive pronoun in (22), as in independent finite clauses.

- (20) *[Jawika.j.ba=ngawu=ninya], windi-kanyi=ninyji=ngaa-n jukuli-anyi.*  
 ask=1SG.NOM=2SG.ACC give-PURP=2SG.NOM=1SG.ACC-n boomerang-DAT  
 ‘[I ask you] (that) you give me (of) a boomerang.’

- (21) [Budangku=yalu=ni-nya nguru.bu na.ng-kanyi], daba=yalu-ngka.  
 [NEG=3PL.NOM= 2SG-ACC tell this-DAT] hit=3PL-REFL  
 '[They didn't tell you about it], (that) they had a fight.'
- (22) Ku.j.ba=ngawu kunda-anyi [...] kurri-kanyi=ngaka mundirri.  
 search=1SG stick-DAT [...] scratch-PURP=1SG.REFL back  
 'I'm looking for a stick to scratch my back with.'

#### 4. Some comparative remarks

In the neighbouring Warluwaric languages, reflexive-reciprocal constructions have similar morphological expression in that a special reflexive-reciprocal pronoun replaces both the enclitic Subject and Object pronoun forms. However this pronoun typically ends in a suffix *-(m)ba ~ wa* depending on the language. The southern Warluwaric languages differ from the northern Warluwaric language, Yanyula; the former pattern like Warlpiri and the Western Desert languages in that the overt Subject (or clause modifying) NP in a construction with a reflexive pronoun remains in the marked Ergative case. Only in Yanyula, is the overt Subject NP in a clause with a reflexive pronoun in the Nominative case, as in Wanyi. Also as in Wanyi, the Yanyula reflexive pronoun forms part of the pronominal clitic complex - although arguably proclitic to the verb in Yanyula - while in the southern Warluwaric languages such as Bularnu and Warluwarra the reflexive pronoun constitutes a 'free' form.

While the Tangkic languages show no trace of this morphological marking of the reflexive-reciprocal relationship, it *is* found in Wanyi's western neighbours which belong to the non-Pama-Nyungan Mindi group. The Subject (=Nominative) bound pronoun forms of Wambaya are followed by *-ngg-* to create a reflexive-reciprocal construction with many morpho-syntactic properties we have noted in the corresponding Wanyi construction. This reflexive-reciprocal construction differs from that found in Jingulu, the most westerly member of the Eastern (or Barkly) Mindi languages (Pensalfini 1997) which like languages belonging to the western (or Yirram) branch of Mindi (Jaminjung, Nungali and Ngaliwurru), only use verbal suffixation to form reflexive-reciprocal clauses. However, whereas in Wanyi the suffix is used on a variety of stem types, and not on the first person singular, the pattern of reflexive-reciprocal morphology in Wambaya is totally regular - suffixing only to the subject pronoun form - thus replacing a non-coreferent Object form, as in the Western Desert model seen in (4b). These facts point to the possibility of diffusion of both form and construction type in the southern Gulf area affecting Garrawa-Wanyi and its western Mindi neighbours.

#### 5. Conclusions

Despite its unusual expression, certain syntactic properties of the Wanyi reflexive/reciprocal construction are of the usual type. These clauses behave as though they have a Nominative Subject pronoun as the antecedent for a bound or non-overt Object form: the Nominative Subject form can appear as an extraposed free form topic, and Subject control operates into a non-finite clause subordinate to the reflexive matrix clause. Only Subjects can serve as antecedents in reflexive/reciprocal constructions of this type - as is typically the case in Australian languages.

Where the Wanyi reflexive/reciprocal construction differs syntactically from the more common Australian types is in the scope of the antecedent-to-anaphor relation which is restricted to the Accusative DO of transitive verbs. While there is some evidence to suggest that it may also be extended to the Dative IO of intransitive verbs (as in Wambaya), the relevant examples are missing from our corpus. The reflexive-reciprocal construction also appears to mark an aspectual contrast although this too requires further investigation.

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