

THE PHONOLOGY AND MORPHOLOGY OF AUSTRALIAN LANGUAGES

Australian languages form a large genetic group with many interesting and distinctive phonological and morphological properties. Written by two experts in the field, this is the first book-length treatment of this topic, providing an in-depth discussion of a wealth of little-known data on the sound systems and word structures of Australian Indigenous languages. It provides a critical evaluation of theoretical approaches from the 1950s up to the current day, including recent experimental, psycholinguistic, and processing-based research. Each chapter addresses a major aspect of phonology: segmental inventories, complex phonotactic systems, alternations, prosodic phonology and morphology, the behaviour of phonological domains, and the unusual nature of sound change in Australia. The authors also add to this their own groundbreaking findings and frame each chapter to inform future phonological research and theory. It is essential reading for scholars and students in phonology, phonetics, speech science, morphology, sound change and language typology.

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CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

Cambridge University Press & Assessment
978-1-107-12698-5 — The Phonology and Morphology of Australian Languages
Brett J. Baker, Mark Harvey
Frontmatter
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CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

Shaftesbury Road, Cambridge CB2 8EA, United Kingdom

One Liberty Plaza, 20th Floor, New York, NY 10006, USA

477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia

314–321, 3rd Floor, Plot 3, Splendor Forum, Jasola District Centre, New Delhi – 110025, India

103 Penang Road, #05–06/07, Visioncrest Commercial, Singapore 238467

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www.cambridge.org

Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781107126985

DOI: 10.1017/9781316411469

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When citing this work, please include a reference to the DOI 10.1017/9781316411469

First published 2026

Front cover image: Kungkarrangkalpa (Seven Sisters), 2009

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A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library.

A Cataloging-in-Publication data record for this book is available from the Library of Congress

ISBN 978-1-107-12698-5 Hardback

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Cambridge University Press & Assessment

978-1-107-12698-5 — The Phonology and Morphology of Australian Languages

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Frontmatter

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To all the Indigenous language experts, named and unnamed.

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PREFACE

This book grew out of a chapter that the first author contributed to a volume on the linguistic characteristics of Indigenous Australian languages (Baker 2014). Following discussions among us, we agreed in 2015 to collaborate on this monograph and to pool our collective thinking on the phonology of Australian languages. The book is based on a combined career span of around sixty years, plus the last ten years working on this book in particular. Both of us have carried out primary fieldwork on a number of languages of the Top End of the Northern Territory, and as a consequence there is a certain degree of bias towards those languages. However, languages from all over Australia are represented in this book – and from every state and territory, with the exception of Tasmania, the records of which are poor and difficult to interpret for phonological purposes.

We would like to acknowledge here that Indigenous languages are central to the identity of Indigenous people and that most of the time we are not expressing an Indigenous point of view in this book. This is a book about Indigenous languages written from a non-Indigenous, Western academic perspective, and it is designed primarily for readers who are reading it from that perspective. For reasons explained in Chapter 1, for instance, we use symbols from the International Phonetic Alphabet throughout the book (except in representing language names), rather than ordinary English-based spellings. In a book where we are discussing examples from hundreds of different languages with their own spelling systems, this was essential, although we acknowledge that such notation is not ideal for speakers and learners of Indigenous languages who seek to understand more about their language from the Western perspective. In addition, even though we believe the coverage we provide here is representative of the languages of the continent, the book is necessarily focused on those languages that have more extensive descriptions, or of which we have personal knowledge. And, again, we apologise in advance to readers who feel that their language has received less attention than others.

Finally, it needs to be acknowledged that Indigenous languages everywhere, including in Australia, are under constant threat of extinction from the overwhelming influence of the colonising culture.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

A number of sections of this book appeared in print in earlier forms and are reprinted here with permission.

Parts of Section 1.5 appeared as:

Baker, Brett (2020). Morphology of Australian languages. Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Linguistics series, <https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780199384655.013.632>.

Parts of Chapters 2, 3, 4, and 5 appeared as:

Baker, Brett (2014). Word structure in Australian languages. In *The Languages and Linguistics of Australia: A Comprehensive Guide*, edited by Harold Koch and Rachel Nordlinger. Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton, pp. 139–213; and Baker, Brett (2008), *Word Structure in Ngalakgan*. Stanford, CA: CSLI.

The cooperation of the aforementioned publishers is gratefully acknowledged here.

We would like to thank our Indigenous and non-Indigenous teachers. We also thank the following scholars who had an input into this volume, one way or another, directly or indirectly, over the years: Alan Rumsey, Andrew Tanner, Andy Butcher, Anja Arnhold, Anne Cutler, Cathi Best, Claire Bower, David Nash, Erich Round, Forrest Panther, Francesca Merlan, Gavan Breen, Geert Booij, Harold Koch, Hywel Stoakes, Ian Smith, Jane Simpson, Janet Fletcher, Jean-Christophe Verstraete, John Alderete, John Henderson, John Kingston, John Mansfield, John McCarthy, Juliette Blevins, Marie-Elaine van Egmond, Marija Tabain, Matt Gordon, Mike Hore, Mike Proctor, Myf Turpin, Patrick McConvell, Peter Austin, Peter Nyhuis, Peter Sutton, Rachel Nordlinger, Ricardo Bermúdez-Otero, Rikke Bundgaard-Nielsen, Robert Mailhammer, Rob Pensalfini, Sasha Wilmoth, Stuart Davis, Tass Tsunoda, the O'Grady family, Tom Ennever, and Toni Borowsky. The proposal for this book was written while the first author was a visitor at Leiden University as a guest of Geert Booij and Maarten Mous, to whom I'm most grateful.

Special thanks to Peter Austin, Rikke Bundgaard-Nielsen, Tom Ennever, Rob Mailhammer, John Mansfield, Peter Nyhuis, Erich Round, Sasha Wilmoth, and Tula Wynyard for examples and detailed discussion of various topics covered in this volume and more. Also thank you to the Cambridge

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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clearance reader for many useful and critical suggestions. Thank you to Nick Thieberger for help with language names and codes. Thank you to Vicky Lee, Hywel Stoakes, and especially Amy Nunn for many hours of copy-editing, citation finding, transcription, technical assistance, and general tidying up. Amy in particular we thank for doing such a fantastic job on the indexing for this book. Thank you to Chandra Jayasuriya for Maps 0.1 and 0.2. Special thanks to our editor Helen Barton for being so enthusiastic about this project, and editorial assistants Isabel Collins and Natasha Whelan for helping with numerous queries along the way and for gentle ‘please get to it’ reminders. Our long-suffering partners may have expressed similar sentiments at times. We gratefully acknowledge the Australian Research Council – Discovery Project DP180100821: ‘Are super-complex words represented like sentences in speakers’ minds?’ (chief investigators Brett Baker, Rikke Bundgaard-Nielsen, and Janet Fletcher) for supporting some of the fieldwork and editorial assistance that went into this book. Lastly, special thanks go to Rikke, for making Brett throw away the first draft of the proposal for this book.

ABBREVIATIONS

1	first person
1st	first person
2	second person
2nd	second person
3	third person
A	agent
ABL	ablative
ABS	absolutive
ACC	accusative
ACT	actual
ADJ	adjective
ADV	adverb(ial)
AE	Australian English
ALIGNL	Align Left
ALL	allative
Alv	alveolar
ANAPH	anaphoric
ANIM	Animate noun class or gender
Anin	Anindilyakwa
ant	anterior
AP	Accentual Phrase
APPL	applicative
approx	approximant
APS	anti-passive
Ari	Aritinñity
ART	article
ASSOC	associative
ATR	advanced tongue root
ATT	attenuative
AUG	augmented number
AUX	auxiliary
B	brother (kinterm)
BEN	benefactive

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BGW	Bininj Gun-wok
C	consonant
C ₁	pre-consonantal consonant
C ₂	post-consonantal consonant
C _{fin}	word-final consonant
C _{init}	word-initial consonant
C _{inter}	intervocalic consonant or monogestural cluster
CAUS	causative
Ch	child (kinterm)
CHAR	characteriser
COLL	collective
COM	comitative
CON	contemporary tense
CONJ	conjunction
CONS	consequential
cons	consonantal
CONT	continuous
cont	continuant
COR	coronal
Corr	correspondence
CP	completive
DAT	dative
DEF	definite
DEM	demonstrative
Der	derivational morphology
DESID	desiderative
DIST	distal
DISTR	distributive
DON	donative
DU	dual
DUR	durative
DYAD	Dyadic
EFF	effector
ELA	elative
EMA	electromagnetic articulometry
EMPH	emphatic
env	environment
EP	epenthetic
ERG	ergative
EVIT	evitative
EXCL	exclusive
EXCLAM	exclamation

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

F	form
F0	fundamental frequency
F1	first formant
F2	second formant
F3	third formant
F4	fourth formant
FAC	factive
FACT	formal actual
fCONS	formal consequential
fdON	formal donative
fdU	formal dual
FEM	Feminine noun class or gender
finCH	formal inchoative
fLLOC	formal long locative
fLOC	formal locative
FN	footnote
foBL	formal oblique
FOC	focus
FREQ	frequentative
Ft	foot
FTBIN	Foot Binarity
FTFORM	Foot Form
FUT	future
FUT.CON	future continuous
fUTIL	formal utilative
G	glide
Gd	Gidhabal (dialect of Bundjalung/Bandjalang)
GEN	genitive
Gk.	Greek
GN	Gunwinyguan
H*	pitch accent
hi	high
IA	Item-and-Arrangement
IBP	incorporated body part
IMM	immediate
IMP	imperative
IMPL(DS)	implicated subject (different subject)
IMPL(SS)	implicated subject (same subject)
INALP	inalienable possession
INCH	inchoative
INCL	inclusive
INDEF	indefinite

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xxi

INF	infinitive
INS	instrumental
INTENS	intensifier
INTENT	intensive relator
INTN	intensive
IP	Intonational Phrase
IP	Item-and-Process
IPA	International Phonetic Alphabet
IPFV	imperfective
IRR	irrealis
ITER	iterative
KIN	kinship marker
KKY	Kala Kawaw Ya
KLY	Kala Lagaw Ya
L1	first language
L2	second language
LAT	lative
LBC	Licensing by cue
LEXS	lexical stem
LOC	locative
L-S	lateral-stop sequence
M	mother (kinterm)
M	morpheme
MABL	modal ablative
MASC	Masculine noun class or gender
Mbi	Mbiywom
MCAT	morphological category
MIN	minimal number
Mkr	Makassarese
MSC	morpheme structure constraint or morpheme structure condition
MULT	multiple
N	noun
N	nasal
N1	first nasal in a sequence
N2	second nasal in a sequence
nas	nasal
Nc	common noun
NC	nasal-stop cluster
NCD	nasal cluster dissimilation
NEG	negative
NEUT	neuter noun class
NFEM	non-feminine gender

NFUT	non-future
Ngdi	Ngandi
Ngkn	Ngalakgan
NMASC	non-masculine
NMLZ	nominaliser
NOM	nominative
NOML	action/state nominaliser
non-SG	non-singular
NP	noun phrase
NPN	Non-Pama–Nyungan
NPST	non-past
NS	non-subject
N-S	nasal-stop sequence
NSW	New South Wales
NT	Northern Territory
NUM	number
OBJ	object
OBL	oblique
OIr	Old Irish
OR	originator
ORIG	originative
OT	Optimality Theory
PA	Proto-Australian
PAIR	pair
Pal	palatal
Part	Participle
PCNSW	proto-Central New South Wales
PCON	past continuous
PER	perative
PFM	Paradigm Function Morphology
PFV	perfective
PGN	Proto-Gunwinyguan
pKanyara	proto-Kanyara
pKarnic	proto-Karnic
PL	plural
pMantharta	proto-Mantharta
PN	Pama–Nyungan
PNEG	past negative
pNgayarta	proto-Ngayarta
PNP	Proto-Northern Paman
POA	place of articulation
POSS	possessive

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

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PP	Proto-Paman
pPama-Maric	proto-Pama-Maric
pPaman	proto-Paman
PPh	phonological phrase
PPhrase	prosodic phrase
PpL	phrase-level phonology
PPN	proto-Pama-Nyungan
PPUN	past punctual
Pref	prefix
PRF	perfect
PRIV	privative
PROH	prohibitive
PROL	prolative
PROM	prominence
PROP	propriative
PROX	proximal/proximate
PRS	present
PrWd	prosodic word
PSL	stem-level phonology
PST	past
PTCP	participle
PURP	purposive
PwL	word-level phonology
P-Y	Pitjantjatjara-Yankunytjatjara
QLD	Queensland
RDP	reduplication
REAL	realis
RECP	reciprocal
REC.PST	recent past
REFL	reflexive
REL	relative
REM	remote
Ret	retroflex
Rith	Ritharrngu
Rmba	Rembarrnga
RR	Reflexive/Reciprocal
S	son (kinterm)
SBJ	subject
SCL	Syllable Contact Law
SEQ	sequence
SG	singular
SGPH	syntactically grounded prosodic hierarchy

SIM	simple/unmarked aspect
son	sonorant
sp	species
SSG	Sonority Sequencing Generalisation
SUPPO	supposedly
S	metrically strong syllable
syll	syllabic
T	termination
T%	boundary tone
TAM	tense/aspect/mood
TH	thematic
TNS	tense
TOP	topic
Tr	trochaic
TR	transitive
UPSID	UCLA Phonological Segment Inventory Database
V	vowel
V ₁	initial vowel in a word
V ₂	second vowel in a word
VEG	Vegetable noun class
VP	verb phrase
W	metrically weak syllable
w ₁	/w/ alternating with /k/
w ₂	/w/ alternating with /p/
Wa	Waalubal/Wahlubal (dialect of Bundjalung/Bandjalang)
WA	Western Australia
WALS	World Atlas of Language Structures
Wbuy	Wubuy
[_{WD}	word boundary
XP	syntactic phrase
Yin	Yinwum
Z	sister (kinterm)