WORK PAPERS OF SIL-AAIB
Series A Volume 11

LOCKHART RIVER "SAND BEACH" LANGUAGE
AN OUTLINE OF KUUKU YA'U AND UMPILA

DAVID A. THOMPSON

Summer Institute of Linguistics
Australian Aborigines and Islanders Branch
Darwin
1988
Thompson, David (David A.).
Lockhart River "sand beach" language.

Bibliography.
ISBN 0 86892 330 3.

Australian Aborigines and Islanders Branch.
II. Title. (Series : Work papers of SIL-AAIB. Series A; v. 11).

499'.15
FOREWORD

WORK PAPERS OF SIL-AAIB

These work papers are being produced in two series by the Summer Institute of Linguistics, Australian Aborigines and Islanders Branch in order to make results of SIL research in Australia more widely available. In general, Series A contains linguistic papers which are more technical, while Series B contains language learning, anthropology and literacy material aimed at a broader audience.

The work papers reflect both past and current research projects by SIL members; however, some papers by other than SIL members are included.

Because of the preliminary nature of most of the material, these volumes are circulated on a limited basis. It is hoped that their contents will prove of interest primarily to those concerned with Aboriginal and Islander studies, and that comment on their contents will be forthcoming from readers.

Papers should not be reproduced without the authors' consent, nor cited without due reference to their preliminary status. Views expressed by the authors are not necessarily those of SIL.

A list of the volumes in both series, with their prices, is given in the back of this volume. You may order individual volumes, place a standing order or request notification of all publications by writing to the address indicated.

B. M. Larrimore
Editor, Series A

S. K. Hargrave
Editor, Series B
CONTENTS

Foreword iii
List of Abbreviations ix
Preface xi
The Author xii

1. THE LANGUAGE AND ITS SPEAKERS 1

1.1. CLASSIFICATION 1

1.2. LINGUISTIC TYPE 1

1.3. DIALECT GROUPS 2

2. PHONOLOGY OUTLINE 4

2.1. CHART OF PHONEMES 4

2.2. VOWEL LENGTH 5

2.3. CONSONANT LENGTH 6

2.4. WORD STRESS 6
   2.4.1. Stress in words without long vowels 6
   2.4.2. Stress in words with long vowels 6

2.5. PHONOTACTICS 7
   2.5.1. Syllables 7
   2.5.2. Distribution of consonants in words 7
      2.5.2.1. Word Initial 7
      2.5.2.2. Word Final 7
      2.5.2.3. Comparative occurrence of single consonants 8
      2.5.2.4. Consonants between vowels 8
   2.5.3. Distribution of vowels in words 10
      2.5.3.1. Comparative occurrence of vowels 10
      2.5.3.2. Vowel Elision 10

3. MORPHOLOGY 11

3.1. PARTS OF SPEECH 11

3.2. NOUN MORPHOLOGY 12
   3.2.1. Case Markers 12
      3.2.1.1. Syntactic Cases 13
         a) ABSOLUTIVE CASE 13
         b) ERGATIVE CASE 13
         c) INSTRUMENTAL CASE 14
         d) DATIVE CASE 14

v
4.3. COMPLEX SENTENCES 43
  4.3.1. Co-ordinate Sentences 43
  4.3.2. Subordinate Sentences 45
    4.3.2.1. Purposive Sentence 45
    4.3.2.2. Conditional Sentence 45
    4.3.2.3. Contrary to Fact Sentence 45
  4.3.3. Questions - Interrogative Sentences 46
    4.3.3.1. Yes/No Response Interrogative Sentence 46
    4.3.3.2. Information Response Interrogative Sentence 46
  4.3.4. Imperative Sentences 47

4.4. MOOD AND ASPECT 48
  4.4.1. Permissive / Compulsive Mood 48
  4.4.2. Potential Mood 48
  4.4.3. Past Habitual Aspect 49
  4.4.4. Duty Mood 49

4.5. SENTENCE INTERJECTIONS, PARTICLES AND CLITICS 50

5. METAPHORICAL EXTENSIONS of body part terms 51

6. TEXTS 52
  6.1. MAKING SPEARS by Jimmy Doctor in Kuuku Ya'u 52
  6.2. FISHING STORY by Jimmy Doctor in Kuuku Ya'u 54
  6.3. SUGAR BAG HUNTING by Harry Sieu in Kuuku Ya'u 56
  6.4. BUSH CONVERSATION by six women gathering pandanus leaf 58
  6.5. THE STORY OF DAMPER by Ivy Ropeyarn in Umpila 59

7. GUIDE TO PRONUNCIATION 62
  7.1. THE LETTERS 62

7.2. MORE ABOUT SOME SOUNDS 62
  7.2.1. Consonants 62
  7.2.2. Vowels 63
  7.2.3. Consonant Length 63
  7.2.4. Word Stress 63
8. KUUKU YA’U / UMPILA WORD LISTS

8.1. ENGLISH TO KUUKU YA’U / UMPILA

8.1.1. Words in Semantic Categories (meanings)

8.1.1.1. Nouns

a) body parts, states
b) human classification
c) kinship
d) mammals
e) reptiles
f) birds
g) fishes
h) insects, etc.
i) language, ceremony, etc.
j) artefacts, etc.
k) fire, food, water
l) celestial, weather
m) geography
n) arboreal, etc.

8.1.1.2. Adjectives (numbers listed first)

8.1.1.3. Verbs

a) affect
b) attention
c) corporeal
d) induced position
e) motion
f) rest
g) talking, etc.

8.1.1.4. Adverbials
8.1.1.5. Locative words
8.1.1.6. Time words
8.1.1.7. Interrogative words

8.1.2. Alphabetical list

8.2. KUUKU YA’U / UMPILA TO ENGLISH

8.2.1. Alphabetical list

REFERENCES

MAP

Distribution of Dialects
### LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/</td>
<td>alternative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>first person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>second person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>third person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>Agent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ABL</td>
<td>Ablative Case</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ABS</td>
<td>Absolutive Case</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACC</td>
<td>Accusative Case</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adj</td>
<td>adjective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adv</td>
<td>adverbal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>consonant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CAU</td>
<td>Causal Case</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CAUS</td>
<td>Causative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COM</td>
<td>Comitative Case</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CtoF</td>
<td>Contrary to Fact</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DAT</td>
<td>Dative Case</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dem adj</td>
<td>Demonstrative Adjective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dem pr</td>
<td>Demonstrative Pronoun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DER</td>
<td>Derived</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIR</td>
<td>Directional Case</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ERG</td>
<td>Ergative Case</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>exc</td>
<td>exclusive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>exclam</td>
<td>exclamation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FUT</td>
<td>Future</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GEN</td>
<td>Genitive Case</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G.LOC</td>
<td>General Locative Case</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IMP</td>
<td>Imperative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inc</td>
<td>inclusive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INS</td>
<td>Instrumental Case</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>int</td>
<td>interjection</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inter</td>
<td>interrogative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>loc</td>
<td>locative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NF</td>
<td>Non-Future</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NOM</td>
<td>Nominative Case</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NOMLSR</td>
<td>Nominaliser</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O</td>
<td>Object</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O1</td>
<td>Object in Absolutive Case</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O2</td>
<td>Object in Dative Case</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>part</td>
<td>particle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl</td>
<td>plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POS</td>
<td>Positional Case</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRES.CONT</td>
<td>Present Continuous</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRIV</td>
<td>Privative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PROG</td>
<td>Progressive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pron</td>
<td>pronoun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RECIP</td>
<td>Reciprocal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REFL</td>
<td>Reflexive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S</td>
<td>intransitive subject</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sg</td>
<td>singular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SP.LOC</td>
<td>Specific Locative Case</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>vowel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vi</td>
<td>intransitive verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vm</td>
<td>middle verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vt</td>
<td>transitive verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VBLSR</td>
<td>Verbaliser</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ĉ</td>
<td>primary stress</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ą</td>
<td>secondary stress</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
PREFACE

I have written the Outline of Kuuku Ya’u and Umpila dialects for two reasons.

1. I have aimed to make a record of the language in a clear and accurate way as a contribution to the recording of Australian languages. The Outline is based primarily on Kuuku Ya’u, but is also an acceptable description of the closely related Umpila dialect. I am not aware of any significant differences between the two dialects but I have noted some key differences in the following pages. Most examples were given by Kuuku Ya’u speakers while those obtained from Umpila speakers do not contain any differences from Kuuku Ya’u. Umpila variants are given in Section 8. The texts include a narrative in Umpila for a direct comparison. The form of the Outline follows the Guidelines for the series: Handbook of Australian Languages, edited by Blake and Dixon.

2. Sadly the children at Lockhart River today do not speak Kuuku Ya’u or Umpila. Lockhart Creole English is their first language, although many of their parents have a working knowledge of the traditional language. So I hope that this Outline and Word List will also be a useful resource for people at Lockhart River. In the present I hope they will be useful particularly for those who teach in the school and are concerned that the children retain some knowledge of their traditional language. And in the future may it be useful to those who seek to discover the roots of their identity in the heritage of the past.

In compiling this Outline and Word List I have drawn on language material gathered while I was Anglican priest at Lockhart River during 1969 to 1977, and in visits in recent years. I am most grateful to many Lockhart people who helped me, especially to Jimmy Doctor who was always willing, helpful and patient.

David Thompson
Nungalinya College, Darwin, N.T.
March 1988
THE AUTHOR

David Thompson was born in Sydney and studied for ministry in the Anglican Church at St. John's College, Morpeth, N.S.W. He was ordained Deacon in 1963, Priest in 1965, and served for four years in parish work in the diocese of Newcastle.

After training with the Australian Board of Missions in Sydney (1968), he was appointed Chaplain to the Lockhart River Aboriginal Community, Cape York Peninsula, diocese of Carpentaria, in 1969. He completed Linguistics courses with the Summer Institute of Linguistics in 1969 and 1973.

In 1977 he was appointed Priest-in-charge of the Anglican Church in Nadi and Sigatoka, Fiji, diocese of Polynesia, and in 1980 returned to Australia to take up the position of Registrar at Nungalinya College, Darwin. In 1985 he was appointed Extension Education Officer at Nungalinya College.
LOCKHART RIVER "SAND BEACH" LANGUAGE
AN OUTLINE OF KUUKU YA'U AND UMPILA

David A. Thompson

1. THE LANGUAGE AND ITS SPEAKERS

This section outlines the main features of Kuuku Ya'u and Umpila, and describes their relation to other dialects of the region.

1.1. CLASSIFICATION

Kuuku Ya'u and Umpila have their few remaining speakers mainly at the Lockhart River Aboriginal Community on the east coast of Cape York Peninsula, Queensland. Kuuku Ya'u and Umpila are closely related coastal dialects and are also close to the inland dialect of Kaantju. These three dialects are classified by O'Grady, Voeglin and Voeglin (1966) with the 'Middle Pama Sub-group of the Pama-Maric Group of the Pama-Nyungan Family'. Sommer (1969) suggests a clearer classification of this Middle Pama Subgroup into Middle Pama and North-Eastern Pama Subgroups. Warm follows Sommer by listing Umpila and Kaantju under the North-Eastern Pama Subgroup, and he tentatively places Koko Ya'o (Kuuku Ya'u) as a further subgroup. However, as a list of 500 common words has 87% common to both Umpila and Kuuku Ya'u, the three dialects rightly belong together in the North-Eastern Pama Subgroup.

1.2. LINGUISTIC TYPE

Kuuku Ya'u and Umpila are wholly suffixing dialects. There are fifteen consonants and six vowels, including five stop-nasal series: bilabial, lamino-dental, apico-alveolar, lamino-palatal, and dorso-velar, plus a glottal stop. There is a single lateral, single vibrant and two semi-velars. Kuuku Ya'u and Umpila are notable in lacking the glide r. There are three vowel series in long and short forms. Word stress is predictable, but both primary and secondary stress occur. Words begin with a consonant (but an initial glottal stop is not indicated in the practical orthography - see 2.5.2.1.), while between vowels both two-consonant and three-consonant clusters occur.

Only verbs have clearly defined classes (three) and do not incorporate cross-referencing to noun phrases in the sentence. However, verbs may bear clitic or bound pronouns in substitution for free-form pronouns. The three verb classes are distinguished by tense.

---

1 Historically the glottal is derived from *r in Proto-Paman, which is a reconstruction of an earlier stage of a number of languages - see O'Grady 1976.
suffixes only, and do not correspond with the three transitivity sub-classes: transitive, middle and intransitive. The language group has a complex system of verb stem modifications to express repetitive and habitual aspects.

The Case System has an ergative-absolutive pattern for noun phrases and a nominative-accusative pattern for pronouns. Pronouns have a dual distinction only for first person inclusive. The exclusive-inclusive distinction is made for first person only. Pronouns have a three-term case system, while noun phrases have a twelve-term case system.

1.3. DIALECT GROUPS

Kuuku Ya'u and Umpila are among a group of at least six closely related dialects which were originally spoken along the east coast and hinterland of Cape York Peninsula and inland to the west of the Great Dividing Range. The inland dialect is called Kaantju and the original distribution extended roughly from the present town of Coen to north of the old Moreton Post Office (about 200 Km.). The two main coastal dialects are Kuuku Ya'u and Umpila, and they are still spoken among the 400 residents of the Lockhart River Aboriginal Community. However, only the few older people have a full knowledge of the languages, while the middle generations have varying degrees of knowledge and are less certain of differences between dialects. The younger generation has a form of Creole English as the first language.

Speakers of the various dialects of the group distinguish the dialects by reference to the differing words used for the verb ‘look’ as in the following table and accompanying map.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dialect name</th>
<th>Distinguishing Term</th>
<th>Distribution</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Kaantju</td>
<td>yathunyu*</td>
<td>west of Great Dividing Range from Coen north to Moreton P.O.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Kuuku Iyu</td>
<td>yathunyu</td>
<td>Olive River to Uu'ungun and inland to Mitjingun.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Kuuku Ya'u</td>
<td>kuchhaanyu</td>
<td>Uu'ungun south to Claudie River and hinterland.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Uutaalnganu</td>
<td>uutaalnganu</td>
<td>approx. Claudie River south to Cape Sidmouth and hinterland.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Umpila</td>
<td>kiikinyu</td>
<td>south of Cape Sidmouth to north of Massy Creek and hinterland.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Kuuku Yani</td>
<td>kakinyu</td>
<td>Massy Creek.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*yanthu-nya, ‘yathunya speakers’ (etc.) is derived from yanthu-nya look-DER look-NF (see 3.2.2.4.b.)
Map Distribution of dialects along the east coast and hinterland of Cape York Peninsula, Queensland, as given by old people at Lockhart River Aboriginal Community ('new site') near Iron Range. Recorded by David Thompson, April 1975. Reprinted by permission of the publishers from Languages of Cape York by Peter Sutton and published by the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies.
Another two-fold distinction between dialects is made by using derivations of the verbs for ‘eat’:

\[\text{yangkunyu} = \text{Kuuku Iyu, Kuuku Ya'u, Uuttaalnganu, and Kaantju.}\]
\[\text{kanthaanyu} = \text{Umpila and Kuuku Yani.}\]

Further information on these dialect differences can be found in the Addendum to ‘A Phonology of Kuuku Ya’u’ (Thompson 1976) in *Languages of Cape York*, Peter Sutton (ed) A.I.A.S. pp 232-235.

Kuuku Ya'u and Umpila have virtually identical grammars and a list of 500 common words is 87% identical. Uuttaalnganu differs only slightly from its neighbours, while the Kaantju dialects show greater distinctiveness although clearly in the one group. Further research is needed on the differences within the dialect group.

Sign language is frequently used and a special language form is used in the song cycles of the Bora initiation ceremonies.

2. **PHONOLOGY OUTLINE**

This section gives an outline of the sound system of Kuuku Ya'u and Umpila, and shows the letter forms that should be used to put it into writing. A more detailed description may be found in ‘A Phonology of Kuuku Ya’u’ (Thompson 1976).

In Kuuku Ya'u and Umpila there are fifteen consonants and six vowels, contrasting as shown in the chart below.

2.1. **CHART OF PHONEMES**

The chart lists the letter forms chosen to put the sounds into written form (orthography). The distinctive linguistic symbols are shown in brackets.

There is no distinction in the language between p/b, t/d, ch/j, or k/g. The voiceless forms \(p, t, ch, k\) are used for stops as these forms are characteristic of speakers of these dialects.

Note that some of these sounds do not occur in English: \(th, \, ', \, nh\). Also \(ng\) is used at the beginning of words in Kuuku Ya'u and Umpila but not in English. So English speakers learning the language have to take extra care to learn these sounds. See the Guide to Pronunciation (Section 7) for further information.
## CONSONANTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Voiceless stops</th>
<th>BILABIAL</th>
<th>LAMINO-DENTAL</th>
<th>APICO-ALVEOLAR</th>
<th>LAMINO-PALATAL</th>
<th>DORSO-VELAR</th>
<th>GLOTTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Voiceless stops</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>th (θ)</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>ch (tʃ)</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>' (ʔ)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasals</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>nh (ŋ)</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>ny (ŋi)</td>
<td>ng (ŋ)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laterals</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>l</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vibrant</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>r (ɾ)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semi-vowels</td>
<td>w</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>y</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## VOWELS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>FRONT</th>
<th>CENTRAL</th>
<th>BACK</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>i, ii</td>
<td></td>
<td>u, uu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>a, aa</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 2.2. Vowel Length

A distinction is made between long and short vowels as shown in the following contrasts:

- **Short Vowels**
  - **a**: kaayin ‘alongside’
  - **i**: ilpiina ‘return’
  - **u**: thuulu ‘single-barbed spear’

- **Long Vowels**
  - **a**: kayina ‘hang up’
  - **i**: aapa ‘take’
  - **u**: thuulu ‘grass tree’

When two long vowels occur in one word the less stressed vowel may not be fully lengthened.
2.3. CONSONANT LENGTH

In words without long vowels, the consonant following the initial primarily stressed vowel is lengthened. But, as this is predictable, it is not necessary to represent this consonant length in writing. The first part of the length serves as an ending of the first syllable, and the second part of the length serves as the onset of the second syllable. However, it would be helpful to take account of this consonant length when indicating syllables in a primer, e.g. pama ‘person’ can be shown as:

\[
pam \\
ma = pama \text{ (rather than as } p.a.m.a \text{ or as } p.a.m.a.)
\]

2.4. WORD STRESS

Kuuku Ya’u and Umpila have predictable, but not rigid, primary and secondary stress patterns. The stress is quite readily affected by emphasis, mood, fast speech etc., and frequently the effect is to equalise or reverse primary and secondary stress.

2.4.1. Stress in words without long vowels:

Primary Stress occurs on the first vowel, and
Secondary Stress occurs on the second vowel in the word.

2.4.2. Stress in words with long vowels:

Primary Stress occurs on the last long vowel, and
Secondary Stress occurs on the preceding long vowel, if any, otherwise on the first vowel of the word.

Examples of Stress

Primary Stress is marked ŧ and Secondary Stress is marked Ñ.

- pámâ ‘Aboriginal person’
- pálá ‘behind’
- kâyina ‘hang up’
- wâchâyâ ‘permit’
- müümânya ‘rub’
- pitânchîmana ‘understand’
- pito-pitânchîmângka ‘always understanding’
- múyûmâ ‘be angry’
- kâchînhîpînta ‘female’
- pînîntaka ‘hawk’
- tängkâltângângka ‘keeps aching’
- wîtimîmu ‘many ants’
- tîwîrâ ‘with a knife’
2.5. PHONOTACTICS

This section contains information and statistics that are of interest mainly to linguists who compare languages across Australia.

2.5.1. Syllables

The syllable patterns in Kuuku Ya'u and Umpila are: CV, CVC, and CVCC, where V may be a short or a long vowel, except that a long vowel does not occur in a word final CV. (C = consonant, V = vowel)

Both dual and triple consonant clusters can occur when syllables are joined, e.g.

- CVC + CV = CVCCV
- CVCC + CV = CVCCCV

A few monosyllabic interjections occur:

way 'Hey!', ngam 'O.K.', yaw 'yes', ngilnyii 'yes'.

Other words have from two to four syllable, not counting added endings or reduplications. The longest modified word recorded has 9 syllables (see example 143).

2.5.2. Distribution of consonants in words

2.5.2.1. Word Initial

All consonants occur singly at the beginning of words, although only one example has been recorded of r, and few of nh, n and l. A glottal stop (') occurs before initial vowels but these glottals are not shown in the written form used in this Outline. This is because a glottal stop occurs predictably at the beginning of words when no other consonant is present. So the initial glottal stop need not be represented in writing Kuuku Ya'u and Umpila, as is the case in written German. But the glottal stop is included in the chart below.

One example has been recorded of a dual consonant cluster at the beginning of a word, i.e. praympana 'knife spear' (a type of fighting spear).

2.5.2.2. Word Final

Only the consonants n, l and y occur at the end of words. It is also a common practice for speakers to omit the final vowel of words when the final vowel is preceded by n, l or y, especially with verbs.
2.5.2.3. Comparative occurrence of single consonants in word initial & word final position

The word final consonants have been counted from 112 words which have not apparently had a final vowel omitted. The total word list for the count was 1156 words. These are listed in section 8. (Note that th, ch, nh, ny and ng represent single sounds.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Consonant</th>
<th>Count</th>
<th>Percentage-Group %</th>
<th></th>
<th>Consonant</th>
<th>Count</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>p</td>
<td>195</td>
<td>16.9%</td>
<td></td>
<td>p</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>th</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>6.7%</td>
<td></td>
<td>th</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>3.3%</td>
<td></td>
<td>t</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ch</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>1.7%</td>
<td></td>
<td>ch</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>17.3%</td>
<td></td>
<td>k</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>114</td>
<td>9.9%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>8.5%</td>
<td></td>
<td>m</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nh</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>0.7%</td>
<td></td>
<td>nh</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>0.8%</td>
<td></td>
<td>n</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>34%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ny</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>1.6%</td>
<td></td>
<td>ny</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ng</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>9.3%</td>
<td></td>
<td>ng</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>0.7%</td>
<td></td>
<td>l</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>38.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.09%</td>
<td></td>
<td>r</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>8.8%</td>
<td></td>
<td>y</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>27.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>w</td>
<td>158</td>
<td>13.7%</td>
<td></td>
<td>w</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.5.2.4. Consonants between vowels

a) Single consonants - all consonants occur singly between vowels.

b) Dual consonant clusters occur between vowels as in the following list. The bracketed numbers are a count of the words in which they occur in the 1156 word list.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Continuant + continuant:</th>
<th>m</th>
<th>nh</th>
<th>n</th>
<th>ng</th>
<th>i</th>
<th>w</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>l</td>
<td>lm (9)</td>
<td>lnh (2)</td>
<td></td>
<td>lng (2)</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>lw (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n</td>
<td>ym (3)</td>
<td>ynh (1)</td>
<td>yn (4)</td>
<td>yng (3)</td>
<td>yl (1)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Continuant + stop:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>p</th>
<th>th</th>
<th>t</th>
<th>ch</th>
<th>k</th>
<th>'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>l</td>
<td>lp  (23)</td>
<td>lth (11)</td>
<td>lt (2)</td>
<td>lch (17)</td>
<td>lk (36)</td>
<td>l' (13)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m</td>
<td>mp  (60)</td>
<td>nhth (47)</td>
<td>nt (35)</td>
<td>nych (49)</td>
<td>nk (9)</td>
<td>m' (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n</td>
<td>np  (8)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ngk (73)</td>
<td>n' (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ng</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r</td>
<td>rp  (2)</td>
<td>yth (2)</td>
<td>rk (6)</td>
<td>ych (6)</td>
<td>yk (12)</td>
<td>y' (5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y</td>
<td>yp  (8)</td>
<td></td>
<td>yt (5)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Stop + stop:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>p</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>t</td>
<td>tp (3)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>th' (1)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>th</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>k' (2)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>r' (3)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


\(nhth\) (nt) and \(nych\) (ntj) can be represented in writing as \(nth\) and \(nch\) because the stop predictably influences the formation of the nasal at the same point of articulation as the stop, and other nasals do not form a contrast in these two cases. The same applies to the triple cluster \(lnhth\) which can be written as \(lnth\).

c) **Triple consonant clusters** occur between vowels as in the following list. The bracketed numbers are a count of the words in which they occur in the 1156 word list. The first consonant is always a continuant and the third is always a stop. The middle consonant is a continuant or a glottal stop.

Continuant + continuant + stop:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>p</th>
<th>th</th>
<th>t</th>
<th>ch</th>
<th>k</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lm</td>
<td>lmp  (10)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ln</td>
<td>lnp  (3)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lnh</td>
<td>nhth (5)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lnk</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ym</td>
<td>ymp  (4)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yn</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yng</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Continuant + stop + stop:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>p</th>
<th></th>
<th>k</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>r'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>r'k (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y'</td>
<td>y'p (3)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2.5.3. Distribution of vowels in words

Vowels occur only singly. Short and long vowels occur in word medial position but only short vowels occur in word final position. Two long vowels can occur in the one word but always in adjacent syllables. Words usually end with a vowel although the final vowel can often be omitted when the last consonant is n, l or y. Words do not begin with vowels, although this may appear to be the case in this Outline. Instead a glottal stop occurs at the beginning of a word when no other consonant is present, but it is not necessary to show this in writing. (See 2.5.2.1.)

As no two vowels occur together, the sounds ai and au are represented as ay and aw, as the u and l are following the consonant patterns and are represented by the semi-vowels y and w.

2.5.3.1. Comparative occurrence of vowels

Of the 1156 words: 874 words contain only short vowels

259 words contain one long vowel: 190 in the first syllable
69 in the second syllable

23 words contain two long vowels: 22 in syllables 1 and 2
1 in syllables 2 and 3
(untaatnupi 'archer fish')

2.5.3.2. Vowel Elision

Vowels occurring immediately after n, l, or y are commonly omitted at the end of words (as in 2.5.2.2.), including the final vowel of case endings or other suffixes, and also immediately before a case ending or other suffix, e.g. in example 14, ngangka-l (give-IMPsg) is shortened from ngangka-la, and in example 24, ngungan-muni, 3sgACC-CAU, comes from ngungaana. Other examples follow including: 4, 5, 29, 39, 48, 62, 150.
3. MORPHOLOGY

This section describes the kinds of words that occur and the ways that speakers use in putting words together with different meanings. The main ways of doing this are through the case endings on noun phrases and pronouns, and the complex ways of changing the verb structure. Note that most examples were given by Kuuku Ya'u speakers while those obtained from Umpila speakers do not contain any differences from Kuuku Ya'u. Umpila variants are given in section 8.

3.1. PARTS OF SPEECH

The Nominals in a Noun Phrase are marked according to an absolutive-ergative pattern, i.e. the transitive subject function may be marked by an ergative case marker while the intransitive subject function and the transitive object function are unmarked. In addition, Noun Phrases are marked for Instrumental, Dative, Causal, Comitative, Specific Locative, General Locative, Positional, Directional, Ablative and Genitive Cases. In all cases only one item of the Noun Phrase is marked (usually the last item).

Pronouns, however, follow a nominative-accusative pattern and occur in three cases: Nominative, Accusative and Genitive. The Accusative and Genitive pronouns may be further inflected by phrase markers such as Ergative, Dative, Ablative, Causal and Local. Pronouns also have some clitic or bound forms which are suffixed usually to the inflected verb. First person non-singular pronouns have inclusive and exclusive forms. The inclusive forms have a further distinction for dual and plural number. (See 3.3.1.)

Verbs occur in three classes and all the transitivity distinctions occur on each class. The tense inflections include a basic distinction between future and non-future. There are also tense inflections for past (residual form), present continuous, and imperative singular and plural.

Verb Stems may also be derived from verb roots or other parts of speech by the use of various suffixes, i.e. verbaliser, causative, causative verbaliser, reflexive and reciprocal. Also reduplication in verb stems is used to express repetitive and habitual aspects.

Other parts of speech distinguished by syntactic means are: interrogatives, time words, size words and other adjectives, locative and directional words, adverbials, particles and interjections.
3.2. NOUN MORPHOLOGY

3.2.1. Case Markers

Case Markers in Kuuku Ya’u and Umpila are actually phrase markers and are suffixed usually to the last item of a Noun Phrase.

THE CASE SYSTEM

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MORPHOLOGICAL FORMS</th>
<th>SYNTAXIC RELATIONS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ABSOLUTIVE</td>
<td>ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ERGATIVE</td>
<td>-lu / -l / -’v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DATIVE</td>
<td>-ku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GENITIVE</td>
<td>-ku / -namu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ABLATIVE</td>
<td>-munu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COMITATIVE</td>
<td>-pinta / -chi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GENERAL LOCATIVE</td>
<td>-lu / -l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SPECIFIC LOCATIVE</td>
<td>-nguna / -ngun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POSITIONAL</td>
<td>-la / -l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIRECTIONAL</td>
<td>-ma</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

ABSOLUTIVE: ABSOLUTIVE, intransitive subject (S), object (O)

ERGATIVE or Agent (A), INSTRUMENTAL

DATIVE: DATIVE - Allative, Purpose, Benefactive, Time complements

GENITIVE

ABLATIVE: ABLATIVE, CAUSAL (distinguished semantically)

COMITATIVE

GENERAL LOCATIVE

SPECIFIC LOCATIVE

POSITIONAL

DIRECTIONAL: DIRECTIONAL, *(Verbaliser Derivational Affix)

*This form is semantically similar but differs functionally. The derivational affix can be further inflected while the Case form cannot.
3.2.1.1. Syntactic Cases

a) ABSOLUTIVE CASE (ABS) indicates the entity which experiences the effect of the verb, i.e. the subject (S) experiencing the state of an intransitive verb, and the object (O) experiencing the action of the transitive verb. The Absolutive Case is unmarked.

b) ERGATIVE CASE (ERG) marks the subject of a transitive sentence, i.e. the Agent (A) of an action, and is distinguished from the Instrumental Case which has identical form, and from the General Locative -lu.

Form: 

-\(lu / -i / -V\) where \(V\) is the stem-final vowel.

A partial lengthening of the stem-final vowel may occur, but not when the final vowel of the case marker is elided. Persons are usually marked by -\(lu\), otherwise the variant forms appear to be simply alternatives, although there is a tendency to favour the glottalised form.

The Ergative marker is usually suffixed to the last item of a Noun Phrase. The noun head is usually animate, but may also be an inanimate object with animate effect such as a falling tree (example 4), burning fire or hot water. The Ergative Case is supported by a typical word order of subject-object-predicate, and this encourages the frequent omission of the ergative case marker in less formal speech, as the meaning remains clear from the word order (example 1).

Examples of Ergative Case

1. *ku'aaka* *ira* *patha-na*
dog snake bite-NF
*‘The dog bit the snake.’*

2. *ngata* *piliplu* *pungan* *kalma-nha-na*
1sgGEN father-ERG fish come-CAUS.VBLSR-NF
*‘My father brought the fish.’*

3. *ku'aaka* *mukan-d'aa* *piiuwu* *patha-na*
dog big-ERG wallaby bite-NF
*‘A big dog bit the wallaby.’*

4. *yuku-'u / yuku-lu* *ku'aaka* *tha'i-n*
tree-ERG dog hit-NF
*‘A tree hit the dog.’*

5. *kulaana-'a / kulaan-lu* *ingkaawa* *waymachi-n*
possum-ERG flower drop-NF
*‘A possum dropped a flower.’*
c) INSTRUMENTAL CASE (INS) marks the instrument which is used to cause an action. While the Instrumental case marker is identical in form to the Ergative case marker, the two cases are distinguished because the Instrumental case marks the instrument used (usually inanimate), which is dependent on the prior occurrence or assumption of an animated agent of the action (Ergative).

Form: \(-lu /-l / -V\) where \(V\) is the stem final vowel.

A partial lengthening of the stem-final vowel may occur, but not when the final vowel of the marker is elided. Usually the last item of an instrumental Noun Phrase is marked. The marker may be omitted when the instrument follows the subject as the meaning remains clear from the word order and the animate/inanimate distinction (example 6). Body parts can be marked with instrumental case (example 8).

Examples of Instrumental Case

6. ngayu tawuru minya muunga-na
   1sgNOM knife (INS) meat cut-NF
   'I cut the meat with a knife.'

7. ngayu minya muunga-na tawaru kithari-lu
   1sgNOM meat cut-NF knife sharp-INS
   'I cut the meat with a sharp knife.'

8. John-lu pulihunu tha'i-n ma'a-lulma'a'-a
   John-ERG boy hit-NF hand-INS
   'John hit the boy with (his) hand.'

9. panal-u ira yuku-luiyuku-'u tha'i-n
   man-ERG snake stick-INS hit-NF
   'The man hit the snake with a stick.'

10. ku'aaka-lu matawara patha-n kamana-lu
    dog-ERG rope bite-NF teeth-INS
    'The dog bit the rope with (its) teeth.'

d) DATIVE CASE (DAT) marks the complements of an intransitive verb (examples 11, 12), or a middle verb (examples 119 to 121), the indirect objects of a transitive verb (examples 13 to 15), and may mark a complement of the Topic in a stative sentence (example 21).

A 'complement' is an optional word or phrase that completes or fills out the meaning of a sentence. It is distinguished from the direct object in a transitive sentence. Complements express a wide range of goal/purpose effects including goal of address, goal of motion or allative, indirect object, purpose, benefit, and time. Usually the last item of a Noun Phrase is marked, and in this way either a noun, adjective, adverb, or nominalised verb may be marked.
Form: -ku

Examples of Dative Case

General Dative

11. ngampula minya-ku wuntu-ka
    1plincNOM meat-DAT hunt-FUT
    'We will hunt for meat.'

12. ngayu waatha-ka mayi-ku kaala-ku
    1sgNOM go-FUT food-DAT uncle-DAT
    'I will go for food for uncle.'

13. pama-lu piwuu tha'i-n minya-ku piipi ngungaangku-ku
    man-ERG wallaby kill-NF meat-DAT father 3sgGEN-DAT
    'The man killed the wallaby for meat for his father.'

14. pungan nganka-l piipi-ku
    fish give-IMPsg father-DAT
    'Give the fish to father.'

15. mukana ali-nya muuyu pulaangku-ku
    big ones pick up-NF husbands 3plGEN-DAT
    '(They) picked up big ones for their husbands.'

Goal of Address

16. ngulu kuu'alanga kulima-ku
    3sgNOM speak-PRES.CONT many-DAT
    'He is speaking to many people.'

Goal of Motion (Allative)

17. ngayu ilpil-cha ngaachi-ku
    1sgNOM return-FUT home-DAT
    'I will return home.'

18. kalu ngaa yutha-ku
    take-IMPsg 1sgGEN house-DAT
    'Take (it) to my house.'

Time complements

19. thungku pa'aamu-ku wu'u-ma-na-nga
    night two-DAT bad-VBLSR-NF-1sgNOM
    'I was sick for two nights.'
20. kampanu wana-na-nga paala-ku
   steel rod leave-NF-1sngNOM afterwards-DAT
   ‘I left the spear-barb for later.’

Stative complement

21. ngaachi mini-ku ngi’i
   place good-DAT here
   ‘The place will be good here.’

Dative complements

Complements occurring with the following verbs are marked with the Dative:

- kathinyana ‘sea hunt (night)’
- ku’u’un thuyimana ‘be jealous’
- kuu’alinana ‘speak’
- ilpijina ‘return’
- lavamana ‘proud/be proud’
- miyumana ‘be angry/sulk’
- ngaachina ‘laugh’
- pampaana ‘ask’
- paampaanya ‘look for’
- pi’ina ‘wait’
- pin’ayina ‘hunt (for fish)’
- pitaanchimana ‘learn’
- pita anchingana ‘teach’
- punthanyana ‘sea hunt (afternoon)’
- ungaana ‘cry’
- waarthinya ‘run’
- winitina ‘be frightened’
- wulniina ‘be glad’
- yaanthanya ‘be ashamed’
- yaachina ‘call out’

The verb ngamina occurs with an Absolutive Object when it means ‘hear’, and with a Dative complement when it means ‘listen for’.

Pronoun complements are not marked with the Dative but occur in Accusative form.

e) CAUSAL CASE (CAU) marks the cause of an intransitive state. It is distinguished from the Ablative Case which has identical form but which marks the source orientation of an action. The Causal Case should not be confused with the passive which does not occur in Kuuku Ya’u and Umpila. A passive construction requires an underlying agent and speakers of these dialects make the agent explicit by using an ergative construction.

Form: -munu

Examples of Causal Case

22. ngayu winil-mana ku’aaku-munu
    1sngNOM frightened-PRES.CONT dog-CAU
    ‘I am frightened of the dog.’

23. ngi’i ngaachi wunchawuncha kuyu-munu wu’ulu-nga-ngka
    this place boys more-CAU bad ones-CAUS.VBLSR-PRES.CONT
    ‘This place is becoming spoilt because of too many young boys.’
24. ngampula  kuungi-cha  ngungan-munu
   IplineNOM  hide-FUT    3sgACC-CAU
   ‘Let us hide from him.’

f) COMITATIVE CASE (COM) marks a Noun Phrase that indicates accompaniment or ‘having’. The Comitative case markers may also form nominal compounds that cannot be further inflected with the Comitative case. (See 3.2.2.1.)

Form:  -pinta / -chi  -pinta is commonly used and only two examples of the alternative -chi have been recorded (examples 26 and 109).

Examples of Comitative Case

‘by means of’

25. iliina-nga  tangu-pinta
   return-NF-1sgNOM  canoe-COM
   ‘I came back by canoe.’

26. chilpu  iliin-n  yaramana-chi  kalnkani
   old man  return-NF  horse-COM  overland
   ‘The old man returned overland by horse.’

At rest with inanimate object

27. pama  paalpi-mana  kalka-pinta
   man  stands.PRES.CONT  spear-COM
   ‘The man keeps on standing with a spear.’

At rest with humans

28. wayimu  ngungku  nila-n  kaa’i-pinta
   woman  over there  sit-NF  baby-COM
   ‘The woman sits over there with a baby.’

Motion with unhelpful inanimate

29. pama  waathathi-nya  yulii  mukan-pinta
   man  run-NF  woomera  big-COM
   ‘The man is running with a big woomera.’

Motion with helpful inanimate

30. chilpu  maaya  pingalpa-ngka  kachin-pinta
   old man  hill  climb.PRES.CONT  stick-COM
   ‘The old man is climbing the hill with a walking stick.’
Motion in human company

31. *pama ngi'i kalma-n kulinta-pinta*
   man here come-NF wife-COM
   'The man came here with his wife.'

3.2.1.2. Local Cases

Kuuku Ya'u and Umpila have five distinctions to specify the location of an event. Note that Allative 'to' is expressed by the Dative (see examples 17 and 18), while 'in the direction of' is expressed by the Directional case.

The five local cases distinguished are:

| General Locative | -lu / -l |
| Specific Locative | -nguna / -ngun |
| Positional | -la / -l |
| Directional | -ma |
| Ablative | -munu |

(There may be grounds for treating the first three as variants in one Locative Case, but they appear to have different emphases.)

a) GENERAL LOCATIVE CASE (G.LOC) is used to mark a general or spatial locational reference. This form is used frequently with demonstrative and locative words. A partial lengthening of the stem-final vowel may occur, except when the final vowel is elided.

Form: -lu / -l

Examples:

32. *ngungkuuna-lu chuuchun muunga-na nga*
    far distant-G.LOC cotton tree cut-NF-1sgNOM
    'I cut a cotton tree at that far distant place.'

33. *yutha ngataangku-lu*
    house 1sgGEN-G.LOC
    'there at my house'

34. *dinghy-lu tangkiina ngungkuuna-lu*
    dinghy-G.LOC break-NF far distant-G.LOC
    'right over there where the dinghy is broken'
b) SPECIFIC LOCATIVE CASE (SP.LOC) is used to mark a specific locational reference with an emphasis on contact.

Form: \(-nguna\ / \ -ngun\)

Examples:

35.\ katana-nga \thaa'uthu-ngun\  
tie up-NF 1sgNOM spear handle-SP.LOC  
'I tied (it) up in the spear handle.'

36.\ yuku \kani-mun \pungka-n \ku'aaka-nguna\  
tree above-ABL fall-NF dog-SP.LOC  
'The tree fell from above onto the dog.'

37.\ ngayu \mayi \wana-na \yutha-ngun\  
1sgNOM bread leave-NF house-SP.LOC  
'I left the bread at the house.'

c) POSITIONAL CASE (POS) is used to mark a locative reference with an emphasis on position. The stem-final vowel is not lengthened when the final vowel of the marker is elided (example 39). When the complete form of -la is used, the preceding vowel is lengthened.

Form: \(-la\ / \ -l\) where \(V\) is the stem-final vowel.

Examples:

38. \ ngayu \mayi \wana-na \yutha-la\  
1sgNOM bread leave-NF house-POS  
'I left the bread in the house.'

39. \wana-n \nganan \tanguu-la\tanguu-l\  
leave-NF 1plACC canoe-POS  
'(You) leave us by the dinghy.'

40. \tangu \wana-n \pakay \maamaa-la\  
canoe leave-NF down water-POS  
'(You) leave the dinghy down by the water.'

d) DIRECTIONAL CASE (DIR) expresses motion or activity in a particular direction or location without the goal of the motion or activity being involved. In this way the Directional Case is distinct from the Allative aspect (expressed by the Dative Case) which expresses the goal of a motion or activity without necessarily expressing a particular direction or location. Note also the use of the same form -ma as a Verbaliser in 3.4.5.1.
Form: -ma

Examples:

41. ngungku pakay-ma ngana’a waathi-nya
   over there  down-DIR  1pNOM  go-NF
   ‘We are going down over that way.’

42. kunngay-ma nganan kainti-nya
   northeast-DIR  1pACC  send/take-NF
   ‘He took us northeastwards.’

Note: -ma can be used in the absence of a verb when there is an equational sense.
The next two examples are about travel by dinghy.

43. Alec ngku-ma yimachin pula Boss-lu
   Alec over there-DIR Claudie Pt 3pNOM  Boss-G.LOC
   ‘Alec and they (are going) over Claudie Point way where the Boss is.’

44. James Butcher ngku-ma nga’ala-lu-ma
   James Butcher over there-DIR that one-G.LOC-DIR
   ‘James Butcher (is still going) over there somewhere.’

45. nga’a pula-laka kuuna-ma
    those 3pNOM-exclam this place-DIR
    ‘Those ones (are staying) here.’

e) ABLATIVE CASE (ABL) marks the source orientation of a motion, and is distinguished semantically from the Causal Case which has the same form but marks the cause of a state.

Form: -munu

Examples:

46. yuta ngi’i kankama-mana ngaachi wiyama-munu
    big lot here arrive.PROG-PRES.CONT place another-ABL
    ‘A lot of people keep coming here from another place.’

47. tractor puntha-n paala-munu
    tractor emerge-NF behind-ABL
    ‘A tractor came out from the rear.’
3.2.1.3. The Genitive Case

GENITIVE CASE (GEN) marks the possessor in a possessive construction. While the form -ku is the same form as the Dative, there is also the alternative form -namu which is frequently used. The Genitive Case can be used for both alienable and inalienable possession as well as for kinship relations.

Form:  
-ku / -namu

Examples of Genitive Case

48. nga’a-l-ki miimi-ngal Landrover piiramku
that-G.LOC-might grandfather-might Landrover Piiramu-GEN
‘That might be grandfather’s Landrover, Piiramu’s.’

49. palntha-namu wana-na kulamu-ngun
shirt-GEN leave-NF road-POS
‘(He) left (his) shirt on the road.’

50. ku’aaka-namu pa’an
dog-GEN head
‘The dog’s head’

51. John-namu ta’u
John-GEN foot
‘John’s foot’

3.2.2. Nominal Derivations

This section shows ways of making nouns from other words by adding an ending or affix.

3.2.2.1. The Comitative Case markers may be used to form nominal compounds from noun or adjective roots. These compounds cannot be further inflected with the Comitative Case as in the following comparison.

c.f. wupuyu waathi-nya anthaya-pinta / kachinpinta
boy go-NF girl-COM / female (young girl)
‘The boy went with the girl.’

a) -pinta ‘having’

e.g. wiinipinta ‘policeman’ derived from: wiini ‘flash decoration’
kachinpinta ‘female’ derived from: kachin ‘yamstick’
ngampapinta ‘councillor’ derived from: ngampa ‘no/not’
b) -chi ‘having’

forming place names from a characteristic feature:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{e.g.} & \quad \text{mapanguchi} & \text{‘a place name’} & \text{from} & \text{mapangu} & \text{‘grass type’} \\
& \quad \text{talkauchi} & \text{‘a place name’} & \text{from} & \text{talka} & \text{‘grass type’} \\
& \quad \text{mukuychi} & \text{‘Cape Sidmouth’} & \text{from} & \text{mukuy} & \text{‘grass type’} \\
& \quad \text{iltiichi} & \text{‘a creek name’} & \text{from} & \text{ilti} & \text{‘fruit type’}
\end{align*}
\]

designating people:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{e.g.} & \quad \text{kaawachi} & \text{‘people of S.E. region’} & \text{from} & \text{kaaway} & \text{‘southeast’} \\
& \quad \text{kungkaachi} & \text{‘people of N.E. region’} & \text{from} & \text{kungkay} & \text{‘northeast’} \\
& \quad \text{kanichi} & \text{‘inlanders’} & \text{from} & \text{kani} & \text{‘high/inland’}
\end{align*}
\]

specifying:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{e.g.} & \quad \text{paalakuchi} & \text{‘last one’} & \text{from} & \text{paalaku} & \text{‘last’} \\
& \quad \text{ukaaapichi} & \text{‘first one’} & \text{from} & \text{ukaapi} & \text{‘first’}
\end{align*}
\]

3.2.2.2. Privative - indicating deprivation.

Form: -kanyu

Examples

\[
\begin{align*}
52. & \quad \text{ngulu} \quad \text{maka-n} \quad \text{maayi-kanyu-ma} \\
& \quad 3\text{sgNOM die-NF food-Priv-VBLSR} \\
& \text{‘He died from starvation.’}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
53. & \quad \text{ngayu} \quad \text{ngi’i} \quad \text{kiini-kanyu} \\
& \quad 1\text{sgNOM here tobacco-Priv} \\
& \text{‘I am here without tobacco.’}
\end{align*}
\]

3.2.2.3. Plural generaliser

Form: -kamu

This derivation has restricted use in defining certain generalised plurals. Plural is more usually indicated by qualifiers, pronouns or context.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{e.g.} & \quad \text{chilpu-kamu} & \text{pupu-kamu} \\
& \text{‘old people’} & \text{‘pawpaws’}
\end{align*}
\]
3.2.2.4. Derivational affixes which form nominal stems from verb roots

a) -nyinta ‘having ability’

   e.g. ma’upinyinta ‘builder’ from ma’upi-na ‘make-NF’
        puyanyinta ‘jumper’ from puya-na ‘jump-NF’
        kuuchaanyinta ‘watcher’ from kuuchaa-nya ‘look-NF’
        waathinyinta ‘runner’ from waathi-nya ‘run/go-NF’

b) -nyu ‘belonging/ability’

   forming dialect or group names:

   e.g. yangkunyu ‘Yangkunya speakers’ from yangku-nya ‘eat-NF’
        kuuchaanyu ‘kuuchaanya speakers’ from kuuchaa-nya ‘look-NF’

as a Nominaliser in a Dative complement:

54. piti ngungaangku-lu pitaanchi-ngga-ngka kalka
    father 3sgGEN-ERG know-CAUS.VBLSR-PRES.CONT spear

    wayi-nya-ku
    throw-NOMLSR-DAT
    ‘His father is teaching him spear-throwing.’

55. ngayu pitaanchi tukulu machi-nya-ku
    IsgNOM know turtle catch-NOMLSR-DAT
    ‘I know how to catch turtles.’

   c) -mu ‘full of’ : forming a qualifier from a verb root

56. ungathal kuapi-mu
    alcohol like-NOMLSR
    ‘lovers of alcohol/drunkards’

57. ngi’il wiiniipinta winini-mu
    this police afraid-NOMLSR
    ‘These policemen are timid.’

58. pana lawalawa-mu
    man proud-NOMLSR
    ‘The man is proud.’

59. pana wikawika-mu
    man tell lie-NOMLSR
    ‘The man is a liar.’

23
3.2.3. Nominal Reduplication

Some words can be changed by repeating all or part of the word.

**Intensification** by full reduplication of noun or adjective roots.

e.g.  
kuntakunta  ‘very strong/powerful’  
patipat  ‘very narrow’  
mukamukana  ‘very big/plenty’  
thungkuthungku  ‘very black’  
lawalawa  ‘proud/boastful’  
ganthalangantha  ‘thin’ (from gantha ‘bone’)  
puchapucha  ‘dry’

**Quantification** by partial reduplication or modification of the second syllable. A few irregular forms occur:

wupuyu  ‘small child’  
wupunyuyu  ‘several small children’  
wupunpunyuma  ‘a crowd of small children’  
wiimu  ‘ant’  
wiimmumu  ‘a large number of ants’

**Derived temporal stems**

antha  ‘before’  
anthamama  ‘some time ago’  
anthanthama  ‘a long time ago’  
ngulku  ‘night-time’  
ngulkungulku  ‘this evening’  
ngulkuma  ‘tomorrow’  
ngulka  ‘yesterday’

**Derived interrogative stems**

ngaani  ‘what?’  
ngaanimu  ‘what is it?’  
ngaaniku  ‘why?/what for?/who for?’

3.3. PRONOUN MORPHOLOGY

While the NOMINAL SYSTEM follows an ergative/absolutive pattern, the PRONOMINAL SYSTEM follows a nominative/accusative pattern. Pronouns occur in free or bound forms and in three cases: Nominative, Accusative and Genitive.

Nominative Case describes both the intransitive and the transitive subject, and both are unmarked. Irregular pronoun roots occur in the singular nominative case, i.e. ngayu, ngununganu and ngulu/nhulu.
Accusative Case marks the transitive object pronoun with the form -\textit{na}. It is added to the nominative form except to the singular forms in which case it is added to the underlying regular singular roots: \textit{ngata-}, \textit{ngangka-}, and \textit{ngunga-}. The first two roots have been recorded as abbreviated genitive forms (Ex.2.157). The final vowel of the accusative forms can be omitted. In this case a long vowel is shortened, e.g. \textit{nganaana} becomes \textit{nganana}.

Genitive Case of the pronoun is formed by adding -\textit{ngku} to the pronominal root.

### 3.3.1. Personal Pronouns (Kuuku Ya'u - see Note 3 for Umpila differences)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PERSON</th>
<th>NOMINATIVE FREE</th>
<th>BOUND</th>
<th>ACCUSATIVE FREE</th>
<th>BOUND</th>
<th>GENITIVE FREE</th>
<th>BOUND</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>First</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>singular</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.sg. dual</td>
<td>\textit{ngayu} (I)</td>
<td>\textit{-nga}</td>
<td>\textit{ngataana} / \textit{nganyi (me)}</td>
<td>\textit{-nyi}</td>
<td>\textit{ngataangku} / \textit{ngata (mine)}</td>
<td>\textit{-tuku}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inclusive 1 du inc</td>
<td>\textit{ngali} (we two)</td>
<td>\textit{-li}</td>
<td>\textit{ngaliina} / \textit{(you &amp; me)}</td>
<td>\textit{-lin}</td>
<td>\textit{ngaliingku} (yours &amp; mine)</td>
<td>\textit{-lingku}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>plural inclusive</td>
<td>\textit{ngampula} (we inc)</td>
<td>\textit{-mpu}</td>
<td>\textit{ngampulana} (us inc)</td>
<td>\textit{-mpun}</td>
<td>\textit{ngampulungku} 1</td>
<td>\textit{-mpungku}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 pl inc</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>plural exclusive</td>
<td>\textit{ngana} (we exc)</td>
<td>\textit{-na / na' a} 2</td>
<td>\textit{nganaana} (us exc)</td>
<td>\textit{-nan}</td>
<td>\textit{nganaangku} (ours exc)</td>
<td>\textit{-nangku}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 pl exc</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Second</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>singular</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 sg. plural</td>
<td>\textit{nguru} 3 you (S)</td>
<td>\textit{-ntu}</td>
<td>\textit{ngangaana you (O)}</td>
<td>\textit{-ngin}</td>
<td>\textit{ngangkaangku} / \textit{nganga (yours)}</td>
<td>\textit{-ngku}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>plural</td>
<td>\textit{ngu'ula} you (S)</td>
<td>\textit{-nu / nu' u} 2</td>
<td>\textit{ngu'ulana you (O)}</td>
<td>\textit{-ni / ni' y} 2</td>
<td>\textit{ngu'ulungku} 1</td>
<td>\textit{-lungku}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Third</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>singular</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 sg. plural</td>
<td>\textit{ngulu} 3 (he, she, it)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>\textit{ngungana} (him, her, it)</td>
<td>\textit{-lun}</td>
<td>\textit{ngungaangku} (his, hers, its)</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>plural</td>
<td>\textit{pula} (they)</td>
<td>\textit{-'a}</td>
<td>\textit{pulaana (them)}</td>
<td>\textit{-lana / lan}</td>
<td>\textit{pulaangku (theirs)}</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Notes:
1. Vowel harmony occurs in the Genitive case for 1 pl inc and 2 pl.

2. The final syllable 'V', where V is the preceding vowel, appears to be a stylistic device in discourse.

3. The Umpila dialect has different forms for: 2 sg (ngamu) and 3 sg (nhulu).

The form nganyi (1.sg.ACC) has an individual emphasis: ‘only me’, e.g.

60. nganyi kalnhi malngkana-ku
    me alone takeIMP beach-DAT
    ‘Take just me to the beach.’

61. nganyi'ī inchi-nya
    myself tell-NF
    ‘I said to myself.’

Other Cases such as Ergative, Dative, Ablative, Causal and Local Cases are phrase markers, i.e. they may mark an accusative or genitive pronoun as one item of a Noun Phrase. See examples 24 (Causal), 13, 15 (Dative), and 54 (Ergative). Also:

62. ngayu kahmaa-na pulan-munu
    1sgNOM come-NF 3plACC-ABL
    ‘I came from them.’

63. ngulu yuha ngankaangku-ngun
    3sgNOM house 2sgACC-POS
    ‘He is at your house.’

3.3.2. Pronoun Augmentation

The only dual pronoun form that occurs is ngali (1duincNOM) ‘we two’. This form intrudes on an otherwise regular singular/plural pattern for pronouns. This occurrence of a dual inclusive pronoun form means that the corresponding plural inclusive form, ngampula (1plincNOM), is restricted to the meaning ‘more than two’.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MINIMAL FORM</th>
<th>AUGMENTED FORM</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(1sg) ngayu</td>
<td>(1plexc) ngana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1duinc ngali</td>
<td>(1plinc) ngampula</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2sg ngunu/nganu</td>
<td>(2pl) ngu’ula</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3sg ngulu/nhulu</td>
<td>(3pl) pula</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The lack of other dual forms is compensated for by the optional addition of the numeral ‘two’, pa’aamu, to the plural forms. Similarly, trial and larger quantity specifications are conveyed by adding the numeral ‘three’, kulntu, or other quantity word to the plural forms, as in the following examples:

\[
\text{ngulu'la pa'aamu} \quad \text{‘you two’} \quad \text{ngana mangku} \quad \text{‘we four/few exc’} \\
\text{ngampula kulntu} \quad \text{‘we three inc’} \quad \text{ngana kulima} \quad \text{‘we plenty exc’}
\]

### 3.3.3. Bound Pronouns

Bound Pronouns are used in discourse as an abbreviated reference to the full pronoun form which has already been established in the discourse. Thus a bound pronoun does not occur in the same clause as its referent but in succeeding clauses of the same discourse.

#### 3.3.3.1. Occurrence of Bound Pronouns

1. No more than one bound pronoun is suffixed to the one word. They may be suffixed to a verb, locative or time word, or one item of a noun phrase.

2. Accusative bound forms are frequently suffixed to free form nominative pronoun forms. This contributes to the predominance of free forms in the nominative case.

**Examples of Bound Pronouns**

**Verb suffixing**

64. \(\text{katha-na-nga}\) 
   
   tie up-NF-1sgNOM 
   
   ‘I tied it up.’

65. \(\text{nganaan kanim kahthu-ka-nu'u?}\) 
   
   1plexeACC inland take-FUT-2plNOM 
   
   ‘Will you take us inland?’

66. \(\text{wiinipinta ala-ka-lam}\) 
   
   police pick up-FUT-3plACC 
   
   ‘The police will pick them up.’

67. \(\text{pama-lu muunga-na-ni'i?}\) 
   
   man-ERG cut-NF-2plACC 
   
   ‘Did the man cut you?’

**Locative suffixing**

68. \(\text{kungkay-ma-ntu}\) 
   
   northeast-DIR-2sgNOM 
   
   ‘You (are going) northeastwards.’
Time word suffixing

69. *chu’uchuma-na’a wayi-na*
little while-1pLEXcNOM throw-NF
‘We threw (fishing lines) for a little while.’

Noun Phrase suffixing

70. *minya-nu aachi-nya?*
meat-2sgNOM burn-NF
‘Did you cook the meat?’

71. *puntu-ku-nu nguunthii-na*
sugar bag-DAT-2plNOM hunt for-NF
‘You hunted for sugar bag.’

72. *ku’aka-lun patha-n?*
dog-ERG-3sgACC bite-NF
‘Did the dog bite him?’

Suffixed to free form pronouns

73. ngana-lan kuku-cha
1pLEXcNOM-3plACC see.PROG-PAST
‘We used to see them.’

74. *ngayu-ni muunga-ka*
1sgNOM-2plACC cut-FUT
‘I will cut you.’

75. ngayu-ngin ngachi-nya
1sgNOM-2sgACC find-NF
‘I found you.’

76. ngunu-nyi kuupi-ma-ka?
2sgNOM-1sgACC like-VBLSR-FUT
‘Will you help me?’

Genitive bound pronoun suffixed to possessed referent

77. *piipi-ngku*
father-2sgGEN
‘Your father’

Idiomatic

78. *wa’a-li*
good-1duNOM
‘Let’s go (us two).’
3.3.4. Demonstratives

Demonstrative adjectives and pronouns are closely connected to locative words and degrees of distance. The demonstrative pronoun is formed by adding the General Locative Case marker -lu/-l to the locative word/adjective.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LOCATIVE WORD</th>
<th>DEMONSTRATIVE ADJECTIVE</th>
<th>DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*ngungku</td>
<td>*ngungku</td>
<td>*ngungku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*ngungkuuna</td>
<td>*ngungkuuna</td>
<td>*ngungkuuna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*ngungkuunala</td>
<td>*ngungkuunala</td>
<td>*ngungkuunala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngi'i</td>
<td>ngi'i</td>
<td>ngi'ilu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nga'a</td>
<td>nga'a</td>
<td>nga'alu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*ngungku</td>
<td>*ngungku</td>
<td>*ngungku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*ngungkuuna</td>
<td>*ngungkuuna</td>
<td>*ngungkuuna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*ngungkuunala</td>
<td>*ngungkuunala</td>
<td>*ngungkuunala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kauna</td>
<td>kauna</td>
<td>kauna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'here'</td>
<td>'this/these'</td>
<td>'this/these one(s) here'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'there'</td>
<td>'that/those'</td>
<td>'that/those one(s) there'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'there yonder'</td>
<td>'that/those one(s) yonder'</td>
<td>'that/those one(s) far distant'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* The first syllable ngu- may be elided.

Examples

79. ngi'i-laka ngaachi wantantu?
    this-exclam place how is it?
    'How is this place?'

80. pula nga'a-l ilpii-na
    3plNOM those-G.LOC return-NF
    'Those people returned.'

81. ngkuuna-lu pi'ilpi-la
    far distant-G.LOC wait.PROG-NF
    '(They) used to wait over at that place.'

82. ngungkuuna-lu chuuchun muunga-na-nga
    far distant-G.LOC cotton tree cut-NP-1sgNOM
    'I cut cotton trees over at that distant place.'

For other examples see: 21, 28, 31, 41, 118 (locative words)
                        23, 45, 102 (demonstrative adjectives)
                        32, 48, 82, 120, 152 (demonstrative pronouns).
3.3.5 Interrogatives

Interrogatives or question words are formed in several ways from the root forms: *waa'i*, *ngaani*, and *wanti- / wantu- / wanta-*. Some are formed by adding case endings as indicated, others by adding other suffixes (*-mu, -la, -na*), a bound pronoun (*-ntu*) or by reduplication.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Personal</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>waa'i</em></td>
<td>‘who?’ (also: ‘someone’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>waa'imu</em></td>
<td>‘who is it?’ / ‘which one?’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>waa'ilu</em></td>
<td>‘who did?’ (ERG)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>waa'iku</em></td>
<td>‘for whom?’ (DAT)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>waa'iku</em></td>
<td>‘whose?’ (GEN)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>waa'inamu</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Impersonal</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>ngaani</em></td>
<td>‘what?’ (also: ‘something’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ngaanimu</em></td>
<td>‘what is it?’ / ‘what one?’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ngaanilu</em></td>
<td>‘what did?’ (ERG)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ngaaniku</em></td>
<td>‘why?’ / ‘what for?’ (DAT)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ngaanimunu</em></td>
<td>‘what from?’ (ABL)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ngaanipinta</em></td>
<td>‘what with?’ (COM)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Temporal</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>wantila</em></td>
<td>‘when?’ / ‘what time?’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Locative</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>wantuna</em></td>
<td>‘where?’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>wantunguna</em></td>
<td>‘at what place?’ (SP.LOC)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>wantumunu</em></td>
<td>‘where from?’ (ABL)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>wantuku</em></td>
<td>‘where for?’ / ‘where from?’ (DAT)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Manner

wantantu  ‘how are you?’ / ‘which way?’ (2sgNOM)

wantanumana*  ‘what’s the matter?’ (2plNOM)

wantihwantila  ‘how many?’

* this form may be: wanta-nu-ma-na  how-2plNOM-VBLSR-NF

3.4.  VERB MORPHOLOGY

This section outlines the complex system of expressing ‘acting, doing and being’ with verbs and the time involved.

3.4.1.  Verb Classes

There are three Verb Classes in Kuuku Ya’u and Umpila and they are distinguished only by the three sets of tense suffixes.

Three Transitivity Sub-Classes also occur: transitive, intransitive, and middle, but these do not correspond with the verb classes. (See 4.1.2. to 4.1.4. for the transitivity distinctions.) In the list of 1156 words (listed in section 8) there are 193 verbs, and of these 57% are transitive, 29% intransitive and 14% are middle verbs.

3.4.2.  Verb Conjugations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TENSE/ASPECT</th>
<th>CLASS 1</th>
<th>CLASS 2</th>
<th>CLASS 3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NON-FUTURE(^1)</td>
<td>-la / -na</td>
<td>-nya</td>
<td>-la</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRESENT CONTINUOUS(^1)</td>
<td>-ngka</td>
<td>-ngka</td>
<td>-mana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FUTURE</td>
<td>-ka</td>
<td>-ka</td>
<td>-tha / -cha (^2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IMPERATIVE : SINGULAR</td>
<td>-la / φ (^3)</td>
<td>-ya</td>
<td>-la-l-chi 4/ φ (^3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IMPERATIVE : PLURAL</td>
<td>-mpu</td>
<td>-mpu</td>
<td>-mpu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Verb Stems end in: a, i a, u, i, a, l, i / u

Note 1. This analysis of tenses as: Non-Future and Present Continuous, differs from that of Harris/O’Grady (1976). In their analysis of Umpila they define the tenses as: Pluperfect, Past and Present.

a. Non-Future - the above analysis follows close enquiries with Kuuku Ya’u and Umpila speakers which indicated that there is not a clear distinction between near past and
present. For example, *ngulu kalmaana* can mean either: ‘he has come’, i.e. ‘he has arrived and is here’, or: ‘he comes’, i.e. ‘he is on the point of arriving’. Also *ngulu kalamanuna* means ‘he is in the process of coming’ (Present Continuous).

b. My investigation of the -la inflection (Harris/O’Grady’s pluperfect) in present day usage indicated that it is infrequently used and speakers will say that it is the same as the non-future form, -la being the Umpila form and -na being the Kuuku Ya’u form. Some older speakers preferred -la for the more distant past - compare examples 83 and 84. But informant Jimmy Doctor says both forms can be used in both these examples.

83. *ngulu antham pitaanchi-ma-la aa’i-nyu-ku*
   3sgNOM before know-VBLSR-NF dance-NOMLSR-DAT
   ‘Some time ago he learnt to dance.’

84. *ngulu ngula pitaanchi-ma-na aa’i-nyu-ku*
   3sgNOM recently know-VBLSR-NF dance-NOMLSR-DAT
   ‘Recently he learnt to dance.’

**Note 2.**

a. Class 3 Future: -cha is used with verb stems ending in *i*, otherwise -tha is used.

b. One irregular form occur in Class 3 verbs:
   *kalina* ‘take away’ conjugates as: *kalina, kalumana, kalutha, kalu, kalumpu*.

**Note 3.** Four Class 3 verbs have zero form for imperative singular: *kalmi* ‘come’, *niina* ‘sit’, *kalu* ‘carry’, and *wuna* ‘sleep’. As they are so few they are considered irregular rather than forming a fourth verb class.

**Note 4.** O’Grady records -chi for the imperative singular inflection for Class 3 verbs in Umpila. The only examples I have recorded for Kuuku Ya’u are in example 166, and the progressive forms for Class 3 verbs with stems ending in *i*. But I suspect that there is some variation among speakers and that the usage of -chi after *i* is permissible for the non-progressive imperative singular also. Again informant Jimmy Doctor says that the two forms are interchangeable.

### 3.4.3. Transitivity Breakdown for Verb Classes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>CLASS 1</th>
<th>CLASS 2</th>
<th>CLASS 3</th>
<th>TOTAL VERBS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>% TRANSITIVE</td>
<td>61%</td>
<td>65%</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% INTRANSITIVE</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% MIDDLE</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL VERBS</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>193</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### 3.4.4. Progressive Verb Forms

Repetitive and habitual aspects of the verb are expressed by a complex system of modification of the verb roots. Intensive research is needed to analyse the system. Some analysis of these forms in Umpila has been done by O’Grady and Harris (1976), and their use of the label ‘progressive’ is followed here.

The following progressive tenses occur with the sense indicated:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TENSE/ASPECT</th>
<th>NON-PROGRESSIVE</th>
<th>PROGRESSIVE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Past Progressive</td>
<td>always kept on ... / used to ...</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Present Continuous Progressive</td>
<td>are keeping on ...</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Future Progressive</td>
<td>will keep on ...</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperative singular Progressive</td>
<td>(you sg) keep on ...!</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperative plural Progressive</td>
<td>(you pl) keep on ...!</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The non-progressive tense endings for each verb class as in 3.4.2. are mainly used for the progressive tenses, but some irregular forms occur, particularly for class 2 verbs. The potential confusion between non-future -la and imperative singular -la (classes 1 & 3) is avoided by varying the imperative singular stem for class 1 verbs and by using -chi for imperative singular for class 3 verbs with stems ending in i. One irregular progressive imperative singular form (class 3) has been recorded: puyalpachi ‘keep on jumping!’ Note that these forms are difficult to elicit and further irregular forms could indicate the need to distinguish the -chai-chi taking verbs as a fourth verb class. A sample conjugation of one verb from each class is given here and a more complete list of progressive forms recorded is given in the list of verbs in section 8.1.1.3.

**Example of Class 1 Verb conjugation:**  *kayina* ‘hang up’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TENSE/ASPECT</th>
<th>NON-PROGRESSIVE</th>
<th>PROGRESSIVE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Non-Future:</td>
<td>kayina / kayila</td>
<td>kayalkina / kayalkila</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Present Continuous:</td>
<td>kayingka</td>
<td>kayalkingka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Future:</td>
<td>kayika</td>
<td>kayalkika</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperative Singular:</td>
<td>kayila</td>
<td>kayalila</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperative Plural:</td>
<td>kayimpu</td>
<td>kayalkimpu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Example of Class 2 Verb conjugation:**  *kuuchanya* ‘look at/see’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TENSE/ASPECT</th>
<th>NON-PROGRESSIVE</th>
<th>PROGRESSIVE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Non-Future:</td>
<td>kuuchanya</td>
<td>kukucha’a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Present Continuous:</td>
<td>kuuchangka</td>
<td>kukuchangka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Future:</td>
<td>kuuchaka</td>
<td>kukuchaka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperative singular:</td>
<td>kuuchaya</td>
<td>kukuchaya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperative plural:</td>
<td>kuuchampu</td>
<td>kukuchampu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Example of Class 3 Verb Conjugation: *ilpiina* ‘return’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TENSE/ASPECT</th>
<th>NON-PROGRESSIVE</th>
<th>PROGRESSIVE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Non-Future:</td>
<td><em>ilpiina</em> / <em>ilpiila</em></td>
<td><em>il'ipina</em> / <em>il'ipila</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Present Continuous:</td>
<td><em>ilpiimanâ</em></td>
<td><em>il'ipimana</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Future:</td>
<td><em>ilpiicha</em></td>
<td><em>il'ipicha</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperative singular:</td>
<td><em>ilpiilla / ilpiichi</em></td>
<td><em>il'ipichi</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperative plural:</td>
<td><em>ilpiimpu</em></td>
<td><em>il'ipimpu</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 3.4.5. Verbal Derivations

This section shows way of making verbs from other words by adding an ending or affix.

#### 3.4.5.1. Derivational affixes forming verb stems from noun or adjective roots, & from irregular verb stems that occur without inflection.

Note that the first form is also used for Directional Case (3.2.1.2.d.)

a) **-ma** Verbaliser: a suffix forming an intransitive verb, e.g.

85. *ngulu ngampapinta-ma-ka*
    3sgNOM  councillor-VBLSR-FUT
    ‘He will become a councillor.’

86. *ngulu wiinti-ma-na*
    3sgNOM  wet-VBLSR-NF
    ‘He became wet.’

87. *ngayu pitaanchi-ma-na*
    1sgNOM  know-VBLSR-NF
    ‘I learn.’

88. *kuwpi-ma-la*
    like-VBLSR-IMP.SG
    ‘Make friends.’

b) **-nga** Causative Verbaliser, e.g.

89. *ngulu pitaanchi-nga-ka*
    3sgNOM  know-CAUS.VBLSR-NF
    ‘He will teach.’

90. *ngulu ngampapinta-nga-na*
    3sgNOM  councillor-CAUS.VBLSR-NF
    ‘He made (him) a councillor.’
91. *wupunjunyuma ngaachi wu’u-nga-na*
   children place bad-CAUS.VBLSR-NF
   ‘The children spoiled the place.’

3.4.5.2. Derivational affixes forming reflexive or reciprocal verb stems from verb roots

a)  *-ni*  Reciprocal, e.g.

92. *ngampa tha’i-ni-mpu*
   not hit-RECIPE-IMP.PL
   ‘Do not hit each other.’

93. *ngali tha’i-ni-na*
   1duNOM hit-RECIPE-NF
   ‘We two hit each other.’

b)  *-mi*  Reflexive (transitive), e.g.

94. *ngulu tha’i-mi-na*
   3sgNOM hit-REFL-NF
   ‘He hits himself.’

95. *muungami-na-nga*
   cut-REFL-NF-1sgNOM
   ‘I cut myself.’

Note: Some verbs modify the root to give a reflexive meaning, e.g.

**NON-FUTURE**  
**REFLEXIVE**

*ngayu nyiikana*  
‘I paint’  
*ngayu nyiikina*  
‘I paint myself’

*ngulu mi’anya*  
‘he shows’  
*ngulu miyangina*  
‘he shows himself’

*ngayu niinana*  
‘I sat down’  
*ngayu niinina*  
‘I sit myself’

c)  *-nya*  Causative, forming transitive Class I verbs from verb roots ending in *i*
   Note that a long vowel is shortened when *-nya* is added to it.

  e.g. *ngayu ampanyana*  
  ‘I made it rise.’  
  from *ampli-na* (Class 3)  
  ‘rise-NF’

35
ngayu waathinyangka
'I am making it go.'

from waathi-nya (Class 2)
'go-NF'

ngulu nyanyinyana
'He smashed (it).'

from nyanyi-na (Class 1)
'crush-NF'

ngayu wakinyana
'I shake (it).'

from waki-na (Class 3)
'shake (involuntarily)-NF'

ngayu waachinyana
'I spin (it) around.'

from waachi-na (Class 3)
'turn-NF'

d) -nha Causative, forming Class 3 verbs from verb roots ending in 'a'.

A long vowel is shortened when -nha is added to it.

e.g. ngulu nga'anhana
'he put (it).'

from nga'a-na (Class 3)
'enter-NF'

ngulu kalmanhana
'he brought (it).'

from kalmnaa-na (Class 3)
'come-NF'

ngulu punthanhangka
'He is going out sea hunting.'
(afternoon hunting for dugong)

from puntha-na (Class 1)
'drink/emerge-NF'

ngulu kak'anhana
'He gathered them together.'

from kak'a-na (Class 1)
'assemble-NF'

4. SYNTAX

This section describes the different ways that sentences are put together.

4.1. SIMPLE SENTENCES

4.1.1. Verbless Sentences

A sentence without a verb has: a Topic Noun Phrase (NP) and

a Comment Noun Phrase.

The Comment NP may be marked by case suffixes for genitive/dative, locational, ablative and comitative meanings, but is unmarked for equational or stative meanings. However, in discourse the comitative marker can be omitted. The genitive and dative forms appear to merge in verbless sentences (see examples 102, 103).
The Topic NP is always unmarked, i.e. is in Absolutive Case for nouns and in nominative case for pronouns. Accusative pronouns are not used in verbless sentences. A sense of past tense can be indicated with a time word or by the context (examples 98, 99).

Examples of Verbless Sentences

Equational

96. ngana-laka  chilpu-kamu
    1plexcNOM-Exclam  old person-pluraliser
    'We are old people.'

97. ngungaangku ngaachi Darwin
    3sgGEN  place Darwin
    'His home is Darwin.'

98. ngayu wunchawuncha winipinta
    1sgNOM  young boy policeman
    'When a young man I was a policeman.'

99. mu'u ngayu Sergeant
    that time  3sgNOM  Sergeant
    'At that time I was a Sergeant.'

Stative

100. ngaachi miinta
     place  good
     'The place is good.'

101. pula wu'u-ma pa'an-kanyu
     3plNOM  bad-NMLSR  head-without
     'They are stupid (fully bad, no brains).'

Genitive/Dative

102. ngi'i mayi ngungaangku
     this  food  3sgGEN
     'This food is his.' / 'This food is for him.'

103. ngana thaywa pulaangku wayimu-ku
     3plexcNOM  clothes  3plGEN  women-DAT/GEN
     'We have clothes for women.'

37
Locative

104. ngulu malngkan-nguna
3sgNOM beach-SP.LOC
'The is at the beach.'

105. ngata punya yuthaa-la
1sgGEN bag house-POS
'My bag is at the house.'

106. ngungku-ki Bamaga
over there-might Bamaga
'It might be over there at Bamaga.'

Ablative

107. ngulu Darwin-munu
3sgNOM Darwin-ABL
'He is from Darwin.'

Comitative

108. atapa pi'i-pinta
river water-COM
'There is water in the river.'

109. ngayu pungan pa'amu-chi
1sgNOM fish two-COM
'I have two fish.'

110. wayimu kaa'i-pinta
woman baby-COM
'The woman has a baby.'

An interesting stative sense is achieved with the use of the directional case (-ma). See examples 42 to 44.

A few stative expressions occur that do not require a Topic NP, e.g.

111. maku 'it is true'

112. wa'a 'it is good'

113. ngampa yankuyi cf. ngampa yaanga-na
no rain not rain-NF
'There is no rain.' 'It is not raining.'
4.1.2. **Transitive Sentences**

A transitive sentence has: an active agent as **subject (A)**, with noun phrases usually (but not always) marked with ergative case (-tu / -v),

an **object (O1)**, with noun phrases in absolutive case, i.e. unmarked, and

a **transitive verb (Vtr)**.

The ergative marker may be omitted in less formal speech when the meaning is clear from the typical word order: A, O1, Vtr.

Pronouns follow the nominative-accusative pattern so that pronoun subjects are in nominative case and pronoun objects are in accusative case.

The subject may be omitted in discourse or informal speech when who or what the subject is has already been established or is clear from the context. Likewise the object may be omitted when the reference is established or clear from in the context. However, the subject or object is more frequently indicated by the use of bound pronouns (see 3.3.3.).

**Examples with Pronouns**

114.  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ngunu</th>
<th>ngungaana</th>
<th>tha'i-na</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2sgNOM</td>
<td>3sgACC</td>
<td>hit-NF</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

'You hit him.'

115.  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ngayu</th>
<th>pulaana</th>
<th>kuuchaa-nya</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1sgNOM</td>
<td>3plACC</td>
<td>look-NF</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

'I see them.'

See examples 37-40, 66-67, 70-73, and 82 for other examples of transitive sentences.

4.1.3. **Intransitive Sentences**

An intransitive sentence has: an unmarked **subject (S)**, i.e. in either absolutive case (noun phrases) or nominative case (pronouns), and

an **intransitive verb (Vintr)**.

The subject may be omitted when it is clear from the context. The subject occurs before the verb unless a pronoun clitic is used and added to the verb.
Examples

116. **wana-na-nga**
leave-NF-1sgNOM
'I left.'

117. **wiinipinta para kalma-tha**
police European come-FUT
'White police are coming.'

118. **ngayu wuna-na ngungku**
1sgNOM sleep-NF over there
'I stay over there.'

4.1.4. **Middle Sentences**

A middle sentence has: an **unmarked subject (S)** in absolutive or nominative case (as for an intransitive sentence) and a **middle verb (Vmid).**

The class of verbs described as ‘middle’ (Vm) may be followed by a complement (or Object - O2) marked by the dative case.

The dative complement conveys the sense of benefit, purpose or cause of a state which is implicit in the middle verb. See 3.2.1.1.d. for a list of such verbs and for a definition of a ‘complement’.

The subject or dative complement may be omitted when the reference is clear from the context.

Examples

119. **kaala kuu'ala-ngka piima-ku**
uncle talk-PRES.CONT aunt-DAT
'Uncle is talking to Aunty.'

120. **yuna nga'a-lu kuucha-ya tiyi-ku**
fire that-G.LOC look-IMPsg tea-DAT
'(You) watch that fire for the tea!'

121. **ngayu kuupi pungana-ku pin'ayi-ka**
1sgNOM like fish-DAT sea hunt-FUT
'I like to go hunting for fish.'
4.1.5. Optional Extensions of Simple Verbal Sentences

Transitive, Intransitive and Middle sentences may be extended by adding noun phrases marked for other cases such as instrumental, dative, causal, comitative, or local cases. There is no rigid word order in placing these optional extensions. They normally occur after the subject and object and either before or after the verb, after being more common.

Examples can be found as follows:

- **Instrumental**: examples 6-10.
- **Dative**: examples 11-18.
- **Causal**: examples 22-24.
- **Comitative**: examples 25-31.
- **Locatives**: examples 32, 35-40.
- **Ablative**: examples 46, 47.

4.2. NOUN PHRASES

A Noun Phrase must include a head word. One or more modifying words may be added to the head word. These may be:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Head Word</th>
<th>Modifying Word</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>noun</td>
<td>noun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pronoun</td>
<td>genitive pronoun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>demonstrative pronoun</td>
<td>adjective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>locative word</td>
<td>demonstrative adjective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>quantity word</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>size word</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>locative word</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

When a Noun Phrase is marked for a Case, only one item of the phrase is marked (see 3.2.1.). The word order of Noun Phrases is fairly flexible although the head word normally occurs first. Noun Phrases may be conjoined in apposition or co-ordination.

Examples

**Modified Noun Phrases**

122. **ngaachi yilaamu nganaangku**

place old 1plncGEN

‘our old place’
123. ulnkuyu ngi’i
road this
‘this road’

124. yuku chu’uchi
tree small
‘a small tree’

125. wukapa kulntu
clamshell three
‘three clamsbells’

126. ngaachi waympa
place bush
‘a bush place’

127. pinti way’i
dish paperbark
‘a paperbark dish’

Noun Phrases in Apposition

128. ngu’ul wunchawuncha
2plNOM young boys
‘you young boys’

129. ngaachi yilamu, Puchiwuichi
place old Puchiwuichi
‘the old place, Puchiwuichi’

130. ngana kaka ma’upi-na, yikan, painki,
1plexNOM spear make-NF long medium
panti, thaya, kaaya, maimpun.
short dugong stingray barb shorter stingray
‘We make spears - long, medium, short spears, dugong spear, stingray barb, and shorter stingray barb spear.’

Co-ordinated Noun Phrases

131. ngata paapa, ngata piipi
1sgGEN mother 1sgNOM father
‘my mother and my father’

132. ngi’il mukan, wiyaam chu’uchi
one big another small
‘one big and another one small’
133. *pana ngalu-mun ngalu-mun ngalu-mun*
   people somewhere-ABL ............

   *yiipa-lu, kani-munu, kungkaa-lu*
   south-POS inland-ABL northeast-POS
   ‘people from many places, from the south, from inland, from the northeast’

4.3. **COMPLEX SENTENCES**

4.3.1. **Co-ordinate Sentences**

A number of events may be conjoined or co-ordinated in a sentence in a variety of ways. They may be linked by using: *kuyi ‘and/then’*,
   or: *kuukulu ‘and then’*,
   or: simply placed side by side in juxtaposition or apposition.

*Kuukulu* can also be used to begin a sentence in discourse to aid the flow (example 139). One speaker abbreviates *kuukulu* to *kuuku*.

Object or verb chains can be formed by juxtaposition. A common subject (S or A) need only appear once but bound pronouns are frequently repeated. Continuing action or the passing of time is commonly indicated by the chain repetition of a word or the drawing out of the last syllable of a word with a long monotone intonation (example 139). See such usage in texts 6.1., 6.2. and 6.3.

**Examples**

**With link word**

134. *ngayu papakay pin’ay-la kuukulu chucha yina-na nga*
   1sgNOM down side fish.PROG-NF and then shark spear-NF-1sgNOM
   ‘I kept fishing on the downward side and then speared a shark.’

135. *ilpii-na-nga kuyi wukapa mangku ali-nya-nga*
   return-NF-1sgNOM and clam shell four pick up-NF-1sgNOM
   ‘I returned and picked up four clam shells.’

**Without link word**

136. *ngulu kanim kaalnhi-nya kalma-nha-n*
   3sgNOM inland take-NF come-CAUS.VBLSR-NF

*nganan yuhaa-la*
   1plACC house-POS
   ‘He took us inland and brought us to the house.’

43
137. *ngunu wuna-\text{-}lu ngayu tanil-\text{-}ma-ka* 
2sgNOM sleep\text{-}IMPsg-G.\text{-}LOC 1sgNOM awake-VBLSR-FUT

“You sleep there and I will stay awake.”

Verb chaining and repetition

138. *kata-na-nga kak’a-na kata-na-nga punthi-nya-na-nga* 
tie-NF-1sgNOM gather-NF tie-NF-1sgNOM finish-CAUS.VBLSR-NF-1sgNOM

‘I tied them up, gathered them together, tied them up and finished.’

139. *kuukulu yunanga mukan pal’a-na aachi-ka-ngaha* 
and then fire-1sgNOM big prepare-NF heat-FUT-1sgNOM

*aachi-nya-ngaha aachi-nya-ngaha* 
heat-NF-1sgNOM heat-NF-1sgNOM straight-CAUS.VBLSR-NF-1sgNOM

‘And then I prepared a big fire to heat (the spears). I continued to heat them and made them straight.’

140. *ngayu ungkaa-na ungkaa-na waathi waathi waathi* 
1sgNOM cry-NF cry-NF cry-NF go.IMPsg go.IMPsg go.IMPsg

*wupunpunyuma ngampa* 
small children not

‘I kept on crying, Go! Go! Go! ...No small children!’

Apposition

141. *ngana anthama ngaachi yilaamu-ngun Puchiwuchi ngana* 
1plexcNOM before place old-SP.LOC Puchiwuchi 1plexcNOM

*wunani-\text{-}l* 
stay-\text{-}PROG-NF

‘Before we lived at the old site, (called) Puchiwuchi.’

142. *kuunaa-\text{-}lu line wayinwayin minya-na’a* 
place-G.\text{-}LOC line throw-PROG.NF meat-1plexcNOM

*kuntangka-na 29 pungana* 
load-NF 29 fish

‘We kept throwing lines at that place and we loaded up 29 fish.’
4.3.2. **Subordinate Sentences**

A small range of Subordinate sentences is formed using particles or clitics. Relative constructions do not occur.

4.3.2.1. **A Purposive Sentence** is more correctly classified as a simple sentence with an optional dative extension as the second verb is nominalised. e.g.

143. Jerry *pitalpitaanchi-nga-ngka-lana*  
Jerry *know.PROG-CAUS.VBLSR-PRES.CONT.-3plACC*  
*wunchwuncha*  
*aa'i-nyu-ku*  
boys  
*dance-NOMLSR-DAT*  
‘Jerry is always teaching the young boys to dance.’

4.3.2.2. **A Conditional Sentence** is formed by adding the particle *achu*, ‘if’, to the first or head clause and adding an independent clause.

**Examples**

144. *achu* *piki* *kalma-tha* *ngampula* *wantantu-ma-ka?*  
if pig come-FUT 1plincNOM which way-VBLSR-FUT  
‘If a pig comes which way will we go?’

145. *pungana* *achu* *wa'inchu* *tha'i-na* *yangku-nya-nga* *(mayi)* *pungan-pinta*  
fish if someone kill-NF eat-NF-1sgNOM (veg) fish-COM  
‘If someone caught fish I ate them (vegetables) with the fish.’

146. *ngayu* *achu* *mukamukan* *wayi-ka* *yathan* *wa'a?*  
1sgNOM if plenty throw-FUT tea leaf all right?  
‘If I throw in plenty of tea leaves, is that all right?’

4.3.2.3. **A Contrary to Fact Sentence** is formed by adding the clitic *-tha* to the subject (S or A) of two dependent clauses and placing the verbs in the non-future tense. A common subject must be repeated as in example 148.

**Examples**

147. *ngulu-tha* *kalmaa-na* *ngayu-tha* *pungan* *ngangka-na*  
3sgNOM-CtoF come-NF 1sgNOM-CtoF fish give-NF  
‘If he had come I would have given him a fish.’
4.3.3.  Questions - Interrogative Sentences

4.3.3.1. A Yes/No Response Interrogative Sentence retains the same word order as a declarative sentence but the intonation pattern is changed by a rise to a high or mid-high pitch on the last syllable. This question type can be answered simply by a yes/no type response.

Examples

150. nganam kanim kaalntha-ka-nu'u?
    1pIlexcACC inland take-FUT-2plNOM
    ‘Will you take us home?’

151. nga’al ngampa ma’upi-na kutu?
    those not make-NF more
    ‘Aren’t they making any more of those?’

152. waatha ngungku-lu wa’a?
    water over there-G.LOC good
    ‘Is that water over there good?’

153. puntu nga’alu kalma-nha-na?
    sugar bag that one come-CAUS.VBLSR-NF
    ‘Did you bring that sugar bag?’

4.3.3.2. An Information Response Interrogative Sentence is formed by using an interrogative word and by intensifying the normal declarative intonation by rising to a higher pitch before the final fall.

This question type expects some information content in the response.

Examples

154. ngu’ul wantantu?
    2plNOM which way
    ‘How are you all?’ / ‘What are you going to do?’ / ‘What do you think?’
155. ngaani-mpu kuu'ala-ka?
what-1plincNOM speak-FUT
‘What will we say?’

156. nga'a pwa wantanumana?
those Europeans what's the matter
‘What’s wrong with those white people?’

157. ngangka punya wantuna?
2sgGEN basket where
‘Where is your basket?’

4.3.4. Imperative Sentences

The imperative is normally used for command or exhortation. The imperative marker (see 3.4.2.) is added to the verb stem. The free pronoun ngululnhulu (2sg) or ngulula (2pl) may also be added to the sentence.

Note that the plural form -mpu is identical to the bound pronoun form 1plincNOM ‘we’. However the bound pronoun, if attached to a verb, is added after a tense marker, whereas the imperative is attached to the verb stem.

Compare:

- kalmaa-mpu come-IMPpl
- and
- kalmaa-na-mpu come-NP-1plincNOM

‘(You) come!’

Examples

158. ngampa puu'i tha'ilhi-ni-mpu
not always hit.PROG-REFL-IMPpl
‘Don't keep on fighting each other.’

159. ngunu kunichim wa'i-la
2sgNOM shell dig-IMPSg
‘You dig shells.’

160. Nga'm, antha nganan kaaintha-mpu
O.K. before 1plexcACC take-IMPl
‘O.K., you take us first.’

161. ali-ya
lift-IMPSg
‘Lift it!’

47
4.4. MOOD AND ASPECT

There are four forms that modify the mood or aspect of a sentence: permissive / compulsive, potential, past-habitual and duty.

4.4.1. Permissive / Compulsive Mood

Permissive mood is formed by adding to the sentence the particle apa, ‘let’, and using an imperative form of the verb (except for verbless sentences as in example 163). This construction can also express a Compulsive Mood.

Examples of Permissive Mood

162. apa minya unta
     let meat cook.IMPsg
     ‘Let the meat cook.’

163. ngana apa ngaachi-ku
     1plexeNOM let home-DAT
     ‘Let us (go) home.’

Examples of Compulsive Mood

164. ngunu apa kalmaa-la
     2sgNOM must come-IMPsg
     ‘You must come.’

165. ngayu apa waathi-ya
     1sgNOM must go-IMPsg
     ‘I must go.’

166. ngunu apa ma'upi-chi
     2sgNOM must make-IMPsg
     ‘You must do it.’

4.4.2. Potential Mood

Potential mood is formed by adding to the sentence the particle ngaluki. This form may also be reduced to ngalu, or to a clitic -ngal, or -ki which is attached to an item of a Noun Phrase or to the verb. See also examples 48 and 106 (verbless sentences).

Examples

167. ngaluki yaangana-ku
     might rain-FUT
     ‘It might rain.’
168. ngula-mpu ngulkungulku punti-ka-ki
later-1plincNOM evening finish-FUT-might
'We might finish later this evening.'

169. ngulu ngalu piinichi-na
3sgNOM might slip-NF
'He might have slipped.'

4.4.3. Past Habitual Aspect

Past Habitual aspect is formed by adding to the subject (S or A) the clitic -ntha and using the Past Progressive form of the verb. The form -ntha may be derived from antha 'before'.

Examples

170. ngulu-ntha paamaltha'a
3sgNOM-before steal.PROG.NF
'He used to steal.'

171. ngulu-ntha ngatan walpaathi-la
3sgNOM-before 1sgACC chase.PROG-NF
'He used to chase me.'

172. ngulu-ntha winilwinii-la
3sgNOM-before frighten.PROG-NF
'He used to frighten me.'

4.4.4. Duty Mood

Duty mood is formed by adding to the subject the clitic -thla.

Example

173. ngunu-tha waathi-nya
2sgNOM-should go-NF
'You should go.'
**4.5. SENTENCE INTERJECTIONS, PARTICLES AND CLITICS**

Interjections can occur alone as separate utterances. The following interjections have been recorded:

- **yakay** — ‘Oh!’ - expressing surprise, shock, etc.
- **[sa / asay]** — introduced exclamations similar to **yakay**
- **way** — ‘Hey!’ - to call someone’s attention.
- **ngam** — ‘O.K.’ ‘All right’ ‘so’
- **anay** — ‘wait’
- **yaw / yuway** — ‘yes’
- **ngii / nyii** — ‘yes’ ‘O.K.’
- **ngampa** — ‘no’ ‘not’
- **uluapa** — ‘nothing’ ‘empty’
- **nga’amalu** — ‘that’s all’ - used to end discourse.
- **wa’anama** — ‘quickly’
- **way’away** — ‘very quickly’
- **wa’alu** — ‘at once’ ‘immediately’
- **wa’a** — ‘it’s good, right’
- **wu’u** — ‘it’s no good, wrong’
- **maku** — ‘true’
- **ngul’uthu** — ‘true’
- **kitamaku** — ‘is that right?’
- **ngayu ngalni** — ‘I don’t know’

Sentence particles and clitics do not occur alone but perform functions in sentences. Most have already been discussed and the following have been recorded:

**particles**

- **kuukulu** — ‘and then’
- **kuyi** — ‘and’ ‘then’ ‘but’ ‘further’
- **kuyi kuukulu** — ‘from then on’
- **kithal** — ‘want’
- **apa** — ‘let’ ‘must’ (see 4.4.1.)
- **ngaluki** — ‘might’ (see 4.4.2.)
- **achu** — ‘if’ (see 4.3.2.2.)
- **iyulu** — ‘like that’
- **iyuma** — ‘just’
- **yuuyu** — ‘just’
- **yuuyuma** — ‘just the same’ ‘similar’
- **miil’u** — ‘same as’
- **kuuumuku** — ‘this is why’

**clitics**

- **-kunchi** — ‘relation’ e.g. *pipikunchi* ‘father-relation’
- **-laka** — ‘poor thing’
- **-nta** — ‘exclamation expressing pathos, sadness’
- **-tha** — ‘before’ (see 4.4.3.)
- **-tha** — ‘should’ (see 4.4.4.)
- **-pa** — ‘good one’ e.g. *nuyunpa* ‘good bush doctor’
5. **METAPHORICAL EXTENSIONS of body part terms**

A few body part terms are used to form expressions to indicate emotional or physical states. The following have been recorded:

- **puuyia** (heart dance)  
- **puuyia aa'ina** (heart strong)  
- **puuyia kunta** (heart glad)  
- **puuyia wulmiina** (heart hold)  
- **puuyia machina**  
- **pa'an**  
- **pa'an mini** (head good)  
- **pa'an minichi** (head good having)  
- **pa'a wu'u** (head bad)  
- **pa'ankanyu** (head/brains without)  
- **pa'anawi**  
- **pa'an tha'amanu** (head sick)  
- **ku'un**  
- **ku'un ngumathin** (eyes shut)  
- **ku'un thuyimana** (eyes crooked) (?)  
- **ku'ununchi**  

- 'heart/life essence'  
- 'feel glad'  
- 'be brave'  
- 'feel happy'  
- 'patient'  
- 'head'  
- 'sane'  
- 'cunning, skilful'  
- 'insane, mad'  
- 'stupid'  
- 'bald'  
- 'headache'  
- 'eye'  
- 'pray'  
- 'be jealous'  
- 'old woman/blind'
6. **TEXTS**

Dashes after a word (---) indicate that the last vowel is drawn out on a sustained tone to convey the passage of time or movement.

6.1. **MAKING SPEARS** by Jimmy Doctor in *Kuuku ya'u*

1. **Sunday ngayu waathin kungakym Iitiichi waathinyanga--- yu'wathu**
   Sunday 1sgNOM go-NF n.east-DIR Iitiichi go-NF-1sgNOM low tide

2. **mukana yangku yaangalala. ngungkulu --- Pi'ilmu**
   big rain rain.PROG-NF over there-G.LOC Pi'ilmu

3. **nga'ananga pakayma tha'uthuku, wunthunyanga.**
   enter-NF-1sgNOM down-DIR spear handle-DAT look around-NF-1sgNOM

4. **ngungkul kungkayma tika kungkaym kungkaym muuchima.**
   over there-G.LOC N.E.-DIR side N.E.-DIR N.E.-DIR try-VELSR

5. **Yanitha ulmpay punthinyana'a. ngungkulu**
   Yanitha none finish-CAUS.VELSR-NF-3plNOM over there

6. **kungkayma --- punthananga atapangun punthananga --.**
   N.E.-DIR emerge-NF-1sgNOM river-SP.LOC emerge-NF-1sgNOM

7. **thu'am Oh kuyu, manthangakanga. muungananga, kukuthi**
   thu'am Oh plenty, cut down-FUT-1sgNOM cut-NF-1sgNOM three

8. **muungananga kuyi ngayu nga'al kukucha'a tupalam**
   cut-NF-1sgNOM and 1sgNOM that one watch.PROG-NF straight

9. **nga'al paa'alpilwa waanakachiku. waanakachi**
   that one stand.PROG-NF dugong spear-DAT dugong spear

10. **muungananga punthananga pakay malangkangangun.**
    cut-NF-1sgNOM emerge-NF-1sgNOM down beach-1sgNOM-SP.LOC

11. **kuukuulu yunanga mukan pal'anaana aachikanga.**
    and then fire-1sgNOM big prepare-NF heat-FUT-1sgNOM

12. **aachinanga aachinanga aachinanga ---**
    heat-NF-1sgNOM heat-NF-1sgNOM heat-NF-1sgNOM

13. **thunthumangananga wa'a tupalamana wa'a**
    straight-CAUS.VELSR-NF-1sgNOM good straight-VELSR-NF good

52
English Translation

On Sunday I went northeastwards to Iltiichi creek. I kept going. There was a big low tide and it was raining. Over there at Pilimu I went inside towards the coast and looked around for spear handles. Over there towards the northeast side, I tried. There were no Yanitha trees, all finished. Over to the northeast I came out at the river. I came out. Oh plenty of Thu'am trees! I will cut down (one). I cut it up. I cut it up into three pieces and I kept on watching to keep going straight for a dugong spear. I cut a dugong spear.

I came out at the beach and then prepared a big fire to heat (the spears). I heated and heated them to make them straight. Good, they are coming straight. Good handle, now the wire. And that last one is straight, the dugong spear. I cut the dugong spears straight. They are good. I tied them up and gathered them together. I tied them up and I was finished.

A shower was falling and the sun was further to the west. I wanted to throw a line for fish but no good, too cold. I went back over to the southwest. I went back southwestwards through a narrow place, over to the southwest, continuing to the southwest. The river was at high tide so I swam across.

(The rest of this story is not included.)
6.2. FISHING STORY

by Jimmy Doctor in Kuuku Ya’u

1 ngayu piipi pampaana, ‘nganyi kaalnthi malngkanaktu.’
   1sgNOM father ask-NF 1sgACC take-IMPsg beach-DAT

2 ngulu kuu’alin ‘ngam, ngayungkan kaalnthaka. wa’anama, O.K. 1sgNOM-2sgACC take-FUT quickly
   3sgNOM say-NF 1sgNOM

3 ngayu uulimana,’ ngana waathin ngungkulu truckpinta.
   1sgNOM hungry-NF 3plexcNOM go-NF over there-G.LOC truck-COM

4 yutha ngataangkulu, ku’unchi ngana alinya mayi
   house 1sgGEN-G.LOC old woman 1plexcNOM pick up-NF bread

5 ngatalaka, ngungku pakayam ngana’a waathinya punthana’a.
   1sgNOM-exclam over there down-DIR 1plexcNOM go-NF emerge-NF

6 kungkaym ngananakaalnthinya, wanan nganan, tangul,
   northeast-DIR 1plexcACC take-NF leave-NF 1plexcACC canoe-G.LOC

7 tangu kaayin puyanana wu’unathimana palmpana.
   canoe near jump-1plexcNOM all things take down-NF 3sgNOM

8 ilpiina. ‘ngayu wa’a ilpiimana.’ ngamu
   return-NF 1sgNOM good return-PRES.CONT O.K. 1sgNOM say-NF

9 ngungan. wa’anam ilpiichi. ngulu ilpiina kuyi ngulu
   3sgACC quickly return.PROG 3sgNOM return-NF and 3sgNOM

10 nga’alu, tractor punthana now. tractor punthan
   that there, tractor emerge-NF now. tractor emerge-NF behind-ABL

11 chipu James Butcher kalmaana. dinghy ngungaangku nhalangkan
   old man James Butcher come-NF dinghy 3sgGEN pull-NF

12 pakay wayin pakay maamal, thika ngula, ngayu ingkana,
   down throw-NF down water-POS things after 1sgNOM shout-NF

13 ‘ngunu kalmi, ngatanu tangu nhalangkaka.’ pahulaman
   2sgNOM come-IMPsg 1sgGEN-2sgNOM canoe pull-FUT all come-NF

14 tangu ngatan nhalangkan pakaya., wanan pakaya maamaala. kuukukulu
   dinghy 1sgNOM pull-NF down leave-NF down water-POS from there

15 pula yiipayma. ngayu kungakayma, ngana ku’unchilu’u
   3plNOM southeast-DIR 1sgNOM northeast-DIR 3plexcNOM old woman-?
16 kungkayman'a ---- thathi ma'alphiku. ah. kampilam. kampilam
northeast-DIR island Restoration. Ah. Lloyd Is. Lloyd Is.
17 kampilamana'a mukan yuw'aatha wanana kuyi ngayu dinghy
Lloyd Is-DIR1plexcNOM big low tide leave-NF and 1sgNOM dinghy
18 minyaku, bait ngaathanyanga. 'ngunu kunichim wa'ilra.'
meat-DAT bait spear-NF-1sgNOM 2sgNOM shell dig-IMPsg
19 ngulu kanim waathin kunichim wa'ina. ngayu papakay pin'ayila
3sgNOM above go-NF shell dig-NF 1sgNOM down side hunt-NF
20 kuukulu chuca yinananya. ngunkul kaawaya --- kalachuru
and then shark spear-NF-1sgNOM over there east barracuda
21 yinananya, ilpinanga kuyi wukapa mangku
spear-NF-1sgNOM return-NF-1sgNOM and clam shell four
22 alinyanga, ngunkukula... ku'unchi ngachinyanga.
pick up-NF1sgNOM over there then old woman find-NF-1sgNOM
23 'Wa'alra.' aalanga ngulmangulman too. 'wa'anamali,'
good-1duNOM tide coming in getting dark too quickly-2duNOM
24 'ngam,' kunichimu ngaani kantangkanantu? 'umppaya, waani.' 'ngam,
O.K. shell what load-NF-2sgNOM nothing, few. O.K.
25 wa'alra. kuyi ngana tangu nhilangka pakaya.
good-2duNOM then 1plexcNOM dinghy pull-PRES.CONT down
26 puyanana'a. ngayu engine all startim wanau
jump in-1plexcNOM 1sgNOM engine all startim leave-NF
27 ngungkunla'a waachinana kawutha kawilloa.
over there-1plexcNOM turn around-NF-1plexcNOM ship anchor.PROG-NF
28 ngungkunla'a, kayina kayina'a ngku
over at that place-1plexcNOM anchor-NF anchor-NF-3plNOM over there
29 ngana line wayinwayin, minyana'a kantangkana, 29
1plexcNOM line throw.PROG-NF meat-1plexcNOM load-NF 29
30 pungana. ngula nga'al puuchuru mangku puuchuruna
fish after those clayfish four clayfish-1plexcNOM
31 yuw'aathangun nga'al nhanthanyanganala.
low tide (reef)-SP.LOC those there spear-1sgNOM-exclam
English Translation

I asked father, 'Take just me to the beach.' He said, 'O.K., I will take you. Quickly, I am hungry.' We went over by truck (and) at my house we picked up the wife, oh and my bread, and we went down over there, and came out (at the beach). He took us northeast and left us near the dinghy. We jumped off and took everything down. He went back. 'I'm going back.' 'O.K.', I said to him. He went back quickly.

He returned and there a tractor arrived now. A tractor arrived from the rear. Old man James Butcher came. (They) pull his dinghy down and threw it in the water and soon (put his) things. I shouted, 'You come and pull my dinghy.' They all came and pulled my dinghy down and left it in the water. From there they went to the southeast. I went to the northeast with the wife, to an island - Restoration Is. Ah! Lloyd Island. We went to Lloyd Island.

There was a big low tide left and I (went in) the dinghy for fish, I speared bait. 'You dig shell.' She went up higher to dig shell. I fished on the down side and then speared a shark. Over there to the east... I speared a barracuda. I returned and picked up four clam shells. Then I found the wife over there. 'Let's go.' The tide was coming in and it was getting dark too. 'Quickly, let's go.' 'O.K.' 'What shell did you get?' 'No, only a few.' 'O.K. Let's go.' Then we pulled the dinghy down and we jumped in. I started the engine and left, going over to that place and turned around where the ships used to anchor. We anchored there. Over there we kept throwing a line. We loaded up 29 fish. After those I speared four crayfish at the dry reef.

6.3. SUGAR BAG HUNTING
by Harry Seiu in Kuuku Ya' u

1. mangkaalthum ngayu waathiny. waathinyanga waathin waathin
 early morning 1sgNOM go-NF go-NF-1sgNOM go-NF go-NF

2. waathin waathin waathin waathin puntuku wa'ala,
go-NF go-NF go-NF go-NF sugar bag-DAT search.PROG-NF

3. wa'an wa'an wa'an wa'an ngachinyanga puntu
 search-NF search-NF search-NF search-NF find-NF-1sgNOM sugar bag

4. ngathalaka puntuy muungana muungan muungan muungan
 1sgGEN-exclam sugar bag cut-NF cut-NF cut-NF

5. muungan muungan pungkan wuumtu alinya palapaŋapa,
cut-NF cut-NF fall-NF top piece lift-NP slice-NF

6. punti alinyanga punti way'i mukgunakan
dish take out-NF dish paper bark strip-1sgNOM
7 kalmaanhananga come-CAUS.VBLSR-NF-1sgNOM kathananga tie-NF-1sgNOM yinan sew-NF puntu sugar bag

8 aliny aliny aliny piingkan nga'amalu, wanana nga'a leave-NF-1sgNOM wa'a full-NF that's all

9 ilpinanga ngaachiku, al'akala ngungkulu return-NF1sgNOM home-DAT walkabout.PROG.-NF over thereG.LOC

10 kalmaananga ngaachimpapa. 'way yutha nganyi way'. 'puntu come-NF-1sgNOM camping place Hey! house 1sgGEN Hey! sugar bag

11 nga'la kalmaanhana?" that one come-CAUS.VBLSR-NF nga'anala nga'ta peapa

12 nga'ta piipi, nga'ananga. 'ngu'ul inchampu ngayu wa'a 1sgGEN father give-NF-1sgNOM 2plNOM dilute-IMPpl 1sgNOM good

13 punthina ngayu ngampa kuupi, ngayu wa'a yukul finish-NF 1sgNOM not like 1sgNOM good tree-G.LOC

14 yangkunya. 'nyii' nga'ta piipi kuu'alinya, nga'ta paapa. eat-NF yes 1sgGEN father say-NF 1sgNOM mother

15 nga'ta piipi kuu'alinya, 'nganaangku paapaala?' 'nyii, 1sgGEN father say-NF 1plexcGEN mother-POS yes

16 yangkumpu' ngayu ingana. inchana yangkunya nga'ta eat-IMPpl 1sgNOM reply-NF mix-NF eat-NF 1sgNOM

17 niininila. nga'ta piipilu pungan kalmaanhan sit-PAST.PROG 1sgGEN father-ERG fish come-CAUS.VBLSR-NF

18 pungan ngayu yangkun uutiimananga, niininila fish 1sgNOM eat-NF belly full-NF-1sgNOM sit.PROG-NF

19 nguyungkuula. punthin nga'amalu. shade-POS finish-NF that's all.

English Translation

I went early in the morning. I went a long way searching for sugar bag, searching everywhere. I find a sugar bag, ah my sugar bag, good luck! I chop the tree until it falls down. I lift out the top piece and slice it off. I strip the paper bark for a dish, bring it and tie up and sew the end. I take out the sugar bag until the dish is full. Good, I leave and go back home.
I kept on walking over that way until I came to the camping place, ‘Hey! my house, Hey!’ ‘Did you bring that sugar bag?’ I give it to my mother and father. ‘You mix it (in water) I have had enough. I don’t want any more, I ate some at the tree.’ ‘All right,’ my father and mother said. My father said, ‘(Is there some) for our mother there?’ ‘Yes, all of you eat it,’ I replied. (They) mixed it and ate. I kept on sitting. My father brought some fish and I ate the fish. I was full and stayed sitting in the shade. I’m finished, that’s all.

6.4. BUSH CONVERSATION in Kuuku Ya’u
by six women gathering pandanus leaf

1 N. ngaachi milintha waympa. J. nyii ngaachi milintha waympa.
   place good bush yes place good bush

2 J. ilka ngi’ikani pa’alpimana kantikantiku.
   mountain here above stand.PROG-PRES.CONT lovely-DAT

3 J. wantantu ngu’ula kuuchangka Eh? N. kani pali.
   which way 2plNOM look-PRES.CONT Eh above sharp

4 M. kul’akul’a. N. puiya wininyamulu. J. Nyii
   very stony heart frightened-CAUS.VBLSR-NMLSR.G.LOC yes

5 J. Yaw, ngayu ngaachi yu’ayi ngulanga ngi’i kalmaan.
   Yes 1sgNOM place don’t know now-1sgNOM here come-NF

6 M. ngampula ngula kalmaa ngi’i. M. ngayu ngula kuuchanya
   lplincNOM now come-NF here 1sgNOM just now look-NF

7 ngaachi. J. ngaachilaka ngampulingku pualawi
   place place-exclam lplincGEN father’s father’s-country

8 miiminganlaka. L. kupaku. N. Yeah. J. yuma nga’alu
   mother’s mother’s-belongs-exclam Cooper-GEN Yeah fire that one

9 kuuchaya tiyiku. T. wantanta pi’i? M. ngampula uulimana
   look-IMPsg tea-DAT where water? lplincNOM hungry-NF

10 kangkamunu antampu muungala. N. ngayu uulimana.
    leaf-ABL long time-lplincNOM cut.PROG-NF 1sgNOM hungry-NF

11 J. wa’anama tiyi wa’ampu aachika thanka. M. kampal
    quickly tea good-lplincNOM heat-FUT pandanus leaf sun

12 nga’amalu waathanka ngungku ichuluma. J. wa’anampu
    that’s all go-PRES.CONT over there west-DIR quickly-lplincNOM

58
English Translation

N. This is a good place in the bush. J. Yes, it's a good place in the bush. J. The mountain always standing up here is lovely. What do you think, you're looking up, Eh? N. It's sharp on top. M. It's very stony. N. It makes me frightened. J. Yes. J. Yes, I don't know the place but now I come here. M. We all come here now. M. Just now I see this place. J. The place is our grandfather's country or grandmother's. L. Cooper's. N. Yeah.

J. You watch that fire for the tea. T. Where's the water? M. We are hungry from cutting leaf for a long time. N. I am hungry. J. Quickly have tea then we will heat the pandanus leaf. M. That's all the sunlight, its going over to the west. J. Quickly, we will eat food and then we will heat the pandanus leaf. Home is a long way. A. You heat them and I will sleep. M. I have cut plenty of good ones here. A. Big barbs are sticking out. N. That's all right, we will help each other.

6.5. THE STORY OF DAMPER  by Ivy Ropeyarn in Umpila

Umpila differences from Kuuku Ya’u are marked *. 

1 ukaapi kalmanyana nga’al mayi flour pulnha
   first come-CAUSV.BLSR-NF those food flour flour
F 2 tjiipukamu nga’alu ma’upina kaika nyikana kaika nyikana
   old man-NMLSIR those make-NF spear paint-NF spear paint-NF
F 3 palmpana mayi ‘kuungkampun ngangkana’ molasses
   throw away-NF food poison-1plincACC give-NF molasses
al 4 kuuntingkana mayi nga’alu. ‘kuungkampun ngangkana’ iyu
   waste-NF food that one poison-1plincACC give-NF that way
A 5 ingana nga’alu tjiipukamu. flour palmpana pulnha waayina.
   say-NF those old man-NMLSIR flour chuck away-NF flour throw-NF
nyikana kalka now, kaarika, thulu nga'a nyikana kalka
paint-NF spear now, fishing spear, crowbar those paint-NF spear

chuchinyu* nyikana nga'alu prettyngana.
small paint-NF those pretty-CAUS.VBLSR-NF Second kuyikuyi

kalmaa para. kuyi kalmaana para come-NF white man then same lot yuma
come-NF white man same lot. fire

pal'anyana* now mukana --- kiikana* mayi Ah! 'mayinu
prepare-NF now big one --- look-NF food Ah! food-2plACC

palmpana' para ingana, 'that mayi, ngampa nga'al wu'u.
chuck-NF whites say-NF That food not that one bad

mayi nga'alu'. yuma pal'anyana* yuma pal'anyana* wiyama
food that one fire prepare-NF fire prepare-NF another

ma'upina now. mayi m'anyalan ma'upina athana* -- kuyi
make-NF now food show-NF-3plACC make-NF cook-NF then

mayi ma'upina'a --- paanyi puunthunya paanyi
food make-NF-3plINOM bed spread out-NF bed

puunthunya'a kak'ampaanya mayi damper. molasses
spread out-NF-3plINOM heap up-NF food damper molasses

nyihininya'a jam too, jam nyihininya'a. butter
put-NF-3plINOM jam too, jam put-NF-3plINOM butter

piitaanginana* now muungalmana damper ngkuna
know-CAUS.VBLSR-NF now cut.PROG-NF damper over there

iyumana para piitaanginanal*
that kind white man know-CAUS.VBLSR-NF-3plACC

muungalmana'a nyikana para kanthaanya* fast para
cut.PROG-NF-3plINOM spread-NF white men eat-NF first whites

kanthaanya* pila kiikana para 'mayi kuumu ngana
eat-NF 3plINOM look-NF whites damper this way IplexNOM

kanganthangka* ngampa kuungka mayi ngi'i minima'
eat.PROG-PRES.CONT not poison food this good
21. kanthaanya * now. mayi pitaantimana'a *
eat-NF now food know-VBLSR-NF-3plNOM
chilpukanu
old man-NMLSR

22. wayimu wupunyu ngangkanalan kanthaanya *
women children give-NF-3plACC eat-NF now
now

23. pitaantimana'a *
know-VBLSR-NF-3plNOM mayiku damperku flour wanana now
food-DAT damper-DAT flour leave-NF now

24. mayi kawutha waathinya now mayi wanana nga'a
food boat go-NF now food leave-NF that
ampingun
humpy-SP.LOC

24. own own own own mayilan kuthala own own
own own own own food-3plACC camp-POS own own

25. pula yangkina ilpiina kaawayma nga'al start now
3plNOM go-NF return-NF south-DIR that one start now

26. from there mayi. nga'amalu.
from there damper that's all

First those (Europeans) brought flour for food. Those old men made spear and
painted them (with flour). They threw away the food. 'They gave us poison.'
Those (old men) wasted molasses too, good food. 'They gave us poison.' Those
old men talked that way. They threw away the flour and painted spears - fishing
spear, one barb spear. They painted those small spears and made them pretty.

Second some more white men came, then the same lot came again. They made a big
fire. They saw the food. 'Ah! You chucked out the damper!' The white men said,
'That food is not bad, good food that one.' They prepared a fire and made another
fire. They showed how to make and cook it. Then when the damper was ready they
spread out a bed and heaped up the dampers. They put on molasses and they put jam
on too. They taught (them to put) butter. They kept cutting the damper, like that
over there. White men taught them. They kept on cutting it and spreading onto the
damper. The white people ate first. They saw what the whites said. 'We always eat
damper this way. It is not poison, it is good food.' They eat it now. The old men
learnt it. They gave it to women and children. They eat it now. They learnt to make
damper for food. They (whites) left flour now and the boat went now. They left
that food. It's now at each humpy. Each have their own food at their camp. They
went back now to the south. That damper started from there now. That's all.
7. GUIDE TO PRONUNCIATION - KUUUKA YA'U AND UMPILA

7.1. THE LETTERS

These are the letters used to write the Kuuku Ya'u and Umpila languages:

\( p, \, th, \, t, \, ch, \, k, \, ', \, m, \, nh, \, n, \, ny, \, ng, \, l, \, r, \, w, \, y, \, a, \, aa, \, i, \, ii, \, u, \, uu. \)

These ones are single sounds: \( th, \, ch, \, nh, \, ny, \, ng \).

These ones do not occur in English: \( th, \, ', \, nh \), while \( ng \) occurs at the beginning of words which does not happen in English.

These letters are not used at all in writing: \( b, \, d, \, e, \, f, \, g, \, j, \, o, \, q, \, s, \, v, \, x, \, z \).

(unless a word is borrowed from another language)

There is no difference in meaning between \( p \) & \( b \) & \( d \) & \( k \) & \( g \), \( ch \) & \( j \), and the first one of each pair is used in writing as this is the local emphasis.

7.2. MORE ABOUT SOME SOUNDS

7.2.1. Consonants

\( ch \) (sometimes written as \( tj \) in other languages)
sounds as in English 'picture'. A language word is \( kachi. \)

\( th \) not the same as English \( th \) but halfway between English \( t \) and \( th \).
The tongue touches the back of the upper teeth while \( t \) is sounded. (The difference between the Aboriginal \( t \) and \( th \) is hard for English speakers to hear but they do give different meanings in Kuuku Ya'u and Umpila.)

\( nh \) the same kind of thing as \( th \). The tongue touches the back of the upper teeth while \( n \) is sounded.

\( ny \) (sometimes written as \( nj \) in other languages)
as in English 'come in you'.

\( ng \) as in English 'singer' English does not have this sound at the beginning of words so it is hard for English speakers to say words like \( ngayu. \)

\( ngk \) \( ng + k \) This sounds like the hard \( ng \) in 'finger'.
A language word is \( pungku. \)

\( r \) is pronounced with a trill.

\( ' \) this is a 'glottal stop' - a break in the sound is made in the throat. This break acts as a letter giving a meaning. (I used to use \( ? \) for this letter but \( ' \) is easier to use.) Language words are \( wa'a, \, pa'i, \, tha'u. \)
7.2.2. Vowels  (The vowels are:  \( a, \ aa, \ i, \ ii, \ u, \ uu. \))

These are short and long sounds. They are always used the same way in writing Kuuku Ya’u and Umpila instead of the different ways in English.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Kuuku Ya’u/Umpila</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>( a )</td>
<td>as in hut, but, butter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( aa )</td>
<td>as in path, grass</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( i )</td>
<td>as in bit, hit, with</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( ii )</td>
<td>as in we, holy, bee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( u )</td>
<td>as in good, should</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( uu )</td>
<td>as in your, door</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Never put two different vowels together. When it sounds like this the second sound is written as \( y \) or \( w \). So: not ‘ai’ but \( ay \), not ‘au’ but \( aw \).

| ay | as in guy, shy          | \( thay'pan, \ ngayana \) |
| aw | as in cow, how          | \( kawi, \ kawa, \ pawal \) |
| uw | as in stew, pew         | \( yuway \)               |
| uy | as in joy, boy          | \( wuympa, \ puynara, \ kuuyu \) |

7.2.3. Consonant Length

Some consonants are sounded long. This always happens in a word with no long vowels. In these words the first syllable is stressed and the next consonant is sounded long. For example,

\( pama \) is sounded: \( \text{pàmma} \)

A second \( m \) is not put in writing because language speakers always say it that way.

7.2.4. Word Stress  (see 2.4. on page 6 for more detail)

In words with no long vowels the first vowel is stressed, e.g. \( \text{táwura} \).

In words with long vowels the last long vowel is stressed,

e.g. \( \text{páala, muumdanya, pitdanchi, tawurdalu} \).