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

MORPHOLOGICAL FORMS		SYNTACTIC RELATIONS
ABSOLUTIVE	$\emptyset$	: ABSOLUTIVE - intransitive subject (S) - object (O)
ERGATIVE	*-lu / -l / -'V*	: ERGATIVE or Agent (A) : INSTRUMENTAL
DATIVE	*-ku*	: DATIVE - Allative, Purpose, Benefactive, Time complements
GENITIVE	*-ku / -namu*	: GENITIVE
ABLATIVE	*-munu*	: ABLATIVE | (distinguished : CAUSAL | semantically)
COMITATIVE	*-pinta / -chi*	: COMITATIVE
GENERAL LOCATIVE	*-lu / -l*	: GENERAL LOCATIVE
SPECIFIC LOCATIVE	*-nguna / -ngun*	: SPECIFIC LOCATIVE
POSITIONAL	*-la / -l*	: POSITIONAL
DIRECTIONAL	*-ma*	: 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 / -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 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   piipi-lu   pungan   kalma-nha-na*
        1sgGEN   father-ERG   fish   come-CAUS.VBLSR-NF
        'My father brought the fish.'

3.   *ku'aaka   mukan-a'a   piiwu   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.'

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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 dependant 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   tawura   kithari-lu*
      1sgNOM   meat   cut-NF   knife   sharp-INS
      'I cut the meat with a sharp knife.'

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

9.   *pamal-u   ira   yuku-lu/yuku-'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   piiwu   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   ngangka-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'ala-ngka   kulima-ku*
      3sgNOM   speak-PRES.CONT   many-DAT
      'He is speaking to many people.'

Goal of Motion (Allative)

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

18.   *kalu   ngata   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-1sgNOM   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'un thuyimana*	'be jealous'
kuu'alinya	'speak'	*ilpiina*	'return'
lawamana	'proud/be proud'	*miyumana*	'be angry/sulk'
ngaachina	'laugh'	*pampaana*	'ask'
paampaanya	'look for'	*pi'ina*	'wait'
pin'ayina	'hunt (for fish)'	*pitaanchimana*	'learn'
pitaanchingana	'teach'	*punthanyana*	'sea hunt (afternoon)'
ungkaana	'cry'	*waathinya*	'run'
winiina	'be frightened'	*wulmiina*	'be glad'
yaanthanya	'be ashamed'	*yaachiina*	'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*   *winii-mana*   *ku'aaku-munu*
     1sgNOM   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*
      1plincNOM   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.   *ilpiina-nga*   *tangu-pinta*
      return-NF-1sgNOM   canoe-COM
      'I came back by canoe.'

26.   *chilpu*   *ilpii-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*   *paa'alpi-mana*   *kalka-pinta*
      man   stands.PROG-PRES.CONT   spear-COM
      'The man keeps on standing with a spear.'

At rest with humans

28.   *wayimu*   *ngungku*   *niina-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*   *yuli*   *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.PROG-PRES.CONT   stick-COM
      'The old man is climbing the hill with a walking stick.'

31.   *pama   ngi'i   kalma-n   kulnta-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   yuthaa-la*
    1sgNOM   bread   leave-NF   house-POS
    'I left the bread in the house.'

39. *wana-n   nganan   tanguu-la/tangu-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   1plNOM   go-NF
       'We are going down over that way.'

42.   *kungkay-ma   nganan   kalnthi-nya*
       northeast-DIR   1plACC   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   yiimachin   pula   Boss-lu*
       Alec   over there-DIR   Claudie Pt   3plNOM   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   3plNOM-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*   *piiramu-ku*
      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:

e.g.
mapanguchi	'a place name'	from	*mapangu*	'grass type'
talkaachi	'a place name'	from	*talka*	'grass type'
mukuychi	'Cape Sidmouth'	from	*mukuy*	'grass type'
iltiichi	'a creek name'	from	*ilti*	'fruit type'

designating people:

e.g.
kaawachi	'people of S.E. region'	from	*kaaway*	'southeast'
kungkaachi	'people of N.E. region'	from	*kungkay*	'northeast'
kanichi	'inlanders'	from	*kani*	'high/inland'

specifying:

e.g.
paalakuchi	'last one'	from	*paalaku*	'last'
ukaapichi	'first one'	from	*ukaapi*	'first'

3.2.2.2. Privative - indicating deprivation.

Form: *-kanyu*

Examples

52.
   ngulu   maka-n   maayi-kanyu-ma
   3sgNOM   die-NF   food-Priv-VBLSR
   'He died from starvation.'

53.
   ngayu   ngi'i   kiini-kanyu
   1sgNOM   here   tobacco-Priv
   'I am here without tobacco.'

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.

e.g.
chilpu-kamu	*pupu-kamu*
'old people'	'pawpaws'

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. *piipi   ngungaangku-lu   pitaanchi-nga-ngka   kalka*
     father   3sgGEN-ERG   know-CAUS.VBLSR-PRES.CONT   spear

    wayi-nyu-ku
throw-NOMLSR-DAT
'His father is teaching him spear-throwing.'

55. *ngayu   pitaanchi   tukulu   machi-nyu-ku*
     1sgNOM   know   turtle   catch-NOMLSR-DAT
'I know how to catch turtles.'

c) *-mu* 'full of' : forming a qualifier from a verb root

56. *ungathal   kuupi-mu*
     alcohol   like-NOMLSR
'lovers of alcohol/drunkards'

57. *ngi'i   wiinipinta   winini-mu*
     this   police   afraid-NOMLSR
'These policemen are timid.'

58. *pama   lawalawa-mu*
     man   proud-NOMLSR
'The man is proud.'

59. *pama   wikawika-mu*
     man   tell lie-NOMLSR
'The man is a liar.'

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'
	patipati	'very narrow'
	mukamukana	'very big/plenty'
	thungkuthungku	'very black'
	lawalawa	'proud/boastful'
	nganthangantha	'thin' (from ngantha 'bone')
	puchapucha	'dry'

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

wupuyu	'small child'
wupunyu	'several small children'
wupunpunyuma	'a crowd of small children'
wiimu	'ant'
wiimumu	'a large number of ants'

    Derived temporal stems

antha	'before'
anthama	'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 PRONOM-INAL 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, ngunu/nganu* and *ngulu/nhulu.*

Accusative Case marks the transitive object pronoun with the form *-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: *ngata-, ngangka-,* and *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. *nganaana* becomes *nganan.*

Genitive Case of the pronoun is formed by adding *-ngku* to the pronominal root.

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

PERSON	NOMINATIVE		ACCUSATIVE		GENITIVE	
	FREE	BOUND	FREE	BOUND	FREE	BOUND
First singular 1.sg	*ngayu* (I)	*-nga*	*ngataana /* *nganyi* (me)	*-nyi*	*ngataangku /* *ngata* (mine)	*-tuku*
dual inclusive 1 du inc	*ngali* (we two)	*-li*	*ngaliina /* (you & me)	*-lin*	*ngaliingku* (yours & mine)	*-lingku*
plural inclusive 1 pl inc	*ngampula* (we inc)	*-mpu*	*ngampulana* (us inc)	*-mpun*	*ngampulungku* [1] (our inc)	*-mpungku*
plural exclusive 1 pl exc	*ngana* (we exc)	*-na /-na'a* [2]	*nganaana* (us exc)	*-nan*	*nganaangku* (ours exc)	*-nangku*
Second singular 2 sg	*ngunu* [3] you (S)	*-ntu*	*ngangkaana* you (O)	*-ngin*	*ngangkaangku /* *ngangka* (yours)	*-ngku*
plural 2 pl	*ngu'ula* you (S)	*-nu /-nu'u* [2]	*ngu'ulana* you (O)	*-ni /-ni'i* [2]	*ngu'ulungku* [1] (yours)	*-lungku*
Third singular 3 sg	*ngulu* [3] (he,she,it)	-	*ngungaana* (him, her, it)	*-lun*	*ngungaangku* (his, hers, its)	-
plural 3 pl	*pula* (they)	*-'a*	*pulaana* (them)	*-lana /-lan*	*pulaangku* (theirs)	-

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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 (*nganu*) and 3 sg (*nhulu*).

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

60.   *nganyi*   *kalnthi*   *malngkana-ku*
        me alone   takeIMP   beach-DAT
        'Take just me to the beach.'

61.   *nganyi'i*   *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*   *kalmaa-na*   *pulan-munu*
        1sgNOM   come-NF   3plACC-ABL
        'I came from them.'

63.   *ngulu*   *yutha*   *ngangkaangku-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'.

MINIMAL FORM		AUGMENTED FORM	
(1sg)	*ngayu*	(1plexc)	*ngana*
1duinc	*ngali*	(1plinc)	*ngampula*
2sg	*ngunu/nganu*	(2pl)	*ngu'ula*
3sg	*ngulu/nhulu*	(3pl)	*pula*

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:

ngu'ula pa'aamu	'you two'	*ngana mangku*	'we four/few exc'
ngampula kulntu	'we three inc'	*ngana kulima*	'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.   *katha-na-nga*
    tie up-NF-1sgNOM
    'I tied it up.'

65.   *nganan   kanim   kalntha-ka-nu'u?*
    1plexcACC   inland   take-FUT-2plNOM
    'Will you take us inland?'

66.   *wiinipinta   ala-ka-lan*
    police   pick up-FUT-3plACC
    'The police will pick them up.'

67.   *pama-lu   muunga-na-ni'i?*
    man-ERG   cut-NF-2plACC
    'Did the man cut you?'

Locative suffixing

68.   *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-ntu*   *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'aaka-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.

LOCATIVE WORD	DEMONSTRATIVE ADJECTIVE	DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUN
ngi'i 'here'	*ngi'i* 'this/these'	*ngi'ilu* 'this/these one(s) here'
nga'a 'there'	*nga'a* 'that/those'	*nga'alu* 'that/those one(s) there'
*ngungku 'there yonder'		** ngungkulu* 'that/those one(s) yonder'
*ngungkuuna 'there far distant'		** ngungkuunalu* 'that/those one(s) far distant'
kuuna 'here/this place'		

* 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-NF-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.

Personal

waa'i	'who?' (also: 'someone')
waa'imu	'who is it?' / 'which one?'
waa'ilu	'who did?' (ERG)
waa'iku	'for whom?' (DAT)
waa'iku] *waa'inamu*]	'whose?' (GEN)

Impersonal

ngaani	'what?' (also: 'something')
ngaanimu	'what is it?' / 'what one?'
ngaanilu	'what did?' (ERG)
ngaaniku	'why?' / 'what for?' (DAT)
ngaanimunu	'what from?' (ABL)
ngaanipinta	'what with?' (COM)

Temporal

wantila	'when?' / 'what time?'

Locative

wantuna	'where?'
wantunguna	'at what place?' (SP.LOC)
wantumunu	'where from?' (ABL)
wantuku	'where for?' / 'where from?' (DAT)

Manner

wantantu	'how are you?' / 'which way?' (2sgNOM)
wantanumana *	'what's the matter?' (2plNOM)
wantilwantila	'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*

TENSE/ASPECT	CLASS 1	CLASS 2	CLASS 3
NON-FUTURE[1]	*-la / -na*	*-nya*	*-la*
PRESENT CONTINUOUS[1]	*-ngka*	*-ngka*	*-mana*
FUTURE	*-ka*	*-ka*	*-tha / -cha* [2]
IMPERATIVE : SINGULAR	*-la /* ∅ [3]	*-ya*	*-la /-chi* [4]*/* ∅ [3]
: PLURAL	*-mpu*	*-mpu*	*-mpu*
Verb Stems end in:	*a, i*	*a, u, i,*	*a, i, 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 kalmamana* 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*

	CLASS 1	CLASS 2	CLASS 3	TOTAL VERBS
% TRANSITIVE	61%	65%	33%	110
% INTRANSITIVE	27%	16%	50%	56
% MIDDLE	12%	19%	17%	27
TOTAL VERBS	120	37	36	193

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:

Past Progressive	always kept on ... / used to ...
Present Continuous Progressive	are keeping on ...
Future Progressive	will keep on ...
Imperative singular Progressive	(you sg) keep on ...!
Imperative plural Progressive	(you pl) keep on ...!

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* (clases 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 *-cha/-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'

TENSE/ASPECT	NON-PROGRESSIVE	PROGRESSIVE
Non-Future:	*kayina / kayila*	*kayalkina / kayalkila*
Present Continuous:	*kayingka*	*kayalkingka*
Future:	*kayika*	*kayalkika*
Imperative Singular:	*kayila*	*kayalila*
Imperative Plural:	*kayimpu*	*kayalkimpu*

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

TENSE/ASPECT	NON-PROGRESSIVE	PROGRESSIVE
Non-Future:	*kuuchanya*	*kukucha'a*
Present Continuous:	*kuuchangka*	*kukuchangka*
Future:	*kuuchaka*	*kukuchaka*
Imperative singular:	*kuuchaya*	*kukuchaya*
Imperative plural:	*kuuchampu*	*kukuchampu*

Example of Class 3 Verb Conjugation: *ilpiina* 'return'

TENSE/ASPECT	NON-PROGRESSIVE	PROGRESSIVE
Non-Future:	*ilpiina / ilpiila*	*il'ipina / il'ipila*
Present Continuous:	*ilpiimana*	*il'ipimana*
Future:	*ilpiicha*	*il'ipicha*
Imperative singular:	*ilpiila / ilpiichi*	*il'ipichi*
Imperative plural:	*ilpiimpu*	*il'ipimpu*

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. *kuupi-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. *wupunpunyuma   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-RECIP-IMP.PL
    'Do not hit each other.'

93. *ngali   tha'i-ni-na*
    1duNOM   hit-RECIP-NF
    'We two hit each other.'

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

94. *ngulu   tha'i-mi-na*
    3sgNOM   hit-REFL-NF
    'He hit 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 1 verbs from verb roots ending in** *i*
    Note that a long vowel is shortened when *-nya* is added to it.

e.g. *ngayu ampinyana*   from   *ampii-na* (Class 3)
      'I made it rise.'   'rise-NF'

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	*kalmaa-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 gentive/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-kanu*
    1plexcNOM-Exclam   old person-pluraliser
    'We are old people.'

97. *ngungaangku*   *ngaɹchi*   *Darwin*
    3sgGEN   place   Darwin
    'His home is Darwin.'

98. *ngayu*   *wunchawuncha*   *wiinipinta*
    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.'

Locative

104. *ngulu malngkan-nguna*
   3sgNOM beach-SP.LOC
   'He 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'aamu-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 (*-lu / -'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. *ngunu   ngungaana   tha'i-na*
      2sgNOM   3sgACC   hit-NF
      'You hit him.'

115. *ngayu   pulaana   kuuchaa-nya*
      1sgNOM   3plACC   look-NF
      '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 (Viintr)**.

The subject may be omitted when it is clear from the context. The subject occurs before the verb unless a pronoun clitic iis 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 absolute 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. *yuma   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:

Head Word	Modifying Word
noun	noun
pronoun	genitive pronoun
demonstrative pronoun	adjective
locative word	demonstrative adjective
	quantity word
	size word
	locative word

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   1plincGEN
      '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 clamshells'

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,   Puchiwuchi*
     place   old   Puchiwuchi
     'the old place, Puchiwuchi'

130. *ngana   kalka   ma'upi-na,   yikan,   palnki,*
     1plexcNOM   spears   make-NF   long   medium

     panti,   thaya,   kaaya,   malmpun.
     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,   wiyam   chu'uchi*
     one   big   another   small
     'one big and another one small'

133. *pama   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   kaalnthi-nya   kalma-nha-n*
3sgNOM   inland   take-NF   come-CAUS.VBLSR-NF

nganan   yuthaa-la
1plACC   house-POS
'He took us inland and brought us to the house.'

137. *ngunu*   *wuna-lu*   *ngayu*   *tanil-ma-ka*
2sgNOM   sleepIMPsg-G.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*   *yumanga*   *mukan*   *pal'a-na*   *aachi-ka-nga.*
and then   fire-1sgNOM   big   prepare-NF   heat-FUT-1sgNOM

aachi-nya-nga   *aachi-nya-nga------*   *thunthuma-nga-na-nga*
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* *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-l
stay.PROG-NF
'Before we lived at the old site, (called) Puchiwuchi.'

142. *kuunaa-lu*   *line*   *wayinwayin*   *minya-na'a*
place-G.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.'

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148.   *ngayu-tha*   *piinichi-la*   *ngayu-tha*   *tali*   *thangkalthi-na*
        1sgNOM-CtoF   slip-NF   1sgNOM-CtoF   leg   break-NF
        'If I had slipped I would have broken a leg.'

149.   *ngulu-tha*   *mayi*   *yangku-nya*   *ngayu-tha*   *mayi-kanyu*
        3sgNOM-CtoF   food   eat-NF   1sgNOM-CtoF   food-Priv
        'If he had eaten the food I would have had none.'

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.   *nganan*   *kanim*   *kaalntha-ka-nu'u?*
        1plexcACC   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*   *para*   *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 *ngulu/nhulu* (2sg) or *ngu'ula* (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   and   *kalmaa-na-mpu*
              come-IMPpl   come-NF-1plincNOM
              '(You) come!'   'We came.'

Examples

158. *ngampa*   *puu'i*   *tha'ilthi-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. *Ngam,*   *antha*   *nganan*   *kaalntha-mpu*
      O.K.   before   1plexcACC   take-IMPpl
      'O.K., you take us first.'

161. *ali-ya*
      lift-IMPsg
      'Lift it!'

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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*
     1plexcNOM   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 for   ty also be reduced to *ngalu,* or to a clitic *-ngal,* or *-ki* which is attached to an item of   n Phrase or to the verb. See also examples 48 and 106 (verbless sentences).

Examples

167. *ngaluki   yaangana-ka*
     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 *-tha*.

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'
amay	'wait'
yaw / yuway	'yes'
ngii / nyii	'yes' 'O.K.'
ngampa	'no' 'not'
ulmpaya	'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'
kithamaku	'is that right?'
ngayu ngalnki	'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'
	qpa	'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'a	'same as'
	kuumuku	'this is why'
clitics	*-kunchi*	'relation' e.g. *piipikunchi* 'father-relation'
	-laka	'poor thing'
		- exclamation expressing pathos, sadness
	-ntha	'before' (see 4.4.3.)
	-tha	'should' (see 4.4.4.)
	-pa	'good one' e.g. *nhuyunpa* '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:

puuya		'heart/life essence'
puuya aa'ina	(heart dance)	'feel glad'
puuya kunta	(heart strong)	'be brave'
puuya wulmiina	(heart glad)	'feel happy'
puuya machina	(heart hold)	'patient'
pa'an		'head'
pa'an mini	(head good)	'sane'
pa'an minichi	(head good having)	'cunning, skilful'
pa'a wu'u	(head bad)	'insane, mad'
pa'ankanyu	(head/brains without)	'stupid'
pa'anawi		'bald'
pa'an tha'amana	(head sick)	'headache'
ku'un		'eye'
ku'un ngumathin	(eyes shut)	'pray'
ku'un thuyimana	(eyes crooked) (?)	'be jealous'
ku'unchi		'old woman/blind'

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

DAVID A. THOMPSON