A GRAMMAR OF
THE KUKU YALANJI LANGUAGE
OF NORTH QUEENSLAND

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Unless otherwise acknowledged, this thesis is the original work of the author.
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ABBREVIATIONS AND CONVENTIONS

Examples consist of three parts:

a) Kuku Yalanji sentences

The following conventions are used:

- morpheme boundary
/ alternative forms
( ) optional material
{ } different morphemes in Yalanji and Nyungkul dialect
" " direct speech
, clause boundary in co-ordinate and subordinate constructions
* ungrammatical sentences or word forms
? not attested but presumably possible sentences, or constructions that are considered awkward although grammatical
' ' primary and secondary word stress respectively
" " primary and secondary clause stress respectively

b) Interlinear glosses lined up with the beginning of each word. As far as possible direct translations or semantic approximations have been used for free and bound morphemes alike. Where such translations would have resulted in confusion with other lexical items abbreviations of the grammatical function have been used. Groups of bound morphemes with similar function but different semantic contents are also indicated by abbreviations referring to the respective function. A list of abbreviations is set out hereunder.
c) Translations represented in italics

The following conventions are used:

[ ] items that can be inferred from the Kuku Yalanji sentence

( ) editorial comments

/ alternative translations

" " verbatim translation by speakers or, in context, direct speech

For stylistic reasons English translations contain article 'the', regardless of whether the Kuku Yalanji example implies definiteness or not. For ease of reading 'the' is not enclosed in parentheses.

Abbreviations are given below in alphabetical finder list together with the number of the section where they are introduced:

(A) transitive subject (function) 4.1.4.1
ABESS abessive (case) 3.2.1
ABL ablative (case) 3.2.1
ABS absolutive (case) 3.2.1
ACC accusative (case) 3.5.1
ADV adverbalising suffix -ku 3.8.6.2
CAUS causative (forming transitive compound verb from nominal or intransitive verb) 3.8.5.1
COMIT comitative (nominal derivation) 3.2.3.3
COMP comparison particle 'yala' 3.9.2
DAT dative (case) 3.2.1
DEG₁ adjectival degree prefix jarra- 3.2.3.8
DEG₂ adjectival degree suffix -baja 3.2.3.8
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<td>EMPH&lt;sub&gt;2&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
<td>emphatic clitic -lu -la</td>
<td>3.10.2</td>
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<td>emphatic clitic -bi</td>
<td>3.10.2</td>
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<td>EMPH&lt;sub&gt;4&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
<td>emphatic clitic -(V)rrku</td>
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<tr>
<td>ERG</td>
<td>ergative (case)</td>
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<td>IMP</td>
<td>imperative (verb inflection)</td>
<td>3.8.4.1</td>
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<tr>
<td>INCHO</td>
<td>inchoative (forming intransitive verb stems or compounds from nominals)</td>
<td>3.8.5.3</td>
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<td>INST</td>
<td>instrumental (case)</td>
<td>3.2.1</td>
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<td>INTER</td>
<td>interjection</td>
<td>3.11</td>
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<td>irrealis (verb inflection)</td>
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<td>intransitive (syntactic verb derivation)</td>
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<td>kinship plural (nominal stem forming suffix)</td>
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<td>LOC</td>
<td>locative (case)</td>
<td>3.2.1</td>
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<td>mun</td>
<td>catalytic nominal suffix -mun-</td>
<td>3.2.3.1</td>
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<td>NEG</td>
<td>negation particle 'kari'</td>
<td>3.9.2</td>
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<td>NEG&lt;sub&gt;2&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
<td>negation particle 'balu'</td>
<td>3.9.2</td>
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<td>NONPAST</td>
<td>nonpast tense (verb inflection)</td>
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<td>(O)</td>
<td>transitive object (function)</td>
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<td>past tense (verb inflection)</td>
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<td>PERL</td>
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<tr>
<td>FLS</td>
<td>plural subject agreement (verb suffix)</td>
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<td>POSS</td>
<td>possessive (nominal derivation)</td>
<td>3.2.3.2</td>
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<tr>
<td>PRECAUT</td>
<td>precautionary (verb inflection)</td>
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<tr>
<td>PRIV</td>
<td>privative (nominal derivation)</td>
<td>3.2.3.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>:pt</td>
<td>'potent' case inflection</td>
<td>4.1.4.2</td>
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<tr>
<td>PURP</td>
<td>purposive (verb inflection)</td>
<td>3.8.4.1</td>
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<tr>
<td>RECIP</td>
<td>reciprocal (syntactic verb derivation)</td>
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<td>REDUP</td>
<td>reduplication of nominals and verbs</td>
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<td>reflexive (syntactic verb derivation)</td>
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<td>(S)</td>
<td>intransitive subject (function)</td>
<td>4.1.4.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SUB</td>
<td>subordinating/nominalising verb suffix</td>
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<td>3.8.4.1</td>
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<td>SUCC</td>
<td>successive (verb inflection)</td>
<td>3.8.4.1</td>
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<td>temporal clitic -kuda</td>
<td>3.10.1</td>
</tr>
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<td>temporal clitic -(ng)Vrr</td>
<td>3.10.1</td>
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<td>UM</td>
<td>unmarked (verb inflection)</td>
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### Abbreviations of Pronouns

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<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>first person</td>
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<tr>
<td>2</td>
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<td>inc</td>
<td>inclusive</td>
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### Abbreviations of Kinship Terms

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<tr>
<td>eB</td>
<td>elder brother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eZ</td>
<td>elder sister</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FF</td>
<td>father's father</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abbreviation</td>
<td>Kinship Term</td>
</tr>
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<td>--------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FM</td>
<td>father's mother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FZ</td>
<td>father's sister</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MB</td>
<td>mother's brother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MF</td>
<td>mother's father</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MiL</td>
<td>mother-in-law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MM</td>
<td>mother's mother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yB</td>
<td>younger brother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yZ</td>
<td>younger sister</td>
</tr>
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</table>
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This study would not have been possible without the help of the Kuku Yalanji speakers of Wujalwujal, who accepted me with friendliness and generosity both as a researcher and as a temporary resident in their community. I cannot name all of my helpers here, but I owe special thanks to Mr Charlie Tayley, Mr Bobby Roberts, Mrs Louisa Smith, Mrs Ruby Friday, the late Mrs Ivy Walker and my "babarr" Mrs Mabel Webb for their unflagging enthusiasm in teaching me their language with intelligence, sensitivity and patience. Long hours of repetitive and tiring work were often alleviated by their senses of humour, entertaining anecdotes and activities like forays for bush tucker in which they gladly allowed me to participate. Kuku Yalanji speakers of the Mossman Gorge Mission and the Mareeba settlement, in particular Mr Norman Mitchell, also contributed some material.

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Jennifer Hyles typed this thesis, dexterously and speedily working her way through a 'cut-and-paste' draft not missing a single asterisked insert. Rose Butt proofread the finished work and Val Lyon (Geography Department, Australian National University) prepared the maps.

Gunther Patz, who is familiar with the tribulations of thesis writing, often brought me back to the real world by providing effective distractions from my monomaniacal pursuits.

For all this help I am most grateful.
PRÉCIS

This study is concerned with two dialects of the Kuku Yalanji language, Yalanji and Nyungkul, that together still have a homogeneous speech community of at least 300 speakers.

The approach is predominantly functional, concentrating largely on semantic aspects and contextual use of language forms, particularly in the areas of case marking, syntax, and particles and clitics. The study concludes with an investigation of narrative discourse structure that highlights the practical application of many of the grammatical features discussed in the preceding chapters. Four texts, included in the appendix, serve to illustrate these points.

Significant characteristics of this language that are discussed more fully than others are:

(a) vowel harmony rules,
(b) the distinction between 'neutral' and 'potent' case inflections,
(c) passive and antipassive constructions.

Throughout the study reference is made to similarities or differences with neighbouring languages Guugu Yimidhirr and Dyabugay, as well as to features of Australian languages in general.

Points related to linguistic theory are made in the discussions of passive and antipassive (transitivity theory), subordinate clauses (ergative versus accusative syntax), and choice and marking of topics in narrative discourse (topic prominent versus subject prominent languages).
CHAPTER ONE
INTRODUCTION

1.1 THE LANGUAGE AND ITS SPEAKERS

1.1.1 Kuku Yalanji and surrounding languages

The Kuku Yalanji language is spoken in the south-eastern coastal region of the Cape York Peninsula of North Queensland, Australia (see Map 1). The language name can be analysed as 'the language with "this"' (kuku word, language, yala-nji this-COMIT, see 3.7.1).\(^1\)

To the north and south along the Pacific coast Kuku Yalanji is bordered by genetically related languages: Guugu Yimidhirr and Dyabugay respectively. On the basis of cognates and particularly grammatical features one can say that Kuku Yalanji is closer related to Guugu Yimidhirr than to Dyabugay, but certain similarities with Dyabugay are obvious. Reference to these languages will be made throughout this study, as well as to Yidiny, south of Dyabugay. Genetically, Yidiny and Dyabugay are probably equally close relations of Kuku Yalanji, but because of the greater geographical distance there would have been less areal influence and diffusion between Yidiny and Kuku Yalanji.

Languages in the north-west to south-west of Kuku Yalanji are of a quite different linguistic type. These are: Gugu Warra, Gugu Mini and Mbabaram, an initial dropping language (see Map 1).

\(^1\) It is not uncommon in Australia that a language name is based on a certain linguistic feature of the language (Dixon 1980:41-42). Guugu Yimidhirr, north of Kuku Yalanji, also means 'the language with "this"' (yimi 'this').
MAP 1  KUKU YALANJI AND ITS NEIGHBOURS
1.1.2 Kuku Yalanji and its dialects

The concept of "own language" as distinct from "other languages" is an important aspect of tribal identity in Australia (as indeed it is for any nation in the world). Thus Aborigines distinguish their own language from that of another tribal group, even if the differences are only slight, sometimes represented by just a few different lexical items. Accordingly, a tribal name is often derived from the language name in Australia, whereas the reverse is seldom encountered (cf. Dixon 1980:33-43).

Where the self-termed "languages" of several tribes are mutually understandable, the linguist may recognise these as dialects of one superordinate language. But "there was not usually any name for a group of tribes whose speech was mutually intelligible, nor for the language \_1 \_2 [the superordinate language] that we can - on linguistic criteria - assign to them. It is necessary to choose some label for each language \_2, and this usually has to be done fairly arbitrarily by the linguist" (Dixon 1980:43).

"Kuku Yalanji" has been adopted as the cover term for a language that had about a dozen dialects of which all but two are now extinct or known only to a handful of elderly speakers. The Kuku Yalanji dialect, spoken east of the Great Dividing Range (see Map 2, cf. 1.1.3), is one of the two remaining dialects with a homogeneous speech community and its name was originally chosen by W. and L. Oates (1964) to refer to the eastern dialects of this language group. I extend the reference of this language name to include the western dialects, one of which is also termed "Kuku Yalanji" by the few remaining speakers (see below).
1 Kuku Nyungkul 7 Kuku Jangkun
2 eastern Kuku Yalanji 8 Wagaman
(Kuku Buyunji) 9 Wakura
(3) (Kuku Tyunkay, Junkurara) 10 western Kuku Yalanji
(4) (Kokokulunggur) (Kuku Yalaja, Kokojelandji)
5 Kuku Jakanji 11 Wulbura
6 Muluriji 12 Kuku Bidiji

MAP 2 THE DIALECTS OF KUKU YALANJI
Positive identification and geographical placement of the dialects of Kuku Yalanji is difficult for the following reasons: firstly, the name by which speakers refer to their own dialect is not always the same as the term used for it by other tribes; secondly, members of a tribal subgroup may use their territory term as identification (i.e. "inhabitants of", see below) which does not necessarily imply a dialect difference; thirdly, because of the continuous shifting about and intermingling of members of different tribal groups, enforced by European administration over several generations, it may be difficult to ascertain where a particular dialect was originally spoken.

Previous research has identified thirteen different dialects for Kuku Yalanji which partly overlap in territory. A full list of these dialects is given in Table 1.1, indicating correspondences in territory and marking those dialects (*) in the 2. and 3. column for which data is available. Map 2 shows the approximate location of these dialects.

Several of these dialect names comprise the term kuku (koko) word, language plus presumably a characteristic of the language indicated by the comitative suffix -ji (see 3.2.3.3). However, only two of these are analysable: Kuku Yalanji (see 1.1.1) and Kuku Buyunji language with 'bad' or bad language (see footnote\(^1\) Page 7). Other terms cannot be analysed, but it appears that Jungkurara (Tindale column, corresponding geographically to Kuku Tyunkay in Dixon column) may have a territory name as its basis. The ending -ara could well represent the derivation -warra inhabitants of (see 3.2.3.7, and 1.2.1 (i) 'Tribal groups and names'). Possibly, this name does not actually refer to a different dialect (the data for Kuku Tyunkay is in fact identical to that for
Muluridiy), but evidence is too scanty to allow a firm decision on this point.

TABLE 1.1 ATTESTED DIALECTS OF KUKU YALANJI

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<tr>
<td>Kokobujundji</td>
<td>Kuku Nyungkul*</td>
<td>Yalandyi* 1)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jungkurara</td>
<td>Kuku Buyunji*</td>
<td>Kuku Tyunkay* 2)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kokokulungkur</td>
<td>Kuku Jakanji</td>
<td>Muluridji*</td>
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<td>Muluridji</td>
<td>Muluriji*</td>
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<td>Wulpura</td>
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<td>Kokobididji</td>
<td>Kuku Bidiji*</td>
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<td>Kokowalandja</td>
<td>Kuku Yalanji</td>
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<td>Kokojelandji</td>
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<tr>
<td>Wakara</td>
<td>Wakura*</td>
<td>Wagura*</td>
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<tr>
<td>Djankun</td>
<td>Kuku Jangkun*</td>
<td>Dyangun (Dyangunbari)*</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Wagaman* 3)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1) Based on Hershberger early 1960s.

2) Based on Hale fieldnotes around 1960.

3) Tindale also includes a dialect called Wakaman in his map for an area extending a great deal further south than the approximate boundary given by Dixon's informants. According to Sutton (1976a:116), Tindale's data corresponds to that of the initial dropping language Agwamin and is clearly not a dialect of Kuku Yalanji. Apparently, the name Wakaman was used by different informants for different languages (cf. Sutton op.cit. and Dixon fieldnotes).
The correspondence in territory for Kuku Buyunji and Yalanji is an example of different terms employed for the same dialect by different tribes. Western self-termed Kuku Yalanji speakers (see Brady, Anderson, Rigsby column) refer to the eastern dialect as Kuku Buyunji\(^1\)), whereas eastern speakers definitely call their language Kuku Yalanji and refer to the western dialect around Maytown/Palmer River as Kuku Yalaja (cf. Anderson 1979:36).

H. and R. Hershberger (1982) call "Kuku Jalunji" the "Bloomfield dialect", i.e. in the territory of Kuku Buyunji or eastern Kuku Yalanji. According to my data, this "dialect", which is spoken by the original seashore inhabitants (jalun-ji with sea), differs from the neighbouring dialects only in that it contains words for maritime fauna and flora that are unknown to speakers living a little further inland. No definite information could be obtained from speakers as to whether Jalunji was actually regarded as "different talk"; but whatever the case may be, Jalunji people were confined to the narrow coastal strip and the term cannot apply to the dialect of the Bloomfield River.

Available data, which is only scanty for some dialects, shows that the dialects of Kuku Yalanji are very similar, sharing between over 70% and over 90% of common vocabulary and agreeing closely in morphology.

The small corpus of western Yalanji data obtained from Mr Norman Mitchell shows some differences from eastern dialects in verbal morphology. However, since Mr Mitchell was not available for follow-up work, my findings in this area are at present only tentative and therefore not included here.

\(^1\) Haviland (1979a:29) states that Guugu Yimidhirr speakers use the term Gugu Buyunj 'bad language' for an "intermediate dialect with lexical and syntactic affinities to both Guugu Yimidhirr to the North and Gugu Yalanji to the South", that was spoken along the Annan River and was apparently "regarded with disdain by their neighbours".
The eastern Kuku Yalanji dialect and Kuku Nyungkul, from now on referred to as Yalanji and Nyungkul, are the subject of investigation of this thesis. (I do not use the name Kuku Buyunji since that is not what the speakers call themselves.) Yalanji and Nyungkul have over 90% of common vocabulary and show only minor morphological differences. Because of the attested close similarity between the dialects of Kuku Yalanji, the linguistic details described here may be taken to apply to the "Kuku Yalanji language". Example sentences, unless otherwise indicated, are given in the Yalanji dialect and special mention is made of morphological differences in Nyungkul.

1.1.3 Territory

Speakers of the Kuku Yalanji language traditionally inhabited an area of over 2000 sq km extending from the Mossman River in the south to the Annan River in the north, bordered by the Pacific Ocean in the east and extending inland to presumably just west of Mt Mulgrave (see Map 2). Three ecological zones may be distinguished in this region: open woodland, dense rain forest and coastal plains.

To the west of the Great Dividing Range there is mostly flat to hilly country with open woodland and grass vegetation. Although there are a number of larger rivers such as the Palmer, Mitchell and St George Rivers with their tributaries, these rivers are mostly seasonal and may dry up to only a few waterholes in the dry season. Nevertheless, in pre-contact times this area would have been able to support a fair number of people with good resources of game, fish and plant food.
The eastern slopes of the Great Dividing Range leading down to the Pacific coast are extremely rugged and covered with dense rain forest containing a multitude of permanent springs, creeks and rivers, which provide a reliable water supply and fish resources. Game and plant food were also abundant in the rain forest region. For the most part the slopes descend steeply right to the ocean front, creating a continuous chain of small bays with narrow sand beaches.

More extensive coastal plains exist on the mouths of the larger rivers, e.g. the Bloomfield and Daintree River. Here the vegetation consists largely of coastal thicket and mangrove swamps. The coastal waters and estuaries have plentiful and reliable resources of fish, and other edible maritime fauna, and coastal vegetation also provided some plant foods. These coastal plains and the adjacent gradually narrowing river valleys were apparently heavily populated in pre-contact times, as may be inferred from Hughes' list (1886) of no less than ten tribal groups in Weary Bay at the mouth of the Bloomfield River.

The Yalanji and Nyungkul groups traditionally inhabited the rain forest terrain (see Map 3) in which the present Bloomfield River Reserve is situated.

1.1.4 Present speakers

The devastating effect of the Palmer River Goldrush late last century very quickly decimated the Kuku Yalanji tribes west of the Great Dividing Range to such an extent that several of them are now actually extinct. It is difficult to estimate the number of present speakers of any western dialect, since they are widely
MAP 3 NYUNGKUL AND YALANJI TERRITORY
dispersed. Several are living at Mareeba; others may be found temporarily at Cooktown, Kuranda, Chillagoe, Mossman and the Bloomfield River. Again others have been resettled at Yarrabah or Palm Island.\textsuperscript{1)} Three elderly speakers that I briefly consulted were very proficient in their language (western Kuku Yalanji) but bemoaned the fact that the younger generations are on the whole ignorant of the language of their forebears. There is certainly nothing remotely like a "speech community" for any of the western dialects.

(Eastern) Yalanji and Nyungkul, on the other hand, are still spoken as a first language by at least 300 speakers. Owing to the ruggedness and inaccessibility of their territory they remained largely unaffected by the violence accompanying European intrusion and have managed to maintain many aspects of their culture and particularly their language. A number of Yalanji and Nyungkul speakers now live at Mossman, but the majority of over 200 speakers is concentrated in the Bloomfield River valley, most of them living on the Lutheran mission station and others in outlying camps. There are slightly more Nyungkul than Yalanji speakers and there is also a very small proportion of Bidiji, Yalaji and Guugu Yimidhirr speakers in this area. Language consciousness on the Bloomfield River was further boosted by the introduction, some years ago, of a vernacular literacy program in "Kuku Yalanji", devised by the SIL linguists H. and R. Hershberger.

All of the speakers with whom I had contact (about two-thirds of the community) are competent in both Yalanji and Nyungkul, and all but the oldest speakers are also relatively fluent in

\textsuperscript{1)} H. and R. Hershberger (1982:v) estimate the total of Kuku Yalanji speakers as 500-600.
English. According to my observation, although I have not done a systematic investigation of this, the main medium of communication among Aborigines is the native language. A form of pidgin or creole is also in use. Typical pidgin features that I noticed are: suffix -im on English transitive verb roots, e.g. put-im, chuck-im; suffix -bala on adjectives, e.g. that dead-bala (sic) that dead person, flash-bala distinguished (a slightly derogatory term); 'blonga' or 'bla' to indicate possession, e.g. 'car blonga/bla Cedric' Cedric's car; and lexical items 'too much' and 'big mob' for a lot, 'savvy' for know. \(^1\) For some older speakers this is the only way to communicate with white Australians; but Aborigines of any age group may use it among themselves or when speaking to whites with whom they have an informal relationship. In formal communication with white Australians (e.g. school teacher, nurse, manager) those who are able to will use standard English.

1.1.5 Previous investigations

Cursory investigations of several languages obviously belonging to Kuku Yalanji have been preserved from the earliest period of European settlement in the area between the 1870s and about 1900. Word lists varying in length and quality are available for tribes living around the headwaters of the Hodgkinson, Mitchell and Walsh Rivers, presumably speakers of Wakura (Richards 1924, Mowbray in Curr 1886, Davidson in Curr 1886). Vocabularies from

\(^1\) For a detailed discussion of Cape York Creole, see Crowley and Rigsby 1979.
the inhabitants of Weary Bay and the Bloomfield River valley were collected by Hislop (in Mathew 1899), Hughes (in Curr 1886) and missionary Hoerlein (unpublished, presumably around 1900). Hislop, one of the first settlers in the Bloomfield River valley and a sensitive observer of the Aborigines (cf. Roth 1901) provided an excellent word list which agrees closely with the present data for Yalanji and Nyungkul. Hoerlein's vocabulary with about 550 entries is also of good quality and concurs with present data from the area.

Schmidt, in his Die Gliederung der Australischen Sprachen, (1919), used Hislop and Hughes as sources, calling the language Bulponarra, which is the first of the ten names for Weary Bay tribes recorded by Hughes. (Lanyon-Orgill (1962) gives a list of 50 words of the "Bulponara language", allegedly collected prior to 1801; however, like much of Lanyon-Orgill's other work, this list is somewhat suspect.)

Except for some brief investigation of a (presumably) inland dialect by Tindale in the 1930s, no further research of the Kuku Yalanji language was undertaken for almost sixty years. Dixon and Hale collected some material in the early '60s, and an in-depth study of Yalanji and Nyungkul, the only remaining dialects with a homogeneous speech community, began in 1961 when H. and R. Hershberger of the Summer Institute of Linguistics settled on the Bloomfield River. Subsequently sketches of the following aspects of Yalanji/Nyungkul were published by H. and R. Hershberger between 1964 and 1982 (for details see bibliography): pronouns, nominal and verbal morphology, structure of noun phrases, clauses and sentences, two clitics, stress patterns (all using the tagmemics approach), and in 1982 a two-way dictionary with close to 2000 entries, some
exemplary sentences and a very brief non-technical grammatical outline. Several of these publications had been prepared after only six months of fieldwork and are inevitably sketchy and subject to some misinterpretations.

W. and L. Oates, also of SIL, published notes on phonology, pronouns and cultural background, as well as a two-way vocabulary with about 1000 entries in 1964, apparently after only two months of research. The quality of the vocabulary leaves something to be desired, particularly the representation of verbs, which are often not listed as roots but indiscriminately in different inflectional forms.

1.1.6 Material for this study

The previous work by Hershberger and Oates has been used as a starting point for this study and has been amended where indicated.

My personal investigation of the Yalanji and Nyungkul dialects as presented here is based on a collection of 34 tapes containing 85 texts, from about one to fifteen minutes in length, and copious elicited material, not all of which is recorded on tape. (Tapes and written material are deposited with the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies in Canberra.) Further insight into the language was gained from listening to and/or taking part in casual conversations.

Almost all of my data was gathered from speakers of the Bloomfield River community where I spent about 10 months of fieldwork on four trips during 1979-1981, becoming an active participant in community life. A small portion of data was collected from
Yalanji and Nyungkul speakers living in Mossman and from a speaker of an inland dialect, presumably Kuku Yalaja, living at Mareeba.

In the Bloomfield River community I worked mostly with a "permanent staff" of five Yalanji and Nyungkul speakers in the age group between 45 and 65. These speakers proved to be most reliable both in their linguistic competence and ability to express language intuitions, and their wealth of traditional knowledge.

1.2 THE CULTURE OF THE KUKU YALANJI

One can assume that there was "reasonable" cultural homogeneity in the area specified for the Kuku Yalanji language (cf. Anderson 1980:78). However, post-contact history took a dramatically different course in the western and eastern parts of this territory and first-hand information on cultural background is almost exclusively confined to the eastern speakers of Kuku Yalanji who represent a still largely intact community.

1.2.1 Cultural Background

This subsection can be no more than a cursory account of some aspects of Kuku Yalanji culture. In concentrating on a few salient features I intend to illustrate the extent to which Yalanji and Nyungkul speakers have maintained their traditional life.1)

1) Unless otherwise indicated, the details presented in this subsection are based on my own observation and information from members of the Yalanji/Nyungkul community. For more detailed discussions of social and particularly economic patterns, see Anderson 1979 and 1980.
(i) Tribal groups and names

The language name may be used in unchanged form to refer to its speakers, e.g. nyulu Kuku Yalanji 'he is a Kuku Yalanji (speaker)'.

As is characteristic of Australian Aborigines, Kuku Yalanji society is closely associated with the land "to which they belong". Thus a distinction is made between six groups or "mobs" which "were and are identified with particular territorial tracts focussed more or less on river drainage areas" (Anderson 1980:78). The eastern Yalanji speakers are known today as the "Bloomfield River mob" and Nyungkul speakers as the "Annan River mob". Members of different "mobs" used to congregate for ceremonies or when a particular food was abundant in a certain area. They still do so today for festivities that are either arranged spontaneously or are linked to the European calendar, such as Christmas.

Within each "mob" there are several descent groups associated with "patrilineally inherited relatively boundary specific 'countries' or bubu" (Anderson ibid). These groups are known by the name of their "country", e.g. banabila-warra 'inhabitants of Banabila (near the mouth of the Bloomfield River)', or wujalwujal-warra 'inhabitants of Wujalwujal (the present mission site)' (cf. Hughes' list of tribal names for Weary Bay). The descent group is obliged to care for and maintain their "country", which usually contains one or more sites of spiritual or mythological significance. These sites are called yirmbal 'story place'.

1) I was unable to ascertain the names for such larger territory "mobs" in pre-contact times.
An overall distinction which encompasses "mobs" and descent groups is made according to ecological features of the territory, e.g. majaji with rainforest versus ngalkalji with open woodland for rainforest and woodland dwellers, and jalunji with sea versus bana yiralji with fresh water for seashore and river dwellers.

(ii) Personal names

All members of the Bloomfield River community now have English Christian names and surnames. Most, if not all, people over about 50 years of age also have Aboriginal names, but they are very reticent about disclosing them and people are very rarely called by their native name. Only some native language nicknames are in general use, e.g. jina-baji sore foot for a person who had his foot injured by a stonefish when a young boy.

(iii) Social structure and marriage

Each Yalanji and Nyungkul speaker belongs to one of two moieties: walarr with the main totem birrmba white cockatoo and dabu with the main totem kumurrbina black cockatoo (cf. W. and L. Oates 1964).

A correct marriage partner is a classificatory cross cousin from the opposite moiety, and children belong to the same moiety as their father. Owing to an overall decrease in number of the Kuku Yalanji people and earlier interference by missionaries, as well as a somewhat more liberal point of view among the majority of the younger generation (but by no means all of them), it is not always possible nowadays for a "right" marriage to be arranged. However, if a marriage turns out not to be a happy one, this is generally blamed on the fact that the partners are not "right" according to tradition.
Formerly, a man could have as many wives as he could support, bearing in mind that he also had to provide to some extent for his in-laws.

Each family member had an intrinsic right to a particular portion of the available food which ensured that provision was made for those who could not fend for themselves, such as the elderly or sick. This convention of obligatory sharing has been extended to money supplies as well and is still adhered to in the present community (but unfortunately it is now often subject to abuse, according to my informants.)

The relationship between a man and his mother-in-law was and is subject to total avoidance, that is they may not speak to each other or even be in the same room. Less strict taboos apply to other in-law relationships, where the persons concerned may converse but not, for instance, touch each other. These taboos have created some problems in the present running of the community, since for instance the local bulimam (policemen) will refuse to take, say, a drunken father-in-law into custody, and a mother- or son-in-law will miss out on her or his "old age pensioner meal", because they cannot be together in the room where the meals are served.

There is evidence that an avoidance language was formerly used among certain in-law relations, although it is not clear to which relationships this applied. The last person to know this avoidance style died over ten years ago and no records of this speech style exist. 1)

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1) In the closely related language Guugu Yimidhirr an avoidance speech style is still used between brothers-in-law. A description of this can be found in Haviland (1979a, 1979b). However, it would be mere conjecture to assume that the Kuku Yalanji avoidance style was in any way similar.
(iv) Food

Kuku Yalanji territory on the whole has ample food resources, but particularly the rain forest region and coastal strip provided abundant and reliable food supplies, such as fruit and nuts (e.g. bush cherry, blue quandong, wild apple, figs, zamia nut, Moreton Bay chestnut), roots (e.g. yams and wild ginger), wild honey, smaller mammals (e.g. possums and bandicoot), birds and eggs (e.g. scrub hen, cassowary, Torres Strait pigeon), goannas, pythons (poisonous snakes were not eaten), fresh- and saltwater varieties of turtles, fish, and shellfish, crustaceans and insects (e.g. green ant, witchetty grub) (cf. Anderson 1979, Roth 1901).

Fish, shellfish, turtles and scrub hen eggs as well as some plant foods are still in relatively good supply today and are frequently obtained to supplement the European diet (cf. Anderson 1980). A new "natural" food resource is mangoes and wild pigs, whereas cassowaries, native mammals and pythons have all but disappeared since the advent of the introduced poisonous cane toad in the area.

Preparation of some plant foods, such as zamia nut and hairy yam required elaborate preparation, including roasting, pounding into flour and subsequent leaching in water for several hours (cf. Roth ibid). In the case of zamia nut, leaching is required to extract the poisonous substance, whereas hairy yam needs to be soaked in water to remove the unpleasant taste. Such labour-intensive foods are rarely prepared today; they have been replaced by white bread and damper.

Meat and fish used to be roasted in a ground oven between hot stones and various types of leaves (cf. Roth ibid; also Text 51 in the appendix) and this is still a popular and tasty way of cooking,
particularly for freshwater eels, during "walkabout" expeditions. Boiling in a bark trough or a large shell was a traditional mode of cooking food in the Bloomfield River region but apparently unknown anywhere else in North Queensland (see Roth ibid).

Cannibalism was not unknown among the Kuku Yalanji, but was only practised when people were driven by hunger. The victim was not killed for the particular purpose, but was eaten after death by natural causes or in a fight. As Roth reports (ibid p30):

"...there was no special distinguishing term for cannibalism, which had no special ceremony attached to it, was not confined to any particular members of the tribe, and was only resorted to when compelled by hunger. There was, however, one instance recorded here [in the Bloomfield River District] where the natives ate the killed on the battle field, both sides joining in the repast, and subsequently resuming the fight."

On the Palmer River, where the huge influx of European and Chinese miners during the goldrush quickly destroyed woodland, rivers and waterholes and with them the resources of game and fish, the Aborigines were soon forced to find alternative food supplies in the form of the miners' animals and selves. Stories of cannibalism on the Palmer River abound and my informant Charlie Tayley was able to tell me (from hearsay) that Chinese were regarded as better eating than Europeans and that a slain enemy was further utilised by fashioning his skull into a billycan (cf. Anderson and Mitchell 1982).

(v) Artefacts

Different types of dillybags and traditional hunting weapons such as fish and turtle spears are still made and used today, but metal has replaced the traditional materials for spear prongs and hooks.
(vi) Medicine

Minor ailments were and largely still are treated with "bush medicine", such as yangka *green ant (juice)* for fever, colds, stomach upsets, or poultices from stewed bark of kabal *Leichhardt tree* or leaves of jujubala *ironwood tree* applied to a limb for rheumatic pain. In severe or chronic cases of illness the 'rrunyuji' or 'murri doctor' was called upon. He would extract "by magic" a "thing", usually a stingray barb or in later times a marble, from the patient's body. This "thing" was believed to be the cause of the illness and the patient was expected to get better after its removal. One of my informants claimed that some years ago she had been cured in this way from an abdominal complaint after unsuccessful treatment by European doctors. A "murri doctor" with such healing powers is said to live in Cooktown today and may still be consulted as a last resort if western medicine does not bring about the desired result. For minor illnesses and generally feeling "crook", the home remedy is often tried first before consulting the nursing sister at the clinic.

(vii) Taboos

Taboos applying to in-law relationships have been mentioned in (iii) above.

Food, either from certain places or obtained by particular family members, may also be subject to taboo. Any game or fish from the north-eastern part of Weary Bay, for instance, is believed to bring about severe illness and must not be eaten. My informants repeatedly warned me against fishing in this area, illustrating their argument with examples of cancer and paralysis that had befallen both Aborigines and white settlers that had not heeded this taboo.
Food collected by a family member is taboo to certain siblings. For instance, a woman is not supposed to eat meat or fish obtained by her younger brother, and a man should not eat certain plant foods and eggs gathered by his younger sister. This rule is still largely observed, whereas another taboo that forbade certain types of game for children and adolescents does not apply any more. (As one of my informants put it: "The old people just wanted to keep the best food for themselves").

Mention of the name of a deceased person was proscribed totally in former times for as long as the body was decomposing. (The corpse was wrapped in bark and placed in a tree under which a fire was maintained until "only the bones were left". These were then carried around for a while by family members before being buried.) During the decomposition period the name was replaced by the substitute term 'ngalba' in reference to the deceased as well as living persons with the same name.1) Nowadays, the substitute term plus the name, e.g., ngalba Ivy, is generally used, whereas family members refer to the deceased only by the kinship term. A recently deceased person is talked about as little as possible and tape recordings, for instance, of such a person must on no account be listened to.

(viii) Other customs and beliefs

Initiation practices such as piercing of the nasal septum, front tooth extraction and "marking" with cicatrices have gradually

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1) The use of a particular word that is reserved for the sole purpose of substituting a tabooed name is attested only for central Australia, western Queensland and Cape York Peninsula. For a discussion of this strategy in central Australia, see Nash and Simpson (1981).
been discontinued over the last fifty years or so, incidentally much to the relief of those people who just managed to avoid such painful operations in their youth.

Persistent offenders, e.g. thieves or breakers of sexual or other taboos, used to be speared, sometimes even to death according to the severity of their crime.

A common "magic" practice was the kanyil 'curse song'. (The last (reported) kanyil was performed about 45 years ago.) If a person was wronged by someone else, for instance in cases of adultery, he would "sing" the offender(s), which was believed to ultimately bring about the culprit's death (cf. Oates 1964).

A person's death generally was thought to be caused by sorcery. It was believed that the dead person's clothes would attract the "spirit" of the sorcerer. This spirit could only be seen by the 'rrunyuji' who would hold watch until the murderer's spirit appeared. Once the murderer was identified, the dead person's family had the duty to avenge their relation by spearing. (Oates (1964) report a different way of detection by pointing a stick.) This type of magic and punitive measure has not been practised for many years, but I do not know whether this is due to the fact that the Kuku Yalanji do not believe any more that death is caused by sorcery, or because serious repercussions can be expected under Western law for the lynch-type punishment of an alleged sorcerer/murderer.

A source of great fear even today are thunderstorms which usually begin in early November and increase in frequency and intensity until the beginning of the wet season at about the end of December. Some actions are thought to bring about a thunderstorm,
e.g. trespassing on a sacred site. Certain practices were and are believed to drive away the storm, such as burning ironwood leaves or turtle skin.

Some "messenger" birds are accorded great importance, as for instance wakuka *kookaburra*, who is thought to herald the death of a family member and causes great concern for the people closest to whom he cries out.

One of the spirit beliefs still adhered to, is that 'wuyngkul', the spirit of a sick person close to death, moves about intent on mischief such as causing accidents or sudden pain. He is visible to specially gifted people and will disappear again on the death or improvement in health of the sick person. During my stays on the Bloomfield River several older people attributed minor accidents or pains to a 'wuyngkul' that was thought to be abroad (usually in hindsight after news had arrived of the death of a known person).

Creation myths of Yalanji and Nyungkul speakers centre around mythical beings which have become associated with certain geographical features. Some of these are *kija moon* who created women at kijandaku *Roaring Meg Falls*, *kurriyala carpet snake* who died and is buried at mangkal *Cedar Bay*, *ngurrku mopoke* and *bajabaja blue tongue lizard* whose eggs hatched in the Bloomfield River bed, which was dry at the time, and later turned into two prominent rocks in the river. The origin of all rivers and creeks in the area is thought to be the amniotic fluid of one of two sisters who gave birth on ngalbabulal *Mt Pieter Botte*, about half-way between Bloomfield and Daintree.
A spirit which is associated with one particular Yalanji family clan is 'wadalwadala', a water spirit with female body and fishtail, living in a spring in the Thompson Creek valley. It will not suffer trespassers on its site, but tolerates members of the family who rightly belong there and who may use the spring water that is believed to have healing powers.

These and other beliefs and myths are not readily communicated to outsiders, following a history of ridicule and scorn from missionaries and other Europeans. However, to the sensitive observer it is clear that these beliefs, particularly those relating to spirits with territorial protective powers, are still very much present in the mind of the Yalanji and Nyungkul people and are an important part of their world view, which has been maintained underneath a veneer of western "enlightenment". (cf. W. and L. Oates 1964.)

1.2.2 Recent history

The earliest mention of Aborigines in Weary Bay was made by the explorers Cook (1770) and King (1819 and 1821) who noticed signs of habitation such as campfires and canoes, but saw no people. The first inland explorer William Hann visited the Bloomfield region in 1872 and reported several encounters with Aborigines which were generally friendly.

From 1873, with the discovery of gold on the Palmer River and later tin in the Annan River region, European migration into Kuku Yalanji territory increased suddenly and dramatically, but its impact was markedly different on the eastern and western tribal groups.
West of the Great Dividing Range where the Palmer River and Hodgkinson goldfields attracted thousands of Europeans and Chinese miners, the Kuku Yalanji fought a fierce but losing battle for their lives. Alluvial gold mining in the rivers deprived them of their supplies of water and fish, and game resources were quickly depleted by the environmental impact of the sudden huge alien population with their horses and cattle. Hostile encounters predictably resulted in the death of large numbers of Aborigines and the few successful attacks by the natives had no significant effect other than leading to punitive measures by the Europeans. The open country afforded little protection for the Aboriginal population, who were soon reduced to a few remnants.

East of the Great Dividing Range the Aborigines stood a much better chance of survival for two reasons: firstly, the main attraction of gold was lacking in this region and the influx of Europeans was very slight compared to the Palmer River area. Secondly, the rugged mountainous country covered with virtually impenetrable rainforest prohibited any significant spread of European population while at the same time providing the Aborigines with reliable water supplies, largely undisturbed food resources and, not least, possibilities for concealment. As Anderson states (1979:34):

"Because of the relative isolation of the Bloomfield River district and due to its extremely rugged terrain and dense vegetation, encounters between Aboriginal people and white settlers were minimal and of a relatively peaceful nature", and (ibid:36):
"Due to the nature of the Bloomfield terrain and the types of European activity there, Aborigines could more or less control the amount of interaction they had with whites".

In the late 1880s there were about 1200 Europeans in the area between the Annan and Daintree River, mostly tin miners, but also Red Cedar loggers, and settlers involved in agricultural enterprises such as sugar, tobacco and coffee plantations. None of these encroached significantly on Aboriginal territory.

Relations between Aborigines and Europeans in this area gradually developed into some form of mutual assistance. Europeans recognised a source of cheap labour in the Aborigines and the latter in turn were quite partial to the commodities that they received as payment, e.g. tobacco, flour, sugar, and tea, and even came to rely to some extent on European food supplies.

Reliance on foreign food developed mainly because Aboriginal males working for Europeans often spent time away from their tribal groups which deprived their families of their main providers of game and fish. To compensate for this, women often agreed to sexual relations with nearby white miners or loggers who would provide them with food for their families. This was usually done with the consent of the aboriginal husbands (cf. Anderson 1979:35).

Later on, bêche-de-mer and pearl shell fishing off the east coast also utilised Aboriginal labour, but recruiting practices for these enterprises were often of a dubious nature. Boys and young men were either kidnapped by white fishers or sold off by older men of their tribes (cf. Anderson 1979:35, J. and L. Haviland 1980:134, Loos 1980).

In 1886 the Queensland Government gazetted a "Reserve for Aborigines" of about 640 acres as well as a hunting reserve of
about 30,000 acres, against the opposition of local settlers who felt that the land could be more gainfully utilised. (An assumption which incidentally was proven wrong by history, since all larger agricultural enterprises in the area failed owing to poor soil and the difficulty of marketing produce because of transport difficulties from this isolated area.)

In 1887 the Lutheran church was given control of the reserve in an attempt to settle and "civilise" the Aborigines through regular employment and schooling, but this attempt failed and the mission was abandoned in 1902. The mission site had proved unsuitable for agriculture and Aborigines never remained on the mission for long, preferring to control their own lives, which was possible partly through traditional subsistence patterns and partly through symbiotic relationship with European settlers, who did not require the commitment that was expected by the missionaries. (There is even evidence that Aborigines, being aware of their own value as labourers, played off the Europeans against each other (Anderson 1979:36).)

For the following fifty years Yalanji and Nyungkul people suffered relatively little interference (compared to other regions in Queensland) from their "protector", the Queensland Government, except that their official territory was gradually reduced to the present 280 acres extending south along the Bloomfield River. Throughout this time Aborigines always slightly outnumbered the European population and continued their assimilation of tribal and European subsistence patterns, congregating in several major camps usually in the vicinity of European settlements. After World War II they moved (not always of their own free will) into the greater
Bloomfield valley where a mission station was reopened in 1956 under the administration of the Queensland Lutheran Mission Board.

Today there are about 250 Aborigines living on and around the mission station, which is situated on the northern bank of the Bloomfield River, about 6 km (as the crow flies) from the river mouth. Two years ago the settlement officially reverted to the tribal name for this site: Wujalwujal. Local management is in the hands of an Aboriginal council of members elected by the community, with a white "manager" acting as consultant and advisor. The community's store and clinic are run by white Australians assisted by Aboriginal employees. Other employment opportunities for Aborigines are in the construction of new houses, as stockmen for the cattle herd that is kept for the community's own consumption, small scale agriculture, as mechanic's assistants and drivers of school bus and ambulance, and as teacher aides in the Bloomfield River State School, as well as labourers for loggers or local settlers. Traditional food supplies still play a major part in the community's diet and some members are solely occupied with obtaining fish, turtles, other seafood and game. (cf. Anderson 1980) By its own choice, Wujalwujal is a "dry" community, that is no alcohol is available on the reserve; but sly grog trading is rife outside its boundaries, resulting in periodic drinking binges by some members of the community. But to date, alcohol has had nowhere near the devastating effect that can be witnessed in urban Aboriginal communities.
1.2.3 Summary

Concluding the observations on cultural background and recent history one can say that, while the western Kuku Yalanji succumbed to the sudden and massive foreign immigration into their territory, contact in the eastern parts progressed more gradually and relatively non-violently. This allowed the native inhabitants, Yalanji and Nyungkul, the opportunity to assess and adopt those aspects of European civilisation that appeared desirable and to slowly adjust to the western lifestyle while at the same time maintaining to a large extent their cultural integrity based on traditional values, beliefs and subsistence patterns.
CHAPTER TWO

PHONOLOGY

2.1 PHONEME INVENTORY

Kuku Yalanji has an inventory of sixteen segmental phonemes, consisting of thirteen consonants and three vowels, which is one of the smallest phoneme inventories found in Australian languages.

2.1.1 Consonants

Kuku Yalanji consonants are shown in Table 2.1 represented by IPA symbols as well as the letters used by H. and R. Hershberger in their practical orthography for Kuku Yalanji, which will be used throughout this thesis.

The practical orthography devised by the Hershbergers has been taught in a vernacular program in the Bloomfield River State School for several years. There are also a number of SIL publications being read in the community that contain narratives written in this orthography. For these reasons I feel obliged to adopt the symbols that Kuku Yalanji speakers are already familiar with in my description of Kuku Yalanji grammar. However, I have made two changes in the spelling of some words. The Hershbergers do not distinguish between final n and ny, representing both sounds as n, because they wanted to avoid confusion with the English spelling and pronunciation of final ny as in many. But since final n and ny are clearly distinct (see minimal pairs further on in this sub-section) I do use both symbols word-finally. I also represent final y after vowel i (see 2.5.2).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>apico-</th>
<th>post-</th>
<th>lamino-</th>
<th>dorso-</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bilabial</td>
<td>alveolar</td>
<td>alveolar</td>
<td>palatal</td>
<td>velar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stop</td>
<td>b [b/p]</td>
<td>d [d/t]</td>
<td>j [j/c]</td>
<td>k [g/k]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasal</td>
<td>m [m]</td>
<td>n [n]</td>
<td>ny [ŋ]</td>
<td>ng [ŋ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lateral</td>
<td>l [l]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rhotic</td>
<td>rr [r]</td>
<td>r [z]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(retroflex)</td>
<td>1)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semivowel</td>
<td>w [w]</td>
<td></td>
<td>y [j]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Stops and nasals in Kuku Yalanji include two peripheral (or non-coronal) series, bilabial and dorso-velar, one apical series and one laminal series. Bilabial stops and nasals are made simply with the lips. The apical series involves the tip of the tongue touching the alveolar ridge as for English d and n. Stop /d/ may be realised intervocalically as a tap and some speakers have occasionally even been recorded as using a trill [r] in this position. Two words where a trill instead of stop /d/ has been used with some consistency among certain speakers are:

karray (kaday)  *come*
barriy (badiy)  *cry*

In a vocabulary list compiled by missionary Hoerlein around the turn of the century the word 'come' is clearly recorded with a stop: katay. ('Cry' is not included in this list.) On the other hand, note that cognates for 'come' and 'cry' in Dyabugay, the southern neighbour of Kuku Yalanji, both contain a trill: karray, barriy

1) cf. Ladefoged (1975) Consonant Chart facing back cover
(Patz 1978), whereas Yidiny, Dyabugay's close genetic relative, has badi- and gada- (Dixon 1977a), and Guugu Yimidhirr, to the North of Kuku Yalanji, has baadhi- with a lamino-dental stop, and gadaa- (Haviland 1979). The trill variant of /d/ in Kuku Yalanji has been recorded most consistently among speakers who grew up or still live in Mossman, the traditional boundary area, where speakers of both Kuku Yalanji and Dyabugay had been moved together onto a mission station. Thus it may be possible that Dyabugay pronunciation has had some influence on these cognates in Kuku Yalanji. On the other hand, and I regard this as the more likely possibility, /d/ and /rr/ could be merging in intervocalic position in Kuku Yalanji. Tap [r] (see below) is an allophone of both stop /d/ and trill /rr/ in intervocalic position in present day Kuku Yalanji. The next stage could be the reinterpretation of intervocalic [r] as trill, a phonetic change which may already have been completed in Dyabugay.

Laminal stop and nasal, /j/ and /ny/ are produced by placing the blade of the tongue against the hard palate. The laminal stop is usually realised as an affricate in all environments.

Dorso-velar consonants are realised by the back of the tongue being raised against the soft palate as for English g/k, and ng as in sing.

The following minimally distinct words illustrate the phonemic status of stops and nasals in different places of articulation:

**Stops**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stops</th>
<th>Word, language</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bilabial bubu</td>
<td>land, place</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>apico-alveolar dudu</td>
<td>blunt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lamino-palatal juju</td>
<td>bum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dorso-velar kuku</td>
<td>word, language</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Nasals

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nasal Type</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bilabial</td>
<td>bama</td>
<td>Aborigine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>apico-alveolar</td>
<td>bana</td>
<td>water</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>jalban</td>
<td>tree top</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nandal</td>
<td>close, cover</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>labio-palatal</td>
<td>jalbany</td>
<td>taboo food</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nyandal</td>
<td>chop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dorso-velar</td>
<td>ngandal</td>
<td>mouth</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Stops are always unaspirated and there is no phonemic distinction between voiced and voiceless stops. There is a general tendency for stops to be voiced intervocalically and in consonant clusters following l-, retroflex r- and nasals, while in other positions they may be voiceless.

Like other languages east of the Gulf of Carpentaria (Dixon 1980:143) Kuku Yalanji has only one lateral, apico-alveolar /l/, which is pronounced with the tip of the tongue touching the alveolar ridge. After vowels /a/ and /u/ the lateral is slightly velarised, producing a darker lateral sound similar to [/slick] in English table, e.g. kalal [l] vine
but milbil [l] show

The two rhotics in Kuku Yalanji are distinguished by place and manner of articulation. For trill /rr/ the tip of the tongue vibrates against the alveolar ridge while the retroflex continuant /r/ is produced by slightly turning back the tip of the tongue and approaching the roof of the mouth with the under-side of the tongue tip. Its pronunciation is similar to the continuant in American bird but without lip rounding. Trill /rr/ is usually reduced to a tap [r] in intervocalic position in normal speech (but not in citation forms), whereas it is clearly trilled in other positions,
e.g. marra [ɾ] or [r]  *namia nut*
    jirray [ɾ] or [r]  *much, plenty*
but ngurrku [ɾ]  *owl*
    ngulkurr [ɾ]  *good.*

The following minimal pairs illustrate the phonemic status of both rhotics and the lateral:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Malal</th>
<th>malar</th>
<th>maral</th>
<th>mararr</th>
<th>marral</th>
<th>karrarr</th>
<th>karrar</th>
<th>kararr</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>spider</td>
<td>gooseflesh</td>
<td>girl</td>
<td>sail</td>
<td>dry</td>
<td>seaweed</td>
<td>species of bird</td>
<td>grass, blanket to lie on</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Kuku Yalanji phoneme inventory also contains the two semivowels labial-velar /w/ and palatal /y/. While semivowel /w/ and vowel /u/ on the one hand and semivowel /y/ and vowel /i/ on the other hand are regarded as articulatory identical pairs, semivowel and vowel are distinguished by duration. A vowel has continuing articulation, whereas a semivowel is characterised by momentary articulation which is produced by a quick movement towards and/or away from the corresponding vowel-type stricture (Catford 1977:131, 165). Semivowel /w/ before or after vowel /u/ is acoustically distinct from the vowel, due to a higher degree of lip rounding and presumably also a narrowing of the cross-section between the articulators in the velar region. Semivowel /y/ before or after vowel /i/ is distinct from the vowel only by a narrowing of the articulatory cross-section by raising the anterodorsal part of the tongue.

(Strictly speaking, semivowel y is not a lamino-palatal sound, since
a section of the tongue just behind the blade area is involved in articulation. However, to distinguish /y/ from apical and dorsal consonants, I have included it in the lamino-palatal column in the consonant chart.)

Initial /y/ before vowel /i/ or /a/ may be dropped (that is the vowel may be pronounced without the initial onglide) and younger speakers, up to about 20 years of age, have even been recorded as substituting glottal stop for /y/ in this position. Thus there are three alternative pronunciations for words beginning with y followed by /i/ or /a/, e.g.

yinya, inya, ?inya  that
yanyu, anyu, ?anyu  this

Semivowel /y/ after /i/ word finally or before another consonant is always deleted (see 2.5.2).

Initial /w/ before /a/ is clearly pronounced (there are no examples of initial /w/ before /i/), whereas initial /w/ before /u/ may be dropped, giving the two alternatives:

wunba, unba  English bee,

but no glottal stop has been recorded in this position in place of /w/.

2.1.2 Vowels

Kuku Yalanji has the common Australian inventory of three vowels: /a/, /u/ and /i/. As is characteristic for Australian vowels, they have 'pure' articulation and are never diphthongised in any way. There is no phonemic distinction of vowel length as in the neighbouring languages Dyabugay and Guugu Yimidhirr. Generally, vowels in Kuku
Yalanji could be classified as short, with slightly longer allophones occurring in word final position.

While some Australian languages with the same vowel system allow each vowel a fairly wide range of phonetic realisation (cf. Dixon 1980: 130) Kuku Yalanji vowels show only little variation in different environments. Figure 2.1 shows the range of vowel realisation in Kuku Yalanji with * marking the approximate place of articulation on the major allophone.

In my description of Kuku Yalanji vowels I follow the traditional vowel classification which is based on a corelation of highest point of the tongue and shaping of the lips as represented in stylised form in the vowel quadrilateral (O'Connor 1973, Ladefoged 1975, Catford 1977).

FIGURE 2.1 RANGE OF PHONETIC REALISATIONS OF KUKU YALANJI VOWELS
The major allophone of vowel /a/ is more central and slightly higher than cardinal vowel /a/. Before velar consonants, lateral /l/, retroflex rhotic /r/ and semivowel /w/ it is pronounced a little further back, whereas before laminal consonants and semivowel /y/ it is slightly fronted and raised.

The major allophone of vowel /i/ is less high and less front than cardinal vowel /i/ and is pronounced with spread lips. Before velar consonants, bilabial nasal /m/, lateral /l/ and retroflex rhotic /r/ it is lowered somewhat and pronounced in a more central position with less lip spreading.

The major allophone of vowel /u/ is more fronted and lowered than cardinal vowel /u/ and is pronounced with distinct lip rounding. It tends to be lowered in the same environment where /i/ is lowered, and is more fronted before palatal consonants, but distinct lip rounding applies throughout.

2.2 PHONOTACTICS

The majority of Kuku Yalanji roots are disyllabic. Except for three monosyllabic interjections there are no monosyllabic roots. In a word list of 1340 roots there are 1055 disyllabic and 200

---

1) This word list is based on two sources: the large majority of entries were elicited by myself and a smaller number of lexical items is taken from the word list by W. and L. Oates (1964) and an unpublished preliminary word list by H. and R. Hershberger (early 1960s). Items from these lists were only included in my data after thorough checking with informants. The dictionary published by H. and R. Hershberger in 1982 has not been taken into account for this study, since I had no opportunity of checking items that are so far unknown to me.
trisyllabic roots, 81 roots with four syllables, and 4 roots with five syllables. All roots begin with a consonant and end in a consonant or a vowel. Thus the structure of Kuku Yalanji roots can be formalised as follows:

$$C_1 (V C_2^n V (C_3) \text{ where } n \geq 1$$

### 2.2.1 Possibility of Occurrence

The following vowels and consonants can occur in the different phonotactic positions in Kuku Yalanji root structure:

- $V$ can be any vowel.
- $C_1$ must be a single consonant and can be any stop, nasal or semivowel, i.e., b, d, j, k, m, n, ny, ng, w, y. (see Figure 2.2) One word with initial rhotic rr has been recorded, rrnyuji wise man with magic powers. This word could perhaps have been part of a ceremonial speech style for which there is no more evidence today. For such speech styles in Australian languages phonological patterns that are different from the everyday language are not unheard of, although they are uncommon (see Dixon 1980:60).
- $C_2$ must be a single consonant and can be a non-peripheral nasal, the lateral, either rhotic or the lamino-palatal semi-vowel, i.e., n, ny, l, rr, r, y. (see Figure 2.2)

**FIGURE 2.2 INITIAL AND FINAL CONSONANTS IN KUKU YALANJI**

```
  b  d  j  k
  m  n  ny  ng

  l  rr  r

  w  y

C_1   C_3 ....
```
$C_2$ can be:

(i) any single consonant,

or a cluster of two or three consonants. These may be:

(ii) a homorganic nasal/stop sequence, i.e., mb, nd, nyj, ngk;

(iii) apico-alveolar nasal /n/ plus: a non-apical stop, or a peripheral nasal, i.e., nb, nj, nk, nm, nng;

(iv) semi-vowel /y/ plus: a non-apical stop, or a bilabial nasal, or a peripheral homorganic nasal/stop sequence, i.e., yb, yj, yk, ym, ymb, yngk;

(v) lateral /l/ plus: a non-apical stop, or a peripheral nasal, or a homorganic non-apical nasal/stop sequence, i.e., lb, lj, lm, lng, lmb, lnyj, lngk;

(vi) trilled rhotic /rr/ plus: a peripheral stop, or a peripheral nasal, or a homorganic peripheral nasal/stop sequence, i.e., rrb, rrk, rrm, rrng, rrmb, rrngk;

(vii) retroflex rhotic /r/ plus: a peripheral stop, or a non-palatal nasal, or a homorganic non-palatal nasal/stop sequence, i.e., rb, rk, rm, rn, rng, rmb, rrd, rngk.

TABLE 2.2 HETERORGANIC CONSONANT CLUSTERS IN KUKU YALANJI

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>nb</th>
<th>nj</th>
<th>nk</th>
<th>nm</th>
<th>nng</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yb</td>
<td>yj</td>
<td>yk</td>
<td>ym</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ymb</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>yngk</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lb</td>
<td>lj</td>
<td>lk</td>
<td>lm</td>
<td>lng</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lmb</td>
<td>lnyj</td>
<td>lngk</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rrb</td>
<td>(?)</td>
<td>rrk</td>
<td>rrm</td>
<td>rrng</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rrm</td>
<td>rrng</td>
<td>rrmb</td>
<td>(?)</td>
<td>rrngk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rb</td>
<td>(?)</td>
<td>rk</td>
<td>rm</td>
<td>rng</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rng</td>
<td>rmb</td>
<td>rnd</td>
<td>(?)</td>
<td>rngk</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Clusters /rn/ and /rnd/ stand out from the general pattern of consonant clusters in Kuku Yalanji (see Table 2.2) and there are only one and two occurrences respectively which are:

- murnil: stir, twist
- warndiy: get up from sitting or lying position
- kurndal: sink in mud or water.

Cluster /rnd/ has been attested once in Dyabugay, south of Kuku Yalanji, (barndil 'child'), but no example of /rn/ is known for Dyabugay. Neither cluster exists in Yidiny and Dyirbal, further south (Dixon 1977:35, 1972:272-3), but they are present among the possibilities for consonant clusters in Guugu Yimidhirr to the North of Kuku Yalanji. However, these clusters do have some inherent problems in Guugu Yimidhirr in that /rn/ may be pronounced as either a cluster of distinct sounds or as a single retroflex nasal, and /rnd/ as either a sequence of rhotic plus apical nasal and stop, or as retroflex nasal followed by retroflex stop, apparently in free variation (see Haviland 1979:37, 40; Dixon 1980:164). Apparently there are no cognates in Guugu Yimidhirr for the Kuku Yalanji words containing these clusters (Haviland, unpublished word list February 1981) which makes borrowing from Guugu Yimidhirr into Kuku Yalanji appear unlikely. A more plausible assumption would be that these clusters are an, albeit weak, areal feature in the three languages north of Cairns.

Clusters /yng/ and /ynyj/ (marked '?') for which no examples have been attested, could reasonably be expected to exist in Kuku Yalanji according to the general pattern and their absence here may just be accidental gaps in a relatively short word list of only 1340 roots. The gaps marked by (?), on the other hand, are so symmetrical as to suggest the general rule that a rhotic may not be followed by a
palatal consonant in Kuku Yalanji. This would represent a special feature of Kuku Yalanji, since northern and southern neighbouring languages do allow such sequences.

Possibilities for intermorphemic consonant clusters are less restricted than those for intramorphemic clusters. Thus in reduplicated forms, compounds, and some inflected forms we can find clusters across the root boundary that cannot occur within the root, i.e. combinations of $C_3$ and $C_1$. For instance:

**Reduplicated forms**:
- walbulwalbul *butterfly*
- dakaldakal *trochus shell*
- nurilnuril *keep looking inside*

**Compounds**:
- miyil-dandi *sleepless* (literally: eye-hard)
- julbarr-warriy *slip* (literally: slippery-run)

Compounds are defined as such because they inflect as a whole, have primary stress on the first syllable (see 2.6.1) and no other morpheme such as a clitic or particle can be inserted between the two parts. Therefore the above examples can be regarded as one word, although I hyphenise analysable compounds for clarity.

Inflected nominal forms showing further clusters are:
- dambalda *boot-INST'*
- manyarrda *wife-ERG'*

On the other hand, most inflected forms avoid any kind of consonant cluster across the morpheme boundary by inserting a vowel between a root-final consonant and the inflection, e.g.
- bama-ngka *Aborigine-ERG'*
- maral-angka *girl-ERG'*
- bama-nda *Aborigine-LOC'*
- maral-anda *girl-LOC'*
One restriction on intermorphemic consonant clusters is that Kuku Yalanji does not allow geminate consonants, so that a cluster of two identical consonants is reduced to one consonant. For instance, in the reduplication of y-conjugation verbs consonant /n/ is inserted between the roots (see 3.8.5.5(ii)). If the root begins with /n/, the resulting cluster /nn/ is reduced to single /n/, e.g.

\text{nuka-n-nuka-ji-y} \quad \textit{keep eating (itr)}

\rightarrow \text{nuka-nuka-ji-y}.

Bound morphemes, i.e. inflections, derivations and clitics, differ in their structure from roots in that they are frequently monosyllabic and may even consist of a single consonant or vowel. Disyllabic bound morphemes conform to the phonotactic occurrence possibilities of roots, whereas monosyllabic bound morphemes show some variation: they may begin with a consonant cluster, e.g. potent ergative -ngkV, potent locative -ndV, and there is one occurrence of morpheme-initial lateral in clitic -lu/-la. (The presence of initial vowel in a bound morpheme, something which is not possible for a root, is conditioned by root-final consonant, e.g. potent ergative -VngkV/C- and should therefore not be regarded as a special feature of bound morphemes that goes against the general phonotactic conventions.)

2.2.2 Probability of Occurrence

The various phonemes of Kuku Yalanji have different relative probability of occurrence, partly depending on the presence of other phonemes within the same word. Occurrence rates for Kuku Yalanji phonemes are based on a lexicon of 1340 roots (excluding the
phonetically unusual form rrunya 'wise man with magic powers').

The relative frequency of the three vowels in Kuku Yalanji is listed in Table 2.3. The percentages in this table show that overall /a/ is more frequent than /u/ which in turn is more frequent than /i/. The relatively higher occurrence of /i/ over /u/ in third and fourth vowel positions can be wholly accounted for by the fact that a number of nominal roots with more than two syllables appear to be fossilised comitative forms ending in -ji, and several verb roots of more than two syllables are reinterpreted roots ending in -rri (see 3.8.3.2 (ii)).

TABLE 2.3 RELATIVE FREQUENCY OF KUKU YALANJI VOWELS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>a</th>
<th>u</th>
<th>i</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>46.6%</td>
<td>35.2%</td>
<td>18.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>54.2%</td>
<td>27.1%</td>
<td>18.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>42.3%</td>
<td>19.8%</td>
<td>37.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4th</td>
<td>61.1%</td>
<td>18.9%</td>
<td>20.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Looking at the distribution of vowels in first and second vowel position of a root, we find that vowels follow each other with either higher or lower frequency than could be expected. For instance, 35.2% of roots have vowel /u/ in first position and 27.1% have /u/ in second position. If there was no association between vowels in first and second position, we would expect 0.352 x 0.271 = 0.095, i.e. 9.5% or 128 roots to have /u/ in both first and second vowel position. In fact, there are 200 roots, or 14.9%, with /u/ as first and second vowel. Thus the actual to expected ratio of /u/ following /u/ is 0.149 / 0.095 = 1.57. In other words, /u/ follows /u/ more often
than expected, and we can say that vowel /u/ has positive association with following vowel /u/. The actual to expected ratio for each vowel co-occurrence is listed in Table 2.4.

**TABLE 2.4 ACTUAL TO EXPECTED RATIO OF VOWEL CO-OCCURRENCE**

**IN FIRST AND SECOND VOWEL POSITION**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>First position</th>
<th>Second position</th>
<th>a</th>
<th>u</th>
<th>i</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>1.13</td>
<td>0.73</td>
<td>0.93</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u</td>
<td>0.79</td>
<td>1.57</td>
<td>0.79</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>1.04</td>
<td>0.59</td>
<td>1.47</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These figures show that each vowel in Kuku Yalanji has highest association with the same vowel and relatively lesser association with any other vowel, as we see in Table 2.5. Note that the markedly highest association is between /u/ and /u/, whereas /i/ has some positive association with /a/, although less than with /i/, but overall the least association with /u/.

**TABLE 2.5 RELATIVE ASSOCIATION BETWEEN VOWELS IN KUKU YALANJI**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>greatest association with</th>
<th>medium association with</th>
<th>least association with</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>a,i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>u</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
This pattern is interesting with regard to the vowel harmony rule for suffixes (see 2.5.1) which requires that /a/ and /i/ be followed by /a/, and /u/ be followed by /u/. It appears that this vowel harmony rule reflects to some extent the general tendency of vowel co-occurrence within roots.\(^1\)

Occurrence rates for initial and final consonants are given in Table 2.6. Final consonants are counted only for non-verbal roots, since all verb roots end in a vowel with the final consonants -y and -l in citation form being conjugation markers. Adjectives and nouns each show a slightly higher rate of consonant-final than vowel-final roots, that is there is no structural difference between adjectives and nouns concerning the final root constituent. Of a total of 1066 noun- and adjective roots, 53% end in a consonant and 47% in a vowel.

It can be seen that more than half of all roots begin with a stop. The most frequent initial segment is k and the least frequent n. Of the 582 roots that end in a consonant more than half show a liquid in final position. Lateral /l/ is overall the most favoured consonant in final position. According to place of articulation, the most frequent consonants root-initially are labials, followed by palatals and velars with equal occurrence rates, the least frequent consonants being alveolars. The latter, however, have the highest occurrence rate root-finally (owing to the high frequency of liquids). Overall the least common initial consonants are non-peripheral nasals,

\(^1\) A similar pattern of weak vowel association within roots can be found in Guugu Yimidhirr (Haviland 1979:39). But Guugu Yimidhirr has no vowel harmony rule for suffixes.
with palatal nasal /ny/ also being quite rare root-finally.

TABLE 2.6 FREQUENCY RATES OF INITIAL AND FINAL CONSONANTS
BY PLACE AND MANNER OF ARTICULATION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>root initial</th>
<th>root final</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lab.</td>
<td>alv.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b</td>
<td>16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>j</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ny</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ng</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rr</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>w</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The distribution of single consonants and consonant clusters in C<sub>2</sub> position shows the following pattern: Liquids and stops /j/ and /k/ occur with highest frequency. Bilabial stop /b/ is the next most common consonant in medial position, followed in frequency by semivowels, bilabial nasal m, apical stop and nasal /d/ and /n/, and velar nasal /ng/ in this order. The least frequent single consonant in C<sub>2</sub> is laminal nasal /ny/. Among 574 occurrences of consonant clusters, homorganic nasal/stop sequences are the most common ones.
with an occurrence rate of 34%. Clusters with the lateral or rhotic /rr/ as first component followed by a peripheral stop are also fairly frequent (26%). All other clusters have an occurrence rate of less than 5%, the least common being /nm/ and /nng/ (twice each), /rn/ (once) and /rnd/ (twice), and /ym/ (twice), (between 0.17 and 0.34%).

On the whole there is no clear association in Kuku Yalanji between a consonant and a following or preceding vowel (unlike in Dyirbal, see Dixon 1972:281-3). The actual occurrence rates for CV and VC combinations generally follow the pattern of expected occurrence rates with only a very slight tendency toward positive association between consonants and vowels that are close in place of articulation and negative association between consonants and vowels that are more distant in articulation. This tendency is most obvious for velar consonants and semivowels. Initial velar stop and nasal /k/ and /ng/ and semivowel /w/ are markedly less often followed by front vowel /i/ than could be expected, whereas semivowel /y/ is markedly less often followed by back round vowel /u/. In these cases the consonant clearly has least association with the vowel that is most distant in articulation and therefore higher association with vowels that are closer in place of articulation. VC sequences /ing/ and /iy/, on the other hand, show a surprising departure from this general pattern. Sequence /ing/ occurs with 1.1% frequency, whereas only 0.8% would have been expected, and /iy/ shows less than expected frequency (0.5% versus expected 1.6%). The latter discrepancy may be accounted for by the fact that /y/ after /i/ word finally or before another consonant is
lost (see 2.5.2). But there is no apparent clue to the reason for the relatively high occurrence of sequence /ing/.

2.3 PHONOLOGICAL ADAPTATION OF ENGLISH LOAN WORDS

When the Kuku Yalanji people came into contact with European civilisation they used two strategies for naming newly introduced commodities. One way was to extend the meaning of Kuku Yalanji words to describe these novelties, as for instance, kambi *flying fox* for 'clothes' (the flying fox wraps its wings around itself when in rest), diburr *eggs* for 'bullets', mayi karraji *fruit with strings* for 'mangoes' (mangoes hang off the tree on long string-like stalks), or jiri-burr *through the sky* for 'aeroplane'.

Another way of naming things was to use their English name, appropriately adapted to Kuku Yalanji phonology. This process of phonological adaptation, however, seems to have ceased about one generation ago (cf. Donaldson 1980:62), presumably with the increase of Kuku Yalanji/English bilingualism in the community. Nowadays one frequently hears words like 'car', 'aeroplane', 'church', 'store', or 'soft-drink' in the Kuku Yalanji discourse of younger speakers, usually with appropriate inflections (see 3.12), but without phonological adaptation. This new trend also includes the frequent borrowing of English verbs and adjectives, which apparently was not commonly done in the earlier days, again with morphological, but not phonological adaptation, such as fix-im-bungal, shift-mal-mal, work-mani-jiy, or blue-bala, dirty-bala (see 3.12).
Only older speakers (roughly over 50 years of age), who are less proficient in English, still modify some newer words to some extent (usually not totally), e.g. telebision, or jobjob for the community's favourite television program "Cop Shop". The vocabulary of such older speakers also contains phonologically well adapted loan words from the earlier contact period (which nowadays usually have English pronunciation among the younger speakers), e.g. bulawu *flour*, banabul *pineapple*, muduka *motorcar*, juka *sugar*.

Only about a score (in my present data) of English loans have become an integral part of the Kuku Yalanji lexicon. From these, and from the few adaptations still made by older speakers, we can glean the following generalisations on phonological change in English loan words (cf. Dixon 1972:326):

(i) Kuku Yalanji stops b and j correspond to English fricatives that are closest in place of articulation, i.e. b corresponds to v, f, and j to s, z, j, 3, e.g.

- naybu *knife*
- aybi *Ivy* (name)
- buji *pussy*(cat)
- juka *sugar*
- maji *matches*.

An interesting loan which cannot be placed with any amount of certainty is binjin *petrol*. I have not been able to ascertain an early use of English benzene for petrol, and it could perhaps be possible that this is a loan from German, Benzin 'petrol' which may have been introduced by the German missionaries.

(ii) English voiceless and aspirated stops become unaspirated and usually voiced, e.g. dubayku *tobacco*, muduka *motorcar*. (Note that k in Kuku Yalanji normally represents voiced g.)
The characteristic acoustic features of changes (i) and (ii) were aptly described by my informant Bobby Roberts, who said: "English people say 'pussycat'. Bama say that word too, but we say it lightly way, we don't say "pussi or "pussik'at', but buji or bujiga."

(iii) English t and s in a cluster before velar stop become Kuku Yalanji rr, as in marrkin *musket, (rifle) and warrkin (a place name) from 'Watkins' (name of an English settler).

(iv) English consonant clusters consisting of a stop or fricative plus a sonorant are broken up by insertion of a vowel, e.g.

- jarruja *trousers
- gilaja *glass (mirror)
- bulawu *flour
- banabul *pineapple

If an initial cluster is broken up in this way, the inserted vowel is stressed according to the word stress rule (see 2.6.1), e.g. járruja. (Examples are too few to determine rules for the choice of vowel that is inserted.)

An initial fricative/stop consonant cluster, on the other hand, is simplified by dropping the first consonant, e.g. buwun *spoon (which is the only example I have).

(v) English loans with initial vowel are preceded by a semivowel which is w before a back vowel and y before a front or central vowel, e.g.

- wulman *old man
- yalibala *early

Note the addition of adjectival morpheme -bala in yalibala. Note also, that this is apparently the only well established loan which has no material reference, but expresses an abstract concept, which may be revealing as to the teutonic rule of punctuality and diligence that early missionaries tried to impose.
(vi) An initial consonant which is not permitted in Kuku Yalanji phonotactics, but which is retained in loan words, is lateral, e.g. landin Landing (name for the confluence of Thompson Creek and Bloomfield River where there used to be a landing ramp). (No loans with original initial rhotic have been attested.)

(vii) Monosyllabic English roots are made disyllabic by either inserting a semivowel-vowel sequence within the root:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Kuku Yalanji</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>buwun</td>
<td>spoon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>biyin</td>
<td>(safety)pin</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

or by adding a final vowel, if the original or adapted root ends in a stop, e.g.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Kuku Yalanji</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>biki</td>
<td>pig</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>juki</td>
<td>hook, (hen)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baybu</td>
<td>pipe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>naybu</td>
<td>knife</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Again, no generalisation on the choice of final vowel is possible.)

(viii) Final consonants that are not possible in Kuku Yalanji phonotactics are adapted in the following way:

(a) by adding a vowel after an original or adapted stop, as in (7), and also gilaji glass, mijiji Mrs;

(b) by changing a stop to a corresponding nasal, as in marrkin musket;

(c) by changing a peripheral nasal to a non-peripheral one, as in landin Landing;

(d) or by simply dropping the final consonant, as in jarruja trousers, bujika pussy-cat, warrkin Watkins.

(ix) The examples in my data do not give sufficient evidence for a generalisation on the adaptation of vowels, except to say that Kuku Yalanji vowels on the whole approximate the English vowel, and
that English [ɛ] or [æ] and diphthong [ai] before a consonant tend
to become /ay/ in Kuku Yalanji, e.g. mayngku mango dubayka tobacco
baybu pipe.

2.4 PHONETIC RULES - ASSIMILATION

There are three regressive assimilation rules in Kuku Yalanji.

These are:

(i) a, u → a, u / -[^ny] /

(ii) n → n, / -j

(iii) k → k, / -u

These rules apply with varying degrees of consistency among speakers.

According to rule (i), vowels /a/ and /u/ have a palatal
offglide if they precede a palatal nasal or stop, e.g.

nuka^[ny]    ate
jalba^[ny]    taboo food
wunku^[ny]   next day
jukumu^[ny]  from the tree
wa^[i]jul   burn, cook
ngu^[i]jan   jealous

Generally, palatalisation is stronger with vowel /a/ than with vowel
/u/.

Rule (ii) determines that apical nasal /n/ is palatalised
preceding palatal stop j, e.g.

Yalanji (language name)
baykanji lest (it) bite

This rule would seem to negate the phonemic distinction
between clusters /nj/ and /nyj/ in Kuku Yalanji. However, assimil-
ation rule (i) helps to show the difference between the two clusters.
A palatalised nasal before /j/ does not in turn influence its preceding vowel, whereas a phonemic palatal nasal does; that is assimilation rule (i) precedes assimilation rule (ii). Consider the following minimal pairs:

- \( \text{bina}^{i} \text{nyji} \) 'fig-like fruit
- \( \text{binan}_{j} \text{-ji} \) 'with a rudder
- \( \text{jalban}_{j} \text{-ji} \) 'with a tree top
- \( \text{jalba}^{i} \text{ny-ji} \) 'with taboo food'

According to assimilation rule (iii), velar stop /k/ is labialised before round vowel /u/, as for instance in:

- \( \text{dak}^{w} \text{uy} \) 'hungry'
- \( \text{nyik}^{w} \text{u} \) 'now, today.'

This rule shows greatest variation between speakers, some of them clearly labialising the velar stop and others not at all.

2.5 MORPHOPHONONOLOGICAL PROCESSES

2.5.1 Vowel Harmony

For a number of suffixes in Kuku Yalanji the suffix vowel is selected according to vowel harmony rules relating to the last root- or stem-vowel. The affected suffixes are: all allomorphs of nominal inflections ergative, dative, locative, and perlative (with two notable exceptions to be discussed below), verbal subordination suffix -nyV and 'first of all' clitic -ngVrr. For these suffixes the following vowel harmony rules apply:

\[
\text{suffix vowel} = \begin{cases} 
\text{u} / \text{u(c)-} \\
\text{a} / \begin{cases} 
\text{a(c)} \\
\text{i(c)} 
\end{cases} 
\end{cases}
\]
In the case of u/u- and a/a- there is clearly total assimilation to the preceding vowel however, such assimilation does not apply where the last stem vowel is /i/.

Data from Wagaman (Dixon, fieldnotes; see also Dixon 1980: 178-9), an inland dialect of the same language as Kuku Yalanji, may give some indication on how this partial vowel harmony developed. Table 2.7 shows the vowel distribution in ergative, dative and locative inflections in Wagaman.

**TABLE 2.7 VOWEL HARMONY IN WAGAMAN INFLECTIONS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>a-</th>
<th>u-</th>
<th>i-</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ergative</td>
<td>-ŋa</td>
<td>-ŋu</td>
<td>-ŋu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1 occurrence of -ŋu)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dative</td>
<td>-ŋa</td>
<td>-gu</td>
<td>-gu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(sometimes -gu)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locative</td>
<td>-ŋa</td>
<td>-ŋu</td>
<td>-ŋa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(sometimes -ŋa)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It appears that these case inflections in Wagaman have the underlying forms: ERG -ŋu, DAT -gu, LOC -ŋa, which correspond to case inflections in languages that have no vowel alternation. Then the following vowel harmony rule applies:

- suffix vowel u → a/a(C)-
- suffix vowel a → u/u(C)-,

but after final stem vowel i- the suffix vowel remains unchanged.

It seems that in Kuku Yalanji the harmony pattern for the underlying a-final locative suffix has been generalised to apply to u-final suffixes such as ergative and dative as well, and has then
also spread to other suffixes. For dative and locative the vowel harmony rules apply totally and no underlying canonical forms -ku DAT or -nga LOC can be determined. Ergative and perlative, on the other hand, each have one allomorph which is never affected by vowel harmony. This is neutral ergative -bu/V- and perlative -burr/V, which could be regarded as the canonical forms. (Note the typical vowel u in the ergative inflection.)

The potent ergative inflection -ngkV was occasionally heard as -ngku/a-, i- in the speech of one Kuku Nyungkul speaker. However, I hesitate to posit a canonical form -ngku on the basis of this, since this person had lived practically all her life in the Mossman Gorge Mission together with speakers of Dyabugay. In Dyabugay the ergative inflection is -ngku in all environments and this Nyungkul speaker, who has at least a passive knowledge of Dyabugay, could have been influenced by this.

It seems reasonable to assume that Kuku Yalanji vowel harmony has developed from the harmony rules that apply in Wagaman, since the present Kuku Yalanji system is more comprehensive and general than the Wagaman rules. The generalisation of the harmony pattern for locative inflection (as in Wagaman) could be explained in the following way: Locative in Kuku Yalanji has a large variety of functions (see 4.1.4.4 (iii)), including some references to goal which in other languages are expressed by dative. Locative therefore has a higher occurrence rate than dative in Kuku Yalanji.

If we look at the relative distribution of locative and ergative in discourse, we find that an agent NP is very often a pronoun, where ergative does not apply. Locative inflection, on the other hand, is the same for nouns and pronouns, so that again locative inflections have a relatively higher occurrence rate than ergative inflections.
Thus it would appear that Kuku Yalanji vowel harmony has been
generalised following the pattern of the most frequently occurring
inflection. Furthermore, the fact that the last root vowel is much
more often /a/ than /u/ or /i/ (see 2.2.2 Table 2.3) could have
influenced the vowel harmony rule in Kuku Yalanji. If the Wagaman
system applied in Kuku Yalanji at some stage, inflectional suffixes
would far more often have contained vowel /a/, following root vowel
/a/, than /u/ or /i/. Again, the most common form could then have
been generalised to apply also after root vowel /i/, which occurs
least frequently, whereas root vowel /u/ maintained its influence
on the following suffix vowel. This also corresponds to the pattern
of vowel association that is found within roots, i.e. that /a/ is
followed more often by /a/ than by any other vowel and /i/ has at
least some positive association with /a/, whereas /u/ has a strong
tendency to be followed by /u/ (see 2.2.2 Tables 2.4 and 2.5).

2.5.2 Deletion of Semivowel y

After vowel /i/ in word final position or before another
consonant, semivowel /y/ is not pronounced. Thus we have the rule:

\[ y \rightarrow \emptyset / i - \{ c \} \]

Because of this deletion rule, roots ending in -iy cannot
be distinguished from those ending in -i in citation form, but they
are distinct in some inflected forms. The neutral locative inflection,
for instance, is -ngV/V- and -mbV/y- (with different allomorphs after
other consonants). Consider the following roots in citation form
(absolutive) and with locative inflection:
Absolutive: kulji  stone
dili  corkwood pine
duli  burnt grass

Locative: kulji-nga  on/to the stone
dili-mba  on/to the corkwood pine
duli-mba  on/to the burnt grass

From the inflections we can infer that dili and duli have underlying forms with final /y/, diliy, duliy, whereas kulji is a genuinely i-final root. These examples also illustrate the loss of /y/ after /i/ before a following consonant. Within a root, /y/ in this environment cannot be recovered, but the surprisingly low occurrence rate of /iy/ in medial position (see 2.2.2) may indicate that some underlying /y/’s have been dropped.

In order to indicate which inflectional allomorph is used with a particular nominal root, I represent such roots in citation form with final -i or -iy respectively. (Here I differ from the Hershberger spelling system which does not represent final y/i-.)

Similarly, verbal nonpast inflection -y is not pronounced after roots or stems ending in -i. However, rather than introducing an additional nonpast inflectional allomorph -φ / i- I shall represent all y-conjugation verbs with final -y in nonpast tense and in citation form (-y is also the conjugation marker), e.g.

[citation form/nonpast:

badiy  ary, weep  (pronounced: badi
karangajiy  sneak up  karangaji
manijiy  get (itr)’  maniji)

analogous to:

bunday  sit
janay  stand]
2.5.3 Syllable Reduction

The following syllable reductions have been observed in normal speech:

(i) Locative inflection -nga after root-final /a/ is reduced to root-final long vowel a:, i.e.

Locative -anga $\rightarrow$ a:
as for instance bana: *in/to the water* instead of bananga. The reduction of locative inflection to long vowel a: has not been heard more than perhaps half a dozen times in narratives and has always been corrected to -nga by the informant when playing back the tape. But even if it is used only occasionally and is not accepted as an alternative to the full inflection, this reduced form is most interesting in view of the fact that in Dyabugay the locative inflection for roots ending in a vowel is lengthening of the final vowel (Patz 1978) and the same applies for Yidiny on even-syllabled stems (Dixon 1977:128). This supports the previously expressed suggestion (see 2.1.1) that Kuku Yalanji is the more conservative and Dyabugay the more innovative of the two languages.

(ii) The causative verb-forming derivation -bungal is frequently reduced to -bal, particularly in reduplicated forms, e.g. kima-bungal or kima-bal *make something soft*, dandi-bungal-bungal or dandi-bal-bal *keep making something hard*. Here, not all speakers correct themselves when they have used the reduced form, maintaining that either form is all right. Thus it appears that the reduced form -bal may be in the process of becoming the accepted norm, presumably because it makes for shorter words.
(iii) In some reduplicated verbs a reduced form is already firmly established as the norm. Usually, verb roots reduplicate as a whole, but six very commonly used verbs show only partial reduplication of either the first or the second syllable and these forms are always used instead of the wholly reduplicated forms which by now are even unacceptable. These verbs are:

Reduplication of first syllable:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Reduced Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>banbadiy</td>
<td>*badi-n-badiy</td>
<td>keep crying</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>janjanay</td>
<td>*jana-n-janay</td>
<td>keep standing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kankaday</td>
<td>*kada-n-kaday</td>
<td>keep coming</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wanarriy</td>
<td>?warri-n-warriy</td>
<td>keep running</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Reduplication of second syllable:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Reduced Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bundanday</td>
<td>*bunda-n-bunday</td>
<td>keep sitting, stay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wunanay</td>
<td>*wuna-n-wunay</td>
<td>keep lying, sleep</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(For a full discussion of form and function of verb reduplication see 3.8.5.5 (ii).)

Another partially reduplicated verb form that is used occasionally, but has not (yet?) become as firmly established as the above forms, is nukalkal or nuka-l-nuka-l 'keep eating'. Again, only the second syllable is reduplicated in the reduced form. Thus there are four examples of first syllable reduplication and three examples of second syllable reduplication, and the question arises why it should sometimes be only the first and sometimes only the second syllable that is reduplicated. Second syllable reduplicated forms share the common aspect that the syllable containing the most frequent vowel /a/ is reduplicated and the syllable containing a less frequent vowel is dropped. The same pattern is evident in the reduction of -bungal to -bal, and also in the forms banbadiy and wanarriy with
first syllable reduplication. (Janjanay and kankaday have vowel /a/ in both syllables.) One could therefore make the tentative suggestion that in a reduction process the syllable with the less frequent vowels /u/ and /i/ is deleted and the syllable containing the most frequent vowel /a/ is maintained.

2.6 STRESS AND INTONATION

Stress, which is characterised by higher pitch and loudness (cf. Ladefoged 1975:222ff), identifies a word as a unit in Kuku Yalanji. Clausal intonation contours, the highest point of which is the clause stress, show some variation and are the only distinguishing feature for certain types of clauses.

H. Hershberger and E.V. Pike (1970) have done a detailed study of stress and intonation in Kuku Yalanji. Unless stated otherwise, my own findings concur with Hershberger/Pike, but I found it possible to generalise some of their rules and have also included some aspects that were not, or to my mind not exhaustively, dealt with by them.

2.6.1 Word Stress

Every word in Kuku Yalanji has primary stress on the first syllable after which there is a distinct drop in pitch for disyllabic words and a more gradual drop for words of more than two syllables (cf. Hershberger/Pike p.791-2). Words with four or more syllables that are roots, reduplicated forms, or compounds, may have secondary stress on the third syllable, that is the first syllable of the second root in reduplicated forms of compounds. A reduplicated
trisyllabic root may have secondary stress on the fourth syllable, again the first syllable of the second root. (There are apparently no compounds where the first constituent has more than two syllables.) Thus we can set up the general word stress rule:

\[ V \rightarrow + \text{stress} / \# \] \_root \( C(V_{1}C_{1}) \)

where \( C_{1} \) may be a single consonant or a cluster.

For example: (′ primary stress, ′ secondary stress)

- jálbu  
  *woman*
- bájibay  
  *bone*
- wáwubåja  
  *river*
- yálmburråjakå  
  *whale*
- kángkal-kàngkal  
  *own children*
- milka-wùlay  
  *forget (literally: ear-die)*
- mïyil-dùdu  
  *illiterate (literally: eye-blunt)*
- bûlkijî-bûlkijî  
  *pîpis*

However, secondary stress is not obligatory and is usually omitted in other than careful citation forms, leaving the word with stress only on the first syllable.

Derived stems (other than compounds or reduplicated forms) and inflected forms with or without clitics, for which no detailed stress patterns are indicated by Hershberger/Pike, receive secondary stress as follows:

(i) Disyllabic inflections or derivational suffixes are treated like roots and may have secondary word stress on the first syllable, e.g.

- máral-àngka  
  *girl-ERG:pt*
- ngánjan-ândå  
  *father-LOC:pt*
- bîmakay-kàrra  
  *FZ-KPL*
(ii) Monosyllabic inflections, derivational suffixes or clitics are unstressed. But if the resulting word has more than three syllables, the penultimate syllable receives secondary stress, unless it is the last root syllable, in which case it remains unstressed, e.g.

báma-ngka  Aborigine-ERG:pt
báma-ngkà-ku  Aborigine-ERG:pt-EMPH₁
báma-ngka-kù-ìlu  Aborigine-ERG:pt-EMPH₁-EMPH₂
búlkji-ku  pipi-EMPH₁
búlkji-mùn-bu  pipi-mun-LOC¹
búlkji-mun-bù-ku  pipi-mun-LOC-EMPH₁
yárraman-ànda-kù-ìlu  horse-LOC:pt-EMPH₁-EMPH₂
bímakaï-kàra-ngka-kù-ìlu  FZ-KPL-ERG:pt-EMPH₁-EMPH₂

However, this secondary stress rule does not apply to the combination of suffix+clitic -baja-ku very attached to an adjective (see 3.2.3.8). None of the syllables in this sequence are stressed, e.g. yàlbay-baja-ku. (Cf. Hershberger/Pike p802; Hershberger/Pike regard bajaku as a 'word', however, the consistent absence of stress contradicts this interpretation.)

But again, secondary stress is not obligatory and is in fact only apparent in very slow and careful speech. In normal speech, even in long words of up to eight syllables, only the first syllable is stressed, with pitch subsiding over the following two or three syllables and remaining level over the rest. (Such long words are rare, but stems with inflections and clitics consisting of up to five or six syllables are fairly common in discourse.)

¹) For Catalytic suffix -mun- see 3.2.3.1.
2.6.2 Clause Stress

Clause stress conforms to the word stress pattern, that is it falls on the first syllable of a word. It is characterised by higher pitch and loudness as compared to other clause constituents where regular word stress is less prominent.

Hershberger/Pike (p792-802) posit rules for obligatory and optional stress for different types of declarative and interrogative clauses. I suggest that it is possible to generalise these rules, saying that each clause has an unmarked stress pattern which, however, may be changed, if the speaker wants to assign special emphasis to a particular clause constituent. The unmarked stress patterns are as follows:

(i) In a simple statement with only two constituents, subject (topic) and predicate (comment), clause stress falls on the predicate (cf. Hershberger/Pike p794). For example:

(1) jawunkarra kāday
(our) friends are coming

(2) kirrbaji yālbay
the dugong is big

(ii) In a simple statement with more than two constituents clause stress falls on the constituent immediately preceding the predicator(cf. Hershberger/Pike p793, 3.1). For instance:

(3) kayangka bājibay nukany
the dog ate a bone

(4) kaya minyaka wawu
the dog wants meat
(5) kayangka ngayku minya nukany
the dog ate my meat

(6) kayangka yunu minya ngawuya nukany
the dog ate your turtle meat

(7) kaya jínbal wanarriy
the dog is running fast

(8) nyulu yílayku kadany
he came yesterday

(9) maral báyanba bundanday
the girl is staying in the house

Hershberger/Pike (p801) state that if the stressed clause component is a noun phrase with two or more constituents, each of these constituents is stressed equally strongly. However, according to my observations, it is only the last word in the phrase which receives most prominent clause stress as in (5) and (6).

The same unmarked pattern of prepredicate clause stress applies for negative statements, that is stress is on the negative particle kari which precedes the predicator:

(10) nyulu jarba kári nyajiny
he did not see the snake

(11) ngayu mayi diburr kári nukany
I did not eat the egg[s]

(iii) a) In a content interrogative clause the interrogative pronoun is stressed (cf. Hershberger/Pike p195):

(12) wányangka mayi nukany
who ate the food?

(13) yundu wányu nyajiny
what did you see?
(14) yundu wānjabu dungay

*where are you going?*

The above sentences show unmarked word order, but an interrogative pronoun may occur anywhere in the clause and is still preferred for clause stress, e.g.

(12) a) mayi wānyangka nukany
(13) a) wānyu yundu nyajiny
(14) a) yundu dungay wānjabu.

(iii) b) In a polar question the predicator is stressed (cf. Hershberger/Pike p796):

(15) yundu jalbu nyājiny

*did you see the woman?*

(16) yundu dākuy

*are you hungry?*

(17) nyulu dūngany

*did he go?*

This means that polar questions and statements with only two constituents have basically same stress assignment (see (i)) however, they differ in the level of pitch, which will be discussed below in 2.6.3.

Following clause stress rule (ii), a speaker can emphasise a particular clause constituent by moving it to the normally stressed prepredicate position, e.g.

(18) kayangka minya ngāyku nukany

*the dog ate my meat* (cf. (5))

However, any constituent may be stressed for emphasis anywhere in the clause, overruling the unmarked stress pattern of the particular clause type, e.g.
(19) jāwunkarra kaday
     (our) friends are coming  (cf. (1))
(20) kirrbaji yalbay
     the dugong is big  (cf. (2))

which could be used in answer to the questions "who is coming" and "what is big". Further examples of marked stress patterns are:

(21) mayi māyangku nyulu nukany
     he ate mangoes
(22) yilayku nyulu kadany
     he came yesterday
(23) yilayku nyulu kādany
     he came yesterday
(24) ngayu diburr kari nukany
     I did not eat the egg(s) (but something else)
(25) wanyangka mayi jānbal nukany
     who ate the quandongs?
(26) yundu jālbu nyajiny
     did you see the woman?
(27) nyulu kirayku dungany
     did he go secretly?

If a polar question contains an adverb, as in (27), stress is in fact usually placed on the adverb, but it may also occur on the verb (cf. stress rule (iii) b) according to what the speaker enquires about (cf. Hershberger/Pike p796).

In tag constructions, which repeat a constituent in nominal form at the end of a clause, after it occurred in pronominal form in its normal clause position, (see 5. 4.1), the added noun which is set off by a slight pause, receives secondary stress. For instance (, indicates pause):
(28) nyulu ngayku mínyu nukan, kāyangka
   it ate my meat, the dog did

(29) ngayu nyungun nyajiny, yinya jālbu
   I saw her, that woman

The same applies, where the subject is given as an "afterthought", to clarify the reference of a topic noun (thought at first to have a clear referent), e.g.

(30) ngayku mínyu nukan, kāyangka
    ate my meat - the dog.

In reprise constructions, on the other hand, which prepose a noun phrase that is then followed by a pronoun in normal clause position (see 5.4.1), the preposed constituent receives primary stress, and the stressed constituent of the actual clause receives secondary stress. There is a slight pause after the preposed noun.

(31) kāyangka, nyulu ngayku mínyu nukan
    the dog, it ate my meat

(32) yinya jālbu, ngayu nyungun nyajiny
    that woman, I saw her

If the object-NP is preposed, it is usually the verb, and not the prepredicate constituent, which receives secondary stress.

2.6.3 Intonation Contours

Independent statements have intonation contours that peak at clause stress and fall at the end of the clause (cf. Hershberger/Pike p802). Thus (3) and (12), for example, have the intonation contours:
Similarly, tag and reprise constructions have the intonation contours:

(35) nyulu ngayku minya nukany, kayangka (cf. (28))

(36) kayangka, nyulu ngayku minya nukany. (cf. (31))

However, if clauses are co-ordinated or subordinated, the intonation pattern is quite different (cf. Hershberger/Pike p803 'sequence contour'; their example is somewhat misleading in that the final intonation rise and the English gloss suggest a further co-ordinated clause, in which case the intonation contour of the second clause would not be quite as high initially.).

The intonation peak is characterised by higher than clause stress pitch, but not loudness. It falls on the final syllable of the clause, followed by a slight pause. The otherwise word-stressed penultimate syllable is usually lengthened, but not stressed. Clause stress in the first clause is normal in pitch and loudness, but weakened in following clauses, e.g.

(37) jana wawubahanga ka·dany, mayi wa·juny, nu·kany, wunanany

they came to the river, cooked food, ate, and slept

In subordinated structures, the final rise in the non-final clause carries over into the following clause, usually without a pause in between:
(38) ngayu wawubajanga dungay kuyu maninka

I go to the river to get some fish

Clauses expressing continuous action by several repetitions of the verb, have the following intonation contour: Clause stress falls on the first syllable of the first verb, after which pitch remains at the same level until the end with no final drop, and the very last syllable is distinctly lengthened (cf. Hershberger/Pike p805), e.g.

(39) jana dūngany dungany dungany dunga::ny

they went on and on and on

(40) nyulu mayi nūkany nūkany nūkany nuka::ny

he ate and ate and ate and ate

Intonation contours for polar questions and imperatives (not discussed by Hershberger/Pike) are similar to statement intonation contours with final falling intonation, but they differ in level of pitch and particularly in the distance between highest and lowest pitch. If we assume three levels of pitch, the three clauses below can be distinguished as follows:

(41) yundu kāday

you are coming (statement)

(42) yundu kāday

are you coming? (polar question)
It may seem that the difference in intonation, which is often the only distinguishing feature between a statement, polar question and imperative as in the above examples, is only slight. (Y-conjugation verbs have the same inflection for nonpast and imperative, see 3.8.4.1). However, the difference between level and, particularly, final drop in pitch is actually quite distinct for the three types of clauses, and in addition to this, paralinguistic features such as facial expression and gestures further help to identify the particular clause that is uttered.

(I have not investigated specialised intonation contours such as 'tentative'-, 'dubitative'-, 'sympathy'-, 'impatience'-, 'amazement'-, 'call'-, and 'surprise'- contours, cf. Hershberger/Pike p802-804.)
3.1 PARTS OF SPEECH

One can distinguish the following word classes with mutually exclusive membership in Kuku Yalanji:

Nominals
- nouns
- adjectives
- quantifiers

Location and time words

Personal pronouns

Interrogative pronouns

Demonstratives

Verbs

Particles

Interjections.

The criteria for this classification are partly grammatical, partly formal, and partly semantic. Grammatical criteria are based on syntactic function, and inflectional and derivational possibilities. A purely formal aspect is open versus closed word class.

3.1.1 Formal and Grammatical Criteria

All parts of speech except for verbs, particles and interjections could be considered to be nominals in the broadest sense because they all inflect for case. However, the feature of open versus closed word class and differences in inflectional systems and forms invite further subcategorisation.
Demonstratives and pronominal parts of speech are closed word classes with symmetrical paradigms that are ordered according to their semantic content like 'here' and 'there' (demonstratives), person and number (personal pronouns), and 'who', 'what' and 'where' (interrogative pronouns). Particles and interjections also constitute closed word classes to which new members cannot easily be added by speakers of the language.

Nominals, location and time words, and verbs are open word classes, that is there is room for addition by compounding, derivations and borrowing from other languages.

Members of the nominal, pronominal and demonstrative word classes inflect according to a system of syntactic and local cases. Personal pronouns are set off from the other parts of speech in this group in that they have the same form for transitive and intransitive subject versus a different form for transitive object. The other three classes show a formal distinction between transitive subject on the one hand, and intransitive subject and transitive object on the other hand.

Location and time words occur only in local cases which differ to some extent in form from the local cases of the previously mentioned word classes.

Nominals, and location and time words may form transitive and intransitive verb stems by means of derivations.

Verbs are inflected for tense, aspect and mood; other verbal inflections mark clause subordination which is not indicated by any other means. A verb may be modified by an adverbial particle or an adjective in derived adverbial function.
Particles take no inflections of any kind. According to their function they can broadly be divided into two sub-categories: adjectival particles which may act as predicator and particles with a modifying, often discourse related, function at clause level.

Interjections stand outside the syntactic framework of a clause or sentence. They are usually uttered just by themselves, or preceding a clause or sentence in a discourse context.

3.1.2 Semantic Content

Generally speaking, nominals refer to objects and properties of objects.

Nouns refer predominantly to corporeal objects, such as human beings including kinship terms, external and internal body parts and bodily excretions, fauna and flora, geographical and geological items, celestial bodies, weather phenomena, artefacts and other objects of human habitat. Further there are terms for 'imaginable' things, such as ghosts and spirits, several specific terms for different types of noises, and terms for human actions such as language, songs, dances and magic practices. Some bodily and mental states are expressed by nouns (warngku *sleep*, kaka *pain*, kuli *anger*, kuru *(female) love* or *lust*), while others such as hunger, happiness, desire, etc. are expressed by adjectives, verbs or verbal particles.

Kuku Yalanji nouns include a set of generic terms which can occur on their own or may be used as a kind of classifier in conjunction with another noun (see 4.1.1.2(iii)). These are:

- bama *Aboriginal person*
- dingkar *male*
- jalbu *female*
jawun unspecified family member (now generally used to refer to friend)

minya edible animal (including birds and fish)

dikal bird

jarba snake

kuyu fish

mayi edible plants (may also be used to refer to a meal or food in general)

juku tree (classifies anything wooden such as twigs, sticks, building timber, etc.)

bubu country, ground, earth, space

kulji stone, rock, rock formation (but not mountain)

bana water, liquid

muyar air, wind

baya fire (used also for firewood and classifies anything to do with fire such as smoke, matches, hot ashes)¹)

kalka spear

bayan camp, house, shelter

junjuy something, anything

Adjectives denote properties of any nominal referent, for instance size, dimension, value, age, physical and mental characteristics or states, texture, colour, taste, etc. There are three colour terms: ngumbu dark, bingaji light and ngalangala reddish.

Bingaji also means old man, presumably with reference to white hair: the form looks like a comitative derivation with suffix -ji, but it cannot be determined whether the possible root binga means light colour or specifically white hair. Ngalangala on the other hand, could be a reduplicated noun, cf. mulamula bright red derived from mula blood, but apparently there is no analysable root ngala.

¹) H. and R. Hershberger (1982) regard baya as a loan word from English 'fire'. This assumption is quite possible according to regular phonological adaptation rules (see 2.3), but has not been otherwise substantiated.
Note that a number of emotional and physical states are described by noun-verb compounds, e.g. jiba-badiy *feel sorry, sad* (literally liver-ory) or wawulay *feel exhausted* (wawu-wulay breath-die).

Quantifiers include numbers one, two and three and some general terms for quantities such as 'some, 'many', etc. (see 3.2.5).

Location and time words express points of reference in locational and temporal systems which will be discussed in detail in 3.3.1 and 3.4 respectively.

Semantic content of personal and interrogative pronouns and demonstratives was briefly mentioned in 3.1.1 and will be detailed further in 3.5, 3.6 and 3.7 respectively.

Verb roots in Kuku Yalanji generally have quite concrete meaning, referring to motion and rest, perception, voluntary and involuntary utterances, bodily functions, and actions performed on and affecting or effecting an object. Less tangible actions like mental activities are most often expressed by compound verbs. (For more detail see 3.8.2.1, 3.8.5.1 and 3.8.5.2).

Particles cover a wide range of meaning including manner of action, desire, ability, disapproval, negation, uncertainty, conditionality and possibility. The various functions of adverbial adjectival and discourse particles are discussed in 3.8.6.1 and 3.9.

Interjections comprise terms like 'yes' and 'no', general encouragement, agreement or disagreement. For a full list see 4.10.

3.2 NOMINAL MORPHOLOGY

Nouns, adjectives and quantifiers can be distinguished by their semantic content and also on the ground of some morphological
properties. Comparative and intensity markers jarra- rather, more and -baja(ku) very only occur with adjectives and quantifiers, while derivational affixes except possessive, comitative and privative are only used with nouns. Furthermore, quantifiers are distinct from the other two nominal classes in that they only take case inflections from the 'neutral' set.

3.2.1 Case Inflections - system

Nominal morphology in Kuku Yalanji distinguishes formally between eight cases, some of which fulfill more than one semantic function. The system of cases and their functions is as follows (for a more detailed discussion see 4.1.4):

Core syntactic cases

ABSolute marks the intransitive subject and transitive object of a clause.

ERGative marks the transitive subject.

Peripheral syntactic cases

INSTrumental marks the implement that is used by an agent in performing an action.

DATive indicates the goal of a purposeful action, the cause for an action or emotion, or a complement of comparison.

Local cases

General LOCative marks location 'in', 'on', 'at', etc., the goal of a movement (allative), and goal of three-argument verbs 'show', 'give', etc.

ABLative indicates a general source (as may be expressed by English 'from') which is prior in time or location to the action or state referred to in the clause.
Local cases (cont.)

ABESSive indicates a locational source, but one which is not left behind by the actor, that is a place from which an action is performed.

PERLative is used only in the Nyungkul dialect and marks a defined space through which someone or something passes. (Yalanji speakers use locative case in this function.)

3.2.2 Case Inflections - Form

Kuku Yalanji has two sets of inflectional allomorphs for all cases except Absolutive, Instrumental, Abessive and Perative. I have termed these inflectional sets 'neutral' and 'potent'. Allomorphs from these sets may be chosen by a speaker according to whether the referent is perceived to be inherently capable of action ('potent' inflection) or not ('neutral' inflection). This distinction largely coincides with the actual 'animacy' or 'inanimacy' of the referent, but does not have to. (A full discussion of the semantic properties of neutral and potent case inflections is to be found in 4.1.4.2.)

Case inflections and their allomorphs are listed in Table 3.1; examples of inflected nouns illustrating the different allomorphs are given below. Inflections for which there is no distinction between 'neutral' and 'potent' are listed under 'neutral', since this may be regarded as the unmarked set, and 'potent' as the marked set (see 4.1.4.2).

'Neutral' case inflections do not receive a special gloss in interlinear morpheme translations of example sentences; 'potent' case inflections are glossed as :pt, e.g. DAT:pt.
Examples of case inflections and their allomorphs:

**Absolutive** case inflection is always zero, that is the citation form of a nominal coincides with its form in intransitive subject and transitive object function, e.g.

- kaya-Ø dog
- dingkar-Ø man
- jarramali-Ø thunderstorm

### TABLE 3.1 KUKU YALANJI CASE INFLECTIONS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Neutral</th>
<th>Potent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Absolutive</td>
<td>-Ø</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ergative</td>
<td>-bu/V-</td>
<td>-ngkV/V-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-Vbu/r-</td>
<td>-VngkV/C-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-nJV/y-</td>
<td>-VngkV/C-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-dV/elsewhere</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instrumental</td>
<td>= neutral</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>= Ergative</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dative</td>
<td>-ngkV/y-</td>
<td>-nkV/V-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-VxV/r-</td>
<td>-VnkV/C-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-kV/elsewhere</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General</td>
<td>-ngV/V-</td>
<td>-ndV/V-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locative</td>
<td>-V/r-</td>
<td>-VndV/C-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-mbV/y-</td>
<td>-VndV/C-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-bV/elsewhere</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ablative</td>
<td>-muny</td>
<td>-general LOC+muny</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abessive</td>
<td>-mundu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perative</td>
<td>(Nyungkul dialect)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-burr/V-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-Vburr/r-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-jVrr/y-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-dVrr/elsewhere</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Vowel V in the inflection is determined by vowel harmony rules (see 2.5.1) and is:

\[
\begin{align*}
  a/ & \{a(C)\} - \\
  i/ & \{i(C)\} - \\
  u/ & u(C) - \\
\end{align*}
\]
Neutral Ergative and Instrumental have the allomorphs:

-\textit{-bu/V-}, e.g.
  
  \begin{align*}
  \text{jina-bu} & \quad \text{foot} \\
  \text{kulji-bu} & \quad \text{stone} \\
  \text{juku-bu} & \quad \text{tree}
  \end{align*}

-\textit{-Vbu/r}, e.g.

  \begin{align*}
  \text{wungar-abu} & \quad \text{sun} \\
  \text{badur-ubu} & \quad \text{fishing line}
  \end{align*}

-\textit{-njV/y-}, e.g.

  \begin{align*}
  \text{balbay-nja} & \quad \text{light, lightning} \\
  \text{diliy-nja} & \quad \text{corkwood pine} \\
  \text{junjuy-nju} & \quad \text{something}
  \end{align*}

-\textit{-dV/elsewhere, e.g.}

  \begin{align*}
  \text{jalun-du} & \quad \text{sea} \\
  \text{jalbany-da} & \quad \text{taboo food} \\
  \text{bayil-da} & \quad \text{freshwater perch} \\
  \text{balarr-da} & \quad \text{scabies}
  \end{align*}

Potent Ergative has the allomorphs:

-\textit{-ngkV/V-}, e.g.

  \begin{align*}
  \text{kaya-ngka} & \quad \text{dog} \\
  \text{kami-ngka} & \quad \text{father’s father, mother’s mother} \\
  \text{ngurrku-ngku} & \quad \text{mopoke}
  \end{align*}

-\textit{-VngkV/C-}, e.g.

  \begin{align*}
  \text{ngangkin-angka} & \quad \text{porcupine} \\
  \text{walkarr-angka} & \quad \text{black goanna} \\
  \text{dingkar-angka} & \quad \text{man} \\
  \text{dubuy-ungku} & \quad \text{small brown kingfisher (messenger bird)} \\
  \text{wabul-ungku} & \quad \text{Torres Strait Pigeon}
  \end{align*}

Neutral Dative has the allomorphs:

-\textit{-ngkV/y-} e.g.

  \begin{align*}
  \text{ngujay-ngka} & \quad \text{freshwater turtle} \\
  \text{yibuy-ngku} & \quad \text{loya cane}
  \end{align*}
-VkV/r-, e.g.
  
  kadar-aka     plains wallaby
  kukur-uku     rat

-kV/elsewhere, e.g.
  
  ngalkun-ku   mullet
  dukul-ku     head
  balji-ka     dillybag

Potent Dative has the allomorphs:

-nkV/V-, e.g.
  
  jalbu-nku     woman
  nga,ji-nka    mother's father
  bama-nka      Aborigine

-VnkV/C-, e.g.
  
  nganj-an-anka  father
  ngalngal-anka  sand crab
  karrkay-anka  child
  junbirr-anka  small lizard
  yaburr-unku   shark

Neutral general Locative has the allomorphs:

-ngV/V-, e.g.
  
  ngara-nga     roots
  ngarri-nga    leg
  kiju-ngu      mud crab

-V/r-, e.g.
  
  bibar-a       shin
  burrir-a      island
  bujur-u       feather

-mbV/y-, e.g.
  
  buray-mba     spring (water)
  dajaliy-mba   deep water
  wakuy-mbu     upper arm

-bV/elsewhere, e.g.
  
  nyabil-ba     tongue
  dalkan-ba     casuarina pine
  diburr-bu     egg
Potent general Locative has the allomorphs:

-ndV/V-, e.g.
  
  ngiwa-nda  
  bulki-nda  
  dunyu-ndu

-VndV/C-, e.g.
  
  mukay-anda
  mukirr-anda
  wuyngkul-undu
  kukur-undu

Neutral Ablative always has the inflection -muny, e.g.
  
  wawubaja-muny
  manjal-muny
  bururr-muny
  jalkay-muny
  bayan-muny

Potent Ablative has the form general Locative + muny, e.g.
  
  ngawa-ndamuny
  ngamu-ndumuny
  maral-andamuny
  diwan-andamuny

Abessive always has the form -mundu, e.g.
  
  nyidu-mundu
  jikan-mundu
  kungkarr-mundu
  jukarr-mundu

Perlative has the allomorphs:

-burr/V-, e.g.
  
  walngka-burr
  dimbi-burr
-Vburr/r-, e.g.
  burrir-aburr island
  muyar-aburr wind, air

-jVrr/y-, e.g.
  kabay-jarr small antbed
  duli-y-jarr burnt grass

-dVrr/elsewhere, e.g.
  baral-darr road
  wabarr-darr shade
  bural-darr deserted camping/resting place
  buljun-durr weeds

3.2.2.1 Historical Notes

We can recognise a number of reflexes of pA case inflections in Kuku Yalanji. Proto Australian inflections for Ergative, Purposive (Dative) and Locative, as reconstructed by Dixon (1980:311ff) are:

Ergative: *-du ~ *-gu ~ *-lu
Locative: *-da ~ *-nga ~ *-la
Purposive: *-gu

Reflexes of all but pA *-lu and *-la in Kuku Yalanji are:

neutral Ergative -dV < *-du
neutral Locative -ngV < *-nga
neutral Dative -kV < *-gu

potent Ergative -ngkV < *-gu
potent Locative -ndV < *-da
potent Dative -nkV < *-gu

As can be seen in the above list, Kuku Yalanji 'potent' Locative and 'potent' Dative have nasal n before the pA form. It is
interesting to note that in some other languages stems of pronouns and human nouns have an incremental n before some non-core case inflections. Warrgamay and Yidiny, for instance, show incremental n with pronouns (Dixon 1980:329 and 1977:168-170 respectively). In Dyirbal proper nouns and some common nouns with human reference may take a stem-forming suffix -pa- after which the dative inflection is -ngu, whereas it is -gu in other environments (Dixon 1972:43-4). The fact that non-core inflections in these languages have a special form that is used with human referents, that is referents which definitely possess the 'ability to act', may throw some light on the development of 'potent' inflections for Locative and Dative in Kuku Yalanji. Specifically 'human' inflections in other languages have been generalised in Kuku Yalanji to apply to all 'potent' referents. But the development of the distinction between a 'potent' and a 'neutral' ergative inflection remains unclear.

3.2.3 Nominal Stem Formation

Nominal stems in Kuku Yalanji may be formed from nominal roots by affixation, reduplication or compounding.

Stem-forming affixes include the purely formal catalytic suffix -mun-, a nominalising suffix which derives nouns from verbs, and seven suffixes and two prefixes that add a semantic aspect to the meaning of the root. Derivational affixes may be monosyllabic or disyllabic. Criteria for defining these morphemes as derivational affixes are: a) they cannot occur independently but have to be attached to a nominal root, b) root and affix are inseparable, that is no other morpheme such as a clitic may occur between them (but two or three derivational affixes may co-occur), c) the derived stem
may be inflected for case, and d) the stress pattern defines the
derived stem as one word, that is word stress is on the first
syllable.

3.2.3.1 Catalytic Suffix -mun-

With trisyllabic nominal roots or stems and English loan words
with any number of syllables (see 3.12) a catalytic suffix which has
the form -mun- is inserted between the root and a non-zero inflection.
Suffix -mun- does not alter the normal stress pattern of a word as
outlined in 2.6.1. Some examples are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bimakay-mun-ungku</td>
<td>(not ego's) father's sister-ERG:pt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kunjuri-mun-du</td>
<td>shield-INST</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bulkiji-mun-ku</td>
<td>pipi-DAT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mungari-mun-bu</td>
<td>Kauri pine-LOC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kalka-ji-mun-ungku</td>
<td>spear-COMIT-ERG:pt</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Not all speakers follow this convention consistently, but conservative-
minded speakers emphasised that these were the correct forms and
leaving out the catalytic suffix would be "not right".

This catalytic suffix will be glossed as 'mun' in inter-linear
morpheme glosses.

3.2.3.2 Possessive

Alienable possession is expressed by derivational affixes
attached to the possessor noun. These suffixes differ according to
whether the derived stem has zero-inflection (absolutive case) or
non-zero inflection; the former also show formal differences in
the Yalanji and Nyungkul dialects.

Inalienable possession, such as body parts, may also be indicated
by these derivational suffixes, but normally possessor and
inalienably possessed noun are simply juxtaposed in a noun phrase
without possessive affixation (see 4.5.2).
The Yalanji and Nyungkul forms of possessive suffixes are listed in Table 3.2.

TABLE 3.2 POSSESSIVE SUFFIXES IN YALANJI AND NYUNGKUL

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Yalanji</th>
<th>Nyungkul</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>+ zero inflection</td>
<td>-mu/V-</td>
<td>-ngV/V-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-Vmu/C-</td>
<td>-VngV/C-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+ non-zero inflection</td>
<td>-ndVmun-/V-</td>
<td>-VndVmun-/C-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The possessive suffix that is used preceding non-zero inflection could possibly be analysed as:

potent Locative + catalytic suffix -mun-.  

Apart from the formal similarity between Locative and Possessive (see also 3.2.4), the two constructions also overlap to some extent in function. What evidence there is for a relationship between the two is discussed in 4.5.5.

Some examples of possessive noun phrases in absolutive case in both dialects are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Yalanji</th>
<th>Nyungkul</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kambi ngamu-mu</td>
<td>kambi ngamu-ngu</td>
<td>mother's clothes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mayi kaya-mu</td>
<td>mayi kaya-nga</td>
<td>the dog's food</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dampal maral-amu</td>
<td>dampal maral-anga</td>
<td>the girl's shoes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bayan dingkar-amu</td>
<td>bayan dingkar-anga</td>
<td>the man's house</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For catalytic suffix -mun- see 3.2.3.1 The stem-forming possessive suffix with non-zero inflection in Guugu Yimidhirr is -:ga+-mu-. -mu- is a catalytic suffix like Kuku Yalanji -mun-, and -:ga is interpreted by Haviland as being related to either Abessive or Goal (1979a:56). (In Dyabugay a catalytic suffix, usually -mu-, is added to the regular possessive stem before a non-zero inflection (Patz 1978:34).
Non-zero inflections on possessive stems are invariably from the neutral set. Some examples in sentences are:

(44) jalbu-ndumun-du dunyu-ngku bikibiki kuni-ny
    woman-POSS-ERG(A) husband-ERG:pt(A) pig-ABS(0) hit/shoot-PAST
    the woman's husband shot a pig

(45) ngayu dunga-y bayan-ba kami-ndamun-bu
    1sg NOM(S) go-NONPAST house-LOC FF/MM-POSS-LOC
    I am going to granny's house

(46) ngamu-ngku maral-andamun-bu kuyu mani-ny
    mother-ERG:pt(A) girl-POSS-ERG(A) fish-ABS(0) get-PAST
    the girl's mother caught a fish

(47) nyulu yinil kaya-nka karrkay-andamun-ku
    3sg NOM(S) afraid dog-DAT:pt child-POSS-DAT
    he/she is afraid of the child's dog

Apparently there is no separate affix to express 'possessor of a possessor' in either dialect. Such constructions, which were only obtainable in elicitation, show the normal possessive suffix on both possessor nouns, e.g.

(48) dingkar-amu ngamu-mu bayan yalbay
    man-POSS-ABS(S) mother-POSS-ABS(S) house-ABS(S) big
    the man's mother's house is big

(49) nyulu kada-ny maral-andamun-muny yaba-ndamun-muny
    3sg NOM(S) come-PAST girl-POSS-ABL eB-POSS-ABL
    bayan-muny
    house-ABL
    he came from the girl's elder brother's house

For a full discussion of possessive constructions, see 4.5.
3.2.3.3 Comitative

Like most Australian languages Kuku Yalanji has a derivational suffix which indicates, broadly termed, 'with Noun' or 'having Noun'. A comitative form in Kuku Yalanji may have either attributive function or indicate 'accompaniment' of a person in motion or rest. (For a detailed discussion of the functions of comitative forms in Kuku Yalanji see 4.6.1.)

Like case inflections, the comitative suffix has a neutral and a potent variant. Furthermore, slightly different forms are used, if the derived stem takes zero-inflection or non-zero inflection. The forms of comitative suffix are set out in Table 3.3. These allomorphs have been used most consistently in elicitation and are generally regarded as the correct forms. However, in normal speech speakers tend to use -iji and -ji in free variation after a rhotic, and forms with or without final -rr in free variation before any inflectional ending.

### Table 3.3 Allomorphs of Comitative Suffix in Kuku Yalanji

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>neutral</th>
<th>potent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>+ zero inflection</td>
<td>-iji/R-</td>
<td>-nji/V-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+ non-zero inflection with initial n or ng</td>
<td>-ji/elsewhere</td>
<td>-Vnji/C-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+ non-zero inflection with initial stop or m</td>
<td>-ijirr/R-</td>
<td>-njirr/V-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-jirr/elsewhere</td>
<td>-Vnjirr/C-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These forms are obviously cognate to the comitative suffixes in the genetically related languages: Yidiny -ji - yi, Dyabugay
-i - nyji - :rr, Guugu Yimidhirr -dhrr. It appears that the Guugu Yimidhirr suffix is the most conservative form (cf. -girri in Warrgamay, further south than Yidiny, -dharri in Wirandharri, a Victorian language (Dixon 1980:325)), whereas the related languages have generally dropped the final -rr but for a few allomorphs, e.g. -:rr/V- in Dyabugay, and the suffixes preceding some non-zero inflections in Kuku Yalanji. But even in this environment Kuku Yalanji seems to be gradually losing the final -rr.

Some examples of comitative stems with zero inflection are:

neutral suffixes

bulbur-iji  with dust, dusty  
jukar-iji  with sand, sandy  
walarr-iji  with a beard  
juku-ji  with a stick  
kaka-ji  with pain, painful  
milbal-ji  with tears, tearful  
gunyin-ji  with a dillybag

potent suffixes

yaba-nji  with elder brother  
yabuju-nji  with younger brother  
nganj-an-anji  with father  
jawun-unji  with a friend  
kadar-anji  with a wallaby

Some examples of comitative stems with non-zero inflection are:

(50) ngayu jalbu-ndu dunga-y ngawa-nji-nda
lsg NOM(S) woman-LOC:pt go-NONPAST baby-COMIT-LOC:pt
I go to the woman with the baby

(51) warru-ngku kuli-ji-ngka kamukamu
yg man-ERG:pt(A) rage-COMIT-ERG:pt(A) alcohol-ABS(0)
nuka-ny
eat/drink-PAST
the wild young chap drank alcohol
(52) ngayu binal dingkar-anka kalka-jirr-ka
    lsg NOM(S) know man-DAT:pt spear-COMIT-DAT
    I know the man with the spear

(53) nyulu warri-ny bubu-muny dubu-njirr-muny
    3sg NOM(S) run-PAST place-ABL ghost-COMIT-ABL
    he ran from the place with the ghost

More examples are given in 4.6.1.

3.2.3.4 Privative

A nominal stem meaning 'without Noun' or 'Noun-less' may be formed by suffixing the negative particle kari to a nominal root. The resulting stem is clearly definable as one word because of the stress pattern (only the first syllable is stressed), and because a non-zero inflection can only be attached after -kari-.

Privative stem formation is far less productive than comitative stem formation (see 4.6.2) and privative stems are seldom used in other than equational sentences, that is a privative stem rarely occurs with non-zero inflection. Some examples of privative stems in equational sentences are:

(54) yinya bama milka-kari
    that-ABS(S) Aborig.-ABS(S) ear-PRIV
    that Aborigine is deaf (literally: has no ears)

(55) ngayu mani-kari
    lsg NOM(S) money-PRIV
    I have no money

(56) juku-juku nganka-kari
    tree-REDUP-ABS(S) flower-PRIV
    the trees have no flowers
Some examples of privative stems with non-zero inflections are:

(57) kaya-kari-ngka bikibiki kari warmba-bunga-ny
dog-PRIV-ERG:pt(A) pig-ABS(0) NEG uncovered-CAUS-PAST
the one without a dog found no pigs

(58) ngayu wawu bangkarr-ka bajibay-kari-ka
lsg NOM(S) want meat/steak-DAT bone-PRIV-DAT
I want meat without bones

(59) jana kambi daji-ny maral-anda
3pl NOM(A) clothes-ABS(0) give-PAST girl-LOC:pt
mani-kari-nda
money-PRIV-LOC:pt
they gave clothes to the girl without money

It appears that some speakers prefer neutral inflections with
privative stems, e.g. kaya-kari-bu in (57) and maral-anda mani-kari-
nga in (59).

3.2.3.5 Number

A simple root by itself generally implies singular referent
in Kuku Yalanji (except for mass nouns, of course), e.g.

jalbu a woman
wawubaja a river

In context, a plural interpretation of a simple root is possible, as
for instance in (65) below: nganjirr grass trees. To specify more
than one referent a quantifier (see 3.2.5) may be used together with
a simple root, e.g.

bama wubul many Aborigines
jarba jambul two snakes

Apart from this there are three derivations which can indicate plural
or dual.
(i) Reduplication of the noun root is the normal device to imply general plural, e.g.

- wulman-wulman: old men
- kangkal-kangkal: own children
- kumu-kumu: mosquitoes
- bilngkumu-bilngkumu: saltwater crocodiles
- juku-juku: trees

(60) baral-baral: path/road-REDUP-ABS(S) wet slippery

the roads are wet and slippery

(61) maral-maral-angka: girl-REDUP-ERG:pt(A) pipi-ABS(0) many-ABS(0) dig-PAST

the girls dug up a lot of pipis (a type of small saltwater mussel)

(Adjectives are reduplicated to fulfil adverbial function (see 3.8.6.2.).)

(ii) Kinship plural

Kinship terms (including jawun unspecified relative, friend, but excluding kangkal own child) are not reduplicated for plural, but take the derivational suffix -karra- instead, e.g.

- dunyu-karra: husbands
- yabuju-karra: younger brothers
- ngaji-karra: maternal grandfathers
- ngalayan-karra: fathers-in-law

(62) nyulu jawun-karra-nda kunja-n-kunjaji-ny mayi-ka
3sg NOM(S) friend-KPL-LOC:pt ask for-REDUP-PAST food-DAT

he was asking around for food among his friends

(63) jana-nda manyarr-karra-ngka yalama-ny: "dunga-y
3pl-LOC:pt wife-KPL-ERG:pt(A) say-PAST go-IMP
kuyu mani-nka!"
fish-ABS(0) get-PURP

the wives said to them: "go to get some fish!"
The cognate "collective plural" suffix -garr in Guugu Yimidhirr has wider application than the Kuku Yalanji suffix in that it can occur with any noun, e.g. guda-garr *dogs*. On the other hand, with kinship terms it seems to have a more restricted meaning in that it implies "that several people stand in the same relation to a single other" (Haviland 1979a:55), e.g. gaarga-garr *younger brothers of a single person*. In Kuku Yalanji -karra apparently does not imply relationship to just one person, but simply indicates plural, as for instance in (63), and:

(64) ngamu-karra nganjjan-karra school-mun-bu
    mother-KPL-ABS(S) father-KPL-ABS(S) school-mun-LOC
dunga-y teacher-mun-unji balka-wa-nka
    go-NONPAST teacher-mun-COMIT:pt talk-RECIP-PURP
the mothers and fathers go to the school to talk with the teacher (i.e. the parents in the community, not just of a single person)

(iii) Derivational suffix -bulal pair

This derivational suffix is obviously related to the dual pronoun bula 3. person dual (see 3.5.1). It is most frequently used with nouns with human reference and the noun phrase often also includes the dual pronoun and/or the quantifier jambul two as for instance in Text 51, Line 1 and:

(65) bula jalbu-bulal-angka dubu waju-ny
    3sg NOM(A) woman-pair-ERG:pt(A) ghost-ABS(S) burn-PAST
nganjrr-da
    grass tree-INST
the two women burnt the ghost with [burning] grass trees
(from a story about how two women avenged the theft of their children by a ghost)
-bulal implies some intrinsic link between the two referents, that they somehow belong together and act together as is often the case in traditional stories where the heroes generally come in pairs. To indicate simply 'two', without wanting to imply some connection between the referents, the quantifier jambul two is used.¹

Consider:

(66)a) yarraman-bulal kankada-y
    horse-pair-ABS(S) come-REDUP-NONPAST
    the pair of horses is coming (e.g. a mare and her foal that are always together)

b) yarraman jambul wawubaja-nga wanarri-y
    horse-ABS(S) two-ABS(S) river-LOC run-REDUP-NONPAST
    two horses are running to the river (they don't belong together)

(67)a) juku-bulal yinyay janjana-y
    tree-pair-ABS(S) there stand-REDUP-NONPAST
    a pair of trees is standing there (e.g. standing close together and perhaps of the same kind and size)

b) ngayu jambul juku nyaji-ny
    lsg NOM(A) two-ABS(O) tree-ABS(O) see-PAST
    I saw two trees (e.g. one by the roadside and one on the beach)

3.2.3.6 Nominalising suffix -nyV

A noun stem may be derived from a verb by affixation of -nya after final vowels a or i, or -nyu after final vowel u.² This suffix is identical in form to the unmarked verbal inflection with

¹) Cf. the use of derivational suffix -daran two, each of two and adjective bulay(i) two in Dyirbal (Dixon 1972:228-9)

²) For vowel harmony rules see 2.5.1
subordinating discourse function in the Nyungkul dialect and the 'causal' subordinate inflection (see 3.8.4.2 (iv)) and a clear distinction between -nyV as a verb inflection and -nyV as a nominaliser is not possible. For instance, a -ny form may have habitual implication (cf. H. and R. Hershberger 1982:284) which could well represent a nominal form:

(68) nyulu minya nuka-nya

he always eats meat or he is a habitual meat-eater

But I have not encountered constructions like this with further case inflections, e.g. 'the habitual meat-eater-ERG shot a pig'. In my experience, -nyV stems with further case inflections occur only in 'simultaneous', 'prior event' and 'hypothetical reason' subordinate clauses (see 4.4.4). In these uses nominal stems with -nyV have basically a subordinating function which means that they are functionally similar to verb + -nyV forms in 'causal' subordinate clause (see 4.4.4.2) and as subordinating non-event markers in discourse (see 5.5.1.2) which cannot take any case inflections. It may therefore be possible that verbal inflection -nyV and nominal stem forming suffix -nyV are related.

F. Merlan (1981) addresses a similar problem in Mangarayi, a language of the western Roper River area, where "The same verbal prefix forms are used to mark: (i) irrealis mood; (ii) generalised subordinate clauses (...); and (iii) an inflectional 'habitual' category of the verb (...)" (p.175). She concludes that "Basically, the shared function of such markers is to signal that the basis for interpretation of the predicates to which they are affixed is not given there, but is to be found within the fairly immediate linguistic context" (p.208). Thus the function of this Mangarayi prefix seems to be similar to the general subordinating function of suffix -nyV in Kuku Yalanji.
3.2.3.7 Other Noun Derivations

There are some derivational affixes in Kuku Yalanji that add, broadly termed, a semantic aspect of 'personal characteristic' to a noun root or stem. These are -(w)arra *inhabitants of*, -baka *excessive* and mala- *expert*.

(i) -(w)arra *inhabitants of*

This suffix attaches to proper place names or comitative stems referring to characteristics of larger areas (see 1.2.1 (i) for areal distinctions in Kuku Yalanji) and has the meaning *inhabitant(s) of Nominal or native of Nominal*. Its allomorphs are:

- warra/V-
- arra/C-

In Kuku Yalanji this derivational suffix also apparently implies plurality, that is there is no attested use of -(w)arra in reference to just one person, e.g.

jalun-ji-warra  seaside people  
mangkal-arra   Cedar Bay people

(69) kubirri-warra  wujawlujal-arra-nda  dunga-ny
(Mossman)-inhab-ABS(S)  (Bloomfield)-inhab-LOC:pt  go-PAST
the Mossman people went to the Bloomfield people

(70) maja-ji-warra-ngka  kurranji  wubul
scrub-COMIT-inhab-ERG:pt(A)  cassowary-ABS(0)  many-ABS(0)

kuni-ny
hit/kill-PAST

the scrub people killed many cassowaries

This suffix has cognates in all the genetically related languages (warra in Guugu Yimidhirr, -barra in Dyabugay and Yidiny) as well as in many other languages of southern and central Queensland (cf. Tindale 1974).
Haviland (1979a:64) has interpreted warra in Guugu Yimidhirr as an "independent particle with nominal expression", but in Kuku Yalanji -(w)arra is clearly a suffix as is shown by the allo-morphic variation according to the final root or stem segment.

(ii) -baka *excessive (characteristic)*

Suffix -baka attached to a simple or reduplicated noun root, usually with abstract reference, indicates that the reference of the noun applies excessively to someone, i.e. *too much Noun* or *excessively Noun* which has always negative connotations. The derived stem generally functions as a noun rather than an adjective and is often used as a kind of proper noun in reference to a person, e.g.

- kuli-baka *excessively wild or grumpy person or animal*
- jalbu-baka *notorious womaniser*
- or jalbu-jalbu-baka *woman-REDUP-excess*
- kuru-baka *flirtatious, "easy" woman*
- fem.love/lust-excess.
- ngirray-baka *crybaby*
- weeping(noun)-excess.

As can be seen in the above examples, a noun root in connection with -baka may have an extended meaning. For instance, jalbu-baka is not an excessively feminine person but a lecherous male. The semantic extension can go even further, e.g.

- dirra-baka *someone who swears too much tooth-excess.*

Some examples of these derivations in sentences are:

(71) ngayu yinil kuli-baka-nka
1sg NOM(S) afraid rage-excess-DAT:pt

*I am scared of the wild one*
(72) nyulu jalbu-baka-ngka maral
3sg NOM(A) woman-excess-ERG:pt(A) girl-ABS(O)
dumbarri-ny buyun-dama-ny
break-PAST bad-CAUS-PAST
the womaniser raped a girl

An 'excessive' nominal stem may also be used with no reference to anyone in particular, but as a general lament about a deplorable situation, e.g.

(73) kamu-kamu-baka!
there is too much drinking going on around here!

(74) nyurra-baka!
there is too much noise around here! (nyurra irritating noise of people talking, shouting and laughing)

(iii) mala- expert

A nominal stem formed with mala- attached to a noun root has the semantic content good at Noun or Noun expert, e.g.

mala-kalka spear expert
mala-minya good hunter, game expert
mala-mayi good cook, food expert
mala-burri good singer, song expert
(burri name, corroboree song)

(75) Charlie mala-bulki
Charlie-ABS(S) expert-cattle
Charlie is an expert stockman

(76) nyulu mala-mayi-ngka kuyu yaka-ny
3sg NOM(A) expert- food-ERG:pt(A) fish-ABS(O) cut-PAST
the good cook cut up the fish

(77) mala-balji-nda babaji-ka balji-ka
expert-dillybag-LOC:pt ask about-IMP dillybag-DAT
ask the dillybag expert about dillybags!
The original meaning of this prefix is probably 'hand' since there are cognates mala palm of hand in Yidiny and hand in Dyirbal, south of Yidiny. (Cf. English 'he is handy at/has a hand for woodwork'.) The word for 'hand' in Kuku Yalanji and Dyabugay is mara, obviously cognate to the Yidiny and Dyirbal forms. While mara hand is a free noun root, mala- cannot occur on its own in Kuku Yalanji. It is interesting to note that the intonation pattern of mala-stems is not consistent. Sometimes the first stem syllable is stressed, e.g. mala-minya, which concurs with the normal word stress pattern, but more often only the first root syllable is stressed, e.g. mala-minya. This might indicate that mala- is in fact treated as a pro-clitic rather than a stem-forming prefix.

One Nyungkul speaker also used mala- with nominalised verb stems (see 3.2.3.6), e.g. mala-dunga-nya good at getting away (Text 12, Line 18) or mala-bundanda-nya (always) sitting comfortably (and unworried) (Text 12, Line 55). This use of mala- was not confirmed by other speakers, who only attach it to noun roots.

3.2.3.8 'Degree' of adjective

There are two affixes which occur only with adjectives or comitative stems in attributive or adjectival function (for Comitative see 4.6.1). They indicate the degree or intensity of the property described by the adjective.

(1) jarra- rather, more

Jarra- preceding an adjective indicates fairly or rather

Adjective, e.g.

jarra-yalbay rather big
jarra-minday rather tame
jarra-jinbal rather fast
jarra-bambay rather sick
(78) nyungu kangkal jarra-kaykay
3sg POSS-ABS(S) child-ABS(S) DEG₁-small
her child is rather small

(79) nyulu bunda-ny mayngku-ngu jarra-kulbul-bu
3sg NOM(S) sit-PAST mango-LOC DEG₁-ripe-LOC
he sat on a rather ripe mango

(80) kaya-ngka jarra-kuli-ji-ngka ngayku
dog-ERG:pt(A) DEG₁-rage-COMIT-ERG:pt(A) lsg POSS-ABS(O)
kaya bayka-ny
dog-ABS(O) bite-PAST
a rather wild dog bit my dog

Stress in jarra-stems is assigned according to regular word stress pattern, that is on the first syllable, e.g. járra-yalbay.

Adjectival stems with jarra- are also used in comparisons in which case jarra- indicates more Adjective than. The compared component takes dative case (see 4.1.4.4 (ii)), e.g.

(81) minya ngawuya jarra-kima minya-ka
meat-ABS(S) sea turtle-ABS(S) DEG₁-soft meat-DAT
bulki-ka
cattle-DAT

sea-turtle meat is softer than beef

Jarra- has also been attested with one verb, jarra-kulba-1 carry (kulba-1 lift), but it is not used productively with verbs.

(ii) -baja(-ku) very

The bound morpheme -baja has various functions. With verbs it is used as a post-inflectional clitic meaning again (see 3.10.3). With adjectives, on the other hand, it may be more appropriately classed as a stem-forming suffix for the following reasons. In connection with an adjective -baja must always be followed by the emphatic clitic -ku (see 3.10.2) to indicate very Adjective, e.g.
If, however, an adjectival stem with -baja takes non-zero inflection, the inflectional suffix is inserted between -baja- and clitic -ku, e.g.

(84) dingkar-angka junkurr-ji-baja-ngka-ku
man-ERG:pt(A) strength-COMIT-DEG_2-ERG:pt(A)-EMPH_1
bikibiki kulba-ny
pig-ABS(O) lift-PAST

the very strong man lifted the pig up

(85) ngayu jiba-badi-y karrkay-anka
lsg NOM(S) liver-cry-NONPAST child-DAT:pt
bambay-baja-nka-ku
sick-DEG_2-DAT:pt-EMPH_2

I am sorry for the very sick child

3.2.3.9 Co-occurrence of Stem-forming Affixes

The most productive of all stem forming processes are Possessive, Comitative, and general Plural (reduplication). Adjectival stem formation with 'Degree'-affixes is also fairly common, but all other stem-forming affixes have more limited application, partly because of their semantic content and partly because of formal criteria. For instance, 'Kinship Plural' -karra is used only with kinship terms and 'Inhabitants' suffix -(w)arra can only occur on proper or common place names. Similar reasons proscribe the co-occurrence of derivations like 'Plural' and 'Pair'.
The catalytic suffix -mun- is used only with trisyllabic roots and loan words preceding the case inflection and therefore does not have to be included in ordering rules of stem-forming suffixes. The two prefixes also do not have to be ordered, since mala- expert occurs only with noun roots and jarra- rather, more attaches only to adjectival stems.

Of the stem-forming suffixes which occur with nouns only, Privative, Kinship Plural, Pair, Inhabitants, and Excessive can be classed as first order suffixes; reduplication for 'general Plural' also falls into this category. All of these may be followed by Comitative in 'accompaniment' function or Possessive, or both, e.g.

(86) ngayu jilba dunga-y kangkal-kari-ji
lsg NOM(S) walk go-NONPAST own child-PRIV-COMIT
I go for a walk with the childless one

(87) jana kada-ny-baja ngamu-karra-ndamun-ji
3pl NOM(S) come-PAST-again mother-KPL-POSS-COMIT
kambi-ji
clothes-COMIT
they came back with the mother's clothes

(88) jalbu-bulal-amu kangkal dubu-ngku
woman-pair-POSS-ABS(0) own child-ABS(0) ghost-ERG:pt(A)
ngaki-ny
steal-PAST
a ghost stole the two women's children

(89) banabila-warra-mu kaya kuli-ji
(place name)-inhab-POSS-ABS(S) dog-ABS(S) rage-COMIT
the Banabila-people's dogs are wild (angry)

(90) kari dunga-y yinya-nji kamu-baka-nji
NEG go-IMP that-COMIT:pt alcohol-excess-COMIT:pt
don't go out with that drunkard!
(91) maja balka-n-balka-wa-y warru-warru-nji
boss(master)-ABS(S) talk-REDUP-RECIP-NONPAST yg man-REDUP-COMIT:pt
the boss is talking with the young men

A comitative stem in attributive function may also be followed
by Possessive, e.g.

(92) jalbu-mu .waral-ji-mu dunyu wula-ny
woman-POSS-ABS(S) belly-COMIT-POSS-ABS(S) husband-ABS(S) die-PAST
the pregnant woman's husband died

As was shown in 3.2.3.7 (i), an 'attributive' comitative stem referring
to geographical features may take the 'Inhabitants' suffix, e.g.

ngalkal-ji-warra open forest country people.

A comitative stem in 'accompaniment' function, on the other
hand, cannot take further derivational suffix$^e$ but such a comitative
stem may be based on a possessive stem, as for instance in (87), and

(93) nyulu warri-ny buliman-andamun-ji marrkin-ji
3sg NOM(S) run-PAST police-POSS-COMIT rifle-COMIT
he ran [off] with the policeman's rifle

Note that possessive and Privative apparently cannot co-occur.
A sentence like 'he ran off without the policeman's rifle'
would be paraphrased as 'he did not run off with the police-
man's rifle', using a comitative form and negating the clause.

The adjectival 'Degree'-suffix -baja(-ku) may also be followed
by further derivations, but such constructions are very rare, for
example

(94) dingkar-amu yalbay-baja-mu-ku kalka
man-POSS-ABS(S) big-DEG$_2$-POSS-ABS(S)-EMPH$_1$ spear-ABS(S)
kadaba-ny
break-PAST
the very big man's spear broke

(kadaba-1 is an intransitive verb)
(95) nyulu dunga-ny car-mun-ji mukul-baja-ji-ku
3sg NOM(S) go-PAST car-mun-COMIT old-DEG₂-COMIT-EMPH₁
he went with a very old car

Co-occurrence possibilities of nominal derivational suffixes
are listed in Table 3.4.

TABLE 3.4 CO-OCCURRENCE OF NOMINAL DERIVATIONAL SUFFIXES IN KUKU YALANJI

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Co-occurrence possibilities</th>
<th>may be followed by</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Privative</td>
<td>-kari</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kinship Plural</td>
<td>-karra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pair -bulal</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inhabitants</td>
<td>-(w)arra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Excessive</td>
<td>-baka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General Plural</td>
<td>(reduplication)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Degree₂</td>
<td>-baja(-ku)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Attributive'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comitative</td>
<td>-ji ~ -nji</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Possessive</td>
<td>-mu ~ -ngV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AND/OR</td>
<td>'Accompaniment' Comitative -ji ~ -nji*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* For further allomorphs of Possessive and Comitative see 3.2.3.2 and 3.2.3.3 respectively.
3.2.3.10 **Nominal Compounds**

Nouns and particularly adjectives can be formed by compounding free-form roots or stems, often resulting in idiomatic expressions with extended semantic content. A compound is defined by inseparability and word stress pattern (see 2.6.1).

Some compounds appear to be *ad hoc* formations and cannot always be analysed synchronically, e.g.

- **marrka-bina** *oyster found in mangrove swamp* (marrka *salt pan* in Kuku Yalanji, bina *ear* in Dyabugay, which may be a reference to the shape of the shell)
- **kalka-muku** *green tree snake* (again, this compound probably spear-back refers to the long and slender shape of the reptile)

More productive compounding processes include body part terms, particularly **miyil** *eye* and **milka** *ear*, e.g.

- **miyil-burra** *blind*
- eye-stale, bitter
- **miyil-dudu** *illiterate*
- blunt
- **miyil-kaban-ji** *literate*
- letter/paper-COMIT
- **miyil-wurril** *cross-eyed*
- lopsided
- **miyil-wujurr-wujurr** *dusk*
- darkness-REDUP
- **milka-dudu** *deaf*
- ear-blunt
- **milka-bujar** *homesick*
- raw/cold
The use of body part terms in compounds, both nominal and verbal (see 3.8.5.2), with reference to personal attributes or mental states has also been attested for Guugu Yimidhirr (Haviland unpublished wordlist) and Dyabugay (Patz, unpublished word list).

3.2.4 Morphology of Kinship Terms

As was shown in 3.2.4 kinship terms differ from other nouns in that they take a special derivational suffix to indicate plural.

A subset of seven kinship terms out of an attested total of 31 is further offset from other nouns in that they preferably or obligatorily take case inflections and comitative suffixes from the 'neutral' set. These are:

- kangkal own child
- manyarr wife
- babarr older sister
- jinkurr younger sister
- biwul mother-in-law
- ngalayan father-in-law, son-in-law
- kujiway daughter-in-law

Of these, kangkal own child always occurs with 'neutral' suffixes,
whereas with the others 'neutral' suffixes are preferred, but 'potent' suffixes are possible, e.g.

(96) kangkal-da(*-angka) kaya kuni-ny
own child-ERG(A)(*ERG:pt) dog-ABS(0) hit-PAST

(my) child hit the dog

(97) manyarr-da/-angka mayi waju-l
wife-ERG/-ERG:pt(A) food-ABS(0) cook-NONPAST

the wife is cooking food

(98) ngayu dunga-y jinkurr-bu/-undu
1sg NOM(S) go-NONPAST yZ-LOC/LOC:pt

I go to (my) younger sister

(99) nyulu kada-ny biwul-ji/-unji
3sg NOM(S) come-PAST MiL-COMIT/COMIT:pt

she came with (her) mother-in-law

Other kinship terms allow only 'potent' suffixes, e.g.

(100) dunyu-ngku(*-bu) ngawa kuji-l-kuji-l
husband-ERG:pt(A) baby-ABS(0) look after-REDUP-NONPAST

the husband is looking after the baby

(101) ngayu yaba-nda(*-nga) babaji-ny
1sg NOM(S) eB-LOC:pt ask-PAST

I asked (my) elder brother

In the Yalanji dialect the same seven kinship terms also prefer a possessive suffix which is identical to the locative inflection, e.g.

kambi babarr-ba/-amu elder sister's clothes
kambi kujiway-mba/-amu daughter-in-law's clothes

In the Nyungkul dialect, where the possessive suffix already coincides with allomorphs of the neutral locative inflection, there is no distinction between possessive stems of these kinship terms and other nouns, e.g.
3.2.5 Morphology of Quantifiers

Kuku Yalanji has the basic two term number system:

nyubun  one
jambul  two

There is a synonym mamarra two which, according to my informants, is an "old fashioned" or "stylish" form, but not a taboo language item. Although widely known, this term is not in general use.

Further quantifiers are:

kulur  a few, three
kanbal  some, several
wubul  many
kankur  half
yambayamba  everything
yamba-kari  nothing

Kulur a few now generally refers to cardinal number three (cf. H. and R. Hershberger 1982), but it may also be used to imply an unspecified small number larger than two and smaller than kanbal some. Two more derived number terms are:

jambul-jambul  four (literally: two-two)
mara  five (literally: hand).

There are also two quantifiers which may refer both to size and, by extension, to uncountable amounts. These are:

buban  (a) little, insufficient
jirray  big, plenty, sufficient

The following sentences illustrate the use of these two terms in contrast to their "counterparts" kanbal and wubul:
(102)a) kambi ngayku kanbal
   I have several (items of) clothes
b) kambi ngayku buban
   I have too few clothes/my clothes are insufficient
   (my informant added by way of explanation: "I can't give you any")

(103)a) ngayku bulawu kanbal
   I have some flour
b) ngayku bulawu buban
   I have only a little flour

(104)a) bayan ngayku wubul
   I have many houses
b) bayan ngayku jirray
   my house is big enough (or: my houses are big enough)
   (or: my houses are big enough)

(105)a) birra wubul juku-ngu
   leaf many tree-LOC
   there are many (identifiable) leaves on the tree(s)
b) birra jirray juku-ngu
   there is a mass of leaves on the tree(s)
or there are large leaves on the tree(s)

but c) birra yalbay juku-ngu
   big/large

   can only mean
   there are large leaves on the tree(s)

As can be seen from the above examples the use of 'mass' quantifier
versus 'countable' quantifier does not depend on the type of noun,
but the semantic distinction is inherent in the quantifier. Consider
also:
bama wubul  \textit{many people}

bama jirray  \textit{a large crowd of people}

juku wubul  \textit{many trees}

juku jirray  \textit{a large forest}

Quantifiers have the same system of case inflections and derivational possibilities (where applicable) as other nominals. But they differ formally from nouns and adjectives in that they apparently take only 'neutral' suffixes. Furthermore, cardinal numbers \textit{one} and \textit{two} in the Nyungkul dialect, and \textit{one} in the Yalanji dialect take case inflections and comitative and possessive suffixes that are different from those of other nominals. These suffixes are listed in Table 3.5.

\begin{table}[h]
\centering
\begin{tabular}{llll}
\hline
 & one & & two \\
Absolutive & -∅ & nyubun & jambul \\
Ergative & -inja & nyubuninja & jambulinja \\
Dative & -ingka & nyubuningga & jambulingka \\
Locative & -imba & nyubunimbä & jambulimba \\
Ablative & -imuny & nyubunimpan & jambulimuny \\
Comitative & -inji & nyubuninji & jambulinji \\
Possessive & =Locative & & \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\caption{Case inflections and derivational suffixes with cardinal numbers}
\end{table}

(Abessive and Perlative have not been attested)

Kulur \textit{a few, three} in the Nyungkul dialect takes these suffixes for Ergative and Ablative and, in free variation with regular nominal suffixes, also for Dative and Possessive. Comitative has the regular 'neutral' form -iji, i.e. kulur-iji (see 3.2.3.3. Table 3.3).
Some speakers also use the cardinal number suffixes in free variation with regular suffixes for quantifier wubul many.

Ergative, dative and locative inflections without initial vowel i are identical to the neutral allomorphs for these cases after y-final roots (see 3.2.2. Table 3.1). It would therefore be possible that vowel i is in fact not part of the suffix, but part of a suppletive root ending in -i(y). Such an assumption would be supported by the fact that vowel i remains constant, whereas the suffix-final vowel in these inflections is a after root vowel i, according to the vowel harmony rule. However, there is no other synchronic or diachronic evidence for suppletive trisyllabic roots of cardinal numbers. For this reason I interpret vowel i as part of the suffix and not as part of the root.

3.3 MORPHOLOGY OF LOCATION WORDS

Location words in Kuku Yalanji belong to a closed word-class with different inflectional properties from those of nominals. A full list of attested location words is:

- wangkar: upwards
- wangkarwangkar: up there, above
- bada: downwards
- badabada: down there, underneath
- walmbi: left
- jakuy: right
- kungkarr: north
- kuwa: west
- jibarr: south
- naka: east
Where semantically possible, location words may have temporal extension. Thus yuba and ngundu may be used in the sense of \textit{near} and \textit{close by in time}, and kudamundu may refer to \textit{afterwards}.

3.3.1 \textbf{Locational Systems}

Three symmetrical locational systems are discernable in the above list of location words: up/down, left/right, and compass points. These and the general direction marker yarra will be discussed in the following subsections.

(i) \textit{wangkar up}, \textit{bada down}

With respect to the surroundings of the settlement at Wujalwujal on the Bloomfield River wangkar refers to \textit{up the river} and bada to \textit{down the river}. When indicating direction \textit{up a mountain} or a downward path other than along the river valley, the general direction marker yarra together with an appropriate gesture is used in connection with wangkar or bada.

In an extended sense wangkar refers to a place or direction \textit{above speaker} (in the air, in a tree, etc.) and bada to a place \textit{below speaker} (on the ground, under water, etc.).
(ii) *walmbi* left, *jakuy* right

These terms have only limited use in Kuku Yalanji, applying apparently only to body parts. They generally occur as reduplicated comitative stems, e.g.

- *jakuy-jakuy-ji* (my) right side
- *jina walmbi-walmbi-ji* left foot

By extension *walmbi-walmbi-ji* refers to a left-handed person.

H. and R. Hershberger (1982) list common nouns for *right hand* and *right hand side*, *jurrubiji* and *malabayi* respectively, but do not include a location term for *right*. *Jakuy* (cf. *jakuy right* in my data) is glossed by them as *left hand*, but they concur with my data for location word *walmbi* left and *walmbiwalmbi* *left-handed*.

(iii) Compass Points

Compass points play a most important part in orientation in Kuku Yalanji. As was mentioned above, the concepts left/right refer to the human body and are not used to indicate direction or location in the environment; this is done entirely by compass points and location words *up/down*. In other words, a Kuku Yalanji speaker does not take his bearings subjectively with reference to his own person, but rather in relation to the objective and absolute concepts of north, east, south, and west. Where an English speaker would give directions as "turn left and then right", a Kuku Yalanji speaker would say, for instance, "turn west and then north". Similarly, the sides of a house are not referred to as "left" and "right" from the perspective of the speaker (which in English is often confusing for the listener), but a house has a "north side", an "east side", etc. according to its position in the actual environment.
The following incident illustrates clearly that Kuku Yalanji speakers always take their bearings from the environment. A woman was asked by her son to start the car while he was trying to push it out of a bog. Not being a driver herself, she asked which pedal to press. She said: pedal wanyu? yarra naka, yarra kuwa? Which pedal? the eastern or the western one?

An interesting aspect in the use of compass points in Kuku Yalanji is that they apparently only refer to places on land, but not the sea. Direction towards the sea, roughly east of Kuku Yalanji country, is described as simply jalun-bu sea-LOC, or dingal base (of tree), end, or also naka-dingal south-eastern end (of the land). Thus the compass points in Kuku Yalanji do not correspond exactly to a navigational compass, but indicate the following "westward shifted" directions:

kungkarr north/northwest (e.g. Cedar Bay, Cooktown, Rossville)
kuwa northwest/west (e.g. Hopevale, Laura, sunset)
jibarr southwest/south (e.g. Mt. Carbine, Mareeba)
naka southeast (e.g. Mt. Pieter Botte, Cairns)

There are cognates in Guugu Yimidhirr and Yidiny corresponding to the general directions indicated by the Kuku Yalanji terms. However, in Guugu Yimidhirr we can distinguish between roots, gungga-, guwa-, dyiba-, naka-, and five sets of locative/allative forms varying in reference to relative distance, e.g. a place a long way to the North would be gunggaalu, a place just to the North is gunggaarra, etc.

The Kuku Yalanji terms, which do not make these distinctions, resemble the stem forms that are used in derived inchoative verbs in Guugu Yimidhirr:

\[
gunggaarr=\text{mal} \\
guwa=\text{mal} \\
dyibaarr=\text{mal} \\
naga=\text{mal}
\]  
(There is no distinct vowel length in Kuku Yalanji.)
In Dyabugay there are only cognates for north and west, south being jilngku and east wangkar. The latter is obviously cognate to Kuku Yalanji wangkar up, which is somewhat odd because the East of Dyabugay country leads down to the sea. However, there is a high coastal mountainous area around Yarrabah, just south of Cairns. Possibly, wangkar in Dyabugay refers, or formerly referred, to this particular land mass and only by extension to the direction of the sea.

(iv) General Direction yarra

Yarra expresses no specific directional reference in itself. It may occur with other location words or nouns in locative case and implies over there in the direction of X. When used on its own it is always accompanied by a gesture of hand or head pointing towards the direction referred to. (Cf. deictic yarra there, yonder in Guugu Yimidhirr, and suffix -jirra towards in Dyabugay.)

3.3.2 Location Words - Inflections

Location words occur only in local cases. They differ formally from nouns in that the root itself implies Locative (with the function of 'location at' or 'direction towards') and therefore does not take locative case inflection.

Wangkar up, and bada down distinguish between 'location' and 'direction' in their root- or stem-form. The simple root implies direction, e.g. bada downwards, and the reduplicated stem implies location, e.g. badabada down there, underneath. Both simple and reduplicated forms may take further local inflections.

Perlative 'through' apparently cannot be used with location words since they do not define a space that can be traversed, but refer to a more general location.
Inflectional system and forms for location words are:

Locative  φ
Ablative  -muny (= 'neutral' nominal inflection)
Abessive  -mundu (= nominal inflection)

Some examples of location words in different cases are:

(106) buliman-angka ngayku nganjan
police-ERG:pt(A) lsg POSS-ABS(0) father-ABS(0)

naka wundi-ny
east-LOC take-PAST

the police took my father "Cairns-way" [i.e. south east]

(107) Mary ngundu jana-y Queenie-nda
Mary-ABS(S) close by-LOC stand-NONPAST Queenie-LOC:pt

Mary is standing close to Queenie

(108) nyulu kada-ny ngubar-muny
3sg NOM(S) come-PAST other side of river-ABL

he came from the other side of the river

(109) ngayu wulngku kalakalbay-mundu nyaji-1
1sg NOM(A) song-ABS(O) far away-ABESS hear-NONPAST

I hear a song from a long way away

(110) bama yirrka-n-yirrka-y badabada-muny
Aborig-ABS(S) shout-REDUP-NONPAST down there-ABESS

people are singing out from down there

The location word kudamundu behind could be a fossilised abessive form, although kuda cannot be analysed in this context. (-kuda is otherwise used as temporal clitic, meaning something like meanwhile, see 3.10.1 and 5.2.2.) Note that kudamundu can take ablative but not abessive inflection, e.g.

1) Locative, which has zero-inflection, is glossed in this section only, but not in any further examples or texts.
(111) wulbuman-angka nyunguny wukurri-ny kudamundu(*-mundu)
old woman-ERG:pt(A) 3sg ACC(O) follow-PAST behing-LOC(ABESS)
the old woman followed behind him
or
the old woman followed him from behind

(112) warru jalama-ny juku-muny kudamundu-muny
yg man-ABS(S) jump-PAST tree-ABL behind-ABL
the young man jumped (out) from behind the tree

3.4 MORPHOLOGY OF TIME WORDS

Words with temporal reference belong to a separate word class in Kuku Yalanji that is distinguished from both nouns and location words by its morphology. Also, time words do not co-occur with nominals but constitute phrases in their own right. The members of this word class are:

nyiku now, today
yilaybaja later on today
yilay-yilay late afternoon
wunkuny next day, tomorrow
juma eventually, soon, next time
yilayku yesterday
ngadiy- a long time

The root ngadi(y)- only occurs in inflected form,
ngadi(y)-ngka for a long time
DAT
ngadi(y)-muny from way back
ABL

or with clitic -ku which apparently has perfective implication with time words (cf. yilayku: yesterday):
ngadi(y)-ku a long time ago
(We can assume that this root has final -y, which is deleted after vowel i- (see 2.5.2), since it takes the dative allomorph for y-final roots. However, because this root never occurs in uninflected form, I do not represent root-final y in further examples.)

The form yilay which occurs in three time words is another possible, but unanalyserable, root that cannot occur in isolation.

Time words in simple root form without inflection refer to 'in, at, during a given time', which is similar to the locative implication of uninflected location words, e.g.

(113) yilayku nyulu bambay-ma-ny
      yesterday 3sg NOM(S) sick-INCHO-PAST

he became ill yesterday

(114) wunkuny nyulu dunga-y doctor nyaji-nka
      tomorrow 3sg NOM(S) go-NONPAST doctor-ABS(0) see-PURP

tomorrow he will go to see the doctor

Apart from the root form, time words may occur in dative and ablative case, taking regular 'neutral' inflections. Dative implies 'for a given time' and Ablative 'since, from a given time', e.g.

(115) ngayu mayi kanbal kuji-l
     1sg NOM(A) food-ABS(0) some-ABS(0) keep-NONPAST

yilaybaja-ka
later-DAT

I keep some food for later on today

(116) nyulu kambi mukul kuji-l-kuji-ny
     3sg NOM(A) clothes-ABS(0) old-ABS(0) keep-REDUP-PAST

ngadi-muny
long time-ABL

he had been keeping some old clothes from a long time [ago]
Juma soon has two alternative forms in dative case which are used in free variation. These are juma-ka and jumay-ngka, which may indicate that there is a suppletive or archaic root jumay, e.g.

(117) Nyulu kulji mani-ny, yijarri-ny juma-yngka/-ka
3sg NOM(A) rock-ABS(O) get-PAST put-PAST next time-DAT

He got a rock and set it up for the next time. (Text 12, Line 60)

Other time stretches are referred to by common nouns or stems that take regular nominal inflections, e.g.

- wujurr: night, darkness
- wujurr-bu (LOC): at, during the night
- warngu: one day and night (literally: sleep)
- kija: moon, month
- bulur-iji: cold season
- dew/chill-COMIT
- wungar-iji: hot season
- sun-COMIT

Times of the day may be referred to by descriptive phrases, e.g.

- wungar dakal: sunrise
- sun climb
- wungar wangkarwangkar: mid-morning to early afternoon
- sun above

3.5 PERSONAL PRONOUNS

Kuku Yalanji has free pronoun forms which are used in reference to animate beings, particularly humans. Personal pronouns distinguish three numbers, singular, dual and plural, as well as

1) The beginning of the Christmas carol 'Silent Night' has been translated as wujurrbu ngadiku during the night a long time ago.
inclusive and exclusive for first person non-singular. However, the
distinction between inclusive and exclusive, particularly in the
dual, is not always made. Where this is the case, the exclusive
form is used rather than the inclusive form. Thus it appears that
the exclusive forms are taking on an unmarked meaning, and inclusive
forms may become obsolete.

In Dyabugay which does not distinguish between inclusive and
exclusive, the first person plural form is cognate with the
Kuku Yalanji exclusive form: Dyabugay nganyji (Nominative)
nganyjiny (Accusative) 1 pl (Hale 1976b:237; Patz 1978:44),
Kuku Yalanji nganjin 1 pl exc. (There are no dual forms in
Dyabugay.)

Second person plural is used as a honorific address term towards
some in-law relations, particularly brother-in-law.

3.5.1 Paradigm

Core-syntactic case marking for personal pronouns follows a
nominative/accusative pattern with an unmarked form for both
transitive and intransitive subject (Nominative) and a marked form
for transitive object (Accusative). This is of course different
from nominal syntactic case marking where intransitive subject and
transitive object take zero-inflection and only the transitive
subject has a marked form. Except for this difference in the core-
syntactic case marking system which is widespread in Australian
languages, pronouns are used in all cases which have a 'potent'
inflectional allomorph, i.e. Dative, general Locative and Ablative.

Semantic constraints do not allow pronouns to occur in instru-
mental or perative case. Instrumental inherently implies
inanimacy which is in contrast to the animate reference of
pronouns. R. Hershberger (1964c:60) attested instrumental
pronoun forms based on the possessive stem:

(118) ngayu jana-nda-mundu Carol Kunin I hit Carol with them
(quoted from Hershberger) but such sentences were rejected by my informants, who replaced the pronoun with a demonstrative which can have both animate or inanimate reference. Similarly, Perlative is not used with pronouns since animate beings are not regarded as something that can be 'passed through'. Con- strued sentences like 'the spear went right through him' proved unacceptable and were rendered as 'the spear got stuck in him'. Abessive pronoun forms seem to be possible, but are not well liked; Ablative is preferred.

A full paradigm of inflected pronoun forms and comitative and possessive stems with zero-inflection is given in Table 3.6. This paradigm can be analysed as follows: For non-singular pronouns the nominative form serves as root for all other cases. The accusative suffix is:

- ngan / V- in Yalanji dialect
- an / C-
- niny / V- in Nyungkul dialect
- iny / C-

Other suffixes follow the nominal case inflection paradigm.

Note that the pronominal possessive suffix does not show a dialect difference between Yalanji and Nyungkul as it does with nouns. The Nyungkul nominal possessive suffix -(V)ngV is used for non-singular possessive pronouns in both Yalanji and Nyungkul.

For second and third person singular there are two distinct forms for Nominative and for Possessive with the possessive form serving as base for the other cases. The accusative suffix is:

- ny in Yalanji
- niny in Nyungkul (the same as for non-singular forms)
### TABLE 3.6 PERSONAL PRONOUN PARADIGM

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nominative</th>
<th>Accusative</th>
<th>Dative</th>
<th>Locative</th>
<th>Ablative</th>
<th>Comitative +zero-inflation</th>
<th>Possessive +zero inflection</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Yangal</strong></td>
<td><strong>Yunguny</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sg.1.</td>
<td>ngayu</td>
<td>nganya</td>
<td>ngaykuny</td>
<td>ngaykundu</td>
<td>ngaykundumuny</td>
<td>ngaykunji</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>yundu</td>
<td>yununy</td>
<td>yununku</td>
<td>yunundu</td>
<td>yunundumuny</td>
<td>yununj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>nyulu (yulu)1</td>
<td>nyunguny</td>
<td>nyungunku</td>
<td>nyungundu</td>
<td>nyungundumuny</td>
<td>nyungunji</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Du.1.exc.</td>
<td>ngali</td>
<td>ngalingan</td>
<td>ngalininya</td>
<td>ngalinda</td>
<td>ngalindamuny</td>
<td>ngalinji</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inc.</td>
<td>ngaliny</td>
<td>ngalinyan</td>
<td>ngalinyanyika</td>
<td>ngalinyanda</td>
<td>ngalinyandamuny</td>
<td>ngalinyanji</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>yubal</td>
<td>yubalan</td>
<td>yubalanka</td>
<td>yubalanda</td>
<td>yubalandomuny</td>
<td>yubalanji</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>bula</td>
<td>bulangan</td>
<td>bulanini</td>
<td>bulanka</td>
<td>bulanda</td>
<td>bulanji</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pl.1.exc.</td>
<td>nganjin</td>
<td>nganjinan</td>
<td>nganjininya</td>
<td>nganjinanka</td>
<td>nganjinandamuny</td>
<td>nganjinanj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inc.</td>
<td>ngana</td>
<td>nganangan</td>
<td>ngananin</td>
<td>ngananka</td>
<td>nganandamuny</td>
<td>ngananj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>yurra</td>
<td>yurrangan</td>
<td>yurraniy</td>
<td>yurranka</td>
<td>yurrandamuny</td>
<td>yurranj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>jana</td>
<td>janangan</td>
<td>jananini</td>
<td>jananka</td>
<td>janandamuny</td>
<td>jananji</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1) The two alternative forms for third person singular are used in free variation, but nyulu is more common than yulu.
### TABLE 3.7 PERSONAL PRONOUN BASE FORMS AND INFLECTIONS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Base Forms</th>
<th>Inflections</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(Nominative) (Possessive)</td>
<td>Yalanji</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sg.1. ngayu</td>
<td>ngayku-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. yundu</td>
<td>yunu-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. nyulu</td>
<td>nyungu-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Du.1.exc. ngali-</td>
<td>-anga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inc. ngaliny-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. yubal-</td>
<td>-(V)nkV 1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. bula-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pl.1.exc. nganjin-</td>
<td>-(V)ndVmuny</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inc. ngana-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. yurra-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. jana-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1) This and the following inflections have allomorphs with initial vowel following root-final consonants (see nominal case inflections, 3.2.2. Table 3.1). Any vowel V is determined by vowel harmony rules (see 2.5.1).
First person singular shows three distinct forms which are the same in both dialects:

Nominative: ngayu
Accusative: nganya
Possessive: ngayku

The possessive form is used as base for all other case inflections.

To summarise, we can say that there is a two-way split in the Kuku Yalanji pronoun paradigm according to base forms. For non-singular pronouns the nominative form serves as base throughout the paradigm. Singular pronouns have distinct forms for Nominative and Possessive with all other cases being built on the possessive form; only first person singular has a suppletive form for Accusative. Table 3.7 shows pronominal base forms and their suffixes.

3.5.2 Possessive stems

Where a possessive pronoun modifies a noun as part of a wider noun phrase, the pronoun normally agrees in case with the head noun, but does not necessarily have to do so: an uninflected possessive stem may be used. This of course also occurs, if the head noun is in absolutive case, e.g.

(119) ngayu nyungu yaba nyaji-ny
1sg NOM(A) 3sg POSS-ABS(O) eB-ABS(O) see-PAST
I saw his elder brother

(120) ngayku kaya-ngka karrkay bayka-ny
1sg POSS dog-ERG:pt(A) child-ABS(O) bite-PAST
my dog bit a child

If the possessive pronoun is inflected in agreement with the head noun, a special possessive pronoun stem has to be formed which takes suffixes from the 'neutral' set of case inflections. (Nominal
possessive stems inflect in the same way, see 3.2.3.2.) Again, the formation of these stems is different for singular and non-singular forms:

- **singular pronoun**: possessive root + -wun- -ngun-
- **non-singular pronoun**: nominative root + \{-ndVmun/V- \{-VndVmun/C- \}

This shows that non-singular pronouns form possessive stems in the same way as nouns (see 3.2.3.2). A full paradigm of possessive pronoun stems is given in Table 3.8, followed by some examples in sentences.

**TABLE 3.8 POSSESSIVE PRONOUN STEMS WITH NON-ZERO INFLECTION**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Sg.1.</th>
<th>Du.1.exc.</th>
<th>Pl.1.exc.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ngaykuwun-</td>
<td>ngalindamun-</td>
<td>nganjinandamun-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>yunuwun-</td>
<td>ngalinyandamun-</td>
<td>nganandamun-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nyunguwun-</td>
<td>yubalandamun-</td>
<td>yurrandamun-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>bulandamun-</td>
<td>janandamun-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(121) ngayku-wun-du kaya-ngka karrkay bayka-ny
1sg-POSS-ERG(A) dog-ERG:pt(A) child-ABS(O) bite-PAST

my dog bit a child (cf. (120))

---

1) The stem-forming suffix for singular pronouns -wun- has been recorded as -ngun- in free variation.
(122) ngayu wawu jirray yunu-wun-ku ngamu-nku
1sg NOM(S) like much 2sg-POSS-DAT mother-DAT:pt
I like your mother very much
(123) yanya mani daya yubal-andamun-bu
this-ABS(O) money-ABS(O) give-IMP 2du-POSS-LOC
nganjan-anda
father-LOC:pt
give this money to your [dual] father!
(124) buliman kada-y jana-ndamun-muny bayan-muny
police-ABS(S) come-NONPAST 3pl-POSS-ABL house-ABL
a policeman is coming from their house

Like nouns, pronouns do not have special forms to indicate 'possessor of a possessor'. The regular possessive stem is used, and there is a preference for locative inflection, regardless of the case of the head noun, e.g.

(125) nyulu yunu-wun-bu / yunu
3sg NOM(A) 2sg-POSS-LOC / 2sg POSS-ABS(O)
kangkal-ba mayi
own child-POSS-ABS(O) food-ABS(O)
wundi-ny
take-PAST
he took your child's food
(126) ngayku-wun-bu/-du babarr-andamun-du kaya-ngka
1sg POSS-LOC/-ERG(A) eZ-POSS-ERG(A) dog-ERG:pt(A)
ngayku minya ngaki-ny
1sg POSS-ABS(O) meat-ABS(O) steal-PAST
my elder sister's dog pinched my meat

(It must be pointed out that such constructions are not generally used and were only obtained through elicitation.)
3.5.3 Historical Notes

From the historical point of view the system and forms of Kuku Yalanji personal pronouns are quite conservative. It may be assumed that pA pronouns had singular/dual/plural distinction and the eastern languages generally show relatively few changes in this system. As for the actual roots, similar forms can be found in many other Australian languages and, clearly, Kuku Yalanji personal pronoun roots have undergone sound changes and reinterpretations that are quite common.

Dixon (1980:339-346) has reconstructed monosyllabic roots for singular pronouns in S-function with inflections for A and O function:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>S</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>O</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lsg</td>
<td>ngay</td>
<td>ngay+DHu</td>
<td>ngay+NHa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2sg</td>
<td>ngin⁴)</td>
<td>ngin+du</td>
<td>ngin+NH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3sg</td>
<td>NHu</td>
<td>NHu+lu</td>
<td>NHu+NHa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As a general trend Australian languages at some stage in their development began to abolish monosyllabic roots and in most languages, Kuku Yalanji among them, the pA agentive forms were reinterpreted as roots covering both A and S function. Following common phonological changes (outlined in Dixon *ibid*) this yielded in Kuku Yalanji:

1sg | ngayu
2sg | yundu
3sg | nyulu (yulu)

1) A reconstruction of 2sg *nyun would be appropriate for Kuku Yalanji and its related languages.
The suppletive lsg accusative form nganya can be analysed as directly related to the pA 0 form ngay-NHa, and the lsg possessive root ngayku is indeed identical with the corresponding pA form ngay-ku if the assumption holds true that -ku is the pA genitive suffix. (However, Kuku Yalanji cannot provide any more evidence for GEN -ku than, for instance, Warrgamay which also has lsg POSS ngayku, but does not use GEN -ku anywhere else in its pronoun paradigm.)

Proto-Australian non-singular forms are thought to have had one root for S/A function with suffix -NHa for 0 function. The assumed pA forms are (Dixon 1980:334-9).

1du ngali
2du NHu(m)balV
3du bula
1pl ngana
2pl NHurra
3pl DHaNa

The distinction between inclusive/exclusive first person forms appears to be an innovation. Distribution in modern languages shows that where this distinction is made ngali and ngana usually indicate inclusive, while exclusive forms are either based on ngali and ngana or are quite unrelated to these. In Kuku Yalanji the reverse applies for first person dual forms: ngali implies exclusive, while the inclusive pronoun involves an increment to this form: ngaliny. First person plural pronouns, on the other hand, concur with the general Australian pattern in that ngana is the inclusive form. Nganjin 1 pl exc. could be based on ngana (cf. Guugu Yimidhirr inland dialect nganhdhaan 1 pl), but there is no real evidence to show that it is.
The second person non-singular forms yubal and yurra have developed by lenition of the initial consonant: NH > ny > y. (Similar lenition of the first consonant has also applied to second and third person singular.) The final vowel of 2du *NHu(m)balV has been dropped in Kuku Yalanji.

The fact that inflections to yubal involve an initial vowel, e.g. Dative yubal-anka in contrast to ngana-nka, is probably of no consequence since all 'potent' inflections in Kuku Yalanji have allomorphs with initial vowel following root-final consonants.

Third person plural jana shows a regular reflex of pA DH (DHaNa > jana), while third person dual bula involves no change at all.

3.6 INTERROGATIVE PRONOUNS

3.6.1 Paradigm and Morphology

Interrogative pronoun roots in Kuku Yalanji show the common Australian distinction between who, what and where. In many Australian languages interrogative pronouns can have both interrogative and indefinite meaning, e.g. who/someone. This is not so for Kuku Yalanji interrogative forms who and what which have only interrogative sense. Where, on the other hand, may imply both where and somewhere. To express something indefinite the generic term junjuy is used in reference to anything inanimate or animate except humans, but there seems to be no way to express some indefinite person. (In pre-contact times the generic term bama Aboriginal person would presumably have been sufficient for this function.)
The form for who differs in the Yalanji and Nyungkul dialects, but what and where are the same (see Table 3.9).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Yalanji</th>
<th>Nyungkul</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>who</td>
<td>wanya</td>
<td>wanju</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>what</td>
<td>wanyu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>where</td>
<td>wanja</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Both who and what inflect according to the nominal system of case marking, that is core syntactic inflections distinguish between transitive subject and intransitive subject/transitive object. (This is different from the most frequent pattern in other Australian languages where who inflects in a nominative/accusative pattern like pronouns, and what like nominals in an ergative/absolutive pattern.) Who takes suffixes from the 'potent' set of case inflections, and what takes inflections from the 'neutral' set. Where is used only in local cases; it is also the base for further interrogatives like when and how.

A paradigm of inflected who and what forms and their possessive and comitative stems is given in Table 3.10. The Yalanji form wanya who shows regular nominal suffixes for all but the possessive stem with zero inflection. This stem, in both Yalanji and Nyungkul, takes a suffix identical to the 'neutral' locative inflection which is also used for Possessive with a subset of kinship terms (see 3.2.4). The Nyungkul form wanju who also takes regular nominal suffixes, however, on the evidence from all inflected forms except Ergative we have to recognise an underlying root with
TABLE 3.10 PARADIGM OF INTERROGATIVE PRONOUNS WHO AND WHAT

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Yalanji</th>
<th>Nyungkul</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ABS</td>
<td>wanya</td>
<td>wanju</td>
<td>wanyu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ERG</td>
<td>wanyangka</td>
<td>wanjungku</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INST</td>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DAT</td>
<td>wanyanka</td>
<td>wanjuyunku</td>
<td>wanyurri(y)ngku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOC</td>
<td>wanyanda</td>
<td>wanjuyundu</td>
<td>wanyurri(y)mbu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ABL</td>
<td>wanyandamuny</td>
<td>wanjuyundumuny</td>
<td>wanyurri(y)muny</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COMIT</td>
<td>wanyanji</td>
<td>wanjuyunjji</td>
<td>wanyurri(y)nji</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POSS</td>
<td>wanyamba</td>
<td>wanjuymbu</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+ zero inflection</td>
<td>wanyandamun-</td>
<td>wanjuyundumun-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POSS</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+ non-zero inflection</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

final y: wanjuy. This root takes the regular suffixes with initial vowel that follow a root-final consonant.

Wanyu what shows an underlying stem wanyurri(y)- for all but absolutive case, followed by regular case inflections from the 'neutral' set. For Ergative/Instrumental an alternative form wanyurrimun-du may be used. Speakers who use this latter form seem to have reinterpreted the stem as ending in i and add the catalytic suffix -mun- onto the trisyllabic root. Speakers' intuitions about the inflected forms of wanyu appear to be uncertain in another respect.

1) These forms are not favoured for the local sense of Ablative. Preference is given to wanjamuny where from.

2) Comitative stems with non-zero inflections beginning with nasal m or a stop take the comitative allomorph -jirr (see 3.2.3.3. Table 3.3).
as well. Note that vowel harmony does not match the suffix vowel with the final stem vowel, e.g. *wanyurri(y)nja, but with the final vowel of the uninflected root, e.g. wanyurri(y)nju. This might suggest that the whole of -rri(y)+inflection is in fact interpreted as the suffix.

The morpheme -rri(y)- may have been a stem-forming suffix at some stage. It also seems to be present in wanjarrinya how many (see below), in the plural demonstrative forms in Kuku Yalanji and Guugu Yimidhirr, e.g. yinyarriny those people (see 3.7), and in Yidiny yinga-rriny this kind and wanyja-rriny what kind, where this morpheme cannot be analysed either (cf. Dixon 1977: 197-8).

Wanyu has no possessive forms, since inanimate things are considered incapable of owning something. The local term wanjamuny where from is used to express what does that belong to.

The dative form of what, wanyurringku¹), is used in the sense of why, literally for what (purpose). However, if the question contains a reference to a location, e.g. why did you go there, the locative form of wanyu may be used, although the dative form is possible, e.g.

(127)a) wanyurrimbu yundu kaya wundi-ny bayan-ba
what(LOC) 2sgNOM(A) dog-ABS(O) take-PAST house-LOC

why did you take the dog into the house?

[and not somewhere else]

¹) Stem-final (y) which conditions the inflectional form but is lost after i- (see 2.5.2) will not be represented in further examples.
The locative and dative forms of wanyu imply a different focus of the question. The locative form enquires after the reason for a particular choice of location as in (127)a: *why the house and not some other place?*. The dative form, on the other hand, asks for the reason that prompted a particular action as indicated by the translation for (127)b.

A specific use of the comitative form has to be noted: It is always used when enquiring about the nature of an illness, e.g.

(128) yundu wanyurrinji bambay
2sg NOM(S) what (COMIT) sick

*what are you ill with?*

A commonly used prompt for further information in a conversation involves wanyu and suffix -baja again, *Degree* (see 3.2.3.8 (iii) and 3.10.3): *wanyubaja what else.*

Wanja *where, somewhere* can logically be classed among the location words and as such implies general Locative by its uninflected root and takes only local cases (cf. location words 3.3.2). But it seems that the uninflected form is being replaced by another form: wanjabu. H. and R. Hershberger (personal communication) recorded several years ago that forms wanja and wanjabu were used in free variation. But it appeared that wanja was the more general term implying *where at/where to* while wanjabu asked more specifically for location *where at*. My data includes only two occurrences of
wanja, but copious examples of wanjabu in both locative and allative sense, e.g.

(129) yunu ngamu wanjabu
    2sg POSS-ABS(S) mother-ABS(S) where

    where is your mother?

(130) yundu wanjabu dunga-y
    2sg NOM(S) where go-NONPAST

    where are you going?

(Sentence (130), or simply yundu wanjabu is the common form of greeting people.) So it seems that wanja is being wholly replaced by wanjabu.

The etymology of wanjabu is somewhat obscure. It may possibly have developed from a phrase wanja bubu where place (cf. the use recorded by Hershberger), but this is only a speculative assumption.

The paradigm of wanja forms is set out in Table 3.11.

TABLE 3.11 THE FORMS OF WANJA WHERE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>wanjabu</th>
<th>(wanja)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ablative</td>
<td></td>
<td>wanjamuny</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abessive</td>
<td></td>
<td>wanjamundu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Perlative has not been attested with wanja, possibly for the same reasons that Perlative does not occur with location words (see 3.3.2.).)

As mentioned above, wanja(bu) can have both interrogative and indefinite meaning. Consider:

(131) yunu scissors wundi! ngayku
    2sg POSS-ABS(0) scissors-ABS(0) take-IMP 1sg POSS-ABS(S)

scissors wanjabu

scissors-ABS(S) somewhere

bring (take) your scissors! my scissors are somewhere
(I don't know where I put them)
More examples of the indefinite use of wanja forms can be found in Text 51, Lines 2 and 54, Text 12, Line 2.

Other interrogative roots are based on wanja, which invites the interpretation of wanja as general interrogative root. Such forms are:

- **wanjawanja**  when
- **wanjarr**  how
- **wanjarrinya**  how many
- **wanjinya**  which one
- **wanjaku**

Wanjarr *how* usually takes the adverbial suffix -ku (see 3.8.6.2), but may occur without it, especially with intransitive verbs, e.g.

(132) yundu  wanjarr  kada-ny-baja
3sg NOM(S)  how  come-PAST-again

*How did you come back?*

(133) yurra  wanjarr(-ku)  minya  kubarr
2pl NOM(A)  how (-ADV)  meat-ABS(O)  fresh water eel-ABS(O)
waju-1
cook-NONPAST

*How do you cook freshwater eel?*

Wanjinya and wanjaku *which one* seem to be freely interchangeable, e.g.

(134) wanjinya/wanjaku  yunu  bayan
which one  2sg FOSS-ABS  house-ABS

*Which one is your house?*

A stem-forming suffix -nguy can be used with either wanyu *what* or wanja *where*, general interrogative to imply what kind, e.g.

(135) kuyu  wanyunguy  jana  mani-ny
fish-ABS(O)  what kind-ABS(O)  3pl NOM(A)  get-PAST

*What kind of fish did they get?*
what kind of people are they?

which kind of dress do you like, the one with the flower pattern?

3.6.2 Historical notes

It appears that all interrogative forms in Kuku Yalanji can be traced back to a general monosyllabic interrogative pA root *waNH- (see Dixon 1980:374-8) and inflected forms of this root have been reinterpreted as disyllabic roots (cf. reinterpretation of singular pronouns, 3.5.3).

Interestingly, Yalanji and Nyungkul have reinterpreted the form for who in different ways. In Nyungkul the ergative form *waNH-du seems to be the underlying form for wanju, whereas Yalanji has simply added vowel a to the original absolutive form, i.e. wanya, in the same way as Yidiny has reinterpreted this root (see Dixon 1980:374-5). The interrogative wanyu what may also have been derived from the historic ergative form with further reduction of the intermorphemic consonant cluster: NHd > nyj > ny (cf. wanhu who in Guugu Yimidhirr, Haviland 1979a:69).

Wanja where is presumably based on the pA locative form *waNH-da.
Note that -nj- in wanju and wanja are phonetically homorganic clusters according to the assimilation rule n → nj/ -j, but they are not phonemically homorganic, since the preceding vowel does not have a palatal offglide, e.g. wanja and not wa nhuja. (For assimilation rules see 2.4.)

Kuku Yalanji interrogative pronouns resemble most closely those of Yidiny (cf. Dixon 1977a:187). Guugu Yimidhirr who and where are also based on pA *waNH, but what uses the root ngaan- (Haviland 1979a:69) which is found as the base for who or what in Warrgamay (Queensland), Ngiyambaa (New South Wales) and some Victorian and Western Desert languages, among others (cf. Dixon 1980:373).

Dyabugay, on the other hand, has monosyllabic interrogative forms with long final vowel which are cognate to the second syllables, i.e. not the pA roots, of the Yidiny and/or Kuku Yalanji forms (see Hale 1976b:238; Patz 1978:47).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dyabugay</th>
<th>Yidiny</th>
<th>Kuku Yalanji</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>who</td>
<td>ju:</td>
<td>wanyju (Nyungkul dialect)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>what</td>
<td>nyi:</td>
<td>wanyi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>where</td>
<td>ja:</td>
<td>wanyja</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

That is to say that Dyabugay has undergone more changes, reverting back to monosyllabic roots based on the increment to the pA roots.

3.7 DEMONSTRATIVES

Kuku Yalanji has two demonstrative pronouns and two demonstrative location words, all of which follow the distinction between 'this/here' and 'that/there'. The forms of this and here differ in the Yalanji and Nyungkul dialects as shown in Table 3.12.
TABLE 3.12 DEMONSTRATIVES IN YALANJI AND NYUNGBKUL

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Yalanji</th>
<th>Nyungkul</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>this/these</td>
<td>yanyu</td>
<td>yanya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>that/those</td>
<td>yinya</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>here</td>
<td>yaluy</td>
<td>yalay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>there</td>
<td></td>
<td>yinyay</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Demonstrative pronouns imply singular or plural according to context, and may refer to animate or inanimate beings. They have the same case marking possibilities as nominals, whereas demonstrative location words occur only in local cases.

The paradigm of inflected forms and possessive and comitative stems in Table 3.13 shows that demonstrative pronouns have suppletive bases for all inflected forms and stems which are either identical to the local demonstrative forms, e.g. in the dative forms and Nyungkul yalaymba this-LOC/POSS, or have dropped the final y of the local demonstratives as in the other forms. (Note that the same possessive suffix is used that occurs with interrogatives and some kinship terms.) The Yalanji forms for this also show variation in the second base vowel. In the ablative, abessive and comitative forms this is a, whereas all other forms have second vowel u. In the Yalanji dialect the 'neutral' locative form of this, yaluymbu, is often rejected and preference given to the corresponding local demonstrative, yaluy.

Yinya that and the suppletive forms of this can form plural demonstrative pronouns with suffix -rriny (cf. suppletive root wanyurri(y)- what in 3.6.1). These forms are used only in reference to human beings and apparently can only occur in absolutive case.
TABLE 3.13 PARADIGM OF DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>this</th>
<th></th>
<th>that</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ABS</td>
<td>Yalanji</td>
<td>Nyungkul</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yanyu</td>
<td>yinya</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yalubu</td>
<td>yinayabu</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yalungka</td>
<td>yinyangka</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yalayngka</td>
<td>yinyayngka</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yaluyngku</td>
<td>yinyayanka</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(yaluymbu)</td>
<td>yinyamba</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yaluyundu</td>
<td>yinyayanda</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yalamuny</td>
<td>yinyamuny</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yalamundu</td>
<td>yinyamundu</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PERL</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>yalaburr</td>
<td>yinyaburr (Nyungkul)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COMIT</td>
<td>yalanji</td>
<td>yalanji</td>
<td>yinyanji</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POSS +</td>
<td>yalumbu</td>
<td>yalaymba</td>
<td>yinyamba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zero inflection</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POSS +</td>
<td>yaluyundumun-</td>
<td>yalayandamun-</td>
<td>yinyandamun-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>non-zero inflection</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

They are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Yalanji</th>
<th>Nyungkul</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>these people</td>
<td>yalurriny</td>
<td>yalarriny</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>those people</td>
<td></td>
<td>yinyarriny</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The paradigm of local demonstratives in Table 3.14 shows further similarities with the inflected forms of demonstrative pronouns. It can be seen from this Table that the Yalanji demonstrative here behaves exactly like location words. The uninflected root implies general Locative and Ablative and Abessive show regular inflections. For there and Nyungkul here, on the other hand, either the root or an inflected locative form may be used. (In Nyungkul the inflected form yalaymba is actually preferred.)
TABLE 3.14 PARADIGM OF LOCAL DEMONSTRATIVES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Yalanji</th>
<th>Nyungkul</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>LOC</td>
<td>yaluy</td>
<td>(yalay)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>yalaymba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ABL</td>
<td>yaluymuny</td>
<td>yalamuny</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ABESS</td>
<td>yaluymundu</td>
<td>yalamundu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PERL</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>yalangkarr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>yinyangkarr (Nyungkul)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The perlative forms in the Nyungkul dialect show an idiosyncratic suffix -ngkarr which does not occur with nominals. The ablative and abessive forms for there and Nyungkul here are identical to the corresponding demonstrative pronoun forms.

The conclusion that may be drawn from these morphological details is that there is no clear distinction between demonstrative pronouns and local demonstratives in the inflected forms.

Both Guugu Yimidhirr and Dyabugay have demonstrative systems that do not distinguish between pronominal reference and local reference (Haviland 1979a:72-4; Patz 1978:46-7). In Dyabugay demonstratives this/here and that/there show singular/plural distinction in their root forms and function as third person singular and plural pronouns.

Here and there may combine with the stem forming suffix -arra inhabitants:

| Yalanji   | yaluyarra | the people of this place |
| Nyungkul  | yalayarra | the people of that place |
Although demonstrative pronouns and local demonstratives are not always different in form, they are distinct in function. Demonstrative pronouns, similar to personal pronouns, can replace or co-occur with a noun, e.g.

(138) yalu-ngku jalbu-ngku nganya binal-bunga-ny
this-ERG:pt(A) woman-ERG:pt(A) 1sg ACC(O) know-CAUS-PAST
marra-ka nadia nut-DAT
this woman taught me about zamia nuts

(139) jana nubi-l-nubi-ny yinyay-anka karrkay-anka
3pl NOM(A) search-REDUP-PAST that-DAT:pt child-DAT:pt
they were searching for that child

(140) yinyay-anda kaban daya
that-LOC:pt letter-ABS(O) give-IMP
give the letter to that [person]

Local demonstratives, on the other hand, are not part of a wider noun phrase but occur on their own, e.g.

(141) nyulu yaluy-muny wanarri-y
3sg NOM(S) here-ABL run-REDUP-NONPAST
he is running from here

(142) ngayu jarruka wubul warrmba-bunga-ny
1sg NOM(A) scrubhen-ABS(O) many-ABS(O) uncovered-CAUS-PAST
yinyay-mba
there-LOC
I found a lot of scrubhen [eggs] there

Sentences like 'he sat on that rock' are normally paraphrased as

(143) nyulu yinyay-mba bundanda-ny, kulji-nga
3sg NOM(S) there-LOC sit-REDUP-PAST rock-LOC
he sat there, on the rock
where kuljinga is clearly offset from the clause by a pause and falling intonation on the verb bundandany, that is kuljinga could
be regarded as outside the main clause. (Yinyaymba kuljinga as one phrase is possible, but not well liked.)

3.8 MORPHOLOGY OF VERBS

3.8.1 Introduction

Kuku Yalanji has only a rather small corpus of unanalysable verb roots (170 of a word list of 1340 roots), but there are many verbal compounds in which some of these roots appear as second member. Furthermore, causative and inchoative derivational processes which form verb stems from either nominal or verbal roots are very productive indeed. This feature of a small verb root corpus, in which Kuku Yalanji resembles its northern neighbour Guugu Yimidhirr, is quite unusual for an eastern Australian language, but is frequently found in languages of the West.

Kuku Yalanji verb roots refer almost exclusively to 'observable' actions, that is actions that can be seen or heard such as hit, eat, run, speak, call out, etc. Only very few 'abstract' concepts are expressed by verb roots, e.g. nyuyal blame, bayjal ignore, while many others can be expressed through verbal derivations, e.g. wawurrwawurr-ma-l decide, make up one's mind, be happy (literally: breath/spirit-comit-INCHO (see 3.9.1(a) for information on this stem)), through compounds, e.g. milka-jana-y listen (literally: ear-stand), milka-wula-y forget (literally: ear-die), or other paraphrases, e.g. milka-bu bayka-l think (literally: bite with ear). Detailed semantic differentiations account for a considerable number of roots, as for instance in the semantic field of 'movement along a path': yimba-l go straight through, warrki-l turn off at crossroads, barrma-l accompany someone for a short distance, nyunba-y turn back.
3.8.2 Verbal Word Structure

3.8.2.1 General

Kuku Yalanji verb roots are typically disyllabic. There is a small proportion of trisyllabic roots which will be discussed in the next subsection.

There are also four roots with four syllables which are presumably derivations or compounds historically, but which cannot be analysed:

- jakalamba-1 *gather firewood, set up fire*
- wubulamba-1 *collect, gather (< wubul many?)*
- wukaramba-1 *repair*
- karangaji-y *sneak up, stalk*

All verb roots can be recognised to end in a vowel, followed by a conjugation marker which corresponds to the non-past tense inflection. This conjugation marker is deleted when inflections or stem-forming suffixes are added.

Final root vowels are a and i with only one occurrence of final u in waju-1 *cook, burn* which has a cognate in Yidiny: waju-1. The occurrence rate of final a is almost 20% higher than that of final i.

A verb root or compound stem always occurs with an inflectional suffix and can take up to two derivational suffixes between root or stem and inflection. Up to three enclitics may follow the inflected form.

Reduplication normally affects the whole root; only a small number of verbs show partial reduplication of either the first or the second syllable. When a root is reduplicated as a whole the two parts are linked by a filler morpheme whose form depends on the conjugation class of the root or, if a derivational suffix is added,
on the conjugation class of the derived stem. In compound stems it is only the second member which is reduplicated.

3.8.2.2 Trisyllabic Roots

There are 28 trisyllabic roots which may be divided into four groups according to their last syllable: -rri, -ma, -ba, and others. Some verbs are included here which are likely to be regularly formed derivations whose roots have ceased to function independently in Kuku Yalanji. (Inseparable reflexive and reciprocal stems do not fall into this category; they are discussed in their respective subsections.) All trisyllabic roots but one belong to the 1-conjugation class but transitivity varies, although the majority are transitive.

(i) Final syllable -rri

There are 18 attested roots in this group, some of which have cognates among the R-conjugation verbs in Guugu Yimidhirr. These roots have been formed through a reinterpretation process outlined in 3.8.3.2 (ii).

At least 3 of the roots that do not have cognates among the r-conjugation verbs in Guugu Yimidhirr seem to be based directly on a nominal root. These are:

\begin{align*}
\text{bijarri-1} & \quad \text{to dream} & \text{bijarr} & \quad \text{dream} \\
\text{ngangkurri-1} & \quad \text{to bark} & \text{ngangkurr} & \quad \text{sound of barking} \\
\text{nganjarri-1} & \quad \text{not know someone} & \text{nganhdha} & \quad \text{foreign (person)}
\end{align*}

(ii) Final syllable -ma

The 3 verbs in this group are possibly formed with the inchoative suffix -ma-1. They are:
Jalama-1  jump
jirayma-1  long for, crave (cf. Dyabugay jiran thirst, hunger)
yalama-1  say, do

The first two are intransitive which corresponds to the transitivity class of inchoative stems; but yalama-1 say, do, which may possibly be based on the suppletive demonstrative form yala this, is a transitive verb (Cf. Dyirbal yala this, yalama-1 do like this, say, tell; similar verb forms do/say like this/that exist in many other Australian languages as well as in Central Australian Creole: lakijat < like that (Koch, personal communication.).)

(iii) Final syllable -ba

Kadaba-1 break (itr) and presumably also three of the four roots with four syllables listed in the previous subsection belong to this group. The three roots with four syllables are all transitive and final -ba may be a regular reduction of causative -bunga-1 (see 3.8.5.1 (i)), e.g. wubulamba-1 gather could be analysed as wubul many + causative. However, the cluster mb at the assumed morpheme boundary is quite unexplainable.

The intransitive verb kadaba-1 has an identical cognate in Guugu Yimidhirr where Haviland (1979a:80) interprets the final -bal as a nonproductive verbaliser.

(iv) The remaining trisyllabic roots are quite opaque, although they show some similarities in their final syllables:

buraka-1  hang up to dry (tr)
yiringka-1  drag (tr)
buyandi-1  put in container (tr)
dakandi-1  knock down (tr)
kalkandi-1  tighten up, wedge in (tr)
warringa-1  keep under observation (tr)

3.8.3 Transitivity and Conjugations

3.8.3.1 Correlation of Transitivity and Conjugation

As in other Australian languages there is a strict division between transitive and intransitive verbs in Kuku Yalanji. The most basic criterion for distinguishing these grammatical classes is the case inflection on the subject noun occurring with a verb: only a transitive verb can co-occur with a noun in Ergative case while an intransitive verb requires a subject noun in Absolutive case.

Of the 170 verb roots in Kuku Yalanji 132 (77.6%) are transitive and 38 (22.4%) are intransitive. Six fixed reflexive and two reciprocal stems can be added to the latter group. These stems, although analysable, show considerable extension of the semantic content of the root component and are therefore best regarded as independent lexemes but not necessarily as roots (see 3.8.5.4 (i) and (ii).

Formally, Kuku Yalanji verbs are divided into two open conjugation classes, 1-conjugation and y-conjugation, according to the conjugation marker -l or -y that is suffixed to a root in what I interpret as the citation form. Apart from this citation form which coincides with the non-past form of a verb the two conjugations differ only in their imperative inflection on disyllabic roots and in their reduplicated forms.

There is an obvious correlation between grammatical class and formal class: y-conjugation verbs are exclusively intransitive while 1-conjugation verbs are 92% transitive. The number of known intransitive 1-conjugation roots is so small that they may be listed.
daka-1  climb, rise
janji-1  swim, bathe
kalji-1  vomit
wala-1  enter
walngka-l  hang
wandl-1  come out, wake up
warrki-1  turn off at crossroads
wurrka-l  ache (Nyungkuk)
kadaba-1  break
jalama-1  jump
jirayma-1  crave, long for

Since the very productively used inchoative verbaliser ma-1 belongs to the 1-conjugation the overall transitivity proportion of 1-conjugation verbs is quite different from that among 1-conjugation roots, i.e. the share of intransitive verbs among all 1-conjugation verbs is much higher than that among roots only.

A similar proportion of a- and i-final roots is found in both conjugations. Statistical correlation between conjugation, transitivity and final root vowels are shown in Table 3.15.

### TABLE 3.15 RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN CONJUGATION, TRANSITIVITY, FINAL ROOT VOWEL, AND NUMBER OF SYLLABLES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>l-conjugation</th>
<th>y-conjugation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>number of roots</td>
<td>143</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>transitivity</td>
<td>92% transitive</td>
<td>100% intransitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>final root vowel</td>
<td>a 58.5%</td>
<td>a 74%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>i 40.7%</td>
<td>i 26%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>u 0.8%(1 occurrence)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>number of roots with more than two syllables</td>
<td>27 trisyllabic</td>
<td>1 trisyllabic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3 with four syllables</td>
<td>1 with four syllables</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.8.3.2 Development of Kuku Yalanji Conjugations

With two open conjugation classes Kuku Yalanji has developed one of the least complex conjugation systems found in Australia. The fact that the two conjugations differ only in two inflections and in reduplicated forms indicates that only minor further simplification will lead to the complete abolition of distinct conjugation classes, a process which has already been completed in some Central Australian languages, as for instance Arandic (Koch, personal communication). Languages of the Queensland coastal rainforest region to the South of Kuku Yalanji have similarly simplified their conjugation systems: Dyabugay (Patz 1978:50ff) and Dyirbal (Dixon 1972:54ff) each have open y- and l-conjugations, but differences between these classes are more distinct than in Kuku Yalanji; Yidiny, located between Dyabugay and Dyirbal, has the same open classes plus a small group of r-conjugation verbs (Dixon 1977a:206ff). Guugu Yimidhirr (Haviland 1979a:78ff), on the other hand, has retained a system of five conjugations and can therefore be considered the most conservative of the languages mentioned above. Conjugations in Guugu Yimidhirr are: L- and R-conjugations (both open classes), V-, MA- and NA-conjugations (all three are closed classes with m- and n-conjugations only having three monosyllabic members each). A comparison of unusual root forms in Kuku Yalanji, i.e. suppletive roots and some trisyllabic forms, with cognates in Guugu Yimidhirr provides some information on how conjugations have contracted in Kuku Yalanji.

1) Nyawaygi, next but one to the South of Dyirbal, has 7 conjugations and many similarities to Guugu Yimidhirr (Dixon 1980:397).
(i) **Suppletive roots**

Three 1-conjugation verbs in Kuku Yalanji have suppletive roots that are used as imperative forms; these are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>non-past</th>
<th>imperative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>see</td>
<td>nyaji-1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>get</td>
<td>mani-1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>give</td>
<td>daji-1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Nyajil and manil have monosyllabic cognates in Guugu Yimidhirr MA- and NA-conjugations respectively. Listed below are the Guugu Yimidhirr roots with their past tense forms and disyllabic stems that have to be used with purposive inflection:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root</th>
<th>PAST</th>
<th>Stem+PURP</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>see</td>
<td>nhaa-</td>
<td>nhaa-dhi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>nhaa-dhi-nhu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>get</td>
<td>maa-</td>
<td>maa-ni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>maa-ni-nhu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The disyllabic stems which have the same form as root+PAST are easily recognisable as the Kuku Yalanji roots:

Guugu Yimidhirr nhaa-dhi- > Kuku Yalanji nyaji- maa-ni- > Kuku Yalanji mani-

Both transitive roots were reassigned in Kuku Yalanji to the predominantly transitive 1-conjugation. (Vowel length contrast has been lost in Kuku Yalanji.)

The imperative form nyaka see! can be analysed as a monosyllabic root plus pA imperative suffix *-ga (cf. Dixon 1980:410). (Note that Kuku Yalanji also uses imperative inflection -ka with roots and stems of more than two syllabes.) Nyawaygi, a Queensland language further south, has the cognate form nyaa-ga see!, and also a cognate imperative form for Kuku Yalanji mana get!, Nyawaygi maa-na hold in hand! (Dixon 1980:399).
No cognates for Kuku Yalanji daji-1 *get* and its suppletive form *daya* have been determined so far. The development of this form therefore remains unclear.

Another cognate monosyllabic root in Guugu Yimidhirr NA-conjugation supports the pattern of reinterpretation of past tense form or disyllabic stem as root:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Guugu Yimidhirr</th>
<th>Kuku Yalanji</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Root wu-</td>
<td>wuna-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PAST wu-nay</td>
<td>wuna-ny     <em>lie (down)</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PURP wu-na-nhu</td>
<td>wuna-nka</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The reinterpreted intransitive root *wuna-* *lie* has been reassigned in Kuku Yalanji to the exclusively intransitive y-conjugation.

Haviland (1979a:85) reports that a similar process is taking place in Guugu Yimidhirr itself where "many younger speakers treat the NA conjugation verb *wu-naa* 'lie down' as if it were a regular V conjugation verb of the form *wuna*.

(ii) Trisyllabic roots with final syllable -rri

Six of the eighteen attested -rri-final trisyllabic roots in Kuku Yalanji have cognates among the transitive disyllabic members of the R-conjugation in Guugu Yimidhirr; these are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kuku Yalanji</th>
<th>Guugu Yimidhirr</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>janjarri-1</td>
<td><em>investigate</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>julurri-1</td>
<td><em>wash</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nyangarri-1</td>
<td><em>pour out</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>walngkurri-1</td>
<td><em>ask for</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wukurri-1</td>
<td><em>follow</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yijarri-1</td>
<td><em>put, place</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Older speakers in Guugu Yimidhirr use past tense inflection -rrin with R-conjugation verbs (younger speakers use -rrin), e.g.
Obviously, this past tense inflection has been reinterpreted as a third root syllable -rri- plus general past inflection -ny (< -nh) in Kuku Yalanji (cf. Haviland 1979a:87). According to their transitivity class the reinterpreted roots were incorporated into 1-conjugation.¹) Thus the new verb forms in Kuku Yalanji are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Citation form</th>
<th>PAST</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>follow</td>
<td>wukurri-ny</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>place, put</td>
<td>yijarri-ny</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note that only R-conjugation verbs and monosyllabic roots in Guugu Yimidhirr show instances of final root vowel u. In the reinterpretation process outlined above final u ends up in penultimate vowel position which helps to explain why root-final u is extremely rare in Kuku Yalanji verbs.

3.8.4 Verbal Inflections

3.8.4.1 Paradigm

Verbal inflections in Kuku Yalanji include a two-term tense system, nonpast and past, plus imperative, purposive, precautionary, successive, irrealis, and a suffix which has dual function as 'unmarked' inflection (in Nyungkul dialect) and subordination marker in both dialects. Except for nonpast and imperative on disyllabic

¹) Note that Dyabugay has a derivational suffix -rri- which transitivises intransitive verb roots, e.g. warrnki-y turn (itr), warrnki-rri-l turn something (tr) (Hale 1976b:238; Patz 1978:55).
roots inflectional suffixes are identical for both conjugations. Table 3.16 shows the paradigm of verbal inflections while Table 3.17 gives examples of inflected verbs. The latter includes a trisyllabic root to illustrate the imperative suffix that is used with roots or stems of more than two syllables of either conjugation.

**TABLE 3.16 PARADIGM OF VERBAL INFLECTIONS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1-conjugation</th>
<th>y-conjugation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NONPAST</td>
<td>-l</td>
<td>-y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PAST</td>
<td></td>
<td>-ny</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IMPerative disyllabic root</td>
<td>-∅</td>
<td>-y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>root/stem with more than</td>
<td></td>
<td>-ka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>two syllables</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IRRRealis</td>
<td></td>
<td>-nyaku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PURPosive</td>
<td></td>
<td>-nkV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRECAUTIONary</td>
<td></td>
<td>-nyji</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SUCCESSive</td>
<td></td>
<td>-nyjiku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>unmarked (UM)/SUBordinate</td>
<td></td>
<td>-nyV</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TABLE 3.17 INFLECTED VERBS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>hit</th>
<th>sit</th>
<th>break (itr)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NONPAST</td>
<td>kunil</td>
<td>bunday</td>
<td>kadabal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PAST</td>
<td>kuniny</td>
<td>bundany</td>
<td>kadabany</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IMP</td>
<td>kuni</td>
<td>bunday</td>
<td>kadabaka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IRR</td>
<td>kuninyaku</td>
<td>bundanyaku</td>
<td>kadabanyaku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PURP</td>
<td>kuninka</td>
<td>bundanka</td>
<td>kadabanka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRECAUT</td>
<td>kuninyji</td>
<td>bundanyji</td>
<td>kadabanyji</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SUCC</td>
<td>kuninyjiku</td>
<td>bundanyjiku</td>
<td>kadabanyjiku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UM/SUB</td>
<td>kuninya</td>
<td>bundanya</td>
<td>kadabanya</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.8.4.2 Functions of Verbal Inflections

The functions of the inflections listed above are as follows:

(i) NONPAST -l, -y

This inflection which is identical to the conjugation marker refers to an action or state in the present or future. To make reference to future explicit, a time word such as juma soon/ later, wunkuny next day, etc. is added.

(warru-ngku) baya nyanda-1
yg man-ERG:pt(A) firewood-ABS(0) split-NONPAST
the young man is splitting firewood

(jarramali) juma kada-y
thunderstorm-ABS(S) soon come-NONPAST
a thunderstorm will come soon

(General statements like 'kangaroos eat grass' are expressed by reduplicated verb forms which imply habitual or continuing action; see 3.8.5.5 (ii)).

(ii) PAST -ny

A verb with past tense inflection may have perfective or imperfective implication. It can usually be inferred from the context whether an action or state that began in the past has been completed or is still going on at the time of the utterance.

(dingkar-angka) naybu nyurrba-ny
man-ERG:pt(A) knife-ABS(0) grind/sharpen-PAST
the man sharpened the knife
the Aborigine turned back and came back to his camp

the child fell ill

This form is typically used in an order addressed to a second person or persons. However, it has also been attested with first person dual or plural forms expressing an invitation or suggestion "let's do ...!" (see 4.7 for imperative clauses).

The three allomorphs of imperative inflection are conditioned by conjugation class and the number of root- or stem syllables of a verb.

Disyllabic roots in 1-conjugation have zero inflection for imperative, e.g.

don't chase the horse!

put your pants on!

Three 1-conjugation verbs have suppletive roots in imperative form:

give

see/hear

get

These forms have been analysed in 3.8.3.2 (i) above.
Disyllabic roots in y-conjugation take imperative inflection -y, e.g.

(151) dunga-y-baja
go-IMP-again

*go back!*

(152) kari yirrka-y
NEG shout-IMP

*don't shout!*

Since y-conjugation verbs have the same inflectional suffix for non-past tense and imperative and the subject, i.e. the addressee, is often included in an imperative clause (see 4.7), the only certain distinguishing factor between a nonpast declarative and an imperative clause is the intonation contour (see 2.6.3).

Roots and stems with more than two syllables of either conjugation take the allomorph -ka, e.g.

(153) ngawa kararr-ba yijarrri-ka
baby-ABS(O) blanket-LOC put-IMP

*put the baby on the blanket!*

(154) mara julurri-ji-ka
hand-ABS wash-REFL-IMP

*wash your hands!*

(155) kuku-ku binal-ma-ka
language-DAT know-INCHO-IMP

*learn language!*

Note that compounds and causative stems formed with -bunga-l,-mani-l, etc. (see 3.8.5.1 and 3.8.5.2) do not take suffix -ka but zero-inflection for imperative, that is not the number of syllables of the whole stem but only that of the second (stem-forming) component is relevant.
Furthermore, causative stems formed with mani-1 show the suppletive root mana in imperatives, e.g.

(157) kari dara-y-mana
NEG fall-CAUS-IMP

don't drop (it)!

(For these reasons, and because of the way in which they reduplicate, causative stems are most appropriately regarded as compounds rather than derivations (see 3.8.5.1).)

(iv) Irrealis -nyaku

An irrealis verb form indicates that an action that should or could have taken place does or did not occur for some reason. Irrealis verb forms are used in independent clauses which may or may not be co-ordinated with another clause which states why the action is/was prevented. The irrealis inflection itself does not contain temporal reference; this must be inferred from context.

(158) ngayu badur-iji dunga-nyaku
lsg NOM(S) fishing line-COMIT go-IRR

I would go/would have gone fishing [but I cannot for some reason]

(159) ngayu nuka-nyaku minya, kari yinya
lsg NOM(S) eat-IRR meat-ABS(O) but that-ABS(S)

minya kibu
meat-ABS(S) rotten

I would have eaten that meat, but it was rotten
(v) **Purposive** -nkV

The purposive inflection follows Kuku Yalanji vowel harmony rules and has allomorphs -nka after final root or stem vowels a and i, and -nku after final vowel u. There is only one occurrence of final u, i.e. waju-1 *cook, burn* (see (160) below). Nevertheless, the variation in the suffix vowel shows that the Kuku Yalanji purposive inflection is presumably cognate with the widespread purposive inflection -gu in Australian languages.

A purposive verb form expresses 'desire or intention to Verb'. It may be used in independent or subordinate clauses, and occurs obligatorily with adjectival particles (see 3.9.1).

(160) ngayu mayi waju-nku
1sg NOM(A) food-ABS(O) cook-PURP
*I want to cook some food*

(161) nyulu binal dama-nka
3sg NOM(S) know spear-PURP
*he knows how to spear*

(162) jana makarr wundi-ny kuyu
3pl NOM(A) net-ABS(O) take-PAST fish-ABS(O)
wubul bangka-nka
many-ABS(O) catch/gather large quantities-PURP
*they took a net to catch a lot of fish*

For a full discussion of purposive constructions see 4.4.1.

(vi) **Precautionary** -nyji

The precautionary verb form indicates an undesirable event that should and can be avoided. A precautionary clause is typically subordinated to a main clause which describes the action that is or
should be taken against the undesirable event.\(^1\)

(163) ngayu jawun-unji dunga-y milka-bujar-ma-nyji
1sg NOM(S) friend-COMIT:pt go-NONPAST lonely-INCHO-PRECAUT

_I go with a friend lest I get lonely_

(164) jujubala waju jarramali kada-nyji
ironwood-ABS(O) burn-IMP thunderstorm-ABS(S) come-PRECAUT

_burn some ironwood lest a thunderstorm come!_

Precautionary constructions are discussed in 4.4.2.

(vii) **Successive -nyjiku**

A successive verb form in a subordinate clause refers to the latter of two successive events which have no causal connection; the preceding event is expressed in the main clause, e.g.

(165) jana mayi kunba-y-mani-ny nganjan
3pl NOM(A) food-ABS(O) finish-CAUS-PAST father-ABS(S)

wandi-nyjiku

wake up-SUCC

_they had finished the food before [their] father woke up_

(166) nyulu yirrka-ny wula-nyjiku
3sg NOM(S) cry out-PAST die-SUCC

_he cried out before he died_

For a discussion of successive constructions see 4.4.3.

The successive inflection -nyjiku and precautionary -nyji are obviously similar in form. They also share the semantic

---

\(^1\) Dixon (1980:380) uses the term 'apprehensional inflection' and (1977:350) "lest" subordinate clause' for Yidiny which has the cognate inflections -n̂gi - l̂gi - r̂gi. I prefer the term 'precautionary' for Kuku Yalanji because this construction normally states explicitly what precaution has to be taken against something.
component of 'following event', successive as an actual time reference and precautionary as an expected undesirable event. The cognate 'anticipatory' inflection -yiku in Guugu Yimidhirr can apparently imply either of these aspects (Haviland 1979a:93). This suggests that Kuku Yalanji either reflects an original contrast which has been lost in Guugu Yimidhirr or has developed this distinction. (Note that Guugu Yimidhirr has a separate unrelated 'precautionary' inflection -ygamu which has exactly the same function as precautionary -nyji in Kuku Yalanji (Haviland ibid.).)

(viii) Unmarked/subordinate inflection -nyV

Like purposive suffix -nkV this suffix follows vowel harmony rules and has the allomorphs -nya after final root vowels a and i, and -nyu after root vowel u. This suffix is used in various functions, all of which have the common aspect of 'general subordination'.

In the Nyungkul dialect verbal suffix -nyV is used as an inflection that is apparently unmarked for tense or aspect to offset non-events or background information in narratives, i.e. 'general subordination' at discourse level. This discourse function is discussed in 5.5.1.2. (The Yalanji dialect does not make this distinction in discourse, but uses normal tense inflections.) In both Yalanji and Nyungkul verbal suffix -nyV occurs in the following subordinate clauses:

causal
simultaneous action
prior event
hypothetical reason.
In the causal subordinate clause -nyV is clearly an inflection since the verb + -nyV form may not be inflected further in any other way, e.g.

(167) ngayu bambay-ma-ny mayngku kayal
  lsg NOM(S) sick-INCHO-PAST mango-ABS(0) unripe-ABS(0)
nuka-nya
  eat-SUB

I became sick from eating unripe mangoes

(A noun phrase in corresponding causal function requires ablative inflection, see 4.1.4.4 (iv) d.)

In the other subordinate clauses, however, the verb + -nyV forms is inflected for case. For this reason -nyV has to be regarded as a nominaliser in these instances as had been indicated in 3.2.3.6. Indeed, verbal inflection -nyV and nominaliser -nyV may be unrelated homophonous suffixes, but the basic function of 'subordination' common to all uses of -nyV seems to indicate that there is some connection.1) (Because of this common function all occurrences of -nyV in subordinate clauses will be glossed as SUB(ordination); in its non-event marking capacity in Nyungkul narratives suffix -nyV will be glossed as UM (unmarked inflection) to distinguish its environment from subordinate clauses.) Syntax and function of subordinate clauses with verb + -nyV forms are discussed in 4.4.4.1 - 4.

R. Hershberger's (1964b:37) interpretation of -nyV as a 'verb serialiser' could correspond to the discourse function of this suffix in Nyungkul, although I do not know from which context her example was taken.

1) Consider also the similarity between -nyV and irrealis -nyaku, even though the latter apparently does not follow vowel harmony rules. But the two forms could well be related (cf. irrealis and subordinate function of one prefix form in Mangarayi. (Merlan 1981).
3.8.5 Verbal Stem Formation

Although Kuku Yalanji has only relatively few verb roots the number of actual verbs that can be formed by regular stem forming processes is virtually unlimited. Causative verb stems may be formed from any nominal, intransitive verb or adjectival particle by regular compounding with a causative root (see 3.8.5.1). Numerous other compounds are formed by combining nominals or particles with free form verb roots, often resulting in idiomatic expressions (see 3.8.5.2). Inchoative verb stems may be derived from almost all non-verbal parts of speech with the stem forming suffix -ma-1 (see 3.8.5.3).

Apart from these processes which actually create new verbs, there are two syntactic (reciprocal and reflexive/general intransitive) and two non-syntactic derivations (reduplication and plural subject agreement) which are discussed in 3.8.5.4 - 5.

3.8.5.1 Causative Compounds

Causative verbs in Kuku Yalanji can be classed into two categories according to the result that they imply. One type of causative compound refers to the causation of a state, the other to the causation of an action referred to by an intransitive verb. The former consist of a nominal root or stem, or an adjectival particle plus 'state causative' component -bunga-1 or -kanga-1; the latter of an intransitive verb root plus 'action causative' component -mani-1.

The causation of a transitive action cannot be expressed by a verbal compound, but an explicit statement as to how the action was caused is required, e.g. 'he told him to do something' or 'he forced him to do something', etc..
Causative components -kanga-1 and -mani-1 also occur as free form roots meaning *chase*, *disturb* and *get* respectively. -bunga-1, on the other hand, cannot be used independently but the morphological behaviour of -bungal-forms in reduplication and imperative is exactly like that of the other causative or of idiomatic compounds. (For imperative forms see 3.8.4.2. (iii), for reduplication 3.8.5.5. (ii).) It would therefore be reasonable to regard -bunga-1 as a compound verb-forming root with the semantic content *make into Noun/make Adjective* rather than a derivational suffix.

(i) **State causative compounds with -bunga-1 or -kanga-1**

State-causative verbaliser -bunga-1 has a reduced allomorph -ba-1, sometimes also -buwa-1, in rapid speech, but only the full form is used in reduplication. -bunga-1 can attach to a nominal root or stem or adjectival particle.

Simple root + -bunga-1:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>root</th>
<th>meaning</th>
<th>form</th>
<th>translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dandi</td>
<td>hard</td>
<td>dandi-bunga-1</td>
<td>make hard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yarkin</td>
<td>corpse</td>
<td>yarkin-bunga-1</td>
<td>kill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>manyarr</td>
<td>wife</td>
<td>manyarr-bunga-1</td>
<td>cause to be a wife (ie marry)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>binal</td>
<td>know</td>
<td>binal-bunga-1</td>
<td>teach</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Reduplicated root + -bunga-1:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>root</th>
<th>meaning</th>
<th>form</th>
<th>translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kaka-kaka</td>
<td>painful</td>
<td>kaka-kaka-bunga-1</td>
<td>make painful</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bajay-bajay</td>
<td>exhausted</td>
<td>bajay-bajay-bunga-1</td>
<td>exhaust someone</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Reduplication of the actual compound which involves only the second component is a different matter; while the above reduplicated nominal roots refer to the state that is caused, reduplication of the second element of the compound implies prolonged or repeated causation of a state, e.g.)
A causative compound with a reduplicated stem may be further reduplicated, e.g. kaka-kaka-bunga-l-bunga-l *keep making painful*.

Compound + bunga-l:

jiba-wulawula *sweet*  jiba-wulawula-bunga-l *sweeten*

Comitative stem + bunga-l:

ngurrka-ji *have a scar*  ngurrka-ji-bunga-l *scar someone*

bubu-ji *soiled, dirty*  bubu-ji-bunga-l *make dirty*

The choice between *-bunga-l* and *-kanga-l* for a state-causative compound is made on semantic grounds. *-bunga-l* is the unmarked state-causative verbaliser, while *-kanga-l*, which also functions as an independent transitive verb meaning *chase, disturb*, implies in a compound verb causation of physical or emotional commotion. *-kanga-l* can only occur with simple nominal roots as first compound component.

Because of the semantic distinction between *-bunga-l* and *-kanga-l* some compounds can take only one or the other, e.g.

*induce bleeding*  mula-kanga-l  NOT  mula-bunga-l
* evoke anger*  kuli-kanga-l  NOT  kuli-bunga-l

BUT
make dopey: juwa-bunga-1 NOT juwa-kanga-1
make slow: waymbul-bunga-1 NOT waymbul-kanga-1
教: binal-bunga-1 NOT binal-kanga-1

Other compounds, on the other hand, may have either -bunga-1 or -kanga-1 as second component according to context:

(169) a) karrkay-ngka kambi mumbu-bunga-ny
child-ERG:pt(A) clothes-ABS(O) dirty-CAUS-PAST
the child made the clothes dirty
b) karrkay-ngka bana mumbu-kanga-ny
child-ERG:pt(A) water-ABS(O) dirty-CAUS-PAST
the child made the water dirty [i.e. by stirring it up]

(170) a) maral-angka mayi jirra-bunga-ny
girl-ERG:pt(A) food-ABS(O) overdone-CAUS-PAST
the girl overcooked the food
b) baya jirra-kanga-ŋ-baja
fire-ABS(O) overdone-CAUS-IMP-again
stoke the fire again!
c) yundu nganya kari jirra-kanga
2sg NOM(A) lsg ACC NEG overdone-CAUS-IMP
leave me alone! [i.e. don't stir up my temper]

(ii) Action-causative compounds with -mani-1

-manì-1, appended to an intransitive verb, creates a transitive causative verbal compound. In the formation of such a compound a link morpheme -y- is inserted between the two roots after final vowels a or u; this link morpheme is the same for intransitive roots of either conjugation. Thus the formula for an action causative compound verb is:

\[
intransitive \text{ verb } \{ -a\# \} + y + \text{mani}-1
\]
Examples of verb root + mani-1 are:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{dara-} & \quad \text{fall} \\
\text{dara-} & \quad \text{mani-1} \quad \text{cause to fall, drop} \\
\text{jana-} & \quad \text{stand} \\
\text{jana-} & \quad \text{mani-1} \quad \text{cause to stand} \\
\text{wala-} & \quad \text{enter} \\
\text{wala-} & \quad \text{mani-1} \quad \text{cause to enter}
\end{align*}
\]

\((171)\) waybala-ngka maral school-bu wala-y-mani-ny

\[\text{the whiteman made the girl go to school}\]

Examples of compound verb + mani-1 are:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{julbarr-warri-} & \quad \text{slip} \\
\text{julbarr-warri-} & \quad \text{mani-1} \quad \text{cause to slip} \\
\text{slippery-run} \\
\text{walu-dunga-} & \quad \text{be annoyed} \\
\text{walu-dunga-} & \quad \text{mani-1} \quad \text{cause to be} \\
\text{annoyed}
\end{align*}
\]

I presume that the action-causative verbaliser -mani-1 is related to the verb root mani-1 get because the imperative form of action causative compounds uses the suppletive form of mani-1 get, e.g. jana-y-mana make (it) stand up!

In Guugu Yimidhirr the monosyllabic roots maa-naa get, marry and causative -ma-naa appear to be similarly related. Both take irregular past tense inflection -ni, e.g. maa-ni, and the same suffix for stem formation before further inflections (Haviland 1979a:84-5).

One idiomatic use of action-causative -mani-1 with a transitive verb must be noted: ngaki-1 hide + -mani-1 means elope, e.g.

\((172)\) nyulu ngaki-mani-ny yinya jalbu

3sg NOM(A) hide-CAUS-PAST that-ABS(0) woman-ABS(0)

\[\text{he eloped with that woman}\]

R. Hershberger (1964b:50) states that if an action-causative verb stem is "changed back to intransitive" the causative verbaliser "is dropped and the subject changes to locative" (my emphasis). This observation is true only in so far as action-causative stems, like other transitive verbs, may be
passivised in which case the agent takes locative inflection. However, the causative root -mani-1 is not deleted, but the verb stem intransitivised with suffix -ji-, e.g.

(173) karrkay ngamu-ndu school-bu wala-y-mani-ji-ny child-ABS(S) mother-LOC school-LOC enter-CAUS-ITR-PAST

mother mistakenly sent the child to school
(It was still too young)
(For passive formation and functions see 4.2.4.3.)

3.8.5.2 Idiomatic Verbal Compounds

Apart from the very productive compound formation with causative roots many other compounds are formed by combining a nominal root with a verb. Such compounds are always inseparable and usually have an idiomatic meaning that is often only loosely connected with the semantic content of the two components.

Body part terms and the nominal root wawu breath, spirit are most often used in verbal compounds. (For use of body part in nominal compounds see 3.2.3.10.) Other nouns occur less frequently and adjectives least of all. To give a few examples:

body part + verb:

mara-warri-y (hand-run) crawl
jiba-warri-y (liver-run) get startled, get a fright
milka-wula-y (ear-die) forget
bujil-janji-1 (nose-bathe) drown (itr)
walu-dunga-y (face-go) faint
dukul-warri-y (head-run) throw a tantrum

wawu breath, spirit + verb

wawu-wula-y (-die) be exhausted, thirsty
(usually: wawula-y)
wawu-yimba-1 (-go straight through, cross-examine press ahead)
wawu-yilba-1 (-throw) sigh
other nouns + verb:

- burri-duda-1 (corroboree song-beat) *beat time to corroboree*
- jila-warri-y (sweat, scent-run) *perspire*
- ngirray-warri-y (weeping(N)-run) *burst into tears*
- kandarr-warri-y (burp(N)-run) *to burp*
- buya-warri-y (fart(N)-run) *to fart*
- nyunga-dama-1 (throught-spear) *imagine something*
- kunji-dama-1 (sneeze(N)-spear) *to sneeze*

adjective + verb:

- burra-warri-y (stale-run) *stagger, lurch*
- julbarr-warri-y (slippery-run) *slip*
- buyun-dama-1 (bad-spear) *spoil*

As can be seen in the above examples the verb root *warri-y* is most frequently used in the formation of compounds. *Dama-1* to *spear* is also used relatively often, although its semantic content in compounds is somewhat opaque, except in *kunji-dama-1 to sneeze* where it may refer to the motion performed in sneezing which is similar to the motion of the arm when throwing a spear.

*Dama-1* also occurs in the only attested verb+verb compound *walngka-n-dama-1* (hang-spear) *hang up to dry* where it may have similar reference to the motion involved in throwing clothes, etc., over a branch or line.

3.8.5.3 Inchoative Stems

Inchoative verb stems may be formed from nominals with the derivational suffix ‑ma-1 or with the intransitive form ‑maniji‑y.

(1) Inchoative stems with ‑ma-1

Derivational suffix ‑ma-1 is a highly productive verbaliser which can combine with virtually any nominal root, adjectival particle and, where semantically plausible, with time and location words, e.g.
yalbay  big  yalbay-ma-1  grow
dandi  hard  dandi-ma-1  become hard
kulji  stone  kulji-ma-1  turn into stone
kalka  spear  kalka-ma-1  turn into a spear
manyarr  wife  manyarr-ma-1  become a wife, marry
binal  know  binal-ma-1  learn
yilay-yilay  late afternoon  yilay-yilay-ma-1  become late afternoon
kuwa  west  kuwa-ma-1  move westward

(174)  wungar  ngalangala-ma-ny
sun-ABS(S)  faint red-INCHO-PAST
there was an eclipse of the sun

(175)  juku  ngunjil-ma-ny
tree/wood-ABS(S)  charcoal-INCHO-PAST
the wood turned into charcoal

(176)  nyulu  dunga-ny-baja  naka-ma-ny
3sg NOM(S)  go-PAST-again  east-INCHO-PAST
he went on again and moved eastwards

Inchoative stems with -ma-1 are clearly derivations and not compounds because they take imperative inflection -ka, used with stems of more than two syllables, and reduplicate as a whole.

Cognates of Kuku Yalanji -ma-1 can be found in all its related languages: -ma-1 in Guugu Yimidhirr (Haviland 1979a:65), -mayi-y in Dyabugay (Hale 1976b:239; Patz 1978:41) and -maji-n, with only very limited function, in Yidiny (Dixon 1977a:368).

Nyungkul speakers may use the inchoative verbaliser -ma-1 with inflected nouns, e.g.

(177)  nyulu  wungar-a-ma-1
3sg NOM(S)  sun-LOC-INCHO-NONPAST
he is moving into the sun

but Yalanji speakers do not favour such constructions. (Cf. (180) and comment, next page.)
(ii) **Inchoative compounds with -maniji-y**

Unlike inchoative stems with -ma-l, inchoative forms with -maniji-y must be regarded as compounds because their morphological behaviour in imperative and reduplication corresponds to that of other compounds. -maniji-y could be an intransitivised form (see 3.8.5.4 (ii)) of causative verbaliser -mani-l, but note that -mani-l does not occur with nominals, only -maniji-y does.

-maniji-y may attach to inflected nouns or comitative stems as well as roots, but its use is much more limited than that of the derivational suffix -ma-l. It can imply 'become X owing to external circumstances' but this interpretation does not always apply. Some examples are:

(178) ngayu wulbuman-maniji-ny
lsg NOM(S) old woman-INCHO-PAST

*I became an old woman*

(179) juma Leonie dunyu-nji-maniji-y
later Leonie-ABS(S) husband-COMIT-INCHO-NONPAST

*eventually Leonie will get married*

(180) ngayku bayan wungar-a-maniji-y
lsg POSS-ABS(S) house-ABS(S) sun-LOC-INCHO-NONPAST

*my house will move into the sun [because the sun is moving]*

Note that the last example is not a passive clause with sun as agent in locative case because wungaramanijiy is inseparable.

Such inchoative forms are used only infrequently and inchoative derivations with -ma-l are generally preferred.

Possibly, an original semantic distinction between the two inchoative forms is becoming blurred, with -ma-l taking over as general inchoative stem forming suffix.
3.8.5.4 Syntactic Derivations

There are two derivational processes in Kuku Yalanji which change a transitive verb into an intransitive one. One of these is 'reciprocal', the other 'reflexive' which is also used to intransitivise verbs in other than reflexive contexts. The change in transitivity goes together with a change in conjugation class: an intransitive stem derived from a transitive 1-conjugation verb always belongs to the y-conjugation.

(i) RECIProcal -wa-

A reciprocal verb stem is used where two or more participants are involved in the same action on each other. In such constructions the respective agent(s) and transitive object(s) are not referred to individually in these functions but conjoined in one noun phrase which is in intransitive subject function and the verb must be intransitivised with 'reciprocal' stem forming suffix -wa-. (For more detail about such constructions see 4.2.3.) Some examples of reciprocal stems are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>transitive verb</th>
<th>reciprocal stem</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nyaji-1</td>
<td>see</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kunja-1</td>
<td>call, summon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>binal-bunga-1</td>
<td>teach</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>murru-kanga-1</td>
<td>scold</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(181) jarba bula kaja-wa-y
snake-ABS(S) 3du NOM(S) tie-RECIP-NONPAST

the two snakes wrap around each other [i.e. mate]
Reciprocal stems may of course be reduplicated to indicate continuous action, e.g. kuji-n-kuji-wa-y keep waiting for each other/looking after each other. But since reciprocal stems inherently imply a repeated action, reduplication is only used where an (abnormally) long continuation needs to be indicated. (For reduplication of reciprocal stems see 3.8.5.5 (ii).)

Two reciprocal stems, kuni-wa-y hit each other and balka-wa-y talk to each other can occur outside the context of explicit reciprocity, meaning fight and chat respectively, e.g.

(183) nyulu wawu kari kuni-wa-nka
3sg NOM(S) want NEG hit-RECIP-PURP
he does not want to fight

(184) dingkar yinya balka-n-balka-wa-y nyulu
man-ABS(S) that-ABS(S) speak-REDUP-RECIP-NONPAST 3sg NOM(S)
kuku-baka
language-excess.

that man chats a lot, he is a chatterbox

This would mean that although these forms are historically reciprocal derivations, and can be used as such as in (182) for instance, they also represent separate lexemes with an extended semantic content.

In the Yalanji dialect it is possible to use the reciprocal suffix with some intransitive 1-conjugation roots apparently in free variation with the plural subject marker -ri- (see 3.8.5.5 (i)). There is no apparent semantic motivation for this, nor are there syntactic implications.
The primary use of stem forming suffix -ji- is in reflexive constructions. If an agent performs an action on himself the coreferential transitive object must be omitted in Kuku Yalanji. The verb is intransitivised with reflexive suffix -ji- and the agent appears in intransitive subject function. (For more syntactic details see 4.2.4.2)

Some examples of reflexive stems are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>transitive verb</th>
<th>reflexive stem</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yaka-1 cut</td>
<td>yaka-ji-y cut oneself</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jubi-1 squeeze, pinch</td>
<td>jubi-ji-y pinch oneself</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kuli-kanga-1 excite</td>
<td>kuli-kanga-ji-y excite oneself</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jana-y-manj-1 make stand up</td>
<td>jana-y-manj-ji-y make oneself stand up</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(185) dingkar julngka-ji-y warrma-ka
man-ABS(S) paint-REF-NONPAST corroboree-DAT

the man paints himself for the corroboree

Similar to fixed reciprocal stems there are a number of reflexive stems which have undergone a semantic shift from the meaning of the corresponding root and are used as separate lexemes in their own right. As I was able to infer from my informants' reactions, some of these reflexive stems are hardly connected to the semantic content of the root in the speaker's mind. Thus it is acceptable to say:

(186) buji jika-ji-y
cat-ABS(S) stretch-REF-NONPAST

the cat is stretching itself

but quite impossible to say:

(187) *ngayu buji jika-1
lsg NOM(A) cat-ABS(O) stretch-NONPAST

I stretch the cat
since jika-1 refers exclusively to the action of straightening a spear by heating it in a fire and stretching, bending and turning it.

A list of attested reflexive stems that can be regarded as separate lexemes, together with their corresponding roots, is given below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>root</th>
<th>fixed reflexive stem</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>balka-1</td>
<td>make</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jika-1</td>
<td>straighten a spear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jurrki-l</td>
<td>move something</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>murni-l</td>
<td>stir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nubi-1</td>
<td>search for</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>balkaji-y get born</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>jikaji-y stretch oneself</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>jurrkiji-y move house/camp[i.e. oneself]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>murniji-y spin around/take a detour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nubiji-y be lost</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Stem-forming suffix -ji- is also used to intransitivise verbs in passive and antipassive constructions in Kuku Yalanji. Syntax and functions of such constructions are considered in 4.2.4.3 and 4.2.4.4. (As general intransitivising suffix in passive and antipassive, -ji- is glossed as ITR.)

Kuku Yalanji -ji- is presumably a reflex of a pA verbal suffix *-DHirri-y and as such a variation of probably the most widespread and productive verbal suffix to be found in eastern and central languages of Australia (cf. Dixon 1980:447-9). All reflexes of *-DHirri-y, e.g. -Vdi in Guugu Yimidhirr, -yi- in Dyabugay, Kalkatungu and Lardil, -Vji-n in Yidiny, -yirri-y in Dyirbal, have a basic intransitivising function, although the semantic effects differ somewhat from language to language.

3.8.5.5 Non-syntactic Derivations

Reduplication and plural subject agreement are non-syntactic derivations which, in contrast to syntactic derivations have no impact on the transitivity value of the verb.
(i) Plural subject marker -ri-

This suffix is used on intransitive roots or stems of either conjugation, to indicate verbal agreement with a plural intransitive Subject. A -ri-stem cannot, however, indicate by itself plurality of the Subject, that is the Subject must be marked for plural by reduplication or a plural pronoun. (For plural formation see 3.2.3.5). The use of -ri- for plural agreement is optional; it appears to be a redundant form.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>root or stem</th>
<th>plural subject form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dunga-y</td>
<td>go</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>janji-l</td>
<td>bathe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>waju-ji-y</td>
<td>burn(REF)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kuni-wa-y</td>
<td>hit (RECIP)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples of sentences with plural Subject agreement are:

(188) jana bama jabsjaba wandi-ri-ny
3pl NOM(S) Aborig.-ABS(S) all kinds-ABS(S) emerge-PLS-PAST
=all sorts of people turned up

(189) yurra kada-ri-ka
2pl NOM(S) come-PLS-IMP
=you lot, come here!

(190) karrkay-karrkay bayan-ba ngaki-ji-ri-y
child-REDUP-ABS(S) house-LOC hide-REF-PLS-NONPAST
=the children hide in the house

There are no corresponding verbal devices to indicate plural transitive subject or intransitive object. Here, plurality is expressed only by the noun or pronoun form.
(ii) Reduplication

Verbal reduplication serves to indicate an ongoing, repeated or habitual action and/or a certain intensity in action, e.g. the reduplicated form of *see* can imply *look thoroughly, examine*, or just *keep looking*.

In order to illustrate excessively long duration, a verb is simply repeated a number of times without using reduplicated stems; the last vowel of the last verb is usually lengthened considerably, e.g. (191) jana jalbu-ngku duda-1 duda-1 duda-1 dudaaa-1

3pl NOM(A) woman-ERG:pt(A) pound-NONPAST ...

*the women pound and pound and pound and pound*  
(i.e. in preparation of *zamia nut*)

With verbs of rest *sit, lie, and stand* the reduplicated form refers to the state of *sitting* (also *living at*), *lying* (also *sleeping*) and *standing*, whereas the simple root implies *sit down, lie down, stand up* (i.e. get into posture).

There are different methods of reduplication for simple roots and inchoative stems, other derived stems, and compounds.

(a) Reduplication of simple roots and inchoative stems

The regular reduplication process of these involves repetition of the whole root or stem joined by a formal link morpheme:

root/stem + link + root/stem + inflection

The link morpheme for 1-conjugation verbs is -l- and for y-conjugation verbs -n-.

Reduplicated 1-conjugation verbs:

- dinda-1-dinda-1 *keep roasting*
- karrba-1-karrba-1 *keep holding on*
- wukurri-1-wukurri-1 *keep following*
- kima-ma-1-kima-ma-1 *keep getting soft*
Inchoative stems are generally reduplicated as a whole as in
the above example, but many speakers, particularly younger
ones, reduplicate such forms analogous to causative or other
compounds, i.e. they repeat only the stem forming suffix:
klma-ma-l-ma-l (cf. R. Hershberger 1964b:43). Most of my
older informants regard the latter form as incorrect, even
if they themselves use it frequently.

The three verbs that have suppletive roots for use with
imperative inflection also require these alternative roots in a
reduplicated imperative form, but not with other inflections:

nyaji-l-nyaji-l keep looking nyaka-l-nyaka keep looking!
daji-l-daji-l keep giving daya-l-daya keep giving!
mani-l-mani-l keep taking mana-l-mana keep taking!

Reduplicated y-conjugation verbs:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dunga-n-dunga-y</td>
<td>keep going</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yirrka-n-yirrka-y</td>
<td>keep shouting</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The linking -1- in reduplicated l-conjugation verbs could
represent the conjugation marker, but linking -n- in
y-conjugation verbs cannot be defined synchronically. But
note that the conjugation marker of the predominantly
intransitive verb class in Yidiny is -n (Dixon 1977:207).
Since y-conjugation verbs in Kuku Yalanji are all intransitive,
this -n- may be a remnant of a former n-conjugation which
does not now exist in Kuku Yalanji.

Six y-conjugation roots show only partial reduplication of
either the first or the second syllable. These are:

Reduplication of first syllable

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>badi-y</td>
<td>cry, weep</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jana-y</td>
<td>stand (up)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kada-y</td>
<td>come</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>warri-y</td>
<td>run</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>banbadi-y</td>
<td>keep crying, weeping</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>janjana-y</td>
<td>keep standing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kankada-y</td>
<td>keep coming</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wanarri-y</td>
<td>keep running</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Some speakers make a distinction between the partially reduplicated form wanarri-y as *perpetual motion*, e.g. of running water, and a fully reduplicated form warri-n-warri-y *continuous running by human or animal*.

Reduplication of second syllable

- **bunda-y** sit (down)  
  **bundanda-y** keep sitting, live at
- **wuna-y** lie (down)  
  **wunana-y** keep lying, sleep

Syllable reduction in partial reduplication has been discussed in 2.5.3.

(b) Reduplication of other than inchoative stems

In reduplication of reciprocal, reflexive / general intransitive and plural subject verb stems it is only the root that is reduplicated. The derivational suffixes -wa-, -ji- and -ri- are then appended to the reduplicated stem. However, in reciprocal and reflexive / general intransitive stems which are formed from transitive 1-conjugation roots the link component is not -l-, but -n- according to the conjugation class of the derived stem, i.e. *y*-conjugation. The same applies for intransitive 1-conjugation roots (see 3.8.3.1):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>root</th>
<th>reduplicated reciprocal stem</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kuni-1</td>
<td>hit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bayka-1</td>
<td>bite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>daka-1</td>
<td>climb (itr)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>root</td>
<td>reduplicated reflexive/intransitive stem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baka-1</td>
<td>poke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yaka-1</td>
<td>cut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nuka-1</td>
<td>eat</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1) Since Kuku Yalanji does not allow geminate consonants (see 2.2.1) link -n- and root initial n contract to single n. The link component is therefore not represented in such forms.
root reduplicated plural subject stem

dunga-y go dunga-n-dunga-ri-y keep going
wuri-y dance wuri-n-wuri-ri-y keep dancing

(c) Reduplication of compounds

In compound verbs it is only the second component which is reduplicated, e.g.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>compound</th>
<th>reduplicated form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wumbul-bunga-l</td>
<td>make hot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dara-y-mani-l</td>
<td>drop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngirray-kanga-l</td>
<td>make cry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>buyun-dama-l</td>
<td>spoil</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.8.6 Adverbial Forms

A verb may be modified by an adverbial particle or an adverb-like form that is derived from an adjective. None of these forms have inflectional possibilities.

3.8.6.1 Adverbial Particles

Kuku Yalanji has a small set of particles that may accompany a verb and in some way describe the action referred to by the verb. These particles, as attested so far, are listed below, grouped into semantic fields where possible:

posture (rest)

jangka upright, straight (also means stone)
jarrbarr prone, on stomach
mingki crouching, squatting
direction (motion)

wadu(wadu) astray, off course
maku straight towards
walku past
manner

ngambuy  fittingly, appropriately (also strong taste)
nganjarr(nganjarr) discreetly, with a hidden purpose
wudu absorbed in some activity
ngura (too) fast
yarngkay secretly
nguymal thoroughly, truly

others

nguyarr not quite (i.e. an action occurs, but not totally)
murrugi cannot
kanban by mistake
nganga briefly
jururr(jururr) repeatedly, with motion verbs: one after the other

These forms may be reduplicated and/or take the manner suffix -ku like adjectives in adverbial function (see 3.8.6.2). (Where a reduplicated form is given in the above list, this is frequently used, if not preferred.) But nevertheless these particles are distinct from adjectives in that a) they can occur in simple root form; b) do not have to take manner suffix -ku; and, more importantly, c) cannot be part of a noun phrase and take case inflections like adjectives. Adverbial particles may be placed anywhere in a clause but the preferred position is either immediately before or after the verb.

The following sentences illustrate the use of some of these particles which cannot be translated quite accurately out of context:

(192) nyulu kadar kuni-ny nguymal-ku
3sg NOM(A) wallaby-ABS(0) hit/kill-PAST thoroughly
"he killed the wallaby with one shot" (i.e. he had made a thorough job of it)
(193) buliman kada-ny nganjarrnganjarr
police-ABS(S) come-PAST discreetly

the police came discreetly ("to protect big shot like
Mr Killoran")

(194) kari bunda-y, ngarri buyun. yunu-nji nguyarr
NEG sit-IMP leg-ABS(S) bad 2sg COMIT not quite
dara-y
fall-NONPAST

don't sit down! [the bench] has a rotten leg.
It will tip over with you
(i.e. not really fall, but just tip to one side)

(195) ngayu juku kulji-bu nguyarr kuni-ny
lsg NOM(A) tree-ABS(O) stone-INST not quite hit-PAST
I did not quite hit the tree with the stone
(but the stone may have touched it in passing)

(196) yundu ngambuy bundanda-y bayan-ba
2sg NOM(S) appropriately sit-REDUP-NONPAST house-LOC
"you look just right living in that caravan"
(i.e. you fit in appropriately)

3.8.6.2 Derived Adverbs

Adverbs may be derived from adjectives, or comitative or
privative stems by the following processes:

(a) attaching a 'manner' suffix -ku (to be glossed as ADverb)
(b) reduplication
(c) reduplicated form + -ku.

Process (a) is the most productive, (b) is less often and (c) very
rarely used. With comitative and privative stems reduplication is
not favoured. Some examples are:
jinbal *quick* jinbal-ku *quickly, fast* jinbal-jinbal(-ku)
buyun *bad* buyun-ku (etc) *badly* mumbar *careful* mumbar-ku carefully
kuli-ji *angry, wild* kuli-ji-ku angrily kiru-kari *stupid* kiru-kari-ku stupidly

(197) yinya karra mumbar-ku wunana-y
that-ABS(S) rope-ABS(S) coiled up-ADV lie-REDUP-NONPAST
the rope is lying coiled up

(198) yarraman mukul waymbul-ku dunga-y
horse-ABS(S) old-ABS(S) slow-ADV go-NONPAST
the old horse is walking slowly

In transitive clauses, the derived adverb is based on an adjective + 'neutral' Ergative/Instrumental form, e.g.

(199) nyulu ngarrbal jinbal-da-ku wukurri-ny
3sg NOM(A) stranger-ABS(0) quick-ERG/INST-ADV follow-PAST
he quickly followed the stranger

(200) diburr mumbar-abu-ku bulin-ba yijarri-ka
egg(S)-ABS(0) careful-ERG/INST-ADV plate-LOC put-IMP
put the eggs carefully on the plate!

At this stage it is not clear whether the inflection represents ergative case agreement with the agent or instrumental. The former is commonly found in Western Desert languages as for instance Yankunytjatjara (Goddard, personal communication). The interpretation of ergative case agreement is supported by the fact that such inflected forms only occur in transitive sentences. (Note also that some other modifiers such as possessive forms, for instance, take always 'neutral' inflection, regardless of the type of inflection on the head noun.)
A commonly used adverb is based on the suppletive demonstrative root yala this which also functions as a comparison particle like, same (see 3.9.2).

(201) yala-ku balka
    like-ADV speak/make-IMP

    speak like this/make[it] like this!

Adverbial suffix -ku may be attached to inflected nouns to form adverbials of time, e.g.

(202) ngayu warru-ku Palm Island bundanda-ny
    lsg NOM(S) yg man-ABS-ADV " sit-REDUP-PAST

    as a young man I stayed at Palm Island

(203) ngayu karrkay-nyja-ku minya kadar
    lsg NOM(A) child-ERG-ADV meat-ABS(O) wallaby-ABS(O)

    ngangkin nuka-l-nuka-ny
    porcupine-ABS(O) eat-REDUP-PAST

    as a child I used to eat wallaby and porcupine

However, it is possible, that -ku in this context is not the adverb forming suffix but the homophonous emphatic clitic -ku. The latter could be interpreted as highlighting the temporal contrast implied in these sentences, e.g. as a young man (which I am obviously not any longer) I stayed at Palm Island.

Cf. R. Hershberger's (1979:55) attested 'adverbial' suffix -ku with an inflected nominal form:

(204) dingkar-angka nyunguniny yarkin-ka-ku kuni-ny
    man-ERG:pt(A) 3sg ACC(0) corpse-DAT-ADV(?) hit/kill-PAST

    "the man murdered him (intended to kill)"
    (translation from R. Hershberger)

Again, -ku could be interpreted as either adverbial suffix, he hit/injured him deadly, or as emphatic clitic, he hit him quite dead.
3.9 **FREE FORM PARTICLES**

Apart from the adverbial particles discussed in 3.8.6.1 above, Kuku Yalanji employs a number of non-inflecting free form particles in various functions at clause and sentence level. We can distinguish four groups: adjectival, comparison, negation and discourse particles.

### 3.9.1 Adjectival particles

There are four adjectival particles:

- **binal** know (about) something
- **juburr** be good at something
- **yinil** be afraid
- **wawu** want, like

All of these are used in predicator function with a dative noun or purposive verb as complement (see 4.9.1).

The reasons for classification as adjectival rather than verbal particles are as follows:

(a) All these particles may form causative and inchoative verb stems with -bunga-1 and -ma-1 (see 3.8.5.1 and 3.8.5.3) which are used to verbalise nominals.

- **yinil-bungal** frighten someone
- **binal-mal** learn [about] something

Verb stems derived from wawu want, like show a vestige of a comitative suffix (see 3.2.3.3) and have somewhat extended semantic content:

- **wawurrwawurr-mal** be happy, decide
- **wawurrwawurr-bungal** make happy

Wawu is in fact also a noun meaning breath, spirit, soul. Note that the cognate noun in Guugu Yimidhirr with the same meaning must take comitative to express want, like.
(b) All these particles, except for juburr, may form privative stems (see 3.2.3.4), e.g.

\[ \text{wawu-kari} \quad \text{don't want, don't like} \]

(Possibly the privative form of juburr \textit{good at} is not used because there is a lexical alternative: \textit{manjarr no good at, lazy}.)

(c) These particles, except for wawu, may take the degree suffix \textit{-bajaku} (see 3.2.3.8) which places them in the adjective rather than in the noun category. But note that these particles do not take case inflections and can therefore not be regarded as 'proper' adjectives.

\[ \text{juburr-bajaku} \quad \text{be very good at} \]
\[ \text{binal-bajaku} \quad \text{know very much, know exactly} \]

(To intensify wawu the quantifier jirray is used: \textit{wawu jirray like a lot, love}.)

\textit{Yinil be afraid} is used in free variation with a comitative form \textit{yinil-ji} or \textit{yini-ji} which, however, may not be verbalised.

3.9.2 Comparison, Negation and Discourse Particles

These particles, in contrast to those discussed in the previous subsection, have no regular derivational possibilities, but some isolated lexical items have one or the other of these particles as their basis. The functions of the particles listed hereunder are described in following chapters as indicated.

(i) Comparison particle

Particle \textit{yala (be) like, (be) the same} (glossed as COMP) may be related to the suppletive demonstrative root \textit{yala this}. The syntactic function of particle \textit{yala} is discussed in 4.9.3.
In specific reference to appearance this particle co-occurs with 'walu' face in either order, e.g.

(205) nyulu yala walu/walu yala bikibiki

he looks like a pig

Yala may also take the emphatic clitic -rrku (see 3.10.2):
yalarrku just the same or also, e.g.

(206) kanbal bubu yala-rrku
    some-ABS(S) place-ABS(S) COMP-EMPH

some places are just the same [as this place]

(207) wulman yala-rrku manyarr-anka badi-ny
    old man-ABS(S) COMP-EMPH wife-DAT:pt cry-PAST

the old man also cried for his wife [just like the others]

(ii) Negation particles

These particles include:

kari not (NEG)

balu desist, give up (NEG₁)

Particle kari may take clitics -ku 'general emphasis' and -rrku 'totality' (see 3.10.2). Kariku has emphatic or temporal meaning according to context, i.e. not at all or not yet. Karirrku implies not really, not altogether, e.g.

(208) ngayu kari-rrku warngku-wuna-ny
    lsg NOM(S) NEG-EMPH sleep-lie-PAST

I did not really sleep [I just dozed]

(Functions of kari as negation particle are discussed in 4.9.3)

Balu may take clitic -da, actually a temporal clitic (see 3.10.1), but baluda is used in the sense of 'let it be, don't do what you are about to do'. The use of balu as negation particle is discussed in 4.9.2.
Kari and balu may be used not only in reference to part of a clause, for instance the predicate, but also to modify a whole clause and as such have additional function as discourse particles. In discourse function these particles are placed in clause initial position; in direct negation function they occur adjacent to the clause constituent that they negate. The full inventory of discourse particles is:

- kari: 'adversative relating to event' (gloss 'but')
- yamba: 'adversative relating to state (gloss 'but')
- yambada
- yambala
- kaki: when, if
- kunka: in case (specified hypothetical event)
- nganganjirrka: in case (not necessarily specified hypothetical event)
- nganganjida
- balu: 'wrong assumption' (gloss 'wrong')
- nguba: maybe, perhaps

Analogous to glosses of other discourse particles, e.g. kunka in case, glosses for kari and balu in discourse function are represented by appropriate English lexical items rather than by abstract terms to distinguish their discourse function from their negation function.

Kari, yamba, kaki, kunka and nganganjirrka function as co-ordination particles (although nganganjirrka may also occur independently outside a clausal context) and are explained in 4.3.2.

Nganganjirrka, also attested as nganganjida, may be based on the adverbial particle nganga briefly with comitative suffix -ji(rr)

---

1) Cf. Grimes (1975:65). This term is explained in 5.5.5

2) A similar 'mistaken thought' particle can be found in the Western Desert language Ngaanyatjarra (Glass 1980).
and dative inflection -ka or temporal clitic -da, perhaps meaning 'do something for a little while (in case something happens)'. But this may be an overinterpretation since adverbial particles generally do not have these derivational and inflectional possibilities.

For specific discourse function of kari, yamba and balu as collateral information see 5.5.5. Discourse function of kaki, kunka, nganganjirrkka and nguba as background information is considered in 5.5.3. For syntactic behaviour of balu and nguba see 4.9.3 and 4.9.4 respectively.

3.10 CLITICS

There are several bound morphemes in Kuku Yalanji which always occur word-finally, i.e. after roots, stems or inflected forms. They may be categorised as enclitics rather than post-inflectional suffixes, because

(a) they cannot be stressed,

(b) their co-occurrence is not confined to particular parts of speech, but they may attach to a variety of "host" words\(^1\).

Kuku Yalanji enclitics are listed hereunder in groups according to their function, including descriptions of their use and/or reference to following sections where their functions are discussed more fully.

1) J.L. Klavans (1980) uses the term "host" for the word to which a clitic is attached.
3.10.1 Temporal Clitics

-da  
then (following action or state) \(^1\)
\(\text{(TEMP}_1\text{)}\)

(-ku  
before (preceding action or state) \(^1\)
\(\text{(TEMP}_2\text{)}\)

-kuda  
meanwhile (?) (TEMP\(^2\))

-ngVrr/V-  
first of all (TEMP\(^3\))

-Vrr/C-  

wawu-  
since, after in connection with Ablative (TEMP\(^4\))

Clitic -da is most frequently used with verbs, but has also been attested with all other parts of speech. It typically occurs on the last of a sequence of verbs to indicate that this is the last in a sequence of actions, e.g.

\[(209)\]  
jana kada-ny, kuyu mani-ny, waju-ny,  
3pl NOM(S) come-PAST fish-ABS(O) get-PAST cook-PAST  
nuka-ny-da  
eat-PAST-TEMP\(_1\)  

they came, caught a fish, cooked [it], and then ate

(For discourse function of clitic -da in temporal cohesion see 5.2.2; for use with imperatives see 4.7.)

The semantic content of clitic -ku is sometimes ambiguous, and a distinction between temporal and emphatic -ku (see 3.10.2 below) is often impossible. (Note that -ku also functions as adverb marker and is homophonous with one allomorph of dative inflection (see 3.2.2).)

Only in two (fossilised) time words does -ku clearly have a reference to times past, i.e. ngadiku a long time ago and yilayku yesterday.

\(^1\) R. Hershberger (1964d) uses glosses -ku 'then' and -da 'now' in reference to a "prior time" and "now or following" time respectively. While on the whole my observations agree with hers, the status of -ku as temporal or emphatic clitic is ambiguous as will be shown in this and the following section. See also H. and R. Hershberger (1982:294) "ku shows emphasis".
But while only some occurrences in discourse may be interpreted as having temporal reference, an interpretation as emphatic clitic is always possible. For this reason, and also because the cognate post-inflectional suffix -:gu in Guugu Yimidhirr has clearly emphatic function (Haviland 1979a:60), I favour this interpretation of -ku as emphatic marker.

Clitic -kuda, which is used mostly with verbs but also with nominals and pronouns, is not easily definable. Its most plausible interpretation as *meanwhile* is explained in 5.2.2.¹)

If -ku is, or was, a temporal clitic meaning *before*, a combination of -ku+-da *before then* may perhaps refer to a time span outside or 'alongside' this temporal symmetry, i.e. *meanwhile*.

Clitic -(ng)Vrr *first of all* has been attested with verbs, nouns and pronouns, It indicates either that a certain action is (or has to be) the first in a sequence, or that the referent is the first to do it, or the first to be affected, e.g.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{duda-ny-arr} & \quad \text{pounded first, then...} \\
\text{wulman-angka-ngarr} & \quad \text{old man(erg) was the first to...} \\
\text{nyulu} & \quad \text{kuyu-ngurr} \\
3\text{sg NOM(A)} & \quad \text{fish-ABS(0)-TEMP}_3 \\
\text{mani-ny, ngawuya} & \quad \text{get-PAST} \\
\text{dama-ny-da} & \quad \text{turtle-ABS(0)} \\
\text{spear-PAST-TEMP}_1 \\
\text{he caught a fish first[and]then speared a turtle}
\end{align*}
\]

With suppletive imperative forms and with trisyllabic roots with imperative inflection this clitic has also been attested as simply -rr, e.g. daya-rr *give it first*, julurri-ka-rr *wash it first*.

For a full discussion of the discourse use of -(ng)Vrr see 5.2.2; for use with imperatives see 4.7.

¹) R. Hershberger (1979:72 & 74) attested kuda as a free form particle functioning as clause initial question marker. I have heard this in conversation, but in elicitation this use of kuda was treated with misgivings.
Proclitic wawu- only occurs with ablative forms, the whole word meaning 'since, after X', e.g.

wawu-yinya-muny  after that
wawu-mayi-muny  after the meal

3.10.2 Emphatic Clitics

-ku  general emphasis: really(?) (EMPH₁)
-lu (Yalanji)  pay attention (EMPH₂)
-la (nyungkul)  surprise: lo and behold (EMPH₃)

Clitic -ku is used copiously in discourse with all parts of speech and at present I cannot do better than describe it as 'general emphasis'. English translations could possibly resort to really for -ku, e.g. yalbay-ku really big, jalbu-ku (it was) really the woman, wubul-ku really a lot, but in most cases this would be too strong, particularly since 'really' also implies 'high degree'.

Yalanji -lu and Nyungkul -la are attention getting devices in discourse (see 5.4.2) and may attach to all parts of speech. Clitic -lu in Yalanji marks specially important events by particularly frequent occurrence in limited stretches of discourse (see 5.5.1.1).

Clitic -bi, which also occurs with all parts of speech, conveys an element of surprise (similar to -bi: in Dyabugay which may even be stressed (Patz 1978:60)). For details of its use see 5.4.2 and 5.5.4.

Clitic -rrku/V- ~ Vrrku/C- 'totality, exclusive' (EMPH₄) may also be grouped among emphatic clitics (note its ending -ku), but it has more restricted application than the others. It is only used with verbs, pronouns, and particles kari not and yala like, same.
With verbs -(V)rrku implies that an action is carried out totally and thoroughly, e.g.

(211) maral-angka kambi julurri-ny-arrku
   girl-ERG:pt(A) clothes-ABS(0) wash-PAST-EMPH
   the girl washed all the clothes thoroughly

(212) bayan kida-rrku
   house-ABS(0) sweep-IMP-EMPH
   sweep the whole house thoroughly!

With pronouns -(V)rrku stresses that only the particular referent is involved, e.g.

(213) ngayu wawu balka-nka yunu-ndu-rrku
   lsg NOM(S) want speak-PURP 2sg-LOC-EMPH
   I want to speak only to you

(214) bama mungka-dunju nyulu-rrku
   person-ABS(S) hair-curly-ABS(S) 3sg NOM(S)-EMPH
   kudamundu jiba-badi-ny
   afterwards feel sorry-PAST
   only the Islander felt sorry afterwards

   (many years ago two whites and a Torres Strait Islander had assaulted, tortured and robbed a settler in the area; note the reference to Torres Strait Islanders as "curly hair")

(215) ngayu-rrku bundanda-y
   lsg NOM(S)-EMPH sit-REDUP-NONPAST
   I am living by myself

3.10.3 Other Clitics

Degree of clitic -baja very/again has dual function as a stem forming suffix with adjectives (see 3.2.3.8 (ii)) and a post-inflectional clitic with verbs. As was shown previously, with adjectives -baja always occurs in conjunction with emphatic clitic -ku, meaning very Adjective. With verbs -baja can apparently not be followed by -ku.
With state verbs, as with adjectives, -baja expresses a fairly high degree of intensity, as for instance: \textit{yinilmanybaja were quite scared} in Text 3, Line 43, or:

\begin{verbatim}
(216)  nyulu       bambay-ma-l-baja
       3sg NOM(S)  sick-INCHO-NONPAST-DEGREE

he is getting quite sick
\end{verbatim}

With action and motion verbs, on the other hand, -baja means \textit{Verb again} (and will be glossed as 'again' in this context), e.g.

\begin{verbatim}
(217)  bajabaja-ngka       jinkalmu       bayka-ny-baja
       blue tongue lizard-ERG:pt(A)  Taipan-ABS(0)  bite-PAST-again

the Blue Tongue Lizard bit the Taipan again

(Blue Tongue Lizards are said to be able to fight and kill Taipans.)
\end{verbatim}

\begin{verbatim}
(218)  ngayu       wawu       kada-nka-baja
       1sg NOM(S)  want come-PURP-again

I want to come back
\end{verbatim}

One idiomatic use of -baja has to be noted: \textit{yundu-ku-baja}

\textit{it's up to you}. (It is unclear what -ku- represents in this instance.)

Clitic -ji (Yalanji), -yijin (Nyungkul)\footnote{H. and R. Hershberger (1982) record the Nyungkul form of this clitic as -jilin.} attaches only to pronouns and expresses 'X's turn, X does something in turn' which may or may not imply an obligation to perform a particular action, e.g.

\begin{verbatim}
(219)  ngayu       yunu       mani       daji-1,
       1sg NOM(A)  2sg POSS money-ABS(0)  give-NONPAST

yundu-ji       ngayku       minya       daya
       2sg NOM(A)-in turn  1sg POSS meat-ABS(0)  give-IMP

I give you money and you, in turn, give me meat

(This refers to an exchange of favours rather than a business transaction.)
\end{verbatim}
(220) Monday yindu ngayu-ji school-mun-bu
other lsg NOM(S)-in turn school-mun-LOC
dunga-ny, mayi waju-nku
go-PAST food-ABS(0) cook-PURP

last Monday it was my turn to go to the school to cook food
(i.e. school lunch)

(221) yundu-ji bunda-y, ngayu bubu
2sg NOM(S)-in turn sit-IMP lsg NOM(A) ground-ABS(0)
kida-1
sweep-NONPAST

it's your turn to sit down, I sweep the ground (i.e. yard)

3.10.4 Ordering of Clitics

Clitics may co-occur in the order:

\[
\begin{align*}
\{ & \text{temporal clitic} \} & \text{emphatic clitics EMPH}_{1-3} \\
\{ & -ji in turn \} & -(V)rrku EMPH_{4}
\end{align*}
\]

-baja as verbal clitic and -(V)rrku EMPH_{4} have not been attested in conjunction with other clitics.

The three temporal clitics can (obviously) not co-occur, but emphatic clitics EMPH_{1-3} may be used together in the numerical order of the subscript:

-ku (EMPH_{1}) -lu (EMPH_{2}) -bi (EMPH_{3}).

3.11 INTERJECTIONS

Kuku Yalanji has four monosyllabic and seven polysyllabic interjections which cannot take any affixes and make up a distinct intonation group. A list of these with a description of their functions is given in 4.10.
3.12 MORPHOLOGICAL ADAPTATION OF ENGLISH LOAN WORDS

English noun roots with any number of syllables usually take catalytic suffix -mun- before inflections or stem-forming suffixes, e.g.

- car-mun-du (LOC)
- school-mun-ku (DAT)
- teacher-mun-unji (COMIT)
- motorbike-mun-ji (COMIT)

However, the catalytic suffix is not obligatory and English loans have often been attested without it, e.g.

- Toyota-nga (LOC) (Text 3, Line 4)
- Chris-angka (ERG:pt) (Text 3, Line 15)
- car-nga (LOC)

English adjectives are suffixed with -bala which is a feature in Pidgin (presumably < fellow as in waybala white fellow, white man), e.g.

- drunk-bala
- brown-bala
- busy-bala-baja-ku very busy

As many other Australian languages, Kuku Yalanji borrows English verbs as nominal roots which are then verbalised by inchoative or causative derivations.

Intransitive verbs take the inchoative verbaliser -ma-1; if the root is monosyllabic, the inchoative suffix is usually reduplicated, e.g.

- travel-ma-1
- shift-ma-1-ma-1
Note that the verb work often involves further the causative suffix -mani-1, used with intransitive verbs (see 3.8.5.1), but in passivised form with suffix -ji-: ngayu work-ma-n-mani-ji-ny I worked (literally: I was made to work).

Transitive verb roots are suffixed with -im\(^1\) before combining with the transitive verbaliser -bunga-1 ~ -ba-1. (Note that only -bunga-1, and not -kanga-1 is used with English verbs.) For instance:

- fix-im-bunga-1, fix-im-ba-1
- push-im-bunga-1, etc.
- count-im-bunga-1
- polish-im-bunga-1.

\(^1\) This suffix, presumably < 'him' as in 'fix him' is widely used in Australian Pidgins and Creoles (see Crowley and Rigsby 1979).
CHAPTER FOUR
SYNTAX

4.1 SIMPLE SENTENCES

A simple sentence in Kuku Yalanji normally consists of a verb complex (VC) and one or more noun phrases (NP) which fulfill particular syntactic and semantic functions in relation to the verb. But in the absence of copulas in Kuku Yalanji we have to distinguish between such verbal sentences and verbless or nominal sentences in which the verb slot remains unfilled.

To begin with, this section presents the possible constituents of noun phrases and of the verb complex, and their combinations. Subsection 4.1.3 discusses the syntactic types of verbs, followed by core-syntactic structures of simple sentences and optional extensions in 4.1.4. Nominal sentences are dealt with in 4.1.5 and finally there are some remarks on the order of sentence constituents in 4.1.6. This topic is considered more fully in the next chapter.

4.1.1 Noun Phrases

A noun phrase in Kuku Yalanji may consist of several parts either in a continuous line or scattered in certain chunks throughout the sentence. All NP constituents have to agree in case marking whether the NP is continuous or discontinuous; only possessive constructions are exempt from this rule in that case marking is not obligatory for the possessive form in a continuous NP (see 3.2.3.2 and 4.5.1).
In discourse, continuous NPs where only the last constituent was marked for case have occasionally been encountered. However, when editing their own narratives, informants always corrected such occurrences to include case marking on all constituents.

A noun phrase may include the following constituents:

(a) a proper noun, e.g.
Mandu, Jinabaji, Mabel (personal names)
Wangkabaja, Bibikarrbi (place names);

(b) a common specific noun, e.g.
maral  girl
kalnga  mother's brother
kundurr death adder
wada wild apple;

(c) a generic term (see 3.1.2) on its own or preceding (b), e.g.
jarba snake
mayi wukay plant food hairy yam
minya ngangkin flesh food porcupine
juku buyku tree paperbark;

The use of generic nouns as a kind of classifier together with specific nouns is quite common in Yidiny and Guugu Yimidhirr. In Kuku Yalanji, on the other hand, the only generic terms that are used frequently in a classifying function are minya flesh food (in contrast to inedible animals) and mayi plant food (in contrast to inedible plants). Other generic terms have only occasionally been attested as classifiers in conjunction with specific nouns.

(d) a demonstrative pronoun (see 3.7) on its own or together with (b) or (c) or both, e.g.
yinya that
yinya karrkay that child
karrkay yinya
yanyu dikal (wakuka) this bird (kookaburra)
In combination with one noun the demonstrative may precede or follow the noun; in combination with two nouns the demonstrative is preferred in initial position.

(e) an interrogative pronoun (see 3.6.1) on its own or together with (b) or (c), e.g.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{wanya} & \quad \text{who} \\
\text{wanya warru} & \quad \text{which young man} \\
\text{wanyu minya} & \quad \text{what meat}
\end{align*}
\]

(f) a personal pronoun (see 3.5.1) on its own or followed by any of (a) - (d), e.g.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{yundu} & \quad \text{you (sg)} \\
\text{yubal Coraleen} & \quad \text{you and Coraleen} \\
\text{bula ngamu} & \quad \text{the two mothers} \\
\text{jana bama} & \quad \text{the Aborigines} \\
\text{nyulu yinya} & \quad \text{that one}
\end{align*}
\]

The anaphoric and/or definite reference of noun phrases of this type is discussed in 5.2.1.1 and 5.2.1.2. Those sections also consider the implications of noun/pronoun sequences, e.g. bama, jana Aborigines, they which are best regarded as double headed or even two separate noun phrases since the two constituents are normally set off by a slight pause and final rising intonation on the first word.

(g) one or more modifiers such as adjectives, comitative or privative forms in attributive function and quantifiers may be optionally included in a noun phrase of type (b), (c), (d) or (f), e.g.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{dubal murru-murru} & \quad \text{rough bark} \\
n\text{bark rough} \\
\text{jambul kaya kuli-ji} & \quad \text{two vicious dogs} \\
n\text{two dog rage-COMIT}
\end{align*}
\]
The preferred order is for the modifier to follow the head constituent, but where an adjective and a quantifier are used together the quantifier tends to precede and the adjective to follow the head. Combinations of two or even more descriptive adjectives are rare.

(h) a nominal or pronominal possessive form may precede or follow a noun. An optional modifier (g) may be included after the head noun, e.g.

ngayku bayan (yalbay) my big house
1sg POSS house big
kalka (jirakal) dingkar-amu the man's new spear
spear new man-POSS

(h) a nominal or pronominal possessive form may precede or follow a noun, e.g.

ngayku bayan my house
badur ngamu-mu mother's fishing line
fish-line mother-POSS

An optional modifier (g) may follow the head noun or the possessive form, depending on which constituent it refers to, e.g.

ngayku bayan yalbay my big house
badur dingkar-amu yalbay-amu the big man's fishing line
fish-line man-POSS big-POSS

(i) An inalienably possessed part may stand in apposition to the head noun (see 4.5.2), e.g.

nyulu dukul he [his] head

The possessed part always follows the possessor; optional modifiers refer to the thing possessed, e.g.

nyulu dukul yalbay he [his] big head
Noun phrases of the last type may be analysed as consisting of two heads in the relationship of "inclusion apposition". This concept, as defined by Quirk et al (1972:637) refers to "cases of apposition where the reference of the first appositive is not identical with that of the second, but rather includes it". The same analysis can be applied to generic/specific noun NPs (type (c)) and pronoun/noun NPs where the pronoun implies a greater number of referents than the noun as in yubal Coraleen you two (one of you) Coraleen (i.e. you and Coraleen), or jana Ivy they (one of them) Ivy (i.e. the Ivy mob).1)

4.1.2 The Verb Complex

The core constituent of the verb complex is a simple or compound verb such as kida-1 scrape, nyumba-y turn back, warngku-wuna-y sleep, maku-nyaji-1 meet.

The verb may be accompanied by a non-inflecting modifier which normally precedes the verb but may also follow it. Verbal modifiers may be:

(a) an adverbial particle (see 3.8.6.1), e.g.

- kanban kuni-1 hit by mistake
- walku dunga-y walk past

(b) a derived adverb (see 3.8.6.2), e.g.

- kiray-ku wukurri-1 follow secretly
- secret-ADV follow
- kuli-ji-ku kuni-1 hit viciously
- rage-COMIT-ADV hit

Verb complexes with more than one modifier have not been attested.

---

1) Cf. the interpretation of "apposition noun phrase" by R. Hershberger (1964a:38)
4.1.3 Verbs - Syntactic Types

Kuku Yalanji distinguishes strictly between transitive and intransitive verbs.

An intransitive verb requires only a noun phrase in subject function which can be either a pronoun in nominative case or a nominal in absolutive case. The subject of an intransitive verb may be either animate or inanimate.

A transitive verb has to be accompanied by two core syntactic noun phrases. These are one noun phrase in agent function, which may be a pronoun in nominative case or a nominal in ergative case, and one noun phrase in object function, which may be a pronoun in accusative case or a nominal in absolutive case. In a context-related sentence either of the core syntactic noun phrases may be omitted, leaving the verb as sole clause constituent (e.g. Text 36: 10 and 20).

In Kuku Yalanji the transitivity value of a verb in a transitive sentence is not affected according to whether the action is performed by an animate or inanimate actor. An inanimate actor receives instrumental case marking to indicate that the action is uncontrolled and non-volitional, e.g.

(222) karrkay mili-bu waju-ny
    child-ABS(O) stinging tree-INST burn-PAST

*a stinging tree burnt the child*

---

1) A similar situation obtains in Guugu Yimidhirr (Haviland 1979a:125); in Yidiny (Dixon 1977a: 275) and Dyabugay (Patz 1978:82) an inanimate agent requires a verb with derivational suffix -:gi and -yi respectively, but the verb remains transitive.
(223) nganya juku-bu baka-ny
1sg ACC(0) stick-INST poke-PAST

*a stick poked me* (e.g. when I sat on the ground)

Because 'neutral' Ergative and Instrumental are identical in form the syntactic function of the inanimate actor in such a sentence is ambiguous on first sight. This problem is considered further in 4.1.4.4 (i).

Chance actions by potentially controlling agents, on the other hand, may be expressed by passive constructions involving a detransitivised verb (see 4.2.4.3).

4.1.4 Case Functions

In 3.2.2 the forms of case inflections were presented with only brief indication of their functions. This section will examine in detail the syntactic and semantic functions of cases in Kuku Yalanji.

4.1.4.1 Preliminary Remarks

In linguistic theory the definition of 'case' has been approached from basically two opposite angles.

Traditional grammar identifies cases according to their overt realisation such as contrastive affixation, word order constraints, etc. The overriding consideration is 'one form - one case', although the possibility of syncretised functions in one 'case' is recognised. However, even when allowing for syncretism, this approach is unsuitable for a language where, say, two functions of the one formal case show crucial differences in syntactic behaviour.

The other approach, based on Fillmore 1968 uses underlying syntactic-semantic relationships as the starting point for the
identification of 'case'. Such a priori established 'cases' are seen to be expressed in certain language specific forms. This approach is most suitable in setting up a universal 'case' inventory and in determining, from a functional point of view, why certain languages use certain constructions (Foley 1980). However, there are difficulties in applying this model in the pragmatic formulation of the case grammar of a specific language. It seems that the cake can be cut in too many different ways, as is apparent from the varying and partly overlapping terminology used by proponents of this theory (cf. Fillmore 1968 with nine basic case roles and A. Hale 1973 with three).

Furthermore, before it is established what a particular language has to offer in the way of 'cases', their functions and forms, it seems impossible to theorize on its position in universal case grammar.

Since this thesis is mainly concerned with providing a pragmatic formulation of Kuku Yalanji grammar, this brings us back to the more traditional approach of using the case form as a starting point for the definition of 'case' in Kuku Yalanji. However, while using this starting point, I also pay close attention to case functions and will distinguish two cases such as Ergative and Instrumental, although they have the same form, because there are pressing syntactic reasons for doing so. On the other hand, there is the necessity to distinguish four core syntactic cases on formal grounds: Ergative and Absolutive for nouns and Nominative and Accusative for pronouns. The functions of these overlap in the following way:
transitive subject { Ergative
intransitive subject { Nominative
transitive object { Absolutive
Accusative

Such a split case marking system is a common phenomenon in Australian languages and it has become a firmly established convention to distinguish the functions of the respective cases as:

A transitive subject (or Agent)
S intransitive subject
0 transitive object

(see Dixon 1972:xxii; Silverstein 1976:112)

Since the case forms of nouns and pronouns do not correspond with these functions in a one-to-one relationship, one cannot simply adopt the functional labels as case labels, even though the functions, and not the cases, are of primary syntactic importance. As a way out of this quandary I gloss core syntactic nouns and pronouns with both the case and functional label, e.g. NOM(S) denotes a nominative pronoun in intransitive subject function; ABS(O) a noun in absolutive case and in transitive object function, etc. This may appear cumbersome, but I regard it as necessary for the following reasons: (a) all constituents of a noun phrase must have the same case function; and (b) only noun phrases with the same case function may be conjoined.

If nominal and pronominal constituents of the same noun phrase or of conjoined noun phrases are glossed only with their respective case labels the identical function cannot be obvious, but the functional terms A, S and 0 will disambiguate the syntactic structure.
4.1.4.2 Semantic Functions of Case Inflections

Some Australian languages have noun classes which are indicated either by nominal prefixes, as in the languages of Arnhem Land and the Kimberleys, or by free form determiners as in Dyirbal. Some semantic aspects of noun classes are gender and edible foods.

Kuku Yalanji employs a double set of inflections for Ergative, Dative, general Locative and Ablative which are used, roughly, in accordance with animacy or inanimacy of the referent. H. Hershberger (1964b:74) assumed that there are in fact two noun classes, 'animate' and 'inanimate' which determine the choice of the appropriate case inflection. However, further research has shown that the two sets of case inflections do not correspond with two fixed classes of 'animate' and 'inanimate' nouns. It rather appears that it is not an inherent and unchangeable feature of the noun that determines the inflection, but that it is the inflection which adds a semantic aspect (other than a case role) to the noun.

It is not all that unusual for inflections to combine the function of case marker with a non-syntactic function, such as indicating number (Latin) or definiteness (Turkish). However, a system of portmanteau case markers which effect a certain interpretation as to the 'animacy' of the inflected noun appears to be quite rare.¹)

¹) Mangarayi, a Western Roper River language, uses prefixes that indicate both noun class and case (Merlan 1982), a system which may in some way be similar to Kuku Yalanji case marking.
To determine the 'extragrammatical' functions of Kuku Yalanji case inflections and the semantic basis for these functions we first of all have to consider the animacy hierarchy of referents and the distribution of the different types of inflections. A wide range of nouns around the mid-section of the animacy hierarchy will accept case markers from either set which indicates that the rigid terms 'animate' and 'inanimate' are inappropriate for the two sets of inflections. For the time being I will therefore refer to the two inflection sets as set X and set Y. The animacy hierarchy for Kuku Yalanji nouns and their respective case marking is illustrated in Table 4.1.

**TABLE 4.1 ANIMACY HIERARCHY AND CASE MARKING**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nominal referent</th>
<th>Case marking</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(1) humans (including deceased persons and most kinship terms)</td>
<td>set X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>personified mythical beings</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ghosts and spirits</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dogs</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2) generic terms with animate reference^1)</td>
<td>set X or set Y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vertebrates</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>invertebrates</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>natural forces (sun, wind, electricity, etc.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(3) plants</td>
<td>set Y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>food</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>geographical/geological features</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>body parts, dead bodies</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>language, illness, ceremonies</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>some kinship terms^2)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

1) For a list of generic terms see 3.1.2.

2) A full list of these kinship terms can be found in 3.2.4.
To get at the root of the peculiar use of case inflections in Kuku Yalanji we also have to consider the case marking used for lexical items other than nouns, i.e. pronouns, adjectives, demonstratives, interrogatives, possessive forms, numerals, and location and time words. The case marking categories for these parts of speech are listed in Table 4.2.

**TABLE 4.2 CASE MARKING ON NOUN PHRASE CONSTITUENTS OTHER THAN HEAD NOUNS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NP constituent</th>
<th>Case marking</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pronoun</td>
<td>set X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adjective</td>
<td>set X or set Y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Demonstrative</td>
<td>set X or set Y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interrogative: 'who'</td>
<td>set X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'what', 'where'</td>
<td>set Y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Possessive noun or pronoun form</td>
<td>set Y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Numeral</td>
<td>set Y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>location and time words</td>
<td>set Y</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Pronouns, which take regular nominal case inflections for all but the core syntactic cases, generally refer to beings high up on the animacy scale, corresponding with those in section (1) of Table 4.1. (First, second and third person pronouns all behave in the same way.)

Adjectives and demonstratives agree in type of inflection with the head noun of their NP. If they occur by themselves, in an anaphoric situation, their inflectional type still agrees with the understood head noun.

Numerals, although they have a similar function to adjectives in that they provide an additional comment on a noun, do not, as it
were, describe an inherent characteristic of the referent. They just add the 'external' aspect of quantity which is variable for any referent. This may be the reason why their type of case marking is not bound to that of a co-occurring noun. A similar aspect of only 'remote link' to the head noun applies for possessive forms which are also independent in their type of case inflection.

Location and time words which take nominal case inflections from the set of local cases, clearly stand outside the animacy hierarchy.

Two points emerge from the distribution of type X and type Y case inflections among nouns and other noun phrase constituents:

(a) For some NP-constituents there is no choice between the types of case inflections. Those that have to take type X inflections have referents high up on the animacy scale (human nouns etc., pronouns, interrogative 'who'); those that have to take type Y inflections either have referents low down on the animacy scale (plants, tools, etc., interrogative 'what') or may be regarded as standing outside the animacy hierarchy, i.e. possessive forms, numerals and location and time words. (Why some kinship terms, see 3.2.4, should be included here is quite unclear.)

(b) If we have a dichotomy of high ranking 'animacy' on one extreme of the scale and 'inanimacy' or 'neutrality' on the other extreme, the choice of inflectional type in the middle section (set (2) in Table 4.1) must be linked to some aspect of animacy.

What is this aspect and how can the two inflection sets be identified accordingly?
Since numerals, possessive forms and location and time words which occupy a neutral position outside the animacy hierarchy invariably take set Y case markers, I call set Y inflections 'neutral'. If these inflections can be regarded as unmarked for semantic content, such content must be looked for in set X inflections.

The feature 'animate' is clearly inaccurate for set X since, as is shown in category (2) of Table 4.1, taxonomically 'animate' referents may also take neutral case marking. Consider the difference in case marking for sentences of the following kind. (For brevity I will only give English translations here and indicate the appropriate type of case marking; more examples in Kuku Yalanji will be found in Sections 4.1.4.3 and 4.1.4.4.)

(i) a) I sat on a mosquito (mosquito + neutral Locative)
   b) I was stung by a mosquito (mosquito + set X Ergative)
(ii) a) I like mudcrab (mudcrab + neutral Dative)
     b) I am afraid of mudcrabs (mudcrabs + set X Dative)
(iii) a) A Brown Snake bit me (Brown Snake + neutral Ergative)
     b) The Brown Snake is eating a rat (Brown Snake + set X Ergative)

All a) sentences show the nominal referent in an inactive or involuntarily active state, while all b) sentences mark the referent as a voluntary or potential actor.

Neutral case marking in (ii) a) interprets the mudcrab as food while set X inflection in (ii) b) refers to the mudcrab as a potentially threatening actor with its propensity for nipping people's extremities. Neutral case marking in (iii) a) interprets the Brown Snake bite as an unpremeditated reflex action on provocation while set X inflection in (iii) b) implies that the snake is in full possession of its faculties when it feeds on a rat. One
could argue, that a mudcrab also nips only when trodden on or other­wise disturbed and that there is therefore inconsistency in the case marking for (ii) b) and (iii) a). However, one important aspect of the use of the two inflection sets in Kuku Yalanji is that where a choice is possible, this choice is entirely up to the intuition or even whim of the speaker. Thus, while speakers would mostly coincide in their intuitions, one may encounter different perceptions as to the potential for voluntary or involuntary action of a certain referent. For instance "a Brown Snake bit me" has also been attested with set X ergative marking. It could be that when talking about a potential threat like the mudcrab in (ii) b), emphasis is laid on the beast's ability for action, while the main characteristic of an accomplished snake bite is seen by most speakers to be an unpremedi­tated reflex.

Consider also:

(iv)  a) They lie in the sun (sun + neutral Locative)

b) The sun dries the ground (sun + set X Ergative)

Many speakers here credit the sun with an internal power with which it can act unprompted and unprovoked as in (iv) b). (There is no indication that the sun is personified in Kuku Yalanji, as it is in some other Australian languages.)

The fact that animate generic terms may take either type of inflection could be seen as underlining the abstract content of such terms, i.e. that they refer to concepts rather than actual referents. The choice of type X inflection with a generic term can be interpreted as indicating a 'real' referent, whereas 'neutral' inflection refers to the abstract concept. Consider:
However, neutral inflections with human generic terms are very rare, whereas they become more frequent as one proceeds lower down in the animacy scale. (Jarba snake occurs almost exclusively with 'neutral' inflections.)

The semantic clues gleaned from sentences (i) to (iv) fairly well circumscribe the semantic content of set X case inflections. It seems that the most appropriate term for this semantic content is "potent", following Chafe's use of the term in his specification of nouns. "Potent" as defined by Chafe refers to a nominal referent that "has, or is conceived to have, its own internal power" (Chafe 1970:109; my emphasis). The notable fact in Kuku Yalanji is that this semantic feature does not have to be inherent in the noun (although it may be, as in the nouns in category (1), Table 4.1), but is added to the noun by the case inflection.

To summarise, the two sets of non-zero case inflections in Kuku Yalanji can be termed 'neutral' and 'potent' according to their semantic content. For a large range of nouns there is a choice between 'neutral' and 'potent' case inflections and this choice is left to the individual speaker.

To distinguish nouns that always take only one of the two possible inflections from those for which there is a choice I refer to the three categories of Table 4.1:
cat.1 ('potent' inflection only)
cat.2 ('potent' or 'neutral' inflection)
cat.3 ('neutral' inflection only).

4.1.4.3 Core Syntactic Cases

Core syntactic components of a sentence are those NPs which obligatorily occur with the verb according to its transitivity value.

An intransitive core has the following components:

NP (S) + intransitive VC.

A transitive core consists of:

NP (A) + NP (O) + transitive VC.

(For definition of S, A and O see 4.1.4.1.)

Nominal constituents of an NP in S function take absolutive case marking, which is zero, and pronominal constituents are in nominative case. (For pronoun forms see 3.5.1; for NP constituents see 4.1.1.)

An NP in S function denotes the performer of an action that does not affect an object as expressed by verbs of motion and some verbs of utterance; it may also refer to the experiencer with verbs of rest, bodily functions, emotion or physical state.\(^1\) Except for obvious semantic constraints imposed by the verb an NP in S function may be animate or inanimate.

(225) yinya kadar warri-y

that-ABS(S) wallaby-ABS(S) run-NONPAST

that wallaby is running

---

1) In my description of core syntactic functions I employ as far as possible terms used by Grimes (1975); I do not, however, use his term 'Agent' which combines some transitive and intransitive subject functions; 'Agent' in Australian case grammar refers exclusively to transitive subject function.
(226) kaba kada-y
rain-ABS(S) come-NONPAST

rain is coming (standard conversation opener if there are any clouds in sight)

(227) bula wulhuman yirrka-ny
2du NOM(S) old woman-ABS(S) sing out-PAST

the two old women sang out

(228) nganjana wunana-y
father-ABS(S) lie-REDUP-NONPAST

father is resting

(229) juku wubul yinysay janjana-y
tree-ABS(S) many-ABS(S) there stand-REDUP-NONPAST

many trees are standing there

(230) nyulu karrkay kalji-1
3sg NOM(S) child-ABS(S) vomit-NONPAST

the child is vomiting

(231) nyulu bunjil jiba-badi-y
3sg NOM(S) widow(er)-ABS(S) feel sad-NONPAST

the widow[er] is sad

(232) ngayu wawula-y (< wawu-wula-y)
1sg NOM(S) breath-die-NONPAST

I am exhausted

Nominal constituents of an NP in A function take ergative case marking (see 3.2.2) and pronominal constituents are in nominative case as for S function (see 3.5.1).

An NP in A function refers to the performer of an affecting or effecting action on an object, or the experiencer of a sensory perception such as 'see', 'hear', 'smell'. The action may be intentional or accidental, but it must be performed by a referent of a cat.1 or cat.2 noun, that is someone or something which is thought
to be able to act of his own accord.

(Accidental action by a cat.1 noun may be expressed by the adverb kanban 'by mistake' in a normal unmodified transitive sentence, or by a passive construction. See 4.2.4.2 and 4.2.4.3 for details on accidental action.)

Cat.2 nouns in A function take 'potent' inflection if credited with responsibility for their action and 'neutral' inflection if not.

(Since 'neutral' ergative forms are the same as instrumental forms it is sometimes ambiguous whether a cat.2 noun is in ergative or instrumental case. Distinguishing features between Ergative and Instrumental are discussed in 4.1.4.4 (i).)

Examples of cat.1 nouns and pronouns in A function:

(233) nyulu warru-ngku ngawuya dama-ny
3sg NOM(A) yg man-ERG:pt(A) sea turtle-ABS(0) spear-PAST
the young man speared a sea turtle

(234) bula jalbu-bulal-angka bayan ngara-ny
3du NOM(A) woman-pair-ERG:pt(A) camp-ABS(0) set up-PAST
the pair of women set up camp

(235) dubu-ngku nyunguny maku-nyaji-ny karrkay
ghost-ERG:pt(A) 3sg ACC(O) meet-PAST child-ABS(O)
the ghost met the child

(236) dingar-angka kaya kanban kuni-ny
man-ERG:pt(A) dog-ABS(0) by mistake hit-PAST
the man hit the dog by mistake

Examples of cat.2 nouns in A function:

(237) yinya-ngka kubarr-angka yalbay-ngka maral
that-ERG:pt(A) eel-ERG:pt(A) big-ERG:pt(A) girl-ABS(0)
bayka-ny
bite-PAST

that big eel bit the girl
Nominal constituents of an NP in 0 function stand in absolutive case, as for S function, and pronominal constituents are marked for Accusative. Examples of nouns in 0 function can be found in sentences (233), (234), (236), (237); examples of pronouns in 0 function are in (240), (241).

An NP in 0 function denotes a Patient which is affected by an action (examples in (233), (236), (238), (239), (240) and (241)), or Factitive which is the object that is effected by an action (Example in (234)), or an Experiencer (as in Sentence (235)).

4.1.4.4 Peripheral Syntactic and Local Cases

Core sentences in Kuku Yalanji may be extended by one or more NPs in a peripheral syntactic or local case. These are: Instrumental, Dative, general Locative, Ablative, Abessive and Perlative.\(^1\) (For

\(^1\) Cf. R. Hershberger 1979 for NP constituents in instrumental case (p.50-51), Associative (Dative) (p.51-52) and Locative including Perlative which she analysed as "instrument case marker + -rr" (p.52-54).
In my identification of the semantic roles of these cases I follow Blake 1977.

(1) Instrumental

The instrumental case indicates the implement, which may be a body part, with which an action is performed. There is no 'potent' case inflection for Instrumental, which shows that the implement employed in an action is in no way thought of as having any 'own internal power'. Examples:

(242) dingar-angka yawu dama-ny
      man-ERG:pt(A) stingray-ABS(0) spear-PAST
      yinba-bu 3-prong spear-INST
      the man speared the stingray with a three-pronged spear

(243) ngayu mayi yala-ku dingka-l
      lsg NOM(A) fruit-ABS(O) this-ADV squeeze-NONPAST
      mara-bu hand-INST
      I squeeze the fruit like this with my hand

If the instrument should be an otherwise animate noun, which has never been encountered spontaneously but only after a lot of prompting, it appears that the 'instrument' is perceived to be the inanimate body of the referent, e.g.

(244) warru-ngku kaya jarba-bu kanga-ny
      yg man-ERG:pt(A) dog-ABS(O) snake-INST chase-PAST
      the young man chased the dog with a snake
      (i.e. throwing a presumably dead snake at it)

Concepts like 'I hunt pigs with a dog' where the 'instrument' is an active participant accompanying the agent are expressed by Comitative (see 4.6.1).

Instrumental case inflections coincide in form with the 'neutral' ergative inflection, but there are syntactic reasons for distinguishing the two cases:

(a) A noun in instrumental case may occur in an intransitive sentence which is impossible for a noun in ergative case, e.g.

(245) jana jalbu jina-bu dunga-y
3pl NOM(S) woman-ABS(S) foot-INST go-NONPAST
the women are walking on foot (literally: going with feet)

(246) maral bungku-bu janjana-y
girl-ABS(S) knee-INST stand-REDUP-NONPAST
the girl is kneeling (literally: standing with knees)

(b) An instrumental NP remains unchanged in a reflexive construction (see 4.2.4.2) whereas an ergative NP changes to absolutive case (cf. Blake 1977:45).

(247a) ngayku-wun-du ngamu-ngku minya yaka-1
lsg POSS-ERG(A) mother-ERG:pt(A) meat-ABS(O) cut-NONPAST
naybu-bu
knife-INST
my mother is cutting meat with a knife

b) ngayku ngamu yaka-ji-ny naybu-bu
lsg POSS-ABS(S) mother-ABS(S) cut-REF-PAST knife-INST
my mother cut herself with a knife

(c) An instrumental NP remains unchanged in a passive construction which involves the syntactic change A → LOC and O → S (see 4.2.4.3). Passivisation of sentences containing an NP with instrumental/'neutral' ergative inflection shows that firstly, a cat.3 noun is always
understood to be in instrumental case even where there is no explicit agent, and secondly, it may be ambiguous whether a cat.2 noun is in instrumental or ergative case.

Consider the following:

(248)a) nganya juku-bu kuni-ny
    lsg ACC(0) tree-INST hit-PAST
    a tree hit me
b) Passive (0 -> S)
    ngayu juku-bu kuni-ji-ny
    lsg NOM(S) tree-INST hit-ITR-PAST
    I was hit with/by a tree

(249)a) nyunguny mili-bu waju-ny
    3sg ACC(0) stinging tree-INST burn-PAST
    a stinging tree burnt him
b) Passive (0 -> S)
    nyulu mili-bu waju-ji-ny
    3sg NOM(S) stinging tree-INST burn-ITR-PAST
    he was burnt with/by a stinging tree

If there were a human or some other controlling agent responsible for the events in sentences (248) and (249), this agent would be stated and would appear in 'potent' ergative case in the transitive clause and in locative case in the passive clause. In the absence of an explicit agent the tree, or branch, in sentence (248) and the stinging tree in (249) are apparently still regarded as mere instruments of some force which, however, cannot be stated since it is not known. According to the 'chance' aspect of such agentless events the passive construction, which topicalises the patient, seems to be preferred by Kuku Yalanji speakers.
Now consider the passivisation of sentences (240) and (241) above:

(250) ngayu murraya-mun-du / murraya-nga
lsg NOM(S) stonefish-mun-INST/ stonefish-LOC
baka-ji-ny
poke-ITR-PAST
I was poked by a stonefish

(251) nyulu mili-bu / mili-nga
3sg NOM(S) jellyfish-INST/ jellyfish-LOC
waju-ji-ny
burn-ITR-PAST
he was burnt by a jellyfish 1)

and:

(252)a) jarba-bu nyunguny bayka-ny
snake-ERG/INST 3sg ACC(O) bite-PAST
a snake bit him
b) Passive

nyulu jarba-nga / jarba-bu
3sg NOM(S) snake-LOC / snake-INST
bayka-ji-ny
bite-ITR-PAST
he was bitten by a snake

In sentences (250) - (252) it is possible to change the NP referring to stonefish, jellyfish or snake to Locative in the Passive, which indicates underlying agentive function, or to retain instrumental inflection (a choice which is not possible in (248) and (249)).

1) Mili is a homonym which refers to stinging tree in (249) and to (box)-jellyfish in (241) and (251).
Therefore it is ambiguous whether the respective NP in the correspond­ing transitive sentence is in fact in ergative or instrumental case. Only speakers' preferences which are indicated by the order in which the choice of NPs in passive constructions is presented would imply that *stonefish* and *jellyfish* are more 'instrumental' and *snake* is more 'agentive'. (But if it were crucial to distinguish between *jellyfish* and *stinging tree* which are homonymous in Kuku Yalanji, presumably the passive form with locative inflection would be chosen for jellyfish, which interprets mili as agent in the underlying form, and is not possible for *stinging tree*.)

(ii) Dative

An NP in dative case (for forms of inflections see 3.2.2) has basically two distinct functions. The most common one is to add a comment on the reason why an action performed in the sentence core is performed. In the second function a dative NP sets a parameter with respect to which a certain action or state can be seen.

Cat.2 nouns take 'potent' or 'neutral' case inflection according to whether the referent is regarded as an animate being as in (256)b) and (265) which may be capable of action as in (261) or as an inanimate substance such as potential food as in (256)a).

The broadly termed function of 'reason' is twofold again. One aspect of it is goal of a purposeful action (but not of a purposeful movement, which is expressed by Locative), which also includes an indirect beneficiary, i.e. someone for whom an action is performed so that he does not have to do it himself\(^1\). Complements of verbs like *learn*, *teach* and the adjectival particle *want/like*\(^2\)

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1) Cf. Beneficiary as defined by Blake 1977:35.  
2) For adjectival particles see 3.9.1.
may also be included under goal\(^1\). Examples:

(253) ngayu bubu kida-l-kida-l bayan-ka
1sg NOM(A) ground-ABS(0) sweep-REDUP-NONPAST camp-DAT

*I am sweeping the ground for a camp*

(254) nyulu Cooktown dunga-y yaba-nka
3sg NOM(S) Cooktown go-NONPAST eB-DAT:pt

*he goes to Cooktown for his elder brother*

(255) bama-ngka nganya binal-bunga-1
Aboriginal-ERG:pt(A) 1sg ACC(O) know-CAUS-NONPAST

kuku-ku mayi-ka minya-ka bubu-ku
word-DAT plant food-DAT flesh food-DAT land-DAT

bama-nka
Aborig.-DAT:pt

*Aborigines teach me about [their] language, "bush-tucker", land and people*

(256)a) ngayu kulngu-ku wawu jirray
1sg NOM(S) bandicoot-DAT like much

*I like bandicoot a lot (i.e. to eat)*

b) ngayu kulngu-nku wawu jirray
1sg NOM(S) bandicoot-DAT:pt like much

*I like [my pet] bandicoot a lot*

The other aspect of 'reason' is the, often indirect, cause for an action or emotion. This includes a general threat which may evoke an emotion as in (261) or something for fear of which something is done or not done as in (262) and (263). (If the threat is a direct one the ablative case is used; see (iv) below.) The aspect of 'cause' also includes the complement of a verb of utterance such as talk about or ask for/about as in (264).

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1) Cf. Grimes (1975:121)'range'
Examples:

(257) nyulu dingkar ngamu-nku badi-ny
  3sg NOM(S) man-ABS(S) mother-DAT:pt weep-PAST
  the man cried because of his mother (she had died)

(258) jana mayi nuka-1 ngawa-nka
  3pl NOM(A) food-ABS(O) eat-NONPAST baby-DAT:pt
  they are eating because of the baby (to celebrate the birth)

(259) ngali mayi-ka kunu-wa-y
  3du exc NOM(S) food-DAT hit-RECIP-NONPAST
  we two are fighting over food

(260) ngayu wawurr-wawurr-ma-ny bana-ka
  1sg NOM(S) glad-INCHO-PAST water-DAT
  I was glad about the water (after a long dry walk)

(261) karrkey yinil kiju-nku
  child-ABS(S) afraid crab-DAT:pt
  the child is afraid of crabs (they may nip)

(262) ngayku babarr wawubaja-nga kari dunga-y
  1sg POSS-ABS(S) eZ-ABS(S) river-LOC NEG go-NONPAST
  bilngkumu-nku
crocodile-DAT:pt
  my elder sister does not go to the river because of the
crocodile

(263) ngayu wanarri-y kaya-nka kuli-ji-nka
  1sg NOM(S) run-REDUP-NONPAST dog-DAT:pt rage-COMIT-DAT
  I am running because of the vicious dog

(264) ngayu Mabel-nda babaji-ny bayan-ka jirakal-ka
  1sg NOM(S) Mabel-LOC:pt ask about-PAST house-DAT new-DAT
  I asked Mabel about her new house

1) An inanimate complement of such a verb of utterance may be
   in locative case, e.g. bayan-ba house-LOC, but Dative is
   preferred, presumably because Locative is already used for
   the addressee.
(For syntactic details of constructions with this type of verb of utterance see 4.2.4.4.)

The parameter setting function of Dative is found in comparison-type constructions where a statement is made 'with respect to' a comparable or otherwise relevant factor. Examples:

(265) ngawuya ngujay-ngka yalbay-bajaku
sea turtle-ABS(S) freshwater turtle-DAT big-very

a sea turtle is a lot bigger than a freshwater turtle
[i.e. with respect to a freshwater turtle, a sea turtle is big]

(266) babi-ngka jarruka wubul
FM-ERG:pt(A) scrub hen(egg)-ABS(0) many-ABS(0)
baka-ny ngamu-nku
dig-PAST mother-DAT:pt

grandmother dug up a lot more scrub hen eggs than mother
[i.e. with respect to mother, grandmother dug a lot]

(267) nyulu julmbanu yala maja
3sg NOM(S) big grey kangaroo-ABS(S) like boss-ABS
bubu-ku Australia-ka
land-DAT Australia-DAT

the big grey kangaroo is like the boss of Australia
[i.e. with respect to Australia, the big grey kangaroo is like the boss]

(iii) General Locative

An NP in locative case (for forms of inflection see 3.2.2) has a variety of functions which may be divided broadly into four categories: 'goal' (in a different sense than conveyed by Dative), 'intermediary', 'locality' and the purely syntactic function as case marker for the underlying A or O NP in a passive or antipassive construction.
A cat noun takes 'potent' inflection if the referent is perceived as an animate being as in (270) and (271), but 'neutral' inflection where it is interpreted as an inanimate entity such as for example food or a mere locality as in (269) and (276).

Under the function of 'goal' we can list the goal of a purposeful movement (cf. Dative as the goal of an action) and the addressee or receiver complement of a three-argument verb such as tell, show, ask, give. Examples:

(268) nganjiny burrir-a mariji-ny
lpl exo NOM(S) island-LOC swim-PAST
we swam to the island

(269) warru-warru bikibiki-nga dunga-ny
yg man-REDUP ABS(S) pig-LOC go-PAST
the young fellows went out for pigs

(270) Charlie dunga-ny yarraman-anda
Charlie ABS(S) go-PAST horse-LOC:pt
Charlie went to the horses (e.g. to feed them)

(271) ngayu minya milbi-1 buji-nda
lsg NOM(A) flesh food-ABS(O) show-NONPAST cat-LOC:pt
I show the meat to the cat

(272) nyulu marrkin daji-ny yaba-nda
3sg NOM(A) gun-ABS(O) give-PAST eB-LOC:pt
he gave the gun to his elder brother

A locative NP may denote the intermediary in the conveyance of something, e.g.

(273) ngayu yunu mayi yunga-1
lsg NOM(A) 2sg POSS-ABS(O) food-ABS(O) send-NONPAST
ngayku-wun-bu ngamu-ndu
lsg POSS-LOC mother-LOC:pt
I will send your food with my mother
Locative in this function conveys 'in', 'on', 'at' a particular place; it also marks a noun co-occurring with a location word such as under, behind, on top. (With proper names of places such as mangkal Cedar Bay, dikarra Thompson Creek, etc., locative inflection is optional.) Examples:

(275) maral-maral bana-nga janji-l
girl-REDUP-ABS(S) water-LOC bathe-NONPAST

the girls are bathing in the water

(276) Charlie yarraman-ba bunda-y
Charlie-ABS(S) horse-LOC sit-NONPAST

Charlie is sitting on a horse (horse is seen as the location; cf. (270) where horses show 'potent' inflection)

(277) dingar-angka kadar kuni-ny maja-nga
man-ERG:pt(A) wallaby-ABS(0) kill-PAST scrub-LOC

the man killed a wallaby in the scrub

(278) jarba badabada juku-ngu wunana-y
snake-ABS(S) under log-LOC lie-REDUP-NONPAST

a snake is lying under the log

(279) Mary ngundu jana-y Queenie-nda
Mary-ABS(S) close by stand-NONPAST Queenie-LOC:pt

Mary is standing close to Queenie

The function of Locative in passive and antipassive constructions is discussed in 4.2.4.3 and 4.2.4.4.
(iv) **Ablative**

Ablative has the general function of implying a 'source', which in most of its manifestations coincides with a semantic 'former' (Grimes 1975:133ff). Specific aspects of this function are:

(a) a locational or temporal starting point which has been left behind by the actor as in (280) and (281);
(b) the source of a possession as in (282);
(c) the material from which something is made as in (283) and (284);
(d) the cause of a physical state as in (285) (cf. cause of emotion in dative case, e.g. (260), (261));
(e) a direct threat from which someone is trying to escape as in (286) and (287) (cf. indirect threat in dative case, e.g. (262), (263)).

A cat.2 noun takes neutral inflection where it is interpreted as an inanimate body (284) and 'potent' inflection where it is regarded as a living and active being (287).

Examples:

(280) kija jambul-muny ngayu dunga-y-baja
moon two-ABL 1sg NOM(S) go-NONPAST-again
Cairns-muny
Cairns-ABL

*after two months I will go again from Cairns*

(281) jalbu-ngku kaya kanga-l bayan-muny
woman-ERG:pt(A) dog-ABS(O) chase-NONPAST house-ABL

*the woman chases the dog from the house*
(282) jabuju-ngku mayi kari nuka-1
yB-ERG:pt(A) food-ABS(O) NEG eat-NONPAST
babarr-andamuny
eZ-ABL:pt

a younger brother must not eat food from [his] elder sister

(283) jalbu-ngku balji wukurri-1 jilngan-muny
woman-ERG:pt(A) bag-ABS(O) weave-NONPAST reed grass-ABL

the woman is weaving a bag from reed grass

(284) dingkar-angka belt balka-ny kurriyala-muny
man-ERG:pt(A) belt-ABS(O) make-PAST carpet snake-ABL

the man made a belt from the carpet snake

(285) ngayu bambay minya-muny buyun-muny
1sg NOM(S) sick meat-ABL bad-ABL

I am sick from the bad meat

(286) nyulu ngaki-ji-y buliman-andamuny
3sg NOM(S) hide-REF-NONPAST police-ABL:pt

he is hiding from the police

(287) jukijuki warri-n-warri-y kurriyala-ndamuny
chicken-ABS(S) run-REDUP-NONPAST carpet snake-ABL:pt

the chickens are running from the carpet snake

(v) Abessive

An NP in abessive case refers to a place from which an
action is performed without the actor leaving this location (cf.
Ablative (a) above). Location words are used more frequently in
abessive case than nominals. (For location words see 3.3.2.)

There is no 'potent' inflection for Abessive, possibly
because a noun in this case can only be interpreted as a location
and not as a potentially active animate being. Examples:
Mabel is singing out from the house (cf. (281) above)

they are throwing the fruit from the tree

An NP in perlative case describes passage through a defined space.

Apparently the distinction between Locative and Perlative is only made in Kuku Nyungkul; Kuku Yalanji uses Locative for both functions.

There is no 'potent' perlative inflection. (In sentences like 'the spear went through the wallaby' Locative is preferred for 'wallaby'; Perlative is accepted only with some misgivings.)

Examples:

(290) yira yangka wala-ny bujil-darr
     green ant-ABS(S) enter-PAST nose-PERL
     green ant juice entered through the nose and through the eyes (having been inhaled for the treatment of a cold)

(291) jana wawubaja-burr mariji-ny
     3pl NOM(S) river-PERL swim-PAST
     they swam through the river

(292) dingkar baral-darr dunga-n-dunga-y
     man-ABS(S) road-PERL go-REDUP-NONPAST
     the man is going along the road

A perlative NP may take the place of a locative NP in a passive or antipassive construction in the appropriate context.

(See 4.2.4.3 and 4.2.4.4.)
4.1.5 Nominal Sentences

Since there is no copula in Kuku Yalanji various types of verbless or nominal sentences are used. ¹) A nominal sentence resembles an intransitive sentence in structure in that it has a quasi-intransitive subject in absolutive or nominative case. This is followed by a non-verbal predicate giving the structure:

\[
[\text{NP}_S \text{ non-verbal Predicate}]
\]

meaning 'S is Predicate'.²)

The distinction between subject and predicate in nominal sentences depends entirely on stress and intonation pattern. The subject is characterised by final rising intonation and may, in careful speech, be separated from the predicate by a pause. The normal stress pattern shows clause stress on the final constituent of the predicate, except in a comparison with dative NP as in (302).

Division into subject and predicate is indicated by --;
where different segmentations are possible according to intonation these are indicated by (- -) with corresponding translations.

The predicate may be:

(a) an NP in absolutive case. In these constructions the subject

¹) Cf. R. Hershberger (1979:70-72) "Stative Clauses". Note that the single constituent clauses included in her examples are only possible in anaphoric contexts where the subject NP is deleted. Note also that her term "Benefactive" refers to my Possessive.

²) The distinction between 'topic' and 'comment' (see Hockett 1958) would be particularly appropriate for such nominal sentences, but since I employ 'topic' as a discourse term (see 5.3) I rather use 'subject' and 'predicate' in this section.
NP often involves a demonstrative, e.g.

(293) nyulu yinya -- ngayku jînkurr
   3sg NOM(S) that-ABS(S) lsg POSS-ABS yZ-ABS
   that one is my younger sister

(294) jungkalu yinya -- kûmi-nga
   billycan-ABS(S) that-ABS(S) MM/FF-POSS
   that billycan is grandmother's

(295) yinya (-) mayi (-) ngûlkurr
   that-ABS(S) food-ABS(S) good(-ABS)
   that is good food or that food is good

(b) a NP in locative case or a location word, e.g.

(296) kami -- bûyan-ba
   MM/FF-ABS(S) house-LOC
   granny is in the house (i.e. at home)

(297) jana karrkay -- bûdabada
   3pl NOM(S) child-ABS(S) down there
   the children are down there (e.g. at the river)

(c) a NP in ablative case, e.g.

(298) ngayku ngamu -- kûna-muny
   lsg POSS-ABS(S) mother-ABS(S) Shiptons Flat-ABL
   my mother is from Shiptons Flat

(299) yinya (-) kuyu (-) jûlun-muny
   that-ABS(S) fish-ABS(S) sea-ABL
   that is fish from the sea or that fish is from the sea

Note that while the ablative form in a nominal sentence may have attributive function, i.e. 'fish from the sea' = 'sea fish', it cannot be regarded as a derived adjective since it does not allow further case inflections.
(d) an adjective or numeral, e.g.

(300) nyungu kalka — dūdu
3sg POSS-ABS(S) spear-ABS(S) blunt

his spear is blunt

(301) ngayku kangkal — kulur
1sg POSS-ABS(S) own child-ABS(S) three

I have three children

See also the second interpretation of (295).

This type of nominal sentence may include an optional dative NP to indicate comparison as for instance (265) or:

(302) ngayku kangkal — yālbay nyungu-wun-ku
1sg POSS-ABS(S) own child-ABS(S) big 3sg-POSS-DAT

kangkal-ka
own child-DAT

my child is bigger than her child

(e) a comitative construction which may convey ownership, accompaniment or a characteristic (see 4.6.1), e.g.

(303) juku ngakun — ngānka-ji
tree-ABS(S) flame tree-ABS(S) flower-COMIT

the flame tree has flowers

(304) yundu māji-ji? ¹
2sg NOM(S) match-COMIT

do you have any matches?

(f) a privative construction which conveys the lack of something (see 4.6.2):

(305) nyulu kiru-kari
3sg NOM(S) brain-PRIV

he is stupid

¹ In nominal sentences with only two words like (304) and (305) there is no intonation distinction other than clause stress between subject and predicate.
(306) nyulu  wulman  --  műngka-kari
3sg NOM(S)  old man-ABS(S)  hair-PRIV
the old man has no hair

(g)  walu face, appearance plus a nominal which refers to personal appearance:

(307) nyulu  --  walu  ngãnjay
3sg NOM(S)  face  ugly
he is ugly

(308) bama  --  walu  ngũmbu
Aborig.-ABS(S)  face  dark
Aborigines are dark

(h)  yala like plus a noun phrase to express an approximation:

(309) ngayu  karrkay  --  yala  Eileen-anga
lsg NOM(S)  child-ABS(S)  like  Eileen-POSS-ABS
kangkal
own child-ABS
I was a child as Eileen's child (about the same age)

(310) mili-nga  karra  --  yala  cotton
jellyfish-POSS-ABS(S)string-ABS(S)  like  cotton-ABS
the jellyfish's tentacles are like cotton (so fine)

Yala may co-occur with walu in apparently any order (cf. 3.9.2 (i)):

(311) yinya  dingkar  --  yala  walu  kadar
that-ABS(S)  man-ABS(S)  like  face  wallaby-ABS
that man looks like a wallaby

(i)  an adjectival particles plus an optional NP in dative case
(for adjectival particles see 3.9.1):

(312)a) maral  yĩnil
girl-ABS(S)  afraid
the girl is afraid
4.1.6 Order of Sentence Constituents

Every NP in Kuku Yalanji is clearly identifiable for its role by case marking and therefore the order of sentence constituents is of no great importance unlike, for instance, in English where word order is the primary means of recognising syntactic roles. Word order is in fact quite free in Kuku Yalanji as in most other Australian languages, although there is a certain preferred order of sentence constituents. This is S V for intransitive and A O V for transitive sentences. Peripheral and local extensions usually follow the verb but may stand anywhere in the sentence. Where a dative or locative NP is an immediate complement of a three argument verb (e.g. (264), (271) and (272) or of an adjectival particle (e.g. (256), (312)b), (313)) it will usually be placed adjacent to this constituent, either before or after.

S V and A O V may be regarded as the unmarked word order. A change in word order which moves a constituent other than A or S to the front, serves to topicalise this constituent. (For discourse related word order see 5.4.1.) A basic rule which tends to override the previously stated preferred word order is that a pronoun is normally placed in the more prominent position, i.e. earlier in the sentence, than a noun. For instance, if a transitive sentence has a non pronominal NP in A function and a pronominal NP in O function...
the pronoun is favoured over the noun in initial position as is
illustrated in (240), (241), (248), and (249). Since NPs can be
split up it is also possible, and often done, that the pronominal
component of an NP stands in an early position with the rest of the
NP following somewhere towards the end as in (235). The reverse
occurs only in 'reprise' constructions (see 5.4.1).

Temporal words, including interrogative 'when', usually occur
in sentence initial position, whereas there is no preference for the
placement of location words and interrogative 'where' in an unmarked
construction. A location word in conjunction with a locative NP
normally precedes this NP but does not have to be immediately adjacent
to it (see (278) and (279)).

Interrogatives 'who', 'what', 'which one', 'how many', 'how'
and 'what kind' fill the slot of the particular constituent that the
speaker enquires about which may be anywhere in the sentence.
Interrogative 'why' always occurs in initial position. (For
interrogative words see 3.6.1; for further examples of questions
see 4.8.)

4.2 CLAUSE-LEVEL DERIVATIONS

In Kuku Yalanji we can distinguish two types of derivational
processes, word-level derivations and clause-level derivations. As
word-level derivations I consider those processes which change or
add to the semantic content of a lexical item without, however,
affecting the syntactic structure of a sentence, as for instance
plural formation, 'personal characteristic' and 'degree' affixes,
and verbal reduplication. Verb concord with plural S, although not a word-level derivation in the above sense, also has no influence on syntactic structure. Such derivations have been discussed in 3.2.4.3-8 and 3.8.5.2 and need not be taken up again in this chapter.

A clause-level derivation, on the other hand, changes the syntactic structure in some minor or major way. Some of these derivations are optional, others are obligatory because of syntactic constraints on the surface structure of sentences. The following subsections discuss each clause-level derivation in turn, with a summary following in 4.2.5.

4.2.1 Inchoative Constructions

An inchoative construction optionally verbalises the nominal predicate in nominal sentences of types (a), (b), (d), (e), (f) and (i) described in 4.1.5 above. Inchoative verbalisers -ma-1, attached to noun, adjective or adjectival particle, and -maniji-y, attached to a noun (see 3.8.5.3) change such quasi-intransitive sentences to true intransitive sentences of the structure:

\[
[NP_1]_S \quad \begin{cases} 
\text{noun} \\
\text{adjective} \\
\text{particle}
\end{cases} - \begin{cases} 
\text{-ma-1} \\
\text{(-maniji-y)}
\end{cases}
\]

meaning:

'S becomes (noun
\begin{cases} 
\text{adjective} \\
\text{particle}
\end{cases}

(314) yinya mayi ngulkurr-ma-ny
that-ABS(S) food-ABS(S) good-INCHO-PAST
that food has become good (cf. (295))

(315) nyulu kamba-maniji-ny
3sg NOM(S) old woman-INCHO-PAST
she has become an old woman
4.2.2 Causative Constructions

There are two optional transitivising processes in Kuku Yalanji with causative effect: state causative and action causative. Both change an underlying S to 0.  

State causative transitivisers -bunga-1 and -kanga-1 form transitive compound verbs from a nominal base or adjectival particle.

---

1) In some Australian languages transitivising processes have the effect $S \rightarrow 0$ or $S \rightarrow A$ according to the semantic content of the transitivised verb. (See Dixon 1980:443).
(For compound formation and semantic differences between -bunga-1 and kanga-1 see 3.8.5.1 (i).) Subject to semantic plausibility it is possible to change an underlying nominal sentence into a transitive sentence of the structure:

\[
[NP_2]^A [NP_1]^0 \quad \{ \text{noun adjective} \} - \{ \text{bunga-1 kanga-1} \}
\]

meaning: 'A causes 0 to be

Examples:

(322) dingar-angka nyungu kalka
man-ERG:pt(A) 3sg POSS-ABS(S) spear-ABS(0)
dudu-bunga-ny
blunt-CAUS-PAST

the man has made his spear blunt (cf. (300))

(323) bilngkumu-ngku yinya jalu
crocodile-ERG:pt(A) that-ABS(O) woman-ABS(O)
manyarr-bunga-ny
wife-CAUS-PAST

the crocodile made that woman his wife (from a tale about an Annan River crocodile who abducted a woman)

(324) dubu-ngku maral yinil-kanga-ny
ghost-ERG:pt(A) girl-ABS(O) afraid-CAUS-PAST

the ghost frightened the girl (cf. (312))

Apparently it is not possible to transitivise an inflected, e.g. locative, or a derived, e.g. comitative, nominal.

Action causative transitiviser -y-mani-1 (see 3.8.5.2 (ii)) forms a transitive compound verb from an intransitive verb, thus changing the structure of the underlying intransitive clause

\[
[NP_1]^S \quad \text{intransitive verb}
\]
intransitive verb -y-mani-1

meaning: 'A causes 0 to verb.'

Examples:

(325) muyar-abu nganya yararri-mani-1
wind-ERG(A) lsg ACC(O) shiver-CAUS-NONPAST

the wind makes me shiver

(326) Charlie-ngka yarraman warndi-mani-ny
Charlie-ERG:pt(A) horse-ABS(O) get up-CAUS-PAST

Charlie made the horse get up

(327) yinya-ngka bama-ngka wulman-angka
that-ERG:pt(A) Aborig.-ERG:pt(A) old man-ERG:pt(A)
buliman nyunba-y-mani-ny
police-ABS(O) turn back-CAUS-PAST

that old Aboriginal man made the police turn back

-y-mani-1 has also been attested with two transitive verbs in the Yalanji dialect. It does not, however, have any apparent effect on the syntactic structure of the clause, but rather adds a semantic aspect. Consider:

(328a) ngayu kaya nubi-l-nubi-1
lsg NOM(A) dog-ABS(O) look for-REDUP-NONPAST

I am looking for [my] dog

b) ngayu kaya nubi-mani-ny
lsg NOM(A) dog-ABS(O) look for-CAUS-PAST

I lost [my] dog (I caused my dog to be looked for?)

(329a) dingar-angka yinya jalbu ngaki-ny
man-ERG:pt(A) that-ABS(O) woman-ABS(O) hide-PAST

the man hid the woman
(329)b) dingar-angka yinya jalbu ngaki-mani-ny
man-ERG:pt(A) that-ABS(0) woman-ABS(0) hide-CAUS-PAST

the man eloped with the woman

(he caused her to hide with him?)

In both a) and b) examples the A and O NPs remain in their respective functions; the only difference appears to be the added semantic aspect of some kind of 'causation' in the b) sentences. 1)

4.2.3 Reciprocal

As was shown in 4.1.4.3, the core of a transitive sentence in Kuku Yalanji contains an NP in A function and an NP in O function. These NPs must not be coreferential in the surface structure. Thus if there is underlying coref erentiality between A and O NP as in reflexive (see 4.2.4.2) and reciprocal constructions, the surface form cannot be a transitive sentence.

The concept of reciprocity involves at least two agents which act on each other as for instance:

'the dog bites the cat and the cat bites the dog'

which can be represented as:

\[ [NP_1]_A \text{ tr } V \quad [NP_2]_0 \quad [NP_2]_A \text{ tr } V \quad [NP_1]_0 \]

Here we have two sets of coreferential NPs, NP_1 and NP_2. In order to give this construction an acceptable surface form NP_1 and NP_2 are conjoined into NP_3 'dog and cat'. NP_3 appears in S function and the

1) In Dyirbal the transitive verbaliser -ma-l~-mba-l may also attach to transitive verbs adding an 'instrumentive' aspect. But unlike the Yalanji examples, this suffix does have a syntactic effect in Dyirbal. See Dixon 1972:95.
verb is intransitivized by the reciprocal marker -wa-y (see 3.8.4 (i)), giving:

\[ \text{[NP}_3\text{]}_S \quad \text{tr} \quad V \quad -\text{wa-y} \]

The above sentence in the reciprocal Kuku Yalanji form is:

(330) bula kaya buji bayka-wa-y

\[ 3\text{du NOM}(S) \quad \text{dog-ABS}(S) \quad \text{cat-ABS}(S) \quad \text{bite-RECIP-NONPAST} \]

*cat and dog are biting each other*

Of course, the underlying form for a reciprocal construction may involve an unspecified number of NPs which are understood to generally act on each other, without each referent necessarily acting on each individual other referent as for instance in:

(331) jana dingkar kuni-wa-y

\[ 3\text{pl NOM}(S) \quad \text{man-ABS}(S) \quad \text{hit-RECIP-NONPAST} \]

*the men are fighting [hitting each other]*

Thus NP\textsubscript{3} above has to be understood to refer to all members of the set of underlying A and O NPs (cf. Dixon 1972:213-4).

To specify in the surface form that two agents are acting on each other Kuku Yalanji speakers use a dual pronoun, as in (330) or:

(332) bula kaya bija-wa-y

\[ 3\text{du NOM}(S) \quad \text{dog-ABS}(S) \quad \text{lick-RECIP-NONPAST} \]

*the two dogs are licking each other.*

A plural S NP expressed either by a pronoun or a reduplicated noun or noun+-karra (see 3.2.5.3) implies that an unspecified number of agents is engaged in a general reciprocal action as in (331) or:

(333) jana bayja-wa-y

\[ 3\text{pl NOM}(S) \quad \text{ignore-RECIP-NONPAST} \]

*they ignore each other*

(See also examples in 3.8.5.4 (i).)
4.2.4 Transitive Verb+-ji- Constructions

4.2.4.1 Preliminary Remarks

All verbs in Kuku Yalanji are strictly transitive or intransitive (cf. 3.8.3). However, since the verb form itself does not indicate its transitivity value, a judgement on the transitivity of the sentence has to be based on the accompanying A, O or S NPs. But even then it is not always obvious whether a sentence is transitive or intransitive, because: (a) pronouns show no formal distinction in transitive or intransitive subject (A or S) function while nouns are not formally distinct in intransitive subject or transitive object (S or O) function, and (b) A or O may be deleted in context-related utterances. Sentences (334)a) and (335)a) are therefore ambiguous on first sight:

(334)a) nyulu bulnga-ny
3sg NOM shake-PAST
he/she shook or he/she shook something

(335)a) maral bulnga-ny
girl-ABS shake-PAST
the girl shook or the girl shook something

These sentences can be disambiguated by substituting pronoun and noun equivalents in the respective NPs. The correct noun-form in (334) and pronoun form in (335) will be:

(334)b) maral-angka bulnga-ny
girl-ERG:pt(A) shake-PAST
the girl shook [something]

(335)b) nyunguny bulnga-ny
3sg ACC(O) shake-PAST
he/she was shaken [by someone]
This indicates that bulnga-1 shake is in fact a transitive verb in Kuku Yalanji. If, on the other hand, nyulu and maral in (334)a) and (335)a) could be substituted for each other without change in case marking, bulnga-1 would be an intransitive verb, since the only common function of the above noun and pronoun forms is intransitive subject (S).

Under some conditions transitive sentences have to be intransitivised in Kuku Yalanji and again noun/pronoun substitution of core syntactic NPs assists in distinguishing between their function in a truncated transitive clause, like (334)a) or (335)a), and its intransitivised version.

There are four basic conditions for surface transitive sentences in Kuku Yalanji:

1) A NP and O NP must not be coreferential;
2) The described action must be intentional;
3) The agent must be stated and should be the most prominent clause constituent;
4) The described action must be discrete and performed on a specific object.

If any of these conditions is not met the underlying transitive sentence is intransitivised in surface structure and A and O NP assigned to different cases than in a transitive sentence. If transitive sentence condition (1) is not met a reciprocal or reflexive construction is required; if transitive sentence conditions (2) and (3) are not complied with the sentence is passivised; if transitive sentence condition (4) is not met an antipassive construction is used.

1) Similar transitivity conditions have been established for Guugu Yimidhirr (Haviland 1979a:134), Yidiny (Dixon 1977a:276) and Dyabugay (Patz 1978:81-84).
2) cf. Silverstein 1976:140
There are two processes in Kuku Yalanji by which intransitive verb stems can be derived from transitive bases. One is reciprocal derivation with -wa-y (discussed in the previous subsection) and the other one is intransitive verb stem formation with -ji- which is used in the three functions of reflexive, passive and antipassive. Reflexes of a reconstructed pA form *-DHirri-y (Dixon 1980:447-9) are commonly used in reflexive, reciprocal and antipassive constructions in Australian languages, i.e. in a basic intransitivising function. (But note that Kuku Yalanji has a separate form for reciprocal which is not found in any of its related languages.) Passive constructions, on the other hand, are unusual in ergative Australian languages.

Intransitive sentences with verb + -ji- forms in Kuku Yalanji, the conditions under which they are used and their syntactic and semantic implications, are discussed in turn in the following sections.

4.2.4.2 Reflexive

A transitive construction in which the A NP and O NP are coreferential, which means that an agent performs an action on himself, cannot appear as such in surface form in Kuku Yalanji. The underlying structure

\[
[NP_1]_A \quad tr \quad V \quad [NP_1]_O
\]

has to be intransitivised with the verbal suffix -ji-. Similar to a reciprocal construction, the A and O NP together assume S function in surface form, giving:

\[
[NP_1]_S \quad tr \quad V \quad -ji-y
\]

1) cf. R. Hershberger 1964b:46-49; for stem formation with -ji- see 3.8.5.4 (ii).
Subject to semantic plausibility a reflexive sentence can imply an intentional or unintentional action, but there are ways to clearly distinguish between these two readings.

Some reflexivised verbs are inherently intentional by virtue of their semantic content, such as for instance julurri-1 wash:

(336) karrkay julurri-ji-y
child-ABS(S) wash-REF-NONPAST

the child is washing itself

With other verbs such as 'scratch', 'hit', or 'cut' it may be ambiguous whether the reflexive action is performed on purpose or by accident. The unmarked reading, out of context, apparently tends to be 'intentional', but to make this perfectly clear one can use a reduplicated verb form indicating ongoing action, which is unlikely to happen by accident.

(337) bunjil yaka-n-yaka-ji-ny
widow-ABS(S) cut-REDUP-REF-PAST

the widow kept cutting herself

(It was customary for a woman to inflict a number of skin cuts on herself on the death of her husband.)

(338) nyulu yirrba-n-yirrba-ji-y
3sg NOM(S) scratch-REDUP-REF-NONPAST

he keeps scratching himself (perhaps because of mosquito bites)

On the other hand, the use of adverb kanban by mistake unambiguously expresses the accidental nature of an action.

(339) warru kanban kuni-ji-ny
yg man-ABS(S) by mistake hit-REF-PAST

the young man hit himself by mistake

(perhaps while hitting at something else)
Furthermore, some additional contextual information helps to distinguish between an intentional action and a misfortune (as has been included in the translations of (338) and (339)).

(340) bunjil yaka-ji-ny dunyu-nku
widow-ABS(S) cut-REF-PAST husband-DAT:pt
the widow cut herself because of her husband [i.e. his death]

(341) nyulu wulbuman jina baka-ji-ny
3sg NOM(S) old woman-ABS(S) foot-ABS(S) poke-REF-PAST
mayi baka-l-baka-nya
plant food-ABS(0) dig-REDUP-SUB-ABS(S)\(^1\)
the old woman poked her foot while digging for food (e.g. yam)

Sentence (341) also illustrates the use of reflexive where a specified body part is affected. Another example is:

(342) ngayu yimbi junka-ji-y
1sg NOM(S) lips-ABS(S) paint-REF-NONPAST
I paint my lips [i.e. put lipstick on]

(For inalienable possessive constructions see 4.5.2).

As I have shown before when discussing the instrumental case (4.1.4.4 (1)), an inanimate agent does not change its case marking, i.e. instrumental, when the sentence is passivised as in (248)b) and (249)b) on Page 218 and

(343) nyulu kaja-ji-ny baduru-bu
3sg NOM(S) tie-ITR-PAST fishing line-INST
he got tangled up in the fishing line \(^2\)

But consider the similar reflexive construction:

---

1) For subordinate constructions of this type see 4.4.4.1.
2) For passive formation see next subsection.
Because of the parallelism in structure it would be possible to interpret (248)b), (249)b) and (343) as reflexive rather than passive constructions. This would also be plausible from a semantic point of view in that where an inanimate instrument is involved in an action on an animate patient, it is in fact the animate patient who can often be held responsible for the action. In (344) the woman as S NP of a reflexive sentence is both agent and patient: she cuts herself by being careless. In the same way, the S NPs in (248)b), (249)b) and (343) could be seen to indirectly inflict the misfortune of getting hit, burnt or tangled up upon themselves by being inattentive or clumsy. This interpretation would, correctly, deny the inanimate instrument/agent any volitional control over the action. (A similar concept is expressed in colloquial English reflexive cum causative construction which would be an appropriate translation for the above sentences, that is he got himself burnt by a stinging tree or he got himself tangled up in the fishing line.)

I regard reflexive as a possible alternative interpretation of sentences like (248)b), (249)b), and (343), but the evidence for this is purely semantic; syntactically they could be agentless passive just as well as reflexive.

4.2.4.3 Passive

A passive construction characteristically shifts the focus of attention from the agent, i.e. the transitive subject (A), of a transitive sentence to the patient (O) and his state of being acted
upon. (cf. Lyons 1968:372). Whatever mechanisms are employed in different languages to achieve this shift of focus, the resulting 'passive' sentence is a superficially intransitive sentence in which the underlying patient (O) is the intransitive subject (S) and thus usually the discourse topic. The underlying agent, being reduced to an ancillary role, appears in a peripheral syntactic case, if indeed it is mentioned at all. True to the 'patient focus' nature of passives, expression of the agent is not obligatory in any language (cf. Silverstein 1976:140). Nor are there syntactic reasons to include the underlying agent in the surface structure, since the passive as a derived intransitive construction only requires the core elements of intransitive subject (S) and an intransitive verb, all other constituents being optional.

A passive construction in Kuku Yalanji requires intransitivisation of the transitive verb by stem-forming suffix -ji-. The underlying O appears in absolutive case if a noun, and nominative case if a pronoun, and the underlying A receives locative case marking in surface structure. Thus from an underlying sentence

\[ [\text{NP}_1]_A \quad \text{tr} \quad V \quad [\text{NP}_2]_O \]

we obtain

\[ [\text{NP}_2 \text{ ABS }]_S \quad \text{tr} \quad V \quad -ji- \quad [\text{NP}_1 \text{ LOC}] \]

which means: 'S is being V by NP\(_1\)' (NP\(_1\) being optional). A transitive sentence and its passive 'version' are illustrated below:

(345)a) yaburr-ungku warru bayka-ny
    shark-ERG:pt(A) warru man-ABS(O) bite-PAST

    a shark bit the young man
The passive in Kuku Yalanji does not entirely fit the traditional definition of patient-topicalisation process as given above. It may promote the patient to focus of attention, but it does not necessarily do so.

The primary means of topicalisation in any sentence type in Kuku Yalanji is to place the topic in leftmost position. Topic choice and the significance of word order are discussed in 5.3.2.1 and 5.4.1.

One can say that the passive in Kuku Yalanji is semantically motivated or discourse oriented according to which transitive sentence condition is the prompting factor. But it is never necessary to use the passive because of syntactic coreferentiality restrictions in sentence co-ordination, although of course a passive can occur in co-ordinated sentences. According to their prompting condition, there are two types of passive in Kuku Yalanji, which may be termed 'chance passive' and 'topic passive'.

The chance passive is employed where transitive sentence condition 2) is not met, that is where a potentially controlling agent performs an action unintentionally. Here the underlying agent is always retained in surface structure, albeit in locative case. In the unmarked word order the agent in locative case appears in leftmost position which means that it does not lose its discourse prominence. (Note also, that translations of chance passive sentences given by informants did not show passive in English. The involuntary aspect was always rendered as "it happened".)
The chance passive has only been attested with past tense which is plausible since an accidental action can obviously only be reported in retrospect.

The important characteristic of the chance passive is that the expressed action as such is unpremeditated and unintentional, in other words that 'it just happens'. In (346), for instance, the woman may have been sweeping the yard and in doing so poked a hidden snake with the broom. In (347) the cattle were just wandering about the place at night and chanced on the mangoes under my caravan and proceeded to rout them out (a frequent and most disturbing experience). A context for (348) could be that the speaker was walking along
minding his own business and happened to see the addressee driving past in a car. This is in contrast to 'accidental' action as expressed in a transitive sentence with adverb kanban *by mistake*. In this event the action itself is intentional alright, but it has an unintentional effect. If, for instance, in (349) a transitive sentence with kanban were used instead of passive, i.e.

(351) dingkar-angka nganya jina kanban
man-ERG:pt(A) lsg ACC(O) foot-ABS(O) by mistake

narri-ny
step on-PAST

*the man accidentally stepped on my foot*

this would imply that the man was intentionally stepping or stamping on something, perhaps ants on the ground, and in doing so accidentally caught my foot. Or a transitive sentence with kanban for (346), i.e.

(352) jalbu-ngku jarba kanban baka-ny
woman-ERG:pt(A) snake-ABS(O) by mistake poke-PAST

*the woman accidentally poked a snake*

could imply that the woman was digging (baka-1 dig, poke) for scrub-hen eggs and in doing so poked her hand into a snake.

A chance passive may be reinforced, as it were, by the inclusion of kanban, but informants appear not to be too happy about this and tend to omit kanban if questioned.

The 'topic passive' may be used where transitive sentence condition 3) is not fulfilled. This typically occurs where the agent is a lower animate referent acting on a higher animate patient, or where the agent is either unknown or considered irrelevant. In the latter event the agent is omitted from surface structure. Note that topic passive sentences were rendered by a passive construction in English by informants. Examples of passive sentences with a lower
animate agent acting on a higher animate patient are:

(353) warru wara-nda mani-ji-ny
yg man-ABS(S) groper-LOC:pt take-ITR-PAST

_the young man was taken by a groper_

(354) ngayu yinil-kanga-ji-ny bilngkumu-ndu
1sg NOM(S) fear-CAUS-ITR-PAST crocodile-LOC:pt

_I was given a fright by the crocodile_

However, because of its free word order, Kuku Yalanji does not necessarily have to use a passive in order to topicalise the patient. It would be equally acceptable, and is often done, to simply move the 0 NP into sentence-initial position, e.g.

(355) warru wara-ngka mani-ny
yg man-ABS(O) groper-ERG:pt(A) take-PAST

_the young man was taken by a groper_ (cf. (353))
or

(356) nganya bayka-ny biringal-da
1sg ACC(O) bite-PAST scorpion-ERG(A)

_I was bitten by a scorpion_

On the other hand, passive can be used to topicalise an 0 NP that is at the same hierarchy level as the agent, e.g.

(357) yinya bama buliman-anda karrba-ji-ny
that-ABS(S) Aborig.-ABS(S) police-LOC:pt grab-ITR-PAST

_that Aborigine was grabbed by the police_

Individual speakers tend to prefer passive over transitive sentences with leftmost 0 NP and vice versa, and apparently there are no speakers' intuitions on a semantic difference between a topic-passive and a topicalised transitive sentence such as (355) or (356). It seems to be a matter of individual style.
There is no choice, however, where the agent is omitted because it is unknown or irrelevant and is not recoverable from context. Here the topic-passive must be used, e.g.

\[(358) \text{minya } dinda-n-dinda-ji-y \text{ baya-nga}
\text{flesh-food-ABS(S) roast-REDUP-ITR-NONPAST fire-LOC}
\text{meat is roasting in the fire}
\]

(Note that fire is not the agent; such an interpretation was regarded as quite ridiculous by speakers.)

\[(359) \text{store nanda-ji-y nyiku}
\text{store-ABS(S) close-ITR-NONPAST today}
\text{the store is closed today}
\]

The following sentences (360) and (361) may also be regarded as agentless passives since the action described by the verb may be interpreted as being performed by an unspecified agent, i.e. 'anyone'.

\[(360) \text{nyulu maral ngulkurr nyaji-ji-y}
\text{3sg NOM(S) girl-ABS(S) good see-ITR-NONPAST}
\text{the girl looks nice [is good to look at by anyone]}
\]

\[(361) \text{yanya mayi ngulkurr nuka-ji-y}
\text{this-ABS(S) food-ABS(S) good eat-ITR-NONPAST}
\text{this food tastes nice [is good to eat by anyone]}
\]

An agentless passive may of course also imply a chance action as in (362) below which was said to me by an old lady with a sweet tooth (or rather denture) when she saw me setting out with a walk-about party:

\[(362) \text{mayngku nyaji-ji-y, mana!}
\text{mango-ABS(S) see-ITR-NONPAST take-IMP}
\text{[if] [you or someone] happen to see any mangoes, take [bring] them!}
\]
R. Hershberger (1964b:47, 1979:59) reports that the verbs nuka-1 eat, baka-1 dig, poke, yajarri-1 laugh about and muja-1 gather do not occur in passive, but only in antipassive constructions (see below). I have found that this is not so. Examples of nuka-1 and baka-1 in passive are given in (361) and (346) above. There are, however, semantic restrictions on the use of these verbs in a chance-passive because they refer to inherently volitional actions and are therefore unlikely to happen by chance (except baka-1 in the sense of poke). If the wrong object were accidentally affected, a transitive sentence with kanban would be used rather than the passive (see above). But these verbs may occur in a topic-passive, such as nuka-1 eat in (361) or

\[(363) \text{marra munja-ji-ny} \]
\[\text{zamia nut-ABS(S) gather-ITR-PAST} \]
\[\text{zamia nuts were gathered [by someone]} \]

With yajarri-1 laugh about, on the other hand, a passive, or antipassive for that matter, is ambiguous. Consider:

\[(364) \text{nyulu maral yajarri-ji-ny warru-ndu} \]
\[\text{3sg NOM(S) girl-ABS(S) laugh about-ITR-PAST yg man-LOC:pt} \]

This could be passive,

\[\text{the girl was laughed about [ridiculed] by the young man} \]

where nyulu maral has underlying 0 and warru A function. But it could just as well be "antipassive"

\[\text{the girl laughed at the young man [in a friendly way],} \]

where nyulu maral has underlying A and warru 0 function. Speakers favour the latter interpretation which coincides with Ruth Hershberger's theory at least for this verb. But I am not at all sure if this construction is indeed a true antipassive, hence the inverted commas. This problem will be discussed further in the next subsection.
4.2.4.4 Antipassive

The so-called antipassive is regarded as the ergative language's answer to the passive of the accusative language. According to Silverstein (1976:140)

"... in accusative systems, the patient is regularly expressed in direct transitive constructions by the 'unique' case marking (...), the accusative, and in passive constructions this assumes the 'paired' case form, the nominative. Ergative systems have an analogous construction, here termed antipassive, which has all the properties of the passive (...). The 'unique' case here is the ergative, coding the unique function of direct transitive agent (A), and in antipassive forms the transitive agent is expressed by a surface absolutive (or nominative) case marking, the verb has a change in voice, with a special mark, the transitive object (normally coded by surface absolutive case) appearing at most facultatively in some oblique, adverbial case marking."

Kuku Yalanji does have a construction with the formal properties of an antipassive, but its semantic and pragmatic properties are quite different from that of the passive. It is remarkable that Kuku Yalanji uses both passive and antipassive constructions, a characteristic which is rare but which it shares with its northern neighbour Guugu Yimidhirr. 1)

In an antipassive construction, as in passive, the transitive verb is intransitivised by stem-forming suffix -ji-. The underlying agent (A) appears in S function, taking absolutive or nominative case marking for a noun or pronoun respectively. The underlying transitive object (0) takes locative case in surface structure or

---

1) The functions of passive and antipassive in Guugu Yimidhirr are similar to those in Kuku Yalanji (see Haviland 1979a: 128-134).
even, where appropriate, per late case. Thus from an underlying transitive structure

\[ [NP_1]_A \text{ tr V } [NP_2]_0 \]

we obtain

\[ [NP_1 \text{ ABS}]_S \text{ tr V } -ji- [NP_2 \text{ LOC}]_\text{ PER} \]

The semantic content of an antipassive construction cannot be captured in one formula, but ample exemplification will be given below. An example of the structural difference between underlying and surface form is:

(365)a) nyulu dingkar-angka minya nuka-ny
3sg NOM(A) man-ERG:pt(A) meat-ABS(O) eat-PAST

the man ate meat

b) nyulu dingkar minya-nga nuka-ji-ny
3sg NOM(S) man-ABS(S) meat-LOC eat-ITR-PAST

"the man had a good feed of meat (he wasted nothing)"

In syntactically ergative languages like Dyirbal and Yidiny the antipassive is obligatory for sentence co-ordination with coreferential S and A, that is the sentence containing the A must be antipassivised so that in surface structure coreferential NPs are both in S function (Dixon 1972:73-74, 1977a:278-9). This is not so in Kuku Yalanji where, as far as co-ordination is concerned, almost anything goes (see 4.3.1). Like passive, antipassive may of course occur in co-ordinated structures, but this is not of syntactic relevance; the antipassive simply means something different from a transitive sentence.

The antipassive in Kuku Yalanji is used productively for what may be called a 'generalised action' (a term coined by Haviland (1979a:
132) for the similar use of antipassive in Guugu Yimidhirr). This means that the described action is not discrete and is performed on some general or 'non-individuated' 1) object which may or may not be stated in surface structure, that is where transitive sentence condition 4) is not met. 2) To indicate 'generalised action' on a 'non-individuated' object the antipassive construction contains a reduplicated verb form as for instance in Text 3, Lines 39 and 48 and:

(366) yinya karrkay kaya-nda kuni-n-kuni-ji-y
that-ABS(S) child-ABS(S) dog-LOC:pt hit-REDUP-ITR-NONPAST
"that little one is hitting all the dogs (around here)"

(367) bama dunga-ny bunjurri-ji-ny
Aborig.-ABS(S) go-PAST throw spit curse-ITR-PAST
the Aborigine went and threw curses everywhere

(368) jalbu wukay-mba nubi-nubi-ji-y
woman-ABS(S) yam-LOC search for-REDUP-ITR-NONPAST
the woman is looking around for yam

(Note that nubi-ji-y in a reflexive construction means be lost.)

(369) jalbu bayan-ba yindu-yinduy-mbu
woman-ABS(S) house-LOC other-REDUP-LOC
nuri-nuri-ji-y
peep-REDUP-ITR-NONPAST
the woman is having a sticky-beak in all the other houses

For (366) the generality of the action was made explicit by my informant whose translation is given above; a similar situation

1) See Hopper and Thompson 1980:253ff; this term is discussed further later on in this subsection.

2) Dyabugay uses the cognate intransitive suffix -yi- under a similar condition, among other conditions, without however applying antipassive (see Patz 1978:82-83).
obtains for (369) where the actual houses that are investigated by the woman are not identified. (368) may be contrasted with

(370) jalbu-ngku wukay nubi-1
   woman-ERG:pt(A) yam-ABS(O) search for-NONPAST

   the woman is searching for yam

where the action is more specific and limited than the casual but far-reaching looking around in (368). In (367) the unfortunate targets of the raving man are not even mentioned. Note that as far as co-ordination is concerned, (367) would be equally acceptable as

(371) bama durga-ny bunjurri-ny
   the Aborigine went and threw a curse

The difference is that in (371) the man only cursed once.

In the Nyungkul dialect, which makes a distinction between Locative and Perlative, the Perlative may also be used in an antipassive construction to express the concept of 'through'. For instance:

(372) kaya mayi-burr ngunja-n-ngunja-ji-y
   dog-ABS(S) food-PER forage-REDUP-ITR-NONPAST

   the dog is foraging through the food

and instead of Locative in (369):

(373) jalbu bayan-darr yindu-yinduy-mburr nuri-nuri-ji-y
   the woman is having a look through all the other houses

If a simple (i.e. non-reduplicated) verb form is used in an antipassive in Kuku Yalanji this expresses the semantic aspect of 'total effect on the patient'.\(^1\) One such example is (365)b) where

---

\(^1\) This is in contrast to the interpretation of antipassive as having "partitive" meaning (see Hopper and Thompson 1980:263). For further comments see 4.2.5.
the man is considered to have "wasted nothing" in the words of my informant. Consider also:

(374) ngamu mayi-nga wambi-ji-ny
mother-ABS(S) food-LOC share out-ITR-PAST

*mother shared out all the food*

(375) nyulu jalu ngayku-wun-bu bayan-ba
3sg NOM(S) woman-ABS(S) lsg POSS-LOC house-LOC
ngunja-ji-ny
take over-ITR-PAST

*the woman took over my house lock stock and barrel*

Ngunja-l, also glossed as *forage* in (347) and (372) refers to the action of claiming or obtaining something that is, or is thought to be, discarded or nobody’s particular property.

Use of antipassive with the semantic implications exemplified above is quite productive in Kuku Yalanji. Furthermore, some broadly termed 'verbs of communication' may be intransitivised and in this form require a syntactic construction that is identical to antipassive, i.e. the agent appears in S function, underlying 0 in locative case and the goal of the verbal interaction is added in dative case. The semantic difference between the transitive and the intransitivised verb form may again be interpreted as 'direct' versus 'generalised' action, i.e. the underlying patient is not solely and directly affected by the action but is demoted to an ancillary role. Because the semantic link may be regarded as somewhat remote, particularly in the case of baba-l/babaji-y (see below), I regard the forms in the second column below as 'fixed' intransitive stems similar to the fixed reflexive stems listed in 3.8.5.4 (ii). Consider:
Janjarri-1 laugh about, ridicule and janjarriji-y laugh at in a friendly way can probably also be included in this list. The link between baba-1 and babaji-y can perhaps be interpreted as: babaji-y try someone's knowledge about something. The following examples illustrate the use of these intransitive stems:

(376) a) dingkar-angka nganya kunja-ny
man-ERG:pt(A) lsg NOM(O) call-PAST
the man called me

b) dingkar ngayku-ndu mayi-ka kunjaji-ny
man-ABS(S) lsg-LOC:pt food-DAT ask for-PAST
the man asked me for food

(377) karrkay ngamu-ndu walngkurriji-ny lolly-ka
child-ABS(S) mother-LOC:pt pester for-PAST lolly-DAT
the child is pestering mother for a lolly

(378) buliman warru-ndu babaji-ny kamukamu-ku
police-ABS(S) yg man-LOC:pt ask about-PAST alcohol-DAT
the police asked the young man about the grog

In a synchronic study I hesitate to interpret these intransitive sentences as antipassive derivations of underlying transitive constructions. But I would suggest the possibility that at an earlier stage this may have been so and that subsequently the intransitivised verb form has shifted further from the semantic content of the transitive form, being stuck, as it were, with the apparently antipassive construction.
4.2.5 Summary and Conclusions

To summarise, Kuku Yalanji has an inventory of six derivational processes at clause level which can be distinguished as optional and obligatory derivations.

An optional derivation primarily aims at changing the semantic content of a sentence; a change in syntax is incidental to this primary aim. Optional derivations are inchoative, causative and antipassive.

Obligatory derivations are syntactically motivated, mainly by restrictions on the coreferentiality of A and O NP in surface structure. Reciprocal and reflexive are derivations of this type.

Passive has a triple function as optional 'chance passive' and 'topic passive' which in turn may be optional or obligatory in certain circumstances. Topic passive can be used optionally to topicalise the O NP in a surface structure containing both A and O NP. (A transitive sentence with leftmost O NP is apparently equally acceptable for this purpose.) Obligatory use of topic passive applies where the underlying agent is omitted in surface structure and this agent is not recoverable from context.

Passive and antipassive with a reduplicated verb form indicate a lower degree of transitivity, i.e. unintentional action, action performed by an unknown or irrelevant or lower animate agent, generalised action. All this is in accordance with the Hopper and Thompson (1980) transitivity theory. However, antipassive in Kuku Yalanji does not necessarily have "partitive" meaning which Hopper and Thompson regard as a characteristic feature for antipassive. "Partitive" may apply for the aspect of generalised action as
expressed by the reduplicated verb forms in (366) - (369). However, in sentences (365)b), (374) and (375) antipassive with a simple verb form expresses rather the opposite, namely 'total effect'. As in generalised action antipassive the patient in total effect antipassive constructions is 'non-individuated', e.g. generic terms in (365)b) and (374), and my house (not every bit of furniture that it includes) in (375). 'Non-individuated' object is thought to be another indication of low transitivity (Hopper and Thompson p.253ff), but it is not a characteristic feature of antipassive in Kuku Yalanji since it may apply just as well in transitive sentences. Thus antipassive in Kuku Yalanji has the unusual dichotomy that, according to whether a simple or reduplicated verb form is used, it implies higher transitivity (total effect) or lower transitivity (generalised action) than a corresponding transitive sentence.

Since passive and antipassive in Kuku Yalanji have almost entirely semantic motivation and are not required for syntactic purposes in subordination and co-ordination their existence is no indication of whether Kuku Yalanji has ergative or accusative syntax. To anticipate the findings in the next subsections and also in 5.3.2 there is no discernable pivot NP in Kuku Yalanji, such as A/S in accusative Western Australian languages (Dench 1982) or S/O in ergative Dyirbal (Dixon 1979:62-63), according to which co-ordinated and subordinated clauses have to be modified. This freedom in co- and subordination could be an indication that the language is syntactically in flux, containing aspects of both ergative and nominative/accusative syntax.\(^1\)

\(^1\) Similar situations are found in Guugu Yimidhirr (Haviland 1979a: 128ff, 156ff) and Yidiny, about which Comrie (1981:108) comments: "...the Yidiny material illustrates particularly clearly (...) that it is misleading to classify a language as being either ergative or not, rather one must ask: to what extent, and in what particular constructions is the language ergative,...".
4.3 SENTENCE CO-ORDINATION

Co-ordinate structures in Kuku Yalanji consist of two or more clauses of independent status, i.e. clauses which may just as well occur on their own, that are linked together by a specific intonation pattern. The distinguishing feature of co-ordinate versus subordinate constructions in Kuku Yalanji is the verbal inflection. In co-ordinate sentences we find only past or nonpast tense marking, irrealis, or imperative. All other verbal inflections mark a clause as subordinate (see 4.4). (While purposive may occur in an independent clause, two co-ordinated clauses cannot both have purposive inflection.)

Usually, in a co-ordinate structure the constituent clauses are simply juxtaposed. However, there are a few particles and clitics which appear in co-ordinate sentences and add a certain semantic link to the conjoined clauses.

4.3.1 Simple Conjoining

Clauses are conjoined in discourse in order to convey some temporal or logical connection; they may or may not share a common NP.¹)

In co-ordinate structures without a common NP the described actions may be simultaneous or successive, whichever is the more logical interpretation. The only indication for co-ordination, as opposed to a sequence of several independent clauses, is intonation: there is a rise at the end of each non-final clause and falling intonation after the final clause. (For intonation patterns see 2.6.3.)

(379) ngayu jilba-dunga-ny, nyulu bayan-ba
lsg NOM(S) walk-go-PAST 3sg NOM(S) house-LOC
bundanda-ny
sit-REDUP-PAST

I went for a walk and/while he stayed at home

(380) babarr-angka mayi waju-l, jinkurr-ungku
eZ-ERG:pt(A) food-ABS(O) cook-NONPAST yZ-ERG:pt(A)
ngawa nyaji-l-nyaji-l
baby-ABS(O) look-REDUP-NONPAST
elder sister is cooking food and/while younger sister is
watching the baby

(381) ngayu yarraman karrba-l, yundu
lsg NOM(A) horse-ABS(O) hold-NONPAST 2sg NOM(S)
daka-l
climb-NONPAST

I hold the horse and/while you climb up (i.e. on the horse;
daka-l is intransitive)

Co-ordinate structures without coreferential NPs are not all
that frequently used in Kuku Yalanji. A much more common stylistic
device in discourse, particularly in narratives, is the so-called

topic chain. Where the S or A NP, i.e. the topic or pivot of a
clause refers to the same actor as the S or A NP of a number of
immediately following clauses, it is normal practice to delete the
S or A NP in all but the first clause. Logically such a topic chain
refers to successive actions since it is unlikely that someone would
perform several actions at the same time. Note that in Kuku Yalanji
there is no restriction on the coreferentiality of A and S which
means that transitive and intransitive clauses can be co-ordinated
without any obligatory change in the transitivity value of the
verb. (Anaphoric topic deletion in discourse is considered more fully in 5.3.2 with copious references to the appended texts.) Some examples of co-ordination possibilities are:

(382) nyulu yindu nyunba-ny-baja,
     3sg NOM(S) other-ABS(S) turn back-PAST-again
     kangkal-kangkal nyungu wubul-ku
     own child-REDUP-ABS(0) 3sg POSS-ABS(0) many-ABS(0)-EMPH
     mani-ny, wundi-ny badabada bayan-ba, milbi-ny-da
     get-PAST bring-PAST down camp-LOC show-PAST-TEMP
the other one turned back again, got [fetchedJ her many children, brought them down to the camp and showed them (from a story about how the cassowary tricked the brolga into killing her young ones)

(383) yundu kada-nyaku, nganya nyaji-nyaku
     2sg NOM(S) come-IRR 1sg ACC(O) see-IRR
[if] you had come, you would have seen me

In the above examples the initial clause is intransitive followed by transitive ones.

(384) bula warru-ngku nambarr
     3du NOM(A) yg man-ERG:pt(A) bamboo-ABS(0)
     kulba-ny, kaja-ny, dunga-ny-baja
     pull out-PAST wrap up-PAST go-PAST-again
the two young men pulled out the bamboo, wrapped it up and went on again
(from a story of how the native bamboo came to grow all over the Cape York Peninsula)

1) Cf. S/A pivot in accusative and S/O pivot in ergative languages as mentioned in the previous subsection.
Here the first two clauses are transitive and the last one is intransitive.

(385) nyulu dingkar bunda-ny, minya-nga
       3sg NOM(S) man-ABS(S) sit-PAST meat-LOC
       nuka-ji-ny, wunana-ny-da
       eat-ITR-PAST  lie down-REDUP-PAST-TEMP

the man sat down, had a good feed of meat and then had a rest

Here all three constituent clauses are intransitive. Note that the second clause is antipassive, not because the common NP has to agree in function, but to indicate 'total effect' of the action (see 4.2.4.4).

The intonation pattern of these topic chains is such that each non-final verb has either level or rising intonation and the last verb falling intonation. Theoretically, any number of actions can be joined together in this fashion as long as the topic remains the same. However, presumably to break the monotony of such a recital, sentence-final intonation is often applied not later than the third verb. If the topic still remains the same for any further actions, the new sentence may be introduced with the appropriate S/A pronoun. But an anaphoric pronoun is not obligatory, even if the intonation pattern clearly distinguishes several separate sentences, i.e. there can be zero-anaphora for topic across the boundaries of consecutive sentences.

If a number of actions are performed by the same agent on the same object, the 0 NP may also be deleted once it has been introduced as in (382) and (384). But some speakers seem to prefer to include an anaphoric pronoun in 0 function every now and again, particularly if the object is animate.

Sentences may also be intonationally co-ordinated if the S NP, but apparently not the A NP, is coreferential with the 0 NP of
the following sentence. It seems that zero-anaphora is not possible in this event, but pronoun reduction is required.

(386) dingkar wala-ny, jalbu-ngku nyunguny
      man-ABS(S) enter-PAST woman-ERG:pt(A) 3sg ACC(0)
      kuni-ny
      hit-PAST
      .the man came in and the woman hit him

If, on the other hand, the second part of a sentence like (386) should be passive in order to imply a chance event, the first S NP is coreferential with the surface S NP of the following passive clause and may therefore be deleted in the second clause:

(387) dingkar wala-ny, kuni-ji-ny jalbu-ndu
      man-ABS(S) enter-PAST hit-ITR-PAST woman-LOC:pt
      the man entered and the woman happened to hit [him]

4.3.2 Co-ordination Particles

Kuku Yalanji has four co-ordination particles which are used to indicate a relationship of 'contrast', 'condition', or 'reason' between two clauses. These particles are always placed at the beginning of a conjoined clause. They are:

kari  |  but, however
yamba |  

kaki  |  if, when
kunka |  in case

Another particle nganganjirrka may be used in free variation with kunka, but more frequently occurs just by itself to express 'X does Y just in case (something might happen)'.

Clauses containing these particles cannot occur independently, at least not out of context. But it would not be justified to class them as subordinate rather than co-ordinate, because their syntactic
structure is that of an independent clause. They may be termed 'dependent sentences' according to Waterhouse 1963. Such constructions do not normally have more than two constituent clauses, which may or may not have a common A or S NP. Deletion of the second S/A NP is not favoured, although possible; pronoun reduction is preferred.

The particles kari and yamba (sometimes yambada or yambala) imply, in broadest terms, some kind of contrast between the actions or states referred to in two clauses, similar to 'but' or 'however' in English. Both particles are glossed as 'but' in translations.

Although kari and yamba are freely interchangeable according to my informants, spontaneous use of one of them in elicitation and evidence from texts suggest a subtle semantic difference between them. Kari, which is also a negation particle (see 4.9.3), is typically used to introduce an event which has some negative influence on the event described in the related clause.\(^1\) The set patterns for such a co-ordinate construction is that the first clause refers to an event that is desired or under way, and the second clause, beginning with kari, contains the event which has a hindering effect on the first:

'X does/wants to do something, but something else happens'.

Examples:

(388) ngayu buwun-ji dunga-ny, kari muyar junkuji

_I went out with a boat, but there was a strong wind_

(I had to turn back)

(389) jalbu  yinya  wawu  baduri-ji  
woman-ABS(S) that-ABS(S) want  fishing line-COMIT  
dunga-nka,  kari  nyulu  bambay  
go-PURP  but  3sg NOM(S) sick  
that woman would like to go fishing, but she is sick  
(she can't go)  

(390) ngayu  nyaji-nka  yinya  bama,  
1sg NOM(A) see-PURP  that-ABS(O) person-ABS(0)  
kari  kalakalbay-bajaku  
but  far away-very  
I am trying to see that person, but [he is/I am] too far away  
(I cannot see him properly)  

(391) nyulu  warru-ngku  kuyu  mani-ny,  
3sg NOM(A) yg man-ERG:pt(A) fish-ABS(0) get-PAST  
kari  burrki-n-burrki-ny  
but  fidget-REDUP-PAST  
the young man got the fish [on the line], but [it] kept on  
fidgeting / struggling (presumably it got away)  

Kari may also introduce an independent sentence in discourse  
to indicate a contrast to something previously stated. For  
more on this use of kari as 'collateral' marker in discourse  
see 5.5.5.  

Yamba, on the other hand, is used more spontaneously than  
kari in the conveyance of some additional and contrastive inform­  
ation on a state rather than an event. Again, the yamba-clause is  
the second constituent in a co-ordinate structure.  

(392) yinya  budmandu  karrkay,  yamba  kulngkul  
that-ABS(S) portmanteau-ABS(S) small  but  heavy  
that port (suitcase) is small, but [it] is heavy
Speakers are quite happy to exchange yamba for kari and vice versa in the above sentences, so it appears that a semantic distinction, if there ever was one, is losing its significance. Or else, they make spontaneously an unconscious differentiation of which they are not really aware. (Again, for 'collateral' discourse use see 5.5.5.)

The co-ordination particle kaki introduces a conditional clause and will be glossed as 'if'. Usually, the kaki-clause is the first of two co-ordinated clauses, but it may also occur in second position. Co-ordinate structures with kaki apparently cannot occur in the past tense.¹)

(393)  kaki  yundu  yinya  kaya  juku-bu
      if    2sg NOM(A) that-ABS(O) dog-ABS(O) stick-INST
       kuni-l,  yununy  bayka-l
      hit-NONPAST  2sg ACC(O) bite-NONPAST
      if you hit that dog with a stick, [it] will bite you

(394)  kaki  ngayu  ngiki-ji,  ngayu
      if    lsg NOM(S) cough-COMIT lsg NOM(A)
       yangka  dumbarri-l,  nuka-l
      green ant-ABS(O) break-NONPAST eat-NONPAST
      if I have a cough/cold, I break up green ants and eat [them]

(395)  nyulu  warngku-wuna-y,  kaki  nyulu
      3sg NOM(S) sleep-lie-NONPAST if  3sg NOM(S)
       bangkarr  bajaburray
      body-ABS(S) tired
      he has a sleep, if he feels tired

¹) Cf. R. Hershberger 1979:75-6 "Temporal/conditional Relator-axis Clause".
To express such a conditional/temporal relationship in the past the two clauses are simply juxtaposed, e.g.

(396) nyulu wawula-ny, nyulu warngku-wuna-ny  
3sg NOM(S) be exhausted-PAST 3sg NOM(S) sleep-lie-PAST

(if/when) he was exhausted, he had a sleep

Particles kunka or nganganjirrka in case may be used to introduce a 'hypothetical reason' subordinate clause (see 4.4.4.4), or may link a dependent sentence to a preceding one, e.g.

(397) ngayu bana wundi-l,  
1sg NOM(A) water-ABS(O) take-NONPAST

kunka/nganganjirrka bana kari baral-darr  
in case water-ABS(S) NEG road-PERL

I take some water in case there is no water along the road

Note that if the speaker knows for sure that there is no water on the road a co-ordinated construction such as (397) is not possible, but two independent sentences are used:

(398) ngayu bana wundi-l. yinya-ngkarr  
1sg NOM(A) water-ABS(O) take-NONPAST that-PERL

baral-darr bana yambakari  
road-PERL water-ABS(S) nothing

I take some water. There is no water at all along the road

The discourse function of kaki, kunka and nganganjirrka as markers of background information is considered further in 5.5.3.

4.3.3 Clitics in Co-ordinate Constructions

Temporal clitics -da then, -(ng)Vrr first of all, and kuda meanwhile (see 3.10.1) occur frequently in co-ordinated sentences to specify a particular temporal connection. However, they are not actual indicators of co-ordination. They are used just as often in independent clauses to provide a temporal reference within a wider time setting. Their discourse function in temporal cohesion is
explained in 5.2.2.

Clitic -ji -yijin *in turn* (see 3.10.3), although it may also occur in independent clauses, is more relevant for sentence co-ordination. In this function it indicates an (appropriate) action that may have been prompted by the action of a different actor as stated in the co-ordinated clause, e.g.

(399) nyulu ngayku kambi julurri-1, ngayu-ji nyungu-nku mayi waju-1
    3sg NOM(A) 1sg POSS-ABS(O) clothes-ABS(0) wash-NONPAST
    lsg NOM(A)-in turn 3sg DAT:pt food-ABS(O) cook-NONPAST

    she washes my clothes and I in turn cook food for her

(400) jalbu-ngku nganya kuni-ny, ngayu-ji
    woman-ERG:pt(A) 1sg ACC(O) hit-PAST lsg NOM(A)-in turn
    nyunguny kuni-ny
    3sg ACC(O) hit-PAST

    the woman hit me and I in turn hit her [back]

4.4 **SUBORDINATE CLAUSES**

A clause is understood to be subordinate to another clause if it cannot be uttered independently; in other words, a subordinate clause must be directly adjoined to a main or super-ordinate clause.

Sometimes a subordinate clause by itself may constitute the answer to a question where the question can be regarded as the main clause, e.g. 'why do you go to the river? - To catch fish' (purposive clause) or 'Why do you take a stick? - Lest the dog attack me' (precautionary clause).

Functionally, we can distinguish seven different types of subordinate clauses in Kuku Yalanji expressing the following concepts: 1. purposive, 2. precautionary, 3. successive, 4. simultaneous action, 5. causal, 6. prior event, 7. hypothetical reason.
Clause types 4-7 are all based on verb+ -nya constructions (see 3.2.6.3 and 3.8.4.2 (viii)) which display nominal characteristics in some clauses.

Within a basic temporal framework of 'former' and 'latter' event with respect to the tense of the main clause these subordinate clauses can be classified as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>former</th>
<th>latter</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>causal</td>
<td>purposive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>prior event</td>
<td>precautionary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>successive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>hypothetical reason</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

'Simultaneous', as the label implies, has the same time reference as the main clause. The preponderance of 'latter event' subordinate clauses is interesting in view of the fact that Kuku Yalanji does not distinguish between present and future in its verbal tense inflections. Thus a variety of subordinate clauses which clearly refer to a future event in the framework of discourse are an efficient means to fill this gap.

Subordinate clauses may or may not share common NPs with the main clause. Deletion possibilities of coreferential NPs in subordinate clauses are very free indeed, as long as the resulting sentence remains unambiguous. In the absence of strict syntactic rules that require or forbid NP-deletion, any deleted NP in a subordinate clause is understood to be coreferential with the semantically and contextually most plausible NP in the main clause. If there is an ambiguity resulting from deletion, the preferred reading with regard to the coreferentiality of an omitted NP differs somewhat between the various types of subordinate clauses. Furthermore, not all subordinate clauses have the same range of possible
coreferential NPs; for instance, the coreferentiality scope of a purposive construction is much larger than that of a hypothetical reason clause.

Some subordinate clauses may be interpreted as relative clauses which will be discussed separately in 4.4.5.

4.4.1 Purposive

A verb with purposive inflection -nkV (see 3.8.4.2 (v)) may occur as the only verbal constituent of a main clause as well as in a subordinate clause.

In a main clause a purposive verb implies the need or obligation to do something, arising out of a certain necessity, for example:

(401) ngayu mayi waju-nku. dakuy
lsg NOM(A) food-ABS(O) cook-PURP hungry

*I'd better cook some food. I am hungry*

(402) ngayku balji kadaba-ny. ngayu
lsg POSS-ABS(S) bag-ABS(S) break-PAST lsg NOM(A)
balji jirakal balka-nka
bag-ABS(O) new-ABS(O) make-PURP

*My bag is broken. I have to make a new bag.*

Note that the semantic content of a purposive verb differs from that of the adjectival particle wawu want which expresses spontaneous desire rather than obligation or necessity.

A complex sentence with a purposive subordinate clause\(^1\) indicates that the action referred to in the main clause is performed so that the action described in the subordinate clause may take place,

for instance 'X does Y in order to do Z'. In this function a
purposive verb resembles a noun in dative case as 'goal of a purpose-
ful action' (see 4.1.4.4 (ii)). Purposive verbal inflection and
dative nominal inflection are of course also very similar in form.

Consider:

(403)a) yubal wuju mana milkul-ku
    2du NOM(A) grass-ABS(0) get-IMP soup-DAT
    you two get some grass for the soup! (i.e. for eating it;
this type of grass was made into a little brush to soak up
and eat soup or honey with)

b) yubal wuju mana, milkul nuka-nka
    soup-ABS(0) eat-PURP
    you two get some grass for eating the soup!

A dative noun in this environment indicates that its referent will
be subjected to a contextually (and culturally) implicit action,
like eating in (403)a). A purposive verb form, on the other hand,
clearly identifies the type of action that is anticipated as in
(403)b).

A purposive clause may also imply a natural but unplanned
consequence which arises out of the main clause action, as for
instance:

(404) karrkay jurrki-ji-y, balka-ji-nka
    child-ABS(S) move-REF-NONPAST make-REF-PURP
    the child moves and as a result gets born
    (i.e. moves down in the womb)

1) Verbal and nominal 'purposive' inflections resemble each
other in form in many Australian languages; see Capell
A purposive clause follows the main clause and virtually any coreferential NP may be deleted in the subordinate clause. Obligatory deletion applies to common S or A NPs, i.e. the grammatical subject, and a common O NP. Deletion of other coreferential NPs is preferred but will not apply where this renders the sentence ambiguous. Where this is the case, an anaphoric pronoun may be used (see (423)).

Examples of deletion of NPs in the purposive clause which are coreferential with the S NP in the main clause: $S = S'$

(405) 
$jalbu$-jalbu bunda-ny, balka-wa-nka
$woman$-REDUP-ABS(S) sit-PAST speak-RECIP-PURP

the women sat down to have a chat

$S = A'$

(406) 
$warru$ dunga-ny wawubaja-nga, kuyu
$yg man$-ABS(S) go-PAST river-LOC fish-ABS(O)
dama-nka
spear-PURP

the young man went to the river to spear fish

Further examples are in (419) and (420).

$S = O'$

(407) 
$jalbu$ wandi-ny, dunyu-ngku nyaji-nka
$woman$-ABS(S) rise-PAST husband-ERG:pt(A) see-PURP

the woman stood up so that [her] husband could see her

$S = oblique$ object' (and oblique object = $A'$)

(408) 
$nyulu$ jawun-karra-nda kunjaji-ny, mayi daji-nka
$3sg NOM(S)$ friend-KPL-LOC:pt ask for-PAST food-ABS(O) give-PURP

he asked [his] friends to give [him] some food

---

1) '$'$ denotes the constituent of the subordinate clause.
Here the intransitive subject of the main clause is also understood to be the recipient of the food referred to in the subordinate clause.

Examples of deletion of NPs in the purposive clause which are coreferential with the A NP in the main clause:

A = A' (and O = O')

(409) ngamu-ngku kuyu waju-1, nuka-nka
mother-ERG:pt(A) fish-ABS(O) cook-NONPAST eat-PURP

mother is cooking fish in order to eat [it]

Deletion of the A NP in the purposive clause implies that it is mother who will eat the fish and not anybody else.

A = S'

(410) babi-ngka yangka nuka-l,
FM-ERG:pt(A) green ant-ABS(O) drink-NONPAST
ngulkurr-ma-nka
good-INCHO-PURP

grandmother drinks green ant (juice) in order to get better

Another example of A = S' can be seen in (416).

A = O'

(411) ngayu juku duda-ny, bama-ngka
lsg NOM(A) tree-ABS(O) beat-PAST Aborig.-ERG:pt(A)
nyaji-nka
hear-PURP

I beat (on) the tree so that the people can hear [me]

Here the omitted object in the purposive clause could of course also refer to the noise produced by the hitting of the tree, which would in fact be more logical. For this reason it is preferred to include the O NP nganya me in the purposive clause, although the above version with the given translation is possible.
A = oblique object' (and O = A')

(412) ngayu jalbu kunja-ny, bulkiji
1sg NOM(A) woman-ABS(O) summon-PAST clam-ABS(O)
daji-nka
give-PURP

I summoned /ordered the woman to give [me] some clams

Examples of deletion of NPs in the purposive clause which are coreferential with the O NP in the main clause:

O = O'

(413) babarr-angka kurmun balka-l, ngamu-ngku
eZ-ERG:pt(A) bag-ABS(O) make-NONPAST mother-ERG:pt(A)
jarra-kulba-nka
carry-PURP

elder sister is making a bag for mother to carry

Another example of O = O' is in (409).

(414) buliman-angka warru kunja-ny, kada-nka
police-ERG:pt(A) yg man-ABS(O) summon-PAST come-PURP

the police summoned the young man to come

O = A'

(415) babi-ngka maral balka-ny, ngawa
FM-ERG:pt(A) girl-ABS(O) speak-PAST baby-ABS(O)
kuji-nka
look after-PURP

grandmother told the girl to look after the baby

Another example of O = A' is in (412).

O = oblique object'

(416) ngayu kararr ngara-l, bunda-nka
1sg NOM(A) sheet-ABS(O) spread-NONPAST sit-PURP

I spread a sheet to sit on
Examples of deletion of purposive clause NPs which are coreferential with the oblique object NP of the main clause:

oblique object = S'

(417) yaba-ngka jinkurr-undu yalama-ny, warri-nka
     eB-ERG:pt(A) yZ-LOC:pt say-PAST run-PURP

*elder brother told [his] younger sister to run*

oblique object = A'

(418) jalbu-ngku manda-nda yalama-ny, baya
     woman-ERG:pt(A) niece-LOC:pt say-PAST fire-ABS(O)
     waju-nku
     burn-PURP

*the woman told [her] niece to light a fire*

Another example is in (408).

oblique object = O' (and S = A')

(419) nyulu bayan-ba jirakal-ba dunga-y,
     3sg NOM(S) house-LOC new-LOC go-NONPAST
     nuri-l-nuri-nka
     peep-REDUP-PURP

*he goes to the new house to have a peep [at it]*

oblique object = oblique object*(and S = A')

(420) ngayu maja-nda dunga-y, baba-ji-nka
     1sg NOM(S) boss-LOC:pt go-NONPAST ask-PURP

*I go to the boss to ask [him]*

It will have been noticed that all oblique objects in the examples are in locative case. Presumably there is no syntactic reason why the same deletion possibilities should not apply to oblique objects in other cases; however, it is very difficult to establish a semantically plausible environment in which other than locative oblique objects are coreferential with another NP (and I have not succeeded in doing so).
Of all the possibilities of coreferential NPs illustrated above some of course are more frequent than others, corresponding to the relative frequency of NPs in various functions. Coreferrentiality of the S or A NP and of the O NP is the most frequent, while it is relatively uncommon for an oblique object to be coreferential with an NP in the same or a different function. The latter is in fact limited to verbs of utterance, for instance indirect speech as in (408), (417) and (418), the verb daji-1 give, as in (408) and (412), and local expressions as in (416), (419) and (420). It is not uncommon for both the A and O NP to be deleted in a purposive clause as for instance in (409).

With such a large range of deletion possibilities certain ambiguities may arise. Consider the following sentences:

(421) kami-ngka karrkay wundi-1, wawurrwawurr-ma-nka 
        FF/MM-ERG:pt(A) child-ABS(0) take-NONPAST  happy-INCHO-PURP  
        granny takes the child so that [he/she/it] be happy

(422) kami-ngka karrkay wundi-1, baya muja-nka 
        FF/MM-ERG:pt(A) child-ABS(0) take-NONPAST firewood-ABS(0) 
        gather-PURP  
        granny takes the child to gather firewood

These sentences were considered somewhat ambiguous by informants in that it appeared unclear who would be happy and who would collect the firewood. However, preference was given to the interpretation in which it was granny in both cases, which is in keeping with the obligatory deletion of the coreferential S/A NP in the purposive clause. To make it clear that the child is meant to be the S or A
NP of the purposive clause it is sufficient to include an anaphoric pronoun. For instance:

(423) kami-ngka maral wundi-ny, nyulu
FF/MM-ERG:pt(A) girl-ABS(O) take-PAST 3sg NOM(A)
kambi nyungu mani-nka
clothes-ABS(O) 3sg POSS-ABS(O) get-PURP

*grammy took the girl so that she (the girl) will get her clothes*

Nyulu in the purposive clause can only be coreferential with maral, the 0 NP of the main clause, because coreferential A = A' would require obligatory deletion of A'.

A purposive clause need not share a common NP with the main clause as for example:

(424) ngayu baya waju-1, yundu
lsg NOM(A) fire-ABS(O) burn-NONPAST 2sg NOM(S)
wumbul-ma-nka
clothes-ABS(O) get-PURP

*I light a fire so that you get warm*

(425) dunyu-ngku kamukamu kari nuka-1,
husband-ERG:pt(A) alcohol-ABS(O) NEG drink-NONPAST
manyarr wawurrwawurr-ma-nka
clothes-ABS(S) happy-INCHO-PURP

*the husband does not drink alcohol so that [his] wife is happy*

Like dative case on nouns, the purposive form of the verb is also required in connection with an adjectival particle (see 3.9.1):

(426a) nyulu wawu minya-ka
3sg NOM(S) want meat-DAT

*he wants some meat*
Here the purposive clause is subordinate to a nominal sentence with which it may or may not share a common NP.

Consider also:

In these examples the purposive verb can probably be understood as an abbreviated subordinate clause in which a non-specific agent is implicit, i.e. 'water for someone to drink', 'rubbish for someone to burn'. The purposive verb is not part of the NP since case marking cannot be applied to both the noun and the verb form; the following sentence with locative inflection is ungrammatical.
To express this idea the sentence would have to be paraphrased as something like:

(431) yanya bana nuka-nka, yamba bulbur bana-nga

_This is drinking water, but there is dust in the water_

4.4.2 Precautionary

A precautionary verb form, stem + -nyji (see 3.8.4.2 (vi))
is only used in subordinate clauses. It conveys that the action referred to in the main clause is or should be performed in order to prevent the action or event described in the subordinate clause. This can be formalised as 'X does/does not do Y lest Z happen'.

A precautionary clause follows the main clause. Coreferential NP deletion possibilities are almost as extensive as those for purposive constructions with the exception that there is apparently no semantic environment in which an oblique object in the precautionary clause can be coreferential with an NP in the main clause. Again, obligatory deletion in the subordinate clause applies to coreferential S/A NPs, unless the main clause is a imperative (see (433)), and to a common O NP while other deletions are optional but preferred.

Examples:

S = S'

(432) nyulu kari janji-1 wawubaja-nga,  
3sg NOM(S) NEG bathe-NONPAST river-LOC

bujil-janji-nyji

nose-bathe-PRECAUT

_he does not bathe in the river lest[he] drown_
If a precautionary construction contains an imperative, which is often the case, the A/S NP is usually stated in the subordinate and not in the main clause, but it may be omitted altogether as in (436) and (441).

(433) kari kalka-ji nguju-wuri-y, yundu ngawa
NEG spear-COMIT funny-dance-IMP 2sg NOM(A) baby-ABS(O)
kuni-nyji
hit-PRECAUT
don't play with the spear lest you hit the baby!

Aborigines don't walk through long grass lest a snake bite [them]
A = 0' (and 0 = A')

(437) kari kaya kuli-ji karrba,  
NEG dog-ABS(0) wild-C0MIT-ABS(0) touch-IMP
(yununy) bayka-nyji  
2sg ACC(0) bite-PRECAUT

don't touch the vicious dog lest [it] bite (you)

In the last example it is perfectly clear who will do the biting and who will suffer it. It would therefore be safe to omit both the coreferential A and 0 NP in the subordinate clause. But consider:

(438) babarr-angka karrkay-karrkay kanga-ny, nyunguny  
eZ-ERG:pt(A) child-REDUP-ABS(0) chase-PAST 3sg ACC(0)
kuni-nyji. karrkay kuli-baka  
hit-PRECAUT child(ren) wild-excess

elder sister chases the children away, lest they hit her.  
the children are a wild lot

Here, deletion of both coreferential NPs would result in some doubt as to who hit whom.

O = S'

(439) ngayu ngawa jarra-kulba-1, banbadi-nyji  
1sg NOM(A) baby-ABS(0) carry-NONPAST cry-REDUP-PRECAUT
I carry the baby lest [it] cry

O = A'

(440) bula jalbu-ngku dubu waju-ny,  
3du NOM(A) woman-ERG:pt(A) ghost-ABS(0) burn-PAST
kangkal ngaki-nyji-baja  
own child-ABS(0) steal-PRECAUT-again
the two women burnt the ghost lest [he] steal [their] children again

Another example of O = A' is in (437).
A subordinate NP that is coreferential with an oblique object in the main clause may be deleted, but retention in some form is preferred, e.g.

(442) nyulu wawu kari kaya-nda dunga-nka,
3sg NOM(S) want NEG dog-LOC:pt go-PURP

(kaya-ngka) / (nyulu) bayka-nyji
dog-ERG:pt(A) / 3sg NOM(A) bite-PRECAUT

he doesn't want to go to the dog, lest (the dog)/(it)
bite [him]

Note that in (442) the precautionary clause is subordinated to a purposive clause.

A precautionary construction may also occur without a common NP, but this is not very frequent. For instance:

(443) baya waju-l-waju, kiway kada-nyji
fire-ABS(O) burn-REDUP-IMP cold-ABS(S) come-PRECAUT

keep a fire burning lest it get cold!

Occasionally, a precautionary clause may be uttered on its own. This is in the nature of a general warning where the addressee is supposed to know what to do to remedy the situation. If someone said:

(444) yinya kuyu kabu-ma-nyji
that-ABS(S) fish-ABS(O) rotten-INCHO-PRECAUT

that fish might get rotten

the addressee would infer that something ought to be done in order to preserve the fish.
As was mentioned in the previous section, the function of a purposive clause resembles that of a noun in dative case, i.e. 'goal of a purposeful action'. Similarly, in some contexts, the function of a precautionary clause may be compared to that of a dative noun expressing 'general threat for fear of which something is done or not done' (see 4.1.4.4 (ii), examples (262) and (263)). Again, while the dative noun merely implies a threatening action by its referent, the precautionary clause spells out exactly what the danger is. For instance, (434) describes precisely, and somewhat unnecessarily, why it is dangerous to walk through long grass. This sentence can be given a more general, but not less accurate content by using a noun in dative case instead of the precautionary clause:

(445) bama kari jikanba kalbaymba dungandungay jarba-nka
snake-DAT:pt

Aborigines don't walk through long grass because of snakes

4.4.3 Successive

The verb form root+-nyjiku (see 3.8.4.2 (vii)) in a subordinate clause indicates that this event follows (closely) after the event referred to in the main clause: 'X does Y shortly before Z happens'.

The two events are seen in a temporal, and to some extent logical, but not a causal, relationship. It appears that the event in the subordinate clause can be regarded as a temporal reference point

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1) R. Hershberger (1979:76-77) uses the term "Prior Time Clause" for this type of subordinate clause. This is a misnomer since the subordinate clause actually refers to the following event and the main clause to the preceding one.
with respect to which the timing of the main clause is established.

This interpretation is supported by the fact that the subordinate clause action may be unrealised, as in:

\[(445) \text{ngayu } jinbal-da-ku \text{ jarba } kuni-ny,}\]
\[\text{nganya } bayka-nyjiku\]

*I quickly killed the snake before [it] bit me*

(i.e. before it had a chance to bite)

Such a sentence would serve as an answer to the question 'when did you kill the snake?'. (Snakes are normally expected to bite and this question would more likely to be prompted by concern for the snake killer than by the desire to know whether it happened before or after breakfast.) On the other hand, a precautionary clause would be used, in my informant's words, "when a fellow ask you: 'what did you want to kill that snake for?'".

Coreferentiality in successive constructions appears to be restricted to core syntactic NPs. Of these, common NPs with the same grammatical function, i.e. \(A/S = A'/S'\) and \(O = O'\), are obligatorily deleted in the subordinate clause, e.g.

\[S = S'\]

\[(446) \text{ngayu } wunana-ny, \text{ jilba-dunga-nyjiku}\]
\[\text{1sg NOM(S) lie-REDUP-PAST walk-go-SUCC}\]

*I had a rest before going for a walk*

\[S = A'\]

\[(447) \text{jalbu } \text{mara } \text{julurri-ji-y, mayi}\]
\[\text{woman-ABS(S) hand-ABS(S) wash-REF-NONPAST food-ABS(O)}\]
\[\text{damba } \text{dingka-nyjiku}\]
\[\text{damper-ABS(O) knead-SUCC}\]

*the woman washes [her] hands before kneading damper*
\[ A = S' \]

\[(448)\]
\[
\text{maral-angka kambi bangka-l,}
girl-ERG:pt(A) clothes-ABS(O) stock up-NONPAST
dunyu-ndu wuna-nyjiku
husband-LOC:pt lie-SUCC
\]

*the girl stocks up clothes before getting married*

\[ A = A' \]

\[(449)\]
\[
\text{nyulu bubu kida-l-kida-l,}
nom(A) ground-ABS(O) scrape-REDUP-NONPAST
bayan ngara-nyjiku
camp-ABS(O) set up-SUCC
\]

*she sweeps the ground before setting up camp*

\[ 0 = 0' \text{ (and} A = A') \]

\[(450)\]
\[
\text{jalbu-jalbu-ngku marra dinda-l,}
woman-REDUP-ERG:pt(A) zamia nut-ABS(O) roast-NONPAST
duda-nyjiku
pound-SUCC
\]

*the women roast the zamia nuts before pounding them*

Note that successive subordinate constructions with common 0 NP but different A NP are not favoured, although possible. Sentence (450) with different agents would rather be rendered as:

\[(451)\]
\[
\text{jalbujalbungku marra dindal, maral-maral-angka}
girl-REDUP-ERG:pt(A)
marra duda-l-da
zamia nut-ABS(O) pound-NONPAST-TEMP
\]

*the women roast the zamia nuts (and) then the girls pound the nuts*

where marra can be optionally deleted in the second clause.

Successive constructions may of course have coreferential NPs in different functions, but deletion is not liked in these cases.
Pronoun reduction is much preferred, even if the sentence is quite unambiguous, as for instance in (445) where A = O' and O = A'.

Examples of 0 = A' or S' are:

(452) ngayu kaya karrba-ny, nyulu
1sg NOM(A) dog-ABS(O) grab-PAST 3sg NOM(A)
ngayku minya bangkarr nuka-nyjiku
1sg POSS-ABS(O) meat-ABS(O) steak-ABS(O) eat-SUCC

*I grabbed the dog before it ate my steak*

(453) jana kadar nyaji-ny, nyulu
3pl NOM(A) wallaby-ABS(O) see-PAST 3sg NOM(S)
warri-nyjiku run-SUCC

*they saw the wallaby before it ran away*

However, successive constructions can just as well have no common NP as the following examples show:

(454) dikal banbadi-y, kaba dara-nyjiku,
bird-ABS(S) cry-REDUP-NONPAST rain-ABS(S) fall-SUCC
kababinal rainbird

*a bird cries before rain falls, (that is) the rainbird*

(455) ngayu dunga-ny, muyar kada-nyjiku
1sg NOM(S) go-PAST wind-ABS(S) come-SUCC

*I went before the wind came*

(456) nganjin bibikarrbi wunana-ny, ngayku
3pl exc NOM(S) Helenvale lie-REDUP-PAST 1sg POSS-ABS(O)
nganjjan wundi-nyjiku waybala-ngka Palm Island
father-ABS(O) take-SUCC white man-ERG:pt(A) Palm Island

*we were living at Helenvale before white people took my father to Palm Island*
Successive constructions are not all that often used in Kuku Yalanji. Those without coreferential NPs are somewhat more common than the others. Where the same actor (and object) is involved in a number of successive actions, co-ordinated topic chains are by far more frequent than subordinate constructions.

4.4.4 Verb+-nyV Constructions

Subordinate clauses containing verb+ -nyV forms have various functions. They may indicate 'simultaneous action', 'causal', 'prior event', and 'hypothetical reason'. In all but causal clauses the verb+ -nyV form has nominal characteristics in that it allows regular neutral case inflections. (-nyV will be glossed as SUB in all functions.)

4.4.4.1 Simultaneous Action

If two, or more, actions are performed simultaneously by the same or different actors, a subordinate clause with verb+ -nyV may be used. (A more loose expression of simultaneous action may be effected by sentence co-ordination, see 4.3.1.)

The verb form in a simultaneous action subordinate clause is often reduplicated because an action would normally have to be ongoing to allow another action to co-occur. But there are occasions

1) Cf. R. Hershberger discussion of "Participle Clause" (1979:79-80). This term was presumably chosen by R. Hershberger because of the case marking possibilities of verb + -nyV forms. Note that her example of a "Participle Clause" as "Subject of a causative verb" has not been confirmed by my informants. Causal subordinate clauses with verb + -nyV are discussed in the following subsection.
where a non-reduplicated form may be used to indicate simultaneity at a particular moment, as for instance 'I saw the man at the moment that he killed the snake'.

Where two different actors are involved, the main and subordinate clause may have the following common NPs: 0 = S' or A', oblique object = S' or A'.

A sentence with 0 = S' or A' has the underlying structure:

\[
[A \text{ NP } O \text{ NP}_1 \text{ tr Verb}] \quad [A/S-\text{NP}_1 \text{ (0 NP) Verb}]_E^E'
\]

The coreferential NP, marked by subscript \( \downarrow \), may be deleted in either clause in surface structure and the clause \( E' \) verb has the surface form: (reduplicated) stem + -nyV. Main and subordinate clause are separated by slight intonation rise on the main clause verb followed usually by a short pause. This is important for the placement of a coreferential 0 = S' NP which shows no formal distinction in form if it is a noun. (The clause boundary is indicated by a comma as in the previously discussed subordinate constructions.)

According to where the coreferential NP is deleted, the surface form has a somewhat different interpretation. Consider the following sentences where the common NP is deleted in the subordinate clause:

(457) ngayu yununy nyaji-ny, mayi
1sg NOM(A) 2sg ACC(O) hear-PAST food-ABS(O)
yurmbi-1-yurmbi-nya jangku-ji
chew-REDUP-SUB chewing noise-COMIT

I heard you chewing food noisily

(458) bama-ngka janiman nyaji-1-nyaji-ny,
Aborig.-ERG:pt(A) chinese-ABS(O) see-REDUP-PAST
gold baka-1-baka-nya
gold-ABS(O) dig-REDUP-SUB

the Aborigine watched the Chinese digging for gold
(459) wara-ngka warru nyarrma-ny,
groper-ERG:pt(A) yg man-ABS(0) grab in passing-PAST
ngawuya dama-1-dama-nya
turtle-ABS(0) spear-REDUP-SUB

the groper grabbed in passing the chap spearing turtles

(460) buliman-angka nyunguny kuni-ny, wanarri-nya
police-ERG:pt(A) 3sg ACC(0) hit-PAST run-REDUP-SUB

the policeman shot him while he (i.e. the victim) was running

And an example where 0 is coreferential with the S of a subordinate antipassive:

(461) ngayu kadar kungkun-bunga-l-bunga-1,
1sg NOM(A) wallaby-ABS(0) watch-REDUP-NONPAST
jikan-ba nuka-nuka-ji-nya
glass-LOC eat-REDUP-ITR-SUB

I am watching the wallaby feeding on grass

In the above sentences the deletion pattern seems to emphasise the 0 NP which could be appropriately expressed by a relative clause in English, e.g. (458) he watched the Chinese who was digging for gold or (459) the groper grabbed the chap who was spearing turtles. The preferred word order in the main clause of such sentences is AOV, as shown above, although AVO has also been heard occasionally.

The verb + -nyV form could be regarded as agreeing in case, i.e. Absolutive, with the 0 NP of the main clause. However, such an interpretation is contradicted by the evidence in (466)a) and (467)a) below.

Now compare the following sentences where the 0 NP is deleted in the main clause and the coreferential A or S NP retained in the subordinate clause. Here the emphasis lies on the action described in the subordinate clause as illustrated by the translations:
(462) bama-ngka nyaji-l-nyaji-ny, janiman-angka
Aborig.-ERG:pt(A) see-REDUP-PAST Chinese-ERG:pt(A)
gold baka-l-baka-nya
gold-ABS(0) dig-REDUP-SUB
the Aborigine watched while/how the Chinese was digging for gold

(463) ngayu nyaji-ny, nyulu bulki
1sg NOM(A) see-PAST 3sg NOM(A) bullock-ABS(0)
yaka-l-yaka-nya
cut up-REDUP-SUB
I saw how he cut up the bullock

(464) maral-angka nyaji-l-nyaji-ny, bama
girl-ERG:pt(A) see-REDUP-PAST Aborig.-ABS(S)
warrma wuri-n-wuri-nya
corroboree dance-REDUP-SUB
the girl watched while/how the Aborigines danced a corroboree

(465) karrkay-angka nyaji-ny, jarba kuni-ji-nya
child-ERG:pt(A) see-PAST snake-ABS(S) kill-ITR-SUB
the child saw the snake being killed/how the snake was killed

In the last example the 0 is coreferential with the S of an agentless passive construction.

Just as a retained 0 NP is inseparable from the main clause, as illustrated previously, a retained subordinate S/A NP must be contiguous to the rest of the subordinate clause.

Note that deletion of the main clause 0 NP is apparently only possible if the main verb is a verb of perception such as nyaji-1 see, hear or kungkun-bunga-1 watch closely. This suggests that the entire subordinate clause is seen in object function, whereas a subordinate clause in which the A/S NP is deleted, seems to relativise the 0 NP of the main clause. (This will be discussed in
more detail in 4.4.5.) If the subordinate clause in its entirety is in O function one may argue that the clause as a whole takes absolutive case clause finally on the verb + -nyV form. This cannot be verified since Absolutive has zero-realisation; however, evidence in (466)b) and (467)b), scant as it is, may support this theory.

Simultaneous action constructions in which the main clause oblique object is coreferential with the subordinate S/A NP are quite rare. But consider the following examples:

(466) a) ngayu wulman-nda dunga-y, yinyin
1sg NOM(S) old man-LOC:pt go-NONPAST there
bundanda-nya
sit-REDUP-SUB

*I go to the old man (who is?) sitting there*

b) ngayu dungay wulmananda bundanda-nya-mun-bu
sit-REDUP-SUB-mun-LOC

*I go to the sitting old man*

(467) a) jana warri-y(,) jalbu-ndu(,) mayi
3pl NOM(S) run-NONPAST woman-LOC:pt food-ABS(O)
waju-nyu
cook-SUB

*they run to the woman (who is?) cooking food*

b) jana warriy jalbundu mayi waju-nyu-mun-bu
cook-SUB-mun-LOC

*they run to the food-cooking woman*

It appears that in the a) sentences the subordinate S/A NP is deleted, and the remaining subordinate clause modifies the oblique object. But note that there is no case agreement with the oblique object. In the b) sentences it seems that the entire subordinate clause fulfills oblique object function since the whole clause takes locative marking. Verb + -nyV in this context can in fact be interpreted
as a kind of adjective. (Note that the -nyV stem takes neutral case marking following the stem-forming suffix -mun-, whereas 'normal' adjectives take potent inflection in connection with a potent-inflected noun.) However, it remains unclear what (if anything) is deleted where in these examples. The few sentences available do not shed any light on this (particularly since the intonation pattern cannot be determined).

Where simultaneous actions are performed by the same actor, S/A is coreferential with S'/A'. Unlike sentences with common O = S/A NP', which can delete the common NP in either the main or subordinate clause, same actor sentences apparently allow deletion only in the subordinate clause. This assumption is based on evidence from sentences with cross-functional common NPs, i.e. S = A' or A = S'. Where S = S' or A = A', it is not discernible which NP is deleted, not even by intonation. The truncated subordinate clause may be embedded in or follow the main clause.

The form of the subordinate verb in these sentences depends largely on whether the main clause is intransitive or transitive. If the main clause is transitive, the subordinate verb optionally takes neutral ergative inflection if the subordinate clause is embedded, and it must do so if the subordinate clause follows the main clause. Thus from an underlying structure:

\[
[A \text{ NP}_1 \text{ O NP}_{\Sigma} \text{ verb}_{\Sigma}^1] \quad [S \text{ or } A \text{ NP}_1 \text{ (O NP)}_{\Sigma} \text{ verb}_{\Sigma}^2],
\]

we obtain either

\[
[A \text{ NP} \text{ O NP}_{\Sigma} [(0 \text{ NP})_{\Sigma} \text{ verb}^2_{\Sigma} \text{ nyV(-ERG)}],_{\Sigma} \text{ verb}^1_{\Sigma}],
\]

or

\[
[A \text{ NP} \text{ O NP}_{\Sigma} \text{ verb}^1_{\Sigma} [(0 \text{ NP})_{\Sigma} \text{ verb}^2_{\Sigma} \text{ nyV-ERG}],_{\Sigma}.
\]

For example:
(468) jalbu-ngku bundanda-nya-mun-du ngayku
woman-ERG:pt(A) sit-REDUP-SUB-mun-ERG 1sg POSS-NOM(O)
kuku daji-l-daji-ny
language-ABS(0) give-REDUP-PAST

the woman used to give (teach) me language while sitting down
(note that the woman used to sit while teaching, she is not sitting now)

(469) jana warru-ngku kinka-n-kinka-nya
3pl NOM(A) yg man-ERG:pt(A) play-REDUP-SUB
kamukamu nuka-l-nuka-l
alcohol-ABS(0) drink-REDUP-NONPAST

the young men drink alcohol while playing (cards)

A = A'

(470) jalbu-jalbu-ngku marra
woman-REDUP-ERG:pt(A) zamia nut-ABS(O)
duda-l-duda-nya-mun-du dirka-bunga-l
pound-REDUP-SUB-mun-ERG fine-CAUS-NONPAST

the women make the zamia nut (into a) fine (powder) pounding it

(471) dingkar-angka kalka dudu kulji-bu
man-ERG:pt(A) spear-ABS(O) blunt-ABS stone-INST
kida-l-kida-nya nyurrba-l
scrape-REDUP-SUB sharpen-NONPAST

the man sharpens the blunt spear scraping it with a stone

In the above sentences the subordinate clauses are embedded in the main clause and ergative inflection on the verb+-nya form is optional. Now consider:
Here the subordinate clauses follow the main clause and ergative inflection is obligatory.

Because of the ergative inflection on the verb+-nyV forms, the subordinate clause may be regarded as an attribute to the main clause NP. In some cases the subordinate clause could also be interpreted as referring to the manner in which something is done, as for instance in (470), and (471), which would justify the term "participle clause" used by R. Hershberger (1979:79). Where A NP and attributive subordinate clause are contiguous, the need for ergative inflection is not so great, since the sentence cannot be interpreted in any other way than A = A'/S'. If, however, the subordinate clause stands sentence finally, it must be clearly identified as 'belonging to' the main A NP, because in this position it could just as well be coreferential with the main O NP. For instance, compare (472) with (464); without the ergative inflection in (472) it would be ambiguous who is doing what in either sentence. Or take (460), which implies that the victim was running. To indicate that the policeman was running, the subordinate verb must take ergative inflection:
(474) bulimanangka nyunguny kuniny, wanarri-nya-mun-du
-ERG

the policeman shot him while he (the policeman) was running

On first sight one might interpret the inflection on the verb+nyV form as an adverbialising instrumental inflection, since 'neutral' ergative and instrumental are identical in form. But as the examples with coreferential oblique object = S/A NP' in (466) and (467) show, the verb+nyV form does in fact take 'neutral' inflection. Correspondingly, the inflection on the verb+nyV forms in (468), (470), (472) - (474) can be regarded as 'neutral' Ergative and not Instrumental.

If the main clause is intransitive and S = S'/A', the verb+nyV form is not further inflected or, parallel to the structure of transitive main clause illustrated above, one may say that the subordinate verb+nyV form is in absolutive case for which inflection is zero. Examples of embedded subordinate clauses where S = S' and S = A' are:

S = S'

(475) yinya yarraman janjana-nya
that-ABS(S) horse-ABS(S) stand-REDUP-SUB-ABS(S)
warngku-wunana-y
sleep-lie-REDUP-NONPAST

that horse sleeps standing up

S = A'

(476) nyulu juku-ngu daka-l-daka-nya dara-ny
3sg NOM(S) tree-LOC climb-REDUP-SUB-ABS(0) fall-PAST

climbing on the tree, he fell

(477) nyulu jarba nyanma-l-nyanma-nya
3sg NOM(S) snake-ABS(0) hold on-REDUP-SUB-ABS(0)
yirrka-ny
call out-PAST

holding on to the snake, he called out
The two chaps went along planting bamboo (all the way)

Examples of adjoined subordinate clause where S = S' & S = A' are:

S = S'

(478) bula  
warrru nambarr
3du NOM(S) yg man-ABS(S) bamboo-ABS(0)
nanda-l-nanda-nya dunga-n-dunga-ny
plant-REDUP-SUB-ABS(S) go-REDUP-PAST

the two chaps went along planting bamboo (all the way)

S = A'

(479) karrkay wanari-y, banbadi-nya
child-ABS(S) run-REDUP-NONPAST cry-REDUP-SUB-ABS(S)

the child runs crying

(480) dingkar bambay warngku-wuna-y, 
man-ABS(S) sick-ABS(S) sleep-lie-NONPAST
burrki-n-burrki-nya
fidget-REDUP-SUB-ABS(S)

the sick man sleeps tossing and turning

(481) bula  
maral baral-ba kankada-y, 
3du NOM(S) girl-ABS(S) road-LOC come-REDUP-NONPAST
mayngku nuka-l-nuka-nya
mango-ABS(0) eat-REDUP-SUB-ABS(S)

the two girls are coming on the road eating mangoes

(482) nyulu jai bu Balkawa-ny, dunyu
3sg NOM(S) woman-ABS(S) chat-PAST husband-ABS(0)
bayja-nya
ignore-SUB-ABS(S)

the woman was chatting ignoring [her] husband
4.4.4.2 Causal

In causal subordinate clauses\(^1\) the verb+-nyV form does not allow case inflections and can therefore not be regarded as a nominal as in the other subordinate clauses containing this form. (Note that a noun in causal function takes Ablative, see 4.1.4.4 (iv).) The causal action is understood to be completed and prior in time to the main verb. Of course, a simultaneous action may also sometimes imply a logical cause, e.g.

\[(483)\] ngayu muku kaka, baya muj a-l-muja-nya

\[\text{I have a sore back while/from gathering firewood}\]

Here, the gathering of firewood is presumably also the cause of the backache, but emphasis in this case lies in the coinciding of both events as compared to:

\[(484)\] ngayu muku kaka, baya muj a-nya yilayku

\[\text{I have a sore back from gathering firewood yesterday}\]

Here the past firewood collection is the cause of the backache which still persists at the time of utterance.

A causal clause may precede or follow the main clause.

Treatment of common NPs in main and causal clause is somewhat different to that in previously discussed subordinate constructions. The following common NPs are possible:

\[\text{Cf. R. Hershberger (1970:819-20) "Causative Sentence"}\]
S or A = S' or A'  
0 = 0' or S' or A'

But consistent deletion of the subordinate NP occurs only where 
S = S' or A'. For instance:

S = S'

(485) janji-nya, nyulu bajaburray  
bathe-SUB 3sg NOM(S) tired  
he is tired from bathing

S = A'

(486) mayi durrba-nya, nyulu manu  
food-ABS(O) gobble-SUB 3sg NOM(S) throat-ABS(S)  
jayba-ny  
get stuck-PAST  
he choked from gobbling down food

Another example of S = A' is in (484).

Where a causal clause NP is coreferential with the A or 0 NP 
of the main clause, the use of a pronoun is preferred for clarity, 
although deletion is possible. For example:

A = S'

(487) buliman-angka nganya kari nyaji-ny,  
police-ERG:pt(A) 1sg ACC(O) NEG see-PAST  
(nyulu) warngku-wuna-nya  
3sg NOM(S) sleep-lie-SUB  
the policeman did not see me because(he)was asleep

Without the anaphoric pronoun this sentence would be ambiguous as to 
who was asleep.
A = A' and O = O'

(488) babarr-angka karrkay nubi-1-nubi-1,
eZ-ERG:pt(A) child-ABS(O) search for-REDUP-NONPAST

(nyulu) (nyunguny) nubi-y-mani-nya
3sg NOM(A) 3sg ACC(O) lose-SUB

elder sister is searching for the child because (she) lost(it)

0 = S'

(489) bula karrkay wundi-ny, (nyulu)
3du NOM(S) child-ABS(O) take-PAST 3sg NOM(S)
milka-bujarr-ma-nya
ear-cold/raw-INCHO-SUB

the two took the child (with them) because (it) felt lonely

0 = A'

(490) nganjan-angka kangkal murru-kanga-1,
father-ERG:pt(A) own child-ABS(O) scold-NONPAST

(nyulu) kaya jabi-nya
3sg NOM(A) dog-ABS(O) kick-SUB

father is scolding [his] child because (it) kicked the dog

On first sight (490) is still ambiguous since the anaphoric pronoun could just as well refer to father, and the same would apply if the agent in (489) were also third person singular. In such instances the context of the utterance will disambiguate the sentence, or the most plausible interpretation would apply. For instance it would be unlikely that father is scolding his child because he (the father) kicked the dog.

4.4.4.3 Prior Event

The previous section discussed expression of events that are prior in time as well as causal with relation to another event.

In this section we will look at subordinate clauses which indicate
events that precede another event but do not have any causal effect, which can be generalised as 'X does Y after having done Z'. The prior action is expressed by wawu+verb+-nyV+Ablative (For temporal proclitic wawu- see 3.10.1). As illustrated in 4.1.4.4 (iv), the Ablative indicates, among other things, "a (locational or) temporal starting point which has been left behind by the actor", which means that the preceding action is thought to be completed.

A prior event clause with verb+-nyV form may precede or follow the main clause, but it is only possible if the following NPs are coreferential:

\[ S = S' \]
\[ 0 = S' \text{ or } A' \text{ (if also: } A = 0) \]

The coreferential NP is deleted in the subordinate clause.

\[ S = S' \]

(491) \( \text{wawu-janji-nya-muny, jana wunana-y} \)
\[ \text{TEMP}_{4} \text{-bathe-SUB-ABL 3pl NOM(S) lie-REDUP-NONPAST} \]
\[ \text{after bathing, they have a rest} \]

\[ 0 = S' \]

(492) \( \text{nganjin jalbu nyaji-ny,} \)
\[ \text{1pl exc NOM(A) woman-ABS(O) see-PAST} \]
\[ \text{wawu-wala-nya-muny} \]
\[ \text{TEMP}_{4} \text{-enter-SUB-ABL} \]
\[ \text{we saw the woman after [she] had come in} \]

\[ 0 = A' \text{ and } A = 0' \]

(493) \( \text{dingkar-angka jinkalmu kuni-ny,} \)
\[ \text{man-ERG:pt(A) Brown Snake-ABS(O) kill-PAST} \]
\[ \text{wawu-bayka-nya-muny} \]
\[ \text{TEMP}_{4} \text{-bite-SUB-ABL} \]
\[ \text{the man killed the Brown Snake after [it] had bitten [him]} \]
Where main and subordinate clause share a common NP in S and A function respectively, the subordinate A NP is deleted, but it is the subordinate 0 or oblique object NP which takes ablative marking while the verb remains unchanged, as for example:

(494) ngayu wunana-ny, wawu-kambi-muny
1sg NOM(S) lie-REDUP-PAST TEMP \text{-}clothes-ABL
julurri-ny
wash-PAST

\text{I had a rest after washing clothes}

(495) nyulu jilba dunga-ny, wawu-jukijuki-muny
3sg NOM(S) walk go-PAST TEMP \text{-}chicken-ABL
mayi daji-ny
food-ABS(0) give-PAST

\text{she went for a walk after having fed the chickens}

Note that the oblique object in the subordinate clause in (495) does not receive locative case marking before the ablative inflection as would be required in a simple sentence 'she gave food to the chickens (-LOC)' (see 4.1.4.4 (iii) example (272)).

It could be argued that wawu- -muny in the subordinate clause attaches to the first word and that the subordinate verb is nominalised (by -nyV) only if it must bear case inflection.

As a rule, ablative marking is attracted by nouns away from a verb+-nyV form. Therefore, if an event can possibly be expressed by a nominal, this must be used to indicate the prior event; a verb+-nyV form is unacceptable if an alternative noun is available. For instance:
the young man grabbed the dog after the barking (i.e. after it had barked)

she drank some water after the walk

Apparently a prior event subordinate construction is not possible if a main clause A NP is coreferential with a subordinate A or S NP, presumably because coreferential 0 = S'/A' and A = S'/A' could be confused (cf. (492)). To express that the referent of an ANP has performed another action previously, this action may be indicated by a noun in ablative case, as for instance in (497), or two clauses are simply conjoined, using the general expression wawu-yinya-muny after that.

4.4.4.4 Hypothetical Reason

Purposive and precautionary (see 4.4.1 and 4.4.2) constructions express real reasons for which something is done. These reasons are real because the events indicated by purposive or precautionary are definitely expected to happen. Kuku Yalanji has also a means of expressing a hypothetical reason because of which something else is done. This may be generalised as 'X does Y just in case Z happens'. The hypothetical reason 'Z' is expressed by verb+-nyv+-Dative (cf. function of Dative as indicator of general reason 4.1.4.4 (ii)).
For example:

(498) jana kari dunga-y, kaba
3pl NOM(S) NEG go-NONPAST rain-ABS(S)
kada-nya-mun-ku
come-SUB-mun-DAT

*they won't go in case it starts raining*

(499) ngayu bayan kida-l,
1sg NOM(A) house-ABS(0) sweep-NONPAST
dayirr-bunga-l, kunka ngayku
clean-CAUS-NONPAST in case 1sg POSS-ABS(S)
jawun kada-nya-mun-ku
friend-ABS(S) come-SUB-mun-DAT

*I sweep the house and clean it in case my friend comes*

*(to visit)*

Very often the subordinate clause is introduced by particle kunka
*in case*, as in (499), or, less commonly by nganganjirrka *just in case*.

In the previous examples there are no common NPs, but
coreferentiality of NPs is certainly possible. However it is not
obligatory, nor indeed preferred, to delete any of them. Instead,
pronoun reduction is commonly applied. Naturally, if coreferential
NPs are retained in some form or other, coreferentiality need not be
restricted. However, hypothetical reason constructions with common
NP are few and far between and only the following possibilities
have been attested:

A = S'

(500) ngaji-ngka medicine wundi-l baral-ka,
MF-ERG:pt(A) medicine-ABS(0) take-NONPAST road-DAT
kunka nyulu bambay-ma-nya-mun-ku
in case 3sg NOM(S) sick-INCHO-SUB-mun-DAT

*grandfather takes medicine for the road in case he gets sick*
A = LOC NP' (i.e. underlying A in passive)

(501) maral-angka junkalu wundi-ny, kunka
    girl-ERG:pt(A) billycan-ABS(0) take-PAST in case
nyungu-ndu janbal nyaji-ji-nya-mun-ku
3sg LOC quandong-ABS(S) see-ITR-SUB-mun-DAT

The girl took a billycan in case she came across some quandong fruit.

S = 0'

(502) kalnga-ngka juku-ji dunga-y, kunka
    MB-ERG:pt(A) stick-COMIT go-NONPAST in case
kaya-ngka nyunguny bayka-nya-mun-ku
    dog-ERG:pt(A) 3sg ACC(O) bite-SUB-mun-DAT

Uncle goes with (takes) a stick in case the dog bites (attacks) him.

Hypothetical reason clauses are regarded as somewhat cumbersome and are generally avoided in discourse, those with common NPs more so than those without. It is preferred to express the possibility of an event by an independent clause containing nguba perhaps (see 3.9.2 (iii) and 4.9.4) which may in context be interpreted as the reason for another action, e.g.

(503) ngayu marrkin wundi-1, nguba
    1sg NOM(A) gun-ABS(O) take-NONPAST perhaps
(ngayku-ndu) bikibiki nyaji-ji-y
    1sg LOC pig(s)-ABS(S) see-ITR-NONPAST

I take a gun, perhaps (I) happen to see some pigs.

4.4.5 Relative Clauses

The definition of a relative clause, as I understand it, depends on a formal or grammatical and a functional or semantic aspect.
The formal aspect is that a relative clause is a constituent of a NP which may be indicated by case agreement\textsuperscript{1)}, and possible contiguity to the head noun. The functional aspect is that the relative clause supplies information about the head of this NP, thus helping to identify it. Both formal and functional criteria are important but, to my mind, the functional aspect is the more significant one. Thus a subordinate clause which is formally part of a NP but is not relevant for the identification of this NP, cannot be termed a relative clause. Consider Comrie's statement on the definition of relative clause (1981:136) following a comparison between English and Turkish:

"The lesson of this comparison is thus that we need a functional (semantic, cognitive) definition of relative clause, on the basis of which we can then proceed to compare relative clauses across languages, neglecting language-specific syntactic differences in our over-all definition of relative clause, but using them as a basis for our typology ..."

There is no specific subordinating procedure in Kuku Yalanji which serves the sole purpose of relativising a NP according to the above definition. However, simultaneous subordinate constructions with different actor, as was briefly indicated in 4.4.4.1, may, with some caution, be interpreted as relative clauses. Consider (457) - (461) above and the following examples:

\textsuperscript{1)} as applies for instance in Latin and Greek, see Comrie (1981:146).
Such sentences are apparently open to two interpretations, termed "NP-relative" and the "T-relative" by K. Hale (1976a). A NP-relative clause provides information about an argument in the main clause where main and subordinate clause share an identical argument, e.g. 'the cow which...'. A T-relative clause specifies the temporal setting of the event in the main clause where two clauses make identical time reference, e.g. 'while (the cow) was standing', 'while (the chap) was snooping'.

On the evidence of these types of sentence it is impossible to decide whether the subordinate clause is embedded under the NP or adjoined under a lower S-node in deep structure. If it is true that both the NP-relative and the T-relative interpretation are possible, we can but speculate that either their underlying structure is formally different, in which case there must be a transformation somewhere along the line which produces the same surface structure for both clause types. Or we can assume that

1) K. Hale (1976a:85) refers to this as the "extraction analysis"
their underlying formal structure is identical\(^1\), in which case a semantic rule would have to be responsible for giving the surface structure two different meanings. Thus positing a deep structure for these sentences is unsatisfactory either way. However, simultaneous subordinate structures with a perception verb in the main clause in Kuku Yalanji seem to suggest a structural difference between the NP-relative and the T-relative interpretation.

Consider (462)-(465) and:

\[
\begin{align*}
(506)a) & \quad \text{nyulu dingkar nyaji-l-nyaji-ny, bana} \\
& \quad \text{3sg NOM(A) man-ABS(O) see-REDUP-PAST water-ABS(O)} \\
& \quad \text{wulji-l-wulji-nya buwun-muny} \\
& \quad \text{bail out-REDUP-SUB boat-ABL} \\
& \quad \text{he watched the man (who was) bailing water from the boat} \\
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
(506)b) & \quad \text{nyulu nyajilnyajiny, dingkar-angka bana wuljilwuljinya} \\
& \quad \text{man-ERG:pt(A)} \\
& \quad \text{buwunmuny} \\
& \quad \text{he watched (while/how) the man was bailing water from the boat} \\
\end{align*}
\]

In the b) sentence it is fairly clear that the subordinate clause is derived from an adjoined clause: 'dingkarangka bana wuljilwuljinya buwunmuny' the man bailed water from the boat, while by comparison it would appear plausible to assume that in the a) sentence we have an NP-relative clause dominated by the transitive object NP 'dingkar'. (This raises the interesting question whether such a distinction existed historically for complex sentences with other than perception verbs. But this is impossible to answer from a synchronic study.)

\(1\) K. Hale (1976a:85) refers to this as the "adjunction analysis"
But neither in sentences of type (504) and (505) nor in sentences of type (506) can we get away from the fact that the temporal interpretation is the overriding one: main and subordinate clause must refer to simultaneous events. A subordinate clause with -nyヴィ cannot be used to express for instance 'the policeman apprehended the chap who had been snooping in the house yesterday' or 'a little while ago I saw the man who is now bailing out his boat'. Thus the characteristic identifying function of a relative clause is at best marginal in simultaneous verb+-nyヴィ constructions, if it is present at all. To determine this, one would require the intuition of a native speaker and it is quite possible that my own intuitions based on English and German would lead me to interpret, i.e. translate, a relative clause where this does not exist or is irrelevant for a native speaker of Kuku Yalanji.

Consider also verb+-nyヴィ constructions with same actor, as for instance in (468) - (473) and:

(507) maral-angka dikal nyaji-l-nyaji-l,
girl-ERG:pt(A) bird-ABS(0) see-REDUP-NONPAST
janjana-nya-mun-du
stand-REDUP-SUB-mun-ERG

*the girl who is standing up watches the bird

The subordinate clause janjananyamundu (with deleted S), although part of the A NP as indicated by the case agreement does not, according to native speakers, identify the girl but rather refers to the manner in which she performs the action of watching. On the other hand, some examples with coreferential actor again invite a T-relative interpretation in that the temporal co-occurrence of two actions is emphasised as for instance in (469), (472) and (473).
To summarise, the status of the most likely candidates for subordinate relative clauses in Kuku Yalanji, i.e. simultaneous subordinate constructions, is at least doubtful.1)

To my knowledge, only independent clauses can unambiguously fulfill the function of further identifying the referent of a NP in Kuku Yalanji, as for instance:

(508) nyulu jalbu-ngku dunyu bawa-ny.
3sg NOM(A) woman-ERG:pt(A) husband-ABS(0) leave-PAST
nyulu yinyay bundanda-y kangkal-ji
3sg NOM(S) there sit-REDUP-NONPAST own child-COMIT
the woman left her husband; she (who) is sitting there with her child

(509) nyulu yinya mala-minya. nyulu
3sg NOM(S) that-ABS(S) expert-meat 3sg NOM(S)
bama wawubaja-nga dnga-y
Aborig.-ABS(S) river-LOC go-NONPAST
that one is a good hunter; the Aborigine (who) is walking to the river

(510) ngayu ngawuya wawu daji-nka
1sg NOM(A) turtle-ABS(0) want give-PURP
ngayku-wun-du jawun-undu. nyulu yilayku
1sg POSS-LOC friend-LOC:pt 3sg NOM(S) yesterday
kada-ny
come-PAST
I want to give turtle (meat) to my friend; he (who) came yesterday

1) Similar, although in some respects slightly different problems in determining relative clauses exist in Yidiny (Dixon 1977a:423-8).
4.4.6 Summary

Table 4.3 summarises the forms, functions and common NP deletion possibilities of subordinate clauses in Kuku Yalanji. As can be seen from this table there is a preponderance of obligatory coreferential S/A or coreferential 0 deletion. This indicates that in subordinate structures Kuku Yalanji apparently leans towards a S/A pivot which distinguishes between the grammatical function of S/A as subject on the one hand and 0 as transitive object on the other hand. Thus, in spite of its Ergative/Absolutive case marking system, Kuku Yalanji displays to some degree characteristics of a Nominative/Accusative language in subordinate constructions.

Complex sentences with more than one subordinate clause are not commonly used in Kuku Yalanji, although they are possible. Of all subordinate clauses the purposive clause is most likely to be followed by another clause that has some logical connection, e.g.

(511) ngayu wawubaja-nga dunga-y kuyu
lsg NOM(S) river-LOC go-NONPAST fish-ABS(O)
mani-nka ...
get-PURP

*I go to the river to catch a fish ...*

a) ...dakuy-ma-nyji

...*lest I get hungry*

b) ...dakuy-ma-nya-mun-ku

...*in case I get hungry*

c) ...bayan kida-nyjiku

...*before I clean the house*

d) ...wawu-bayan-muny kiday

...*after cleaning the house*
**TABLE 4.3 FUNCTIONS AND FORMS OF SUBORDINATE CLAUSES IN KUKU YALANJI**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Function</th>
<th>Verb form</th>
<th>main NP</th>
<th>subordinate NP&lt;sup&gt;1)&lt;/sup&gt;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Purposive</td>
<td>stem+-nkV</td>
<td>S, A</td>
<td>Sø, Aø, (O), (oblique)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>Øø, (S), (A), (oblique)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>oblique</td>
<td>(S), (A), (O), (oblique)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Precautionary</td>
<td>stem+-nyji</td>
<td>S, A</td>
<td>Sø, Aø, (O)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>Øø, (S), (A)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>oblique</td>
<td>(S), (A)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>or no common NP</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Successive</td>
<td>stem+-nyjiku</td>
<td>S, A</td>
<td>Sø, Aø, (O)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>Øø, (S), (A)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>or no common NP</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Simultaneous action</td>
<td>(reduplicated) stem+-nyV+ABS/ERG</td>
<td>S, A</td>
<td>Sø, Aø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>with perception verb</td>
<td>(reduplicated) stem+-nyV+ABS?</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>Sø, Aø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>oblique</td>
<td>Sø, Aø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>or no common NP</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Causal</td>
<td>stem+-nyV</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>Sø, Aø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>A</td>
<td>(S), (A)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>(S), (A), (O)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prior event</td>
<td>wawu+stem+-nyV+ABL</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>Sø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>Sø, Aø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>verb not subordinate</td>
<td>(wawu+O NP+ABL)</td>
<td>S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hypothetical reason</td>
<td>stem+-nyV+DAT</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>S</td>
<td>(others?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>or no common NP</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<sup>1</sup> NPø = obligatory deletion  
(NP) = optional deletion or pronoun reduction
4.5 POSSESSION

Like most Australian languages Kuku Yalanji has the means to
distinguish syntactically between alienable and inalienable possession.
Alienable possession includes concrete and abstract things, e.g.
artefacts, animals, language, and kinship relations. The possessor
is usually animate and normally human. However, the construction used
for alienable possession may also be used for inalienable possession,
i.e. part-whole relationship, and where the possessor is inanimate;
it will therefore be termed 'general (alienable) possession'. On
the other hand, different constructions are available to express
part-whole relationship or inanimate possessor which cannot be used
for alienable possession by an animate possessor.

4.5.1 General (alienable) Possession

General (alienable) possession is marked by the stem-forming
suffixes:

- (V)mu (Yalanji), - (V)ngV (Nyungkul) / -zero inflection
- (V)ndVmun- / -non-zero inflection (see 3.2.3.2)

on all words of the possessive NP, which modifies the head noun.
Thus an alienable possessive NP has the structure:

[[NP + case [NP + POSS] + case] NP

(Note that a possessive stem always takes neutral inflection.) The
head noun and the POSS NP may occur in any order. Some examples of
a possessive NP in absolutive case, showing both the Yalanji and
Nyungkul suffixes, are:
Example (513) expresses inalienable possession and in (514) the 'possessor' is inanimate. (Note that in the Nyungkul dialect the possessive suffix cannot be distinguished from neutral locative inflection if the noun ends in a vowel.)

Some examples of possessive NPs in other than absolutive case are:

(515) dingkar-andamun-du yaba-ngka bikibiki kuni-ny
man-POSS-ERG(A) eB-ERG:pt(A) pig-ABS(O) kill-PAST
the man's elder brother killed a pig

(516) ngayu binal-ma-l bama-ndamun-ku mayi-ka
1sg NOM(S) know-INCHO-NONPAST Aborig.-POSS-DAT food-DAT
I am learning about Aborigines' food

(517) nganjin yambayamba Toyota-nga
3pl exc NOM(A) everything-ABS(O) Toyota-LOC
mumba-ny Chris-andamun-bu
put in-PAST Chris-POSS-LOC
we put everything into Chris' Toyota

Example (515) illustrates kinship relation expressed by alienable possession.
Very seldom does a possessive NP contain a 'possessor of a
possessor'. Such constructions contain a regular possessive form
without a second possessive suffix and optional case inflection, e.g.

(516) ngayu wawu-kari yunu-wun-ku
1sg NOM(S) like-PRIV 2sg POSS-DAT
nganjan-andamun-ku kaya-nka
father-POSS-DAT dog-DAT:pt
I don't like your father's dog

(517) ngana dunga-y jana-ndamun-bu
1pl inc NOM(S) go-NONPAST 3pl POSS-LOC
ngamu-ndumun-bu bayan-ba
mother-POSS-LOC house-LOC
we go to their mother's house

However, there seems to be a strong tendency to use the POSS+LOC
form for 'possessor of possessor', no matter what case the head
noun is in. In (516) yunu-wun-bu (LOC) is just as acceptable, and
indeed preferred over the dative form. This applies even where the
NP is in absolutive case:

(518) ngayku-wun-du kaya-ngka yunu-wun-bu
1sg POSS-ERG dog-ERG:pt(A) 2sg POSS-LOC
kaya-mu mayi nuka-ny
dog-POSS-ABS(0) food-ABS(0) eat-PAST
my dog ate your dog's food

4.5.2 Inalienable Possession

Inalienable possession may be expressed by a general
possession NP as in (513), and:

(519) nyungu mungka duna
3sg POSS-ABS(S) hair-ABS(S) wet
his hair is wet
But it is more common to place whole and part in apposition within the NP, both agreeing in case, but without a possessive suffix at all. Such an NP has the form:

\[
[\text{whole+case}\;\text{part+case}]_{\text{NP}}
\]

Examples of this can be seen for instance in (483) and (486) and also:

\[(520)\]

\[
\text{nyulu kuyu biji kayi-ny}
\]

\[
3\text{sg NOM(A) fish-ABS(O) tail-ABS(O) hook-PAST}
\]

\[
\text{he hooked the fish (on) the tail}
\]

\[(521)\]

\[
\text{nyulu kulji dara-y-mani-ny maral-anda jina-nga}
\]

\[
3\text{sg NOM(A) stone-ABS(O) fall-CAUS-PAST girl-LOC:pt foot-LOC}
\]

\[
\text{he dropped the stone on the girl's foot}
\]

As shown previously in (515) kinship relations are expressed by general alienable possession. However, when talking about someone's offspring, e.g. own child or grandchild, this may also be indicated by inalienable possession:

\[(522)\]

\[
\text{ngayu kangkal jambul}
\]

\[
1\text{sg NOM(S) own child-ABS(S) two}
\]

\[
\text{I have two children}
\]

\[(523)\]

\[
\text{ngayu kaminjarr jalbu-jalbu wubul}
\]

\[
1\text{sg NOM(S) gr. child-ABS(S) woman-REDUP-NOM(S) many}
\]

\[
\text{I have many granddaughters}
\]

(Kaminjarr refers to female ego's daughter's child and male ego's son's child.)

The speaker in both instances was a female, so by a little stretch of imagination one could interpret these constructions as whole-part relationship. I do not know whether a male could say the same thing.
4.5.3 Inanimate Possessor

Again, an inanimate possessor may have general possessive form as in (514), but this is somewhat unusual. More common is the use of Locative or Ablative, indicating the location or origin of something. For instance:

(524) birra  juku-ngu/juku-muny  yalbay-bajaku
leaves-ABS(S)  tree-LOC  tree-ABL  big-very

_The leaves on this tree/from this tree are very big_

The Locative refers to the leaves that are actually on the tree, whereas the Ablative implies that the leaves have been plucked or fallen off. Similarly:

(525) mayi  yinya-nga/-muny  juku-ngu/-muny
   fruit-ABS(S)  that-LOC/-ABL  tree-LOC/ABL
   ngulkurr  nuka-ji-y
    good  eat-ITR-NONPAST

_fruit on/from that tree is good to eat_

On the other hand, Ablative was not accepted in the following sentence:

(526) dumbul  marra-nga/-mu/*-muny  dandi
    shell-ABS(S)  zamia nut-LOC/-POSS-ABS(S)/*-ABL  hard

_the shell on/of/*from the zamia nut is hard_

(Presumably, once the shells are peeled off, they are all crumbled up and softened.) Note that the above examples are in Yalanji dialect which clearly distinguishes in form between Locative and Possessive. Therefore juku-ngu and marra-nga are definitely in locative case.

It appears from the above examples that the possessed form and inanimate possessor are not incorporated into the one NP, unless an actual possessive form is used.
4.5.4 Former Possession

To indicate a former possession, the particle (or suffix?) mali is employed following a noun or pronoun in Locative or Ablative case. The choice of case differs between speakers, some prefer Locative, others Ablative, e.g.

(527) yinya ngayku-ndu/-ndumuny(-)mali dunyu
that 1sg-LOC/-ABL(-)former poss. husband
that is my former husband

(528) yinya bayan jalbu-ndu/-ndumuny(-)mali
that house woman-LOC/-ABL(-)former poss.
that house formerly belonged to a woman.

At this stage it is not clear whether mali is a particle or a suffix or a clitic.1)

4.5.5 Relationship between Possessive and Locative

In some Australian languages, for instance Guugu Yimidhirr (Haviland 1979a) and Gumbaynggir (Eades 1979), there is a close relationship between Possessive (or Genitive) and Dative which marks the recipient of an act of giving. A similar close relationship pertains in Kuku Yalanji between Possessive and Locative.

In Kuku Yalanji the recipient of an act of giving may be in locative case as was shown in the discussion of case roles (4.1.4.4 (iii)), as for instance:

---

1) Cf. "general genitive inflection" -mi in Dyirbal which indicates a "past owner" in contrast to "simple genitive" -nu which expresses "present possession" (Dixon 1972:108).
the two women gave the eel to the man

But the recipient may also be a possessive NP in O function:

(530) ngayu ngamu-mu mayi daji-ny
1sg NOM(A) mother-POSS-ABS(O) food-ABS(O) give-PAST

*I gave mother [her] food* (i.e. I gave mother's food)

Note that it may be arguable whether the whole possessive NP in constructions of the above type is in O function or only the 'possessed' part. If the possessive noun, i.e. ngamu-mu, were not in O function, Possessive in connection with daji-1 give would have to be interpreted as an inflection indicating 'goal' rather than a derivation. However, Possessive apparently cannot be used if the thing that is given is omitted, e.g. 'I gave (it) to mother'. In such instances only Locative is possible. Furthermore, Possessive cannot be substituted for Locative to indicate 'goal' in other three argument verbs such as milbi-l show. I therefore prefer the interpretation of Possessive as a derivation only and the whole possessive NP being in O function in connection with 'give'.

There may be a slight difference in the interpretation of the above sentences in that a possessive NP in O function implies that the recipient has a rightful entitlement to the thing given, whereas a locative form indicates spontaneous giving without obligation. However, this is mainly conjecture on my part based on the Aboriginal tradition of obligatory sharing among kin and on somewhat similar constructions in English and other languages such as 'I gave the boy his breakfast' versus 'I gave the clothes to the Smith Family'. But the fact remains that the recipient of goods may be either a possessive or a locative NP.
The fact that an inanimate possessor may involve Locative (or Ablative) is probably of no great value for this argument, since usually there is a real location involved, such as 'leaves on the tree', however, it is noteworthy that possessive may be used as well to express this concept; and remember the use of a noun or pronoun in locative (or ablative) case in conjunction with (-)mali to express former possession.

Consider also the morphology of the possessive stem-forming suffix -(V)ndVmun- which is used if a non-zero inflection follows. This suffix looks remarkably like potent locative inflection plus catalytic suffix: -(V)ndV+-mun-. (But this similarity does not warrant the general reinterpretation of Locative as a derivation, since this form occurs only in possessive function.)

More circumstantial evidence for some relationship between Locative and Possessive can be gleaned from the fact that a 'possessor of a possessor' is preferred to have the form 'possessive pronoun stem + LOC' regardless of the case marking of the NP to which it belongs. Finally, there is the matter of the set of kinship terms which allow either potent or neutral case inflection. In a possessive NP these may take either the regular possessive suffix or a suffix which is identical to the neutral locative inflection (see 3.2.4).

For the time being, the conspicuous resemblance between Possessive and Locative in Kuku Yalanji provides food for thought, rather than giving any conclusive evidence as to the exact nature of the relationship between the two.\textsuperscript{1)}

\textsuperscript{1)} Note that in some languages, e.g. Russian, the way to say 'I have X' is 'X is at me' using locative case or an equivalent preposition. Cf. Clark 1978 and Lyons 1977: 722-3 for a general discussion on the relation between location and possession.
Comitative and privative forms of nouns are opposite in meaning, which is basically 'with Noun' and 'without Noun' respectively, but they both serve as modifiers and as such may be incorporated into a wider NP which has the structure:

\[[[NP_1] + \text{case} \quad [NP_2 + \text{COMIT}] + \text{case}]_{NP}\]

$NP_1$ may be a personal or demonstrative pronoun or a single noun or both for either construction. $NP_2$ may have the same constituents as $NP_1$ or a noun plus an adjective, both with comitative suffix, in a comitative noun phrase. A privative construction, on the other hand, can have only a single noun or adjective in $NP_2$. Like an adjective, a comitative or privative form on its own may function as predicator in an equational sentence.

4.6.1 Comitative

A noun with comitative suffix -(i)ji ('neutral'), -(V)nji ('potent'), -(i)jirr- (see 3.2.3.3) may have various functions in a clause. Following the list set out in Dixon 1976:306-7, with some amendments that apply for Kuku Yalanji, these are:

(i) **Attribute** of someone or something. In this function the comitative noun resembles an adjective and may be used as predicator in an equational sentence or as a modifier within a wider NP, which will be discussed later. Note that although translations of some of the sentences below necessarily include 'have' the Comitative does not indicate a relationship of possession, but rather a characteristic. The attributive functions of Comitative can be classed under the following headings:
(a) mental or corporeal state of person or animal:

(531) yinya kaya kuli-ji
that-ABS(S) dog-ABS(S) rage-COMIT
that dog is vicious

(532) nyulu karrkay kumbu-ji
3sg NOM(S) child-ABS(S) urine-COMIT
the child needs to have a pee

(b) physical characteristic of someone or something:

(533) jalun mulngku-ji
sea-ABS(S) wave-COMIT
the sea is rough

(534) diburr yijirr-ji kima-ji
egg-ABS(S) shell-COMIT soft-COMIT
the egg has a soft shell

(535) yinya dingkar walarr-iji
that-ABS(S) man-ABS(S) beard-COMIT
that man has a beard

(c) locational characteristic of people:

(536) jana bama ngalkal-ji
3pl NOM(S) Aborig.-ABS(S?) light forest-COMIT
they are people of light forest country or
the people are of the light forest country

(Bama in the last example may be either part of the S NP or the head noun of the comitative NP according to intonation pattern. The same applies for the following two sentences.)

(d) alienable possession as characteristic:

(537) nyulu jalbu kambi-ji wubul-ji
3sg NOM(S) woman-ABS(S?) clothes-COMIT many-COMIT
the woman has many clothes (i.e. is a many-clothes-owner)
(538) yinya dingkar kalka-ji kulur-ji
that-ABS(S) man-ABS(S?) spear-COMIT three-COMIT
that man has three spears (i.e. is a three-spear owner)

(e) In a similar attributive function Comitative may be used to
describe the two main seasons:

(539) wungar-iji
sun-COMIT hot season

bulur-iji
early morning chill/dew-COMIT cold season

(540) nyungu ngaji wungar-iji wula-ny
3sg POSS-ABS(S) MF-ABS(S) sun-COMIT die-PAST
his grandfather died in the hot season

Some examples of NPs containing comitative attributes in various
cases are:

(541) warru-ngku jarba kuli-ji
yg man-ERG:pt(A) snake-ABS(O) rage-COMIT-ABS(O)
kuni-ny
kill-PAST
the young man killed the vicious (dangerous) snake

(542) nyulu wandu-ji baral-ba kankada-y
3sg NOM(S) hat-COMIT-ABS(S) road-LOC come-REDUP-NONPAST
the one with the hat is coming along the road

(543) dingkar-angka walarr-iji-ngka ngalkun
man-ERG:pt(A) beard-COMIT-ERG:pt(A) mullet-ABS(O)
wubul dama-ny
many-ABS(O) spear-PAST
the man with the beard speared a lot of mullets
(544) ngayu wawu jirray juku-ku birra-jirr-ka
1sg NOM(S) like much tree-DAT leaf-COMIT-DAT
jabajaba-jirr-ka
big/plentiful-COMIT-DAT
I like very much the tree with the many big leaves

(545) babi-ngka yangka daji-ny karrkay-anda
FM-ERG:pt(A) green ant-ABS(o) give-PAST child-LOC:pt
ngiki-ji-nda
cough-COMIT-LOC:pt
grandmother gave green ant (juice) to the child with the
cough

(546) nyulu kada-ny bayan-muny yinya-muny
3sg NOM(S) come-PAST house-ABL that-ABL
juku-jirr-muny
tree-COMIT-ABL
he came from that house with the tree

(ii) Comitative may express accompaniment:
(a) person in motion or at rest with animate company:

(547) ngayu bimay-anji kada-ny
1sg NOM(S) FZ-COMIT:pt come-PAST
I came with [my] aunt

(548) warru-warru bikibiki-nga dunga-y kaya-nji
yg man-REDUP-ABS(S) pig-LOC go-NONPAST dog-COMIT:pt
the young men are going out for pigs with a dog/dogs

(549) nyulu bayan-ba bundanda-y ngawa-nji
3sg NOM(S) house-LOC sit-REDUP-NONPAST baby-COMIT:pt
she is sitting in the house with the baby
(b) person in motion with helpful or non-helpful inanimate implement:

(550) nyulu dingki-ji badabada duga-ny wawubaja-nga
3sg NOM(S) dinghy-COMIT down go-PAST river-LOC
he went down the river with a dinghy

(551) wulman duga-y kalka-ji waymbil-ji
old man-ABS(S) go-NONPAST spear-COMIT axe-COMIT
old man is going out with a spear and an axe

(If, on the other hand, a body part is involved in the motion, this must be in instrumental case; see (245) and (246) in 4.1.4.4 (i)).

(c) person at rest with inanimate thing:

(532) jawun bundanda-y kaban-kaban-ji
friend-ABS(S) sit-REDUP-NONPAST paper/book-COMIT
wulngku-ji
tape recorder-COMIT

[our] friend is sitting with papers and books and a tape recorder (wulngku originally: song, tune)

(d) animate being performing an action (other than movement) with an implement or together with an animate being. In Kuku Yalanji this use of Comitative is apparently restricted to intransitive sentences and therefore differs from the instrumental use of Comitative with transitive verbs attested for other languages (cf. Dixon 1976:306, B.3.).

(553) yinya kaya kinka-n-kinka-y bajibay-ji
that-ABS(S) dog-ABS(S) play-REDUP-NONPAST bone-COMIT
that dog is playing with a bone

(554) warru wuri-n-wuri-y jinkurr-ji
yg man-ABS(S) dance-REDUP-NONPAST yZ-COMIT
the young man is dancing with his younger sister
It will have been noticed that the examples of Comitative in 'accompaniment' function do not indicate absolutive case agreement with the head noun. In fact, because an 'accompaniment' interpretation of Comitative is possible only in intransitive sentences it cannot be ascertained whether the comitative form is part of the S NP since Absolutive has zero realisation. In the absence of definite evidence for case agreement one could argue that Comitative in 'accompaniment' sense has a more inflectional characteristic, whereas it is clearly a derivation in attributive function. Note also that an 'accompaniment' comitative form is preferred in clause final position, whereas an attributive comitative form is normally found adjacent to the head noun. However, this aspect is obviously not sufficient support for an interpretation of 'accompaniment' Comitative as inflection. I therefore regard Comitative as having only one grammatical function, i.e. that of derivational suffix.

4.6.2 Privative

Privative forms (see 3.2.4.5) are used less frequently than comitative forms in Kuku Yalanji. Their attributive functions as outlined below correspond largely to those of Comitative, but privative forms are preferred as predicator in equational sentences and less favoured as part of a wider NP.

(i) Privative forms in adjectival/attributive function:
(a) mental or corporeal state (cf. Comitative (i)(a))

(555) jana kiur-kari

3pl NOM(S) brain-PRIV

they are stupid
(556) ngayu ngiki-kari, ngulkurr-ma-ny
1sg NOM(S) cough/cold-PRIV good-INCHO-PAST

I don't have a cold, [I am] well again

(b) physical characteristic (cf. Comitative (i)(b))

(557) nyulu wulbuman dirra-kari
3sg NOM(S) old woman-ABS(S) tooth-PRIV

the old woman has no teeth

(558) nyulu mungka-kari-ngka ngayku
3sg NOM(A) hair-PRIV-ERG:pt(A) 1sg POSS-ABS(O)
dambal ngaki-ny
shoes-ABS(O) steal-PAST

the one without hair stole my shoes

(c) 'non-possession' (cf. Comitative (i)(d))

(559) nyulu bayan-kari jiba-badi-y
3sg NOM(S) house-PRIV-ABS(S) be sad-NONPAST

the homeless one is sad

(560) nganjin tealeaf-kari
1sg exe NOM(S) tea-PRIV

we have no tea (a disastrous state of affairs)

(561) ngayu kambi daji-ny jalbu-ndu
1sg NOM(A) clothes-ABS(0) give-PAST woman-LOC:pt
kangkal-kari-nda
own child-PRIV-LOC

I gave clothes to the childless woman

'Non-accompaniment' use (cf. Comitative (ii)) of a privative
form is rare. Some examples are:

(562) nyulu dunga-ny marrkin-kari
3sg NOM(S) go-PAST rifle-PRIV

he went without a rifle
For motion or rest without animate accompaniment (cf. Comitative (ii)(a)) the privative form is not favoured at all but a paraphrase like the following is preferred:

(564) ngayu kari jilba-dunga-y jalbu-nji,
     1sg NOM(S) NEG walk-go-NONPAST woman-COMIT
ngayu-rrku dunga-y
     1sg NOM(S)-EMPH go-NONPAST
I don't go walkabout with the women, I go by myself

4.7 IMPERATIVES

An imperative can be formed from any verbal root or stem in Kuku Yalanji (see 3.8.4.2 (iii)). Normally, it has an explicit or implied second person pronoun in S or A function. If mentioned, the subject is strongly preferred in initial position, but it may also occur elsewhere in the sentence:

(565) (yurra) julurri-ji-ka
     (2pl NOM(S)) wash-REF-IMP
wash yourselves!

(566) (yundu) ngamu kari nyuya
     2sg NOM(A) mother-ABS(0) NEG blame-IMP
don't blame [your] mother!

(567) (yundu) yinya dara-y-mana
     2sg NOM(A) that-ABS(0) fall-CAUS-IMP
drop that!
If the subject NP is included, the imperative can be distinguished from a statement by the intonation contour, see 2.6.3.

A reduplicated verb stem would prompt the addressee to continue with some activity, as typically in:

(568)  (yubal) bundanda-ka, ngayu kada-y-baja
       2du NOM(S) sit-REDUP-IMP lsg NOM(S) come-NONPAST-again

(you two) keep sitting there, I will come back.

Occasionally, a first person inclusive non-singular pronoun may be the subject of an imperative clause. This expresses an encouragement to do something, as for instance:

(569)  (ngana) kada-ri-ka-da
       1pl inc NOM(S) come-PLS-IMP-TEMP$_1$

"come on, let's go now!"

An imperative sentence may contain the particle balu desist (see 4.9.2 (ii)) which implies that the addressee should leave someone or something alone. So far this has only been attested with intransitive imperative sentences:

(570)  balu dungay!  let him/her go!

(571)  balu wajujika!  let it burn!

But there is no apparent reason why balu should not be used with a transitive imperative sentence as well, e.g.

(572)  ? balu nyulu mayi nuka!  let him eat his food!

The temporal verbal clitic -da which means 'following with respect to a preceding action' (see 3.10.1) is very often used with imperatives. While a plain imperative form such as mayi nuka eat food! may be regarded as a general prompt of the type 'eat something! (you must be hungry)' or 'go on, eat your food, don't mind me!', the form mayi nuka-da urges the addressee to eat now and to discontinue any other activity. A stronger command for immediate action can be
expressed by the clitic -(ng)Vrr 'straight away/first of all' (see 3.10.1), e.g.

(573) nuka-ngarr
or mayi-ngarr nuka

*eat straight away (before you do anything else)!*

The urgency in -(ng)Vrr which forbids any other possible activity by the addressee was illustrated in the following way: My informant Louisa Smith wanted her daughter to come and help with her sick father. She called: "Nora kaday, hand daya!" *(sic)* Nora come here and give me a hand!*. When this brought no response she called again: "Nora kadayarr!" When still no Nora arrived, Louisa exclaimed forcefully: "Nora, come here first!" (which is in fact a very common strong English imperative used by the Kuku Yalanji people).

Apparently there is no politeness distinction between imperatives with different clitics. As a very well mannered person assured me, she could use all imperative forms when speaking to her children as well as when speaking to the pastor.

R. Hershberger (1964b:52) distinguishes between "-ngarr" as polite imperative marker and "-rr" as emphatic imperative marker. According to my data these are allomorphs of the same form (see 3.10.1) and, as indicated above, do not imply politeness/emphatic distinction.

4.8 **QUESTIONS**

Polar questions, requiring a yes/no answer, are marked only by intonation contour (see 2.6.3) and para-linguistic features, such as facial expression, in Kuku Yalanji.
(574) yundu ngayku kangkal nyaji-ny?
2sg NOM(A) 1sg POSS-ABS(O) own child-ABS(O) see-PAST

have you seen my child?

(575) nyulu kada-ny-baja?
3sg NOM(S) come-PAST-again
did he come back?

For non-polar questions there is a range of interrogative pronouns which were discussed in 3.6.1, including some examples.

Further examples of the use of interrogative pronouns are:

(576) wanya kada-ny maja-nji?
who-ABS(S) come-PAST boss-COMIT:pt

who came with the boss?

(577) wanya-ngka ngayku dambal wundi-ny?
who-ERG:pt(A) 1sg POSS-ABS(O) shoes-ABS(O) take-PAST

who took my shoes?

(578) yundu wanya-nji Cooktown dunga-ny?
2sg NOM(S) who-COMIT:pt Cooktown go-PAST

with whom did you go to Cooktown?

(579) yundu wanyu mumba-ny balji-nga?
2sg NOM(A) what-ABS(O) put in-PAST bag-LOC

what did you put in the bag?

(580) wanyurri-ngku mayi-ka yundu wawu?
what-DAT food-DAT 2sg NOM(S) want/like

what (sort of) food do you want/like?

(581) nyulu wanja-muny?
3sg NOM(S) where-ABL

where is he from?

(582) wanjawanja yundu kada-y-baja, wungariji?
when 2sg NOM(S) come-NONPAST-again hot season

when will you come back, (in the) hot season?
(583) wanjarrinya bama yinyay bundanda-y?
how many Aborig.-ABS(S) there sit-REDUP-NONPAST
how many Aborigines live there?

4.9 PARTICLES

In this section we will look at particles with a function at clause or sentence level, i.e. adjectival, comparison, negation and discourse particles. (For morphological features of these particles see 3.9.)

4.9.1 Adjectival Particles

Non-inflecting adjectival particles (see 3.9.1) function as predicats, taking as complement either a noun in dative case or a purposive clause. The following sentences exemplify the use of all attested adjectival particles:

(584) jana nyiku binal-kari kuku-ku
3pl NOM(S) today know-PRIV language-DAT
they don't know the language nowadays

(585) jalbu binal balji wukurri-nka
woman-ABS(S) know dillybag-ABS(0) weave-PURP
the woman knows how to weave dillybags

(586) nyulu dingkar juburr bulki-ka
3sg NOM(S) man-ABS(S) be good at cattle-DAT
the man is good at/with cattle

(587) ngayu yinil bilngkumu-nku
1sg NOM(S) afraid crocodile-DAT
I'm afraid of crocodiles
(588) karrkay-karrkay wawu jirray kinka-n-kinka-nka
child-REDUP-ABS(S) like much play-REDUP-PURP
the children love to play

(589) nyulu wawu kalka balka-nka
3sg NOM(S) want spear-ABS(O) make-PURP
he wants to make a spear

(590) karraky wawu ngaki-ji-nka
child-ABS(S) want/like hide-REF-PURP
the child wants/likes to hide

As can be seen in (585) and (589) the subject NP does not change to A function if the following purposive clause contains a transitive verb. This shows that the clause with adjectival particle must be regarded as an intransitive main clause and the adjoined purposive clause as subordinate.

In Guugu Yimidhirr (Haviland 1979a:154) a distinction between main and subordinate clause with similar adjectival particles is not clear cut since the subject NP may be in A function if the purposive complement clause contains a transitive verb.

In derived inchoative verb form, adjectival particles maintain the same syntactic type of complement, e.g.

(591) ngayu binalmal kukuku I learn language

whereas in derived causative verb form, they naturally are accompanied by a noun in O function, with an optional goal as dative noun or purposive clause, e.g.

(592) kambakamba-ngka nganya binal-bunga-ny
old women-ERG:pt(A) lsg ACC(O) know-CAUS-PAST
mayi-ka, jarruka baka-nka
food-DAT scrubhen-ABS(O) dig-PURP
the old women taught me about food (and) how to dig scrubhen (eggs)
4.9.2 Negation Particles

The two negation particles kari not (NEG) and balu desist, give up (NEG₂), see 3.9.2 (ii), have different application possibilities according to their semantic content.

(i) Particle kari (see also function as privative suffix in 4.6.2 and discourse particle but, however in 4.3.2 and 5.5.5) may negate various clause constituents depending on word order and stress. When negating the predicate, kari bears primary clause stress and immediately precedes the verb or the 0 NP:

(593) ngayu jungkalu kāri dumbarriny
or
ngayu kāri jungkalu dumbarriny

*I did not break the billycan*

If a noun in subject or object function is to be negated, kari is preferred to follow this noun, but it is the noun which bears primary stress:

(594) ngayu jūngkalu kari dumbarriny

*I did not break the billycan* [but something else]

(595) ngāyu kāri jungkalu dumbarriny

*I did not break the billycan* [someone else did]

(596) dūbu kāri kankaday, dingkar

not a ghost is coming, (but) a man

Compare (596) to (597), where kari is stressed:

(597) dubu kāri kankaday, dungandungay

the ghost is not coming, (but) going

If an adjective is to be negated, kari may precede this, in which case kari is stressed, or it may follow the adjective, in which case the adjective is stressed:
(598) a) ngayu kari dakuy
b) ngayu dakuy(-)kari

I am not hungry

In (598)b) kari can probably be interpreted as privative suffix which means that the adjective+-kari as a whole has predicator function. (The same interpretation of kari as privative also applies with adjectival particles which are invariably followed by it, see 3.9.1.)

(ii) Particle balu has a somewhat ambiguous grammatical status. Its syntactic behaviour is like that of adjectival particles in that it governs a noun in dative case or a purposive clause, and the subject NP in a balu sentence is always in S function (cf. syntax of adjectival particles in 4.9.1). On the other hand, balu does not have the morphological possibilities like adjectival particles, i.e. verbal stem-formation, Privative, and combination with -bajaku very. (For morphology of adjectival particles see 3.9.1.) Because of these morphological differences I do not include balu among the adjectival particles.

The negation function of balu as 'desist, give up, refrain' is illustrated in the following examples:

(599) nyulu warru balu dama-nka ngawuya
3sg NOM(S) yg man-ABS(S) NEG_2 spear-PURP turtle-ABS(0)

"the young man could not spear the turtle"

(i.e. he made an unsuccessful attempt at spearing it and gave up)

(600) ngayu balu kuniwa-nka
1sg NOM(S) NEG_2 fight-PURP

"I don't like fighting" (i.e. I disapprove of fighting and refrain from doing it myself)
(601) ngayu balu buymbi-nka
lsg NOM(S) NEG 2 suck/smoke tobacco-PURP
"I don't like to smoke" (i.e. I know it is bad for my
health and therefore abstain from it)

(602) ngayu balu mayngku-ku wawumu-ku
lsg NOM(S) NEG 2 mango-DAT half ripe-DAT
"I don't like half ripe mangoes" (i.e. they give me
indigestion and I therefore refrain from eating them)

The contrast between balu and kari is that kari simply
negates whereas balu implies a certain reason, i.e. inability or
disapproval, why something is not done. Balu also differs from
wawu-kari don't want, don't like in that it indicates disapproval
as a general principle whereas wawu-kari has more specific reference.

Compare (601) with the following:

(603) ngayu wawukari buymbi-nka
I don't want/don't like to smoke (perhaps because I have
a cold, but normally I do smoke)

Consider also the 'collateral' discourse function of balu
(see 5.5.5) as indicating a false assumption, i.e. 'give up a
preconceived idea (because of contrary evidence)', and balu in
imperatives as 'leave it be, desist from what you are doing'
(see 4.7).

4.9.3 Other Particles

The use of co-ordination particles kari and yamba but,
however, kunka and nganganjirrka in case, and kaki if, when has
been illustrated in 4.3.2. The two remaining particles that need
further consideration are comparison particle yala and nguba
perhaps, maybe.
(i) Comparison particle yala (be) like, (be) the same (COMP), see 3.9.2 (i), is followed by a NP in absolutive case, or nominative case if a pronoun, e.g.

(604) nyulu yala nyungu nganjan
3sg NOM(S) COMP 3sg POSS-ABS father-ABS

he is (just) like his father

(605) eskimo mala-minya yala bama
eskimo-ABS(S) expert-meat COMP Aborig.-ABS

Eskimos are expert hunters like Aborigines

(606) ngayu wawu jirray mayi-ka yala mayngku
1sg NOM(S) like much fruit-DAT same mango-ABS

I like very much fruit [that is] like a mango

Note that in other comparison constructions that do not contain particle yala the compared component takes dative case, see 4.1.4.4 (ii).

R. Hershberger (1979:82-83) attested yala in an additional function as co-ordination particle, e.g.

(607) ngayu mayi wundi-ny yala nyulu
1sg NOM(A) food-ABS(O) bring-PAST COMP 3sg NOM(A)

ngadiku wundi-ny
long ago bring-PAST

I brought food like he brought it long ago

(quoted from Hershberger; my spelling and glosses)

But sentences of this type were not whole-heartedly accepted by my informants. Because of the insufficient evidence I have not included yala among the co-ordination particles (pending further investigation).

(ii) Particle nguba perhaps, maybe indicates that the speaker makes an assumption which may or may not hold true, or that he presents possible alternatives, e.g.
(607) nyulu kari wandi-ny. nguba nyulu bambay
3sg NOM(S) NEG get up-PAST maybe 3sg NOM(S) sick
he did not get up. maybe he is sick

(608) jana wanjabu? nguba jana ngaki-ji-y
3pl NOM(S) where maybe 3pl NOM(S) hide-REF-NONPAST
where are they? maybe they are hiding

(609) nguba ngayu nyiku kada-y-baja, nguba
maybe 1sg NOM(S) today come-NONPAST-again maybe
wunkuny
tomorrow

maybe I come back today (or) maybe tomorrow

(610) nguba ngayu kuyu nyama-1, nguba
maybe 1sg NOM(A) fish-ABS(O) stew-NONPAST maybe
dinda-1
roast-NONPAST

maybe I'll stew the fish, maybe [I'll] roast it

As can be seen in the above examples nguba always precedes the expressed assumption or alternative.

4.10 INTERJECTIONS

Interjections usually make up a complete utterance, or else precede a sentence. In the latter case they are set off from the rest of the utterance by a slight pause. Some interjections are monosyllabic and/or end with a glottal stop or breathy voice. In this respect they differ from the normal phonology and word pattern in Kuku Yalanji.
Interjections with an approximation of their meaning are:

- **yuuw**u: *yes*
- **kari**: *no*
  (both used in reply to a question)
- **ba?**: *come on, hurry up*
  (used almost only towards children)
- **ma?**: *go on, go ahead, don't let me keep you*
- **kaku**: *just a minute, wait for me*
- **ngay**: *oh yes, I see*
  (used as an affirmative noise by the interlocutor in conversation)
- **yalada(?)**: *that's all right, that's settled then*
  (typically concludes a conversation)
- **yala?**: *o.k., let's*
  (in this sense it typically precedes a suggestion; but it may also be used in the sense of yalada)
- **juyuy**: *that's nonsense, take no notice of it*
- **wumba**: *never mind*
- **yah**: *hey*
  (used to attract attention)
5.1 PRELIMINARY REMARKS

Discourse involves rules at a level higher than sentence which determine just how sentences should be put together to convey information in an appropriate and efficient manner. Such rules are often probably less strict and less crucial for comprehension than syntactic rules at clause or sentence level. Nevertheless, discourse rules are important and their skillful application distinguishes a succinct speaker from a rambling one or an interesting narrative from a boring one, not to mention a native speaker from a non-native one. Furthermore, a listener must be familiar with the possible strategies for discourse structure in order fully to understand what is being said.

At this stage my investigation of Kuku Yalanji discourse is necessarily limited. I have chosen to look only at edited narratives which are thought to be the clearest examples of discourse to analyse. As the main theoretical guideline I have used Grimes' comprehensive working model for discourse analysis, *The Thread of Discourse*, (1975).

In these narratives I have concentrated on cohesion, choice and marking of topic, and the distinction between events and non-events, detailing each of these areas as far as my present knowledge of Kuku Yalanji allowed me to do. I do not want my findings to be regarded as prescriptive, but rather as conventions that Kuku Yalanji speakers usually apply in the structure of texts. Apart from greatly improving my own understanding and appreciation of Kuku Yalanji narratives, this study has also clarified some morphological items, i.e. some clitics
and the unmarked verb inflection, which had been virtually incomprehensible outside the framework of discourse.

The vast majority of illustrative examples given in this chapter is drawn from the four texts which are included in the Appendix. These texts can be regarded as quite representative of Kuku Yalanji discourse structure since their choice depended mainly on variety of speakers and the (somewhat unscientific) aspect of interesting subject matter. Only the particular excerpts from Text 3 were selected because they include specially marked event sequences.

The most prolific narrators among my informants happened to be Nyungkul speakers and therefore the majority of my texts, as reflected in the Appendix, is in this dialect. But, unless otherwise stated, my findings about discourse structure apply equally for Yalanji and Nyungkul.

Some information on the individual narrators is given in the Appendix together with each text, but I want to say here that all three of them are regarded in the community as "having good kuku" and one of them in particular is acknowledged as a good story teller.

5.2 COHESION

From the listener's point of view it is of foremost importance that a narrative is coherent, so that there is no difficulty in understanding which participant does what, where and when in the context. This necessary cohesion includes several aspects: participant identification and progression of the narrative through time and space, as well as the rate at which it progresses.
Halliday and Hasan (1976) regard cohesion as a semantic concept in the same way as text is a semantic unit. Cohesion is represented in the interdependence of the constituents of a text: "Cohesion occurs where the INTERPRETATION of some element in the discourse is dependent on that of another" (Halliday and Hasan 1976:4).

5.2.1 Participant Identification

Participant identification first of all has to establish a reference sufficiently well so that the audience knows who or what is being talked about, and then has to maintain reference in a manner that prevents confusion on the part of the listener.

Generally speaking, reference maintenance is the domain of pronouns, while nouns are used predominantly to establish reference but may also appear in anaphoric function. Kuku Yalanji frequently combines nouns and pronouns with the pronoun either preceding or following the noun. In keeping with the general convention mentioned above, a pronoun-noun sequence can be assumed to have anaphoric or definite reference, e.g. nyulu jalbu the woman in contrast to a noun on its own, e.g. jalbu (a) woman which usually conveys new and/or indefinite reference. A noun-pronoun sequence, on the other hand, normally establishes a new reference which is immediately followed up by an anaphoric element, e.g. jalbu nyulu woman, she.

The following sub-sections deal with the application and modification of these basic possibilities.

5.2.1.1 Establishing Participant Reference

The need for detailed identification varies in Kuku Yalanji, and presumably in other languages as well, according to whether the
referent is first, second, or third person, singular or non-singular. Reference to first and second person singular and first person dual inclusive participants is established and maintained in Kuku Yalanji discourse simply by the use of pronouns ngayu I, yundu you sg., and ngali you and I, since obviously there can be no doubt about the identity of the referent(s).

However, when introducing any other participant than those mentioned above, the speaker should provide some more information in the form of one or more proper or common nouns which may be preceded or followed by an appropriate pronoun. For instance:

3rd person singular:
(611) Pastor nyulu...  Pastor, he... (Text 3:9)¹
(612) John Robertamu kangkal  John Robert's child (Text 3:34)
(613) Wulbuman  An old woman (Text 51:15)

1st person dual exclusive:
(614) ngaliny yaba-ngka kuyu
3du exc NOM(A) eB-ERG:pt(A) fish-ABS(O)
wubul mani-ny
many-ABS(O) get-PAST
my elder brother and I caught a lot of fish

2nd person dual:
(615) yubal Roderick janji
2du NOM(S) Roderick-ABS(S) swim-IMP
you and Roderick have a swim!

¹ : refers to the text line
3rd person dual:

(616) warru-bulal jambul, bula'...
   yg man-pair-ABS(S) two-ABS(S) 3du NOM(S)

*a pair of two young fellows* (Text 51:1)

1st person plural inclusive:

(617) ngana kangkal-kangkal jilba-dunga-y
   lpl inc NOM(S) child-REDUP-ABS(S) walk-go-NONPAST
   wunkuny
tomorrow

*you and I and the children will go walkabout tomorrow*

1st person plural exclusive:

(618) ngayu babi wulbuman yindu
   lsg NOM(S) FM-ABS(S) old woman-ABS(S) other-ABS(S)
   ngamu nganjin dunga-ri-ny mayi
   mother-ABS(S) lpl exc NOM(S) go-PLS-PAST food-ABS(0)
   baka-nka
dig-PURP

*I, grandmother, another old woman and mother, we went out to
dig for food (yams)*

(619) nganjin Mabel balka-n-balka-wa-ny
   lpl exc NOM(S) Mabel-ABS(S) speak-REDUP-RECIP-PAST

*we all including Mabel had a long chat*

2nd person plural:

(620) yurra karrkay dunga-y bana mana
   2pl NOM(S) child-ABS(S) go-IMP water-ABS(0) get-IMP

*you children go and get water!*

3rd person plural:

(621) jalbu-jalbu karrkay-karrkay jana
   woman-REDUP-ABS(S) child-REDUP-ABS(S) 3pl NOM(S)
   wawubaja-nga dunga-ny mukirr mani-nka
   river-LOC go-PAST mussel-ABS(S) get-PURP

*women and children, they went to the river to get mussels*
Constructions of this type are typically used when introducing participants for the first time in a discourse. The frequent combinations of nouns and pronouns can be explained as follows: In examples (611), (616), and (621), all referring to third person participants, the pronoun follows after identification has been established through nouns and the pronoun has anaphoric function. (Incidentally, the tautology in (616), "a pair of two", is a common device when introducing a couple of participants who are thought to belong together.) On the other hand, in examples (614), (615), (617), (619) and (620), all referring to first or second person participants, the pronoun appears initially as if referring to someone already known. This is indeed the case, since at least one referent in these constructions, i.e. the speaker or the addressee, is defined by the very pronoun. Only where the hitherto unidentified members of a group far outnumber the known member, and are considered relevant by the speaker, is the group pronoun preferred to follow the list of participants as in (618). Conversely, where one member is deemed sufficient to identify a whole group in a third person plural reference, the pronoun is preferred in initial position, followed by the identifying noun, as in (622) which conveys something like "Doris and her usual hangers-on, you know who I mean". (Of course, if a speaker chooses to be vague, he may introduce a non-singular referent by a pronoun alone, e.g. bula they two or nganjin we all, but in my experience this is rarely done.)

The above examples are the most common conventions for introducing new participants in discourse. Apart from these, a
speaker is free to choose other forms for stylistic reasons. He or she may for instance introduce the first character in a narrative, usually if it is the most important one, straight away by what is usually anaphoric reference, as for instance:

(623) nyulu karrkey wunanany
   *the child was sleeping* (Text 36:1)

(624) nyungu bayan wangkar wuburrbu.
   *his camp was on top of the mountain* (Text 12:3)

By this means the speaker quickly draws the audience into the narrative by implying immediate familiarity between the listener and the main character. (This is, I believe, also widely applied by authors in Western literature.)

Another device is the use of cataphoric demonstrative yanya *this*, as for example in Text 51:72:

(625) nyulu wulman yanyabi bundandany
   *there was this old man*

The old man is introduced as a new participant in this form after about two-thirds of the narrative and because of the cataphoric demonstrative we can expect him to do something important, which he does. (He reassembles the dog skeleton and resurrects the animal.)

The old man is in fact the hero of the story.

Compare the use of 'this' in English. If someone said: "When I went to the zoo yesterday, there were elephants and giraffes and this cheeky monkey", we would be highly surprised if the speaker proceeded to tell us about elephants and giraffes and not the monkey. In other words, 'this' foreshadows that the participant to which it refers will be the main character in an ensuing narrative and the same apparently holds true for yanya in Kuku Yalanji. ¹)

¹) cf. Grimes' interpretation of 'this' as cataphoric and 'that' as anaphoric in English (1975:77-78).
This section has outlined options for introducing new participants in Kuku Yalanji discourse. In the following sub-sections I will look at how reference can be adequately maintained and in particular, how a change from group reference to individuals or regrouping can be effected.

5.2.1.2 Maintaining Participant Reference

Kuku Yalanji has a variety of means by which to maintain reference throughout a narrative, including nouns, pronouns, demonstratives or no overt reference at all. Of these, demonstratives are used least frequently.

In the previous section we have seen that demonstrative yanya *this* is used to introduce a new participant with cataphoric implication. Demonstrative yinya *that*, on the other hand, refers back to an already known participant. It is generally used to reintroduce with special emphasis an important participant after the narrative had focussed on someone or something else for a while. For instance in Text 36 the first text line introduces the main character, the child with definite reference: *nyulu karrkay wununany the child was sleeping*. The next two lines mention that mother and father were also asleep, implying that it was fairly late at night and all was peaceful and quiet. Line 4 then reverts back to the main character:

(626)  yinya karrkay nyulu bijarriny

*that child, he had a dream*

Later on, the narrator describes how the people went to the river and dived for mussels and then again refocusses the narrative onto that particular child who had had the dream (Line 25-26):

(627)  ...yinya karrkay bada. Yinya janjiny.

...*that child (went) down. That one dived.*
Thus we may say that demonstratives in Kuku Yalanji have dual function in simultaneously referring both to a participant and his prominent role. ¹) Yanya *this* establishes this twofold reference, while yinya *that* maintains it.

Nouns, pronouns and zero anaphora maintain a less marked reference. It would seem that the use of pronouns alone is only possible where these are sufficient to distinguish between participants, as for instance first person singular ngayu interacting with third person singular nyulu, or third person singular interacting with third person dual bula, but not where two or three third person singular participants are involved, which of course would all be nyulu. In the latter case nouns can be used for unambiguous reference if switching from one participant to another, e.g. Nyulu warru *the young man* or nyulu wulman *the old man*. However, it is surprising, at least on first sight, with how little nominal reference, indeed with how little overt reference at all, Kuku Yalanji narrators can get by and still be understood.

The main key to referent identity, after it has been established, lies in the context of a narrative and specifically in contextually appropriate actions performed by the participants. One basic rule is that as long as a common participant is maintained, be it in S, A or O or even oblique function, no overt reference is required. Thus, if we encounter a stretch of text in Kuku Yalanji narrative where participant reference is omitted, we can safely assume that the

¹) Cf. use of demonstrative 'that' in Guugu Yimidhirr discourse as outlined by Haviland (1979a:156-157).
participant which had been stated at the beginning of this stretch is involved throughout. For instance Text 36:11-13. Line 11 introduces the participant:

(628) jana bama jabajaba wandiriny

*a whole lot of people turned up*

followed by zero reference in the next line. But it is clearly the people, and not the child, who take torches, flash them about and look under the bed. Admittedly, this example is not very revealing, since the intonation contour also marks the whole string of actions as belonging to one sentence of which jana bama is the subject, both in S and A function. However, there are copious examples in other texts where several actions are segmented into separate clauses or sentences by intonation contours, but no overt reference is made to the participant. One, albeit brief, example of this is for instance in Text 3:34-37. Lines 34 and 35 identify the intruder. Line 36, a new, non-conjoined clause, describes an action: Yirrkany *Called out.* Logically it would be possible that the people in the camp called out to the stranger, but from the zero reference we can infer that it is in fact the stranger who does so. Line 37, again a new clause with zero reference indicates how the stranger got there:

Motorbikemunjii *With a motorbike.*

I mention above that a contextually appropriate action can be a means to identify an otherwise unspecified participant. This aspect closely interacts with the principle of zero reference = same participant. Take for instance Text 51:49-51. The dog (kaya in Line 49) runs on and the two fellows (bula) spear it in Line 50. There is no reference to the dog in 0 function, but obviously it is the dog, and not something else, that got speared. In Line 51 the
dog is cut up into halves and there is no reference to either A or O, but there can be no doubt as to who is in what role. The aspect of contextually appropriate participant can even identify a participant in a switch reference situation with zero anaphora, in which case it overrides the basic convention of zero anaphora = same participant. Consider the first part of Text 36 where, after initial identification, the participants, the child and the people, are distinguished largely by their actions: the child dreams and screams and the people look for the imaginary crocodile. In Lines 15-18 the child's anguished cries are quoted, followed by a narrator's comment on the intensity of the child's dream in Line 19 (zero anaphora = same referent). In the following line there is again no overt reference to an agent, but the verb balbanybaja flashed a light again signals a switch in reference from the child to the people who, as we know, have previously been flashing about with a torch. Thus the notion of 'appropriate participant for a role' can override the convention of 'zero anaphora = same participant'.

It appears that these conventions of reference maintenance are the backbone of participant cohesion in a Kuku Yalanji narrative and they go a long way in, for instance, unravelling the identity of two or three third person singular participants. Bearing this in mind, I almost suspect that anaphoric reference by nouns is used less for reference maintenance than for adding some variation in a narrative which would presumably be somewhat monotonous if it contained only pronouns or zero-reference. Anaphoric nouns, where they are used, tend to be specific rather than generic or umbrella terms, but then the language has only a rather limited set of generic terms.
Kuku Yalanji has a highly pragmatic approach to participant identification in that participant reference may be inferred from the context alone. Western Desert languages, for instance, have different methods for participant identification in a switch reference situation. Yankunytjatjara, for example, uses free form particles to indicate whether the subject of a subordinated or co-ordinated clause is the same as or different from the subject in the preceding clause (Goddard ms). A similar system applies in Ngaanyatjarra (Glass 1980).

5.2.1.3 Reference shift

While there are seldom likely to be more than two or three participants interacting at any one time, a lot more may take part in a narrative as a whole. For instance in Text 51 there are the two young men, the old woman, the dog, an unspecified number of people at the camp, the old man, and again the dog in a different shape; in Text 3 there are the narrator and her family, including husband, two sons and two daughters, Chris, John Robert's son, and several other characters which do not appear in the excerpts.

Sometimes several characters act collectively so that no more than two or three 'participants' need to be identified, although the actual number of people is far greater. In Text 12, for instance, the participants are the Aborigine on the one side and the group of policemen, always referred to collectively, on the other side.

But quite often the narrative requires regrouping of several participants or the singling out of individuals from a group. Grimes (1975:46ff) refers to such a process as 'reference shift' which may have three forms:
i) 'Introduction and deletion'. This expands or contracts reference by adding or subtracting individuals. ('Withdrawal' would perhaps be a better term than 'deletion'.)

ii) 'Recombination'. This splits up groups but retains all members within view.

iii) 'Scope change'. This singles out members of a group because of a different perspective. (It can be compared to a zoom lens effect.)

Introduction/deletion and recombination can be effected simply by nominal identification of the introduced or deleted member or the recombined group, together with a pronoun which, within limits, can inform us about the number of participants in the new or recombined group. An example of introduction would be:

(629) bula jalbu-bulal wulman-anda dunga-ny.
3du NOM(S) woman-pair-ABS(S) old man-LOC:pt go-PAST
Jana bunda-ny balka-wa-ny.
3pl NOM(S) sit-PAST speak-RECIP-PAST

The two women went to the old man. They (all three) sat down and talked.

An example of deletion can be found in Text 3. In Line 33 the narrator's party is referred to as nganjin we pl exc. In Line 38 it is mentioned that the narrator's husband has left to look for witchetty grubs, but the subsequent group reference is again nganjin since there are still more than two people involved. However, we know that this new nganjin in Line 39 refers to the group minus the narrator's husband, which is relevant for the context since there is now no obvious spokesman for dealing with the approaching stranger.
Also in Text 3 there is a good example of recombination which illustrates more clearly the function of different number pronouns. Lines 1 and 2 identify the entirety of the narrator's group as nganjin *we pl exc*. Then in Lines 4 and 5 we receive information on how this group is distributed in the car:

(630) Text 3:4

*Kangkal-kangkal jana kudamundu Toyotanga.*

*My children were in the back of the Toyota.*

(If we do not already know that there are four children, we can infer that there must be at least three because of the plural pronoun.)

(631) Text 3:5

*Ngaliny ngayku dunyu jakalbaku nganjin Chris.*

*My husband and I were in the front together with Chris.*

Here, the narrator first of all identifies herself and her husband as a group, *ngaliny we du exc.*, and then adds Chris (introduction) which again makes up a plural group: nganjin. All members of the original nganjin group are accounted for, but split up and recombined into subgroups.

Scope change, the singling out of a participant from a group, can proceed in much the same manner as recombination with irrelevant participants being simply left out, as for instance in Text 3:43:

(632) Jana dingkar-dingkaralu jana yinilmanybaja.

*The men were quite scared.*

which singles out the male members of the narrator's party, leaving aside the females who presumably had a right to be scared at the approach of the stranger. (As if this insinuation were not enough, the narrator in the next line further identifies the culprits who
get a good scolding from her. To add some objectivity to this story, I should add that the narrator was a very dominant personality who, as matriarchal types are apt to do, liked to dwell on perceived inadequacies of her male minions.)

Recombination or scope change in a group of equals, that is where no sex- or age-distinction can be expressed by lexical items, can be effected by pronoun bula 3 du or number words such as kulur three or kanbal some, a few, as for instance in Text 12:53:

(633) kanbal kunijiny.

Some [of the policemen] were killed.

But where individuals are singled out, yindu one of, the other is commonly used. There are several examples of this in Text 51. The two young fellows are introduced and normally referred to as a pair, bula 3 du, but whenever they act individually, each is referred to as yindu. We find this in Line 10, where one of them says something, and in Line 48, where the pair is split up, one sitting on one side of the road and the other on the other side. Later on, in Line 74, one individual is singled out from the whole group of people who are partaking of the roast dog:

(634) Text 51:74

Yindunyju yalamany:...

One of them said:...

He asks another individual, yundu you sg, to offer the old man some meat. The addressee carries out this request and is in turn referred to as yindu in the dialogue with the old man. I take it, that a participant referred to as yindu is of no great significance but rather plays a bit part in the narrative as a whole. If a prominent individual is singled out from a group, such as the old man in
Text 51:72, this is done with full nominal reference and, if the speaker chooses, with even some degree of emphasis such as a demonstrative.

5.2.1.4 Summary

To summarise the most essential points, participant reference, in a new introduction as well as in group recombination, is normally established by indefinite nominal NPs, but definite constructions, including cataphoric demonstrative, may be used to imply a certain significance of the referent.

Maintenance of participant reference most commonly involves pronouns or zero anaphora. Where pronouns are indistinct in third person reference and where zero anaphora is applied, participants can be identified according to the following conventions:

i. zero anaphora/indistinct pronoun = same referent

ii. zero anaphora/indistinct pronoun = contextually appropriate participant.

Of these, convention ii. can override convention i.

Apart from maintaining reference, pronouns can serve to indicate changed numbers of participants when reference shift occurs.

Some other lexical items have specialised function in participant identification:

Demonstratives yanya this and yinya that indicate prominence and have cataphoric and anaphoric function respectively.

Number words and yindu one of, the other are typically used in scope change where one or several individuals are singled out from a group.
5.2.2 Temporal Cohesion

Narratives are typically recounted in the past tense in Kuku Yalanji and normally the order in which events are told represents the order in which they take place. However, the sequence of events in a narrative cannot always be strictly linear, since, as in real life, actions by different participants may overlap.

Simultaneous subordinate clauses (see 4.4.4.1) can be used to indicate that actions by two participants occur at the same time. However, the application of simultaneous subordinate clauses is limited to only a very brief time span.

If actions by different participants overlap through any length of time, the narrator switches back and forth between them in order to bring the diverging actions "up to date". Such a sequence can be found in Text 51:37-50. In Line 37 the old woman goes off to fetch her dog, as indicated by a purposive clause. From this we can infer that she will be occupied for a while in pursuing her intention. The narrator then turns our attention back to the two fellows who are said to take off and run westwards. While the two chaps are left running, the narrator switches back to the old woman who fetches the dog and sets it on the trail of the two fellows (Lines 40-41). The dog then takes over in an active participant role (the old woman drops out of sight) and keeps following the chaps. From then on, Line 46, participant reference switches with every sentence in "leapfrog fashion" (cf. Dixon 1972:71) until the unity of time and place is re-established in Line 50 where the two chaps kill the dog.

In addition to these systematic reference switches, I believe the clitic -kuda \(\text{TEMP}_2\) _meanwhile_ (as in Lines 38 and 39 in the above sequence) plays a significant role in indicating overlapping actions.
This interpretation of -kuda is at present only tentative, but I am sure it is pointing in the right direction. Discourse related morphemes are elusive by nature and one is more likely to draw some blanks in their analysis than with any other parts of the language because of the difficulty, even impossibility, of obtaining "proof" through elicitation. To explain my present tentative interpretation of -kuda I will therefore discuss two other aspects that could possibly be expressed by -kuda.

In past-tense clauses outside a narrative context perfective aspect suggested itself for -kuda, which was seemingly supported by elicited sentences, e.g.

(635) ngayu nuka-ny-kuda
1sg NOM(A) eat-PAST-?perfective

I have eaten

(636) nyulu dunga-ny-kuda
3sg NOM(S) go-PAST-?perfective

he has gone

However, these clauses can also be translated as perfective without -kuda (see past tense, 3.8.5.4(iii)) and -kuda as perfective marker would really be redundant. Furthermore, in my experience, although I have not checked this systematically, -kuda does not occur in sentences with specific temporal reference:

(637) yilayku ngayu minya ngawuya
yesterday 1sg NOM(A) meat-ABS(O) turtle-ABS(O)
nuka-ny(?-kuda)
eat-PAST

yesterday I ate some turtle

But a sentence like (635) was typically used in the situation where an informant returned to me after, say, the lunch break, and presumably
served to indicate what he or she had been doing in the meantime, e.g.

(638) ngayu nuka-ny-kuda wuna-ny-kuda
lsg NOM(A) eat-PAST-meanwhile lie-PAST-meanwhile

*I ate and rested in the meantime (since I left you)*

In nonpast clauses the interpretation of -kuda as future perfect is possible, but not very convincing. Again, to my knowledge clauses with specific future time reference do not contain -kuda, e.g.

(639) wunkuny nyulu dunga-y(?-kuda)
tomorrow 3sg NOM(S) go-NONPAST

tomorrow he will go | ??will have been gone

H. and R. Hershberger analysed -kuda as expressing 'definitely, for sure', giving a nonpast clause as an example:

(640) nyulu dungaykuda

*he'll go for sure* (H. and R. Hershberger 1982:193)

I am not familiar with the extent of their evidence for this interpretation or the context, if any, of the above clause. But I can say that on the one hand, analogous to (638), the alternative interpretation of 'meanwhile', *he will go in the meantime*, appears at least possible, while on the other hand 'definitely' does not fit most of the discourse occurrences of -kuda, whereas 'meanwhile' does. Take for instance the following lines from a text recorded by Hershberger and reproduced in a booklet *Kuku Ngujuji*. (This text does not contain glosses and translation is in the form of an English adaptation; glosses and translation are therefore my own.)

(641) babi-ngka juwal-da-ku-lu
FM-ERG:pt(A) digging stick-INST-EMPH₁-EMPH₂
wadu-lu dama-ny.
wrong-EMPH₂ spear-PAST

grandmother missed [the fish] with the digging stick
Returning to the appended texts, 'meanwhile' also appears to be the most plausible interpretation for -kuda in Text 51:38,39 and Text 3:16, 18.

Another way to indicate temporal relations in a narrative is the use of temporal clitics -da then, -ngVrr first of all and wawu-after (see 3.10.1).

Clitic -da indicates that an action follows one or more others, e.g.

(643) nganjin wawubaja-nga kada-ny tent
lpl exc NOM(S) river-LOC come-PAST tent-ABS(0)
ngara-ny mayi nuka-ny wuma-ny-da
set up-PAST food-ABS(0) eat-PAST lie-PAST-TEMP₁
we came to the river, set up tent, ate some food and then rested

In Text 36, for instance, Lines 37-38 describe the emergence of the crocodile which grabs the child (Line 39) and then takes it underwater:

(644) Text 36:40
karrba-ny, wundi-ny-da, janji-ny-da
[it] grabbed [him], then took [him with it] and dived

Clitic -da may be used to close a sequence of events after which either a new participant acts (e.g. the child's parents in Text 36:41), or some time may elapse before the story continues. Example (643) above, for instance, could typically be followed by 'Next morning they got up, etc.'.
Clitic -ngVrr, on the other hand, stresses the first action or participant in a sequence, e.g.

(645) ngayu kuyu waju-l-urr
lsg NOM(A) fish-ABS(0) cook-NONPAST-TEMP$_3$
wundi-l-da
take-NONPAST-TEMP$_1$

I first cook the fish and then I take it [with me]

(646) Queenie-ngka nyulu-ngurr diburr mani-ny
Queenie-ERG:pt(A) 3sg NOM(A)-TEMP$_3$ egg-ABS(0) get-PAST

Queenie was the first to get (find) an egg

Clitic wawu- in conjunction with a nominal in ablative case indicates after, since, e.g.

(647) wawu-warngku-muny jana dunga-ny-baja
TEMP$_4$-sleep-ABL 3pl NOM(S) go-PAST-again

after the sleep they went on

(648) wawu-yinya-muny ngayu yalbay-ma-ny
TEMP$_4$-that-ABL lsg NOM(S) big-INCHO-PAST

since that time I have grown up

Time spans during which nothing in particular happens are always bridged by specific temporal reference, such as wunkuny next day, muduwajuny at daybreak, etc. (for time words see 3.4).

5.2.3 Anaphoric linkage

Anaphoric linkage, as defined by Grimes (1975:316), is the repetition or paraphrasing of a clause "in dependent form as a means of leading into an independent clause that contains new information". Kuku Yalanji narratives frequently show repetition of clauses or parts of clauses, although not in dependent but rather co-ordinated structures. Whole clauses may even be repeated in non-co-ordinated
form in which case they often show a change in word order. Consider Text 51, Lines 4-7:

(649) 4 bula yuwulbwun kada-ny
   3du NOM(S) Jeannie River come-PAST
   *they came to the Jeannie River*

5 Bula kada-ny, bula wawubaja-nga dunga-ny.
   3du NOM(S) come-PAST 3du NOM(S) river-LOC go-PAST
   *They came and they went to the river.*

6 Bula wawubaja-nga dunga-ny, bula mayi
   kabal warrmba-bunga-ny.
   Leichardt-tree ABS(0) uncovered-CAUS-PAST
   *They went to the river and they found some Leichardt tree fruit.*

7 Kabal mayi warrmba-bunga-ny.
   Leichardt-tree ABS(0) fruit-ABS(0) uncovered-CAUS-PAST
   *Leichardt fruit [they] found.*

Even though such sections of text in Kuku Yalanji do not involve dependent structures, the typical repetition of information presumably justifies the use of the term 'anaphoric linkage'.

Some other examples of anaphoric linkage may be found in Text 51:89-91, 97-98, and Text 36:39-40.

Anaphoric linkage in Kuku Yalanji narratives is not strictly correlated with the distinction between events and non-events. But while it may occur anywhere in a text, its use is apparently favoured in certain situations: firstly, at the beginning of a narrative (as in the quoted example (649) above), perhaps with the

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1) Grimes (1975:96) mentions that in Kayapó of Brazil anaphoric linkage is used exclusively for non-events, so that the audience is alerted to an important section in the narrative as soon as anaphoric linkage ceases. Grimes' information is taken from Stout and Thompson, *Kayapó Narrative* (1971).
intention of slowly "warming up" the audience rather than overwhelming them with too much new information; secondly, immediately preceding a specially important event where it seems that the narrator wants to stall the flow of information to build up tension; and thirdly, at the peak of an event to provide the crucial happening with more impact, as for instance in Text 36, when the crocodile grabs the child, or in Text 51, when the dog comes back to life.

5.3 TOPICS

5.3.1 Preliminary Remarks

Grimes (1975:323ff) has attempted to clarify the somewhat confused terminology of 'topic', 'focus', 'theme' and 'emphasis' in linguistic literature. To this end he has introduced the theatrical term 'staging' to refer to the process of presenting a narrative, or parts thereof, from a particular perspective; that is to say that the speaker arranges his narrative like a stage performance with some participants acting at the centre of the stage and others off-centre, or even leaving the stage and perhaps re-appearing. The decision of who is to be at the centre of the stage is the semantic choice of theme and the practical implementation of this choice is "the designation of a constituent in the grammar as the TOPIC by means of appropriate signalling devices" (Grimes 1975:324). As I understand it, the continuing and overall process of staging involves the choice of a theme whose overt surface form is the grammatically marked topic in a stretch of discourse involving several or many sentences. Thus 'theme' is a discourse or semantic term whereas
'topic' is a grammatical one. Since grammatically marked topics constitute the 'theme' in a narrative the grammatical devices for topic marking will be investigated in the following subsections.

5.3.2 Topic choice and topic marking

In the following subsections I will look at the ways in which topics are represented and which is the most common choice of topic in Kuku Yalanji. These two questions are inextricably linked and an investigation could easily become circular: Can one define a topic by the way in which it is marked or does one find out about topic marking by assuming that certain constituents are topic? The topic as part of a discourse theme is the most prominent or salient feature in a sentence. "Clearly the marking of thematization is related to a semantic factor of PROMINENCE" (Grimes 1975:327). But how do we know which feature is the most prominent unless the speaker conveys this in some way? The best starting point for an investigation of this problem appears to be the universally applicable feature of prominence in word order.

5.3.2.1 Word Order and Syntactic Function

"Many of the phenomena written off in grammars as free word order are in contrast with each other thematically" (Grimes 1975:331). Kuku Yalanji, like most Australian languages has 'free word order', even to the extent that noun phrases may be split up and their constituents distributed throughout the clause. Nevertheless there is a preferred or unmarked word order, which is S/A O V. But variations of this unmarked word order are not uncommon and we can safely assume that this has thematic implications.
According to a universal convention, the leftmost position in a sentence is the most prominent one\(^1\), which means that leftmost position is the natural place for the topic, as the most salient constituent. Considering that the preferred word order in Kuku Yalanji is S/A O V, the normal choice of topic would therefore be a noun phrase in S or A function. (These functions coincide in form for pronouns but are distinct for nouns.)

Since Kuku Yalanji allows variation in word order, it stands to reason that an O NP can be topicalised by simply moving it to leftmost position. This is indeed so, but apparently there must be a good reason why an O NP (or even an oblique noun phrase) is to be topicalised, i.e. speakers are not indiscriminate in their choice of what is to be topic. Consider the following examples

(650) Nyulu jina yijarri-ny murraja-nga.
   3sg NOM(A) foot-ABS(O) put-PAST stonefish-LOC

Nyunguniny murraja-bu baka-ny.
   3sg ACC(O) stonefish-ERG(A) poke-PAST

*He put [his] foot on a stonefish. The stonefish poked him.*

(From a tale about how Jina-baji sore foot acquired his nickname.)

(651) Text 3:44

Chris kangkal-bulal dingkar-bulal ngayku
   "(O) own child-pair-ABS(O) man-pair-ABS(O) 1sg POSS-ABS(O)

kangkal-kangkal, ngayu janangan murru-kanga-ny
   own child-REDUP-ABS(O) 1sg NOM(A) 3pl ACC(O) scold-PAST

*I scolded them, Chris and my two sons:*

(In the latter example reprise (see 5.4.1) is used to front the O NP.)

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\(1\) cf. Van Valin and Foley (1980)
The above examples are taken out of contexts in which the referents that are in 0 function here had already been established as topic (in S or A function) in the preceding sentences. Furthermore, in (650) there is the additional aspect of the 0 NP referring to a human being, whereas the agent is lower in animacy. (This point will be discussed in the next subsection.)

Such occurrences of 0 NP in leftmost position as topic must not be confused with instances where zero anaphora is applied for the agent. If the 0 NP is in leftmost position in such situations, the unmarked word order is in effect maintained, but the 0 NP is in initial position by default because the agent has zero reference.

We can thus determine two conditions under which the choice of 0 NP as topic is most likely:

i. If the referent of the 0 NP is of higher animacy than the referent of the A NP;

ii. If the referent of the 0 NP has previously been established as topic in another function.

Nevertheless, there seems to be a general reluctance to treat an 0 NP as topic and to avoid this, Kuku Yalanji speakers may resort to a passive construction which places the patient in S function, as for instance in Text 12:53:

(652) Kanbal kuni-jy-ny, ...
    some-ABS(S) kill-ITR-PAST

Some were killed, ...

Another way to avoid having an 0 NP as overtly marked topic is zero anaphora in a switch function situation (see next subsection).
5.3.2.2 **Switch Function**

In 5.2.1.2 we have seen that participants can be referred to by zero anaphora throughout longish parts of a narrative. The criteria for participant identification in such a case are 'same referent' and 'contextually appropriate participant'. I will now look at the syntactic conditions under which the same participant can be referred to by zero anaphora.

As we have already seen in 5.3.2.1, it is uncommon for an 0 NP to appear overtly in topic position in an anaphoric situation, and there is not a single occurrence of a topic being introduced as transitive object in the appended texts. Therefore we can assume that a new topic is usually introduced in S or A function which coincides with the normal choice of topic in a clause with unmarked word order. Once a topic has been introduced, zero anaphora can apply, even if the referent appears in different syntactic functions. However, as is evident from the texts, a topic that is introduced in S function is far more likely to be followed by a sequence of zero anaphora in the same or different functions, than is a topic that is introduced as A.

I have looked at 50 topic introductions followed by one or more instances of zero anaphora. Of the 50 introductions 35 are in S function and 15 in A function. As can be seen in Table 5.1 there is evidently no problem for a topic that has been introduced as S to be followed by several zero references in all syntactic functions (20 occurrences of S, 20 occurrences of A, and 2 occurrences of 0). Again, a topic in 0 function is quite rare. (Maybe this is an indication of the narrator's preferred perspective, that is to
recount a narrative from the actor's rather than from the undergoer's point of view.)

TABLE 5.1 SYNTACTIC FUNCTIONS OF TOPIC IN INTRODUCTION AND SUBSEQUENT CLAUSES WITH ZERO ANAPHORA

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Function of topic in introduction</th>
<th>Function of topic in subsequent clauses with zero anaphora</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>S 35 A 15</td>
<td>S A 0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

If, on the other hand, a topic is introduced as A, subsequent zero anaphora is apparently restricted. It can apply freely where the referent remains in the same syntactic function (12 occurrences), but is rare where the referent assumes different syntactic function (3 occurrences of S, no occurrences of 0).

Like switch reference (see 5.2.1.2) switch function does not require any particular grammatical devices in Kuku Yalanji. Again, Kuku Yalanji differs in this respect from some other Australian languages. In Dyirbal, for instance, a switch from S or O to A must be indicated by antipassive with verbal derivation -qay-, and a switch from A to S or O involves a special verbal inflection -qura (Dixon 1972:71-74 and 77-79 respectively). As Silverstein (1976:156) remarks: "The markers -qay- and -qura, then, are discourse markers that show the switch of underlying function of co-referential noun phrases".

To summarise, on the evidence of topic introduction with subsequent zero anaphora for same or different function, we may say that the first choice of topic in Kuku Yalanji is a noun phrase in
S function and second choice is a noun phrase in A function.
This agrees with Haviland's statement for Guugu Yimidhirr:
"S NPs are unambiguously available as topics and can be
linked with S, A or O NPs in second and subsequent clauses."
(1979a:159)

5.3.2.3 Choice of Referent as Topic

The choice of a particular referent as topic correlates on
the one hand with the preferred syntactic function of the topic as
S or A, and on the other hand with the notion of animacy versus
inanimacy.

Unlike nouns, pronouns, which refer exclusively to animate
beings and particularly to humans, are not formally distinct for
S or A function. That is to say that pronoun forms are distinguished
as topic versus non-topic and are independent from the verb, whereas
noun forms are determined by the verb according to whether it is
transitive or intransitive. This would suggest that those referents
that are always denoted by a pronoun, i.e. first and second person
pronoun referents, are most likely to be topic if they occur in a
narrative.

Further, we have seen that in the less frequent cases where
a lower animate or even inanimate referent as agent acts upon a higher
animate referent as transitive object, the O NP is preferred in left-
most, i.e. topic position, as in (650) above, or the clause may be
passivised to transform the transitive object into S and therefore
natural topic, as in (652). (Such formations are also the preferred
form in elicited sentences with lower animate agent acting upon a
higher animate patient.)
We can thus set up the following hierarchy of choice of referent as topic:

i. first and second person pronoun referents

ii. animate referents

iii. inanimate referents

5.3.2.4 Conclusions

Following the above findings, some speculations can be made on the classification of Kuku Yalanji within the framework of topic prominent (Tp) and subject prominent (Sp) languages developed by Li and Thompson (1976). This framework includes a diachronic schema for topic prominent and subject prominent languages with the following stages (Li/Thompson 1976:485):

A Topic prominent language

Topic notion integrated into basic sentence structure; topic and subject distinct.

B Neither subject prominent nor topic prominent

Topic becomes more closely integrated into case frame of verb.

C Subject prominent

Topic has become integrated into case frame of verb as subject; subject and topic are often indistinct, subjects having some non-topic properties; sentences with clear topics are highly marked.

D Both topic prominent and subject prominent

Topic sentences become less marked and more basic.

(The next stage of development after this is again A.)
Clearly, there is a correlation between topic and grammatical subject in Kuku Yalanji which means that it is not a topic prominent language. However, the grammatical subject in Kuku Yalanji has two distinct and clearly marked functions for nominal NPs: intransitive subject (S) and transitive subject (A). Of these two S is favoured over A as topic, although A is a possible choice under more restricting circumstances. Furthermore, sentences with zero anaphora for the topic do not have to be clearly marked in Kuku Yalanji; they can be transitive, even though the topic is introduced in S function, i.e. intransitive subject. Compare this for instance with Dyirbal, a subject prominent language according to Li and Thompson (1976:460), where a clause with topic in A function following a clause with the same topic in S function must be intransitivised through antipassive so that the second function of the topic is identical with the first (Dixon 1972:71-74).

Therefore, because topic correlates with grammatical subject in Kuku Yalanji, with a preference for intransitive subject over transitive subject as topic, and because topic sentences do not have to be specifically marked, I suggest that Kuku Yalanji is both topic prominent and subject prominent, according to the Li/Thompson classification.

5.4 LOCALISED HIGHLIGHTING

A Kuku Yalanji speaker may emphasize any single clause constituent that he wishes to bring to the listener's special attention, by either a change in word order or with the help of emphatic clitics.
5.4.1 Specifically Marked Word Order

Any clause constituent may be placed in prominent left-most position for special emphasis. A good example of this is in Text 12: 40-42:

(653) 40 Nyulu kulji yalbay-ku mani-ny.
   3sg NOM(A) rock-ABS(0) big-ABS(0)-EMPH₁ get-PAST
   He got a really big rock.

41 Kulji yalbay-ku jurrnga-ny, yijarri-ny.
   rock-ABS(0) big-ABS(0)-EMPH₁ push-PAST put-PAST
   [He] pushed the really big rock and set it up.

42 Baral-ba-ku yijarri-ny kulji yalbay.
   road-LOC-EMPH₁ put-PAST rock-ABS(0) big-ABS(0)
   Right on the road [he] set the big rock.
   (This example also displays the emphatic clitic -ku, to be discussed in the next sub-section.)

Line 40 has unmarked word order; Line 41, with zero anaphora for the topic, leaves kulji yalbay-ku in leftmost position, which helps to alert the audience to the significance of the rock; Line 42 begins with baralbaku right on the road to emphasize the implications of this trap that is so ingeniously constructed by the Aborigine.

Verbs, adverbs and adjectives may also be fronted for emphasis. An example of a verb in clause initial position is in Text 12:25:

(654) bundanda-ny nyulu nyaji-l-nyaji-ny.
   sit-REDUP-PAST 3sg NOM(A) see-REDUP-PAST
   he sat and watched

which stresses the composure and superior attitude of the Aborigine in the face of the approaching group of police.
Apart from simple fronting, tag and reprise (see Grimes 1975: 342) are frequently used in Kuku Yalanji discourse. Reprise involves the statement of a noun phrase in initial position, before the clause as it were, with an anaphoric pronoun following in the slot where this NP would normally have occurred, e.g. Reprise of S NP:

(655) waybala janyiman, jana Palmer River
white man-ABS(S) Chinese-ABS(S) 3pl NOM(S)
kada-ny gold mani-nka
come-PAST gold-ABS(O) get-PURP

*White men and Chinese, they came to the Palmer River to get gold.*

Reprise of A NP:

(656) waybala-ngka, jana bama
white man-ERG:pt(A) 3pl NOM(A) Aborig.-ABS(O)
wubul kuni-l-kuni-ny
many-ABS(O) kill-REDUP-PAST

*white men, they killed many Aborigines*

Reprise of 0 NP:

(657) bama wubul, waybala-ngka
Aborig.-ABS(O) many-ABS(O) white man-ERG:pt(A)
janangan kuni-l-kuni-ny
3pl ACC(O) kill-REDUP-PAST

*many Aborigines, the white men killed them*

Another example of reprise applying to an 0 NP was given in Sentence (651).

Reprise constructions involving oblique objects have not been attested. This does not necessarily mean that they are impossible, but probably they are less favoured.
Tag, on the other hand, places a nominal noun phrase at the end of a clause, after an appropriate pronoun has occurred in normal clause position of this noun phrase. For instance, Text 51:97:

(658) nyulu wandi-ny, kaya-la
3sg NOM(S) rise-PAST dog-ABS(S)-EMPH₂

*it got up, the dog (did)*

where the tag construction (together with emphatic clitic -la) stresses the extraordinary event that the reassembled dog skeleton assumed life and really did get up on command. The tagged noun phrase may be set off by a pause, but does not have to be.

Other changes in word order involve the splitting up of noun phrases consisting of, say, a noun and an adjective, usually leaving the noun in its appropriate position and placing the adjective later, often finally, in the clause, e.g.

(659) dingkar-angka nyungu manyarr
man-ERG:pt(A) 3sg POSS-ABS(0) wife-ABS(0)

kuni-l-kuni-ny kuli-ji-ngka
hit-REDUP-PAST anger-COMIT-ERG:pt(A)

*the wild (vicious) man beat up his wife*

I cannot say for sure whether this is a form of emphatic tag, or a means to simplify otherwise long and cumbersome noun phrases in an effort to "get on" with the statement, or simply a way of expressing an afterthought. Or maybe it can be used for all of these reasons.

According to my intuition, for what it is worth, changes in word order contribute a great deal to making a Kuku Yalanji narrative interesting and exciting.
5.4.2 Emphatic Clitics

The semantics of emphatic clitics -ku (EMPH₁), -lu (Yalanji), -la (Nyungkul) (both EMPH₂) and -bi (EMPH₃) are still only partly understood by me. All I can do at present is to grade them according to what I perceive to be their degree of emphasis, based mainly on frequency of occurrence, and to suggest a semantic content for some of them.

-ku is the most frequently occurring emphatic clitic (16 times in the appended texts, including combinations -bajaku very and -(V)rrku totality; see 3.2.3.7 (iii) and 3.10.2 respectively) and therefore appears to be a fairly low key emphatic marker, if that is not a contradiction in terms. But it may well be that the more often a term is used, the more commonplace it becomes. Furthermore, -ku may be followed by other emphatic clitics -lu and -bi (see for examples -ku-lu in examples (641) and (642) above. To compound the difficulties with emphatic clitic -ku, adverb marker and neutral dative inflection /u- also have the form -ku, and this can be ambiguous on occasions.

All I can say at present is that -ku is a general emphatic marker which could perhaps be translated as really (see 3.10.2).

Clitics -la in the Nyungkul dialect and -lu in the Yalanji dialect are similar in form and have partly similar functions. -lu in Yalanji is used predominantly to mark whole parts of text as particularly important events which will be discussed in 5.5.1.1. Nyungkul -la does not have this particular function, but both dialects may use -la or -lu to emphasise individual nouns. These clitics seem to request the audience to pay special attention and could be translated as 'hark!' or 'pay attention!'.
A typical use of -lu in this function occurred in conversation and is worth while recounting here: Mrs Mabel Webb had begun to tell me about a trip that she had undertaken together with some other women, when she sneezed. I asked whether she had a cold: "Yundu ngikiji?" Because Mrs Webb was blowing her nose she misunderstood me as saying: "mijiji?", i.e. enquiring whether the people involved in her tale were white women, and she replied somewhat impatiently: "Kari, bamalu!" "No, they were Aborigines (do pay attention to what I say)!

Nyungkul -la occurs only once in the appended texts, in 51:97 (already cited previously but repeated here for convenience).

(660) nyulu wandiny kayala

it got up, the dog (did) - pay attention, this is really important!

Clitic -bi appears to have more affective function, that is expressing the speaker's personal reaction rather than requiring a reaction from the audience, and will be discussed in 5.5.4.

5.5 EVENTS AND NON-EVENTS

"The first distinction made in the analysis of discourse is between events and non-events." (Grimes 1975:35) Events represent what happens in a narrative, whereas non-events provide information about where, when, how or why something happens. Under non-events Grimes (1975:51-70) distinguishes between 'setting' in space and time, 'background' which explains events (e.g. 'therefore', 'because' in English), 'evaluation' which expresses the speaker's opinion, and 'collateral' which basically tells what did not happen, a concept which Aristotle described as a device for impressiveness of style in his treatise on rhetoric.
In my investigation of Kuku Yalanji discourse I have so far dealt only with the following points: a) A basic distinction between events and non-events, which is handled differently by Nyungkul and Yalanji speakers, and the use of dialogue in this context; b) possible general devices for establishing spatial and temporal setting; c) some aspects of background information, in particular the use of subordinate clauses; d) expressions of speaker's surprise and exhortations as aspects of evaluation; and e) the use of adversatives as collateral.

5.5.1 Basic Distinction between Events and Non-Events

Nyungkul speakers and Yalanji speakers have different ways of distinguishing between events and non-events. However, these methods are not exactly parallel. Nyungkul speakers indicate non-events by using a specific verb inflection. Yalanji speakers, on the other hand, mark particularly important events with an emphatic clitic.

However, I have to include a caveat with respect to these findings. It so happens that all my Yalanji informants are women and my most prolific Nyungkul narrators are men. (One excellent female Nyungkul speaker only helped me during my last field session and with her I worked almost exclusively on aspects of syntax, where her precise intuitions were a priority at the time.) It might therefore just be possible, that this distinction has to do with male and female speech styles rather than with regional dialect differences. However, we do have evidence for morphological differences between Nyungkul and Yalanji in other areas, e.g. pronoun inflections, whereas I have not observed any such differences in male and female speech
in the community. For the time being, I will therefore maintain
the assumption that the differences in event/non-event marking are
conditioned by regional dialect and not by the sex of the speaker.

5.5.1.1 Important Events in Yalanji Dialect

In the Yalanji dialect a narrator may mark events that she
(or he) deems to be particularly important by a copious use of the
emphatic clitic -lu. This clitic has been defined above (5.4.2) as
an attention getting device. It may attach to all kinds of clause
components and often follows the general emphatic clitic -ku.

Let us look at the excerpts from Text 3 which contain the
first two -lu-marked events in a very long and rambling narrative.
Previous to Line 1 of the excerpt Mrs Walker had related how her
party had prepared for the trip. Lines 1-14 tell us how the group
is driving along their way in the rain. In Lines 15-17 there is
the first significant event: They meet with difficulties on the
slippery road, the driver tries to control the car, but the car
keeps slipping about in a most alarming fashion. -lu occurs three
times, always with verbs and in conjunction with -ku. Once this
problem is overcome, the journey proceeds 'uneventfully' and no more
-lu's appear until the event involving the strange visitor on the
campsite. But it is not really the appearance of the stranger that
is marked as significant, but rather the unsatisfactory behaviour of
the young male members of Mrs Walker's party. In Lines 43-49 -lu
is used six times, always in connection with nouns. In the quotations
in Lines 45 and 49 -lu is used probably more in the nature of
localised highlight, nevertheless it occurs within the boundaries
of this particular event. (The most frequent occurrence of -lu that
I have encountered is 12 times in 10 text lines, preceded by 28 text lines in which -lu appeared only 5 times and widely apart as local emphatic marker.)

To sum up, we can say that emphatic clitic -lu in Yalanji, when used repeatedly throughout a section of text, marks this section as a significant event in contrast to other events or non-events where clitic -lu does not occur, or only occasionally to indicate local emphasis. Sequences marked with clitic -lu may be regarded as the 'high points' or 'peaks' in a Yalanji narrative (cf. Longacre and Levinsohn 1977:109).

5.5.1.2 Non-Events versus Events in Nyungkul Dialect

While Yalanji uses a special device for marking peaks, Nyungkul applies a certain morphological feature, the unmarked verb inflection -nyV, for non-events. Suffix -nyV, as shown in 4.4.4, functions as subordination marker. However, it also occurs frequently in texts, in strings of verbs or several consecutive sentences, where there is no evidence at all for subordination. The reason behind this use of -nyV remained quite opaque for a long time, since it was impossible to elicit non-subordinate clauses with this inflection. Prompted by Grimes' observation that the aspectual system of some languages can only be fully understood within the framework of discourse, (1975:93) I started to look at where exactly -nyV is used in a narrative and found that in the wider context of discourse this inflection makes remarkable sense.

Consider Text 51 which contains in Lines 61-67 an explanatory remark on how people prepared ground ovens in the old days. This part of text was clearly set off as a parenthetic remark by the
speaker’s intonation and voice quality. In other words, he interrupted the story in order to explain to me the technicalities of the ground oven that had just been set up by the participants of the story. And throughout this parenthetic remark he used only unmarked inflection -nyV which occurs nowhere else in this text.

Having realised that unmarked inflection -nyV is used in a non-event situation in this context, we can infer from this how a Nyungkul speaker structures his narrative into events and non-events by means of this unmarked verbal inflection. In Text 12 for instance, Lines 5-21 contain predominantly unmarked verb inflection. Here the narrator conveys information about the hero’s habits and one of his past exploits, before launching into the story proper, with normal past-tense inflection, which deals with the particular incident of how the hero set a trap for the police. Within the non-event span the narrator briefly changes to past tense inflection in Lines 15-17. These lines deal with the previous encounter between hero and police and thus represent something like an event within a non-event.

In Text 36 variation between past tense and unmarked inflection is somewhat more complicated. The main problem here is that we, as non-Nyungkul outsiders, would probably interpret the utterances containing unmarked inflection as rather belonging to an event sequence. But, leaving aside our ethnocentric point of view, let us look at what the narrator says: Lines 1-4 state that everyone was asleep and that the child had a dream about a crocodile. This information tells us in effect what the story is about and the speaker treats this as event (past tense inflection). Lines 5 and 6, the child did not sleep and cried out, are, perhaps somewhat surprisingly, treated as non-event (unmarked inflection). However, we already know that
the child is having a bad dream and so we may infer that the speaker is now setting the scene for the following event: the interaction between the distressed child and the concerned adults. This, as well as the subsequent narrative up to Line 42, is recounted in event form with past tense inflections. In Line 43, again perhaps surprisingly because it is in the middle of an action-packed sequence, the speaker switches back to unmarked inflection for non-event. But what is actually happening? The crocodile has got the child and the onlookers are distressed - what more is there to be said? The terrible accident has happened and the following is no more than a fading repetition, with some further adornments, of the previous happening. (Switching to non-event may perhaps also serve to signal to the audience that this is indeed the end of the child and that there is no hope for a happy turn in the affair.) The narrator then concludes the story with some final event-related remarks (past tense in Line 52) to assert the unhappy ending.

H. and R. Hershberger's (1982) interpretation of -nyV as 'habitual' would be appropriate for many of its occurrences in the appended texts (e.g. Text 12:14), but not for all of them (e.g. Text:42-44). Therefore, and because at present I am not aware of speakers' intuitions, I prefer the term 'unmarked verbal inflection' for the time being.

On first sight it might seem that inflectional form -nyV has an uncommonly heavy and diverse workload in acting both as subordinate clause marker and indicator of non-events in Nyungkul discourse. But these functions are not really all that different. In fact, to my mind, there is a distinct correlation between them in that -nyV basically subordinates, and this function applies not only to individual dependent clauses, but can also cover whole parts of a narrative, the
non-events, that are seen as subordinate to other parts, the events.

5.5.1.3 Dialogue in Narrative

It will be noted that quotations and dialogue occur frequently in the appended narratives, which are representative for Kuku Yalanji narratives in general.

Dialogue, according to Grimes (1975:70), is a specialised version of narrative in which quotations represent events. Thus, one way of marking events that is common to both Nyungkul and Yalanji, is the use of dialogue or quotations which represent speech events with varying illocutionary force. For instance the dialogue between one of the tribal group and the old man in Text 51:77-87 involves the offering and refusal/acceptance of the various parts of dog; the quotation in Text 51:52 implies the act of dividing and sharing the dog meat; and the conversation between Chris and the visitor in Text 3:51-56 represents the visitor's elicitation of information from Chris. All of these dialogues are direct representations of events.

Similarly, quotations may be used to indicate directly in event from a participant's perception as in the following examples:

(661) Text 12:9
Nyulu binal-ma-nya: "Yah, buliman yinya!"
3sg NOM(S) know-INCHO-UM INTER police-ABS that-ABS
(Thus) he got to know: "Ah, that's the police!"

(662) Text 51:8
"Yah, mayi ngali-nga kabal."
INTER fruit-ABS 1du inc-POSS-ABS Leichhardt tree-ABS
"Hey, there is some Leichhardt fruit for us."
5.5.2 Spatial and Temporal Setting

Spatial setting in Nyungkul can be accomplished by general non-event marking, but another way to set the spatial scene that is common to both Nyungkul and Yalanji is to describe a place in non-past tense as opposed to the past tense narrative. An example of this is at the very beginning of Text 12 where the speaker also addresses me personally since he knew that I was somewhat familiar with the particular area.

None of the narratives that I have recorded take place in one and the same spot throughout, but participants always move about, sometimes covering considerable distances, with different events happening at different places. Direction of movement and locations are always clearly defined by the use of Locative, Ablative, Abessive and proper place names or general local descriptions, as for instance throughout Text 51.

Motion verbs kada-y come and dunga-y go also play a part in the spatial setting of a narrative. Kada-y is always used with reference to a goal towards which the participant moves, as for instance in Text 51:3-4:

(663) 3 Bakarrmuku-muny kada-ny, kada-ny kada-ny kada-ny,
Wakooka Stn.-ABL come-PAST come-PAST...

[They] came from Wakooka Station, came on and on and on,

4 bula yuwulbuwun kada-ny.
3du NOM(S) Jeannie River come-PAST

they came to the Jeannie River.

Thus kada-y come serves to indicate both 'transit' (the goal is not yet reached but it is implied) and 'arrival' when the goal is reached.
Dunga-y go, on the other hand, may indicate 'departure' as for instance in Text 51:37:

(664) Dunga-ny-da wulbuman wangkar dunga-ny
go-PAST-TEMP old woman-ABS(S) upwards go-PAST
kaya-nda, mani-nka.
dog-LOC:pt get-PURP

Off went the old woman (leaving the two young fellows), went up to the dog to get [it].

As the second occurrence of dunga-y in the above example implies, dunga-y go may also serve as a term that is unmarked for 'departure', but represents motion from the perspective of the participant, rather than from the perspective of the goal as kada-y come does. Consider also Text 51:5

(665) Bula kada-ny, bula wawubaja-nga dunga-ny.
3du NOM(S) come-PAST 3du NOM(S) river-LOC go-PAST

They came and they went to the river.

Here, dunga-y clearly does not indicate 'departure', since this river is the very goal where they just arrived, but simply 'movement' by the participants.

Thus dunga-y go and kada-y come have the twofold discourse function of indicating 'departure', 'transit' and 'arrival' as well as changing the perspective of the narrative, kada-y being used from the perspective of the goal and dunga-y from the perspective of the participants.

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Narratives usually take place in the past and temporal setting is often established by time words like ngadiku *a long time ago* or adverbial clauses of time like ngayu karrkayku *when I was a child*, nyaku nganjan warruku *when my father was a young man*, (see 3.8.6.2). However, often a narrative as a whole is not specifically set in a particular time, but verbal inflections are sufficient to indicate that it happened in the past. Temporal setting of episodes within a narrative is accomplished solely by time words, e.g. wunkuny *next day* or other temporal references such as mudu-waju-ny *at daybreak*, miyil-wujurr-wujurr *at dusk*, etc. (For time words see 3.4).

5.5.3 Background

Background information is defined as providing explanations about participants or events in discourse. Again, Nyungkul can use general non-event marking for background, one example being the description of the ground oven procedures in Text 12.

Background information of this nature is an infrequent feature in homogeneous societies where everyone is expected to share the same knowledge (Grimes 1975:57), so the aforementioned background comment was obviously a special favour towards me, the outsider and ignoramus in matters of traditional Aboriginal cooking methods. Interestingly, where my narrators felt that some such explanation was in order for my benefit, they often switched code, even in the middle of a story, and explained the particular point in English.

However, even in a homogeneous society some less general and more localised background information is often necessary to shed light
on certain actions or states. This is the functional area of subordinate clauses with other than purely temporal reference:

**Purposive**, stating that some action is performed in order to facilitate another action (see 4.4.1);

**Precautionary**, stating that an action is or should be performed to prevent something else from happening (see 4.4.2);

**Causal**, indicating why a state or action has come about (see 4.4.4.2);

**Hypothetical reason**, stating that an action is or should be performed because of possible circumstances or consequences (see 4.4.4.4).

Particles kunka and nganganjirrka *in case* may introduce 'hypothetical reason' subordinate clauses (see 4.4.4.4), but may also occur initially in a co-ordinated clause which states the reason for a particular action, e.g.

(666) yundu bunda-y, kunka yunu ngamu
     2sg NOM(S) sit-IMP in case 2sg POSS-ABS(S) mother-ABS(S)
     kada-y-baja
     come-NONPAST-again

*you stay, in case your mother comes back!*

(667) ngayu mayi wundi-1 nganganjirrka
     1sg NOM(A) food-ABS(O) take-NONPAST in case
     ngayu warnku wunana-y baral-ba
     1sg NOM(S) sleep lie-REDUP-NONPAST road-LOC

*I take some food in case I have to spend the night on the road*

Nganganjirrka by itself is sufficient to indicate an unspecified reason as background information, e.g.

(668) ngayu mayi wundi-1 nganganjirrka
     1sg NOM(A) food-ABS(O) take-NONPAST in case

*I take some food just in case (one never knows, I may have to stop on the way)*

A co-ordinated clause with kaki *if* also conveys background information, i.e. the circumstances under which an action may take place or a state may come about (see 4.3.2), e.g.
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(669) kaki yundu dunda-y kungkarr,
if 2sg NOM(S) go-NONPAST North/Cooktown

ngayku jungkalu mana
1sg POSS-ABS(0) billycan-ABS(0) get-IMP

*if you go to Cooktown, get me a billycan!*

Particle nguba *maybe, perhaps* can supply background information in the sense of indicating a possible but unsubstantiated reason for a particular state or action, e.g.

(670) nyulu kari bayan-ba, nguba nyulu jilba dunga-ny
3sg NOM(S) NEG house-LOC maybe 3sg NOM(S) walk go-PAST

*he is not at home, maybe he has gone for a walk*

(671) jana warru kuni-wa-y, nguba jana
3pl NOM(S) yg man-ABS(S) fight-NONPAST maybe 3pl NOM(A)

kamu-kamu nuka-ny
alcohol-ABS(0) drink-PAST

*the young men are fighting, maybe they have drunk alcohol*

Since nguba expresses a surmise by the speaker it occurs less in narrative than in conversation.

5.5.4 Evaluation

Kuku Yalanji narratives are remarkably free of overtly evaluative positive or negative words, such as for instance 'villain' versus 'good guy'. (So far I have not looked into what terms may be socioculturally 'good' or 'bad' in Kuku Yalanji.)

The clitic mala- *expert, good at* may be regarded as an evaluative term which is used to assess a participant's abilities, as for instance in Text 12:18:

(672) Kuni-nya, nyulu mala-dunga-nya.
shoot-UM 3sg NOM(S) expert -go-UM

*[He] shot and he cleverly got away.*

But mala- does not necessarily imply a moral judgement, that is it may be used to describe the hero's or the villain's capabilities alike.
On the whole, narratives appear quite objective in their presentation, leaving the audience to judge for themselves the events or participants. This even applies to the way in which exhortations are told; but these are then concluded with a 'moral' to clearly identify the speaker's message. One text for instance relates how a man stole the best parts of a large eel from two women of an unrelated tribal group (i.e. he definitely had no right to a share of the fish). He cheated the women cleverly to accomplish the theft, and the story up to that point sheds no light on as to whether one should condemn the thief or admire his cleverness and blame the women for their stupidity. However, vengeance followed in the person of one of the women's husbands who pursued the culprit and speared him. Standing over his victim he is quoted as saying:

(673)a) "Yundu bama/nga yinduy-mbu
2sg NOM(A) Aborig.-POSS-ABS(O) other-POSS-ABS(O)
minya kari mana!
meat-ABS(O) NEG get/take-IMP

"Don't you take another person's meat!

b) Yundu kawal-ba kari warri-y!
2sg NOM(S) shouting-LOC NEG run-IMP

Don't you run to (someone else's) shouting!

c) Yundu yindu.
2sg NOM(S) other

You are someone else (of another tribe).

d) Kawal nyaji-l, yundu kari warri-y!
shouting-ABS(0) hear-NONPAST 2sg NOM(S) NEG run-IMP

(When you) hear shouting, don't run (to it)!

e) Yinya nyungu minya, yunu kari."
that-ABS(S) 3sg POSS-ABS meat-ABS 2sg POSS-ABS NEG

That is his/her meat, not yours."
The message of the story is now quite unambiguous.

One evaluative aspect that the speaker can express overtly by means of a special morpheme, is surprise about something in the narrative, which can be indicated by clitic -bi. This interpretation of -bi was suggested by Hershberger (1982:294) and I agree that it is the most likely interpretation of this clitic. Consider some of its uses in the appended texts (overall occurrence six times):

(674) Text 36:37
   yinyabi bijarrmuny  *that one from the dream!*

(675) Text 36:53
   yala bijarrbi  *just like the dream!*

In both these examples -bi may be seen as expressing surprise that the events in real life tally with the child's dream.

(676) Text 51:72
   wulman yanyabi  *this certain old man (lo and behold)*

Here the speaker's own surprise could be regarded as aptly adding emphasis to the sudden coming into focus of this new (and important) participant.

(677) Text 3:6
   bubu julbarrbi  *the ground was (really) slippery!*

Here, one may argue that it is not surprising that a dirt road is slippery when it has been raining hard, but from the clitic we may infer that it was probably a good deal more slippery than the narrator's party had expected.

A Yalanji speaker can also indicate by frequent use of emphatic clitic -lu that he or she considers certain events in a narrative as particularly important (see 5.5.1.1).
In my experience, a Kuku Yalanji narrator generally does not cast himself in an omniscient role, but rather experiences events together with the audience as he narrates them, even though it may be a familiar and commonly known tale. His knowledge of the plot is admitted to the extent that he may alert the audience to items of importance (using clitic -lu in Yalanji dialect) but apparently he can freely indicate that some developments come as a surprise even to himself. This impression, that the narrator does not see himself as omniscient with respect to his story, is supported by the fact that on completion of a narrative, he or she quite often continues with musings about the narrative participants' possible motives for certain actions.

5.5.5 Collateral

"Some information in a narrative, instead of telling what did happen, tells what did not happen. It ranges over possible events, and in so doing sets off what actually does happen against what might have happened" (Grimes 1975:64). Collateral devices "have the effect of setting up alternatives" to the actual events in a narrative and the fact that alternatives are mentioned "makes what actually does happen stand out in sharper relief than if it were told without collateral" (Grimes 1975:65).

So far I have determined four collateral devices in Kuku Yalanji narratives: irrealis inflection and particles kari, yamba and balu as used to indicate "adversative" (cf. Grimes 1975:65). Irrealis inflection -nyaku (see 3.8.4.2 (iv)) explicitly states what could have happened but did not, as for instance in the following line from another Palmer River Goldrush story:
(678) Jana waba-nyaku nyunguniny nyaji-nyaku
3pl NOM(A) look up-IRR 3sg ACC(O) see-IRR

*If they had looked up they would have seen him (but they did not).*

(The same hero as in Text 12 had sat a whole night in a tree above a group of policemen who were looking for him.)

The main collateral function of particle kari lies in negating an alternative that is not necessarily stated but is implicit.

(Straightforward negation which also employs particle kari (see 4.9.3) is apparently rarely used as a collateral device.) In 4.3.2 I have shown that particle kari, at the beginning of the second of two conjoined clauses, negates in retrospect the content of the first clause. Kari may also be used initially in a clause which is not conjoined and we can infer from this that something which could have been expected, but remained unsaid, did not take place; only one of several alternatives happened. Thus the semantic content of particle kari in this context could be paraphrased as 'several alternatives are possible but only the following applies'. Consider an example of two consecutive sentences from a text:

(679)a) Nganjin-ku-lu murrui
1pl exc NOM(A)-EMPH<sub>1</sub>-EMPH<sub>2</sub> unable
wukurri-1-wukurri-ny, kuyu-lu bana-nga
follow-REDUP-PAST fish-ABS(S)-EMPH<sub>2</sub> water-LOC
janji-ny
swim-PAST

*We could not follow, the fish was swimming in the water.*

b) Kari mama-ngka-lu yalama-ny: "Yubal
but mother-ERG:pt-EMPH<sub>2</sub> say-PAST 2du NOM(A)
juwal-da dama!"
digging stick-INST spear-IMP

*But mother said: "You two spear it with a digging stick!"
Seeing that they could not follow the fish (which was injured and expected to exhaust itself) these people had two options: leave it alone or try to get it by some other means. Kari implies that one of these options was discarded and the subsequent clause indicates which one was in fact chosen. Another example is in Text 51:29-30:

(680)29 "Ngali kuwa-muny kada-ri-ny."

ldu inc NOM(S) West-ABL come-PLS-PAST

"We two came from the West."

30 "Ngay, kari wangkar-muny ngayu kankada-ny."

INTER but up-ABL lsg NOM(S) come-REDUP-PAST

"I see, but I came from up there."

The second speaker, the old woman with the dog, could have come from several directions, including the one that the first speaker came from. Kari implicitly denies this latter possibility before the woman says where she did come from. In this particular context it is significant that the woman implicitly disassociates her own point of departure from that of the two fellows, since she wants to conceal the true nature of her dog which was left behind on the way.

The co-ordination particle yamba (see 4.3.2) qualifies a previous statement, usually describing a state, by adding a contrastive aspect. This use of yamba is akin to the 'adversative' function of kari, but unlike kari, yamba only occurs in the second of two co-ordinated clauses, e.g.

(681) walkarr kuli-ji kari, yamba dirra

black goanna-ABS(S) rage-COMIT NEG but teeth-ABS(S)

germs-mun-ji minya kabu nuka-nya

germs-mun-COMIT meat-ABS(0) rotten-ABS(0) eat-SUB

the black goanna is not vicious, but [its] teeth are full of germs from eating rotten meat
3pl NOM(S) expert-meat like Aborig. but
3pl-POSS-ABS(S) land-ABS(S) face-other
they (the Eskimos) are good hunters and fishermen like Aborigines, but their country is different

The 'adversative' function of discourse particle balu lies in the implication of a wrong assumption on the part of the speaker (see 4.9.3). Because it is directly speaker related it is used typically in conversation or first person narratives. In third person narratives it may occur in quotations of participants' utterances.

(682) jana mala-minya yala bama, yamba

I thought you intended to roast the meat, (but you are boiling it in water)

(684) balu nyulu kada-ny-baja

I thought he was coming back (but apparently he did not)

5.6 CONCLUDING REMARKS

In this chapter I have examined the mainstays of Kuku Yalanji discourse structure which I believe contribute a good deal to the understanding and appreciation of Kuku Yalanji narratives. However, further investigation would certainly reveal a lot more about the finer points, for instance in the area of discourse clitics and inherently evaluative content of words.
Two other areas that would particularly merit more detailed investigation are the rate of information flow (only briefly mentioned in the discussion of anaphoric linkage in 5.2.3) and the interplay of intonation contours with narrative structure. (A brief description of general intonation contours was given in 2.3.6.)

Finally, different discourse genres other than narrative, such as procedural, expository and hortatory discourse (cf. Longacre 1976), songs and last but not least conversation have not even been touched upon in this study but are subject to further research.
APPENDIX  Texts

The following four texts serve to illustrate not only aspects of Kuku Yalanji grammar and discourse structure but also the unrestricted and active use of this language to communicate all types of subject matter, ranging from everyday events to traditional stories. All four texts, as indeed most of my collection of narratives, were told spontaneously.

The most prolific narrators as well as capable editors of their own texts were the Kuku Nyungkul speakers Charlie Tayley and Bobby Roberts, both in their fifties. Born in Cooktown, Charlie Tayley was taken on as a station hand in his early teens by the owner of Greenhill Station. He worked on a number of stations in the south-eastern part of the Cape York Peninsula, droving cattle from as far north as Wakooka Station on Princess Charlotte Bay to as far south as Bowen, before settling at Wujal-Wujal with his family to allow his children a regular school education. He is now the head stockman of the mission and is acknowledged as a good story teller by the community. During his days as a drover, in the company of other and older Kuku Nyungkul, Kuku Yalanji and also Guugu Yimidhirr speakers, he acquired a large repertoire of mythical stories (text 51 is one example) as well as anecdotes from both his own travels and from the time of the Palmer River Goldrush (1873 to about 1885). His source of Palmer River Goldrush stories was an old man, Billy Charcoal, who lived at Laura Station and would entertain the young stockmen with eyewitness accounts of fighting,

1) Even clearer examples of productive language use are recountings of quite "alien" subject matters, as for instance Kaban Eskimo-warranka, two narratives on Eskimo life style by Lizzie Olbar, SIL 1978.
cannibalism and trickery on the part of the Aborigines who fought a bitter but losing battle for their lives against the marauding European and Chinese intruders. 1) Text 12 is one of the tamer stories from this time.

Bobby Roberts spent his childhood and youth on Palm Island where his parents had been transported when he was only a small boy. He grew up speaking English, the lingua franca among Aborigines from different tribes who lived together on the prison island, and attended school. From his parents he acquired only a basic knowledge of Kuku Nyungkul. On returning to the Bloomfield River in his early twenties he made a conscious effort to learn his tribal language "properly" from the older people, as well as acquiring information on bushcraft, native food and traditional customs. He took it upon himself to devise lessons for me on these subjects, providing me first of all with the necessary vocabulary and then illustrating his topics with narratives. Text 36 was part of one such lesson dealing with the significance of dreams.

Ivy Walker, a Kuku Yalanji speaker in her mid-forties, had lived all her life in her tribal country. She had a thorough knowledge of Yalanji myths and folklore, but her favoured topics of conversation were family matters and events from her own life, particularly camping trips that her family had undertaken together with Chris Anderson, an anthropologist from the University of Queensland, whom she called "younger brother". The excerpts in Text 3 are taken from a very long narrative recounting a week-long trip to Shiptons Flat, her husband Johnny Walker's (Kuku Nyungkul) traditional territory. The text was

transcribed and edited to some extent with the help of her niece Queenie Dick in 1979. Owing to Ivy Walker's sudden death early in 1981 no final checking and editing of her texts was possible.
Charlie Tayley: Why the dingo always turns around before running away

1 Warru-bulal jambul, bula jilba-dunga-ny
yg man-pair-ABS(S) two-ABS(S) 3du NOM(S) walk-go-PAST
dunga-ny dunga-ny,
go-PAST go-PAST

Two young men, they went walkabout, went on and on,

2 bula kuwa-muny kada-ny, wanja-muny bakarrmuku.
3du NOM(S) West-ABL come-PAST somewhere-ABL Wakooka Stn.

they came from the West, from somewhere (around) Wakooka Station.

3 Bakarrmuku-muny kada-ny, kada-ny kada-ny kada-ny,
Wakooka Stn-ABL come-PAST come-PAST ...

[They] came from Wakooka Station, came on and on and on,

4 bulâ yuwulbuwun kada-ny.
3du NOM(S) Jeannie River come-PAST

they came to the Jeannie River.

5 Bula kada-ny, bula wawubaja-nga dunga-ny.
3du NOM(S) come-PAST 3du (NOM(S) river-LOC go-PAST

They came and they went to the river.

6 Bula wawubaja-nga dunga-ny, bula mayi
3du NOM(S) river-LOC go-PAST 3du NOM(A) fruit-ABS(O)
kabal warrmba-bunga-ny
Leichardt tree-ABS(O) uncovered-CAUS-PAST

They went to the river and they found some Leichardt fruit.

7 Kabal mayi warrmba-bunga-ny
Leichardt tree-ABS(O) fruit-ABS(O) uncovered-CAUS-PAST

Leichardt fruit [they] found.
"Yah, mayi ngali-nga kabal."

Hey, there is some Leichardt fruit for us.

Bula nuka-ny nuka-ny nuka-ny nuka-ny, 3du NOM(A) eat-PAST ...

They ate and ate and ate and ate,

yinduy-nju yalama-ny: "ngali daka-l?
and one of them said: "Shall we climb?

Ngali juku-ngu daka-l.
We will climb on the tree."

Bula daka-ny.
They climbed.

Daka-ny, juku-muny mani-l-mani-ny mayi nuka-l-nuka-ny.
[They] climbed up and kept taking fruit from the tree and eating it.

Bula yarra wangkar nyaji-ny. "Yah!"
They looked up that way. "Hey!"

Wulbuman wangkar-mundu kaya-nji kankada-ny.
An old woman was coming from up there with a dog.

Wulbuman-anga kaya yalbay.
The old woman's dog was big.
Kada-ny kada-ny kada-ny kada-ny, come-PAST ...

[The woman and her dog] came on and on and on and on.

wangkarwangkar kaya bawa-ny.
up there dog-ABS(0) leave-PAST

[and she] left the dog up there.

Wangkarwangkar bawa-ny, nyulu badabada dunga-ny.
up there leave-PAST 3sg NOM(S) down there go-PAST

(Having) left [the dog] up there, she went on down there.

Badabada dunga-nya, wawubaja-nga kada-ny,
down there go-SUB river-LOC come-PAST

Going on down there [she] came to the river,

kabal yinya-ku nuka-1-nuka-ny bula.
Leichard tree that-EMPH eat-REDUP-PAST 3du NOM(A)

[at the] very same Leichard tree [where] the two were eating.

Nyulu nuka-ny nuka-ny nuka-ny,
3sg NOM(A) eat-PAST ...

She ate and ate and ate,

bula wangkarwangkar-mundu kuni-ny nyunguriny
3du NOM(A) up there-ABESS hit-PAST 3sg ACC(0)

mayi-bu wawumu-bu dukul-baja-ku.
fruit-INST half ripe-INST head-ABS(0)-DEG-EMPH

and the two hit her from up there with half ripe fruit right on the head.

Nyulu wulman-angka waba-ny. "Yah!"
3sg NOM(A) old woman-ERG:pt look up-PAST INTER

The old woman looked up. "Hey!"

(Note, waba-1 is formally a transitive verb which does not require a transitive object.)

Bulaniny nyaji-ny wangkarwangkar bundanda-nya jalban-ba.
3sg ACC(0) see-PAST up there sit-REDUP-SUB tree top-LOC

[She] saw the two sitting up there in the tree top.
"Yah, kada-y kada-y!"
INTER come-IMP come-IMP
"Hey, come [down], come!"

Bula kada-ny.
3du NOM(S) come-PAST

The two came.

Wulbuman-angka balka-ny: "Yubal wanja-muny old woman-ERG:pt(A) speak-PAST 2du NOM(S) where-ABL kada-ny?"
come-PAST

The old woman spoke: "Where did you two come from?"

"Ngali kuwa-muny kada-ri-ny."
lsg inc NOM(S) West-ABL come-PLS-PAST

"We two came from the West."

"Ngay, kari wangkar-muny ngayu kankada-ny."
INTER but up-ABL lsg NOM(S) come-REDUP-PAST

"I see, but I came from up there."

"Ngay."
INTER

"Oh, alright."

Balka-wa-ny balka-wa-ny balka-wa-ny bula-nji.
speak-RECIP-PAST ...

[She] talked and talked and talked with the two.
(i.e. they all had a long chat)

"Bunda-y", yalama-ny, "yubal, yubal yalaymba sit-IMP say-PAST 2du NOM(S) 2du NOM(S) here
bunda-y!
sit-IMP

"Stay (literally: sit)", [she] said, "you two, you two stay here!"

Ngayu kaya karrkay bawa-ny wangkarwangkar.
lsg NOM(A) dog-ABS(0) little-ABS(0) leave-PAST up there

I left a little dog up there.
It was exhausted and I left it."

The two had seen [it] before. (i.e. they knew that it was not a little dog at all and that the old woman wanted to deceive them.)

Off went the old woman, went up to the dog to get [it].

In the meantime the two young fellows took off,

[they] took off in that direction and ran towards [their] camp in the West.

The old woman went and got the dog.

[She] set the dog on the two.

The dog went down there, nothing. (The two were gone.)

Then the dog followed the two.
The old woman was coming behind.

The dog followed and followed and followed [them].

The two went right on to the West, went right on to the West and came to the top of the mountain.

[They] came to Jones' Gap.

They stayed there, one on the northern side, the other on the southern side. (i.e. one looking down from one side, the other looking down from the other side.)

The dog ran on, the dog ran and ran and ran,

and the two speared it.

[They] speared [it], killed [it] and cut [it] in half.
52 "Yunu kanku, ngayku kanku."
2sg POSS half 1sg POSS half
"One half for you and one half for me."

53 Dakil nyungu yinduy-mbu.
front leg-ABS 3sg POSS one of-POSS

One of them [got] the front legs [half]. (Note that yindu has a suppletive y-final root in inflected form. Inflections are always from the 'neutral' set.)

54 Wundi-ny-da bula wundi-ny wuburr-bu
take-PAST-TEMP_1 3du NOM(A) take-PAST mountain top-LOC
wangkarwangkar, wanjabu Wakuka.
up there somewhere Wakooka Station

Then they took [the dog pieces] and took them up there to the mountain top somewhere around Wakooka Station.

55 Bama wubul yinyaymba bundanda-ri-ny.
Aborig.-ABS(S) many-ABS(S) there sit-REDUP-PLS-PAST

Many people stayed there.

56 Jana jurrkiji-ny minya-ji,
3pl NOM(S) shift camp-PAST meat-COMIT

They shifted camp with the meat,

57 minya jurrki-ny jana, badabada dunga-ny.
meat-ABS(O) move-PAST 3pl NOM(A) down there go-PAST

they moved the meat and went down there.

58 Badabada dunga-ny.
down there go-PAST

[They] went down there.

59 Wawubaja-nga kada-ny, dinda-ny minya,
river-LOC come-PAST roast-PAST meat-ABS(O)
kurrma-nga dinda-ny.
ground oven-LOC roast-PAST

[They] came to the river and roasted the meat, roasted [it] in a ground oven.

60 Kurrma-nga dinda-ny.
ground oven-LOC roast-PAST

[They] roasted [the meat] in a ground oven.
Ngadiku dubal nyanda-nya,
long ago bark-ABS(0) chop-UM

In the old days [they] chopped bark [off a tree].

(This is an aside explanation on how people used to roast meat in a ground oven; note the unmarked verbal inflection up to Line 68.)

mina yaka-ji-nya yaka-ji-nya,
meat-ABS(S) cut up-ITR-UM cut up-ITR-UM

meat was cut up into pieces, (agentless Passive)

bana nyangarri-nya dubal-ba,
water-ABS(0) pour-UM bark-LOC

[they] poured water into the bark,

kurrma waju-nyu,
ground oven-ABS(0) burn-UM

lighted the ground oven, (i.e. the fire)

kurrma-nga yijarri-nya minya yijarri-nya,
ground oven-LOC put-UM meat-ABS(0) put-UM

put meat in the ground oven,

buyku bundanda-nya.
paper bark-ABS(S) sit-REDUP-UM

and paper bark [leaves] sat on top. (i.e. covered the meat)

Bubu-ngu bundanda-nya, bawa-nya.
ground-LOC sit-REDUP-UM leave-UM

(The whole cooking contraption) was sitting in the ground and was left alone. (or: they sat on the ground and left it alone)

(End of parenthetic remark, note return to PAST inflection in next line.)

Jana bunda-ny bunda-ny bunda-ny,
3pl NOM(S) sit-PAST ...

They sat and sat and sat,

mina waju-ny, walnga-ny.
meat-ABS(0) cook-PAST take out-PAST

[when] the meat was cooked, [they] took it out.
They took the meat out and then ate it.

[They] ate and ate and ate and ate.

There was this old man.

The old man was sitting in the shade.

One of them said:

"Hey, do ask the old man [if] he wants some meat!"

One of them went and asked him:

"Hey, old man, do you want some meat?"

"Mh mh" [said the old man] nodding his head.

(Actually the narrator shook his head, miming the old man. But the answer was clearly meant to be affirmative. Possibly, shaking of the head indicated 'yes' in aboriginal culture. Unfortunately I did not follow this up.)
"Wanyurri-ngku minya-ka, yundu bangkarr-ka wawu?"

"What [sort of] meat, do you want steak?"

"Kari."

"No."

"Yundu jiba-ka wawu?"

"Do you want liver?"

"Kari."

"No."

"Dakil-ka yundu wawu, malbin?"

"Do you want a front leg, [or] a hind leg?"

"Kari."

"No."

Wawu kari nyulu.

He did not want [any of these].

Yinduy-nju yalama-ny: "Yundu dukul-ku wawu?"

The other one said: "Do you want the head?"

"Yuwu!"

"Yes!"

Dukul nyungu daji-ny.

[The other one] gave him the head.
Dukul mani-ny, nyulu bada yilki-nga
dunga-ny.
go-PAST
He took the head and went down to the creek.

Bayan-muny nyulu bada yilki-nga dunga-ny.
camp-ABL 3sg NOM(S) downwards creek-LOC go-PAST
He went from the camp down to the creek.

Bada yilki-nga dunga-ny,
downwards creek-LOC go-PAST
[He] went down to the creek,

nyulu yinya bajibay muja-ny,
3sg NOM(A) that-ABS(O) bone-ABS(O) gather-PAST
he gathered up those bones,

junumunda-ny-da.
join-PAST-TEMP
and then joined them together.

Junumunda-ny junumunda-ny junumunda-ny.
join-PAST ...
[He] kept joining and joining and joining.

Dakil balka-ny, dakil balka-ny,
front leg-ABS(O) make-PAST front leg-ABS(O) make-PAST
malbin, malbin, muku, dukul,
hind leg-ABS(O) ... back-ABS(O) head-ABS(O)
milka, milka, biji,
ear-ABS(O) ... tail-ABS(O)
[He] made a front leg, made [the other] front leg, a hind leg and [another] hind leg, back, head, ears, tail,

nyulu yalama-ny: "yundu warndi-y!"
3sg NOM(A) say-PAST 2sg NOM(S) get up-IMP
and he said: "Get up!"
It got up, the dog [did].

The dog got up,

[and the old man said:] "Turn around!"

It turned around and went [off].

[The old man said:] "Run, and look behind you!"

It ran, and looked behind,

ran again, and looked behind.

He the old man laughed to himself:

"Ha ha ha, you stay like this!"

The dog, he stayed like this.

("That's the one, dingo.")
Charlie Tayley: A story from the time of the Palmer River Goldrush.

1. Yundu dunga-y, yundu Palmer River kada-y.  
   2sg NOM(S) go-NONPAST 2sg NOM(S) " " come-NONPAST  
   You go, and you come to the Palmer River.

2. Yundu Palmer River kada-y, yundu yarra  
   2sg NOM(S) " " come-NONPAST 2sg NOM(A) direction  
   nyaji-l wuburr jarrajarra wangkar  
   see-NONPAST mountain top-ABS(O) more up, high  
   wanjabu, Mount Windsor.  
   somewhere " "  
   You come to the Palmer River and you see over there somewhere a higher mountain top, [that is] Mount Windsor.

   3sg POSS-ABS(S) camp-ABS(S) up there mountain top-LOC  
   His camp [was] up there on the mountain top.  
   (Referring to the hero of a number of Palmer River Goldrush stories.)

   rock-LOC " -mun-LOC 3sg NOM(S) lie-REDUP-PAST  
   He lived in a cave. (Note the generic use of Kulji 'rock'.)

5. Yalibala-ku nyulu wandi-nya bundanda-nya.  
   early-EMPH1 3sg NOM(S) rise-UM sit-REDUP-UM  
   He got (used to get?) up early and sat around.

   face-follow-UM fire-ABS(O) smoke-ABS(O) see-PURP  
   [He] looked around to see smoke. (Generic use of baya fire)

7. Jana buliman-buliman dunga-n-dunga-nya,  
   3pl NOM(S) policeman-REDUP-ABS(S) go-REDUP-UM  
   The policemen were going along,
and they lit grassfires. (i.e. They were blazing a trail.)

Thus he got to know: "Ah, that's the police!"

He came. (i.e. to keep an eye on the police)

(He) went down there and sat and sat.

(He) followed them behind, followed and followed.

They stopped and set up camp,

hobbled the horses, and having set up camp they settled down.

In the dark [he] came, he sneeked up with a rifle.

He sneeked up with a rifle and shot [at] them with the rifle.
They said: "Hey, that's him!"

(He) shot and he cleverly got away.

(Note that the use of mala 'good at' with a verb has not been confirmed by other informants; it is normally only used with nouns.)

He [had] shot a policeman and got his rifle.

He got a rifle and bullets (literally: eggs),

and took them to his camp in the cave.

He went, he went and stayed in[his]camp.

The next day he came out and went off.

[He] saw the fire coming along, (i.e. the fires lit by the police)

he sat and watched.
They hobbled the horses, set up camp and lit a fire.

[They] ate and settled down.

They said: "Hey, he is around somewhere."

He is around, look out!"

They sat around [for a while].

They lay down and came on early,

they went up there,

to the top of the mountain, to his camp.

(or: to his camp on the top of the mountain)

The road [led] straight up like this.
Yala jirrba janku, yala jirrba janku, like side/bank-ABS hole in ground-ABS ...

Both sides were like the sides of a hole (i.e. going straight up),

badabada ngamar.
down there steep
down there it was steep. (i.e. The path between the straight banks was steep.)

Wangkar daka-ny daka-ny daka-ny,
upwards climb-PAST ...

[The policemen] climbed up and up and up,

nyulu nyaji-ny.
3sg NOM(A) see-PAST
and he saw [them].

"Jana kankada-y yarra ngundu."
3pl NOM(S) come-REDUP-NONPAST direction close
"They are coming closer" [he said].

Nyulu kulji yalbay-ku mani-ny.
3sg NOM(A) rock-ABS(O) big-ABS(0)-EMPH get-PAST
He got a really big rock.

Kulji yalbay-ku jurrnga-ny, yijarri-ny.
rock-ABS(0) big-ABS(0)-EMPH push-PAST put-PAST
[He] pushed the really big rock and set it up.

Baral-ba-ku yijarri-ny kulji yalbay.
road-LOC-EMPH put-PAST rock-ABS(0) big-ABS(0)
Right on the road [he] set the big rock.

Jana daka-ny daka-ny daka-ny,
3pl NOM(S) climb-PAST ...
They climbed and climbed and climbed,

jana dingkul-bu-maniji-ny-da
3pl NOM(S) half way-LOC-INCHO-PAST-TEMP_{1}
they got half way [up],
and he pushed the rock from up there.

[He] pushed the rock,

and the rock rolled down.

They ran in fright.

"Hey, a rock is rolling (literally; running) down from up there!"

They could not run over there [because] the road was [so] bad.

They ran down (as best they could), followed by [with] the rock.

Some were killed, [they] were killed with the rock.

The white policemen were killed with the rock.
Nyulu mala(-)bundanda-nya wangkarwangkar.
3sg NOM(S) good at(-)sit-REDUP-UM up there

He was sitting comfortably (sic) up there.

Kuni-ny jananiny
kill-PAST 3pl ACC(O)

[He] had killed them.

Juma jana kada-ny, kari-ku daka-ny-baja.
next time 3pl NOM(S) come-PAST NEG-EMPH₁ climb-PAST-again

The next time they came, they certainly did not climb up again.

Jana binal nyulu yinya wangkarwangkar
3pl NOM(S) know 3sg NOM(S) that-ABS(S) up there

bundanda-ny.
sit-REDUP-PAST

They knew that he was sitting up there.

Jana daka-1, nyulu kulji ready.
3pl NOM(S) climb-NONPAST 3sg NOM rock-ABS

[And they knew, when] they climb up, he has a rock ready [for them].

Nyulu kulji mani-ny, yijarri-ny juma-ynakya.
3sg NOM(A) rock-ABS(0) get-PAST put-PAST next time-DAT

He got a rock and set it up for the next time.
Bobby Roberts: A Prophetic Dream.

1. Nyulu karrkay wunana-ny.  
   3sg NOM(S) child-ABS(S) lie-REDUP-PAST  
   The child was sleeping.

2. Ngamu nganjan wunana-ny.  
   mother-ABS(S) father-ABS(S) lie-REDUP-PAST  
   Mother and father were sleeping.

3. Ah wuna-ny wuna-ny,  
   lie-PAST lie-PAST  
   ah, [they] slept and slept,

4. yinya karrkay, nyulu bijarri-ny, bilngkumu  
   that-ABS child-ABS 3sg NOM(A) dream-PAST crocodile-ABS(O)  
   bijarri-ny.  
   dream-PAST  
   that child, he dreamt, dreamt of a crocodile.

5. Wujurr-bu kari wuna-nya,  
   darkness-LOC NEG sleep-UM  
   In [the middle of] the night [he] did not sleep,

6. yirrka-nya nganjan-anda ngamu-ndu:  
   cry out-UM father-LOC:pt mother-LOC:pt  
   [he] cried out to father and mother:

7. "Ngamu, dada, walnga!  
   mother-ABS daddy-ABS wake up-IMP  
   "Mother, daddy, wake up! (walnga-1 also take off, open something)"

8. Bilngkumu yanya kankada-y."  
   crocodile-ABS(S) this-ABS(S) come-REDUP-NONPAST  
   This crocodile is coming.
He had a dream.

[He] cried out, and cried and cried.

A whole lot of people turned up,

[they] got a torch and kept flashing a light on the bed,

and peeped under [the bed],

[there was] nothing.

"Ah quick, look, look! [The child was crying out]

His smell is coming, a strong smell.

It is close now, [it] is coming close.

[It] is coming close."
[The child] smelled the smell, the strong smell [of] that crocodile. (or: that is a crocodile, i.e. a crocodile is typically associated with a strong smell.)

[The people] flashed a light again,

[they] went along the side [of the house], came back, and looked in the house.

[The people said] "Ah, there is really nothing at all, perhaps he had a dream."

(literally: a very strong dream came)

[They] lay down, dawn came, early [in the morning] they cooked food, ate breakfast and then went out.

[They] went out and dived for mussels in the river.

[They] gathered mussels and that child [went] down. (i.e. dived)
27 Yinya janji-ny.
that-ABS(S) dive-PAST

28 Mukirr mani-nya, yilba-ny.
mussel-ABS(0) get-UM(?) throw-PAST
[He] got mussels and threw them [out]. (or getting mussels he threw them out)

29 Bubu-ngu yilba-ny kulur.
land-LOC throw-PAST some-ABS(0)
[He] threw some onto the land (shore).

30 Janji-ny-baja, dunga-nya dajali-mun-bu.
dive-PAST-again go-SUB deep water-mun-LOC
[He] dived again going into deep water.

31 Jana kunja-nya:
3pl NOM(A) call-UM(?)
They called [him]:

32 "Kari-ku dunga-y dajali-mun-bu, yinya dajali.
NEG-EMPH go-IMP deep water-mun-LOC that deep water
"Don't go into deep water, that [is] deep water!

33 Ngundu kada-y yalkan-ba."
close come-IMP shallow water-LOC
Come close into shallow water!"

34 "Kari, yalada."
INTER INTER
"No, [I am] all right."

35 Yinya minya jirray wubul mukirr.
that-ABS(S) meat-ABS(S) much many mussel-ABS(S)
There were so many mussels. (literally: that mussel food was a lot)

36 Wala-nya-baja, muja-nya-baja, yilba-nya.
enter-UM-again gather-UM-again throw-UM
[He] went in again, gathered more and threw them out.

37 Ah bilngkumu kada-ny, yinya-bi bijarr-muny.
crocodile-ABS(S) come-PAST that-EMPH dream-ABL
Ah, a crocodile came, that [very same] from the dream.
Kada-ny junkay-ku nyungu-ndu karrkay-anda.  
[It] came straight towards the child.

Karrba-ny.  
grab-PAST  
[It] grabbed [him].

Karrba-ny, wundi-ny-da, janji-ny-da,  
grab-PAST take-PAST-TEMP₁ dive-PAST-TEMP₁  
[It] grabbed [him], then took [him with it] and dived,

Jana karrkay-anga nganjan ngamu  
3pl NOM(S) child-POSS-ABS(S) father-ABS(S) mother-ABS(S)  
kанбал bama yirrka-ri-ny.  
some-ABS(S) Aborig.-ABS(S) cry out-PLS-PAST  
They, the child's father and mother and some people, cried out.

Ah nubi-l-nubi-ny-da.  
search-REDUP-PAST-TEMP₁  
Ah, [they] then searched [everywhere].

Bilngkumu wala-nya wandi-nya.  
crocodile-ABS(S) enter-UM emerge-UM  
The crocodile went under and came out again.

Milbi-nya yala ngamu-ndu.  
show-UM like mother-LOC :pt  
[It] showed [the child] to the mother like that.

Jiba-badi-n-badi-ny.  
feel sad-REDUP-PAST  
[The mother] was very sad. (or it was a very sad affair)

Wala-nya bada.  
enter-UM downwards  
[The crocodile] went down (again).

Ngay, Jana nubi-l-nubi-nya.  
INTER 3pl NOM(A) search-REDUP-UM  
Well, they kept searching.
"Wala-ny, yarra wala-ny."
enter-PAST direction enter-PAST

[Someone said:] "[It] went under, over there it went under."

Wandi-nya-baja, milbi-nya.
emerge-UM-again show-UM

[The crocodile] came up again and showed [the child].

"Yinya-la, jinbal jinbal"
that-EMPH₂ quick quick

"That's it there, quick, quick!"

Yalada.
INTER
That was it.

Kumba-ny-arrku, wundi-ny.
finish-PAST-EMPH₄ take-PAST

It was all finished, [the crocodile] had taken [the child].

Yala bijarr-bi.
like dream-EMPH₃

[It was] just like the dream.
Ivy Walker: A trip to Shiptons Flat with Chris Anderson (excerpts).

1. Nganjin mayi mani-ny, nganjin
   1pl exc NOM(A) food-ABS(O) get-PAST 1pl exc NOM(S)
   dunga-ny-da.
   go-PAST-TEMP₁
   We got some food and then we went.

2. Kaba-nga-ku nganjin dunga-ny, dunga-ny dunga-ny
   rain-LOC-EMPH₁ 1pl exc NOM(S) go-PAST ...
   dunga-ny,
   go-PAST
   We went in the rain, went on and on and on,

3. kaba-nga-ku warri-ny, baral-ba kada-ny maja-nga,
   rain-LOC-EMPH₁ run-PAST road-LOC come-PAST scrub-LOC
   bubu julbarr.
   ground-ABS(S) slippery
   [we] drove (literally ran) in the rain and came to the road in the scrub; the ground was slippery.

   own child-REDUP-ABS(S) 3pl NOM(S) behind " -LOC
   My children were in the back of the Toyota.

5. Ngaliny ngayku dunyu Jakalba
   ldu exc NOM(S) lsg POSS-ABS(S) husband-ABS(S) in front
   nganjin Chris.
   1pl exc NOM(S) "
   My husband and I were in the front together with Chris.

6. Jana kaykay-angka nysa-ny warru-warru-ngku
   3pl NOM(A) child-ERG:pt(A) see-PAST boy-REDUP-ERG:pt(A)
   maral-maral-angka bubu julbarr-bi,
   girl-REDUP-ERG:pt(A) ground-ABS(O) slippery-ABS(O)-EMPH₃
   The children, the boys and girls saw the really slippery ground;
   (i.e. that the ground was really slippery)
there was heavy rain (literally the rain was big)

"Ngana nyunba-y-baja?"

"Shall we turn back?"

The pastor came from there, [he] had turned back.

The pastor's car could not go up, it [that] was low and small.

The pastor had turned back again.

We went and saw the slippery ground.

(i.e. that the ground was slippery)

"Wanjarrma-l?"

"What shall we do?"

The children got frightened then.

Chris saw [the slippery patch] and put the brake right down.
Junkay-bunga-ny, daka-ny-kuda wangkar. straight-CAUS-PAST climb-PAST-TEMP\textsubscript{2} upwards

\[He\] straightened \[the car\], meanwhile driving up.

Motorcar julbarr-warri-ny yarra warri-ny-ku-lu
"(S) slippery-run-PAST direction run-PAST-EMPH\textsubscript{1}-EMPH\textsubscript{2}

yarra warri-ny jalama-ny jalama-ny-ku-lu
direction run-PAST jump-PAST jump-PAST-EMPH\textsubscript{1}-EMPH\textsubscript{2}

buck-maniji-ny.
" -INCHO-PAST

The \textit{car} slipped and went this way and that way and jumped and jumped a great deal and bucked about.

Jana wawu dunga-nka, kari yinil-ma-ny-kuda. 3pl NOM(S) want go-PURP NEG fear-INCH0-PAST-TEMP\textsubscript{2}

Meanwhile they \[the children\] wanted to go on, \[they\] were not scared anymore.

Nyulu Chris kurrka-nyaji-ji-ny yajarri-ji-ny 3sg NOM(S) "(S) back-see-REF -PAST laugh-ITR-PAST


Chris turned back and laughed at the children, \[he\] laughed \[about them\].

Nganjin dunga-ny-baja. 1pl exc NOM(S) go-PAST-again

We went on.

Nyulu Chris-angka nyaji-ny yalama-ny: 3sg NOM(A) " -ERG:pt(A) see-PAST say-PAST

Chris looked and said:

"Ah, buckjumper, eh! Buckjumper ngana wanarri-\textit{y}." 1pl inc NOM(S) run-REDUP-NONPAST

"Ah, buckjumper, eh! \textit{We are} riding a buckjumper."
We went on again, went on and on and on, and saw again the slippery parts of the road.

The car was slipping this way and that way.

He kept driving the car on there.

[We] got up there and reached the top of the mountain.

[We] looked, and there was no rain.

The ground was dry then.

There was no rain at all, and we went on and on and on,

and we came to that very place. (where they had wanted to go)
31  Badabada-da  wuna-ny.  
down there-TEMP \_ lie-PAST

[We] stayed down there.

32  Binana Flat,  bubu  burri.

Banana Flat place name

The name of that place [is] Banana Flat.

(They set up camp; some of them collected witchetty grub, others caught some fish. They ate their evening meal and settled down for the night. The next morning, while they were having breakfast, the son of one of the settlers in the area and an old friend of the Walker family approached the camp.)

33  Nganjin  bunda-ny,  mayi  nuka-ny,  mudu-waju-ny,  
1pl exc NOM(S) sit-PAST food-ABS(O) eat-PAST dawn-PAST

We were sitting and eating early in the morning,

34  John Robert-amu  kangkal  kada-ny,  
" -POSS-ABS(S) own child-ABS(S) come-PAST

(when) John Robert's child came, ("own child" indicates kinship relation; the person was in fact a young man.)

35  warru.

young man-ABS

a young man.

36  Yirrka-ny.

call out-PAST

(He) called out.

37  Motorbike-mun-ji.  
" -mun-COMIT

(He had come) with a motorbike.

38  Wulman  nyulu  ngayku  dunyu  
old man-ABS(S) 3sg NOM(S) 1sg POSS-ABS(S) husband-ABS(S)

nyulu  mujurr-bu  dunga-ny  yarra  wangkar.  
3sg NOM(S) witchetty-LOC go-PAST direction upwards

The old man, my husband, had gone out for witchetty grubs up there.
We were having a good feed.

That young man, John Robert's [son], came and called out.

I said to Chris:

"Chris, that white man up there keeps calling out."

(Apparently at that stage they had not been able to identify the caller and it was not fitting for the narrator to talk to a strange male. She therefore wanted some male member of her party to answer the stranger.)

The men were quite scared.

I scolded them, Chris and my two sons:
"Yurra, yinya dingkar-alu answer-im-bunga-rr waybala-lu!
white man-ABS(0)-EMPH₂
"You lot, do answer that white man!

Yurra ngaki-ji-ri-y-baja."
You are all hiding."

Nyulu Chris-alu busy jurril-ma-ny kana-nga
3sg NOM(S) "(S)-EMPH₂ fake-INCHO-PAST inside-LOC
wala-ny tent-mun-bu.
enter-PAST " -mun-LOC

Chris pretended to be busy and went inside the tent.

Mayi-nga-lu nuka-nuka-ji-ny.
food-LOC-EMPH₂ eat-REDUP-ITR-PAST

[He] went right on having a good feed.

Nyulu kada-ny yinya waybala-lu.
3sg NOM(S) come-PAST that-ABS(S) white man-ABS(S)-EMPH₂

He came, that white man.

John Robert-amu kangkal kada-ny babaji-ny:
" -POSS-ABS(S) own child-ABS(S) come-PAST ask-PAST

John Robert's son came and asked:

"Yurra Johnny-mu family?"
2pl NOM " -POSS-ABS

"You are Johnny's family?"

"Yuwu."
INTER

"Yes."

Chris-anda babaji-ny: "Yundu kada-ny-baja?"
" -LOC:pt ask-PAST 2sg NOM(S) come-PAST-again

[He] asked Chris: "You have come back?"

(This was Chris's second fieldtrip to the Bloomfield area.)
"Yuwu, ngayu kada-ny-baja.
INTER 1sg NOM(S) come-PAST-again
"Yes, I have come back.

Ngayu nyungu family wundi-ny
1sg NOM(A) 3sg POSS-ABS(0) "(O) bring-PAST
Johnny-mu.
" -POSS-ABS(0)
I brought Johnny's family along.

Johnny nyulu yinyay wangkarwangkar mujurr-bu
"(S) 3sg NOM(S) there up there witchetty-LOC
dunga-ny."
go-PAST
Johnny went up there for witchetty grub."
(The conversation proceeds. The narrative then goes on to recount the week-long outing.)
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II Vernacular Works in Kuku Yalanji

Works listed hereunder are published by the Summer Institute of Linguistics, Darwin. They are currently used in the vernacular literacy program conducted by H. and R. Hershberger. Entries are listed under the name of the author or translator.


