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Part 1

# Goemulgaw Lagal: Natural and Cultural Histories of the Island of Mabuyag, Torres Strait.

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## VOLUME 8 IS COMPLETE IN 2 PARTS

### COVER

Image on book cover: People tending to a ground oven (*umai*) at Nayedh, Bau village, Mabuyag, 1921.  
Photographed by Frank Hurley (National Library of Australia: [pic-vn3314129-v](http://pic-vn3314129-v)).

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# Ngalmun Lagaw Yangukudu: the language of our homeland

Rod MITCHELL

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Something like over a quarter of the speakers of the Western and Central Language of Torres Strait speak the Kalaw Lagaw Ya dialect. The language may have started its formation as early as over 2600 years ago, through the colonisation of Torres Strait by a mixed South-East Papuan Austronesian and East Trans-Fly Papuan group, who overlaid local Paman Australians on the western and southern islands. Though the language is Australian, it has been heavily influenced by both Papuan and Austronesian languages.

Typologically the language is between the Paman and South-Central/Eastern-Trans Fly Papuan languages. It is on the continuum between declensional and agglutinative in morphology and has A O V // S V word order. Case inflections are suffixed to nominals to mark their syntactic role in the clause. Verb stems are modified to show attainative versus active telicity, number, aspect, mood and tense. Grammatical number encodes singular, dual and plural. There are two genders, masculine and feminine, marked only on the singular, which for non humans encode cultural significance (masculine) and innate significance (feminine). A complex agglutinative system of deictics also exists.

There is a range of speech styles, much of which has a direct ancestry in pre-colonisation times – formal, archaic, poetic, joking, colloquial, “baby” language, and so on. Though there is a tradition of over a century of writing in the language, starting with the mission schools in the 1870s, education through the language has been sadly ignored by educationalists, and the language faces all the typical problems of those spoken by indigenous minorities

□ *Australian Paman, East Trans-Fly Papuan, Austronesian, Mixed Languages, Minority Languages, Australian Indigenous Languages, Torres Strait Languages, language contact*

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This work endeavours all too briefly to describe Kalaw Lagaw Ya within its own terms as well as it being a part of the language of the Western and Central Islands of Torres Strait. The only works in the past that have taken such an encompassing view were Ray and Haddon (1897) and Ray (1907), other works being descriptions of parts of individual dialects or sketch grammars thereof, such as Bani and Klokeid (1971 – Kalaw Lagaw Ya), Comrie (1981 – Kalaw Kawaw Ya), Kennedy (1981, 1985a, 1985b – Kalaw Kawaw Ya) and Ford and Ober (1991 – Kalaw Kawaw Ya). Mitchell (1995) differs somewhat in being a detailed description of the phonology and morphology of all the dialects as well as being an initial approach to historical and comparative linguistics.

The first part of the present work, *The Western and Central Language of Torres Strait – Kalaw Lagaw Ya*, gives an overview of the language, the relationships between the dialects, the pre- and post-colonisation history of contacts and relationships with neighbouring peoples and outsiders. Within and departing from this discussion this will be a summary of the history of writing the language.

The Torres Strait Area Languages and Peoples, the second part, deals with the relationships between the peoples of the area, and their languages, from the end of the Ice Age to the present. This has been complex for around the last 2800 years, with Australian Paman, East Trans-Fly Papuan and South-East Austronesian Papuan peoples in particular playing important roles. Clues from archeology, human biology, folk history and comparative linguistics will be all-too briefly presented to give a very broad overview of the evolution of the language.

The third part, *The Language*, presents the forms of the language itself from a linguistic perspective, moving from the sound system (vowels, consonants, glides), the description of the word, including stress, syllabification and word shortening, intonation, parts of speech, morphology and syntax, case marking categories, gender, verb formation, derivation, compounding and collocation, tense, aspect, mood, verb number, the role of the verb and nominal in syntax, such as transitivity, voice and modality, a discussion of non-declining parts of speech such as word and clause modifiers, and all too brief notes on various aspects of clause syntax. It differs from most earlier works in taking into account the underlying forms of words and how the surface forms derive from these. This part closes with an overview of how the language varies within society as reflected in its speech styles.

The work makes no claim to exhaustion, and there is still much work to be done on the language.

Ngath mura Mabuylgaka a Badhulgaka  
mina koeyma eso pœybayka, ngaw  
ngœnakapungu, nithamun iibupuydhayka  
a nithamun kapu wakaythamamka. Inaabi  
thusi nithamun yangukuduw yakamzinga,  
nithamun lagaw yangu minarpcelayzinga.  
Kay paypa kulay nithamun gaar Athen a  
Akana ya a wakay a wakaythamam Kalaw  
Lagaw Yadun umamikoeruyg, kaybaw  
thonara nithamun ya a wakay a wakaythamam  
matha Kalaw Lagaw Yadun umamika – a  
bangal ingaru nithamun kaziw kaziw ya  
a wakay a wakaythamam matha umikœruyg.  
Awgadhaw wœnab a paawdha nithamuniya,  
a ngalpuniya muraray.

## CONVENTIONS AND ABBREVIATIONS

The conventions used here-in will be those normally used in linguistic works of this type. Reconstructed forms of the Torres Strait languages and the Eastern-Trans Fly Languages are those of the author, while all other reconstructed forms (PP, PCD, etc.) are those of the works noted in the literature cited (Alpher, 1991 Alpher *et al.*, 2008; David *et al.*, 2004; Dixon, 2002; Lynch, 1994; Marck, 1994; O'Grady, 1979; Ross, 1994; Ross *et al.*, 1998; Wurm, 1972, 1975). For reasons of simplicity, in general the sources of the reconstructions will not be specified.

Note that forms in capitals represent underlying representations, such as LAI (proprietary, specific locative, plural; surface forms: -lay, -day, -thay, -ray, -de, -the, -le, -li, -l, -r, -Ø), MAYI (verb plural; surface forms: -mayi, -mœyi, -may, -mœy, -mi) and NGU (genitive; surface forms: -ngu, -u, -w, -Ø). Western and Central Language words in the text are **bold**, though not in lists and examples that are not within the running text. All language material is in Kalaw Lagaw Ya except where noted. In reference to the Kowrareg people, Kauraraiga (plural Kauraraigalai) is used, this being the correct form of the 1800s. The dialect itself was

Kauřařaigau Ya, for which the abbreviation OKY will be used for specific reference; Kaiwalgau Ya, KY, refers to the modern form of the dialect. English translations are in *italics*.

The Kalaw Lagaw Ya orthography used will be that as developed by Bani and Klokeid in the 1970s, unless otherwise noted; for the other dialects an accepted orthography will be used as appropriate. In the case of Kauřařaigau Ya, ř represents what was probably a rhotic glide, though could have been a rhotic tap, while r represents the flap/ trill, as it does in the modern dialects.

In morphological representations Ø represents zero-affixes where these have semantic or syntactic significance, and contrasts with other affixes. Where verbs are concerned, between the stem and TAM endings, the attainative-active slot and verb number slots will be consistently shown in morphemic representations, as either Ø or an appropriate suffix. Ø in the first slot represents the attainative (aorist - ATT) form of verbs, which contrasts with the -i- active suffix (ACT), and the second Ø represents the singular (or in some cases the animate plural) form, contrasting with the dual and plural affixes (underlying forms respectively NGAUMA and MAYI).

suula- *pour*: attainative forms

suladhin		sulawmadhin		sulamidhin
	alt.	sulaumadhin		alt. sulamaydhin
suula-Ø-Ø-dhin		suula-Ø-NGAUMA-dhin		suula-Ø-MAYI-dhin
<i>pour</i> -ATT-SG-RemP.PF		<i>pour</i> -ATT-DU-RemP.PF		<i>pour</i> -ATT-PL-RemP.PF

suula- *pour*: active forms

sulaydhin		sulewmadhin		sulemidhin
	alt.	suleumadhin		alt. sulemaydhin
suula-i-Ø-dhin		suula-i-NGAUMA-dhin		suula-i-MAYI-dhin
<i>pour</i> -ACT-SG-RemP.PF		<i>pour</i> -ACT-DU-RemP.PF		<i>pour</i> -ACT-PL-RemP.PF

Sample sentences are given as follows:

KLY	Baydhaman nungu ngaara pathadhin.			
English	<i>A shark bit his leg.</i>			
Morphemes	baydhama-n	nu-NGU	ngaara-Ø	patha-Ø-Ø-dhin.
meanings thereof	<i>shark</i> -INS	<i>he</i> -GEN	<i>leg</i> -ACC	<i>bite</i> (fish)-ATT-SG-RemP.PF

The language has a certain amount of idiolect variation, and such variants will be noted where appropriate (as with the dual and plural forms of **suladhin** *poured in the remote past* above). In many cases a standard form can be identified, while in other cases this is not the case.

Following is a rough guide to the pronunciation of the language for the benefit of non-linguist readers. The English examples represent the phonics of General Australian English, except where otherwise indicated.

### VOWELS

- a /a/: Ama *Mum* – like *u* in *hut*
- aa /a:/: kaaba *dance performance*, a in monosyllabic words like *ya speech* – like *a* in *father*
- e /e/: mekey *almond* – like *e* in *bed* (in both cases)
- ee /e:/: geetha *hand*, e in monosyllabic words like *se chair* – like *are* in *dared*
- i /i/: midhikidh *how* – like *ee* in *feet*
- ii /i:/: miitha *taste*, i in monosyllabic words like *ni you* – like *ee* in *feed*
- œ /ə/: thœrthi *hole* – like *a* in *about*
- œœ /ə:/: Wœœwra *south-east* – like *ur* in *hurt*
- òò /ɔ:/: mòòsa *lung, spit* – like *oa* in *broad*
- ò /ɔ/: mòdhab *price, payment* – shortened version of òò
- o /o/: sobora *rain cover, rain cloak, V-shaped cover over peak of roof* – like *o* in *hot*, but more rounded
- oo /o:/: sooba *slowness, lateness, delay*, o in *so show* – lengthened version of o (like Irish English *o* in *go*)
- ù /ʊ/: kùlay *first, before* – like *u* in *push*
- ùù /ʊ:/: mùùdha *shelter, backyard, house* – lengthened version of ù
- u /u/: kuduluk *brown dove* – like *oo* in *shoot*
- uu /u:/: buuthu *sand, beach*, u in monosyllabic words like *bu trumpet shell* – like *oo* in *food*

In Kala Lagaw Ya, but not in the other dialects, when a word has two or three syllables with

a double vowel in the syllable before last, the final vowel is devoiced, that is to say, merely breathed. Thus, the **u** in **gaabu** *cold, cool, calmness*, the **i** in **mœraapi** and the **a** in **siiba** *liver, centre* sound like puffs of air.

### CONSONANTS

- p, b, m, w, t, d, s, z, y, k, g, ng: more or less as in English
- th, dh, n, l: pronounced with the tongue touching the top teeth
- r: either trilled (as in Scottish English) or ‘flapped’, like the quick pronunciation of tt in better (‘bedder’).

The acute accent is used to mark non-initial stress, thus **mœrápil** *pieces of bamboo, bamboo plants*, except in the case of double vowels, which can only appear in the stressed syllable of the word (e.g. **mœraapi** *bamboo*). The grave accent is used with **ù, ùù** to represent /ʊ, ʊ:/, and with **ò, òò** to represent /ɔ, ɔ:/; these contrast with **u, uu** /u, u:/ and **o, oo** /o, o:/.

### ABBREVIATIONS

ABL	ablative
ACC	accusative
ACT	active
alt.	alternative(ly)
AnimPL	animate plural
ART	article formant
ATT	attainative
AUG	augmenting suffix
B	Boigu
BY	Badhulgau Ya
CA	Common Australian
COL	collective
CON	conjunction
DAT	dative
DU	dual
ERG	ergative

EXC	exclusive	PrPF	present perfect
F	feminine	PRV	privative
GEN	genitive	PRP	propriative
GLoc	global locative	PSEPA	Proto South-East Papuan Austronesian
GY	Gømulgaw Ya	PWCD	Proto West Central District Austronesian
H	high pitch	Q	question
HES	hesitation marker	RecP	recent past
IMP	imperative	REF	referencing marker
IMPF	imperfective	RemF	remote future
ImpNom	impersonal nominaliser	RemP	remote past
INC	inclusive	RES	resultative
INS	instrumental, ergative	S	subject
INT	instensive	SD	Saibai-Dauan
KKY	Kalaw Kawaw Ya	SIM	simulative
KLY	Kalaw Lagaw Ya	SG	singular
KuLY	Kùlkalgau Ya	SLoc	specific locative
KY	Kaiwalgau Ya	SpDem	specific distance demonstrative
L	low pitch	SYM	sympathy particle
LOC	locative	TEL	telic
M	mid pitch	TodP	today past
M	masculine	V	verb
MM	Meriam Mir	VN	verbal noun
MY	Mualgau Ya	WCL	Western and Central Language
NFut	near future		
Nom	nominaliser		
NSg	non-singular		
NSp	non-specific		
NSpLoc	non-specific locative		
O	object		
OKY	Old Kaiwalgau Ya (= Kauřařaigau Ya)		
PAN	Proto-Austronesian		
PCD	Proto Central District		
PECD	Proto East Central District		
PF	perfective		
PETrF	Proto East Trans-Fly		
PL	plural		
PNom	personal nominaliser		
POC	Proto Oceanic		
PP	Proto Paman		
PPN	Proto Polynesian		
PR	present		
PrIMPF	present imperfect		

**PART ONE: THE WESTERN AND CENTRAL  
LANGUAGE OF TORRES STRAIT – KALAW  
LAGAW YA**

Kalaw Lagaw Ya is the vehicle of the culture, history, dreams, hates, loves, fun, sadness, past, present and future of Mabuyag and Badu. It is the language through which the people find expression as a people. Their environment, their prehistory, their history and their present has shaped their language, but their language has also shaped them. It is the expression of their being.

The majority of the 1,000 or so inhabitants of Mabuyag (251, ABS census, 2006) and Badu (818, ABS census, 2006; data from the Torres Strait Regional Authority

website) speak the dialect, as well as many of unknown hundreds from these islands who live elsewhere, at St Pauls on Mua, on and around Thursday Island, in Queensland and further afield. Some outsiders with close cultural, marital and family contacts with the people of Mabuyag and Badu are also good speakers – or at least have some command of it – while some speakers of other dialects are also good speakers of Kalaw Lagaw Ya as well as their own dialect.

Kalaw Lagaw Ya [KLY] forms part of the Western and Central Island Language of Torres Strait [WCL], which is spoken actively and passively by around 4000 people. The other dialects are:

Kalaw Kawaw Ya [KKY]: Saibai/Bamaga/Seisia, Dauan, Boigu

Kùlkalgau Ya [KulY]: the Central Islands

Mualgau/Italgau Ya [MY]: Mua

Kaiwalgau Ya (formerly Kauřařaigau Ya) [KY]: the Mùralag group and Muri (Mualgau/Italgau Ya and Kaiwalgau Ya are subdialects of each other)

These groups have sub-dialects; those of Kalaw Lagaw Ya are Gøemulgaw Ya [GY, alt. Gumulgaw Ya and Mabuygilgaw Ya], and Badhulgau Ya [BY].

The differences between the dialects are not that great, being similar to that between Australian English, British English and American English; the differences between subdialects such as Gøemulgaw Ya and Badhulgau Ya are even smaller, and often very difficult to tell for outsiders, even other Islanders. As a general rule Gøemulgaw Ya is more ‘conservative’ and forms a more ‘formal’ level of speech, and Badhulgau Ya is more ‘colloquial’.

Over 90% of the words of the language are the same or virtually the same in all the dialects (Mitchell, 1995). The main dialect differences

include the pronunciation of some words (rarely predictable), words with differences in meaning, different words for the same meaning and some grammar variation.

Words with different forms

<i>year</i>	KLY/KulY wiyeth/wøeyeth/uyeth, MY-KY wøeyath/uyath, KKY wath
<i>male, man</i>	KLY/KulY garka, garkazi-, MY-KY garka/garkai, garkazi-, KKY garkaz, garkazi-
<i>red skink</i>	KLY/KulY/MY-KY mogay, KKY S-D mogo, B moga
<i>namesake</i>	KLY/KulY/MY-KY natham, KKY nasem
<i>hornet</i>	KLY gaal, KulY/MY-KY/KKY ga
<i>ray/beam of light</i>	KLY/KulY/MY-KY ziru, KKY zøeru
<i>silly, stupid, idiotic</i>	KLY/KulY/MY-KY dimadim/dimidim/dimdim, KKY rimarim
<i>island</i>	KLY/KulY kaywa, MY-KY kaiwa/kawa, KKY kawa
<i>anger, wildness</i>	KLY kerketh, KulY/MY-KY/KKY kerkath
<i>frog</i>	KLY katube, køetube, kat, B køeteko, køeteku, kat, KulY,MY-KY, KKY kat
<i>that male ahead</i>	KLY/KulY nupa, nupay, KKY nupay, MY nukupai, KY nukupai, nukudhai

Words with differing meanings:

saay, GY	KLY/KulY/MY-KY <i>silty mud</i> ;
saaya	KKY <i>mud</i>
berdhar	KLY/KulY/MY-KY <i>mud</i> ; KKY <i>softness</i> (food etc.)
mùdh, GY	in all dialects: <i>shelter, camp, calm place, backyard</i>
mùùdha	KLY/KulY/MY-KY extended meaning: <i>house</i>
laag, GY	in all dialects: <i>place, home,</i>
laaga	<i>homeland</i> KLY/KulY/MY-KY extended meaning: <i>inhabited island</i> KKY extended meaning: <i>house</i>

Different words for the same meaning:	
<i>significant dance</i>	KLY wasal, KulY/MY-KY wasar, KKY girel
<i>thunder</i>	KLY/KulY/MY-KY dhuyum, KKY gigi
<i>grasshopper</i>	KLY/KulY/MY-KY kœpás[i], GY kœpaasi, KKY pùkath
Grammar differences	
<i>dative, present</i>	KLY/KulY general dative -ka, <i>here</i> and <i>there</i> -pa: kipa/kœpa,
<i>imperfective</i>	sepa/sipa MY-KY id.; (in archaic language) general dative -pa, 1 <sup>st</sup> person singular -ka KKY -pa (-ka in songs)
<i>habitual</i>	KLY -kœruyg/-kuruyg, KulY/MY-KY -kœrui/-kurui KKY -paruy/-paru/-pu (-paruyg, -paruydh)
<i>recent past</i>	KLY/KulY/MY-KY -ngùl, KKY -ngu
<i>negative clauses</i>	KLY/KulY/MY-KY subject and object marked by the genitive KKY subject and object marked by the expected case forms

#### EDUCATION AND LITERACY: WRITING THE LANGUAGE

Records of the language date from the 1830s on in the form of words and phrases collected by seamen and others. Apart from these, there is well over a century of written material produced mainly by Islanders themselves or taken down from Islanders. What is clear from the written evidence is that there is relatively little change between the Kalaw Lagaw Ya spoken in the late 1800s and now, as can be seen in the following example from the story of Kuïam, written down by Net Waria of Mabuyag around 1900 (Ray, 1907: 203).

original: Kaika nui mangi, tana lakö keda mata niar garkazil piïu zarazaranu.

modern KLY: Kayka nuy mangi, thana lak kedha matha niar garkazil, piyuw zarzarnu.

*He arrived up there, they the men were just sitting in the same way [as others earlier in the story] in a lean-to of dried coconut fronds.*

kay-ka nuy-Ø manga-i-Ø-IZI  
NSp-up there he-NOM arrive-ACT-SG-ACT.PrPF  
thana-Ø laka ke-dha matha  
theyPL-NOM again here-SIM only  
niya-Ø-Ø-r  
sit-ATT- SG/AnimPL-RemP.IMPF  
garakazi-LAI, piyu-NGU zarazara-nu  
male-PRP, frond-GEN lean-to-SLoc

The only change is the reduction of **lakö keda** in the same way and **zarazara** lean-to to **lak kedha** and **zarzar**; **laka kedha** and **zarazara** are still to be heard as poetic, archaic or idiolect variants.

#### The 'Mission' Orthography

A systematic orthography for the language was developed in the mid-1870s when the Lifu, Polynesian and local Island missionaries took up the task of spreading the Word as well as translating the Bible, other religious literature and writing hymns. All literature until the 1970s was written in the mission orthography:

core alphabet: a, b, d, e, g, i, j, k, l, m, n, ng, o, ö /ə/, p, r, s, t, u, z

sometimes also: th/tr (= the modern th), dh/dth/dr (= the modern dh), ch (= s), oe/œ (= ö), f (= p), ë (= ö), w, y, and double vowels to show vowel length

glides: ai *food*, ngau *my masculine*, ia/ya *speech*, ua/wa *yes*, Mabuiag *Mabuyag*, kaiin *young*, new, dauai *banana tree*, zia/ziiia *cloud*

It was also used in modified form by the Cambridge Expedition (1898), who used diacritics to show short vowels and vowel

quality: a, ǎ, b, d, e, ě, g, i, ĭ, j, k, l, m, n, ng, o, ǒ, ò [ɔ:], ö, p, r, s, t, u, ů [ʊ], w, y, z.

The mission orthography generally does not distinguish the lamino-dental **th** and **dh** from the apico-alveolar **t** and **d**, which means it generally does not distinguish words such as **pad**, alt. **padö** *hill, crest, top* from **pad**, alt. **padö** *nest*, even though they are pronounced differently (in the Bani-Klokeid orthography they are written **paada** and **paadha** respectively).

#### The 'Academic' Orthography

In the period 1970-1975, Bani and Klokeid developed a revision based partly on linguistic theory of the time, and partly on revisions already underway, such as a greater use of **th**, **dh** (and **dth**) and **œ**/**oe**:

a, aa, b, d, dh, e, ee, g, i, ii, k, l, m, n, ng o, oo, oe, ooe, p, r, s, t, th, u, uu, w, y, z

double vowels are long; ooe /ə:/ is the long version of oe /ə/. Oe was chosen rather than the preferred œ to simplify typewriting.

glides: aay *food*, ngaw *my masculine*, ya *speech*, wa *yes*, Mabuyag *Mabuyag*, kain /kajin/ *new*, young, daway *banana tree*, zia/zija /zija/ *cloud*

The new system has had lukewarm response from some speakers and refusal with others. Still others have welcomed it with open arms. The main opposition from many speakers of the language is the break with tradition – the mission system is the way the forefathers wrote the language. One issue is the fact that there were no community input or trials to the revision, it being initially an academic exercise. Another is that the representation of the semivowels as **y** and **w**, the dentals as **th** and **dh**, and the digraph **oe** represent problems with some speakers of the language. For most native speakers, **w** and **u** appear to be allophones of each other, as do **y** and **i**. A word like **yana** *bag*, when pronounced very carefully to show the pronunciation, is more

often than not pronounced **i-a-na**. **Th**, **dh** and **oe** seem to present another problem, simply that of using two letters to represent single sounds, particularly as one of the letters, **h**, has no other function in the language, and **oe** can be confused with **oi/oy** by native speakers learning to read and write their language.

#### Writing in the language

A mislearnt Pidgin English and Drehu influenced version of the Saibai dialect was used for the first published biblical translation, by Elia of Lifu (1884; Haddon and Ray, 1897: 71). A partially corrected Samoan and Pidgin English influenced version was published in 1900 (excerpts of this can also be seen in Haddon and Ray, 1897), made by Isia (sic) of Samoa with the help of Net Waria, Tom Noboa and Peter Papi of Mabuyag. The first part of these men's names is their "European" name, used by them in dealings with non-islanders, while the second part was their birth, or "Island" name. Net Waria was called Ned in English, whereas he himself, as well as other contemporary Islanders, used Net (pronounced Neth), given to him by a Samoan friend. The Island and neighbouring South-West Papuan custom was to exchange names with a person with whom one enters into a special friend-to-friend relationship with. Neth was the name Waria used to highlight this relationship, while Waria was used in certain formal situations.

Neither translation was well-done, as the following segment from the translation of the parable of the sower shows:

Text:

'...as he sowed, some fell by the way side, and the birds of the air came and devoured it up.'

Elia:

A nuidöka mata utuipa, durai siëi putizi iabugudanu, ngapa mangizö urui palgizö a purutamoin.

modernised spelling (Kalaw Kawaw Ya)

A nuydha ka matha uthuypa, dhuray sey pudhiz yabugùdanu, ngapa mangiz uruy, pœlagiz a pùrthamœyn.

literal meaning:

*And he is still planting, some/others fall there on the path, a bird arrives, flies/jumps and eats them.*

Author's translation:

... nuydh nanga kapul thayamœypa nanga, dhuray si (alt. sey) yabugùdanu pudhemœyn/nœridhemœyn, ngapa palgemœyn (alt. pœlagiz) daparaw uruyl, a pùrthamœyn.

Isia:

A nuid lupan saito, wara si noridi iabugud pasi, a urui ngapa palgin a purutamin.

modernised spelling (Kalaw Lagaw Ya):

A nuydh lupan saitho, wara si nœridhi yabugùd pasi, a uruy ngapa palgin a pùrùthamin.

literal meaning:

*And he shakes wheat, another falls there on the road-side, and a bird comes flying and eats them.*

Author's translation:

... a nuydh na saithol thayamika na, warmal si yabugùdau pasi nœridhemika/pudhemika, a daparaw uruyl ngapa palgemin (alt. pœlagi/palgi), a pùrthamin.

The problems with these translations are:

(a) The underlying syntax of both is Pidgin

English, with some English features (e.g. iabugud pasi *road side*):

(b) The use of singular present forms as direct calques on the unmarked pidgin forms, such as **putizi** (**pudhiz**) active singular present perfective for **pudhemœyn**, the plural, the exception being the word **purutamoin/purutamin** *eats them*.

(c) The word **siëi** (Elia) is a mispronunciation of **sey/si** *there*, perhaps through confusion of the two variants of the word.

(d) Samoan and Drehu phonology come through, as in adding vowels to support word final consonants or to break consonant clusters, e.g. **mangizö** for **mangiz**, **purutamin** for **pùrthamin**. The reverse is found in the word **palgizö** for **pœlagiz**, where **palgiz** was an imperfectly learnt formulation through extension from another class of verbs.

(e) the use of the singular form **wara** (*an*)*other* for the plural **waramal** (alt. **warmal**).

(f) The most interesting mistake was Isia's translation for what in the King James version of the bible is *sow* or *cast* (wrongly translated by Elia as **utuipa** *planting by inserting into the ground*). It is clear that Isia was aware of the process of broadcasting seed, though may not have actually ever seen it. Therefore, either (1) he used the Pidgin word *sakim* 'throw' (modern Broken

Elia:							
A	nuidö	ka-mata	utuipa,	durai	siëi	putizi	iabugudanu,
An	em	stil	planting,	òl nadhawan	dhe	pòldaun	lo rod
<i>And he/she</i>	<i>still</i>	<i>still</i>	<i>planting,</i>	PL <i>other</i>	<i>there</i>	<i>fall</i>	LOC <i>road</i>
ngapa-mangizö	urui	palgizö	a	purutamoin.			
kam	pisin	plai	an	kaikai-dhempla.			
<i>come</i>	<i>bird</i>	<i>fly</i>	<i>and</i>	<i>eat-them</i>			
Isia:							
A	nuid	lupan	saito,	wara	si	noridi	iabugud pasi-Ø,
An	em	seke	saitho,	nadhawan	dhe	pòldaun	road side-LOC,
<i>And he/she</i>	<i>shake</i>	<i>seed,</i>	<i>other</i>	<i>therefall</i>	<i>road</i>	<i>side-at,</i>	
a	urui	ngapa	palgin	a	purutamin.		
an	pisin	kam	plai	an	kaikai-dhempla.		
<i>and</i>	<i>bird</i>	<i>come</i>	<i>fly</i>	<i>and</i>	<i>eat-them</i>		

sake), perhaps mispronouncing it, or (2) he himself did not speak Pidgin well, and so confused *sakim* with *sekim* 'shake' (modern Broken *seke*), hence the translation **lupan**, or (3) he thought that the process was actually shaking the seeds to spread them rather than the spreading throw that is 'broadcasting'.

Stories and letters and various other manuscripts were written by Islanders, excerpts of some recorded as examples in Ray (1907); others exist only as manuscripts. That of Peter Eseli of Mabuyag has been published by Shnukal and Mitchell (1998). An unpublished Mabuyag writer was Gaulai (186? – 1927), a lay preacher on Yama just before his death. His Island name was Paidan, and Gaulai was given to him on his baptism. He died the 14th of January, 1927, and was of the same **buway moiety/clan** as Net Waria, the **Mœgi Buway Small Moiety**, specifically in the **Kaygas-Dhngal shovel-nose shark - dugong** clan. He was taught to read and write by the South-Seas London Missionary Society missionaries who came to Mabuyag either in late 1872 or in January 1873.

While on Yama Gaulai kept a notebook from 1899 to 192? (Lawrie, cover notes to Gaulai, 1899-192?), a xeroxed copy of which is to be found in the Fryer Library, University of Queensland. The notebook was actually an accounts ledger, and one page towards the center of the book, headed 'Jimmy Mobyag', contains some purchase entries. Jimmy Mobyag was probably Gaulai's European name; 'Mobyag' [mʌubiæg] is the general European/Australian pronunciation of Mabuyag. The note book includes songs that may have been composed by Gaulai. The pages are not numbered, and the edges are worn and stained, sometimes obscuring words. The notebook contains one or two explanatory annotations in English by Margaret Lawrie. He also recorded some hymns, a short prayer, a record of the date of his appointment as headman of feasts

(specified by Margeret Lawrie), a record of Net Waria's 'Ten Commandments' [the Chairman of Mabuyag at the time] and records of his children's births. At the end of the notebook he also made three lists of the men, women and male youths in the **Mœgi Buwai** in March 190? (page torn at this strategic point). The very last two pages contain three traditional songs written by another hand, presumably that of Gaulai's son Kadiab, whose name appears with the songs.

Samples of his writing are:

a) Hymn Language

Gaulai	Bani-Klokeid orthography
Ninu kõi paudo	Ninu kœy paawdh, o,
Ninu kikirĩ kõi za	Ninu kikirĩ kœy za,
angelan taumani	Angelan thawumani,
<b>Ninu nel mina</b> (Gaulai, 191?: (8) 3)	Ninu nel mina.

Meaning

*Your great peace, oh,  
Your pain was great,  
Praised by angels,  
Your name is true.*

b) Personal information

Gaulai	Bani-Klokeid orthography
Agoste.11.1899	Agosthe.11.1899
Ngona Gizu Mabaig	Ngœna Gizu Mabayg
aiman Sarare	ayman, Sarare 11.gœyga.
11.gœiga.	
ngœna aiman.	ngœna ayman.
<b>ngau nel Gaulai</b> (Gaulai, 191?: 4)	Ngaw nel Gawlay.

Meaning

*August 11, 1899.  
I have been made Head Man,  
Saturday the 11th day.  
I was appointed.  
My name is Gaulai.*

Gaulai also made extensive bible study notes in Kalaw Lagaw Ya, including a list of prophets, perhaps in part preparations for sermons. The notes show a keen interest in his chosen way of life, that of a lay preacher.

The written language includes good, native-speaker Kalaw Lagaw Ya besides 'note-form' Kalaw Lagaw Ya. The hymns on the whole are native-speaker language, as is the personal information. The biblical/religious writing is in 'note-form', probably being notes taken from the Bible or verbatim from South-Seas teacher-missionaries.

c) Bible study notes

Gaulai	Bani-Klokeid orthography
senab pad kadai tari	Senaabi paada kadaythari.
sinab mura pad nel seira	Sinaabi mura paada nel Seyira.
senab mura pad keda bal	Senaabi mura paada kedha bal
Arabi kurusika dada kasi	Arabi kurusika dhadhakæsi-
a senab nel akapa 150 mail kurusika senab pad	ya, senaab nel Akapa, 150 mayl kurusika senaabi paada
sinai. 580 senab padau	Sinayi. 580 senaabi padaw
minaman senab pad Aron	minaman. Senaabi paada Aron
dan uradan a tana ladudin	danuradhan, a thana ladhudin,
inab Pad nel Horo nui dan uradan.	inaabi paada nel Horo, nuy dan-urdhan.
Etoma wara nel Esau muinu. Kulukad gomul nga.	Ethoma wara nel Esawu muynu. Kulkadhgoemul-nga.

(Gaulai, 191?: 24, lines 19-30)

Meaning

*That hill stands up.  
That whole range is called Seira.  
That whole range stretches across Arabia as far as the centre, that name is Akapa, 150 miles as far as that hill Sinai. 580 that hill's measurement. That hill (where) Aron died, and they went, this hill is called Horo, (where) he died. Etoma, also called Esau is inside. Red-Coloured.*

Modern writing tends to either follow the academic orthography or the mission system, with variations. That is to say, in real-life use, the two spelling systems and mixes thereof are to be found, as well as now and then the use of English phonics. Words can also be found written different ways, reflecting the real variation that exists in the language. Examples are **ngath** - **ngatha** I *instrumental*, **Gøemu** - **Gumu** *Goemu*, and **mekay**, **mekey**, **mekeyi**, **mekayi**, **mekaii**, **mekei**, **mekeii**, **mekai** *almond tree*. This depends on age, family, island, stylistics, respect for either the mission or the academic system, degree of education in literacy, and so on.

An example of a mixed system which has some currency is the following, which is the Mission spelling with inconsistent use of **th**, **dh/dth** and **oe**, and improvising by representing devoiced final vowels by capital letters (e.g. **ngùùki** *drinking water* is written **ngukI**).

a, A, b, d, dh/dth, e, g, i, I, k, l, m, n, ng, o, oe, p, r, s, t, th, u, U, z

double vowels sometimes used to show vowel length, at times with a dividing apostrophe, e.g. gaabu, ga'abu *cold, cool, calmness*

glides: ai *food*, ngau *my masculine*, ya/ia *speech*, wa/ua *yes*, Mabuiag *Mabuyag*, kain/kaiin/kai'in *new, young*, dauai *banana tree*, zia *cloud*

SAMPLE TEXTS

Text 1. Sample excerpts written in the Mission orthography, as adapted for typewriting (Mooke & Simpson, 1972: 13):

Excerpt A:

Ngoelmun boebatal, ngoelmun tatil nge, kedha wa tatin ai'imar inab zapul. Ngoi kazil mina koi karawaigal nge. Ngatha kasa kedha kid balbalag palan. Kulzi zapul koi balbalgiza thanamun tonarnu, dagamul midhi kid na ai'imar.

Mission:

*Ngölmun böbatal, ngölmun tatil nge, keda ua tatin aiimar inab zapul. Ngöi kazil mina köi karawaigal nge. Ngata kasa kedakid balbalagpalan. Kulzi zapul köi balbalgiza tanamun tonarnu, dagamul midikid na aiimar.*

Academic:

*Ngoelmun boebathal, ngoelmun thathil nge, kedha wa thathin ayimar inaabi zapul. Ngoey kazil mina koey karawaygal nge. Ngatha kasa kedhakidh balbalagpalan. Kulzi zapul koey balbalgiza thanamun thonarnu, dagamul midhikidh na ayimar.*

Translation:

*Our grandparents, then our fathers, it was like that indeed, our fathers did these things. We the children are then very ignorant (of them). I am just straightening it all out (explaining it all). Long ago things were very good in their time, how things were done.*

Excerpt B:

*Ni na nubia natha gima wali na, ni nika a bungu nathau dagam kedha kid. Nuidh gub balbalag palan. Kulai za nidh nantan rangad. Nungu rangad nantan nidh tagau pui. Wagel kaine nidh palpaiki bal pui kabutman a kalia. Ngoede kunakan nge palan kedha ngapa wara dagamungu, paruu dagamungu a kala dagamungu, buzana pa kunumika. Kulai uru thana ai'imar buz mudhaka nail launga.*

Mission:

*Ni na nubia nata gima uali na, ni nika a bungu natau dagam kedakid. Nuid gub balbalagpalan. Kulai za nid nantan rangad. Nungu rangad nantan nid tagau pui. Wagel kaine nid palpaiki bal pui kabutman a kalia. Ngöde kunakan nge palan keda ngapa wara dagamungu, paruu dagamungu a kala dagamungu, buzana pa kunumika. Kulai uru tana aiimar buz mudhaka nail launga.*

Academic:

*Ni na nubiya natha gima wali na, ni nika a*

*bungu nathaw dagam kedhakidh. Nuydh guuba balbalagpalan. Kulay za nidh nanthan rangadh. Nungu rangadh nanthan nidh thagaw puuyi. Wagel kayne nidh palpayki bal puuyi kabuthman a kaliya. Ngoedhe kunakan nge palan kedha ngapa wara dagamungu, paruu dagamungu a kala dagamungu, buzana pakunumika. Kulay uru thana ayimar buuzi mudhaka nail lawnga.*

Translation:

*When you climb up on the platform, you sit and from the trumpet shell the sides of the platform are like this. It straightens/fixes the wind (= in line with the wind). First thing you insert is an upright. The upright inserted by you is a thag (red mangrove) pole. Next you place two cross poles, in front and behind. With a view to strengthening them do like this coming through from one side, from the front side and from the back side, lashing it with lawyer cane. Formerly they made rope - lawyer cane - for homes, not nails.*

**Text 2.** A story written in the Bani-Klokeid Orthography (Storyteller: Matilda Bani; adapted from Bani & Bani, 2011). The origin story for two groups of rocks at Pulu, just off Mabuyag:

*Wa, kay paypa kulay, si miyar kuyku mabayg, nungu nel Kawmayn, Pulunu. Pulu na seenu moegi lag kalanu, Mabuyginu. Kawmayn si miyar, nungu ipil a kazil muray.*

*Yes, long ago, there lived a chief called Kawmayn, on the island of Pulu. Pulu is a small island at the back of Mabuyag. That is where Kawmayn lived with all his wives and children.*

*Na sena nungu kulay ipi noe, nanu nel Koemuthnab. Nuy koeyma nabeka nagay, kedhamayka, na nungungu koey kazilayg, sena warigal kazigigal nungu. Za noe kedha aymayngu, a, nuy nabeka yapoeysi aymayka.*

*Koemuthnab was the name of his first wife. He depended heavily on her because she was the mother of all his children. His other wives did not have children. If there was something to be*

*done, ah, he would ask her to take care of it.*

Mabaygal noe kedha ngapa Puluka mayka miyar noe, nuy nabeka muli, nubeka yathapathayka, wagem kayne mabaygal mangi, nubeka imayka. Nadh nuyn yathapathan. Nabeka noe senaabi zageth noe mina koe y ubigi zageth, wati zageth, nadh noe nuyn yathapathan noe. Nuydh nabeka senaabi zageth mura thonaru nan yapoe ybarngul kedha nadh ayman senaabi zageth a wagem kayne mabaygal mangi nubeka imayka.

*When people were to visit Pulu, he told her to shave him, that people were coming after to see him. She would shave him. This was a task that Koemuthnab really hated doing, a bad job, when she shaved him. He always asked her to do that work whenever people were to come soon after to see him.*

Sa, wara goeygi nubiya ya mangaydhin Bawungu kedha mabaygal Bawungu ngapa nubeka imayka. Nuydh ya kuniya wiyadh in kedha: 'Wa, ayewal.' Thanamun ayewal madhin. Sena goeyga noe gasamdh in kedha thana mangay kazil, a, nuy nabeka mulaydh in Koemuthnabnaka kedha: 'Aye, nidh ngoena yathapathayk. Mabaygal mangay kazil Bawungu'.

*Right, one day, word came to him from Baw that people were coming from Baw to visit him. He sent a message back, saying 'Yes, do come.' They were welcome. When the day came for the visitors to arrive, he said to Koemuthnab, 'Come and shave me. People are to arrive from Baw'.*

Wa, sena wadh nabeka mina ubigi zageth. Nanu kedha noe galpis nge miyaydh in kedha nuydh nan lak yapoe ybadhin nanga, senaabi zagethka kay mayka. Nanu senaabi kerketh! Na zilmaydh in kizi na, uupi madhin, nungu yathaka pathayka noe, yatha noe pathadh in, nungu wakaymalaw pathadh in wara.

*Yes, that was a job she really didn't want to do. So she got really angry when he asked her again to do that task. She was that furious! She ran from*

*here, got a bamboo knife, to shave him, and when she shaved him, cut off his double chin as well (Kawmayn was very fat).*

Nuy mina warkidh nabiya, nanungu ubigasidhin - nuy lak kuniya nabeka galpisan miyaydh in. Mina koe yma nanungu ubigasidhin, nan adhaka wiyadh in - sizi Pulungu, kedha: "Ni pa-adhaka! Nidh ngayka wati za ayimnu."

*He was really put off from her, didn't want her anymore - he got really angry back at her. He really and truly did not want her anymore and sent her away - from there, from Pulu, saying: 'Go away! You have done a bad thing to me.'*

Thana noe - thanamun adhaka wiyadh in noe, na kazin araydh in. Kazin araydh in, na uzaraydh in adhaka, nuyn moegidhadhnga kuyku gima nithadh in, wara moekazil nabiya pasiya. Maluka adhaka uzaraydh in. Sigal na malu adha thanuraydh in. Kuniya nagaydh in noe, nuy matha siyar nge thanamuniya wagem. Kawmayn, kasa nagay, senaabi thonara, na gar kulaka - kula ayimaydh in.

*When they - when they were sent away, she gathered in all the children. Gathered together all the children, and then she went away, put her young child on her head, with the other children beside her. Walked away into the sea. She sat down way out in the deep water. When she looked back, he was just sitting then behind them. Kawmayn was just looking, right then, and into stone - she turned into stone.*

Ni noe nagi noe, Puluka noe, nuy lak Kawmayn lak kula ayimaydh in, nuy a nungu ipil. Nuy kayib Pulunu zey dagamunu sika. Ni noe kedha thonara mangi noe, nidh iman kedha, Kawmayn kay zey dagamunu sika, adhaka kidh nageka nabeka Koemuthnabnaka. Koemuthnab napa adhal sika kazil muray, sena gar moegi kula nanu kuykunu gimal matha sika, moekaziw kula, moekaazi seenu kula aymaydh in nabiya gima, wara moegi kulal pasiya nabiya,

nanu wara kazil. Na sena adhal sika. Nuy Kawmayn iinu zey dagamunu sika, ipil pasiya nubiya. Si kedha thonarnu senaabi kulal matha mimik Pulunu.

*When you look, towards Pulu, he too – Kawmayn also turned to stone, him and his wives. He is standing today on Pulu on the southern side. When you arrive there now, you see that Kawmayn is standing on the southern side, looking outwards up there towards Koemuthnab. Koemuthnab is outside standing in front with all the children, the small rock on top of her head is still standing there, the little child's stone, the little child turned into that stone on top of her, the other small stones around her are her other children. She is standing out there. Kawmayn is standing here on the south side, with his wives around him. Nowadays that group of stones are still there at Pulu.*

Ina gidhaw kuutha. Wa, koeyma eso.

*This is the end of the story. Thank you very much.*

(On finishing a story, the story teller should always thank the listeners).

#### EDUCATION IN THE LANGUAGE

Torres Strait Islanders were quick to develop literature in their own languages after the establishment of the mission schools, which taught literacy in the local languages, and through interest created by the Cambridge Expedition (1898). However, later government policy meant that writing in the language on the whole remained largely church driven (hymns and the like), though now and then an enlightened Government school master would encourage literacy. This lasted till the 1970s, when Islanders themselves started taking up the pen once again.

There is still, however, a lack of interest from the Government and Education Department. The language is rarely used in education. Relatively few speakers are literate in it, and in some cases see it as a 'millstone'. Others

work hard to keep this important part of their birthright. While most islanders are proud of their heritage, the viability of the language rests in the hands of the community's will to retain the clearest marker of their identity. Until an overtly proactive policy of the Western and Central Language as the language of the community is established, alongside English for 'external affairs', it could eventually die out, as has virtually already happened on some islands.

#### THE LANGUAGE BEFORE COLONISATION

The Western and Central Language before European colonisation was the major language of the Torres Strait 'world' – those areas that traditionally centred on Torres Strait for trading, cultural and social purposes. It was used by Papuans, Islanders and Australian peoples for intergroup communication. It was once the language of Daru, spoken by the Hiámo, who originally came from Yama (Lawrence, 1989: 102), as well as formerly in two or three villages on the Papuan mainland to the west from there opposite Boigu and Saibai (Lawrence, 1989: 118; Garrick Hitchcock pers. comm., 2007). Folk history tells us that most of the Hiámo migrated to the Mùralag group (and a few into Papua and over to Saibai) to escape Kiwai raiding and colonisation (Landtman, 1927: x; Lawrence, 1989: 102; Haddon, 1935: 49; for Lawrie's (1971) brief notes, see Appendix 2).

Words, phrases and songs were borrowed from the Western and Central Language into the neighbouring Papuan languages (including Meriam Mir) over the centuries preceding European contact. These loans fall into three broad categories, (1) individual words and phrases, (2) religious/cult songs or formulae, and (3) songs that are retentions from the Hiámo who formerly lived on Daru, and are a window to past forms of the language.

Individual words and phrases are to be found in technology and religio-magic terminology/formulae and ceremonies borrowed from the Western-Central Islanders, such as for dugong-turtle hunting, initiation and fertility cycles, canoes and weather/season/star/navigational terminology. Religious/cult songs are found in ceremonies borrowed from (or given by) Western-Central Islanders, such as the turtle-magic ceremonies of the Mawata Kiwai (Landtman, 1927), songs in the Daru-Mawata Horiomo cycles (partly initiation, partly fertility, and partly other observances all within an overall theme), said to come from the Hiámo (Landtman, 1927), and some of the funeral songs of the Meriam people.

It is clear that many such words, phrases and songs come from the Western and Central Language, in that (1) the language is often clearly the Western and Central Language, and (2) the singers of the songs (the Kiwai and Meriam peoples) are reported to have said so. Their traditions are quite clear on where the songs came from, and that the songs are on the whole unintelligible to them. An interesting characteristic of the songs is that they fit in with the Western and Central Language song styles still in use. Such pre-colonisation era songs are a window to past forms of the language at the very least, as well as to the past links between the peoples of the area.

Historical records such as Landtman (1927) as well as folk history show that quite a few Meriam, Kiwai and other Papuans could speak the Western and Central Language quite well, normally either the Kalaw Kawaw Ya dialect or the Kùlkalgau Ya dialect. Where analysis of the songs is concerned, therefore it can be difficult to decide whether a form that appears modern is so because the singers, through their knowledge of the modern language, had changed the older form, or that there has been little actual change in the Western and Central Language, or that the song is relatively modern.

The following song is an example of an easily understood song. It is part of a *pipi* (Torres Strait war dance/ performance) called by the Mawata Kiwai *Kúiamo pipi* (WCL **Kuyaman Pipi** *Kuiam's War Dance*):

Oh, mátamána kúika patána sínge  
sígamúka, oh, ngáika ngibéka ngúrupana.

“Kill him man, put him head along gáraóro  
(head carrier), I learn you (teach) you”  
(Landtman, 1927: 163)

Reconstructed WCL original:

O, mathaman, a, kuik, a, pathan, a,  
singe sigamœka,  
O, ngayka ngibeka ngùrùpan, a.

*Oh, strike him, ah, behead him, ah,  
inserting the sínge* (lawyer cane head/fish  
carrying loop)

*Oh, to me, to you, it has been taught, ah.*

The dialect here is song-style Kauřařaigau Ya, as shown by the use of the word **ngibeka** *to you* rather than the Kalaw Lagaw Ya/Kùlkalgau Ya **nibeka**. Kuiam normally spoke in Kauřařaigau Ya, and songs ascribed to him in Torres Strait are often in Kauřařaigau Ya song-style language. Kuiam was a battle hero of both the Kalaw Lagaw Ya and Mua/Kauraraiga peoples. The language suggests composition within very recent centuries. Appendix 2 here-in has examples of songs that are more obscure, perhaps reflecting more ancient borrowing.

Other precolonisation songs were recorded by Myers and Haddon in ‘Funeral Ceremonies’ (Myers and Haddon 1908: 126-162). The following, *Zera Markai Keber* (Haddon, 1908: 134) was part of a funeral ceremony on Mer, and was said to be introduced by Waiet, who came to the Mer group from Mua some centuries ago and was the founder of a fertility cult (His Muan name is **Wayath**). The dialect is old Italgau Ya (Italaigau Ya, i.e. the southern

Mua subdialect), though the words were distorted by the Meriam singers. There is reference to the north-west and south-west winds (Meriam Mir *Kòki*, Kalaw Lagaw Ya **Kuki** *north west wind/monsoon*, Meriam Mir *Ziai*, Kalaw Lagaw Ya **Zeeya** *south-west*, capitalised because they have totemic significance), with reference probably to the rain-bearing clouds brought down at the beginning of the north-west monsoon. The song contains archaic word forms similar to the mid-1800s records of Kauřařaigau Ya.

Myers/Haddon's version:

Wa! wa! wa! wa! wa! wa! wa!

Goke eza gau goki longa gau goki

Wa! a! a! a! a! a! a! a!

Gaige gaige karapuna sewao ragade

Wa! a! a! a! a! a! a! a!

Wa banita gasmuneba jai aria pagana koki  
aria pagana.

reconstructed Italgau Ya (Mua) original:

Wa! wa! wa! wa! wa! wa! wa!

Ngùki, e, za, ngau ngùkilainga, ngau  
ngùki; (ngùkilainga: in the modern dialects  
**ngùkilnga**)

Wa! a! a! a! a! a! a! a!

Kai nge, kai nge kařapùn, a, sewau rangadh,  
e; (kařapùn: in the modern dialects **kaipùn**)

Wa! a! a! a! a! a! a! a!

Wa, banithan gas'mœřipa, (gasamœřipa: in  
the modern dialects **gasamaipa**)

Zey ariya pagan, a,

Kuki ariya pagan, a.

Yes! ...

*Water, eh, the thing (i.e. rain cloud) holding  
my water, my water,*

*It will then, it will then be back there soon, ah,  
that journey, eh;*

*Yes, stabbed in so as to catch/get it,*

*The South-West wind darted down through the  
rain, ah,*

*The North-West wind darted down through the  
rain, ah.*

## THE LANGUAGE AFTER COLONISATION

Through mission pressure and for work in the marine industry (beche-de-mer, trochus, pearling, etc.), the various clans started gathering into centralised villages in the two or three decades around the annexation of Torres Strait in the 1870s. On Mabuyag and Badu, the different clans moved to the **pœypaydœgam** *near/south-east side* of each island. The peoples of the Central group now live on Masig, Puruma (alt. Poruma), Waraber and Yama, though some Nagi people settled on Mua. On Saibai the Aith people joined the Saibai people at Saibai village; the subdialects were slightly distinct, but have since merged. Dauan and Boigu have kept their slightly different speech.

The Kauřařaigalai, on the other hand, were shifted by force to Poidh on Mua in 1921 and 1922. They, the Italgau of southern Mua and the Mualgal of northern Mua then later moved to Kubin on the south coast

. Starting in 1946 some Kauraraiga families moved back to their own country at Nœrupai. More recently, just after World War 2, Kalaw Kawaw Ya was 'transported' from Saibai to Bamaga and Seisia at Cape York by Saibai colonisers, following abnormally high flood tides which contaminated fresh water supplies and gardening areas on Saibai.

Kalaw Lagaw Ya and Kalaw Kawaw Ya have become linguistically dominant, particularly Gœmulgaw Ya and Saibailgau Ya, partly because speakers of these dialects have spearheaded modern literacy and language policies. Kùlkalgau Ya, Mualgau Ya and Kaiwalgau Ya tend to be sidelined, partly through the fact that the younger generations often do not actively speak the language.

### Outside Influences

The influences of colonisation on all local Cape York, Torres Strait and Papuan languages have

varied from drastic (to the point of language death), through moderate to minimal. Where languages have maintained their community standing, the main influences have been vocabulary for mainly foreign items as well as English or Broken (Torres Strait Creole, see Shnukal, 1988) loans for stylistic purposes. The loans have been from a surprising variety of sources, though English and Broken dominate:

Indonesian, Philippine languages (e.g. Malay, Makkasarese, Tagalog): *thuba coconut toddy*; *zaru trumps* (in cards); *suusa non-trump card*; *bala mate, friend, brother*

Polynesian and Melanesian: *thusi book, document, letter* (Samoan *tusi*); *lawlaw table* (Samoan *laulau* 'woven coconut leaf used as a tray'); *wakasu annointment oil* (Drehu *wakacu* 'coconut oil'); *thawiyān brother-in-law* (Vanuatu *tawean* 'brother-in-law')

Biblical loans (Latin, Greek, Hebrew): *basalaya kingdom* (Greek *basileia*); *aretho holy communion* (Greek *artos*); *Sathana Satan* (Hebrew *Satan*); *Sabadh/Sabadhi Sunday* (Hebrew *Sabbath*); *amen* (Hebrew) *prayer, church service, church*; *pcewbi* (Latin via Samoan) *cattle*; *Keriso* (Greek via Latin via Samoan) *Christ*; *Kerubi* (Hebrew via Samoan) *Cherubim*

Broken, English: *arawaygul whaleboat* (Eng. *haul away* + *guul sailing canoe*); *dati dirtiness, rubbish, trash*; *katitap custard apple*; *mamiyap pawpaw* (English *mammy-apple*); *aransis lemon, orange, mandarin*; *dhamba bread, loaf, damper*; *taaynga tank*; *keeka cake, biscuit, bun*; *laayna family, clan, ancestry, descent*; *mòbba mob, crowd, school* (of fish), *flock* (birds), etc.

Papuan: *badhara* (Agöb) *dance performance* (war dance); *buruburu* (Agöb) *hour-glass drum*

Australian: *thatha three-prong nail harpoon bit* (Wudhadhi/Yadhaikenu, though the word may ultimately be Papuan, cf. *Bine toto* 'nail, lashing')

Most loans exist beside indigenous words, in the case of the last three below created as a reaction to enculturation:

*meyt, GY meeyta friend, mate*; *thoebudh* (thubudh) *friend*

*meyt, GY meeyta first mate*; *wagelparu*: (wagel-paru) *next-face*

*buut, GY buuta boat*; *guul, guula sailing canoe*

*biliz village*; *mùdhawlaaga shelter-GEN+place*

*sey, GY seeya chair*; *niáylaaga sitting-GEN+place*, *niáyza sitting-GEN+thing*

*beybi/bebi baby*; *mapeth human baby*, *bøerarunga newly born baby*

*pleyn, GY pleeyna aeroplane*; *gimawøeriza*: *gima+wøerí+za above+flying-GEN+thing*

*poon, GY poona telephone*; *sigamulayza*: *sigamuláy+za far+speaking-GEN+thing*.

*polisman policeman*; *kunumaymøebayg/kunumaykaazi* (*kunumay+mabayg~kaazi* *hand.tie.up-GEN+person*), *dhøerdhimaymøebayg/dhøerdhimaykaazi* (*dhøerdhimay+mabayg ~kaazi* *bind.arrest.imprison-GEN+person*)

In modern times, the Western and Central Language has given way to Broken on various islands to varying extents. Broken is now the community language of Masig, Yama, St Pauls (Mua), Waiben (Thursday Island) and the islands surrounding Waiben. It is further the language of the middle and younger generation(s) on Waraber and Puruma and at Bamaga and Seisia at Cape York, and is just starting to make inroads on Saibai, where some adults use Broken with their children as they say Kalaw Kawaw Ya is too difficult for them. The other islands vary in usage between the two extremes.

In actual language use, however, a continuum exists in all communities between one extreme of using the language to the other extreme of only Broken, and an ability to fit in at different points of the continuum is the mark of a good all-round speaker and orator. What often results is what is called in Broken *Ap-ne-ap* 'Half-and-half', a mix of language and Broken of varying degrees, from a language base with some Broken words, to a Broken base with some language words.

**PART TWO: THE TORRES STRAIT AREA  
LANGUAGES AND PEOPLES**

When Europeans started interacting with Islanders and other local peoples in the 1800s, the local Papuan, Island and Australian peoples had been interacting with each other for some centuries at least, through friendship, family relations, intermarriage, traditional adoption, trade, and even battle. The closeness of the interaction between the various groups can be seen in trade words common to neighbouring Papua, Torres Strait and Cape York (Gudang, Urradhi and languages further afield such as Linggithigh and Mpakwithi), as the following list shows (Mitchell, 1995, Introduction: 40-41).

*thanks*: eso, Kuly ycesa, MM *esoau*; Papua: Agöb *eso*; Australia: Gudang, Urradhi *echo*, Yir Yoront *acha, ngacha, ngaycha, aycha*.

*peace*: paawdh, GY paawdha, MM *paud* 'no fighting' (*mapodan* 'peace'); Papua: Agöb *piuda*; Australia: Gudang, Urradhi *paawdha*.

*cutting tool*: thurik(a), MM *tulik*; Papua: Agöb *turika*, Bine *turi/turikā*, Kiwai *turika*, Marind *turika*; Australia: Urradhi *thurriya* 'crowbar'.

*tobacco*: soeguba, suguba, MM *sogob*; Papua: Agöb/Bine/Kiwai *suguba*; Australia: Urradhi *tyughubha*, Anguthimri *tyughubhu*.

*knife*: gi, OKY *giri*; MM *gir* 'knife-like formation'; Papua: Kiwai/Wipi *giri* 'sharp'; Australia: Gudang *giri*, Urradhi *kiri/ghiri*, Anguthimri *kiri*, Mpakwithi *kiri*

*bamboo*: moeráp, GY moeraapi, MM *marep*; Papua: Bine *marapi*, Kiwai *marabi*; Australia: Gudang *marraapi*, Urradhi *marrapi*, Mpakwithi *marrapi*

The Islanders and others also had dealings with outsiders such as the Makassans, who had been visiting the area for some centuries (Haddon, 1935: 15). Words which might be evidence of this include the following, which includes words that are loans from Sanskrit or Arabic (Malay, Sanskrit, Arabic data from Ngajedan, 1987). The use of Malay examples

here is for reference, and does not imply that such potential loans would be a priori from Malay. Such words are common to a variety of Indonesian languages, and an actual origin will probably never be known:

*adhi huge, great*, cf. Malay *adi* 'regal, great' (Sanskrit *adhi*); *aye, KKY aya come!*, cf. Malay *ayo* 'come!'; *baayu, baaywa waterspout*, cf. Malay *bayu* 'wind' (Sanskrit *vayu*); *buuyu bottle, container*, cf. Malay *buyung* 'pot, container'; *kòoda important discussion place, men's sacred enclosure*, cf. Malay *kota/kuta* 'city etc.', Javanese *koTalkuTa* (Sanskrit *kostha* 'city, city wall, sacred enclosure, etc. '); *kædál, GY kædaala crocodile*, cf. Malay *kadal*, Makassarese *kaDalaq* 'lizard'; *laaga place, region, home, inhabited island*, cf. Malay *loka/loga* (Sanskrit *loka* 'place, region'); *pawa deed, action, custom*, cf. Malay *paal* /pa'al/ id. (Arabic *fa'la*)

In short, Torres Strait has been the centre of a complex relationship of social ties, trading networks and conflict between Australia, Papua and to a lesser extent the Austronesian world for some centuries at least.

**HOW DOES THE LANGUAGE RELATE TO  
OTHER LANGUAGES?**

The relationship between the languages of the Torres Strait area is much more complex than simple trade, and most likely goes back to before the end of the last Ice Age, when Torres Strait was dry land. Involved are four language groups, the Paman sub-group of the Australian Pama-Nyungan languages, Papuan South-Central languages, Eastern-Trans Fly languages (which includes Meriam Mir) and the Trans-Fly subphylum, represented by Kiwai, of the Trans-New Guinea Phylum. There is also archaeological, folk-history and linguistic evidence of Austronesian settlement from South-East Papua.

However, the Western and Central Language is not closely related to any of its neighbours. Mitchell (1995) states that Meriam Mir is

mistaken form/meaning	mistaken cognate	actual form/meaning/structure
naka <i>situated here</i>	PP *ñaka	naka <i>that female/feminine object up there:</i> na-ka <i>feminine prefix-up.there</i>
nagi-ka <i>look at</i>	PP *ñaki- 'look'	nageka (colloquial pronunciation: nagika): naga-i-Ø-ka <i>look-ACT-SG-PrIMPf</i> actual cognate PP *ñaka
garrrpath- <i>gather, collect</i>	PP *karrpa-	garpatha- <i>gather, collect together:</i> gar-patha- <i>collective prefix-put, place</i>
wadhawadhagumiya <i>everywhere, all around</i> <i>found on every side, moving on every side</i>	PP *wañca 'where'	warawaradagumiya, warawaradægamuya (> wadwadagumiya/wadwadægamuya): wara-wara+dægamu/daguma-ya <i>one-one+side-NSpLoc</i>

the closest language in terms of common vocabulary, at around 25% (though see further below), followed closely by Gudang at 20%. Daru Kiwai rates at 12% (based on the word lists given in Ray, 1907: 391-412), Bine and Gizra at 11%, and Gidra at 8% (from the word lists given in Reesink *et al.*, 1976). Urradhi, the closest living Australian neighbour, has around 11% common vocabulary (6.5% cognation, Crowley, 1983: 309; Mitchell, 1995, Introduction: 9-10, and Appendix 1: pages 1-10). Mitchell and Piper (unpublished research notes), using the Holman *et al.* (2008) 40-word list (see below, and Appendix 1), find a higher rate for the Western and Central Language-Meriam Mîr of around 40% shared lexical items between Meriam Mîr and the Western and Central Language.

Post-war writers, e.g. Capell (1956), Wurm (1972) and Dixon (2002), have stated either that the Western and Central Language is an Australian language heavily influenced by Meriam Mîr in particular, or a Papuan language heavily influenced by an Australian substratum. Unfortunately, some works from MacGillivray (1852) to the present have been to varying extents dependent on inaccurate, poorly understood, badly or wrongly translated, limited and limiting materials, leading at times to misanalysis, marring often insightful work. As pointed out by Hunter *et*

*al.* (2011: 138), claims to relationships often seem to have been based on flimsy or highly selective evidence. Another serious failing is the lack of good, reliable knowledge on the neighbouring Papuan languages, peoples with whom the Islanders have been closely interacting for centuries.

The fact that some researchers have not been speakers of the language and at times have depended on second or third hand sources means a tendency of mistakes arising through the failure to identify correct word forms, derivations, variation according to speech style, misrepresentation of phonemes and morphemes, and so on, such as the above from Alpher *et al.* (2008: 25-28):

Another failing is also not to take into account variation such as dialect, idiolect, speech style and language change. One example is the association in the same work (Alpher *et al.* 2008; 28) of **gøeyga** *day, sun* with PP \*gayga *sun*. The stem form of **gøeyga** is **gøeygøeyi-**, in songs **gaigayi-**, and the earliest recorded forms of the word in Kauřařaigau Ya were *gyrriegi, gurriigi, goraigor, gørigar, gøriga* (as recorded by MacGillivray, 1852; Brierly, 1848-1850 [in Moore, 1979], Ray, 1907), i.e. Kauřařaigau Ya gøřiga(ř), stem form gøřigaři-, a reduplicated word cognate with the Meriam Mîr *gerger* 'day', and originating from PP \*gari 'sun'.

Finally, when researchers do not speak the language and do not have recourse to native speakers, they unfortunately can misidentify material, such as the following quote from Alpher *et al.* (2008: 17), using a word form (\*thanama-) that does not exist: 'The 3rd-Pl forms continue pPN \*cana (\*dhana is a notational variant), and additionally show oblique forms based on *thanama-*, which is shared by a number of other Pama-Nyungan languages, including those of the Yolngu subgroup (cf. Yan-nhangu *dhana* 'they', *dhanama* 'theirs').'

The affixed forms of **thana** *they* are based on the augmented stem **thanamù-**; the augment suffix **mù** is also found in the affixed forms of **palay** *they* DU (**palamù-**), **ngöey** *we* PL EXC (**ngöelmù-**) and **nitha** *you* PL (**nithamù-**). Similar misassociation through mistranslation is **gath**, GY **gaatha**, with PP \*kaca+ 'coral', Alpher *et al.* (2008: 28). Their source had given the Broken meaning of *shallows, reef*, whereas **gath** in English actually means *shallow, shallows*, and only refers to reefs with this connotation; *reef* is **maza**.

#### The Make-Up of the Language

It has been clear since as early as MacGillivray (1852), and confirmed by Mitchell (1995) and Alpher *et al.* (2008), among others, that by its pronouns, core structures and some core vocabulary, the Western and Central Language is a member of the Australian Pama-Nyungan phylum. However, only 18% of the 279 Proto-Paman words in Sommer (1969: 62-66) have definite realisations in the Western and Central Language. In the Holman *et al.* (2008) 40-word list based on the Swadesh 100 word list (see Appendix 1), 22.5% of the words are Australian, 22.5% Papuan and 12.5% Austronesian. Of the remaining 42.5%, 15% could be from any of these, one word ('horn') is not applicable, eight are derived words, and fully 32.5% are unclassifiable,

because not enough is known about the languages of the area. Of the 40 words, Meriam Mir shares 17 (42.5%) items with the Western and Central Language, of which two (*gegur* 'skin' and *gerger* 'day') are Australian in origin, seven are derived (e.g. *tirig* 'tooth' [*ereg* 'eat'], *osme-* 'full', a specialised use of the verb *osme-* 'protrude, show self', *erkep* 'eye' [*er-* 'see', *kep* 'body part']), and possibly one is Austronesian (*wer* 'star').

From its Australian core come some concrete and abstract vocabulary, all personal pronouns (including **nga** *who*), some verbs, and a lot of the morphology (such as the instrumental, accusative, genitive, ablative, LAI locative, **-ka** dative, perfective, imperfective, and perfective active). Though these categories exist in the neighbouring Papuan languages, the forms in the Western and Central Language are Australian.

Australian words (Pama-Nyungan/Common Australian): **thana** *they* PL (\*jana), **koelaaka** *spear* (\*galga), **ara-** *enter* (\*nara), **Athe Granddad** (\*naji 'maternal grandfather'), **iwi** *mosquito* (\*niwiri), **muugu** *ant hill*, *ant's nest*, **termite** (\*munga 'ant hill'), **paga-** *stab*, *prick*, *spear*, etc. (\*bagal 'prick, etc.'). **isama-** *transport liquid* (\*yiija- 'get'), **patha-** *bite* (of fish) (\*bajarr/l 'bite'), **kisaayi** *moon* (other dialects kiisay(i), OKY kiisafi, \*giijar-), **thara-** *stand erect*, *stand up* (\*ja[a]rra[y] 'stand'), **gasama-** *catch*, *get* (\*gaja- 'tie up'), **saana** *foot* (\*jina), **göeyga** *sun, day* (OKY göeigai(i), \*gari), **siiba** *liver, centre; centre of "heart-felt" feelings* (\*jiba 'liver')

From Papua as well come concrete and abstract vocabulary, some morphology, syntactic/grammatical structure such as verb number [also possibly archaic Australian] and depletive verbs, the use of state/movement verbs as 'be' verbs, and two interrogatives (**naag/naga** *how*, **namuyth** *when*) in Kalaw Kawaw Ya.

Papuan words (Proto East-Trans Fly): **siipi** *root* (\*sipi), **pe-/pi-** *specifically there in the*

*distance* (\*pa~\*pi- 'that, there'), *gabu* *cold, cool, calm*, etc. (\*gabo 'cold'), *ber/bera*, S-D *bero* *rib, side of boat, river*, etc. (\*biro 'side'), *maadhu* *meat* (\*madu), *baaga jaw* (\*mbaŋka] 'jaw.molar'), *uthuy* *sleep* (\*uto), *ùmai* *dog* (\*omái), *saamu* *cassowary* (\*saamu), *ngœna* *breath* (\*ŋana), *ngœnakaapu* *heart, centre of thoughts and the breath* (\*ŋana 'breath', \*kapu 'body part'), *mœlpal(a)* *moon* (\*malpala).

From Austronesian also come concrete and abstract vocabulary, perhaps some morphology such as one of the ablatives, the **pa-** telic prefix and the KIDHA group of morphemes, some terminology dealing with agriculture, canoes, the weather, the sky and the sea, sky/weather/agricultural gods (**Thoëgay**, **Kang** and the **Zugubal**) and a few verbs. There are in many cases clear relationships with the South-East Papuan Austronesian group (Mitchell, 1995; David *et al.*, 2004).

Austronesian words (Proto South-East Papuan Austronesian [Proto Oceanic in some cases as marked]): *gamu*, GY *gaamu* *body* (torso) (\*ŋkamo 'belly'), *wœœwra* *south-east* (\*waura), *bùrùm* *pig* (\*mporoma), *mapu* *heavy* (\*mapa), *wœywi* *mango* (\*waiwai), *aapa* *garden bed* (\*[s]apu 'dust, dirt'), *aar* *dawn* (\*aro < \*anso 'sun, day'), *daana* *pool, reef lagoon; eye; life* (\*dano 'lake', \*danu 'water'), *maalu* *deep, sea* (\*malo, POC \*(ŋ)malo/u 'submerge; reef; hollowed'), *maanga* *fork* (POC \*maŋa() 'fork, branching'), *thanura-i-* *sit* (\*tanu(t)ali 'sit'), *waadha* *reality/existential emphasis* (\*wada 'existential'), *mùra* *all* (\*mora 'numerous'), *uur/wœr* (archaic KKY *wœyr*) *water* (\*wair), *bùngil/bongil* (KKY *bongel*) *last night* (\*boni 'night'), *barama* *enormous, most* (\*bada/bara 'big, most'), *puuyi* (OKY *puuŋi*) *magic charm-medicine-equipment-actions* (\*puli 'magic'), *sayim(a)* (OKY *saŋima*) *outrigger float* (\*nsarima), *thawal(a)* *coast, shore* (\*tawala), *wœru/wuru/uru* *rope, cord, string* (\*waro() 'vine, rope'), *aay* *food* (\*[k]ani, \*[k]ain 'food, eat'), *sal* *bilge water* (POC \*sa(dr)a/e 'dig, bail')

Examples of words of more than one possible origin are the following:

*guul* *sailing canoe* (PETrF \*ŋgola, \*ŋgalo, POC \*qaluwan) – possibly an Austronesian loan to all local languages

*piki* *dream* (PETrF \*pi[ jio, POC \*(m)pi(t)i)

*sii-/siya-* *stand, stand doing* (CA \*ja-n/\*ji-n 'stand', POC \*siŋi 'stand')

*Ama Mum, Mum's Sister* (PP \*ŋam[au]ŋ, PETrF \*ŋaam[au] 'mother, breast')

*Baba Dad, Dad's Brother* (PP \*baŋbaŋ, PETrF \*baba, POC \*ba(m)paq 'father')

*buthu* *sand* (PP \*buju *dirt*, POC \*(ka)pudu 'dust')

*kapu*, GY *kaapu* *seed* (PP \*gambun 'egg, seed', PETrF \*kapu 'egg, seed', POC \*k[ao]mpun 'seed')

*thala-* *chew* (PP \*ja-l *eat*, POC \*tolon 'gulp, devour, sip, swallow')

Where kin terms are concerned, one is Australian, **ipi**, GY **iipi** *wife*, PP \*yibi 'woman, female', two are probably Australian, **Athe Grandad**, cf. Urradhi *athi, athidha* 'maternal grandfather', PP \*ŋaji, and **Aka Grandma**, PP \*baga. Another, **Ama Mum, Aunty** could be Australian or Papuan, while **Baba Dad, Uncle** could be Australian, Papuan or Austronesian – or even simultaneously from all three. The kinship system is fairly different from that of the neighbouring Australian cultures, and is essentially the same as that of the neighbouring Papuans. The Western and Central Language and Meriam Mir kin terms are very similar, surprisingly so for unrelated languages, and the neighbouring Urradhi system is very dissimilar, surprisingly so for related languages:

father, male of father's generation in father's clan/moiety

WCL      thathi, GY thaathi; emotive Baba, KKY Bab

MM      bab

Urradhi      (Atampaya) *ibhuny*; (Angkamuthi/Yadhaykenu) *ibhadha*

father's sister or female relative of his generation in his clan/moiety	
WCL	ngœybath(a), OKY ngœřibatha
MM	<i>nerbet</i>
Urradhi	<i>inhya</i>
mother, female of mother's generation in mother's clan/moiety	
WCL	apu, GY apuuwa; emotive Ama
MM	<i>apu</i> , emotive <i>Ama</i>
Urradhi	<i>ungunyu</i>
mother's brother or male relative of her generation in her clan/moiety; sister's child	
WCL	awadhe, awdhe, wadhuwam; emotive Awa
MM	awá
Urradhi	<i>ukurra</i> 'mother's brother'; <i>aala</i> 'mother's younger brother'
sibling	
WCL	(same-sex) <i>toekuyap</i> , GY <i>toekuyaapa</i> ( <i>tukuyap</i> , GY <i>tukuyaapa</i> ), (opposite-sex) <i>babath</i> , KULY <i>bayabath</i> , OKY <i>bœřabatha</i>
MM	<i>berbet</i> (also: <i>le</i> , lit. 'person')
Urradhi	<i>upungka</i> 'elder brother', <i>upantin</i> 'elder sister', <i>ithamu</i> 'younger brother or sister'
cousin on mother's side	
WCL	<i>naguwam</i>
MM	<i>neguám</i> ; emotive <i>Negú</i>
Urradhi	?
grandparent	
WCL	<i>bœbath</i> ; (grandmother) <i>kayadh</i> ; emotive <i>Grandad</i> <i>Athe</i> , KKY <i>Pòòpu</i> , <i>Grandma</i> <i>Aka</i>
MM	<i>kaied</i> (WCL loans <i>pòp</i> , emotive <i>At</i> )
Urradhi	<i>wuula/wuulan</i> 'father's father', <i>athil/athidha</i> 'mother's father', <i>api/apidha</i> 'father's mother', (Atampaya) <i>ami/amin</i> , (Angamuthi, Yadhaykenu) <i>ami/amidha</i> 'mother's mother'
grandchild	
WCL	<i>ngep</i> , GY <i>ngeepa</i>
MM	<i>nap</i>
Urradhi	?

On the other hand, the singular personal pronouns (Table 1) are Australian, and are close to their Proto Paman predecessors. The dual and plural pronouns (Table 2),

however, show signs of something akin to "pidginisation". The Australian 1<sup>st</sup> *exclusive* dual \**ŋanapula*, via \**ŋampula* (cf. Urradhi *ampula*) became the *inclusive* dual **ngœba**, while the 1<sup>st</sup> *inclusive* plural \**ŋali* 'we' became the *exclusive* plural **ngœy**, i.e. they in effect swapped place. The other two 1<sup>st</sup> pronouns were formed from \**ŋali* with what appear to be deictics, an *exclusive* **-bay** and an *inclusive* **-pa/pù-**. The 3<sup>rd</sup> person dual appears to be suffixed by the proprietary suffix LAI, while the most radical change is that the Australian non-singular 2<sup>nd</sup> person pronouns have been lost, replaced by the "pidgin" forms \**ŋin+pal you+two* > **nipel**, KKY/OKY **ngipel**, and \**ŋin+tana you+they* > **nitha**, KKY/OKY **ngitha** (OKY **ngithana**, **ngitha**). In this the pronoun **ni**, KKY/OKY **ngi** acts like the demonstratives **i-** *this, here* and **se-/si-** *that, there*, dual forms **ipal** *these two* and **sepal/sipal** *those two* and plural forms **itha** *these* and **setha/sitha** *those*.

On the whole, the Western and Central Language seems to be a mixed language resulting from language shift in the model of Thomason and Kaufmann (1988 : 212), where speakers within a long-term multilingual community characterised by mothers of mainly Australian origin, some of Papuan origin, and fathers of mainly Austronesian/Papuan background over time 'create' a new language (see further below in the next section).

### THE LANGUAGE AS A RECORD OF AUSTRALIAN AND PAPUAN PREHISTORY: HOW OLD IS THE LANGUAGE?

When Island Southeast Asians and then Europeans began visiting Torres Strait from around 500 years or so ago (cf. Haddon, 1935: 15) – with intensification after the colonisation of Australia in 1788 – the present-day language situation seems to have been well-established. But how old is the language? That is to say,

TABLE 1. The Paman sources of the singular pronouns.

WCL	1 <sup>st</sup>	2 <sup>nd</sup>	3 <sup>rd</sup> masculine	3 <sup>rd</sup> feminine	who
KLY	ngay(i)	ni	nuy	na	nga
KKY	ngay(i)	ngi	nuy	na	nga
OKY	ngayi	ngi	nui	na	nga
Proto Paman	*ŋayi	*ŋin	*nyu[lu]	*nyaan	*ŋaan

TABLE 2. Comparison of the WCL dual and plural pronouns with those of PP

WCL	nominative	oblique stem		nominative	oblique stem
1 <sup>st</sup> exclusive dual KKY archaic KulY	ngalbay ngalbe ngœibai	ngalbayni- ngalbeni- ngœibaini-	1 <sup>st</sup> exclusive plural KKY OKY	ngœy ngœy ngœri	ngœlmùni- ngœymùni- ngœri[mù]ni-
1 <sup>st</sup> inclusive dual	ngœba	ngœbani-	1 <sup>st</sup> inclusive plural KKY/OKY	ngalpa ngalpa	ngalpùni- ngalpani-
2 <sup>nd</sup> dual KKY/OKY	nipel ngipel	nipeni- ngipeni-	2 <sup>nd</sup> plural KKY OKY	nitha ngitha ngitha/ngithana	nithamùni- ngithamùni- ngitha[na]mùni-
3 <sup>rd</sup> dual Boigu/OKY	palay pale	palamùni- palemùni-	3 <sup>rd</sup> plural	thana	thanamùni-

PP	dual	plural
1 <sup>st</sup> exclusive	*ŋampula < *ŋanapula	*ŋana
1 <sup>st</sup> inclusive	*ŋalipula	*ŋali
2 <sup>nd</sup>	*nyupula < *nyurra- pula	*nyurra
3 <sup>rd</sup>	*pula	*jana

when did the mix of Australian, Papuan and Austronesian elements come together to ultimately give the language its more-or-less present form, and how does its development reflect local prehistory. There are various clues from archaeology, with associated human biology (genetics etc.), folk history and linguistics that give speculative keys to estimating both the age of the language, and its general development.

Human settlement in Torres Strait can be summarised in four phases:

PHASE 1: UP TO AND BEYOND THE END OF THE ICE AGE: 8900–3500 YEARS AGO

Archaeology/Human Biology

The earliest evidence of human presence in Torres Strait is from Badu, 8900 years ago (David *et al.*, 2004), when Torres Strait was still dry land. The rising waters at the end of the Ice Age pushed the local people south and north, though many stayed on the former high hills that stretch from Mabuyag down to Cape York. Archaeological evidence on Badu (David *et al.*, 2004: 6) shows occupation there from 8900 – 6000 years ago, which then ‘tailed off’. The few archaeological records post-6000 years ago indicate either sporadic visits from Australia, if not a continued highly nomadic existence of retained ownership of the islands – or both.

Modern ‘biological archaeology’, namely blood typology, physical appearance and

skeletal evidence, also shows that the Torres Strait Islanders, neighbouring Cape York peoples and Papuan peoples have a close relationship to each other, i.e. genetically, northern Australians and southern Papuans are very closely related (Kirk, 1972: 373; Moore, 1979: 309). However, between Cape York, Torres Strait and Papua there have been untold centuries of intermarriage, adoption and the practice of procuring what Islanders called **gasamayzibal captives**, i.e. people taken in raids either as wives or workers, or as children. Therefore, comparison of modern Papuan, Torres Strait and Cape York human biology will not necessarily give good clues as to what differences or similarities existed in the far past. There are also interesting local variations; one inland Cape York group, for example, were said to be stocky and thick-set “when they came out of the bush” in the early 1900s, quite unlike their coastal Urradhi relatives (Richard Tamwoy of Injinoos, personal communication, 1994).

#### Folk History

None as yet identified in Torres Strait itself that refers to this period; all present Torres Strait oral history refers to a world of islands that have always been there bounded by two **dhawdhay** major land masses to the south and north. Neighbouring Papua could have some oral history dating back to this period, while potential oral history has probably been lost in neighbouring Australia due to loss of language and culture.

#### Linguistics

Some linguistic evidence north and south of Torres Strait seems to point to the possibility that the northern Paman, Eastern-Trans Fly and South-Central Papuan languages and therefore peoples share common origins; that what is now Torres Strait and the Arafura

sea was dry land inhabited by people whose descendants are still in the area both to the north and the south (cf. Foley, 1986; Donohue and Terril, 1996; Moore, 1979: 309).

### PHASE 2: 3500–2600 YEARS AGO

#### Archaeology/Human Biology

From around 3500 years ago occupation intensified, going by evidence from Badu (David *et al.*, 2004) and Mabuyag (McNiven *et al.*, 2006). These are linked to increasing Aboriginal activity in tropical North Queensland at the time (McNiven *et al.*, 2006: 66).

#### Folk History

Established Aboriginal occupation of certain islands is remembered in Torres Strait folk history that deals with the start of the next phase (Phase 3).

#### Linguistics

Common Australian influence moved into Cape York from further south in Australia (O’Grady, 1979; Wurm, 1972), ultimately overlaying (at least partly) local languages to form the Paman group; this influence reached Torres Strait quite early, as Australian words in the language are on the whole more archaic in form than the neighbouring Paman languages, which underwent later changes. In particular, there has been little initial dropping, sporadically of \*ŋ, \*g/\*k and \*y (see below), unlike Gudang, Urradhi and other Cape York languages, which indicates either that the language was taken out of the Australian sphere just when this had started, or it is independent in the Western and Central Language, or there are later loans from the Australian mainland. The fact that words of Papuan and Austronesian origin also appear to undergo this could suggest independent development:

Proto Paman	gloss	WCL	gloss
*ɲara	'enter'	ara-	<i>enter, put in</i>
*ɲiwiri	'mosquito'	iwi	<i>mosquito</i>
*ɲaji	'maternal grandfather'	Athe	<i>Grandad</i>
*ɲam[au]ɲ	'breast, mother'	Ama	<i>Mum, Aunty</i>
(this has essentially the same proto form in the neighbouring Papuan languages, i.e. *ɲaam[au])			
*gaamba-	'cover'	aba-	<i>cover</i>
*giimV-	'see'	iima-	<i>see, find</i>
*giba	'scrape'	iiba-	<i>grate, scrape</i>
*yibi	'woman, female'	ipi, GY iipi	<i>wife</i>
		ipika (iipkazi-), KKY ip-/yip-/yœpkaz(i)	<i>woman, female</i>
*yiga	'laughter'	either egi	<i>laughter, laugh</i>
Cf. PETrF*giga	'joy, happiness'	or ikay, KKY ika	<i>happiness, joy, gladness</i>
PETrF *kiigiro	'life'	KKY igil	<i>life</i>
PSEPA *kain/*kani	'food, eat'	ay	<i>food</i>
PSEPA *sapu	'dust, dirt'	aapa	<i>garden bed, garden</i>
		cf. MM <i>sep</i> 'ground, soil', Gudang <i>ampa</i> 'ground, soil' Gizrra <i>tüp</i> 'ground' Wipi <i>sopa</i> 'garden'	
		apa-	<i>down, below</i>
		cf. MM <i>sep</i> 'down, below' Wipi <i>sap</i> 'down, below' (in compounds)	

Furthermore, a few early Common Australian monosyllabic stems have been retained relatively 'unchanged':

CA	WCL	
*bul	pal/wal	<i>dual morpheme</i>
*ɲaan	nga	<i>who (what only in the KKY word ngalaga where, lit. what-place SLoc)</i>
*ɲiin	ni, KKY ngi	<i>you singular</i>
*nyaan	na	<i>feminine personal pronoun, feminine morpheme</i>
*nyii-n	ni-, niya-	<i>sit, stay (KKY also niina- in niinadha SG.IMP.IMPf)</i>
*maa-n	ma-, mani-	<i>get, take, etc.</i>

A third archaism is the retention of the Common Australian masculine and feminine gender, lost in neighbouring Paman languages. Gender is also found in neighbouring Trans Fly languages, which also have two-gender

masculine-feminine systems (except Meriam Mir, which is genderless), though not marked on the pronouns themselves. (Wurm, 1975: 333-334).

PHASE 3: 2600–800 YEARS AGO

Archaeology/Human Biology

Settlers arrived from Papua around 2600 to 2800 years ago and colonised the uninhabited and inhabited islands. They brought horticulture, archaeological evidence of this being dated to as early as 2500 years ago on Saibai (Barham, 1999: 79) and the Murray group (Carter & Lilley, 2008: 74,76 – with evidence for coconut, banana and yam). Torres Strait has been horticultural ever since.

Lapita pottery also appeared at the same time, which had been brought to the Central District of south-east Papua by Austronesian

speaking settlers by around 2900 years ago (David *et al.*, 2011; McNiven *et al.*, 2011). Sherds found on the Murray group date from 2600 to 1600 years ago, with one very late anomaly of 700 years ago (Carter & Lilley, 2008: 74). These are made of material that could ultimately be from the Kubor region of the New Guinea Highlands or the Kikori area to the north-east of the Fly Delta, which leads Carter and Lilley (2008) to postulate a Papuan settlement in Torres Strait rather than Austronesian, though as the sand material shows strong wearing it is probably that it had been eroded downstream before use (Ian McNiven, pers. comm., 2011). The same style of pottery has been found at Mask Cave on Pulu near Mabuyag and dates to two periods, 2600 to 2400 years ago and 1700 to 1600 years ago (McNiven *et al.*, 2006: 67-68). It was of local Mabuyag make, crafted with technology and expertise that came from the east in south coastal Austronesian Papua New Guinea. Given such early dates, coupled with the oral history summarised below, it is likely that Austronesians were directly involved in the settlement in Torres Strait.

#### Folk History

Mabuyag folk history recorded by Laade (Laade, 1968: 146-148, information from the Reverend Seriba Sagigi, Missi Mam and Jimmy Luffman) recounts that light-skinned traders from the ocean to the east established a base at Parema (northeast of Daru), intermarried with local Trans-Fly Papuans, then fairly soon after colonised Torres Strait (from Murray in the east to Mabuyag in the west) to avoid more intermarriage – particularly of their daughters – with the Papuans. At Mua, Badu and Mabuyag they found Aboriginal people, killed the men and kept the women (and presumably the children). Some chose to go north to Saibai, Dauan and Boigu so as to avoid even further intermarriage. Badu folk history further states that others later moved down from Badu and colonised the Muralag group. While the folk

history has it that these initial colonisers were a culturally dominant group of Austronesian men who had married local Trans-Fly Papuan women from the Parema area, many, if not most, of the settlers would have been mixed Austronesian-Papuan as well as Papuan.

#### Linguistics

Carter's postulation of Papuan settlement ultimately from either the Kikori or Kubor areas is not supported by Meriam M̄ir. Kikori is on the border of the north-east Kiwai language area. The Kiwai (of the Trans New Guinea Phylum group) descended into the north Fly Delta from the headwaters of the Fly River in the Highlands around 2000 years ago; this, it must be noted, is based on linguistic evidence only (Wurm, 1975: 324). Meriam M̄ir is closely related to the other East Trans-Fly languages Bine, Wipi and Gizrra, and more distantly to the Pahoturi Family (Agöb, Idi, Taeme and Ende), to the north and northwest. Meriam M̄ir folk history of the peopling of the Eastern islands is that they first settled Mer, then moved to the other islands of the group (Anna Shnukal, pers. comm., 2012). Whether there were previous inhabitants or not is unclear. The Meriam may have overlaid earlier inhabitants who would have been the same people as the Western and Central Islanders, the *Gamle* (Koiki Mabo, personal communication, 1980; Lawrie, 1970: 326). Various aspects of the Western and Central Language and Meriam M̄ir show a period of at least partial bilingualism over a long period, perhaps stemming from such an original settlement pattern.

Austronesian linguistic and cultural influence in the Torres Strait area is not disputed; however such an early date of around 2600 years or so ago is. Carter and Lilley advise caution in blindly accepting linguistic and cultural evidence of pre-colonisation Eastern Austronesian contact in Torres Strait, such as that presented in David *et al.* (2004): 'this linguistic evidence, along with

suspected Austronesian traits in Islander oral histories and legends as well as in rock art stylistic affinities, lacks chronological control and may reflect the influx of Pacific Islanders to Torres Strait in colonial times' (Carter & Lilley, 2008: 79). They also highlight the sea-going capabilities of coastal Papuans (Carter & Lilley, 2008: 79); the migration of Trans-New Guinea Phylum Papuans to East Timor and neighbouring islands is a case in point.

However, as the languages and cultural traits of the Pacific Islanders who came to Torres Strait in the colonisation period are very well known, it is clear that they cannot be the origin of most of the Eastern Austronesian words and (presumed) cultural traits in the language. Many of these words could only have come from the South-East Papuan Austronesians (see Table 3), and at least in some cases clearly predate the Motu trading voyages (the Hiri

TABLE 3. South East Papuan Austronesian words in languages of the area, comparing Proto-Central District Austronesian (PCD), Proto South-East Papuan Austronesian (PSEPA) and Proto-Polynesian (PPN), subgroups of Proto-Oceanic (POC).

<i>outrigger</i>			
OKY sařima	MM <i>sirib</i>	Motu <i>darima</i>	Samoan ' <i>ama</i>
KLY sayim	Kiwai <i>sarima</i>	PCD *Darima	PPN *sama
KKY sayma	Daru Kiwai <i>harima</i>	PSEPA *(n)sarima	
ideal song form: sayima			
Gudang <i>charima</i> (OKY loan)			
Torres Strait Area Proto Form *sařima		POC *nsaRman	
<i>rope</i>			
wœru/wuru/uru	Kiwai <i>waro, oro</i>	Motu <i>varo</i> 'creeper sp.'	(not cognate)
KKY wœru-/wuru-/uru-		PCD *waro	
(only in wœrukam[i] <i>rope</i> )		PSEPA *waro	
ideal song form: waru			
Gudang <i>uurru</i> (OKY loan)			
Torres Strait Area Proto Form *waru ~*waro		POC *waRos	
<i>south-east</i> (wind, direction)			
OKY wœura	MM <i>waur</i>	Motu <i>laura</i>	(not cognate)
KLY wœewra	Kiwai <i>uro</i>	PCD *na waura	
KKY wœwr		(*na definite article)	
ideal song form: waura		PSEPA *waura	
Torres Strait Area Proto Form *waura		POC *waura	
<i>magic</i> (as a product, medicine, charms, etc)			
OKY puuři	(not cognate)	Motu <i>hui</i>	(not cognate)
KLY puuyi		PCD *pu[r]i	
KKY puy		PSEPA *pu[lr]i	
ideal song form: puuyi			
Gudang <i>upiri</i> (OKY loan)			
Torres Strait Area Proto form *puuři		POC *(m)puluŋ	
<i>pig</i>			
bürum(a)	MM <i>borom</i>	Motu <i>boroma</i>	Samoan <i>pua'a</i>
ideal song form: büruma	Bine <i>blomo/blome</i>	PCD *boroma	PPN *puaka
	Kiwai <i>boroma</i>	PSEP *mporoma, *mporok	
Torres Strait Area Proto Form *boroma		POC *(m)borok	

Motu); that is to say, they are not Motu or similar 'recent' Central District Austronesian. Further, the amount of influence shows strong, long-term contact, none of which occurred with any post-colonial South Sea Islanders.

The modern South-Sea Islanders came as seamen (and some women) who were not interested in spreading their language or culture (or in most cases Christianity). Their languages (Samoan, Rotuman, Drehu, Maori, and so on) have made no mark on local languages, apart from some loan words. The South Sea men preferred to keep their languages for their personal communication – these were not for people that they often considered to be inferior, Pidgin English being the preferred language of communication. This also reinforced their position as the co-workers of the White colonisers, along with the Malay, Filipino, Chinese, Japanese, Jamaican and other outsiders. The only real linguistic influence has been the replacement of the traditional languages in some communities by Broken, used by all foreigners to varying extents, including Europeans.

The various forms of South East Papuan Austronesian words appear to show long-term contacts over centuries. Many have a more 'archaic' Proto-South East Papuan Austronesian appearance, while a few resemble the more evolved Central District Austronesian languages, the sub-group of the South East Papuan Austronesian languages closest to Torres Strait; PSEPA is the immediate ancestor of PCD. It could be that trading voyages such as the Hiri Motu have a long history (from as much as 2900 years ago) and included some traders settling in areas such as Torres Strait. While the Hiri Motu was much more restricted in range in recent history, a wider range of contacts may have been maintained for a long time, allowing for more recent loans, possibly including loan words that could

have arrived through knock-on trade across the Fly Delta. Having said this, on present knowledge, many words can not be assigned to a clear time period, as can be seen in the following list, which contains various items which range from clearly to possibly South-East Papuan Austronesian.

WCL	PCD	PSEPA
aar <i>dawn</i> (in songs, etc.)	*aro 'sun, day'	*[ Janso
barama <i>enormous, most</i>	*bada 'big'	*mpara
bùngel, bùngil, KKY bongel <i>last night</i>	*boni 'night'	*mponi 'night'
bùrùm <i>pig</i>	*boroma, *boro	*mporoma, *mporok
buya <i>light</i>	PCD *pula, PECD *vue, PWCD *puya 'shine, glow, moon'	*mpula
daaka <i>side of face</i>	*raqe 'forehead, face'	*daqe
daana <i>pool, lagoon; eye; life</i>	*ranu 'water, pool, lake'	*dano 'pool, lake', *danu 'water'
gamu, GY gaamu <i>body</i>	*gamu 'belly'	*ŋkamo
gøeru <i>sugar cane</i>	*garo 'garden'	*garo
kaazi <i>child, person</i>	*taDi, PWCD *kati	*tansi 'child; younger same sex sibling'
maalu <i>deep, deep sea</i>	*malo 'hollowed'	*ŋmal[ou] 'submerge; reef; hollowed'
maayi (OKY maari) <i>nacre</i>	*mairi	???
mùra <i>all, total</i>	*mora 'big, numerous'	*mora
natha- <i>cook, roast, colour</i>	*naDu 'cook'	*nansu
paa <i>fence, enclosure</i>	*ba	*mpaa

WCL	PCD	PSEPA
puuyi (OKY puufi) <i>magic, medicine</i>	*pu[rl]i 'magic, medicine'	*mpu[lr]i
sal <i>bilge water</i>	???	*nsara 'bail'
sayima <i>outrigger</i> (OKY sařima)	*Darima	*nsarima(n)
susu <i>breast; white sap</i>	*DuDu 'breast, milk'	*nsunsu
thanura-i- <i>sit</i>	*tanu(t)aru	*tanu(tali)
waadha, KKY waaza <i>reality /existential emphasis adverb</i>	*waDa 'perfective'	*wada 'exist, be present'
waaku <i>mat, sail</i>	???	*paqu
waaru <i>turtle</i>	*ponu 'turtle, tortoise'	*ponu
wœr/wur/uru <i>water</i> (archaic KKY wœyr)	*wai	*wair
wœru/wuru/uru <i>rope</i>	*waro 'vine, rope'	*waro
Wœœwra <i>South-East</i>	*(na) waura	*waura
wœywi <i>mango</i>	*(wai)wai	*(wai)wai

PHASE 4: 800 YEARS AGO TO COLONISATION AND BEYOND

Archaeology/Human Biology

A significant period of change throughout Island Melanesia as well as elsewhere in the world (McNiven, 2006: 9); mirrored in Torres Strait, and evidenced by 'a suite of sites across the Strait demonstrating major cultural changes taking place within the last 600-800 years' (McNiven, 2006: 1). There appeared to have been "an absolute increase in activity across the region due to overall population increase. This activity continued virtually unchanged in the archaeological landscape into the modern period. If the archeological evidence from Moore (1979) is anything to go by, the migration of the Hiámo mentioned below may well have happened towards the beginning of this period – his dig at the Port Lihou site on Muralag showed that it was

in constant and – perhaps by implication – unchanged use since around 700 years ago; though, of course, if a people with more or less the same material technology and means of making a livelihood as an already resident people moves in, this is not likely to be obvious in the archaeology.

Folk History

Folk history of various types of contacts between Australians, Islanders and Papuans abound, including trade, family ties, marriage, warfare, the spread of cults and religion, inter-tribe adoptions, wife-stealing, and so on. It is also a period when tales of contact with the **markayl white spirits** show that Makassans or the like were regularly visited the Straits. Within the area, the most significant migrations involve the Kiwai and the Hiámo of Daru. According to local Papuan folk history recorded by Lawrence (1989: 102), Daru was first settled by settlers from Yama. Lawrence's informant stated that Daru was a mud flat that eventually became an island. As soon as it was habitable, Yama people settled there as a trading base. These people were later to be called the *Hiámo* (alt. *Hiáma*, *Hiámu*) by the Kiwai colonisers of Daru, Mawata and neighbouring villages. Landtman (1927: x, 337), Haddon (1935: 49) and Lawrie (1971 field notes) record that when the Kiwai raided and then colonised the area, the bulk of the Hiámo fled south to the Muralag group via Muri [Mt Adolphus] (see Appendix 2), and a few to Saibai and into Papua. This may also be the time that the Malo-Bomai religion from the Marind to the west (West Papuan border area) came to Mer.

Linguistics

The continuing contacts between Australians, Islanders and Papuans have meant continuous linguistic and cultural influences of various kinds, particularly in religious contexts, such

as the introduction of Kulkalgal turtle fertility ceremonies to Papua and the spread of the Kuiam cult into Papua (Landtman, 1927), the “conversion” of the Meriam to the Malo-Bomai religion, and so on. Language contact with Macassans and/or other Indonesians is also probably reflected in pre-colonisation West Austronesian loan words.

Evidence of the voice of the Hiámo are the words and songs in Daru Kiwai dance cycles and so on (as recorded in Landtman, 1927) said to be in the language of the Hiámo. These are clearly relatable to modern forms of the Western and Central Language, showing that the development of the language predates the Kiwai expansion to the south-west of their territory – and that the language was in existence before the Yama Islanders colonised Daru. The specific forms of the language of the Hiámo link the them to the Kauřařaiga as well as to the Saibai-Dauan-Boigu people.

An example of contacts in this period reflected in vocabulary are words common to Kiwai and the Western and Central Language recorded by Landtman. Certain of the words in the list below show influence from Torres Strait into Kiwai rather than the other way around; i.e. they are words borrowed along with Torres Strait cultural traits into Kiwai, such as dugong and turtle hunting techniques, cosmology and the Kuiam cult, which includes *kúbai* from the Western and Central Language **kúbay** *woomera*. Some are fairly modern, such as *karáko* ‘metal-tipped spear’, WCL **kœlak**, GY **kœlaaka** *spear*, while others are older, and their phonology shows this in retaining word forms since lost in the Western and Central Language, such as *naráto* ‘dugong platform’ (PWCL \*nařáta > OKY nœřatha, MY-KY nœyath/nath, KLY/KuLY niyath/nath, KKY nath) and *Károngo* (PWCL \*kařánga > OKY Kœranga, WCL Kang, MM Kareg). The word *koráre* has undergone assimilation (\*kolápi > \*korapi > koráre), and *kokádi* shows

denasalisation from \*kokani (cf. MM *kokni* ‘knee’). *Kwádi-kowódi* is an acknowledged loan (the cluster *kw-kow* is from the WCL [q] allophone of **k**, mandatory in WCL with round vowels), while others can only be from the Western and Central Language because they have meaning in that language, but not in Kiwai, such as *Kóidjugubo*, *Sengérai* and *Utíamo*.

Among words common to the two languages are those that are ultimately Australian, such as *síbo* (PP \*jiba ‘liver’) and *karáko* (PP \*galga ‘spear’), a further sign that the words are loans into Kiwai. *Síbo* in Kiwai appears to refer on the whole to what in the Western and Central Language is expressed by **ngœna** *breath, intellect, intellectual feelings*, and in the compound **ngœnakaapu** to the heart, the seat of the breath and intellectual ‘feelings’ such as memory and agreement. The brain, **thiigi**, deals with intellectual aspects such as wisdom and cunning. *Síbo* also seems to cover some of the abstract meanings of the Western and Central Language **siiba** *liver* as well, which is the seat of feelings such as love, hate and kindness

Kiwai	WCL
<i>ámo</i> ‘harpoon rope’	amu, GY aamu <i>id</i>
<i>Báidam</i> ‘Ursus Major’	Baydham <i>id.</i> (lit. <i>Shark</i> )
<i>baidama</i> , <i>baidamo</i> , <i>baidamu</i> ‘shark’	baidham(a) <i>shark</i>
<i>bobo</i> ‘swamp lake’	pœpu (pupu) <i>id.</i>
<i>djógubo</i> ‘constellation’	zugub(a) <i>god-like being;</i> <i>any star or constellation</i> <i>that is associated with the</i> <i>zugub</i>
<i>gábo</i> ‘flat end of canoe’	gaab, GY gaaba <i>flat-</i> <i>sterned canoe</i>
<i>gáborá</i> , <i>gábara</i> ‘sawfish’	gabaro <i>id.</i>
<i>gópu</i> ‘sucker fish’	gapu, GY gaapu <i>id.</i>
<i>karáko</i> ‘iron-tipped spear’	kœlaaka <i>spear</i>
<i>Károngo</i> ‘a god-like figure who became a constellation’	WCL Kang, MM Kareg <i>id.</i> <i>one of the two chief</i> Zugub (became a constellation)
<i>káuta</i> ‘split canoe used for transport’	kautha <i>id.</i>

Kiwai	WCL	Overview
<i>Kóidjugubo</i> 'a constellation'	Koey Zugub(a) <i>Big Zugub</i>	The language can be speculated to have originated in the colonisation of the islands by Austronesian-dominated settlers over 2600 years ago. If so, it would be the descendant of the previous Paman language with strong influence from the South East Papuan Austronesian language and the Trans-Fly Papuan language spoken by the colonisers. The Austronesian men formed an 'elite' who intermarried with local Trans-Fly Papuans before colonising the Straits. After moving to Torres Strait, there was further marriage with local Pamans. For a period of time, there was probably a multicultural community of speakers of the three languages, presumably with the majority of mothers speaking the Paman language. Such a period of time may have been as short as 3 or 4 generations, though in reality was probably long-term, keeping in mind the continued contacts with the neighbouring Papuans and Australians (to the present), as well as assuming continued long-term trade links from South-East Papua. In time, this multilingualism coalesced to create the Western and Central Language, the mixed Australian-Papuan-Austronesian language still spoken today, created by a people that are not Papuans, nor Aborigines, nor Austronesians, but that have elements of all three. The Melanesian component dominates genetically, and the Australian component linguistically. The language of the North-Western, Western, South-Western and Central islands of Torres Strait is the language of a true Island People.
<i>kokádi</i> 'hockey stick'	kokan(i) <i>knee-cap; hockey-like game, hockey stick</i> (cf. MM kokni <i>knee</i> )"	
<i>koráre</i> 'seed (Queensland bean), dance rattle made from these seeds'	kùláp, GY kùlaapi <i>id.</i>	
<i>kúbai</i> 'magic instrument resembling a woomera'	kùbay <i>woomera</i>	
<i>kwádi/kowódi</i> 'men's important enclosed discussion place'	kòòda <i>id.</i>	
<i>naráto</i> 'dugong platform'	nœyath, nath, KKY nath (OKY nœřatha) <i>platform</i>	
<i>nigóri</i> 'north-east'	naigay(i), OKY naigãi <i>north, north-east</i>	
<i>páto</i> 'stake, pin etc.'	paata <i>id.</i>	
<i>pipi</i> 'dance and performance style introduced from Torres Strait'	pipi <i>war dance</i>	
<i>Sengérai</i> 'Orion's Belt'	Singeyal <i>id.</i> (OKY singeyalai; lit. <i>head-carrying loops</i> , in Kiwai <i>gáraóro</i> [óro 'rope, string'])	
<i>síbo</i> 'heart' (physical and abstract)	siib(a) <i>liver, center; seat of heart-felt feelings</i>	
<i>túru</i> 'bloodwood'	thulu <i>bloodwood; straightness</i>	
<i>Utiamo</i> 'a constellation'	Uthiyamal (uu thiyamal <i>ripe banana bunches</i> ) a <i>constellation of the Zugub group</i>	
<i>úro</i> 'south-east'	wœœwra <i>id.</i>	
<i>varéga</i> 'rudder, steering board/oar'	walnga <i>id.</i>	
<i>wápi</i> 'fish'	waapi <i>id.</i>	
<i>wápo</i> 'harpoon shaft'	waapa <i>id.</i>	
<i>wárakara</i> 'hibiscus sp.'	wœarakar(a) <i>tree hibiscus</i>	
<i>waro, oro</i> 'rope, string, cord'	wœeru/wuru/uru <i>id.</i>	
<i>wawa</i> 'mythical bush giant'	wawa <i>id.</i>	

Torres Strait area languages, however, as would be expected, are Austronesian; both linguistics and oral history discount this. The Austronesian men married local women and lived in a world dominated by Papuan and Australian languages.

**PART THREE: THE LANGUAGE**

All four dialects are very similar in phonology, morphology and structure, and therefore much of the following applies to the language as a whole. The presentation differs in minor ways from Bani and Klokeid (1971), Kennedy (1981, 1985a, 1985b) and Ford and Ober (1991), which on the whole took the surface forms of the language at face value without taking into account underlying forms and how these transform according to phonological environment and speech style. In part this was due to the general theoretical approach of the time; the language to be analysed is that that is least likely to be overtly monitored, i.e. normal, everyday speech. The present work takes the point of view that a whole view of the language can only be gained by looking at the whole language with all its varieties.

**THE SOUND SYSTEM OF THE LANGUAGE**

**VOWELS**

There are eight core (i.e. phonemic) vowels with a three-way contrast of round ~ non-round, high ~ low and mid ~ non-mid. Three of the non-mid vowels have short and long members, one is phonemically long, and the four mid-vowels are phonemically short. Previous works assume 6 vowels, presenting two round vowels, **u** and **o**, rather than the four herein. That there are four separate round vowels can be shown by near minimal pairs, such as **pùs**, GY **pùusa** *fine hair, fur, down, pubic hair* and **pús**, GY **puusi** *mist, modholpe* *butter banana* and **mòdhab** *price, cost, payment, pay*.

TABLE 4. The core KLY vowels.

	non-round	round
high	i /i/, ii /i:/	u /u/, uu /u:/
high-mid	e /e/	ù/ú/
low-mid	æ/ə/	o /o/
low	a /a/, aa /a:/	ò/ò:/

Note that /ɔ:/ here represents a vowel more similar to Australian English *broad* rather French *homme*.

Comparative linguistics and vowel complementary distribution patterns suggest that the above eight-vowel system derives from an older Papuan style 4-vowel system contrasting high ~ low and non-round ~ round with short and long members. The mid vowels in general (but not exclusively) originate in 1) non-tense and 2) partly assimilated allophones of the short vowels:

*iCo > eC[oa]	PETrF* <i>biro</i> , MM <i>bir</i> 'side, rib'	ber(a), B <i>bera</i> , SD <i>bero</i> <i>side, rib</i>
*iCi > iC[i]	* <i>piti</i> , MM <i>pit</i> 'nose, beak'	<i>piti</i> , GY <i>piiti</i> <i>nose</i>
*aCa > aC[a]	PP * <i>bagal</i> 'stab, etc.'	<i>paga-</i> <i>prick, stick, stab, spear, shoot</i>
*aCC > æC	PP * <i>ŋampula</i> (<* <i>ŋanapula</i> ) 'we dual exc.'	<i>ngœba</i> <i>we dual inc.</i>
*uCa > ùCa	PP * <i>gul(g)a</i> , PETrF * <i>kula</i> 'stone'	<i>kùla</i> <i>stone</i>
*uCu > uCu	CA * <i>buju</i> 'dirt'	<i>buthu</i> , GY <i>buuthu</i> <i>sand</i>
*oNa > ùNa	PETrF * <i>omái</i> 'dog', MM <i>omái</i>	<i>ùmáy</i> <i>dog</i>
*oNi > ù/ oC[ie]	PSEPA * <i>bonji</i> 'night'	<i>bùngil/bongil</i> , KKY <i>bongel</i> <i>last night</i>

Due to language change such as the development of vowel shortening and lengthening, final and internal vowel deletion, and so on, the original allophonic variations have become phonemicised, with exceptions being either retentions of older forms, or loan words, or later sound changes.

Vowel Length

Vowels before consonant groups are short, except in rare cases of metathesis, such as **guruguy** *around, in a circular movement* > **guurguy/gurguy**, and are long in most monosyllabic words, though exceptions are common, such as **nel** *name*, **ber** *rib, side* (of boat etc.), **sar** *white tern*, **kab** *oar, paddle* and others, where in effect the final consonant is virtually doubled, and the vowel “clipped”, thus [nel:], [ber:], [sar:] and [kab:]. Long vowels do not appear in unstressed syllables except as a result of intonation, and do not appear in modified words except in restricted cases, such as the instrumental of monosyllabic vowel-final nouns (**yaa** *speech* > **yaadu**) and in the Kalaw Kawaw Ya dialect in the active singular perfective present (**patha-** *chop* > **pathiz** [pa:tiz], **iima-** *see, find* > **imiz** [i:miz]), the active singular perfective imperative (**patha-** > **pathi** [pa:ti] , **iima-** *see, find* > **imi** [i:mi]) and in the attainative singular perfective present when the stem has a long vowel (**patha-** > **pathan** [patan], **iima-** > **iman** [i:man]).

There is an uneasy interplay between (a) vowel length that contrasts word meaning, and (b) vowel length that has morpho-syntactic force. Comparative and interdialect evidence suggests that vowel length formally contrasted word meaning, however the development of morphosyntactic vowel length has meant that contrastive vowel length is being lost. This is a characteristic of the language as a whole, however Kalaw Lagaw Ya is the only dialect that fully applies (b) and that has almost completely lost (a):

(a) word contrasts:

kaaba, kaab *dance performance; node (of bamboo, etc.);* kaba, kab *paddle, oar*

na (naa) *she, it; na if, when, referencing clitic*  
ngaadha, ngaadh *appearance, looks; ngadha,*  
ngadh *who instrumental*

kaazi, kaaz *child; kaza, kaz fathom, length from hand to hand, slack (of tide, rope, etc.)*

(b) morpho-syntactic vowel length:

1) the unaffixed word contrasts with forms that are affixed by 1) an elided underlying morpheme, namely the Ø-marked specific locative, and 2) the singular present active perfective, which is a reduced morpheme:

mùùdha *camp, shelter, house* nominative-accusative

mùdha *camp, shelter, house* Ø-marked specific locative

naagi *look! watch!* singular imperative perfective active

nagi *look(s), watch(es)* singular present active perfective

The Ø-marked specific locative comes from an older form from which the final syllable (the ending) has disappeared; that is to say, a phonological morpheme has become a zero-morpheme while leaving the trace of its former presence by (a) the retention of the stem final vowel, and (b) the shortening of the previous long vowel. The former phonological morpheme exists in either fossilised or old-fashioned language, or sometimes in other dialects. The mid-to-late 1800s records of Kauřařaigau Ya show that the older form of **mùdha** was variously **mùdhal**, **mùdhalì**, **mùdhale**, **mùdhalai**, while the active singular present perfective in Kauřařaigau Ya was **nagizi**, and in Kalaw Kawaw Ya is **nagiz** [na:giz].

2) emotive semantics (diminutive/poetic as opposed to non-diminutive/non-poetic). The main vowel of the stressed syllable is long, or lengthened, in the nominative-accusative when non-emotive in bisyllabic and trisyllabic words with antepenultimate stress. When emotive, all vowels are short/shortened.

kaazi *child, kazi kid, kiddy; iipi wife, ipi darling wife; mœraapi bamboo, marápi bamboo (songs, etc.)*

As a result of such variation, all short vowels in Kalaw Lagaw Ya have long allophones,

and all long vowels have short allophones (Table 5).

In words such as **gurguy** *around, in a circular movement* (< **guurguy** < **guruguy**) and **mòdhab** (< **mòdhab**), the long vowels are normally shortened in Kalaw Lagaw Ya because of the presence of the following voiced syllable.

Devoicing of Vowels

In colloquial speech vowels can be devoiced between voiceless consonants and further elide:

sesithama- > sesithama-, sesithama-, sesthama- *explain, judge, give judgement*

kasa kay kedha, kasakay kedha, kas' kay kedha *but, however, on the other hand*

Devoicing, however, plays an important part in Kalaw Lagaw Ya, where word-final vowels in non-emotive contexts are devoiced in formal speech when the vowel in the preceding syllable is long, and the word has no affix. In the case of nouns and verbs, this occurs in the nominative-accusative and singular perfective active imperative, though also occurs in particles such as **waadha** *existential/reality emphasis*, cf. Kalaw Kawaw Ya **waza** [wa:za]. Such devoicing also occurs in the gender forms of **se-/si-** *there/that/those* and **i-** *here/this/these* as well as in words where two or more syllables

precede the endings **-ka** dative/imperfective and **-zi** ablative and the article formant **-bi**.

kœpaasi/kùpaasi	<i>grasshopper</i>
iipi	<i>wife</i>
mœraapi	<i>bamboo</i>
muuli	<i>speak!</i>
pœlaagi	<i>jump! take off!</i>
ngùùki	<i>fresh water</i>
yaagi	<i>keep quiet! don't talk!</i>
thaathi	<i>father</i>
seenu	<i>that male there</i>
iina	<i>this female here</i>
mùdhaka	<i>homewards</i>
wœrika	<i>be flying</i>
senuubi garka	<i>that man</i>
senaabi guula	<i>that canoe</i>
adhazi	<i>from outside</i>
gimazi	<i>from above</i>

This devoicing is a mark of formal speech. In colloquial speech the devoiced vowels elide completely, while in ideal song form, they are fully voiced.

Vowel Processes

In some words there is more or less free and unpredictable variation between two or more variants, some being metathetic variants. Of the examples below, **se-/si-** and **pe-/pi-** are in fairly free variation, except in the genitive

TABLE 5. Long and short allophones.

long <math>\diamond</math> short	nominative	specific locative		nominative	specific locative
<i>liver, centre</i>	siiba	siba, sibanu	<i>wrapping</i>	suupa	supa, supanu
<i>dugong flipper</i>	meetha	metha, methanu	<i>wind, air</i>	gùùba	gùba, gùbanu
<i>dust, mist, spray</i>	pœœya	pœya, pœyanu	<i>slowness</i>	sooba	soba, sobanu
<i>red mangrove</i>	thaaga	thaga, thaganu	<i>lung, spit</i>	mòosa	mòsa, mòsanu

short <math>\diamond</math> short	nominative	specific locative		nominative	specific locative
<i>mosquito</i>	iwi	iwi, iwinu	<i>baby shark</i>	puri	puri, purinu
<i>name</i>	nel	nelay	<i>excreta</i>	kùma	kùma, kùmanu
<i>mallard</i>	bœga	bœga, bœganu	<i>brain coral</i>	bonaw	bonawa, bonawanu
<i>axe</i>	aga	aga, aganu	<i>payment</i>	mòdhab	mòdhabi, mòdhabinu

and genitive based forms, which always have **se-** and **pe-**. For some speakers, the **e** forms are normal when there is an **a** or **u** in the following syllable, otherwise **i** is found.

Free variation: **se-** ~ **si-** *that, there*, **pe-** ~ **pi-** *specifically over there*, **thonar** ~ **thunar** *time, period, weather*, etc., **ugáy** ~ **ògáy** *waiting*, **ngabunan**, **ngarubi** *arrive, come* PL.

Metathesis, on the other hand, is sporadic. It has been significant in the development of the language, however, as **kœláak**, GY **kœlaaka** *spear* in comparison with the Pama-Nyungan \*galga shows. Metathesis in the language consists of 1) a vowel or glide shifting to the other side of a neighbouring consonant and being replaced by an **a** or **œ**, or 2) **o**, **u** or **i** “jumping” a consonant and either leaving **Ø** or “itself”, or 3) metathesis of **r**.

Metathetic variation: **palil(a)**, **pœláyl(a)**, **pœléyl(a)**, **pœlél(a)**, **pilel(a)** *dry, dried*, **tekot(a)**, **teukat(a)** *large puffer-fish*, **dœgam(u)**, *side, part, direction*, variant stems: **daguma-**, **dœgámu-**, **guruguy** > **guurguy** > **gurguy** *around, in a circular movement*, **surunu** > **suurnu** *boating pole* SLoc, **tharpu**, **thapur(a)**

**spoonbill**, **bireg shelf**, stem **boeréygi-**, **biregi-**, **ipikazil** > **iipkazil** *women, females*, **ùkasar(a)**, **kosar(a)** *two* (**ùka-** *two*, **-sar(a)** *small number*).

On the whole, however, vowel variation is fairly predictable. Apart from vowel length processes and the associated vowel devoicing, vowels can undergo 1) raising (or gradation) and 2) assimilation. These result in surface variation, with some words resisting change, others having “free” variants, and still others where variation has given sporadic dialect, subdialect, or idiolect variants. Such processes have also resulted in surface variation linked to certain syntactic or phonological environments, giving declensional/conjugational variation, such as in the singular personal pronouns, the dual-plural pronouns and masculine proper nouns.

**A** to **œ** raising is extremely common, to the point of being partially grammaticalised. In quite a few words raising can form the major part of the distinction between different forms of the word, as in the following. Though **a** in such words becomes **œ** due to

singular pronouns: **a** raises to **œ**, which can further assimilate to following **u**

	sound change	sound change	no change
case	1 <sup>st</sup> person singular	<i>who</i>	<i>she</i>
nominative	<b>ngay</b>	<b>nga</b>	<b>na</b>
instrumental	<b>ngath/ngatha</b>	<b>ngadh(a)</b>	<b>nadh(a)</b>
accusative	<b>ngœna</b>	<b>ngan(a)</b>	<b>nan(a)</b>
genitive	<b>ngaw</b> (masculine) <b>ngœzu/nguzu</b> (feminine)	<b>ngœnu/ngunu</b>	<b>nanu</b>
dative	<b>ngayka/ngaykika</b>	<b>ngabeka</b>	<b>nabeka</b>

dual-plural pronouns and masculine proper nouns: **i** assimilates to following **u**:

nominative	<b>Rod</b>	<b>thana</b> they PL	<b>ngalbay</b> we DU EXC
dative	<b>Rodanika</b>	<b>thanamùnika</b>	<b>ngalbaynika</b>
locative	<b>Rodaniya</b>	<b>thanamùniya</b>	<b>ngalbayniya</b>
ablative	<b>Rodanungu</b>	<b>thanamùnungu</b>	<b>ngalbaynungu</b>
(beside)	<b>Rodaningu</b>	<b>thanamùningu</b>	<b>ngalbayningu</b>

its position in a prestressed syllable, words of this category are distinguished only by the vowel quality by those speakers/communities where contrastive word stress has been lost.

nága-[i-] *look, watch*: nágay – active singular remote past imperfective; nœgáy, %nœgay – verbal noun

pára-[i-] *fall, drop (fruit)*: páray – active singular remote past imperfective; pœráy, %pœray – verbal noun

wari-[i-] *fly* imperfective: wárika – active singular present imperfective; wœríka, %wœrika – verbal noun dative

Verbal noun **a**-raising is an example of destressed raising, where the word stress shifts from the underlying stressed syllable. Similar raising also occurs when words of two or more syllables are preceded by a phonological word. The modifying morpheme takes the main phrase stress, hence the stressed syllable of the modified morpheme becomes destressed:

mábayg *person*: kápu mœbayg ~ kápu m'bayg (*kapu good*), sépalab' mœbayg (*sepalabi those two*)

kázil *children*: thánamùn kœzil *their children*, itháábi kœzil ~ ithááb' kœzil ~ 'thááb' kœzil *these children*

márkay *white ghost, European*: tháwpay mœrkay *a short, white ghost ~ European*, inúúbi mœrkay ~ inúúb' mœrkay ~ 'núúb' mœrkay *this white ghost ~ European*

Vowels are subject to optional raising in unstressed syllables under somewhat differing rules. “Destressed” raising normally only effects **a**, and occurs in open and closed syllables. Unstressed vowel raising also optionally affects **e** (> **i**), and is only found in open syllables:

mùdhakashelter, camp, house DAT > mùdhœkœ, mùdhkœ, mùdhœkœ, mùdhak', mùdhœk'

wanika *eat* active present imperfective > wanikœ, wanikœ, wanik'

ngay na uzari na *when~if I go* > ngay nœ uzœri nœ

nguzunga watinga lawnga *mine is not bad* > nguzungœ watingœ lawngœ

thapeka *swim* present active imperfective > thapekœ, thapek', thapika, thapikœ, thapik' thapema *swim* today past perfective active > thapima

The optional assimilation of **œ** to neighbouring sounds is the most common variation in the language:

ngœba > ngaba *you and I*; mœgi > migi *small, little*; ngœzu > nguzu *my feminine*; wœrab > wurab > urab *coconut*; yœwda- > yuwda-, yuda- *give, donate, ask*; thœyáy > thiyáy, thayáy *throw, turn, twist* VN; kœw > kow *here* GEN; kœrawayg > karawayg *unknown, unable*; pœyba- > puyba-, poyba-, peyba-, piba- *give*; wœydha- > widha- *place, apply to, place on* ATT; pœwth, GY pœœwtha > powth, pawth, GY poowtha, paawtha *forehead*

i > e girer > gerer *dance movement*, (in\_\_C[ea]) idiman *ruin, destroy* > ideman  
a > e (in thirengadh *lawyer cane-like* > [iye]C\_\_) therengedh, niyáy *sit, stay* VN > niyéy

i > u (in kurisika *up to, until* > kurusika; uC\_\_) napùninga *that feminine object back there* > napùnunga

In rare cases the assimilation has become permanent, as in **nipel** *you two*, from **ni** *you* + **pal** *dual* (cf **sepal**, **sipal** *those two*, **ipal** *these two*, **palay** *they dual*, **palgu** *those two down there*, and so on).

## CONSONANTS

The consonant system (Table 6) is very similar to that of the neighbouring Papuan languages. Unlike most Australian languages there are full voice contrasts, **s** and **z**, only one **r**, **l** and **n**, and no retroflex consonants. The consonant **r** is most commonly tapped, sometimes trilled, particularly when syllable final, and in singing is pronounced as the rhotic glide.

TABLE 6. The Kalaw Lagaw Ya consonants..

	voiceless	voiced	nasal	“flaps”
labial	p	b	m	w
velar	k	g	ng	
lamino-dental	th	dh	n	l
apico-alveolar	t	d	--	r
alveo-palatal	s	z	--	y

There is some allophony. The voiceless and voiced labial, velar and lamino-dental stops, normally aspirate, at times become fricatives (i.e.  $p^h > \phi$ ,  $th^h > \theta$ ,  $k^h > x$ ,  $b^h > \beta$ ,  $dh^h > \delta$ ,  $g^h > \gamma$ ). This allophony is normally unnoticed by native speakers. These stops also have unaspirated variants when intervocalic, or when syllable or word final when another consonant follows in the same breath group.

The stops **t** and **d** differ by being nonaspirate, and have aspirated allophones only at the end of words as a result of final vowel devoicing. In a few restricted words **d** varies with **r**, the most common being words based on the morphemes **kaday-/karay-** *upwards*: **kadaka/kadka/karaka/karka** *upwards, northwards*, **kadaman/karaman** *rip up/off*, **pakadaman/pakaraman** *break, destroy, tear up, rip up*, **kadaythari/karaythari** *stand up*, etc. Earlier works included **n** and **l** in the apico-alveolar series rather than the lamino-dental series; this was because the first descriptions did not recognise the distinction for the stops, and the series was presented as if it was English (**t, s, d, n, l, r**). When **th** and **dh** were proved to be separate phonemes, it was not realised that (a) statistically, the apico-alveolar **t** and **d** are the odd ones out, not **th** and **dh**, and (b) **l** and **n** are also lamino-dental. The alveolar stops are relatively rare, the percentages in a 2059 stem-list being: **th** 14.7%, **dh** 12.7%, **d** 4.2% and **t** 2.4% (author's research notes).

The syllabants **s** and **z** can be coronal fricatives or palatal affricates except when word final, where

only the coronal fricatives are found. In both cases the tip of the tongue is behind the bottom teeth. The fricative and affricative difference is noticed by speakers and therefore can be used stylistically to convey feelings such as embarrassment, age, and so on. For example, **susu** *breast* can pronounced **chuchu** by embarrassed children, while 'so! *thanks*, the colloquial form of **eso**, is always pronounced **cho!**

In the environment of round vowels **k, g** and **ng** are phonetically [q], [G] and [N], and both these and the labials in this environment often have a **w** off-glide. This is the source of spelling variation in words such as **kòòda** *men's important discussion place*, such as **kod, kwod, kuad** and **koad**. In the same environments **t** and **d** are ever so slightly retroflex, though without the r-colour of true retroflex consonants.

#### VOWEL AND CONSONANT GLIDES

The present work differs from previous works in assuming two types of glide, (1) those which are vowels in underlying representations, forming surface diphthongs, and (2) those that act as consonants. That is to say, glides can be classified as vocalic or consonantal according to phonological characteristics and origin.

Vowel+vocalic glide combinations are herein termed for convenience 'diphthongs'. Though they are not separate phonemes as in English, they do have specific characteristics. In essence, diphthongs act as a vowel unit. Diphthongs often originate where an intervening consonant has been lost, as in **gøeiga** (Bani-Klokeid **gøeyga**) *day, sun*, mid-1800s Kauřařaigau Ya **gøeřigař**, and in the genitive, where \*ngu becomes **u**: \*laaga-ngu > lagau (Bani-Klokeid **lagaw**). Metathesis in sporadic cases has also created diphthongs, where a vowel "jumps" a preceding consonant, e.g. Kalaw Kawaw Ya **peku**, stem **peku-**, Kalaw Lagaw Ya **peuk**

(**pewuk**), stem **peuka-** (Bani-Klokeid **pewka-**) *whopper fish* (alt. *whitelip, sweetlip*), PP \*gaalu ‘ear’ > **kaura** (Bani-Klokeid **kawra**). At times such resulting vowel combinations retain their separate vowel status (as often happens in **peuk**), and at times the two vowels coalesce to become a diphthong (as in the stem form **peuka-/pewka-**, and in **kaura/kawra**). Having said this, in certain styles it is common for diphthongs to be split into discrete vowels. This includes the pronunciation of sounds in isolation clearly to show correct pronunciation, and in singing. In such cases words like **gøiga** (**gøeyga**) *day, sun* and **kaura** (**kawra**) *ear* are normally syllabified/pronounced as **gø-i-ga** and **ka-u-ra**.

In contrast, consonantal glides fit into phonological patterns typical of consonants in the language, and are in syllable terms the

initial of the syllable they are in, and become syllable-final under segment deletion rules, as happens with all consonants. Furthermore, in quite a few cases, **y** and **w** are the modern realisation of older \*ř and keep this original consonant characteristic, as in **sayim(a)** *outrigger* (older \*sařima, cf. OKY **sařima**), **maayi** *pearl shell* (older \*maaři, cf. OKY **maaři**), **gøngaawu** *skin, hide, leather* (older \*gangářu), and (through metathesis) **kaywa** *island* (older \*kauřa, cf. OKY **kauřa**, KKY **kawa**, MM *kaur*).

The contrast has declensional repercussions. Words ending in a consonantal glide, such as **away** *pelican*, decline like any noun whose nominative ends in a consonant (in colloquial speech, the situation is more complex, for which see Segment Deletion):

nominative-accusative	genitive	dative	ablative	plural
away <i>pelican</i>	awayaw	awayaka	awayangu	awayal
awar <i>fangernail</i>	awaraw	awaraka	awarangu	awaral
bayag <i>longtom</i>	bayagaw	bayagaka	bayagangu	bayagal

Words that end in diphthongs decline as vowel-final words, the exceptions being that the genitive ending **-w** elides (a) when the word ends in a glide (two glides cannot come together in the same syllable), and (b) when the word ends in **-u** (except in formal speech in Kalaw Lagaw Ya only):

nominative-accusative	genitive	dative	ablative	plural
ùmay <i>dog</i>	ùmay	ùmayka	ùmayngu	ùmayl
uubi <i>liking, want</i>	ubiw	ubika	ubingu	ubil
buthu <i>sand, beach</i>	buthu, GY buthuw	buthuka	buthungu	buthul

Monosyllabic-stem words that end in a diphthong differ from their vowel-final counterparts only in modifying the instrumental (NU > **-thu[n]**) and the homophonic specific locative, proprietive and plural forms (LAI > **-thay**):

nominative-accusative	genitive	instrumental	specific locative, proprietive, plural
muuy <i>fire</i>	muyngu	muythu/muythun	muythay
maa <i>spider</i>	mangu	maan/maanu	malay
lii <i>basket</i>	lingu	lidu/lidun	liday

Diphthongs can undergo three types of monophthongisation:

Main-vowel assimilation to the glide (**æw**, **œy**): **dhœæwba** > **dhuuba** *swelling*; **wœydh-** > **wiidha-** *place, lay, apply*

Main vowel partially assimilates to the glide, which can then elide (**ay** > **ey** > **e**, **æw** > **ow** > **o**): **kuyay** *knife, sword* > **kuyey** > **kuye**; **kœwbu** *battle, raid* > **kowbu** > **kobu**

Glide sporadically elides: **kuykùthal** *long* > **kukùthal**, **danalmayka** *life dative* > **danalmaka**, **napay** *that F ahead there* > **napa**, **mùdhawlaaga** *home, village* > **mùdhalaaga**, **Kalaw Lagaw Ya** > **Kala Lagaw Ya**, **Kala Laga Ya**, **dhawdhaylayg** *mainlander* > **dhawdhalayg**

This can also have declensional and conjugational effect, particularly in verbs, where in certain paradigms, monophthongisation has become permanent, in others there is variation, while in syllables followed by a syllable containing **u/ù** or **i**, or by an underlying final **r**, monophthongisation does not occur:

wala-i-ka *climb* active present imperfective > waleka (not \*walayka)

wala-i-ma *climb* active today past perfective > walema, waleyma (archaic form: walayma)

wala-i-dhe *climb* active remote future perfective > waledhe, waleydhe (archaic form: walaydhe)

wala-i-ngùl *climb* active recent past perfective > walayngùl (not \*walengùl)

wala-i-dhin *climb* active remote past perfective > walaydhin (not \*waledhin)

wala-i-r *climb* active remote past perfective > walay (not \*waler)

TABLE 7. Nominal Stem Identification.

Stem	Bani/Klokeid	Ford/Ober	present work	gloss
thaama-	thaama PL thama-l	tham PL tham-a-l	thaam, GY thaama PL thama-l	<i>branch</i>
kaazi-	kaazi PL kazi-l	kaz PL kaz-i-l	kaaz, GY kaazi PL kazi-l	<i>child</i>
yalkapu-	yalkaapu PL yalkapu-l	yalkap PL yalkap-u-l	yalkap, GY yalkaapu PL yalkapu-l	<i>lock of hair</i>

Glide deletion has become permanent in modified forms of the pronoun **palay** *they dual*, thus **palamùn** GEN, **palamùdh** SIM, etc.

THE WORD

Words in the language vary from one syllable, like **nga** *who*, to many syllables, e.g. **pabalkabùthayzimayka** *for/to the thing that has been laid down across something*, colloquial form **pabalkabùthzimaka**. There does not appear to be an upper limit on the number of syllables that can make up a morphologically complex word, though where stems are concerned the upper limit appears to be five syllables. One word, **poknintheway** *long sea anenome sp.*, however, in postulated underlying form has seven syllables: \*pokaninatheway-a-

Kennedy, Ford and Ober assumed that the elicitation form of a word is the basic form of the word, or, where verbs are concerned (in this latter agreeing with Bani and Klokeid), the present singular is the basic form of the verb. This approach led Ford, Ober and Kennedy to postulate consonant-final stems for Kalaw Kawaw Ya nouns that then add unpredictable epenthetic vowels when affixes are added. Because many of the same words in Kalaw Lagaw Ya end in devoiced vowels that are exactly the same as the ‘unpredictable’ epenthetic vowel, Klokeid and Bani’s analysis assumes vowel-final stems for all words except verbs.

Various pieces of evidence favour Bani/Klokeid’s analysis. In the case of the three words in Table 7, **thama** is a recognised

variant in Kalaw Kawaw Ya not noted by Ford, Ober or Kennedy, **kazi** exists as the diminutive (and poetic) form, **yalkap**, **yalkaapu** is a compound of **yal** *soft, hair* and **kapu** *seed, body part, fruit, etc.*, and in ideal song form, the final vowel is restored as a full vowel, thus **thaama**, **kaazi** and **yalkapu**.

Where verbs are concerned, the rule of thumb was ‘take away whatever appears to be affix, and what is left is the stem’:

Klokeid/ Bani	Ford/Ober/ Kennedy	gloss
thari	thariz	<i>stands up</i>
tharan	tharan	<i>stands something up</i>
thaari	thari	<i>stand up!</i>
tharal	tharal	<i>stand (it) up!</i>
thar-	thar-	<i>stand up (stem)</i>

Looking at the various forms of verbs (around 100 for a regular verb) as well as idiolectal, dialectal and other variants, shows that verbs, like nouns, have vowel final stems, and that the stem-final vowel elides in certain cases – in all cases in the present singular active perfective, **thari**, Kalaw Kawaw Ya **thariz**, and the equivalent imperative, **thaari**, Kalaw Kawaw Ya **thari**. In the case of **thari/tharan**, the stem is **thara-**, the verbal noun **tharáy** (**thara-’i** VN), the remote past singular active imperfective is **tharay** (**thara-i-Ø-[r>Ø]**), the today past singular active perfective is **tharema**, beside **thareyma** and **tharima**, as well as the rare **tharayma** (**thara-i-Ø-ma**), and so on.

#### WORD STRESS

Contrastive word stress similar to the contrastive pitch accent of Meriam Mir is present, though being lost in some (sub/idio) dialects. There are two types, inherent and shifted. Inherent stress is either on the first syllable (the majority) or the second (a large minority). Certain affixation can cause the accent to shift from the first to the second,

or the second to the third, hence the term shifted stress (in the following the acute accent represents the stressed syllable, and the grave accent secondary stress).

initial stress	second syllable stress
séna, sééna <i>that</i> <i>femine</i>	kedhá <i>thus</i>
káázi <i>child</i>	mœráp, GY mœraapi <i>bamboo</i>
gúway <i>environment</i>	thithúy, GY thithuuyi <i>star</i>
kúwath <i>large grey</i> <i>mosquito; broлга</i>	kuwápay <i>cover of coconut</i> <i>bud</i>

In reduplicated and compound forms, the stressed syllable of the iteration has secondary stress:

míthimìth *painter, holding rope* (dinghies etc.), pírupìru *rainbow bird*, yábugùd, GY yábugùùda *road, path, way* (yabu *way, path, road*, gùùda *mouth, opening*), ngœnákàp, GY ngœnákààpu *heart* (ngœna *breath*, kapu, GY kaapu *body part*).

The verbal noun suffix **-y** and the proprietive suffix **LAI** cause the accent to shift to the syllable they are attached to in words of two or three stem syllables where the underlying penultimate stem syllable carries the pitch accent:

verbs: núúda- *squash* > nudáy, níya- *sit, stay* > niyáy

adjectives, nominalised adjectives: kùla *stone* > kùlálnga *stony object, stoniness*, kœmáána *heat* > kœmœnálnga *hot object, heat (state)*

Verbs whose stem have three or more syllables shift the accent from the first syllable to the second in the following finite forms. This is retained in full in Bøeigu Kalaw Kawaw Ya and Kaiwalgau Ya, whereas in (old-fashioned) Kalaw Lagaw Ya it is found in the singular active perfective present and imperative, and in other forms in more archaic (or poetic) speech.

non-truncating		attainative	active
bárpuda- sell	imperative	bárpudar SG S bárpudaziw, bápudaw NSg S	barpúúdi GY, barpúd/bárpud BY
	today past	bárpudanu	bárpudima; older form: barpúdima
truncating (internal)		attainative	active
pùratha- eat	imperative	pùrthar SG S pùrthaziw, pùrthaw NSg S	pùraathi GY, pùráth/pùrath BY
	today past	pùrthanu	pùráthima, pùrcethima, pùrùthima, younger KLY: pùrthema, pùrthima

Sometimes, the pitch accent shift gives minimal contrasting pairs - though in certain verb forms loss of syllable stress also causes monophthongisation (in some cases optional) of **ay** to **e** (and further fronting to **i**), and fronting of **a** to **œ**:

	present imperfective	dative of the verbal noun
púzi- follow accompany	púzika	puzika
nágay- look, watch	nágeka (nágika)	nagáyka/nœgáyka
	present imperfective	instrumental of the verbal noun
pálngi- flog, whip	pálngin	palngín/pœlngín

In bisyllabic-stem and 3+-syllable-stem internal truncating verbs, the accent shifts to the final syllable in the verbal noun, while in other 3+-syllable verbs, the first syllable retains the high pitch, while the final syllable has secondary pitch: **pùratha- eat** > **pùrtháy**, **bárpuda- sell** > **bárpudày**, **thákama- fight** > **thákamày**.

### SYLLABIFICATION

There are six core syllable types in the language. The onset can be Ø or C (any consonant, including the consonantal glides **y** and **w**), the nucleus is always a vowel, and the coda can be Ø, a vocalic glide, or L (the liquids **l** and **r**). The one complex syllable final cluster is in the archaic Kalaw Kawaw Ya **wœyr** *water, liquid* (normally **wœr/wur/ur**, Imasu Waigana personal communication 1982).

In unmodified multisyllabic words the first and second syllables can have the same form as in monosyllabic words, though non-initial syllables always have a C-onset. The third syllable has either a Ø or G coda, while fourth, fifth (and nth) syllables can only have a Ø coda. Through segment deletion rules (see below), the onset becomes the coda of the preceding syllable, giving other syllable types, including clusters, which vary from (sub/idio)dialect to (sub/idio)dialect.

core syllable shapes	ONC		ONC
uu <i>over-ripe; yellow</i> (leaves, etc.)	ØVØ	buu	CVØ
aay <i>food</i>	ØVG	muuy <i>fire</i>	CVG
aar <i>dawn</i> (a poetic word)	ØVL	nel <i>name</i>	CVL

	stem	nominative
ira <i>parent-in-law</i>	i-ra-	i-ra
gùrba <i>small, green crab</i>	gùr-ba-	gùr-ba
kùrthur <i>caterpillar, grub</i>	kùr-thu-ra-	kùr-thur
ayguy <i>cairn</i>	ay-guy-	ay-guy

	stem	nominative
away <i>pelican</i>	a-wa-ya-	a-way
aybawdh <i>harvest</i>	ay-baw-dha-	ay-bawdh
gøgayth <i>clanland, country</i>	gøe-gay-tha-	gøe-gayth
bathaynga <i>morning, tomorrow</i>	ba-thay-nga-	ba-thay-nga
modholpe <i>butter banana</i>	mo-dhol-pe-	mo-dhol-pe
markel <i>silver mullet</i>	mar-ke-la	mar-kel
køeruway kuruway <i>rainbow</i>	køe-ru-way- (ku-ru-way-)	køe-ru-way (ku-ru-way)
Mabuyaagi <i>Mabuyag</i>	ma-bu-yaa-gi- > ma-bu-i-gi- > ma-buy-gi-	ma-bu-yaa-gi, ma-bu-yaag
zaruwam <i>banana sp.</i>	za-ru-wa-ma- > za-ru-ma-	za-ru-wam
sibiriyam <i>banana sp.</i>	si-bi-ri-ya-ma- > si-bi-ri-ma-	si-bi-ri-yam

Surface deletion creates other non-core monosyllabic word forms (see further below):

surface monosyllabic words:

[Ø/C]VGC: Ayth *Ait* (Saibai place name)

[Ø/C]VLC: dharb *farm* (KKY)

[Ø/C]VGL: wøeøwr *south-east*

[Ø/C]VC: aad *magpie goose*; kab *oar, paddle*

[Ø/C]VCC: nanth! *dive in!* (KLY only)

### Consonant Clusters

In the underlying representation of words, at the level before surface vowel and syllable deletion rules come into operation, there are no consonant-consonant or glide-consonant clusters within syllables, apart from the archaic Kalaw Kawaw Ya **wøeyr** *water*. The members of “permitted” clusters are in different syllables. Those found within stems are the following:

l/r-labial: arpa *dawn*, modholpe *butter banana*, gürba *small, dark crab*, kùlbay *old, wøerma/urma drop of liquid, dew-drop, dew*, pùlma- *take out of a bundle*

l/r-dental: kùrthur *caterpillar, grub*, balthayfloat, bøerdh, bøerdha *long grass species*, yaldha- *spread out, stretch out*

l/r-palato-alveolar: bøersa *bad luck, misfortune*, walsi *lagoon*, arzi *alarm call* (but not lz)

l/r-velar: arkath *hole, pit, tunnel*, kùlka *blood*, wøergi/urgu *covering, cover, layer*, palga *spear shaft*, kerngay *initiate*, walnga *steering board*

y/w-labial: pøeypiyam *closely watched*, mawpus *dry coconut bunch stalk*, mayba *trigger*, ngawbath *same-sex in-law*, gayma *boil, abcess*, wawmer *frigate bird*, paywa *native basil*

y/w-dental: gøegaythal *clanlands, countries*, kawtha *half-canoe*, maaydha *magic*, aybawdhal *harvests*, wøeyni *pass (by/over etc.) present active*, køewni *bundle*, wad, bayludh *dawn*, bøewli *recently burnt ground*

y/w-velar: thaykuy *yam species*, Awkam Aukam (a name), Bøeygu *Boigu*, awgadh *totem, god*, bayngan *red-bellied snake*, lawnga *no, not*

y/w-palato-alveolar: kaysi *audience*, køewsu *fruit; blossom*, gayzu *crocodile snout*, kawza *sinker*, yøewya- *lie down/over* (note that many people pronounce this word **yuya-**)

y/w-alveolar: waytuka *small white reef heron*, køewtayi *small green crab*, yøewda- *give, ask for/to*, Bayra *Baira* (a name), kawra *ear* (but not **yd**)

Unfamiliar clusters in early loans tended to (a) simplify, thus *handkerchief* > **agesip**, *monkey* > **mage**, *custard apple* **katitap**, and/or (b) to become clusters permissible in the language, thus *tank* > **taaynga**, *bank* > **baaynga**, or (c) a vowel is introduced to split the cluster, thus *twenty* > **tuwente**, *spoon* > **sipun**. Note, however, that *carpenter* has been borrowed (via Broken) as **kamda**, and *anchor* as **angga** (the indigenous word is **yaadi**).

Where words are modified (declined, suffixed, conjugated, compounded, etc.), various other clusters can occur, such as in **kùlzi** *long ago, from way back*, **kùl-** *before* + **-zi** *ablative*. Optional segment reduction can also create various others, as discussed further below:

pa-nanitha-i-Ø: pananith > pananth *attack!*;  
 babatha-LAI: babathal > babthal *cross-sex siblings*;  
 awuma-ka: awumaka > awumka,  
 awmka > *mourning* dative

### Segment Deletion (Word Shortening)

Vowels, consonants, glides and syllables can be deleted. This happens in unstressed syllables, the one exception being certain active forms of the verb **ma-** *take, give, move, do, be, etc.*, where the stressed vowel elides leaving the stem as **m-** (e.g. **ma-i-Ø-IZI** > **mizi** active singular present perfective). Segment deletion depends on word length. It does not occur in monosyllables, is less likely in bisyllabic words, more common in words of three syllables, and so on; i.e. the longer a word is, the more likely shortening will occur.

The most common deletion is that of **y** and **w**, which can assimilate to neighbouring homorganic high vowels: **woesul** > **wusul**

> **usul** *dirty water*; **yœl** > **yil** > **il** *gall bladder*;  
**wœydha-** > **wuydha-** > **uydha-** / **wœydha-** > **wiïdha-** > **widha-** *place, apply to*.

Generally there is a certain amount of haphazardness in segment deletion, and it varies according to speech style, dialect, age of speaker, and idiolect. Older speakers are perceived to use ‘fuller’ language, while younger speakers are said to ‘cut’ the language short. This is to a certain extent true, though there is also a certain amount of subjectivity involved as well. Records of the 1800s general show much the same variants as now, and so suggest that the ‘old-young’ divide in the language depends more on the formal/deliberate and informal/colloquial divide. Segment deletion otherwise tends to be blocked in poetic language (where deleted vowels are often ‘restored’), proper nominals, onomatopoeic words and emotives.

The most common segment deletion is that of word-final vowels, which are often deleted in the nominative and accusative, in some invariable adverbs, and in colloquial speech in the endings **-ka** *dative; present imperfective; near future*, **-dha** *simulative*, **-zi** *ablative*, **-bi** *demonstrative article formant*, and **-gi** *privative*, particularly in longer words.

stem	formal-poetic	colloquial
sara- <i>white tern</i>	sara	sar
waama- <i>bee's wax</i>	waama	waam
ngùki- <i>drinking water</i>	ngùùki/ngùki	ngùùk, ngùk
mœrápi- <i>bamboo</i>	mœraapi	mœráp
kuwiku- <i>head</i>	kuwiiku	kuwík, kúyk
karùma- <i>goanna; clumsiness</i>	karùma	karùm
sayima- <i>outrigger</i>	sayima	sayim
modified words	formal-poetic	colloquial
gima-zi <i>from above</i>	gimazi	gimaz
sigaz-zi <i>from afar</i>	sigazi	sigaz
kœdála-dha <i>crocodile-like</i>	kœdáladha	kœdáladh
sazi-ka <i>be standing (tree, etc.)</i>	sœzika/sazika	sœzik/sazik
bùlika <i>fly (insect) DAT</i>	bùlika	bùlik
maaba-gi <i>don't walk!</i>	mabagi	mabag

Equally important is internal vowel deletion, where unstressed **a** (æ), **i** and **u** can elide in stems of three or more syllables where the last two syllables of the stem do not carry word stress, or where the initial syllable does not carry stress; this happens most commonly when the word is affixed, though it can appear colloquially in unmodified forms.

Affixed words

	specific locative	non-specific locative
Mabuyaagi <i>Mabuyag</i>	Mabuyginu	Mabuygiya
aun/awun <i>blue-spotted ray</i>	awnanu	awniya
gòradh <i>long digging stick, crowbar</i>	gòradhanu, gòrdhanu, gòradhnu	gòradhiya, gòrdhiya

Unaffixed words, compounds, reduplicated words, phrases, etc.

	formal	colloquial reduction
<i>new, young</i>	kain (kayin)	kayn
<i>back that way, off to the side</i>	paupa (pawupa)	pawpa
<i>blue-spotted ray</i>	aun/awun	awn
<i>mother's bother, sister's child</i>	awadhe	awdhe
<i>spear</i>	kœlaaka	klaak, klak
<i>coconut bud cover</i>	kuwápay	kwapay
<i>dirt, ground, land</i>	bœrádhar	bradhar
<i>river, stream, creek</i>	kœsá	k'sa
<i>set free, let go</i>	gethawana- (getha- <i>hand</i> , wana- <i>put, let, leave</i> )	gethwana-
<i>temporary shelter, lean-to</i>	zarazar	zarzar (zara, GY <i>zara cut frond or branch</i> )
<i>a small person</i>	mœgi mœbayg	mœgi m'bayg
<i>that inhabited island</i>	senuubi laaga	senuub' laag

In the dual of the demonstrative articles, where the reduction of **-bi** would result in an 'illegal' cluster with the initial of the following word, an epenthetic vowel is inserted after the dual suffix:

- senuubi laaga > senuub laaga *that inhabited island*
- sethaabi lagal > sethaab lagal *those inhabited islands*
- sepalbi laaga > sepalab laaga *those two inhabited islands*

In Kalaw Lagaw Ya the adjective **balbalgi** (bal+bal-gi- *cross-cross-PRI not crooked*) *straight, okay, allright, good, well* similar becomes **balbalag** in verb compounds for the same reason, thus:

- balbalagpala *straighten, fix, cure, heal, repair, make well, resolve*
- balbalagtida- *straighten, repair, fix, mend, cure, heal, comb hair, console*

and through extension:

- balbalgasi-/balbalagasi- *be straight, okay, allright, good, well*

In affixed forms stem final **-a** tends to delete when the following affix begins with a consonant followed by a vowel; the same happens to word final **i** and **u** when the stem ends in **-yi** or **-wu**, and word final **-ya** and **-wa** when the stem has three or more syllables, including when the following affix is a consonant only; this rarely happens otherwise.

nominative	genitive	similative	dative	ablative	plural
bùrùm <i>pig</i>	bùrùmaw	bùrùmadh	bùrùmaka bùrùmka,	bùrùmangu, bùrùmngu	bùrùmal
dagul <i>fish spear</i>	dagulaw	daguladh	dagulaka, dagulka	dagulangu, dagulngu	dagulal
bayludh <i>dawn</i>	bayludhaw	bayludhadh	bayludhaka, bayludhka	bayludhangu, bayludhngu	bayludhal
maayi <i>spring, well; pearl shell</i>	mayiw	mayidh, maydh	mayika, mayka	mayingu, mayngu	mayil, mayl
naawu <i>song</i>	nawuw, nawu	nawudh, nawdh	nawuka, nawka	nawungu, nawngu	nawul, nawl
away <i>pelican</i>	awayaw	awayadh, awaydh	awayaka, awayka	awayangu, awayngu	awayal, awayl
gabaw <i>purple yam</i>	gabawaw	gabawadh, gabawdh	gabawaka, gabawka	gabawangu, gabawngu	gabawal, gabawl

Where verbs of three or more syllables and whose internal stem syllable is **rV** or **IV**, truncation also occurs in most forms except for certain active singular forms:

wœradha- (uradha-) *stow, put away, hide, take, steal, die* (euphonism), *judge*

*attainative perfective present* (truncation in singular form)

wœradha-Ø-Ø-n > wardhan SG

wœradha-Ø-NGAUMA-n > wardhawman DU

wœradha-Ø-MAYI-n > wardhamnu PL (for **-nu** see p.371)

*active perfective present* (no truncation in singular form)

wœradha-i-Ø-IZI > wœradhi, uradhi SG

wœradha-i-NGAUMA-n > wardhewman DU

wœradha-i-MAYI-n > wardhemin PL

*attainative perfective today past* (truncation in singular form)

wœradha-Ø-Ø-nu > wardhanu SG

wœradha-Ø-NGAUMA-nu > wardhawmanu DU

wœradha-Ø-MAYI-nu > wardhaminu PL

*active perfective today past* (no truncation in singular form)

wœradha-i-Ø-ma > wœradhima, uradhima, wardhima SG

wœradha-i-NGAUMA-nu > wardhewmanu DU

wœradha-i-MAYI-nu > wardheminu PL

*attainative perfective remote past* (truncation in singular form)

wœradha-Ø-Ø-dhin > wardhadhin SG

wœradha-Ø-NGAUMA-dhin > wardhawmadhin DU

wœradha-Ø-MAYI-dhin > wardhamidhin PL

*active perfective remote past* (truncation in singular form)

wœradha-i-Ø-dhin > wardhaydhin SG

wœradha-i-NGAUMA-dhin > wardhewmadhin DU

wœradha-i-MAYI-dhin > wardhemidhin PL

The diphthong **ay** undergoes deletion in 1) verbal nouns of verbs of three or more stem syllables when the following affix is a syllable, and 2) LAI affixes when the stem is of two or more syllables except when the personal nominal suffix is added (see Nominal Derivation for the uses of the impersonal and personal nominal suffixes):

	verbal noun	instrumental	dative
barpuda- <i>sell</i>	barpuday	barpudayn	barpudayka, barpudaka, barpudka
thathara- <i>rub, file, create (men's work)</i>	thatharay	thatharayn	thatharayka, thatharaka, thatharka
ayima- <i>make, do</i> cf.	ayimay, aymay	ayimayn, aymayn	ayimayka, ayimaka, ayimka
nunga- <i>probe for</i> ima- <i>see, find</i>	nungáy imáy	nungáy imáy	nungáyka, not *nungaka imáyka, not *imaka

LAI affixes	monosyllabic stem	multisyllabic stem
	thaa <i>crocodile tail</i>	geetha <i>hand</i>
propriative, plural	thalay	gethal
impersonal nominal stem form	thalaynga thalaymay-	gethalnga (archaic: gethalenga, gethalinga) gethalmay- (archaic: gethalemay-, gethalimay-)
personal nominal stem form	thalayg	gethalayg (< getha-LAI-IGA)
specific locative	thalayga- thalay	gethalga- (archaic: gethalega-, gethaliga-) gethaØ (fixed phrases: gethal)

The only words in Kalaw Lagaw Ya that undergo initial vowel deletion – and then only optionally – are the non-specific locative and the article forms of **i-** *this, here*; this is idiolectal:

	masculine	feminine	dual	plural
specific locative	inu, GY iinu	ina, GY iina	ipal	itha
nonspecific locative	inuki, nuki	inaki, naki	ipalki, palki	ithaki, thaki
article	inuubi, inuub, nuubi, nuub	inaabi, inaab, naabi, naab	ipalbi, ipalab, palab, palbi	ithaabi, ithaab, thaabi, thaab

Consonants are less liable to deletion, though when consonants come together, the first is liable to assimilate to the other. When the cluster is homorganic, including those resulting from assimilation, then the first consonant can elide:

- nakadaka, nakaraka > nakadka, nakarka, nakatka *upwards* (na-kada-ka F-upward-DAT)
- gùdamathamay > gùdmathamay, %gùbmathamay *cover/fill in VN* (gùda+mathama-y opening+hit+VN)
- laka kedha > lak kedha, la'kedha *just like that, the same as that* (laka again, more of the same, kedha like that, thus)
- kùrsayg > kùssayg, kùsayg *alone* (in KKY **kùsayg** has become the sole form) (kùrsa-IGA ?+PerNom)
- kakùradhaza > kakùradhza, kakùradza, kakùraza *egg-like object* (kakùra-dha+za egg-SIM+thing)
- kùlkadhagaamu > kùlkadhgaamu, kùlkaggaamu, kùlkagaamu *red* (noun) (kùlka-dha+gamu blood-SIM+colour)
- køerkakbadh > kørkapbadh, kørkabadh *sorrow, grief* (køerkaka+badha throat-sore)
- iibupuydhay > iibpuydhay, iippuydhay, iipuydhay *help, assistance, aid* (ibu+puydha-y chin+hang-VN)
- uumamathaman > uummathamam, uumathamam, umathamam *kill* (uuma+mathama-Ø-Ø-n death+hit-ATT-SG-PrPF)

In some words this assimilation and elision have become permanent:

1) *nipel you* DU: *nipel-ni* > *nipen* GEN, *nipel-ni-ka* > *nipenika* DAT; cf. *ngalbay we* DU EXC: *ngalbayn* GEN, *ngalbaynika* DAT

2) *uur water*: *uur-lay* > *ulay* SLoc, PRP, PL; *nuur noise*: *nuur-lay* > *nulay* SLoc, PRP, PL; *nel name*: *nel-lay* > *nelay* SLoc, PRP, PL; cf. *maa spider*: *maa-lay* > *malay* SLoc, PRP, PL; *buu trumpet shell*: *buu-lay* > *bulay* SLoc, PRP, PL

In its realisation of 2), the Kalaw Kawaw Ya dialect displays the only paradigm where the elision occurs to the following consonant, thus: *wœr/uur water*: *wœr-lay*, *uur-lay* > *wœray*, *uray*; *nuur noise*: *nuur-lay* > *nuray*; *nel name*: *nel-lay* > *nelay*.

In certain cases a whole syllable deletes. This is regular in verbs of three stem syllables ending in **ma**, such as **mathama-** *hit, strike*, **siilama-** *fight*, **thakama-** *fight*, **wœlama-i-** *continue, go on, be going*, **idima-** *ruin, destroy, 'bugger up'*, **iisama-** *load, transport liquid* and **ziilama-i-** *run, drive along, sail along*. It is found (1) in the singular of the active present imperfective/near future, the active recent past perfective and imperfective, and the active remote future, and (2) through haplology when the dual and plural suffixes are added in the attainative, as shown in Table 8. In Kalaw Kawaw Ya, the elision of (1) only occurs in the verbs **wœlama-i-**, thus **ulaypa** *continue, go on, be going* ATT SG PrIMPF, and **ziilama-i-**, in which it is optional, thus **zilaypa** ~ **zilmaypa** *run, drive along, sail along* ATT SG PrIMPF, and that of (2) only in the plural.

Kalaw Lagaw Ya is unique in the plural present perfective in trisyllabic stem verbs of the above type, **ubamnu** in comparison to the **ubamin** ~ **ubamayn** of the other dialects. In form the ending **-nu** is the same as the ending

for the attainative today past perfective. The present perfective ending in the records of Kauřařaigau Ya had varying forms, these being (using standardised spelling) **-n**, **-noe**, **-na** and **-nu**, with **-nu** being the full form, and the other three reduced forms thereof. The equivalent today past ending in Kauřařaigau Ya was variously **-nulai**, **-nule**, **-nuli** and **-nul**. All modern dialects have lost the final syllable in the today past perfective, i.e. > **-nu**, and the final vowel in the present perfective, i.e. **-n**, except in the attainative plural present perfective in Kalaw Lagaw Ya in verbs of this type.

The sound **ng** sporadically deletes intervocally or after **r**, normally nasalising the adjacent vowel(s). This deletion has become permanent, though not the nasalisation, in the genitive of class 2 nouns and the singular pronouns, and, as illustrated by **pama-** and **ubama-** in Table 8, in the dual of all verbs except **ma-** *take, give, be, move*. This is an early change where the singular pronouns are concerned, witness the retention of the Proto Pama-Nyungan final **n** in **ninu** (\**ñiin+ñu*) *your* SG, **nanu** (\**naan+ñu*) *her, its* GEN, **ngoenu** (\**ñan+ñu*) *whose*, and the lack of this in **nungu** (\**nu+ñu*) *his, its*.

- 1) *karngemi-* > *karēmi-*, *karemi-* *hear*; *yangu nuur* > *yañ nuur* *sound of words*
- 2) \**ngu* genitive

nouns	nominative	genitive
class 1	<i>paa</i> <i>fence, pen</i>	* <i>paa-ngu</i> > <i>pangu</i>
class 2	<i>puri</i> <i>baby shark</i> <i>makas</i> <i>mouse, rat</i>	* <i>puri-ngu</i> > <i>puriw (puriu)</i> * <i>makasa-ngu</i> > <i>makasaw (makasau)</i>

singular pronouns:	nominative	genitive
1 <sup>st</sup>	<i>ngay I</i> (stem * <i>nga-</i> )	* <i>nga-ngu</i> > <i>ngaw (ngau)</i> <i>my masculine</i>
2 <sup>nd</sup>	<i>ni you</i> (stem * <i>niin-</i> )	* <i>niin-ngu</i> > <i>ninu</i>
3 <sup>rd</sup> feminine	<i>na she</i> (stem * <i>naan-</i> )	* <i>naan-ngu</i> > <i>nanu</i>
who	<i>nga who</i> (stem * <i>ngan-</i> )	* <i>ngan-ngu</i> > <i>ngoenu/ngunu</i>
3 <sup>rd</sup> masculine	<i>nuy he</i> (stem * <i>nu-</i> )	* <i>nu-ngu</i> > <i>nungu</i>

In the following the syllable **zi** optionally elides, though can become **ri** in the non-singular subject/singular object perfective imperative of the verb **ma-**, and always in the dual perfective imperative of all verbs:

-ZIU non-singular subject imperative > -ziw, -riw, -w

ma- give, take, move, etc.

ma-Ø-Ø-ZIU: maziw, mariw NSg S, SG O O (also KLY **maraw**, reanalysed from **maral**, other dialects **maar~mara** ma-Ø-Ø-RA SG S, SG O)

ma-Ø-MAYI-ZIU: mamayziw, mamiziw, mamayiw, mamiw NSg S, PL O

ma-Ø-NGAUMA-ZIU: mangawmariw NSg S, DU O

yœwtha-i pull, drag

yœwtha-i-MAYI-ZIU: yœwthemayziw, yœwthemiziw, yœwthemiw PL

yœwtha-i-NGAUMA-ZIU: yœwthewmariw DU

TABLE 8. Final syllable elision in **-ma** final stems.

tri-syllabic stem: uubama- dress up (final syllable elision)					
present		recent past		remote past	
perfective	imperfective	perfective	imperfective	perfective	imperfective
singular active X-i-Ø-ending					
ubami	ubayka	ubayma	ubayadh	ubamaydhin	ubamay
singular attainative X-Ø-Ø-ending					
ubaman	ubamaka	ubamanu	ubamadh	ubamadhin	ubamar
dual active X-i-NGAUMA-ending					
ubamewman	ubamewmaka	ubamewmanu	ubamewmadh	ubamewmadhin	ubamewmar
dual attainative X-Ø-NGAUMA-ending					
ubawman	ubawmaka	ubawmanu	ubawmadh	ubawmadhin	ubawmar
plural active X-i-MAYI-ending					
ubamemin	ubamemika	ubameminu	ubamemidh	ubamemidhin	ubamemir
plural attainative X-Ø-MAYI-ending					
ubamnu (other dialects ubamin)	ubamika	ubaminu	ubamidh	ubamidhin	ubamir
bi-syllabic stem: pama- dig (final syllable not elided)					
present		recent past		remote past	
perfective	imperfective	perfective	imperfective	perfective	imperfective
singular active X-i-Ø-ending					
pami	pameka	pamema	pameadh	pamaydhin	pamay
singular attainative X-Ø-Ø-ending					
paman	pamáyka	pamanu	pamadh	pamadhin	pamar
dual active X-i-NGAUMA-ending					
pamewman	pamewmaka	pamewmanu	pamewmadh	pamewmadhin	pamewmar
dual attainative X-Ø-NGAUMA-ending					
pamawman	pamawmaka	pamawmanu	pamawmadh	pamawmadhin	pamawmar
plural active X-i-MAYI-ending					
pamemin	pamemika	pameminu	pamemidh	pamemidhin	pamemir
plural attainative X-Ø-MAYI-ending					
pamamin	pamamika	pamaminu	pamamidh	pamamidhin	pamamir

Except for the dual, there is fairly free variation in the use of the two variants **-w** and **-ziw**, as in the following:

Paypa mimizi**w** zagethka, parul yakam**ziw**, apasimi**w**, geth pœybazi**w**, bangalthonarka. (Aleck Tipoti, pers. comm., 2012)

*Go forward, present yourselves to work, show your faces, humble yourselves, show respect, give a lending hand, for the future.*

pai-pa	ma-i-MAYI-ZIU	zagetha-ka,	paaru-LAI	yakama-Ø-MAYI-ZIU,
ahead-DAT	take-ACT-PL-NSgS.IMP	work-DAT	front-PL	show-ATT-PL-NSgS.IMP
apa+asi-Ø-MAYI-ZIU,		getha-Ø	pœiba-Ø-Ø-ZIU,	bangala+thonara-ka.
below+be.with-ATT-PL-NSgS.IMP		hand-ACC	give-ATT-SG-NSgS.IMP	later+time-DAT

**Zi** elision has become permanent in all verb paradigms except for that of **ma-** in the active singular present perfective:

*-IZI active singular present perfective > -izi, -i: ma-i-IZI > mizi be, move; para-i-IZI > pari drop, fall (fruit etc.); thaanura-i-IZI > thanuri sit*

The active singular present perfective ending has the form **-izi** in **mizi** *take, move, be, do* etc., otherwise is **-i**, and in the speech of some younger Badu speakers **-in**, where the **-n** ending found in all other active and attainative numbers, including the singular attainative present has extended by analogy to the active singular form. In Kalaw Kawaw Ya the full form of the ending is **-izi/-izin** (also with an extended **-n**), thus **mizi** ~ **mizin**; otherwise the ending is **-iz**, thus **pariz** [pa:riz], **thanuriz**. In Kauřařaigau Ya the full form of the ending was **-iziři**, recorded by Brierly (Moore 1979: 86) from an Aboriginal friend in **Ńgi waerigie mitcherry** *I am hungry*, i.e. **ngai weregi miziři**, modern KY **ngai wereg mizi**, KKY **ngay wereg mizi/mizin**, KLY **ngay yœraagi mizi**. The shortened form was **-izi**, i.e. **parizi, thanurizi**.

**Zi** elision also occurs in the nominative-accusative of **kaazi** *child, person* in the following established compounds in Kalaw Lagaw Ya and Kũlkalgau Ya, and optionally in Mualgau Ya-Kaiwalgau Ya:

<b>-kaazi person</b>	stem	plural
<i>male, man</i>	garkazi-	garkazil
<i>female, woman</i>	ipikazi-/iipkazi-	ipikazil/iipkazil
<i>unmarried girl</i>	ngœwakazi-	ngœwakazil

<b>-kaazi person</b>	nominative
<i>male, man</i>	garka
<i>female, woman</i>	ipika
<i>unmarried girl</i>	ngœwaka

In Kalaw Kawaw Ya the nominative-accusatives are **garkaz, yipkaz** (also **ipkaz, yœpkaz**), **ngawakaz** ~ **ngœwakaz**, and in archaic Mualgau Ya-Kaiwalgau Ya **garkai, ipikai, ngœwakai** (Kauřařaigau Ya **ngœuřakai**). Kalaw Lagaw Ya and Kũlkalgau Ya also have the shortened variants **ngœwka** (**ngœwkazi-**) and **ngoka** (**ngokazi-**) of **ngawaka**, also found in the compound **ngokakaazi** *girl, young woman, maiden* (as opposed to *woman*). Where the initials of these compounds are concerned, **ipi~yip~yœp-** clearly is a reflex of **ipi**, GY **iipi** *wife*, PP \*yipi ‘woman, female’. The initials **gar-** of **garka** *male, man* and **ngœwa-** of **ngœwaka** do not exist elsewhere in the language. The first appears to be from PP \*kaala ‘male, man’, while the second is of Trans Fly Papuan origin, cf. MM *neur* ‘girl, daughter, unmarried woman’, Bine *ngule/ngulo/ngure* (dialect variants), PETrF \*Ńauro.

Word final **dh(a)** in certain words normally deletes, being retained in more emphatic speech: **thakakidh(a)** > **thakaki** *those moving along up there*; **senakidh(a)** > **senaki** *that F moving along just there*; **ngedh(a)** > **nge** *then* (sequential clitic). This deletion also occurs in Kalaw Kawaw Ya speech in the following: **kamedh, kame** *hey! masculine attention seeker*, **kakedh, kake** *hey! feminine attention seeker*, and **koledh, kole** *hey! non-singular attention seeker*. In Kalaw Lagaw Ya and the other dialects, only the forms without

-**dh** are found, thus **kame**, **kake** and **kole**. This use of **-dh** as an emphatic form in Kalaw Kawaw Ya has led to a **-dh** being added to the Kalaw Kawaw Ya habitual ending **-paruy** through analogy (**-paruy/-paru/-pu** > **-paruydh** beside the more correct **-paruyg**), to the reduplicated adverb **kaykay** > **kayke** > **kaykedh** *soon after, soon*, and to **sike** > **sikedh** *maybe*. The other dialects have retained the older **sikay**, from **sii** *I don't know* + **kay** *but, however*.

Where deictics are concerned, the variation in idiolects of all dialects has developed a semantic difference of a non-specific locative in **-ki**, e.g. **thakaki** *those moving around up there*, and a global locative in **-kidh(a)**, e.g. **thakakidh** *those moving around all over that place up there*, particularly in Kalaw Kawaw Ya.

A few words have syllable deletion in parts of their paradigms, in particular the unmarked nominative(-accusative). Quite a few words of three stem syllables ending in **-ya** or **-wa** fit in this category, including the following:

*za* thing, *may* time, *period*, *goeyga* day, *sun*, Kuki North-West (Monsoon), *singe* catch-carrying loop, *thunge* torch, *brand*, *light*, *apu*, GY *apuuwa* mother, *mother's sister*:

stem	genitive	propriative, plural	dative	nominative
za-, zapu-	zangu, zapu	zapul	zaka, zapuka	za
may-, maypu-	mayngu, maypu	maypul	mayka, maypuka	may
Kukiya-	Kukiyaw, Kukiw	Kukiyal, Kukil	Kukika	Kuki
singeya-	singeyaw	singeyal	singeyaka, singeka	singe
thungeya-	thungeyaw	thungeyal	thungeyaka, thungeka	thunge
apuwa-	apuwaw	apuwal	apuwaka, apuka	apu, GY <i>apuuwa</i>

In established compounds with **za** – at a colloquial level – the full stem is only normally found in the propriative, plural and instrumental; in other forms the compound can be treated as a mono-morphemic word:

stem	genitive	propriative, plural	dative	nominative
kùlbayza <i>ancient object</i>	kùlbayzangu kùlbayzapu kùlbayzaw	kùlbayzapul	kùlbayzaka	kùlbayza
ayza <i>food stuff</i>	ayzangu ayzapu ayzaw	ayzapul	ayzaka ayzapuka	ayza

INTONATION

The language is smooth flowing, with an overall pitch patterning of high (H) tones/pitch and low (L) tones/pitch (cf. Ford and Ober, 1979; for Kalaw Kawaw Ya), with intervening intermediate tones/pitch (M). If the initial syllable(s) do(es)not carry the stress (= H), then the first syllable(s) is/are often M. There is an overall fall in pitch over the phrase, though this

is not marked. As a rule, intonation patterns tend to be more accentuated in feminine speech, that is to say, women's intonation can be more "musical". Though H often coincides with the stressed syllable of a word or phrase group, this not always the case. In certain intonation patterns, particularly in female speech, the H-M-L patterning can reverse, with stressed syllables being lower in pitch.

Words pronounced in isolation have the same overall intonation pattern as clauses, as is to be expected. Compounds and other complex words in general follow the stress patterns of noncomplex words, except in the case where the first part of the compound is a monosyllable, in which case it has high pitch and the next syllable medium pitch. Bisyllabic words with second syllable stress and with a short final vowel are M-H in intonation, though if the second vowel is long, the intonation is M-HL.

monosyllabic words:

falling: HL pitch – bæy *palm frond/leaf*

bisyllabic words:

falling: H-L – galpis *anger*, sagul *fun, game, dance*

rising: M-H or level H-H – kedhá *like this/that*, thóerá *ridge*

rise-fall: M-HL or level-fall H-HL – thithuuy *star* (beside GY thithuuyi)

three syllables:

falling: H-H-L or H-M-L – galupi *shiver, tremble, shake*, danalayg *living person, life*

rise-fall: M-H-L – kuwápay *coconut bud cover*, mœraapi *bamboo*, thithuuyi *star*

four or more syllables:

falling: H-H-H-L+, H-H-H-M-L+, H-H-H-M-M-L+ – pirupuru *rainbow bird*, ngœnakaapu *heart*, ngœnakapugigal *people who have no heart*, gugubithœyayinga *coil, halo, globe, world*

rise-fall: M-H-H-L+ – imáyzinga *seen/found object*, mœrœpĩgal *bamboo owners/holders/possessors*

compound/prefixed words with monosyllabic first member – the first syllable is high, then following syllables lower:

H-M-M-M-L-L+ ~ H-M-M-L-L-L+ – pagasamayzinga/pagasamzinga *object that is being held*, guythwayewmanu *take off, leave* ACT DU TodP.PF

Clauses have the same overall pattern as words, except in Kalaw Lagaw Ya, where, instead of L pitch at the end of clauses, often a rising pitch (to H) occurs, particularly in the speech of women. The relative pitch of words/clauses can be higher or lower in relation to other words/clauses according to their relative importance in the overall message; in general the more important words/clauses are higher, and the less important lower, except in reverse pitch intonation.

The main intonation patterns are:

a) declarative: H - M - L, (particularly women) H - M - H

Guul napakidh pungáyk(a).

H H H M M ML

alt.H M H H M H (H)

alt.M H<sup>2</sup> H M L H (M)

A/The canoe is sailing along in from there.

guul-Ø na-pa-kidha puunga-'i-ka  
canoe-NOM F-ahead-GLoc sail-VN-DAT

b) listing intonation: a subcategory of declarative intonation; each part of the list is M-H:

Na na stuwaka ubilmak(a) miyaydhin,  
M M H H H H H<sup>2</sup> H (H) M L M  
nadh bæred ya bürumaw maadh(u) ya biskital  
M M H L H H H M (M) L H H H  
gasamidhin.

MM L L

When she went to the store for shopping,  
she got bread, pork and biscuits.

na-Ø na stuwa-ka  
she-NOM REF store-DAT

ubi-LAI-may-ka miya-i-Ø-dhin,  
want-PRP-ImpNom-DAT go-ACT-SG-RemP.PF

na-dha bæred-Ø ya  
she-INS bread-ACC and

büruma-NGU maadh(u)-Ø ya  
pig-GEN meat-ACC and

biskita-LAI gasama-Ø-MAYI-dhin.  
biscuit-PRP get-ATT-PL-RemP.PF

c) Softness, pleasure, politeness, interrogative intonation: the contour covers a wider range; H is relatively higher, and L relatively lower. The first syllables are often at the mid range,

and the very first syllable can even be L, unless the first syllable is the important word of the clause. The final syllable in such clauses, particularly in polite or soft language, tends to be lengthened (or rather, drawled), though this is also a characteristic of surprised or exasperated speech (such as hurt insistence of the type *But he did, I tell you! Would I lie to you?!*). The major marker of interrogative status is the presence of a question word, which is not fronted, or the appearance of one of the clause final yes-no question clitics **aw** (**aaw**) or a (**aa**):

decisive intonation 'pleased' intonation.

Elisabeth mangi. Elisabeth mangi  
HHH M L L MMMH L L

*Elisabeth's just arrived.*

Elisabetha-Ø manga-i-Ø-IZI  
*Elisabeth-NOM arrive-ACT-SG-ACT.PrPF*

interrogative intonation

Elisabeth mangi, aaw?

LMMM H H L  
*Has Elisabeth arrived?*

Ngadh inaab(i) thus(i) paladhinngùl? (alt. paladhinngùl?)

H M M(M) L (L) L L L M  
*Who wrote this document (book/letter)?*  
nga-dha i-na-bi thusi-Ø  
*who-INS this-F-ART book-ACC*  
pala-Ø-Ø-dhin-ngùl?  
*cause-ATT-SG-RemP.PF-RecP*

Nidh Zonan Dhabangayka wiyangùl aw  
H H H H M L L L L L M  
*Did you send John to Dhabangai the other day?*  
ni-dha Zona-NI Dhabangay-ka  
*You-INS John-ACC Dabangai-DAT*  
wiya-Ø-Ø-ngùl aw?  
*send-ATT-SG-RecP PF Q*

d) Surprised, insistence, exasperated intonation: while other intonation contours can be somewhat 'musical'; this category is generally a single contour that rises from M to H and then slides down to L.

declarative  
Ngath ayiman.  
H M M L

*I've made it.*  
nga-tha ayima-Ø-Ø-n  
*I-INS make-ATT-SG-PrPF*

insistence  
Ngath ayimaan!  
H H H L

Mina kœy ngœlkáy waadh!  
MH H H HL L  
*It was a bloody great lie!*  
mina kœy ngœlka-'i-Ø  
*true big falsehood-VN-NOM*  
waadha  
existential emphasis

e) Sympathetic intonation: this is the most distinctive and musical contour. The pattern starts at M, falls to L, rises to H, then finishes on M; in musical terms one can say that M is roughly at Do, L at So or La, and H at around Mi or Fa. Normally each word or phrase group is pronounced at one pitch, and then the next word/phrase group at the following pitch. The last syllable is normally lengthened.

The pattern is typical in situations where one feels some sympathy and sadness, such as a parent consoling a child for a minor mishap. The sadness is mixed with the knowledge that for the referent there is something positive, as when a friend is leaving after having stayed for a while on holiday and is now going back to their own home and family. The clitic **gaar**, used to show or elicit sympathy or empathy, typically appears, and often if the person spoken to is the subject of the sympathy/consolation, they are addressed in the third person.

Bala gaar patheka kaay!  
MM L H H H M  
*So, you're off today! (to a friend leaving that day)*  
bala-Ø gaar  
*brother-NOM SYM*  
patha-i-Ø-ka ka-i  
*embark-ACT-SG-PR.IMPV hereNSp-LOC*

Yaagaar, Mapeth gaar muluka pudhema!  
 M L MM L H H H M M M  
*Oh dear, Baby fell down!*

ya-gaar, mapetha-Ø gaar  
 speech-SYM, baby-NOM SYM  
 mulu-ka puudha-i-Ø-ma  
 down-DAT fall-ACT-SG-ACT.SG.TodP.PF

f) Exclamative intonation, typically found in such situations as making shouted public announcements or joking in a place such as a pub or at a dance where it is necessary to force the voice somewhat. The intonation can also occur where people become excited, such as telling an exciting story. The intonation either (1) starts at H, or rises from M to H, and maintains H for the whole utterance, though a fall to M may occur at the end, or (2) starts in the same way, but drops to M after the stressed syllable of the key word of the clause, and maintains this to the end of the utterance when less emphatic.

Papudhi!  
 M H H  
*He/She's/You've/I've gone and fallen over!*  
 pa-puudha-i-Ø-IZI  
 TEL-fall-ACT-SG-ACT.SG.PrPF

Nitha watikæzil adhaka sizi.  
 H H H H H M M M M M M  
 (M M H H H H H M M M M)  
*You bad kids get out of there!*  
 ni-tha-Ø wati+kazi-LAI  
 you-PL-NOM bad+child-PRP  
 adha-ka si-zi  
 out-DAT there-ABL

Extra-clause words, such as hesitation syllables, and introductory words such as names or words/exclamatives like **kame!** *Hey!* (masculine), as well the conjunctions **a** and (specific conjunction), **ya** and ("and others" conjunction), **lawnga** or (a use of **lawnga** no, not) and **ò** or (an English loan), are highlighted by intonation. The hesitation syllables and the conjunctions are always L2 (ie. lower than ordinary low pitch), or falling LL2, while introductory words fall from around M to L, or are L.

Thanamùn, aaw, guul napaki pungáyk(a).  
 H H H L2 H H M M L H (H)  
*Their, aah, canoe is sailing along in front there.*  
 thana-mù-ni, aaw, guul-Ø  
 theyPL-AUG-GEN, HES, canoe-NOM  
 na-pa-ki puunga-'i-ka.  
 F-ahead-NSpLoc movealong-VN-DAT

Garkazin bürùm a adal uummathamidhin,  
 M M M H H L H2H2 H H H H L  
*nuy na pupuka miaydhin.*  
 H M H2H L H L L  
*The man killed a pig and some magpie geese  
 when he went to the swamp lake.*  
 garkazi-n bürùm-Ø a ada-LAI  
 male-INS pig-ACC and magpiegoose-PRP  
 uuma+mathama-Ø-MAYI-dhin  
 death+strike-ATT-PL-RemP.PF  
 nuy-Ø na pœpu-ka  
 he-NOM REF swamplake-DAT  
 miya-i-Ø-dhin  
 move-ACT-SG-RemP.PF

Aaw, inuub' garka kùniya tidema. (alt. tidema.)  
 L H H H H H M M M L L M M H  
*Umm, this man went/came back.*  
 aaw, i-nu-bi garkazi-Ø  
 HES, this-M-ART male-NOM  
 kùna-ya tiida-i-Ø-ma  
 back-NSpLoc return-ACT-SG-ACT.TodP.PF

Kame, nidh iman aaw?!  
 M L H H L L  
 (M L M H H M)  
*Hey! Did you see that?!*  
 ka-me, ni-dha iima-Ø-Ø-n aaw  
 hey-M, you-INS see-ATT-SG-PrPF Q

### THE STRUCTURE OF THE LANGUAGE: MORPHOLOGY AND SYNTAX

The language tends more towards declining than agglutinating. There are split syntax typologies in core arguments and locatives.

Core arguments:

- singular personal pronouns – three-way nominative (S) ergative (A) accusative (O)
- proper nouns and dual-plural pronouns – two-way nominative (SA) accusative (O)

- dual-plural pronouns, KKY only – one-way marking, i.e. S, A and O are all unmarked
- common nouns – two-way ergative (A) absolutive (SO)

Locatives:

- personal pronouns and proper nouns – one locative
- common nouns – three locatives

Words referring to people can have either three locative forms or one locative form, depending on how personalised (+human) the reference is. If the reference is fairly impersonal, then the three locatives are found, regardless of the +human status of the referent. A variation of this are words such as **kaazi** *child, young, offspring, son, daughter, young of animals, young of plants*. When the reference is to a human child, particular as a son or daughter or the like, then the word falls into the single locative category, while when referring to the young of animals or plants – or even simply of ‘offspring’, or the child of a ‘lesser human being’, the word falls into the category of having three locative forms.

Basic word order is S-(X)-(O)-V, though there is free variation depending on pragmatic features:

Sesere thamanu pudhaydhin.

S X V

*The willy-wagtail landed on a branch.*

sesere-Ø thaama-nu  
willywagtail-NOM branch-SLoc  
puudha-i-Ø-dhin  
fall-ACTSG-RemP.PF

Awban thamanu sesere imadhin.

S X O V

*A hawk saw the willy-wagtail on the branch.*

awuba-n thaama-nu sesere-Ø  
hawk-INS branch-SLoc willywagtail-ACC  
see.find-ATT-SG-RemP.PF  
iima-Ø-Ødhin

... si miyar kuyku mabayg, nungu nel

X V S

Kawmayn, Pulu.

*... there (at that place) was a chief, called Kawmayn, on the island of Pulu.*

... se/si-i miya-Ø-r  
... there-SLoc moveACT-SG-RemP.IMPf  
kuwiku-NGU maba-IGA-Ø  
head-GEN walk-PNom-NOM (= person)  
nu-NGU nel-Ø Kawmayni-Ø Pulu-nu.  
He-GEN name-NOM K-NOM P.SLoc

Word order is normally fixed, however, in clauses where all or most key members of the clause take the same case marking. These include purposive clauses (marked by the dative), avoidance clauses (marked by the ablative), and negative clauses (marked by the genitive on the arguments and privative on the verb):

a) kazika kathamka pùrtháyka

S O V

dative marking

*in order for the child/children to eat (a) banana(s);  
the child/children want(s) to eat (a) banana(s)*

b) kazingu kathamngu pùrtháylay

ablative marking

*in order for the child/children not to eat (a) banana(s); not to let the child/children eat (a) banana(s); (we) don't want the child/children to eat (a) banana(s); the child/children want to avoid eating (a) banana(s)*

c) kaziw kathamaw pùrtháyginga

genitive marking in conjunction with the nominalised privative of the verbal noun.

*the child/children do not/did not/are not going to eating (a) banana(s)*

Verbs crossmark the number and syntactic role of the arguments, as well as being marked for tense, aspect, mood and the verbal noun. Nominal inflections indicate syntactic function. There are five types of affix:

derivational prefixes: aspectual/modal, locational/positional

deictic prefixes: specific/nonspecific deictic distance, gender/number deixis

derivational suffixes: modify word class

augmenting suffixes: deictic gender and number, verb number, (singular pronouns)

dative and locative augmented stem(s), (proper nominals, dual-plural pronouns) oblique gender and number (feminine, masculine-nonsingular)

endings (inflectional suffixes): carry the syntactic load of the word; they are so termed as they always come at the end of the word

Word stems (roots) are vowel or diphthong final, except for some nominal monosyllabic stems which end in **l** or **r**, such as **bal** *across* and **ger** *seasnake*; this exception includes compounds or reduplications where the final stem is monosyllable, such as **tharthar** *boiling, seething*, **apnur** *sound of footsteps* (**apa-** *below*, **nuur** *noise*) and **nipel** *you two*, (**ni** *you singular*, **pel**, a variant of the dual morpheme **pal**). Words can have more than one prefix and/or suffix, though normally only one ending, the rare exceptions being where former clitics have become fully grammaticalised as compounded endings.

#### WORD CLASSES

There are three broad word classes, two declining/conjugating (nominals and verbs) and one class which does not decline/conjugate. The declining/conjugating categories have declensional classes based on stem syllable number (monosyllabic stem versus bisyllabic/multisyllabic stem):

1) Nominals – Common nominals: *common nouns, non-personal names* (e.g. nicknames), *non-emotive kin-terms, non-modifying adverbs* (temporal, locational, etc.), *verbal nouns, demonstrative deictics, nominalised words*; Proper nominals: *emotive kin terms, personal names, boat names, personal pronouns*.

2) Verbs

3) Non-Declining Words – Word modifiers, clause modifiers: *adjectives, modifying adverbs, demonstrative articles, numbers, particles, clitics, etc.*; Extra-clause words.

#### NOMINAL MORPHOLOGY

Common Nominals have two classes, Class 1, monosyllabic stems, and Class 2, multisyllabic stems, which differ somewhat in their affixation. Suffixes and endings are affixed to the nominal stem. Plural number (three or more) is marked only on the nominative subject and specific direct object by the proprietive suffix, and optionally on the transitive subject when referring to an animate subject. All other cases are neutral to number, including the transitive subject, marked as instrumental (= ergative). Not all cases have overt case marking; that is to say, Ø-case marking is also significant (see below).

Proper nominals differ from common nominals in using the accusative-genitive (which have the same form) as an augmented stem for the oblique cases, except in the case of the singular pronouns, which use the genitive as the base for the ablative and similative (and the privative, which exists in Kalaw Kawaw Ya only), and a locative augmenting suffix **-be/bi-** in the dative and locative, except for the first person singular, where the augmenting suffix is **-ki-**. The locative augmenting suffix **-be/bi-** may in origin be a locative ending in its own right, though it is essentially identical in form to the demonstrative article forming suffix **-bi**, perhaps indicating a common origin. The 3rd dual pronoun and the 1st-2nd, 2nd and 3rd plural pronouns take an augmenting suffix **-mù-** before all affixes; this suffix may be related to **mùra** *all, totality, total, whole*.

Adjectives, demonstrative articles, numbers and words marked by the genitive immediately precede the noun which they modify and are syntactically dependent on the noun, which is the head. Only the noun takes case marking. The genitives, demonstrative articles and most adjectives when not preceding their noun must be nominalised (by a nominalising suffix), and

are then common nominals. Those adjectives that are not nominalised are syntactic nouns when predicates. The personal 3rd person pronouns also function as definite articles, however retain their separate status in being separate NPs from the noun, such as for decensional purposes, as following:

Nadh kayin ngokakazin koesanu nangapa dhogay imadhin.

*The young maiden saw a dogai over there on the other side of the river.*

na-dha	kayina-Ø	ngoka+kazi-n
she-INS	young	maiden+child-INS
koesa-nu	na-ngapa-Ø	
river+SLoc	F-beyond-SLoc	
dhogay-Ø	iima-Ø-Ø-dhin	
dogai-ACC	see-ATT-SG-RemP	

This is also true of nominals which fulfil the role of postpositions. These are likewise separate NPs from the declined noun that they collocate with, and do not necessarily agree in case with the noun, thus **mùdhanu muyinu** *in~inside the house* (mùdha-nu house-SLoc muyi-nu *inside*-SLoc), but **mùdhangu adhaka** *out of the house, away from the house* (mùdha-ngu house ABL adha-ka *outside*. away-DAT). Though they tend to follow the noun, other discourse-based positioning is also common, thus **muyinu mùdhanu** *in~inside the house* and **adhaka mùdhangu** *out of the house, away from the house*.

#### The Cases and their Semantics

There are 9 cases, the uses of which are as presented below, with the underlying forms of the endings:

Nominative: elicitation form, vocative, intransitive/antipassive subject

case marking: none

In WCL, the antipassive is a transitive whose object is a generalisation or a global/total entity, and whose syntax is intransitive (see further Transitivity and Voice).

Accusative: specific transitive object (i.e. specific direct object)

case marking: common nominals none; non-singular pronouns, proper masculine singular nominals and dual-plural pronouns -NI (KKY non-singular pronouns – no case marking), singular pronouns, proper feminine singular -NA.

Instrumental: transitive agent (ergative), instrument, generalised/global/total object (antipassive)

case marking: proper nominals none; common nominals -NU; singular pronouns -DHA (first person -THA).

Genitive: possessive; habitual subject; subject/object of negative clause

case marking: common nominals, singular pronouns -NGU; masculine singular proper nouns/non-singular pronouns -NI; feminine singular proper nouns -NA.

Dative: concrete or abstract motion to, towards or for (purposive, allative, etc.)

case marking: -ka; -pa in kipa/kœpa *to here*, sepa/sipa *to there*, paypa *ahead-wards*, pawupa *off, back, away from*, etc. (-pa in all cases in KKY; in archaic MY-KY as well, except for the first person singular pronoun).

Ablative: concrete or abstract motion away from (causative, avoidance, etc.); emphatic subject

case marking: -NGU (-NGUZI); true adverbials (i.e. adverbials that are not common nouns used as adverbs) -ZI; verbal nouns (active ablative) -LAI

Locatives – Common Nominals:

Specific Locative: specifically (= fixed) positioned (and normally unmoving) with regard to the location

case marking: class 1 nominals -LAI; class 2 nominals -NU, -LAI (> -l, -Ø); adverbials -LAI (> -lai, -l, -Ø)

Non-Specific Locative: not specifically (= unfixed) positioned (and often moving) with regard to the location (comitative, perlative, etc.)

case marking: -YA; demonstratives -KIDHA (> -kidh, -ki)

Global Locative: located or moving all over or throughout the position

case marking: -YABU (class 1 nominals: -pu/-yab/-ab; class 2 nominals -yab); demonstratives -KIDHA (-kidh)

#### Proper Nominals:

Locative: covers all the functions of the three common nominal locatives; in form the ending is the same as that of the non-specific locative of the common nominals

case marking: overtly human common nominals -YA; proper masculine nominals/non-singular Pronouns: oblique stem + -YA; singular pronouns: dative/locative stem + -YA.

The common noun/adverb specific locative has three surface forms, the Ø-form, the LAI-form and the **nu**-form. The Ø-form is used at times for stylistic purposes in songs, and at times as a colloquial form. It is a reduced form of the LAI-form, which is normally only retained (a) in adverbials such as **adhāl** *outside*, **apāl** *underneath, below* and **gimāl** *over, above*, (b) in full form in Class 1 nouns, thus **buu** *trumpeter shell* > **bulay**, and (c) in reduced form in fossilised phrases, such as **gethāl** *hand-SLoc*, **geetha** *hand*, in **gethāl angan** *wield, use* [*hand-SLoc bear-present perfective singular*]). The **-nu** form is used by all common nominals of two syllables or more, except for the adverbs in -I. Through extension it is sometimes found on class 1 nouns.

Interdialect comparison as well as the forms recorded in Kauřařigau Ya show that the **-nu** form is from older **-nulai**, the standard form in Kauřařigau Ya, where the locative **-lai** was added to the instrumental, underlying form -NU. Similarly, the ablative **-ngu** is from older **-nguzi**, where the ablative ending **-zi** was added to the genitive; **-nguzi** was the standard form in Kauřařigau Ya,

and is still to be found sporadically in the modern dialects. The forms of the non-specific and global locatives show common origins. In the case of YA and YABU (**-ya**, **-pu**, **-ab**, **-yab**) this could very well be **yabu** *path, way*, while KIDHA (**-ki**, **-kidh**, **-kidha**) is a use of the morpheme KIDHA, found also as a prefix, **kidha**/**kidh**- *cross-movement, stirring movement, criss-cross movement*, and the adverbial nominal **kidhakidh(a)** *to-and-fro, back-and-forth, each other*.

#### Adverbial Adjuncts

Some adverbial nominals are normally found in the unaffixed form, i.e. the nominative-accusative, others normally only in the instrumental, and a few with fossilised locative or other affixes, though now felt to be unaffixed words. Such adverbs can take the genitive ending and others when needed.

Unaffixed: **kaib/kayib** *today*, **kaybaw** GEN, **kaybaka** DAT, etc.; **bathaynga** *this morning, tomorrow*, **bathayngaw** GEN, **bathayngaka** DAT, etc.; **ngul** *yesterday*, **ngulngu** GEN, **ngulka** DAT, etc.; **kulku** *beforehand, formerly* (\**kul before, first*); **kulkub** *long ago*, **kulkubaw** GEN (\**kul before, first*); **-ka** *up there*, **-gu** *down there*, **-ngapa** *beyond there*, etc. (see Nominal Deictics: Demonstratives).

Instrumental: **amadhan** *close to, near, almost*; **kidhakidhan** *back-and-forth, to and fro, each other* (reciprocal adverb); **ugidhan** (KKY *mœgan*) *for no reason, in vain*.

Fossilised case forms; **kulay** *before, first* [specific locative], **kulzi** *long ago* [ablative] (\**kul before, first*); **wagel** *after, behind, next* [specific locative] (*wage-behind/opposite part*, only in compounds), **wagelaw** GEN; **kaymel** (KKY *kalmel*) *together with* [specific locative] (*kaymi-accompanying*, in compounds, cf. *kaaymi companionship*, which for many speakers is now obsolete).

The noun **kut**, GY **kùta** *afternoon, evening* and the compounds **goeygakut**, GY **goeygakuùta** *afternoon, evening* have an idiomatic use of the dative as a locative, as well as of the archaic LAI locative suffixed by the dative ending:

kùtaka, kùtalka, gøeygakùtaka, gøeygakùtalka (KKY kùtapa, kùtalpa, gøeygakùtapa, gøeygakùtalpa) *in the afternoon, in the evening, towards evening*: [gøeyga+kùta[-LAI]-KA [day/sun]-evening[-SLoc]-DAT.

form of endings varies according to nominal class and nominal type. Class 1 nouns tend to have longer affixes, and Class 2 nouns reduced affixes. The instrumental of monosyllabic stem nouns is noteworthy for its variety of forms, with the first given in each case being the more formal (or archaic) form – as is true in all cases where there are variant forms, such as for *What, Which* (see further Interrogative Nominals).

The Paradigms

Nominal declension is straightforward where the cases are concerned, though the actual

The Syntactic Cases:

common nominals

	nominative/accusative	instrumental	genitive
class 1			
<i>banana leaf</i>	ba, PL balay	banu, baan	bangu
<i>palm frond/leaf</i>	bøey, PL bøeythay, bøeythayl	bøeythu, bøeythun	bøeyngu
<i>speech, word(s)</i>	ya, PL yaday, yadayl	yadu, yaadu, yadun	yangu
<i>water</i>	uur, PL ulay	urnu	urngu
class 2			
<i>axe</i>	aga, PL agal	agan	agaw
<i>person; community</i>	mabayg, PL mabaygal	mabaygan; PL mabaygal <i>when person dominant</i>	mabaygaw
verbal nouns			
<i>seeing, finding</i> adverbs 1)	imay, PL imayl	imayn	imay
<i>inside</i>	muy, GY muuyi (in compounds; < muuyi <i>hollow, hole</i> )	muyin	muyiw
adverbs 2)			
<i>outside</i>	adh, GY aadha (in compounds)	adhan	adhaw
demonstratives			
<i>up there</i>	n/a	n/a	-kaw
mixed paradigms			
<i>what, which</i>	miaiy; PL midayl	midu, midun, midayn/miden midh(a), midhakidh, midhuy	mingu, miaw
<i>here</i> NSp	n/a	kedhá	køew; køewaw

proper nominals (names, titles, emotive kin terms, personal pronouns)

	nominative	accusative	instrumental	genitive
non-singular pronouns	ngøeba <i>you and I</i>	ngøeban	ngøeba	ngøeban
masculine proper	Baba <i>Dad</i> ; PL Babal	Baban	Baba	Baban
feminine proper	Ama <i>Mum</i> ; PL Amal	Amana	Ama	Amana
singular pronouns 1 <sup>st</sup>	ngay, ngayi	ngøena	ngath, ngatha	ngaw <i>masculine</i> ngøezu (nguzu) <i>feminine</i>
	3 <sup>rd</sup> M nuy	nuy(a)	nuydh(a)	nungu
	3 <sup>rd</sup> F na	nan(a)	nadh(a)	nanu
	2 <sup>nd</sup> ni	nin(a)	nidh(a)	ninu
	<i>who</i> nga	ngan(a)	ngadh(a)	ngøenu (ngunu)

**The Oblique Cases:**  
common nominals

	dative	ablative	specific location	non-specific location	global locative
class 1					
<i>banana leaf</i>	baka	bangu	balay	baya	bapu
<i>palm frond/leaf</i>	bœyka	bœyngu	bœythay	bœyya (bœya)	bœypu
<i>speech, word(s)</i>	yaka	yangu	yaday	yaya	yapu
<i>water</i>	urka	urngu	ulay	urya (uriya)	urpu/urab
class 2					
<i>axe</i>	agaka	agangu	aga, aganu	agaya (agiya)	agayab (agiyab)
<i>person, community</i>	mabaygaka	mabaygangu	mabayga, mabayganu	mabaygaya, mabaygiya	mabaygayab, mabaygiyab
	<i>person dominant: only one locative form: mabaygaya (mabaygiya)</i>				
verbal nouns					
<i>seeing, finding</i>	imayka	imaylay	imay, imaynu	imayya (imaya)	imayyab (imayab)
adverbs 1)	muyika <i>inside</i>	muyingu	muyi, muyinu	muyiya (muya)	muyiyab (muyab)
adverbs 2)	adhaka <i>outside</i>	adhazi	adha, adhal	adhaya (adhiya)	adhayab (adhiyab)
demonstratives					
<i>up there</i>	-kadaka	kizika, kœzika	-ka	-kaki	-kakidh(a)
mixed paradigms					
<i>what, which</i>	mika	mingu, minguz	minu	miya	mipu, miyab
<i>here</i> NSp	kipa, kœpa; kœwpa	kœzi, kizi; kœwzi	kay; kœwa	kayki; kœwki	kaykidh; kœwkidh

Proper nominals (names, titles, emotive kin terms, personal pronouns)

	dative	ablative	locative
non-singular pronouns	ngœbanika <i>you and I</i>	ngœbaningu, ngœbanungu	ngœbaniya
masculine proper	Babanika <i>Dad</i>	Babaningu, Babanungu	Babaniya
feminine proper	Amanaka <i>Mum</i>	Amanangu	Amanaya
singular pronouns 1 <sup>st</sup>	ngayka, ngaykika	ngawngu M ngœzungu, nguzungu F	ngaykiya, ngayki'
	3 <sup>rd</sup> M nubeka	nungungu	nubiya
	3 <sup>rd</sup> F nabeka	nanungu	nabiya
	2 <sup>nd</sup> nibeka	ninungu	nibiya
<i>who</i>	ngabeka	ngœnungu, ngunungu	ngabiya

Irregular Nouns

Class 1 nouns have two regular types, (a) vowel and **-r/l**-final (**ba** *banana leaf*, **pel** *fish tail*), characterised by the instrumental **-n/nu**, and specific locative/proprietary/plural **-lay**, and (b) **y**-final (**bœy** *palm frond/leaf*), instrumental **-thu**, specific locative/proprietary/plural **-thay**. There are five somewhat irregular

nouns that form the instrumental in **-du**, and specific locative/proprietary/plural in **-day**, **ya** *speech, talk, etc.*, **li** *basket*, **li** *batfish*, **lu** *mound, hump, curve*, **ay** *food*. Kalaw Lagaw Ya often 'doubles' the instrumental and the plural in monosyllabic nouns of the **-thu/-thay** (thus **-thun/-thayl**) and **-du/-day** (thus **-dun/-dayl**) groups. This does not occur in other dialects.

In Kalaw Kawaw Ya there are two other irregular Class 1 nouns, which though vowel final decline as diphthong-final nouns: **na** *song*, instrumental **nathu**, specific locative/proprietive/plural **nathay**, and **yu** *cooking spit/skewer*, instrumental **yuthu**, specific locative/proprietive/plural **yuthay**. In the other dialects, the word for song is **naaw**, GY **naawu**, which is a regular class 2 noun; however, it has two instrumental forms, the regular **nawun**, and the irregular **nathu** and in Kalaw Lagaw Ya itself **nathun**. The equivalent to **yu** is **nu**, stem **nuwa-**, also regular Class 2.

Five nouns are irregular, including **za** *thing*, **maay** *time, period* and **gøeyga** *day, sun*, as noted in Segment Deletion. The other two are **døegam(u)** *side, part, direction* and **bireg** *shelf, rack*, which have two stems each, one of which has undergone metathesis. In the case of **døegam(u)**, it is possible that the metathesis has extended to the nominative-accusative and replaced an original \***daguma**:

døegam *side, part, direction*, **døegamu-/daguma-**: døegamun/ daguman INS, døegamuw/ dagumaw GEN, døegamuka/ dagumaka DAT, døegamul/ dagumal PRP.PL

bireg *shelf, rack*, **biregi-/børeygi-**: biregin/ børeygin INS, biregiw/ børeygiw GEN, biregika/ børeygika DAT, biregil/ børeygil PRP.PL

A sixth irregular word exists only in Kalaw Kawaw Ya, namely **a** [a:] *ancestor, great-great-grandparent*, irregular in being a monosyllabic

word declined as a class 2 multisyllable: **a** [a:] NOM.ACC, **an** [a:n] INS, **aw** [a:u] GEN, **apa** [a:pa] DAT, **al** [a:l] PRP.PL. In the other dialects it is a regular bisyllabic class 2 word, **aay**, GY **aayi**, and has the additional meaning of *family, clan* based on blood relationship rather than totemic relationship.

**Za** and **maay** can be postulated to have lost their final syllable either through frequent use in combinations (e.g. \*gitanju zapu *hand+GEN thing* > **gethawza** *hand-held object, small digging stick*), initially in the unmarked nominative-accusative, or through backformation from the Ø-marked specific locative **zapu** and **maypu** to **za** and **maay**, through the model of the global locative of monosyllabic stem words, e.g. **lipu** *covering all the basket* < **li** *basket*. Alternatively, the words are monosyllabic stems whose global locative form has extended to become an alternative stem.

The one irregular verbal noun is **may** *give, take, make, do, move, be*, etc., which has the ablative **maythaylay**, which in effect is a reduplicated ablative, as well as the optional variants **meay** or **miay**, found as active alternatives, i.e. *do, move, be*, etc., with the equally irregular ablatives **meaythalay** and **miaythalay**.

THE PERSONAL PRONOUNS

The personal pronouns (Table 9) distinguish 1) first, second and third person, 2) singular,

TABLE 9. The Kalaw Lagaw Ya personal pronouns (nominative/unmarked and stem forms)

	1	1 + 2	2	3 masculine	3 feminine	who
singular	ngay, ngayi	-	ni	nuy	na	nga
underlying stem	nga-/ngay-	-	nin-	nuy-/nu-	naan-	ngan-
locative/dative stem	ngayki-	-	nibe-/nibi-	nube-/nubi-	nabe-/nabi-	ngabe-/ngabi-
dual	ngalbay	ngøeba	nipel	palay		ngawal
augmented stem	ngalbayni-	ngøebani-	nipeni-	palamùni-		(same as the singular)
plural	ngøey, ngøeyi	ngalpa	nitha	thana		ngaya
augmented stem	ngøelmùni-	ngalpùni-	nithamùni-	thanamùni-		(same as the singular)

dual and plural, 3) 1st inclusive and exclusive, as well as 4) masculine and feminine gender (a) in the third person singular, and (b) the 1st person singular genitive and genitive-based forms (see The Paradigms for the declensions). Gender is marked on other parts of speech as well, and though is prototypically masculine and feminine, has abstract reference, for which see the section on Gender below.

Note that in fast speech **palamùni-** and **thanamùni-** often become **palmùni-** and **thanmùni-**; this latter is sometimes pronounced **thalmùni-**, a rare denasalisation of **n** when followed by a consonant. The dative of the 1st person singular in full form is **ngaykika**, however is most commonly shortened to **ngayka**.

#### NOMINAL DERIVATION

There are nine nominalising suffixes affixed to nominals, adjectives, demonstratives and

verbs. Two (**-nga/-may**) are suppletive, while four (LAI, DHA, \*RA, \*LA) are fossilised.

a) impersonal-neutral-abstract nominalisation: nominative-accusative **-nga**, affixed form: **-may-** (in certain cases reduced to **-ma-**, though not in Kalaw Kawaw Ya). Some Kalaw Lagaw Ya speakers see this suffix as a common noun (**nga thing**, with a suppletive stem **may-/ma-**: **mina nga** a real thing, plural **mina mal / mina mayl** real things (Ephraim Bani, pers. comm., 1983). The genitive is marked as a monosyllable for Kalaw Lagaw Ya speakers, thus **minamayngu** of (a) real thing(s), but as a regular multi-syllabic noun in the other dialects, thus Kalaw Kawaw Ya, Kùlkalgau Ya, Mualgau Ya-Kaiwalgau Ya **minamay**. The suffixes refer to the more impersonal or neutral nuances of nominalization (including when the reference is to people) and are also used to create the abstract nominal form of adjectives, as can be seen in the following list.

type	base	derived nominal
adjective	uma <i>dead, unconscious</i>	umanga <i>dead body; drunk/unconscious person; death; drunkenness, unconsciousness, coma; debt, sin, crime</i>
	kuykul <i>have a head</i>	kuykulnga <i>state of having a head; leader, chief, boss</i>
	kisáyigi <i>moonless</i>	kisáyiginga <i>moonlessness</i>
	mabazi, mabawzi <i>walked</i>	mabazinga, mabawzinga <i>place where walking has been done</i>
	nisadh <i>leaf-like, green</i>	nisadhanga <i>greenery; green, greenness</i>
genitive	nanu <i>her</i>	nanunga <i>her object, hers</i>
quantity/number	ùrapùn <i>one (in number)</i>	ùrapùnnga, ùrapùninga <i>state of being one</i>
interrogative	midha- <i>what, which</i>	midhanga <i>what one, which one, the one which</i>
demonstratives	thangapa <i>beyond there (plural)</i>	thangapamal <i>those beyond over there</i>

b) personal-abstract nominalisation: -IGA: this suffix refers to the more personalised or non-neutral abstract or “intellectual” nuances of nominalization (including when the reference is not to people).

type	base	derived nominal
adjective	yabay <i>passing by</i>	yabayg <i>passer-by</i>
	ngagal <i>winged</i>	ngagalayg <i>sea-eagle</i>
	yagi <i>speechless</i>	yagig <i>speechless person, person left without a word</i>
	mabazi, mabawzi <i>walked</i>	mabazig, mabawzig <i>person who has walked</i>
quantity/number	war/wara <i>one of a group, other</i>	warig <i>one person of the group, the other/another person</i>

type	base	derived nominal
noun	kùùtha <i>end</i>	kùthayg <i>youngest child of family</i>
	maaba <i>walk, way of life</i>	mabayg <i>person, human being</i>
	maalu <i>deep, deep water, sea</i>	maluyg <i>person who lives on a deep-sea island</i> (KKY term for the Mabuyag, Badu and Mua people) gùdawmaluyg <i>Dauan Islander</i> (Kuiam's name for the people of Dauan), in a more general sense a KLY term for the Dauan, Saibai and Boigu people (gùùda-NGU <i>mouth.opening-GEN</i> – so-named because these islands are before the mouths of Papuan rivers)

The personal-nonpersonal distinction has various semantic extensions, the personal suffix being more 'special', while the impersonal suffix is more 'down-to-earth': maytha *belly*, maythal *have a belly/gut; pregnant*: maythalayg *pregnant*, maythalnga *having a belly/gut* (have a beer-gut etc.); kikir *sickness, pain*, kikiril *sick, painful, sore*: kikirilayg *sick, sickness*, kikirilnga *pain, soreness*; daana *pool, lagoon, eye, life*: danalayg *life* (KKY *person who is awake*), danalnga *state of having a pool, lagoon, eye*; ngùlay- *have knowledge/ability*: ngùlayg *knower, knowledge, ability*, ngùlaynga *home ground, home base, the place one is intimately familiar with, crew*; ayima- *make, do*, aymayzi *made, done*: aymayzig *creator of the creation*, aymayinga *creation*; kuyk, GY *kuwiiku head*, kuykul *have a head, headed*: kuykulayg *some one who has a head* (e.g. in headhunting), kuykulnga *headman, chief, leader, councillor*.

The following group of true adjectives cannot take the personal suffix, and often impersonal suffixation either, being used preferably with nouns such as **za** *thing* and **mabayg** *person* when predicates. They do take the impersonal suffix, however, where appropriate, particularly to create the abstract state noun: kapu *good*, kapunga *goodness*; wati *bad*, watinga *badness*; kùlbay *old*, kùlbaynga *oldness*; kain *young, new* kaynga *youngness, newness*; kœy *big, great*, kœynga *bigness, greatness*; mœgi *small, little*, mœginga *smallness, littleness*; mina *real, true*, minanga *realness, reality, truth*; adhi *great, huge*, adhinga *greatness, hugeness*.

Use of the nominalising suffix **-nga/-may-** is also wide-spread as a relative clause marking device. Often it is only context which shows that these suffixes are to be taken as marking a nominalisation or a relative construction:

Sena war email ngayka yakamaw,  
senabnga kùlay mangema.  
*Show me that other email,*  
*the one which came first/before.*  
se-na war emaila-Ø  
that-F other email-ACC  
ngay-ka yakama-Ø-Ø-ZIU,  
I-DAT show-ATT-SG-NSg.IMP.Pf  
se-na-bi-nga-Ø kùl-lay  
that-F-ART-ImpNom-NOM first-SLoc  
manga-i-Ø-ma  
arrive-ACT-SG-TodP.PF

Wa, inaabi email kapu yadaynga; kasa kay  
senabnga warnga adhapudhaynga.  
*Yes, this email is good news (or well-worded);*  
*but that other one is excellent.*

wa, i-na-bi emaila-Ø  
yes, here-F-ART email-NOM  
kapu ya-day-nga-Ø;  
good talk-PRP-ImpNom-NOM;  
kasa kay  
just however  
se-na-bi-nga-Ø  
there-F-ART-ImpNom-NOM  
war-nga-Ø  
other-ImpNom-NOM  
adha+pudha-'i-nga-Ø.  
out+fall-VN-ImpNom-NOM

c) verb nominalisation: **-i/y** and **-n**: added to the verb stem to form the verbal noun. The suffix **-i/y** is from older \**yi*, recorded in

Kauřařaigau Ya, the following examples in Kauřařaigau Ya being **maři**, **ladháři**, **piníři**, **uthúři** and **yagamaři**.

**-i/y** – standard verbal noun formant, neutral to tense, aspect and mood. Its affixed forms, such as the privative, resultative, dative, ablative and genitive form various modal and aspectual clauses, such as the clause negative, negative imperative, resultative, purposive, avoidative and ‘supposed to’ modality (see further Modality).

ma- *take, give, move, go, be*: may VN, mayka DAT, maythaylay ABL

ladha- *cut, chop*: ladháy VN, ladháyka DAT, ladháylay ABL

pini- *paint, smear*: piní VN, piníka DAT, pinílay ABL

uthu- *plant, shoot, etc*: uthúy VN, uthúyka DAT, uthúyay ABL

yagama-i- *wonder at/about*: yagamay VN, yagamayka/yagamaka/yagamka DAT, yagamaylay ABL

**-n**: a rare attainative verbal noun, identical in shape to the attainative singular present perfective, and probably in origin an idiomatic use of this; used to focus on the attainment of the verbal noun, and mainly only used in the nominative-accusative form:

minayakathamay *belief as the act of believing*

minayakathan belief *as the state of having come to believe*

minamay *act of measuring, estimation, judging, etc.*

minaman *measurement, estimation, judgement*

garwoeydhamay *the act of meeting or gathering, meeting, gathering*

garwoeydhamayn, garwoeydhamin *meeting, convened gathering*

mathamay *the act of hitting, striking, killing, murdering*

mathaman *hitting/striking/killing that has been done, murder*

d) Fossilised derivation: the adjective formants LAI (proprietary) and DHA (similitive) are also found as fossilised nominal formants. LAI carries the semantics of ‘having’ the base word, thus in the following a **minalay** mat has lines/marks, and a **patalay/pøetalay** has needles. DHA shows that the word has a similar appearance to the base word, thus a **bawadh** is like a wave, **baawa**.

LAI: geetha *hand, crab etc. claw*, githalay *mud crab*; miina *line, sign, mark*, minalay *finely designed mat*; paata *spike, needle*, patalay/pøetalay *prickle, thorn*; pal *deitic dual morpheme*, palay *they dual*; mùra *all, total*, mùraray *totality of countable objects*

DHA: baawa *wave*, bawadh *bank with wave-like shape*; daana *pool, lagoon*; eye, danadh *pimple*; kùupa *bottom, base*, kùpadh *small bay*

A few nouns seem to have a fossilised \*RA or \*LA suffix, similar in appearance and perhaps meaning to LAI, and possibly originating from it:

\*RA: kùn, GY kùuna *flour*, kùnar(a) *ash; star cloud*; miina *mark, sign*, minar(a) *design, stripe, drawing, painting, writing etc.*; berdh(a) *softness, tenderness (food/mud)*, berdhar(a) *soft mud*, KKY *soft food*; yawa *carefulness, farewell*, yawar(a) *journey*

\*LA: kùbi, GY kùubi *charcoal*, kubil(a) *night*; CA \*miil ‘eye’, milal(a) *stare, observe*.

#### NOMINAL DEICTICS: DEMONSTRATIVES

The nominal deictics are a closed set which have physical and abstract (temporal, etc.) uses. They contrast:

- (a) relative position with regard to the speaker: higher, eye-level, lower; here, there; ahead/up front/near to, behind/at the back/away from, beyond/on the other side);
- (b) relative distance (near, middle, far) and specificity (specific or non-specific);

(c) in certain cases gender and number (masculine, feminine, dual and plural), as pronominal forms;

(d) demonstrative articles (gender and number)

a) Relative position with regard to speaker (marked by stem form)

higher: -ka, dative stem -kada-/kara- *up there*;  
 eye-level: i- (specific), ka- (nonspecific) *here*;  
 se-, si- *there*; -pay-, -pa-, -paypa-, -papa-, dative  
 -paypa *ahead, up front, near to*; -pùn/-wupa,  
 dative -pawupa *behind, at the back, away from*;  
 -ngapa *beyond, on the other side*;

lower: -gu (KKY -guy), dative stem -mulu-  
 (KKY -ngùl- when prefixed) *down there*

b) Relative distance and specificity (marked by prefixes)

nearer to speaker: koew-, e.g. koewka *up there relatively near to here*

away from speaker: sew-, e.g. sewka *up there in the middle distance*

specific distance: pi-; pew-, e.g. pika, pewka *specifically up over there*

non-specific distance: kay-, e.g. kayka *up there in a general sense*

ablative: kœzi-/kizi-, e.g. kœzika/kizika *from up there*

All demonstratives save **i-** *here* SP, **ka-** *here* NSp and **se-/si-** *there* take the same prefixes. Note all the variant stems of **-pùn** *back there/off away*, i.e. **-wupa**, and **-pay**, *ahead, up front, etc.* are found

c) Pronominal forms

	masculine	feminine	dual	plural	neutral
	(-)nu(-)	(-)na(-)	(-)pal(-)	(-)tha(-)	---
<i>here, this</i>	inu, GY iinu (KKY in)	ina, GY iina	ipal	itha	kay
<i>there, that</i>	senu, sinu, seenu, siinu (KKY senaw)	sena, sina, seena, siina	sepal, sipal	setha, sitha	sey, si, sin, siyen
<i>up there</i>	nuka pinuka	naka pinaka	palka pipalka	thaka pithaka	kayka pika

with **kay-**, thus **kaypùn**, **kayupa**; **kaypay**, **kaypa**, **kaypaypa**, **kaypapa**. The ablative is neutral to distance and specificity.

The prefixes ending in **-w** are the genitive forms of the demonstratives **ka-** *nonspecifically here* and **se-/si-** *there* (middle distance), with the extension of this through analogy to the prefix **pi-** *specifically yonder*. **Pi~pew-** and **kay-** both refer to yonder, however **pi~pew-** shows a specific referent. Thus, in the sample sentence from the story of Kuiam in the section on Education and Literacy: Writing the Language, **kayka** refers to a vague positioning 'up there' (on a hill). This differs from the use of **pika** in the example below, the first line of The Lord's Prayer, where the reference is to the specific being God.

Ngalmùn thaathi, pika dapara.  
 Our father, up there in heaven.  
 ngal-mù-n                      thathi-Ø,  
 wePL.EXC-AUG-GEN father-NOM,  
 pi-ka                              dapara-LAI  
 SpDem-up.there              sky-SLoc

The unmarked neutral forms of *here* and *there* are used with pre-referencing semantics and use equivalent to the French **y** and Italian **ci**. These are **kay** *here at this place already established* and **sey/si/sin/siyen** *there at that place already established*. While **sin** is an abbreviated form of **sina**, the feminine, and **siyen** appears to be the same, **kay** and **sey/si** appear to have an **-i** locative suffix.

Thana bathaynga yuthaka amenika. Thana na si mangeminu, pasa mamuy matha thamudhayzinga kay.

*This morning they went to church for the service. When they got there, the door was still shut.*

Thana-Ø bathaynga-Ø  
theyPL-NOM morning-SLoc

yutha-ka ameni-ka.  
church-DAT service-DAT

Thana-Ø na si  
TheyPL-NOM REF there

manga-i-MAYI-nu pasa-Ø  
arrive-ACT-PL-TodP.PF door-NOM

mamuy matha thamudha-'i-zi-nga-Ø  
while still shut-VN-RES-ImpNom-NOM  
ka-i.

hereNSp-LOC

All demonstratives except for **i-** *here* SP and **se-/si-** *there* take the gender and number morphemes as prefixes. **Ka-** *here* NSp, having non-specific reference, cannot be arked for gender or number. The variant stem of **-pùn** *back there/off away*, **-wupa** is used optionally in the feminine, dual and plural, but not the masculine:

*back there*

masculine: nupùn, pinupùn  
feminine: napùn, pinapùn, nawupa, pinawupa  
dual: palpùn, pipalpùn, palawupa, pipalawupa  
plural: thapùn, pithapùn, thawupa, pithawupa  
specific neutral: pipùn  
nonspecific neutral: kaypùn, kayupa

Apart from the ablative, which is invariable, the relative position deictics have a full range of pronominal (noted above) and neutral oblique case forms (noted below), and in a few cases non-specific forms:

*up there* dative

masculine: nukadaka, pinukadaka  
feminine: nakadaka, pinakadaka  
dual: palkadaka, pipalkadaka  
plural: thakadaka, pithakadaka  
specific neutral: pikadaka  
nonspecific neutral: kaykadaka  
unmarked neutral: kadaka

*up there* non-specific locative  
masculine: nukaki, pinukaki  
feminine: nakaki, pinakaki  
dual: palkaki, pipalkaki  
plural: thakaki, pithakaki  
specific neutral: pikaki  
nonspecific neutral: kaykaki

Similar are: **-muluka** (KKY -ngùlpa) DAT, **-guki** (KKY -guyki) NSpLoc *down there*; **-paypa** DAT, **-payki/-paki/-paypaki** NSpLoc *ahead there*; **-pawupa** (-pawpa) DAT, **-pùnki/-wupaki/-pawupaki** NSpLoc *back there, off away*; **-ngapaka** DAT, **-ngapaki** NSpLoc *beyond*.

Many speakers use the full form of **-ki**, i.e. **-kidh**

#### d) Demonstrative Articles

The pronominal forms of **i-** *here*, *this*, *these* (specific) and **se-/si-** *there*, *that*, *those* are marked for the non-specific locative and for the demonstrative articles, with some idiolect, sociolect and dialect variation:

*i- this, here*

article: inubi, GY inuubi M; inabi, GY inaabi F; ipalbi, ipalab DU; ithabi, GY ithaabi PL

non-specific locative: inuki M; inaki F; ipalki DU; ithaki PL

global locative: inukidh M; inakidh F; ipalkidh DU; ithakidh PL

*se-/si- that, there*

article: senubi, sinubi, GY senuubi, sinuubi (KKY senawbi) M; senabi, sinabi, GY senaabi, sinaabi F; sepalbi, sipalbi, sepalab, sipalab DU; sethabi, sithabi, GY sethaabi, sithaabi PL

non-specific locative: senuki, sinuki (KKY senawki) M; senaki, sinaki F; sepalki, sipalki DU; sethaki, sithaki PL

global locative: senukidh, sinukidh (KKY senawkidh) M; senakidh, sinakidh F; sepalkidh, sipalkidh DU; sethakidh, sithakidh PL

Abstract extensions of the deictics

Other uses of the demonstratives are abstract extensions of their cores uses. Such include the following:

**kay**: *non-specifically near the speaker > soon after, will soon, going to soon* – also found in reduplicated form: **kaykay**, S-D **kayke** (and a reanalysed emphatic form **kaykedh**); *yet, still*, e.g. **matha lawnga kay**, **kay matha lawnga** (beside **matha lawnga**) *not yet*; in Kalaw Kawaw Ya, and sometimes in other dialects, in this use the clitic is usually reduced to **ka**: **matha lawnga ka**, **ka matha lawnga**.

**-pay**: *ahead there > on the south-eastern side* (facing the South-East trade winds); **pøeypay** *on the near side, on the south-east side*.

**paypa**: *ahead there (clearly seen) > upstream, upcurrent*; **kay paypa kùlay** *in the past, in the old days* (and therefore knowable).

**pawupa**: *back that way, away from there* (and often not clearly seen or even out of sight) *> downstream, downcurrent*; **kay pawupa wägel** *in the future, in future times* (and unpredictable)

**kadaka/kadka**: *upwards over there > northwards, upstream*

**muluka/mulka**: *downwards over there > southwards, downstream*

The deictics are also compounded with **døegam** *side, part, direction* to specify the physical area specified by the deictic, such as **nangapdøegam** *the other side*, **pøeypaydøegam** *near-side, south east side*, **nagudøegam** *the down-below side, etc.*

INTERROGATIVE NOMINALS

The interrogative prefix **mii-/mi-** *what, which* forms interrogative nominals. In use it is almost identical to the Meriam Mir prefix **na-** *which, what*. In Kalaw Lagaw Ya and to a smaller extent Kùlkalgau Ya, Mualgau

Ya and Kaiwalgau Ya, there is a strong tendency for the instrumental/simulative form **midha** (> **midha-**, **midhøe-**, **midhi-**) to replace **mii-/mi-** as the interrogative formant. One interrogative pronoun and one interrogative adverb also exist, and an additional interrogative adverb in Kalaw Kawaw Ya only:

**migcøyga**, **midhagcøyga** *which date, what date*; **mikisaayi**, **midhakisaayi** (KKY **mimøelpal**) *which month*; **miay**, **midhaay** *which food, what food*; **miza**, **midhaza** *which thing, what thing*; etc.

**mimabayg**, **midhamabayg** *which person, nga who*; **milaga[nu]**, **midhalaga[nu]** *which place, where*, **wøenaga**, **unaga**, **una** *where* (MY-KY **wøenága**, **unága**, **naga**, KKY **ngalaga** *where, what place* [nga+laga-LAI what+place-SLoc]), **mithonaranu**, **midhathonaranu** *at what time, when*, KKY **namuyth** *when*.

**Nga** *who* is also used when asking for the names of people (common in languages of the world, such as Malay/Indonesian, Brokan and Tok Pisin), while **miay**, **midha** and **midhakidh** are used for asking for the names of things:

Ninu nel nga? *What is your name?*

Nipen nel ngawal? *What are your names?* (dual)

Nithamùn nelay ngaya? *What are your names?* (plural)

Iina nel miay/midha/midhakidh? *What is the name of this?*

Both **miay** *what/which food* and **miza** *what/which thing* can be used as the independent proforms *which* and *what*:

Sena miay/miza? *What is that?*

Sena miay/midha-ay? *What food is that?*

Sena miza/midha-za? *What thing is that?*

**Miay** can also be used as the exclamative *what!*, though in more polite language the exclamative is **midha/midh** (or **midhakidh**)

(mother calling to child)

A. Kùpaasi ay! *Grasshopper!*

B. Miay? *What?*

A. Ni milaga? *Where are you?*

B. Ngay ina giyapalaylaga! *I'm here in the kitchen!*

(hailing a stranger in order to speak to him [old fashioned story language - **køymega** is an honorific that literally means *companion*])

A. Køymega! *Friend!*

B. Midha/Midhikidh? *How can I help you?*

A. Ni sey, aw? *Are you there?*

B. Wa. Aye. *Yes. Please come.*

Unlike the Meriam Mir **na-**, the Western and Central Language prefix also exists in declined forms as an independent word declined as a common noun, and as a personal pronoun in one of the four variant instrumental forms (**midha**). The nominative-accusative (**miay**), nominative-accusative plural (**midayl**), and one of the variant instrumental forms (**midayn/miden**) are based on **miay** *what/which food* (PL *midayl* < *mi-aydayl*, INS *miden* < *midayn* < *mi-aydayn*). The oblique cases are based on the stem **mii-** as a class 1 noun: instrumental **midu/midun**, dative **mika** *to/for what/which, why*, ablative **mingu** (also **minguz** and **minguzi**) *from, because of what/which, why* and the instrumental/simulative **midh/midha** *how, like what/which*. As a synonym of **midh/midha**, Kalaw Kawaw Ya has the interrogative adverb **naag** (also **naga**) *how*.

The instrumental/simulative has been 'augmented' in various ways in Kalaw Lagaw Ya, particularly in simulative uses:

basic form: **midha**, **midh**;

extended forms (no semantic difference from the basic form): **midhakidh**, **midhikidh** (**-kidh[a]** *-wise, non-specific locative*), **mimidh** (either the prefixed interrogative, or reduplicated stem), **midhuy** (an older form of the instrumental plus a **-y** augment).

The nominalised form, however, is **midhanga/midhamay-** *which/what one*. The extended forms are not used in Kalaw Kawaw Ya, and only **midhakidh** in Mualgau Ya-Kaiwalgau Ya. Kùlkalgau Ya has the variant **midhadh**, with a doubled suffix. The word in Kauřařigau Ya was **midhu**, and Kalaw Lagaw Ya **midhuy** appears to have retained this older form.

The interrogative **midha** (alt. **midh**, **midhikidh**) *how, like what* shows that the speaker is asking or wondering about how, a situation, identity, what's wrong, what's the matter, and so on. This has a range beyond that of the English word *how*, and can be translated in various ways according to context, including *what* [a translated meaning], as when asking for names (as already noted), such as in the example below. In the second example following, **midha** focuses on the global action, and represents the global object, expressed by the instrumental, of the active verb, **me-/mi-/miyai-**, the active form of **ma-** *give, take, move, do, etc.* It contrasts with the third example, where *miza/miay what (thing)* refers to the product.

Nanu nel **midha/midhikidh** thoeráyka?

*What is her name? What is she called?*

nan-NGU nel-Ø  
She-GEN name-NOM

**mi-dha[-kidha]** thara-'i-ka  
*what-INS.SIM[-GLoc] call-VN-PrImpf*

When asking for people's names, **nga** *who* is used, thus **ninu nel nga?** *What is your name?*, literally *who is your name?*, also common in languages of the world, such as Malay/Indonesian, Brokan and Tok Pisin.

Ni **midha** meka?

*What are you doing?*

*What activity are you doing?*

ni-Ø **mi-dha**  
youSg-NOM *what-INS*

ma-i-Ø-ka  
*do-ACT-SG-PrPf*



Inuubi thuuthu, nuy kuykùthalnga inuubi midhuy/midha/midhakidh.

*This waddy is longer than this one.*

i-nu-bi	thuthu-Ø,	nuy-Ø
this-M-ART	waddy-NOM,	he-NOM
køey-kùtha-lay-nga-Ø		i-nu-bi
big-end-PRP-ImpNom-NOM		this-M-ART
mi-dhu-y / mi-dha(-kidha).		
what-SIM-? / what-SIM(-GLoc)		

War kùla køeynga wara midhuy/midhakidh/midha.

*One stone is bigger than another.*

war	kùla-Ø	køey-nga-Ø
other	stone-NOM	big-ImpNom-NOM
wara	mi-dhu-y	/ mi-dha(-kidha)
other	what-SIM-?	/ what-SIM(-GLoc)

**Midhuy** acts syntactically as a noun in being directly governed by the demonstrative articles in some cases, unlike **midhakidh** or **midha**, thus **ithaabi midhuy** = **itha midhakidh/midha** like these

#### GENDER

Like the neighbouring Papuan languages Bine, Gidra and Gizrra (Wurm, 1975: 333-334) as well as Australian languages further afield such as Pitta Pitta, Diyari, Yandruwandha, Ngamini and Yarluyandi (Austin, 1981: 60), Bandjalang (Crowley, 1978: 78) and Ngalakan (Merlan, 1983), there are two genders, masculine and feminine, that are only partially dependent on natural gender.

Gender is marked on words that have a referential/deictic function, and only appears in the singular. Except for the singular 3<sup>rd</sup> person pronouns where gender is encoded by the stem, gender is marked by affixes on proper nouns, demonstratives, 1<sup>st</sup> person singular genitive/genitive-based forms, and the two miscellaneous paradigms of **ka-/ko-** *attention seeker* and **sikai** *maybe, perhaps*. It is an integral part of the pronominal/deictic number system.

Agreement is with the head noun, and in the case of the 1<sup>st</sup> person genitives (and their derived forms), the referent is the speaker. The main means of marking gender is in keeping with other Australian languages, **nu** *he, it, masculine*, CA \*nyu, and **na** *she, it, feminine*, CA \*nya[n], though there is a third augmenting suffix **-ni** used by masculine proper nouns and dual-plural pronouns. These form a paradigm with the dual and plural morphemes **pal** and **tha**, also of Australian origin, cf. **palay** *they dual* (CA \*pul[ ]), **thana** *they plural* (CA \*jana).

Where a pronoun or demonstrative is used in a gender-free sense, the feminine is used:

Nipen bathaynga kuniya tidaylzoepuya, ni Amanaka muledhe kay **ina** ngay midhikidh umeka. [...] **Ina** nitha mùra Baban maythal. (Solomon, 1959; Jeremy Becket ms.)

*When tomorrow the two of you take back the things you came to get, you tell your Mum **this** what I am saying. ... What the situation is is that you have all been made pregnant by your Dad.*

nipe-n	bathaynga	
youDU-GEN	morning	
kuna-ya		
back-NSp.LOC		
tida-'i-LAI-zapu-ya		
fetch-VN-PRP-thing-NSpLOC		
ni-Ø	Ama-na-ka	
you-NOM	Mum-F-DAT	
mula-i-Ø-dhe	ka-i	
speak-ACT-SG-RemF	hereNSpLOC	
<b>i-na</b>	ngay-Ø	mi-dha-kidha
here-F I-NOM	what-SIM-GLoc	
uma-i-Ø-ka		
weave-ACT-SG-PR.IMP		
<b>i-na</b>	ni-tha-Ø	mùra
here-F you-PL-NOM		all
Baba-n	maytha-LAI.	
Dad-GEN	belly-PRP	

Here the feminine word **ina**, *this feminine object/person here*, refers to a general situation or discourse topic.

TABLE 10. The gender marked words of the language

	masculine	feminine	dual	plural
<i>this (one), these (ones), here</i>	inu/iinu	ina/iina	ipal	itha
<i>this (demonstrative article)</i>	iinub(i), GY inuubi	inab(i), GY inaabi	ipalbi/ipalab	ithab(i), GY ithaabi
likewise for <i>se-/si- that, those, there</i>				
<i>that/those ahead/up close there</i>	nupay/nupa	napay/napa	palpay/palpa	thapay/thapa
likewise for: <i>-ka up there, kadaka upwards over there, -gu down there, muluka downwards over there, -ngapa beyond there, -pùn back there, pawupa off back that way, paypa (moving forwards) ahead there, up close to there</i>				
<i>he/she/it/they</i>	nuy	na	palay	thana
<i>hey! (attention seeker)</i>	kame	kake		kole
<i>maybe, perhaps</i>	sinukai, senukai, sikai	sinakai, senakai, sikai		sikai
<i>my</i>	ngaw	ngœzu (nguzu)		
<i>me ablative</i>	ngawngu	ngœzungu (nguzungu)		
<i>me similitative</i>	ngawdh	ngœzudh (nguzudh)		
proper nominals				
nominative	Athe <i>Grandad</i>	Aka <i>Grandma</i>		
non-nominative	Atheni-	Akana-		

The Semantics of Gender

At first glance, gender assignment in the language can appear as random as in any Indo-European or Semitic language, as the following words show:

Masculine:

laaga *inhabited island*, thuuthu *waddy*, kisaayi *moon*, puuyi *tree, plant, magic*, dhangal *dugong*, nath/nœyath *platform*.

Feminine:

kaywa *island*, koelaaka *spear*, kùùta *afternoon, evening*, katham *banana*, waaru *turtle*.

Rules do exist, however. Where people and human-like beings are concerned, gender is with very few exceptions natural; exceptions have a culturally defined basis:

masculine:

thaathi/thath *father, father's brother*, babath *female's brother*, garka *man, male*, kaazi *boy, son*, awadhe *mother's brother*

feminine:

apuuwa/apu *mother, mother's sister*, babath *male's sister*, ipika *woman, female*, kaazi *girl, daughter*, ngœybath *father's sister*

Culturally assigned gender occurs (a) where in cultural perception the word refers to a being with a typical gender regardless of real gender, e.g. biblical angels are masculine, or (b) is outside of gender reference. This can be a means of 'degenderising', 'defeminising' or 'demasculinising' the natural gender of the being; having said this, in all cases where overt gender reference needs to be made, then the natural gender is used:

masculine:

angela *angel*, mabayg *person likely to be a male*, awgadh *totem, god*

feminine:

mapeth *baby, infant*, mabayg *female; human being, community*, mari *spirit of person recently dead*

TABLE 11. The gender marked words of the language

	feminine	masculine
Concept 1	concrete	abstract
pudhu, GY puudhu	<i>street, path, passage-way between houses</i>	<i>clearness, cleanness, clearmindedness, soberness</i>
ya	<i>talking, words, speech; spoken/produced/written words</i>	<i>message, teaching; pronouncement, announcement; explanation</i>
yabugùda	<i>way, road, path, street, etc.</i>	<i>way of life/belief</i>
wakay, yanguwakay	<i>pronunciation (e.g. of letters, words)</i>	<i>voice, thought, accent, tune</i>
wakaythoemam	<i>thinking, thought, opinion (without a sure basis)</i>	<i>thinking, thought, opinion (with a sure basis)</i>
Concept 2	simple reference	culturally defined extension
gaamu	<i>body</i>	<i>hull (also gulgaamu canoe hull); body as container of life (umagaamu corpse, dead body)</i>
arkath	<i>hole, pit, tunnel</i>	<i>world, earth</i>
sama	<i>ball made of food paste</i>	(creation of God)
In the traditional view of the universe, the world is a 'hole' at the bottom of an upside-down hemisphere, the sides and top of which is the sky. Arkath as masculine refers to this concept of the world, while as feminine refers to any hole or pit or tunnel.		
apawgæwa	<i>garden mound/ditch; world as a place or pathway</i>	<i>world, earth (as a planet inhabited by people)</i>
guguwæbidhthœyayzinga	<i>coil, circular object</i>	
kiibu	<i>tail bone, lower back, loins; slope</i>	<i>horizon; Kibukùùtha (the 'pagan' heaven)</i>
laaga	<i>place</i>	<i>place of cultural significance; inhabited island</i>
Concept 3	use reference	natural/totemic/cultural/source reference
gœyga	<i>day</i>	<i>sun</i>
kisaayi	<i>month</i>	<i>moon</i>
urab/wœrab	<i>coconut</i>	<i>coconut palm</i>
maayi	<i>well, spring</i>	<i>well/spring given by a being such as a totem, god or <b>muruyg</b> (the real or mythical ancestor of a <b>buway</b> clan, moiety)</i>

An example of 'defeminising' is **dhogay** *long eared witch-hag*, a semi-comic/semi-malignant female sometimes referred to in stories by the pronoun **nyu** *he*.

Where non-human animates are concerned, grammatical gender is the norm with natural gender only being used when overt reference is being made to the natural gender.

masculine:  
 dhangal *dugong*, dongki *donkey*, nani *goat*,

malukuyup *flying fish*, mage *monkey*, mamuy *sheep*, thaabu *snake*, saamu *cassowary*

feminine:  
 ùmay *dog*, bæga *mallard*, bürùm *pig*, githalay *mud crab*, gœynaw *Torres Strait pigeon*, kobi *tortoise*, kuwa *crow*, pùùsi *cat*, wœsar/usar *kangaroo*, wallaby

The words **uruy** *creature, bird* and **waapi** *fish* are normally masculine when referring to the living animal, particularly when this has

a totemic or similar importance. However, as animals destined for killing (for food, i.e. for use) they are feminine; they can also be feminine when overtly referring to a female animal.

Inanimates (plants, body parts, abstract nouns and the like) have ‘assigned’ gender. Where plants are concerned, the division is fairly clear; most plants are masculine, while their ‘food parts’ are feminine; in those cases where the word is the same, the gender changes according to the reference. Feminine plants are rare, and are normally not food sources. The food/non-food division is a part of a series of distinctions; that is to say, it fits in Concept 3 of Table 11.

masculine:

biyu *white mangrove*, ubar/wœbar *Torres Strait plum (wongai) tree*, urab/wœrab *coconut palm*, daway *banana palm*, dhani *Moreton Bay fig tree*, masœl *muscle*, ngaara *leg*, gœngaawu *skin, hide*, magadh *body hair, fur, fleece*

feminine:

kawsar *screw-pine pandanus*, buruwa/bœruwa *young kawsar pandanus*, bùùpa *grass plant*, biyu *white mangrove pod (a food)*, ubar/wœbar *Torres Strait plum (wongai)*, urab/wœrab *ripe coconut*, katham *banana*, gùùda *mouth, opening, gap*, kakùr *egg*, kùlka *blood*, suusu *breast*, kibu *tail bone, lower back, loins, slope*, kuyk, GY *kuwiiku head*, maadhu *meat*, yalbùp, GY *yalbùupa hair*

Where close synonyms are concerned, gender assignment reflects a difference in semantics:

*island*

kaywa: feminine - *island as a geographical area*

laaga: masculine - *inhabited island, home island (a specialised use of laaga place, which is feminine)*

*authority, power*

parpar/pœrapar: feminine - *authority based on natural power; natural power*

bibir/biber: masculine - *authority based on developed strength/might; strength, might, power*

The variation in masculine and feminine gender marking as shown in Table 11 can give the impression that masculine denotes some sort of significance, and therefore that feminine gender does not. However, feminine words such as the following are counterexamples, as they cannot be shown to have any less cultural (or other) significance:

amen *church service, prayer*; gidha *story, legend, myth*; adhawmulay *announcing, pronouncing as in reporting, judging, etc*; nel *name*; ngùlayg *knowledge, ability*; sabi *law, regulation*; wœnab *glory, received or bestowed blessing*; buwáy *family, clan, moiety, organisation (group of people joined by a common bond)*; pawa *custom, fashion, deed, action*

The importance of such words is so much a part of the word in itself that masculinity marking is not needed to highlight them. Masculine in the language is a marked category – something to be attributed, and feminine is unmarked, being naturally and intrinsically significant.

## THE VERB

Like nominals, there are two classes of verbs based on the stem syllable number. The stem is the root of the verb. Most verb stems end in **-a**, and a few in **-i**, **-u** or **-ay**. Affixes can differ according to verb class.

Class 1: monosyllabic stem (four verbs only: ma- *take, give, be, move, etc*; ni- *sit, stay*; si- *stand*; ii-/yu-/yœw- *lie, slant, lean*)

Class 2A: two syllables in stem (roughly half of all verbs)

Class 2B/C: three or more syllables in stem (roughly half of all verbs): these verbs tend to undergo stem reduction. The stems of Class 2C verbs end in **-ma**.

Class 1 verbs have monosyllabic stems in some singular forms (and for **ma-** also in the verbal noun, **may**), otherwise the stem is bisyllabic. In the case of **ni-** and **si-** the bisyllabic stems are **nia-**

(**niya-**) and **sia-** (**siya-**). The verb **ma-** is irregular in declining like **ni-** and **si-** in those forms where **nia-** and **sia-** occur, thus **mia-** (**miya-**), variant **mea-** (**meya-**). The verb **ii-/yu-/yœw-** is even more irregular, having **yuwi-/yœwi-** as an alternative to **yu-/yœw-**, and otherwise having either **ia-** (**iya-**) or **yuya-/yœwya-** where **nia-**, **sia-** and **mia-/mea-** occur. It also has an augmented perfective stem, **yuna-/yœwna-** and an augmented causative stem in Kalaw Lagaw Ya only, **yutha-/yœutha-**. The verb **ni-** also has the causative augmented stem **nitha-** *seat* in Kalaw Lagaw Ya; there is also a related plural-reference only attainative verb **nithama-** *sit, seat selves* in all dialects. The treatment of stems for the attainative-active contrast (for which The Attainative-Active Contrast) is perhaps the main differentiator of class.

There are few truly irregular verbs. While **ma-** *take, give, move, be, do, etc.* and **ii-/yu-/yœw-** *slant over, lean over, lie down* are the most irregular verbs, a few verbs have other minor irregularities:

**karngemi-**, colloquial form **karemi-**: two stems, verbal noun stem **karnga-**, finite stem **karngemi-/karemi-** *hear, obey*: karngemi- SG,

karngemewma- DU, karngemi-/karngemay- PL, kœrngay VN; karemi- SG, karemwma- DU, karemi-/karemay- PL, karemay PL.

**thama-** *move, shift; speed* (idiomatic meaning); **adhaka thama-** *move, shift, speed out(wards)*; in compounds and collocational combinations, the plural optionally acts as a Class 2C verb, i.e. the stem final syllable **-ma** elides through haplology: thama- SG, thamawma- DU, thamamay-/thamami- PL; in close phrases – adhaka thama- SG, adhaka thamawma- DU, adhaka thamamayi-, adhaka thamami-, adhaka thamayi-, adhaka thami- PL.

Perhaps the one truly irregular verb form is **nay[n(i)]**, found only in **ngùkin nayn[i]/ngùkinay[n(i)]** *be thirsty, thirst, cause thirst* (*ngùki fresh water, juice*), and **thartharnay[ni]** *boil* (**tharthar** *boiling, simmering*). This word is unique in the language in having only the following forms. It can be used as a verb or verbal noun with appropriate syntax:

Verb:

ngùkin naynin, ngùkin nayn(i), ngùkinayn(i) *thirst, be thirsty* attainative present perfective

ngùkinay *be thirsty* active present perfective

Examples of the verb classes:

	attainative present imperfective singular	attainative present perfective singular	active present imperfective singular	active present perfective singular
Class1				
ma-	mayka ma-'i-ka	mani (irregular) ma-Ø-Ø-ni	meka, mika ma-i-Ø-ka	mizi ma-i-IZI
Class 2a				
thama- <i>move</i>	thœmáyka thama-'i-ka	thaman thama-Ø-Ø-n	thameka, thamika thama-i-Ø-ka	thami thama-i-IZI
Class 2b				
barpuda- <i>buy</i>	barpudaka barpud-Ø-Ø-ka	barpudan barpuda-Ø-Ø-n	barpudika barpuda-i-Ø-ka	barpudi barpuda-i-IZI
Class 2c				
ubama- <i>dress up</i>	ubamka ubama-Ø-Ø-ka	ubaman ubama-Ø-Ø-n	ubayka ubama-i-Ø-ka	ubami ubama-i-IZI

ngùkinayka, ngukinaynka *be thirsty*  
 attainative present imperfective

Ngœna ngùkin naynin  
*I am thirsty, I have become thirsty*  
 ngœ-na ngùki-n nayni-n  
 I-ACC water-INS thirst-ATT.PrPF

Ngay ngùkinay  
*I am thirsty, I have become thirsty*  
 ngay-Ø ngùki+nay-Ø  
 I-NOM water+thirst-ACT.PrPF

Ngay ngùkinayka/ngùkinaynka  
*I am thirsty*  
 ngay-Ø ngùki+nay[n]-ka  
 I-NOM water+thirst-ATT.PR.IMP

Noun: ngùkinay, ngùkinayn(i), ngukinay *thirst*

Ngaw ngùkinayn kœyza  
*My thirst is great, I am really thirsty.*  
 nga-NGU ngùki+nayni-Ø  
 I-GEN water+thirst-NOM  
 kœy+za-Ø  
 big+thing-NOM

Kedha mabayg lak ngùkinnayka lawnga  
*Such a person will never more thirst.*  
 ke-dha mabayga-Ø laka  
 here-SIM person-NOM again  
 ngùki-n+nay-ka lawnga.  
 water-INS+thirst-DAT not

Privative: ngùkinaygi, ngùkinnaygi *unthirsty,*  
*have no thirst, thirstless*

Ngaw ngùkinnayginga  
*I am not thirsty.*  
 nga-NGU  
 I-GEN  
 ngùki-n+nay-gi-nga-Ø.  
 water-INS+thirst-PRV-ImpNom-NOM.

## VERB FORMATION

The verb word has the following matrix:

((prefix[es])-(compound[s])  
 stem  
 (suffix A)-(active suffix)-(suffix B)  
 (number suffix)  
 ending-(ending)

The stem is the core of the verb. Potentially any number of compounding stems and prefixes can become before the verb stem, this being limited by semantics. The suffix slots A and B in the above can be filled by fossilised suffixes. Verbs do not mark voice or transitivity, these being syntactic properties, but rather telicity, for which see The Attainative-Active Contrast.

Virtually all verb forms must have an ending, the main exception being the active singular perfective imperative, which is Ø-marked. Another partial exception involves the imperfective remote past ending *-r*, which elides when preceded by the glide *-y*:

*-r > -r*: wadha-Ø-Ø-r *stop-ATT-SG-RemP.IMP*  
*> wadhar; uthu-Ø-Ø-r stab in.shoot large game.*  
*plant-ATT-SG-RemP.IMP > uthur; pœlangi-Ø-*  
*Ø-r flog-ATT-SG-RemP.IMP > palngir.*

*-r > -Ø*: wadha-i-Ø-r *stop-ACT-SG-RemP.IMP >*  
*wadhay; wadha-Ø-MAYI-r stop-ATT-PL-RemP.*  
*IMP > wadhamay, wadhamœy, wadhamir.*

### The Verb Stem

The bare stem is the attainative (or aorist) form, thus **manga-** *take to, carry to, bring to, bear to* (attainative present perfective singular **mangan**, dual **mangawman**, plural **mangamayn/mangamin**), while the active form is made by suffixing underlying *-i* to the bare stem, thus **manga-i-** *arrive, reach, come to, take global object to* (active present perfective singular **mangi**, dual **mangewman**, plural **mangemayn/mangemin** (see further The Attainative-Active Contrast).

While most verbs have no apparent cognates in the language, some do have the same stem as a nominal, such as the following:

Nominal	Verb
adha- <i>outer area/part</i>	adha-, adha-i- <i>move outwards, jut out, go out, exit, take out</i>
ayim(a) <i>doing, making</i>	ayima-, ayima-i- <i>make; do; happen; move; say; become, be</i>
kuykayim(a) <i>start, beginning</i>	kuykayima-, kuykayima-i- <i>start, begin (kuyk- head)</i>
maanga <i>fork (in tree, road)</i>	manga- <i>take to, carry to, bring to, bear to</i> manga-i- <i>arrive, reach, come to, take global object to</i>
rapa <i>leg of crab, insect, etc.</i>	rapa-i- <i>limp, be lame</i>
silam(a) <i>fight</i>	silama-, silama-i- <i>fight, argue, have a fist-fight, box, battle, have a row</i>
thaapa <i>oar, paddle</i>	thapa-, thapa-i <i>row, paddle, swim</i>
yawar(a) <i>journey</i>	yawara- <i>journey, travel, take a trip, voyage</i>

A very small number of verbs show some resemblance to other words; however sound change has hidden the exact relationship between them:

Nominal	Verb
wamen(a) <i>speed</i>	wamayay- <i>be running, racing, fleeing, escaping; be sailing quickly</i>
yawa <i>farewell;</i> (archaic meaning) <i>carefulness</i>	yawaya- <i>watch and wait; watch, watch over (with care)</i>

Other verbs, on the other hand, have been derived from nominals or other verbs by one of two suffixes, MA and MAI (-**may**/-**mœy**/-**mi**), though these are no longer productive. In some cases MAI (MA-I) is clearly the active form of the attainative MA, though there is evidence of a separate suffix MAI with a somewhat different meaning. Verbs suffixed by MAI are the only diphthong-final verb stems, apart from **pœpathay**- *till, hoe, prepare ground for planting*. The suffixes have an intensive or multiplicative force when suffixed to verbs; the multiplicative force is particularly true of MAI, which may have a relationship with the verb plural suffix MAYI (-**mayi**/-**may**/-**mœy**/-**mi**). The suffixes are normally suffixed to the bare stem, in the suffix A slot, though in some cases are suffixed to the active form, in the suffix B slot:

paga- *pierce, stick, stab; spear, shoot; dart down*  
attainative stem: paga- > pagama- *sew;*  
pagamay- *head for*  
active stem: paga-i- > pagamay- *head for*

muula- *take out, produce; speak, talk, say (i.e. produce words)*

attainative stem: muula- > mulama- *work out, count, mulamay- retort, answer back rudely; talk bad about*

active stem: muula-i- > mulema-, muleyma-, mulayma- *tell, report to*

puuda- *open, open out*

attainative stem: puuda- > pudama- *spread out (mat etc.); explain, mean; discuss; work out*

thara- *erect, stand up*

active stem: thara-i- > tharema-, tharima-, tharayma-, thareyma- *place so as to be in an erect position (e.g. a mast)*

naga-i- *look, watch, shine*

attainative stem: naga- > nagamay- *reason, think over, ponder*

thœydha- *fetch, get (water, liquid); swallow, be swallowed (by darkness etc.); as active also bite*  
attainative stem: thœydha- > thœydamay- *cover, loom, spread all around (darkness, clouds etc.)*

iima- *see, find, inspect, test, try*

attainative stem: iima- > imamay- *strive, try*

pœydha- *open out, spread out; lie/lay down/out, stretch out*

attainative stem: pœydhā- > pœydhamay- *spread, spread out all around* (cloud, darkness, etc.)

Both MA and MAI also derive verbs from nominals:

aka *fear* > akama- *dodge, ward off, flinch away from; keep aloof from, keep apart from*

kaday *upwards* > kadama- *move up/off; pull up/off, rip up/off, tear off*

ruway *curve, ark, shape, form* > ruwama- *turn, veer, go around, curve, move in an curve*

suupa *wrapping, parcel* > ya supama- (ya *speech*) *make a mistake, muddle up, trick with speech*

ùka- *two* > ùkama- *double; add to, increase; subsidize, calculate, reckon*

mina *real, true, very* > minama- *measure, estimate, judge; minamay- try out for the first time, make maiden voyage*

There are quite a few verbs ending in MA and MAI which by form and meaning most likely derive from words which are no longer found. Internal and external cognates support this, as in the following:

yakama- *show*, cf. yakanura-i- *forget* (a compound of the unknown nominal \*yaka, and nura- *wrap*)

isama- *load, transport* (water, liquid), cf. CA \*yijja- 'get'

gasama- *get, catch; reach, attain*, cf. CA \*gaja- 'tie up'

Examples are:

idima- *break, ruin, break up, dismantle, spoil; get rid of, dispose of*

katama-i- *get stuck, get bogged*

mathama- *hit, strike, beat; kill; exterminate; fight*

sasima- *squeeze, knead; strangle*

thakama- *fight* (each other)

There is a small amount of evidence for a third suffix PA, which might have had a causative force. As such it may have

a relationship with the verb **pala-** (see Compound and Collocational Verbs), whose underlying meaning is *cause*, but in surface form can have various translations according to context, such as *write, kick, flick, shoot* (arrow, gun), and so on:

guruguy, guurguy, gurguy *circular motion*, gurgupa- *go around* (in circles)

suula- *pour, leak, drop, drip*, sùlpa- *pour~spray liquid on*, ngùkin sùlpa- *water* (e.g. seeds, plants), *spray* (with water)

\*ngùr-: ngùlayg *knower, knowledge, ability, know*, ngùlaynga *the place one knows* (home), ngùrpa-, ngùràpi- *teach, learn, study, train; recognise, identify*

CA \*yila 'lead': yœlpa-/ilpa-, yœlápi-/ilápi- *lead, guide*

One small group of active verbs which end in the stem syllable **-ra** has a common semantic domain which suggests original derivational suffixation denoting a 'total activity' focus. That is to say, words that fit into this potential category refer to an activity that involves the subject or object completely. A suffixed origin is suggested by possible cognates in four cases:

pauthara-i- *roll along*

puzara-i- *pull, haul; strive for, push for, fight for, battle for* (cf. uzara-i- *go*, pa- *telic prefix*)

sizara-i- *go/come down from/to/over; swoop over/down on; wade*

uzara-i- *go*

thanura-i *sit, sit down*

wœnara-i- *get stuck, get bogged* (cf. wana- *put, place*)

pinira-i *sink into* (cf. pini- *smear, paint*)

thapura-i- *float up; swirl up; emerge out of water; crawl out of water, get out of water* (cf. thapa- *swim, row*)

Two Kalaw Lagaw Ya verbs have evidence of a fossilised attainative causative suffix **-tha**: **nitha-** *seat, cause to sit*, cf. **ni-** *be sitting, live, stay* and **yœutha-** (**yutha-**) *lay down, cause to*

*lie, put down*, cf. **yœu-** (**yu-**) *be lying down, be slanting, be leaning*. Other verbs that may also contain this suffix are:

**banitha-**: *pierce, penetrate, stick (in); spit out chewed up remains; touch land, come into land*

**nanitha-** (alt. **nantha-**): *put in, plant, stick upright in ground (post, skewer etc.); penetrate, stab, pierce, jab*

**pabœitha-/pabayitha-**: *answer back, retort, give a back answer, talk back* (pa- telic prefix)

**engitha-**: *run, run at, attack*

**kabùtha-**: *put, lay, lie (down), set (down), settle, place; reveal, show up, lay bare*

**pinitha-**: *peel, slip, slide; (idiom) rush along* (cf. **pini-** *smear, spread, paint, pinira-i-* *sink into*)

**sarkœtha-**: *add/weave in a new strand* (when another gets too short; cf. **sarka** *stream*)

**azagitha-**: *compel, force someone to do something against their will*

#### COMPOUND AND COLLOCATIONAL VERBS

Though the language has over 300 simple verbs (including those derived by MA, MAI and PA), there are many compound and collocational (i.e. ‘semi-compound’) verbs, this being the main means of verb formation in the language. The initials of compound verbs can be nominals, adjectives, adverbs or even declined words. Verbs do not appear directly as the first members of verb compounds, however their stem or nominal forms can. Collocational verbs consist of uninflected nominals that form part of a loose verbal complex. These differ from compounds in that they can be split, e.g. by adverbs. Many appear to be fixed collocations, while others are productive. Those that are fixed collocations blend into the category of true compounds. Examples are:

**uthuy yœwna-** (*sleep+lie down* PF) *lie down to sleep*; **uthuy i-/yœw-/yœwi-** (*sleep+be lying*

*IMPF*) *sleep, be sleeping*; **sagul thara-/thara-i-** (*game+stand*) *play, stand playing*; **sagul si-/siya-** (*game+be standing* IMPF) *be playing*; **kùbak puydha-** (*cough+hang*) *cough*; **gaanu puyma-/pulma-** (*smell+take out*) *smell, sniff*; **ya muula-i-** (*word/speech+produce* ACT) *speak, say*; **ya uuma-** (*word/speech+weave*) *speak*; **dhœya thuuda-** (*small rubbish+clear away*) *clear away small rubbish, strip off, pluck, weed*; **wal tiduma-** (*shout+?* [only found in this combination]) *shout, call* (to one person); **wal me-** (*shout+be.move.do*) *shout, call* (to many people); **yal pœyba-i-** (*clacking noise+give-ACT*) *call, squawk* (birds, etc).

At times such combinations can also be expressed by putting the nominal in the instrumental:

**ya muula-i-** *speak, say*; also: **yadu muula-i-**, **ya-du** INS

**ya uuma-** *speak*; also: **yadu uuma-**

**dhœya thuuda-** *clear away small rubbish, strip off, pluck, weed*; also **dhœyan thuuda-**, **dhœya-n** INS

Such combinations are often written as one word. Even so, the parts can be split by adverbs and the like, even when part of the combination has no independent meaning, i.e. appears to be fossilised in the combination. Such include **yakanura-i-** *forget*’ (an active reflexive verb, **za ngawngu yakanuri** *I have just forgotten something*, lit. **za-Ø thing-NOM nga-NGU-ngu me-GEN-ABL yaka+nuura-i-Ø-IZI ?+wrap.bind-ACT-SG-ACT.SgPF something from me has forgotten itself**) in clauses such as **yaka kay nuraygl** *don’t forget now!*. \***yaka** does not have an independent life of its own, though it may be the stem of the verb **yakama-** *show, demonstrate*.

Three verbs in particular are widely used as collocational verb formants, **asi-**, **ma-** and **pala-**:

**asi-**: attainative only, no active forms

independent meaning – *be with, accompany, go with, agree with, etc.*

collocational meaning – *be in the state or attain the state expressed by the first part of the collocation*

azir *shame, shyness*, azirasi- *be/become ashamed, shy*; dapargam *sky-blue* (noun), dapargamasi- *be/become sky-blue*; gabu *cold, cool, calm*, gabuasi-, gabasi- *be/become cold, calm*; siga- *far, distant, afar*, sigaasi-, sigasi- *be/go far off*; imaygi *unseen, unfound*, imaygasi- *be/get/become unseen, unfound*; thepadh *dry*, thepadhasi- *be/get/become dry*.

ma-: attainative stem, ma-i- (me-/miya-) active stem

independent meaning – *do, move, take, bear, put, be, etc.*

collocational meaning – forms active and stative compound verbs, including active *be*-clauses

balgeth *harm* (bal *cross* + geetha *hand*), balgethma-*harm*; thaawa *praise, boast*, thawma-*praise, boast*; uuma *death*, uumme- *die, dry out*; kùpal *empty, naked, barren*, kùpalma- *empty out*; dharadh *strict*, dharadhme- *be/become strict*; gumi *secretive, in secret, hidden* SLoc, gumime- *be secretive, move in secret*.

pala-: attainative stem, pala-i- active stem

independent meaning – *write, draw* (modern unmarked meaning); *shoot, fire, flick, tap, hit, kick* (context-dependent meanings)

collocational meaning – *cause* (underlying meaning)

aka *fear*, akapala- *frighten, cause to fear/be frightened*; gùuda *mouth, opening*, gùdpala- *open*; kœman *heat*, kœmanpala- *heat, heat up, cook*; beray *loose, slack, weak, etc.*, beraypala- *loosen, slacken, weaken*; giya *ripe, cooked*, giyapala- *ripen, cook*

In many cases an idiomatic use is to be found in addition to the normal meaning, and in some few cases the underlying meaning is no longer found. Such is **minaasi-/minasi-** *finish, end*, based on **mina** *true, real, very*, the literal meaning of which (*be/become real or true*) is no longer current.

The verbs **asi-** *be/go with* and **ma-i-** (**me-/mi-/miyai-**) *go, move, be, do, etc.* fulfill most of the functions of *be*, except for identity, for which there is no verb. Often the state or activity in the **ma-i-** (**me-/mi-/miyai-**) construction is marked as instrumental; the state is seen as causing the situation. Where **asi-** is concerned, the state is an integral part of the situation; it is an attainment. The difference to a certain extent can be likened to the Spanish and Irish distinctions of *ser ~ estar* and *is ~ tá*, where **me-/mi-/miyai-** roughly equates *estar/tá* as a marker of a temporary state, and **asi-** roughly equates *ser/is* as a state where temporariness is not implied; however, it does not mark identity, unlike *ser/is*.

integral state: kerkathasi- *be in/reach a state of wrath*, kikirasi- *be in/reach a sick or painful state*

situational state: kerkathan me- *be/get angry, act angrily*, kikirin me- *be/get sick or sore, act in a sick or sore way*

As with Spanish and Irish, certain concepts are restricted in their use with **asi-** or **me-**.

integral state: gabuasi-, gabasi- *be cold/cool/cool-headed*, kùlkadhgamasi- *be red, be blood-coloured*, kœmánasi- *be hot*, adirasi- *be blinded by flash or glare*, mapuasi- *be heavy*

situational state: danan me- *be alive, exist* (daana *eye*), gumime- *be/go in secret/unknown to others*, magaw me- *be strong, give strength*, matha me- *be, exist, be present, be somewhere still*, zagethan me- *be working*

There are other *be*-verbs or *be*-like verbs with specific meanings. All such verbs are imperfective, with no perfective forms, except for **thara-i-**, the active form of **thara-** *place erect, erect, place in a standing position*:

masi- (masika, KY-MY/KuLY/KKY marsi-, mœrsika) *be, stand, be situated* (mainly buildings)

scersi- (scœrsika) *be in mud, live in mud*

thara-i- (thareka) *be standing upright-erect, be upright doing an activity* (people, animals, etc.)

paga- (pøgayka, sazi- PL - sœzika) *be standing upright~erect* (plants, clouds, posts, etc.)

wazi- (wœzika) *be situated, be placed, be* (for a purpose)

wazima- (wazimka) *be situated* (and clearly seen) *in the distance*

si- (sika) *be standing, be standing doing an activity*

ni- (nika) *be living, be staying, be sitting, be sitting doing an activity*

yœw-/yœwi- [yu-/yuy] (yœwka/yuka, yœwika/yuyka) *be lying, leaning or slanting.*

Other verbs also appear in compounds:

buya *light* + adha- *outwards movement*: buyadha- *shine*

adhaz *from outside* + thœridha- *carry away, lift*: adhazthœridha- *adopt*

maadhu *meat.thigh* + pama- *dig, scoop*: madhupama-i- *be surprised*

geetha *hand* + guura- *bear on body*: gethgura- *bear in hands*

uumadeath+mathama-*hit,strike*:umamathama-*kill; dry* (leaves, etc.); *cancel, annul*

ya *speech, words, talking* + mula- *produce*: ya mula-i- *speak, say*

milal(a) *stare* + naga-i- *look, watch*: milalnaga-i- *stare, observe, look*

muy *fire* + nithu- *cast, throw*: muynithu- *singe, burn, scorch; roast, cook*

dhœœya *cure, healing* + nœydha-, nœydha-i- *touch, hold*: dhœœynœydha- *cure, heal*

siba *liver* (SLoc), kat(a) *frog, underpart of jaw* + palgi-, pœlagi- *fly, jump*: sibakatpalgi-/pœlagi- *be startled, frightened, afraid*

ngaara *leg* + yœwda-/yuuda- *give, donate, ask*: ngaryœwda-/ngaryuda- *move quickly*

ngœna *breath* + puudha-, puudha-i- *fall, drop*: ngœnapudha-i- *rest, spell; be short of breath*

nœy *tongue* + puuya- *blow, play an instrument*: nœyputya-i- *lick, lick up*

iibu *chin* + puydha- *hang*: iibupuydha- *help, aid, assist*

miina *sign, token, symbol* + tida- *return, fetch, understand*: mintida- *explain the meaning of, stand for*

mina *true, real, wati bad, yaka speech* DAT + thama- *move*: minayakathama- *believe, watiyakathama- disbelieve*

nel *name* + thara- *call*: nelthara- *call, name, nominate*

aka *fear* + thaya- *cast, throw, twist, push, choose*: akathaya- *be frightened*

wakay *voice* + thaya- *cast, throw, twist, push, choose*: wakaythaya-i- *recollect, remember, recall*

wakay *voice* + thama-MAI- *move-INT*: wakathamamay- *think, ponder*

giizu *point* + walga- *whittle, plane, file*: gizuwalga- *sharpen, hone*

geetha *hand* + wadha- *stop, set, establish*: gethwadha- *forbid, hinder, stop from*

kuwiiku *head* + wakaya- *chase*: kuykwakaya- *question, interrogate*

siiba *liver* + wana- *put, leave*: siibawana- *give something important; pity*

gùda *mouth, opening* + waya- *send*: gùdwaya- *scatter, set free, undo, leave free*

gaamu *body* + zilama-i- *run*: gamuzilama-i- *escape*

While most compounds are transparent, or are extensions of the underlying meaning of the two (or more) parts, some are opaque, in that either the initial or the verb does not exist outside the compound, and therefore in itself has no independent meaning:

Unknown initial:

al + mathama- *hit*: almathama- *smash, grind*  
 al + wœrima-/urima- *whip out, hit at, slap*: alwœrima-/alurima- *knock down/over forcefully* (cf. barwœrima- below)

arudaru + thœridha- *lift, pick up*: arudaruthœridha-i- *keep silent, don't speak up*

bar + wœrima-/urima- *whip out, hit at, slap*: barwœrima-/barurima- *knock about, knock across*

bar + puda- *open*: barpuda- *buy*

guyth (BY guyuth) + waya- *send*:  
guythwaya-, guythwaya-i- *leave, set off, take  
off, throw, have a go at, lose, "pass on", etc.*

pin (KKY pen) + wœnama-i-/unama-i- *dive*:  
pinwœnama-i-/pinunama-i- *dive, submerge*  
yaka + nuura- *wrap, bind*: yakanura-i- *forget*;  
cf. yakama- *show, reveal*

Unknown verb:

gùuda *mouth, opening* + kasapa-i-:  
gùdkasapa-i- *open mouth wide, yawn*

daana *pool; eye; life* + [ng]alba-: danalba-  
danngalba- *pierce, stab, prick, poke* (e.g. sore  
with a blade of grass); pùrka danalba- *poke  
eye* (pùrka eye)

gaamu *body* + sisama-: gamusisama- *gouge*  
(e.g. eye)

gùuda *mouth, opening* + thadha-: gùdthadha-  
*deny, deny having knowledge*

daana *pool; eye; life*, dhadha- *mid*, wakay  
*voice* + thadhuma-: danthadhuma- *make a  
mistake, be mistaken*, dhadhadanthadhuma-  
*faint*, wakaythadhuma- *doubt*

gùuda *mouth, opening* + thapama-:  
gùdthapama- *kiss*

## VERB MORPHOLOGY

Verb morphology consists of:

- a) prefixes (see Non-Deictic Prefixation)
- b) derivational suffixes: verbal derivation (in fossilised form); the active suffix; verbal noun
- c) augmenting suffixes: number (dual, plural)
- d) portmanteau endings: tense, aspect, mood and to a very limited extent the attainative-active contrast and number.

### The Attainative-Active Contrast

Attainative and active are semantic properties of verbs realised in morphological marking. Most verbs can be marked for either. The attainative form is unmarked,

i.e. is an aorist, while the active form is marked by an underlying -i suffixed to the verb stem. It is otherwise morphologically distinct in the form of the endings in (a) the present perfective singular, (b) the today-past perfective singular, (c) the perfective imperative singular (Ø marked), and (d) in all numbers of the remote future/future imperative perfective (see Verb Endings). The categorization is telic in nature, though not prototypically so.

This differs from previous analyses. Ray (1907: 26-27) portrayed the distinction as between an active that is in essence transitive (= the attainative), and a 'kind of middle or reflexive voice, or even a passive' (= the active), while Ford and Ober (1987: 8) described it as transitive and intransitive, using the term deponent to refer to verbs marked for either transitive or intransitive but used in the opposite voice (i.e. an intransitive verb in a transitive clause and vice versa).

When referring to verb morphology, however, the terms transitive and intransitive are inaccurate, as suggested by Hunter *et al.* (Footnote 18, 2011: 130). The present author, by examining around 3000 sentences, identified a verb distinction between unmarked/aorist attainment and suffixed active forms, while transitivity is expressed at the level of the clause by the interplay of nominal and verb morphology (see further Transitivity and Voice).

The attainative (which subsumes stative) focuses on a relatively specific attainment (goal-focus), such as a specific object, an arrival, a resulting state, or a state in itself. The active (which subsumes reflexive) focuses on the action expressed by the verb, without focusing on a specific attainment (action-focus). Both are found in intransitive and transitive clauses. When the active clause is transitive, the object is affected in a general, non-specifiable, global or total way, while

the attainative transitive has reference to a specific object. The attainative intransitive overtly focuses on arrival, while the active intransitive focuses on the activity. Both active and attainative verbs can be perfective or imperfective; stative attainative verbs are always imperfective.

Examples 1-6 below show the use of the active singular present perfective verbs **yœwthi/yuthi** (yœwtha-i-) *pull, drag*, **uthi** (stem **utha-i-**) *enter into, disappear into*, **zilami** (stem **ziilama-i-**) *run (along), drive (along)* and **pagi** (stem **paga-i-**) *do a pricking, stabbing or spearing activity*. When transitive, the focus is (a) on an action that the object does and the subject causes (1, 2), or (b) an activity which affects a generalised or indefinitely total object that in effect the subject uses to do the activity (3). When reflexive, an action that the subject does to itself or part of itself is expressed (4), and when intransitive, the focus is on an intransitive activity that does not overtly entail the subject reaching a goal (5, 6):

1.Kazin uru yuthi.  
*The child pulls the rope: the rope does the moving.*  
 kaazi-n uru-Ø  
 child-INS rope-ACC  
 yœwtha-i-Ø-IZI  
 pull-ACT-SG-ACT.PrPF

2.Kazin guul zilami.  
*The child runs the canoe along: the canoe does the moving.*  
 K. guul-Ø zilama-i-Ø-izi  
 C. canoe-ACC run-ACT-SG-ACT.PrPF

3.Kaazi wapin pagi.  
*The child spears all the fish, the child does fish-spearing: the child does an action "using" the fish.*  
 kaazi-Ø waapi-n  
 child-NOM fish-INS  
 paga-i-Ø-izi  
 stab-ACT-SG-ACT.PrPF

4.Kaazi saana pagi.  
*The child stabs his own foot: the child does an action that affects himself.*

K. saana-Ø paga-i-Ø-izi  
 C. foot-ACC stab-ACT-SG-ACT.PrPF

5.Kaazi ziyanu uthi.  
*The child disappears into the cloud: disappearing in itself has no overt goal.*  
 K. ziya-nu utha-i-Ø-izi  
 C. cloud-SLoc enter-ACT-SG-ACT.PrPF

6.Kaazi buthuya zilami.  
*The child runs along the beach/sand: the running in itself has no overt goal.*  
 K. buthu-ya zilama-i-Ø-izi  
 C. sand-NSpLoc run-ACT-SG-ACT.PrPF

In contrast 7–15 below illustrate the attainative singular present perfective words **pagan** (stem **paga-**) *spear, prick, stab, jab, go down, dart down*, **uthun** (stem **uthu-**) *spear, shoot, plant in, thrust in, etc.*, **wanan** (stem **wana-**) *put, leave*, **wangan** (stem **wanga-**) *drive, sail* and the attainative singular present imperfective verbs **nika** (stem **ni-**) *sit, live, stay, sit doing* and **pungáyka** (stem **puunga-**) *move along (slide, slither, snake, flow, sail, drive, run, move, rush, dash, flee, suffer from, etc)*. The focus is either on the activity being the means to an end, i.e the attainment of the action, or a state that can be said to be the logical result of a preceding action. Of the sample verbs given, **pagi** ~ **pagan** and **uthi** ~ **uthun** (an irregular verb) are the active and attainative forms of each other, while **wangan** and **zilami** exist as two complementary verbs with the same underlying concept of *running, driving or sailing*, **wangan** being causative in nature, and **zilami** having an action-focus. **Ni-** has no perfective forms, while **pungáyka** is possibly a specialised use of the regular verb **puunga-** *take off, remove* (e.g. clothes from a clothesline). When transitive, attainative verbs show that a specific object has been attained, i.e. that the action has a specific result (7–11). This is also the function in intransitive attainment clauses (12 and 13), while in stative and imperfective activity clauses (14 and 15), the focus is on the resulting (= attained) state or activity.

## 7. Kazin uru wanan.

*The child puts the rope (somewhere):* the rope ends up in a final position, which is the attained result.

K. uru-Ø wana-Ø-Ø-n  
C. rope-ACC put-ATT-SG-PrPF

## 8. Kazin guul wangan.

*The child sails the canoe:* the child attains the result of controlling/driving the canoe.

K. guul-Ø wanga-Ø-Ø-n  
C. canoe-ACC drive-ATT-SG-PrPF

## 9. Kazin waapi pagan.

*The child spears a fish:* the child attains the result of having speared a fish (and one only).

K. waapi-Ø paga-Ø-Ø-n  
C. fish-ACC stab-ATT-SG-PrPF

## 10. Kazin bürüm uthun.

*The child shoots a pig:* the child attains the result of having shot a pig.

K. bürüma-Ø uthu-Ø-Ø-n  
C. pig-ACC spear-ATT-SG-PrPF

## 11. Kazin saana pagan.

*The child stabs someone else's foot:* the child attains the result of having stabbed someone.

K. saana-Ø paga-Ø-Ø-n  
C. foot-ACC stab-ATT-SG-PrPF

## 12. Kaazi gathaka pagan.

*The child darts down to the shallows:* the child attains the result of getting down onto the shallows.

K. gatha-ka paga-Ø-Ø-  
C. shallows-DAT stab-ATT-SG-PrPF

## 13. Kaazi thòdhangu palgin.

*The child jumps off the roof:* the child attains the result of leaving a departure point by jumping.

kaazi-Ø thòdha-ngu  
child-NOM roof-ABL  
pøelagi-Ø-Ø-n  
jump.take off.fly-ATT-SG-PrPF

## 14. Kaazi Mabuyginu nika.

*The child lives in Mabuyag:* living is the state resulting from either being born in a place, or taking up residence.

kaazi-Ø Mabuyagi-nu

child-NOM M.-SLoc  
ni-Ø-Ø-ka  
live.sit.stay-ATT-Sg-PrIMPF

## 15. Ziya nakaki pungáyka

*A cloud is sailing along up there:* the cloud is in a state ultimately caused by a push (wind).

ziya-Ø na-ka-ki  
cloud-NOM F-upthere-NSLoc  
puunga-'i-ka  
movealongIMPF-VN-PrIMPF

It could be said that the intransitive use of **paga-** *spear, stab, prick, etc.*, that is to say, *dart down*, in 12 above is idiomatic; however, the category in most cases exists where an idiomatic meaning is not the case, such as 13 above and 16–20 below, which carry a distinction not easy to get across in English. In the perfective clauses 16 and 17, 16 expresses the attainment of the state of being sick, the word **kikir** *sickness, pain* being an integral part of the verbal phrase (see Compound and Collocational Verbs). When the activity of getting sick is focused on, 17, **kikirin** is in the instrumental form, and the active verb shows that the process happened, rather than focusing on the resulting attained state. This contrast is also carried by the choice of verb, **asi-** *be with, accompany, go with, be* (attainative) and **me-, mi-, miya-** *do, move, be* (active), *get/become* (change position or state), *go, etc.*, the active form of the verb **ma-, mani-** *take, give, bring, do, get, etc.* In the imperfective clauses 18 and 19, the same contrast is found between 18 and 19, while 20, like 18, shows that the sickness (alt. pain) has been attained and at the moment of speaking is/was ongoing.

16. Nuy kikir asidhin  
*He got sick*  
nuy-Ø kikiri-Ø  
he-NOM sickness.pain-Ø  
asi-Ø-Ø-dhin  
accompany.be-ATT-SG-RemP.PF

17. Nuy kikirin miyaydhin  
*He got sick*  
nuy-Ø kikiri-n

he-NOM sickness.pain-INS  
 miya-i-Ø-dhin  
 do.move.be-ACT-SG-RemP.PF

18. Nuy kikir asir  
*He was sick*  
 --- asi-Ø-Ø-r  
 --- accompany/be-ATT-SG-RemP.IMPF

19. Nuy kikirin miyar  
*He was getting sick*  
 --- miya-i-Ø-r  
 --- do.move.be-ACT-SG-RemP.IMPF

20. Nuy kikir miyar  
*He was sick*  
 nuy-Ø kikiri-Ø miya-i-Ø-r  
 he-NOM sickness.pain-Ø do.move.be-ACT-SG-RemP.IMPF

#### Verb Number

Cross-reference suffixes encode information about direct object (accusative) number in specific transitive clauses, and for subject number for active and attainative verbs in intransitive clauses and non-specific transitive clauses (see further Transitivity and Voice). Number in general distinguishes the unmarked singular, and the marked dual and plural. In a few verbs, the plural is a separate, unmarked suppletive verb differing from the singular and dual, while in others, only the inanimate plural is marked, the animate plural being the same in form as the singular. The perfective imperative additionally cross-references subject number marking (singular versus non-singular) by the form of its endings: **-r/-Ø** singular subject, **-w/-ziw/-riw** dual-plural subject.

Examples of verb number marking:

#### Object cross marking

Thubudhun guru pathanu.  
*The/a friend cut/chopped a stick of sugar cane.*  
 thœbudhu-n gœru-Ø  
 friend-INS sugarcane-ACC  
 patha-Ø-Ø-nu  
 cut.chop-ATT-SG-TodP.PF

Thubudhun gurul pathaumanu.  
 --- patha-Ø-NGAUMA-nu  
 --- cut.chop-ATT-DU-TodP.PF

Thubudhun gurul pathaminu.  
*The/a friend cut/chopped some sticks of sugar cane.*  
 --- gœru-LAI patha-Ø-MAYI-nu  
 --- sugarcane-PRP cut.chop-ATT-PL-TodP.PF

#### Subject cross marking

Nuy ngùkin wanima.  
*He drank all the water.*  
 nuy-Ø ngùki-n  
 he-NOM water-INS  
 wani-i-Ø-ma.  
 drink-ACT-SG-ACT.TodP.PF

Palay ngùkin waniwmanu.  
*They drank all the water.*  
 palay-Ø ngùki-n  
 theyDU-NOM water-INS  
 wani-i-NGAUMA-nu.  
 drink-ACT-DU-TodP.PF

Thana ngùkin waniminu.  
*They drank all the water.*  
 thana-Ø ngùki-n  
 theyPL-NOM water-INS  
 wani-i-MAYI-nu.  
 drink-ACT-PL-TodP.PF

#### Perfective imperative subject-object cross marking

Nidh gabaw pathar.  
*(You) Cut up a yam.*  
 ni-dha gabawa-Ø  
 you-INS cultivatedyam-ACC  
 patha-Ø-Ø-r  
 cut.chop-ATT-SG-SG.S.IMP.PF

Nipel/Nitha gabaw pathaziw~pathaw.  
*(You) Cut up a yam.*  
 ni-pal-Ø/ni-tha-Ø  
 you-DU-INS/you-PL-INS  
 gabawa-Ø  
 cultivatedyam-ACC  
 patha-Ø-Ø-ZIU  
 cut.chop-ATT-SG-NSg.S.IMP.PF

Nidh gabaw pathawmar.  
(You) Cut up two yams.

--- patha-Ø-NGAUMA-r  
--- cut.chop-ATT-DU-SG.S.IMP.PF

Nipel/Nitha gabaw pathawmceriw.  
(You) Cut up two yams.

--- patha-Ø-NGAUMA-ZIU  
--- cut.chop-ATT-DU-NSg.S.IMP.PF

Nidh gabawal pathamir~pathamay.  
(You) Cut up yams.

--- gabawa-LAI  
--- cultivatedyam-PL  
patha-Ø-MAYI-r  
cut.chop-ATT-PL-SG.S.IMP.PF

Nipel/Nitha gabawal pathamiziw~pathamiw.  
(You) Cut up yams.

--- patha-Ø-MAYI-ZIU  
--- cut.chop-ATT-PL-NSg.S.IMP.PF

Ni gabawan paathi!

(You) Cut up all the yams.  
ni-Ø gabawa-n  
you-INS cultivatedyam-INS  
patha-i-Ø-Ø  
cut.chop-ACT-SG-SG.S.IMP.PF

Nipel gabawan pathewmceriw.

(You two) Cut up all the yams.  
--- patha-i-NGAUMA-ZIU  
--- cut.chop-ACT-DU-NSg.S.IMP.PF

Nitha gabawan pathemiziw~pathemay.  
(You) Cut up all the yams.

--- patha-i-MAYI-ZIU  
--- cut.chop-AC-PL-NSg.S.IMP.PF

Pakùniya zilaami!

Run back! (singular subject)  
pa-kùna-ya  
TEL-stern-NSpLoc  
zilama-i-Ø-Ø  
run-ACT-SG-ACT.Sg.IMP.PF

Pakùniya zilmewmariw!

Run back! (dual subject)  
--- zilama-i-NGAUMA-ZIU  
--- run-ACT-DU-NSg.IMP.PF

Pakùniya zilmemiziw~zilmemiw!

Run back! (plural subject)

--- zilama-i-MAYI-ZIU  
--- run-ACT-PL-NSg.IMP.PF

The underlying form of the dual suffix is NGAUMÁ, and that of the plural suffix is MAYI. However, they have varying surface forms, in that the longer the word, the more likely there is to be reduction of the suffix (and stem). Stems of three or more syllables ending in **-ma** elide this through haplology when the dual or plural suffix is affixed to the stem, as shown in Table 8.

The allomorphs of the verb dual and plural suffixes:

NGAUMÁ: -ngawma-, -ngauma-, -ngewma-, -ngeuma-, -wma-, -uma-, -ma-

MAYI: -mayi- (-mœyi-), -may- (-mœey-), -mi-

The interplay of stem form, suffix form and in some cases variant stem forms at times gives a variety of alternatives. The verb **ma-** give, take, be, move, etc. in particular has an almost bewildering array of idiolect and dialect variation.

Class 1 (monosyllabic stem)

ma- give, take, be, move, etc. (attainative: ma-; active: ma-i-)

(the variant stem forms are in free variation in some cases, and in others are restricted, as noted below)

attainative singular: ma- (not in the present perfective), mani- (present perfective, also alternatively in the remote future and today past)

active singular: m- (only in the present perfective), me-, mi- (present imperfective, today past perfective, habitual), miyay-, meyay- (recent past, remote past; in the perfective of the recent past and remote past, **me-/mi-** also)

attainative dual: mangawma-

active dual: mengewma-, miyawma-, meyawma-

attainative plural: mamayi-, mami-

active plural: memayi-, memi-, mimayi-, mimi-, miyamay-, miyami-, meyamay-, meyami-

Class 2a (bisyllabic stem)

muuma- *hug, squeeze tight, hush* (attainative: muuma-; active: muuma-i-)

attainative singular: muuma- (> muma-)

active singular: mumay- (recent past, remote past), mume- (imperfective present, perfective remote future, today past, habitual), mumi- (perfective present perfective, perfective imperative)

attainative dual: mumawma-

active dual: mumewma-, mumeuma

attainative plural: mumamay-, mumami-

active plural: mumemay-, mumemi-

Class 2b (-ma final trisyllabic stem)

yakama- *show, reveal* (attainative: yakama-; active: yakama-i-)

attainative singular: yakama-

active singular: yakamay- (recent past, remote past), yakami- (perfective remote future, perfective near future, perfective present, perfective imperative, perfective imperative), yakay- (imperfective present, habitual, today past, imperfective imperative)

attainative dual: yakawma-

active dual: yakawma-, yakameuma

attainative plural: yakamay-, yakami-

active plural: yakamemay-, yakamemi-

Class 2b (-ra/-la internal trisyllabic stem)

ngùrapa- *teach, learn, recognise, acknowledge, etc.* (attainative: ngùrpa-; active: ngùrapa-i-)

attainative singular: ngùrpa-

active singular: ngùrpay- (recent past, remote past), ngùrapi- (perfective present, imperative [all speakers]; also remote future, near future, imperfective present, today past, habitual, imperfective imperative [old fashioned speech]), ngùrpe-~ngùrpi- (remote future, near future, imperfective present, today past, habitual, imperfective imperative [modern speech])

attainative dual: ngùrpawma, ngùrpauma

active dual: ngùrpewma, ngùrpeuma

attainative plural: ngùrpamay-, ngùrpami-

active plural: ngùrpamemay-, ngùrpamemi-

As in Meriam Mìr and neighbouring Papuan languages, a few verbs have suppletive stems (see the list below), one used for the singular and dual, and another for the plural, though in one pair, *go* 2 below, the division is singular as opposed to dual-plural. In some cases the suppletive verb exists beside the regular form. In three cases, namely *go* 1, *sit* and *arrive*, the suppletive plural differs in that it is attainative, in contrast to the active plural verb.

	singular	dual	plural
go	1 uzaray-, uzari-	uzarewma-	ladhu- (attainative) uzarmay- (active; relatively rarely used)
	2 uzaray-, uzari-	uthewma- yuthewma-	uthaymay-/uthemay- yuthemay-/yuthemay-
<i>go, happen, continue</i> (imperfective only)	ulay-, ulmay-/wœlmay-	ulmewma-, wœlmewma-	tadi-
<i>stand</i> (trees, clouds, etc.) (imperfective only)	paga-	pagawma-	sazi-
<i>lay down, lie down,</i> <i>lean, slant</i> (imperfective only)	ii-, iya-, iyay-; yu-/yœw-, yuwi-/yœwi-	yœwma-, yawma-	yuwimay-/yœwimay-; paleyma-/palema-/palima-

	singular	dual	plural
<i>lay down, lie down, lean, slant</i> (perfective only)	yuna-/yœwna-	yunawma-, yœwnama-	yunamay-/yœwnamay-pœydha-
<i>sit, take a seat, etc.</i>	thanuray-, thanuri-	thanurewma-	thanurmay- (active) nithama- (attainative)
<i>arrive, come to</i>	mangay-, mänge-, mangi-	mangewma-	mangemay- (active) ngabuna-, ngabu- (attainative)
<i>dive, swim</i>	urpaga- (ur <i>water</i> , paga- <i>spear</i> )	urpagawma-	urpagamay- (attainative) urpalay-, urpale-, urpali- (active) (ur <i>water</i> , pala- <i>cause, strike</i> )
<i>stand fishing</i> (imperfective only)	arigan si-/siya-/siyay- (ariga-n <i>fishing line</i> -INS)	arigan siyawma-	arigan si-/siya-/siyay- arigan thardhama-

Verbs whose plural is only used for inanimates include the following; where the singular and the animate plural coincide; for some speakers there is a tendency to treat all active or intransitive animate plurals in this way:

	Singular; Animate Plural	Dual	Inanimate Plural
<i>stand</i> (imperfective)	si-, siya-, siyay-	siyawma-	siyamay-, siyami-
<i>sit, stay, live</i> (imperfective)	ni-, niya-, niyay-	niyawma-	niyamay-, niyami-
<i>cry, weep</i>	maayi anga- (maayi <i>tears</i> ; anga- <i>bear, use</i> )	maayi angawma-	maayi angamay-, angami-
<i>throw self down</i>	pathayay-, pathaye-, pathayi- (pa- TEL, thaya-i- <i>throw</i> ACT)	pathayewma-	pathayemay-, pathayemi-
<i>arrive</i>	mangay-, mänge-, mangi	mangewma-	mangemay-, mangemi-

Some verbs cannot refer to a single actor or object, and so have no singular form, such as **manawma-** DU, **manamay-** PL *join, stick, fasten together*, while still others are singular in form but can only refer to plural actors, such as **pamarludha-i-** (all) *attend* and **garwœydhamay-** *gather together, meet*.

### Verb Endings

As stated earlier, the TAM load of verbs is expressed by the endings. There are (a) six tenses: remote future, near future, present, today-past, recent past, remote past, and a developing seventh in Kalaw Lagaw Ya only, the 'last night' tense, (b) three aspects: perfective (distinguishes all tenses), imperfective (distinguishes the present and past tenses, and uses the habitual to express the near and remote future) and habitual (does not distinguish tense), and (c)

two moods: the declarative and the imperative. Kalaw Lagaw Ya uses the remote future also as a future imperative. For the endings and their functions, see Tables 12 and 13.

Most of the endings are found in all dialects, with the following variants:

-ka *today~near future*: KKY -pa

-kœruyg/-kuruyg *habitual, imperfective future*:  
KulY/MY-KY -kœrui/-kurui; KKY -paruy(g/dh)/-paru/-pu

-adh/-dh *imperfective today past and imperative*:  
KulY/MY-KY/KKY -dha

Even though **l** and **r** are separate phonemes, they are allophonic in the imperfective remote past and the perfective singular subject imperative; **r** becomes **l** when the preceding syllable contains **r** or **l**. The verb **ma-** *take, bring, move, be, do, etc.* in Kalaw Lagaw Ya is irregular in "doubling" the ending in the singular:

TABLE 12. Declarative endings.

indicative	perfective <i>complete action</i>	imperfective <i>incomplete state/action</i>	habitual <i>repeated or habitual state/action in the past, present or future</i>
remote future <i>after an indefinite while</i>	-ne <i>attainative</i> (Class 1SG -[ni]ne) -dhe <i>active</i> (Class 1SG -[dhe]dhe)	-kœruyg/-kuru yg (KLY only: Class 1SG -ka kœruyg/kuru yg)	
near/today future <i>soon</i>	-ka		
present <i>in the present, or shifted present</i>	-n (Class 1SG -ni[n]) (Class 2B PL -nu)	-ka <i>incomplete action in the present or shifted present that continues after the present</i>	
present active singular	-i (Class 1 -izi[n])		
today past <i>happened earlier today</i>	-nu ACT SG -ma	-adh, -dh <i>incomplete earlier today, and may still be incomplete</i>	
last night <i>happened last night</i>	(KLY only) <i>created by adding the clitic -bungil/-bongil/-bungel (reduced form -bel) to either the present or today past forms</i>		
recent past <i>happened recently (in the last two to four days or so)</i>	-[dhin]ngùl	-rngùl/-lngùl <i>state/action that started recently and was incomplete, and may still be incomplete</i>	
remote past <i>happened back in the past</i>	-dhin	-r/-l (-Ø when preceded by -y) <i>state/action that was incomplete in the past, though it logically finished some time later in the past, i.e. no link to the present.</i>	

TABLE 13. Imperative endings.

imperative <i>imperative, at times a subjunctive</i>	perfective	imperfective
future attainative (KLY only)	-ne (Class 1SG -[ni]ne)	-kœruyg/-kuru yg (KLY only: Class 1 -ka kœruyg/kuru yg)
future active (KLY only)	-dhe (Class 1SG -dhedhe)	
attainative singular subject	-r/-l (Class 1SG -rar/-ral)	-adh/-dh <i>do an incomplete action; be in a state; continue an activity/state that was temporarily halted</i>
active singular subject	-i, -Ø (Class 1 -r)	
non-singular subject	-w, -zu, -ziw, -riw	
polite imperative	<i>same as the present indicative</i>	

	Singular	Dual	Plural
ma- <i>take, bring, move, be, do, etc.</i>	maral, marar (other dialects: maar)	mangawmar	mamayir, mamir
nuuda- <i>squash with foot</i>	nudar	nudawmar	nudamir
wana- <i>put, leave</i>	wanar	wanawmar	wanamir
adhamuula- <i>take out, produce</i>	adhamulal	adhamulawmar	adhamulamir
ara- <i>put in, enter</i>	aral	arawmar	aramir

According to John Ngailu Whop (pers. comm., 1992), for some speakers both **-r** and **-l** are potentially possible with all verbs, but differ in semantics; **-r** can have a more abstract feel, and **-l** is more concrete, thus a word such as **pala-** *cause, flick, draw, design, write, etc.* has two imperatives, **palar** and **palal**. **Palar** conjures up the idea of pictures and art, while **palal** has the more concrete semantics of *write, cause, flick, etc.* Similarly, for **thara-** *call, name, erect, stand up*, **tharar** has more to do with speech, while **tharal** with erecting or standing upright. In other cases, the contrast is to do with emphasis, thus **arar** *put in, insert* feels to be more emphatic than **aral**.

#### NON-DEICTIC PREFIXATION

The non-deictic prefixes add aspectual, modal and locational meaning to verbs, nominals and adjectives. They derive new words which have various degrees of closeness to the base word, from an extension of meaning to a new meaning. Examples of their use are as follows, where the verb forms are in the active present singular perfective **-i**, the attainative present singular perfective **-n** and present singular imperfective **-ka**:

The Aspectual and Modal Prefixes:

**kidh-**, **kidha-** (verbs only) *reverse movement; crosswise movement; stirring movement, turn; other (way, side), opposite, change*

nagi *look, watch*: kidhnagi *look over, inspect by turning to look at the different angles*

nuran *wrap, bind*: kidhnuran *turn, spin, revolve, circle, move in a circle*

thayan *throw, change, push*: kidhthayan *change into*

**mùk-** (verbs only) *just touching, on the surface, mis-, wrongly*

bœlthayka *float*: mùkbœlthayka *float on the surface*

karngemin *hear*: mùkkarngemin *mishear*

thayan *throw, push, change*: mùkthayan *misthrow, misturn, change wrongly*

**pa-** (telic prefix; mainly on verbs only, otherwise on nominals with active semantics) *onwards, intensiveness, suddenness, attenuation, completive*

verbs:

danaman *appear, unload, disembark*: padanaman *burst, bust, explode*

kabùthan *put, place*: pakabùthan *lay down, place down, put down away from referent*

nagi *look, watch*: panagi *surprise someone with a look*

gasaman *catch, grab, get*: pagasaman *hold, grasp*

uzari *go*: pazari *go on, go ahead*

nominals:

kùniya *back*: pakùniya *get back*

kadaka *upward*: pakadaka *get on upwards*

muluka *downward*: pamuluka *get downwards*

**Pa!** is used as an imperative with various meanings, depending on the underlying verb or nominal, such as **pa!** *stop!*, from **pawaadhi!** *stop (yourself)!*, **pa!** *keep going!*, from **pauzariyadh!**, **pauzaridh!** *keep going!* and **pa!** *go back!*, from **pakùniya tiidi!** *go back!*

**gar-** (mainly on verbs only) *collective*

verbs:

pathan *squash, stick in (glue etc.), put/place in something*: garpathan *gather, collect together*

wœydhān *place, lay on, apply*: garwœydhān *wash ashore; gather, collect*

yathari *tie, bind, wind self around*: garyathari *twist/tangle/turn together; rip, tear (of wind, waves)*

nominals: only in the following

baadha *long, flat edge*: garbadh, GY garbaadha *gunwale, side (boat)*

-sar(a) *small number*: garsar(a) *number, population, crowd, group (of people); few, quite a few, many, numerous*

kapu *seed, fruit, body part, etc.*: garkap, GY garkaapu *itchiness, irritation*

**getha-, geth-** (verbs and nominals) *own, personal, private, self, self-, auto-*

verbs:

panudhi *fall forwards [on face]*: gethapanudhi *humble self*

ayiman *make, do*: gethayiman *make (up) oneself, tell off the cuff*

danalpathan *look after, govern*: gethdanalpathan *look after self; be independent, self governing*

nominals:

panikin *cup*: gethpanikin *personal cup, own cup*

laaga *place, home, home island*: gethlaaga *homeland, hometown, home, ancestral home*

yuutha *long house, hall, church*: gethyuutha *home church*

**tata-, tat-** (verbs and adjectives) *mis-, somewhat, imperfect, partly, not completely, not quite*

verbs:

puyi *play music*: tatapuyi *stutter, stammer, speak imperfectly/with an impediment*

ayiman *make, do*: tatayiman *misdo, do wrongly, make wrongly*

nagi *look, watch*: tatnagi *missee, not look clearly*

adjectives:

gabū *cold, cool, calm*: tatagabū *coolish, coldish*

giya *ripe, cooked, ready*: tatagiya *partly ripe, partly cooked, underdone, rare (meat)*

thawpay *short*: tatathawpay *shortish, somewhat short*

The prefixes have either definite or possible relationships with other words. **Pa-** may be related to the demonstrative deictic **-pay/-pa** *ahead* or the dative ending **-pa**, while **kidh[kidha]** is a prefix use of the particle **kidh/kidha** *opposite direction, turn, back, on the other hand* (also in the reduplicated form **kidhakidh(a)** *back and forth, to and fro, each other, up and own*), and the adverbial non-specific locative ending **-ki[dh]**. **Geth(a)** is otherwise found as a reflexive with or without genitive antecedents meaning *self*, while **tat[a]** is related to **toetaktotetak** *misdone, not well done, shoddy, slipshod, imperfect*. **Gar-** exists independently only in the reduplicated adjective **gargar** *selfish, miserly* (have something and not want to share it), while **mũuka** is a nominal meaning *surface* that for many speakers is obsolete.

The Locative Prefixes:

**adha-, adh-** *out, outer*

verbs:

mulan *produce*: adhamulan *pick out, take out, remove; divide*

wayan *send*: adhawayan *send out*

mintidan *represent, stand for*: adhamintidan *explain*

nominals:

baadha *long, flat edge*: adhabadh, GY adhabaadha *seawater, salt water, brine; sea; salt*

tha *crocodile tail*: adhatha *tip of crocodile tail*

**apa-, ap-** *lower, below, under, down*

verbs:

asin *accompany, be with, be*: apaasin *be at a*

*lower level; be respectful, be humble*

nika *sit, sit doing, live*: apanika *sit down*

banithan *pierce, penetrate, stick (in); spit out chewed up remains; touch land, come into land, land (boat)*: apabanithan *miss (in throwing, etc.)*

nominals:

kuyk, GY kuwiiku *head*: apakuyk *bole; source, origin, progenitor, procreator*

pawna *skin of palm, foot*: apapawna *sole (of foot)*

**bal-** *cross, across, crossways* (cf. **balbal** *crooked; balbalgi* *straight, OK, allright*)

verbs:

ladhan *cut, chop*: balladhan *cut across, chop across*

nagi *look, watch*: balnagi *look across, turn and look*

pudan *open*: balpudan *stretch out across, open out across* (e.g. string, rope, etc.)

nominals:

baadha *long, flat edge*: balbadh, GY balbaadha *edge of deep water*

geetha *hand*: balgeetha *harm*

gùùba *wind*: balgùùba *crosswind*

**dhadha-, dhadh-** *mid, middle, centre*

verbs:

asin *accompany, be with, be*: dhadhasin *be halfway, be midway, be during*

gasaman *get, catch, obtain*: dhadhagasaman *meet halfway*

palgan *report, inform, tell, offer*: dhadhpalgan *interrupt*

nominals:

bùùtha *room, space*: dhadhabùùtha *gap, unbuilt-up area, countryside, environment*

gar, GY gaaru *trunk, body, girth*: dhadhagar *waist, abdomen; inland, central area*

gøeyga *day, sun, kubil night*: dhadhagøeyga *midday, noon, dhadhakubil midnight*

**giima-** *over, above, upper*

verbs:

puydhi, puydhan *hang*: gimapuydhi, gimapuydhan *hang up*

thayan *throw, toss, push, turn, change*: gimathayan *throw up, turn up; pass overhead (sun etc.)*

thøeridhan *raise, lift*: gimathøeridhan *lift up, sing up*

nominals:

gùdiya *mouth, opening* NSpLoc: gimagùdiya *at the top of one's voice, loudly, aloud*

zazi *grass skirt*: gimazazi *short grass skirt, mini skirt*

**kaday-/kada-** *upwards, up*

verbs:

pudan *open*: kadaypudan, kadapudan *comb (with an Island comb)*

sika *stand, stand doing*: kadaysika, kadasika *be standing up*

thari, tharan *stand, place upright*: kadaythari/kadathari, kadaytharan/kadatharan *stand up, place upright, erect, stand up straight*

nominals:

døegam *side, part, direction*: kadadøegam, kadaydøegam *upper side, upper part*

**kaym-/kaymi-** *accompanying, along, along with, together, together with, with* (verbs only; cf. **kaymel** *together with, kaaymi* *companion, company* (a largely obsolete noun), **køymeg(a)** *friend honorific*)

asin *accompany, be with, be*: kaymiasin *accompany, go with, be along with, be together with*

yøelpan/ilpan *lead, guide*: kaymiyøelpan *lead (as a companion), guide (as a companion)*

**lugi-, GY luugi-** *straight, direct, close up, no deviation* (verbs only; the privative of **lu** *hump, mound, rounded back*)

thaman *move; speed* (idiom): lugithaman, luugthaman *approach, move closer* (without deviating)

tharan *stand, place upright*: lugitharan, luugtharan *stand upright/erect/straight up*

uzari *go*: lugiuzari, luuguzari *go straight without deviating*

**muyi-, muy-** *in, inner, inside* (< muuyi *hollow, depression, hole*)

verbs:

pudhi, pudhan *drop, fall*: muyipudhi, muyipudhan *drop in, arrive in, come/go into*

thayan *throw, toss, push, turn, change*: muyithayan *throw/push in; invite in; choose*

yuthi *pull, drag*: muyiyuthi *pull in, draw in; come on in, enter*

nominals:

laaga *place*: muyilaaga *internal place, inner place*

rùg, GY rùùga *rag, cloth, gear*: muyirùg, GY muyirùùga *underclothes, gear for inside*

**sig-**, **siig-** *in the distance*

verbs:

palan *cause*: siigpalan *cause to flash in the distance* (lightening etc.)

zilami *run, run along*: (pœnipan) siigzilami (lightening) *flashes in the distance*

wayan *send*: sigawayan, sigawayi *send afar; pine away*

nominals:

gùd, GY giùda *mouth, opening*: sigagùd *large opening/mouth; width, breadth* (of opening)

ngaara *leg*, geth, GY geetha *hand*: siga-ngar-geth *arms and legs spread wide*

yabu, GY yaabu *way, path, road*: sigayabu, GY sigayaabu *way that leads far away*

## NON-DECLINING PARTS OF SPEECH

### WORD AND CLAUSE MODIFIERS

Word and clause modifiers do not decline, and have the function of modifying the meaning of the segment they govern. They include adjectives, modifying adverbs, demonstrative articles, numbers, particles, clitics, and so on.

#### Adjectives

Adjectives precede the head noun, which takes the declensional load. There are four types:

(a) true (underived) adjectives, e.g. wati *bad*, kain (kayin) *new, young*, kasa *ordinary, normal, non-important, not special, just, only*, mina *true, real, very, proper, important*, adhi *huge, great, mighty* (this word is often used as an honorific: Adhi Kuyam *Great Kuiam*, Adhi Buya *Great Light*; cf. adhi *story, legend; sacred story rock*, adhiadh, GY adhiaadhi *legendary giant*). Relatively few words are exclusively true adjectives and these form a closed class.

(b) derived adjectives: aril *rainy*, arigi *rainless*, aridh *rain-like*, arizi *resulting from rain* (ari *rain*).

Derivation is the major means of adjective creation.

(c) adjectives derived by reduplication: kùbikùbi *black, dark* (kùùbi *charcoal, soot*), mœrimaari *skinny, lean* (people; mari *ghost*), tœtaktœtak *misdone, not well done, shoddy*, slipshod, *imperfect* (tata- *mis-*, *somewhat, imperfect, partly, not completely, not quite*).

(d) nouns that have become adjectives but retain some noun characteristics: mœrimar *skinny*, bœtœm *lean* (animals), adhapudhay *fine, excellent, wondrous* (in origin a verbal noun that literally means *out-falling*)

Note that reduplication of nominals also exists in the expression of 'dispersion', i.e. **wara** *one of a group, other*, **warawara** *one by*

one, each one, **kaazi** child, **kazikazi** child by child, children here and there in a defined area, etc.: **kazikazi siki sagulthareka** kids around there individually playing/dancing here and there.

Nouns marked by oblique case forms can also appear in the adjective slot, such as **gimiya wœriza** airplane, where **gimiya** is the non-specific locative of **giima-** above (**wœri** fly verbal noun, **za** thing).

Adjectives do not modify for number, except for those of category (d), which optionally agree as predicates with a plural referent: **kaazi mœrimaari** the child is skinny, **kazil mœrimœril/mœrimaari** the children are skinny), being nouns in origin.

When not preceding the noun, adjectives, with few exceptions, must be nominalised, ie. they become nouns, either by one of the nominalising suffixes **-nga/-may-** impersonal or **-ig(a)** personal, thus **gabû ngùùki** cold water > **ngùùki gabunga** the water is cold, or by cooccurring what a 'dummy' nominal such as **za** thing, thus **ngùùki gabu za** the water is cold. Those few adjectives that are not so marked, e.g. **mœrimaari**, **bœtœm**, are syntactic nouns.

Iina kapungœdhal kaazi.  
This is a goodlooking girl.  
i-na kapu+ngadha-LAI kazi-Ø  
this-F good+appearance-PRP child-NOM

Inaabi kaazi kapungœdhalayg.  
This girl is a goodlooking person; This girl is goodlooking.  
i-na-bi kaazi-Ø  
this-F-ART child-NOM  
kapu+ngœdha-LAI-IGA-Ø.  
good+appearance-PRP-PNom-NOM

Inaabi kaazi kapungœdhalnga.  
This girl is goodlooking.  
--- kapu+ngœdha-LAI-nga-Ø.  
--- good+appearance-PRP-ImpNom-NOM

Inaabi kaazi kapungœdhal kaazi.  
This girl is goodlooking.  
--- kapu+ngœdha-LAI kaazi-Ø.  
--- good+appearance-PRP child-NOM

A few abstracts have the same form as the adjective (except for nonemotive vowel lengthening in Gœmulgaw Ya), while others are formed by the nominalising suffixes. Still other adjectives are derived from nouns.

adjective and abstract have the same form:

gabû cold, cool, cool-headed, etc., gabu, GY  
gaabu cold, cool, coolheadedness

mapu heavy, pregnant, mapu, GY maapu weight

nominal derivation:

gùbagi windless, breathless, airless, gùbaginga  
windlessness, breathlessness, airlessness

gabû cold, cool, cool-headed, etc., gabunga  
coldness, coolness, cool-headedness, cool/cold  
wind, breeze

adjective derivation:

kikir sickness, pain, kikiril sick, sore

ngurum wrath, ngurumal wrathful

Neither a morphological comparative nor a superlative exist. The adjective enters into various syntactic constructions to express these, the core morphology of the constructions being the use of the ablative or non-specific locative or global locative, as these examples adapted from Simpson (1971-1974) show:

a) Ablative

Palamùnungu inuubi thuuthu kuykùthalnga  
Of the two this waddy is longer/longest.  
palay-mù-ni-ngu  
they-DUAL-AUG-AUG-ABL  
i-nu-bi thuthu-Ø  
this-M-ART waddy-NOM  
kœy+kùtha-LAI-nga-Ø  
big+end-PRP-ImpNom-NOM

b) Non-specific locative

Inuubi thuuthu laka kuykùthalnga war  
 thuthuya nanga  
*This waddy is longer than the other one*  
 i-nu-bi thuthu-Ø laka  
*this-M-ART waddy-NOM again*  
 kœy+kùtha-LAI-nga-Ø wara  
*big+end-PRP-ImpNom-NOM other*  
 thuthu-ya nanga  
*waddy-NSpLoc REF*

*waddy-NOM he-NOM big*  
 kœy+kùtha-LAI-nga-Ø  
*big+end-PRP-ImpNom-NOM*  
 mùra-may-yab  
*all-ImpNom-GLoc*

Adjective Derivation

There are four derivational suffixes that form adjectives from nominals (including verbal nouns), the proprietic, privative, resultative and similitive. The proprietic also forms the nominal nominative-accusative plural, and optionally for human actors, the ergative plural. Not all nominals can take all derivation suffixes; this depends on the semantic properties of the nominal.

c) Global Locative

Inubnga, thuuthu, nuy kœy kuykùthalnga  
 mùramayab/muramiyab  
*This one here, the waddy, is longest of all*  
 i-nu-bi-nga-Ø  
*this-M-ART-ImpNom-NOM*  
 thuthu-Ø nuy-Ø kœy

	Proprietic LAI	Privative GI	Resultative (GEN-)ZI	Similitive (GEN-)DHA
ba <i>banana leaf</i>	balay	bagi	banguzi	badh(a)
bœy <i>palm frond/leaf</i>	bœythay	bœygi	bœynguzi	bœydh(a)
ya <i>speech, word(s)</i>	yaday	yagi	yanguzi	yadh(a)
ur <i>water</i>	ulay	urgi	urnguzi	urdh(a)
za, zapu- <i>thing</i> (irregular)	zapul (zapulay-)	zagi, zapugi	zanguzi	zadh(a), zapudh(a)
naawu <i>song</i> (irregular)	nawul, nathay	nawugi	nawuzi	nawudh
aga <i>axe</i>	agal (agalay-)	agagi	agazi	agadh(a)
imay <i>seeing, finding, trying</i>	imayl (imaylay-)	imaygi	imayzi	imaydh(a)
paara <i>snore, snort</i>	parar (pararay-)	paragi	parazi	paradh(a)
Baba <i>Dad</i>	babal (babalay-)	babagi	babazi	babadh(a)
Ama <i>Mum</i>	amal (amalay-)	amagi	amazi	amadh(a)
ngœba <i>you and I</i>	n/a	n/a	n/a	ngœbadh(a)
ngay <i>I</i>	n/a	n/a	n/a	ngawdh(a) M ngœzudh(a), nguzudh(a) F
ni <i>you</i>	n/a	n/a	n/a	ninudh(a)
nuy <i>he</i>	n/a	n/a	n/a	nungudh(a)
na <i>she</i>	n/a	n/a	n/a	nanudh(a)
nga <i>who</i>	n/a	n/a	n/a	ngœnudh(a), ngunudh(a)

The adjective **kœy** *big, great* has another modified form, namely **kœy<sup>ma</sup>** *big, great, much, many, lots* (e.g. **kœy<sup>ma</sup> eso** *thanks very much*). This **-ma** suffix may also be found in **barama** *enormous, most* (cf. PSEPA \*bada 'big, most').

The proprietive LAI in all dialects except Kalaw Kawaw Ya tends to assimilate to **-r-** in the preceding syllable of the stem, as shown by **paara** *snore, snort* above. Other examples are:

zaara/zara *dry branch and leaves* > zaral,  
zarar *having dry branches and leaves*

thonar *time, period, season* > thonaral,  
thonarar *having a time*

mùra *all, total, totality, wholeness* >  
mùraray, muray *all, everybody, the whole group* (KLY only; **muray** derives from **mùraray** through haplology)

This rule is almost mandatory in Kaiwalgau Ya, and is the origin of the word Kowrareg – **kauřařaiga** *islander*: **kauřa** *island* + LAI proprietive + **-IGA** PerNom, **kaiwalaig** in Kalaw Lagaw Ya/Kùlkalgau Ya/Mualgau Ya-Kaiwalgau Ya and **kawalaig** in Kalaw Kawaw Ya.

The proprietive 'having/possessing', privative 'not having/without' and similitive 'like' have the semantics expressed by the terms. The resultative refers to the period or state after and normally resulting from the nominal (normally in an ergative system). Thus, a nominalisation such as **mœtharuzinga** (**mœtharu** *fine weather*) refers to the period of windiness or storm after a period of fine weather and for which the fine weather was a precursor and therefore the cause thereof, while **wapiw pùrthayzi kaazi** (*fish*-GEN *eat*-VN-RES *child*-NOM) is *a child who has eaten a fish* rather than *a fish that has eaten a child*. However, this is primarily a matter of semantics; it is not normal for a fish to eat a child. **Baydhamaw pùrthayzi kaazi** (*shark*-GEN *eat*-VN-RES *child*-NOM) can mean

either *a child who has eaten shark*, or *a child that has been eaten by a shark*, or *the shark's eaten young*. The resultative suffix **-zi** resembles the ablative ending **-zi**, and the similarity of meaning between the resultative (result of action, after, resulting from, etc.) and the ablative **-zi** (from, away from, because of, etc.) suggests a common origin.

While these suffixes are added to the stem/base, in a few cases, in the Kalaw Lagaw Ya dialect particularly, the resultative is optionally added to the genitive. In the case of **ya** *speech*, this is always so in all dialects:

gethazinga, gethawzinga *handiwork*

kabazinga, kabawzinga *dancing ground*

mayzinga, maynguzinga *taken or brought object, object that is present*

yanguzi mabayg *accuser* (*ya* *speech*, **-ngu** GEN, **-zi** RES, *mabayg* *person*)

The similitive of the singular pronouns is likewise formed using the genitive form, thus **nanudh** *like her*, *nan*-NGU-*dha* *her*-GEN-SIM. Kalaw Kawaw Ya has privative forms of the singular pronouns also based on the genitive, generally found in the nominalised forms **ngawginga/ngœzuzinga** *without me*, etc. The other dialects express this using the privative form of the verbal noun **may** *take, give, do, move, be, exist, go* (etc.) and the genitive of the personal pronoun, thus **ngaw mayginga** *without my presence*, etc. For the dual and plural pronouns, this is the structure in all dialects, thus **ngœban mayginga** *without you and me*.

#### The Proprietive and the Specific Locative

The proprietive suffix in the Western and Central Language, LAI, is homophonous with the specific locative LAI. They have essentially the same surface variants, as does the nominative-accusative plural, a specialised use of the proprietive.

The similarity to a certain extent is concealed by the declensional difference that exists between nouns of monosyllabic stem and those of two or more syllables. In the latter there are three forms of the specific locative, **-nu**, **-l** and **-Ø**, where **-Ø** results from elision of **-l** (retained in archaic or set phrases as well as in a few adverbials). Older forms of **-nu** were recorded in Kùlkalgau Ya and Mualgau Ya-Kaiwalgau Ya particularly from the mid-1800s to after 1900, these being **-nul**, **-nuli**, **-nule** and **-nulai** – as well as **-nu**. They seem to have been moribund not too long after WW2. These suggest that in origin **-nu** is the instrumental (**-n**, mid1800s form **-nu**) suffixed by LAI. Monosyllabic stem nouns have only the one specific locative, this being **-(l)ay**, and are rarely found with **-nu**.

Monosyllabic stems

NOM-ACC	SLOC	PRP	NOM-ACC PL
pa <i>pen, fence</i>	palay	palay	palay
ya <i>words, speech, etc.</i>	yaday	yaday	yaday, yadayl
noey <i>tongue</i>	nøeythay	nøeythay	nøeythay, nøeythayl

Multisyllabic stems

NOM-ACC	SLOC	PRP	NOM-ACC PL
paada <i>hill, height, top, size, crest</i>	padanu pada padal (archaic, set phrases)	padal	padal
geetha <i>hand</i>	gethanu getha gethal (archaic, set phrases)	gethal	gethal

Examples of archaic, set phrases are:

padal niithu- (*niithu- cast, throw*; padal nithun SG.PrPF) *make fast headway, sail quickly, speed along*

padal giyama-i- (*giyama-i- climb up on*; padal giyami SG.PrPf) *move/climb up over a hill*

gethal anga- (*anga- bear, carry, use*; gethal angan SG.PrPF) *wield, use, do, undertake (by hand)*

Numbers, Demonstrative Articles and other Modifiers

Other head noun modifiers are the demonstrative articles (formed by suffixing the demonstrative article formant suffix to the gender/number forms of **i-** *this/these* and **se/si-** *that/those*) and genitives. Adjectives, articles and genitives are part of the class of modifiers that always precede their referent, be this a nominal, a verb phrase or a clause. These include:

kobegadh *each, every, matha individualisation/emphasis on a single/individual object, process, state or action; very (idiom), ngadhe like, just like, ùrapùn one, ùkasar/kosar two (and all numbers), kedha such, thus, like this, like that, etc.*

*The Numbers.* Counting nowadays is in general done using the English-Broken numbers and system (with pronunciation varying according to familiarity with English or Broken), using the traditional numbers for one and two:

ziro, ùrpùn/wan, ùkasar/kosar/køesar/tu, thøeri, pò, paib, sikis, seben, eyt, nayn, ten, leben, twelop/twøeylop, thatin/thøetin, pòtin, piptin, sikistin, sebentin, eytin/etin, nayntin

tuwénte/tuwénti/tuwøeynte/tuwøeynti, thate/thøete/thati/thøeti, pòte/pòti, pipte/pipti, sikiste/sikisti, sebente/sebenti, eyte/ete/eyti/eti, naynte/naynti

andrad/androed/andred, thauzan, miliyan

Before colonisation, as is the case with many Papuan and most Australian languages, there was not a full system of numbers; the Austronesian content of the language did not extend this far. The numbers are based on the following morphemes:

**wara, war:** *one, other, another, one of a group*

**-pùn(i), -pon(i):** the meaning of this is not known - it may mean *only*, though Papuan and Australian cognates suggest the meaning of *one* (see Appendix 1)

**kapu, GY kaapu:** *one* (of something) (< **kapu**, GY **kaapu** *seed, fruit, body part, prong, etc.*)

**ùka-:** *two*

**-sar(a):** *small number*

**mòdhabaig(a)/madhabaig(a)/mœdhabaig(a):** *(the) one left over* (Kalaw Kawaw Ya only)

**au:** *big* (Kùlkalgau Ya only – a Meriam Mìr loan)

**geth(a):** *hand* (Kùlkalgau Ya only)

These combine in the following ways:

KLY, MY-KY

- 1 = ùrapùn, ùrpùn, ùrpon (warapùn, wœrapùn, warapon, wœrapon)
- 2 = ùkasar, kœsar, kosar, MY-KY kuwásar
- 3 = kosar ùrpùn, ùrpùn kosar
- 4 = kosar kosar
- 5 = kosar kosar ùrpùn, ùrpùn kosar kosar etc.

KKY

- 1 = warapùn, wœrapùn, ùrapùn (Bœigu – waripùn, wœripùn, ùripùn)
- 2 = ùkasar
- 3 = ùkamòdhabayg, ùkamœdhabayg, ùkamadhabayg
- 4 = ùkaùka
- 5 = ùkaùkamòdhabaig, ùkaùkamœdhabayg, ùkaùkamadhabayg etc.

KulY

- 1 = warapùn, wœrapùn, ùrapùn, ùrpùn
- 2 = ùkasar, kœsar, kosar
- 3 = auùrpùn, kosar ùrpùn
- 4 = aukosar, kosar kosar

5 = aukosar a ùrpùn; geth *hand*

6 = geth a ùrpùn

7 = geth a kosar

8 = geth a auùrpùn

9 = geth a aukosar

10 = kosar geth

Etc.

**Wara** *one of a group, other* also enters into a compound with **kapu**, GY **kaapu** *one* (of something) to form **warakap/wœrakap/ùrakap**, GY **warakaapu/wœrakaapu/ùrakaapu** *one of a group, an individual of a group, one, once, once more, one more time*. The compound **ùkasar** has two metathetic forms (**kuwásar** and **kosar**), as well as the initial-dropped form **kœsar** (via **ùkœsar**). **Ùka-** is also found in **ùkama-** *add to, double, increase, augment*, while **-sar(a)** *small number* is also found in the following:

**kœysar(a), kœysarkœysar(a)** *double, multiple (kœy big)*

**garsar(a)** *number, population; (a) few, quite a few (gar- collection prefix)*

**kœygarsar(a)** *big number, big population; many (kœy+garsar)*

**garsarasi-** *increase, become more, multiply (asi-go/be with, become, get ATT)*

Counting used to be done in two ways. One was with a tally system, used such as when two people made an agreement to do something after a certain number of days. They both kept a bundle of small sticks with the same number in each, and took out one for every day. The other was to use the fingers and so on, particularly in enumerating (for example in trading). The word for *count* is **gethtiida-i** (**gethtidi** present perfective), an intransitive active compound verb made of **geetha** *hand, finger* and **tiida-** *bend*, originating in the traditional means of counting with the fingers, done by bending the little finger of the left hand to the

palm with the forefinger or forefinger and middle finger of the right hand (one), then the ring finger of the left hand (two), and so on to the thumb of the left hand (five). After this, the forefinger or forefinger and middle finger of the right hand move to the wrist of the left arm, the elbow of the left arm, and so on to ten, on the breast bone. Then the hands change, and the counting is continued with the forefinger, or forefinger and middle finger of the left hand down the other arm and by bending the thumb of the right hand over for 15, and so on to the little finger of the right hand (19). **Gethidi** also means *read*, the imagery being that the finger likewise goes back and forth of the writing. **Geetha** is also used in its non-specific locative form to express *just a few*: **gøygøeyil matha gethiya** *just a few days*, **wiyethal matha gethiya** *just a few years*.

The full system is:

- 1 = little finger of left hand
- 2 = ring finger of left hand
- 3 = middle finger of left hand
- 4 = forefinger of left hand
- 5 = thumb of left hand
- 6 = wrist of left arm
- 7 = elbow of left arm
- 8 = upper arm/shoulder of left arm
- 9 = left breast
- 10 = breastbone (middle of chest)
- 11 = right breast
- 12 = right shoulder/upper arm
- 13 = elbow of right arm
- 14 = wrist of right arm
- 15 = thumb of right hand
- 16 = forefinger of right hand
- 17 = middle finger of right hand
- 18 = ring finger of right hand
- 19 = little finger of right hand

This system was further developed on Mabuyag in the late 1800s to make the following full number system; most people nowadays do not know it. This was created by abbreviating the words for one and two as well as the names for the appropriate body parts from the above traditional system:

- 0 = dhadh/dhadha (dhadhariidha *breastbone*, lit. *mid-bone*)
- 1 = pùn (ùrapùn) (older form: pon < wøerapon)
- 2 = sar (ùkasar)
- 3 = il (ilgeth *middlefinger*, lit. *gall-finger*)
- 4 = lak (køelákniithuygeth *forefinger*, lit. *spear-throwing-finger*)
- 5 = kab (kabageth *thumb*, lit. *paddle-finger*)
- 6 = per (pertha *wrist*)
- 7 = kuud (kuudu *elbow*)
- 8 = zuug (zuugu *upper arm*)
- 9 = suus (suusu *breast*)

Higher numbers are made by combining the above in a simple decimal system:

- 10 = pùndhadh/pùndhadha
- 11 = dhadh(a)-pùn, pùndhadh(a)-pùn, pùn-pùn
- 15 = dhadh(a)-kab, pùndhadh(a)-kab, pùn-kab
- 20 = sardhadh/sardhadha
- 25 = sardhadh(a)-kab, sar-kab
- 30 = ildhadh/ildhadha
- 40 = lakdhadh/lakdhadha
- 50 = kabdhadh/kabdhadha
- 60 = perdhadh/perdhadha
- 70 = kuuddhadh/kuuddhadha
- 100 = pùndhadh(a)dhadh(a)
- 172 = pùndhadh(a)dhadh(a) kuuddhadh(a)-sar, pùn-kuud-sar

When a number as a total is given, **mùra** *all*, *in total* is normally used in conjunction with it, as in mathematics, **ùkamayzageth** *calculation work* (**ùkamay** *calculation-VN*), and talking about 'how many': **midh mùra**, **midhakidh mùra**:

23 + 30 = 53 sardhadh-il a ildhadh, kabdhadh-il mùra

Thusil midh/midhakidh mùra setha lawlawnu? Kab mùra.

*How many books are on the table there? Five.*

Ninu wiyethal midh/midhakidh mùra? Sardhadh-kab mùra/Sardhadha-kab mùra

*How old are you? Twenty-five.*

As modifiers, the numbers are invariable, though **ùrapun(i)** has the optional variants **ùrapùl** and **ùrapù** when preceding a nouns, where the final -l is an example of a rare denasalisation of -n, also found in **thalmù-**, a colloquial form of **thanamù-** *them* oblique stem, as well as in the Kalaw Kawaw Ya proper nominal dative and ablative, where the augment suffix -ni becomes -l, thus KLY **Babanika**, KKY **Babalpa** Dad-DAT, KLY **Babanungu/Babaningu**, KKY **Babalngu** Dad-ABL.

As nouns, however, numbers can be declined and otherwise modified, such as:

**wørapùninu/ùrapùninu, wørapùnnu/wørapnu/ùrapnu** *as one, united*, the specific locative of **wørapùn/ùrapùn**;

**wørapùnimayn/wørapùnmayn/wørapùmaysn/ùrapùmaysn/ùrapùmaysn** *in one piece, whole, at once, straight away, immediately* - the instrumental of **wørapùninga**, the nominalised form of **wørapùn** *one*;

**wørapùndhadh/ùrapùndhadh** (dhadh *mid, middle*) *one by one*;

**ùkaùkalayg** (ùka+ùka-LAI-IGA *two+two-PRP-PNom*) *four people, quartet* KKY

### Modifying Particles

While quite a few nominals such as time and place adjunct adverbs generally have moderate to virtually no declension, they are included in the declined group of nominals because potentially they can be modified, particularly by the genitive. Such represent one part of the continuum that varies from

fully declinable nominals to particles that do not vary morphologically and which at times are phonologically bound as clitics to the segment they modify.

Modifying particles vary in status from free-standing words to bound clitics. They are invariable, though in some cases derived, and have no fixed position in the clause as a class, though individual sub-categories can. Some are declined nominals or conjugated verbs or the like which have a special use as adjuncts. These differ from declined nominals such as **gumi** *in secret, secretly, unawares, unknowing* (first example below), the Ø-marked specific locative of **gumi** *secret, secrecy, unawareness* (the specific locative in -**nu, guminu**, can also be used with exactly the same meaning), which are found with the same force as prepositional phrases in English; that is to say, are additional adjuncts to the clause.

Gumi rangadh tharanu –  
 Ngay matha tharema  
 Yawathurayginga, e, yagar.  
 Nipen rangadh lak kùniya  
 Waybenika, e.  
*A journey happened without me being made aware of it –*  
*I just stood*  
*Without a farewell, eh, dear me.*  
*Your journey back*  
*To Thursday Island, eh.*  
 Boston Bagai, Badu

gumi-LAI	rangadha-Ø	
secret-SLoc	mast.journey-ACC	
thara-Ø-Ø-nu		
erect-ATT-SG-TodPPf		
ngayi-Ø	matha	
me-NOM	only	
thara-i-Ø-ma		
erect-ACT-SG-ACT.TodPPf		
yawa+thuura-'i-gi-nga-Ø		e
farewell+call-VN-PRV-ImpNom-NOM		(song
yaa+gaar		sound)
speech+SYM		
ni-pel-n	rangadha-Ø	
you-DU-GEN	mast.journey-NOM	

laka	kùna-ya
<i>again.more</i>	<i>stern-NSLoc</i>
Waybeni-ka	e
<i>ThursdayIsland-DAT</i>	(song sound)

Clause modifiers have variable position, in some cases inter-phrasal, i.e. between the subject and verb (post-subject NP pre-VP), such as **ngapa** *approaching deictic*, post-phrasal/post-clause, e.g. **nge** *then*, pre-phrasal/pre-clause, e.g. **matha** *only*, and multiple positioning, i.e. pre-phrasal/pre-clause, inter-phrase and post-phrase/post-clause, such as **kay** *soon after* (< **kay** *here* NSp), **na/nanga** *referencing relative, if, when* and **nay** *if, should*. Their order and positioning depend on discourse features, which in turn depend on their relative importance to the subject, object, adjuncts or the verb.

Post-Subject Pre-Verb Phrase Particles:

Certain particles normally come between the subject and the verb phrase: **mamuy** *for a short while, first before a following action*, **ingar** *for ever, always*, **ngùlayg** *can, know how to, able*, **karawayg** *can't, don't know how to, unable*, **minasin** *finish, already*; **laka/lak** *again, more*, **boey/ngapa** *movement towards the speaker, come*, **imayka** *try*, **ngaru** *must, have to*, etc.

In this list, **minasin**, **imayka**, **ngùlayg** and **karawayg** are in fossilised uses respectively of the regular verb **minaasin** *finish, end* (attainative singular present perfective), the dative form of the regular verbal noun **imáy** *see, find, try*, and the two personalised nominals **ngùlayg** *one who knows/is able* and **karawayg** *one who doesn't know/is unable*. They are idiomatic uses in a) being invariable adverbs in status, and b), in the case of **imáyka**, the language has the specific verb **nuutha-** (verbal noun **nutháy**) *try, attempt*, while **ngùlayg** and **karawayg** are otherwise regular nouns with full declensional and derivational properties. **Ngapa** in the below example illustrates the typical position of such particles.

Sa, wara goeygi nubiya ya mangaydhin Bawungu kedha mabaygal Bawungu **ngapa** nubeka imayka.

*So, one day word came to him from Bau saying that people from Bau were coming to see him.*

sa,	wara	goeygayi-LAI	
introducer	other	day-SLoc	
nu-bi-ya	ya-Ø		
<i>he-AUG-LOC</i>	<i>word-NOM</i>		
manga-i-Ø-dhin			Bawu-ngu
<i>arrive-ACT-SG-RemP.PF</i>			<i>Bau-ABL</i>
ke-dha	mabayga-LAI		
<i>this-SIM</i>	<i>person-PRP</i>		
Bawu-ngu	ngapa		
<i>Bau-ABL</i>	<i>come</i>		
nu-be-ka	iima-'i-ka		
<i>he-AUG-DAT</i>	<i>see-VN-DAT</i>		

Multiple-Position Clause Modifying Particles:

Multiple-position clause-modifying particles can appear in various parts of the clause, and in certain cases can also appear more than once in the clause (as in the below example). The normal positions are post-subject, and/or pre-VP, and/or post-VP: **kay** *soon after* (< **kay** *here* NSp); **naay** *hypothesis, should, ought, supposed to, should have, if only, etc.*; **na, nanga** *clause reference, in reference to, if, when*; **sikay** *maybe, perhaps, possibly*; **yananob/yananab** *each, separate, one by one, in turn, in different places, grouped, in groups here and there, here and there, etc.*

Nabeka **na** senaabi zageth **na** mina koey ubigi zageth, wati zageth, nadh **na** nuyn yathapathan **na**.

*She found that work to be really detestable, a bad task, when she shaved him.*

na-be-ka		<b>na</b>	
<i>she-AUG-DAT</i>		<b>REF</b>	
se-na-bi		zagetha-Ø	<b>na</b>
<i>that-F-ART</i>		<i>work-NOM</i>	<b>REF</b>
mina	koey	ubi-gi	zagetha-Ø,
<i>true</i>	<i>big</i>	<i>liking-PRV</i>	<i>work-NOM</i>
wati			zagetha-Ø,
<i>bad</i>			<i>work-NOM,</i>
na-dha	<b>na</b>	nuy-NA	
<i>she-INS</i>	<b>REF</b>	<i>he-ACC</i>	
yatha+patha-Ø-Ø-n			<b>na</b>
<i>beard+cut-ATT-SG-PrPF</i>			<b>REF</b>

In this example, the referencing particle **na** is repeated four times to show both the referencing of the topic (a destable piece of work in her opinion), and the reference of the time frame, i.e. whenever she had to do it

Post-Referent:

Other particles always follow their referent, and in some cases are postclitics: **nge** (alt. **ngedh**) *then* (sequential); **waadha** *existential/reality emphasis*; **lawnga** *non-reality, non-existence, not, or, nor*; **gaar** *sympathy/empathy*; **dhe** *soft imperative*; **kay** *soft imperative*; **ay/oy** *vocative*; **wal** *both, and* (joins two as a pair); **kidh(a)** *reverse, crosswise, stirring, turn, other way, opposite, change*; **aw** *yes/no question, confirmation seeking particle*; **kaykay/kayke/kayne** *soon after, a bit later, etc.*

Kùniya nagaydhin nœ, nuy matha siyar **nge** thanamùniya wagem.  
*When she looked back, he was just then standing there (left) behind them.*

kùna-ya	naga-i-Ø-dhin	na,
back-N <sub>Sp</sub> Loc	look-ACT-SG-RemP.PF	REF,
nuy-Ø	matha	
he-NOM	only	
siya-Ø-Ø-r	<b>nge</b>	
stand-ATT-SG-RemP.IMPF	<i>then</i>	
thana-mù-ni-ya	wage-LAI	
theyPL-AUG-AUG-LOC	<i>behind-SLoc</i>	

Yes-no questions are marked by the sentence clitic **aw** (**aaw**), and sometimes **a** (**aa**). The construction contrasts with **mi**-questions (wh-questions), for which see Interrogative Nominals. In Kalaw Kawaw Ya **a** is the standard question clitic while **aw** is used is the confirmation clitic, that is to say, the equivalent to English tag questions of the type *He came late, didn't he?* In less polite speech the question clitic can be dropped, with a slight rising intonation showing the question, particularly in somewhat aggressive speech styles. **Aw** (**a**) is rarely used with **mi**-questions.

Declarative:  
 Baba sizi agungu adhaka nageka.

*Dad is looking outwards from there on the turtle lookout.*

Baba-Ø	si-zi	agu-ngu
dad-NOM	there-ABL	turtlelookout-ABL
adha-ka	naga-i-Ø-ka	
out-DAT	look-ACT-SG-PR.IMPF	

aw-question:

Baba sizi agungu adhaka nageka aw?  
 Wa/Lawnga.  
*Is Dad looking outwards from there on the turtle lookout?*  
 Yes/No

Declarative:

Baba sizi ziyaka nageka.  
 (ziya-ka cloud-DAT)  
*Dad is looking at the clouds from there.*

mi-question:

Baba sizi mika/mizapuka nageka?  
 (mi[-zapu]-ka *what, which*-DAT)  
*What is Dad looking at from there.*

Conjunctions

Apart from the dual conjunctive clitic **wal** (Kalaw Kawaw Ya **-w/-aw**), which is attached to both of the words it joins, conjunctions go between the words or clauses they join:

- a/aw** *and, or* – specific~restricting conjunction
- ya** *and others* – non-specific conjunction
- lawnga~law~lo** or (< **lawnga~law~lo** *no, not*)  
**ò** or (English loan)

Ama-wal Baba-wal (KKY Amaw-Babaw)  
*(both) Mum and Dad, neither Mum or Dad (as a couple)*

Ama a Baba, Ama aw Baba *Mum and Dad, Mum or Dad (together but not as a pair)*

Ama ya Baba ya kazil ya ngœy bath ya Mœgi  
*Baba Mum, Dad, the kids, Aunty, Uncle, and the others/so on*

Ama lawnga Baba, Ama law Baba, Ama lo  
*Baba Mum or Dad*

Ama ò Baba *Mum or Dad*

**Lawnga** or has a pause before it in careful speech, thus **Ama, lawnga Baba**, and in or-questions (*Mum or Dad?*) is used in conjunction with the interrogative clitic: *Ama aw, lawnga Baba aw ~ Ama, lawnga Baba aw? Mum or Dad?*

The dual conjunction is essentially a conjunction that shows a pair or a couple that go together. When the referents habitually go together, the 'set' Ø-conjunction construction is found: **apu-thaathi** 'mother and father, parents'; **gagay-thayak** 'bow-and-arrow, bow-and-arrows'; **alay-iipi** 'husband and wife, married couple', **ap-thath-kaazi** (< **apu-thaathi-kaazi** 'mother-father-child') 'nuclear family', and so on.

The conjunction **ya** may be the same morpheme as the clitic **-ya**, full form **-yabi**, used in Kalaw Lagaw Ya, but seemingly not in the other dialects, on kin-terms and culturally important common nouns to show that the reference is to the whole group who fit into the category specified by **ya**, thus **Athe Granddad**, **Granduncle** > **Atheyabi**, **Atheya** all *my-our Grandfathers*.

Ngay lak apasin ngaw Atheyabi a Akayabi kaypaypa kùlay thonarnu.

*I acknowledge my grandfathers and grandmothers from before.* (Alick Tipoti, personal communication)

ngayi-Ø	laka-Ø	
me-NOM	again.more-Ø	
apa+asi-Ø-Ø-n		nga-NGU
below+bewith-ATT-SG-PrPF		me-GEN
Athe-yabi	a	Aka-yabi
Granddad-group	and	Grandma-group
kay-paypa-Ø		kùl-LAI
NSp-aheadthere-SLoc		first-Sloc
thonara-nu		
time-SLoc		

Ngay kayib iinu nge kedha Atheya kuthinaw zageth matha angayka.

*Today I still continue to practice my forefathers' art.* (Alick Tipoti, personal communication)

ngayi-Ø	kayiba-Ø	ii-nu
me-NOM	today-Ø	this-M

nge ke-dha	Athe-ya
then hereNSp-SIM	Grandad-group
kuuthina-NGU	zagetha-Ø
art-GEN	work-ACC
matha	anga-'i-ka.
still	wield-VN-PrPF

#### CLAUSE EXTERNAL WORDS

Words that are external to the clause include: *wa yes, lawnga no, la!law! no!, la-lawnga! oh no!, sii I don't know, wo-o/o-o greeting call, agreement call, aa/mm hesitation, kùlay! lookout, beware!, pa! go on!, stop!, go on back!* (etc.), *òy! hoy!, saa right, now, let's see now, let's start, etc., œ! that's a lie!, etc.*

Despite the translation just given, **wa** and **lawnga** do not have the same value as *yes* and *no* in English. These latter say 'yes' or 'no' to the underlying truth of the sentence:

Do you speak Kalaw Lagaw Ya?

Yes = Yes, I do speak Kalaw Lagaw Ya.

No = No, I don't speak Kalaw Lagaw Ya.

Don't you speak Kalaw Lagaw Ya?

Yes = Yes, I do speak Kalaw Lagaw Ya.

No = No, I don't speak Kalaw Lagaw Ya.

**Wa** and **lawnga** say 'yes' or 'no' to the words of the sentence; for example **wa** in answers to negative statements or questions translates as *no* in English, and **lawnga** as *yes*:

Ni Gøemulgaw Yangu ngulayg aw?

Wa = Yes, I do speak Kalaw Lagaw Ya.

Lawnga = No, I don't speak Kalaw Lagaw Ya.

ni-Ø Gøemu-LAI-IGA-NGU

you-NOM Gøemu-PRP-PNom-GEN

ya-NGU ngùr-LAI-IGA-Ø aaw

speech-ABL knowledge-PRP-PNom-NOM.Q

Ni Gøemulgaw Yangu køerawayg aw?

Wa = No, I don't speak Kalaw Lagaw Ya.

Lawnga = Yes, I do speak Kalaw Lagaw Ya.

--- karaway-IGA-Ø ---

--- ignorance-PNom-NOM ---

EXCEPTIONS TO NON-MORPHOLOGICAL VARIATION

Word modifiers, clause modifiers and words external to the clause are invariable, except for the following three paradigms:

a) **sikay** *perhaps, maybe*: a compound of **sii** *I don't know* and **kay** *however*. Through association with **se-/si-** *that, there* the word has developed masculine and feminine forms, respectively **sinukay** and **sinakay**

Raasa sikay/sinakay lagaka pungáyka.  
*Maybe that storm is heading for my home island.*  
 raasa-Ø sii-[na]+kay  
*storm-NOM don't.know-[F]+however*  
 laaga-ka puunga-'i-ka.  
*home-DAT sail-VN-DAT*

Gùuba sikay/sinukay lagiya sizarima.  
*Maybe the wind came down over my home island*  
 gùba-Ø sii-[nu]+kay  
*wind-NOM don't.know-[M]+however*  
 laga-ya sizara-i-Ø-ma  
*home-NSpLoc swoopdown-ACT-SG-TodP.PF*

b) **kame, kake, kole** *hey! excuse me!*: these three words are respectively masculine, feminine and non-singular

c) **yawa** *goodbye, see you, have a safe journey, farewell*: this word is used when saying farewell to one person (place, etc.); when addressing two or more people, the non-singular form is **yawal**.

CLAUSE SYNTAX

All clauses have a verb as the basis, except in identity clauses (X = Y), which are verbless. Other verbless clauses have underlying verbs. Many events or states are expressed by nominal-verb compounds or semi-compounds (collocations) with the nominal forming an essential part of the verbal meaning. In such instances, the whole verb phrase must be regarded as a complex head.

There are no di-transitive verbs as there are in English or Meriam Mir, and there are no valency changing operations except for the active suffix **-i**. Periphrastic constructions express meanings such as inchoative and causative.

Core Clauses Types

As stated earlier, the language is S-O-V in typology (specific object transitive A-X-O-V, intransitive S-X-V, reflexive S-X(-O)-V, generalised/total object transitive S-X-A(=O)-V). However, as is the case with all highly inflected languages, word order is essentially free.

Nadh gabudhan nungu yatha pathanu.  
*She shaved him slowly and carefully (literally She cut his beard slowly and carefully)*  
 naa-dha gabu-dha-n nu-NGU  
*she-INS cold-SIM-INS he-GEN*  
 yatha-Ø patha-Ø-Ø-nu  
*beard-ACC cut-ATT-SG-TodP.PF*

Na adhaka nagema.  
*She looked out(wards).*  
 naa-Ø adha-ka naga-i-Ø-ma  
*she-NOM out-DAT*  
 naga-i-Ø-ma  
*look.watch-ACT-SG-ACT.TodP.PF*

Na aman kabageth mathayma.  
*She hit her thumb with the hammer.*  
 naa-Ø ama-n  
*she-NOM hammerINS*  
 kaba+getha-Ø mathama-i-Ø-ma  
*paddle+hand-ACC hit-ACT-SG-ACT.TodP.PF*

Na therarmaythan wœydhema.  
*She boiled (all) the intestines.*  
 naa-Ø thera-LAI-maytha-n  
*she-NOM bitterness-PRP-belly-INS*  
 wœydhema-i-Ø-ma  
*put.place.boil-ACT-SG-ACT.TodP.PF*

Negative and Emphatic Clauses

Clause negation has two types, (a) the negation of the statement or part thereof, marked by the clause particle **lawnga**

(in Kùlkalgau Ya **lœing**) *not*, and (b) privative negation, i.e. the negation of the state or action of the verb, marked by the nominalised privative form of the verbal noun coupled with the marking the subject and object by the genitive, or the privative form of a nominal with regular subject marking. Kalaw Kawaw Ya differs by retaining the positive clause nominal marking. **Lawnga** is variable in position, it can come after the clause/sentence (clause negation) or the specific phrase or word that is to be negated (phrase negation). Negative clauses can only have one negator.

Positive

Senuubi puuyi kapu puuyi gulka aymayka.  
*That tree is a good tree for making a canoe.*  
 se-nu-bi puuyi-Ø kapu  
*that-M-ART tree-NOM good*  
 puuyi-Ø guul-ka ayima-'i-ka  
*tree-NOM canoe-DAT make-VN-DAT*

Negative

Senuubi puuyi kapu puuyi gulka aymayka lawnga.  
 Senuubi puuyi kapu puuyi lawnga gulka aymayka.  
*That is not a good tree for making canoes.*

(a) privative negation

Positive

Baydhaman nungu ngaara pathadhin.  
*A shark bit his leg.*  
 baydhama-n nu-NGU ngaara-Ø  
*shark-INS he-GEN leg-ACC*  
 patha-Ø-Ø-dhin.  
*bite(fish)-ATT-SG-RemP.PF*

Negative

Baydhamaw nungu ngaraw pœtháyginga (KKY Baydhaman nungu ngaar pœtháyginga)  
*A shark didn't bite his leg.*  
 baydhama-NGU nu-NGU  
*shark-GEN he-GEN*  
 ngaara-NGU patha-'i-gi-nga-Ø  
*leg-GEN bite-VN-PRV-NOM*

**Lawnga** is the opposite of **waadha/waadh** (Kalaw Kawaw Ya **waza** [wa:za]), which shows emphasis of the reality or truth of the assertion. **Wa** *yes* in origin may be an abbreviation of **waadha**. The positioning of **waadha** depends on which part of the clause falls in its scope. As with **lawnga**, this can be on the whole clause or on a phrase/word.

Sena waadha nabeka mina ubigi zageth.  
*That really was for her a very hateful task.*  
 se-na-Ø waadha na-be-ka  
*that-F-NOM emphatic she-AUG-DAT*  
 mina ubi-gi zagetha-Ø  
*true desire-PRV work-NOM*

Sena lawnga nabeka mina ubigi zageth.  
 Mina ubil zageth waadha!  
*That is not a task that is very hateful to her. She actually loves it!*  
 se-na-Ø lawnga  
*that-F-NOM not*  
 na-be-ka mina ubi-gi  
*she-AUG-DAT true desire-PRV*  
 zagetha-Ø. mina ubi-LAI  
*work-NOM. true desire-PRP*  
 zagetha-Ø waadha  
*word-NOM emphatic*

The emphatic versions of the two positive examples given above under (a) statement negation and (b) privative negation are:

Senuubi puuyi kapu puuyi gulka aymayka waadha.  
*That tree really is a good tree for making a canoe.*  
 Baydhaman waadha nungu ngaara pathadhin.  
*It really was a/the shark that bit his leg.*

The use of **lawnga** to negate clauses includes the negation of negatives:

Ngay lawnga kœmathalzagig.  
 Ngay kœmathalzagig lawnga.  
*I am not someone who has no money; I am not the~a person who has no money.*  
 ngayi-Ø lawnga  
*my+NOM not*  
 kœmatha-LAI+za-gi-IGA  
*shine-PRP+thing-PRV-PNom*

**Lawnga** can also negate the verb of a clause, however this is an emphatic focusing on negation, having semantics similar to *actually not*:

Nuy pùrthema lawnga.  
*He didn't actually eat earlier today.*  
 nuy-Ø pùràtha-i-Ø-ma  
*he+NOM eat-ACT-SG-ACT.Sg.TodP*  
 lawnga  
*not*

This contrasts with the ordinary negative, which simply states that the action/state expressed by the verb did/does not exist:

Nungu (kayib) pùrtháyinga.  
*He didn't-doesn't eat (today);*  
*i.e. his eating did-does not exist (today).*  
 nu-NGU (kayiba-Ø) pùràtha-'i-gi-nga  
*him-GEN (today-Ø) eat-VN-PRV-ImpNom*

#### Transitivity and Voice

Transitivity and voice in the language are marked by the interplay between verb and nominal morphology, and are syntactic categories. The interaction of case and verb form operates as displayed in Table 14. There are three categories, specific transitive (subsumes passive), nonspecific transitive (i.e. antipassive; subsumes non-specific passive) and intransitive (subsumes reflexive and stative). Where voice is concerned, the distinction between active and passive depends mainly on word order and the presence or absence of the subject. Example 1 below is an active transitive, 2 is a passive, and 3 is an intransitive

1. Bala wœiwil paraminu.  
*Brother picked some mangoes. (active syntax)*  
 bala-Ø wœiwi-LAI  
*brother-NOM mango-PL*  
 para-Ø-MAYI-nu  
*harvest-ATT-PL-TodP.PF*

2. Wœiwil paraminu.  
*Some mangoes were picked. (passive syntax)*

wœiwi-LAI para-Ø-MAYI-nu  
*mango-PL harvest-ATT-PL-TodP.PF*

3. Wœiwil pareminu.  
*Some mangoes fell/dropped. (active syntax)*  
 wœiwi-LAI para-i-MAYI-nu  
*mango-PL harvest-ACT-PL-TodP.PF*

The specific transitive focuses on a specific patient or patients, while the non-specific transitive shows that the action is on a non-specifiable, global, generalised or total patient or patients (marked by the instrumental), or on a non-specifiable one-or-more patient or patients (marked by the non-specific locative). The verb in the specific transitive can be either attainative (4) or active (5), depending on the affect on the object, while the active form of the verb is part of the syntax of the intransitive (6) and the non-specific transitive (7).

4. Umayn maadhu lumadh.  
*The dog was looking for a/the (specific) piece of meat.*  
 ùmay-n maadhu-Ø  
*dog-INS meat-ACC*  
 luuma-Ø-Ø-adh  
*seek-ATT-SG-TodP.IMPF*

5. Ngath bòòla palema.  
*I kicked a/the ball*  
*(the whole ball underwent the action).*  
 nga-tha bòòla-Ø  
*me-INS ball-ACC*  
 pala-i-Ø-ma  
*cause-ACT-SG-ACT.TodP.PF*

6. Umay madhuya lumeyadh.  
*The dog was looking for (some/any) meat.*  
 ùmay-Ø maadhu-ya  
*dog-NOM meat-NSpLoc*  
 luuma-i-Ø-adh.  
*seek-ACT-SG-TodP.IMPF*

7. Zagethaw kœzil bùpan pathema.  
*The workers cut all the grass.*

The actor can also be marked by the ablative, which puts emphasis on the actor as an adjunct to the clause (8, 9), or the genitive, which shows habitual action by the actor (10, 11).

8. Nungungu guul zilami  
*The canoe is run/sped along by HIM.*  
 HE runs the canoe along.  
 nu-NGU-**ngu** guula-Ø  
*he-GEN-ABL sailingcanoe-ACC*  
 zilama-i-Ø-IZI  
*run-ACT-SG-ACT-SG-PrPF*

9. Malil Babanungu nithun  
*The iron-tipped spear is cast by DAD.*  
 DAD casts the iron-tipped spear.  
 maalila-Ø Baba-NI-**ngu**  
*metal-ACC Dad-GEN-ABL*  
 niithu-Ø-Ø-n  
*cast-ATT-SG-PrPF*

10. Nungu Badhuka zagethka patheka  
*He has the habit of travelling to Badu for work.*  
 nu-NGU Badhu-ka zagetha-ka  
*he-GEN B.-DAT work-DAT*  
 patha-i-Ø-ka  
*embark-ACT-SG-PrIMPF*

11. Baban gaydhiw sægul pøelaykøeruyg  
*Dad is in the habit of practicing archery.*  
 Baba-NI gaydhi-NGU sagula-Ø  
*Dad-GEN archery-GEN game-ACC*  
 pala-'i-køeruyg  
*cause-VN-HAB*

TABLE 14. Transitive-intransitive and active-passive structures.

(perfective singular examples)	Actor	object	verb
active intransitive non-reflexive	NOM	n/a	active
Ùmay zilami. <i>The dog runs.</i>	ùmay-Ø		ziilama-i-Ø-IZI <i>run-ACT-SG-ACT.SG.PrPF</i>
active intransitive reflexive	NOM	ACC	active
Ùmay kawra thami. <i>The dog moves its ear.</i>	ùmay-Ø	kawra-Ø	thama-i-Ø-IZI <i>move-ACT-SG-ACT.SG.PrPF</i>
attainative intransitive	NOM	n/a	attainative
Ùmay thaman. <i>The dog speeds away.</i>	ùmay-Ø		thama-Ø-Ø-n <i>move-ACT-SG-PrPF</i>
attainative stative	NOM	n/a	attainative
Ùmay ina yuka. <i>The dog is lying here.</i>			yøew-Ø-Ø-ka <i>lie.lean-ATT-SG-PrIMPF</i>
active specific transitive	INS	ACC	active
Ùmayn katube pali. <i>The dog hits/flicks the frog.</i> Katube pali <i>The frog is hit/flicked.</i>	ùmay-n	katube-Ø	pala-i-Ø-IZI <i>cause.hit-ACT-SG-ACT.SG.PrPF</i>
attainative specific transitive	INS	ACC	attainative
Ùmayn sòdha idhan. <i>The dog chews up the shirt.</i> Sòdha idhan. <i>The shirt gets chewed up.</i>	ùmay-n	sòdha-Ø	iidha-Ø-Ø-n <i>chewup-ATT-SG-PrPF</i>
active non-specific transitive (global)	NOM	INS	active
Ùmay katuben pali. <i>The dog hits/flicks all the frogs.</i> Katuben pali. <i>All the frogs are hit/flicked.</i>	ùmay-Ø	katube-n	pala-i-Ø-IZI <i>cause.hit-ACT-SG-ACT.SG.PrPF</i>
active non-specific transitive (indefinite)	NOM	NSpLoc	active
Ùmay uruyya lumi. <i>The dog looks for prey.</i> Uruyya lumi. <i>Prey is looked for.</i>	ùmay-Ø	uruy-ya	luuma-i-Ø-IZI <i>search-ACT-SG-ACT.SG.PrPF</i>

Clause Modality and Aspect

The finite verb is marked only for the positive declarative and imperative moods and the perfective, imperfective and habitual aspects.

a) declarative

Gùban maalu kidhathayanu. (perfective)  
*The wind stirred up the water earlier today.*  
 gùba-n maalu-Ø  
*wind-INS sea-ACC*  
 kidha-thaya-Ø-Ø-nu.  
*back&forth-throw-ATT-SG-TodP.PF*

Gùban maalu kidhathayadh. (imperfective)  
*The wind was stirring up the water earlier today.*  
 --- kidha-thaya-Ø-Ø-adh.  
 --- *back&forth-throw-ATT-SG-TodP.IMP*

Gùban maalu kidhathœyákuruyg. (habitual)  
*The wind used to stir/usually stirs/will be stirring up the water.*  
 --- kidha-thaya-'i-kœruig.  
 --- *back&forth-throw-VN-HAB.*

b) imperative

Gùùba! Maalu kidhathayar! (perfective)  
*Wind! Stir up the water!*  
 --- kidha-thaya-Ø-Ø-r!  
 --- *back&forth-throw-ATT-SG-SgS.IMP.PF*

Gùùba! Maalu kidhathayadh! (imperfective)  
*Wind! Be stirring up the water!*  
 --- kidha-thaya-Ø-Ø-adh!  
 --- *back&forth-throw-ATT-SG-IMP.IMP*

Gùùba! Maalu kidhathayane! (perfective)  
*Wind! Stir up the water later on!*  
 --- kidha-thaya-Ø-Ø-ne!  
 --- *back&forth-throw-ATT-SG-ATT.RemF*

Gùùba! Maalu kidhathœyákuruyg!  
 (imperfective~habitual)  
*Wind! Be stirring up the water later on!*  
 --- kidha-thaya-'i-kœruig.  
 --- *back&forth-throw-VN-HAB*

Other moods and aspects are expressed by the cases or derived forms of the verbal noun, such as the clause negative and negative imperative, the resultative-causative,

avoidance, the purposive, 'supposed to', affective modality, and so on.

a) Clause negative - verbal noun nominalised privative

Gùbaw maluw kidhathœyáginga.  
*The wind doesn't/didn't/won't stir up the water*  
 gùba+NGU maalu+NGU  
*wind+GEN sea+GEN*  
 kidha-thaya-'i-**gi-nga**  
*back&forth-throw-VN-PRV-IMPNom*

b) Negative imperative - verbal noun unmarked privative

Gùùba, maluw kidhathœyáyg!  
*Wind, do not stir up the water!*  
 gùba+Ø maalu+NGU  
*wind+NOM sea+GEN*  
 kidha-thaya-'i-**gi**  
*back&forth-throw-VN-PRV*

c) Resultative/Causative - verbal noun nominalised resultative

Maalu gùbaw kidhathœyáyzinga.  
*The sea was/is/has been stirred up by the wind.*  
 maalu+Ø gùba+NGU  
*sea+NOM wind+GEN*  
 kidha-thaya-'i-**zi-nga**  
*back&forth-throw-VN-RES-IMPNom*

d) Avoidance – the verbal noun and the core arguments (subject, object) are marked by the ablative

Maydhalgan maaydha aymadhin, gùbangu malungu kidhathœyáylay.  
*The magic-man made magic so that the wind would not stir up the sea.*  
 maidha-LAI-IGA-n maidha-Ø  
*magic-PRP-PNom-INS magic-ACC*  
 ayima-Ø-Ø-dhin  
*make-ATT-SG-RemP.PF*  
 gùba-**ngu** malu-**ngu**  
*wind-ABL sea-ABL*  
 kidha-thaya-'i-**lay**  
*back&forth-throw-VN-ABL*

e) Purposive – the verbal noun and the core arguments (subject, object) are marked by the dative

Kuki mangema, maluka kidhathœyáyka.  
*The north-west wind arrived, to stir up the sea*  
 kukiya-Ø manga-i-Ø-ma,  
*Northwest-NOM arrive-ACT-SG-SG.TdP.PF*  
 maalu-ka kidha-thaya-'i-ka.  
*sea-DAT back&forth-throw-VN-DAT*

f) 'supposed to'~'is to' modality: verbal noun genitive plus a referencing noun

Maalu Kuki-gùbaw kidhathœyáy za, kasa kay kayib mœthar ulayka.  
*The north-west wind is supposed to stir up the sea, but today the sea is calm.*  
 maalu-Ø kukiya+gùba-NGU  
*sea-NOM northwest+wind-GEN*  
 kidha-thaya-'i-NGU za-Ø  
*back&forth-throw-VN-GEN thing-NOM*  
 kasa kay kayiba-Ø  
*only however today*  
 mœtharu-Ø wœlama-i-Ø-ka  
*calmweather-NOM goIMPF-ACT-SG-DAT*

Ngay TI-ka uzaray kaazi ngaw kuthinaka yakamayka (yakamaka/yakamka).  
*I am to go to TI to display my art work.*  
 ngayi-Ø TI-ka uuzara-'i-NGU  
*I-NOM TI-DAT go-VN-GEN*  
 Kaazi-Ø nga-NGU  
*person-NOM I-GEN*  
 kuuthina-ka yakama-'i-ka.  
*art-DAT show-VN-DAT.*

g) 'Affective' modality: the person (or ...) is affected by the action of the verb in some way, this being shown by the instrumental marking on the verbal noun

Ngœy maluw bawal imaminu, gùbaw kidhathœyáy n.  
*We saw the waves of the sea, stirred up by the wind.*  
 ngœyi-Ø maalu-NGU baawa-LAI  
*weEXC.PL-NOM sea-GEN wave-PL*  
 iima-Ø-MAYI-nu gùba-NGU  
*see.find-ATT-PL-TodP.PF wind-GEN*  
 kidha-thaya-'i-n  
*back&forth-throw-VN-INS*

The use of the cases and derivational forms for modality and aspect is true for all nouns, given the appropriate semantics. Some nouns with a strong activity meaning, such as **maaba** *walk*, can also take the verbal noun ablative, thus **mabalay** *avoid walking* as well as **mabangu** *from walking, avoid walking*. Similarly, the Ø-marked privative of activity or stative nouns gives a negative imperative mood to the noun:

aka <i>fear</i>	akagi <i>fearless</i>	akagi! <i>don't be afraid!</i>
maaba <i>walk</i>	mabagi <i>without walking</i>	mabagi! <i>don't walk!</i>
ngurum <i>wrath</i>	ngurumagi <i>unangry</i>	ngurumagi! <i>don't be angry!</i>
yaa <i>speech, talk, words</i>	yagi <i>speechless, wordless</i>	yaagi! <i>don't speak!</i>
uubi <i>want, desire, liking</i>	ubigi <i>lack of desire, unliked</i>	ubigi! <i>don't desire (it)!</i>

*Verbal Deixis.* Two words are used to show approaching movement, **bœy** (alt. **buy**) and **ngapa**. They are synonomous on the whole, the only difference being that **bœy** is only used in intransitive clauses (*coming*), while **ngapa** can be intransitive and transitive (*coming, bringing*). **Bœy** and **ngapa** are part of the non-declining parts of speech.

Baydham siki bœy/ngapa tœdayka.  
*There is a shark swimming this way.*  
 baydhama-Ø si-ki  
*shark-NOM there-NSpLoc*  
 bœy/ngapa tada-'i-ka.  
*coming meander-VN-PR.IMPF*

Mœgi thiyaman ngapa dagul anganu.  
*The little lad brought a fishing spear.*  
 mœgi thiyama-n ngapa  
*small lad-INS coming*  
 dagula-Ø anga-Ø-Ø-nu  
*fishingspear-ACC bear-ATT-SG-TodP.PF*

Subordination, Relative and Interrogative  
Clause Marking

The marking of subordinate, relative and interrogative clauses is of two main types. Descriptive relative clauses can be both adjectival clauses or the like or clauses marked by a relative clause marker, while subordinate and interrogative clauses are marked by appropriate clause markers. In clauses that have been transformed into complex adjectival phrases, the verb is nominalised, and marked either by the genitive or the proprietive;

gimiya wœrfl uruy *the bird that flew-flies overhead*  
giima-ya wari-'i-LAI uruy-Ø  
*above-NSLoc fly-VN-PRP creature-NOM*

madhuw pũrthayl uruy *the animal that eats meat, the meat-eating animal*  
madhu-NGU pũratha-'i-LAI uruy-Ø  
*meat-GEN eat-VN-PRP creature-NOM*

madhuw pũrthay uruy *the animal that eats meat, the animal that is eating meat*  
madhu-NGU pũratha-'i-NGU uruy-Ø  
*meat-GEN eat-VN-GEN creature-NOM*

zagehaw ayimay kaazi *the child-youth-bloke who does the work*  
zageha-NGU ayima-'i-NGU kaazi-Ø  
*work-GUN make.do-VN-GEN child-NOM*

mamiyapaw patháyzi ipika *the woman who (has) cut the pawpaw*  
mamiyapa-NGU patha-'i-zi  
*pawpaw-GEN cut.chop-VN-RES*  
ipikazi-Ø  
*female.woman-NOM*

mòdhabiw gasamaygi-gasamgi zagehaw garkazil *the workmen who have not been paid, the unpaid workmen*  
mòdhabi-NGU gasama-'i-gi  
*payment-GEN get.catch-VN-PRV*  
zageha-NGU garakazi-LAI  
*work-GEN male.man-PRP*

pœnipœniw zazamayzi-zazamzi puuyi *the tree that was/has been set alight by the lightning*  
pœnipani-NGU zazama-'i-zi puuyi-Ø  
*lightening-GEN kindle-VN-RES plant-NOM*

As with all adjectival clauses, when not part of the noun phrase, they must be nominalised, normally by one of the two nominalising suffixes, or with a dummy nominal such as **za thing**, often accompanied by the neutral clause marker **na/nanga** and alternatively an interrogative pronoun, particularly when +human (see further below):

uruy gimiyá wœrflnga (na/nanga) *the bird that flew-flies overhead*

uruy madhuw pũrthaylnga (na/nanga) *the animal that eats meat, the meat-eating animal*

uruy madhuw pũrthay za (na/nanga) *the animal that eats meat, the animal that is eating meat*

kaazi zagehaw ayimay kaazi (na/nanga) *the child-youth-bloke who does the work*

ipika mamiyapaw patháyzig (na/nanga) *the woman who (has) cut the pawpaw*

zagehaw garkazil mòdhabiw gasamaygigal (na/nanga) *the workmen who have not been paid, the unpaid workmen*

puuyi pœnipœniw zazamayzinga-zazamzinga (na/nanga) *the tree that was/has been set alight by the lightning*

The core clause markers are **kay**, **na/nanga**, **nay/naay**, **midha(kidh)** and **kedha**. These mark five clause types, concessive, neutral-referencing, conditional-hypothetical, interrogative and similitive.

**Kay**: concessive subordination - *but, however, although*, etc.

Thana matha ugay, kasa **kay** gũbaw payáyginga.  
*They were waiting, however no wind blew.*  
Thana-Ø matha  
they.PL-NOM still  
uuga-i-Ø-Ø,  
*wait-ACT-AnimPL-RemP.IMP*  
kasa **kay** gũba-NGU  
*just however*  
wind-GEN  
paya-'i-gi-nga  
*blow-VN-PRV-ImpNom*

**Na/nanga**: neutral subordination, referencing clauses - *with reference to, referring to, as for, with regards to, if, when, etc.* This contrasts with the conditional clause marker **nay/naay** (see below). **Na/nanga** can appear more than once in its clause, and rarely appears first in the clause. The form **nanga** in KLY is relatively rare, and normally comes only at the end of the clause.

Awgadhaw woenab **na**, minakœy adhapudhay za ngalpùnika mariwdanalgaka.

*As for/In reference to God's blessing, it is an outstanding thing for us and for our spiritual life.*

Awgadha-NGU woenaba-Ø **na**,  
God-GEN blessing-NOM REF,  
mina+kœy adha+puudha-'i za-Ø  
very+big out+fall-VN thing-NOM  
ngalpü-ni-ka mari-NGU  
we.INC.PL-AUG-DAT spirit-GEN  
dana-lai-IGA-ka.  
life-PRP-PNom-DAT

Ni **na** nubia niatha gimawali na, ni nika, dhangal ugayka ...

*When you climb up on the platform, you sit, waiting for a dugong ...*

ni-Ø **na** nu-be-ya  
you-NOM REF he-AUG-LOC  
niatha-LAI gima+wala-i-Ø-IZI **na**  
platform-SLoc above+climb-ACT-SG-ACT.PrP  
ni-Ø ni-Ø-Ø-ka,  
you-NOM sit-ATT-SG-PrIMPF  
dhangala-Ø uuga-'i-ka ...  
dugong-ACC wait-VN-PrIMPF

Ina waruw maadhu **na**, mina kapu mitalnga waadha!

*As for this turtle meat here, it's really delicious!*

ii-na waru-NGU maadhu-Ø **na**,  
this-F turtle-GEN meat-NOM REF,  
mina kapu mitha-LAI-nga-Ø  
waadha!

*very good taste-PRP-ImpNom-NOM  
emphatic existential*

Ubar **na** parema **na**, kazi kusumka zilayma.

*When the Torres Strait plum dropped, the kid rang to collect it.*

ubara-Ø **na**  
plum-NOM REF

para-i-Ø-ma **na**,  
harvest-ACT-SG-ACT.RecP.PF REF,  
kazi-Ø kusuma-'i-ka  
child-NOM collect-VN-DAT  
zilama-i-Ø-ma.  
run-ACT-SG-ACT.RecP.PF

Ni **na** kùlay mangi, pasa pudar dhe.  
*If you arrive first, open the door.*

ni-Ø **na** kùl-lai  
you-NOM REF first-SLoc  
manga-i-Ø-IZI, pasa-Ø  
arrive-ACT-SG-ACT.PrPF, door-NOM  
puuda-Ø-Ø-r dhe  
open-ATT-SG-SG.S.IMP IMP

Nuy matha kedha paada nabiya midhuy **na/nanga**.

*He is the same height as she is.*

nuy-Ø matha ke-dha paada-Ø  
He-NOM only this-INS/SIM top-NOM  
na-be-ya mi-dhu-y **na(nga)**  
she-LOC-LOC what-INS-? REF

**Na/nanga** is also found in main clauses in certain structures with its referencing use:

Thana kedha mabayg **na/nanga**.

*They are that kind of community.*

thana-Ø ke-dha mabayga-Ø  
theyPL-NOM this-INS/SIM person-NOM  
**na(nga)**  
REF

Na nanu Akania midha **na/nanga**.

*She is like her Grandma*

na-Ø nan-NGU Aka-ni-ya  
she-NOM she-GEN Grandma-AUG-LOC  
mi-dha **na(nga)**  
what-INS/SIM REF

Garwidhamay kuykayimka kay siks aklok **na/nanga**.

*The meeting is going to start at 6.*

gar-wœidha-ma-'i-NGU  
COL-place-INT-VN-GEN  
kuyku+ayima-Ø-Ø-ka ka-y  
head+make-ATT-SG-DAT soon -SLoc  
siks+akloka-Ø **na(nga)**  
six+o'clock-NOM REF

**Nay/naay:** conditional and hypothetical clauses – *if, if X should, would~should*. As with **na/nanga**, **nay/naay** can appear more than once in the clause, and can appear in main clauses as well as.

Lawnga, tukuy paw watharaw tidayinginga **nay**, nubeka kœyzageth watharan muyka zazamka. *No, if my brother didn't fetch any firewood, it would be impossible for him to kindle the fire.*

lawnga,	tœkuyapa-NGU	
no	samesexsib-GEN	
wathara-NGU		
firewood-GEN		
tiida-'i-gi-nga-Ø		<b>nay</b>
fetch-VN-PRV-ImpNom-NOM		<i>if.should</i>
nu-be-ka	kœy+zagetha-Ø	
him-AUG-DAT	big+work-NOM	
wathara-n	muy-ka	
firewood-INS	fire-DAT	
zazama-'i-ka		
kindle-VN-DAT		

Nungu **nay** wati wakaythamam, nungu kedha mina yangu mulayinginga **nay**. *If he were to have bad thoughts, he would not tell the truth.*

nu-NGU	<b>nay</b>	wati
him-GEN	<i>if.should</i>	bad
wakaya+thama-ma-Ø		
voice+move-INT-NOM		
nu-NGU	ke-dha	mina
him-GEN	here-INS.SIM	real
ya-NGU		
speech-GEN		
muula-'i-gi-nga-Ø	<b>nay</b>	
produce-VN-PRV-ImpNom-NOM		

Dokta, ni **nay** kay, nguzu babathaw uummayginga **nay**. *Doctor, if you had been here, my brother would not be dead.*

Dokta-Ø,	ni-Ø	<b>nay</b>
Doctor-NOM	you-NOM	<i>if.should</i>
kay	nga-zu	
hereNSp	me-GEN.F	
babatha-NGU		
oppositesexsib-GEN		
uuma+ma-'i-gi-nga	<b>nay</b>	
death+take.move.be-VN-PRV-ImpNom-NOM		

Both **na/nanga** and **nay/naay** enter into collocation with **lawnga** to express *if not, in the case of no*:

Ngœy ngulaygal kedha ni mina mœbayg. Lawnga **nay** ninu kedha adhaphudhay zagethaw ayimginga.

*We know that you are a true and honest person. If it were not so you would not do such excellent work.*

ngœyi-Ø		ngulayga-LAI
wePLEXC-NOM		knower-PRP
ke-dha	ni-Ø	mina
here-INS.SIM	you-NOM	true.real
mabayga-Ø.	lawnga <b>nay</b>	nin-NGU
person-NOM.	no	<i>if.should</i> you-GEN
ke-dha	adha+puudha-'i	
here-INS.SIM	out+fall-VN	
zagetha-NGU		
work-GEN		
ayima-'i-gi-nga-Ø		
make.do-VN-PRV-ImpNom-NOM		

Nidh seenu ngaw kaazi imanu aw? Lawnga **na**, ni ngulayg ngadh imanu aw?

*Did you see my son? If not, do you know who did? Did you see my son? If not, do you know who did?*

ni-dha	se-nu	nga-NGU
you-INS	there-M	me-GEN.M
kaazi-Ø	iima-Ø-Ø-nu	aw
child-ACC	see-ATT-SG-TodP.Pf	Q
lawnga	na	ni-Ø
no	REF	you-NOM
nga-dha	iima-Ø-Ø-nu	aw
who-INS	see-ATT-SG-TodP.Pf	Q

**Midha(kidh)** *how, like what* has a wide-spread use as a general interrogative clause marker, as in the following two examples:

Nidh **midha/midhakidh** gagay ayiman.

*How you make a bow.*

ni-dha	<b>mi-dha[-kidha]</b>
youSG-INS	what-INS[-GLoc]
gagayi-Ø	ayima-Ø-Ø-n
bow-ACC	make.do-ATT-SG-PrPF

Na apuuwa kadaytharaydhin adhaka maaba uzarima imâyka, **midha** mabayg ngapa ulmay.

*The mother stood up and walked outside to see if/whether someone was coming.*

na-Ø apuuwa-Ø  
 her-NOM mother-NOM  
 kaday+thara-i-Ø-dhin  
 upward+standerect-ACT-SG-RemPPf  
 adha-ka  
 out-DAT  
 maaba+uuzara-i-Ø-ma  
 walk+go+ACT-SG-ACT.TodP.Pf  
 iima-'i-ka **mi-dha**  
 see-VN-DAT **what-INS.SIM**  
 mabayga-Ø ngapa  
 person-NOM come  
 wœlama-i-Ø-r  
 goIMPF-ACT-SG-RemP.IMPF

A related use of **midha(kidh)** is in idioms for suggestions, along the lines of English 'how about...', 'what about...', and so on. The uses of **midha(kidh)** in sentences such below are abbreviations of clauses such as **ninu wakaythœmam midhakidh** *How is your thinking*, i.e. *What is your opinion, What do you think*

(Ninu wakaythœmam) **Midhikidh?** Ngœba tika uzareuman, aw?  
*How about we go to tea?; What do you think? We go to tea now?*  
 (nin+NGU wakay-thama-ma-Ø)  
 (youSg+GEN voice-move-INT-NOM)  
**mi-dha** ngœba-Ø  
**what-INS.SIM** weDUInc-NOM  
 ti-ka uzâra-i-NGAUMA-n aw  
 tea-DAT goSgDu-ACT-DU-PrPf Q

Other interrogative pronouns are also found as interrogative clause markers, often in conjunction with **na/nanga**:

Mabaygan **ngadha na** kipa lagaka ngapa guruk angan **na**, kunumaymœbaygan nuyn dhœrdhimaka kay.  
*Any person who brings alcohol here to the island will be arrested by the police.*  
 mabayga-n **nga-dha na** ki-pa  
 person-INS **who-INS REF** here-DAT  
 laga-ka ngapa gœruka-Ø  
 place-DAT come alcohol-ACC  
 anga-Ø-Ø-n **na**  
 bear-ATT-SG-PrPf **REF**

kunuma-'i-NGU mabayga-n nuy-na  
 tie-VN-GEN person-INS he-ACC  
 dhœrdhima-Ø-Ø-ka ka-i  
 arrest-ATT-SG+NFut.PF hereNSp-LOC

**Ngaya** mabaygan kulay dhadhabuth gasaman, thana gœyga ugan, wigel kusul ngûkin malamin.

*Whoever of the people first reach the area, they wait for the sun, then fill the coconut water flasks.*

Whoever of the people first reach the area, they wait for the sun, then fill the coconut water flasks.

**nga-ya** mabayga-n kûl-lay  
**who-andothers** person-INS first-SLoc  
 dhadha+bûtha-Ø gasama-Ø-Ø-n,  
 mid+room-ACC get-ATT-SG-PrPf  
 thana-Ø gœyga-Ø  
 theyPL-NOM day-ACC  
 uuga-Ø-Ø-n, wage-LAI  
 wait-ATT-SG-PrPf behind-SLoc  
 kusu-LAI ngûki-n  
 coconutwaterflask-PRP water-INS  
 mala-Ø-MAYI-n  
 fill-ATT-PL- PrPf

Ni ngûlayg iinu ngay **nga** ngûkika umika wanika. Iina umalnga lawnga.  
*You know who I am who is telling you to drink. This isn't poison.*

ni-Ø ngûlayga-Ø i-nu  
 you-NOM knower-NOM here-M  
 ngayi-Ø **nga-Ø** ngûki-ka  
 me-NOM **who-NOM** water.drink-DAT  
 uuma-i-Ø-ka wani-'i-ka  
 weave-ACT-SG-DAT drink-VN-DAT  
 i-na uuma-LAI-nga lawnga  
 here-F death-PRP-ImpNom NEG

Ngay karawayg mithimith milaga (**na**) bûpawœrdhayzinga (**na**).  
*I don't know where the painter-tow-rope has been stowed away.*

ngayi-Ø karawayga-Ø  
 me-NOM lackknowledge-NOM  
 mithimithi-Ø mi+laaga-LAI (**na**)  
 painter-NOM what+place-SLoc (**REF**)  
 bûpa-LAI+waradha-'i-zi-nga-Ø (**na**)  
 grass-SLoc+stow-VN-RES-ImpNom-Ø (**REF**)

**Kedha** *thus, in this~that way, like this~that, such*, so also has use as a marker of subordinates clauses to verbs of speech, thinking, etc., as in the first example on page 421 and the following:

... nan yapœybarngul **kedha** nadh ayman senaabi zageth ...

... used to ask her to do that task ... lit. used to ask her **thus** she does that task...

na-na ya+pœyba-Ø-Ø-r-ngul  
her-ACC speech+give-ATT-SG-RemP.IMPf  
**ke-dha** na-dha ayima-Ø-Ø-n  
**here-SIM** her-INS make.do-ATT-SG-PrPF  
se-na-bi zagetha-Ø  
there-F-ART work-ACC

... nan adhaka wiyadhin - sizi Pulungu, **kedha**: 'Ni pa-adhaka! Nidh ngayka wati za ayimnu.'

... sent her out – away from Pulu, saying: 'Go away! You have done a bad thing to me.'

na-na adha-ka wiya-Ø-Ø-dhin  
her-ACC out-DAT send-ATT-SG-RemPPf  
si-zi Pulu-ngu **ke-dha**  
there-ABL P.-ABL **here-SIM**  
ni-Ø pa-adha-ka ni-dha  
you-NOM TEL-out-DAT you-INS  
ngayi-ka wati za-Ø  
me-DAT bad thing-ACC  
ayima-Ø-Ø-nu  
make.do-ATT-SG-TodPPf

Sena gœyga nœ gasamdhin **kedha** thana mangay kazil, a, nuy nabeka mulaydhin ...  
When the day came (**thus**) for the visitors to arrive, he said to her ...

se-na gœigayi-Ø na  
there-F day-NOM REF  
gasama-Ø-Ø-dhin **ke-dha**  
get.catch-ATT-SG-RemPPf **here-SIM**  
thana-Ø manga-'i-NGU kaazi-LAI  
theyPL-NOM arrive-VN-GEN person-PRP  
a nuy-Ø na-be-ka  
HES him-NOM her-AUG-DAT  
muula-i-Ø-dhin  
produce-ACT-SG-RemPPf

Nanu **kedha** nœ galpis nge miyaydhin **kedha** nuydh nan lak yapœybadhin nanga ...  
So she got really angry when he asked her again ....

nan-NGU **ke-dha** na galpisa-Ø  
her-GEN **here-SIM** REF anger-NOM  
nge miya-i-Ø-dhin  
then move.be.do-ACT-SG-RemPPf  
**ke-dha** nuy-dha na-na  
**here-SIM** him-INS her-ACC  
laka ya+pœyba-Ø-Ø-dhin nanga  
again.more speech+give-ATT-SG-RemPPf REF

Ni nœ **kedha** thonara mangi nœ, nidh iman **kedha**, Kawmayn kay zey dagamunu sika, adhaka kidh nageka nabeka Kœmuthnabnaka. When you arrive there now, you see **that** Kawmayn is standing on the southern side, looking outwards up there towards Koemuthnab.

ni-Ø na **ke-dha**  
you-NOM REF **here-SIM**  
thonara-LAI manga-i-Ø-IZI na  
time-SLoc arrive-ACT-SG-ACT.PrPF REF  
ni-dha iima-Ø-Ø-n **ke-dha**,  
you-INS see-ATT-SG-PrPF **here-SIM**  
Kawmayni-Ø kay zeya+dœgamu-nu  
K-NOM hereNSp southwest+side-SLoc  
si-Ø-Ø-ka adha-ka  
standIMPf-ATT-SG-PrIMPf out-DAT  
kidha naga-i-Ø-ka  
crosswise look-ACT-SG-PrIMPf  
na-be-ka Kœmuthnaba-na-ka  
her-AUG-DAT K-F-DAT

#### LANGUAGE AND SOCIETY: SPEECH STYLES

There are various speech styles, colloquial/informal, formal, rhetoric and the language of public speaking, poetry and song language, 'baby' language, differences between communities, families, men, women, young people, old people, children, and so on, as is true for any society. However, there is no 'in-law' speech, apart from the need to be polite in speaking to them, which includes not using one's in-law's name when speaking to him or her – or even in general about them. The style is formal and respectful, as is the case in all formal contexts, which includes using the appropriate kin term or some such polite reference. Nor is there a style of speech specific for expressing affection or tenderness similar

to the *nasnas mir* of Meriam Mir, apart from the use of the sympathetic clitic **gaar**. Like the language of many sea people, however, there are nautical words and phrases.

#### Male versus Female

The main characteristic of the male-female divide is accent and intonation, women tending to have softer, gentler and more musical intonation, with a tendency to rise at the end of sentences, while men have more “direct” voices, with a tendency to drop at the end of sentences.

#### Colloquial Speech, Formal Speech and Public Speaking

In essence, so-called Gøemulgaw Ya is a more formal level of speech, and so-called Badhulgaw Ya is more informal; as such, they are used on both Mabuyag and Badu. Colloquial speech tends to have ‘shortened’ words and more assimilation:

Formal speech: *Thaathi urabaka uzarima, thøebudhuka urab paranu.*

Informal speech: *Thath urabka uzurima, thubudhka urab parunu/parnu.*

*The father went to the coconut palm and picked a coconut for his friend.*

thathi-Ø wøerába-ka  
father-NOM coconut-DAT

uzara-i-Ø-ma

go-ACT-SG-ACT.TodP.PF

thøebudhu-ka wøeraba-Ø

friend-DAT coconut-ACC

para-Ø-Ø-nu

harvest-ATT-SG-TodP.PF

Formal public speaking not only uses more formal language, but also simile, picturesque speech, and “big words” for impression. The most important essence of formal speech is **apaasi** *being humble, humbleness*, from **apa**-below and the verbal noun **así** *accompanying, going with, being with, being* (stem **asi**-). This can also relate to physical posture, in that when passing in front of a person one must

show respect to, one puts oneself relatively speaking at a physically lower level – in essence a type of bowing.

Over-correction can also occur in endeavouring for a more formal style. One common case is the genitive. As most nouns in the genitive end in **-aw**, e.g **gùùba** *wind*, GEN **gùbaw**, and in colloquial speech most nouns are consonant final, thus **gùùb~gùùb**, this **-aw** is then reanalysed as a genitive ending in its own right. As a result, it is at times added to nouns where the genitive has the same form as the nominative, such as **ùmay** *dog*, correct speech **ùmay thøera** *dog’s back*, overcorrected speech **ùmayaw thøera** *dog’s back*.

#### Simplified Language

There is a simplified, or ‘cut-it-short’, version of the language. It is often used in speaking to people who have a limited command of the language, and as a significant group of foreign men settled and married on Badu in the early colonisation period, the simplified speech gained a certain amount of community validity, though never acceptance as ‘true’ language; in this case it is mistakenly called by some Badhulgaw Ya. In extreme form it is characterised by the use of the verbal noun as a tenseless and numberless verb form, or at most the present perfective and imperfective forms as tenseless/numberless forms, and by oblique noun endings becoming postpositions.

Na bathaynga mùdhangu yuthaka uzarima.  
(full form)

*She went from the house to the hall this morning.*

na-Ø bathaynga-Ø mùdha-ngu

she-NOM morning-SLoc house-ABL

yutha-ka uzara-i-Ø-ma

hall-DAT go-ACT-SG-TodP.PF

Na bathaynga mùdh ngu yuth ka uzaray/  
uzari. (simplified form)

*She went from the house to the hall this morning.*

na-Ø	bathaynga-Ø	mùdh
<i>she</i> -NOM	<i>morning</i> -SLoc	<i>house</i>
ngu yuth	ka	uzara-'i/uzara-i
<i>from hall</i>	<i>to</i>	<i>go</i> -VN / <i>go</i> -ACT.PF

Ama wigel kùnaya mùdhaka uzarika kay.  
(full form)

*Afterwards Mum is going to go back to the house.*

Ama-Ø	wage-LAI
<i>Mum</i> -NOM	<i>behind</i> -SLoc
kùna-ya	mùdha-ka
<i>back</i> -NSpLoc	<i>home</i> -DAT
uzara-i-Ø-ka	ka-i.
<i>go</i> -ACT-SG-NFut	<i>here</i> NSp-LOC

Ama wigel kùnia mùdh ka uzaray/uzari kay. (simplified form)

*Afterwards Mum is going to go back to the house.*

Ama-Ø	wigel kùnia	mùdh ka
<i>Mum</i> -NOM	<i>behind back</i>	<i>home to</i>
uzara-'i/uzara-i	ka-i.	
<i>go</i> -VN / <i>go</i> -ACT.PF	<i>here</i> NSp-LOC	

### Song/Poetic Language

There is a style of song language reflected in syntax, vocabulary, simile, imagery, versification and rhyme scheme. As in all languages, some words and phrases are more typical of songs, such as:

ngùlaynga *the place that one is intimately familiar with, home, home-base; for: laaga place, home*

kazi, ngaw za *child of mine; for: ngaw kazi my child.*

urngu padal baltháyka *floating on the crest of the water; for: bawiya baltháyka floating in/ on the waves*

Changes in the pronunciation of words also mark songs. Even though these are normally retentions of older forms, in the speakers' perceptions of the process, the spoken forms are changed to be suitable for songs.

The typical phonological variants found in songs are as follows. The different processes can give variant possibilities of pronunciation, in that in actual composition

and performance, the ideal song form is not always used. A poetic form will not be used if the general effect needs the normal form of the word, or even a phonetic variant.

#### 1) *æ* to *a*

Wœœwra > Waawr/Wawra *South-East thœera* > thara *ridge, ridge of reef*  
pœœy, GY pœœya > paay, paaya, paya *dust, spray, misty spray, fine mist*  
ngœy > ngayi *we* plural exclusive

Words in which *æ* has become *u* or *i* in some lects can still undergo this change, as with **wœsul~wusul~usul** *dirty water*, ideal song form **wasula**, and **wœrab~wurub~urab** *coconut*, ideal song form **waraba**.

2) Vowel Restoration/Insertion: vowels that elide in ordinary speech can be restored in songs.

siik > siika, sika *foam*  
zarzar > zarazara *temporary shelter*  
pùrthan > pùrathan *eat*  
thaaw > thaawu~thawu *praise, boasting*

Conversely, where music dictates, vowels that are normally pronounced can elide in songs, as in **maal'ya dhadh'ya**, a song form of **maluya dhadhiya** *through the midst of the deep sea*.

Such 'restoration' has spread by analogy, in that to break a cluster for metrical purposes a vowel that is a repetition of a preceding or following vowel is inserted; the vowel *e* is inserted in restricted cases where *l* is followed by a consonant:

kùlka > kùlùka *blood; red, scarlet*  
pùrthan > pùrùthan *eat*  
malguy > malaguy, maleguy *shoot, sprout*  
ngœlmùn > ngœlemùn *we* PL EXC GEN

In **ngalmù-** *us* PL EXC, **ngalpa** *we* PL INC and **ngalbay** *we* DU EXC, the song form **ngale-** of the first syllable is most likely a retention of an older form; **ngal-** in all three derive from PP \*ŋali 'we INC'.

3) Syllabification of Glides: glides can become full vowels

dhawdhay *mainland* > dhaudhai, dhaudhay, dhawdhai  
 puydhan *hang* > puidhan  
 yœwthi, yuthi *draw, pull* > iuthi, iawthi, iauthi  
 thayan *throw, turn* > thaian

4) The consonants **r**, **s** and **z** in singing differ somewhat from their ordinary spoken pronunciation. The rhotic is normally pronounced [ɹ] in singing, while **s** and **z** are always found as sibilants, never as **ch** or **j**.

Emotive Language

The term emotive refers to words that carry emotion such as affection, diminutive, politeness, and poetic feeling. Emotive forms of words are very common in songs, for example. Non-emotive words are used when the speaker has neutral feelings towards the referent. There are a few ‘synonyms’ that contrast in being a non-emotive/emotive pair. Some are kin terms, in which case the emotive word is a proper noun (as shown by the use of the capitals in the list below), while the non-emotive member is a common noun; this also occurs in three terms where the emotive is a shortened form of the non-emotive word. In most other words, the emotive form shortens the main vowel of the word (if this is long), and restores the stem-final vowel; both forms are declined as common nouns.

Emotive~non-emotive synonyms:

waapa *harpoon*, EMO ara *harpoon* (poetic/totemic word; a specialised use of the word **ara** *vortex*); thaathi, thath *father, uncle*, EMO Baba *Dad, Daddy*; kayadh *grandmother*, EMO Aka *Grandma*

Abbreviated emotive forms:

thawiyan *brother-in-law*, EMO Thawi;  
 awadhe *mother’s brother; sister’s child*, EMO

Awa; natham, KKY nasem *namesake*, EMO Nath, KKY Nas

Vowel-shortening and/or final-vowel voicing emotive forms:

maalu *sea, deep*, EMO malu ‘the deep’; buubu *current/stream of water, heat*, EMO bubu, bæbu, babu; sar *white tern*, EMO sara; iipi *wife*, EMO ipi (dear) *wife*; kaazi *child*, kazi *kid, kiddy*

Words such as **waapa** *harpoon*, **thaathi** *father* and **kayadh** *grandmother* belong only in the non-emotive group because of their culturally defined use. Some words can only be emotive, again through culturally defined use, such as the following:

bùli *house fly*, ziya *cloud*, puri *baby shark, small shark*, iwi *mosquito*, Kuki north-west wind (a totem), Badhu *Badu*, gururu *peaceful dove*

In Kalaw Lagaw Ya, a similar phonological contrast exists in verbs between the perfective active singular imperative and the perfective active singular indicative present. The imperative form is used when the speaker does not feel constrained to use soft or polite language, while the indicative form is used as an emotive, i.e. soft, imperative, where softness and gentleness combine to create a non-threatening command.

	imperative	indicative present
<i>look, watch</i>	naagi	nagi
<i>enter, hide (self)</i>	uuthi	uthi
<i>eat</i>	pùraathi, pùráth	pùráthi, pùrathi
<i>hit, strike, kill</i>	matham	mathami

The phonology of the nominal and verbal characteristics compare as follows:

(1) long stressed vowel + devoiced final vowel or no final vowel: neutral feelings, directness, bluntness

(2) short stressed vowel + voiced final vowel : diminutive, poetic, close (etc.) feelings, gentleness, politeness

This phonological contrast is largely unique to Kalaw Lagaw Ya, and is of relatively recent development. The use of the perfective active singular present as a polite/soft imperative exists in all dialects; however, the form ends in *-iz* in Kalaw Lagaw Ya: **nagiz** [na:giz], **uthiz** [u:tiz], **pùráthiz**, **mathamiz**, and the imperative ends in **i** with bisyllabic roots, and **Ø** when the stem is of three or more syllables, with elision of the final stem syllable, thus **nagi** [na:gi], **uthi** [u:ti], **pùrath** [pùrat] and **matham** [matam].

### Sea Language

Sea language for an island people is difficult to distinguish from ‘land-lubber’s’ speech. However, there are a few specifically seaman’s words/phrases which deal with life and work at sea, and which often appear in songs to do with the sea:

#### *travel*

seaman’s terms – rangadh puydhan *hang the mast*, rab puydhan *hang the mast*, woerpu puydhan *hang in water*, puydhan *hang*

general terms – yawaran *travel*, yawan uzari *go by travel*, yawan ulayka *be going by travel*, yawar manin *give/do travel*, mizi/mizin *move, go*

#### *back, stern*

seaman’s term – kùn, GY kùùna

general term – kal

#### *front, bow(s), prow*

seaman’s term – buway

general term – paaru

#### *heap up, swell (waves)*

seaman’s term – lu gimamanin ‘*hump up*’

general term – kœyza/kœynga mizi ‘*get big*’

#### *make tight, tauten, tighten (e.g. rope)*

seaman’s term – tekotpalan (tekot *large puffer fish*, palan *cause*)

general term – mœgimadhpalan (mœgi *small*, mœedh *strap*, palan *cause*)

Some words also differ in meaning depending on whether the reference is to sea-life or general life.

**rangadh**: seaman’s use *mast, upright* (the real meaning of the word); general use *journey*

**gamu**, GY **gaamu**: seaman’s use *hull*; general use *body* (the core meaning)

**waaku**: seaman’s use *sail*; general use *mat* (the core meaning)

Speakers with little sea experience can also misuse terms to do with the sea, such as **Guthath/Guthathbœbu**, which for sailors is any upwind current (a difficult current to sail in), while others often use this to refer to the eastwards flowing current. **Kulis/Kulisbœbu**, *down-wind current* (a good current to sail in), is likewise understood by the same speakers to refer to the westward flowing current.

‘*Baby Language*’. One characteristic of the pronunciation used when speaking to babies and toddlers (as well as exaggerated ‘diminutive speech’) is that certain sounds change their pronunciation, such as the following:

	normal form	‘baby’ form
<i>s &gt; t</i>	pùusi <i>cat, puss</i> sisi <i>sister, female friend, ‘sis’</i>	pùti <i>pussy, pussy-cat</i> titi
<i>z &gt; j</i>	za <i>thing</i> zazi <i>grass skirt</i>	ja jaji
<i>r &gt; d</i>	ari <i>rain; louse</i> gaar <i>sympathy</i> particle/please	adi gaad <i>id.; also ‘pretty please’</i>
<i>ng &gt; Ø, w, m</i>	ngapa <i>come, bring (particle)</i> ngürsi <i>mucus, snot</i>	apa, mapa ürti, würti, mürti

**APPENDIX 1: HOLMAN ET AL. (2008) 40-WORD LIST**

CA Common Australian; MM Meriam Mir; PAN Proto Austronesian; PCD Proto Central District Austronesian; PETrF Proto Eastern

Trans-Fly; PP PamaNyungan; POC Proto Oceanic; PSEPA Proto South East Papuan Austronesian; PPN Proto-Polynesian

Meriam data from: Lilian Passi, Karen Loban, Brian Bero and Nikki Piper.

	item	origin (where known)
<i>louse</i>	ari MM <i>nem</i> (PETrF * <i>ŋamo</i> )	unknown origin
<i>two</i>	ùka-(in compounds, etc.) ùkasar/kosar <i>two in number</i> (ùka- two + -sar(a) <i>small number</i> ) MM <i>neis</i> (PETrF * <i>ni-one, two</i> )	PP * <i>gujarra</i>
<i>water</i>	uur/wur/wœr, archaic KKY wœyr (ngùki <i>drink, drinking water, juice, etc.</i> ) MM <i>gur</i> (PETrF * <i>gurV water</i> ) (MM <i>ni</i> 'fresh water, drink, juice'; PETrF * <i>niya</i> )	PSEPA * <i>wair</i> (PP * <i>ŋugu/ŋugi</i> )
<i>ear</i>	kawra (kùrusay- in certain compounds MM <i>laip, girip</i> (unknown origin)	PP * <i>gaalu</i> PETrF * <i>kulu/*kuru hear, listen</i> )
<i>death</i>	uuma (also <i>unconsciousness</i> ) cf. awum(a) <i>keening, wailing, mourning</i> (for a death) MM <i>eumi</i> Sg, <i>baum</i> PL 'die'	unknown origin
<i>I</i>	ngay/ngayi MM <i>ka</i> (PETrF * <i>ka[nV]</i> )	PP * <i>ŋay(i)</i>
<i>liver</i>	siiba (also <i>centre</i> ) MM <i>o</i> (PETrF * <i>owo</i> )	PP * <i>jiba</i>
<i>eye</i>	1. pùrka 2. daana (also <i>life; lagoon, pool</i> ) MM <i>poni</i> (unknown origin), <i>erkep</i> (PETrF * <i>irV see, *kapu body part</i> )	1. unknown origin 2. PSEPA * <i>dano lake, pool</i>
<i>hand</i>	geth, GY geetha (in compounds also <i>finger</i> ) MM <i>tag</i> 'hand, arm' (PETrF * <i>taanV hand, arm</i> )	unknown origin
<i>hear</i>	karnge[mi]-; karnga- MM <i>asor</i> VN (unknown origin)	unknown origin (cf. <i>ear</i> ; cf. PSEPA * <i>ronor</i> )
<i>tree</i>	puuy(i) <i>magic; plant, tree</i> (older * <i>puuŋi</i> ) MM <i>lu(g)</i> 'magic; plant, tree' (PETrF *(w)uli[ ], * <i>lugV tree, wood</i> , cf. PP * <i>lugu tree, wood</i> )	PSEPA * <i>puli magic, etc</i>
<i>fish</i>	waapi MM <i>lar</i> (unknown origin)	unknown origin
<i>name</i>	nel (rare Saibai variant: ney) MM <i>nei</i>	PETrF * <i>nyily[ao]</i>
<i>stone</i>	kùla MM <i>bakir</i>	1. PP * <i>gul(g)an</i> 2. PETrF * <i>kula</i>
<i>tooth</i>	dhang, GY dhaanga (also <i>edge</i> ) MM <i>tirig</i> 'tooth' (cf. <i>ereg</i> 'eat') MM <i>deg edge</i>	PP * <i>jaana tooth, edge, etc.</i> PETrF * <i>dana tooth, edge, etc.</i>

	item	origin (where known)
<i>breasts</i>	susu (also <i>white sap; loaf</i> ) MM <i>nāno</i> 'breast' MM <i>sus</i> 'white sap' M <i>nānosus</i> 'milk'	1. PP *juju <i>breast, milk</i> 2. PETrF *su(n)su <i>breast, milk</i> 3. PSEPA *susu <i>breast, milk</i>
<i>path</i>	yabu, GY yaabu MM <i>gab</i>	1. PETrF *gaabo 2. POC *tyapu
<i>you</i>	ni KLY/KuLY (MY-KY) ngi KKY,OKY MM <i>ma</i> (PETrF *ma(nV))	PP *ɲin
<i>fire</i>	muy (B,KY <i>mœy</i> ) MM <i>ur</i> (PETrFG *uur[ ])	unknown origin
<i>tongue</i>	nœy MM <i>werut</i> (PETrF *wilitV)	unknown origin
<i>skin</i>	gœngáw, GY gœngaawu MM <i>gegur</i>	PP *[ ]agurr
<i>night</i>	kubil (bùngil, bongil, KKY bongel <i>last night</i> ) MM <i>ki</i> (PETrF *kiya)	derived?, cf. kùbi <i>charcoal</i> (PSEPA *mponji <i>night</i> )
<i>leaf</i>	niisa MM <i>lam, lulam</i> (lu 'plant') (*laama: PETrF <i>leaf</i> )	unknown origin
<i>blood</i>	kùlka MM <i>mam</i> (unknown origin)	unknown origin
<i>horn</i>	n/a	n/a
<i>person</i>	mabayg MM <i>le</i> (PETrF *lilo/lilu)	derived, lit. <i>walker</i> (maaba <i>walk</i> + iga personal nominal)
<i>knee</i>	kulu; cf. kudu <i>elbow</i> , kœru <i>corner</i> MM kolo, kokni (cf. KLY kokan(i) <i>knee cap</i> ) (PETrF *koko <i>leg joint</i> , *ni[ ]?; cf. KLY kuku <i>inside part of knee, knee joint</i> , danakuk(u) <i>ankle</i> [daana <i>pool, eye, life</i> ], pokuk(u) <i>heel</i> )	PETrF *kolo/kulu <i>knee, elbow, corner</i> cf. PSEPA *turu <i>knee, elbow</i>
<i>one</i>	wara/war <i>one of a group, other</i> MM <i>nerut</i> 'other', <i>wader</i> 'some, others' warapùn(i)/wœrapùn/ùrapùn/ùrpùn <i>one</i> MM <i>netat</i> 'one, one of a group'	unknown origin PETrF *ni+[r]utV <i>one, other</i> PP *ɲupun <i>one</i> PETrF *[yi/dVr]ponV <i>one</i> PETrF *ni+ta[tr]V <i>one, one of a group</i> proto-Urradhi-Gudang *nipiyamana <i>one</i>
<i>nose</i>	piti, GY piiti MM <i>pit</i> 'nose, beak, point (land)'	unknown origin

	item	origin (where known)
<i>full</i>	1. pùsakar 2. gùdapelam (mainly KKY) MM ( <i>e</i> )osmer (specialised use of ‘protrude, show self’)	1. unknown origin, derived?, cf. sakar <i>space, room</i> 2. derived (gùda <i>mouth, opening</i> SLoc, pala-ma- <i>cause-verb</i> <i>formant</i> )
<i>come</i>	1. ngapa <i>transitive/intransitive</i> 2. bæy, buy <i>intransitive</i> 3. aye, KKY aya <i>imperative</i> MM <i>ta-</i> (verb prefix) (PETrF * <i>ta come</i> )	1. cf. nga- 1 <sup>st</sup> <i>person</i> , cf. pa- <i>telic</i> prefix, -pa <i>dative</i> , -pa(y) <i>ahead</i> <i>there</i> 2. cf. pœypay, KKY bæy <i>near-</i> <i>side, this side, front side</i> 3. Malay (or other) loan ? <i>ayo,</i> <i>ayu</i>
<i>star</i>	thithúy, GY thithuuyi, OKY thithúři  MM <i>wer</i> ‘star’; cf. WCL Wœy, GY Wœœyi  (OKY Wœři) <i>Venus (the Morning Star)</i>	PSEPA * <i>pituqon star</i> , * <i>waRi sun</i> PCD * <i>pitui</i> , * <i>pitui</i> , * <i>pitiriu star</i> , * <i>wari sun</i> cf. PETrF * <i>mpinto[m]</i> , * <i>ware</i> <i>star</i>
<i>hill</i>	paada (also <i>tip, top, height, size</i> ; cf. bawdhar <i>mountain</i> ) MM <i>paser</i>	1. PP * <i>baanda top</i> 2. PETrF * <i>pantárV</i> , * <i>podo hill,</i> <i>mountain</i> 3. PSEPA * <i>pantar hill, mountain</i>
<i>bone</i>	riidh(a) (also <i>leaf rib</i> ) MM <i>lid</i> ‘bone, leaf rib’	PETrF * <i>rii[rd]a</i> /* <i>raa[rd]i bone,</i> <i>leaf rib</i>
<i>we</i>	1. ngœy, stem ngœlmù- (KKY ngœymù-) PL EXC ngal[e]-: ngalbay, KKY ngalbe, archaic KulY ngœibai DU EXC MM <i>ki, ker-</i> ‘we EXC’ (PETrF * <i>ki(ni)</i> )  2. ngœba DU INC ngalpa, stem ngalpu, KKY ngalpa- PL INC MM <i>mi, meri-</i> ‘we INC’ (PETrF * <i>mi(ni)</i> )	1. PP * <i>ŋali we</i> PL INC  2. PP * <i>ŋanapula we</i> DU EXC
<i>drink</i>	wani-  MM <i>iri</i> (PETrF * <i>ini/ani/ina</i> )	unknown origin (perhaps derived from the active form <i>wana-i-</i> of <i>wana put</i> )
<i>see</i>	iima- <i>see, find</i> (cf. naga-i- <i>look, watch</i> ) MM <i>erdar</i> (stem <i>er-</i> ), <i>dasmer</i> (PETrF * <i>ira eye</i> )	PP * <i>kiima see</i>  (PP * <i>nya-ga-</i> )
<i>new</i>	kayin(a) MM <i>kerkar</i>	PETrF * <i>kari[kari]</i> /* <i>kira[kira]</i>
<i>dog</i>	ùmáy MM <i>omai</i>	PETrF * <i>omai</i>
<i>sun</i>	gœyga (gœygcœyi-) <i>sun, day</i> , OKY gœřiigař (i) MM <i>gerger</i> ‘day, daylight’ ( <i>lim</i> ‘sun’, PETrF * <i>lomi</i> /* <i>limo</i> )	PP * <i>gari</i>

**APPENDIX 2: THE HIÁMO**

Lawrie (1971) recorded the following on the 11<sup>th</sup> of September, 1971, at Dauan from Sawia Wosomo of Mabudauan, a Kiwai colony opposite Saibai. (Many thanks to Anna Shnukal, personal communication 28 Feb 2004, for finding this entry and passing it on to me. The items in square brackets are my additions):

*Daru people stayed at Waiben [Thursday Island], where there is a wharf and where the District Office is today. They moved from there [Daru] because of fighting between them and the people of Kiwai islands. They came to the big reef between Wapa and Tudu which, in their language, they call Tabaiari [WCL Thabay Ari Shoulder Rain]; from Tabaiari they went to Tudu. As they went they sang this song:*

*Böiaba gud (aiaba)  
Kivaiiiza  
Ngita ngabepa o ngabepa o  
Ina böingapa o o o.*

*Lit.: Comes passage/People of Kiwai/You (many) for whom you are coming?/Here comes*

[Boey yabugùdayab, a // Kiwai za // Ngitha ngabepa, o, ngabepa, o, // Ina böey ngapa, o, o, o; full translation: *Coming spread out all along the passage way, ah/Kiwai thing/Who are you (plural) coming for (alt. Who did you come for)?*]

*From Tudu they went to Muri [just north of Cape York]. There were no people living at Tudu at that time. From Muri they went to Thursday Island, landing at the place where the Customs House is today. They called it Waiben after the place from which they had come. From Hammond Island, where they stayed for a long time (their home was near the wharf), they came to Mua, to Tutalai; then they went to Adam, then to Kubin. (These people were kadal,*

*umai and samu augadh [crocodile, dog, cassowary totem])*

The song refers to the Kiwai colonisation that drove the Hiámu away. **Yabugùd**, GY **yabugùùda** is a compound of **yabu** *path, way* and **gùd**, GY **gùùda** *mouth, opening*. The ending **-yab** gives a totality feeling – there were lots of Kiwai (canoes) filling up the passage way coming to Daru. The last sentence refers to the forced movement of the Kauraraiga to Mua in 1922/1923.

Examples of song lines said by the Daru Kiwai to be in the language of the Hiámo (found in song cycles and so on) include the following; these vary in understandability from close to modern forms to “obscure”:

1<sup>st</sup> example:

Daudai kibuiá Daudai kuruka kuruka mataiba kuruka gamu rupuradara.

Reconstructed form:

Dhaudhai kibuya, dhaudhai kùlùka, kùlùka nathaipa, kùlùka[dh]gam urudha paledha.

Free translation:

*Along the western horizon on the mainland is a blood red sunset, the redness spread out in rope-like streams.*

Composed after a heavy fight at Masingara in Papua, where ‘the Hiamu were once defeated by the bush-men [East Trans-Fly Papuans], and when paddling back to Daru they associated the red sunset with the blood of their slain friends’ (Landtman, 1927: 261). Note that it is not clear if **mataiba** was either a misprint or mispronunciation of **\*nataiba**.

2<sup>nd</sup> example:

Adiabuaia Sidaiabuaia, eh, Muri taiana Muri ngaulago Muri taiana.

Reconstructed form:

Adhin yabuya, Sidhan yabuya, e, Muri thayan, a, Muri ngaw laag, o, Muri thayan, a.

Lantdman's informant's translation:

'You me go along road belong Adi, road belong Sido, you me go Murilago' (Landtman, 1927: 337)

Exact meaning:

*Along the Great One's way, along Sidha's way, eh, Muri is chosen, ah, Muri is my home, oh, Muri is chosen, ah.* (Muri, alt. Murilag, is Mt Adolphus, off the tip of Cape York).

Sidha/Sœidha was a 'god' figure credited with allowing death to be created, as well as bringing fertility and plants to various places in South-West Papua and Torres Strait (Landtman, 1927: 280-297; Haddon, 1908: 19-23).

3rd example:

Múiere djugúri kádji ngátómi ímaidina múiere ngátomína.

Múiere ngátomína ímadína o-wáwa nga ngátomína.

Reconstructed form:

Múyere, zuguli kazi, ngathu mina imadhina, Múyere, ngathu mina.

Múyere, ngathu mina imadhina, o, wa, wa, nga-ngathu mina.

Very uncertain meaning: Múiere and a "boy lucky for everything" are mentioned. (Landtman, 1927: 402).

Free translation:

*Muiere, skilled/lucky youth, I truly saw him, Muiere, I truly did.*

*Muiere, I truly saw, oh, yes, yes, I, I truly did.*

This song contains the archaic forms **zuguli** (modern dialects **zogol**, Kalaw Lagaw Ya **zugul** *skilled at hunting*) and **ngathu I** (modern forms **ngatha/ngath I** *instrumental*); **zuguli** (as well as **zugulai**, **zugule** and **zuguli**) and **ngathu** were the forms of the Kauraraigau Ya of the mid-to-late 1800s.

4th example:

Eh, ivíri kutáigo, eh, sarádi kutáigo djóđji vuráya, eh, djóđji kutáigo.

Ivíri mawári mógiwúda káworíma sábu sábu saéba.

*Oh, altogether my good brother, altogether poor people, he dead.*

*That time me come, me plenty people; this time comes short, no much people.* (Landtman, 1927: 424)

Composed after a heavy fight in Papua. Of the samples given, this is the one the one that has been most affected by its Kiwai singers. The first line appears to be:

E, Iwiri kùthaig, o, e, saradh, i, kùthaig, o, [djóđji] wœrai, a, e, [djóđji] kùthaig, o.

*Oh, Iwiri, younger brother, oh, eh, tern-like, ee, younger brother, oh, [djóđji] on the water, ah, eh, [djóđji] younger brother, oh.*

The second line is much more conjectural:

Iwiri, mawári mœgi wú daká wœriman, sapu sapu sayapa (alt. saiyab, a).

Iwiri, [mawári] *small-little* [wu] *struck on the face-side, spray, spray everywhere on the mud.*

There is little in the words themselves that suggest the meaning given by Landtman's informants, apparently after great difficulty. The reference to a battle given by the singers to Landtman is probably correct. Being a song, there will be imagery, simile, and similar devices with extra-textual meanings. Iwiri (*small, smooth leafed, small fruited fig*) may have been a specific person who was killed then, and likened to a tern that disappeared in sea spray. Spray and mist are common similes for sorrow at departure and loss in Torres Strait poetry.

The untranslated words could be:

**mawári: maway** (Kauřařaigau Ya **mawaři**) *initiation attendant/instructor*; or: **mawal** (archaic form **mawalai**) *masks, heads* – a word with has a strong reference to sorcery, and can also be used to mean *sorcerer*;

**đjóđji: zaazi** *grass skirt*, or **kœzi** *from here*, or **seizi** *from there*

The Kauřařaiga dialect of the mid-1800s, personal names and cultural characteristics such as clan/moiety structure, funeral ceremonies, material culture, magic culture and so on

show that Kauřařaiga considered themselves Islanders, not Aboriginal, as is evident in the Brierly 1848-1850 records (Moore, 1979). It also shows closer similarities to the Kalaw Kawaw Ya dialect of the far north than it does now; the Hiámó records show the same similarity, as do very archaic songs in Kùlkalgau Ya. The traditionally close relationship of the Kauřařaiga to the Kulkalgal is also significant, suggesting a common “tribal” origin (Mitchell, 1995, Introduction: 7-8).

Whether or not there were resident Australians on the Mùralag group when the Hiámó arrived, or, as Badu folk history suggests, settlers originally from Badu, is not mentioned in the Hiámó stories; in any case the Kauřařaiga came to dominate while maintaining close relationships with the Gudang and related mainlanders as well as the Central Islanders. The name itself is telling; **kauřařaiga** means *Islander*, being Kauřařaigau Ya **kauřa** *island* suffixed by the proprietive suffix **-lai** (> **-řai** in an assimilation rule common to all dialects except Kalaw Kawaw Ya) and the personalising suffix **-IGA**. The Hiámó would not have referred to themselves as ‘Hiámó’, but rather used a term that was something like **kauřařaiga** *islander*. Sawia Wosomo’s account also suggests that the Hiámó name for Daru (**Dhaaru** in the Western and Central Language) was **Waiben** (older **Waibeni**), or at least part there-of, the the Western and Central Language name for Thursday Island.

One very important fact about both Brierly’s records (Moore, 1979) and the information given by Painauda of Mùralag to Haddon (Haddon, 1904) is that the main marriage partners of the Kauraraiga people were the Italgai (Mua) and the Kùlkalgal (Nagi-Waraber), and to a lesser extent the Gudang. Marriages with other Islanders appear to have been rare, while marriages with other mainland people appears to have only occurred through raids, that is to say, stealing women.

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