

GUUGU YIMIDHIRR
Sketch Grammar

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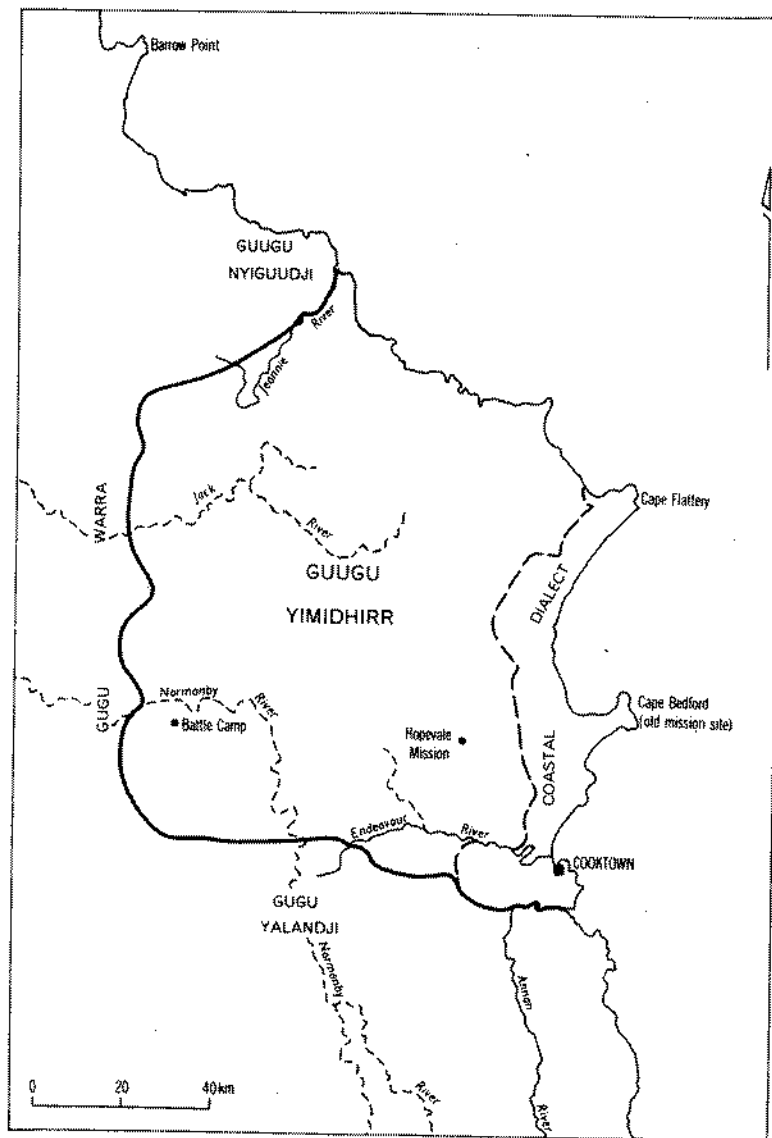
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Map 2: Guugu Yimidhirr and Neighbours

Guugu Yimidhirr by John Haviland

1. THE LANGUAGE AND ITS SPEAKERS

In June and July, 1770, Lt. James Cook, the botanist Joseph Banks and members of the crew of H. M. Bark *Endeavour* had a number of encounters with the Aboriginal inhabitants of what is now far North Queensland. During an enforced stay on the banks of the river they named the *Endeavour*, while their ship was undergoing repairs after running onto a reef, these Europeans recorded more than one hundred words of the local language. Notable among these was the name of a strange animal, which Cook describes in his Diary: 'its progress is by successive leaps or hops, of a great length, in an erect posture ... This animal is called by the natives *Kanguroo*'. Cook's English rendering of the Guugu Yimidhirr word *gangurru* (a species of large black or grey kangaroo) was one of the first contributions to world culture from an Australian language.

The *Endeavour* River became the site, in the 1870s, for the gold boom port of Cooktown, and the rapid invasion of the territory soon decimated the numbers and destroyed the traditional social order of the Guugu Yimidhirr speaking people and their neighbours. Most of the living speakers of the language - around six hundred of them - now reside at Hopevale Mission, fifty kilometers north of Cooktown, although individual speakers live as far away as Melbourne and New Zealand.

1.1 LINGUISTIC TYPE

Guugu Yimidhirr is a wholly suffixing language, with independent pronouns (and no bound pronominal forms), relatively complex nominal and verbal morphology, and quite free word order. Guugu Yimidhirr speakers remark that their language, unlike English, can be spoken 'back to

G Yim	G Nyiig
<i>balgay</i> 'wash (past)'	<i>gunbay</i> 'wash (past)'
<i>balgala</i> 'wash! (imp.)'	<i>gunbala</i> 'wash! (imp.)'

It is impossible to establish whether Guugu Nyiiguudyi, and other nearby dialects, were lexical variants of Guugu Yimidhirr or syntactically distinct in deeper ways.

Modern speakers appeal to dialect differences, often imagined, to account for the variation in modern speech. An alternate pronunciation or a different suffix is likely to prompt an observation like: 'I don't say it that way, but that's how those Coastal people talk'. There are, nonetheless, well-documented differences between the Coastal language, spoken when the old Mission at Cape Bedford was the centre of Aboriginal life in the area, and the Inland dialect that now predominates in Hopevale speech. There are well-known lexical pairs (Inland *waarigan* 'moon' is Coastal *gidha*) and pronominal differences (Inland 1st person plural nominative *nganhdhaan* and Coastal *ngana*). Only older speakers feel the need to keep utterances 'pure', i.e. to avoid mixing Coastal and Inland words in the same stretch of speech. Moreover, since the only written Guugu Yimidhirr (mostly hymns and Bible stories translated by the early missionaries) uses the Coastal dialect, many Coastal words and expressions have become frozen in modern speech, or have taken on a special religious flavour. (For example, the word for 'sky' in Inland dialect is *wangunh*, and *dyiiri* in the Coastal dialect. But at Hopevale speakers render the English word 'heaven' exclusively with *dyiiri*, the word learned and used by the missionaries in the early days.)

Some speakers of the language claim an affinity with both Coastal and Inland groups, saying that they are *yalgaarrgu* 'separate, apart' - that is, neither Inland nor Coastal; or that they have *dhamal dyiganbi* 'a foot in the grass' - that is, though they live close to the sea they are still connected to inland areas. Such people, whose tribal land was mostly on the coast and adjacent areas around the Starcke River, north of Cape Flattery, also pride themselves on speaking the purest, or 'deepest' Guugu Yimidhirr. Some of the most accomplished modern speakers lay ancestral claim to this area. (Roth (1910:93) reports that the Cape Bedford people spoke Guugu Yimidhirr 'in its full purity'. Elsewhere Roth (1898:1-3) describes a visit to the people living along the Starcke River and mentions that although they 'speak koko-yimidir as at Cooktown, Cape Bedford, etc.' they can communicate freely with people along the coast from Cape Flattery northwards, people who speak a dialect he calls 'koko jom-bol' or 'koko yim-bol'.) Although Hopevale people recognize that different locales had different ways of talking, the differences have now been blurred, and separate dialect names are only known for a few areas.

1.3 TERRITORY AND NEIGHBOURS

Before the European invasion of the area, Guugu Yimidhirr speaking people seem to have inhabited a territory

stretching from the Annan River and Cooktown north to the mouth of the Jeannie River. From there the territory extended west to somewhere around the mouth of the Jack River, and from there south to the area of the Normanby River called Battle Camp. Guugu Yimidhirr speakers also laid claim to several islands and areas of reef off the coast, the best known being Lizard Island (*dyigurru*) which was a favourite hunting and gathering spot for people from the Point Lookout area. The tribal territory was divided into thirty-two named regions. A single major family group (tracing descent from fathers to sons) traditionally had control over each such region, taking advantage of seasonal hunting and gathering on favoured spots and enjoying the protection of sacred places, both at lagoons or waterfalls and in mountains or caves.

At the same time people used to maintain regular contacts with neighbouring groups, both in other Guugu-Yimidhirr-speaking locales, and also from farther away. It was considered proper for a man to marry a woman who was not simply in the proper kin relation but who also came from far away; this meant that, say, an Inland speaker might marry and bring back to his territory a woman from a distant Coastal area, or even from another language area altogether. Guugu Yimidhirr men are reported to have travelled routinely as far north as Coen, in the early days, and within people's memories there were regular contacts between families from Battle Camp, the north side of the McIvor River mouth and the Flinders Island group.

South of the Annan River people spoke the closely related Gugu Yalandji language. Based on modern wordlists there is about 42% overlap between the vocabularies of the two languages. Similarly there is a marked similarity between Gugu Yalandji and Guugu Yimidhirr in basic syntax and overt word form (even though the underlying morphological analysis of words is often rather different). The various intermediate dialects are largely amalgamated now into the all-encompassing speech communities of Hopevale Mission (where a standard Guugu Yimidhirr has emerged as the lingua franca) and the Bloomfield River Mission, 80 kilometers south of Cooktown, where people speak Gugu Yalandji (see R. Hershberger 1964a-c, 1970).

Less is known of the languages spoken immediately to the north and west of Guugu Yimidhirr. The Barrow Point and Flinders Island languages (Sutton mimeo, n.d.) are phonologically rather different from Guugu Yimidhirr and its southerly neighbours, frequently dropping initial consonants and displaying seemingly more complex vowel systems; the same is true of languages to the west, called variously Gugu Warra (Gyim *warra* 'bad') and Lama-Lama by Hopevale people. One basis for comparing these languages is the variety of names to describe inhabitants of various regions (Sutton 1976, has collected a range of such names). For example, people from the area around the source of the Jack River are called in Guugu Yimidhirr *bama muunhdhi-ingu* (*bama* 'person'; *muunhdhi* territory name; *-ingu* purposive suffix). In the Flinders Island language this becomes *aba ungti*, in the

Barrow point language *ama untianu*, and in 'Lama-Lama' *mba ndikaram*.

People in the olden days are reputed to have been accomplished polyglots, who travelled widely and who were able to converse freely with members of other groups. Guugu Yimidhirr people in the olden days do not seem to have travelled south of the Annan River. (Indeed, Roth (1910) reports that Guugu Yimidhirr speakers from areas to the north had only in recent times begun to come as far as Cooktown.) However, recent contact between the Lutheran sister Missions at Hopevale and Bloomfield has led to considerable inter-marriage between Guugu Yimidhirr and Gugu Yalandji speaking peoples, with significant resultant bilingualism.

A number of individuals who have escaped the homogenizing effects of mission life still have impressive linguistic skills; some speak both Guugu Yimidhirr and Gugu Yalandji fluently, and also maintain a knowledge of a mother-tongue from elsewhere; in such an environment in which knowing more than one language was the norm it is hard to guess at the degree of mutual intelligibility between neighbouring languages, not to mention the amount of influence one language might have had on another.

1.4 SOCIOLINGUISTIC NOTES

Clearly, in this region the language one spoke was closely related to who one was: just as claims to land and rights in its use came from one's father, so too did one lay legitimate claim to one's father's language. But one also knew and could rightfully use one's mother's dialect or language, much as one had certain residual rights in a *gambul* 'stomach' (i.e., mother's-side) territory. At presentday Hopevale many people, in fact, have some sort of claim over languages they do not know, because a parent was brought to the mission from another area; this leads to strange and often poignant disclaimers of the form: 'Well, these people call that X, but that's not *my* word' (even when one's own word is unknown). (Terwiel-Powel, 1975, discusses the Hopevale kinship system in historical context.)

Traditional behaviour involved a Guugu Yimidhirr speaker in a number of special language practices. Many of a man's relatives were 'taboo' for him and hence to be avoided. Avoidance and respect had a special institutionalized expression in speech: a man could not speak at all to his mother-in-law, remaining silent in her presence and absenting himself when possible. With his father-in-law, his brothers-in-law and with certain other relatives, a man was obliged to speak in a specially slow, soft, and respectful tone of voice, and to substitute respectful equivalents for many common words. For example, a man wishing to ask his brother-in-law 'Did you go?' could not use the ordinary Guugu Yimidhirr question:

- (1) *Nyundu dhada-y?*
2sg+NOM go+PAST
Did you go?

Instead, he would have to substitute the more polite pronoun *yurra* for *nyundu* (a device much like the use of plural pronouns as polite forms in European languages), and to use a special respectful replacement *bali-l* for the ordinary *dhadaa* 'go'. The resulting question would be

- (2) *Yurra bali?*
2pl+NOM go+PAST
Did you go [polite]?

Conversely, certain relatives (notably grandparents and children) were permitted extreme license in their speech, using especially vulgar words, and joking with each other in the crudest terms. (These kin-related speech practices are treated in more detail in Haviland 1979; forthcoming.)

While many ordinary Guugu Yimidhirr words could be used in respectful speech if appropriately enunciated, most common words had Brother-in-law language substitutes. And like the Dyirbal 'mother-in-law vocabulary' (Dixon 1971), the Guugu Yimidhirr respectful lexicon often had a single word equivalent for a number of ordinary language words. Thus, while there are a number of words in everyday Guugu Yimidhirr for different species of kangaroo and wallaby (but no superordinate term), in the Brother-in-law language there is a single term, *daarraalngan*, which is substituted in polite speech for any of the everyday terms. As a result, the correspondences between everyday and respectful vocabulary provide evidence about the semantic domains of the lexicon. (In the accompanying word list at the end of this grammar, Brother-in-law language equivalents for common vocabulary items are shown where known.)

Rather few people at Hopevale know words from the special respectful style; and the kinship practices that supported respectful speech have lapsed. Similarly, knowledge of other special genres is fading from the community. In addition to traditional songs to accompany dance, a special sort of extemporaneous song, called *ganhil*, allowed people to praise or abuse others with impunity. (The last great singer of such songs died in 1975.) Guugu Yimidhirr speakers, when hunting or conversing over distance, still employ conventionalized gestures to supplement or replace speech. Many of the same signs are in use that Roth (1908) reported for Cape Bedford seventy years ago.

1.5 HOPEVALE MISSION

After gold was discovered on the Palmer River in 1872, miners poured into the area, using the quickly established port of Cooktown as their port of entry. From the start relations between Europeans and the Aboriginal owners of the land were hostile, beginning with a pitched battle and subsequent massacre of Aborigines at the spot on the Palmer route that came to be called Battle Camp. By the middle 1880s Cooktown was a thriving port and boom town, and Aborigines had been banned from the town after dark as a nuisance. Aboriginal numbers were dwindling, and in the opinion of a Cooktown settler '(t)he belief that they are relics

of humanity who must die out in a few years is beyond question' (McNickle 1897). In 1886, a Lutheran Missionary, Johannes Flierl, delayed on his way to New Guinea, established a Mission on land recently gazetted as an Aboriginal Reserve at Cape Bedford, on the barren north shore of the Endeavour River (Lohe 1966). A young German missionary, G. H. Schwarz, arrived the following year and became the spiritual and earthly guardian of the Aborigines of the area until World War II. What remained of the Cooktown tribes and other Guugu Yimidhirr speaking groups to the North soon settled on the Cape Bedford Reserve. Young people from the area, and eventually from other parts of Queensland, boarded at the Mission school, and older people continued to roam around the Reserve, occasionally employed on stations or in Cooktown.

After World War I, when the white population of the area fell to a tiny fraction of the gold boom size, the Mission called Hope Valley at Cape Bedford was an enclave of Lutheran hard work and virtue, struggling to eke what living it could from the poor land of the Reserve and from the industries of the sea. Because of World War II the entire population of Hopevale was from 1942 until 1949 relocated at Woorabinda, inland from Rockhampton, some 600 miles to the south. After the war, the Lutherans reestablished the Hopevale mission at a spot about fifteen miles inland from the original site, and most of those people who had survived the stay in the south returned to a settlement still administered by missionaries, but subject to a more all-encompassing control by the Queensland Government. Today Hopevale is a community of around six hundred, with about two dozen European staff who operate a store, a bank and post office, a State school, a kind of pastoral holding operation, and a Lutheran church.

When Flierl and his successors began mission work at Cape Bedford, most of the people living in the area were speakers of Coastal Guugu Yimidhirr; few people had survived from the original Cape Bedford families, and rather more were living around the McIvor River. The first missionaries learned Coastal speech, and their Bible and hymn translations have preserved Coastal words. Later remnants of other surrounding tribes, not all of them Guugu Yimidhirr speaking people, found themselves transported to the mission. A large group came to Cape Bedford after the collapse of the Lutheran missions at Marie Yamba (near Proserpine) and Bloomfield River; others - especially part-European children found in Aboriginal fringe camps and on stations - were sent to Hope Valley from as far away as Longreach to the South, or Coen and the tip of Cape York Peninsula to the North. All these people learned Guugu Yimidhirr as a kind of *lingua franca*, and even people from areas where dialects close to Guugu Yimidhirr were spoken abandoned their native tongues in favour of the mission standard. (At the same time, Missionary Schwarz insisted that only standard English be taught and spoken at the Mission; even today Hopevale people regard with some disdain their brethren from other areas who speak the distinctly Aboriginal 'Cape York English'.)

Present-day language at Hopevale is something of a conglomerate. Much ordinary conversation is in English with a heavy sprinkling of Guugu Yimidhirr pronouns and common nouns e.g. 'Ngali [we two] go for mayi [food] now'. Similarly, Guugu Yimidhirr conversation relies on frequent English lexical items. Choosing Guugu Yimidhirr over English usually signals a social decision (e.g. to exclude white people from the discussion, to remind an uppity interlocutor of his Aboriginal heritage, etc.). Furthermore, as a result of much syntactic and phonological interference from the other languages which people who make up the community speak or spoke - as well as from English - there is a great deal of variation in Hopevale speech, and Guugu Yimidhirr is under heavy pressures to regularize and simplify; only the oldest speakers of the language, and of these only people with legitimate ancestral claims to the area, speak with confidence of 'proper' Guugu Yimidhirr and revile the *guugu dyiga* 'weak speech' of younger people.

Nonetheless, Guugu Yimidhirr is the first language of children, though many are effectively bilingual in English by the time they begin school. There is, at present (1978), no bilingual programme of any kind at Hopevale, and many children, by the time they finish school, profess an ignorance of Guugu Yimidhirr, that their speech in private belies. The only written materials in Guugu Yimidhirr commonly available at Hopevale are hymns and Bible stories in the early missionaries' archaic and idiosyncratic orthography.

1.6 PREVIOUS RESEARCH ON GUUGU YIMIDHIRR

The vocabularies collected by Lt. Cook and his crew were the first written records of an Australian language - see Cook (1955) and Banks (1962). Later visits by passing navigators in the early 1800s seem not to have enlarged on Cook's wordlist. Missionary Flierl, and his successors Schwarz and Poland began serious studies of the language in the middle 1880s, and their efforts culminated in Roth's 'The Structure of the Koko Yimidir Language' (1901a), as well as several shorter grammatical sketches (Schwarz and Poland, n.d.) and a lengthy dictionary (Roth 1901b). Several later missionaries undertook brief studies of the language, but none attained the proficiency Schwarz displayed in his *Guugu Yimidhirr Order of Services* (1946). All of this work suffered from a basic misunderstanding of the sound system of the language (missing laminal sounds, for example, and not distinguishing long from short vowels) and from a heavy reliance on grammatical categories derived from the study of European languages and decidedly inappropriate for an analysis of Guugu Yimidhirr. (For example, Schwarz's translations consistently omit ergative inflection on transitive subjects. See 3.2.1 and 3.2.2[b].)

Jan de Zwaan (1969a,b) worked on the language in 1966 without significantly improving on Roth 1901a. De Zwaan's work prompted speculation about the accuracy of Cook's 1770 wordlist (Breen 1970, Haviland 1974). In addition, in the 1960s several linguists (Ken Hale, Gavan

TABLE 2.1 - Guugu Yimidhirr consonants

	bilabial	apico- alveolar	apico- postalveolar (retroflex)	lamino- dental	lamino- palatal	dorso- velar
stops	<i>b</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>rd</i>	<i>dh</i>	<i>dy</i>	<i>g</i>
nasals	<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>rn</i>	<i>nh</i>	<i>ny</i>	<i>ng</i>
lateral		<i>l</i>				
rhotics		<i>rr</i>	<i>r</i>			
semi-vowels	<i>w</i>				<i>ɥ</i>	

Breen, La Mont West) recorded fascinating interviews with Guugu Yimidhirr speakers now deceased (these have been deposited with the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies). The author's work on Guugu Yimidhirr began in 1971.

Anthropologists and historians have also turned their attentions to Hopevale and its people. Roth (1901-10) cites a wealth of ethnographic and linguistic observations about the Cooktown and Cape Bedford people. Evans (1969, 1972) discusses Hopevale and its sister missions at Bloomfield and Marie Yamba. Terwiel-Powell (1975) describes Guugu Yimidhirr kinship. Loos (1976) puts early Hopevale history into the wider context of Aboriginal/White relations in North Queensland.

Finally, Lutheran historians have lavished considerable attention on the church's achievements among the Guugu Yimidhirr people; historical sketches based on church archives are to be found in Thiele 1938, Lohe 1966, and Grope and Roennfeldt 1977. The Hopevale people themselves are actively engaged in trying to uncover the roots of their own past, and hopefully more probing historical materials will soon be available. (See Haviland and Haviland 1977 for a glimpse of the Hopevale people's consciousness of their past lives.)

2. PHONOLOGY

2.1 PHONEMES AND THEIR REALIZATIONS

Guugu Yimidhirr sounds like a typical Australian language: its inventory of phonemes resembles that of many languages of the continent. In this grammar the author writes Guugu Yimidhirr words in a practical orthography designed for eventual wider use in the Hopevale community. Table 2.1 shows the consonants of the language. (In this orthography, by convention, *ngg* represents the cluster of homorganic dorso-velar nasal and stop, and *n.g* represents the cluster apico-alveolar nasal plus dorso-velar stop. The cluster *rnd* represents homorganic apico-postalveolar (retroflex) nasal and stop i.e., *rn+nd*). The phonetic realizations of these phonemes are as in most Australian languages (see Editors' Introduction). The rhotic *rr* is nearly always

TABLE 2.2 - Guugu Yimidhirr vowels

	Short		Long	
High	<i>i</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>ii</i>	<i>uu</i>
Low	<i>a</i>		<i>aa</i>	
	Front	Back	Front	Back

a front flap, occasionally trilled intervocally (especially in the word *warra* 'bad' when spoken emphatically). The rhotic *r* is heavily retroflexed word-finally, and before a consonant, and tends to be a more neutral back glide intervocally. Full contrast between the consonants of the language occurs only in medial position, for only the stops, nasals and semi-vowels can occur word-initially, whereas only the lateral, the rhotics, the semi-vowels and *n* and *nh* occur word-finally.

The status of the retroflex stop and nasal as distinct phonemes is somewhat problematic, since the normal phonotactic constraints of Guugu Yimidhirr (see below) would not permit a medial cluster consisting of *r* plus *n* or *d*. In some words, however, the retroflex stop and nasal seem to be articulated as single sounds, in others as clusters of distinct sounds. Moreover, there is at least one word, *dudaa* 'run', which, in the speech of older people seems to begin with an apico-postalveolar retroflex stop, as if it were written *rdudaa* (often, in fact, *rdurdaa*).

Guugu Yimidhirr has six contrasting vowels, the common Australian three-vowel system with significant length. Table 2.2 diagrams the vowels of the language. The practical orthography conventionally represents long vowels as doubled letters, although lengthening and shortening processes (see 2.3, 2.5[a]) suggest that length and not true doubling is involved. The vowels *i* (also *ii*) and *u* (also *uu*) are pronounced much like Spanish *i* and *u*, although short *u* is frequently unrounded. The *a* also varies from a long vowel (like Spanish *a*) to a short, very reduced shwa (as in English *but*) in unstressed contexts.

A few minimal (or near-minimal) pairs will demonstrate important phonemic contrasts:

LAMINO-DENTAL

wudhi 'gave'
buunhdha 'male turtle'
madhi 'embraced'
ganhil 'song type'
yidharr 'to put'

LAMINO-PALATAL

wudyi 'strong, fast'
buunydyä 'night owl'
madyi 'rain'
gaanyil 'wife's brother'
yidyarr 'to get stuck'

(There are rather few full minimal pairs which show contrast between the two laminal series, and many speakers seem not to be sensitive to the difference. Some speakers, however, characterize the lamino-dental sounds as being spoken 'the dry way', with the lamino-palatals being 'a bit light'. Guugu Yalandji, spoken immediately to the south, does not

have a contrast between these two laminal series, even though many words are cognate.)

SHORT VOWEL	LONG VOWEL
<i>bula</i> 'you two'	<i>buula</i> 'dry'
<i>buli</i> 'fell down'	<i>bulii</i> 'will fall down'
<i>gundaya</i> 'might hit'	<i>gundaaya</i> 'hits self'
FLAP OR TRILLED <i>rr</i>	RETROFLEX <i>r</i>
<i>birra</i> 'leaf'	<i>bira</i> 'certainly'
<i>marral</i> 'bottle'	<i>maral</i> 'girl'
APICAL RHOTIC <i>rr</i>	APICAL STOP <i>d</i>
<i>burral</i> 'top, summit'	<i>budal</i> 'to eat'
FINAL <i>rr</i>	FINAL <i>ɺ</i>
<i>wunurr</i> 'place at head of McIvor River'	<i>wonul</i> 'leaning, oblique'

(Final *rr* is often very difficult to distinguish from final *ɺ*, especially following *u*. There is also a close relationship between *d* and *rr*; in rapid speech, an initial *d* following a vowel-final word can be pronounced with a flap or trill as in:

bunggu 'knee' + *dagaadhi* 'sat down' = *bunggu-rragaadhi* 'kneel'.

Normally this orthography would write *bunggu-dagaadhi*, quoting the underlying form as it would appear in slow and careful speech.)

Guugu Yimidhirr speakers on the whole seem to find the English letters *b*, *d*, *g*, etc. to be more natural representations of the stops of the language than *p*, *t*, *k*, etc., although voicing is not in fact significant. Stops in the language tend to be unvoiced and non-aspirated initially, and following short vowels, but voiced post-consonantly and following long vowels.

2.2 PHONOTACTICS

Most Guugu Yimidhirr roots are disyllabic, and virtually all begin with consonants. (The known exceptions are two particles: *aa*, which signifies agreement, and *awuun* which glosses roughly as 'that's the one! that's right! that's the way!'.) All stops and nasals and the two semi-vowels occur in initial position; in a working dictionary of about 1700 roots the percentages of words, arranged by initial consonants, are as follows:

<i>g</i> 17.4%	<i>dh</i> 9.2%	<i>dy</i> 4.6%
<i>b</i> 17.1%	<i>ng</i> 8.6%	<i>nh</i> 2.6%
<i>m</i> 12.2%	<i>d</i> 7.5%	<i>n</i> 1.4%
<i>w</i> 12.0%	<i>y</i> 6.9%	<i>ny</i> .5%

About 45% of these stems end in a vowel. The closed roots end in a rhotic, the lateral, *n*, *nh* or *y*. (A single root is known to end in *w*, the exclamation *gaw* 'hey!'.) The frequency of final consonants is as follows (percentages are based on consonant-final roots only.)

-ɺ 30.0%	-n 19.6%	-y 9.0%
-rr 26.4%	-r 9.0%	-nh 6.0%

The three vowels do not appear with equal frequency in the roots collected, with *a* being more frequent than *u*, which is in turn more frequent than *i*. The percentages are as follows:

FIRST SYLLABLES	SECOND SYLLABLES
<i>a</i> 45%	<i>a</i> 49%
<i>u</i> 37%	<i>u</i> 29%
<i>i</i> 18%	<i>i</i> 22%

Long and short vowels occur in both first and second syllables in disyllabic roots, in the following frequencies:

FIRST SYLLABLES	SECOND SYLLABLES
<i>aa</i> 21% (of first syll. <i>a/aa</i>)	<i>aa</i> 21% (of second syll. <i>a/aa</i>)
<i>ii</i> 24% (of first syll. <i>i/ii</i>)	<i>ii</i> 18% (of second syll. <i>i/ii</i>)
<i>uu</i> 22% (of first syll. <i>u/uu</i>)	<i>uu</i> 20% (of second syll. <i>u/uu</i>)

Long vowels in first syllables are inherent to roots, whereas various morphological processes affect length in second syllables.

These percentages remain stable, for the most part, in combination with different initial and final consonants, but there are a few notable exceptions. While initial *dh-* seems to be followed by the different vowels with the normal frequency, *dy-* is followed by *i* with unusual frequency (see Dixon 1970):

<i>dha-</i> 46% (of <i>dh</i> -initial roots)	<i>dya-</i> 10% (of <i>dy</i> -initial roots)
<i>dhu-</i> 34%	<i>dya-</i> 23%
<i>dhi-</i> 20%	<i>dya-</i> 67%

(And note the frequencies with which the different vowels follow the laminal stops in medial position, in second syllables:

- <i>dha-</i> 47.7%	- <i>dya-</i> 32.6%
- <i>dhu-</i> 21.9%	- <i>dya-</i> 14.6%
- <i>dhi-</i> 30.4%	- <i>dya-</i> 52.8%

Again, *dy* can be seen to be unusually frequent before *i*.) By contrast, *i* seems relatively infrequent after *g* (occurring in only 4% of *g*-initial words), *ng* (5%), and *n* (which is never followed by *i* in words so far encountered).

There is also slight statistical evidence for a weak sort of vowel harmony, in that the second syllable of a disyllabic word tends to share the same vowel as the first syllable more frequently than the overall second-syllable vowel frequencies would predict. Thus, 56% of words with *a* in the first syllable also have *a* in the second (the total frequency would predict only 49%); 29% of words with *i* in the first syllable have *i* in the second (rather than the expected 22%); and 41% of words with *u* in the first syllable have *u* in the second (rather more than the 29% of all roots which have *u* in the second syllable).

So far we have described Guugu Yimidhirr roots in terms of the following structure:

$$C_1 V_1 (C_2 V_2)^n (C_3) \text{ (where } n \geq 0 \text{).}$$

There are, in fact, a few monosyllabic roots; except for a few particles all of these have long vowels, and most are closed with a final consonant, e.g. *buurr* 'nest', *miil* 'eye'. The demonstratives and a few loan words from English are open monosyllables: *nhaa* 'that, there'; *yii* 'this, here' (sometimes pronounced *yiyi*); *dii* 'tea'.

C₁ and C₃ are single consonants, and V₁ and V₂ can be either long or short. Summarizing structural possibilities described so far, we find that:

-- C₁ can be any stop, nasal or semi-vowel (*b*, *d*, (*rd*), *dh*, *dy*, *g*; *m*, *n*, *nh*, *ny*, *ng*; *w*, *y*).

-- C₃ can be the liquid, either rhotic, the laminal semi-vowel, or *n* or *nh* (*l*; *rr*, *r*; *y*; *n*, *nh*).

-- C₂ represents either a single medial consonant or a cluster of up to three consonants, defined by the following possibilities:

C₂ can be:

- [i] any consonant
- [ii] any homorganic nasal-stop cluster, i.e. *mb*, *nd*, *nhdh*, *nydy*, *ngg*, or *rnd* (retroflex nasal plus retroflex stop)
- [iii] any possible final consonant (i.e., possible candidate for C₃ above) followed by either a bilabial or velar stop or nasal, or a bilabial or velar homorganic nasal-stop cluster, i.e. *l*, *rr*, *r*, *y*, *n*, or *nh*, followed by *b*, *m*, *mb*, *g*, *ng*, or *ngg*.

It seems in principle that any possible final consonant can also combine with laminal stops, nasals, or nasal-stop clusters; but within roots actually encountered only the following such clusters occur: *ldh*, *ydy*, *ynydy*, *ynhdh*, *ndy* and *ndh* (the last cluster being, perhaps, somewhat unusual). Moreover, the only case so far encountered of the laminal-dental *nh* combining with another consonant medially is *nhg*. All other possibilities specified by these rules have been encountered, except for *yng* - presumably an accidental gap.

Note that sonorant plus apical clusters do not occur in the language (a feature Guugu Yimidhirr shares with most other Australian languages, cf. Dixon 1977:35-36). The sounds represented in this orthography as *rd*, *rn*, and *rnd* occasionally seem to be articulated as clusters, but are perhaps best considered as apico-postalveolar retroflex stop, nasal, and homorganic nasal-plus-stop cluster respectively, to show this systematic phonotactic property.

The same possibilities governing medial clusters within roots obtain with consonant clusters across morpheme boundaries. Interestingly, there are morphological processes - notably verbal reduplication - that should produce clusters not in accord with the possibilities shown. Clusters of *l* or *rr* plus apical which would result from such processes are, in the speech of older people, reduced so as to conform to the rules. When *rr* combines with an apical consonant it usually drops. For example, when an *rr*-final

noun combines with an ergative suffix *-nda*, ordinarily the final *rr* drops (although not in the speech of all Hopevale residents), e.g.:

wulunggur 'thunder' + *-nda* = *wulunggu-nda*

More striking still, when an *l* is brought into contact with an apical consonant or consonant cluster, the resulting form undergoes a kind of 'retroflexization': a hypothetical cluster of the form *l+d* is realized as *r*, and a hypothetical cluster of the form *l+n(d)* is realized as *rn(d)*, as in the following reduplicated verbs:

<i>balgal</i> 'make'	<i>balgaalgal</i> (reduplicated form)
<i>gundal</i> 'hit'	* <i>gundaalndaal</i> (non-occurring predicted form) <i>gundaarnadal</i> (actual reduplicated form)
<i>waadal</i> 'say'	* <i>waadaaladal</i> (non-occurring predicted form) <i>waadaaral</i> (actual reduplicated form)

(In the speech of younger people a word like *gundaarnadal* 'hitting' is frequently pronounced *gundaandal* without the retroflex cluster.)

Similarly, note that non-nasal sonorants (*y*, *w*, *l*, *rr*, and *r*) do not occur as final elements in a medial cluster within roots. Reduplicated forms of verbs with medial *w* occasionally exhibit clusters which violate this rule:

<i>yiwarr</i> 'look for'	<i>yiwarrwarr</i> (rare) <i>yiwarrarr</i> (usual reduplicated form)
<i>baawal</i> 'cook'	<i>baawalwal</i> (rare) <i>baawalal</i> (usual reduplicated form)

Hopevale people who use these rare forms often correct themselves, immediately substituting the more normal forms.

2.3 LENGTH AND STRESS

There is a close relationship between vowel length and stress. In a word of two syllables, in which neither vowel is long, stress ordinarily falls on the first syllable, e.g.: *naabal* 'stone'. A word with more than two syllables, again without long vowels, has primary stress on the first syllable, and secondary stress on all odd numbered syllables, e.g.: *maarrbugan* 'cave', *bigibigi* 'pig', *durrginbtgu* 'Indian Head (place name)'. Long vowels always bear stress. We have seen that all monosyllabic fullwords have long vowels; the only short monosyllables are unstressed clitic particles:

<i>wanharrda</i> ^(h) <i>ga</i> ?	'How are you, then?'
<i>diigu nhaa</i> <i>ba</i> !	'That's the one!' (Literally: 'thing that emphatic-particle')

Such particles seem never to be pronounced as independent words (and are often not recognized as legitimate words at all when pronounced in isolation).

Words with long first syllables and with short vowels in the remaining syllables follow the same stress pattern as words with no long vowels, e.g. *guugu* 'language',

bāarrabarra 'mangrove', *dhāabangāi* 'to ask'. Long vowels in second syllables, however, complicate the stress pattern. When a disyllabic word has a short first vowel and a long second vowel, the first syllable is unstressed and the second stressed:

magīi 'branch' *gabīirr* 'girl'

If both syllables are long, both receive equal (or near equal) stress:

būurrāay 'water' *ngāamā* 'what'

Long vowels are not found after the second syllable of a word (except in certain compounds); however, the rhythm of secondary stress set up in the first two syllables of a word continues onto third and subsequent syllables produced by suffixation. There are three patterns:

[i] If the first two syllables follow the pattern S(tressed) U(nstressed), (i.e., if the second syllable is short), then secondary stress falls on all odd-numbered syllables:

mārrbugān-bi-gū 'still in the cave'
bāyan-ngāy-gu 'just the houses'
dhāabangāi-ngāi-ā 'keep asking!'

[ii] If the first two syllables follow the pattern US (i.e., if the second syllable is long and the first short), then secondary stress falls on all even-numbered syllables:

magīi-ngāy-gū 'just branches'
dagāarr-garr-in '(was) growing'

[iii] If the first two syllables follow the pattern SS (i.e., if both are long), then subsequent syllables begin again with the pattern of secondary stress falling on odd-numbered syllables:

būurrāay-bi-gu 'still in the water'
wāandāy-ngāy-gu 'just white cockatoos'
mīirrīil-in-ga 'had spoken'

These stress rules apply most clearly to words pronounced in isolation; phrase stress for special emphasis occasionally alters these patterns (see section 3.2.4[a-b]).

Many inflectional and derivational processes in the language alter length in second syllables of disyllabic roots. For example, nearly every noun suffix will cause the second syllable of a disyllabic root that ends in any consonant except for *n* or *nh* (i.e., *l*, *rr*, *r* or *y*) to become long, if it is not already long:

nāmbal 'stone' + *nganh* 'ablative' = *nāmbāalnganh*

Some noun suffixes also cause vowel-final disyllabic roots to lengthen:

yāgu 'wood' + *-ngu* 'purposive' = *yūgūāngu*

There are also a number of suffixes that cause an already long second syllable to become short:

būurrāay 'water' + *-ay* 'locative' = *būurrāyay*

These shortening suffixes normally alternate with ordinary

suffixes which can combine with all roots, whether or not they have long second syllables; there are thus often alternate inflected forms with rather different patterns of stress and length:

būurrāay + *-ay* 'locative' + *-gu* 'emphatic' = *būurrāyaygu* 'still in the water'

būurrāay + *-bi* 'locative' + *-gu* 'emphatic' = *būurrāybiḡu*

2.4 PHONOLOGICAL VARIATION

In the speech community at Hopevale and surrounding areas, Guugu Yimidhirr speakers show a tremendous amount of phonological variation. Many people have learned Guugu Yimidhirr as a second language - albeit at very young ages - and other Australian languages as well as English clearly influence the ways they speak Guugu Yimidhirr. Some speakers do not distinguish systematically between the two laminal series (and there are few enough minimal pairs that such a practice does not render their speech confusing, although others accuse them of speaking with *guugu dyiga* 'soft words'). Others pronounce laminal sounds with very little palatalization - people say that they talk 'hard' - so that laminals are difficult to distinguish from apical sounds. Another important sort of variation involves the vowel plus semi-vowel combination *ay*. In unstressed position, in the speech of older speakers, this combination is much reduced so as to sound almost like *i*. However, many younger speakers have made the change complete, and treat morphemes with unstressed *ay* as if they had *i*.

older speakers: *burriway* [burriway] 'emu'
younger speakers: *burriwi*

Thus, for example, the locative suffix *-bay/-way* is pronounced most often as *-bi/-wi* (the first alternate follows consonant-final stems, the second vowel-final stems):

older speakers: *nāmbaal-bay* 'on the stone'
bubu-way 'on the ground'

younger speakers: *nāmbaal-bi*; *bubi-wi*

Another sort of phonological peculiarity, not connected with social variation in the speech community, characterizes dramatic or emphatic speech, used, for example, in telling myths. First, nasals are prestopped:

gunday 'he hit it', emphatic: *gū^dnday*
gam-biiba 'many (lit. grandfather-father)', emphatic: *gā^bmi-biiba*

Second, in similar contexts, *l*+stop clusters tend to be expanded to full syllables with an unstressed *a* separating the components:

galbay 'far', emphatic: *gal^abay* 'very far, indeed'

Dramatic speech also has exaggerated stress and elaborately lengthened vowels.

2.5 MORPHOPHONOLOGICAL PROCESSES

We have already seen two general morphophonological processes, which we here summarize along with two further processes.

[a] *Lengthening and shortening.* A disyllabic stem of the form

$$C_1V_1C_2V_2(C_3)$$

can combine with three types of suffix. An ordinary suffix will cause V_2 to be long unless C_3 is null or a nasal (n or nh). A 'lengthening' suffix (indicated in this grammar by a preceding colon, e.g., $-:ga$) will cause V_2 to be long even if C_3 is null, though not if it is a nasal. And a 'shortening' suffix (indicated by a preceding dollar sign, e.g., $-\$ay$) will combine with a disyllabic stem of the form

$$C_1V_1C_2V_2V_3C_3$$

(i.e., with a long second syllable) to produce a shortened second syllable in the resulting form

$$C_1V_1C_2V_2C_3+\text{suffix.}$$

These three sorts of behaviour characterize all inflectional and derivational suffixes in the language. Length on monosyllables and on trisyllabic (or longer) stems is not affected.

This lengthening/shortening behaviour allows us to distinguish clearly between a stem-affix boundary (where lengthening processes apply, under the proper syllabic conditions) and a word boundary (where no lengthening is engendered). Unstressed clitic particles do not engender lengthening; contrast the following sentences. The first shows the noun stem *nambal* 'stone, money' plus a suffix; the second shows *nambal* followed by a clitic particle.

(3) *Nyulu nambaal-dhirr*
3sg+NOM money-COM
He has money.

(4) *Dagu nambal dyi*
thing+ABS money+ABS really
That's really money!

Similarly, compounding processes do not engender lengthening. In the following sentence, the two words *dindal* 'quick' and *badhibay* 'bone' seem to act as a compound meaning 'fleet-footed'; but no lengthening is involved.

(5) *Yarrga warra dindal=badhibay*
boy+ABS bad [=very] quick=bone
The boy is very fleet of foot.

[b] *Retroflexisation.* Medial clusters, of the form l plus apical stop, nasal or cluster, produced by morphological processes - notably in verb reduplication - change according to the following rules:

- (a) $ld \rightarrow r$
(b) $ln \rightarrow rn$

(c) $lnd \rightarrow rnd$ (i.e., homorganic retroflex nasal + stop cluster)

Rule (a) is observed by all speakers of the language; many younger speakers simply reduce an underlying *lnd* to *nd* (see rule (c)), and even more frequently a predicted *rn* (rule (b)) is simply pronounced as *n*. A few speakers, especially in slow and over-careful speech, will even pronounce a cluster of the form *lnd* as written:

mangal 'hand' + $-nda$ (ergative) = *mangaarnda* (older speakers)
= *mangaanda* (younger speakers)
= *mangaalnda* (some younger speakers)

[c] *Assimilation of final laminal nasal.* Words ending in *nh* exhibit some special properties which we can exemplify with the word *dhawuunh* 'friend'. The collective plural suffix $-garr$ combined with *dhawuunh* yields the word *dhawuuyngarr*. Here two processes are at work: (i) the semi-vowel *y* is introduced before a stem-final *nh* which is in turn followed by a consonant initial suffix:

dhawuunh + $-ngu$ (purposive) = *dhawuuyngnh-ngu* 'for a friend'
dhawuunh + $-bi$ (dative) = *dhawuuyngnh-bi* 'to a friend'

And (ii), for most speakers, the cluster *nh* + *g* assimilates to *ngg*. Some speakers, however, pronounce words with such clusters without assimilation, and this is, in any case, the only case of assimilation encountered so far in Guugu Yimidhirr.

[d] *Dropping rules.* Two further rules account for the behaviour of certain clusters produced by various morphological processes. First, no geminate consonants occur; any cluster C_1C_1 of identical consonants reduces to C_1 (see section 3.4.2.). Second, a cluster of the form *iy*, in word-final position or before a consonant, reduces to *i* (see section 3.4.3(b)).

3. MORPHOLOGY

3.1 PARTS OF SPEECH

One can distinguish the following word categories in Guugu Yimidhirr:

<i>Nominal:</i>	<i>Locational and time words</i>
Noun	Verb
Adjective	Adverb
Interrogative/Indefinite pronoun	Particle
Personal Pronoun	Exclamation
Deictic	

The word classes grouped together as *Nominal* expressions occur with case inflection, but each class has slightly different possibilities, occurring with different cases and with distinct forms. Nouns and adjectives behave in mor-

phologically identical ways and must be distinguished on semantic grounds: nouns, crudely, denote objects and adjectives properties of objects. Deictics and numerals are small, closed classes with peculiar inflectional properties; similarly, interrogative/indefinite pronouns take most of the same cases as other nominal expressions, but the case forms are distinct.

Personal pronouns behave in a fundamentally different way from *Nominal* expressions with regard to syntactic cases; the total set, again, is small, closed, and highly structured.

Locational and time expressions also occur with a subset of case endings, but they offer a somewhat wider range of morphological possibilities as well; among the locational qualifiers are the Cardinal Point expressions.

Verbs take a variety of verbal inflections. One subset of verbs only occur in 'reflexive' form, whereas another large class (corresponding roughly to the set of Intransitive verbs) does not allow reflexive forms at all. *Adverbs* comprise a small set of words that modify verbs.

Particles and exclamations are non-inflected words falling into two classes. Unstressed clitic particles always attach to independent words. Others act as independent words, with full word stress, and limited possibilities for derivation (see sections 3.2.6 and 4.8). Particles mark a wide range of meaning: negation, certainty, uncertainty, possibility, readiness, and so on.

3.2 MORPHOLOGY OF NOUNS AND ADJECTIVES

A noun or an adjective consists of a stem (which may include various derivational affixes) and a case ending (which for the absolutive case is zero). Within an entire noun phrase (NP) each element may carry case inflection, or the case suffix may go only onto the last element, preceding contiguous parts of the same NP bearing no case inflection at all (see sections 3.2.3[b] and 4.1.1 below).

3.2.1 CASES. The cases fall into several natural, partially overlapping, categories. First are the syntactic cases, which mark the central and often obligatory syntactic functions in a clause. Following the conventions set out in the Introduction to this *Handbook*, we represent the transitive subject function as A (for actor), the intransitive subject function as S (for subject), and the transitive object function as O. The syntactic cases are, then:

ABS(olutive) (S and O functions); ERG(ative) (A function)

Second, there are cases that mark various optional functions within the clause, including:

DAT(ive): marking beneficiary, 'indirect object', possessor, etc. - this is the most neutral oblique case.

PURP(osive): marking something or someone for whom something is done; or out of fear of which something is avoided.

TABLE 3.1 - Guugu Yimidhirr Cases
(see text for explanation of special symbols)

SYNTACTIC CASES	
ABS	- \emptyset
ERG	- <i>ngun</i> - <i>nda/</i> -: <i>nh</i> ; - <i>sinh</i> - <i>sil/</i> -: <i>l</i> -: (- <i>ngunda</i> ; - <i>garr</i>)
PERIPHERAL SYNTACTIC CASES	INST (same as ERG)
	DAT - <i>bi/</i> - <i>wi</i> ; - <i>si</i> -: - <i>sinh</i>
	PURP -: <i>ngu</i> - <i>sa</i>
	CAU - <i>nganh</i>
	GOAL -: <i>ga</i>
LOCAL CASES	LOC/ALL (same as DAT)
	ABL (same as CAU) SUP -: <i>nh</i> -:
ESSIVE CASES	
ABES	-: <i>ga</i>
ADES	-: <i>gal</i>

CAU(sal): something that causes the action or state depicted by the verb of the clause; or the material from which something is made.

INST(rumental): marks the instrument by which an action is done.

Third, there is a set of locational cases that indicate position at, motion to or from or along a place or an object:

LOC(ative)/ALL(ative): position at or motion to a place.

ABL(ative): motion from a place; time after some event.

SUP(erjacent): position or motion on top of, above, or along something.

Finally, there are 'essive' cases that, among other things, indicate position or motion with respect to animate beings, presence in people's awareness:

ADES(sive) or Presence: in or into the presence or awareness of an animate being.

ABES(sive) or Origin: leaving the presence of, or the place of origin.

Table 3.1 shows these various cases, along with their alternate realizations, and indicates which cases fall together with identical inflections.

Ergative and instrumental have identical case forms, but ergative always marks a noun in A function; instrumental inflection can, by contrast, mark constituents of clauses which cannot have A nouns: intransitive, and reflexive clauses in particular. Dative and locative/allative are also largely identical morphologically, with the most common suffix being *-bi/-wi*. The suffix is used more widely than either case label might suggest, to mark almost any sort of object or person peripheral to the action or state denoted by the verb. (The possessor of a noun in absolutive case is also marked with a suffix which is morphologically identical to dative inflection. See section 3.2.3[b].)

Causal and ablative also fall together, and the best grounds for distinguishing between them are semantic: ablative marks motion away from a location (or, by extension, time after an event); causal indicates a cause ('I got sick from/because of the cold'), a material ('a wommera (made) from bloodwood'), or a source/benefactor ('I married a woman from (i.e., the daughter of) my uncle'). See 4.1.4[b] and 3.2.2[d] below.

One further case, shown as GOAL on Table 3.1, is of limited productivity. Although the case ending, *-:ga*, is identical to that used with Abessive case, GOAL seems to be the remnant of a once productive case with almost the opposite meaning, combining the functions of a dative, a purposive, and an allative. Most modern speakers do not use the case freely, although it survives in certain frozen expressions. For example, the normal way to ask 'Where are you going?' combines the interrogative stem *wanhdhaal-* (which occurs in locative case as *wanhdhaa* 'where') with the GOAL suffix *-:ga*: *wanhdhaal-ga* 'where to?'. See 3.2.2[f] and 4.1.4[g] below.

3.2.2 CASE FORMS. We may recall that all suffixes in Guugu Yimidhirr fall into three types, according to their behaviour with respect to lengthening in second syllables of disyllabic stems. Since only stem-final second syllables are affected, suffixes will behave in slightly different ways when attached to monosyllabic, disyllabic, or longer stems. To recapitulate, a colon, *:*, before a suffix indicates that it causes lengthening, except on stems ending in *n* or *nh*. A dollar sign, *\$*, before a suffix indicates that it causes a long second syllable in a disyllabic stem to shorten; generally speaking such a suffix can only be used with a disyllabic stem if the second syllable is both long and closed (i.e., consonant-final). Such shortening suffixes thus have somewhat more limited possibilities of occurrence than the other suffixes. Finally, the absence of a special symbol before a suffix indicates that it engenders lengthening only on disyllabic stems which end in a consonant other than *n* or *nh*. Table 3.1 employs one further notational convention. Some case forms are sensitive to the presence or absence of a final consonant on the stem to which they attach. By convention, a slash separates such alternate forms, the first allomorph for consonant-final stems, and the second for vowel-final stems. (For example, the most common DAT suffix is *-bi/-wi* where *-bi* attaches to consonant final stems, and *-wi* to vowel-final stems.)

[a] *Absolutive*: the suffix is zero. A noun or adjective in S or O function displays the bare stem, with no suffix.

[b] *Ergative*: marks the transitive subject (A) function, usually with animate nouns and adjectives modifying them. The morphological possibilities are identical for the Instrumental case, which in turn normally marks an inanimate noun denoting a tool or instrument used in the action of the verb. There are several different forms:

(a) *-ngun*. Virtually any noun or adjective can combine with *-ngun* in Ergative or Instrumental case, and this is the preferred suffix for monosyllabic nouns.

mil 'eye' *mil-ngun* 'with the eye(s)'

The same suffix can occur with either vowel or consonant-final polysyllabic stems as well.

waarigan 'moon' *waarigan-ngun*
biiba 'father' *biiba-ngun*
gabiirr 'girl' *gabiirr-ngun*

This seems also to be the preferred ergative suffix for stems that end in a long vowel or in *nh*:

gudaa 'dog' *gudaa-ngun*
dyiirraanh 'old man' *dyiirraanh-ngun* (cf. 2.5(3))

(b) *-nda*, *-\$inh/-:nh*. This alternative set of ergative suffixes shows some of the phonological considerations that bear on the choice of a particular suffix. A vowel-final stem uses the lengthening suffix *-:nh*. With consonant-final stems there are two possibilities: any consonant-final stem can use the suffix *-nda*; but a disyllabic consonant-final stem with a long second syllable can also take the shortening suffix *-\$inh* instead. (By rules mentioned in 2.5, we can predict that a stem with final *n* will lose it in combination with *-nda*. Similarly, a final *rr* before *-nda* is also lost, and a final *l* before *-nda* prompts a change to *-rnda*. However, many speakers allow the clusters *rrnda* and *lnda* in these ergative forms.)

mangal 'hand' *mangaar-nda-mangaal-nda*
gabiirr 'girl' *gabiir-nda-gabiirr-nda-gabiirr-inh*
waarigan 'moon' *waariga-nda*
gamay 'clay' *gamay-nda*
yugu 'wood' *yugu-wnh*
baduur 'hook' *baduur-inh* (*-baduur-nda*)
muuri 'stickiness' *muuri-inh*
mulirr 'tooth' *mulirr-inh* (*-mulirr-nda*)

Of these three suffixes, only *-:nh* does not occur on words of more than two syllables. This means that stems of three or more syllables that end in a vowel cannot use any of these ergative suffixes, and must instead use the suffix *-ngun* described in (a) above.

balin.ga 'porcupine' *balin.ga-ngun*

Because lengthening and shortening only take place in stem-final second syllables, with trisyllabic stems *-nda* causes

no lengthening, and *-sinh* neither requires a long final syllable nor engenders shortening.

wulunggurr 'lightning, flame' *wulunggu-nda-wulunggurr-nda-wulunggurr-inh*

(c) *-\$il/-:l*. A few stems require these special ergative suffixes, the first attaching to long closed second syllables, and the second attaching to short vowel-final second syllables. The only nominals so far encountered that form ergatives with *:-l* are:

<i>bama</i> 'person'	<i>bama-al</i>
<i>bidha</i> 'small'	<i>bidha-al</i> (also: <i>bidha-anh</i>)
<i>warrga</i> 'large'	<i>warrga-al</i>
<i>warra</i> 'bad'	<i>warra-al</i>
<i>mayi</i> 'food'	<i>mayi-il</i> (more frequently: <i>mayi-ngun</i>)

Similarly, disyllables with long final syllables in *n* or *y* form ergatives with *-\$il* (and not with *-\$inh*):

<i>buurraay</i> 'water'	<i>buurray-il</i>
<i>ngaabaay</i> 'head'	<i>ngaabay-il</i>
<i>nubwan</i> 'one'	<i>nubwi-il</i> (but some older speakers say: <i>nubwi-inh</i>)
<i>diwaan</i> 'scrub turkey'	<i>diwan-il</i> (but also: <i>diwaan-ngun</i>)
<i>daan.gay</i> 'wind'	<i>daan.gay-il</i>

This suffix *-\$il* also occurs with *y*-final trisyllables:

badhibay 'bone' *badhibay-il*

(d) *:-*. An alternative ergative form exists for a few words, most of which appear to denote animate beings - usually people - and which, with one exception, end in a short vowel. For such words, an ergative may be formed simply by lengthening the final vowel:

<i>babi</i> 'grandmother'	<i>babi-i</i>
<i>ngaanhdau</i> 'woman'	<i>ngaanhdau-u</i>
<i>yarrga</i> 'boy'	<i>yarrga-a</i>

This ergative form is often employed with English loan words rendered into Guugu Yimidhirr with short final vowels. For example, the English word 'Pastor' becomes, roughly, *baasda*, with ergative *baasda-a*. It has not been determined how productive this pattern is for ergative forms of vowel-final stems. The ergative suffix *:-* is known with only one consonant-final word, found on a recording of Guugu Yimidhirr made by Kenneth Hale in the early 1960s:

ngaadharr 'dog, dingo' *ngaadharr* (=ERG)

(e) Miscellaneous ergative forms. Occasionally, especially on long multisyllabic nominal expressions, speakers combine the *-ngun* and *-nda* suffixes to form a composite suffix *-ngunda*. The collective plural suffix *-garr*, which ordinarily requires further suffixation in any but the absolutive case, seems to have ergative force in the word *gudagarr*:

(6) *Guda-garr yarrga dyinda-y.*
dog-PL(+ERG) boy+ABS hit-PAST
The dog hit the boy.

Following the ordinary plural suffix *-ngay* (see 3.2.3[a] below), ergative is normally realized by *-nda* which combines with the plural suffix to form *-nganda*.

(f) Variation in ergative suffixes: It is clear that for many words there are often three or more possible ergative forms, and the different forms usually seem to be interchangeable. Some speakers discern a slight difference in meaning between the *-ngun* form, which seems to be the unmarked alternative, and the *-nda*, *-\$inh/-:nh* forms which suggest a certain immediacy:

- (7) *Gabirr-inh/gabirr-nda nganhi gunda-y*
girl-ERG lsg+ACC hit-PAST
The girl hit me [just now, recently - and I still have the mark to show it].
- (8) *Gabirr-ngun nganhi gunday.*
girl-ERG lsg+ACC hit-PAST
The girl hit me [some time ago, - neutral sense].

These speakers also reject sentences which mix the *-ngun* and *-nda* etc. suffixes on two different noun phrases (e.g., actor and instrument) in the same sentence, or, indeed, the same connected discourse. However, most Guugu Yimidhirr speakers violate this rule with regularity in conversation or narrative, so this may be a subtlety gradually fading from the language.

[c] *Dative* indicates the beneficiary of some action, or the 'indirect object' or recipient (in clauses with verbs like 'give', 'bring', etc.); characteristically, of course, a beneficiary will be animate. Locative/Allative, by contrast, mark rest at or motion towards a location, typically an inanimate thing or a place. (Motion to or rest in the presence of an animate being is marked, in Guugu Yimidhirr, by the Addessive case.) Nearly all nominal stems use the suffix *-bi/-wi* (for many older speakers, *-bay/-way*) for Dative and for Locative/Allative cases.

<i>mil</i> 'eye'	<i>mil-bi</i> 'in the eye'
<i>bayan</i> 'house'	<i>bayan-bi</i> 'in the house, at the house'
<i>bitba</i> 'father'	<i>bitba-wi</i> 'to/for the father'
<i>gabirr</i> 'girl'	<i>gabirr-bi</i> 'to/for the girl'

Related to these suffixes is the shortening suffix *-\$i* (for older speakers, *-\$ay*) which seems to be an alternative to *-bi* on all stems with long final second syllables. For example:

<i>buurraay</i> 'water'	<i>buurray-ay</i> 'in the water'
<i>gaanhaal</i> 'older sister'	<i>gaanhal-ay</i> 'to/for the older sister'

In rapid speech, the suffix *-wi* (or *-way*) is often somewhat reduced, as in the following two cases:

<i>gambagamba</i> 'old woman'	<i>gambagamba-wi-gambagamba-y</i> 'to/for the old woman'
<i>birri</i> 'river'	<i>birri-wi-birri-i</i> 'to/at/in the river'

There are a few special possibilities for locative/allative forms that do not seem to have dative meanings as

well. First, the shortening suffix *-ḡinh* has locative/allative meaning with a few roots, including:

<i>ywaal</i> 'beach'	<i>ywaal-inh</i> 'on/to the beach'
<i>dyuugaar</i> 'sand'	<i>dyuugar-inh</i> 'in/to the sand'

This suffix occurs in a few place names, apparently only with nouns denoting natural features of places. A few other nouns, especially place names, have a locative/allative form with *-:*, a suffix which, of course, will have no phonological effect on a word whose second syllable is already long.

<i>nangguurr</i> 'camp'	<i>nangguurr</i> 'at/to camp'
<i>gan.gaarr</i> 'Cooktown (literally, quartz)'	

- (9) *Ngayu dhada-a gan.gaarr*
1sg+NOM go-NONPAST Cooktown+ALL
I'll go to Cooktown.

With English place names, whether they contain long second syllables or not, there is frequently no overt sign of the locative or allative - as if a place name is unambiguously a *location*.

- (10) *Ngayu dhada-a Brisbane*
1sg+NOM go-NONPAST
I'll go to Brisbane.

With the word *dhalun* 'sea, ocean' a regular locative is formed with *-bi*; there is also a special form with *-:* (even though lengthening suffixes do not ordinarily affect *n*-final stems).

- (11) *Ngayu dhadaa dhalun-bi*.
I'll go to the ocean (i.e., to the coast, from inland)
- (12) *Ngayu dhadaa dhalun:*.
I'll go out to see (i.e., onto the ocean). (See part [i] of the present section.)

[d] *Ablative and Causal* are marked by the suffix *-nganh* with all types of stem. Ablative indicates motion away from a place or thing, or denotes the time after some event. Causal expresses cause, the source of something given or transferred, or the material from which something is made.

An independent particle, *ngual*, also conveys much the same temporal meaning as the ablative, in combination with a noun that denotes an event or a moment in time. *Ngual* can either follow the noun (which itself is unsuffixed), or precede the noun, which itself then receives the suffix *-:ga*.

- (13) *Mayi-ngaynh-gu ngayu dhada-a*.
food-ABL-gu 1sg+NOM go-NONPAST
I'll go after dinner.
- (14) *Mayi nguwaal-gu ngayu dhada-a*.
food after-gu
I'll go after dinner.
- (15) *Ngual mayi-iga ngayu dhada-a*.
after food-?
I'll go after dinner.

(In sentences like (14) *ngual* cannot be considered a suffix as it cannot engender lengthening on the noun it follows, even when the noun ends in a consonant other than *n* or *nh*. See 3.2.6 below.)

[e] *Purposive* denotes a goal, a beneficiary, a purpose, or a person in various way related to the action of a verb. Purposive also marks the semantic objects of certain adjectival predicates (see 4.1.6[h]). The suffix is *-:ngu* for all types of stem.

<i>mayi</i> 'food'	<i>mayi-ingu</i>
<i>bayan</i> 'house'	<i>bayan-ngu</i>
<i>mil</i> 'eye'	<i>mil-ngu</i>
<i>badhibay</i> 'bone'	<i>badhibay-ngu</i>

With two nouns a purposive suffix *-:ga* has also been encountered:

<i>buurraay</i> 'water'	<i>buurray-a</i> (also: <i>buurraay-ngu</i>)
<i>daan.gay</i> 'wind'	<i>daan.gay-a</i>

[f] '*Goal*'. The case for which we have adopted this label appears to be an archaic purposive or dative case, formed with the suffix *-:ga*. In a few expressions, and seemingly with only a few nouns and adjectives, this case seems to combine the functions of purposive, dative and perhaps locative/allative. These contexts are very limited in modern speech, although Roth (1901a) appears to suggest that this constellation of meanings was formerly productively associated with the *-:ga* suffix. (This may also be the case appearing in sentence (15) above.)

- (16) *Ngayu mil-ga dhada-a*
1sg+NOM eye-GOAL go-NONPAST
I'll go for [my] eyes [to have them examined].
- (17) *Nyunchu wanhdaal-ga?*
2sg+NOM where-GOAL
To where [are] you [going]?
- (18) *Gad-ii nambaal-ga*
come-IMP stone-GOAL
Come for [i.e., to get] the money [literally, the stone].
- (19) *Ngayu gadil-ga binaal-mil*.
1sg+NOM name-GOAL know-PRIV
I don't know [his] name.
- (20) *Barrgaar-ga wu-naa ga?*
mouth-GOAL exist-NONPAST familiar clitic particle
Does [anything] exist for the mouth? (i.e., is there anything to eat, drink, or smoke?)

[g] *Abessive*. A homonymous suffix *-:ga* also denotes motion away from a person, origin with a previous possessor, or place of origin in general; this case, which we call *Abessive*, is productive. It is much like the inverse of the Dative.

- (21) *Ngayu Paasta-aga gada-y*
1sg+NOM Pastor-ABES come-PAST
I came from [being with] the Pastor.
- (22) *Yarraman ngayu biiba-aga ma-ni.*
horse+ABS 1sg+NOM father-ABES take+PAST
I got the horse from [my] father.
- (23) *Yii yugu yalmba-aga*
this+ABS tree+ABS sandhill-ABES
This is a tree of the sandhill [i.e., of the type that grows on the sandhill].

Notice that although the GOAL and ABESsive cases use an identical suffix *-:ga*, their meanings are in some sense exact opposites, and speakers of Guugu Yimidhirr sometimes express puzzlement over the GOAL usage which is regarded as contrary to the productive Abessive sense of the suffix.

[h] *Abessive*, marked by the suffix *-:gal*, denotes a person in or into whose presence an action takes place, or moves, or to whom speech is directed.

<i>ngamu</i> 'mother'	<i>ngamu-ugal</i>
<i>dyiiral</i> 'wife'	<i>dyiiraal-gal</i>
<i>bidha-gurr</i> 'children'	<i>bidha-gurr-gal</i>

- (24) *Biwul-gal gaari yirrg-ii !*
mother-in-law-ABES NOT talk-IMP
Don't speak with your mother-in-law!

The abessive also marks the actor in accidental actions (see 4.1.4[d], and 4.3.2).

[i] What we have called the *Superjacent* case employs a variety of suffixes to indicate that something is happening on top of, on the surface of, or immediately adjacent to and above the noun indicated. The few attested examples involve body-part words, particularly *mugu* 'back'. The suffixes involved are *-:nh !* and, in one case, *-: :*, often followed by the emphatic postinflectional suffix *-:gu* (see 3.2.4[b]).

- (25) *Ngayu ngamu-ugal nhin.gaalngga-y bilu-u(y)nh-gu*
1sg+NOM mother-ABES sit+REDUP+PAST hip-SUP-gu
I was sitting with my mother on/by [her] hip. (The speaker is recalling how his mother used to tell him stories when he was a child.)
- (26) *Maandi baru-u(y)nh-gu God-gal*
bring+PAST lap-SUP-gu God-ABES
[They] brought [him] to the lap of God.
- (27) *Ngagu-u maand-ii !*
shoulder-SUP take-IMP
Carry [him] on [your] shoulder!
- (28) *Bayan mugu-wnh wnaarna.*
house back-SUP exist+REDUP+NONPAST.
[It] is lying on top of the house.

One especially interesting example of what is apparently this same case, additionally involves the reduplication of the inflected noun, presumably to emphasize the expanse and extent of the area involved. The root is *yalmba* 'sandhill'.

- (29) *Nyulu yalmba-a yalmba-a dhada-y.*
3sg+NOM sandhill-SUP sandhill-SUP go-PAST
He went by way of the sandhills [and there were a lot of them].

3.2.3 NOMINAL DERIVATIONAL MORPHOLOGY. A number of suffixes produce from noun or adjective roots new derived nominal stems which themselves require case inflection. Here we describe the four most important derivational processes.

[a] *Plural*. Most nouns and adjectives have an unmarked plural with the derivational suffix *-ngay*; the plural stem itself receives case inflection appropriate to the role of the plural noun in a clause. (See Text, lines 30, 37, 70 and 71.)

<i>ngaanhdu</i> 'woman'	<i>ngaanhdu-ngay</i>
<i>badhuar</i> 'zamia nut'	<i>badhuar-ngay</i>

A collective plural, suffix *-garr*, which we have already met with *guda-garr* (from *gudaa* 'dog') in 3.2.2[b(e)] and (6) above, occurs with kin terms to show that several people stand in the same relation to a single other:

<i>gaarga</i> 'younger brother'	<i>gaarga-garr</i> 'younger brothers (of a single person)'
<i>dyiiral</i> 'wife'	<i>dyiiraal-garr</i> 'wives (of one man)'

- (30) *Bula dyiiraal-garr gaga buli*
3du+NOM wife-PL+ABS sick fall+PAST
[His] two wives fell sick.

A few nouns and adjectives form a plural by reduplication, although neither the form nor the meaning of reduplicated nominal forms seems to be regular. Consider the following complications. The word *gabiirr* 'girl' has two plural forms: *gabiirr=gabiirr* and *gabiirngay*.

- (31) *Nhangu gabiirr=gabiirr ganggaal-garr warrga-aygu wu-nay*
3sg+GEN+ABS girl-REDUP+ABS child-PL+ABS many-gu exist-PAST
He had many daughters. (Literally: 'his girls children very many existed'.)

But sometimes a reduplicated form has a singular meaning. For example, the word *gamba* 'old woman' is ordinarily used together with a name, as in *Gamba Mary* 'Old lady Mary'. The reduplicated form acts as an independent singular noun, *gambagamba* 'old woman'. An explicitly plural form requires both reduplication and a plural suffix: *gambagamba-ngay* 'old women'.

The reverse situation also obtains. Two roots use the special plural suffix *-gurr*:

<i>bidha</i> 'small, child'	<i>bidha-gurr</i> 'children'
<i>dyiirraanh</i> 'male'	<i>dyiirraayng-gurr</i> 'adult man, adult men'

But the latter form can have both singular and plural meanings; an explicit plural requires both the *-gurr* suffix

- (40) *Nyulu mamba yugu-wi magil-inh yidha-rrin.*
3sg+NOM fat+ABS tree-LOC branch-LOC put-PAST
He put the fat on the tree branch.

In cases encountered so far, whole and part seem to be intimately tied together in a single NP, with both whole and part standing in identical syntactic relations to other parts of the clause (suggesting that, in some sense, what is true of or happens to a part is also true of or happens to the whole). It is, however, possible for a part-whole NP to be discontinuous within a clause:

- (41) *Dyidyii-nda nganhi dyinda-y ngaabaay.*
bird-ERG 1sg+ACC peck-PAST head+ABS
The bird pecked me [in the] head.

See 4.3.4 and 4.7.

Part-whole relationships are not always treated with this sort of construction: sometimes the whole acts like an ordinary (Alienable) possessor, with Genitive or Dative constructions. This seems to happen frequently when the whole is a human being.

- (42) *Yii yarrga-aga-m-i biiba-wi mil*
this+ABS boy-GEN-mu-DAT father-DAT eye+ABS
This is the boy's father's eye.

[c] *Comitative, Privative.* Like most Australian languages, Guugu Yimidhirr has a derivational suffix, *-dhirr*, that forms from a noun N an adjective stem that means 'having N' or 'with N'; this stem can itself bear case inflection. Stems with long, final second syllables, ending in *y*, also form a comitative stem with *-dirr*. (Moreover, some speakers occasionally seem to treat the Comitative suffix as if it were a lengthening suffix of the form *-:dhirr*.)

- (43) *Ngayu galga-dhirr. Ngayu buurray-irr.*
1sg+NOM spear-COM+ABS 1sg+NOM water-COM+ABS.
I have a spear. I have water. (Lit., I am with spear,...)
- (44) *Biidha gada-y ngamu-(u)dhirr.*
child+ABS come-PAST mother-COM+ABS
The child came with its mother.

Comitative constructions indicate actual physical accompaniment, and not, say, possession or ownership, which is indicated by Genitive forms:

- (45) *Yarrga galga-dhirr.*
boy+ABS:spear-COM+ABS
The boy has a spear [i.e., he's standing here now armed with a spear].
- (46) *Yarrga-wi galga wu-naa*
boy-GEN+ABS (=boy-DAT) spear+ABS exist-NONPAST
The boy has a spear. (Lit., the boy's spear exists; or, to the boy exists a spear.)

Comitative occurs with cases other than Absolute, often without a 'head' noun, in the meaning 'a person with N':

- (47) *Galga-dhirr-ngun nhinaan wuguurrgu-rr*
spear-COM-ERG 2sg+ACC look for+REDUP-NONPAST
daama-ya!
spear-CAUT
[Someone] with a spear is looking for you, [and] might spear you [so watch out!].
- (48) *Galga-dhirr-gal gaari yuba gad-ii!*
spear-COM-ADES NOT close come-IMP
Don't come near to [a man] with a spear!

Comitative can also follow a Genitive suffix (although no cases of the reverse are known).

- (49) *Nyulu gada-y bidha wangaarr-ga-mu-dhirr*
3sg+NOM come-PAST child- white man-GEN-mu-COM+ABS
He came with the white man's child.

A number of expressions have the form N+COM even though no corresponding free noun exists. For example, the expression *dingga-dhirr* means 'hungry' even though there is no unfixed word *dingga*. Comitative expressions, acting as adjectival predicates (see 4.1.6[g]), can also receive further modification or intensification.

- (50) *Dyidirraayng-gurr warra gaga-dhirr-gu.*
old man-gurr+ABS bad (=very) poison-COM+ABS-gu
The old man is very sick still.

Corresponding to COM *-dhirr* is the Privative suffix *-mul* which means 'without'. The range of meaning of the Privative seems somewhat more restricted than that of Comitative, and no examples are attested of PRIV in combination with any case other than Absolute.

- (51) *Ngayu galga-mul.*
1st+NOM spear-PRIV
I am without a spear.
- (52) *Nyulu dingga-mul.*
3sg+NOM 'hunger'-PRIV
He's not hungry.
- (53) *Biidha ngamu-mul gada-y*
child+ABS mother-PRIV+ABS come-PAST
The child came without its mother.

[d] *Case forms with catalytic -:mu-*. Some nominal roots require the catalytic element *-:mu-* before they can accept case inflection other than the zero Absolute suffix. For example, the adjective *yindu* 'other, different' has the following case forms:

ERG/INST	<i>yindu-umu-n</i>
DAT/LOC/ALL	<i>yindu-um-i</i>
ABL/CAU	<i>yindu-umu-n; yindu-umu-nganh</i>
PURP	<i>yindu-umu-ngu</i>
etc.	

Other nominals that inflect this way include *wulbu* 'all' (which inflects with the stem *wulbu-umu-*), *gadhi* 'far away' (stem: *gadhi-mu-*), *wanggaar* 'above, high' (stem:

wanggaa-mu-), the numerals *gudhbirra* 'two' and *guunduu* 'three' (but not *nubuun* 'one'), and the deictic roots *yi-* 'there, this' (which has Absolutive form *yii* and stem form *yi-mu-* or *yii-mu-*) and *nha-* 'that, there' (which has the normal Absolutive form *nhaa* and the stem form *nhaa-mu-*).

(54) *Nyulu yindu-umu-gal mirrii-lin*
3sg+NOM other-mu-ADES tell-PAST
She told the other one.

(55) *Nyulu yii-mu-un bulgi gunda-y*
3sg+NOM this-mu-ERG bullock+ABS hit-PAST
This one killed the bullock.

Here we see the source of the second word in the name Guugu Yimidhirr. It cannot mean 'having *yimi*' (i.e., having the word *yimi*) since there is no such word as *yimi* in the language. (There is a locative form *yiiimu* 'here'; see 3.3.3) Instead it employs the catalytic formative, as *yi-mu-dhirr*, literally 'with this'; the form *yimidhirr*, a variant, ordinarily is used to mean 'in this way' or 'this kind', often accompanying a gesture. (A euphemistic way for saying 'money' is to rub one's fingers together, as if caressing notes of large denominations, and to say *yimidhirr* - as if to suggest: 'that with which one deals in *this way*'.) People also form an adjective from the language name to talk about people who have legitimate claim to it: *Guugu Yimidhin bama* 'speaker of Guugu Yimidhirr'. Two further expressions are peculiar to this word, and unproductive: *yimidhin-dhirr* 'just this way' and *yimiyimidhirr* 'the same again'.

(56) *Yimi-yimi-dhirr wun.guunh.*
this=REDUP-COM tomorrow.
[Let's do it] the same way again tomorrow. (Said by one brother to another after unsuccessfully waiting to ambush an enemy who was known to pass by a certain route daily.)

A similar variation occurs with the root *nha-* 'that, there': *nha-mu-dhirr* ~ *nha-mi-dhirr* ~ *nhaa-mu-dhirr* 'that way'.

3.2.4 POST-INFLECTIONAL SUFFIXES

[a] Emphatic *-:gu*. A Guugu Yimidhirr speaker frequently gives special prominence or emphasis to a word (for example when repeating a word that was indistinctly heard by his interlocutor) by adding the suffix *-:gu*. The suffix is added after all derivational and case inflections, and it can occur with nominals and other parts of speech as well. The suffix is unique in that it attracts a special sort of phrase stress (in addition to whatever word stress a word has) to the syllable immediately preceding it, even if the word has more than two syllables.

(57) *Bambu yii galga-angu-ugu*
bamboo+ABS this+ABS spear-PURP-EMPH
This bamboo is for spears.

(58) A: *Mayi wanhaha?* B: *Ngaanaa?* A: *Mayi-igu!*
food+ABS where+LOC What? food-EMPH
Where is the food? The food!

The same suffix is used to form emphatic pronouns, which function much like reflexive pronouns, see 3.3.1, 4.3.1 and (271-2).

[b] *-:gu/ -:ygu*. A further emphatic suffix behaves slightly differently; it exhibits the normal behaviour of a lengthening suffix, and it has slightly different forms with consonant- and vowel-final stems. The suffix lends a different kind of emphasis: attached to nominal expressions it adds the meaning 'only, just, still'.

(59) *Bama-aygu gad-ii!*
Aboriginal person-gu come-IMP
Let only Aboriginal people come!

(60) *Bidha-aygu wu-naa.*
small-gu exist-NONPAST
There is (still, just) a little.

(61) *Nyulu gaga-dhirr-gu*
3sg+NOM poison-COM-gu
He is still sick.

Other examples of this suffix are in (13), (25), and (50) above. Attached to adjectives, the same suffix produces a word that appears to modify a verb:

(62) *Yugu yaadyi yaadyi dindaal-gu yaadyi.*
tree+ABS burn+PAST burn+PAST quick-gu burn+PAST
The tree burned and burned quickly.

See (31): *warrga* alone means 'large', whereas *warrgaaygu* usually means 'many'. In forming adverbs, sometimes the suffix *-:nggu/ -:ynngu* alternates with *-:gu/ -:ygu*, as in Text Line 78 and the following example:

(63) *Dani-igu dhad-ii! Dani-ingu dhad-ii!*
slow-gu go-IMP slow-gu go-IMP
Go slowly!

The intensifying word *budhuun* 'very' seems almost always to occur with this suffix:

(64) *Nyulu warra wanggaar wangunh-mugu budhuun-gu.*
3sg+NOM bad (=very) high sky-back very-gu.
He [went] very high, right up in the sky.

Moreover, a few adverbs probably formed with *-:gu* do not seem to occur without it. For example, *mulban.gu* 'tightly, 'clearly, firmly' acts as an adverb, but there is no corresponding adjective *mulban*.

Rugh Hershberger (1964c:69) describes a seemingly cognate Gugu Yalandji suffix *-ku* as indicating 'a prior time', and she includes the meanings 'still' or 'yet' within her description of the use of the suffix. Many of her remarks about *-ku* apply to Guugu Yimidhirr *-:gu/ -:ygu* (although there is no Guugu Yimidhirr counterpart to the Gugu Yalandji suffix *-da* which indicates 'time either now or following'.) For example, two time words, *wun.guunh* 'tomorrow' and *ngulgu* 'afternoon, evening', both have forms suffixed with *-:gu/ -:ygu* that indicate a prior time: *wun.guuyng-gu* 'this morning, earlier', and *ngulgu-uygu* 'yesterday'.

This suffix also frequently attaches to locative expressions, to add the meaning 'near to' or 'right next to'.

(See (25) and (26) above.)

- (65) *Nyulu bayar-bi-gu*
3sg+NOM house-LOC-gu
He is near the house; OR: he is right in the house.

Many Guugu Yimidhirr place names have the form NOUN+LOC+gu: *binirr-i-gu* is an appropriate name for a place where many *binirr* 'bloodwood trees' grow, for example.

[c] Emphatic -:*garra/-:ygarra*. Occasionally Guugu Yimidhirr speakers use a different emphatic suffix to mean 'that's the one' or 'that's for sure', both with nominal stems and with verbs.

- (66) *Nyulu nhila-aygarra gada-a*
3sg+NOM now-EMPH come-NONPAST
He'll be coming right now!

This suffix seems to be related to the independent particle *gala* (see 3.2.6[a])

3.2.5 ADJECTIVE DERIVATIONS. Reduplication on adjectives seems to have a more consistent effect than with noun roots. The normal pattern is to reduplicate only the first two syllables of a stem, adding a string corresponding to $C_1V_1C_2V_2$ to the beginning of the simple stem to form the reduplicated word.

<i>yimi-dhirr</i> 'this way'	<i>yimi=yimi-dhirr</i> 'this same way again'
<i>gal(a)bay</i> 'long'	<i>gala=galbay</i> 'very far away'
<i>gadhi</i> 'far away'	<i>gadhi=gadhi</i> 'very far away'

Whereas noun reduplication is limited to a few words, usually (but not always) indicating plurality (section 3.2.3 [a]), reduplicated adjectives indicate either intensity or repetition. Consider the following two sentences:

- (67) *Nyulu dindaal-gu mayi buda-y*
3sg+NOM quick-gu food+ABS eat-PAST
He ate quickly. (I.e., he finished everything quickly.)

- (68) *Nyulu dinda=dindaal-gu mayi buda-y*
3sg+NOM quick=REDUP-gu food+ABS eat-PAST
He ate quickly. (I.e., he wolfed his food, repeatedly rushing each bite to his mouth.)

(Notice that the pattern of lengthening on the reduplicated form *dinda=dindaal-gu* suggests that, for the purposes of counting syllables, the reduplicated form here must be considered a *compound*, so that the final syllable can be considered a *second* syllable, and thus undergo lengthening. The root form is *dindal* 'quick'.)

There are several morphological techniques for comparing or intensifying adjectives. One frequently used intensifier is the adjective *warra* 'bad'; preceding an adjective it means 'very'.

- (69) *Nyulu warra dabaar*
3sg+NOM bad good
He is very good.

(We have seen this device before in (51) and (64).) Other

independent particles that precede and modify adjectives include:

- dharra* 'somewhat, fairly, a little'
buy 'more'
gurra 'more, again'
buarri 'still more'
banggarr 'a bit more'

And we have already met the particle *budhuun* 'very' that follows the adjective it modifies (see (64)).

The moderately productive adjective suffix *-ngaygu* has a resultative meaning. A word of the form Adj+*-ngaygu* functions in a construction with a verb to describe the results (usually from the point of view of the S or O NP) of the action.

- (70) *Nyulu nhangu gunda-y dhuyu-ngaygu*
3sg+NOM 3sg+ACC hit-PAST dead-RES
He hit him and killed him. (Literally: he struck him dead.)

- (71) *Nyulu yugu dambi wulbu wurndha-ngaygu*
3sg+NOM tree+ABS break+PAST all+ABS empty-RES
He broke all the trees [and left the place] empty. (A giant dingo thrashing around in his death throes.)

- (72) *bidha buli gadha=warra-ngaygu*
child+ABS fall+PAST rotten=bad (=unconscious)-RES
The child fell down [and was thereby knocked] unconscious.

(In (72) *gadha=warra* is a compound adjective with the meaning shown.)

3.2.6 INDEPENDENT PARTICLES WITH NOMINAL EXPRESSIONS. A number of independent particles (with full stress, and some possibilities for post-inflectional suffixation) contribute to formation of nominal expressions. We have already seen a few such particles in action (*ngawal* in 3.2.2[d], *budhuun* and other adjective-modifying particles in the preceding section). We speak here of particles rather than affixes for, (a) although these words have stress like other independent words (unlike unstressed cliticized particles), they have restricted constructional and inflectional possibilities and cannot be considered full lexical words; and (b) although the words in question invariably either follow or precede the nominal stems with which they combine, no lengthening or shortening is involved. The following particles are common:

[a] Usitative *malin*. A noun followed by *malin* forms an adjective-like expression that means 'good for N, appropriate for use with N, useful for N'. The entire expression appears to act as an adjectival predicate.

- (73) *Yii guda bigibigi malin*
this+ABS dog+ABS pig USITATIVE
This dog is a good pig-hunter.

- (74) *Ngayu warra buarraay=gaga malin*
1sg+NOM bad (=very) water=poison (=liquor) USITATIVE
I am a very bad alcoholic.

[b] *barrga-balga* 'along'. Appended to a noun this particle

means 'along N' or 'beside N', usually denoting motion along a river, a road, etc.

(75) *Dyaarba bubu barrga gana barrga gada-y*
snake+ABS ground along underside along come-PAST
The snake came [by an] underground [route].

(76) *Nyulu manydyal balga naga durrigin dudu-y*
3sg+NOM mountain along east+ALL water rat+ABS run-PAST
The water rat ran along the mountain range towards the East.

[c] *warraal* 'so high'. This particle, appended to a body part word, denotes the depth of a stream, tall grass, etc.

(77) *Birri gambul warraal*
river+ABS belly high
The river is/was belly deep.

[d] *warra* 'native of'. The territory of Guugu Yimidhirr-speaking peoples and their neighbours was divided into named regions, each with its dominant patrilineal families. Each person native to a region was known by his or her regional affiliation; someone from *Waymbuurr* (on the mouth of the Endeavour River, at Cooktown) was known as *Waymbuurr warra* 'a native of Waymbuurr, from the Waymbuurr mob', and the region itself was *Waymbuurr warra-wi* 'belonging to the Waymbuurr mob', with DAT/GEN inflection. And so on, with other named regions. This particle *warra* is undoubtedly cognate, not only to Gugu Yalandji *warra*, but to the affix *-barra* 'belonging to [a place]' in Yidiny, Dyirbal and other Queensland languages. (Tindale (1974) mentions that 'horde' names in Queensland end in *-bara*.)

[e] *gala* Emphatic. Following a noun or adjective (sometimes even a verb), usually in isolation, *gala* has the meaning 'that's right, that's it, that's the one':

(78) *Nhila gala!*
now EMPH
Right now it will happen, let it happen!]

(79) *Nyulu gala!*
3sg+NOM EMPH
He's the one! (I.e., let him do it; or he's the one who will do it!)

[f] *ngalba* 'covered with'. A predicate of the form *ngalba* + Noun means 'covered with, thick with, inundated with N'. Hence,

(80) *Ngaanhdu ngalba bidha-gurr.*
woman+ABS covered with child-PLU
The woman is surrounded by/has lots of children.

3.2.7 VERBS DERIVED FROM NOMINAL EXPRESSIONS. There are several regular processes by which to derive both inchoative and causative verbs from nouns and adjectives. The verbalizing suffixes have affinities to full verbs (and thus belong to specific conjugations, see 3.5.1); but they also act as suffixes, and hence they engender lengthening in the normal manner on the nominal stems which they verbalize.

TABLE 3.2 - Nominative forms of Guugu Yimidhirr personal pronouns

	Singular	Dual	Plural
1st person	<i>ngayu</i>	<i>ngali</i> (inclusive)	{ <i>nganhdhaan</i> (Inland dialect) <i>ngana</i> (Coastal dialect)
		<i>ngaliinh</i> (exclusive)	
2nd person	<i>nyundu</i>	<i>yubaal</i>	<i>yurra</i>
3rd person	<i>nyulu</i>	<i>bula</i>	<i>dhana</i>

The inchoative verbalizers are =*mal* and the reflexive forms of =*mana* (see 3.5.4).

bidha 'small' *bidha=mal* 'become small'
badhal 'deep' *badhaal=manaaya* 'become deep'
buyun 'old, wrinkled' *buyun=mal* 'shriveled'

The causative suffix is =*gurral* (exactly equivalent to the full verb *gurral* 'say, do, make').

galbay 'long' *galbaay=gurral* 'lengthen'
binaal 'smart, knowledgeable'
binaal=gurral 'teach'

In at least one case, the causative suffix =*gurral* acts as if it were =*gurral*.

warra 'bad' *warra=gurral* 'ruin'

3.3 PRONOUN MORPHOLOGY

3.3.1 PERSONAL PRONOUNS. Guugu Yimidhirr has free pronouns which refer, with few exceptions, to animate beings, usually to humans. Unlike nouns, these personal pronouns inflect according to a nominative/accusative pattern, with one form - the Nominative - for S and A functions, and another - the Accusative - for O function. There is, in modern Hopevale speech, considerable variation in pronominal forms. Table 3.2 shows the maximal system (nominative forms given).

Most modern speakers do not make a distinction between inclusive ('you and I') and exclusive ('another person and I') in the first person dual, instead using *ngali* for an unspecified 1st person dual ('we two'). Similarly, most people at the Hopevale Mission now use *nganhdhaan* in preference to the Coastal form *ngana*, for 'we (all)'; (this is true whether or not the same speakers use predominantly Inland vocabulary in the rest of their speech).

With the exceptions already noted, personal pronouns have the same case forms as animate nouns, with the same functions as the corresponding noun forms. However, although for the singular pronouns there exist accusative forms distinct from the dative-genitive forms, there is considerable variation in present-day use: people often use the dative/genitive forms in O function (although they never use the accusative forms as datives or possessives). Table 3.3 gives

TABLE 3.3 - Personal pronoun paradigm

NOM (SA)	ACC (O)	DAT/GEN+ABS	PURP	ABES	ADES	
<i>ngayu</i>	<i>nganhi</i>	<i>ngadhu</i>	<i>ngadhunngu</i>	<i>ngadhun.ga</i>	<i>ngadhun.gal</i>	1st singular
<i>nyundu</i>	<i>nhina(an (in))</i>	<i>nhanu</i>	<i>nhanungu</i>	<i>nhanun.ga</i>	<i>nhanun.gal</i>	2nd singular
<i>nyulu</i>	<i>nhinhaan(in)</i>	<i>nhangu</i>	<i>nhangungu</i>	<i>nhangun.ga</i>	<i>nhangun.gal</i>	3rd singular
<i>ngali</i>	<i>ngaliin/ ngalinin</i>	<i>ngaliin</i>	<i>ngaliinngu</i>	<i>ngaliin.ga</i>	<i>ngaliin.gal</i>	1st dual inclusive
<i>ngaliinh</i>	<i>ngalinhun</i>	<i>ngalinhun</i>	<i>ngalinhunngu</i>	<i>ngalinhun.ga</i>	<i>ngalinhun.gal</i>	1st dual exclusive
<i>yubaal</i>	<i>yubalin/ yubalinh/ yubaamin</i>	<i>yubalin/ yubalinh</i>	<i>yubalinngu</i>	<i>yubalin.ga/ yubalingga</i>	<i>yubalin.gal/ yubaalinggal</i>	2nd dual
<i>bula</i>	<i>bulaan(in)/ bulangan</i>	<i>bulaan/ bulangan</i>	<i>bulanganngu/ bulaangu</i>	<i>bulaan.ga/ bulangan.ga</i>	<i>bulaan.gal/ bulangan.gal</i>	3rd dual
<i>nganhdaan</i>	<i>nganhdhaamin</i>	<i>nganhdhanun</i>	<i>nganhdhanungu</i>	<i>nganhdhanun.ga</i>	<i>nganhdhanun.gal</i>	1st plural (Inland)
<i>ngana</i>	<i>nganangan</i>	<i>nganangan</i>	<i>ngananganngu</i>	<i>nganangan.ga</i>	<i>nganangan.gal</i>	1st plural (Coastal)
<i>yurra</i>	<i>yurraan/ yurrangan</i>	<i>yurraan/ yurrangan</i>	<i>yurraangu/ yurranganngu</i>	<i>yurraan.ga/ yurrangan.ga</i>	<i>yurraan.gal/ yurrangan.gal</i>	2nd plural
<i>dhana</i>	<i>dhanaan/ dhanangan</i>	<i>dhanaan/ dhanangan</i>	<i>dhanaanngu/ dhananganngu</i>	<i>dhanaan.ga/ dhanangan.ga</i>	<i>dhanaan.gal/ dhanangan.gal</i>	3rd plural

TABLE 3.4 - Genitive and comitative forms

GEN+ABS	GEN+ERG ; GEN+ABL	GEN+GEN ; GEN+LOC	COM	GEN+COM	
<i>ngadhu</i>	<i>ngadhuaamin</i>	<i>ngadhuaami</i>	<i>ngadhundhiir</i>	<i>ngadhuaamidhiir</i>	1st singular
<i>nhanu</i>	<i>nhanuamin</i>	<i>nhanuami</i>	<i>nhanundhiir</i>	<i>nhanuamidhiir</i>	2nd singular
<i>nhangu</i>	<i>nhanguamin</i>	<i>nhanguami</i>	<i>nhangundhiir</i>	<i>nhanguamidhiir</i>	3rd singular
<i>ngaliin</i>	<i>ngaliin.gamin</i>	<i>ngaliin.gami</i>	<i>ngaliindhiir</i>	<i>ngaliin.gamidhiir</i>	1st dual inclusive
<i>ngalinhun</i>	<i>ngalinhun.gamin</i>	<i>ngalinhun.gami</i>	<i>ngalinhundhiir</i>	<i>ngalinhun.gamidhiir</i>	1st dual exclusive
<i>yubalin</i>	<i>yubalin.gamin</i>	<i>yubalin.gami</i>	<i>yubalindhiir</i>	<i>yubalin.gamidhiir</i>	2nd dual
<i>bulaan/ bulangan</i>	<i>bulaan.gamin/ bulangan.gamin</i>	<i>bulaan.gami/ bulangan.gami</i>	<i>bulaandhiir/ bulangandhiir</i>	<i>bulaan.gamidhiir/ bulangan.gamidhiir</i>	3rd dual
<i>etc.</i>					

the full paradigm. The longer accusative forms ending in *-in* are especially rare at Hopevale, and the 3rd person singular accusative form *nihinhaan(in)* has been all but replaced by *nhangu*. (Roth (1901a:18) shows *nhangu* as both accusative and genitive.) It is hard to determine, under present circumstances, how much of the variation in the pronoun paradigm is due to dialect differences at some earlier stage of the language.

The purposive, abessive, and adessive forms of the personal pronouns are obviously based on the dative stem form (with the addition of *n* in the singular forms). Since these are *personal* pronouns, with reference restricted to animates, the local cases (which involve inanimate locations) do not normally occur. (Gaugu Yimidhirr speakers occasionally use the third person pronoun *nyulu* to refer to inanimate objects, but in rather special circumstances. For example, in a discussion of which way the current in a river was flowing one man spoke of the river with the pronoun *nyulu*, rather than using the noun *birri* or a deictic. Similarly, when two men went to dig the roots of a bloodwood tree in order to make pitch for spears, they dug around the roots of the tree to find an appropriate root. When they came upon a root they scratched the bark to see whether it was, indeed, bloodwood and not the root of some other tree. When it turned out to be what they had been looking for, one man cried *Nyulu gala* 'That's him!'.) However, genitive and comitative forms do occur, based on the dative stem form, plus *-ga-* for the non-singular forms, then the catalytic *-mu-* followed by the normal case suffixes. Table 3.4 shows a partial paradigm. (All cases in all persons occur with genitive forms.)

The emphatic suffix *-:gu* is frequently added to personal pronouns, and the resulting word may frequently be translated by an English expression like 'I myself, you yourself, ...' etc.

- (81) *Nyulu-ugu dhada-y*
3sg+NOM-EMPH go-PAST
He himself went. (Or: only he went.)

Together with the reflexive form of a transitive verb (see 4.3.1) the nominative form of a pronoun, plus *-:gu*, has explicit reflexive meaning:

- (82) *Nyulu-ugu gunda-adhi*
3sg+NOM-EMPH hit-REFL+PAST
He hit himself.

The emphatic suffix combines with other case forms, (271-2).

- (83) *Yii bayan ngadhu-ugu*
this+ABS house+ABS 1sg+DAT-EMPH
This house is mine, my own.
- (84) *Nyulu ngadhun.gab-gu yirrgaalga-y*
3sg+NOM 1sg+ADES-EMPH talk+REDUP-PAST
He was talking with [just] me.

Very rarely Gaugu Yimidhirr speakers use a contracted form of *ngadhu*, the first person singular Dative/Genitive form, which is suffixed to the noun possessed; the form is

TABLE 3.5 - Interrogative/Indefinite Pronouns

	'who'	'what'	'where'
ABSOLUTIVE	<i>wanhu</i>	<i>ngaanaa</i>	
ERGATIVE/ INSTRUMENTAL	<i>wanhanda/ wanhdu</i>	<i>ngaaniilinh/ ngaaniilinda/ ngaaniilngun</i>	
DATIVE	<i>wanhun/ wanhunbi</i>		
LOCATIVE		<i>ngaaniilbi/ ngaaniili</i>	<i>wanhdhaa/ wanhdhaaalbi</i>
ALLATIVE		<i>ngaaniili</i>	<i>wanhdhaaalga/ wanhdhaaalbi</i>
CAUSAL/ ABLATIVE		<i>ngaaniilnganh/ ngaanii</i>	<i>wanhdhaaalnganh</i>
PURPOSIVE	<i>wanhunngu</i>	<i>ngaaniilngu/ ngaanii</i>	
ABESSIVE	<i>wanhun.ga</i>	<i>ngaaniilga</i>	
ADESSIVE	<i>wanhun.gal</i>	<i>ngaaniilgal</i>	
'HESITATION'	<i>wanhaarru</i>	<i>ngaanaarru</i>	<i>wanhdhaaarru</i>
COMITATIVE	<i>wanhundhirr</i>	<i>ngaaniildhirr</i>	
GENITIVE+Case Stem	<i>wanhun.ga-mu-</i>		
		'where'	'how'
		<i>wanhdhaa-wanhdhaa(lga)</i>	<i>wanhdharra</i>

-dhu. This shortened form acts like a normal (non-lengthening) suffix, especially with kin terms.

- (85) *Biiba-dhu gada-y*
father+ABS-1sg+GEN come-PAST
My father came.

3.3.2 INTERROGATIVE/INDEFINITE PRONOUNS. Gaugu Yimidhirr has the usual complement of words for asking 'what?' 'who?' 'where?', etc., and these same words function not only as interrogatives but as indefinite pronouns ('someone, some-place, something') and also as rough equivalents of the still more indefinite pronouns that end, in English, with *-ever* ('whoever, wherever...'). These pronouns decline like nouns with an Absolutive form for S and O functions, and an Ergative form for A function. The absolutive forms are *wanhu* 'who', *ngaanaa* 'what', and *wanhdhaa* 'where'. See Table 3.5.

[a] *Wanhu* 'who' displays all the case forms appropriate to an animate noun, viz., ergative and absolutive, dative, adessive and abessive, purposive, (occasionally) ablative/

causal, and it occurs in the full range of GEN+case forms. There is, in addition, a special ergative only form, *wanhdu*, used exclusively as transitive subject (A function).

(R.M.W. Dixon has suggested that *wanhdu* here is the original ergative form, deriving from the proto-Australian root **wany-* with the ergative suffix *-*dyu*. In both Yidiny and Dyirbal, spoken to the South of Guugu Yimidjirr, the ergative form of 'who' is *wanydyu*. In Guugu Yimidjirr, the form *wanhunda* thus appears to be the result of analogic re-interpretation, with the pronoun inflected like a noun.)

- (86) *Wanhdu/wanhunda gunda-y?*
 who-ERG hit-PAST
 Who did the hitting? (Spoken only when we know that someone hit someone.)

- (87) *wanhdu maa-naa, nhangu.*
 who+ERG take-NONPAST 3sg+GEN+ABS
 Finders keepers [literally, whoever takes it, it's his].

There is also a special hesitation form, *wanhaarru*, which means 'what's his name' - i.e., it allows the speaker to pause while trying to supply the name of a person about whom he or she is talking.

- (88) *Nyulu nhila gada-y wanharru ... Bob.*
 3sg+NOM now come-PAST who-?
 What's-his-name came today ... Bob.

The irregular dative form of *wanhu* is *wanhun*; further case suffixes all attach to this stem. Both *wanhun* and *wanhunbi*, the latter with an explicit dative suffix, occur, apparently interchangeably.

- (89) *Yii wanhun-(bi) galga?*
 this+ABS who-DAT spear+ABS
 Whose spear is this?

[b] *ngaanaa* 'what'. Among pronouns, the word for 'what' has the greatest range of case forms, most of which are based on a hypothetical underlying form *ngaaniil-*. (The Absolutive form *ngaanaa* can be considered irregular.) Most case forms result from adding normal noun suffixes to the root (which by virtue of ending in a closed long syllable accepts shortening suffixes as well as ordinary case endings for consonant-final stems). There are also some specialized meanings and extra forms: *ngaaniili* (but not the non-shortened dative/locative *ngaaniilbi*) means 'in the process of doing what?'

- (90) *Nyundu ngaaniil-i?*
 2sg+NOM what-LOC/DAT
 What are you up to? What are you doing?

The regular purposive form, *ngaaniil-ngu*, occurs in those constructions that regularly call for purposive complements (see 4.1.4[f]) - for example, with verbs expressing 'fear':

- (91) *Ngaaniil-ngu dumba-adhi?*
 what-PURP frightened-REFL+PAST
 What was [he] frightened of?

But there is a further specialized Purposive or Causal form,

ngaaniil, that acts very much like English 'why'.

- (92) *Ngaaniil baadhiiladhi-l?*
 why cry+REDUP-NONPAST
 Why [are you] crying?

Abessive and adessive forms of 'what' are also possible, even though such forms might seem unlikely for a generalized *inanimate* pronoun. But consider the following adessive example:

- (93) *Nyundu ngaaniil-gal (yirrgaalga)?*
 2sg+NOM what-ADES talk+REDUP+NONPAST
 What are you talking to? mumbling about? (said to someone seemingly talking to himself).

Finally, there is a further all-purpose hesitation word, which also uses the suffix *-aarru*: *ngaanaarru* 'whatchama-callit'.

[c] *wanhdhaa* 'when, where'. Although a single noun case includes both locative ('rest at') and allative ('motion towards') meanings, locative and allative interrogatives are morphologically distinct. *Wanhdhaa* is locative: 'where (rest)'; and the underlying stem *wanhdhaal-* combines with *-ga* or *-bi* for the allative sense:

- (94) *Nyulu wanhdhaal-ga dhadaarra?*
 3sg+NOM where-ALL go+REDUP+NONPAST
 Where's he going?

(Strictly speaking, *wanhdhaalga* is always allative, whereas *wanhdhaalbi* can be either locative or allative.) Only the locational cases, viz., locative, allative and ablative, occur with *wanhdhaal-*, as befits a word that queries location.

In reduplicated form, the same root means 'when'; the two forms that occur are *wanhdha=wanhdhaa* and (more commonly) *wanhdha=wanhdhaalga* 'when'. In normal speech, however, Hopevale people use the English word 'when?':

- (95) *Nyundu when gada-y?*
 2sg+NOM come-PAST
 When did you come?

The case system does not seem to extend the meaning of this temporal word to allow easy formulation of questions like 'until when', 'since when', etc. (See 3.4 on location and time expressions.)

There is also a form *wanhdhaarru* which means 'where was that place now...?'

- (96) *Ngali barrbi wanhdhaarru ... gan, gaarr.*
 1du+NOM camp+PAST where-dya-callit... Cooktown (+LOC).
 We camped at ... uh ... Cooktown.

[d] *wanhdharra* 'how'. The common form of greeting at modern Hopevale is:

- (97) *Nyundu wanhdharra?*
 2sg+NOM how
 How are you?

to which the conventional reply is *ganaa* 'alright'.
Wanhðharra is a general interrogative that queries manner, amount, condition, or direction:

- (98) *Dhana wanhðharra ðhadaara?*
 3pl+NOM how go+REDUP+NONPAST
 Which way are they going? Or: by what means of transportation are they going?

- (99) *Yii wanhðharra?*
 this+ABS how
 How is this (how would this be)? Or: how does this work? Or: how much is this? Or: what is this like? Etc.

There is no more specific equivalent for English expressions like 'How much?' or 'How many?'.

Another frequent construction links *wanhðharra* with the contrafactual form of a verb (see below, 3.5.3[e]) in a rhetorical question (which expects a negative answer).

- (100) *Ngayu wanhðharra wudhi-nda?*
 1sg+NOM how give-CONTRF
 How should I give [it]? (I.e., I can't give it because I don't have it.)

- (101) *Ngayu wanhðharra ðhada-nda, ngayu gaga-ðhirr*
 1sg+NOM how go-CONTRF 1sg+NOM sick-COM(+ABS)
 How am I supposed to go? I'm sick.

The uncertainty and indefiniteness of all of these pronouns can be heightened by appending the clitic particle *budhu* (which elsewhere in a clause means 'if' - see 4.8).

- (102) *Bidha wanhðhaa? Wanhðhaa budhu?*
 child+ABS where+LOC where+LOC indeed
 Where is the child? Where, indeed [i.e., I haven't any idea]!

- (103) *Ngayu binaal-mil nyulu ngaanaa budhu maa-ni*
 1sg+NOM know-PRIV 3sg+NOM what+ABS 'if' take-PAST
 I don't know what-in-the-world he got.

3.3.3 DEICTICS. By comparison with many Australian languages, the system of demonstratives in Guugu Yimidhirr is extremely simple. The language distinguishes between *yii* 'here' (i.e., relatively close) and *nhaa* 'there'. These are the only deictic roots that inflect for case, although there are two other expressions that normally accompany gestures: *yarra* 'yonder' and *yarrba* 'there, that way, that's the way'.

- (104) A: *Nyundu nambal balga-y?*
 2sg+NOM stone+ABS make-PAST
 Did you polish/fix that stone [i.e., to make it smooth that way]?

B: *Gaari. Yarrba gala-aygu.*
 No that way EMPH-gu
 No, that's the way it was [i.e., that's how I found it, it is that way naturally].

The deictics *yii* (sometimes pronounced *yiyi*) and *nhaa* may refer to things ('this' and 'that'), places ('here' and 'there'), and times ('now' - although this reading of *yii* is infre-

TABLE 3.6 - Deictics

	'here, this'	'there, that, then'
Absolutive	<i>yii, yiyi</i>	<i>nhaa, nhaayun</i>
Ergative/ Instrumental	<i>yiiiman</i>	<i>nhaaman</i>
Locative/ Allative	<i>yiiway, yiiway, yiiima</i>	<i>nhaaway, nhaamu</i>
Ablative/ Causal	<i>yiiimanganh</i>	<i>nhaamanganh, nhaawaman</i> (ablative only)
Purposive		<i>nhaamu</i>
Comitative	<i>yiiimidhirr, yiiimidhirr</i>	<i>nhaamiihirr, nhamiidhirr</i>
Plural Absolutive	<i>yiiharrin</i>	<i>nhanharrin</i>

quent - and 'then'). Though in slow speech the first syllables of all forms of these words are long, in rapid speech these deictics are shortened and are often pronounced unstressed. In particular, the Absolutive form *nhaayun* 'that, that one' very often functions as a kind of third person pronoun - especially to denote inanimate objects which cannot be pronominalized with *nyulu* - or as a definite article. In such cases, *nhaayun* is often reduced to a seeming monosyllable of the form *nhayn*.

- (105) *Buligi gada-y, nyulu nhaayun gunda-y*
 bullock+ABS come-PAST 3sg+NOM that+ABS kill-PAST
 The bullock came and he killed it.

Table 3.6 summarizes the different deictic case forms. The instrumental forms sometimes refer to an instrument, e.g., something held in the hand:

- (106) *Ngayu nhinaan yiiiman gunda-l*
 1sg+NOM 2sg+ACC this+INST hit-NONPAST
 I'll hit you with this [thing I have here].

Or an ergative form may be used anaphorically:

- (107) *Bula nhaaman minha yidi gunda-y.*
 3du+NOM that+ERG meat+ABS stingaree+ABS kill-PAST
 Those two [over there, or those just mentioned] killed the stingaree

The alternate locative/allative forms show some indecision over whether the deictic root should decline like an ordinary noun or whether it should require the catalytic *-mu-*; the *-way* forms predominate in speech (and notice that the suffix does not reduce to *-wi*). The ablative/causal forms (with catalytic *-mu-* and *-nganh*) mean 'from here/there', 'as a result of this/that'; *nhaamungaynggu* is the storyteller's device for linking sequential events: 'and then ... and then...'

The form *nhaamuu* is used in discourse to mean 'therefore':

- (108) *Nyulu wawu-murrgarra bama-agal yirrga-nda guugu*
 3sg+NOM breath=unable man-ADES speak-CONTRF speech-
wangaarr-ga-m-i, nhaamuu nyulu guugu
 white man-GEN-mu-DAT that-PURP 3sg+NOM speech+ABS
yi-mi-dhirr mac-ni.
 this-mu-COM(+ABS) take-PAST

He was unable to talk to Aborigines in the white man's language, and therefore he learned Guugu Yimidhirr.

The words *yinharrin* and *nanharrin* mean 'these, this kind' and 'those, that kind' respectively; they seem to appear only in Absolutive case.

- (109) *Yinharrin bama binaal-mul.*
 these+ABS people+ABS know-PRIV.
 These [sorts of] people don't know [about it].

3.4 MORPHOLOGY OF TIME, LOCATION AND NUMBER WORDS

The local cases locative/allative and ablative specify both locations involved in the action or state of the verb of a sentence, and by extension they refer to points in time as well. Certain roots occur exclusively with the local cases, with somewhat special inflectional possibilities, to provide additional locational or temporal qualification. The most prominent examples are the words for the Cardinal Points, which figure heavily in Guugu Yimidhirr talk about direction, position or motion. There is a four-term system of roots, and their meanings correspond roughly to the English compass points, rotated 15° to 20° clockwise. (Thus, for example, while the sun is said to rise *nagaal-mu-n* 'from the East', so, too, is Cocktown, which by standard compass lies southeast of Hopevale, said to be *nagaar* 'to the East' by speakers at Hopevale Mission. The general orientation of the coastline in the Guugu Yimidhirr area is slightly tilted counterclockwise off true North-South; and generally points down the coast are reckoned *naga* 'easterly' and points up the coast *guwa* 'westerly'.) Moreover, each 'compass point' is thought of not as a point but rather as an edge or side: *gunggaarr*, for example, means 'on the Northern side' rather than 'to the North'. The roots are

<i>gungga-</i>	'North'
<i>dyiba-</i>	'South'
<i>naga-</i>	'East'
<i>guwa-</i>	'West'

Morphologically, the first two roots behave differently from the second two. There is a wide range of locative/allative forms varying along dimensions of both relative distance and orientation:

<i>gunggaarr</i>	'a medium distance away on the North side'
<i>dyibaarr</i>	'a medium distance away on the South side'
<i>nagaar</i>	'a medium distance away on the East side'
<i>guwaar</i>	'a medium distance away on the West side'

- (110) *Nyulu wanhdhaa? Nagaar.*
 3sg+NOM where(+LOC) East(+LOC)
 Where is he? In the East.
- (111) *Nyulu wanhdhaal-ga dhada-y? Nagaar.*
 3sg+NOM where-GOAL go-PAST East(+ALL)
 Where did he go? To the East.

These are the unmarked terms, indicating some unspecified distance in the direction shown. To talk about a place or motion to a place slightly farther away, and certainly out of sight, one employs the suffix *-:lu*:

<i>gunggaalu</i>	'away to the North'
<i>dyibaalu</i>	'away to the South'
<i>nagaalu</i>	'away to the East'
<i>guwaalu</i>	'away to the West'

And for places rather closer than so far described, Guugu Yimidhirr has the following set:

<i>gunggarra</i>	'just to the North, on the North hand'
<i>dyibarra</i>	'just to the South, on the South hand'
<i>naga</i>	'just to the East, on the East hand'
<i>guwa</i>	'just to the West, on the West hand'

There are several sets of terms that describe the Northern, Southern, etc. sides of natural objects - creeks, rivers, mountains and hills, etc. Guugu Yimidhirr again distinguishes relative distance. One suffix is *-n.garr*, although *naga-* and *guwa-* also have semi-reduplicated forms of equivalent meaning:

<i>gunggan.garr</i>	'on the North side, bank, face, etc.'
<i>dyiban.garr</i>	'on the South side, bank, face, etc.'
<i>nagan.garr/nagana</i>	'on the East side, bank, face, etc.'
<i>guwan.garr/guwagu</i>	'on the West side, bank, face, etc.'

The suffix *-:lnggurr* suggests motion along one particular side; for example, a path oriented East-West, and located on the speaker's Northern side might be described as *gunggaalnggurr* 'along the North side'. And so on.

A reduplicated form involving the first two syllables of the root denotes motion or position just a short distance in the indicated direction; Guugu Yimidhirr speakers routinely use such words to give immediate and local directions. Instead of saying 'There on your right' or 'right behind you' they employ a term like:

<i>gungga=gunggaarr</i>	'a bit Northwards'
<i>dyiba=dyibaarr</i>	'a bit Southwards'
<i>naga=naga</i>	'a bit Eastwards'
<i>guwa=guwa</i>	'a bit Westwards'

Similarly, these roots combine with the inchoative verbalizers *=mal* and *=manaa* (in Reflexive form), to form stems that mean 'move a bit to the ...'. These forms are:

<i>gunggaarr=mal</i>
<i>dyibaarr=mal</i>
<i>naga=mal</i>
<i>guwa=mal</i>

There are also several ablative forms, denoting motion from greater or lesser distances: the suffixes *-nun* and *-nunganh* mean 'motion from a moderate distance in the ...'; the suffixes *-lmun* and *-lmunganh* mean 'from a long way in the ...'.

Two further roots are straightforward locational qualifiers:

wanggaar 'above (rest at and motion to)'
bada 'below (rest at and motion to)'

The expression *Yii wangaar* 'up here, here above' can mean 'up (in the air) from where I am', or it can mean 'up (the street, the mountain, etc.) from where I am'. (At Hopevale Mission, the end of the settlement where the church, the store, and the staff houses stand is *wanggaar*, and the end where the Aboriginal community lives is *bada*.) The ablative forms of these roots are:

wanggaarnanganh/wanggaarmun/wanggaarmunganh/wanggaamun 'from above'
badaamun 'from below'

However, *wanggaamun* also means 'on top (of something)' and 'onto':

- (112) *Nyulu yugu yidha-rrin nyulu buguil-ngay wangaamun*
3sg+NOM tree+ABS put-PAST 3sg+NOM antbed-PLU+ABS above+SUPJ?
yidha-rrin.
put-PAST
He put the wood [down], and then he piled antbeds on top [of the wood].

And there is a further form, *wanggaarnngarr*, which suggests motion along the top of something, corresponding to *badiimbarr* 'below (rest or motion)'.

- (113) *Mundal bubu-wi badi=badiimbarr gada-y, mundal*
rest+ABS ground-LOC under-REDUP come-PAST rest+ABS
wanggaarnngarr bubu-wi gada-y
above ground-LOC come-PAST
Some came underneath the surface of the ground, and some came along above the ground [supernatural snakes summoned by magic].

A few nouns require locative or ablative inflection to function as locational qualifiers, but their behaviour is somewhat unlike that of ordinary nouns. The words *gana* 'underneath', *dhagal* 'point, front', and *wawu* 'inside, soul, breath' all take a locative and then combine with an un-suffixed noun in a locational sense:

- (114) *Bayan gana-wi dhada-y.*
house-bottom-ALL go-PAST
He went under the house.
- (115) *Nyulu dhagaal-bi*
3sg+NOM front-LOC
He's first. He's in front.
- (116) *Marrbugan wawu-wi nhin.gaalngga-l.*
cave-inside-LOC sit+REDUP-NONPAST
He's sitting inside the cave.

Temporal expressions do not exhibit the same morphological complexity. A few roots are inherently temporal qualifiers: with no further suffixation they indicate a point in time, or a span of time. The most common such roots are:

nhila 'now, today' (there is an adjective *nhilaa* 'new')
ngulgu 'yesterday, in the afternoon'
wun.guwnh 'tomorrow, in the morning'
ngudha-ngudha 'long ago'

These roots do not ordinarily take case suffixes, although they all accept the post-inflectional suffix *-:gu* (section 3.2.4[b] above). (There is also a special form, *nhila-ngarraalgu*, which means 'nowadays'.) However, the ablative case, especially with nouns that denote events or other points in time, does have the sense 'after ...' or 'since ...'. The deictic ablative form *nhamunganh* means 'since then, from that time on ...'. Some speakers also use the expressions *ngulgu-nganh* 'since yesterday' and *nhila-nganh* 'from now on', and the curious phrase

- (117) *ngulgu-uygu bada*
yesterday-gu below
day-before-yesterday.

Another time expression in common use at Hopevale is based on the Coastal word *daba* 'early, tomorrow'; in reduplicated form this is pronounced as *dabarraba* (in underlying form, *daba=daba*), to which is added the suffix *-:gu*:

- (118) *Ngali warra dabarraba-aygu budhwan-gu dhada-a*
Idu+NOM very early-gu very-gu go-NONPAST
We'll go very very early in the morning.

And consider:

- (119) *Mayi-ngayng-gu ngali dhada-a.*
food-ABL-gu Idu+NOM go-NONPAST.
We'll go after eating.

Duration is expressed in terms of standard units: *wudhurr* 'night (i.e., 24-hour period)', *waarigan* 'moon (i.e., month)', *gunbu* 'celebration, dance (i.e., Christmas celebration - the most important holiday at modern Hopevale - and hence: year)'.

- (120) *Ngayu wudhurr gudhiirra nhin.ga-y*
1sg+NOM night+ABS two+ABS sit-PAST
I stayed two nights (i.e., days).

As in many Australian languages, there is only a small class of numerals. The Absolutive forms are:

nubuun 'one'
gudhiirra 'two'
guanuu 'three or four'
gaguwarr 'five, a few'

Of these the first three have been encountered in other case forms. The root *nubuun* appears to act like other nominals with long final syllables: the ergative is *nubun-il* (though some speakers say *nubun-inh*) as in:

- (121) *Nyulu nibun-il-gu balga-y.*
 3sg+NOM one-ERG-gu make-PAST
 He alone made [it].

As we saw in section 3.2.3[d], the roots *gudhirra* and *guundu* inflect for case with the catalytic *-mu-* between root and suffix. Often the root-final *a* of *gudhirra* is lost (or very weak) before the catalytic *-mu-*:

Ergative: *gudhirr(a)-mu-n*
 Dative: *gudhirr(a)-m-ay*

All of these numeral roots also regularly occur with the post-inflectional *-:gu/-:ygu* in a somewhat intensified form.

- (122) *Nyulu dyadyu yuba-aygu gada-y, baaru budnaan*
 3sg+NOM kangaroo-rat+ABS close-gu come-PAST loin+ABS very
dhabi gudhirri-gu bulaan.
 kick+PAST two+ABS-gu 3du+ACC
 Kangaroo rat came up close, [and he] kicked them both right in the loins.

(Notice here that *gudhirra + -:gu/:ygu* yields *gudhirraygu* where the unstressed syllable *ay* is routinely reduced to *i*: *gudhirrigu*.) The standard English translation for *guundu-ygu* is 'a good few, quite a number'.

A few further expressions also seem to function as numeral-like quantifiers, to express large quantities. For example, although *warrga* is an adjective meaning 'big, large', the form *warrga-aygu* usually means 'many' (see (31)). Another frequently used word is evidently derived from the root *ngamu* 'mother' by the addition of *gurra* (which as an independent word means 'also') and *-ygu*.

- (123) *Barrgaar walnga-adhi dhanaan ngame-gurra-aygu dyumbi*
 mouth+ABS open-REF+PAST 3pl+ACC many+ABS swallow+PAST
 [It] opened its mouth, [and] swallowed the whole lot of them.
 (A supernatural proper fish which swallowed a troupe of dancers.)

A frequently used ergative form of this compound expression may be seen in:

- (124) *Ngame-gurral-ing-gu gaudyu maa-ni*
 many-ERG-gu fish+ABS get-PAST.
 Many [people] caught fish [in a fishing contest].

3.5 VERBAL MORPHOLOGY

3.5.1 TRANSITIVITY AND CONJUGATIONS. Guugu Yimidhirr verbs are either transitive or intransitive; a transitive verb requires an A Noun Phrase and an O NP (though either constituent may be deleted in an elliptical construction in discourse), and an intransitive verb requires a single S NP. Most transitive verbs also occur with the 'reflexive' suffix *-:dhi* in which case they require either an O NP or an S NP. A few verbs occur *only* in reflexive form and thus constitute a subclass of intransitive verbs. There are also a few individual verbs which routinely occur with NPs in other cases: a Dative beneficiary (e.g., *wumaa* 'give'), an

TABLE 3.7 - NONPAST, PAST, and IMPERATIVE forms of Guugu Yimidhirr conjugations

Conjugation	L	monosyl L	V	R	MA	NA
NONPAST	-l	-l	-:	-rr	-maa	-naa
PAST	-y	-dhi	-y	-rrin	-dhi	-nay, -ni*
IMP	-la	-la	-ii*	-rry ₂ *	-waa	-rraa, -naa*
Stem form before further inflection	-∅	-dhi-	-∅	-∅	-dhi-	-na-, -ni-*
Stem form before reflexive*	-∅	-dha-	-∅	-∅	-dha-	-na-

* see text for details

Adessive complement (with verbs of speaking and telling), or even an Instrumental NP (e.g., the verb *milbil* 'promise', which has an A NP (the promiser), an O NP (the person to whom something is promised), and an Instrumental NP (the object promised)). But the decisive criterion in assigning transitivity class to a verb is the case inflection required on its noun or pronoun subject. Of a working vocabulary of 1700 roots collected in 1972 and 1977, 216 were verbs. Of these, 59% were transitive, 31% were intransitive, and a further 10% were 'reflexive only' - effectively intransitive.

A cross-cutting categorization groups verbs into conjugations according to their inflectional characteristics. There are three major conjugations, labelled L, V and R after their respective NONPAST suffixes. There are also a few monosyllabic L conjugation verbs, as well as two small and somewhat irregular MA and NA verbal conjugations, again named after their respective NONPAST suffixes. These conjugations can be distinguished by contrasting their NONPAST, PAST and IMPERATIVE forms, as shown in Table 3.7. Table 3.7 also shows, for the monosyllabic verb roots (monosyllabic L conjugation roots, and MA and NA conjugation verbs), the stem form which is the basis for other inflections and derivations. For example, the purposive suffix is *-nhu*, which combines directly with the verb stem of L, V or R conjugation verbs. However, before it can combine with a monosyllabic root a further formative must be added to create a disyllabic stem; the MA conjugation root *nhaa-* 'see' uses the stem form *nhaa-dhi-* to combine with the purposive suffix to form *nhaa-dhi-nhu*. (In the example sentences such a form would be shown as *nhaadhi-nhu* and glossed 'see-PURP'.) Table 3.8 shows inflected forms from the various conjugations.

Except for the NONPAST, PAST and IMP forms, different inflectional suffixes are alike for all conjugations, with a few special forms for members of the R conjugation. Table 3.9 lists the remaining suffixes, and Table 3.10 gives examples of full inflected forms for verbs of the different conjugations. In the remainder of this section we

TABLE 3.8 - Verbal inflection for five conjugations

	L conj.	monosyl. L	V conj.	R conj.
NONPAST	<i>gunda-l</i>	<i>dhaaba=nga-l</i>	<i>dhada-a</i>	<i>ngalbu-rr</i>
PAST	<i>gunda-y</i>	<i>dhaaba=nga-dhi</i>	<i>dhada-y</i>	<i>ngalbu-rrin</i>
IMP	<i>gunda-la</i>	<i>dhaaba=nga-la</i>	<i>dhad-i</i>	<i>ngalbu-rru</i>
PURPositive	<i>gunda-nhu</i>	<i>dhaaba=nga-dhi-nhu</i>	<i>dhada-nhu</i>	<i>ngalbu-nhu</i>
	'hit'	'ask'	'go'	'shut, close'
	MA conj.	NA conj.		
NONPAST	<i>nhaa-maa</i>	<i>wu-naa</i>	<i>maa-naa</i>	
PAST	<i>nhaa-dhi</i>	<i>wu-nay</i>	<i>maa-ni</i>	
IMP	<i>nhaa-waa</i>	<i>wu-naa</i>	<i>maa-rraa</i>	
PURP	<i>nhaa-dhi-nhu</i>	<i>wu-na-nhu</i>	<i>maa-ni-nhu</i>	
	'see'	'lie, exist'	'take, get, marry'	

TABLE 3.9 - Further verb inflections

Inflection:	Suffix	Suffix for R conjugation (if different from normal suffix)
PURPositive	<i>-nhu</i>	(same)
CONTR (contrafactual)	<i>-nda</i>	(same)
PAST+NEG	<i>:-lmigu</i>	<i>:-rrmigu</i>
CAUTIONARY	<i>-ya</i>	<i>:-rr-baga</i>
ANTICIPATORY	<i>-yigu</i>	<i>-rrigu</i>
PRECAUTIONARY	<i>:-ygamu</i>	<i>-rrin.gamu</i>
SUBordinate 1/ PERFective	<i>:-yga</i>	<i>-rrin.ga</i>
SUBordinate 2	<i>-nhun</i>	(same)

consider each conjugation in turn with respect to transitivity, and inflectional characteristics.

There are 146 members known in the L conjugation and most are disyllabic. The three known monosyllabic members of the conjugation have the character of verbalizing formatives; they occur only compounded with other (sometimes semantically opaque) roots to form transitive or intransitive verb stems. The monosyllabic L conjugation verbs (or verbalizing formatives) are: *=mal* 'inchoative verbalizer', and two non-productive verbalizers *=ngal* and *=bal*, which occur, for example, in *dhaaba=ngal* 'ask' (transitive) and *gada=bal* 'break' (intransitive). (Verb stems are conventionally cited in NONPAST form, to indicate conjugation membership.) As with MA and NA conjugation verbs, monosyllabic L conjugation verbs add a special formative (which is identical

TABLE 3.10 - Verbal inflection

	'hit'	'go'	'close'	'see'	'lie'	'get'
NONPAST	<i>gunda-l</i>	<i>dhada-a</i>	<i>ngalbu-rr</i>	<i>nhaa-maa</i>	<i>wu-naa</i>	<i>maa-naa</i>
REDUP:	<i>gundaarnda-l</i>	<i>dhadaara</i>	<i>ngalbuarribu-rr</i>	<i>nhaa-maa-lma</i>	<i>wu-naa</i>	<i>maanaarnda</i>
PAST	<i>gunda-y</i>	<i>dhada-y</i>	<i>ngalbu-rrin</i>	<i>nhaa-dhi</i>	<i>wu-nay</i>	<i>maa-ni</i>
REDUP:	<i>gundaarnda-y</i>	<i>dhadaara-y</i>	<i>ngalbuarribu-rrin</i>	<i>nhaa-dhi-l-dhi</i>	<i>wu-naay</i>	<i>maanaarnda-y/maanaarndi</i>
IMP	<i>gunda-la</i>	<i>dhad-i</i>	<i>ngalbu-rru</i>	<i>nhaa-waa</i>	<i>wu-naa</i>	<i>maa-rraa</i>
REDUP:	<i>gundaarnda-la</i>	<i>dhad-i-i</i>	<i>ngalbuarribu-rru</i>	<i>nhaa-waa</i>	<i>wu-naa</i>	<i>maarraala</i>
PURP	<i>gunda-nhu</i>	<i>dhada-nhu</i>	<i>ngalbu-nhu</i>	<i>nhaadhi-nhu</i>	<i>wu-na-nhu</i>	<i>maani-nhu</i>
REDUP:	<i>gundaarnda-nhu/ gundaarndi</i>	<i>dhadaara-nhu/ dhadaa-nhu</i>	<i>ngalbuarribu-nhu/ ngalbu-nhu</i>	<i>nhaadhi-l-dhi-nhu/ nhaadhi-i-nhu</i>	<i>wu-na-nhu</i>	<i>maanaarnda-nhu/ maanaarndi-nhu</i>
CONTR	<i>gunda-nda</i>	<i>dhada-nda</i>	<i>ngalbu-nda</i>	<i>nhaadhi-nda</i>	<i>wu-na-nda</i>	<i>maani-nda</i>
REDUP:	<i>gundaarnda-nda</i>	<i>dhadaara-nda</i>	<i>ngalbuarribu-nda</i>	<i>nhaadhi-l-dhi-nda</i>	<i>wu-naarnda</i>	<i>maanaarndi-nda</i>
PAST NEG.	<i>gunda-almigu</i>	<i>dhada-almigu</i>	<i>ngalbu-urrmigu</i>	<i>nhaadhi-i-lmigu</i>	<i>wu-na-almigu</i>	<i>maani-i-lmigu</i>
CAUT.	<i>gunda-ya</i>	<i>dhada-ya</i>	<i>ngalbu-urr-baga</i>	<i>nhaadhi-ya</i>	<i>wu-na-ya</i>	<i>maani-ya</i>
ANTIC.	<i>gunda-yigu</i>	<i>dhada-yigu</i>	<i>ngalbu-rrigu</i>	<i>nhaadhi-yigu</i>	<i>wu-na-yigu</i>	<i>maani-yigu</i>
PRECAUT.	<i>gunda-aygamu</i>	<i>dhada-aygamu</i>	<i>ngalbu-rrin.gamu</i>	<i>nhaadhi-igamu</i>	<i>wu-na-aygamu</i>	<i>maani-igamu</i>
SUB. 1	<i>gunda-ayga</i>	<i>dhada-ayga</i>	<i>ngalbu-rrin.ga</i>	<i>nhaadhi-iga</i>	<i>wu-na-ayga</i>	<i>maani-iga</i>
	<i>gundaarnda-yga/ gundaarndi-ga</i>	<i>dhadaara-yga/ dhadaarndi-ga</i>	<i>ngalbuarribu-rrin.ga</i>	<i>nhaadhi-l-dhi-ga</i>	<i>wu-naarnda-yga/ wu-naarndi-ga</i>	<i>maanaarnda-yga/ maanaarndi-ga</i>
SUB. 2	<i>gunda-nhun</i>	<i>dhada-nhun</i>	<i>ngalbu-nhun</i>	<i>nhaadhi-nhun</i>	<i>wu-na-nhun</i>	<i>maani-nhun</i>

with the NONPAST suffix) to create a disyllabic stem for further inflection. Hence, with the PAST+NEG suffix *-ilmugu*, the stem form *dhaaba=ngadhi-* of 'ask' is used, in a sentence like:

- (125) *Ngayu dhaaba=ngadhi-ilmugu.*
1sg+NOM ask-PAST+NEG
I didn't ask (him).

Notice that, for the purposes of syllable lengthening, a verb like *dhaaba=ngal* must be considered a *compound*, since a lengthening suffix like *-ilmugu* does operate on the final syllable of the stem - that is, the final syllable is treated as if it were a *second* syllable. Reflexive forms of monosyllabic L verbs (see 3.5.4 below) use the stem formative *-dha-* in place of *-dhi-*:

- (126) *Nyulu-ugu dhaaba=ngadha-adhi.*
3sg+NOM-gu ask-REF+PAST
He asked himself.

Most common verbs in Guugu Yimidhirr are disyllable L conjugation members. Some typical examples are *balgal* 'make, wash', *wagil* 'cut', *nhin.gal* 'sit', and *barrbil* 'camp, spend the night'. There are also at least two L conjugation verbs with four syllables, although their pattern of lengthening also suggests that they are best treated as (semantically opaque) compounds: *ngurangadal* 'measure' and *guwadyanydyil* 'drown'. All L conjugation verbs have either *a* or *i* as final vowel: 68% have *a* and the remainder *i*. These totals include the 'reflexive only' verbs, which occur with the special *dhi* forms discussed in 3.5.4, and all of which have stem-final *a*. Excluding these 'reflexive-only' verbs there is a strong tendency for L conjugation verbs to be transitive: about 80% of the *a*-final L verbs are transitive, and about 66% of the *i*-final L verbs are transitive.

The V conjugation verbs are so named because their NONPAST form ends in a long vowel. Of the 13 known V conjugation verbs, all have either *a* or *i* as final vowel, and three-quarters are intransitive. The intransitive V conjugation verbs are:

<i>baarmгаа</i>	(or <i>baarmгаа</i>)	'sing out'
<i>biini</i>		'die'
<i>bulii</i>		'fall down'
<i>dhadaa</i>		'go, walk'
<i>dudaa</i>	(often pronounced with initial retroflex: <i>rdudaa</i> , or <i>rdurdaa</i>)	'run'
<i>gadaa</i>		'come'
<i>ngangгаа</i>		'be confused, be unable, not understand'
<i>uwari</i>		'play, dance'
<i>yuulii</i>		'stand, be standing'

There are three known transitive V conjugation verbs:

<i>dirrbaa</i>	'abduct'
<i>banydyii</i>	'wait for'
<i>maandii</i>	'take, bring'

Finally, the verb *yirrgaa* 'speak' is somewhat indeterminate between transitive and intransitive: it normally has an

ABSolute (or NOMinative) subject, but it also allows an apparent object (usually a word like *guugu* 'language' or *milbi* 'story'); moreover, the root occurs in 'reflexive' form.

- (127) *Ngadhu biiba milbi yirrga-y*
1sg+GEN+ABS father+ABS story+ABS tell-PAST
My father told stories.

- (128) *Yurra yirrga-ayi!*
2pl+NOM speak-REF+IMP
You (all) have a talk, have a yarn!

The imperative form of a V conjugation verb has *i* in place of the stem-final vowel. In the case of a reduplicated imperative, it is this *i*-final stem that reduplicates (see 3.5.2).

There are about fifty R conjugation verbs in the everyday working vocabulary, slightly more than half with stem-final *a*, and almost all the rest with stem final *u*. Only R conjugation verbs have stem-final long vowels (although verbs from other conjugations sometimes undergo lengthening of the final stem vowel when suffixed) and, in fact, a few verbs have a non-past form in *-iil* but otherwise behave like R conjugation and not *l* conjugation verbs. (In the everyday language the verbs *maariiil* 'swim', *miirriil* 'tell, show', and *gayiil* 'hook, catch with a hook' use regular R conjugation suffixes, as shown on Tables 3.7 and 3.9; but they have *l* in place of *rr* in each case.) The everyday R conjugation verbs *buunydyirr* 'gather, heap up' and *yidyirr* 'get stuck' (as well as two or three avoidance language verbs) have stem-final vowel short *i*. Between 60% and 70% of the R conjugation verbs are transitive; the percentage is slightly higher with *u*-final than with *a*-final roots. With the exception of the verb *yidyawurr* (or *yidyunggurr*) 'sneeze' all R-conjugation verbs are disyllabic.

R conjugation verbs inflect somewhat idiosyncratically: the cautionary forms are compounds of the verb stem and a further formative *baga*; 'reflexive' forms are compounded from the verb stem and a reflexive verbalizing suffix (probably the reflexive form of *-ngal*) *-ngarral* (sometimes *-ngadh'al*). R conjugation verbs with final *a* or *i* and for some speakers with final *u* form imperatives in *-rra*; for other speakers, *u*-final verbs form imperatives in *-rru*.

Verbs in the MA and NA conjugations have monosyllabic roots but are always inflected so as to produce polysyllabic words. There are only three MA conjugation verbs, one somewhat irregular (the cited forms show root plus NONPAST suffix):

<i>nhaa-maa</i>	'see'
<i>wu-maa</i>	'give'
<i>wai-maa</i>	'rise, get up, ascend'

The imperative is formed with the suffix *-waa* and reduplicated forms of the imperative (see 3.5.2) are based on the fully suffixed (disyllabic) form.

- (129) *Ngadhu wu-waa!*
1sg+DAT give-IMP
You give [it] to me!

(130) *Nyundu nnaa-wala!*
2sg+NOM see-REDUP+IMP
You keep on looking!

(131) *Wal-aa!*
arise-IMP
Get up! Look out! Be careful!

(In both (130) and (131) a cluster of *l+w* reduces to *l* by the general rule disallowing non-nasal sonorants as final elements in clusters; see 2.2.) The PAST forms of MA verbs use the suffix *-dhi* (except for the irregular PAST form of *wal-maa* 'arise', which is *wanydyi*); and a form identical to this PAST form is the basis for the other verbal inflections shown in Table 3.9.

(132) *Nyulu gaari wanydyi-nhu.*
3sg+NOM NOT arise-PURP
He won't/doesn't want to get up.

(133) *Ngadhu wudhi-ilmugu.*
1sg+DAT give-PAST+NEG
He didn't give [it] to me.

Similarly, reflexive forms of MA verbs are based on a stem composed of the monosyllabic root plus the stem formative *-dha* (note the parallels with monosyllabic L conjugation verbs). Normally, the reflexive forms of *wu-maa* 'give' are based on a stem with a long first syllable: *wuu-dha*-

(134) *Ngali waadha-ayi*
1du+NOM give-REF+IMP
Let's trade [things with each other].

(135) *Wanhdharra nharun. gal nnaadhaaldha-ya?*
how 2sg+ADES see+REDUP-REF+NONPAST
How does [it] seem to you?

The NA conjugation verbs are similarly few in number and irregular in form. There are three members: two full verbs and one verbalizing formative used in making causative verbs:

wu-naa 'lie down, sleep, exist'
maa-naa 'get, marry'
-ma-naa 'cause...'

Again, monosyllabic roots combine with syllabic suffixes to give full verb forms; the cited forms are NONPAST. For both *maa-naa* and *-ma-naa* the imperative is formed with *-raa*, whereas with *wu-naa* the IMP and NONPAST suffixes are the same.

(136) *Mayi maa-rraa, wu-naa!*
food+ABS get-IMP lie down-IMP
Get the food, and lie down!

The PAST forms also differ: *maa-naa* and *-ma-naa* have the suffix *-ni*, whereas the PAST form of *wu-naa* is *wu-nay* 'lay down'.

(137) *Nyulu galga maa-ni, wu-nay.*
3sg+NOM spear+ABS get-PAST lie down+PAST.
He got [his] spear and lay down.

As with other monosyllabic verb roots, further verb inflections (i.e., those listed on Table 3.9) are based on a stem composed of root plus a further formative. The two verbs *maa-naa* and *-ma-naa* use the stem formative *-ni-* (identical to their PAST forms) and *wu-naa* uses a formative *-na-*.

(138) *Nyulu dhada-y wuna-nhu.*
3sg+NOM go-PAST lie down-PURP
He went to lie down.

(139) *Ngayu nambal maani-ilmugu.*
1sg+NOM money+ABS get-PAST+NEG
I didn't get money.

Similarly, both *maa-naa* and *-ma-naa* have reflexive forms, based on a stem composed of root plus the stem formative *-na-*.

(140) *Bula maana-adhi.*
3du+NOM get-REF+PAST
They two got married.

(In a word like *maanaadhi* in (140) we could divide morphemes and gloss as follows:

maa-na-adhi
get-STEM FORTMATIVE-REF+PAST

to show that the monosyllabic root combines with *-na-* before receiving the further suffix *-:dhi*. For convenience we do not divide the stem in example sentences; however, the citation form for MA and NA conjugation verbs separates the root from the NONPAST suffix by a dash to distinguish such verbs from V conjugation verbs.)

Speakers of Guugu Yimidhirr at Hopevale are making drastic changes in the verb system as it has been outlined here. Most innovations involve regularizing verbal paradigms. For example, many younger speakers treat the NA conjugation verb *wu-naa* 'lie down' as if it were a regular V conjugation verb of the form *wunaa*. This means, for example, that they use, as imperative form, *wunii* 'lie down!' - a word that makes older speakers cringe. A more subtle change involves re-interpreting the conjugation membership of a verb to suit the statistical tendency for L conjugation verbs to be transitive and V conjugation verbs to be intransitive. Here are two complementary examples: the verb *banydyii* 'wait for' is, according to older informants, a transitive V conjugation verb. The correct NONPAST and IMPERATIVE forms are identical, *banydyii*. However, many speakers treat this verb as if it were L conjugation, with forms *banydyil* 'waits' and *banydyila* 'wait!'. Conversely, the intransitive L conjugation verb *biilil* 'paddle, row' has the regular imperative *biilila*. However, one frequently hears the imperative *biilii* 'row!', as if the verb were a V conjugation verb as befits its intransitive nature.

Some Coastal speakers from the southern reaches of the Guugu Yimidhirr area also interpret the MA conjugation verbs *wu-maa* 'give' and *nnaa-maa* 'see' as if they were regular L conjugation verbs of the form *wudhil* and *nnaadhil*; hence one frequently hears imperatives: *nnaadhila* 'look!' or *wudhila* 'give [it]!'. (Interestingly, the nearest language to the South, Gugu Yalandji, has just two conjugations: one with

TABLE 3.11 - Relationship between transitivity and conjugation

L conjugation	V conjugation	R conjugation	MA conjugation	NA conjugation
about 150 verbs stem vowels <i>a</i> & <i>i</i>	under 15 verbs stem vowels <i>a</i> & <i>i</i>	about 50 verbs stem vowels <i>a</i> & <i>u</i>	3 roots: wɪ- 'give' nhada- 'see' wɔɪ- 'rise'	3 roots: wɪ- 'lie down' ma- 'get' =ma- 'causative verbalizer'
3 monosyllabic members	disyllabic	disyllabic		
70% transitive overall (excluding 'reflexive-only' roots)	75% intransitive	65% transitive overall		

Note: figures are based on everyday lexicon only (about 216 verbs).

non-past in *-l* (predominantly transitive) and the other with non-past in *-y* (predominantly intransitive). These two conjugations correspond fairly closely to Guugu Yimidhirr L and V conjugations respectively; many of the members are cognate. And consider the following Guugu Yalandji forms (from R. Hershberger 1964b:38):

<i>daji-n</i> 'gave'	<i>nyaji-n</i> 'saw'
<i>daji-l</i> 'give'	<i>nyaji-l</i> 'see'
<i>daya</i> 'give!'	<i>nyaka</i> 'see!'

[In the Hershbergers' orthography the letter *j* is equivalent to the Guugu Yimidhirr *dy*.] Note also the different morphological analyses of the forms

<i>yijarrin</i> (G. Yal)	<i>yidharrin</i> (G. Yim)
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both of which mean 'put (past)'; the Guugu Yalandji form is the transitive stem *yijarrin* plus past suffix *-n*. The Guugu Yimidhirr form is the R conjugation stem *yidha-* plus the appropriate past suffix *-rrin*.)

Table 3.11 summarizes the relationships between transitivity and conjugation.

3.5.2 VERBAL REDUPLICATION. Most inflectional and derivational suffixes combine with either simple or reduplicated verb stems. Roughly, a reduplicated verb stem denotes repeated or continuous action, action in progress, or action done to excess. Non-past simple forms usually suggest a future meaning ('by and by' is the normal English translation offered), contrasting with the reduplicated non-past which suggests a present progressive. Such aspectual information may imply semantic differences as well; for example, with the verb *gundal* 'hit, kill':

<i>gunda-y</i>	(unreduplicated past)	'he killed (it)'
<i>gundaarda-y</i>	(reduplicated past)	'he beat it'

Reduplicated imperative forms suggest 'keep ...':

<i>dhad-ii</i>	'go!'
<i>dhadiri-i</i>	'keep going! go further!'

A reduplicated verb is constructed by reduplicating the verb stem and attaching the appropriate suffix. Multisyllabic verb roots present no particular difficulties, but monosyllabic L conjugation verbs and those of the MA and NA conjugations use the inflected forms shown in Table 3.7 as the basis of reduplication. Thus, for example, the reduplicated PAST form of *wu-maa* 'give' is formed from the simple PAST *wudhi* by reduplication to yield *wudhiildhi* 'was giving, gave repeatedly'. Similarly, contrast the simple PURPOSIVE form *wudhi-nhu* (composed of root+stem formative-PURP suffix) with the reduplicated *wudhiildhi-nhu* ([root+formative]+REDUP-PURP).

In a somewhat similar way, the reduplicated imperative form of V conjugation verbs is based on the simple imperative form, which has a final *ii* regardless of the final stem vowel. Hence, from *gadaa* 'come' the simple imperative is *gadii* 'come!' and the reduplicated imperative *gadiiri* 'keep coming!'

Only the last two syllables (or the single syllable in the case of a monosyllabic conjugation verb) of a verb stem

are involved in reduplication. These last syllables will have the form:

$$(C_1 V_1 (L) \begin{bmatrix} N \\ \emptyset \end{bmatrix}) C_2 V_2 -$$

1 2 3 4 5 6

where C and V stand for consonant and vowel, respectively, N stands for a nasal, and L stands for a non-nasal sonorant (here, *l*, *r*, *rr*, *w*, or *y*). Here are a few sample verb stems with the segments numbered:

w a r m b a - 'return (trans)'
1 2 3 4 5 6

g u n d a - 'hit'
1 2 4 5 6

d h a d a - 'go'
1 2 5 6

b a l g a - 'make'
1 2 3 5 6

b a a w a - 'cook'
1 2 5 6

n h i n . g a - 'sit'
1 2 4 5 6

d h i n m a - 'knead'
1 2 4 5 6

y u l i i - 'stand'
1 2 5 6

b i i n i - 'die'
1 2 5 6

From a stem of the form shown, the reduplicated stem is formed by appending a syllable of the form:

$$l \begin{bmatrix} N' \\ \emptyset \end{bmatrix} C_2 V_2$$

where N' is a homorganic nasal conditioned by the following consonant (C₂), and where the presence or absence of the segment N' is conditioned (as the square brackets show) by the presence or absence of a nasal in segment 4 of the original stem. The resulting reduplicated stem will have the following overall form:

$$(C_1 V_1 (L) \begin{bmatrix} N \\ \emptyset \end{bmatrix}) C_2 V_2 l \begin{bmatrix} N' \\ \emptyset \end{bmatrix} C_2 V_2$$

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

Regular phonological rules will apply to this string; for example if segment 9 is a non-nasal sonorant (in which case segments 3, 4 and 8 will also be empty), it will drop following the *l* in segment 7. Furthermore, by the process of retroflexization, if segment 9 is an apico-domal stop and segment 8 is empty, segments 7 and 9 will be replaced by *r*

(*ld* → *r*); and if segment 8 or segment 9 is an apico-domal nasal, then segment 7 drops and the cluster composed of segments 8 and 9 (or segment 9 alone, if segment 8 is null) are replaced by the corresponding retroflex (*ln* → *rn*; *ln̄* → *rn̄*). Finally, the following rule is peculiar to verb reduplication:

Lengthening rule: Unless segment 9 (C₂) is a member of L (viz., *l*, *rr*, *r*, *y*, or *w*) lengthen segment 6.

These rules applied to the stems shown above will produce the following reduplicated forms:

w a r m b a a l m b a - 'returning'
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

g u n d a a r m (r) d a - 'hitting'
1 2 4 5 6 8 9 10

d h a d a a r a - 'going'
1 2 5 6 9 10

b a l g a a l g a - 'making'
1 2 3 5 6 7 9 10

b a a w a l a - 'cooking'
1 2 5 6 9 10

n h i n . g a a l n g g a - 'sitting'
1 2 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

d h i n m a a l m a - 'kneading'
1 2 4 5 6 7 9 10

y u l i l i - 'standing'
1 2 5 6 9 10

b i i n i i n i - 'dying'
1 2 5 6 9 10

The last three forms also make use of the rule that drops a consonant that immediately precedes an identical consonant (C₁C₁ → C₁). (The reader may wish to refer again to 2.5 where some of these phonological processes are discussed.)

This pattern of reduplication applies to all verbs except those in the R conjugation. A few final remarks will clarify the pattern. First, the operation of the lengthening rule gives further evidence that verbs formed with the monosyllabic L conjugation roots (-*ngal*, -*mal*, and -*bal*), as well as the four-syllable L conjugation roots should be treated as compounds. Reduplicated stems of these verbs have long vowels in other than the first two syllables, as in the following examples:

g w a d y a n y d y i - l 'drown'
g w a d y a n y d y i i l n y d y i - l 'drowning'

n g u r a n g a d a - l 'measure'
n g u r a n g a d a a r a - l 'measuring'

d h a a b a = n g a - l 'ask'
d h a a b a = n g a a l - n g a l 'asking'

g a d a = b a - l 'break'
g a d a = b a a l - b a - l 'breaking'

gada=badhi 'broke (=break-PAST)
gada=badhiildhi 'was breaking, kept breaking (=break+REDUP+PAST)

Notice, finally, a few reduplicated forms of MA and NA conjugation verbs *wu-maa* 'give' and *wu-naa* 'lie, exist':

NONPAST: *wu-maalma* 'giving'
wu-naarna 'lying'

PAST: *wudhiildhi* 'was giving'
wu-naarnay 'was lying' (*wu-naarna-y* = lie-Formative+REDUP-PAST)

IMP: *wu-wala* 'keep giving' (simple IMP: *wu-waa*;
 underlying reduplicated form
wu-wal-wa which reduces to
wu-wal-a by phonological
 rules)
wu-naarna 'keep lying' (simple IMP: *wu-naa*)

Reduplicated stem forms have been encountered with the following verbal inflections: NONPAST, PAST, IMP, PURP, CONTRF, SUB-1, SUB-2. (See Table 3.10 for more examples.)

Verbs of the R conjugation reduplicate along three distinct patterns. The first two patterns are for stems with no medial nasal, that is for stems of the form:

$$C_1 V_1 (V_1) (L) C_2 V_2 (V_2) -$$

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

(a) The first pattern applies to such stems when C_2 is an apical or laminal stop (i.e., *d*, *dh*, or *dy*). (In such a case segment 4 will either be null or *y*.) The reduplicated stem is formed by deleting segment 7 (if any) - that is, by shortening a long second vowel - and adding a syllable of the form $C_2 V_2$ to create a stem:

$$C_1 V_1 (V_1) (y) C_2 V_2 C_2 V_2 -$$

For example:

<i>baydya-</i> 'cover'	<i>baydyadya-</i> 'covering'
<i>yidha-</i> 'put'	<i>yidhadha-</i> 'putting'
<i>midaa-</i> 'lift'	<i>midada-</i> 'lifting'

(b) The second pattern applies to stems of the form shown *except* when segment 5 (C_2) is *d*, *dh*, or *dy*; and, indeed, for some speakers this pattern applies even to such stems, giving alternate reduplicated forms different from those produced by pattern (a). To the shortened unreduplicated stem, this pattern adds segments rrC_2V_2 , to create a stem:

$$C_1 V_1 (V_2) (L) C_2 V_2 rr C_2 V_2 -$$

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

The cluster at segments 7 and 8 will reduce, by deleting segment 8, if it is a member of L (in accordance with general phonological rules). If segment 8 is not deleted by this rule, then, by a lengthening rule for reduplication segment 6 is lengthened. Hence,

<i>daga-rr</i> 'grow'	<i>dagaarra-rr</i> 'growing'
<i>buybu-rr</i> 'coax'	<i>buybuarrbu-rr</i> 'coaxing'
<i>dhulu-rr</i> 'scrub'	<i>dhuluarru-rr</i> 'scrubbing'

For those R conjugation verbs which actually end in *-iil* the same reduplication pattern applies, except that the inserted syllable has *l* in place of *rr*:

<i>mirrii-l</i> 'tell, show'	<i>mirriili-l</i> 'telling, showing'
<i>gayi-l</i> 'hook'	<i>gayili-l</i> 'hooking'

A minority of speakers apply pattern (b) even to stems that have *d*, *dh*, or *dy* as C_2 . This gives such forms as:

<i>baydya-rr</i> 'cover'	<i>baydyaaradya-rr</i> 'covering' etc.
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(c) The last pattern applies to R conjugation stems with a medial nasal - occurring either alone or in a cluster. That is, pattern (c) operates on stems of the form

$$C_1 V_1 (V_1) N V_2 (V_2) -$$

or

$$C_1 V_1 (V_1) N C_2 V_2 (V_2)$$

To such stems, with second syllables shortened, one adds a syllable

nNV_2 in the first case, or
 nC_2V_2 in the second.

Thus the reduplicated stem will always have the following shape:

$$C_1 V_1 (V_1) (N) C_2 V_2 n C_2 V_2 -$$

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

(In the single case that segment 8 is *n* the cluster at segments 7 and 8 will be reduced to a single *n*.) Here are some examples:

<i>dhamba-rr</i> 'throw'	<i>dhambamba-rr</i> 'throwing'
<i>dhangu-rr</i> 'scratch'	<i>dhangu.gu-rr</i> 'scratching'
<i>garba-rr</i> 'jump'	<i>garbamba-rr</i> 'jumping'
<i>gaanydya-rr</i> 'crawl'	<i>gaanydyandya-rr</i> 'crawling'
<i>miimu-rr</i> 'gather'	<i>miimumu-rr</i> 'gathering'
<i>nhanga-rr</i> 'shake'	<i>nhangarra-rr</i> 'shaking'
<i>waanuu-rr</i> 'sneak, spy on'	<i>waanuuu-rr</i> 'sneaking, spying'

One knowledgeable speaker of Guugu Yimidhirr reports that in the Northern parts of the area, in the old days, an imperative was formed by reduplicating a verb stem - the examples have all been drawn from L and V conjugation verbs - without lengthening the penultimate syllable. Hence an archaic imperative of *balga-l* 'make' was *balgalgal*. (Contrast the reduplicated non-past form *balgaalgal* 'making'.)

3.5.3 VERBAL INFLECTION. Tables 3.7 and 3.9 list verbal inflections for all conjugations. Here we examine each form in turn.

[a] NONPAST. This inflection, shown in the citation form of each verb, refers to a non-past action or state. Ordinarily, on a reduplicated stem NONPAST suggests present ongoing action, whereas on a simple stem it implies future action, action 'by and by'.

- (141) *Ngayu mayi budaara-l ngayu yi-way nhin.ga-l.*
 1sg+NOM food+ABS eat+REDUP-NONPAST 1sg+NOM here-LOC sit-NONPAST
 I'm eating food [and] I'll stay here.

[b] PAST. L, V and some NA conjugation verbs all have *-y* to mark past tense; as suggested in 2.5(4), after a stem-final *i* this suffix is deleted. In modern speech the PAST suffix for R conjugation verbs is *-rrin* although some older peoples' speech suggests that the proper earlier form was *-rrinh*.

- (142) *Badhibay ngarraa yarra gwa dhamba-rrin.*
 bone+ABS skin+ABS yonder West+ALL throw-PAST
 [She] threw the skin and bone[s] off to the West yonder.

[c] IMP. A more appropriate label for this inflection might be 'desiderative', as the form can be used in any person - not just as a second person imperative. It frequently occurs together with the independent particle *guuna* 'may it be so, let'; the same inflection cooccurs with the negative particle *gaari* 'not' to form a negative command. (See (48) and (59).)

- (143) *Gwana dhad-i nyulu!*
 let go-IMP 3sg+NOM
 Let him go!

- (144) *Gaari miirri-la, dubi-la!*
 NOT tell-IMP leave-IMP
 Don't tell [him], leave [him, it] alone [i.e., forget it].

[d] PURP. A purposive verb form can act as the main verb of a clause, in place of tense or imperative, indicating an intention or a desire; more frequently, purposive inflection marks a verb subordinate to a main verb (of wanting, ordering, intending, etc.). The suffix is *-nhu* for all verbs. (See (132) and (138).)

- (145) *Ngali wadhin dhada-a gaangga бага-nhu.*
 1du+NOM hunting(+PURP?) go-NONPAST yam+ABS dig-PURP
 We two will go hunting to dig some yams.
- (146) *Yi ngadhu-um-i biiba-wi budhiil nhuumaalma-nhu.*
 this+ABS 1sg+GEN-mu-DAT father-DAT nose+ABS smell+REDUP-PURP
 This is my father's nose [for him] to smell with.

With many verbs there is the possibility with Purposive inflection to form a continuative/repetitive aspect stem without reduplication, merely by lengthening the penultimate syllable. Thus, for example, the verb *nhuumaalmanhu* in the previous example could be rendered *nhuumaanhu*. Similarly with other conjugations:

<i>dhambarr</i> 'throw'	<i>dhambanba-nhu</i> <i>dhambaa-nhu</i>
<i>nhaa-maa</i> 'see'	<i>nhaa-dhiil dhi-nhu</i> <i>nhaa-dhi-nhu</i>

[e] CONTRF. The suffix *-nda* frequently appears in a contrary-to-fact conditional statement, although it can appear in a single clause suggesting that the action portrayed is, whether possible or impossible, not about to happen; or to talk about unrealized possibility or plain impossibility. (See (100), (101) and (108).)

- (147) *Nyundu nhaayin buda-nda nyundu gaga=buli-nda.*
 2sg+NOM that+ABS eat-CONTRF 2sg+NOM sick=fall-CONTRF
 If you had eaten that, you would have gotten sick.

[f] PAST+NEG. In preference to using the negative particle *gaari* 'not' with the past tense of an unreduplicated verb, Guugu Yimidhirr speakers employ the special past negative ending *-:lmugu*. The suffix is probably related to the nominal PRIV suffix *-mul*; in very slow speech, older speakers pronounce the suffix as if it were *-:lmulgu* - a not altogether surprising collapsing of negative verbal and nominal categories. See (125), (133) and (139).

[g] CAUT. K. Hale (1976c:239) describes an 'admonitive' verbal inflection for Djaabugay, and Dixon (1977:349-357) describes for Yidinya a class of 'apprehensional constructions' which serve to warn, discourage, and dissuade. Guugu Yimidhirr has fairly developed morphology to express such ideas. The Cautionary inflection utters a caution: something (undesirable) might (and in fact is very likely to) happen (see (47)).

- (148) *Wal-aa badhar gayii-l-baga!*
 arise-IMP fishhook+ABS snag-DER=CAUT
 Watch out, your hook will get snagged!

[h] ANTIC. This inflectional form expresses a warning that something undesirable is on the verge of happening; it is usually coupled with a suggestion about what to do *before* the undesirable event occurs.

- (149) *Nyundu dinmaal-gu dyanydyi-la narradama-yigu*
 2sg+NOM quick-EMPH bathe-IMP shiver-ANTIC
 Have a bogey quickly, before you [start to] shiver.

The anticipatory form is also used in a subordinate clause introduced by the independent particle *magu* 'before'. (SUB-2 inflection, described in paragraph [k] below, also occurs in such contexts.)

- (150) *Magu nyundu dhada-yigu / dhada-nhu mayi ngadhu yidha-rra.*
 before 2sg+NOM go-ANTIC go-SUB2 food+ABS 1sg+DAT put-IMP
 Before you go, put some food [out] for me.

[i] PRECAUT. Unlike the Cautionary form of a verb, which suggests that something undesirable might and is likely to happen, the Precautionary form advises one's interlocutor to take action so that an undesirable consequence should *not* happen - *lest* it should happen. The precautionary form has a more negative flavour than the cautionary (and the final syllable *-mu* of the *-:gamu* suffix may again be related to the privative suffix *-mul*).

- (151) *Nyulu gurra bubu-unh dauga-y ngalgal*
 3sg+NOM earth-oven+ABS earth-INST bury-PAST smoke+ABS
wanydyi-igamu.
 arise-PRECAUT

He covered the earth oven with dirt, lest smoke rise [from it].
 (A man tried to hide the fact that he was cooking something in an earth oven.)

- (152) *Mulban.gu garra-la gada=badhi-igamu!*
 firmly hold-IMP break-PRECAUT
 Hold [it] tightly lest it break!

[j] SUB-1, PERF. An identical form, with normal suffix *-:yga*, can have three distinct functions. First, it may indicate perfective action on an independent verb; this device is particularly frequent in stories, when long sequences of verbs will bear perfective inflection to show that the events took place long ago. Perfective inflection may also indicate that some action or state was the consequence of some earlier action or actions (see the text at the end of this grammar).

- (153) *Dhana ngalan-bi dhadaara-yga minha-angu mula-angu*
 3pl+NOM sun-LOC go+REDUP-PERF meat-PURP honey-PURP
dhadaara-yga, gadaara-yga ngulgu-ngulgu, mayi
 go+REDUP-PERF come+REDUP-PERF afternoon food+ABS
baawa-ayga.
 cook-PERF

They would go out after meat in the day, go out after honey, then come [back] in the afternoon, and cook the food. (A mythical account of a large ceremonial party long ago.)

- (154) *Nyulu dhanaan.gal guugu mirrii-lin, bama nyulu*
 3sg+NOM 3pl+ADES word+ABS tell-PAST man+ABS 3sg+NOM
biini-iga
 die-PERF

He told them the word [i.e., the Gospel], and then [finally] he died. (This sentence was offered to summarize the life's work of the first missionary at Hopevale.)

Second, an identical suffix marks a subordinate clause which expresses the cause of an action or state described in the main independent verb.

- (155) *Nyulu yiniil-dhirr dudu-y nhangu dyiral gudhiirra-mu-n*
 3sg+NOM fear-COM+ABS run-PAST 3sg+ACC wife- two-mu-ERG
baawa-ayga
 cook-SUB1

He ran away in fear, because his two wives burned him. (A mythological character whose wives lured him up a tree to which they then set fire.)

- (156) *Nyulu dhada-y gunggaalu nhangu gunda-nhu nhangu gaangga*
 3sg+NOM go-PAST North+ALL 3sg+ACC kill-PURP 3sg+GEN+ABS yam+ABS
baga-ayga
 dig-SUB1

He went Northwards to kill him, because he had dug up his yam.

Finally, this suffix marks a subordinate verb that denotes action simultaneous with the action of the main verb.

- (157) *Nyulu gaangga nhaa-dhi dhudaa-bi wunaarna-yga*
 3sg+NOM yam+ABS see-PAST-LOC lie+REDUP-SUB1
 He saw a yam lying on the road.

The suffix *-:yga* added to a stem with final *a* and greater than two syllables often produces a final sequence *-ayga* in which the unstressed *-ay* reduces to *i* (see 2.4). Thus a word like *wunaarnayga* is frequently pronounced *wunaarniga*,

TABLE 3.12 - Verbal derivations

Derivational function:	Suffix or form:	Suffix or form for R conjugation:
REDUP (3.5.2)		
Continuing or repetitive action	Stem reduplication	R conjugation stem reduplication
DER 'Derived form' (3.5.5)	<i>-:y - :i</i>	<i>-:rr</i>
REF+PAST	<i>-:dhi</i>	'derived form' plus appropriate form of <i>ngarral</i> or <i>ngadhal</i>
REF+NONPAST	<i>-:ya</i>	"
REF+IMP	<i>-:yi</i>	"
REF stem form	<i>-:dhi-</i>	"

and so on. Sections 4.4.2 and 4.4.3 below discuss in more detail the subordinate structures that employ SUB-1 verbal inflection.

[k] SUB-2: *-nhun*. This suffix also marks a subordinate verb whose action is simultaneous with the action of the main verb; but whereas the *-:yga* SUB-1 suffix generally attaches to a verb whose subject is the O NP of the main verb, the subordinating suffix *-nhun* attaches to a verb whose subject is the same as the S or A NP of the main verb. This inflection occurs in sentences of the form: 'While X did ... , he also did ... ', or 'When X ... , then X will ... '.

- (158) *Dubi-la, ngali baaru-nguundu gada-nhun dugu yii*
 leave-IMP ldu+NOM loin=hither come-SUB2 thing+ABS this+ABS
maandi-i.
 take-NONPAST.

Leave it; when we come back we'll get this thing.

The suffix *-nhun* also occurs with the particle *magu* 'before' (see (150) above). And, like the PURP suffix *-nhu*, SUB-2 *-nhun* can occur with a lengthened verb stem equivalent to a reduplicated form:

dhadaara-nhun ~ dhada-anhun

Subordinate structures with *-nhun* are considered in more detail in 4.4.3 below.

3.5.4 REFLEXIVE FORMS. We have already met one important derivational process involving verbs: verbal reduplication is a process which derives from one verb stem another different verb stem that denotes continuative aspect (3.5.2). There is another important derivational process with verbs,

TABLE 3.13 - Derived forms for the five conjugations

	L conj.	monsyl. L conj.	V conj.
REDUP-NONPAST	<i>gundaarnda-l</i>	<i>dhaaba=ngalnga-l</i>	<i>dhadaara</i>
DER	<i>gunda-ay</i>	---	<i>dhada-ay</i>
REF+PAST	<i>gunda-adhi</i>	<i>dhaaba=ngadha-adhi</i>	---
REF+NONPAST	<i>gunda-aya</i>	<i>dhaaba=ngadha-aya</i>	---
REF+IMP	<i>gunda-ayi</i>	<i>dhaaba=ngadha-ayi</i>	---
REF-PURP	<i>gunda-adhi-nhu</i>	<i>dhaaba=ngadha-adhi-nhu</i>	---
	R conj.	MA conj.	NA conj.
REDUP-NONPAST	<i>ngalbuurrbu-rr</i>	<i>nhaamaalma</i>	<i>maanaarna</i>
DER	<i>ngalbu-urr</i>	---	---
REF+PAST	<i>ngalbuurr=ngarra-adhi</i>	<i>nhaadha-adhi</i>	<i>maana-adhi</i>
REF+NONPAST	<i>ngalbuurr=ngarra-aya</i>	<i>nhaadha-aya</i>	<i>maana-aya</i>
REF+IMP	<i>ngalbuurr=ngarra-ayi</i>	<i>nhaadha-ayi</i>	<i>maana-ayi</i>
REF-PURP	<i>ngalbuurr=ngarra-adhi-nhu</i>	<i>nhaa-dha-adhi-nhu</i>	<i>maana-adhi-nhu</i>

with extensive syntactic ramifications, that produces from a simple or reduplicated verb stem a different stem that we here label, for convenience, 'reflexive' (abbreviated REF) - although the functions of the derived form include more than the label might imply. (See 4.3 for some further details.) Table 3.12 summarizes verbal derivations; and Table 3.13 exemplifies the derivational suffixes. In this section we discuss the form of the reflexive stem, and in the next section we consider the remaining derivational processes.

There are three portmanteau suffixes which combine with a simple or reduplicated verb stem to form the PAST, NONPAST or IMP reflexive forms. Thus, a reflexive verb in the past tense will be realized by the suffix *-:dhi*; (82), (91), (123), (126), and (140) exhibit the realization of this morpheme string REF+PAST. Similarly, the sequence REF+IMP requires the suffix *-:yi* (see (128) and (134)); and the sequence REF+NONPAST uses the suffix *-:ya* (see (135)).

(159) *Nyundu wanhdha=wanhdhaalga waarmba-aya?*
2sg+NOM when return-REF+NONPAST
When will you return?

(The verb *waarmbal* 'return, send back' is, in non-reflexive form, transitive.)

(160) *Gaari wagi-iyi!*
NOT cut-REF+IMP
Don't cut yourself!

Other verbal inflections are added to the stem formed by combining the simple or reduplicated verb stem with *-:dhi* (which thus acts both as the REF+PAST portmanteau and as the reflexive stem-forming affix).

(161) *Nyulu gunggaalu dhamba-rrin, wangi waarmba-adhi-lmigu.*
3sg+NOM North+ALL throw-PAST boomerang+ABS return-REF-PAST+NEG
He threw [the boomerang] to the North, and the boomerang didn't return.

Generally only transitive verbs (and not all of those) form reflexive stems (although some intransitive stems do as well - see (128)). And only L conjugation stems form reflexives freely - that is, without recourse to a special stem peculiar to reflexive form. The reflexive forms of MA and NA conjugation verbs are:

	REF Stem (=REF+PAST)	REF+NONPAST	REF+IMP
<i>nhaa</i> 'see'	<i>nhaa-dha-adhi</i>	<i>nhaa-dha-aya</i>	<i>nhaa-dha-ayi</i>
<i>wu-</i> 'give'	<i>wuu-dha-adhi</i>	<i>wuu-dha-aya</i>	<i>wuu-dha-ayi</i>
<i>maa-</i> 'get'	<i>maa-na-adhi</i>	<i>maa-na-aya</i>	<i>maa-na-ayi</i>
<i>=ma-</i> 'CAUS'	<i>=ma-na-adhi</i>	<i>=ma-na-aya</i>	<i>=ma-na-ayi</i>

For purposes of reduplication, these verbs use the bare root plus the stem formative shown: *nhaa-dha-* reduplicates to *nhaa-dhaaldha-* as in

(162) *Nyulu-ugu nhaa-dhaaldha-ya gilaaadha-wi*
3sg+NOM-gu look-REDUP-REF+NONPAST glass-LOC
He is looking at himself in the glass.

Most V conjugation stems do not form reflexives. Those that do are:

<i>ngangga</i> 'to be confused, etc.'	<i>ngangga-adhi</i> 'be totally incompetent, unable to do anything'
<i>dirrbaa</i> 'abduct'	<i>dirrba-adhi</i> 'run off'
<i>yirrgaa</i> 'speak'	<i>yirrga-adhi</i> 'have a conversation, come to an agreement'

Reflexive forms of R conjugation verbs are based on what appears to be the reflexive form of a semantically opaque L conjugation stem *ngarra-*, this appended to the 'DERIVED' form of the verb stem itself (see next section).

(163) *Nyulu baydya-arr=ngarra-adhi bubu-unh*
3sg+NOM cover-DER=REF-PAST dirt-INST
He covered himself with dirt. (I.e., he buried himself in the dirt.)

The hypothetical *ngarra-* combines with the derived form of the verb much as the monosyllabic L conjugation roots combine to form compound verbs: its second syllable undergoes lengthening like an independent word. In fact, the form *ngarra-* alternates, for many speakers, with another formative which is probably the reflexive form of the monosyllabic L verb *-ngal:* combined with the derived form of an R conjugation stem, this alternate form acts like a hypothetical L conjugation stem *ngadha-*. Compare the verbs in the following two sentences:

(164) *Dhana galga-wi dhaabo=ngadhaaldha-dhi.*
3pl+NOM spear-DAT ask+REDUP-REF+PAST
They were asking each other for spears.

- (165) *Ngayu gadil yidha-arr-ngadhaaldha-dhi.*
 1sg+NOM name+ABS put-DER=REF+REDUP-PAST
 I was putting my [own] name down [e.g., on a list].

Like MA conjugation verbs, the monosyllabic *-ngal* uses the stem-forming suffix *-dha-* before combining with reflexive suffixes; this appears to be the origin of the hypothetical *ngadha-* used with R conjugation reflexive forms. Notice here that while *-ngal* uses the stem form *nga-dhi-* for non-reflexive verb inflection, it has a final *a* in place of the final *i* in reflexive forms.

The substitution of a stem-final *a* for a stem-final *i* is a common feature of reflexive stem formation with other L conjugation verbs as well. First, there are about thirty L conjugation verbs that are *only* inflected in reflexive form. All of these verbs have stem final *a*, none stem final *i*. For example, the root *daga-* 'sit, be seated' has no 'active' forms: *daga-l*, *daga-y*, *daga-nhu* and the like do not occur. Instead the reflexive forms, with all inflections exist:

- (166) *Gad-ii daga-adhi-nhu mitlu-wi*
 come-IMP sit-REF-PURP shade-LOC
 Come to sit in the shade!

Other common reflexive-only L conjugation roots are *badha-* 'be finished', *buurngga-* 'enter' *dumba-* 'be frightened', and *madha-* 'climb'. All these verbs are syntactically intransitive; they occur with Absolutive noun subjects and Nominative pronoun subjects.

Some L conjugation verbs with stem final *i* keep the *i* in forming reflexives. One example, with the verb *wagil* 'cut', is in (160). The next sentence uses the verb *munggil* 'beat'

- (167) *Dhana yarbaarga munggilnggi-dhi*
 3pi+NOM severely beat+REDUP-REF+PAST
 They had a big brawl [i.e., beat each other severely].

However, several L conjugation verbs with stem final *i* form reflexives only with stem final *a*. For example, the verb *dhuuril* 'eject', forms a reflexive stem with *a*:

- (168) *Dhugidhugi gundil dhaura-adhi.*
 chicken+ABS egg+ABS eject-REF+PAST.
 The chicken laid an egg. (Literally, the chicken ejected its own egg: egg is evidently an inalienably possessed noun here.)

Such considerations suggest that many of the 'reflexive-only' verbs are actually forms of active L conjugation verbs with stem final *i* - perhaps with some extensions of meaning as well. (For example, *daga-adhi* 'be seated' may be related to *dagil* 'erect, build'; *muurra-adhi* 'hesitate, be unwilling' to *muuril* 'refuse, forbid', etc.) It is, in fact, often the case that reflexive verbs have meanings that extend beyond a simple reflexive (or reciprocal) sense of the active form: *maa-naa* 'get', *maa-na-adhi* 'be married, get married'.

3.5.5 FURTHER VERBAL DERIVATIONS. Table 3.12 shows one form so far not discussed, labelled the DER or 'derived' form, which combines with a variety of further forms: nominalizers, causative verbalizers, etc. We have already seen that the reflexive forms of R conjugation verbs are composed of the 'derived' form of the root, plus an inflected form of a further reflexive stem *ngarra-* or *ngadha-*. Similarly, the CAUT form of an R conjugation verb (see Table 3.9 and (148)) uses the derived form of the root plus the otherwise opaque derivational particle *baga*.

The particle *baga* productively combines with the derived form of a verb to produce an adjective-like word meaning 'a person in the habit of...', 'a person likely to...', or 'who frequently...', or 'who is liable to...'. Frequently the construction is of the form:

NP TransVerb=*baga*

where the NP is in the Absolutive case, acting as the O NP of the Transitive Verb stem. For example:

- (169) *Nyulu galga balga-al-baga*
 3sg+NOM spear make-DER=*baga*
 He is a spear maker; or: he is always making spears.

- (170) *Milbi mirri-l-baga nhaywi.*
 story tell-DER=*baga* that+ABS
 That one is a gossip; or: that one is always telling stories;
 or: that one is liable to tell stories [so watch out!].

Such examples suggest the naturalness of using the construction with *baga* to express the cautionary form of R conjugation verbs.

- (171) *Dud-ii, nhina wugu-urr=baga-aygu nyulu!*
 run-IMP 2sg+ACC follow-DER=CAUT-gu 3sg+NOM
 Run, he is liable to follow you!

Many intransitive verbs, in the derived form, combine with the NA conjugation causative verbalizer *=ma-naa* to form a transitive causative stem. This is true of intransitive roots from all conjugations, and also for 'reflexive-only' L conjugation verbs which are all functionally intransitive. In the last case, the 'Derived' form is based on the bare root, and not on the reflexive stem, of the verb. For example, for the reflexive-only root *daga-* 'be seated', the derived form is *daga-ay*; combined with the causative verbalizer this yields the form *dagaay=ma-naa* 'seat, cause to be sitting':

- (172) *Nyulu bidha dagaay=ma-ni nambaal-bi*
 3sg+NOM child+ABS sit=CAUS-PAST rock-LOC
 She sat the child down on a rock.

(The causative form *dagaay=ma-naa* 'cause to be seated' differs slightly in meaning from the transitive *dagil* which can mean 'set, build, plant, erect'. The difference seems to be related to the fact that the normal object of *dagil* will be an inanimate object; whereas the normal object of the causative *dagaay=ma-naa* will be the same as the normal subject of *daga-adhi*, i.e., a person who is sitting.)

- (173) *Gabirr-inh nhaamaan nganihi bulii=ma-ni*
 girl-ERG that+ERG lsg+ACC fall+DERIVED=CAUS-PAST
 That girl made me fall.

A last derived form involves full reduplication, although the details of form and productivity are not yet known. Reduplicating the 'Derived' form of a verb seems to produce an adjective that means 'doing ... to excess, in the habit of ... too much'.

- (174) *Nyulu bama yirrgaay=yirrgaay*
 3sg+NOM person+ABS tall+DER=talk+DER
 He talks too much.
- (175) *Gaari budaay=budaay=mana-ayi*
 NOT eat+DER=eat+DER=INCHO-IMP (=CAUS-REF+IMP)
 Don't be eating all the time!

The same reduplicated forms occur with *magu* 'before' in a meaning like that of the 'before' inflection.

- (176) *Magu dudaay=dudaay garra-ba-la*
 before run+DER=run+DER grab-IMP
 Grab [him] before he runs!

I have no explanation, however, for the form of the reflexive-only verb *badha-dhi* shown in the following:

- (177) *Magu badhaaynh=badhaanh gumbu nyulu walanggar*
 before finish=finish dance+ABS 3sg death adder+ABS
wanydyi dhada-y
 rise+PAST go-PAST.

Just before the dance came to an end, Death Adder got up and left. (Death Adder was going to hide before the dancers left the ground so that he could see where they went.)

No other similar examples of reduplication with the suffix *-:nh* are known.

4. SYNTAX

4.1 SIMPLE SENTENCES

A simple Guugu Yimidhirr sentence consists of a verb and one or more NPs (noun phrases) that occupy specific functions or roles in relation to the verb. Intransitive verbs require a subject NP (an NP in S function); transitive verbs require one NP as subject (in function A) and another as object (function O). NPs in these three functions are marked in a sentence by bearing case inflection: personal pronouns in S and A function are Nominative, and in O function are Accusative; all other nominal expressions have Absolutive case for S and O functions, and Ergative case for A function. Generally word order within a sentence is very free, and different parts of a noun phrase can be spread around a sentence; therefore, the case affixes on constituents of NPs signal the different syntactic roles of the sentence.

There is, however, an unmarked normal word order for intransitive and transitive simple sentences, as follows:

Intransitive:	S	Verb
Transitive:	A	O Verb

The first pattern may be seen in (33) and (60) and the second pattern may be seen in (6-8).

Although NPs in S, A and O functions may be deleted in ordinary conversational utterances, they are nonetheless obligatory in the sense that they can only be omitted when they are implicitly 'understood' in the context of the utterance. In the absence of such a context, it is not possible to utter a string composed of, say, a nominative personal pronoun and a transitive verb, with no object:

- (178) ??*Nyulu gunda-y.*
 3sg+NOM hit-PAST
 She hit.

The verb *gunda* 'hit' is, as it were, incomplete without an object. Only in a context in which the O NP can be supplied does a sentence like (178) become appropriate; for example if (178) were uttered after (33) it would be possible to understand the pronoun *nyulu* of (178) as 'the woman', and to supply as implicit object for the verb 'hit' the 'dog' mentioned in (33).

- (179) *Gudaa ngaanhdu-wi biini. Nyulu gunda-y*
 dog+ABS woman-GEN+ABS die+PAST 3sg+NOM hit-PAST
 The woman's dog died; she hit [i.e. killed] [it].

Thus S, A, and O NPs are obligatory in the sense that an intransitive verb is *incomplete* without a subject, and a transitive verb is similarly incomplete without both subject and object.

Transitivity is both a syntactic and a semantic matter. For example, whereas English uses the single verb *break* both transitively and intransitively (*The toy broke* and *The child broke the toy*) Guugu Yimidhirr has distinct transitive and intransitive roots for 'break'. *Gada=ba* is intransitive, and *dumbil* is transitive. The former verb requires only an NP in S function (denoting the thing that gets broken); the latter requires an O NP (the thing broken), and an A NP (the person or creature that does the breaking).

- (180) *Warrbi gada=ba-dhi*
 tommyhawk+ABS break-PAST
 The tommyhawk got broken.
- (181) *Nyulu biidha-al warrbi dumbi*
 3sg+NOM child-ERG tommyhawk+ABS break+PAST
 The child broke the tommyhawk.

Simple sentences may also have additional NPs with various case inflections; individual verbs may, in fact, ordinarily 'govern' cases other than the central syntactic cases. For example, a verb like *wu-maa* 'give' normally presupposes a Dative NP (the beneficiary of the act of giving); or, a verb like *mirriil* 'tell, show' usually occurs with an Adessive NP that denotes the person to whom something is

told or shown. Such additional NPs are *extensions* of the sentence beyond the nucleus of verb and S or A and O NPs; extensions beyond these nuclear NPs are treated in 4.1.4 below.

4.1.1 NOUN PHRASES. A noun phrase may include several parts but it is the NP as a whole which has a function in a Guugu Yimidhirr sentence; accordingly the entire NP attracts case inflection. However, it is not always necessary for every part of an NP to have an explicit case affix; in particular, if a noun is immediately followed by a modifying adjective, numeral, or genitive expression (within the same larger NP) often the bare noun stem appears, and the case inflection for the whole NP is found only on the modifier (see (34), (35) and (37) above). The noun *may* also be fully inflected.

- (182) *Nhanu-umu-n guda-a-ngun warrga-al nganhi dyinda-y.*
2sg+GEN-mu-ERG dog-ERG big-ERG 1sg+ACC bite-PAST
Your big dog bit me.

In (182) the A NP as a whole must bear Ergative inflection, and, in fact, each constituent part - a genitive expression, the head noun, and a modifying adjective - all have explicit ergative suffixes. In (187-8) and (190) an NP-initial head noun is uninflected and the succeeding adjective, numeral, or genitive expression bears the case suffix.

A noun phrase may include:

- (a) a specific noun, e.g., *yarrga* 'boy', *galga* 'spear', *babadha* 'bloodwood tree'.
(b) a proper name, e.g., *Bili* 'Billy', *Daagda* 'The Doctor', *Muundu*, *Dyaagi* 'Jack', etc.
(c) a personal pronoun (see 3.3.1).
(d) a generic noun - one of a limited set of nouns that denote large classes of things; the commonly used generic nouns are: *mayi* 'vegetable food', *minha* 'edible meat', *mula* 'honey or bee', *yugu* 'tree, useful wood', *guudyu* 'fish', and *galga* 'spear'. A generic noun usually precedes the specific noun it encompasses.

- (183) *Yugu binirr yiva-rra!*
tree+ABS ironbark+ABS search-IMP
Look for an ironbark tree!

Sometimes the generic noun will follow the particular noun, especially in an utterance like (184) which identifies a plant by its specific name, and then appends the information that it is edible.

- (184) *Ngali nhayun dabunh dyindaarmda-l mayi.*
1du+NOM that+ABS 'bush mango'+ABS call+REDUP-NONPAST food+ABS
We call that 'dabunh' - it's edible. Or: We call that edible plant 'dabunh'.

(e) a genitive qualifier. A possessive expression *always* bears case inflection agreeing with the case of the entire NP of which it is a part, and it may precede or follow the noun it modifies. (Or, as in (36), it may function as the entire NP when the head noun is understood from context.)

And we have seen the possibility of a 'possessor of a possessor' construction, as in (42).

(f) an inalienably possessed part. Inalienable possession requires no special inflection on part or whole (possession or possessor); both words merely appear together, the part usually following directly on the whole. (See (39-41).) Occasionally, especially when the possessor is a pronoun, the part may come first; this is the case in the next example, in which the part is Absolutive, but the pronoun Accusative:

- (185) *Dyidy-i-inda ngaabaay nganhi baga-y*
bird-ERG head+ABS 1sg+ACC dig-PAST
The bird pecked me on the head.

(g) one or more adjectives or adjectival modifiers. Adjectives normally follow the nouns they modify; they are always inflected for case (although frequently the preceding head noun will appear uninflected).

- (186) *Nyulu biini buurraay gaga-nganh.*
3sg+NOM die+PAST water- poison-CAU
He died from [drinking] poison water [i.e., grog].
(187) *Nambal warrga-al dyaarba baydya-rrin nyulu.*
rock- big-INST snake+ABS cover-PAST 3sg+NOM
He crushed the snake with a large stone.

Numerals in Guugu Yimidhirr modify nouns in the same way as adjectives; they, too, are always inflected for case, even when the immediately preceding head noun is not marked. See (155).

- (188) *Bula dyiral gudhirra-mu-n yarrba gurra-y: 'Ma, ngali*
3du+NOM wife- two-mu-ERG thus say-PAST come 1du+NOM
dhada-a!'
go-NONPAST
The two wives spoke thus: 'Come, we'll go!'

An adjective can even modify a personal pronoun, as in the following sentence where the pronoun in A function is in Nominative case, whereas the modifying adjective is in Ergative case.

- (189) *Ngayu warrga-al-gu mulban.gu nhaamaalma.*
1sg+NOM big-ERG-gu clearly see+REDUP+NONPAST
[Now that I am] full grown [literally, big] I see clearly [i.e., I understand how things are].
(190) *Nyulu biiba Dyaagi-iga-mu-n binal-ing-gu bama daama-y.*
3sg+NOM father- Jack-GEN-mu-ERG know-ERG-gu man+ABS spear-PAST
Jack's father knowingly [i.e., on purpose] speared a man.

Comitative constructions (see 3.2.3[c]), which have been described as adjective-like, also modify nouns within NPs, and must bear appropriate case inflection. (See (45) and (48-50).)

- (h) a deictic. Deictic words are always inflected (see 3.3.3) to agree in case with the NP of which they are a part. (107) has, for example, an A NP that consists of a personal pronoun (in Nominative case) and a deictic (in Ergative case).
(i) Finally, a NP can include a noun from the set of logical or quantifying words, which includes such roots as *wulbu* 'all',

yindu 'a different one', *mundal* 'the rest, some, the remainder'. For the inflectional forms of *wulbu* and *yindu* see 3.2.3[d]; a sentence with an adessive form *yindu* is at (54).

- (191) *Dhana wulbu-umu-n minha girrbadhi bidaara-y*
 3pl+NOM all-mu-ERG meat+ABS dugong+ABS harpoon+REDUP-PAST
dyirraayng-gurr-nda.
 old man-PLU-ERG.
 All the old men used to harpoon dugong.

(191) has the typical form of a transitive sentence, except that the A function NP has been broken into two parts; the A NP is

[*dhana wulbu dyirraaynggurr*] (=Personal Pronoun/Quant/Specific Noun)
 they all old men

put into the appropriate inflection for an A function NP; the O NP is

[*minha girrbadhi*] (=generic/specific)
 meat dugong

in Absolutive case, as befits nouns in O function.

The possible constituents of a noun phrase may be put together in various ways. First, if the referent of the noun phrase is an animate being, especially a human (or a group of human beings), it is normal for the whole NP to begin with the appropriate personal pronoun, *whether or not* there are any other constituents. That is, the norm arrangement for an NP that refers to a human is:

[Personal Pronoun X]
 NP

where X represents the remaining constituents of the NP, if any. Not all animate NPs are thus adjoined to a personal pronoun, but most animate NPs in A, S or O function are.

The remainder X (which may constitute the entire NP if there is no personal pronoun adjoined, or if the referent of the NP is inanimate - in which case no pronoun is possible) may appear in one continuous string, or its parts may be distributed throughout the sentence. In the former case, there is a preferred order for the central constituents of the NP as follows:

- (1) generic noun (if any)
- (2) specific noun (or proper name)
- (3) inalienably possessed part (if any)
- (4) adjective (including numeral)

A genitive qualifier, a logical or quantifying modifier, or a deictic may come either at the beginning or the end of this core, though there seems to be a preference for genitive qualifiers to follow the head noun (the most specific noun of (1)-(3)) and for deictics to precede it.

A common stylistic device with an animate NP in A, S or O function leaves a pronominal trace, in the proper case, in preferred sentence position for the NP's function, with the fully inflected noun elsewhere in the sentence, frequen-

tly at the end. (191) is an illustration. Here is another instance:

- (192) *Nhayun bidaa bula biiba nhangu-mu-gal dubi*
 that+ABS child+ABS 3du+NOM father-3sg+GEN-mu-ADES leave+PAST
waarigan-gal
 Moon-ADES
 The two of them left that child with his father Moon. (Moon's wives leave their child in his care while they go hunting.)

Here the Adessive NP has constituents

[*biiba nhangu waarigan*]
 father his Moon
 NP

which are inflected and distributed in the sentence.

An NP may refer to a set (of people, of objects) which may be greater than the individual constituents of the NP. For example, an NP may denote the speaker and one other person, and hence consist of the pronoun *ngaliinh* and the name of the other person, as in

- (193) *Ngaliinh Dyaagi-ngun gambarr balga-y*
 Iduexc+NOM Jack-ERG pitch+ABS make-PAST
 Jack and I made the pitch.

Or consider:

- (194) *Bula ngadhu yumurr yawal-inh dhada-y*
 3du+NOM 1sg+GEN+ABS child+ABS beach-ALL go-PAST
 Those two - my son included - went to the beach.

4.1.2 VERBS - SYNTACTIC TYPES. Most intransitive verbs require a single NP subject; personal pronoun constituents of this NP will receive Nominative inflection, and other constituents will be marked by Absolutive. Reflexive forms normally follow exactly this pattern, acting syntactically just like ordinary intransitive verbs. However, there is also a distinct pattern for some reflexive verbs in some contexts, and also for just one non-reflexive (apparently) intransitive verb *yaadyil* 'burn, be burned'. Under this pattern, there is still a single subject NP; however, a pronominal constituent of this NP will receive *Accusative* marking (normally appropriate for pronouns in O function), while other constituents take Absolutive form. This pattern of case marking with reflexive forms is explored further in 4.3 below. Here we shall consider the syntactic properties of the verb *yaadyil*.

The Yidiny language (Dixon 1977:257-8) distinguishes two types of transitive verb. The majority of transitive verbs 'expect an animate (normally human) agent, who controls and regulates the action'. But a very few transitive verbs, including the verb *guba-n* 'burn', require inanimate subjects. An appropriate subject for this verb might be the sun, or a torch; and though sentences occur with *guba-n*, an Absolutive noun object, and no explicit subject, Dixon considers that these are elliptical sentences 'with the ergative NP unstated (but potentially statable)'.

Guugu Yimidhirr *yaadyil*, however, behaves in most cases like an ordinary intransitive verb.

- (195) *Yugu yaadyi yaadyi gawa-alu buli.*
tree+ABS burn+PAST burn+PAST west-ALL fall-PAST
The tree burned and burned and fell down to the West.

A pronominal subject normally receives *Nominative* inflection, even if there is an instrumental NP.

- (196) *Nyandu gaari yaadyi-la!*
2sg+NOM NOT burn-IMP
Don't get burned! Don't burn yourself!

- (197) *Ngayu wulunggar-inh yaadyi.*
1sg+NOM flames-INST burn+PAST
I got burned on the flames; I burned myself on/with/from the flames.

And often a seemingly potential inanimate subject (or instrument) does not receive Ergative or Instrumental inflection.

- (198) *Gama ngalan-bi yaadyi-la dhudaan.*
let sun-DAT burn-IMP road+ABS
Let the road burn [i.e., dry out] in the sun! (I.e., I hope the road dries in the sun.)

Nonetheless, sentences do occur in which there are an inanimate NP in Ergative/Instrumental case, and a personal pronoun in Accusative case with *yaadyil*, as in:

- (199) *Dyungaar minhdhiiil-nda nganhi dhama! yaadyi.*
sand- hot-INST 1sg+ACC food+ABS burn+PAST
The hot sand burned my foot/my foot got burned by the hot sand.

Here it seems that *yaadyil* is acting like a transitive verb with an inanimate subject, like Yidiny *guba-n*. Is *yaadyi-l* (and are the reflexive verbs that behave in essentially similar ways) halfway between intransitive and transitive in syntactic type?

To give an explanation that anticipates later discussion (in 4.3) we recall Dixon's phrase about animate agents 'who control...and regulate...the action'. Surely part of the rationale behind ergative/absolute marking for nouns and nominative/accusative marking for personal pronouns is this: personal pronouns denote humans, typical agents (who can control and regulate action), whereas many nouns denote inanimate objects - unlikely agents themselves but frequently the objects of 'control' and 'regulation' by animate agents. Thus the unmarked (Nominative) case for pronouns is appropriate for S and A functions, and the unmarked case for nouns (Absolute) is appropriate for S and O functions. The marked cases (Ergative and Accusative) indicate the more striking situations in which nouns are agents (controlling and regulating other things) and in which pronouns are objects (themselves being controlled and regulated).

Now a verb like *yaadyil* (like most of the reflexive forms of transitive verbs) refers to something that can happen to both inanimate objects (like trees or roads, in (195) and (198)) and to people. But it can happen to people in the same way it happens to things - without their having any control over what happens to them (see (199) where the S

pronoun receives ACC inflection and the inalienably possessed body part ABS); or it can happen to people, as it were, with their collusion (as in (197) where the S pronoun is in NOM case). The full flavour of this sort of collusion may be seen in (196) which may be glossed: 'Don't let yourself get burned!'. Verbs of this sort occupy a middle ground between transitive verbs with animate agents and intransitive verbs that merely have subjects; we may say, provisionally, that *yaadyil* is intransitive in form but 'reflexive' in syntactic type. (For a discussion of 'split S' systems of syntactic marking, see Dixon 1979.)

4.1.3 VERB MODIFIERS. Associated with the verb in a simple sentence may be one or more adverbs. Most adverbs seem to be derived from adjectives with the suffix *-:gu/-:ygu* (see 3.2.4[b], (62), (63) and (189)). Adverbs are not, seemingly, formed from nouns, and a few words seem to modify verbs, without having any corresponding adjectival form: *mulban.gu* 'clearly, firmly, tight', *mumbaarrgu* 'firmly', *yarrbaarga* 'extremely, severely', *wali* 'all around, around, in every direction', *nyuunday=nyuunday* 'over and over', *ngan.gu* 'quickly'. Particles may also contribute aspectual or modal nuances to a verb: *nguba* 'perhaps' expresses doubt, *bira* 'certainly' certainty; *nhuumaar* expresses the regularity of action, *murruga* 'only' its uniqueness. And so on. (See 4.8.)

The 'resultative' adverbial forms in *-:ngaygu* (see 3.2.5, (70-2)) also modify verbs, though they presumably have a more complex origin. That is, in a sentence like (70) the word *dhuyu-ngaygu* presumably refers to the person who was hit, who as a result of hitting died. That is, it refers to the NP in O function (and not, say, to the NP in A function). Underlying a sentence like (70), then are sentences meaning: 'A hit B' and 'B was dead', which are combined into a single sentence (70), with the verb of the second sentence represented as the resultative adverbial *dhuyu-ngaygu*. See 4.4 with regard to subordinate constructions.

4.1.4 SYNTACTIC EXTENSIONS. Following Dixon (1977:258-268) we may consider simple sentences to consist of a nucleus - the verb and S, or A and O, NPs - and 'peripheral NPs, marked by either syntactic or local cases'. NPs marked by the various peripheral syntactic cases add additional participants or accessories to the nucleus of a sentence. The following extensions occur in Guugu Yimidhirr sentences:

[a] *Instrumental*. In 3.2.2[b] we saw that case suffixes for Ergative and Instrumental were identical. In a transitive sentence a nominal A NP will bear Ergative inflection; but an additional (usually inanimate) NP denoting a weapon, tool, or instrument used in performing the action may also occur, with an Ergative/Instrumental suffix. See, for example, (106), (151), (163), (187) and (199). Some inanimate things are, of course, more capable of initiating and controlling action than others; in some cases, then, an inanimate NP with ERG/INST inflection will seem more reasonably an Agent than an Instrument.

- (200) *Daan.gay-il birra nubuan maa-ni gaangga-wi*
wind-ERG/INST leaf+ABS one+ABS take-PAST yam-GEN+ABS
wuydyu-rrin.
blow-PAST

The wind took one of the yam's leaves and blew [it] away.

In (200), whether or not *daan.gay* 'wind' is considered (by Guugu Yimidhirr speakers) to be animate or inanimate, the wind seems to be the active agent in blowing the leaf, and not the instrument by which some other agent manages to blow it. Similarly, an NP composed of an animate noun and an inalienably possessed body part may receive ergative/instrumental inflection, where the animate noun is interpreted as Agent and the body part interpreted as Instrument.

- (201) *Dyidy-i-inda gulgi-inh nganhi dhangu-rrin*
bird-ERG claw-INST 1sg+ACC scratch-PAST
The bird scratched me with its claws.

The distinction between ERG and INST is, then, frequently unclear with ordinary transitive sentences. However, there are two important syntactic differences between Ergative A NPs and Instrumental extensions. First, in various reflexive constructions (see 4.3), what starts as an ERG A NP in an active transitive sentence, becomes an ABS S NP in the reflexive construction. But an INST NP can survive such a transformation unchanged. For example, compare the following two sentences.

- (202) *Nyulu bidha-al guda wagu naaybu-unh.*
3sg+NOM child-ERG dog+ABS cut+PAST knife-INST
The child cut the dog with a knife.
- (203) *Bidha nyulu-ugu wagu-idihi naaybu-unh.*
child+ABS 3sg+NOM-gu cut-REF+PAST knife-INST
The child cut himself with a knife.

In the reflexive sentence, (203), the child who did the cutting is represented by an S NP (with the noun in ABS case, and the pronoun in NOM case), whereas the instrument still bears INST inflection. (See the further discussion at 4.3.2.) Similarly, verbs using reflexive inflection to express generalized action (4.3.6) or 'anti-passive' (4.3.5), must have S NPs with ABS (or, in the case of pronouns, NOM) inflection; but they may occur with INST NPs as well.

- (204) *Dhana ngam=gurra-aygu gunda-adhi yugu-ngun.*
3pl+NOM many+ABS-gu hit-REF+PAST stick-INST
The big mob of them had a fight with sticks.

We have already seen that a verb like *yaadyil* 'burn', though behaving in most ways like an intransitive verb, occasionally seems to occur with both an ACC pronoun and an NP with ERG/INST inflection; this is the case, for example, in (199). In most cases, however, the pattern of nominal and pronominal case marking with *yaadyil* is like that with other intransitive verbs: the S NP receives NOM inflection with pronominal constituents and ABS inflection with nominal constituents (see (195)-(198)). In either case, although an ERG A NP is not possible with an intransitive verb, an INST NP is possible:

- (205) *Nhanu mil gaari wurrgaalga ngalga-anda?*
2sg+GEN+ABS eye+ABS NOT suffer+REDUP+NONPAST smoke-INST
Aren't your eyes suffering from the smoke?

In such a sentence it does not seem to be possible to interpret *ngalgaanda* (from *ngalgal* 'smoke') as an A NP, and *nhanu mil* as the O NP, since substituting a personal pronoun for *nhanu mil* is possible only if the pronoun is in NOM, and not ACC, case.

- (206) *Nyulu gaari wurrgaalga ngalga-anda?*
3sg+NOM NOT suffer+REDUP+NONPAST smoke-INST
**Nhanu gaari wurrgaalga ngalga-anda?*
3sg+ACC NOT suffer+REDUP+NONPAST smoke-INST
Isn't he suffering from the smoke?

An explicit Agent could be incorporated into such a construction only with a derived Causative verb of the form *wurrgaay=ma-naa* 'cause to suffer'.

- (207) *Nhanu gaari wurrga-ay=ma-rraa!*
3sg+ACC NOT suffer-DER=CAUS-IMP
Don't make him sore! Don't make him suffer!

Instrumental may thus be distinguished from Ergative on the grounds that only Instrumental NPs can occur with intransitive constructions. Notably, it is normal for an A NP, marked with ergative, to denote an animate entity (capable of being an agent), whereas an Instrument, marked with instrumental case, is more likely to be some inanimate object; the agent initiates and controls action, whereas the instrument is only a passive tool employed by the agent. (An NP may, of course, be indeterminate between an INST and an ERG interpretation in a particular transitive sentence.)

And while it is possible for an intransitive verb to be accompanied by an instrumental NP, frequently a Causal NP will express a similar idea. Contrast the following alternate versions:

- (208) *Ngayu gaga=buli ngalan-ngun*
1sg+NOM sick=fall+PAST sun-INST
Ngayu gaga=buli ngalan-nganh
1sg+NOM sick=fall+PAST sun-CAU
I fell sick because of/from the sun.

Here the second alternative seems to predominate (see the following section).

[b] *Causal*. A Causal extension denotes the cause of the action or state referred to in the verb; or it may indicate the material from which something is made. See (186) and:

- (209) *Nyulu milbiir biniirr-nganh balga-y*
3sg+NOM wommera+ABS ironbark-CAU make-PAST
He made the wommera from ironbark [wood].

In modern Hopevale speech the suffix *-nganh* which marks Causal (and Ablative) NPs seems frequently to be replaced by the Ergative/Instrumental suffix *-ngun* (although most people will correct such usage if it is repeated back to them); it may be that the suffixes (and hence the cases) are undergoing

a process of amalgamation; collapsing the two suffixes would result in little confusion where the ablative sense of *-nganh* is concerned. And there is clearly a close relationship between Causal and Instrumental. (In Yidiny, for example, Instrumental, not Causal, denotes the material from which something is made; see Dixon 1977:263.)

[c] *Abessive/Origin, -:ga*. As in (21-23), a noun phrase in Abessive case can denote action that leaves the conscious presence of an animate being, or that involves something that comes from a source: a one-time possessor, a place of origin. Unlike the plain ablative case which merely describes a location away from which action moves, the abessive normally marks a person with whom, say, interaction has been taking place, but whose company is now abandoned. Often ablative and abessive are both involved in a sentence, the ablative marking a place and the abessive marking the person who occupied the place:

- (210) *Nyulu dnda-y dhanaan-ga nangguarr-nganh*
 3sg+NOM run-PAST 3pl-ABES camp-ABL
 He ran away from them out of the camp.

Here the case usage suggests that it was because of the people that the subject ran away from the camp: he was not just running out of the camp, but he was actively getting away from them. An Abessive extension to a sentence may also suggest that the person denoted by the Abessive NP has been the Agent of some previous action, that relates to the present sentence.

- (211) *Nyundu galga wanhun-ga maa-ni?*
 2sg+NOM spear+ABS who-ABES get-PAST
 From whom did you get the spear? (I.e., who gave it to you?)

In (211) using the genitive pronoun *wanhun* in place of the Abessive would produce a sentence that meant: 'Whose spear did you get?' - not suggesting that the owner gave it to you, but only that it belongs to him. (Roth (1901a:16) declares that there are two possessive suffixes for Guugu Yimidhirr: 'when the article possessed is not in its real lawful owner's possession, *-ga*...when the article possessed is actually in its real lawful owner's possession: *-we* after a vowel, *-be* or *-e* after a consonant.' Roth is evidently describing what are here called Abessive and Genitive forms respectively.) Abessive marks a relationship that is in one sense the opposite of that marked by Dative (i.e., leaving someone's possession as opposed to entering it) and in another sense the opposite of Adessive (leaving someone's presence, control etc., as opposed to entering it).

[d] *Abessive, -:gal*. An adessive extension introduces an animate NP in whose presence the action of the verb takes place - someone who is or will be involved in the events portrayed. Examples may be found in (93), (108), (135), (192). Verbs of speaking, showing, and telling use an Adessive extension to mark the person to whom something is said, shown, etc. An Adessive NP marks a person who will be actively involved in the events portrayed in the sentence, or subsequent related events; a location marked with

Locative/Allative NP is neutral in this respect. Contrast:

- (212) *Ngayu biiba-agal dhada-a*
 1sg+NOM father-ADES go-NONPAST
 I'm going to [be with, see, talk with etc. my] father.
- (213) *Ngayu biiba-aga-m-i dhada-a*
 1sg+NOM father-GEN-mu-ALL go-NONPAST
 I'm going to my father's [place] [whether or not I'll see him].

A sentence like

- (214) *Gaangga birra dharramali-gal buli*
 yam+ABS leaf+ABS Thunder-ADES fall+PAST
 The yam leaf fell at [i.e., in front of] Thunder.

suggests that Thunder (a mythic character) will not only notice the yam leaf that has come into his presence, but will probably act as a result of seeing it.

In reflexive sentences (4.3) an Adessive NP often refers to the perpetrator of some unintentional action; that is, it marks the underlying A NP of a transitive sentence.

[e] *Dative*. With certain transitive verbs, Dative indicates an indirect object, a third NP whose referent is the beneficiary of some act of giving (with verbs like *wu-maa* 'give' and *maandii* 'take, bring'); see (129) and (150). Such a context lends sense to the morphological equivalence between DAT and GEN+ABS inflection by showing the relationship between recipient/beneficiary and possessor. In fact, simple sentences that express possession may be considered to involve a dative NP that stands for the possessor. There are two common constructions of this sort:

- (i) X+ABS Y+DAT (expressing the proposition 'X is Y's').
 and
 (ii) X+ABS Y+DAT *wu-naa* (expressing the proposition 'Y has X' or 'Y's X exists').

Examples of the first sort are in (32), (35) and (89). An example of the second sort is (46); and consider the following sentence:

- (215) *Nhamu-un-i biiba-wi yarraman wu-naa?*
 2sg+GEN-mu-DAT father-DAT horse+ABS exist-NONPAST
 Does your father have a horse?

The close semantic relationship between dative and genitive in such a sentence can be seen from the equivalence of two possible literal translations of (215): 'Does your father's horse exist?' or 'Does a horse exist to/for/of your father?'. And the morphological equivalence between DAT and GEN+ABS renders the following sentence ambiguous between a dative and a possessive reading:

- (216) *Ngayu galga biiba-wi maandii-i*
 1sg+NOM spear+ABS father-DAT take-NONPAST
 [GEN+ABS
 I am taking the spear to father.
 I am taking father's spear [to someone else].

Dative extensions can also have a wide range of oblique functions in a sentence, introducing NPs that are involved

in some way in the action or state denoted by the verb, but whose function is not subsumed under the more specific meanings of the other case extensions. See (108), (164), and (198). Here are some further examples:

- (217) *Dhana dhada-y birri-wi dhamaal-bi.*
3pl+NOM go-PAST river-ALL foot-DAT
They went on foot to the river.
- (218) *Nyulu milga ngalbu-rrin guudyu-wi.*
3sg+NOM ear+ABS close-PAST fish-DAT
[Literally:] he closed his ear for fish. [I.e., he was completely absorbed in fishing.]
- (219) *Dhana yirnga-a gulbu-ugyu milbi-wi.*
3pl+NOM talk-NONPAST together-gu story-DAT
They get together to have a yarn.
- (220) *Ngayu nhila bada-ay dhada-a.*
1sg+NOM now fishhook-DAT go-NONPAST
I'm going fishing [lit., for the fishhook] today.
- (221) *Buurraay gaga-wi ngaabaay warra=mana-adi.*
water- poison-DAT head+ABS bad=INCHO-REF+PAST
[He] got drunk [while drinking] liquor. (Literally: While drinking poison water [his] head became bad.)

Sometimes a Dative, rather than a Purposive extension indicates the specific goal or purpose of action; for example, the conventional way to express 'going fishing' uses the dative.

- (222) *Gabiirr=gabiirr guudyu-wi dhadaara.*
girl=REDUP+ABS fish-DAT go+REDUP+NONPAST
The girls are going fishing.

Other kinds of hunting, however, regularly use Purposive extensions.

- (223) *Yarrnga-ngay bigibigi-ngu dhada-y.*
boy-PLU+ABS pig-PURP go-PAST
The boys went out [hunting] for pig[s].

A few reflexive constructions use the dative to mark the underlying object of a transitive verb, as is the case with 'anti-passive' constructions in other Australian languages. (See 4.3.5.)

[f] *Purposive, -:ngu.* As in (223), a purposive extension marks an explicit goal or purpose that motivates the action of the verb. Purposive inflection can also mark something which inspires fear (see (91)) or which the speaker is warning about.

- (224) *Wal-aa dyaarba-angu dyinda-ya*
rise-IMP snake-PURP bit-CAUT
Watch out for that snake - it might bite!

A purposive NP often indicates something that the subject of the verb is actively seeking.

- (225) *Ngayu wawu biini-i buurraay-ngu*
1sg+NOM inside+ABS die-NONPAST water-PURP
[Literally:] my insides are dying for water, [i.e., I'm thirsty for water.]

In fact, a Purposive NP can occur without an explicit verb, as in (57) and

- (226) *Ngayu buurraay-ngu.*
1sg+NOM water-PURP
I'm after water; I want water; I've come for water.

Purposive extensions exactly parallel verbal Purposive complements, which use the verbal suffix *-ngu*. (See 3.4.3[d] above.) In fact, a Purposive extension can often be replaced by a purposive complement clause which itself contains the same NP. Compare (145), which has a purposive complement *gaanggaaganhu* 'to dig yams', with the following example which contains a purposive NP.

- (227) *Ngali gaanga-angu dhada-a gun.gun-bi.*
1du+NOM yam-PURP go-NONPAST scrub-ALL
We'll go to the scrub for yams.

See 4.4 below.

Purposive NPs also mark the underlying objects of certain nominal and adjectival predicates which are transitive in meaning, although formally intransitive (in that they do not accept NPs in A or O functions); such predicates are *wawu(-dhirr)* 'want', *yinil* 'afraid of', *binaal* 'familiar with', etc. See 4.1.6.

[g] *Archaic purposive/dative: GOAL, -:ga.* Section 3.2.2[f] describes the so-called GOAL case which occurs in a limited number of expressions formed with the suffix *-:ga* which seem to have dative or purposive meaning. Roth (1901a:29-30) describes what seems to be this suffix as indicating (a) 'to, in, into, at' (b) 'after, for, on the look-out for, to hunt' and (c) 'for holding or containing'. Not all of Roth's examples seem to be acceptable to modern Guugu Yimidhirr speakers, who generally use Locative/Allative for (a), and Dative (which is morphologically identical to Locative/Allative) or Purposive for (b), and Purposive for (c). Nonetheless, isolated examples exist of expressions in which the suffix *-:ga* appears in Syntactic extensions to sentences with all of the meanings Roth gives; see (16)-(20). However, by no means all nouns can combine with *-:ga* to give a purposive/allative sense. One can say:

- (228) *Ngayu nangguurr-ga dhadaara.*
1sg+NOM camp-GOAL go+REDUP+NONPAST
I'm going to[wards] camp.

But if the destination is home, the allative form seems, to modern speakers, much better:

- (229) *Ngayu [ʔbayan-ga] dhadaara.*
[bayan-bi]
1sg+NOM house-ALL go+REDUP+NONPAST
I'm going to[wards] the house.

Younger speakers seem almost never to use the *-:ga* suffix in this way except in the indefinite/interrogative pronoun *wanhahaalga* (as in (17)).

4.1.5 LOCAL AND TEMPORAL EXTENSIONS. Sentences whose verbs are inherently concerned with motion or position will normally include local extensions in locative/allative case (showing rest in or at some place or motion to it), in ablative case (indicating motion away from a place), or in superjacent case (showing rest or motion on or above something); see 3.2.2. Often a local extension will receive the post-inflectional suffix *-:gu* to show proximity: not *in* or *on* but *close* to, etc.

- (230) *Biḏha bayan-bi-gu nhin.gaalngga-y.*
child+ABS house-LOC-gu sit+REDUP-PAST
The child was sitting near/by the house.

Explicit locational qualifiers (described in 3.4) can also be local extensions, often in combination with an NP bearing local case inflection.

- (231) *Ngali naga-ḏu dhadaara ywal-inh.*
ldu+NOM East-ALL go+REDUP+NONPAST beach-ALL
We're going East to the Beach.

Verbs of perception and speech can also be accompanied by local extensions:

- (232) *Nyulu nhaamun wangga-ami-n bada nḥaa-ḏhi.*
3sg+NOM that+ERG above-mi-ABL?/ERG? down see-PAST.
He - that one - looked down from above. (Or: that one up above looked down.)

(In (232) nothing in the form of the word *wanggaamun* allows us to decide between the ablative and the ergative readings.) When the verb of a sentence is not inherently concerned with motion or rest, the sentence may have a local extension (in locative or superjacent case) describing the location at which the action takes place.

- (233) *Biḏba nḥangu biini Woorabinda.*
father+ABS 3sg+GEN+ABS die+PAST Woorabinda(+LOC).
His father died at Woorabinda.

Notably, it seems the rule that a local extension in such a sentence refers to the location (with respect to the action in question) of the S or the O NP, and not to that of the A NP. Thus the following sentence cannot mean 'I killed the game while I was on the tree.'

- (234) *Ngayu yugu-wi minḥa gunda-y.*
1sg+NOM tree-LOC meat+ABS kill-PAST
I killed the animal on the tree.

(234) must be read to mean that the animal (e.g., a bird) was on the tree when I killed it. To describe a situation in which I was on the tree and, for example, speared an animal which was on the ground, Guugu Yimidhirr would require either a circumlocution (with my location independently specified) or a subordinate construction of the sort described in 4.4.3.

- (235) *Ngayu yugu-wi maḏha-ḏhi minḥa daama-y.*
1sg+NOM tree-LOC/ALL climb-PAST meat+ABS spear-PAST
I climbed up the tree, [and I] speared the animal.

By contrast, a sentence like (234) is similar in meaning to

the following sentence which contains an explicit subordinate verb (of a type also described in 4.4.3).

- (236) *Ngayu yugu-wi nhin.gaalnggi-ga minḥa gunda-y.*
1sg+NOM tree-LOC sit+REDUP-SUB1 meat+ABS kill-PAST
I killed the animal [while it was] sitting on the tree.

Temporal extensions add information about the time when the action of a sentence takes place. (See (118)-(120).) Clock time is expressed with the word *ngalan* 'sun'.

- (237) *Nyurdu ngalan ngaanaa waamba-aya?*
2sg+NOM sun+ABS what+ABS return-REF+NONPAST
What time are you going back?

One responds to such a question by saying something like *ngalan yarrba* 'sun there', and pointing to the appropriate section of the sky to show the sun's position at the time one plans to leave.

4.1.6 NOMINAL SENTENCES. Guugu Yimidhirr has no real copula, and equational sentences therefore have an explicit verb only when necessary to carry marked tense (see (250) below). In the NONPAST tense, then, such sentences have a subject (an NP inflected as in S function), followed by a nominal predicate which may consist of:

[a] a noun in absolutive case (i.e., in uninflected form), sometimes with genitive or adjectival qualification. Such sentences often have a deictic as subject, and serve to identify some entity.

- (238) *Yii mayi*
this+ABS food+ABS
This is food [i.e., this is edible].

- (239) *Nyulu nḥayun biḏba ngadḥu.*
3sg+NOM that+ABS father+ABS 1sg+GEN+ABS
That one is my father.

[b] a dative expression. See 4.1.4[e] immediately above. Sentences like (32), (35), (42), (83) and (89) state some sort of possessive relationship between the S NP and the entity that the dative expression refers to. Notice that a sentence like (83) can have two interpretations; if the S NP is the entire expression *Yii bayan* 'this house', and the predicate is the dative expression *ngadḥu-ugu* 'my own, to/for me alone' then the sentence means 'This house is mine'. The sentence would provide the information that this (particular) house was mine. Or, parsing the sentence according to the construction mentioned in [a] above, the S NP might be simply the deictic *Yii* 'this'; the predicate would then be the entire NP *bayan ngadḥu-ugu* 'my house', and the sentence would mean 'This [thing here] is my house. [I.e., it is not just a pile of sticks; or, it is the house that is all mine, not someone else's]'. The following sentence seems to be unambiguously a declaration of possession, in which the S NP is *galga yii* 'this spear' and the remainder is a Dative expression serving as a predicate.

- (240) *Galga yii biiba ngadhū-un-t.*
spear+ABS this+ABS father- lsg+GEN-mu-DAT
This spear [belongs] to my father.

(Compare sentence (146).)

- [c] *an adjective.* See (39) and (69).
[d] *a noun with Abessive or Purposive inflection.* See sentences (23) and (57) respectively, as well as (226).
[e] *an adjective-like derived expression.* See (73-4), (77) (80), (169-70), and the discussion at 3.2.6[d].
[f] *a locational qualifier, of various sorts.* See (17), (58), (65), (102) and (115).
[g] *a comitative construction.* Some comitative (or privative) expressions are equivalent to simple adjectives and can stand alone as predicates; see (44), (45), (51-3), (61), (103) and (109). Frequently, however, a comitative construction expects a complement, which will take the Purposive case. The complement is very much like the object of a verb, especially in the case of such comitative predicates as *wawu-dhirr* 'want (literally, soul-with)'.

- (241) *Ngayu wawu-dhirr mayi-ingu*
lsg+NOM 'want' food-PURP
I want food.

- (242) *Bidha dingga-dhirr minha-angu*
child+ABS hungry-COM meat-PURP
The child is hungry for meat.

(Many modern Guugu Yimidhirr speakers leave a complement to the predicate *wawu-dhirr* - sometimes shortened to just *wawu* - in the Absolutive case, but this practice must certainly be regarded as innovative, possibly deriving from English.)

[h] *adjective plus purposive complement.* In a similar way, many adjectives normally expect complements, and these too have Purposive inflection.

- (243) *Gamba-gamba nhayun yinil dyaarba-angu*
old woman+ABS that+ABS afraid+ABS snake-PURP
That old lady is afraid of snakes.

Some adjectives and comitative constructions can also take full sentential complements, as in (103) or

- (244) *Nyulu wawu-dhirr-gu maana-adhi-nhu.*
3sg+NOM soul-COM-gu get-REF-PURP
He wants to get married.

[i] *body-part plus adjective.* Members of a special subset of the nominal sentences with adjective predicates have the overall form:

Whole Part Adjective

in which the whole is usually a person, the part usually a metaphorically significant body-part word, and the adjective one which gives rise to body-part metaphor. Many human propensity and personality concepts are expressed in Guugu Yimidhirr in terms of physical properties ascribed to parts

of the body. For example, qualities associated with intelligence and perception are often connected with expressions about the ear (see (218)); strong emotion is often expressed with reference to *gambul* 'the stomach'; and *mangal* 'hand' has to do with industriousness, productivity, and generosity.

- (245) *Nyulu ngadhū gaanga mangal burrburr.*
3sg+NOM lsg+GEN+ABS younger brother+ABS hand+ABS hard+ABS
My brother is stingy [literally, my younger brother's hand is hard].

Because the body-part in question is inalienably possessed by the person, it is possible to treat the entire Body-part+Adjective construction as the predicate in such nominal sentences.

[j] *walu 'like' plus noun.* The noun *walu* refers to the temples, the side of the face, and, by extension, to the sides of anything. (For example, an old-fashioned name for the cow is *walu yugu-dhirr*, literally, 'temple with stick (i.e., horn)'). As a body-part, *walu* figures in nominal sentences of the sort described in the previous paragraph.

- (246) *Nhayun gabirr walu dabaar budhann-gu*
that+ABS girl+ABS face+ABS good very-gu
That girl is very pretty.

Walū also acts as a kind of preposition meaning 'like, resembling' preceding a noun or adjective.

- (247) *Dyiri walū yarrba: walū mugu bidiga.*
sky+ABS like thus like seed tree species.
Heaven is like this: it is like the seed of the *bidiga* tree.
(From a recent local translation of Mark 4:31.)

(As the author understands it, Guugu Yimidhirr Lutherans considered the *bidiga*, a kind of native fig-tree that bears tiny fruit, but which grows to be an enormous tree, to be an appropriate equivalent for the plant in the 'mustard-seed' passage translated here.)

- (248) *Dhana-ngan guugu walū yindū=yindū.*
3pl-GEN+ABS language+ABS like different.
Their language is different (in many places)/seems different.

Interrogative words, in various forms, can also function as predicates, as in (90), (97), (99), (102); and consider:

- (249) *Nyundu nganil-ngu wawu-dhirr?*
2sg+NOM what-PURP want-COM
What do you want?

Nominal sentences usually have no verb; however, when they occur in other than the unmarked (non-past, non-continuous) tense or aspect, they must have a dummy verb, or they must employ derived verbs, to carry the tense. *Wu-naa* 'lie, exist' usually acts as this dummy verb:

- (250) *Gana-aygu ngayu yinil wu-nay, nhila gaari, nhila*
before-gu lsg+NOM frightened 'be'-PAST, now NOT now
murnda-mana-aadhi
tame=CAUS-REF+PAST.
Before I used to be afraid, but not now; now I have become brave ['tame'].

See (116), which may be analysed either as a verbal sentence with a locative extension, or as a nominal sentence with a locative predicate and the verb *nhin.gal* acting as a dummy verb to hold continuative aspect.

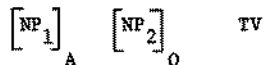
Older speakers criticise younger speakers for indiscriminately using *wu-naa* as a tense-carrying dummy verb, when the subjects of the nominal predicates involved do not actually *lie* but rather stand or sit. Hence, since a bullock does not normally sit or lie down, the following sentence, according to one knowledgeable Guugu Yimidhirr speaker, must have the verb *yuulili* 'standing', and not *wunaarnay* 'lying' or *nhin.gaalnggay* 'sitting'; this complaint may be a symptom of this speaker's proprietary feelings about the language, and it flies in the face of common usage in which the tense/aspect carrier is just a dummy, with no independent semantic content.

- (251) *Buligi nhayun warra guli-dhirr yuulili gana-aygu.*
bullock+ABS that+ABS very anger-COM stand+REDUP+PAST before-gu
That bullock used to be very savage.

4.2 WORD-LEVEL DERIVATIONS.

In 3.2.6-7, and 3.5.5 we discussed the morphology of certain deverbal nouns and also the forms of causative and inchoative verbs formed from nouns, verbs, and adjectives. In this section we summarize the constructions that produce such derived words.

[a] *VP+ -baga*, 'agentive'. Transitive sentences are of the form:

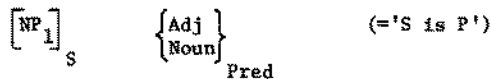


When a transitive verb has a conventionalized noun object (from NP_2), Guugu Yimidhirr speakers frequently form a nominal predicate (with the meaning 'X-er' where X is the verb) of the form

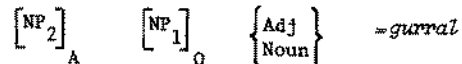
object noun verb root =*baga*

The resulting expression functions as the predicate of a nominal sentence. (See (169)-(171).)

[b] *Causative constructions*. Nominal sentences whose predicates consist of adjectives or nouns mean something like 'S is P', where S is the subject NP and P is the predicate. Such sentences have the external form of intransitive sentences (i.e., there is a single S NP, inflected like the subject NP of any tense-bearing intransitive verb). We saw in the last section that such sentences can bear the full range of verbal inflection by utilizing a dummy verb, usually *wu-naa*. From a nominal sentence



it is usually possible, subject to semantic plausibility, to form a causative transitive sentence of the form



which means 'X (=NP₂) causes S to be P'. Hence from (252) with an adjectival predicate, we can derive the causative transitive sentence (253).

- (252) *Galga yii warra.*
spear+ABS this+ABS bad.
This spear is bad.
- (253) *Bidha-al nyulu galga yii warra=gurra-y.*
child-ERG 3sg+NOM spear+ABS this+ABS bad=CAUS-PAST
The child ruined this spear.

Similarly, a sentence like (255) derives from a nominal sentence like (254) which has a purposive extension.

- (254) *Nyulu wangarr guugu-ungu binaal.*
3sg+NOM white man+ABS language-PURP knowing
The white man knows the language.
- (255) *Wanhdu nhangu wangarr guugu-ungu binaal=gurra-y?*
who+ERG 3sg+ACC white man+ABS language-PURP knowing=CAUS-PAST
Who taught the white man the language?

The causative *gurral* can also apply to noun predicates, as in:

- (256) *Mangurru-ngun gabirr dyiraal=gurra-y.*
carpet snake-ERG girl+ABS wife=CAUS-PAST.
Carpet snake abducts the daughter of a spirit and takes her home against her will.]

A very similar process produces a causative transitive version of an intransitive sentence with an intransitive verb, but the causative verbalizer is the NA conjugation root =*ma-naa* (see 3.5.5). (172) and (173) show causative forms of the verbs in (257) and (258) respectively.

- (257) *Bidha daga-adhi nambaal-bi.*
child+ABS sit-REF+PAST rock-LOC.
The child sat on the rock.
- (258) *Ngayu buli*
1sg+NOM fall+PAST
I fell.

[c] *Inchoative constructions*. Predicates of nominal sentences can be verbalized in another way; from a sentence 'S is P' can be derived the inchoative sentence 'S becomes/comes to be P'. Two verbalizing suffixes attach to adjectives and noun predicates to form inchoative verb stems: the monosyllabic L conjugation verb *mal*, and the causativizing *ma-naa* with Reflexive inflection.

- (259) *Galga yii warra=* $\begin{cases} \text{ma-dhi} \\ \text{INCHO-PAST} \\ \text{mana-adhi} \\ \text{CAUS-REF+PAST} \end{cases}$
spear+ABS this+ABS bad
This spear became bad.

- (260) *Nyulu wangarr guugu-ingu binaal=*
 3sg+NOM white man+ABS language-PURP knowing
 The white man will learn the language.

ma-l
 INCHO-NONPAST
mana-aya
 CAUS-REF+NONPAST

The inchoative construction is also possible with nouns:

- (261) *Dagu nyundu wanhdharra wurruyu=ngaadharra=mana-adhi?*
 So 2sg+NOM how curer=CAUS-REF+PAST
 So, how did you become a curer?

There seems to be no semantic difference between the *mal* forms and those with *ma-naa+REF*. (R. Hershberger (n.d.:note 9) describes two clearly cognate inchoative verbalisers in Gugu Yalandji and says, of the difference, 'the intransitive verbalizer *-manadji-* seems to be most used when the action indicated by the verb happens to, rather than by, the subject of the verb.') One difference in Guugu Yimidhirr has to do with dialect: Coastal speakers favour inchoatives with *mal* and Inland speakers use *ma-naa+REF* exclusively.

Two other intransitive verb roots occasionally have inchoative force, with two adjectives *guli* 'angry, full of hate; savage' and *gaga* 'poison, sick'. In nominal sentences these adjectives normally occur with the comitative suffix *-dhirr*.

- (262) *Nyulu gaga-dhirr. Nyulu guli-dhirr.*
 3sg+NOM sick-COM 3sg+NOM anger-COM
 He's sick. He's angry.

While inchoatives can be formed from the unsuffixed stems plus *ma-naa+REF*, more frequently the inchoative forms are:

- (263) *Nyulu gaga=buli. Nyulu guli=gada-y.*
 3sg+NOM sick=fall+PAST 3sg+NOM angry=come+PAST.
 He fell sick. He got angry.

(It is possible, although there is no evidence to show it, that the first example here is a borrowing from English phraseology.)

Inchoative constructions can also be based on body-part metaphors of the sort described in the preceding section.

- (264) *Mongal gima=ma-la!*
 hand+ABS soft=INCHO-IMP
 Be generous! Become generous! (Literally, may your hand be soft!)

And inchoative forms are also used with cardinal-point roots to describe motion in specific directions:

- (265) *Naga=ma-la! Guwa=guwa=mana-ayi.*
 east=INCHO-IMP west=REDUP=CAUS-REF+IMP
 Move to the East. Move slightly to the west.

[d] *Loan-word constructions.* Nouns, and a few adjectives, may be freely incorporated into Guugu Yimidhirr from English by simple phonological alteration; we have already seen numerous English names in Guugu Yimidhirr, as well as the word *gilaadha* 'glass'. Verbs, however, do not enter Guugu Yimidhirr freely; instead, English verbs undergo cer-

tain changes and then are incorporated as noun-like words that require verbalization with causative or inchoative verbalisers. Generally, intransitive verbs from English are borrowed directly, and occur with an inchoative verbaliser.

- (266) *Nyulu dhanaan binaal=gurra-y work=madhi-nhu.*
 3sg+NOM 3plu+ACC knowing=CAUS-PAST 'work'=INCHO-PURP
 He taught them to work.

Transitive verbs are pidginized (roughly, by altering the phonology and by adding the common Cape York Creole transitive suffix *-im* (Crowley & Rigsby 1979)) and then incorporated into Guugu Yimidhirr as noun-like words that require the Causative verbalizer *=gurral*.

- (267) *Nyulu wangaarr-nda gaari mayi wu-dhi, nyulu*
 3sg+NOM white man ERG NOT food+ABS give-PAST, 3sg+NOM
selb-im=gurra-y
 'sell'=CAUS-PAST
 The white man didn't give the food away, he sold it.

Many younger people, who have very limited knowledge of Creole and in fact are fluent in an English much closer to standard Australian, often incorporate English transitive verbs without the *-im* suffix, simply adding the causative *=gurral*.

4.3 REFLEXIVE CONSTRUCTIONS

The reflexive stem formed in Guugu Yimidhirr with the suffix *-dhi* acts like an intransitive stem derived from a transitive stem. What we here call the 'reflexive' suffix *-dhi* is in many ways functionally parallel (and clearly cognate) to the Gugu Yalandji 'passive' suffix *-dji* (R. Hershberger 1964b:46-9), to the yidiny *-dyi-n* which has anti-passive and reflexive uses, among others (Dixon 1977: 273-293), and perhaps to the Dyaabugay 'mediopassive' *-yi-* (K. Hale 1976c:238). All these suffixes derive an intransitive verb stem from a transitive stem; and all involve some deviations from the normal pattern of case marking on the central NPs in sentences containing the derived verbs. We call the derived forms 'reflexives' after what seems to be the central and most common use of such verbs, although the label should not obscure the fact that the *-dhi* suffix has a wide range of uses.

4.3.1 REFLEXIVES AND RECIPROCALLS. As we have seen, (4.1, 4.1.2), a transitive verb has an animate A NP and a second NP in O function; an intransitive verb has a S NP. In a reflexive construction the entity referred to by the A NP performs its actions on itself; if such an action were expressed by a normal transitive sentence (which it cannot be in Guugu Yimidhirr), the A NP and the O NP would both refer to the same thing. Instead, Guugu Yimidhirr expresses actions performed by agents on themselves by means of reflexive verbs, with the agent/patient expressed in the S NP; (162) and (163) express such reflexive actions. Often the subject pronoun of a reflexive sentence receives the post-

inflectional suffix *-:gu* which emphasizes that the action was performed by and on that person himself. Compare the following question and answer dialogues:

(268) A: *Wanhdu guda nhamu gunda-y?*
who+ERG dog+ABS 2sg+GEN+ABS hit-PAST
Who hit your dog?

B: *Ngayu-ugu gunda-y.*
1sg+NOM-gu hit-PAST
I hit [him]. (I.e., I did it myself.)

(269) A: *Wanhdu nhina gunda-y?*
who+ERG 2sg+ACC hit-PAST
Who hit you?

B: *Ngayu-ugu gunda-adhi*
1sg+NOM-gu hit-REF+PAST
I hit myself. (I.e., I did it myself.)

Exactly the same construction expresses reciprocal action, which can be construed as a kind of generalized reflexive action performed by members of a group on other members of the same group, and vice versa. (167) is a reciprocal sentence of this sort, based on the transitive verb *munggil* 'beat up'.

(270) *Bula(-agu) gunda-adhi.*
3du+NOM(-gu) hit-REF+PAST
The two of them hit each other (hit themselves).

The suffix *-:gu* strengthens the reflexive (as opposed to the reciprocal) reading of the verb in such a sentence. (It would also be possible to use an expression like *nubuun-gu* 'one by one, each one at a time' to force a reflexive reading.) Compare the force of the suffix *-:gu* in the following non-reflexive cases (see 3.2.4, and 3.3.1):

(271) A: *Ngadnu guda gunda-la!*
1sg+GEN+ABS dog+ABS hit-IMP
Hit my dog!

B: *Nyundu-ugu gunda-la*
2sg+NOM-gu hit-IMP
Hit it yourself!

(272) *Ngadnu-ugu guda gunda-la.*
1sg GEN ABS-gu dog ABS hit-IMP
Hit my dog (and no one else's)!

When an agent does something to his or her own body - expressed usually by an inalienably possessed body part - Guugu Yimidhirr also uses a reflexive construction. (See (168).)

(273) *Nyulu nhirnhinhi yabarraban nhawaay-gu barrgaar*
3sg+NOM proper+ABS gigantic+ABS there+LOC-gu mouth+ABS
walnga-adhi dhanaan dyumbi
open-REF+PAST 3pl+ACC swallow+PAST.

The gigantic proper opened his mouth right there and swallowed them.

In all these reflexive and reciprocal constructions, the agent (denoted by the S NP) acts upon itself (or the agents

act on one another in the reciprocal case); and generally the action is intentional - it is 'controlled and regulated' by the agent, although self-directed. The S NP receives case marking like the S NP of any intransitive verb: personal pronouns take the Nominative case, and all other nominals receive Absolutive inflection.

Whether a reflexive verb form is interpreted as reflexive or reciprocal is influenced, as we have seen, by the presence of the suffix *-:gu* on the S NP, and also by the number of the S NP: a dual or plural subject suggests reciprocal rather than reflexive action. Similarly, a reduplicated verb stem, with reflexive inflection, also suggests reciprocal action.

(274) *Dhana gundaarnda-ya.*
3pl+NOM hit+REDUP-REF+NONPAST
They're hitting each other.

Guugu Yimidhirr, like Yidiny (Dixon 1977:281), but unlike intervening Dyaabugay (Hale 1976c:238) and Gugu Yalandji (R. Hershberger 1964b:45-6), has no separate inflection for reciprocal. Reflexive (and reciprocal) meanings seem to be the first readings that Guugu Yimidhirr speakers will supply for a verb form with reflexive suffixes: these seem, then, to be the central meanings of the derivational affixes we have labelled 'reflexive'.

4.3.2 ACCIDENTS. Another common construction with reflexive verb stems describes actions that are accidental, unintentional results of purposive action, or results set in motion by inanimate entities (which are not capable of intention in the first place). Thus, for example, with the verb *wagil* 'cut' we can have intentional transitive action:

(275) *Nyundu minha wagi naaybu-unh.*
2sg+NOM meat+ABS cut+PAST knife-INST
You cut the meat with a knife.

And we can have reflexive action, exemplified by (160) which exhorts the addressee to exercise care so as not to cut himself. When things go wrong, however, someone may be cut by accident.

(276) *Nganhi wagi-idhi naaybu-unh*
1sg+ACC cut-REF+PAST knife-INST.
I got cut on the knife.

Except for the reflexive form of the verb, this sentence looks morphologically like a transitive sentence, with an Accusative pronoun in O function, and an NP with ERG/INST inflection. An A NP is not possible with a reflexive verb (nor, indeed, with any intransitive verb), and thus the word *naaybu-unh* must be read as an instrumental extension: 'with the knife, by means of the knife'. (276) contrasts with two different sorts of sentence. For example, the following sentence implies that I took a knife and deliberately cut myself:

(277) *Ngayu wagi-idhi naaybu-unh.*
1sg+NOM cut-REF+PAST knife-INST
I cut myself with a knife.

The only difference between (276) and (277) is the case of the 'subject' pronoun, a difference that would be totally obscured if there were a noun in S function. So for example, (278) is ambiguous between two readings:

- (278) *Dhana yuuli mangal gunda-adhi*
 3pl+NOM stand+PAST hand+ABS hit-REF+PAST
 They stood up and hit their hands [i.e., clapped
 (intentionally)]. (Reflexive). OR: They stood up and
 bumped their hands [e.g., against something] (Accident)

Such an ambiguity can be resolved, syntactically, by the form of a pronoun.

- (279) *Ngayu dhama! daama-adhi galga-anh.*
 1sg+NOM foot+ABS spear-REF+PAST spear-INST
 I speared myself in the foot with a spear (i.e., punishing
 myself).

- (280) *Nganhi dhama! daama-adhi galga-anh*
 1sg+ACC foot+ABS spear-REF+PAST spear-INST
 I got speared in the foot, accidentally, with a spear (e.g.,
 it fell out of a tree and got me on the foot).

Contrast both these sentences with the full transitive sentence in which the A NP (some indefinite person) has been deleted.

- (281) *Nganhi dhama! daama-y galga-anh*
 1sg+ACC foot+ABS spear-PAST spear-INST
 Somebody speared me in the foot, with a spear.

(Omitting an A NP, or using an indefinite pronoun in its place, are both frequent devices to express indefinite agents; see 3.3.2.)

Sentence (276) also contrasts with a sentence with active verb inflection.

- (282) *Nganhi wagi bama-al.*
 1sg+ACC cut+PAST man-ERG
 The man cut me.

(282) is a normal transitive sentence, with an ERG A NP *bamaal*; the sentence implies that the man actively and intentionally, or otherwise through his own efforts and under his control, cut me. Clearly, ordinarily only animate entities can act as Agents in such actions; however, if an inanimate entity does bring about some action, as it were, under its own power, the verb of the sentence describing such an event will be active and not reflexive. Consider the following example:

- (283) *Yugu buli buligi baydya-rrin.*
 tree+ABS fall+PAST bullock+ABS cover-PAST
 The tree fell [and it] covered [i.e., crushed] the bullock.

The unstated but understood A NP of the second verb *baydyarrin* 'covered' is the tree mentioned in the first clause of (283). Notice that the form of the verb is active, rather than reflexive, even though the A NP is inanimate. In a similar context we could presumably have a sentence like (284), which would contrast with (276); imagine, for example, that a knife that had been balanced on the edge

of a table fell and struck my foot. I might say (after saying 'ouch!'):

- (284) *Nganhi wagi naaybu-unh.*
 1sg+ACC cut+PAST knife-ERG
 The knife cut me.

I have, as it were, attributed some sort of activity (if not malice) to the knife; now the suffix on *naaybuunh* may be analysed as Ergative; and the verb is active rather than reflexive.

Sometimes accidental action is precipitated by an animate entity, which acted unintentionally. In such a case, the actual but inadvertent agent can appear explicitly in a sentence, with Affective inflection.

- (285) *Bigibigi-wi ngamba-aygu gunda-adhi guda! ngadhun.gal*
 pig-DAT unaware-gu kill-REF+PAST dog+ABS 1sg+ADES
 While hunting pigs, I accidentally killed [my] dog.

There is thus a structural resemblance, but an important semantic difference with striking syntactic repercussions, between the following two sentences.

- (286) *Ngayu galga nhamu dumberi.*
 1sg+NOM spear+ABS 2sg+GEN+ABS break+PAST
 I broke your spear [on purpose].

- (287) *Ngadhun.gal galga nhamu dumberi-idhi.*
 1sg+ADES spear+ABS 2sg+GEN+ABS break-REF+PAST
 I broke your spear [by accident]. (Such a form of words also suggests the tone of an apology.)

Consider, again, the verb *yaadyil* 'burn' (see 4.1.2 and 4.1.4[a] above). A sentence with *yaadyil* can have an S pronoun in Accusative case, in a way that exactly parallels the Accusative pronoun 'subjects' of reflexive verbs denoting accidental action. (See (199).) Moreover, *yaadyil*, and, indeed, many fully intransitive verbs, also allow Agents, marked by Affective case, which unintentionally engineer some action or result.

- (288) *Nhina yaadyi ngadman.gal*
 2sg+ACC burn+PAST 1sg+ADES
 You got burned and it was my fault (e.g., I spilled the boiling water on you).

And compare the following sentences:

- (289) *Nhamu minha gundil buli.*
 2sg+GEN+ABS meat+ABS egg+ABS fall+PAST
 Your (edible) egg fell [and presumably broke].
- (290) *Ngayu nhamu minha gundil buli=ma-mi.*
 1sg+NOM 2sg+GEN+ABS meat+ABS egg+ABS fall=CAUS-PAST
 I dropped [literally, caused to fall] your egg.
- (291) *Nhamu minha gundil buli ngadhun.gal.*
 2sg+GEN+ABS meat+ABS egg+ABS fall+PAST 1sg+ADES
 I dropped your egg by accident.

(289) is a straightforward intransitive construction, and (290) its causative counterpart. But whereas (290) could hardly be used, for example, as an apology, (291) is tailor-

made for such a purpose since it emphasizes the accidental nature of the event, and my unintentional involvement in it.

Here, then, the use of reflexive inflection is one of a set of devices in Guugu Yimidhirr to show deviations from the canonical form of action (when an animate agent 'controls and regulates' action on some patient) - in this case, when action is not controlled or regulated but accidental.

- (292) *Bidha gaanga-adhi naliin.gal guugu-wih*
 child+ABS waken-REF+PAST ldu+ADES speech-INST
 We woke up the child by talking.

4.3.3 'REFLEXIVE-ONLY' VERBS. A 1700 root Guugu Yimidhirr vocabulary contains about twenty verb roots which occur *only* in reflexive form. Many of these verbs seem to denote actions which could have transitive counterparts (and, indeed, subject to the change of final stem vowel some doubtless are the reflexive counterparts of existing transitive verbs: see 3.5.4). Hence, there are such possible pairs as

REFLEXIVE ONLY	TRANSITIVE
<i>daga-</i> 'sit down'	<i>dagil</i> 'set down, build, erect'
<i>mitra-</i> 'wave, show self'	<i>mirriil</i> 'show, tell' (an R conjugation verb)
<i>maarra-</i> 'hesitate, refuse, delay'	<i>maarril</i> 'deny (something), refuse to give (something)'

The question remains why other verbal concepts are expressed by reflexive-only verbs rather than by simple intransitives.

First, it is notable that other languages with syntactically important reflexive constructions have verbs that correspond to the Guugu Yimidhirr reflexive-only verbs that are also *reflexive in form*. Thus, for example, the Spanish equivalent of *daga-* 'sit down' is *sentarse* (literally, 'seat oneself'); or of *dumba-* 'get a fright' *asustarse* (literally, 'frighten oneself'). Here is a list of the known Guugu Yimidhirr reflexive-only verbs, arranged in rough categories.

- | | | |
|----|------------------|--|
| a. | <i>daga-</i> | 'sit down' |
| | <i>mitra-</i> | 'show self' |
| | <i>maarra-</i> | 'refuse, hesitate' |
| b. | <i>buura-</i> | 'get sore, feel sore, ache' |
| | <i>buurngga-</i> | 'enter' |
| | <i>dumba-</i> | 'get a shock, get a fright, start with fright, make self jump' |
| | <i>madha-</i> | 'climb up' |
| | <i>maarda-</i> | 'make a noise, make self visible by making noise' |
| | <i>nyuga-</i> | 'move, shift around restlessly, make self visible by moving' |
| | <i>yilba-</i> | 'share, split hunting catch' |
| | <i>ngunda-</i> | 'masturbate' |
| c. | <i>badha-</i> | 'be finished, come to an end' |
| | <i>banda-</i> | 'explode' |
| | <i>ganda-</i> | 'shine, be shining or glittering' |
| | <i>minhdha-</i> | 'stick, adhere; keep company with' |
| | <i>nhanda-</i> | 'finish, come to an end, cease to exist' |

- nhinda-* 'bump against, knock against, bump together'
dharma- 'explode, burst'

Verbs in group (a) are plausibly related to full transitive verbs, with a shift of final stem vowel from *i* to *a*; that is, they may well arise by the normal process of reflexive-stem formation.

A notable feature of verbs in group (b) is this: all must have animate subjects (like transitive verbs), and all seem to involve an animate entity moving or manipulating its body, or otherwise acting on itself; that is, they involve inherently reflexive action, with animate agents. The one exception, *yilba-* 'share' seems inherently reciprocal, and also requires an animate (and non-singular) agent.

- (293) *Ngali wadhin dhada-a minha dawma-l ngali*
 ldu+NOM hunting go-NONPAST meat+ABS spear-NONPAST ldu+NOM
yilba-aya.
 share-REF+NONPAST.

We'll go hunting and spear game and share [whatever we get].

That is, the meanings of all these verbs seem consistent with their treatment as reflexives, like those verbs discussed in 4.3.1 above.

Verbs in group (c) all seem to denote events that happen to inanimate objects (or to the bodies of animate entities) or conditions that characterize such objects. (Two verbs, *minhdha-* 'keep company with one another' and *nhinda-* 'bump against one another' can, in these senses, also be grouped with the other verbs of group (b) above.) From each of these verbs it is possible to form a transitive causative verb with *-gurral*, meaning 'cause it to happen'. But in the reflexive form, each verb seems to denote something that happens to the object or objects in question, as it were, by itself, with no particular outside agency. (Compare Spanish *acabarse* 'be finished', *reventarse* 'explode', *lucirse* 'shine, sparkle', *pegarse* 'stick', and *encontrarse con* 'bump into' or *chocarse* 'collide' - all themselves reflexive in form.) The spontaneous sense of these verbs is illustrated in the following sentence, which uses *badha-* 'finish' both in reflexive and causative form.

- (294) *Mayi gaari badha-adhi, nyundu-ugu badhaay=ma-ni.*
 food+ABS NOT finish-REF+PAST 2sg+NOM-gu finish-CAUS-PAST
 The food isn't just finished [i.e., it didn't finish itself],
 you finished it!.

It may be possible, that is, to explain the reflexive-only form of such verbs by relating their meanings to the use of reflexive forms to describe actions performed *without* conscious outside agency (as in the use of reflexive to describe accidents, discussed in 4.3.2 above).

4.3.4 BODY-PART METAPHORS. We have seen that a reflexive verb is used when an animate entity performs some action on its own body. Body parts figure heavily in metaphorical expressions denoting personality, propensity, etc. and many expressions that in English take the form of adjectives, are in Guugu Yimidhirr of the form:

Person Body-part Reflexive Verb.

That is, they have a literal meaning: 'X Ys his Z' where Y is a transitive verb and Z is a body part. (There are other sorts of body-part expressions as well, that do not involve reflexive verbs.) For example, an expression parallel to the English 'swelled head' appears in the following sentence.

- (295) *Nyulu dumu yima-adhi.*
 3sg+NOM chest+ABS expand-REF+PAST.
 He puffed his chest [i.e., he acted proud, he put on airs].

And consider:

- (296) *Bula yaba=gaarga gambul yirnga-adhi*
 3du+NOM older brother=younger brother-belly+ABS turn-REF+PAST.
 The two brothers got quite envious [literally, they turned their bellies].

(The compound *yaba=gaarga* denotes an older brother/younger brother pair; similarly Guugu Yimidhirr has *gaanhaal=dyin.g-urr* 'sisters [literally, older sister=younger sister]' which refers to two sisters. Notably, the expressions *gami=biiba* 'grandfather=father' and *ngamu=biiba* 'mother=father' both mean 'a great many', as if the family could serve as a transparent metaphor for size or number.)

- (297) *Ngayu gambul buda-adhi.*
 1sg+NOM belly+ABS eat-REF+PAST
 I got fed up [sick of it, bored]. (Literally, I ate my stomach.)

Because of the syntax of reflexives, although these expressions have the literal meanings of transitive sentences in which the person acts on his body part, they have the form of a simple complex predicate, which is combined with a subject NP much the way a nominal predicate or an intransitive verb is. That is, we can think of the entire complex expression *gambul yirngal+REF* as a frozen intransitive verb meaning 'get fed up, get bored', despite the actual underlying syntax. Here the syntax of inalienable possession, along with the form of reflexive constructions facilitates metaphorical expressions based on body parts.

4.3.5 ANTI-PASSIVES AND PASSIVES. Some of Guugu Yimidhirr's close neighbours, notably Yidiny (Dixon 1977:277-280), use a derivational process like reflexive stem formation to produce an intransitive sentence from a transitive sentence by: (1) converting the verb into a specially suffixed intransitive form; (2) putting the A NP into S function with the derived verb; and (3) putting the original O NP into some oblique case (often dative) in the derived intransitive sentence. Just as the passive, in a nominative/accusative system, converts a transitive sentence into an intransitive sentence with the accusative O NP serving as the S NP of the derived passive sentence, the process described here is called anti-passive because it changes a transitive sentence to an intransitive sentence in which the syntactically highly marked A NP of the original transitive clause appears as the unmarked S NP. There are usually good syntactic reasons for having such a derived intransitive; often the derived form is needed to allow embedding or coordination which depends on having identical S or O function NPs, when in the full

transitive form one NP is in A function. Forming the anti-passive achieves the desired transformation of syntactic function and case inflection.

Guugu Yimidhirr has a construction which produces, with a few verbs, intransitive sentences which look just like anti-passives, as described above. One such sentence is (164); another rather different example is the following:

- (298) *Wudhurr galbay dhana yarrga-ngay buurraay=gaga-wi*
 night+ABS long+ABS 3pl+NOM boy-PLU+ABS water=poison-DAT
buda-adhi.
 eat-REF+PAST
 The boys drank booze all night long.

And consider:

- (299) *Ngali gadiil-dhirr ngali garrgu galga-wi wudha-aya.*
 1du+NOM name-COM+ABS 1du+NOM later spear-DAT give-REF+NONPAST
 We are namesakes [literally, with name, i.e., share the same name], so by and by we will exchange spears.

In both these sentences, the verb is reflexive, the underlying agent is realized as an S NP (with nominative or absolutive inflection on pronominal and nominal constituents), and the underlying O NP bears dative inflection.

However, Guugu Yimidhirr does not have compelling syntactic reasons for an anti-passive construction. Despite the ergative/absolutive pattern of noun inflection, very few possibilities for coordination, subordination, or embedding depend on having coreferential NPs in S or O function (which would, for nouns, result in unmarked Absolutive case marking). In fact, with a few notable exceptions (see the discussion of subordination in 4.4 below) Guugu Yimidhirr links clauses which have common subjects - either transitive subjects (A function) or intransitive subjects (S function); moreover, Guugu Yimidhirr relies heavily on pronouns (which inflect on a nominative/accusative pattern) and deictics to keep referential identity and syntactic role clear. Referential prominence - the degree to which a NP is foregrounded as the topic of discourse - rather than syntactic role seems to decide how sentences will be linked together and what pronouns, deictics, etc. are required. (See 4.10 for notes on discourse.) Consider the following two sentences:

- (300) *Nyulu yarrga gada-y.*
 3sg+NOM boy+ABS come-PAST
 The boy came.
- (301) *Nyulu yarrga-a mayi buda-y.*
 3sg+NOM boy-ERG food+ABS eat-PAST
 The boy ate the food.

Even though the NP [*nyulu yarrga*] is in S function in (300) and A function in (301), and despite the fact that *yarrga-a* in (301) bears ergative inflection whereas *yarrga* in (300) is in absolutive form, there is no difficulty in conjoining these two sentences, in either order, and omitting the coreferential NP in the second clause.

- (302) *Nyulu yarrga gada-y mayi buda-y.*
 3sg+NOM boy+ABS come-PAST food+ABS eat-PAST.
 The boy came and ate the food.

- (303) *Nyulu yarrga-a mayi buda-y (nyulu) gada-y*
 3sg+NOM boy-ERG food+ABS eat-PAST 3sg+NOM come-PAST.
 The boy ate the food and [then] (he) came.

(In (303) the second occurrence of *nyulu* is likely but not absolutely necessary.) In languages like Dyirbal (Dixon 1972:65-79) and Yidiny (Dixon 1977:277-282, 388-392) such coordination without anti-passivizing the transitive sentence is impossible; whereas in Guugu Yimidhirr a sentence like (302) has the character of a favourite construction. Of course it is also possible to coordinate (300) with an 'anti-passive' version of (301); but the resulting sentence is not better than (249) - it merely means something different.

- (304) *Nyulu yarrga gada-y mayi-wi buda-adhi.*
 3sg+NOM boy+ABS come-PAST food-DAT eat-REF+PAST.
 The boy came and had a good feed of food.

In fact, there is no general 'anti-passive' construction in Guugu Yimidhirr, since most transitive verbs do not allow a construction like those in (298) and (299). For example, some verbs, when reflexivized have their 'underlying' objects in Adessive case.

- (305) *Nyulu wangarr maa-ni.*
 3sg+NOM white person+ABS get-PAST
 He married a white woman.
- (306) *Nyulu wangaarr-gal maana-adhi.*
 3sg+NOM white person-ADES get-REF+PAST
 He got married with a white woman.
- (307) *Nyulu ngamu-ugu gaymbaalmba-y.*
 3sg+NOM mother+ABS-gu curse+REDUP-PAST
 He was cursing his mother.
- (308) *Nyulu ngamu-ugal gaymbaalmba-adhi.*
 3sg+NOM mother-ADES curse+REDUP-REF+PAST
 'He was cursing against his mother' (This is the original English gloss.)

(306) and (308) suggest that getting married (with Reflexive form) and cursing (with Reflexive form) are just things one does, or things that happen to one, which in some tangential way involve others (and the Adessive NPs denote the others). Another revealing example involves the following three sentences.

- (309) *Ngayu ngalgal dubi.*
 1sg+NOM smoke+ABS leave+PAST.
 I left my cigarettes/tobacco [literally, smoke]. (I.e., I didn't bring them.)
- (310) *Ngadhu ngalgal dubi-idhi.*
 1sg+GEN+ABS smoke+ABS leave-REF+PAST
 My smokes got left. (I.e., I forgot them, they were left by accident.)
- (311) *Ngayu ngalgaal-ga(-ngu) dubi-idhi*
 1sg+NOM smoke-GOAL(-PURP) leave-REF+PAST
 I left off smoking; I've given up smoking.

In all three sentences there is a different relationship be-

tween me, the cigarettes, and the act of leaving: in (309) I leave them; in (310) they get left but I didn't (intentionally) do it; in (311) I leave cigarettes, but for good, in a more generalized way.

If anything, Guugu Yimidhirr uses the derived reflexive forms more as *passives* than as anti-passives; and this is in keeping with the strong subject orientation of the syntax, a nominative/accusative patterning despite ergative/absolute noun morphology. Consider for example the following exhortation:

- (312) *Dindal dubi-idhi-gamu.*
 quick leave-REF-PRECAUT.
 [Go] quickly before you get left!

Here the (implicit) subject is the 2nd person pronoun 'you'; but this implicit subject is the logical *object* of the verb *dubi* 'leave' and the precautionary form urges the subject not to be left behind; therefore, the verb must be put into reflexive form so that its syntactic *subject* will match the subject of the overall sentence. The unreflexivized sentence would have quite a different meaning:

- (313) *Dindal dubi-igamu.*
 quick leave-PRECAUT
 [Go] quickly before you leave [him behind]. (I.e., go and find him and take him - you might miss him.)

It would also be possible to have a sentence with an explicit 2sg+ACC pronoun, especially if the A NP of the verb *dubi* was understood from previous context:

- (314) *Dindal nhina dubi-igamu.*
 quickly 2sg+ACC leave-PRECAUT
 Hurry before [he] leaves you!

The concern in stringing clauses together in Guugu Yimidhirr seems not simply to be keeping one subject throughout a chain of clauses, whether they are transitive or intransitive, but rather to keep the (potentially shifting) topic of a clause or group of clauses clearly foregrounded. Consider the following sequence of sentences:

- (315) a. *Nyulu warbal yuba gada-y,*
 3sg+NOM Fog+ABS close come-PAST,
 Fog came close,
- b. *yugu naga daama-y.*
 tree+ABS on the East spear-PAST
 and speared the tree on the Eastern side.
- c. *Nhangu dharramali bunggu gudhiirrigu daama-adhi*
 3sg+ACC Thunder+ABS knee+ABS two+ABS-gu spear-REF+PAST
dhiirral-i-gu
 right through
 Both Thunder's knees got speared right through,
- d. *yugu gawa galmba daama-adhi.*
 tree+ABS West also spear-REF+PAST.
 and the tree on the West side also was speared.

Clauses (a) and (b) focus on Fog's approach and his act of spearing - the first thing he aims for and spears is the

Eastern tree. Clauses (c) and (d) shift attention to the other things that are speared on the same throw, and the reflexive form of the verbs shifts attention away from the conscious act of spearing and onto the objects that are affected by the act. The reflexive form also suggests not that spearing Thunder and the other tree were unintentional acts, but that they were the consequences of the main act of spearing the first tree, with the spear plowing inexorably on through knees and another tree. See (285). The sense is much like this: 'Fog came and speared the first tree, spearing Thunder's knees and another tree in the bargain'.

The reflexive form seems not, then, to be strictly a syntactic device at all, but rather a kind of packaging device (I owe this expression to William Foley) which helps direct attention to the salient NPs in a bit of discourse, and to emphasize the nature of their involvement or participation in the actions: is an NP acting, or being acted upon, or both?

4.3.6 GENERALIZED ACTION. If there are no systematic syntactic reasons for an anti-passive construction, what then is the force of reflexive forms in sentences like (298) and (304), or (164) and (299), or again in (306), (308), and (311)?

A sentence like (299) clearly involves some sort of reciprocity but the precise conditions are different from those which obtain in straightforward reciprocal constructions (see (270), (274)). The verb *wu-maa* 'give' normally involves three distinct NPs: an animate NP in A function (the person who gives), an inanimate NP in O function (the thing that is given), and a second animate NP in 'indirect object' function, with Dative inflection. One way of viewing the act of giving is as a transaction from one person to another, with the object given merely the medium of the transaction. In (299) the reciprocity between givers and receivers is marked by reflexive form, and the objects involved - spears - are shown in an oblique case, peripheral to the reciprocal action which involves the animate actors. (In both (299) and (164) the word *galga-wi* can be replaced by *galga-angu* with Purposive inflection.) Another verb, *milbil* 'promise', shows even more clearly the sense in which an act of giving involves two animate entities, one giving (or in this case promising to give) to the other. A normal transitive sentence with *milbil* has an A NP (the promiser), an O NP (the person to whom a promise is given), and usually a further Instrumental NP (the thing promised).

(316) *Nyundu nganhi galga-arih milbi.*
2sg+NOM 1sg+ACC spear-INST promise+PAST
'You promised me with a spear' (English gloss offered; i.e., you promised to give me a spear.)

In reflexive form, *milbil* implies a mutual promise, or an agreement; the Purposive complement that accompanies a reflexive form of *milbil* shows what the agreement was about.

(317) *Ngulgu ngali milbi-idhi wadhin ahada-nhu.*
yesterday 1du+NOM promise-REF+PAST hunting go-PURP
Yesterday we agreed to go hunting.

This example illustrates a general feature of reflexive verb stems: frequently, although a reflexive stem can be formed from a transitive verb for normal and systematic reasons (i.e., to describe reflexive or reciprocal action, or to characterize accidental action), the exact sense of a verb reflexive in form may well go beyond the normal, predictable reflexive meaning. Thus from transitive *milbil* 'promise' we have reflexive 'agree'; from transitive *ma-naa* 'get' we have a reflexive meaning 'be married, get married' (sentence (306)); from transitive *budal* 'eat' is derived a reflexive that means 'have a good feed, stuff oneself' (sentence (304)). And so on.

Even the seemingly straightforward *gundal* 'hit, kill' has a reflexive form whose meaning goes beyond the reflexive/reciprocal and accidental senses. (269), (270), and (274) illustrate reflexive and reciprocal uses of the verb, and (287) shows the 'accidental' sense of the reflexive form. However, the following sentence is also possible:

(318) *Nyulu gunda-adhi*
3sg+NOM hit-REF+PAST
He had a fight; he was in a fight.

Here the reflexive form seems to suggest a generalized sort of action in which the person in question was a participant; but the sentence itself does not specify whether he was a hitter or a receiver of hits - only that hitting was going on and that he was involved.

The same sort of generalized action is depicted in (298) and (304), with the verb *budaadhi*. In both cases the food consumed is relegated to a peripheral NP in Dative case; the reflexive form of the normally transitive *budal* 'eat' is now an intransitive verb that depicts generalized eating (stuffing oneself, in fact), in which the participants are not specifically acting on some object but rather just participating in an eating event.

This, then, is a different sort of motivation for reflexive verb forms: to demote specific O NPs to the status of peripheral accessories to a generalized sort of action, in which the underlying A NPs are now participants, in S function. Thus, the reflexive form of *ma-naa* denotes the state of being married (and to whom one is married is not a central concern, see (306)); the reflexive of *gaymbal* 'swear at' denotes a particular kind of verbal behaviour, and the target of the verbal abuse is not particularly relevant to the activity (see (307)).

Notably, reflexive stem forms also occur with a few intransitive verbs; in each case, the meaning of the reflexive form derives from applying to the meaning of the original intransitive root the notion of reflexivity, reciprocity, accidental non-intentionality, or generalized action:

<i>yirrgaa</i> 'speak'	<i>yirrga-adhi</i> 'agree with one another; have a conversation'
<i>barrbil</i> 'camp overnight'	<i>barrbi-idhi</i> 'get married in the bush; i.e., sleep together illicitly in the scrub, away from camp'

<i>daabal</i> 'move about, wade'	<i>daaba-adhi</i> 'make involuntary motion; move or change position (inanimate object)'
<i>gaawal</i> 'sing out' (usually with an Adessive complement which denotes the person one calls to)	<i>gaawa-adhi</i> 'yell (in general), shout hoping for someone to hear'
<i>ngangga</i> 'be unable to do something, be hesitant about something' (and the thing one can't do is usually expressed with a Purposive verb form)	<i>ngangga-adhi</i> 'be totally incompetent at everything'

4.3.7 SUMMARY OF REFLEXIVE USES. Guugu Yimidhirr transitive verbs all require animate A NPs, which refer to Agents who consciously control and regulate some action on some object. Reflexive forms arise when the circumstances of action do not conform to this transitive paradigm. We have distinguished several different such cases:

- (1) When the A NP is also the O NP; that is, when an Agent acts on himself, or when several Agents act on one another;
- (2) When there is no animate Agent, or when that Agent only accidentally acts;
- (3) When the focus of a sentence promotes the object of action to a position of prominence, so that the sentence revolves around an entity and what happens to it (rather than on an Agent and what he or she does);
- (4) And, finally, when the action in question is of a generalized nature, so that the focus of a sentence demotes the Agent from a transitive actor on objects to a participant in the generalized action.

The conditions for the regular use of reflexive verb forms fall into two categories - semantic and pragmatic. First, the nature of the action to be described (reflexive/reciprocal or accidental) affects the form of the resulting verb (cases (1) and (2), and, to some extent, case (3)). Second, when the referential emphasis of discourse leads attention away from an Agent towards an Object, a syntactic device (like the use of reflexive forms) may achieve the shift of focus from A NP to O NP.

4.4 SUBORDINATE STRUCTURES

There are three kinds of subordinate clause in Guugu Yimidhirr: Causal, Purposive, and Simultaneous Action clauses. Each type corresponds to a type of syntactic extension: a Causal clause to a Causal NP, and so on. Whereas Causal NPs or Purposive NPs relate the action of a verb to some cause, or purpose or goal, Causal and Purposive

clauses spell out these causes or purposes with full verbs. Similarly, just as some Dative NPs - especially when the noun in question denotes an *activity* - specify action simultaneous with the action of the main verb (see (218)-(219)), another sort of subordinate clause also specifies simultaneous action with an inflected verb.

4.4.1 PURPOSIVE CLAUSES. As we saw in section 4.1.4[f], purposive NPs are exactly parallel to subordinate clauses whose verbs have the purposive suffix *-nhu*. For example, (227), with a purposive NP, and (145) with a purposive subordinate clause, have otherwise very similar structures. Additionally, those adjectival or nominal predicates that take Purposive complements can usually also take Purposive clauses as complements. Thus, corresponding to (241) is

(319) *Ngayu wanu-dhirr mayi buda-nhu.*
1sg+NOM want-COM+ABS food+ABS eat-PURP
I want to eat food.

And compare (243), with the predicate *yinil* 'afraid', with

(320) *Nyulu gaari yinil dhada-nhu, nyulu murnda dhada-nhu.*
3sg+NOM NOT afraid+ABS go-PURP 3sg+NOM tame+ABS go-PURP
He's not afraid to go; he is willing to go [literally, brave for going].

A subordinate *-nhu* clause need not share any NPs with the main clause to which it attaches, though there must be some logical relationship between the two clauses.

(321) *Nyulu yugu baawa-y nyundu mayi buda-nhu.*
3sg+NOM fire+ABS light-PAST 2sg+NOM food+ABS eat-PURP
She lit the fire so that you could eat food.

Similarly, with verbs of desire or commands:

(322) *Ngayu wanu-dhirr-gu nyundu dhada-nhu.*
1sg+NOM want-COM-gu 2sg+NOM go-PURP
I want you to go.

However, it is more common for the two clauses to share NPs, and in certain situations, a coreferential NP in the subordinate clause will be omitted. Compare (322) with (319), in which the A NP of the verb *buda-nhu* is understood to be *ngayu*, the same as the S NP of the nominal predicate 'want'. (138), (145) and (320) all have the same sort of structure: the S NP in the intransitive main clause refers to the same entity as the S or A NP in the *-nhu* clause. In such cases, the S or A NP of the subordinate clause is omitted. This is true whether or not the S NP in the main intransitive clause is a pronoun or a noun (or, commonly, a noun with adjoined personal pronoun):

(323) *Nyulu gabiirr gada-almugu mayi baawa-nhu*
3sg+NOM girl+ABS come-PAST+NEG food+ABS cook-PURP
The girl didn't come to cook the food [i.e., she was supposed to come but never showed up].

Notice that the A NP in the subordinate clause here would be of the form

nyulu gabirr-inh
3sg+NOM girl-ERG

had it not been omitted - so the rule which deletes an NP in A function in the subordinate clause is based on coreferentiality rather than on equal morphological form with the S NP of the main clause. (What matters is that the same girl who didn't come was supposed to cook the food, and the fact that the word *gabirr* is in Absolutive case in the main clause and ergative in the subordinate clause does not affect the deletion.)

If the S NP of an intransitive main clause is coreferential with the O NP of a subordinate *-nhu* clause, the O NP seemingly may not be deleted. If the O NP is inanimate, the entire NP must remain in the subordinate clause; if it is animate, at least an accusative pronominal trace must be left behind.

(324) *Nyundu yuuli-i dyiral nhamu-umu-n nhina nhaadhi-nhu.*
2sg+NOM stand-IMP wife- 2sg+GEN-*nu*-ERG 2sg+ACC see-PURP
You stand up, so your wife [can] see you.

When the main clause is transitive, the treatment of coreferential NPs is somewhat more complicated. When the main and subordinate clauses share both A and O NPs, these are both normally deleted from the *-nhu* clause.

(325) *Nyulu yarrga-ngun yugu bandi baawa-nhu.*
3sg+NOM boy-ERG tree+ABS chop+PAST burn-PURP
The boy chopped [down] the tree in order to burn it.

(Whether or not we ultimately analyse such a sentence in terms of deletion of NPs, it is clear that there are some sorts of constraints on coreferentiality operating to insure that a sentence like (325) is understood to mean that the *wood* was to be burned, and that the boy intended to do it.) Sometimes the verb with purposive inflection - all that remains of the subordinate clause once A and O NPs have been deleted - moves to an earlier position in the sentence.

(326) *Ngayu nhila ddi buda-nhu yirmgaalnga-l*
1sg+NOM now tea+ABS eat-PURP turn+REDUP-NONPAST
I am stirring the tea now so that I can drink it.

Similarly, when both main and subordinate clauses have the same O NP, this is frequently omitted from the subordinate clause, even when the A NPs differ between the two.

(327) *Guudyu yii ngayu dacama-y nyundu buda-nhu*
fish+ABS this 1sg+NOM spear-PAST 2sg+NOM eat-PURP
I speared this fish for you to eat.

A verb of ordering (like *waadal* 'say', *gurral* 'say, make', *dyiidyurr* 'order, instruct') in the main clause takes as object the person who is ordered to do something; what that person is ordered to do appears in a *-nhu* clause, whose A or S NP is coreferential with the O NP, object of the main verb. The A or S NP of the *-nhu* clause is deleted.

(328) *Ngayu nhangu bidha waada-y dyacarba gunda-nhu.*
1sg+NOM 3sg+ACC child+ABS tell-PAST snake+ABS kill-PURP
I told the child to kill the snake.

TABLE 4.1 - Deletion of coreferential NPs
in Purposive Subordinate Clauses

Main Clause NP Function	Deleted NP in Subordinate <i>-nhu</i> Clause
S	A or S (not O)
A	A (not S)
O	O; sometimes S or A

Here is another example of a deleted S NP in a *-nhu* clause, coreferential to the O NP in the main clause.

(329) *Nganhi dhana dubi biini-nhu.*
1sg+ACC 3pl+NOM leave+PAST die-PURP
They left me to die.

Furthermore, an A NP in a *-nhu* clause coreferential to the A NP in the main clause routinely is deleted.

(330) *Ngayu bamday bandi-l minha gundi maani-nhu.*
1sg+NOM notch+ABS cut-NONPAST meat+ABS egg+ABS get-PURP
I'll cut notches [in the tree] to get the eggs. (Man cuts notches in a tree so that he can climb to get eggs from a nest.)

Sometimes an S NP in a *-nhu* clause coreferential to the A NP of the main clause will be deleted, but ordinarily Guugu Yimidhirr speakers will retain such an S NP.

(331) *Nyulu nambal yabarraban maandi dagaadhi-nhu.*
3sg+NOM rock+ABS gigantic+ABS bring+PAST sit-PURP
He brought [up] a large rock for him to sit [down on].

But in

(332) *Ngayu nambuar balgaalga-l ngayu wuna-nhu.*
1sg+NOM bed+ABS make+REDUP-NONPAST 1sg+NOM lie down-PURP
I am making a bed to sleep on [for me to sleep on].

the second occurrence of *ngayu* seems to resist deletion.

Table 4.1 summarizes the various possibilities for deletion of coreferential NPs in Purposive clauses.

Sentences (138), (145), and (319)-(320) illustrate what is by far the most frequent configuration with purposive subordinate clauses: the main clause is intransitive, and its S NP is coreferential with the (deleted) S or A NP of the subordinate *-nhu* clause. (Compare this construction with the very common sequence of clauses sharing a common topic shown in (302), and discussed in 4.3.5 and 4.10.) All other combinations of coreferential NPs in main and *-nhu* clauses are relatively infrequent; the possibilities for deletion seem to depend heavily on the meanings and contexts of such sentences. Roughly, an A or an O NP common to both clauses may be deleted from the subordinate clause. But sometimes the S or A NP of the *-nhu* clause is coreferential with the O NP of the main clause - a fact that suggests that an O NP is also a potential candidate (along with the S or A NP) for being the most prominent NP of a sentence, a possible *topic* for a string of sentences. We shall return to this question in 4.4.3 and 4.10 below.

A purposive clause occasionally looks a bit like a kind of relative clause that describes what some object or person is good for or what it does. See, for example, (146). The following sentence (which comes from the same myth as (146)) makes more explicit the connections between the main clause and the *-nhu* clause that accompanies it.

- (333) *Yii ngadhu-um-i biiba-wi mil bubu*
 this+ABS lsg+GEN-mu-DAT father-DAT eye+ABS earth+ABS
nhaadhilahi-nhu mil-ngun
 see+REDUP-PURP eye-INST

These are my father's eyes, for him to see the earth with.

But it is equally possible to leave understood both the A NP of the *-nhu* clause (in these cases, the owner of the body part) and the instrumental NP denoting the body part itself.

- (334) *Yii ngadhu-um-i biiba-wi ngaaguil nganhi mida-nhu.*
 this+ABS lsg+GEN-mu-DAT father-DAT arm+ABS lsg+ACC lift-PURP
 This is my father's arm [for him] to lift me [with].

And it is also possible for the descriptive *-nhu* clause to replace the 'head' noun entirely, as in the following sentence (from the same story):

- (335) *Yii ngadhu-um-i biiba-wi mayi buda-nhu*
 this+ABS lsg+GEN-mu-DAT father-DAT food+ABS eat+REDUP-PURP
 This is [what] my father [uses] for eating food [i.e., his mouth].

Purposive clauses anticipate future action: action that will follow that described in the main verb, or action that is intended to follow it. In a similar way, a purposive NP denotes an entity which will be the object of or be otherwise involved in some action subsequent to that of the verb. When I say 'I'm going for fish' I mean that after a while I will catch fish, or receive fish, etc. The subordinate structures considered in the next section are oriented to past action, and show the causal antecedents of the action denoted by the main verb.

4.4.2 CAUSAL CLAUSES. As we saw in 3.5.3[j], the verbal suffix *-yga* seems to have three distinct uses. On an independent verb it marks perfective action, or remote past action (particularly appropriate, say, to mythological accounts); see (153-4). The suffix also marks subordinate clauses expressing action simultaneous with that of the main verb, under fairly restricted conditions of coreferentiality, as we shall see in the next section. But *-yga* may be used to form a subordinate clause that indicates a causal antecedent to the main verb, much as a Causal NP with *-nganh* expresses cause or origin (see 4.4.4[b]). Examples are (156-7).

The correspondence between subordinate causal clauses with *-yga* and causal NPs is apparent in the relationship between (186) and

- (336) *Nyulu binini baaaraay gaga buda-ayga.*
 3sg+NOM die+PAST water+ABS poison+ABS eat-SUB1
 He died from drinking grog.

Causal clauses relate to main clauses much as Purposive clauses do. Thus, for example, there need be no NP common

to both main and subordinate clause, if there is an appropriate logical interrelationship between the two.

- (337) *Nhila-ngarraal-gu birri warrga dudaara ganbi*
 now=?-gu river+ABS big+ABS run+REDUP+NONPAST blood+ABS
nhangu ngamu-ngaadhaarr-bi duda-ayga.
 3sg+GEN+ABS mother=dog-GEN+ABS run-SUB1.
 Nowadays a great river runs [there], as a result of the dingo's blood flowing. (From a story about a river formed where a giant dingo was killed in mythological times.)

But ordinarily main and Causal clause share NP(s), and the conditions which allow deletion of an NP coreferential to an earlier one are similar to those governing coreferential deletion on purposive clauses. There is, however, one additional possibility not seen with purposive clauses: it seems to be possible to delete an O NP in a causal clause when it is coreferential with the S NP of the main clause.

- (338) *Ngayu buli yarraman-ngun dhuarrnga-ayga*
 lsg+NOM fall+PAST horse-ERG push-SUB1
 I fell because the horse pushed me.

(But compare (156), in which the O NP (an accusative pronoun) in the subordinate clause is not deleted despite its coreferentiality with the S NP of the main clause.)

In fact, the relationships of coreferentiality in these constructions are extremely varied. Consider the sentence

- (339) *Nhangu dyaarba-nganh maandi dyinda-ayga*
 3sg+ACC snake-ABL take+PAST bite-SUB1.
 [Somebody] took him away from the snake because [it] had bitten [him].

Here the evident A NP of the subordinate clause is coreferential to an ablative adjunct to the main clause; and the O NP is the same in both clauses (and notice the lack of an explicit A NP on the main verb *maandi* 'took'). It is an open question whether syntactic constraints on deletion or some pragmatically based canons of interpretation are more appropriate to explain a sentence like the following, which displays both purposive and causal subordinate clauses:

- (340) *Nyulu dhada-y gungga-alu nhangu gunda-nhu nhangu gaangga*
 3sg+NOM go-PAST north-ALL 3sg+ACC kill-PURP 3sg+GEN+ABS yam+ABS
baga-ayga.
 dig-SUB1
 He went North to kill him, for having dug up his yam.

Here it may be revealing to represent the three underlying clauses with indices on the noun phrases:

1. He₁ went North
2. He₁ will kill him₂.
3. He₂ dug his₁ yam up.

In subordinating clause 2 to clause 1, the S NP of clause 1 is coreferential to the A NP of clause 2 and (in typical fashion) the latter is deleted. In turn, clause 3 is subordinated to the resulting sentence, and now the A NP of clause 3, coreferential to the O NP of clause 2, is deleted. In the

resulting sentence, the reference of the non-deleted 3rd person pronominal forms switches from person₁ (S function in clause 1), to person₂ (O function in clause 2), and back to person₁ again (genitive modifier to the O NP of clause 3). All other pronouns are deleted.

A particularly interesting Causal clause shows how the Causal suffix *-yga* may be affixed to a verb which does not, at first sight, seem to be the main verb of a clause.

- (341) *Biiba-ngun nhangu diinga-y nyulu wawu-marrgarra*
 father-ERG 3sg+ACC laugh at-PAST 3sg+NOM CAN'T
galga-anh daama-ayga
 spear-INST spear-SUBI.

[His] father laughed at him, because he couldn't spear with a spear.

The subordinate clause here means '[because] he couldn't spear [things] with a spear'. There is no explicit O NP. Notably, Causal marking can help clarify the structure of such a clause: the main verb, which receives the suffix *-yga*, is the form of *daamal* 'to spear', and not *wawu-marrgarra* 'can't', which is revealed as a modal qualifier (see 4.8).

However, clauses with full nominal predicates can appear as causal subordinate clauses, with a dummy verb carrying the suffix *-yga*. The following example comes from a Guugu Yimidhirr sermon describing the great Flood:

- (342) *Ngayu dhula warrga diiga-l bubu-wi bama wulbu*
 1sg+NOM flood+ABS big+ABS send-NONPAST land-ALL man+ABS all+ABS
warraa-garra-nhu, bama milga-mil nhin.gaalngg-iga.
 bad-CAUS-PURP man+ABS ear-PRIV+ABS sit+REDUP-SUBI
 I will send a great flood to the earth to destroy all men,
 because men have been disobedient.

Here the privative form of *milga* 'ear' is a nominal predicate meaning 'disobedient'; the reduplicated form of *nhin.gal* 'sit' is the dummy carrier of the subordinate suffix (as well as the bearer of the aspectual information contained in the reduplication).

The semantic and syntactic parallel between the Causal verbal suffix *-yga* and the nominal suffix *-nganh* becomes even more striking when we consider that both kinds of Causal marking can indicate both cause and priority in time. Compare (13) with the following:

- (343) *Ngayu dhada-a mayi buda-ayga*
 1sg+NOM go-NONPAST food+ABS eat-SUBI
 I will go after eating food.

Similarly, notice the structure and the first reading of the following sentence; (the dog is unambiguously the entity doing the eating).

- (344) *Ngayu guda-gunda-y mayi buda-ayga.*
 1sg+NOM dog+ABS kill-PAST food+ABS eat-SUBI
 I killed the dog after/because it ate the food.

4.4.3 SIMULTANEOUS ACTION. Whereas purposive clauses denote actions which will follow (or are intended to follow) the action of the main verb, and whereas causal clauses

denote actions antecedent to the main clause, two further subordinating suffixes mark verbs which depict action simultaneous to the main verb. And while the conditions of coreferentiality between main clauses and purposive or causal clauses are relatively free, the syntactic functions of the constituent NPs of simultaneous action clauses are central to the choice between verb suffixes *-yga* and *-nhun*.

A typical example of the SUBI suffix *-yga* marking simultaneous actions is (157). A slightly more complicated case is the following:

- (345) *Nyulu bidha baadhildhi-l mayi budaari-ga*
 3sg+NOM child+ABS cry+REDUP-NONPAST food+ABS eat+REDUP-SUBI
yindu-umu-n nhangu dyinbaalmba-y
 other-mu-ERG 3sg+ACC tease+REDUP-PAST

The child is crying [because] another teased him while he was eating.

The suffix *-yga* may be used to mark simultaneous action precisely when the S or A NP of the subordinate clause is coreferential with the NP in O function in the main clause; and in such a case the S or A NP of the subordinate clause is generally deleted. Occasionally, even the O NP of the main clause does not appear, suggesting, as in examples we have seen before, an indefinite sense.

- (346) *Nyulu nhaa-dhi mayi nhangu budaari-ga.*
 3sg+NOM see-PAST food+ABS 3sg+GEN+ABS eat+REDUP-SUBI
 He saw [someone] eating his food.

The vast majority of sentences with subordinate clauses marking simultaneous action have a subordinate verb in reduplicated form (indicating, naturally enough, continuous action). Moreover, the favourite form of this simultaneous action construction uses *nhaa-maa* 'see' as the independent verb, to produce a sentence that means 'X sees Y Z-ing'.

- (347) *Nyulu yugu-wi nhaa-dhi nhin.gaaln-gi-ga nyulu*
 3sg+NOM tree-LOC see-PAST sit+REDUP-SUBI 3sg+NOM
binnaal-mul ngaanaa buthu.
 know-PRIV what+ABS INDEF

He saw [something] sitting on a tree, [but] he didn't know what [it was].

However, there seems no reason in principle why any transitive verb cannot serve as the verb in a main clause, or why a non-reduplicated verb form cannot, when appropriate in meaning, occur in a clause marking simultaneous action:

- (348) *Dhanaan mundal dyunmbi gurbu dumbiilmbi-ga*
 3pl+ACC others+ABS swallow+PAST dance+ABS break+REDUP-SUBI
 [The giant fish] swallowed the rest of them while they were dancing. [Literally, 'breaking the dance']

- (349) *Ngayu bama nhaadhi buligi gundaarndi-ga.*
 1sg+NOM man+ABS see+PAST bullock+ABS big+REDUP-SUBI
 I saw a man beating the bullock.

- (350) *Ngayu bama nhaadhi buligi gunda-ayga*
 1sg+NOM man+ABS see+PAST bullock+ABS kill-SUBI
 I saw a man kill the bullock [i.e., when he killed, who killed, the bullock].

In (348) the verb of the main clause is *dyuumbil* 'swallow', rather than *nhaa-maa* 'see'. And in (350) the subordinate verb of simultaneity is in non-reduplicated form - so that the sentence suggests 'I saw the man at the moment that he (finally managed to) kill the bullock' - a sentence whose English gloss obscures the sense of simultaneity involved.

The strict conditions on the structure in which simultaneous *-yga* can occur provide another sort of motivation for the 'reflexive' *-dhi* forms discussed in 4.3.5 above. A sentence containing a subordinate clause of simultaneous action will have the form:

A NP O NP₁ Transitive verb A or S NP₁ Verb-SUB1

where the subscript shows that both NPs in question refer to the same entity. There is, within this structure, no provision for a subordinate clause of simultaneity in which the coreferential NP is in O function in the *-yga* clause. So, for example, there is no equivalent to (157), using a transitive form of the subordinate verb, that means 'I saw the bullock being beaten'. Such a sentence can, however, fairly obviously be constructed to meet the structural conditions described by using a *-dhi* form of the subordinate verb.

- (351) *Ngayu buligi nhaa-dhi gundaarrnda-dhi-ga.*
1sg+NOM bullock+ABS see-PAST beat+REDUP-REF-SUB1
I saw the bullock getting beaten.

The other systematic gap in the structure which admits clauses of simultaneity derives from the fact that the S or A NP of the subordinate clause must be coreferential with the main clause O NP - something that would be impossible when the main clause is intransitive, or when the linking NP is in S or A function in the main clause. In such cases, which seem to be relatively rare in Guugu Yimidhirr, the subordinate clause uses the suffix *-nhun* to indicate simultaneity; see (158). Most subordinate clauses with *-nhun* seem to be intransitive; most, in fact, involve verbs of motion (or lack of it).

- (352) *Ngayu mayi buda-y gadaa-nhun*
1sg+NOM food+ABS eat-PAST come(+REDUP)-SUB2
I ate the food while (I was) coming

(Notice that the word *gadaanhun*, with a long middle vowel, is equivalent to the full reduplicated form *gadaaranhun*; see section 3.5.3[k].)

- (353) *Dhana ngudhu nhaa-dhi milu-wi yulii-nhun*
3pl+NOM games+ABS see-PAST shade-LOC stand+REDUP-SUB2
They watched the games while (they were) standing in the shade.

However, it is possible for a subordinate clause of simultaneity to have a transitive verb.

- (354) *Mayi buda-nhun dhana bidhagurr wurili-l*
food+ABS eat+REDUP-SUB2 3pl+NOM child-PLU play+REDUP-NONPAST
While (they are) eating food the children are playing.

Unlike the subordinate clauses with *-yga*, clauses with *-nhun* are relatively infrequent in current Guugu Yimidhirr;

speakers seem to prefer instead simply to coordinate (by concatenating) clauses denoting simultaneous occurrences:

- (355) *Dhana bidha-gurr wurili-l mayi*
3pl+NOM child-PLU+ABS play+REDUP-NONPAST food+ABS
budaara-l.
eat+REDUP-NONPAST
The children are playing and eating food.

4.4.4 PAST AND FUTURE ACTION. We have seen that a purposive clause is oriented to a time subsequent to that of the main verb, and a causal clause to a time before that of the main verb. It is natural, then, that when independent verbs have either *-nhu* or *-yga* suffixes, their meanings have affinities with what we might call future (with overtones of intention, desire, etc.) and past (with overtones of completion) respectively; see (132).

- (356) *Nyundu dhada-nhu gan.gaarr?*
2sg+NOM go-PURP Cooktown+ALL
Are you going/do you want to go to Cooktown?

And see again (153)-(154).

The suffix *-yga* underscores the completion and factuality of an event, especially in clauses which complement verbs of telling or knowing. Contrast the following sentences:

- (357) *Ngayu binaal-mil wu-nay nyulu balga-adhi (nguba gaari).*
1sg+NOM know-PRIV lie-PAST 3sg+NOM make-REF+PAST PERHAPS NOT
I didn't know if he was born (or not).

- (358) *Ngayu binaal-mil wu-nay nyulu balga-adhi-ga.*
1sg+NOM know-PRIV lie-PAST 3sg+NOM make-REF-PERF
I didn't know that he was born [and he was].

A sentential complement to a verb like *mirriil* 'tell, show' uses Perfective *-yga* evidently to emphasize factuality:

- (359) *Gaari mirrit-lin bula ngalbi-iga.*
NOT tell-PAST 3du+NOM steal-PERF
[They] didn't say that they two had stolen [it]. (That is, they wouldn't admit it, but they had stolen it.)

A better understanding of these details must await further research.

4.5 CONTRAFACTUAL CONSTRUCTIONS

Guugu Yimidhirr has several straightforward devices for describing situations which do not obtain, i.e., for expressing negation. We have already seen that the negative particle *gaari* 'not' immediately precedes a verb (as in (132), (205)) - including an imperative (sentences (144), (160), (207)) - or a nominal predicate:

- (360) *Nhayun gaari burrburr*
that+ABS NOT hard+ABS
That's not strong.

In a sentence like (48), the negative particle seems to modify both the verb, and the positional modifier that immediately follows the particle; the same is true in

- (361) *Ngayu gurra-aygu gaari bada gada-a*
 1sg+NOM again-gu NOT down come-NONPAST
 I will not come down ever again. (The Moon, speaking to his
 wives who had tried to kill him, to announce his intention
 to stay forever in the sky.)

Moreover, *gaari* can appear alone as a simple mark of denial:
 'No: that is not the case'.

We have also seen certain other particular negative devices: the opposite of a comitative construction with *-dhirr* is a privative construction with *-mul* (see (51)-(53), (357), (358)). The logical relationship between a comitative and a privative may not be exactly one of contradiction: the privative and the comitative may not exhaust all possibilities. For example, the predicate *garrbun-dhirr* means 'happy, delighted'; this is a comitative form, although there is no independent noun *garrbun*. But the corresponding privative predicate does not exactly mean the opposite of 'happy' - it means 'not (yet) happy' rather than 'unhappy':

- (362) *Garrbun-dhirr=mana-ayi*
 happy-COM=CAU-REF+IMP
 Be happy!

- (363) *Garrbun-mul!*
 happy-PRIV (+IMP)
 Don't be too hasty in being happy! Don't count your chickens...

Here, the force of the privative suffix *-mul* is not simply the absence of some property or condition or thing, but rather its lack in the context of its possible presence. In a similar way, the past negative verbal suffix (section 3.5.3(f)) indicates not simply a neutral negative, but the negation of a proposition that was, in a certain context, possible or at issue; see (133), (139), (323).

- (364) *Ngaliin-gal gada-almugu nyulu*
 1du-ADES come-PAST+NEG 3sg+NOM
 He didn't come with us. (Moon and his wives search for a child,
 and the wives report that the child did not, as Moon had
 asserted, accompany them on their hunting trip.)

Another very commonly employed negative word, which has the character of a nominal predicate, is *guya* 'nonexistent, not'.

- (365) *Nambal wu-waa! Ngadhu गया*
 money+ABS give-IMP 1sg+GEN+ABS nonexistent.
 Give me money! I have none.

The emphatic form with *-gu*, *guyaaygu*, means 'nothing at all, none at all'.

- (366) *Minha daama-y? Guya-aygu*
 meat-ABS spear-PAST? none-EMPH
 Did [you] spear any game? None at all.

As a single word negative reply, many speakers appear to use *gaari* and *guya* interchangeably.

In section 3.5.3[e] we met the verbal suffix *-nda*. When asked to exemplify the use of verbs in *-nda*, Guugu Yimidhirr speakers ordinarily choose a contrary-to-fact conditional

like (147) as a typical case.

- (367) *Nyulu nharu dhawunh wuna-nda bwarraay wudhi-nda.*
 3sg+NOM 2sg+GEN friend be-CONTRF water+ABS give-CONTRF.
 If he were your friend, he would give you water.

A sentence like (367) suggests that he didn't give you water and that, accordingly, he isn't your friend either.

The contrafactual suffix is also used to evoke a hypothetical, but as yet unrealized situation; speakers refer to hypothetical situations normally to comment on their possibility or impossibility: (100-1), and (108) use the contrafactual verb to mark something as impossible. Similarly,

- (368) *Wanhtharra dudu-nda wali, nhangu dyumbi-l*
 how run-CONTRF around 3sg+ACC swallow-NONPAST
 How could he run away (around); he was going to be swallowed.
 (A creature being pursued by a giant fish.)

On the other hand, the contrafactual form may also be used to comment upon or inquire about the possibility of some as yet unrealized occurrence.

- (369) *Ngayu nhayun yugu bandi-nda gurra.*
 1sg+NOM that+ABS tree+ABS chop-CONTRF also
 I could [easily] chop down that tree.

- (370) *Ngayu buligi ganaa gunda-nda?*
 1sg+NOM bullock+ABS alright kill-CONTRF
 Would it be alright for me to kill the bullock?

And consider the following long hypothetical conditional, quoted from an inspirational speech about loyalty to one's own homeland:

- (371) *Ngayu yurraan dhaabangadhi-nda 'Yurraagan nanggarr wanhthaa?'*
 1sg+NOM 2pl+ACC ask-CONTRF 2pl+GEN+ABS camp+ABS where
yurra wulbu-umu-n miirrii-nda 'Ngadhu bubu yii.'
 2pl+NOM all-mu-ERG tell-CONTRF 1sg+GEN+ABS ground+ABS here
 If I were to ask you all 'Where is your camp?' you would all
 say 'My land is here...'

Or consider the following rhetorical question:

- (372) *Ngariil-nganh ngayu balga-nda?*
 what-ABL/CAU 1sg+NOM make-CONTRF
 From what should I make [it]? (Said by someone who is supposed
 to make a fishing spear for someone else.)

The implication of this question could be either: 'There is nothing I could possibly use to make it, so how can I be expected to do it' (emphasizing impossibility); or 'What in the world shall I use to do it' (emphasizing that I *can* make it, but that I haven't yet done so and am in some doubt about doing so; and have thus framed the event as hypothetical pending other information that you might be able to supply).

Seemingly related to the contrafactual form is a 'critical form' based on the verbal suffix *-nda*, with an additional suffix *-dyi* appended to it. The resulting verb form is used to chide someone for *not* doing something that he or she should have done.

- (373) *Nyundu ngaavii daama-y dubi-nda-dyi?*
 2sg+NOM why spear-PAST leave-CONTRF-dyi?
 Why did you spear [it], why didn't you leave it [i.e., you should have left it]? (Comment directed at a youth who speared a totemic animal.)
- (374) *Nyundu dhada-nda-dyi?*
 2sg+NOM go-CONTRF-dyi
 Why didn't you go? (I.e., you should have gone.)

4.6 APPREHENSIONAL CONSTRUCTIONS

We have seen that the purposive case on noun phrases can be used in two more or less opposite senses. First, purposive indicates a goal or desired, intended object (see (225)-(227)); but it can also mark an object that inspires fear or ought to be avoided (see (224)). Purposive subordinate clauses correspond to noun phrases with purposive inflection with the former meaning. But there are also clauses that correspond to purposive noun phrases that denote objects to be avoided. Such clauses are used to issue warnings, cautions and admonitions - uniformly about events, actions, and outcomes that are undesirable. (Notice that (224) has both an NP in purposive inflection (in the avoidance sense) and a cautionary verb as well.)

There are three sorts of 'apprehensional' clauses, whose morphology is described in section 3.5.3(g)-(i): a Cautionary clause that suggests an imminent (and undesirable) possibility (see (47), (148)); an 'anticipatory' clause that also expresses an event that is on the verge of happening, and which usually occurs together with a suggestion about what alternative course of action should be followed *before* the undesirable occurs (as in (149) and (150)). Finally, the precautionary clause is like an English cause introduced by *lest*, to denote an undesirable occurrence which can be avoided by taking certain prior precautions (see (151), (152), (312)-(314)).

Of these three clause types, only the cautionary forms occur independently.

- (375) *Biḏha buurray-ay buli-ya*
 child+ABS water-ALL fall-CAUT
 The child might fall in the water!

Such a sentence, in socially situated speech, would of course have the force of a (strong and urgent) suggestion that the child be moved out of danger. Normally, however, apprehensional clauses of all three sorts occur together with independent main verbs - often imperatives - which express a remedy appropriate in the face of a negatively evaluated possibility or likelihood.

- (376) *Yuba-aygu dhad-ii biḏha buurray-ay buli-ya*
 near-gu go-IMP child+ABS water-ALL fall-CAUT
 Go up close; the child might fall in the water.

A more intimate relationship obtains between a main clause and a precautionary clause. A purposive complement expresses a goal towards the realization of which the action of the

main verb is aimed. A precautionary clause expresses an undesirable outcome which the action of the main verb is designed to prevent, avoid, or otherwise sidestep.

- (377) *Yuba-aygu dhad-ii biḏha buli-igamu*
 near-gu go-IMP child+ABS fall-PRECAUT
 Go up close so that the child won't fall.

Notice that it is not necessary for the main clause and the subordinate precautionary clause to share any NPs at all. Frequently, however, there is an NP common to both the independent clause and the apprehensional clause (of any of the three varieties described). For example, in (149) and (312) the S NP of the main clause is coreferential with the (deleted) S NP of the anticipatory or the precautionary clause. The only other frequently observed structure in which a coreferential NP in an apprehensional clause is routinely deleted can be seen in (152), where an O NP in the main clause is coreferential to a (deleted) S NP in the precautionary etc. clause. However, too few unelicited examples of such constructions have been observed to draw firm conclusions about the deletability in general of coreferential NPs.

4.6.1 BEFORE AND AFTER. Nouns that denote events can express time as well; with ablative inflection, such a noun can mean 'after the event' (sentence (119)). And with the preposition *magu* 'before' and purposive case, such a noun can be used to express 'before the event'. For example,

- (378) *Ngayu dyanydyi-l magu mayi-ingu*
 1sg+NOM bathe-NONPAST before food-PURP
 I'll have a bath before eating.

We have seen that subordinate clauses with verbs in *-yga* parallel temporal expressions formed from nouns in ablative case (see (343)-(344)).

Similarly, *magu* combines with clauses whose verbs bear either ANTIC inflection (with *-yigu*) or the subordinate suffix *-nhun* to express time before; see (150). Such a construction does not seem to require coreferential NPs in main and anticipatory clauses, although the conditions on deletion when there is a coreferential NP are not yet clear.

4.7 POSSESSION

As we have seen (4.1.4[e]), and as the forms suggest (see 3.2.3[b]), there is a close relationship between ordinary (alienable) possession, marked by genitive inflection, and the recipient or beneficiary of an act, marked by dative. Thus, for example, what is a dative NP in (379) is identical in form to what is apparently a genitive expression in (380).

- (379) *Dhana gada-ayga, badhibay ngarraa-ngay wudhi-iga bulaan*
 3pl+NOM come-PERF bone+ABS skin-PLU+ABS give-PERF 3du+DAT
gambagamba-wi gurra gaminhdharr nhangu-um-i
 old lady-DAT AND grandchild- 3sg+GEN-mu-DAT
 They came [and] gave bones and skin to the old lady and to her grandchild.

- (380) *Bulaan gambagamba-wi gurra gamindharr nhangu-um-i*
 3du+GEN+ABS old lady-GEN+ABS AND grandchild 3sg+GEN-mi-GEN+ABS
mayi badha-adhi.
 food+ABS finish-REF+PAST

The food of the old lady and her grandchild was finished.

In (379) the food (the skin and bones) comes into the possession of the old lady and her grandchild as a result of an act of giving in which they are the recipients; in (380) the food which they received (which they possessed) starts out in their possession, and they finish it. Notice that a GEN plus GEN construction of the sort seen in (380) is possible even with a noun:

- (381) A: *Yii wanhum mayi?*
 this+ABS who+GEN+ABS food+ABS
 Whose food is this?
 B: *Yii ngalin gamindharr gambagamba-ga-m-i*
 this+ABS 1du+GEN+ABS grandchild- old lady-GEN-mu-GEN+ABS
 This is ours - mine and that of the old lady's grandchild.

The identity of forms between DAT and GEN+ABS makes ambiguity possible, as in (216) and the following:

- (382) *Nyulu ngadhu galga maandiindi.*
 3sg+NOM {1sg+DAT spear+ABS take+REDUP+NONPAST
 {1sg+GEN+ABS
 He is bringing {the spear to me.
 {my spear.

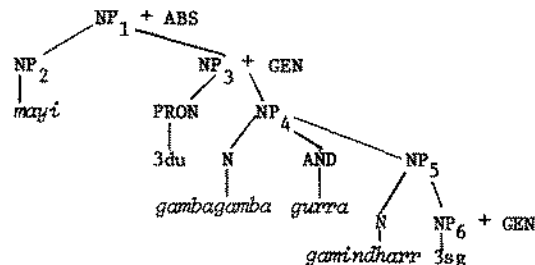
The morphological identity of dative and genitive inflection suggests that alienable possession, the relationship typically between a thing and the being that has control over it (rights to its use, over its disposal, etc.) resembles the relationship that obtains between the object and the beneficiary of a verb like *give*.

Let's look more closely at the structure of the possessive expressions in (379)-(381). We saw in section 3.2.3[b] that a possessed NP has the form:

[NP NP+GEN]_{NP} +Case

The subject of the intransitive verb *badhaadhi* 'be finished' in (380) shows both a 'possessor of a possessor' construction, and a compound NP with the coordinating *gurra* 'and'.

(383)



'the food of the two of them: of the old lady and of her grandchild'

The exact status of what is represented here as NP₄, which dominates the coordination of 'old lady' and 'grandchild', is not clear. Guugu Yimidhirr speakers often accomplish such coordination, which is clearly crucial in determining the form of the adjoined pronoun *bula* '3du', without the explicit conjunction *gurra* 'and'; but seemingly any non-singular NP carries with it, as it were, the potential for making explicit its exact composition in terms of individual components. (See (188), (192)-(194).) The case associated with each constituent in a tree like (383) can be thought of as being distributed downwards onto each component constituent liable to case inflection. Thus *mayi* bears ABS inflection; the components of NP₃ will have GEN+ABS inflection. Hence the pronoun *bula* will be marked for GEN+ABS, as will *gambagamba*. Similarly, constituent NP₅ as a whole will carry GEN+ABS inflection: the noun *gamindharr* appears alone, and the pronoun carries the entire case load - both its own genitive, and the further genitive of the whole NP:

nhangu-um-i
 3sg+GEN-mi-GEN+ABS.

An ordinary possessor will normally be animate, often human: not every sort of entity in the world can be a recipient, or can exercise control over a possession. Nor, indeed, can every sort of thing be possessed in this way. Guugu Yimidhirr distinguishes alienable (socially constituted) possession, which requires genitive inflection on the noun denoting the possessor, from so-called inalienable possession, which expresses the relationship between whole and part. See 3.2.3[b], 4.1.1[f], and 4.3.4. Normally an inalienably possessed NP has the form

[Whole Part]_{NP} +Case

where the case of the entire NP is distributed over both whole and part, with no genitive inflection at all. The relationship between alienable and inalienable possession is clarified somewhat by the observation that while the Whole can itself be an alienably possessed NP, the Part cannot.

- (384) *Yarrga-wi biiba dhamal wagi-idhi.*
 boy-GEN+ABS father+ABS foot+ABS cut-REF+PAST
 The boy's father's foot got cut.

When the possessor is animate, especially human, it also appears to be possible to express the part-whole relationship with an alienably possessed construction, using genitive inflection. Compare (42) with (384). I have been able to discern no difference - in meaning, in contextual appropriateness or syntactic acceptability between the following possibilities:

- (385) *Nyulu ngadhu mangal wagi*
 3sg+NOM {1sg+GEN+ABS hand+ABS cut+PAST
 {nganhi
 {1sg+ACC
 He cut my hand/cut me in the hand.

However, when part and whole are inanimate Guugu Yimidhirr speakers resist the explicit genitive construction. Thus, the following two sentences are not equivalent:

(386) *Ngayu yugu magil bandi.*
1sg+NOM tree+ABS branch+ABS chop+PAST
I chopped the tree branch.

(387) *Ngayu yugu-wi magil bandi.*
1sg+NOM tree-LOC branch+ABS chop+PAST
I chopped the branch [while I was or while it was?] on the tree.

Sentence (387) is of doubtful acceptability in the first place, and there is a clear temptation to interpret the suffix *-wi* as locative rather than genitive. In fact, (387) immediately suggested to a native Guugu Yimidhirr speaker the following less puzzling example, in which the word *yugu-wi* is unambiguously interpreted 'on the tree'.

(388) *Ngayu yugu-wi minha gunda-y.*
1sg+NOM tree-LOC meat+ABS kill-PAST
I killed the game [while it was] on the tree.

Similarly, although a few speakers will accept the second alternative in the following sentence, the appositional rather than the genitive construction is certainly preferred.

(389) *Yugu-wih* }
tree-ERG } *magil-inh nganhi bayäya-rwin.*
Yugu-uga-mu-n } branch-ERG 1sg+ACC cover-PAST
tree-GEN-mu-ERG }
The tree }
The tree's } branch covered [i.e., fell on] me.

Within the genitive construction to express possession, there is no difficulty in describing the possessor of a possessor (or of a whole). Thus, for example, the phrase

yarrga-aga-m-i biiba-wi miil 'the boy's father's eye'

in sentence (42) represents both the inalienable relationship between the father and his eye, and the alienable relationship (from the point of view of Guugu Yimidhirr syntax) between the boy and his father. When the inalienable relationship is between an inanimate whole and its parts, it is at least in some cases also possible to express the possessor of the inalienable possessor (the whole), as in the following sentence:

(390) *Ngadhu dinggi milguil गया.*
1sg+GEN+ABS boat+ABS oil+ABS NONE
My boat has no petrol.

However, so far no examples have been encountered displaying constructions like 'my tree's branch' or even 'the point/tip of my spear', which combine both alienable possession and a strict part/whole relationship.

Furthermore, although the constructions of the language provide for 'possession of a possessor', or even for 'possession of a possessor of a whole (which has a part)', further embedding of possession is impossible, within the mechanisms that have been described. There is, however, one

situation which may frequently require description in terms of more complexity than exhibited in examples so far: the description of complex kin relationships. Imagine, for example, how one might describe the homeland of one's father's mother. We need, it seems, a structure of the form:

[homeland [of the mother [of the father [of me]]]]

Here there are too many levels of embedding to be handled by existing mechanisms (although much could be accomplished by the lexicalization of such complex notions as 'father's mother' (= 'grandmother') etc.). However, consider the following sentence:

(391) *Muunhdhi nhayun bubu ngadhu-um-i biiba-wi*
'Jack River' that land+ABS 1sg+GEN-mu-GEN+ABS father-GEN+ABS
ngamu-uga
mother-ABES
Jack River: that is my father's homeland on his mother's side.
(Literally: my father's land from his mother.)

Such constructions appear repeatedly in genealogical discussions - which celebrate the socially constituted relationships *par excellence*; but their productivity in other contexts is not yet attested.

4.8 PARTICLES

In this section we discuss several independent particles: largely non-inflecting words that give modal or other qualification to sentences. We have already met the most important of these: *gaari* 'not' and *guya* 'none'. *Gaari* is the negative particle used with most verb forms and with nominal predicates as well. Ordinarily *gaari* precedes the word it negates, although it can also stand alone to mean simply 'no'. The word *guya* behaves rather more like a predicate on its own, meaning 'non-existent'; however, *guya* does not inflect for case, behaving like a predicative-only adjective. Both *gaari* and *guya* occur with the emphatic suffix *-gu*: *gaarigu* 'no, indeed'; *guyaaygu* 'none at all'. (Particles in general, although they do not inflect for case or tense, allow the emphatic suffix *-gu*.)

Several other particles deal with the factuality of statements. *Bira* 'indeed, certainly' usually follows a predicate and emphasizes its truth; *nguba* 'perhaps' also follows a predicate to suggest some doubt about a proposition, or lack of information. The same particle is used to express a notion like English 'or':

(392) *Nyulu biini nguba, nguba gaari*
3sg+NOM die+PAST PERHAPS PERHAPS NOT
Either he died or he didn't [i.e., perhaps he died, perhaps not].

The related particle *budhu* 'if' signals uncertainty, or questions the possibility of some outcome, sometimes very much like a subordinate conjunction, sometimes in a more modal sense.

- (393) *Nyundu budhu dhada-a nyundu minha maa-naa bira.*
2sg+NOM if go-NONPAST 2sg+NOM meat+ABS get-NONPAST indeed.
If you go you'll get meat for sure. Should you go, you'll get meat for sure.
- (394) *Wanhu gada-y? Wanhu budhu?*
who+ABS come-PAST who+ABS if
Who came? Who, indeed? [I.e., I have no idea, or am uncertain and would like to know, too.]

By contrast, the particle *bira* emphasizes certainty: 'certainly, for sure, in any case'. The particle may be attached to a declaration to suggest an outcome that might have been called into question.

- (395) *Yimi-yimi-dhirr wan.guanh, nyulu gada-a bira.*
this=REDUP-COM tomorrow 3sg+NOM come-NONPAST surely
Just the same tomorrow [i.e., let's do the same thing again tomorrow]; [because] he's bound to come [again tomorrow].
(Two brothers, who have been waiting to ambush another mythic character, plan after failing on one day to try again the following day.)

The desiderative particle *guuna* frequently cooccurs with imperative verb forms; see (143). It can also occur alone, usually with the suffix *-gu/-ygu*.

- (396) *Minha un-naa nguba? Guunu-ygu*
meat+ABS exist-NONPAST perhaps? 'let'-gu.
Is there any meat Very likely [hopefully].

The word *ganaa* 'alright' acts like an adjectival predicate, although it seems to have no attributive use. For example, a frequent greeting formula is depicted in the following sentence.

- (397) *Nyundu ganaa? Ganaa.*
2sg+NOM OK OK
How are you [=are you OK]? I'm fine [=OK].

However, no noun phrase occurs with *ganaa* modifying a noun; one cannot say *?bama ganaa* to mean 'the man [who is] alright'. Following an entire clause, and separated from the following words by a pause, the word gives a sense of (satisfactory?) completion, creating a construction that means 'once X, then Y'.

- (398) *Nyundu mayi buda-y ganaa, ngali dhada-a*
2sg+NOM food+ABS eat-PAST OK 1d+NOM go-NONPAST
When you have eaten [enough?], then we'll go.

Interestingly, a normal conversational device to allow a speaker to hesitate, or to rephrase some remark which has not come out right, uses the expression *gaari ganaa* (literally, 'not right'):

- (399) *Gadil nhangu - gaari ganaa - Victor.*
name+ABS 3sg+GEN+ABS NOT OK
His name is - uh - Victor.

(There seems a very likely relationship between *ganaa* and the words *gana* 'the bottom, the underside, underneath' (a noun) and the time word *ganaaygu* 'long ago'.)

Murrnga 'only' can point to different constituents within a sentence:

- (400) *Murrnga nubran-gu daama-y nyulu*
only one-gu spear-PAST 3sg+NOM
He speared only one [i.e., not two].
- (401) *Murrnga nyulu minha daama-y.*
only 3sg+NOM meat+ABS spear-PAST
Only he speared meat [no one else got any].

And so forth: *murrnga* immediately precedes the constituent which it encompasses (and so far no clear cases are attested in which *murrnga* seems to modify a verb, as, e.g., in 'He only fell down (i.e., he didn't hurt himself)'). However, *murrnga* also can follow an entire clause (again separated from succeeding material by a pause), to give a modal sense: 'if only X; then Y' or 'if it should just happen that X, then Y'.

- (402) *Nyundu dhada-a murrnga, nyundu nhaa-maa*
2sg+NOM go-NONPAST only 2sg+NOM see-NONPAST
If you'll just go, you'll see.

Possibly related to *murrnga* is the particle *murrngarra*, which, often in combination with *wawu* 'soul, breath, want', signifies inability and impossibility.

- (403) *Ngayu (wawu=murrngarra dhada-a.*
1sg+NOM (breath=)unable go-NONPAST
I can't go

(See sentence (341).) Whereas an expression like *wawu-dhirr* 'want' takes a purposive complement (see (319) and (322)), the particle *murrngarra*, or the expression *wawu=murrngarra*, always occurs with the non-past form of a verb (no examples with a past tense verb have been encountered). Furthermore, transitive sentences with *murrngarra* show the same pattern of case marking as normal declarative transitive sentences.

- (404) *Nyulu gabirr-inh yugu wawu=murrngarra bandi-l.*
3sg+NOM girl-ERG tree+ABS unable chop-NONPAST.
The girl can't cut down the tree.

A further particle, *dhiliinh* 'in return', emphasizes that an action or an event was to pay back some previous action or event (the word is sometimes uttered alone with the meaning 'that serves you right! that pays you back! that's what you deserve!').

- (405) *Ngayu dhiliinh gunda-nhu.*
1sg+NOM in return hit-PURP
I intend to hit [him] back [e.g., because he hit me].

Two particles indicate habitual action. *Nhidyin* and *nhuumaar* both mean 'always, regularly'; the coastal expression *magu=bada-aygu* (literally, 'before and after') is regularly used to mean 'always, forever, eternally'.

- (406) *Bidha-gurr yii bubu-wi nhuumaar waurili*
child-PLU+ABS these dirt-LOC always play+REDUP+NONPAST
These kids are always playing in the dirt/on the ground.
(always=regularly, habitually)

The word *gurra* acts both as a conjunction 'and', and as a particle meaning 'again' or giving an emphatic definiteness to an action. The *-gu* suffix emphasizes the meaning 'again'.

(407) *Nyulu dhada-y gurra(-aygu)*.

3sg+NOM go-PAST again (-gu).

He really *did* go; he finally went after all; ... and he went.

OR: he went again.

Galmba 'also' suggests that the action depicted in a sentence took place in addition to some ongoing activity or independent happening.

(408) *Nyulu dhada-y galmba*

3sg+NOM go-PAST also

He went, too [i.e., someone else was going and he *also* did].

Note the clearly related expression: *galmbaa=galmbaa* 'piled one on top of another', which is used figuratively in the following dismayingly accurate portrait of Guugu Yimidhirr by one of its most accomplished native speakers:

(409) *Nganhathanin guugu warra galmbaa=galmbaa*

1pi+GEN+ABS language+ABS very piled on top of another

Our language is just piled on top of itself [i.e., very complex].

4.9 ERGATIVE HOPPING AND MODIFYING EXPRESSIONS

Sentences like (341) and (404) show that an expression like *wawu=murrngarra* 'unable, can't' is some sort of a modal qualifier to a verb; it is not, in itself, an independent intransitive predicate which has some sort of a complement bearing non-past or other inflection. This situation is rather different from that of such comitative expressions as *wawu-dhirr* 'want' and *wawu-mul* 'not want'; these appear to serve as intransitive predicates (whose S NP will bear ABS and/or NOM case marking), regardless of whether the complement clause, with purposive inflection, is transitive (see (319)) or intransitive (see (322)).

Even here, however, speakers occasionally produce sentences which display what might be called 'ergative-hopping' in which a transitive complement clause engenders ergative inflection on what appears to be the S NP of the predicate *wawu-dhirr* or *wawu-mul*.

(410) *Yarrga-anh wawu-mul yugu bandi-nhu.*

boy-ERG want-PRIV tree+ABS chop-PURP

The boy doesn't want to chop the tree down.

This sentence seems to be somewhat less likely to occur than the following equivalent in which there is no ergative NP.

(411) *Nyulu yarrga wawu-mul yugu bandi-nhu.*

3sg+NOM boy+ABS want-PRIV tree+ABS chop-PURP

The boy doesn't want to chop the tree down.

However, (410) is perfectly acceptable, and the transitivity of the complement verb *bandi-nhu* 'chop' seems enough here to force the ergative suffix onto *yarrga* (which, in a full transitive sentence, would be the A NP for the verb *bandil*),

despite the fact that *yarrga* in (411) is transparently the S NP of the predicate *wawu-mul*.

Ergative inflection evens hops, occasionally, from a transitive clause onto a prior NP which is at once the A of the transitive clause and the S NP of an intransitive full verb which precedes it - something which seems especially likely to happen if the preceding intransitive verb is a verb of motion (compare auxiliary verbs in many languages):

(412) *Gaarga-ngun gada-y ngalan banydyi*

younger brother-ERG come-PAST sun+ABS wait+PAST

The younger brother came and waited for the sun [to rise].

In such cases, 'ergative hopping' is unusual but not considered incorrect. But contrast the following sequence, which exhibits a more common discourse construction (see next section).

(413) *Nyulu bidha waarma-adhi nhangu baaru garrba-y.*

3sg+NOM child+ABS return-REF+PAST 3sg+ACC loin+ABS grab-PAST

The boy went back and grabbed his [father's] genitals.

Here the NP shown as *nyulu bidha* '(he) the child' appears in nominative/absolute form as S of the intransitive (reflexive) verb in the first clause, although the same NP is the underlying A of the second verb *garrba-y*. (See also (302).)

A few adjectives can also occur with ergative inflection, giving a particular qualification to an act. Here is one example. The word *binaal* acts like an adjectival predicate meaning 'know'; it can take a variety of complements.

(414) *Ngayu binaal-mul nyulu bidha wanhdhaal-bi dhada-y*

1sg+NOM know-PRIV 3sg+NOM child+ABS where-ALL go-PAST

I don't know where the child went.

(Gavan Breen has pointed out to me that historically *binaal* means 'ear'; Guugu Yimidhirr makes heavy use of the current word *milga* 'ear' in expressions having to do with knowledge, attention, intelligence, etc.)

(415) *Nyulu dyirraaynggur warra binaal-gu galga balga-a-nhu.*

3sg+NOM old man+ABS very know-gu spear+ABS make-REDUP+PURP

The old man is very good at [i.e., knows how to] make spears.

Moreover, although *binaal* never functions as an attributive adjective, in combination with the suffix *-gu* it forms an adverb-like expression which modifies (and agrees in case with) an S or an A NP to mean 'voluntarily, knowingly, on purpose'; in this use it must bear the case appropriate to a nominal expression in S or A function:

(416) *Gambagamba binaal-gu dhada-y.*

old lady+ABS know-gu+ABS go-PAST

The old lady went knowingly, on purpose.

(417) *Nyulu ngadhu marrgin binal-ing-gu dhamba-rnin.*

3sg+NOM 1sg+GEN+ABS rifle+ABS know-ERG-gu throw-PAST

He lost my rifle intentionally.

Similarly, other modifying expressions accept ergative inflection when they modify an A NP, as in:

- (418) *Dhana ngamu-gurral-ing-gu dyaarba gundaarmda-y.*
 3pl+NOM many-ERG-gu snake+ABS beat+REDUP-PAST
 They all beat the snake as a mob.

In sentences so far encountered, expressions like *binaal-gu* 'knowingly' do not occur in cases other than Absolutive and Ergative. (See (124).)

4.10 DISCOURSE NOTES

Guugu Yimidhirr makes heavy use of personal pronouns and demonstratives in anaphoric constructions to facilitate chaining sentences together, and to maintain NPs as prominent topics in strings of discourse. We have already seen that, despite ergative morphology on nouns, Guugu Yimidhirr freely links clauses so that the S NP in the first clause is coreferential with the (deleted) A NP in the second clause. So, a sentence like (302) is very frequent in Guugu Yimidhirr narrative, and sentences of the reverse type (for example (303)) are also possible, if less common.

The use of adjoined pronouns and explicit demonstratives to keep topics straight over a sequence of sentences is illustrated in the first few lines of the story of the Moon and his two wives.

- (419) *Waarigan nyulu bubu-wi nhin.gaalngga-y.*
 Moon+ABS 3sg+NOM earth-LOC sit+REDUP-PAST
 The Moon, (he) lived on the Earth.

Here the main character of the narrative is introduced - *Waarigan* 'the Moon' - with a noun starting the sentence and an adjoined pronoun accompanying it. The next sentence in the story is:

- (420) *Nhangu dyiral gudhiirra wu-nay.*
 3sg+GEN+ABS wife+ABS two+ABS lie-PAST
 He had two wives.

The Moon is still the topic, and it is clear that *nhangu* means 'his (wives)'.

- (421) *Ganggal nubun, bidha yarrga*
 child+ABS one+ABS little one+ABS boy+ABS
 ... and one child, a son.

Here is still more information about Moon's family.

- (422) *Bidha nhayun yarrga bulaan-gal dyiraal-garr-gal warra*
 child+ABS that+ABS boy+ABS 3du-ADES wife-PLU-ADES very
binaa budhnan-gu nhaadha-adhi
 sweet very-gu see+REF+PAST

That boy was very dearly loved by the two wives. (Literally, the boy seemed very sweet to the two wives.)

Here the focus of attention shifts momentarily to the boy and his mothers' feelings towards him; the narrative accomplishes the shift by using the demonstrative *nhayun* 'that'.

In these sentences the individual constituents of each clause are present. Near the beginning of each clause is a reflex of the topic of the current segment of discourse. In (419) the topic is introduced by the initial noun and adjoined

pronoun; in (420) the same topic is reflected in the possessive pronoun which starts the sentence, a pronoun which is elided (almost audibly) in (421). In (422) the topic shifts, and this shift is signalled by highlighting the new topic, the child, with the demonstrative *nhayun*. Guugu Yimidhirr seems to use the device of bringing the referentially most prominent constituent of a sentence to the front - introducing it to attention, and then remarking about it in some way.

In sentences like (302) and (303), two clauses have been collapsed by deleting an identical topic in the second clause, and chaining together the remainders. Such 'topic chains' also occur regularly with intransitive clauses sharing coreferential S NPs, and transitive clauses with coreferential A NPs.

- (423) *Nyulu nhayun waarigan gada-y waarnnggu-wunaarna-y.*
 3sg+NOM that+ABS moon+ABS come-PAST sleep=lie+REDUP-PAST
 [Then] the Moon came and lay down to sleep.

The topic, *nyulu nhayun waarigan* 'that Moon', is the S NP of both *gada-y* 'came' and *wunaarnay* 'lying'. In the following sequence of sentences, the topic of the first clause is superseded in the second, which in turn is part of a topic chain in which a common A NP is deleted in its second occurrence.

- (424) a. *Bidha nyulu biini.*
 child+ABS 3sg+NOM die+PAST
 The child died.
 b. *Nyulu biiba nhangu-wu-n diiga-y.*
 3sg+NOM father- 3sg+GEN-wu-ERG free-PAST
 His father let [him] loose.
 c. *bidha nhangu bubu-wi yidha-rrin.*
 child+ABS 3sg+GEN+ABS ground-LOC put-PAST
 [and then he] set his child on the ground.

(Except for the placement of a pause after *diigay*, in (424b), the last two clauses could also be parsed so as to read: 'His father released his child and set him on the ground'.) In (b) the shift of focus is accomplished by introducing a new noun and adjoined pronoun at the beginning of the sentence (though note that the possessive pronoun in (b) is still taken to refer back to the previous topic, the boy). Part (c) is chained directly to (b), and both clearly share the same A NP - namely 'the father'. Note also that the possessive pronoun in (c) now refers to the father, i.e., to the topic in the previous sentence.

We have now seen topic chains that link two clauses together and in which the repeated NP in the second clause is deleted. The chains we have observed have linked an S NP in the first clause to either an S or an A NP in the subsequent clause; or an A NP in the first clause to either an S or an A NP in the following clause. In these cases, the NP in the first clause which inspires chaining is clear topic of the sequence. If two transitive sentences share both A and O NPs, then they can be freely chained together; after the first clause, both A and O NPs can be deleted.

(425) *Ngadhu-wmu-n biiba-a nyulu mayi bacawa-y, buda-y.*
 1sg+GEN-mu-ERG father-ERG 3sg+NOM food+ABS cook-PAST eat-PAST
 My father cooked the food and [he] ate [it].

(426) *Yugu warrga-al bayan nhayun baydya-rrin, (bayan)*
 tree- big-ERG house+ABS that+ABS cover-PAST house+ABS
chambi.
 break+PAST
 The large tree fell on [literally, covered] the house, and
 crushed it.

In (426), according to some speakers, the second occurrence of the O NP *bayan* 'house' makes the sentence marginally clearer.

It also seems possible for the S or A NP of the first clause to be coreferential with a deleted O NP in a subsequent clause, as in the following examples:

(427) *Dhudan-ay yugu built, dhana bandi.*
 road-LOC tree+ABS fall+PAST 3pl+NOM chop+PAST
 The tree fell on the road, and they chopped [it] up.

(428) *Nyulu bidha bayan-bi gada-y ngayu (nhangu) gunda-y.*
 3sg+NOM child+ABS house-LOC come-PAST 1sg+NOM 3sg+ACC hit-PAST
 The child came into the house and I hit him.

In (428) the accusative pronoun can appear in the second clause but it can just as well be omitted. The prominent NP in the first clause again appears to function as the topic of the entire construction; in interpreting the second clause, which has, as it were, only the O position empty, the normal reading is to treat the topic as the (deleted) O NP.

There is only one other case in which two sentences are chained together, and in which a coreferential NP in the second clause can be omitted: the details are somewhat complicated. Occasionally, it appears, an O NP in the first sentence of a sequence can be interpreted as the topic of a sentence, and hence be chained to a second clause with a coreferential (deleted) S NP. But the conditions under which such a topic chain can be built appear to be heavily restricted. First, such an O NP in the first clause must appear before the A NP in order. And there is a strong presumption, in such a construction, that the A NP will itself not be animate, especially not human. The following sentence illustrates the sort of sequence involved.

(429) *Birra gaangga wunydyu-rrin daan.gay-il dyiba-alu*
 leaf+ABS yam+ABS blow-PAST wind-ERG south-ALL
dharramali-gal buli
 Thunder-ADES fall+PAST
 The yam leaf was blown South by the wind, and it landed in
 front of Thunder.

If the A NP of the initial transitive clause is animate, then there is some possibility for confusion or ambiguity.

(430) *Birra wunydyu-rrin ngayu, nhaway buli.*
 leaf+ABS blow-PAST 1sg+NOM there fall+PAST
 I blew the leaf, and [it] fell over there. (But, in the absence of any special clarifying context, the sentence could also mean: I blew the leaf, and I fell over there.)

A topic chain built around an initial clause in which an O NP precedes an animate A NP is likely to be somewhat odd or confused. Consider, for example, the sequence in (431).

(431) *?Ngadhu biiba gunda-y ngayu, buli.*
 1sg+GEN+ABS father+ABS hit-PAST 1sg+NOM fall+PAST
 I hit my father and I? fell down.

Such a topic chain is unclear, because the ordinary presumption that the A NP of the first clause will be the continuing topic of the sequence conflicts with the special prominence of the O NP which derives from its initial position. Ordinarily, the second clause of such a chain would contain an explicit S NP, consisting of at least a pronoun: *nyulu buli* 'he fell', or *ngayu buli* 'I fell'.

An attempted topic chain whose first clause has a verb requiring an animate NP, and in which no overt A NP appears, is totally confused and unintelligible without some context to supply the missing A NP.

(432) **Nhangu gunda-y, buli.*
 3sg+ACC hit-PAST fall+PAST
 ?Somebody hit him, and he? fell down.

Such a string could only occur as part of a longer topic chain, in which it would be possible to interpret both the A NP of *gunday* 'hit' and the S NP of *buli* 'fell' as coreferential with the topic of the entire segment of discourse.

If neither of the conditions mentioned above is fulfilled - that is, if the A NP of the initial transitive clause is animate, and if it precedes the O NP - then the deleted S NP of the second clause of this sort of topic chain is always understood to be coreferential with the A NP of the first clause. This is the case, for example, in (303). In fact, whenever the A NP precedes the O NP in the first clause in such a construction, chaining which links a coreferential O NP in the first clause with the S NP of the second is impossible.

(433) *Ngayu yugu bandi, buli.*
 1sg+NOM tree+ABS chop+PAST fall+PAST
yugu buli
 tree+ABS fall+PAST
 I chopped the tree, { and I fell down.
 and the tree fell down.

The first alternative here, the topic chain with deleted coreferential NP, has only one reading, in which the chain links the A NP of the first clause to the S NP of the second - a familiar and ordinary sort of topic chain. The second reading is only possible if the S NP *yugu* 'tree' is made explicit.

These considerations suggest, tentatively, that only topics, introduced in a first clause, can form the basis for chains to a second clause, in which the noun phrase coreferential to the topic can be deleted. Moreover, there are, seemingly, several interrelated features that define topicality: first, S NPs are unambiguously available as topics, and can be linked with S, A or O NPs in second and subsequent clauses. Second, the leftmost NP in a sentence seems to have

some higher prominence or salience as a topic than do NPs that follow it. Third, A NPs seem themselves to have more prominence than O NPs, so that the inherent prominence of an A NP can override or at least mitigate the prominence of a leftmost O NP. And, evidently, animate NPs are more likely topics - or have more prominence - than inanimate ones. This is an area of Guugu Yimidhirr syntax which remains to be explored in detail.

TEXT

The following narrative, told by Tulo Gordon of Hopevale, a well-known painter and storyteller, comes from a mountainous area just north of the Endeavour River. Tulo learned the story, which tells of supernatural snakes and an angry old lady, from his mother Minnie.

1 *Yi milbi dhana gunbu dumbi.*
this+ABS story+ABS 3pl+NOM corroborree+ABS break+PAST
This is a story about how they had a great dance.

2 *Dhana yinharrin gunbu dumbilmbi-ga wudhaurr-bi.*
3pl+NOM these dance+ABS break+REDUP-PERF night-LOC
These people would have a dance at night.

The expression *gunbu dumbil*, literally 'dance break', is the normal idiom for 'have a dance, have a corroboree.' Although the expression is frequent enough in speech that the initial [d] of *dumbil* is occasionally pronounced as a trilled rhotic [rr] (see section 2.1), producing a string that sounds like [gunburumbil], it is not entirely frozen. That is, it is possible to modify the word *gunbu*, as in *gunbu warrga dumbi* '[they] had a great dance'. The deictics *yinharrin* 'these' and *nhanharrin* 'those' behave somewhat unusually, in that neither bears case inflection in A, S or O functions; the NPs which they accompany are normally inflected.

3 *Bama warrga-aygu.*
people+ABS big-gu
Lots of people. (I.e., there were lots of people.)

4 *Ngalan-bi dhana yinharrin wadhin dhadaara-yga.*
sun-LOC 3pl+NOM these hunting go+REDUP-PERF
In the days, these people would go out hunting.

The expression *wadhin dhadaa* means 'go hunting'; again the expression is not totally frozen as it commonly occurs in either order: *nyulu dhaday wadhin* 'he went hunting'. The word *wadhin* appears to be related to the adjective *wadhi* 'wounded' which applies to animals speared but not killed or caught. The suffix on *wadhi-n*, however, is not productive and there are no further case forms known.

5 *Ngulgu-ngulgu dhana gada-ayga,*
evening+REDUP 3pl+NOM come-PERF
In the evening they would come home,

6 *minha-ngay maandi-iga, mula maandi-iga, gaangga maandi-iga.*
meat-PLU+ABS bring-PERF honey+ABS bring-PERF yam+ABS bring-PERF
they would bring meat, honey, and yams.

7 *Dhana daga-adhi-ga, mayi baawa-ayga, minha galmba,*
3pl+NOM sit-REF-PERF food+ABS cook-PERF meat+ABS also
They would sit down, cook the [vegetable] food, and the meat, too;

8 *buda-ayga dhana iiii,*
eat-PERF 3pl+NOM [continuation]
[and then they] would eat and eat and eat;

A frequent narrative device lengthens the final syllable of a word, or appends the conventional long *ii* sound, to indicate extended duration of an action.

9 *warydyi-iga, gunbu dumbi-iga wudhaurr-bi,*
arise-PERF dance+ABS break-PERF night-LOC
then they would get up and dance all night long.

10 *Nhayun bada gambagamba nhin.gaalngga-y,*
that+ABS yonder old lady+ABS sit+REDUP-PAST
That old lady was [literally: sitting] down there,

11 *nhangu gaminhdharr galmba.*
3sg+GEN+ABS grandchild+ABS also
along with her grandchild.

12 *Dhana yinharrin gunbu dumbi-iga iii...mayi buda-ayga*
3pl+NOM these dance+ABS break-PERF food+ABS eat-PERF
These ones had their dance, and they danced...and they ate the food.

13 *Dhana gada-ayga, badhibay ngarraa-ngay wudhi-iga bulaan*
3pl+NOM come-PERF bone+ABS skin-PLU+ABS give-PERF 3du+DAT
gambagamba-wi gurra gaminhdharr nhangu-um-i.
old lady-DAT and grandchild- 3sg+GEN-mu-DAT
They came, and gave the bone[s] and skin [from their game] to both the old lady and to her grandchild.

14 *Bula budaari-ga.*
3du+NOM eat+REDUP-PERF
They would eat [it].

15 *Nyulu nhayun gambagamba guli-gada-y.*
3sg+NOM that+ABS old lady+ABS angry=come-PAST
That old lady got angry.

16 *Dhana wulbu wadhin dhada-y.*
3pl+NOM all+ABS hunting go-PAST
They all [i.e., the rest of the people] went hunting.

17 *Nyulu gaanha nhangu-ugu maa-ni,*
3sg+NOM yamstick+ABS 3sg+GEN+ABS-gu take-PAST
She [the old lady] took her own yamstick;

18 *bula gudhiirri-gu badiimbarr dhada-y birri-wi.*
3du+NOM two+ABS-gu downwards go-PAST river-ALL
and the two of them [the old lady and her grandchild] went down to the river.

19 *Minha yidi gunda-y nyulu.*
animal+ABS stingaree+ABS kill-PAST 3sg+NOM
She killed an [edible] stingaree.

20 *Minha gunda-y nyulu, maandi bayan-bi.*
animal+ABS kill-PAST 3sg+NOM take+PAST house-ALL
She killed the meat, and took [it] to the house.

- 21 *Wambu-um-ay dūaga-y, ngalmbu=mana-adhi-nda, walnga-y.*
ash-mu-LOC bury-PAST cooked=CAUS-REF-CONTRF open-PAST
She buried it in the ashes, until it was cooked, [and then she] opened it.

The word *wambu* 'ash' apparently requires the catalytic *mu* before it can carry non-absolute inflection. Notice, further, the use of a contrafactual verb form (with the reflexive form of the causative verbalizer *ma-naa*) to suggest 'until such time as it might be cooked'.

- 22 *Minha balnggarr bula buda-y buda-y iii...*
meat+ABS flesh+ABS 3du+NOM eat-PAST eat-PAST [continuation]
They ate the flesh of the animal, and they ate and ate...
- 23 *Badhibay maa-ni, ngarraa maa-ni,*
bone+ABS get-PAST skin+ABS get-PAST
[Then she] got the bone[s] and skin,
- 24 *nyulu badhibay ngarraa yarra naga dhamba-rrin,*
3sg+NOM bone+ABS skin+ABS yonder East+ALL throw-PAST
she threw the skin and bones over there to the East,
- 25 *badhibay ngarraa yarra gawa dhamba-rrin,*
bone+ABS skin+ABS yonder West+ALL throw-PAST
she threw the skin and bones over there to the West,
- 26 *yarra dyibaarr dhamba-rrin yarra gunggaarr dhamba-rrin.*
yonder South+ALL throw-PAST yonder North+ALL throw-PAST
over yonder to the South and to the North she threw [them].
- 27 *Bula nhamu-ngayng-gu wanydyi dhada-y gurra manydyaal-bi.*
3du+NOM then-ABL-gu arise+PAST go-PAST and mountain-ALL
After that, they two got up and went to the mountains.
- 28 *Bula manydyaal-bi dūda-y.*
3du+NOM mountain-ALL run-PAST
They ran off to the mountains.
- 29 *Marrbugan-bi dūaga-adhi ngalba-adhi.*
cave-ALL enter-REF+PAST hide-REF+PAST
They entered a cave and hid themselves.

Note that the verb *dūaga-* is a reflexive-only verb, meaning 'enter'.

- 30 *Nhamu-ngayng-gu dyaarba-ngay - yirmbaal-ngay*
then-ABL-gu snake-PLU+ABS - supernatural serpent-PLU+ABS
dyaarba -
snake+ABS -
After that, the snakes - the supernatural snakes -

The supernatural serpents, introduced here in 30, are now the topic of the narrative; the third person pronouns in 31-39 all refer to these snakes. The word *yirmbaal* 'supernatural serpent' is also the word for 'rainbow' (hence, 'rainbow serpent'), although other sorts of creatures are also the supernatural guardians of certain places - giant eels and fish, for example. These, too, may be called *yirmbaal*.

- 31 *dhana nguwal nhamu-y nhayun minha yidi.*
3pl+NOM scent+ABS smell-PAST that+ABS meat+ABS stingaree+ABS
they smelled the scent of that stingaree.

Notice that *nguwal* 'scent' is here inalienably possessed.

- 32 *Dhana gada-y waguarr-nganh,*
3sg+NOM come-PAST outside-ABL
They came from the outside [i.e., from inland];
- 33 *gurra buurraay-nganh dhalun-nganh galmba gada-y,*
and water-ABL sea-ABL also come-PAST
and they also came from the water, from the sea;
- 34 *mandal bubu-wi badi=badiimbarr gada-y,*
some+ABS ground-LOC under=underneath come-PAST
some came underneath the [surface of] the earth;
- 35 *mandal wanggaar=nggarr bubu-wi gada-y,*
some+ABS above=REDUP? ground-LOC come-PAST
others came above the ground;
- 36 *mandal birri wanggaar gada-y.*
some+ABS river- above come-PAST
and others came up the rivers.

The preposition-like positional words in these sentences derive from *bada* 'down, below' and *wanggaar* 'above, high'. The reduplicated form *badi=badiimbarr* in 34 means 'just under, just beneath'. The complicated form with *-nggarr* in 35 is perhaps a reduplicated form of *wanggaar* (but notice the flapped rhotic which ends the form shown). In 36, the construction shown may be a contraction of *birri-wi wanggaar* 'on the river upwards', with an explicit locative suffix on *birri*.

- 37 *Warra warrga-aygu budhnuun-gu dyaarba-ngay waguarr-nganh gada-y.*
very big-gu very-gu snake-PLU+ABS outside-ABL come-PAST
Very very many snakes came from inland [literally, from the outside].
- 38 *Yarra gawa-nun dyiba-nun gungga-nun naga-almun,*
yonder West-ABL South-ABL North-ABL East-ABL
From yonder in the West, from the South, from the North, and from the East,
- 39 *dhana wulbu gada-y.*
3pl+NOM all+ABS come-PAST
they all came.
- 40 *Dhana yinharrin wanharra-gala dūda-nda?*
3pl+NOM these how-EMPH run-CONTRF
These people [i.e., the dancers] - how could they run away?

The story now shifts back to the perspective of the people who were having the corroboree, a shift signalled by the deictic *yinharrin* with *dhana*; in telling such a story, the narrator might well accompany the expression *dhana yinharrin* 'these people' with a gesture to indicate that he was shifting attention from the snakes back to the celebrants.

- 41 *Wanu=mirrgarra dūda-a.*
soui=unable run-NONPAST
They couldn't run away.
- 42 *Dhanaan mandal nha-gala dyuumbi.*
3pl+ACC there+ABS just then and there swallow+PAST
Many of them were swallowed right there.
- 43 *Dyaarba-anh dyuumbi gunbu dūmbilmbi-ga.*
snake-ERG swallow+PAST dance+ABS break+REDUP-SUBJ
The snake[s] swallowed them while [they were] dancing.

In 42 there is no explicit A NP (although it is clear that the snakes are doing the swallowing), and this allows the sequence to maintain the dancers (who in this sentence are denoted by the O NP *dhanaani*) as topic. Notice the conditions on coreferentiality between the O NP in the main clause and the A NP in the subordinate (simultaneous time) clause in 43.

- 44 *Mundal dada-y dada-y manydyaal-bi dada-y,*
other+ABS run-PAST run-PAST mountain-ALL run-PAST
Others ran way, ran off to the mountains.
- 45 *Mundal wali dada-y wanhdhaa-budhu.*
other+ABS around run-PAST where+ALL-[dubitative]
Others just ran about, who knows where.
- 46 *Nyulu yii warra bunydyul...*
3sg+NOM here+ABS old+ABS frill lizard+ABS
Now this here Frill-Lizard...
- 47 *Nyulu wanhdharra galmba dada-nda wali?*
3sg+NOM how also run-CONTRF around
How was he, too, to run around?
- 48 *Nhangu dyaambi-l.*
3sg+ACC swallow-NONPAST
He would be swallowed [by and by].
- 49 *Nyulu bubu wali nhaa-dhi wanhdhaa dada-nhu.*
3sg+NOM ground+ABS around see-PAST where+ALL run-PURP
He looked all around the area [to find] where to run.
- 50 *Nyulu dhiliinh wanggaar nguulbaan-bi dhada-y.*
3sg+NOM then up cloud-ALL go-PAST
Then he went up to a cloud.
- 51 *Nyulu dada-yigu nyulu nambal yabarraban maa-ni,*
3sg+NOM run-ANTIC 3sg+NOM rock+ABS gigantic+ABS get-PAST
Before he ran off, he got a gigantic stone.
- 52 *maandi wanggaar nguulbaan-bi,*
take+PAST up cloud-ALL
and he took [it] up to the cloud;
- 53 *nyulu dyaarba nhaa-maa bada-amu-n gadaari-ga,*
3sg+NOM snake+ABS see-NONPAST down-mu-ABL come+REDUP-SUBI
so that if he should see a snake coming up from below,
- 54 *nyulu nambal diiga-l nhangu baydya-nhu.*
3sg+NOM stone+ABS send-NONPAST 3sg+ACC cover-PURP
he would drop the stone, and crush it.
- 55 *Nyulu nhaamuan wangga-amu-n nhaa-dhi, wanhdhaa?*
3sg+NOM that+ERG above-mu-ABL see-PAST where
That one [Frill Lizard] looked down from up there, 'where [is every-
body]?'
- 56 *Dagu dyaarba nhiirraul nyulu nhaa-dhi wanggaar*
thing snake+ABS greensnake+ABS 3sg+NOM see-PAST up
gadaari-ga birri barrga.
come+REDUP-SUBI river along
The fact was, he saw a greensnake coming up along the river.

A common conversational habit in Guugu Yimidhirr is to introduce an utterance with the word *dagu* which literally means 'thing'. The device lends a bit of informality to a conversation. Languages to the North

evidently had a different word which served the same function; for example, the people who spoke the language known as Guugu Yinaa were reputed to begin every utterance with the word *yinaa*. The force of *dagu* at the beginning of a stretch of talk seems to be to focus attention; as if one said, 'This is the thing, this is the case, listen to this...' See line 68.

- 57 *Nyulu baarrnga-y: 'Walaa walaa,*
3sg+NOM yell-PAST rise+IMP rise+IMP
He sang out, 'Watch out, watch out!'
- 58 *Ngayu nambal nhila-budhu diiga-l bada...*
1sg+NOM rock+ABS now-EMPH send-NONPAST down
I'm going to let go of this stone [and let it drop] right now!'
- 59 *Nyulu guugu gaari nhaa-dhi,*
3sg+NOM word+ABS NOT see-PAST
But he [the snake] didn't hear.
- 60 *Nhayun guugu-ugu nhadhi-ilmugu*
that+ABS word-gu see-PAST+NEG
He didn't hear those words.
- 61 *Nyulu bunydyul-nda nambal diiga-y bada.*
3sg+NOM frill lizard-ERG rock+ABS send-PAST down
Frill Lizard dropped the stone.
- 62 *Nhayun nambal bada gada-y iiii*
that+ABS rock+ABS down come-PAST...
That rock dropped...
- 63 *nhangu mugu baydya-rrin.*
3sg+ACC back+ABS cover-PAST
and crushed his [the snake's] back.
- 64 *Nhamu-ngayng-gu nyulu dharramali dyiba-mun gada-y.*
then-ABL-gu 3sg+NOM thunder+ABS South-ABL come-PAST
After that, Thunder came from the South.
- 65 *Dharramali-ngun nhangu dhaabanga-dhi,*
thunder-ERG 3sg+ACC ask-PAST
Thunder asked him [Frill-lizard]:
- 66 *'Ngaaniil-ngayng-ga?'*
what-CAU-ga
'What's this all from, eh?'
- The clitic particle *-ga* conveys a sense of informality and friendliness. For example, a common greeting is *wanhdharra-ga* 'howdy'.
- 67 *Nyulu bunydyul gada-y dharramali-gal mirrii-lin,*
3sg+NOM frill lizard+ABS come-PAST thunder-ADES tell-PAST
Frill Lizard came up and told Thunder:
- 68 *'Dagu nhayun gambagamba bula nhangu gaminhdhar...*
thing that+ABS old woman+ABS 3du+NOM 3sg+GEN+ABS grandchild+ABS
'Well, that old woman and her grandchild...'
- 69 *Bula nhaamuan minha yidi gunda-y,*
3du+NOM that+ERG animal+ABS stingaree+ABS kill-PAST
Those two killed a stingaree;

- 70 *badhibay wali dhamba-rrin ngarraa galmba*
bone+ABS around throw-PAST skin+ABS also
they threw the bones around, and the skin, too.
- 71 *Bula warraa-gurra-y dyaarba-ngay dhawwi.*
3du+NOM bad=CAUS-PAST snake-PLU+ABS call+PAST
They ruined (things), they called the snakes.
- 72 *Dyaarba-ngay gada-y nganhdamun dyuwmbi-nhu.*
snake-PLU+ABS come-PAST lpl+ACC swallow-PURP
The snakes came to swallow us.
- 73 *Mundal buda-y, mundal duda-y.*
some+ABS eat-PAST some+ABS run-PAST
Some were eaten, and some ran away.
- In 73, *mundal* 'some, others' is in O function in the first clause, and in S function in the second (in both cases, the case form is absolutive). But there is no explicit A NP for *buday* 'ate'.
- 74 *Ngayu murruga yarrba wanggaar gada-y.'*
1sg+NOM only this way up come-PAST
I only came up here [i.e., only I managed to come up...].
- 75 *'Hmmm.' Nyulu dharramali dhiliinh waada-adhi,*
3sg+NOM thunder+ABS then say-PAST REF
'Hmmm,' then Thunder said [to himself]:
- 76 *'Ngayu dhada-a wali yiwa-rr wanhdaa bula.'*
1sg+NOM go-NONPAST around search-NONPAST where+LOC 3du+NOM
'I'll go and look around[to find out] where those two are.'
- 77 *Nyulu dhada-y yiwa-rrin yiwa-rrin iiii*
3sg+NOM go-PAST search-PAST search-PAST...
He went and he looked and he looked...
- 78 *Garrgu nyulu dhamal nhaa-dhi nhila-aynggu marrbugan-bi*
afterwards 3sg+NOM foot(print)+ABS see-PAST new-gu cave-ALL
diiga-adhi-ga.
enter-REF-SUBI
Then he saw fresh footprints going into a cave.
- 79 *Nyulu banydyi bula waguurr ganba-rrin,*
3sg+NOM wait+PAST 3du+NOM outside jump-PAST
He waited [until] they jumped [i.e., poked their heads] out.
- 80 *Nyulu wangga-mu-n dharramali-ngun wulunggur-ngun gunda-y*
3sg+NOM up-mu-ABL thunder-ERG light-INST hit-PAST
gunda-y gunda-y bulaan gudhiirri-gu.
hit-PAST hit-PAST 3du+ACC two+ABS-gu
Thunder, from above, hit the two of them [again and again] with thunderbolts.
- 81 *Dhada-y, nyulu mirrii-lin bunyduul-gal.*
go-PAST 3sg+NOM tell-PAST frill lizard-ADES
[Then] he went, and he told Frill Lizard [about it].
- 82 *Dagu bunyduul-ngun midal galbay budhuun-gu maa-ni.*
thing frill lizard-ERG lawyer cane+ABS long+ABS very-gu get-PAST
Well, then Frill Lizard got a very long lawyer cane.
- 83 *Bada diiga-y diiga-y iiii*
down send-PAST send-PAST ...
And he let it down, down, down...

- 84 *bulaan gudhiirri-gu dhulagadha-y, gayi-lin.*
3du+ACC two+ABS-gu tangle-PAST hook-PAST
and [he] tangled it around them, and hooked them.
- 85 *Maandi maandi wangguh maandi nagaalu iiii*
take+PAST take+PAST high in the sky take+PAST East+ALL...
He took them way out East, up in the sky...
- 86 *Dhaluun dhamba-rrin.*
sea+ALL throw-PAST
...and threw them far out to sea.

VOCABULARY

We give first an alphabetical listing of the words used in sample sentences in this grammar; this is intended as an aid to following the examples and text. There is then a listing of important vocabulary items by semantic fields, following the basic 500-word list prepared by the editors of the *Handbook*. Note that forms occurring in the semantic field listing will only appear in the alphabetical vocabulary if they have been used in a sample sentence in the grammar.

ALPHABETICAL VOCABULARY

For each word is listed the part of speech and a rough gloss. Verbs are specified for transitivity class, and conjugation membership is shown by the final consonant or vowel - *l*, *V*, or *rr* - or by a final syllable -*maa* or -*naa* for MA and NA conjugations. Other words are shown in normal citation form, NOM for pronouns, and ABS case for other nominals. The words are listed in normal English alphabetical order. The following abbreviations are used:

N gen	generic noun
N	other noun
Adj	adjective
Loc	locational qualifier
Time	time qualifier
Num	numeral
Deic	deictic
Int	interrogative/indefinite pronoun
Pron	personal pronoun
Vint	intransitive verb
Vtr	transitive verb
Vref	reflexive-only verb
Adv	adverb
Part	particle
Excl	exclamation
Eng	probable loan from English

In reading the example sentences it may often be instructive to see whether a particular verb is transitive or intransitive, or what the absolutive form of a particular noun looks like; this is the information this wordlist can

provide. It does not pretend, however, to exhaust the semantic and syntactic properties of the words shown.

baadhil, Vint: cry
baarrngaa, Vint: sing out, yell
baaru, N: loins, crotch
baawal, Vtr: cook, burn
bada, Loc: below, down
badha-, Vref: be finished
badhibay, N: bone
badhuarr, N: zamia palm
baduur, N: fishhook
baga, Part: (agentive, cautionary)
bagal, Vtr: dig
balgal, Vtr: make, wash, fix
balil, Vint: go (Respect language)
balnggarr, N: flesh, meat
bama, N gen: person, Aboriginal
bambu, N(Eng): bamboo
bandil, Vtr: chop, cut down
banydyit, Vtr: wait for
barrbil, Vint: camp, spend the night
barrga-balga, Part: along
barrgaar, N: mouth
bayar, N: house
baydyarr, Vtr: cover, crush
bidal, Vtr: harpoon
bidha, Adj: small
bidga, N: fig species with edible fruit
bigibigi, N: pig
biiba, N: father
bilil, Vint: paddle
biinit, Vint: die
bilu, N: hip
binaa, Adj: sweet, delicious, well-loved
binaal, N?:know
binirr, N: ironbark tree
bira, Part: for sure
birra, N: leaf
birri, N: river
biwul, N: mother-in-law
bubu, N: land, dirt, place
budal, Vtr: eat
budhil, N: nose
budhu, Part: if, (dubitative)
budhuar, Part: very
bugul, N: antbed
bula, Pron: 3du
buligi, N: bullock
buli, Vint: fail
bunggu, N: knee
bunydyil, N: frill-lizard
burnday, N: notch
burrurr, Adj: hard

burriway, N: emu
buurraay, N: water

daamal, Vtr: spear
daan-gaay, N: wind
daarraalngan, Ngen: kangaroo (Respectful language)
dabaar, Adj: good
dabarraba-aygu, Time: early (Coastal dialect)
dabunh, N: 'bush mango' tree
daga-, Vref: sit, be seated
dagu, N: thing, introductory particle
dani, Adj: slow

dhaaba-ngal, Vtr: ask for
dhaawil, Vtr: call, summon
dhabil, Vtr: kick
dhadaa, Vint: go
dhagal, N: front
dhalun, N: sea
dhamal, N: foot
dhanbarr, Vtr: throw
dhana, Pron: 3pl
dhanggurr, Vtr: scratch
dharromali, N: thunder
dhaunuh, N: friend
dhillinh, Part: then, in return
dhirrgaligu, Adv: right through
dhudacan, N: road, path
dhugidhuigi, N(Eng?): chicken
dhuila, N: flood
dhuila-gadhal, Vtr: tangle up, ensnare
dhuuril, Vtr: eject
dhuurrgal, Vtr: push
dhuugu, Adj: dead

diigal, Vtr: send, free, let loose
diingal, Vtr: laugh at
dindal, Adj: fast
dingga-dhirr, N?+COM: hungry
dinggi, N(Eng): boat
dubil, Vtr: leave
dudaa, Vint: run
dumba-, Vref: be frightened
dumbil, Vtr: break
 - *gunbu dumbil*, dance
dumu, N: chest
duwrgin, N: water rat
duugal, Vtr: bury

dyaarba, N: snake

dyadyu, N: kangaroo rat
dyanydyil, Vint: bathe
dyiba-, Loc: south
dyidyirr, N: bird
dyiga, Adj: weak, fresh, unripe
dyigan, N: grass
dyiinbal, Vtr: tease
dyiral, N: wife
dyiri, N: sky, heaven (Coastal dialect)
dyirraanh, N: male, man
dyindal, Vtr: peck, bite
dyuugaar, N: sand
dyuumbil, Vtr: swallow

gaangal, Vtr: waken, disturb, nudge
gaangga, N: yam
gaanha, N: yamstick
gaarga, N: younger brother
gaari, Part: no, not
gabirr, N: girl
gadaa, Vint: come
gada-bal, Vint: break
gadha, Adj: rotten
 - *gadha-warra*, unconscious
gadhi, Loc/Adj: distant
gadil, N: name
gaga, Adj: poison, sick, salty
 - *gaga-bulii*, get sick
gagwarr, Num: a few, five
gala, Part: (emphatic)
galbay, Adj: long
galga, Adj: spear
galmba, Part: also
gambagamba, N: old woman
gambarr, N: pitch
gambul, N: stomach, matriline
gamindharr, N: son's child (male speaking)
gana, N: underside
 - *ganaaygu*, before, long ago
ganaa, Part: alright, okay
ganbi, N: blood
gan.gaarr, N: quartz, Cooktown
ganggal, N: child
gangurru, N: kangaroo species
ganhil, N: traditional song
garrbal, Vtr: hold, grab
garrbun-dhirr, N?+COM: happy, contented
gayil, Vtr (R conjugation): hook, snare
gidha, N: Moon (Coastal dialect)
gilaadha, N(Eng): glass
gima, Adj: soft
girrbadhi, N: dugong

gudaa, N: dog
gudhirra, Num: two
gulbu, Adj: together, in a mass
gulgi, N: claw
gult, N/Adj: anger, hatred, angry
gunbu, N: dance, corroborree
gundal, Vtr: hit, kill
gundil, N: egg
gungga-, Loc: north
gun.gun, N: scrub, forest
gurra, Part: more, and
gurral, Vtr: say, tell, CAUS
gurra, N: earth oven
gudyu, Ngen: fish
guugu, N: talk, language, word
guuna, Part: let, (desiderative)
guunduu, Num: three
guwa, Loc: west
guya, Part: none, nonexistent

ma, Excl: come, well, so...
maa-naa, Vtr: get, take, marry
maandii, Vtr: bring, take
madha-, Vref: climb
magil, N: branch
magu, Part: before
malin, Part: (usitative)
mamba, N: fat
 - *ma-naa*, Vtr: cause, CAUS
mangal, N: hand
manydyal, N: mountain
marrbagan, N: cave
marrgin, N: rifle
mayi, Ngen: vegetable food
midal, N: lawyer-cane
midal, Vtr: lift
mil, N: eye
milu, N: shade
mirriil, Vtr (R conj): tell, show
milbi, N: story, news
milbir, N: wommera
milbil, Vtr: promise (to give)
milga, N: ear
milguul, N: oil, grease, liquid fat
minha, Ngen: meat, edible animal
minhdhil, Adj: hot
mugu, N: back, seed
mila, Ngen: honey, bee
mulban.gu, Adv: tightly, firmly
mundal, N/Adj: the rest, the others
munggil, Vtr: beat, gather in (large catch of fish, etc.)
mungurru, N: scrub python, large carpet snake

murnda, Adj: tame, unafraid
marrga, Part: only
marrgarra, Part/Adj?: unable
maunhdhi, Loc: Jack River area
mauri, N: hair

naaybu, N(Eng): knife
naga, Loc: east
nambal, N: stone, money
nambuurr, N: bed
nanggurr, N: camp
narra=damal, Vint: shiver

ngaabaay, N: head
ngaadharr, N: dog, dingo
ngaaguul, N: arm
ngaanaa, Int: what
ngaandhu, N: woman
ngagu, N: shoulder
ngalan, N: sun, day
ngalba, Part: covered with
ngalbil, Vtr: steal
ngalburr, Vtr: close
ngalgal, N: smoke, tobacco
ngali, Pron: ldu
ngalmbu, Adj: cooked, ripe
ngamba, Part: heedless, unaware
ngamu, N: mother
ngana, Pron: lpl (Coastal dialect)
nganhdhaan, Pron: lpl
ngarraa, N: skin
ngayu, Pron: lsg
nguba, Part: perhaps
ngudha=ngudha, Time: long ago
ngudhu, N: game, play
ngulgu, Time: afternoon, yesterday
ngundu, Loc/Part: in this
 direction, towards here
nguilbaan, N: cloud
ngual, N: scent
ngual, Part: after, from

nhaa, Deic: there, that
 - *nhayun*, that
nhaa-maa, Vtr: see
nhiidyin, Part: always, regularly
nhiirraul, N: greensnake
nhiila, Time: now, today
nhiin.gal, Vint: sit
nhiinhinhi, N: proper
nhaamaar, Part: always, regularly
nhaumal, Vtr: smell

nubruun, Num: one

nyulu, Pron: 3sg
nyundu, Pron: 2sg

waadal, Vtr: say, tell
waarigan, N: moon (Inland dialect
 only)
waaribal, Vtr: return
waarnggu, N/Adj: sleep, sleepy
wadhin, N?: hunting
 - *dhadaa wadhin*, go hunting
 - *wadhi*, Adj: wounded
wagil, Vtr: cut
waguurr, Loc: outside
walanggar, N: death adder
wali, Adv: around, all around
wal-maa, Vint: rise, ascend
walingal, Vtr: open
walu, N: temple, side
walu, Part: like
wambu, N: ash
wangarr, N: white man, devil
wanggaar, Loc: high, above
wangi, N: boomerang
wangunh, N: sky, high (Inland
 dialect only)
wanhdhaa, Int/Loc: where
wanhdharr, Int: how
wanhu, Int: who
 ERG: *wanhdu*
warra, Adj: bad, very
warra, Part: resident of
warraal, Part: 'so high'
 (see sentence (77))
waarbi, N: tommyhawk, axe
warrga, Adj: large
wawu, N: breath, soul, inside
wudhurr, N: night
wugurr, Vtr: follow, look for
wulbu, Adj: all
wulunggurr, N: thunder, lightning,
 light, flame
wu-maa, Vtr: give
wu-maa, Vint: lie, exist
wun.guanh, Time: tomorrow,
 morning
wunhdha, Adj: empty
wunydyurr, Vtr: blow on, blow
 away
wurrbal, N: fog
wurrgaa, Vint: suffer
wurri-wurri, Vint: play
wurruyu=ngaadharr, N: curer,
 native doctor

yaadyil, Vint: burn
yaba, N: older brother
yabarraban, Adj: gigantic
yalgaarr, Adj: separate, apart
yalmba, N: sandhill
yarra, Deic: there, yonder

yarraman, N: horse
yarra, Deic: that way, thus
yarrbaarrga, Adv: severely
yarrga, N: boy
yidharr, Vtr: put
yidi, N: stingaree
yit, Deic: this, here
 - *yiday*, here
 - *yimi-dhurr*, in this way
yilba-, Vref: share, split with
 each other
yima-, Vref: swell, puff
yindu, Adj: other, different

yinil, Adj: afraid
yirbal, N: supernatural creature,
 guardian of sacred place,
 rainbow
yirngal, Vtr: turn
yirrgaa, Vint: speak
yisarr, Vtr: search for
yuba, Adj: near
yubaal, Pron: 2du
yugu, N: tree, wood, fire
yumurr, N: child (of male)
yurra, Pron: 2pl
yurraal, N: beach

VOCABULARY IN SEMANTIC FIELDS

Ordinary everyday Guugu Yimidhirr words are shown with rough English glosses. For many, but by no means all, of these words, a few older speakers still know a respectful 'Brother-in-law' language alternate form (see 1.4), to be used in place of the ordinary word in the presence of avoided or especially respected relatives. Such respectful equivalents are shown preceded by a dollar-sign (\$). When no respectful equivalent is shown for an everyday word, either no special word is needed to replace it in respectful speech, or the equivalent is simply unknown. (Briefly, some words could be pronounced in everyday form with tabooed relatives if they were spoken in a slow and soft tone; these were often words denoting non-sensitive objects - particular plant or game species, for example. Thus, although the word *mayi* '[vegetable] food' has the respectful equivalent *gudhubay*, the phrase *mayi badhuurr*, which denotes the edible nut of the *badhuurr* 'zamia palm' would be rendered in polite speech by replacing *mayi* by *gudhubay*, but leaving *badhuurr* unchanged: *gudhubay badhuurr*. However, very many respectful equivalents for common words have been forgotten, even when speakers know that a respectful term used to exist.)

When well-known Inland or Coastal variants are shown, the Coastal term is marked (C). The wordlist also characterizes a few words by rough labels, like 'rude' or 'vulgar'; the implied hierarchy is, from least to most unacceptable, 'impolite', 'rude', 'vulgar'. Verbal etiquette in traditional Guugu Yimidhirr society was an elaborate matter, which such labels can only crudely suggest.

NOUNS

A - Body Parts

ngaabaay; *gambuugu* (C);
sgudyitir, head
garu, brain
mauri; *swulmul* (=hair, fur);
smarngga (=whiskers), hair, fur
binga; *sdiiyan*, grey hair
 - *binga-dhurr*, grey-haired

bidi; *sgaman*, forehead
walu; *sgaman*, temple, side of face
nhambul; *sgaman*, cheek
mil; *swalgul*, eye
budhiil; *sbunhabunha*, nose, face
milga; *sdniba*, ear
baari; *sdyinu*, chin

bandin; \$dyinu, hip, waist
 bungg; \$dyinu, knee
 dkinbaan; \$dyinu; yurrgal (C),
 elbow, forearm
 dnunggan; \$dyinu, anklebone, shin,
 heelbone
 gacurr; \$dyinu, armpit
 gala; \$dyinu, crotch, loins
 marda; \$dyinu, wrist
 maarmul; \$dyinu, flank, side,
 rib area
 nhuru; \$dyinu, heel
 waara; \$dyinu, hipbone
 guugulu; \$dyinu, pelvis
 barrgaar; \$nyurruamu, mouth
 yimbi; \$nyabit, lip
 nganhahaar; \$nyabit, tongue
 walarr; \$wulmil, \$muangga,
 beard, stubble, moustache
 - walarr yimbi-wi, moustache
 multir; \$baabnal, tooth (and
 euphemism for vagina)
 buargul (=foam); nhumba (=spit),
 spittle, saliva
 manu; \$nyuamydyu; ngandaal (C)
 (=neck, gill), neck, throat
 dhudhurr; \$nyuamydyu, back of
 head and upper neck
 marngul; \$nyuamydyu, windpipe,
 Adam's apple, interior of
 throat
 yangay; \$nyuamydyu, neck below
 nape, back of neck
 dhaway, shoulderblade
 ngagu; \$yangay, shoulder
 mugu; \$yangay, back, seed, shell,
 etc.
 ngaagnal, upper arm
 mangal; \$dhalgumu, hand
 guluurr; \$dhalgumu, thumb
 ngagin, little finger, toe
 gulgi; \$birrin, finger- or toe-
 nail, claw
 guyyu; \$yimor; \$manjil (also=fish);
 \$muna, breast, milk
 damu; \$nyambarr, chest
 yirmbaarr; \$ganhaganha, rib
 gambul; dhamba (esp. of animal);
 \$ganbin, belly, stomach
 dhual; \$dhualmul, guts, bowels,
 intestines
 dhualburr; \$muadhil (and C),
 navel, umbilical cord
 dadhali; buargul (C); \$walngga,
 heart
 wawu; \$walngga, breath, insides
 gungimbarr, kidney

bujagar; (also called: nganhahaar
 guda 'dog's tongue', from its
 shape), lung
 dhiba; \$malgaarra, liver
 babaal, buttocks
 buga (impolite); \$baanggaarr,
 bottom, anus
 guman; \$balnggirr; wulu (C),
 leg, thigh, root
 baaru; \$balnggirr, lap, front
 bibaar; \$balnggirr, shin
 bilu; \$balnggirr, hip bone,
 side of pelvis
 ngarr; \$balnggirr, calf
 dhamal; \$buyibuyii, foot,
 footprint
 daanugu; \$buyibuyii, corn (on
 foot)
 nugal; \$buyibuyii, ankle
 buru (vulgar); ngarraar (vulgar);
 gurribil (C), penis
 gunul (very rude); gulun (curse),
 phallus
 dilmbarr (rude); gundil (= 'egg'),
 testicle
 biral, semen
 dyirril; gaygan, pubic hair
 dyinal (vulgar), woman's sex
 organs
 mangga; garradha; dhanhdha,
 faeces
 gumbu; \$dyilaarr, urine, bile
 dhudhi; \$ngugmal; \$milmal
 (= 'muscle'), body
 ngarraa; \$dyiriwan, skin
 manhuwan; \$dyiriwan, peeling or
 flaking skin; snakeskin
 murrbin; \$dyiriwan, ringworm or
 skin disease
 badhibay, bone
 ganbi; garrmbi; \$binhdhaar;
 \$garngin, blood
 mamba; \$mnaal, fat, solid fat,
 cheese
 ngaala; \$wabirr (= 'water');
 \$galmar (=odour), sweat
 bandal; buudhi; \$burmul, sore,
 swelling
 balamu; \$burmul, abscess, boil
 bambu; \$burmul, pus

B - Human Classification
 bama; \$yambaal, person,
 Aboriginal
 dyirraan, man, male
 nganhaha; \$wugulugul, adult
 woman

gambagamba; \$wugulugul, old woman
 ganggal; bidha (= 'small'); yumurr
 (esp. son of man); \$duala,
 child, baby
 yarra, \$balngu, boy, male child
 dyirraaynggurr, old man
 gabirr; maral; \$munamina
 (cf. 'breast'), girl,
 unmarried woman
 nganhaha; \$wugulugul, adult
 woman
 gamba(gamba); \$wugulugul, old
 woman
 bilu-mayarr; \$wugulugul
 (cf. 'hip-bone'), widow,
 widower
 wurruya-ngadharr, Aboriginal
 'doctor'
 wangarr; \$maaluul, white man
 (=ghost)
 buliman; gaarrgil; guldidi,
 policeman
 yigi; \$maaluul, ghost

C - Kinship

muga(galy); \$ngagumadharr, senior
 uncle or aunt; (i.e., mother's
 older brother or sister); self-
 reciprocal
 biba; \$ngagumadharr, father,
 father's younger brother etc.
 ngamu; \$ngulmburr, mother,
 mother's younger sister, etc.
 babi; \$ngulmburr; \$ngunbal,
 father's mother, etc.
 birimar, \$ngulmburr, father's
 younger sister, etc.
 birul; \$ngulmburr, wife's mother
 mugur; \$ngulmburr; \$ngunbal,
 mother's brother, mother's
 brother's son, etc.
 ngadhina; \$ngulmburr, father-
 in-law
 ngadhi, mother's father
 gami; \$ngunbal, mother's mother,
 father's father
 yaba; \$bulngaarr, older brother
 gaarga; \$bulngaarr, younger
 brother
 gaanhaal, older sister
 dyin.gurr, younger sister
 yumurr; \$duala, child (of man)
 dyuway; \$duala, son (of woman)
 ngudhurr; \$duala, daughter (of
 woman)
 ngidhidhi; \$duala, daughter-in-
 law (of man)

dunnu, husband, sister's husband
 dyiral; \$munamina, wife, wife's
 sister
 gaminhahaar; \$ngunbal, son's child
 ngadhiniil, daughter's child
 gumn.ga, brother's wife
 biidyirr, woman's son-in-law
 galaadhin, man's son-in-law
 nganydya, spouse's grandparent;
 grandchild's spouse

D - Mammals

balin.ga; \$nhalngarr, porcupine
 (echidna)
 gugurr, mouse, rat
 dhigul; \$dyinu (cf. 'chin', 'hip',
 etc.), native cat
 wadyir; \$nyitwa, small bandicoot
 yarrbay; \$nyitwa, rabbit bandicoot
 bigtbigi; \$nyitwa, (wild) pig
 gulaan; \$yumbu, possum
 gadaar; \$daarraalngan, wallaby
 (lives on flat)
 banurr; \$daarraalngan, rock
 wallaby
 bibal; \$daarraalngan, small scrub
 kangaroo
 dyadyu; \$daarraalngan, kangaroo
 rat
 gangurru; \$daarraalngan;
 ngurruumu; large black or grey
 kangaroo
 nharrgali; \$daarraalngan, large
 red kangaroo
 wudul; \$daarraalngan, whip-tail
 kangaroo
 dhulmbanu; \$daarraalngan, wallaroo
 yanurrinh; bulgadhirr; \$gunhdhin,
 tail (eg. of kangaroo)
 ngadharr; \$gugurr (cf. 'mouse,
 rat'), dingo, dog
 guda; \$gugurr, tame dog
 dyungginh; \$mulbuur; gambi,
 flying fox
 bangguurruga, small flying fox with
 thin fur
 manu-wudhuga (literally, 'neck with
 wudhu' -- a type of fine grass),
 large species of flying fox with
 prominent neck fur
 dhibuul, bat
 yarraman; \$gugurr (cf. 'dog'),
 horse
 buligi, bullock, cow
 mauri bunggaga (cf. 'hair, fur'),
 sheep

E - Reptiles

ganhaarr; *swayin*, crocodile, large goannas, salt-water lizards
dhagay; *barri*, *swayin*, sand goanna
dhawhdhidhurr; *swayin*, freshwater crocodile
gwaaarra; *swayin*, spotted tree goanna
walmbarra; *swayin*, sandhill goanna
dagul; *smarrgurr*, freshwater turtle
ngawiya; *smarrgurr*, sea turtle
maruya, printy
gulgul, blue-tongue lizard
bunydyul; *swanggu*, frill lizard
gubuy; *swanggu*, treeclimbing goanna
dyaarba; *dhunggul* (C); *sdhama*, snake (generic)
ngudhail, black-headed python
mungurru; *ngagawarra*, scrub python
gabul; *ngagawarra*, carpet snake
nhiirruul, green snake
dhambanh, file snake
walangarr; *sdhama*, death adder
biigaarr; *sdhama*, taipan
yarramu; *sdhama*, brown snake
manhimunhi (= 'black+REDUP'), red-bellied black snake
yurraay, [poisonous] sea snake
gamulu, [non-poisonous] river snake

F - Birds

dyidyirr, bird (generic)
gundil; *swurruan*, egg
buurr; *sbunydyi*, bird's nest; tea
budyuur, feather (generic); tail-feathers
burriway; *ngunhdhangunhdha*, emu
gurrbal, native companion
bilu-warra (lit., 'hip-bad'), pelican
dhamaarrbina, goose (magpie goose)
dyuril-dyuril, curlew
wunguarrga, plains turkey
diwaan; *ngubu*, scrub turkey
gauu dyibanunganh (lit., 'voice from the south'), black swan
bunggu-dyirrri, bower bird
wuguy, wompoo pigeon
maulramul, dove
dabarr, brown pigeon
wabul, Torres Strait pigeon
gurradmasaar, magpie

waadha, crow
biiba-dyirrri, cicada-bird (cricket)
didhirridhin, wren
bayil-bayil, magpie lark
dhuga, scrubhen
digal, thornbill
gurrulga; *gugaa*, kookaburra (2 species?)
bunydyia; *syalmburr* (= 'meat'), night-owl
waandaar; *ngigirril*, white cockatoo
ngurraar; *ngigirril*, black cockatoo
galin.galin, brown hawk
gudhal, eaglehawk
garngil, hawk species (?)
gauramugu, 'meat' hawk
wandii, seahawk
ganbil, parrot with crimson wing
mundurr, giant crane
dhillbuurr, jabaroo
dunguuyngga; *syalmburr* (= 'meat'), duck
bulbuurrbul, pheasant (?)
milgaandurr, seagull

G - Fishes

gawdyu; *guyu*; *smonyil*, fish (generic)
barrbal, silver bream
murrabal, freshwater barramundi
bigudhurr, jewfish
bulal, poisonous blowfish (salt)
duran, stonefish
galinggaan, blue-tailed mullet
marrbaarra, rock cod
maurraar, black catfish
wuyumadharr, perch
biganh, small river eel
dindurr, large seagoing eel

H - Insects, etc.

bugul, antbed
gira, ant (generic)
yangga, *dhinggan*; *smunhdhurr*, green ant
masal, wasp
nhuambirr, beeswax, honeycomb
mula; *sgulngguan*, sugarbag; bee (generic)
dhuru; *sgulngguan*, native bee species
gudha; *sgulngguan*, black bee
ngaymburr; *sgulngguan*, tiny native bee species

wamba; *sgulngguan*, 'English bee'
dinhahdharr; *sburruul-dhurr* (lit. 'with anger'), scorpion
gaalacaya, centipede
buluurrbuluurr, blowfly
dhabaga; *sgunhdhin*, fly
gubirr, marchfly
manu; *sgudirr*, mosquito
walbulbul, butterfly, moth
midhurr, edible grub species
bulubul, spider (generic)
dhabulin; *dyinu* (cf. 'chin', 'hip' etc.), earthworm
gadu, leech
yulngurr, prawn or shrimp
digirr; (cf. *mugu*, 'back', 'seed', 'shell'), shell (generic)
dhawnga, freshwater mussel
milbaar, Nautilus shell
dhandaar; *syimun*, (green river) frog
bundiil, grasshopper
waugul, louse, flea

I - Language, Ceremony, etc.

gauu, *ngirruul*, word, speech, language
milbi; *ngirruul*, story, news, myth
gadil; *snangginanggi*, name, music sticks
gurbu; *swanna*, dance, song, corroboree
ganhil, extemporaneous, abusive song
yilal, song type for dancing
nganydya, initiation ceremony and ground
muurrul; *syanyil*, (= 'cut'), scars, body decorations

J - Artefacts, etc

wangi, boomerang
milbir, wommera
gaanha, yamstick (and wild 'hopwood' tree from which it is made)
gugulu, nulla-nulla, fighting stick
galga; *sgandul*, spear (generic)
yimba; *sgandul*, four-pronged spear
banydyarr; *sgandul*, four-pronged fishing spear
digarra; *sgandul*, fighting spear with stingaree barb

murranggal; *sgandul*, bullet spear
wandin, bark shield
warrbi; *sgadiil-baga*, axe, tommyhawk
biida; *swirriir*, shell knife
bulal, firesticks
magarr, fishnet; cobweb
wangga, canoe
banyin; *sdirrba*, dilly-bag type
ngunyin; *sdirrba*, small dilly-bag
bunba; *sdirrba*, large dilly-bag
dubal, bark trough
nambal; *swambugan*, stone, money

K - Food, Fire, Water

minha; *syalmburr*, meat, animal
mayi, *sgudhubay*, vegetable food, tucker
yugu; *sgunhdhin*, tree, wood, fire
wambu, ashes
ngalgal; *sbuluur*, smoke, cigarette
wulngurr, flames, light
buurraay; *swabirr*, water
buurraay gaga (= 'salt, poison'), salt water, liquor
wumbal; *mulidhin* (C), creek
birri, river
namu, *walngga*, swamp
madyi; *sdhulbun*, rain; matches

L - Celestial, Weather etc.

ngalan; *sgandagan*, sun; daytime
wangaar; *sgandagan*, dry season
milu; *sgandu*, shade, shadow
waarigan; *sgin.gin*; *gidha* (C), moon
dasaar, star
wudhurr; *sbudubudu*, night
yimbab, rainbow; supernatural serpent
wangunh; *dytiri* (C), sky
nguilbaan, cloud
girray, mist, drizzle
warrbal, fog
dharramali; *sbuduunbina*, thunder
wulngurr; *malbarr*; *sbuduunbina* (cf. 'flames, light'), lightning

M - Geography

bubu; *swurrii*, place, ground, country
nangurr; *swurrii*, camp
bayan; *sgaymba*, house
dhudaan; *syimbulimbul*, path, road, track

dyngaacar; *\$nyinyitirr*, sand
burndhi; *\$warrii gimbal* (= 'soft')
 mud, swampy ground
gamay; *\$dharabi*, white clay
uba, red ochre
bargabarga, yellow ochre
bulbuur; *\$warrii*, dust
warrigan; *diyarr* (C); *\$burriigan*,
 hole (in the ground)
marrbugan; *\$burriigan*, cave
yaarrgurr; *\$warrii dhulnggal*
 (= 'good'), plain, flatlands
manydyal; *\$yinga*, mountain
nambal; *\$wambagan*, stone
ditgaurr; *\$nyinyitirr*, gravel

N - Arboreal, etc.
yugu; *\$gunhdhin*, tree, wood, etc.
birra; *\$yidhidhidul*, leaf
gun.gun; *madya* (C), scrub,
 dense scrubland
dhaba; *\$dyigu*, stick
dhumail, thorn, splinter
dharrandharran; *\$gunhdhin*, root,
 or root cluster
dyin.gal, single root or vine
ngan.ga, flower; feather
manhu; *gadhaa* (C); *\$buunhdhi*,
 grass
manamh, burr (from grass)
mabil; *manhdhiina*; *ngurri*,
 etc., species of water lily
 (edible)
baarrabarra, common mangrove tree
babadha, bloodwood
badhuurr, zamia palm
banday, native 'cherry' tree
bidiga, wild 'fig'
biniirr, ironwood tree
budhaya, lady-apple tree
budhu, ti-tree
bungga, black-boy grass tree
dabunh, wild 'mango' tree
dalgan, native 'pine' (Casuarina)
dhibuğun, pandanus sp. with
 edible nut
dhilbi; *dhumbiin*, leichhardt
 tree
dhundurr, white gum
dhawaar, black palm
gaarraay, raffia palm
garribil, sea-growing mangrove,
 'sea cedar'
gurruruy, 'burdekin' plum
maya, 'sleepy' tree
mili, 'stinging' tree
mulaan, wattle sp.

ngulaga, pandanus, grows on beach
wunha, wild 'nanda' fruit
yaarrunh, wattle sp.
gaangga; *\$waldhan*, yam (generic)
wagay; *\$garu*, yellow yam

O - ADJECTIVES

nubuan; *\$nhuluur*, one
gudhiirra; *\$dhambuil*, two
guanduu; *\$guliur*, three, a few
warrga-aygu; *\$dhalga*, many (cf.
 large)
minhi; *\$mayngguul*, black
bilbin; *\$mayngguul*, grey, darkish
dyingga; *\$dhulnggal-gu* (= 'good')
 white
diini; *\$dhulnggal*, red
warrga; *\$dhalga*, big
bidha; *\$yigal*, small
galbay; *\$wunyan*, long, tall
murrri; *\$yigal*, short
muyumh, fat, healthy-looking
 (cf. *mamba*)
barban; *daarrgaay* (C), *bala*;
\$dyirrun, thin, unhealthy-
 looking
walaal; *\$dhalga*, wide
dhubu; *\$dhudhun*, narrow, close
 together
dhambuur-gu; *\$dhulnggal*,
 straight, proper
gurrmanhgurmanh; *\$dyirrun*,
 crooked, improper
minhdhil; *\$wulnggan*, hot
wongaar; *\$wulnggan*, very hot
 weather
muganhmuganh; *\$maygaurmaygaur*,
 cold
duna, moist, wet
bornydyil, dry
buula; *\$dhamarr+PAST*, dried up
 (e.g., tree)
burrburr; *\$maydyarr*, hard, strong
mulban-gu; *\$maydyarr-gu*, tight,
 tightly
gima; *\$gimbal*, soft, weak
gulnggul; *\$nguraarrnguraarr*,
 heavy
budharr; *\$gaari nguraarrnguraarr*,
 light (weight)
dirril; *balbaaynhbalbaaynggu*;
galbur.galbur; *\$dhulnggal*,
 sharp (point or edge)
duwu; *budul* (C); *\$dyirrun*,
 blunt, dull
gaga; *\$dyirrun*, sweet, salty,
 sour, poisonous

nhilaa; *\$dirrgaa*, new
nhila; *\$dirrga*, now, soon (time)
dyiga; *\$dirrga*, fresh, unripe
 (fruit, moon)
mugul; *\$dyirrun*, old
dabaar; *buudhan* (C); *\$dhulnggal*,
 good
warra; *\$dyirrun*, bad
bungal; *\$dhulnggal*, clever,
 expert
yiril; *\$mor.gal*, afraid, cowardly;
 wild (animal)
marrda; *\$dhulnggal*, brave, tame,
 willing
gulay, larrikin, promiscuous
dhayu; *\$nharr=badhi*, dead
ngacambuurr-gu, alive
gayal; *\$gamburr*, raw, uncooked,
 unripe
ngalmbu; *\$dhama-rrin*, cooked, ripe
yidhiil, ripening, almost ripe
 (fruit)
gadha; *\$gunay* (= 'bloating'), foul
 (smelling), rotten
warrnggu; *\$wulbul*, sleeping,
 asleep
burra; *\$walgul dyirrun*
 (= 'bad eye'), blind
burun; *gadan*; *\$wulmul gaari*
 (= 'hair not'), bald
mamba-dhirr (= 'fat-COM');
\$mnaal-dhirr, fat
midhi-dhirr (= 'point-COM'),
 sharp (pointed)
milga-mul (= 'ear-PRIV');
\$dhuba-mul, deaf, stupid,
 inattentive
milga-dhirr; *\$dhuba-dhirr*,
 obedient
meyan(-dhirr), ashamed,
 embarrassed
guli-dhirr; *\$burruil-dhirr*,
 angry, wild
gaga-dhirr; *\$ngambuuy-dhirr*, sick
dingga-dhirr; *\$wuyngga-dhirr*,
 hungry
gambuul-dhirr (= 'stomach-COMIT'),
 satisfied, full
wan=biini (= 'breath-die'), tired,
 thirsty, sleepy

VERBS

P - Motion

dhadaa; *\$balil*, go
gadaa; *\$madaI+REF*, come
buurnggal+REF; *\$dauagal+REF*, enter

waarmbal; *\$wali=rambal*, return (tr)
yirngal, turn (tr), rotate
wugurr; *\$ngura=ngal*, follow,
 chase (tr)
gaynydyarr; *\$nhidu-wi madaI+REF*
 (= 'knees-on come'), crawl
ganbarr; *\$dhala=mal*, jump,
 protrude
wurri, play, dance
warriil; *\$guurrbal*, fly
dudaa; *\$wamal+REF*, run
bulii; *\$gulnggal+REF*, fall
madhal+REF; *\$yandal*; *mabil* (C),
 climb up (intr)
dyanydyil; *\$gubur=ragal+REF*,
 bathe, bogey
maarii; *\$dhaanaarr*, swim
nguurmal=dudaa, dive

Q - Rest

nhin.gal; *\$nyarrgal+REF*, sit,
 stay, exist
walmaa; *\$yandal*, get up, arise,
 rise
yualii; *\$nguraarr=ngal+REF*,
 stand up (intr)
wunaa; *\$wadharr*, lie down, exist
dhaarmbil, float

R - Induced Position

yidharr; *\$nambirr*, put, put down
gayaa=bagal; *\$nambirr*, hang up (tr)
waalnggal, hang (intr)
maa-naa; *\$gayil*, pick up, take,
 marry, get
garrbal; *\$nandaarr=ngal*, hold
maandii; *\$daburr*, carry, bring
midaarr; *\$daburr*, lift
dirrbaa; *\$daburr*, abduct, run off
 with
dubil; *\$nambirr*, leave
bulngal; *\$yalmbuurr=ngal*, pull
 (up, out)
buunydyaal; *\$yalmbuurr=ngal*, drag
 along
dhaurngal; *\$yalmbuurr=ngal*, push
dhambarr; *\$gala=budal*, throw
nhingurr; *\$gala=budal*,
 pour (out)
ngalbil; *\$dawing=gayil*, hide,
 steal
yiwarr, *\$gan.gurr*, look for, search
 for; REF= lose, be lost
wamil; *\$yudharr*, find
wu-maa, *\$maybal*, give

S - Affect

gundal; *\$ngulnggal*, hit, beat, kill
bandil; *\$ngulnggal*, chop, call out
yanggil; *\$ngulnggal*, crack, smash open, scrape
yiigaardamal; *\$ngulnggal*, split
dhabil; *\$ngulnggal*, kick
dacamal; *\$wumarr*, spear
bidal; *\$wumarr*, harpoon
nhinil; *\$wumarr*, poke, impale
munggil; *\$wumarr*, haul in (catch of fish or game); thrash
dyinydyal, squeeze, pinch
dhuugil, *\$yulmbal*, rinse, squeeze, sluice
balgal; *\$yulmbal*, make, do, wash, fix
dagil; *\$yulmbal*, erect, build, put together
dhuburr; *\$yulmbal*, scrub
dhtigal; *\$yulmbal*, straighten
mitbil; *\$yulmbal*, promise to give to (someone)
bagal; *\$wangarr*, dig, stab, poke, peck, jab, sting
bunhdharr; *\$wangarr*, dig up (e.g., nest)
dhanggur; *\$wangarr*, scratch
walngal; *\$wangarr*, open, set free, untie, loosen
nhuyal; *\$wangarr*, accuse, be suspicious of
wagil; *\$yanyil*, cut
gadabal; *\$wan.guur=mal*, break (intr)
dumbil; *\$wan.guur=mal*, break (tr)
bandal+REF; *\$wan.guur=mal*, break open, burst (intr)
yaadyil; *\$dhamarr*, cook, burn (intr)
dhumal; *\$dhamarr*, boil (intr)
baawal; *\$nyarrgal*; *\$huudyirr*, cook, burn (tr)
wuabal; *\$huudyirr*; *\$nyarrgal*, singe (hair off game)
gadhal; *\$mudil*, tie up
dhu'nggal; *\$buyurr*, rub, rub on, paint
gaamil, smear, smear on
baydyarr; *\$nhidal*, cover, crush, fall on
dwagal; *\$nhidal wuerrri-wi* (= 'earth in'), bury

T - Attention

banydyii; *\$nyarrgal+REF*, wait
nhaa-maa; *\$midu=ngal*, see
U - Talking, etc.
yirrgaa, speak, say, talk (intr)
waadal; *\$maybal*, tell, say (tr)
mirril; *\$miral*, tell (story, news)
gurral; *\$maybal*, say, tell, think, do
maurriil; *ngandal*; *\$gaari maybal*; *\$dawing=gayil*, refuse, eny
nyandal+REF; *\$dawing=gayil*, come to an end, finish (intr)
dhaaba-ngal; *\$gaman=wanngarr*, ask (someone for something)
dhumhdharr; *\$gaman=wanngarr*, ask (for something)
ngaadai; *\$maybal*, answer back, help
gawal, sing out, call out, yell

V - Corporeal

budal; *\$bamba=ngal*, eat
baadal; *\$bamba=ngal*, try, taste
dhuumbil; *nhuumbil*; *\$bamba=ngal*, swallow
gaydyil; *\$gaamarr*, vomit (intr)
nguyaxrr=ngal; *\$bidhaarr=ngal*, dream
wacybadhil, yawn
nyuamal; *\$nyunyurr*, smell
budharr; *\$wunydyurr*, blow, blow on
burydyal (C); *dyidyal*, *\$nyunydyal*, lick, lap up, drink
bunal; *bundal*; etc., copulate with
dagarr; *\$dhalga=mal* (= 'get big'), grow, grow up
buural+REF, get sore
biini; *\$nhar=bal+REF*, die
baadyil; *\$dyiraay=mal*, cry, sob, wail
ditingal; *\$bumbuy=gayil*, laugh at (tr)
nguurangadal; *\$nguraar=ngal*, try on, measure

W - LOCATION

gunggaarr, north
dyibaarr; *\$dhalbaarr*, south
nagaar, east
gawaar; *\$ngawaar*, west
yuba; *\$nhirra*, near
gadhi; *\$dhaalburr*, far
wanggaar; *\$yamarr*, above, high up

galmbaa; *\$yamarr*, on top of
bada; *\$dhuwan*, down, below
maandhiirr-gu; *\$dhuwan*, beneath, under, down into

X - TIME

ngulgu; *\$duray*, yesterday; afternoon
wun.guunh; *\$moraal*, tomorrow, morning, earlier today
nhila; *\$dirrga*, now
garrgu; *\$dhaaway*, later

LIST OF AFFIXES

As an aid to the reader, the following list shows the most important affixes and particles discussed in this grammar, the standard gloss for each, and a list of the sections where each is discussed.

REDUP (adjectives), 3.2.5
 REDUP (verbs), 3.5.2, 3.5.5
 -: ALL, 3.3.3[c]
 -: ERG/INST, 3.2.2[b](d)
 -: NONPAST, 3.5.3[a]
 -: SUP, 3.2.2[i]
 -\$a, PURP, 3.2.2[e]
 -:arru, 'hesitation', 3.3.2
 =baga, CAUT, 3.5.3[g], 3.5.5, 4.2[a], 4.6
 barrga-balga, 'along', 3.2.6[b]
 -bi/-wi (-day/-way), DAT/LOC/ALL/GEN+ABS, 3.2.2[c], 4.1.3[e], 4.1.6[b], 4.3.5-6, 4.7
 budhu, DUBITATIVE, 3.3.2[d], 4.8
 -:dha-, REF formative, 3.5.4
 -dht, PAST, 3.5.3[b]
 -:dhi, REF(+PAST), 3.5.4, 4.3
 -dhirr, COM, 3.2.3[c], 4.1.6[g], 4.9
 -:ga, ABES, 3.2.2[g], 4.1.3[c], 4.7
 -:ga, GOAL, 3.2.2[f], 3.3.2[c], 4.1.3[g]
 -:ga-, GEN, 3.2.3[b], 3.3.1, 4.7
 -:gal, ABES, 3.2.2[h], 4.1.3[d], 4.3.2
 gala, EMPH, 3.2.6[e]
 -:gamu, PRECAUT, 3.5.3[i], 4.6
 -garr, PLU(+ERG), 3.2.2[b](e), 3.2.3[a]
 -:garra/-:ygarra, EMPH, 3.2.4[c]
 -:gu, EMPH, 3.2.4[a], 3.3.1
 -:gu/-:ygu, EMPH, 3.2.4[b], 3.2.2[i], 3.4, 4.1.3
 -gurr, PLU, 3.2.3[a]
 =gurrul, CAUS, 3.2.7, 4.2[b], 4.2[d]
 -i, DAT/LOC/ALL (after -mu-), 3.2.3[b]
 -\$i (~-say), DAT/LOC/ALL/GEN+ABS, 3.2.2[c]
 -ii, IMP, 3.5.3[c]
 -\$il/-:l, ERG/INST, 3.2.2[b](c)
 -\$inh/-:nh, ERG/INST, 3.2.2b
 -\$inh, LOC/ALL, 3.2.2[c]
 -\$irrr, COM, 3.2.3[c]
 -l, NONPAST, 3.5.3[a]
 -:l, ERG/INST, cf. -\$il/-:l
 -la, IMP, 3.5.3[c]
 -:lmggu, PAST+NEG, 3.5.3[f], 4.5
 -:lmar, ABL, 3.4
 -:lmggur, SUP, 3.4
 -:lu, ABL, 3.4
 =mal, INCHO, 3.2.7, 3.4, 3.5.1, 3.5.5, 4.2[c-d]
 malin, USITATIVE, 3.2.6[a]
 =ma-naa, CAUS, 3.2.7, 3.4, 3.5.1, 3.5.5, 4.2[c]
 -mu-, catalytic formative, 3.2.3[b],

3.2.3[d], 3.3.3, 4.7	-nhun, SUB2, 3.5.3[k], 4.4.3
-mil, PRIV, 3.2.3[c], 4.5	-rr, NONPAST, 3.5.3[a]
-n, ERG/INST/ABL/CAU (after -mu-), 3.2.3[b]	-rrigu, ANTIC, 3.5.3[h], 4.6
-nda, CONTRF, 3.3.2[d], 3.5.3[d], 4.5	-rrin, PAST, 3.5.3[b]
-nda, ERG/INST, 3.2.2b	-rrin.ga, SUB1/PERF, 3.5.3[j]
-n.garr, ABL, 3.4	-rrin.gamu, PRECAUT, 3.5.3[i]
	-:rrmugu, PAST+NEG, 3.5.3[f], 4.5
	-rrV, IMP, 3.5.3[c]
-nganh, ABL/CAU, 3.2.2[d], 4.1.3[b]	warra, 'native of', 3.2.6[d]
-ngay, PLU, 1.2, 3.2.2[b](e), 3.2.3[a]	-wi (-:way), DAT/LOC/ALL/GEN+ABS, cf. -bi/-wi
-ngaygu, RES, 3.2.5, 4.1.3	-y, PAST, 3.5.3[b]
-:ngu, PURP, 3.2.2[e], 4.1.3[f]	-ya, CAUT, 3.5.3[g], 4.6
-ngun, ERG/INST, 3.2.2[b](a)	-:ya, REF+NONPAST, 3.5.4
-ngunda, ERG/INST, 3.2.2[b](e)	-:yga, SUB1/PERF, 3.5.3[j], 4.2.2-3
	-:ygarra, EMPH, cf. -:garra/-:ygarra
-:nh, ERG/INST, cf. -:sinh/-:nh	-:ygu, EMPH, cf. -:gu/-:ygu
-:nh, SUP, 3.2.2[i]	-:yi, REF+IMP, 3.5.4
-nhu, PURP, 3.5.3[d], 4.4.1	-yigu, ANTIC, 3.5.3[h], 4.6

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