GUUGU YIMIDHIRR

Sketch Grammar

John B. Haviland

Department of Anthropology
Research School of Pacific Studies
The Australian National University

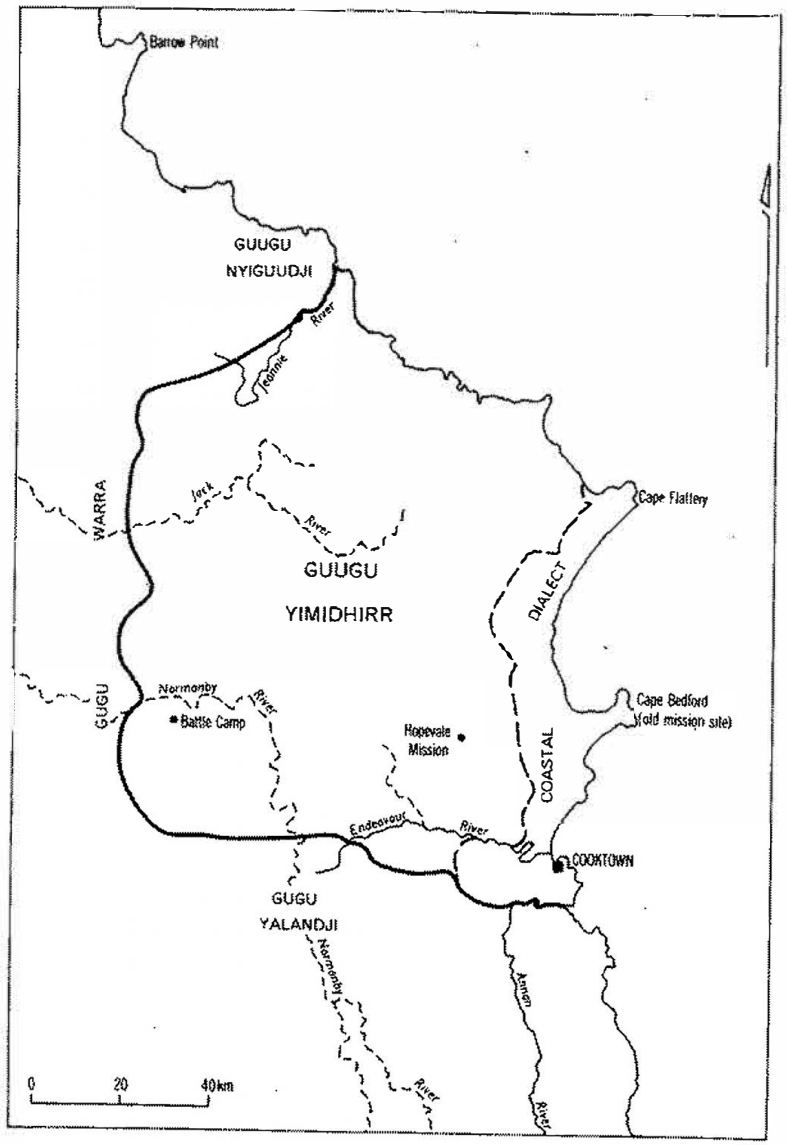
From:

Handbook of Australian Languages
Vol I,

Edited by:
R.M.W. Dixon & B. Blake

A.N.U. Press

1979



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

front': that is, it is possible to scramble words and still produce a grammatical and intelligible utterance.

Guugu Yimidhirr has a typically Australian inventory of phonemes, with five main points of articulation (including lamino-dental and lamino-alveopalatal) for stops and nasals, although a sixth position - retroflex apical - may be distinguishable in a few words. There is a single lateral *l*, a retroflex glide rhotic *r*, a flap or trilled rhotic *rr*, and the semi-vowels *w* and *y*. Guugu Yimidhirr has a three vowel system that distinguishes *a*, *i*, and *u*, with contrastive length. Stress and vowel length are related, with a long syllable always stressed. All monosyllabic full words have long vowels. Polysyllabic words ordinarily have primary stress on the first syllable and secondary stress on subsequent odd-numbered syllables.

Nouns and pronouns bear case endings, and the range of cases and the subtlety of their meanings is impressive. Pronouns distinguish categories of number (singular, dual and plural) and person (1st, 2nd, and 3rd normally for animate things only); some speakers further distinguish between an inclusive ('you and I') and an exclusive ('somebody else and I') first person dual pronoun. Many common nouns frequently cooccur with generic nouns that distinguish larger categories such as 'edible vegetable', 'edible animal', 'tree', etc.

The six verbal paradigms may be arranged into five conjugations. Again, the range and expressive power of verb suffixes is striking: endings mark tense (past and non-past), aspect (repetitive, continuous, etc.), and a variety of moods (contrafactual, desiderative, cautionary, precautionary, negative, etc.)

By comparison with other Australian languages, the system of deictics is uncomplicated; roughly, only 'here' and 'there' ('this' and 'that') are distinguished. However, an elaborate directional terminology, resembling the system of cardinal points in English, characterizes Guugu Yimidhirr talk about location, motion and orientation.

Personal pronouns follow a nominative/accusative pattern, whereas all other nominal expressions have ergative/absolutive inflection. However, heavy use of adjoined pronouns and deictics in subordinate and coordinate constructions eliminates the need for elaborate syntactic devices for fore-grounding noun phrases. Clauses with a common topic may be freely joined together, and subordination is relatively limited. A verbal suffix, *-dhi* (cognate with similar suffixes in languages spoken further South), performs a variety of functions, transforming a transitive verb stem into an intransitive, reflexive or reciprocal stem.

Unlike many Australian languages, Guugu Yimidhirr is still a living language, undergoing fairly rapid and drastic changes as a result of the particular conditions under which it is learned and spoken. Perhaps as a consequence of Mission life and history, the language shows marked variability, and processes of lexical and syntactic regularization are evident among younger speakers.

1.2 YIMIDHIRR AND IMUDHI - INLAND AND COASTAL

Lt. Cook (1955) called the language he recorded the 'New Holland' language of the Endeavour natives; this was the first Australian language written down by the European invaders. Since the 1890s most writers have called the language *Koko Yimidir* (see Roth 1901a), although Roth noted that Aborigines between Cooktown and the Annan River 'pronounce this language as being *ko-ko-i-mo-ji*' (1898ms.). In any case the language name clearly describes the language itself. *Guugu* means 'talk, language'; *Yimi-dhirr* (which alternates with *yimu-dhirr*) means literally 'this-with' or 'having-this'. As with the names of other languages of the region, the name distinguishes this particular language from its neighbours by seizing upon a distinctive word - pointing out, that is, that this language has the form *yi(mi)* for 'this', as opposed to some other word for 'this'. Moreover, in modern speech the word *yimidhirr* means 'in this way, this kind'; thus the name *guugu yimidhirr* literally describes itself: 'this way of talking, this kind of language'. The suffix *-dhirr* 'with' is cognate to the endings seen in the names of languages spoken to the South (for example, Gugu Yalan*dji*) and to the North (for example, Guugu Nyiiguud*ji*, formerly spoken near the mouth of the Jeannie River).

Guugu Yimidhirr speakers distinguish a Coastal dialect (called *dhalun-dhirr* 'with the sea') from an Inland dialect (called *waguurr-ga* 'of the outside'). Roughly, people who lived near the coast from Cape Flattery to Cooktown spoke the Coastal dialect, and the rest the Inland dialect. There were also fringe dialects, though even the names of most have been forgotten. Along the Annan River people spoke some sort of intermediate dialect, with lexical and syntactic affinities to both Guugu Yimidhirr to the North and Gugu Yalandji to the South. Such speakers seem to have been regarded with disdain by their neighbours: their dialect is called *Gugu Buyun* 'bad language' in Gugu Yalandji and *Guugu Diirrurru* 'mumbling talk' in Guugu Yimidhirr.

It is hard to know how these fringe dialects related to modern Guugu Yimidhirr: few speakers survive, and none now speaks a language free from outside interference. In 1966 de Zwaan recorded a few words from Guugu Nyiiguudji, the dialect spoken at *yalmba* (on the south side of the Jeannie River mouth). Many words simply differ from their Guugu Yimidhirr counterparts: GYim *bayan* 'house' is GNyiig *dinda*; GYim *nambal* 'stone' is GNyiig *waalba*. Other words are clearly cognates: GYim *yugu* 'wood, fire', GNyiig *yugan*; GYim *muuri* 'hair', GNyiig *muuyi*. Moreover, there were clearly some morphological equivalences. In Guugu Yimidhirr we have

mangal 'hand' *mangal-ngay* 'hands'

In Guugu Nyiiguudyi the equivalents are:

manul 'hand' *manul-ngay* 'hands'

Or again:

G Yim	G Nyiig
balgay 'wash (past)'	*gunbay* 'wash (past)'
balgala 'wash! (imp.)'	*gunbala* '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 *giidha*) 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 (*dyiigurru*) 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 unṯiyi*, in the

Barrow point language *ama untiyanu*, and in 'Lama-Lama' *mba ndikaṛam*.

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 intermarriage 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 dhaḍa-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 *dhaḍaa* '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 Penninsula 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 Polandbegan 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	*b*	*d*	*rd*	*dh*	*dy*	*g*
nasals	*m*	*n*	*rn*	*nh*	*ny*	*ng*
lateral		*l*				
rhotics		*rr*	*r*			
semi-vowels	*w*				*y*	

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+rd*). 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*	*u*	*ii*	*uu*
Low	*a*		*aa*	
	Front	Back	Front	Back

a front flap, occasionally trilled intervocalically (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 intervocalically. 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	LAMINO-PALATAL
wudhi 'gave'	*wudyi* 'strong, fast'
buunhdha 'male turtle'	*buunyda* 'night owl'
madhi 'embraced'	*madyi* 'rain'
ganhil 'song type'	*gaanyil* 'wife's brother'
yidharr 'to put'	*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
bula 'you two'	*buula* 'dry'
buli 'fell down'	*bulii* 'will fall down'
gundaya 'might hit'	*gundaaya* 'hits self'
FLAP OR TRILLED *rr*	RETROFLEX *r*
birra 'leaf'	*bira* 'certainly'
marral 'bottle'	*maral* 'girl'
APICAL RHOTIC *rr*	APICAL STOP *d*
burral 'top, summit'	*budal* 'to eat'
FINAL *rr*	FINAL *l*
wunuarr 'place at head of McIvor River'	*wunuul* 'leaning, oblique'

(Final *rr* is often very difficult to distinguish from final *l*, expecially 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* 'knelt'.

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-consonantlly 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:

g 17.4%	*dh* 9.2%	*dy* 4.6%
b 17.1%	*ng* 8.6%	*nh* 2.6%
m 12.2%	*d* 7.5%	*n* 1.4%
w 12.0%	*y* 6.9%	*ny* .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.)

-l 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	
a	45%	*a*	49%
u	37%	*u*	29%
i	18%	*i*	22%

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

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

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):

dha- 46% (of *dh*-initial roots)	*dya-* 10% (of *dy*-initial roots)
dhu- 34%	*dyu-* 23%
dhi- 20%	*dyi-* 67%

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

-dha- 47.7%	*-dya-* 32.6%
-dhu- 21.9%	*-dyu-* 14.6%
-dhi- 30.4%	*-dyi-* 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 disllabic 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:

$C_1V_1(C_2V_2)^n(C_3)$ (where $n \geq 0$).

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'.

C_1 and C_3 are single consonants, and V_1 and V_2 can be either long or short. Summarizing structural possibilities described so far, we find that:

-- C_1 can be any stop, nasal or semi-vowel (*b, d, (rd), dh, dy, g; m, n, nh, ny, ng; w, y*).

-- C_3 can be the liquid, either rhotic, the laminal semi-vowel, or *n* or *nh* (*l; rr, r ; y ; n, nh*).

-- C_2 represents either a single medial consonant or a cluster of up to three consonants, defined by the following possibilities:

C_2 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 C_3 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 laminodental *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 suffixe *-nda*, ordinarily the final *rr* drops (although not in the speech of all Hopevale residents), e.g.:

wuluŋggurr 'thunder' + *-nda* = *wuluŋggu-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:

balgal 'make'	*balgalgal*	(reduplicated form)
gundal 'hit'	**gundaalndal*	(non-occurring predicted form)
	gundaarndal	(actual reduplicated form)
waadal 'say'	**waadaaldal*	(non-occurring predicted form)
	waadaaral	(actual reduplicated form)

(In the speech of younger people a word like *gundaarndal* '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:

yiwarr 'look for'	*yiwaarrwarr*	(rare)
	yiwarrarr	(usual reduplicated form)
bawal 'cook'	*bawaalwal*	(rare)
	bawalal	(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.: *nâmbal* '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.: *mârrbugăn* 'cave', *bɨgibɨgi* 'pig', *dûrrgînbɨgu* '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:

wânhdharrâ(ŋ)ga?	'How are you, then?'
dăgu nhăa ba!	'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. *gūugu* 'language',

bāārrabàrra 'mangrove', *dhāābangàl* '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:

magíil 'branch' *gabíirr* 'girl'

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

būurráay 'water' *ngāanāā* '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:

mārrbugàn-bi-gù 'still in the cave'
báyan-ngày-gu 'just the houses'
dhāābangāl-ngal-à '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:

magíil-ngay-gù 'just branches'
dagāārr-garr-ìn '(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:

būurráay-bì-gu 'still in the water'
wāārdāar-ngày-gu 'just white cockatoos'
mīirrīil-in-ga 'had spoken'

These stess 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' = *nambāālnganh*

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

yūgu 'wood' + *-ngu* 'purposive' = *yugīāngu*

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

būurráay 'water' + *-ay* 'locative' = *bīurrayday*

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:

buurraay + *-ay* 'locative' + *-gu* 'emphatic' = *būurraydaygu* 'still in the water'

buurraay + *-bi* 'locative' + *-gu* 'emphatic' = *būurrāaybìgu*

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 difficultto 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: *nambaal-bay* 'on the stone'
bubu-way 'on the ground'

younger speakers: *nambaal-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: *gu^{d}nday*
gami=biiba 'many (lit. grandfather-father)', emphatic: *ga^{b}mi=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^{a}bay* '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

$$C_1V_1C_2V_2V_2C_3$$

(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] *Retroflexization.* 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* → *r*
(b) *ln* → *rn*

(c) *lnd* → *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 *dhawuuy-nggarr*. 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) = *dhawuaynh-ngu* 'for a friend'
dhawuunh + -bi (dative) = *dhawuaynh-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:

Nominal:
- Noun
- Adjective
- Interrogative/Indefinite pronoun

Personal Pronoun
Deictic
Locational and time words
Verb
Adverb
Particle
Exclamation

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	*-ø*
ERG	*-ngun* *-nda/ -:nh; -$inh* *-$il/ -:l* *-:* *(-ngunda; -garr)*

PERIPHERAL SYNTACTIC CASES

INST	(same as ERG)
DAT	*-bi/-wi; -$i* *-:* *-$inh*
PURP	*-:ngu* *-$a*
CAU	*-nganh*
GOAL	*-:ga*

LOCAL CASES

LOC/ALL	(same as DAT)
ABL	(same as CAU)
SUP	*-:nh* *-:*

ESSIVE CASES

ABES	*-:ga*
ADES	*-:gal*

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 monsyllabic nouns.

miil 'eye'	*miil-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'	*dyiirraaynh-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'	*gabii-nda~gabiirr-nda~gabirr-inh*
waarigan 'moon'	*waariga-nda*
gamay 'clay'	*gamaay-nda*
yugu 'wood'	*yugu-unh*
baduur 'hook'	*badur-inh (~baduur-nda)*
muuni 'stickiness'	*muuni-inh*
muliir 'tooth'	*mulir-inh (~muliir-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 *-$inh* 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:

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

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

buarraay 'water'	*buurray-il*
ngaabaay 'head'	*ngaabay-il*
nubuun 'one'	*nubun-il* (but some older speakers say: *nubun-inh*)
diwaan 'scrub turkey'	*diwan-il* (but also: *diwaan-ngun*)
daan.gaay 'wind'	*daan.gay-il*

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:

babi 'grandmother'	*babi-i*
ngaanhdu 'woman'	*ngaanhdhu-u*
yarrga 'boy'	*yarrga-a*

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' *ngaadhaarr* (=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 bit-PAST
The dog bit 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/gabiirr-nda nganhi gunda-y*
girl-ERG 1sg+ACC hit-PAST
The girl hit me [just now, recently - and I still have the mark to show it].

(8) *Gabiirr-ngun nganhi gunday.*
girl-ERG 1sg+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.

miil 'eye'	*miil-bi* 'in the eye'
bayan 'house'	*bayan-bi* 'in the house, at the house'
biiba 'father'	*biiba-wi* 'to/for the father'
gabiirr 'girl'	*gabiirr-bi* '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:

buurraay 'water'	*buarray-ay* 'in the water'
gaanhaal 'older sister'	*gaanhal-ay* 'to/for the older sister'

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

gambagamba 'old woman'	*gambagamba-wi~gambagamba-y* 'to/for the old woman'
birri 'river'	*birri-wi~birri-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 *-$inh* has locative/allative meaning with a few roots, including:

yuwaal 'beach'	*yuwal-inh* 'on/to the beach'
dyuugaar 'sand'	*dyuugar-inh* '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.

nanggarr 'camp'	*nangguurr* 'at/to camp'
gan.gaarr 'Cooktown (literally, quartz)'	

(9) *Ngayu dhada-a gan.gaarr*
lsg+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*
lsg+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 dhaluun.*
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, *nguwal*, also conveys much the same temporal meaning as the ablative, in combination with a noun that denotes an event or a moment in time. *Nguwal* 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* lsg+NOM go-NONPAST
I'll go after dinner.

(14) *Mayi nguwaal-gu ngayu dhada-a.*
food after-*gu*
I'll go after dinner.

(15) *Nguwal mayi-iga ngayu dhada-a.*
after food-?
I'll go after dinner.

(In sentences like (14) *nguwal* 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.

mayi 'food'	*mayi-ingu*
bayan 'house'	*bayan-ngu*
miil 'eye'	*miil-ngu*
badhibay 'bone'	*badhibay-ngu*

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

buurraay 'water'	*buurray-a* (also: *buurraay-ngu*)
daan.gay 'wind'	*daan.gay-a*

[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 miil-ga dhada-a*
lsg+NOM eye-GOAL go-NONPAST
I'll go for [my] eyes [to have them examined].

(17) *Nyundu wanhdhaal-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 gadiil-ga binaal-mul.*
lsg+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*
lsg+NOM Pastor-ABES come-PAST
I came from [being with] the Pastor.

(22) *Yarraman ngayu biiba-aga maa-ni.*
horse+ABS lsg+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.

ngamu 'mother'	*ngamu-ugal*
dyiiral 'wife'	*dyiiraal-gal*
bidha-gurr 'children'	*bidha-gurr-gal*

(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*
lsg+NOM mother-ADES 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 baaru-u(y)nh-gu God-gal*
bring+PAST lap-SUP-*gu* God-ADES
[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-unh wanaarna.*
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.)

ngaanhdhu 'woman'	*ngaanhdhu-ngay*
badhuur 'zamia nut'	*badhuur-ngay*

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:

gaarga 'younger brother'	*gaarga-garr* 'younger brothers (of a single person)'
dyiiral 'wife'	*dyiiraal-garr* '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 *gabiirrngay*.

(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*:

bidha 'small, child'	*bidha-gurr* 'children'
dyiirraanh 'male'	*dyiirraayng-gurr* 'adult man, adult men'

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

and a (rather idiosyncractic) reduplicated form: *dyiirray= dyiiraayng-gurr* 'old men'.

(b) *Genitive*. Possessive expressions in Guugu Yimidhirr, as in many Australian languages, accept further case specification. That is, genitive suffixes form, from a noun N, a further nominal stem (meaning 'belonging to N') which modifies another noun (the 'thing possessed') and which must agree with it in case. Genitive suffixes, that is, derive a possessive expression that functions, within a NP, like an adjective. We may represent a Noun plus Possessor NP as follows:

$$[_{NP}\ NP\ \ NP{+}Gen\ ]_{NP} \quad + \text{Case}$$

When the entire possessed NP is in Absolutive case (when it is in S or O function in the clause), the case ending is zero. In such a case the combination of Genitive derivational suffix and Absolutive case mark is equivalent to Dative inflection. (That is, the morpheme combination GEN+ABS is realized in the same way as DAT.) The suffix is *-bi/-wi*.

(32) *Yii bayan ngaanhdhu-wi*
this+ABS house+ABS woman-GEN+ABS (=woman-DAT)
This is the woman's house.

(33) *Gudaa ngaanhdhu-wi biini*
dog+ABS woman-GEN+ABS die+PAST.
The woman's dog died.

Here the morphology makes the obvious connection between the meaning of Dative case (recipient, beneficiary) and the notion of possession.

If a possessed NP is in any case other than Absolutive, the genitive has a different form: it consists of the suffix *-:ga* (probably related to either ABES or GOAL inflection), followed by a 'catalytic' element *-mu-*, followed finally by the appropriate case ending:

$$N + \text{-:}ga + \text{-}mu\text{-} + \text{Case}$$

Moreover, there are special case forms, to be suffixed to the catalytic element *-mu-*; these special forms are:

ERG/INST:	*-:n*
DAT/LOC/ALL:	*-i*
ABL/CAU:	*-:n*; *-nganh*
Others:	as with other nominal stems

When a complex NP carries case inflection, each element (in this case, both possession and possessive expressions) may bear case inflection - and both *must* be inflected for case if they are not contiguous - but frequently the 'head' noun (the possession) precedes the possessive expression, and only the latter has explicit case inflection. Thus, for example:

(34) *Ngayu gada-y bayan ngaanhdhu-uga-mu-n.*
1sg+NOM come-PAST house- woman-GEN-*mu*-ABL
I came from the woman's house.

Here the whole Ablative NP has the form:

$$[\text{bayan}_{NP}\ [\text{ngaanhdhu}]_{NP}\ \ +\text{GEN}\ ]_{NP} \quad +\text{ABL}$$

The same process can also produce a 'possessor of a possessor' construction of the form:

$$_{NP}[_{N}\ \ N{+}GEN] \quad +\text{DAT}$$

(35) *Yii bayan biiba yarrga-aga-m-i*
this+ABS house+ABS father- boy-GEN-*mu*-DAT
This house is the boy's father's.

(Both this sentence and sentence (32) above appear to have the same form: Deictic + Noun NP + Dative, with the overall meaning 'This[Noun]belongs to[NP]'. See 4.1.4[e] below. Clearly the sense of Dative inflection is closely related to the notion of possession, elsewhere indicated by Genitive derived forms. It is also notable that no further recursion is possible to express, for example, the possessor of a possessor of a possessor; for in (35) the possessive relationship between the boy and his father is marked by a GEN derivational construction, whereas the possessive relationship between the father and his house is marked by Dative case inflection.)

The catalytic formative *-mu-* plus DAT/LOC/ALL *-i* combine, as in sentence (35) to form *-mi* (pronounced *-may* by older speakers.)

A possessive expression may function alone as a complete NP, when the meaning (i.e., the thing possessed, the 'head' noun) is understood.

(36) *Ngaya dhada-y biiba-aga-m-i*
1sg+NOM go-PAST father-GEN-*mu*-ALL
I went to my father's [place].

Furthermore, although the possessive expression normally follows the head noun that it modifies and carries the case inflection for the entire possessed NP, occasionally the head noun follows (or is totally separated from) the genitive expression; in such a case, both head and genitive modifier carry case inflection.

(37) *Biiba yarrga-aga-mu-n gudaa gunda-y*
father- boy-GEN-*mu*-ERG dog+ABS hit-PAST
The boy's father hit the dog.

(38) *Yarrga-aga-mu-n gudaa gunda-y biiba-ngun.*
boy-GEN-*mu*-ERG dog+ABS hit-PAST father-ERG
The boy's father hit the dog.

These genitive constructions, in Guugu Yimidhirr, mark Alienable possession, which includes the relationships between kinsmen. Inalienable possession, the relationship between a whole and its parts, does not involve genitive construction in Guugu Yimidhirr. Instead, whole and part appear together, both bearing the case ending appropriate to the function of the NP which they jointly form.

(39) *Yarrga mangal gaga.*
boy+ABS hand+ABS sick.
The boy's hand is sore.

(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 miil*
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 *-$irr*. (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 braray-irr.*
1sg+NOM spear-COM+ABS 1sg+NOM water-COM+ABS.
I have a spear. I have water. (Lit., I am with spear,...)

(44) *Bidha 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 Absolutive, often without a 'head' noun, in the meaning 'a person with N':

(47) *Galga-dhirr-ngun nhinaan wugaarrgu-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 unsuffixed word *dingga*. Comitative expressions, acting as adjectival predicates (see 4.1.6[g], can also receive further modification or intensification.

(50) *Dyiirraayng-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 Absolutive.

(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) *Bidha 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 Absolutive suffix. For example, the adjective *yindu* 'other, different' has the following case forms:

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

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

wanggaa-mu-), the numerals *gudhiirra* '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 miirrii-lin*
3sg+NOM other-mu-ADES tell-PAST
She told the other one.

(55) *Nyulu yii-mu-un buligi 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 *yiimu* '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 wanhdhaa? 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-inggu 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 wanguh-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 bayan-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 *biniirr* '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[e])

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.

yimi-dhirr	'this way'	*yimi=yimi-dhirr*	'this same way again'
gal(a)bay	'long'	*gala=galbay*	'very far away'
gadhii	'far away'	*gadhii=gadhii*	'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 dumbi wulbu wunhdha-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 (*nguwal* 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 gudaa bigibigi malin*
this+ABS dog+ABS pig USITATIVE
This dog is a good pig-hunter.

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

[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 durrgin duda-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) *Ngaanhdhu 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	*ngayu*	*ngali* (inclusive)	*nganhdhaan* (Inland dialect) / *ngana* (Coastal dialect)
		ngaliinh (exclusive)	
2nd person	*nyundu*	*yubaal*	*yurra*
3rd person	*nyulu*	*bula*	*dhana*

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

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

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' — *warraa=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	
ngayu	*nganhi*	*ngadhu*	*ngadhuungu*	*ngadhun.ga*	*ngadhun.gal*	1st singular
nyundu	*nhinalan(in))*	*nhanu*	*nhanuungu*	*nhanun.ga*	*nhanun.gal*	2nd singular
nyulu	*nhinhaan(in)*	*nhangu*	*nhanguungu*	*nhangun.ga*	*nhangun.gal*	3rd singular
ngali	*ngaliin/ ngalinin*	*ngaliin*	*ngaliinngu*	*ngaliin.ga*	*ngaliin.gal*	1st dual inclusive
ngaliinh	*ngalinhun*	*ngalinhun*	*ngalinhuungu*	*ngalinhun.ga*	*ngalinhun.gal*	1st dual exclusive
yubaal	*yubalin/ yubalinh/ yubaarnin*	*yubalin/ yubalinh*	*yubalinngu*	*yubalin.ga/ yubalingga*	*yubalin.gal/ yubalinggal/ yubaalnggal*	2nd dual
bula	*bulaan(in)/ bulangan*	*bulaan/ bulangan*	*bulanganngu/ bulaanngu*	*bulaan.ga/ bulangan.ga*	*bulaan.gal/ bulangan.gal*	3rd dual
nganhdhaan	*nganhdhanun*	*nganhdhanun*	*nganhdhanuungu*	*nganhdharun.ga*	*nganhdhanun.gal*	1st plural (Inland)
ngana	*nganangan*	*nganangan*	*nganangannu*	*nganangan.ga*	*nganangan.gal*	1st plural (Coastal)
yurra	*yurraan/ yurrangan*	*yurraan/ yurrangan*	*yurraanngu/ yurranganngu*	*yurraan.ga/ yurrangan.ga*	*yurraan.gal yurrangan.gal*	2nd plural
dhana	*dhanaan/ dhanangan*	*dhanaan/ dhanangan*	*dhanaanngu/ dhananganngu*	*dhanaan.ga/ dhanangan.ga*	*dhanaan.gal/ dhanangan.gal*	3rd plural

TABLE 3.4 - *Genitive and comitative forms*

GEN+ABS	GEN+ERG; GEN+ABL	GEN+GEN; GEN+LOC	COM	GEN+COM	
ngadhu	*ngadhuumun*	*ngadhuumi*	*ngadhundhirr*	*ngadhuumudhirr*	1st singular
nhanu	*nhanuumun*	*nhanuumi*	*nhanundhirr*	*nhanuumudhirr*	2nd singular
nhangu	*nhanguumun*	*nhanguumi*	*nhangundhirr*	*nhanguumudhirr*	3rd singular
ngaliin	*ngaliin.gamun*	*ngaliin.gami*	*ngaliindhirr*	*ngaliin.gamudhirr*	1st dual inclusive
ngalinhun	*ngalinhun.gamun*	*ngalinhun.gami*	*ngalinhundhirr*	*ngalinhun.gamudhirr*	1st dual exclusive
yubalin	*yubalin.gamun*	*yubalin.gami*	*yubalindhirr*	*yubalin.gamudhirr*	2nd dual
bulaan/ bulangan	*bulaan.gamun/ bulangan.gamun*	*bulaan.gami/ bulangan.gami*	*bulaandhirr/ bulangandhirr*	*bulaan.gamudhirr/ bulangan.gamudhirr*	3rd dual
etc.					

the full paradigm. The longer accusative forms ending in *-in* are especially rare at Hopevale, and the 3rd person singular accusative form *nhinhaan(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. (Guugu 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.gal-gu yirrgaalga-y*
3sg+NOM 1sg+ADES-EMPH talk+REDUP-PAST
He was talking with [just] me.

Very rarely Guugu 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	*wanhu*	*ngaanaa*	
ERGATIVE/ INSTRUMENTAL	*wanhunda/ wanhdhu*	*ngaanilinh/ ngaaniilnda/ ngaaniilngun*	
DATIVE	*wanhun/ wanhunbi*		
LOCATIVE		*ngaaniilbi/ ngaanili*	*wanhdhaa/ wanhdhaalbi*
ALLATIVE		*ngaanili*	*wanhdhaalga/ wanhdhaalbi*
CAUSAL/ ABLATIVE		*ngaaniilnganh/ ngaanii*	*wanhdhaalnganh*
PURPOSIVE	*wanhungu*	*ngaaniilngu/ ngaanii*	
ABESSIVE	*wanhun.ga*	*ngaaniilga*	
ADESSIVE	*wanhun.gal*	*ngaaniilgal*	
'HESITATION'	*wanhaarru*	*ngaanaarru*	*wanhdhaarru*
COMITATIVE	*wanhundhirr*	*ngaaniildhirr*	
GENITIVE+Case Stem	*wanhun.ga-mu-*		

'where'	'how'
wanhdha=wanhdhaa(lga)	*wanhdharra*

-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. Guugu 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, someplace, 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, *wanhdhu*, used exclusively as transitive subject (A function).

(R.M.W. Dixon has suggested that *wanhdhu* 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 Yimidhirr, the ergative form of 'who' is *wanydyu*. In Guugu Yimidhirr, the form *wanhunda* thus appears to be the result of analogic reinterpretation, with the pronoun inflected like a noun.)

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

(87) *wanhdhu maa-naa, nhungu.*
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 wanhaarru ... 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 wanhu-n(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: *ngaanili* (but not the non-shortened dative/locative *ngaaniilbi*) means 'in the process of doing what?'

(90) *Nyundu ngaanil-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, *ngaanii*, that acts very much like English 'why'.

(92) *Ngaanii baadhiildhi-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* 'whatchamacallit'.

[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 dhadaara?*
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.gaar.*
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'. *Wanhdharra* is a general interrogative that queries manner, amount, condition, or direction:

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

(99) *Yii wanhdharra?*
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 *wanhdharra* with the contrafactual form of a verb (see below, 3.5.3[e]) in a rhetorical question (which expects a negative answer).

(100) *Ngayu wanhdharra 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 wanhdharra dhada-nda, ngayu gaga-dhirr*
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 wanhdhaa? Wanhdhaa budhu?*
child+ABS where+LOC where+LOC indeed
Where is the child? Where, indeed [i.e., I haven't any idea]!

(103) *Ngayu binaal-mul 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 infrequent - 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*.

TABLE 3.6 - *Deictics*

	'here, this'	'there, that, then'
Absolutive	*yii, yiyi*	*nhaa, nhaayun*
Ergative/ Instrumental	*yiimaan*	*nhaamaan*
Locative/ Allative	*yiiway, yuuay, yiimu*	*nhaaway, nhaamu*
Ablative/ Causal	*yiimunganh*	*nhaamunganh, nhaawanun* (ablative only)
Purposive		*nhaamuu*
Comitative	*yimudhirr, yimidhirr*	*nhamudhirr, nhamidhirr*
Plural Absolutive	*yinharrin*	*nhanharrin*

(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 yiimaan 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 nhaamaan 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 maa-ni.
this-*mu*-COM(+ABS) take-PAST
He was unable to talk to Aboriginals in the white man's language, and therefore he learned Guugu Yimidhirr.

The words *yinharrin* and *nhanharrin* 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 Cooktown, 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

gunggga-	'North'
dyiba-	'South'
naga-	'East'
guwa-	'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:

gunggaarr	'a medium distance away on the North side'
dyibaarr	'a medium distance away on the South side'
nagaar	'a medium distance away on the East side'
guwaar	'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*:

gunggaalu	'away to the North'
dyibaalu	'away to the South'
nagaalu	'away to the East'
guwaalu	'away to the West'

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

gunggarra	'just to the North, on the North hand'
dyibarra	'just to the South, on the South hand'
naga	'just to the East, on the East hand'
guwa	'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:

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

gungga=gunggaarr	'a bit Northwards'
dyiba=dyibaarr	'a bit Southwards'
naga=naga	'a bit Eastwards'
guwa=guwa	'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:

gunggaarr=mal
dyibaarr=mal
naga=mal
guwa=mal

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 wanggaar* '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:

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

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

(112) *Nyulu yugu yidha-rrin nyulu buguul-ngay wanggaamun*
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, *wanggaarnggarr*, which suggests motion along the top of something, corresponding to *baditimbarr* 'below (rest or motion)'.

(113) *Mundal bubu-wi badi=baditimbarr gada-y, mundal*
rest+ABS ground-LOC under-REDUP come-PAST rest+ABS
wanggaarnggarr 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 unsuffixed 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.guunh '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-ŋgu 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 budhuun-gu dhada-a*
1du+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* 1du+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'
guanduu 'three or four'
gagaŋarr '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 mubun-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 *gudhiira* and *guunduu* inflect for case with the catalytic *-mu-* between root and suffix. Often the root-final *a* of *gudhiirra* is lost (or very weak) before the catalytic *-mu-*:

Ergative: *gudhiirr(a)-mu-n*
Dative: *gudhiirr(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 budhuun*
3sg+NOM kangaroo-rat+ABS close-*gu* come-PAST loin+ABS very
dhabi gudhiirri-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 *gudhiirra* + *-:gu/-:ygu* yields *gudhiirraygu* where the unstressed syllable *ay* is routinely reduced to *i*: *gudhiirrigu*.) The standard English translation for *guunduu-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 vidently 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 ngamu-gurra-aygu dyambi*
mouth+ABS open-REF+PAST 3pl+ACC many+ABS swallow+PAST
[It] opened its mouth, [and] swallowed the whole lot of them.
(A supernatural groper fish which swallowed a troupe of dancers.)

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

(124) *Ngamu-gurral-ing-gu guudyu 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**	*-rrV$_2$**	*-waa*	*-rraa, -naa**
Stem form before further inflection	*-Ø*	*-dhi-*	*-Ø*	*-Ø*	*-dhi-*	*-na-, -ni-**
Stem form before reflexive*	*-Ø*	*-dha-*	*-Ø*	*-Ø*	*-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	*gunda-l*	*dhaaba=nga-l*	*dhada-a*	*ngalbu-rr*
PAST	*gunda-y*	*dhaaba=nga-dhi*	*dhada-y*	*ngalbu-rrin*
IMPerative	*gunda-la*	*dhaaba=nga-la*	*dhad-ii*	*ngalbu-rru*
PURPosive	*gunda-nhu*	*dhaaba=nga-dhi-nhu*	*dhada-nhu*	*ngalbu-nhu*
	'hit'	'ask'	'go'	'shut, close'

	MA conj.		NA conj.	
NONPAST	*nhaa-maa*	*wu-naa*	*maa-naa*	
PAST	*nhaa-dhi*	*wu-nay*	*maa-ni*	
IMP	*nhaa-waa*	*wu-naa*	*maa-rraa*	
PURP	*nhaa-dhi-nhu*	*wu-na-nhu*	*maa-ni-nhu*	
	'see'	'lie, exist'	'take, get, marry'	

TABLE 3.9 - *Further verb inflections*

Inflection:	Suffix	Suffix for R conjugation (if different from normal suffix)
PURPosive	*-nhu*	(same)
CONTRF (contrafactual)	*-nda*	(same)
PAST+NEG	*-:lmugu*	*-:rrmugu*
CAUTionary	*-ya*	*-:rr=baga*
ANTICipatory	*-yigu*	*-rrigu*
PRECAUTionary	*-:ygamu*	*-rrin.gamu*
SUBordinate 1/ PERFective	*-:yga*	*-rrin.ga*
SUBordinate 2	*-nhun*	(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 identica

TABLE 3.10 - *Verbal inflection*

	'hit'	'go'	'close'	'see'	'lie'	'get'
NONPAST	*gunda-l*	*dhada-a*	*ngalbu-rr*	*nhaa-maa*	*wu-naa*	*maa-naa*
REDUP:	*gundaarnda-l*	*dhadaara*	*ngalbuurrbu-rr*	*nhaa-maalma*	*wunaarna*	*manaarna*
PAST	*gunda-y*	*dhada-y*	*ngalbu-rrin*	*nhaa-dhi*	*wu-nay*	*maa-ni*
REDUP:	*gundaarnda-y*	*dhadaara-y*	*ngalbuurrbu-rrin*	*nhaa-dhildhi*	*wunaarna-y*	*manaarnay/ maanirri*
IMP	*gunda-la*	*dhad-ii*	*ngalbu-rru*	*nhaa-waa*	*wu-naa*	*maa-rraa*
REDUP:	*gundaarnda-la*	*dhadiiri*	*ngalbuurrbu-rru*	*nhaamala*	*wunaarna*	*maarrala*
PURP	*gunda-nhu*	*dhada-nhu*	*ngalbu-nhu*	*nhaadhi-nhu*	*wuna-nhu*	*maani-nhu*
REDUP:	*gundaarnda-nhu/ gundaa-nhu*	*dhadaara-nhu/ dhadaa-nhu*	*ngalbuurrbu-nhu/ ngalbuu-nhu*	*nhaadhilldhi-nhu/ nhaadhii-nhu*	*wunaarna-nhu/ wunaa-nhu*	*manaarna-nhu/ maanii-nhu*
CONTRF	*gunda-nda*	*dhada-nda*	*ngalbu-nda*	*nhaadhi-nda*	*wuna-nda*	*maani-nda*
REDUP:	*gundaarnda-nda*	*dhadaara-nda*	*ngalbuurrbu-nda*	*nhaadhilldi-nda*	*wunaarna-nda*	*manaarni-nda*
PAST NEG.	*gunda-almugu*	*dhada-almugu*	*ngalbu-urrmugu*	*nhaadhi-limugu*	*wuna-almugu*	*maani-limugu*
CAUT.	*gunda-ya*	*dhada-ya*	*ngalbu-urr-baga*	*nhaadhi-ya*	*wuna-ya*	*maani-ya*
ANTIC.	*gunda-yigu*	*dhada-yigu*	*ngalbu-rrigu*	*nhaadhi-yigu*	*wuna-yigu*	*maani-yigu*
PRECAUT.	*gunda-aygamu*	*dhada-aygamu*	*ngalbu-rrin.gamu*	*nhaadhi-igamu*	*wuna-aygamu*	*maani-igamu*
SUB. 1	*gunda-ayga*	*dhada-ayga*	*ngalbu-rrin.ga*	*nhaadhi-iga*	*wuna-ayga*	*maani-iga*
	gundaarnda-yga/ gundaarndiga	*dhadaara-yga/ dhadaarriga*	*ngalbuurrbu-rrin.ga*	*nhaadhilldhi-ga*	*wunaarna-yga/ wunaarniga*	*manaarna-yga/ manaarriga*
SUB. 2	*gunda-nhun*	*dhada-nhun*	*ngalbu-nhun*	*nhaadhi-nhun*	*wuna-nhun*	*maani-nhun*

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.*
lsg+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 monosyllablic 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:

baarngaa (or *baarrngaa*) 'sing out'
biinii 'die'
bulii 'fall down'
dhadaa 'go, walk'
dudaa (often pronounced with initial retroflex: *rdudaa*, or *rdurdaa*) 'run'
gadaa 'come'
nganggaa 'be confused, be unable, not understand'
wuarii 'play, dance'
yuulii 'stand, be standing'

There are three known transitive V conjugation verbs:

dirrbaa 'abduct'
banydyii 'wait for'
maandii 'take, bring'

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

ABSolutive (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*
lsg+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 *ii* 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 *i* conjugation verbs. (In the everyday language the verbs *maariil* '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 *i* 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 *-ngadhal*). 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):

nhaa-maa 'see'
wu-maa 'give'
wal-maa '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!*
lsg+DAT give-IMP
You give [it] to me!

(130) *Nyundu nhaa-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 wuudha-ayi*
1du+NOM give-REF+IMP
Let's trade [things with each other].

(135) *Wanhdharra nhanun.gal nhaadhaaldha-ya?*
how 2sg+ABES 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 *-rraa*, 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 FORMATIVE-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 reinterpreting 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 *nhaa-maa* 'see' as if they were regular L conjugation verbs of the form *wudhil* and *nhaadhil*; hence one frequently hears imperatives: *nhaadhila* '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	under 15 verbs	about 50 verbs	3 roots:	3 roots:
stem vowels *a* & *i*	stem vowels *a* & *i*	stem vowels *a* & *u*	*wu-* 'give' *ŋhaa-* 'see' *wal-* 'rise'	*wu-* 'lie down' *maa-* '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 Gugu Yalandji forms (from R. Hershberger 1964b:38):

daji-n 'gave'	*nyaji-n* 'saw'
daji-l 'give'	*nyaji-l* 'see'
daya 'give!'	*nyaka* 'see!'

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

yijarrin (G. Yal) *yiḏharrin* (G. Yim)

both of which mean 'put (past)'; the Gugu Yalandji form is the transitive stem *yijarri* 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':

gunda-y (unreduplicated past) 'he killed (it)'
gundaarnda-y (reduplicated past) 'he beat it'

Reduplicated imperative forms suggest 'keep ... ':

ḏhad-ii 'go!'
ḏhadiir-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-ɲhu* (composed of root+stem formative-PURP suffix) with the reduplicated *wudhiildhi-ɲhu* ([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 *gaḏaa* '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

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

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

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

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

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

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

b ii 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 (C_2), 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*; *lnd* ⟶ *rnd*). Finally, the following rule is peculiar to verb reduplication:

Lengthening rule: Unless segment 9 (C_2) 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 aa l m b a - 'returning'
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

b ii n ii 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 (C_iC_i ⟶ C_i). (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:

guwadyanydyi-l	'drown'
guwadyanydyiilmydyi-l	'drowning'
ngurangada-l	'measure'
ngurangadaara-l	'measuring'
dhaaba=nga-l	'ask'
dhaaba=ngaal-ngal	'asking'
gada=ba-l	'break'
gada=baal-ba-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:	*wuwaalma*	'giving'
	wunaarna	'lying'
PAST:	*wudhiildhi*	'was giving'
	wunaarnay	'was lying' (*wu-naarna-y* = lie-Formative+REDUP-PAST)
IMP:	*wuwala*	'keep giving' (simple IMP: *wu-waa*; underlying reduplicated form *wu-wal-wa* which reduces to *wu-wal-a* by phonological rules)
	wunaarna	'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:

baydya-	'cover'	*baydyadya-*	'covering'
yidha-	'put'	*yidhadha-*	'putting'
miidaa-	'lift'	*miidada-*	'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,

daga-rr	'grow'	*dagaarrga-rr*	'growing'
buybu-rr	'coax'	*buybuarrbu-rr*	'coaxing'
dhulu-rr	'scrub'	*dhulaarru-rr*	'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*:

miirrii-l	'tell, show'	*miirrili-l*	'telling, showing'
gayii-l	'hook'	*gayili-l*	'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:

baydya-rr 'cover' *baydyaarrdya-rr* 'covering' etc.

(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

$C_1V_1(V_1)N\ V_2(V_2)$ -

or

$C_1V_1(V_1)\ N\ C_2V_2(V_2)$

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:

dhamba-rr	'throw'	*dhambanba-rr*	'throwing'
dhanggu-rr	'scratch'	*dhanggun.gu-rr*	'scratching'
ganba-rr	'jump'	*ganbanba-rr*	'jumping'
gaanydya-rr	'crawl'	*gaanydyandya-rr*	'crawling'
miimuu-rr	'gather'	*miimuumu-rr*	'gathering'
nhanga-rr	'shake'	*nhanganga-rr*	'shaking'
waanaa-rr	'sneak, spy on'	*waanunu-rr*	'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 guwa 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) *Guuna dhad-ii nyulu!*
let go-IMP 3sg+NOM
Let him go!

(144) *Gaari miirrii-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 baga-nhu.*
1du+NOM hunting(+PURP?) go-NONPAST yam+ABS dig-PURP
We two will go hunting to dig some yams.

(146) *Yii 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:

dhambarr 'throw'	*dhambamba-nhu* *dhambaa-nhu*
nhaa-maa 'see'	*nhaa-dhiildhi-nhu* *nhaa-dhii-nhu*

[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 nhaayun 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 Yidiny 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 badhun 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 dindaal-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-nhun 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 *Pre*cautionary 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 gurrma bubu-nh duuga-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 garrba-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 miirrii-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 duda-y nhangu dyiiral 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 dhudaan-bi wunaarna-yga*
3sg+NOM yam+ABS see-PAST road-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)	*-:y ~ -:l*	*-:rr*
REF+PAST	*-:dhi*	'derived form' plus appropriate form of *ngarral* or *ngadhal*
REF+NONPAST	*-:ya*	"
REF+IMP	*-:yi*	"
REF stem form	*-:dhi-*	"

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

[k] SUB-2: *-nhun*. Thus 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 S 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 baarn=nguunbu gada-nhun dcgu yii*
leave-IMP 1du+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	*gundaa=nda-l*	*dhaaba=ngalnga-l*	*dhadaara*
DER	*gunda-ay*	---	*dhada-ay*
REF+PAST	*gunda-adhi*	*dhaaba=ngadha-adhi*	---
REF+NONPAST	*gunda-aya*	*dhaaba=ngadha-aya*	---
REF+IMP	*gunda-ayi*	*dhaaba=ngadha-ayi*	---
REF-PURP	*gunda-adhi-nhu*	*dhaaba=ngadha-adhi -nhu*	---

	R conj.	MA conj.	NA conj.
REDUP-NONPAST	*ngalbuurrbu-rr*	*nhaamaalma*	*maanaa=na*
DER	*ngalbu-urr*	---	---
REF+PAST	*ngalbuurr=ngarra - -adhi*	*nhaadha-adhi*	*maana-adhi*
REF+NONPAST	*ngalbuurr=ngarra-aya*	*nhaadha-aya*	*maana-aya*
REF+IMP	*ngalbuurr=ngarra-ayi*	*nhaadha-ayi*	*maana-ayi*
REF-PURP	*ngalbuurr=ngarra - -adhi-nhu*	*nhaa-dha-adhi-nhu*	*maana-adhi-nhu*

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) *Nyuudu wanhdha=nhaalga 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-lmugu.*
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
nhaa 'see'	*nhaa-dha-adhi*	*nhaa-dha-aya*	*nhaa-dha-ayi*
wu- 'give'	*wuu-dha-adhi*	*wuu-dha-aya*	*wuu-dha-ayi*
maa- 'get'	*maa-na-adhi*	*maa-na-aya*	*maa-na-ayi*
=ma- 'CAUS'	*=ma-na-adhi*	*=ma-na-aya*	*=ma-na-ayi*

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 gilaadha-ni*
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:

nganggaa	'to be confused, etc.'	*ngangga-adhi*	'be totally incompetent, unable to do anything'
dirrbaa	'abduct'	*dirrba-adhi*	'run off'
yirrgaa	'speak'	*yirrga-adhi*	'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-nhi*
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-ni dhaaba=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-i, daga-y, daga-nhu* and the like do not occur. Instead the reflexive forms, with all inflections exist:

(166) *Gad-ii daga-adhi-nhu miilu-ni*
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 yarrbaarga munggiilnggi-dhi*
3pl+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 dhuura-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 *muurril* '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' from 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 miirrii-l=baga nhayun.*
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.)