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 Kangaroo'. Cook's English rendering of the Guugu Yimidhirr word ganguwr (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 Yimitherr 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 - reflexive apical - may be distinguishable in a few words. There is a single lateral ɻ, a reflexive glide ṟ, a trilled ṟ, and the semi-vowels w and y. Guugu Yimitherr 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 vowel, and polysyllabic words ordinarily lack 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 expressiveness of the power of verb suffixes is striking: endings mark tense (past and nonpast), 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 adjectival terminology, resembling the system of cardinal points in English, characterizes Guugu Yimitherr 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 further south), performs a variety of functions, transforming a transitive verb stem into an intransitive, reflexive or reciprocal stem.

Unlike many Australian languages, Guugu Yimitherr is still a living language, undergoing few 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 YIMIDHRR 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 Yimithrr (see both 1901a), although both Horn and the Anan River 'pronounce this language as being ko-ko-i-moi-i' (1858ms.). In any case the language name clearly describes the language itself. Guugu means 'talk, language'; Yimithrr (which alternates with yimithre) means literally 'with', or 'having-this'. As with the names of other languages of the region, the primary distinguishing factor from this, as opposed to some other word for 'this'. Moreover, in modern speech the word yimithrr means 'in this way, this kind'; thus the name guugu yimithrr literally describes itself: 'this way of talking, this kind of language'. The suffix -dhi 'with' is cognate to the endings seen in the names of languages spoken to the South (for example, Gugu Yalandji) and to the North (for example, Guugu Nyigudji, formerly spoken near the mouth of the Jeannie River).

Guugu Yimitherr speakers distinguish a Coastal dialect (called dial D that with the sea') from an Inland dialect (called ya-coru '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. They were also fringe dialects, though even the names of most have been forgotten. Along the Anan River people spoke an intermediate dialect, with lexical and syntactic affinities to both Guugu Yimitherr 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 Yaman 'bad language' in Gugu Yalandji and Guugu Yimitherr 'talking bad' in Guugu Yimitherr.

It is hard to know how these fringe dialects related to modern Guugu Yimitherr; few speakers survive, and none now speaks a language free from outside interference. In 1956 de Zwaan recorded a few words from Guugu Nyigudji, the dialect spoken at yalma (on the south side of the Jeannie River mouth). Many words simply differ from their Guugu Yimitherr counterparts: GYim bayan 'house' is GNYig sinda; GYim mambal 'stone' is GNYig wadha; GYim guban clearly cognate. GYim guban 'wood, fire', GNYig yugan; GYim wara 'hair', GNYig mwayi. Moreover, there were clearly some morphological equivalences. In Guugu Yimitherr we have

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Guugu Yimitherr</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mungal 'hand'</td>
<td>mungal-ngay 'hands'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In Guugu Nyigudji the equivalents are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Guugu Yimitherr</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mungul 'hand'</td>
<td>mungul-ngay 'hands'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Or again:

mungal 'hand'

mungal-ngay 'hands'
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 Anman River and Cooktown north to the mouth of the Jeanie 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 (dyiŋgurry) which was a favorite fishing place 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 McVey River mouth and the inland group.

South of the Anman River people spoke the closely related Guugu Yalandji language. Based on modern wordlists there is about 42% overlap between the vocabularies of the two languages, and similarities also exist in basic syntax and overt word form (even though the 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 Guugu Yalandji (see E. Horselberger 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 employing geminates in syllables where Guugu Yimidhirr speakers, people who speak a dialect he calls 'koko jom-bol' or 'koko yim-bol'. Although people recognize that different locales had different ways of talking, the differences have now been blurring, and separate dialect names are only known for a few areas.
Barrow point language ama upggana, and in 'Lama-Lama' mba ndikaram.
People in the olden days are reputed to have been accomplished polyglots, who travelled widely and who were able to converse freely with members of other groups. Guugu Yimithirr people in the olden days do not seem to have travelled south of the Anuau River. (Indeed, Roth (1910) reports that Guugu Yimithirr 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 Bloomsfield has led to considerable inter-marriage between Guugu Yalany and Guugu Yalanyj people, with significant resultant bilingualism.

A number of individuals who have escaped the homogenizing effects of mission life still have impressive linguistic skills. They can speak both Guugu Yimithirr and Guugu Yalanydj 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 language. But one also knew and could rightfully use one's mother'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). (Terwel-Powel, 1975, discusses the Hopevale kinship system in historical context.)

Traditional behaviour involved a Guugu Yimithirr 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 absconding 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 special 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 Yimithirr question:

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

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

While many ordinary Guugu Yimithirr words could be used in respectful speech if appropriately enunciated, many common words had Brother-in-law language substitutes. And like the Dyirbal 'mother-in-law vocabulary' (Dixon 1971), the Guugu Yimithirr 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 Yimithirr for different species of kangaroo and wallaby (but no superordinate term), in the Brother-in-law language there is a single term, daarrmaany, 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 galkil, allowed people to praise or abuse others with impunity. (The last great singer of such songs died in 1975.) Guugu Yimithirr speakers, when hunting or conversing over distance, still employ conventionalized gestures to accompany speech, and 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 a point 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 'the belief that they are relics
of humanity who must die out in a few years is beyond question (McNickle 1987). In 1936, 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 (Lowe 1906). A young German missionary, G. K. Leppan, carried on the work and eventually from other parts of Queensland and boarded at the Mission school, and older people continued to roam around the Reserve, occasionally employed on stations or in Cooktown.

Present-day language at Hopevale is something of a conglomerate. Much of ordinary conversation is in English with a heavy sprinkling of Guugu Yimidhirr pronouns and common nouns e.g. 'ngal [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 hierarchy or a shift in the discussion to remind an 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 spoke – as well as from English – there is a great deal of variation in Hopevale speech, and Guugu Yimidhirr is under heavy pressure to regularise and simplify; only the oldest speakers of the language, and of these only people with legitimate ancestral claims to the area, can speak with confidence in appropriate and idiosyncratic orthography.

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 program 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 (1885) and Banks (1862). Later visits by passing navigators in the early 1800s seem not to have enlarged Cook's wordlist. Missionary Flierl, and his successors Schwarz and Poland began serious studies of the language in the middle 1880s, and their efforts culminated in Roth's 'The Structure of the Koko Yimidhir Language' (1901a), as well as several shorter grammatical sketches (Schwarz and Poland, n.d.) and lengthy grammatical treatments (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. Reduced forms of some terms, 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 decided inappropriately for an analysis of Guugu Yimidhirr. (For example, Schwarz's translations consistently omit ergative inflection on transitive subjects. See 3.2.1 and 3.2.2b.)

Jan de Zwaan (1889a, b) worked on the language in 1886 without significantly improving on Roth 1891a. De Zwaan's work prompted speculation about the accuracy of Cook's 1770 wordlist (Green 1970, Haviland 1974). In addition, in the 1960s several linguists (Ken Hale, Gavan
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, ng 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 nd represents homorganic apico-postalveolar retroflex nasal and stop i.e., rmnd). The phonetic realizations of these phonemes are as in most Australian languages (see Editors’ Introduction). The rhotic rr is nearly always a front flap, occasionally trilled intervocically (especially in the word wurda ‘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 intervocically. 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, durada ‘run’, which, in the speech of older people seems to begin with an apico-postalveolar retroflex stop, as if it were written wurdada (often, in fact, paurada).

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 /e/) and /u/ (also /au/) 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LAMINO-DENTAL</th>
<th>LAMINO-PALATAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wudji 'gave'</td>
<td>djuhi 'strong, fast'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bungin 'male turtle'</td>
<td>bunginda 'night owl'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wadhi 'hedged'</td>
<td>wadji 'rain'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gawdhi 'bug type'</td>
<td>gawa 'wife's brother'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yidjarr 'to put'</td>
<td>yidjar 'to get stuck'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(There are rather few full minimal pairs which show contrast between the two lamino 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-palatal being 'a bit tighter'. 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**

-baa 'you two'
-bag 'dry'
-ganda 'night hit'
-flap or trilled /rr/
-birra 'leaf'
-mar 'bottle'
-apical /rr/
-burra 'top, summit'
-final /rr/
-samuwa 'place at head of Melvor River'

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

-baagugu 'knee' + dagadhi 'to sat down' = bagugu-dragadhi 'kneel'.

Normally this orthography would write bagugu-dragadhi, indicating the underlying form as it would appear in slow and careful speech. )

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

2.2 PHONOTACTICS

Most Guugu Yimidhirr roots are disyllabic, and virtually all begin with consonants. (The known exceptions are two particles: /a, which signifies agreement, and /awu, 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Consonant</th>
<th>Initial</th>
<th>Formal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/g/</td>
<td>17.4%</td>
<td>/h/ 9.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/b/</td>
<td>17.1%</td>
<td>/ng/ 8.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/n/</td>
<td>12.6%</td>
<td>/d/ 7.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/w/</td>
<td>12.0%</td>
<td>/y/ 4.6%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

- /u/ 30.0% - /m/ 19.6% - /y/ 9.0%
- /r/ 26.4% - /n/ 9.0% - /h/ 6.0%

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

**FIRST SYLLABLES**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vowel</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/a/</td>
<td>45%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/u/</td>
<td>37%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/i/</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**SECOND SYLLABLES**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vowel</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/a/</td>
<td>49%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/u/</td>
<td>29%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/i/</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

**FIRST SYLLABLES**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vowel</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/a/</td>
<td>21% (of first syll. /aa/)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/i/</td>
<td>26% (of first syll. /ii/)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/u/</td>
<td>22% (of first syll. /uu/)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**SECOND SYLLABLES**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vowel</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/a/</td>
<td>21% (of second syll. /aa/)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/i/</td>
<td>18% (of second syll. /ii/)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/u/</td>
<td>20% (of second syll. /uu/)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 /h- seems to be followed by the different vowels with the normal frequency, /dy- is followed by /i/ with unusual frequency (see Dixon 1970):

- /h- 46% (of /h-initial roots) |
- /dy- 10% (of /dy-initial roots) |

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

- /h- 47.7% |
- /dy- 21.9% |
- /d/- 30.4% |

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), /ny/ (5%), and /w/ (which is never followed by /i/ in words so far encountered).

There is also slight statistical evidence for a weak sort of vowel harmony, in that the second syllable of a disyllabic word tends to share the same vowel as the first syllable more frequently than the overall second-syllable vowel frequencies would predict. Thus, 56% of words with /i/ in the first syllable also have /i/ 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 than the 28% of all roots which have /u/ in the second syllable).

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

\[ C_{1}V_{1}(C_{2}V_{2})^{n}(C_{3}) \] (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. twurr 'nest', niil 'eye'. The demonstratives and a few loan words from English are open monosyllables: nhac 'that, there'; git 'this, here' (sometimes pronounced giit); dit 'then'.

C₁ and C₂ are single consonants, and V₁ and V₂ can be either long or short. Summarizing structural possibilities described so far, we find that:

--- C₁ can be any stop, nasal or semi-vowel (b, d, (rd), dh, dy, gi, m, n, nh, ny, ngi; w, y).
--- C₂ can be the liquid, either rhotic, the laminal semi-vowel, or n or nh (I; rr, r; y; n, nh).
--- C₃ represents either a single medial consonant or a cluster of up to three consonants, defined by the following possibilities:

C₃ can be:

[i] any consonant
[ii] any homorganic nasal-stop cluster, i.e. mb, nd, nhd, ndy, ngg, or rnd (reflexive nasal plus retroflex stop)
[iii] any possible final consonant (i.e., possible candidate for C₃ above) followed by either a bilabial or velar stop, or nasal, or a bilabial or velar homorganic nasal-stop cluster, i.e. I, 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: Ibh, Twbh, ynhd, yndy, yngg, and nhb (the last cluster being, perhaps, somewhat unusual). Moreover, the only case so far encountered of the lamino-dental nh combining with another consonant medially is nhg. All other possibilities specified by these rules have been encountered, except for yng - presumably an accidental gap.

Note that sonorant plus apical clusters do not occur in the language (a feature Guugu Yimithirr shares with most other Australian languages, cf. Dixon 1977:35-36). The sounds represented in this orthography as rd, rn, and nd 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.: 

wililangpur 'thunder' + -nda = wililangnun-nda

More striking still, when an i 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+di is realized as r, and a hypothetical cluster of the form r+ndi is realized as rm+d (d), as in the following reduplicated verbs:

bailal 'make' bailalgal (reduplicated form)
gongal 'hit' *gundakindal (non-occurring predicted form)
gundakindal (actual reduplicated form)
wanal 'say' *waanidal (non-occurring predicted form)
waanidal (actual reduplicated form)

(In the speech of younger people a word like gundakindal 'hitting' is frequently pronounced gundoanid 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:

yissirr 'look for' yissirr (rare)
yissir (usual reduplicated form)
bannal 'cook' bannatal (rare)
bannatal (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.: wmbbal '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.: marrbhun 'cave', bigiigi 'pig', darrghntu 'Indian Head (place name)'. Long vowels always bear stress. We have seen that all monosyllabic fullwords have long vowels; the only short monosyllabic fullwords are unstressed clitic particles:

wondanhari?): 'how are you, then?'

bghu ninda bai! '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. gihu 'language'.
bārraabbaru 'mangrove', dhābabangal '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:

marrabarti 'branch'  gabbirri 'girl'

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

marrabarti 'water'  gabbirri '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 stressed (i.e., if the second syllable is short), then secondary stress falls on all odd-numbered syllables:

marrabarti-bi-da 'still in the cave'

(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:

marrabarti-o-ngay-ga 'just branches'

(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:

marrabarti-o-bi-da 'still in the water'

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

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

marrabarti-bi-da 'still in the cave'

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

yarrabarti -o-ngay 'purposive' = yarrabarti

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

marrabarti-o-ay 'locative' = marrabarti-ay

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:

marrabarti-o-ay 'locative' -o-ga 'emphatic' = marrabarti-o-ga 'still in the water'

marrabarti-o-bi 'locative' -o-ga 'emphatic' = marrabarti-o-bi-ga

### 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 dyirrga 'soft words'). Others pronounce laminal sounds with very little palatalization - people say that they talk 'hard' - so that laminals are difficult to distinguish from apical sounds. Another important sort of variation involves the vowel plus semi-vowel combination ay. In unstressed position, in the speech of older speakers, this combination is much reduced (though it 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: BURRIBAY (Burrubay) 'eau'
Younger speakers: BURRI

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

Older speakers: nambul-bay 'on the stone'

Younger speakers: nambul-bi; nambul-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: ga'nuday

gambi-witga 'many (lit. grandfather-father)', emphatic: ga'mbi-witga

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'dabay 'very far, indeed'

Dramatic speech also has exaggerated stress and elaborately lengthened vowels.
2.5 MORPHOPHONOLICAL 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
\[ C_1 V_1 C_2 V_2 (C_3) \]
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
\[ C_1 V_1 C_2 V_2 C_3 \]
(i.e., with a long second syllable) to produce a shortened second syllable in the resulting form
\[ C_1 V_1 C_2 V_3 \text{+suffix} \]
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) Nyalu nambal-dhirr
    Jeg+NOM money-COM
    He has money.

(4) Daggu nambal dhi
    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 \( baditay \) 'bone' seem to act as a compound meaning 'fleot-footed'; but no lengthening is involved.

(5) Yaraya wawra dindal/baditay
    boy+ABS bad [very] quick/bone
    The boy is very fleet of foot.

(b) Retroflexion. 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) \( l \darrow \text{nd} \)
(b) \( in \darrow \text{nd} \)

(c) \( l\text{nd}\darrow \text{nd} \) (i.e., homorganic retroflex nasal + stop cluster)

Rule (a) is observed by all speakers of the language; many younger speakers simply reduce an underlying \( l\text{nd} \) to \( \text{nd} \) (see rule (c)), and even more frequently a predicted \( r\text{nd} \) (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 \( l\text{nd} \) as written:

- \( m\text{ngal} \) 'hand' + -nda (ergative) = \( m\text{ngannda} \) (older speakers)
- \( m\text{ngannda} \) (younger speakers)
- \( m\text{ngatind} \) (some younger speakers)

(c) Assimilation of final linal nasal. Words ending in \( nh \) exhibit some special properties which we can exemplify with the word \( d\text{nauw} \) 'friend'. The collective plural suffix \( -\text{garr} \) combined with \( d\text{nauw} \) yields the word \( d\text{nauuy-n-garr} \). 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:

- \( d\text{nauw} + -\text{garr} \) (purposive) = \( d\text{nauuy-n-garr} \) 'for a friend'
- \( d\text{nauw} + -\text{bi} \) (dative) = \( d\text{nauuy-bi} 'to a friend'

And (ii), for most speakers, the cluster \( nh + y \) assimilates to \( mg \). Some speakers, however, pronounce words with such clusters without assimilation, and this, 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 nominal consouants occur; any cluster \( C_1 C_2 \) of identical consouants 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 \( l \) (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
- Exclamation

**Verbal:**
- Verb
- Adverb
- Particle

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 expletives are non-inflected words falling into two classes. Unstressed clitics 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 4.1.3 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(solute): (S and O functions): ERG(ative) (A function)
- DAT(ivitive): marking beneficiary, 'indirect object', possessor, etc. - this is the most neutral oblique case.
- PURP(positive): marking something or someone for whom something is done; or out of fear of which something is avoided.

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 otherwise have A nouns: intransitive, and reflexive clauses in particular. Dative and locative/allative are also largely identical morphologically, with the most common suffix being -bī/-wī. The suffix is used more widely than either case label might suggest, to mark almost any sort of object in a motion peripheral to the action as a state motion caused 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 wemma (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 3.2.3[d] below.

One further case, shown as GOAL on Table 3.1, is of limited productivity. Although the case ending, -gā, 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 possessive, and an ablative. Most modern speakers do not use this case freely, although it survives in certain frozen expressions. For example, the normal way to ask 'Where are you going' is to combine the interrogative suffix, -whāhā, with the GOAL suffix -gā: wālahāh-gā '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 Yimithirr fall into three types, according to their behavior 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 there are 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 -bī/-wī where -bī attaches to consonant final stems, and -wī to vowel-final stems.)

3.3 Morphology of nouns and adjectives

(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:

- ngumu. Virtually any noun or adjective can combine with -ngum in Ergative or Instrumental case, and this is the preferred suffix for monosyllabic nouns.

  *mili* 'eye'
  *mili-ngum* 'with the eyes'

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

  *wawrigan* 'moon'
  *wawrigan-ngum*
  *bibia* 'father'
  *bibia-ngum*
  *gabirrn* 'girl'
  *gabirrn-ngum*

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

  *guda* 'dog'
  *guda-ngum*
  *djiirranguh* 'old man'
  *djiirranguh-ngum* (cf. 2.5(c))

(b) -nã, -sinh/-inh. 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 -inh. With consonant-final stems there are two possibilities: any consonant-final stem can use the suffix -nã; but a disyllabic consonant-final stem with a long second syllable can also take the shortening suffix -sinh instead. (My rules mentioned in 2.5, we can predict that a stem with final n will lose it in combination with -nã. Similarly, a final r before -nã is also lost, and a final l before -nã prompts a change to -rãd. However, many speakers allow the clusters rãd and lãd in these ergative forms.)

- mŋapal 'hand'
- mŋapal-nã=mŋapal-nã
- gabirrn 'girl'
- gabirrn-nã=gabirrn-nã=gabirrn-inh
- wawrigan 'moon'
- wawrigan-ngum
- grammar 'clay'
- grammar-ngum
- yugu 'wood'
- yugu-înh
- basir 'hook'
- basir-inh (-basir-nã)
- manmi 'stickiness'
- manmi-inh
- mulîr 'tooth'
- mulîr-inh (-mulîr-nã)

Of these three suffixes, only -inh 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 -ngum described in (a) above.

Because lengthening and shortening only take place in stem-final second syllables, with trisyllabic stems -nã causes
no lengthening, and -dînk neither requires a long final syllable nor engenders shortening.

\[\text{swutunggurr 'lightning, flame'}\]  \[\text{swulunggu-nda-swutunggurr-nda-}\]
\[\text{swulunggu-nilk}\]

(c) -dîlk/-dl: A few stems receive 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 -dl are:

\[\text{buma 'person'}\]  \[\text{buma-dl}\]
\[\text{bîdhâ 'small'}\]  \[\text{bîdhâ-dl (also: bîdhâ-ah)}\]
\[\text{warra 'large'}\]  \[\text{warra-dl}\]
\[\text{warra 'bad'}\]  \[\text{warra-ild (more frequently: warra-nilk)}\]
\[\text{mayî 'food'}\]  \[\text{mayî-dl}\]

Similarly, disyllables with long final syllables in a or y form ergatives with -dîlk (and not with -dîkh):

\[\text{burrangg 'water'}\]  \[\text{burrangg-dl}\]
\[\text{ngabal 'head'}\]  \[\text{ngabal-dl (but some older speakers say: ngabal-nilk)}\]
\[\text{mûbar 'one'}\]  \[\text{mûbar-dl}\]
\[\text{dîsaw 'scrub turkey'}\]  \[\text{dîsaw-dl (but also: dîsaw-nilk)}\]
\[\text{dawam 'wind'}\]  \[\text{dawam-gay-l}\]

This suffix -dl also occurs with y-final trisyllables:

\[\text{budhîbay 'bone'}\]  \[\text{budhîbay-dl}\]

(d) -dl: 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:

\[\text{babî 'grandmother'}\]  \[\text{babî-dl}\]
\[\text{ngambîdhâ 'woman'}\]  \[\text{ngambîdhâ-ud}\]
\[\text{yarraga 'boy'}\]  \[\text{yarraga-a}\]

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

\[\text{ngadadharr 'dog, dingo'}\]  \[\text{ngadadharr (=END)}\]

(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 -garra, which ordi-

\[\text{Gardi-garra yarraga dyinda-y.}\]
\[\text{dog-Pl(+END) boy-ABS bit-PAST}\]

The dog bit the boy.

Following the ordinary plural suffix -ngay (see 3.2.3.4a below), ergative is normally realized by -nda which combines with the plural suffix to form -ngunda.

(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, -dînk/-dîkh forms which suggest a certain immediacy:

\[\text{gabirr-ihh/gabirr-nda nganbî gunda-y}\]

The girl hit me [just now, recently - and I still have the mark to show it].

\[\text{gabirr-ngun nganbî gunda-y}\]

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] Native 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 con-

\[\text{mil 'eye'}\]  \[\text{mil-bî in the eye'}\]
\[\text{babum 'house'}\]  \[\text{babum-bî 'in the house, at the house'}\]
\[\text{babum 'father'}\]  \[\text{babum-bî 'to/toward the father'}\]
\[\text{gabirr 'girl'}\]  \[\text{gabirr-bî 'to/toward the girl'}\]

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

\[\text{burrangg 'water'}\]  \[\text{burrangg-day 'in the water'}\]
\[\text{gambal 'older sister'}\]  \[\text{gambal-day 'to/for the older sister'}\]

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

\[\text{gambagamba 'old woman'}\]  \[\text{gambagamba-uh-gambagamba-day 'to/for the old woman'}\]
\[\text{birri 'river'}\]  \[\text{birri-uh-uh-uh-birri-day 'to/at/in the river'}\]

There are a few special possibilities for locative/allative forms that do not seem to have native meanings as
well. First, the shortening suffix -tinka has locative/allative meaning with a few roots, including:

yagaa 'beach'
yagaa-tinka 'onto the beach'
djangara 'sand'
djangara-tinka 'into 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 -tika; a suffix which, of course, will have no phonological effect on a word whose second syllable is already long.

nanqaru 'camp'
nanqaru-tika 'at/to camp'
gumgum 'Cooktown (literally, quartz)'

(9) Ngayu dada-a go-qumgum
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 dada-a Brisbane
I'll go to Brisbane.

With the word dalnu 'sea, ocean' a regular locative is formed with -bi; there is also a special form with -bi (even though light-weighing suffixes do not ordinaril;y affect -bi final stems).

(11) Ngayu dadaa dalnu-bi.
I'll go to the ocean (i.e., to the coast, from inland)

(12) Ngayu dadaa dalnu.
I'll go out to see (i.e., onto the ocean). (See part [1] of the present section.)

[d] Ablative and Causal are marked by the suffix -nganik 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, ngawal, also conveys much the same temporal meaning as the ablative, in combination with a noun that denotes an event or a moment in time. Ngawal can either follow the noun (which itself is unsuffixed), or precede the noun, which itself then receives the suffix -ga.

(13) Ngayi-ngamik-ngu ngayu dada-a.
food-AHL-gu lagmOM go-nongo
I'll go after dinner.

(14) Ngayi ngawaat-gu ngayu dada-a.
food-after-gu
I'll go after dinner.

(15) Ngayi ngawal-ga ngayu dada-a.
after food-
I'll go after dinner.

(In sentences like (14) ngawal 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 /m/. See 3.2.5 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 -nya for all types of stem.

mayi 'food'
mayi-nya
bayon 'house'
bayon-nya
mil 'eye'
mil-nya
badi-bay 
badhiny-nya

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

bawaruwa 'water'
bawaruwa-nya (also: bawaruw-an)
daim goy 
'daim goya

(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 (1909a) appears to suggest that this constellation of meanings was formerly productive and associated with the -ga suffix. (This may also be the case appearing in sentence (15) above.)

(16) Ngayu mil-ga dada-a
lagmOM eye-GAL go-nongo
I'll go for [my] eyes [to have them examined].

(17) Ngaunu somb-baag-nya.
lagmOM where-GAL
To where [are] you [going]?

(18) God-lla
bawaruwa-nya
come-IMF stone-GAL
Come for [i.e., to get] the money [literally, the stone].

(19) Ngayu cadg-ga binuwa-nya.
lagmOM name-GAL know-PREV
I don't know [his] name.

(20) Banuwa-ga wa-nau
moun-GAL exist-NONGAL familiar clitic particle
Does anything exist for the mouth? (i.e., is there anything to eat, drink, or smoke?)

(g) Absessive. 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 Absessive, is productive. It is much like the inverse of the Dative.

3.3 Morphology of nouns and adjectives

One especially interesting example of what is apparently
this same case, additionally involves the reduplication of
the inflected noun, presumably to emphasize the expansiveness
extent that the actions involved. The root is yaLimba 'sandhill'.

(20) Nyau yaLimba-a yaLimba-a shaka-y, 
3sg-NOM sandhill-SUP sandhill-SUP go-PAST 
He went by way of the sandhills [there were a lot of them].

3.2.3 NOMINAL DERIVATIONAL MORPHOLOGY. A number of suffixes
produce from nouns or adjectives roots that themselves require
unmarked plural with the derivational suffix -mgu; the plural stem
itself receives case inflection appropriate to the role of
the plural noun in a clause. (See Texts, lines 30, 37, 70
and 71.)

ngamImhu 'woman' ngamImhu-nmgu
baisnshu 'sama out' baisnshu-nmgu

A collective plural, suffix -garr, which we have already met
with guLshu 'dog' (from guLshu 'dog') in 3.2.2(6) and (8)
above, occurs with kin terms to show that several people
stand in the same relation to a single other:

guLshu 'younger' guLshu-garr 'younger brothers (of a single
brother)' guLshu 'person'
guLshu 'wife' guLshu-garr-garr 'wives (of one man)'

(30) Fuka guLshu-nmgu guragull
3sg-NOM wife-PL+ABS sick fall-PAST 
[His] two wives fell sick.

There are a few nouns and adjectives form a plural by re-
uplication, although neither the form nor the meaning of reduplicated
nominal forms seems to be regular. Consider the following
complications. The word gabiItir 'girl' has two plural forms:

gabiItir-gabiItir and gabiItir-nmgu.

(31) NgamIm hu gabiItir-gabiItir gunguLshu-garr wavya-nmgu ngu
3sg-NOM girl-REPD+ABS child-PL+ABS many-nmgu exist-PAST 
He had many daughters. (Literally: 'his girl 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 GamIshu Mary 'Old lady Mary'.

When reduplicated forms act as an independent singular noun,
gambugamba 'old woman'. An explicitly plural form requires
both reduplication and a plural suffix: gambugamba-nmgu
'old women'.

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

bidsa 'small, child' bidsa-garr 'children'
guLshu-garr 'male' guLshu-garr-garr 'adult man, adult men'

But the latter form can have both singular and plural
meanings; an explicit plural requires both the -garr suffix
and a (rather idiosyncratic) reduplicated form: dyirraya-
dyirraayang-gurr 'old man'.

(b) Genitive. Possessive expressions in Guugu Yimithirr, 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:

\[ \text{NP} \quad \text{NP}^{+\text{Gen}} \quad + \text{Case} \]

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 marker is equivalent to Dative inflection. (That is, the morpheme combination GEN+ABS is realized in the same way as DAT.) The suffix is -bt/-wt.

32. Yi d baying ngaabhndw-wi
this+ABS house+ABS woman-GEN+ABS (woman-DAT)
This is the woman's house.

33. Gudja ngaabhndw-wi bdi
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 -nga (probably related to either ABES or GOAL inflection), followed by a 'catalytic' element -mu-, followed finally by the appropriate case ending:

\[ N + -nga + -mu + + \text{Case} \]

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

- ERG/INST: -m
- DAT/LOC/ALL: -l
- ABL/CAU: -m; -ngan

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. Ngaaju guda-y baying ngaabhndw-wa-a-mu-n.
Iga=nom come-PAST house- woman-GEN+mu-ABS
I came from the woman's house.

35. Iti baying btihga yarraga-a-mi
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: Delocic + 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 possessive 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 -l combine, as in sentence (35) to form -ml (pronounced -muy 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. Ngaaju dhaad-a-btihga-a-mi
Iga=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. Btihga yarraga-a-mu-n gudja ganda-y
boy-GEN+mu-ERG dog+ABS hit-PAST
The boy's father hit the dog.

38. Yarraga-a-mu-n gudja ganda-y btihga-ngan.
boy-GEN+mu-ERG dog+ABS hit-PAST father-ERG
The boy's father hit the dog.

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

boy+ABS hand-ABS sick.
The boy's hand is sore.
(40) Nyulu mamba yuquni magi-l-ih yidaa-riin.
    3sgNOM 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) Gidharn-nil-ngaani lehinaa yigaani.
    bird-ERG 3sgNOM 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) Yiu yarrra-a-gi bilba-wi mii.
    this*ABS boy-GEN-mu-DAT father-DAT eye*ABS
This is the boy's father's eye.

[6] Comitative, Privative. Like most Australian languages, Guugu Yimithirr has a derivational suffix, -shiriirr, that forms a noun N an adjectival 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 -shiriirr. (Moreover, some speakers occasionally seem to treat the Comitative suffix as if it were a lengthening suffix of the form -:shiriirr.)

(43) Narra allga-shiriirr. Narra allarre-shiriirr.
    3sgNOM spear-COMABS 3sgNOM water-COMABS.
I have a spear. I have water. (Lit., I am with a spear, ...)

(44) Bilba gadaa-y nganaa-wi/ dshiriirr.
    child*ABS com-PAST mother-COMABS
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) Yarrra allga-shiriirr.
    boy*ABS spear-COMABS
The boy has a spear [i.e., he's standing here armed with a spear].

(46) Yarrra wi allga wu-nya.
    boy-GEMABS (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) Gidharn-shiriirr-ngan nihinaa uguuanyu-rr
    spear-COM-ERG 2sg*ACC look for+REDUP-NONPAST
[Someone] with a spear is looking for you, [and] might
    spear-COM
    [speak you (so watch out!).]

(48) Gidharn-gal gadaa yada gada-i.
    spear-COM-ABS NOT close come-MF
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 gadaa-y bilba wangaarre-ga-umu-shiriirr
    3sgNOM come-PAST child-white man-GEN-mu-COMABS
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-shiriirr 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) Djarraaaw+ningu warraa gadaa-shiriirr-ru.
    old man-poison+ABS bad (very) poison-COMABS-ru
The old man is very sick still.

Corresponding to COM-shiriirr is the Privative suffix -mu 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) Nguu allga-mul.
    lit+NOM speak-PRIV
I am without a spear.

(52) Nguu dingga-mul.
    3sgNOM 'hunger'-PRIV
He's not hungry.

(53) Bilba nganaa-mul gadaa-y.
    child*ABS mother-PRIVABS come-PAST
The child came without its mother.

[16] 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 yinda 'other, different' has the following case forms:

- ERG/INST yinda-umu-n
- DAT/LOC/ALL yinda-umu-l
- ABL/CAU yinda-umu-n; yinda-umu-ngonh
- PURP yinda-umu-ngu

Other nominals that inflect this way include wulu 'all' (which inflects with the stem wulu-umu-), gadii 'far away' (stem: gadii-mu-), wangiwar 'above, high' (stem: gadii-mu-), etc.
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/-gyu. 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-ngyu gaad-i. Aboriginal person-ngu come-IMP Let only Aboriginal people come!

(60) Budhangu un-wau. small-gu exist-NOM/IMP There is (still, just) a little.

(61) Nyuulu gapa-thirr-gu 3sg>nom poison-gu-IMP 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) Yungu yaadadiya yaadadiya dimbila-gu yaadadiy. tree>abs burn=NOM/IMP burn=NOM/IMP quickly burn=NOM/IMP The tree burned and burned quickly.

See (51): warriya alone means 'large', whereas warriagyu usually means 'many'. In forming adverbs, sometimes the suffix -ngyu/-nyngu alternates with -gu/-gyu, as in Text Line 76 and the following example:

(63) Dumii-dhaid-it! Dumii-dhaid-it! slow-gu go-IMP slow-gu go-IMP Go slowly!

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

(64) Nyuulu warriya warriyagyu wimangawagyu budhuan-gu. 3sg>nom bad-(very) high sky-backed 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, mibbu-gu 'tightly, clearly, firmly' acts as an adverb, but there is no corresponding adjective mibbu.

Rugh Hesseberger (1964c:69) describes a seemingly cognate Gugu Yalanji 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 Gugu Yimidhirr -gu/-gyu (although there is no Gugu Yimidhirr counterpart to the Gugu Yalanji suffix -da which indicates 'time either now or following'). For example, two time words, wun-gu 'tomorrow' and ngulugu 'afternoon, evening', both have forms suffixed with -ngu/-gyu that indicate a prior time: wun-gu 'this morning, earlier', and ngulugu-nygu 'yesterday'.

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

3.2.4 POST-INFFLECTIONAL SUFFIXES

(a) Emphatic -igw. A Gugu 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 -igw. 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) Bambo yit gaiya-engu-wgu bambo absol this absol speer-NOO-EN
this bamboo is for speer.

food>ABS where=LOC Where? food-EN
Where is the food?

The food!
[c] Emphatic -n-garra/-y-garra. Occasionally Guugu Yimithirr 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 nhana-ngarra gada-a
3sg=HOM nov-EMPH come-NONPAST
He'll be coming right now!

This suffix seems to be related to the independent particle gala (see 3.2.6).[6]

3.2.5 ADJECTIVE DERIVATIONS. Repetition 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 C1V1C2V2= to the beginning of the simple stem to form the reduplicated word.

yim-is-thirr 'this way'
yim-is-yini-thirr 'this same way again'
gali-kayluy 'long'
gali-galpalyuy 'very far away'
gadii 'far away'
gadii-gadii '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 dindal-gu mazi buduy
3sg=HOM quick-gu food=ABS eat=PAST
He ate quickly. (i.e., he finished everything quickly.)

(68) Nyulu dindal-dindal-gu mazi buduy
3sg=HOM 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 dindal-dindal-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 warru 'bad'; preceding an adjective it means 'very'.

(69) Nyulu warru dabaair.
3sg=HOM 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:

warru 'somewhat, fairly, a little'
ku 'more'
gurru 'more, again'
harru 'still more'
ngarru 'a bit more'

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

The adjectival productive adjective suffix -ngurru has a resultative meaning. A word of the form Adj+ngurru 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 warru gada-y Guugu-ngurru.
3sg=HOM hit=PAST dead-RES
He hit him and killed him. (Literally: he struck him dead.)

(71) Nyulu ngurru mumu wabki warru-garruyi
3sg=HOM 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) Buduyu wurrkina ngurru-garruyi
chill=ABS fall=PAST put=absent (=unconscious)-RES
The child fell down [and was thereby knocked unconscious].

(In (72) gada-warru is a compound adjective with the meaning shown.)

3.2.8 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 (ngama in 3.2.3[d], buduyu 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 mala. A noun followed by mala forms an adjective-like expression that means 'good for X, appropriate for use with X, useful for X'. The entire expression appears to act as an adjectival predicate.

(73) 111 guda bigitbi mala
this=ABS dog=ABS pig USITATIVE
This dog is a good pig-hunter.

(74) Nyaku ngurru buurranguyi ngurru mala.
3sg=HOM bad (=very) water=poison (=poisonous) USITATIVE
I am a very bad alcoholic.

(b) barrgga-balga 'along'. Appended to a noun this particle
means 'along N' or 'beside N', usually denoting motion along a river, a road, etc.

(75) Dyairba buku bargga gana bargga gada-y
snake=ABS ground along underside along come-PAST
The snake came [by an] underground [route].

(76) Nyula mangyagal balga ngaga danyin dada-y
3sg=LOC mountain along east=ALL water rat=ABS run-PAST
The water rat ran along the mountain range towards the East.

(warra) 'so high'. This particle, appended to a body part word, denotes the depth of a stream, tall grass, etc.

(77) Birri gambal warra
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; some from Waymburr (on the north of the Endeavour River, at Cooktown) was known as Waymburr warra 'a native of Waymburr', from the Waymburr mob, and the region itself was Waymburr warra-wi 'belongs to the Waymburr mob', with DAT/GEN inflection. And so on, with other named regions. This particle warra is undoubtedly cognate, not only to Guugu Yalalndji warra, but to the suffix -barr (belonging to [a place]) in Yidiny, Dyirbal and other Queensland languages. (Tindale (1974) mentions that 'bordura' names in Queensland end in -bara.)

(9) gula Emphatic. Following a noun or adjective (sometimes even a verb), usually in isolation, gula has the meaning 'that's right, that's it, that's the one':

(78) Wita gula!
now EMPH
Right now it will happen, let it happen!)

(79) Nyula gula
3sg=WHO EMPH
He's the one! (i.e., let him do it; or he's the one who will do it.)

(1) ngala 'covered with'. A predicate of the form ngala + Noun means 'covered with, thick with, inundated with N'. Hence,

(80) Ngamakda ngala 
woman=ABS covered with child-PLU
The woman is surrounded by 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st person</td>
<td>ngagu</td>
<td>ngala (inclusive)</td>
<td>ngamakda (Inland dialect)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd person</td>
<td>ngama</td>
<td>ngalin (exclusive)</td>
<td>ngama (Coastal dialect)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd person</td>
<td>ngamda</td>
<td>yubial</td>
<td>gurra</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

- bu'bi 'small'
- bida=mal 'become small'
- baidal 'deep'
- bida=mal=mogu 'become deep'
- bu'ga 'old, wrinkled'
- bu'ga=mal 'shriveled'

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

- gural 'long'
- gural-gural 'lengthen'
- bina =mal 'smart'
- bina=mal 'teach'

In at least one case, the causative suffix =gural acts as if it were gural: warra =mal 'gural =mal '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 ngala for an unspecified 1st person dual ('we two'). Similarly, most people at the Hopevale Mission now use ngamakda in preference to the Coonal form ngama, 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NOM (SA)</th>
<th>ACC(O)</th>
<th>DAT/GEN+ABS</th>
<th>PURF</th>
<th>ABS</th>
<th>ADES</th>
<th>ADES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ngayu</td>
<td>nganhi</td>
<td>ngadhu</td>
<td>ngadhwangu</td>
<td>ngadhu, ga</td>
<td>ngadhu, gal</td>
<td>1st singular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nyanki</td>
<td>nhanamu</td>
<td>nhuru</td>
<td>nhanwangu</td>
<td>nhanamu, ga</td>
<td>nhanamu, gal</td>
<td>2nd singular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nyulu</td>
<td>nhanamu (in)</td>
<td>nhuru</td>
<td>nhanwu, ga</td>
<td>nharu, ga</td>
<td>nharu, gal</td>
<td>3rd singular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngali</td>
<td>ngaliin / ngaliin</td>
<td>ngaliin</td>
<td>ngaungwangu</td>
<td>ngaungwangu, ga</td>
<td>ngaungwangu, gal</td>
<td>1st dual inclusive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngaliin</td>
<td>ngaliin</td>
<td>ngaliin</td>
<td>ngaungwangu</td>
<td>ngaungwangu, ga</td>
<td>ngaungwangu, gal</td>
<td>1st dual exclusive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yubal</td>
<td>yubalin / yubalin</td>
<td>yubalin</td>
<td>yubalin</td>
<td>yubalin, ga</td>
<td>yubalin, gal , yubalin, gali</td>
<td>2nd dual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yubaliin</td>
<td>yubaliin</td>
<td>yubaliin</td>
<td>yubaliin</td>
<td>yubaliin, ga</td>
<td>yubaliin, gal</td>
<td>3rd dual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bulu</td>
<td>bulum / bulum</td>
<td>bulum</td>
<td>bulum</td>
<td>bulum, ga</td>
<td>bulum, gal</td>
<td>1st plural (Inland)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bulungo</td>
<td>bulungo</td>
<td>bulungo</td>
<td>bulungo</td>
<td>bulungo, ga</td>
<td>bulungo, gal</td>
<td>1st plural (Coastal)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>buan</td>
<td>buan / buan</td>
<td>buan</td>
<td>buan</td>
<td>buan, ga</td>
<td>buan, gal</td>
<td>2nd plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>buan / buan</td>
<td>buan</td>
<td>buan</td>
<td>buan</td>
<td>buan, ga</td>
<td>buan, gal</td>
<td>3rd plural</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### TABLE 3.4 - Genitive and comitative forms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GEN+ABS</th>
<th>GEN+VERG; GEN+ABL</th>
<th>GEN+GEN; GEN+LOC</th>
<th>COM</th>
<th>GEN+COM</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ngadhu</td>
<td>ngadhau, aum</td>
<td>ngadhu, aum, aum</td>
<td>ngadhau, aum</td>
<td>ngadhau, aum</td>
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<tr>
<td>nhuru</td>
<td>nhumau</td>
<td>nhumau, nhumau</td>
<td>nhumau, nhumau</td>
<td>nhumau, nhumau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nhango</td>
<td>nhango, aum</td>
<td>nhango, aum, aum</td>
<td>nhango, aum</td>
<td>nhango, aum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngaliin</td>
<td>ngaliin, gamau</td>
<td>ngaliin, gamau</td>
<td>ngaliin, gamau</td>
<td>ngaliin, gamau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngaliinn</td>
<td>ngaliinn, gamau</td>
<td>ngaliinn, gamau</td>
<td>ngaliinn, gamau</td>
<td>ngaliinn, gamau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yubal</td>
<td>yubalin, gamau</td>
<td>yubalin, gamau</td>
<td>yubalin, gamau</td>
<td>yubalin, gamau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>buan / buan</td>
<td>buan</td>
<td>buan / buan</td>
<td>buan / buan</td>
<td>buan / buan</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

etc.
the full paradigm. The longer accusative forms ending in 
-in are especially rare at Hopevale, and the 3rd person sin-
gular accusative form nām in (in) has been all but re-
placed by nga (i). (Both (1961a:18) shows nga as both accu-
sative 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 a in the singular forms). Since
these are personal pronouns, with reference restricted to
animate, the local cases (which involve inanimate loca-
tions) do not normally occur. (Gugu Yimidhirr speakers
occasionally use the third person pronoun nga 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 pro-
noun nga, rather than using the noun dju or a deictic.
Similarly, when two men went to dig the roots of a blood-
wood 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 nga 'That's him!'. However, gen-
itive and comitative forms do occur, based on the dative
stem form, plus -ga- for the non-singular forms, then the
catatlytic -nu- 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 person-
al pronouns, and the resulting word may frequently be tran-
lated by an English expression like 'myself, you
-yourself... etc.

(81) Nya’nuu-gu Ɐda-y
3sg+abs-2snk=go go-PAST
He himself went. (Or: only he went.)

Together with the reflexive form of a transitive verb (see
4.2.1) the nominative form of a pronoun, plus -gu, has ex-
plicit reflexive meaning:

(82) Nya’nuu-gu kunda-adki
3sg+abs-2snk hit-me+past
He hit himself.

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

(83) Yī baya nga’duu-gu
this=abs house=abs tag-dat-enk
This house is mine, my own.

(84) Nya’nuu nga’dhan.pu yirmpa-y
3sg+abs talk=dat-exs-enk talk+dat-2sg-past
He was talking with [just] me.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE 3.5 – Interrogative/Indefinite Pronouns</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'who'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ABSOLUTIVE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ERAJATIVE/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INSTRUMENTAL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DATIVE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOCATIVE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ALLATIVE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CARSAAL/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ABLATIVE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PURPOSE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ABRRESSIVE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ABESSIVE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RESTIATION</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COMATIVE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GENITIVE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Case</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stem</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

-ku. This shortened form acts like a normal (non-lengthen-
ing) suffix, especially with his terms.

(85) Biia-ku Ɐda-y
father-ABS=tag-enk come-PAST
My father came.

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

[1] Ngaamku ‘who’ displays all the case forms appropriate to
an animate noun, viz., ergative and abessive, dative,
adessive and abessive, purposive, (occasionally) ablative/
causal, and it occurs in the full range of GEN+case forms. There is, in addition, a special ergative only form, wanhdu, used exclusively as transitive subject (A function). (R.M.W. Dixon has suggested that wanhdu here is the original ergative form, deriving from the proto-australian root *wany- with the ergative suffix *-dyu. In both Vidyut and Dyrbai, spoken to the South of Guugu Yimidhirr, the form wanhunda thus appears to be the result of analogic re-interpertation, with the pronoun inflected like a noun.)

86) wanhdu/wanhunda gwa-n-y
who-ENG hit-PAST
Who did the hitting? (Spoken only when we know that someone hit someone.)

87) wanhdu moa-naa, nangu.
who-ENG take-NOMF-ABS finders keepers [literally, whoever takes it, it’s his].
There is also a special hesitation form, wanharru, 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 nthla gada-y wanharru ... Bob.
3sp+GEN what-NOM now comes-PAST who?
What’s his name today ... Bob.

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

89) Yit wanhun-nibl ga-gar
this-ABS who-DAT speak-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: ngaaniil (but not the non-shortened dative/locative ngaaniilbi) means ‘in the process of doing what?’

90) Nyenu ngaaniilbi?
3sp+GEN 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 4.1.4.1) – for example, with verbs expressing ‘fear’:

91) Nyenu ngaaniil-ngu damba-ani?
What-FURP frightened-PAST
What was he frightened of?

But there is a further specialized Purposive or Causal form.

ngau, that acts very much like English ‘why’.

92) Nyenu bauhnhilu?
why cry-FUTR-NOMF
Why are you crying?

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

93) Nypulu ngau-nil-gal (yivergai
3sp+GEN what-ADDRES talk-FUTR-NOMF
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: ngaanaaarru ‘what-bahama-
callit’.

(c) wanhdaa ‘when, where’. Although a single noun case includes both locative (‘rest at’) and allative (‘motion toward’) meanings, locative and allative interrogatives are morphologically distinct. Wanhdaa is locative, where (rest); and the underlying atom wanhdaa- combines with -iga or -ibi for the allative sense:

94) Nypulu wanhdaa-iga dhaarru?
3sp+GEN where-ALL go-FUTR-NOMF
Where’s he going?

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

In reduplicated form, the same root means ‘when’: the two forms that occur are wanhdaa-wanhdaa and (more commonly) wanhdaa-wanhdaa ‘when’. In normal speech, however, Hopevale people use the English word ‘when’:

95) Nypulu when gada-y
3sp+GEN 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 wanhdaaarru which means ‘where was that place now...?’

96) Nypulu bariibê wanhdaaarru ... g kun, gawarr.
1st+GEN come-PAST where-dye-callit ... Cocktown (+LOC).
We camped at ... uh ... Cocktown.

(d) wanhdaaarru ‘how’. The common form of greeting at modern Hopevale is:

97) Nypulu wanhdaaarru?
3sp+GEN how
How are you?
to which the conventional reply is gana 'alright'.

Wañhākara is a general interrogative that queries manner, amount, condition, or direction:

(98) Dhana wañhākara dharana?
3sp=NOM how go-REDUP+MNPAST
Which way are they going? Or: by what means of transportation are they going?

(99) Yīl wañhākara?
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 wañhākara with the contrapositional form of a verb (see below, 3.5.3(e)) in a rhetorical question (which expects a negative answer).

(100) Ngāqy wañhākara wuṣṭ-nā?
lsg=NOM how give-COSTRF
How should I give [it]? (i.e., I can't give it because I don't have it.)

(101) Ngāqy wañhākara dhaṣa-nā, ngāqy gaga-dīkṣṛ
lsg=NOM how go-COSTRF lsg+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 buṣhu (which elsewhere in a clause means 'if' — see 4.8).

(102) Bīda wañhākara? Wañhākara buṣhu?
child+ABS where+LOC where+LOC indeed
Where is the child? Where, indeed [i.e., I haven't any idea].

(103) Ngāqy binačł-nā ṅฎu ṅnqah sa buṣhu mane?
lsg=NOM know-PRF 3sp=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 deictics in Guugu Yimithirr is extremely simple. The language distinguishes between yi, '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: yrarr 'yonder' and yarrba 'there, that way, that's the way'.

(104) A: Nyardu namba balgo-y?
2sg=NOM stone+ABS make-PAST
Did you polish that stone [i.e., to make it smooth that way]? B: Qurći. Yarrba gala-aqgu.
No, that way EMTH-gu
No, that's the way it was [i.e., that's how I found it, it is that way naturally].

The deictics yi (sometimes pronounced yiŋ) and nhaa may refer to things ('this' and 'that'), places ('here' and 'there'), and times ('now' — although this reading of yi is infre-quent — and 'then'). Though in slow speech the first syllables of all forms of these words are long, in rapid speech these deictics are shortened and are often pronounced unstressed. In particular, the absolutive form nhaay 'that, that one' very often functions as a kind of third person pronoun — especially to denote inanimate objects which cannot be pronounized with nγu — or as a definite article. In such cases, nhaay is often reduced to a seeming monosyllabic form nhaay.

(105) Buliti gada-y, mγu nhaay 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) Ngāqy nhaayn yiilmən gunda-
3sg=NOM 2sg+ACC this+FINST hit=REDUP
I'll hit you with this [thing I have here].

Or an ergative form may be used anaphorically:

(107) Buli ṅhaaymən minha yidi gunda-y,
3sg=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 tend predominately in speech (and notice that the suffix does not reduce to -v). The ablative/causal forms (with catalytic -mu- and -ngkə) mean 'from here/there', 'as a result of this/that'; nhaaymgənggu is the storyteller's device for linking sequential events: 'and then ...' and then...'

TABLE 3.6 - Deictics

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Pronouns</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Absolute</td>
<td>yi, yiŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ergative/Instrumental</td>
<td>yiilmən</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locative/Allative</td>
<td>yi, yiŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ablative/Causal</td>
<td>yiilməngənggu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purposive</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comitative</td>
<td>yiilmən</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural Absolute</td>
<td>yiilməngənggu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 qualifications. The most prominent examples are the words for the Cardinal Points, which are used heavily in Guugu Yimidhirr to 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: gunggaraarr, for example, means 'on the Northern side' rather than 'to the North'. The roots are:

- gungga - 'North'
- dyla - '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:

- gunggaraarr - 'a medium distance away on the North side'
- dylaarr - 'a medium distance away on the South side'
- nagaarr - 'a medium distance away on the East side'
- guwaarr - 'a medium distance away on the West side'

If the verb of a sentence refers to a location, it is inflected for direction, or vice versa. 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 the direction, one employs the suffix -lu:

- gunggala - 'away to the North'
- dyla - 'away to the South'
- naga - 'away to the East'
- guwa - 'away to the West'

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

- guunggara - 'just to the North, on the North hand'
- dylaarr - 'just to the South, on the South hand'
- nagaarr - 'just to the East, on the East hand'
- guwaarr - '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-repetitively forms of equivalent meaning:

- guunggar - 'on the North side, bank, face, etc.'
- dylarr - 'on the South side, bank, face, etc.'
- nagaarr - 'on the East side, bank, face, etc.'
- guwarr - 'on the West side, bank, face, etc.'

The suffix -tinggarr 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 gunggaraarr '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:

- guunggaraarr - 'a bit Northwards'
- dylaarr - 'a bit Southwards'
- nagaarr - 'a bit Eastwards'
- guwaarr - 'a bit Westwards'

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

- guunggaraarrwil -
- dylaarrwil -
- nagaarrwil -
- guwaarrwil -
There are also several ablative forms, denoting motion from greater or lesser distances: the suffixes -\textit{num} and -\textit{kunang} mean 'motion from a moderate distance in the ...'; the suffixes -\textit{imun} and -\textit{lamung} mean 'from a long way in the ...'.

Two further roots are straightforward locational qualifiers:

\textit{wangaar} 'above (rest at and motion to)'
\textit{bada} 'below (rest at and motion to)'

The expression \textit{y\textsuperscript{1}i} \textit{wangaar} 'up here, here above' can mean 'up (in the air) from where I am', or it can mean 'up (the street, the mountain, etc.) from where I am'. (At Hopevale Mission, the end of the settlement where the church, the store, and the staff houses stand is \textit{wangaar}, and the end where the Aboriginal community lives is \textit{bada}.) The ablative forms of these roots are:

\textit{wangaar} + \textit{ngan} + \textit{num} (\textit{wangaarmang} = \textit{wangaarmumu} = \textit{wangaarmawanga}) + \textit{wangaassum} 'from above'
\textit{bada} + \textit{ngan} + \textit{num} 'from below'

However, \textit{wangaassum} also means 'on top (of something)' and 'onto':

(112) \textit{Ngalu} \textit{ngan} \textit{yinda-drin} \textit{ngal} \textit{bukul-ngay} \textit{wangaassum}
3sg\textit{NOM} tree\textit{ABS} put\textit{PAST} 3sg\textit{NOM} abbed\textit{FIL}\textit{ABS} above\textit{SUP}?
yinda-drin
put-PAST
He put the wood [down], and then he piled abbeds on top of the wood.

And there is a further form, \textit{wangaar-gawa}, which suggests motion along the top of something, corresponding to \textit{baddimbar} 'below (rest or motion)'.

(113) Mundal \textit{bub} + \textit{baddimbar} \textit{gada-y}, munda\textit{ABS} ground\textit{LOC} under\textit{REDUP} come\textit{PAST} rest\textit{ABS}
\textit{wangaar} + \textit{bubu-wi} \textit{gada-y}
above ground\textit{LOC} come\textit{PAST}
Some came underneath the surface of the ground, and some came along above the ground (supernatural snakes summoned by magici.)

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 \textit{gama} 'underneath', \textit{dhagal} 'point, front', and \textit{wama} 'inside, soul, breath' all take a locative and then combine with an unsuffixed noun in a locational sense:

(114) Bajan \textit{gama-wi} \textit{mada-y}, house-bottom\textit{ALL} go\textit{PAST}
He went under the house.

(115) \textit{Ngalu} \textit{dhagal-bi}
3sg\textit{NOM} front\textit{LOC}
He's first. He's in front.

(116) Marrburg \textit{wama-wi} \textit{gad} \textit{gaga}\textit{ABS}+\textit{num}
cave-inside\textit{LOC} sit\textit{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:

\textit{whila} 'now, today' (there is an adjective \textit{nhila} 'new')
\textit{ngal\textsuperscript{2}u} 'yesterday, in the afternoon'
\textit{ngal\textsuperscript{3}u} 'tomorrow, in the morning'
\textit{ngal\textsuperscript{4}u} 'long ago'

These roots do not ordinarily take case suffixes, although they all accept the post-inflectional suffix -\textit{gu} (section 3.2.4[b] above). (There is also a special form, \textit{nhila-ngarrak\textsuperscript{4}u}, 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 delictic ablative form \textit{kalam\textsuperscript{4}u} means 'since then, from that time on ...'. Some speakers also use the expressions \textit{ngal\textsuperscript{2}u-ngan} 'since yesterday' and \textit{whila-ngan} 'from now on', and the curious phrase

(117) \textit{ngal\textsuperscript{2}u-ngan} \textit{bada} yesterday\textit{-gu} below

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

(118) \textit{Mgal} \textit{wama} \textit{dabraba-ngan} \textit{budna-gu} \textit{daba-a}
live\textit{ABS} very early\textit{-gu} very\textit{gu} go\textit{NONPAST}
We'll go very early in the morning.

And consider:

(119) \textit{Magi-ngan-gu} \textit{ngal} \textit{daba-a}.
food\textit{ABS} go\textit{PAST} 
live\textit{ABS} go\textit{NONPAST}.
We'll go after eating.

Duration is expressed in terms of standard units: \textit{wudj\textsuperscript{2}u} 'night (i.e., 24-hour period)', \textit{warrak\textsuperscript{2}u} 'moon (i.e., month)', \textit{gumu} 'celebration dance (i.e., Christmas celebration - the most important holiday at modern Hopevale - and hence: year).

(120) \textit{Ngal} \textit{wudj\textsuperscript{2}u} \textit{gudrak\textsuperscript{2}u} \textit{nhil-ga-y}
1sg\textit{NOM} night\textit{ABS} two\textit{ABS} sit\textit{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:

\textit{nubu} 'one'
\textit{gud\textsuperscript{2}i} 'two'
\textit{gumad\textsuperscript{2}a} 'three or four'
\textit{gay\textsuperscript{3}u} 'five, a few'

Of these the first three have been encountered in other case forms. The root \textit{nubu} appears to act like other numerals with long final syllables: the ergative is \textit{nubu-\textit{ti}l} (though some speakers say \textit{nubu-\textit{-ink}}) as in:
(121) *Nyulu mawh-f-ku balga-yu.
Eng*NOM one-RSG-ku make-PAST
He alone made [it].

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

Ergative: *gudhirra(a)-mu-
Nominative: **gudhirra(a)-mu-

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

(122) *Nyulu quyaygu guda-nya gada-yu, bavu buuliom le-NGOM kangaroo-ratABS close-ABS come-PAST livesABS very
Nyulu gudhirra-gu dada.
Kill-PAST two*ABS-gu mud*ACC
Kangaroo rat came up close, [and he] kicked them both right in the loins.

(Notice here that gudhirra + -igu-igu yields gudhirraygu where the unstressed syllable gu is routinely reduced to i: gudhirraygu.) The standard English translation for guondwuy 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-nya usually means 'many'. 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 NA 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 NA and NA conjugation verbs), the stem form which is the basis for other inflections and derivations. For example, the purposive suffix is -naa, 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 formativemay be added to create a disyllabic stem; the NA conjugation root nkaa- 'see' uses the stem form nkaa-dhi- to combine with the purposive suffix to form nkaa-dhi-naa. [In the example sentences such a form would be shown as nkaadhi-naa 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

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**Table 3.7 - NONPAST, PAST, and IMPERATIVE forms of Guugu Yimithirr conjugations**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Conjugation</th>
<th>L</th>
<th>monosyl</th>
<th>V</th>
<th>R</th>
<th>NA</th>
<th>NA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NONPAST</td>
<td>-l</td>
<td>-l</td>
<td>-r</td>
<td>-naa</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>PAST</td>
<td>-y</td>
<td>-dhi-</td>
<td>-y</td>
<td>-dhi-yu</td>
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<tr>
<td>IMP</td>
<td>-la</td>
<td>-la</td>
<td>-i*</td>
<td>-nya</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Suffix form before further inflection</th>
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<tr>
<td>-fb</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reflexive*</th>
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<tr>
<td>*see text for details</td>
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</table>

Adessive complement (with verbs of speaking and telling), or even an Instrumental NP (e.g., the verb mii-wi '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.

---

3.5.1 TRANSITIVITY AND CONJUGATIONS. Guugu Yimithirr verbs are either transitive or intransitive: a transitive verb requires an A Noun Phrase and an O Noun Phrase (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., mumu 'give'), an
### TABLE 3.10 - Verbal inflection

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'hit'</td>
<td>'go'</td>
<td>'close'</td>
<td>'see'</td>
<td>'lie'</td>
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<tr>
<td>NONPAST</td>
<td>gonda-l</td>
<td>dhada-a</td>
<td>ngalbu-rr</td>
<td>nhaa-maa</td>
<td>uha-maa</td>
<td>maa-naa</td>
<td>mamaar</td>
<td>maa-mam</td>
<td>maa-ni</td>
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<tr>
<td>FREQ.</td>
<td>REDUP.</td>
<td>gonda-nu</td>
<td>dhada-nu</td>
<td>ngalbu-nu</td>
<td>nhaa-nu</td>
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with the NONPAST suffix) to create a disyllabic stem for further inflection. Hence, with the PAST+NEG suffix -\textit{imugu}, the stem form \textit{dhaaba=ngadi-} of `ask' is used, in a sentence like:

(125) Ngadu \textit{dhaaba=ngadi-imugu.}

I didn't ask [(him).

Notice that, for the purposes of syllable lengthening, a verb like \textit{dhaaba=ngadi} must be considered a compound, since a
lengthening suffix like -\textit{imugu} 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 mono-
syllabic L verbs (see 3.5.4 below) use the stem formative
\textit{-dha} in place of -\textit{ghi}:

(126) Nulu-yu \textit{dhaa=magadi-yuhi.}

He asked himself.

Most common verbs in Guugu Yimithurr are disyllabic L
conjugation members. Some typical examples are \textit{bajal} `make-
wash', \textit{vagil} `cut', \textit{nhim} `sit', and \textit{barriti} `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: \textit{nguwayadai} `measure' and \textit{guwayangyadai}
`drown'. All L conjugation verbs have either \textit{a} or \textit{i} as final
vowel: 66% have \textit{a} and the remainder \textit{i}. These totals include the `reflexive only' verbs, which occur with the
special \textit{di} forms discussed in 3.5.4, and all of which have
stem-final \textit{a}. Excluding these `reflexive-only' verbs there is
a strong tendency for L conjugation verbs to be transitive:
about 80% of the \textit{a}-final L verbs are transitive, and about
80% of the \textit{i}-final L verbs are transitive.

The \textit{V} conjugation verbs are so named because their NON-
PAST forms are a long vowel. Of the 13 known \textit{V}
conjugation verbs, all have either \textit{a} or \textit{i} as final vowel, and
three-quarters are transitive. The intransitive \textit{V} conjugation
verbs are:

\textit{baa} \textit{ngaz} (or \textit{baa} \textit{ngaz}) `sing out'
\textit{bi} \textit{mil} `die'
\textit{bi} \textit{lli} `fall down'
\textit{da} \textit{da} `go, walk'
\textit{da} 
\textit{d} `often pronounced with initial reflexes: \textit{nd} \textit{d}, or \textit{nd} \textit{z} `run'
\textit{g} `come'
\textit{ng} `be confused, be unable, not understand'
\textit{nt} `play, dance'
\textit{nt} `stand, be standing'

There are three known transitive \textit{V} conjugation verbs:

\textit{d} `abduct'
\textit{h} `wait for'
\textit{m} `take, bring'

Finally, the verb \textit{yir} \textit{ngaz} `speak' is somewhat indeterminate
between transitive and intransitive: it normally has an

ABSolute (or NOMinative) subject, but it also allows an
apparent object (usually a word like \textit{guwu} `language' or
\textit{mi} `story'); moreover, the root occurs in `reflexive'
form.

(127) Ngadu \textit{bikila mi} \textit{yir} \textit{ngaz-y}

My father told stories.

(128) Nulu \textit{yir} \textit{ngaz-y}

You (all) have a talk, have a yarn;

The imperative form of a \textit{V} conjugation verb has \textit{t} 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 \textit{R} conjugation verbs in the every-
day working vocabulary, slightly more than half with stem-
final \textit{a}, and almost all the rest with stem final \textit{i}. Only \textit{R}
conjugation verbs have stem-final long vowels (although verbs
from other conjugations sometimes undergo lengthening of the
stem final vowel when suffixed) and, in fact, a few verbs have
a non-past form in -\textit{t} but otherwise behave like \textit{R}
conjugation and not \textit{L} conjugation verbs. (In the everyday
language the verbs \textit{m} `swim', \textit{t} `tell, show', and
\textit{t} `book, catch with a hook' use regular \textit{R} conjugation
suffices, as shown on Tables 3.7 and 3.9; but they have \textit{t} in
place of \textit{rr} in each case.) The everyday \textit{R} conjugation verbs
`gather, heap up' and \textit{g} `get stuck' (as well
as two or three avoidance language verbs) have stem-final
vowel \textit{i}. Between 80% and 70% of the \textit{R} conjugation
verbs are transitive: the percentage is slightly higher with
\textit{u}-final than with \textit{a}-final roots. With the exception of the
verb \textit{y} `sneeze' all \textit{R}-conjugation verbs are disyllabic.

\textit{R} conjugation verbs inflect somewhat idiosyncratically:
the cautionary forms are compounds of the verb stem and a
further formative \textit{baga}; `reflexive' forms are compounded from
the verb stem and a reflexive verbalizing suffix (prob-
ably the reflexive form of -\textit{ngal}) -\textit{ngal} (sometimes
\textit{ongal}) -\textit{ngal} (sometimes
\textit{ongal}) -\textit{ngal} (sometimes
\textit{ongal}). The \textit{R} conjugation verbs with final \textit{a} or \textit{i}
and for some speakers with final \textit{u} form imperatives in -\textit{uaa};
for other speakers, \textit{u}-final verbs form imperatives in -\textit{uu}.

Verbs in the \textit{NA} and \textit{RA} conjugations have monosyllabic
roots but are always inflected so as to produce polysyllabic
words. There are only three \textit{NA} conjugation verbs, one some-
what irregular (the cited forms show root plus NONPAST suf-
fix):

\textit{naa} `see'
\textit{ku} `give'
\textit{uu} `rise, get up, ascend'

The imperative is formed with the suffix -\textit{uaa} and reduplica-
ted forms of the imperative (see 3.5.2) are based on the
fully suffixed (disyllabic) form.

(129) Ngadu \textit{uu-uaa}.

You give (it) to me.
As with other monosyllabic verb roots, further verb inflections (i.e., those listed on Table 3.6) are based on a stem composed of root plus a further formative. The two verbs maa-nsaa and -maa-nsaa use the stem formative -ni- (identical to their PAST forms) and wa-nsaa uses a formative -na-.

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

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

- maa-adhi
  - get-STEM FORMATIVE-REF+PAST
  - to show that the monosyllabic root combines with -ma- before receiving the further suffix -:adi. For convenience we do not divide the stem in example sentences; however, the citation form for NA and NA conjugation verbs separates the root from the NONPAST suffix by a dash to distinguish such verbs from V conjugation verbs.

Speakers of Gugu 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 wa-nsaa 'lie down' as if it were a regular V conjugation verb of the form wa-n-n. This means, for example, that they use, as imperative form, wanni 'lie down!' - a word that makes older speakers cringe. A more subtle change involves reinterpreting the NA 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 banydyi 'wait for' is, according to older informants, a transitive V conjugation verb. The correct NONPAST and IMPERATIVE forms are identical, banydyi. However, many speakers treat this verb as if it were L conjugation, with forms banydyi 'waits' and banydyi 'wait!'. Conversely, the intransitive L conjugation verb biddi 'paddle, row' has the regular imperative biddi 'row!', however, one frequently hears the imperative biddi 'row!', as if the verb were a V conjugation verb as befits its intransitive nature.

Some Coastal speakers from the southern reaches of the Gugu Yimidhirr area also interpret the NA conjugation verbs wa-nsaa 'give' and waana-nsaa 'see' as if they were regular L conjugation verbs of the form wuddi and waadhi; hence one frequently hears imperatives: waadhi 'look!' or wuddi 'give [it]'! (Interestingly, the nearest language to the South, Gugu Yalandji, has just two conjugations: one with...
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 implications may imply semantic differences as well; for example, with the verb gundal 'hit, kill':

* gundal-y (reduplicated past) 'he killed (it)'
* gundaluy (reduplicated past) 'he beat it'

Reduplicated imperative forms suggest 'keep ...':

* gadi-ii 'go!'  
* gadii-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 NA 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 wuwdh by reduplication to yield wuwdhidhi 'was giving, gave repeatedly'. Similarly, contrast the simple PURP form wuwdh-nhu (composed of root+stem transformative-PURP suffix) with the reduplicated wuwdhidhi-nhu (root+stem transformative-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 i regardless of the final stem vowel. Hence, from gadga 'come!' the simple imperative is gadgi 'come!', and the reduplicated imperative gadiiiri '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:

\[
\left( C_1 V_1 (L) \left[ N' \right] \right) C_2 V_2 - 1 2 3 4 5 6
\]

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\omega a r m b a & - \text{ 'return (trans)' } \\
1 & 2 3 4 5 6 \\
g u n d a a & - \text{ 'hit' } \\
1 & 2 4 3 6 \\
dh a d a a & - \text{ 'go' } \\
1 & 2 5 6 \\
\text{b a i g a} & - \text{ 'make' } \\
1 & 2 3 5 6 \\
\text{b a a u a} & - \text{ 'cook' } \\
1 & 2 5 6 \\
\text{m h i n} . g a & - \text{ 'sit' } \\
1 & 2 4 5 6 \\
dh \text{ i n m a} & - \text{ 'knead' } \\
1 & 2 4 5 6 \\
y u u i i i t & - \text{ 'stand' } \\
1 & 2 5 6 \\
\text{b i i n i i} & - \text{ 'die' } \\
1 & 2 5 6 \\
\end{align*}
\]

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

\[
L \left[ N' \right] C_2 V_2
\]

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:

\[
\left( C_1 V_1 (L) \left[ N' \right] \right) C_2 V_2 \left[ N' \right] C_2 V_2
\]

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-dorsal stop and segment 8 is empty, segments 7 and 9 will be replaced by \( r \).
for those R conjugation verbs which actually end in -in the same reduplication pattern applies, except that the inserted syllable has i in place of r:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>miriti-</td>
<td>'tell, show'</td>
<td>miriti-</td>
<td>'telling, showing'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gaiti-</td>
<td>'hook'</td>
<td>gaiti-</td>
<td>'hooking'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>baydaya-</td>
<td>'cover'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baydaya-dya-</td>
<td>'covering'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(c) The last pattern applies to R conjugation stems with a medial nasal — occurring either alone or in a cluster. That is, pattern (c) operates on stems of the form

\[ C_1 V_1 (V_2) N C_2 V_2 \]

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

\[ NV, \text{in the first case, or } NC_2 V_2 \text{ in the second.} \]

Thus the reduplicated stem will always have the following shape:

\[ C_1 V_1 (V_2) N C_2 V_2 N C_2 V_2 \]

(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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>shamba-</td>
<td>'throw'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shambana-</td>
<td>'throwing'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>danega-</td>
<td>'scratch'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>danaguna-ga-</td>
<td>'scratching'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gumba-</td>
<td>'jump'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gumba-rr</td>
<td>'jumping'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>guma-yaga-</td>
<td>'crawling'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>guma-yaga-rr</td>
<td>'crawling'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nganga-</td>
<td>'gather'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngangara-</td>
<td>'shaking'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngangara-rr</td>
<td>'shaking'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 'mako' was balgaalal. (Contrast the reduplicated non-past form balgaalal '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 on-going action, whereas on a simple stem it implies future action, action 'by and by'.
(141) Ngalu magi bahurul ngaju yi-way nhia, ga-l. 
leg-NOM food+ABS eat+REDUP-NOMPAST leg-NOM hero-LOC sit-NOMPAST
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 2 this suffix is deleted. In modern speech the PAST suffix for R conjugation verbs is -rau even though some older peoples' speech suggests that the proper earlier form was -prau.

(142) Yaruru ngaju yaruru yam ngaadu-dwa. 
bone+ABS skin+ABS yonder West=ALL throw=FAST
[She] throws the skin and bone[s] off to the West yonder.

[c] IMP. A more appropriate label for this inflection might be 'deleterious', as the form can be used in any person - not just as a second person imperative. It frequently occurs together with the independent particle ngaadu 'may it be so, let'; the same inflection cooccurs with the negative particle gasi 'not' to form a negative command. (See (18) and (59).)

(143) Gwaata ndi-bi ngaadu. 
let go=IMP 3sg+NOM
Let him go!

(144) Gwaata miriri-la, a-ti-la! 
NOT tell=IMP leave=IMP
Don't tell him, leave him, it's alone i.e., forget it.

[d] PRECAUT. 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 -ruh for all verbs.

(See (132) and (138).)

(145) Ngadu sadhu. 
ake+NOM hunting(+PURP) go=NOMPAST yam+ABS dig=PERF
We two will go hunting to dig some yams.

(146) Yl ngaadu-um-l iikka-wi busihi nhamadzima-ruh. 
this+ABS leg+GEN=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 nhamadzimahu in the previous example could be rendered nhamadzimahu. Similarly with other conjugations:

| Verb | Inflection
|------|------------|
|Bahubu | 'throw'
|chumbardzahu | nhamadzimu
|chumbardzimu | hwa-bi
|chumbardzumu | nhamadzico
|chumbardzico | hwa-bi
[e] PRECAUT. The suffix -u 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), (104) and (108).)

(147) Nyambo ngaadu yam ngaadu ngaadu-

[2sg+NOM that=ASS eat-CONTR eat-CONTR
If you had eaten, you would have gotten sick.

[f] PAST=NEG. In preference to using the negative particle gasi 'not' with the past tense of an unrepeated verb, Ngangu Yimidhirr speakers employ the special past negative ending -lumgu. The suffix is probably related to the nominal PRIV suffix -mul; in very slow speech, older speakers pronounce the suffix as if it were -lumggu - a not altogether surprising collapsing of negative verbal and nominal categories. See (128), (133) and (139).

[g] CAUT. K. Haie (1978c:298) describes an 'admonitory' verbal inflection for Djambugay, and Dixon (1977:348-357) describes for Yidiny a class of 'preparitional constructions' which serve to warn, discourage, and dissuade. Guugu Yimidhirr has freely developed morphology to express such ideas. The Cautionary inflection utters a caution: something (undesirable) might happen (and in fact is likely to happen (see (47).)

(148) Wili-ba badar gaapi-l boga! 
stick+IMP fishhook+ABS snag=DER=CAUT
Watch out, your hook will get snagged!

[b] 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) Nyambo dindau-gi ngaadu-yi ngaadu-yi ngaadu-yi. 
2sg+NOM quick=IMP bathe=IMP shiver=ANTIC
Have a bath 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 ngaadu yam ngaadu yam ngaadu yam. 
before 2sg+NOM go-ANTIC go-SUB2 food+ABS leg=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 is likely to happen, the Precautionary form advises one's interlocutor to take action so that an undesirable consequence should not happen - less it should happen. The precautionary form has a more negative flavour than the cautionary (and the final syllable -ruh of the -igum suffix may again be related to the privative suffix -mul).

(151) Ngalu gasi 

[2sg+NOM earth-over+ABS earth-INST bury-PAST smoke+ABS
eradhi-igumu.

arise-PRECAUT
He covered the earth over with dirt, lest smoke rise (from it).
(A man tried to hide the fact that he was cooking something in an earth oven.)
(152) Mulhon, gu garrba-la gadaa-balih-igami!

Finally hold-IMP break-FREQUA
Hold tight; tightly let it break!

[j] SUB-1, PERF. An identical form, with normal suffix -ygga, 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) Urama ngalan-bi dadhara-ygga minf-inu mula-aquu
3pl+HOM sum-LOC go+REDUP-PERF meat-PURP horse-PURP
dadhara-ygga, gadaa-aquu ngulpemgulgu, magp
go+REDUP-PERF come+REDUP-PERF afternoon food+ABS
bawa-aquu,
cook-PERF

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

(154) Ngunu ndeamegal gauqu mweiri-til, bawa nulu
3sg+HOM 3pl+ABS word+ABS tell-PAST man+ABS 3sg+HOM
bawi-yu
die-PERF

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

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

(155) Ngunu yinini-Œhur dada-y ngungu djalal gudhiri-ma-ma
3sg+HOM fear-GON+ABS run-PAST 3sg+ACC wife-two-ERG
bawa-aquu,
cook-SUBJ

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

(156) Ngunu dadhe-y guuqgala-gu gungu gundu-mu gungu ganguza
3sg+HOM go-PAST North+AALL 3sg+ACC kill-PURP 3sg+GEN+ABS yam+ABS
basi-aquu
dig-SUBJ

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) Ngunu gungu khuah-bi djadjan-bi wunurama-ygga
3sg+HOM yam+ABS see-PAST road-LOC 1st+REDUP-SUBJ

He saw a yam lying on the road.

The suffix -ygga added to a stem with final -a and greater
than two syllables often produces a final sequence -ygga
which the unstressed -gy reduces to i (see 2.4). Thus a
word like wunurama-ygga is frequently pronounced wunuram-i.
### Table 3.13 - Derived forms for the five conjugations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>REDUP-NOST</td>
<td>gunda-da- ***</td>
<td>gunda-ay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DER</td>
<td></td>
<td>gunda-adi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REP+PAST</td>
<td></td>
<td>gunda-adi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REP+MONAST</td>
<td></td>
<td>gunda-adi-ya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REP-LMP</td>
<td></td>
<td>gunda-adi-ya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REP-PURP</td>
<td></td>
<td>gunda-adi-ya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REP-PURP-NU</td>
<td></td>
<td>gunda-adi-ya-ah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R conj.</td>
<td>MA conj.</td>
<td>NA conj.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REDUP-NOST</td>
<td>ngalha-n-</td>
<td>ngalha-adi-ya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DER</td>
<td></td>
<td>ngalha-adi-ya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REP+PAST</td>
<td></td>
<td>ngalha-adi-ya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REP+MONAST</td>
<td></td>
<td>ngalha-adi-ya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REP-LMP</td>
<td></td>
<td>ngalha-adi-ya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REP-PURP</td>
<td></td>
<td>ngalha-adi-ya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REP-PURP-NU</td>
<td></td>
<td>ngalha-adi-ya-ah</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

With extensive syntactic ramifications, that produces from a simple or reduplicated verb stem a different stem that we here label, for convenience, 'reflective' (abbreviated REP) — although the functions of the derived form include more than the label might imply. (See 4.3 for some further details.) Table 3.13 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 reflective forms. Thus, a reflexive verb in the past tense will be realized by the suffix -adih; (82), (91), (123), (126), and (140) exhibit the realization of this morpheme string REP+PAST. Similarly, the sequence REP+IMP requires the suffix -adih (see (123)) and (124)); and the sequence REP+NONPAST uses the suffix -adih (see (135)).

(159) Nyagga wonkha wonkha amalga wonkha-ay. 3sg=HOM-NUM wold, return-REP+NONPAST
When will you return?
(The verb wonkha 'return, send back' is, in non-reflexive form, transitive.)

(160) Gaari wagi-ay!  NOT cut-REP+IMP
Don't cut yourself!

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

#### (161) Nyagga wonkha wonkha-ay, wonkha wonkha-adih-ay. 3sg=HOM-NUM wold, return-REP+PAST
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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>REP Stem</th>
<th>REP+NONPAST</th>
<th>REP+IMP</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sha <em>see</em></td>
<td>sha-sha-adih</td>
<td>sha-sha-ay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wa 'give'</td>
<td>wa-wa-adih</td>
<td>wa-wa-ay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wa 'get'</td>
<td>wa-wa-adih</td>
<td>wa-wa-ay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wa 'take'</td>
<td>wa-wa-adih</td>
<td>wa-wa-ay</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For purposes of reduplication, these verbs use the bare root plus the stem formative shows: sha-sha-—reduplicates to sha-sha-adih as in

#### (162) Nyagga wonkha wonkha-ay. 3sg=HOM-NUM look-REP-NONPAST glass-plus
He is looking at himself in the glass.

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

| ngagga 'to be confused, ngagga-adih 'be totally incompetent, etc.' | unable to do anything |
| dirrha 'abrupt'    | dirrha-adih 'run off' |
| yirrho 'speak'     | yirrho-adih 'have a conversation, come to an agreement' |

Reflective 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) Nyagga ngalha-ay, ngalha-ay, ngalha-ay. 3sg=HOM cover-REP+REP-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 ngalha-—compare the verbs in the following two sentences:

#### (164) Themar ngalha-ay, dha-ah, ngalha-ay. 3pl=HOM spear-set ask-REP-RP-PAST
They were asking each other for spears.
3.5 FURTHER VERBAL DERIVATIONS. Table 3.12 shows one form so far not discussed, labeled 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 the root, plus an inflected form of a further reflexive stem ngar- or ngad-. Similarly, the CANT 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 0 NP of the Transitive Verb stem. For example:

(169) Nyulu ga-fa-l-baga

3sg/MOM spear make-DER-baga

He is a spear maker; or: he is always making spears.

(170) Milii mirri-l-baga navun.

story tell-REC-baga navun.

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 causative form of R conjugation verbs.

(171) Ba-dii, nhina wu-ywa-baga-wa-gu nyulu!

run-IMP 2sgACC follow-DER=CAUS-gu 3sg/MOM

Run, he is liable to follow you!

Many intransitive verbs, in the derived form, combine with the NA conjugation causative verbalizer ma-za 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 dagayma-za-za 'seat, cause to be sitting'.

(172) Nyulu bi-dudu dagaayma-za-za nambaal-bi

3sg/MOM child/ABS sit=DER=CAUS-PAST rock-LOC

She set the child down on a rock.

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