GUUGU YIMIDHIRR
Sketch Grammar

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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 gangurru (a species of large black or grey kangaroo) was one of the first contributions to world culture from an Australian language.

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

1.1 LINGUISTIC TYPE

Guugu Yimidhirr is a wholly suffixing language, with independent pronouns (and no bound pronominal forms), relatively complex nominal and verbal morphology, and quite free word order. Guugu Yimidhirr speakers remark that their language, unlike English, can be spoken 'back to
front': that is, it is possible to scramble words and still produce a grammatical and intelligible utterance. Guugu Yimidhirr has a typically Australian inventory of phonemes, with five main points of articulation (including lamino-dental and lamino-alveopalatal) for stops and nasals, although a sixth position - retroflex apical - may be distinguishable in a few words. There is a single lateral r, a retroflex glide rhotic r, a flap or trilled rhotic rr, and the semi-vowels w and y. Guugu Yimidhirr has a three vowel system that distinguishes a, i, and u, with contrastive length. Stress and vowel length are related, with a long syllable always stressed. All monosyllabic words have long vowels. Polysyllabic words ordinarily have primary stress on the first syllable and secondary stress on subsequent odd-numbered syllables.

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

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

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

Personal pronouns follow a nominative/accusative pattern, whereas all other nominal expressions have ergative/absolutive inflection. However, heavy use of adjoined pronouns and deictics in subordinate and coordinate constructions eliminates the need for elaborate syntactic devices for fore-grounding noun phrases. Clauses with a common topic may be freely joined together, and subordination is relatively limited. A verbal suffix, -di (cognate with English -do, which alternates with -ti in other languages), indicates mood ('true', as opposed to some other word for 'this'). Moreover, in modern speech the word yimidhirr means 'in this way, this kind': thus the name guugu yimidhirr literally describes itself: 'this way of talking, this kind of language'.

It is hard to know how these fringe dialects related to modern Guugu Yimidhirr: few speakers survive, and none now speaks a language free from outside interference. In 1966 de Zwaan recorded a few words from Guugu Nyigudju, the dialect spoken at Yalumba (on the south side of the Jeanie River mouth). Many words simply differ from their Guugu Yimidhirr counterparts: GYim buyan 'house' is GNYig yinda; Gyim nambal 'stone' is GNYig wayla. Other words are clearly cognates: GYim yugur 'wood, fire', GNYig yugan; Gyim muur 'hair', GNYig muyan. Moreover, there were clearly some morphological equivalences. In Guugu Yimidhirr we have

Guugu Yimidhirr

In Guugu Nyigudju the equivalents are:

Or again:
It is impossible to establish whether Guugu Nyiiguudji, and other nearby dialects, were lexical variants of Guugu Yimidhirr or syntactically distinct in deeper ways. Modern speakers appeal to dialect differences, often imagining to account for the variation in modern speech. An alternate pronunciation or a different suffix is likely to prompt an observation like: 'I don't say it that way, but that's how those Coastal people talk'. There are, nonetheless, well-documented differences between the Coastal language, spoken when the old Mission at Cape Bedford was the centre of Aboriginal life in the area, and the Inland dialect that now predominates in Hopevale speech. There are well-known lexical pairs (Inland wayrtigan 'moon' is Coastal tdhdu and pronominal differences (Inland 1st person plural nominative ngank DMA and Coastal ngama). Older speakers feel the need to keep utterances 'pure', i.e. to avoid mixing Coastal and Inland words in the same stretch of speech. Moreover, since the only written Guugu Yimidhirr (mostly hymns and Bible stories translated by the early missionaries) uses the Coastal dialect, many Coastal words and expressions have become frozen in modern speech, or have taken on a special religious flavour. (For example, the word for 'sky' Inland dialect is waynhuna, and djiiri in the Coastal dialect. But at Hopevale speakers render the English word 'heaven' exclusively with djiiri, the word learned and used by the missionaries in the early days.)

Some speakers of the language claim an affinity with both Coastal and Inland groups, saying that they are ayalga 'separate, apart' - that is, neither Coastal nor Inland; or that they have dhimal diganbi 'a foot in the grass' - that is, though they live close to the sea they are still connected to inland areas. Such people, whose tribal land was mostly on the coast and adjacent areas around the Starcke River, north of Cape Flattery, also pride themselves on speaking the purest, or 'deepest' Guugu Yimidhirr. Some of the most accomplished modern speakers lay ancestral claim to this area. (Roth 1910:93) reports that the Cape Bedford people spoke Guugu Yimidhirr 'in its full purity'. Elsewhere Roth (1898:1-3) describes a visit to the people living along the Starcke River and mentions that although they 'speak koko-yimidir as at Cooktown, Cape Bedford, etc.' they can communicate freely with people along the coast from Cape Flattery. However, people who speak a dialect called 'koko jem-boi' or 'koko yim-boi'.) Although Hopevale 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.

1.3 TERRITORY AND NEIGHBOURS

Before the European invasion of the area, Guugu Yimidhirr speaking people seem to have inhabited a territory stretching from the Annan River and Cooktown north to the mouth of the Jeannie River, from there the territory extended west to somewhere around the mouth of the Jack River, and from there south to the area of the Normanby River called Battle Camp. Guugu Yimidhirr speakers also laid claim to several islands and areas of reef off the coast, the best known being Lizard Island (dyigurru) which was a favourite hunting and gathering spot for people from the Point Lookout area. The tribal territory was divided into thirty-two named regions. A single major family group (tracing descent from fathers to sons) traditionally had control over each such region, taking advantage of seasonal hunting and gathering on favoured spots and ensuring 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 south side of the McIvor River mouth and the Flinders Island group.

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

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

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

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

1.4 SOCIOLINGUISTIC NOTES

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

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

1. Nyundu dhada-y?
   2. Baghong go=PAST
   Did you go?

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

2. Yurra bali?
   2pl+NOM go=PAST
   Did you go [polite]?

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

While many ordinary Guugu Yimidhirr words could be used in respectful speech if appropriately enunciated, many other words had Brother-in-law language substitutes. And like the Dyirbal 'mother-in-law vocabulary' (Dixon 1971), the Guugu Yimidhirr respectful lexicon often had a single word equivalent for a number of ordinary language words. Thus, while there are a number of words in everyday Guugu Yimidhirr for different species of kangaroo and wallaby (but no super-ordinate term), in the Brother-in-law language there is a single term, daarralngan, 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 ganhi, allowed people to praise or abuse others with impunity. (The last great singer of such songs died in 1975.) Guugu Yimidhirr speakers, when hunting or conversing over distance, still employ conventionalized gestures to supplement or replace speech. Many of the same signs are in use that Roth (1908) reported for Cape Bedford seventy years ago.

1.5 HOPEVALE MISSION

After gold was discovered on the Palmer River in 1872, miners poured into the area, using the quickly established port of Cooktown as their port of entry. From the start relations between Europeans and the Aboriginal owners of the land were hostile, beginning with a pitched battle and subsequent massacre of Aborigines at the spot on the Palmer route that came to be called Battle Camp. When the middle 1880s Cooktown was a thriving port and boom town, and Aborigines had been banned from the town after dark as a nuisance. Aboriginal numbers were dwindling, and in the opinion of a Cooktown settler '(t)he belief that they are relics
of humanity who must die out in a few years is beyond question' (McNickle 1897). In 1886, a Lutheran Missionary, Johannes Flierl, delayed on his way to New Guinea, established a Mission on land recently gazetted as an Aboriginal Reserve at Cape Bedford, on the barren north shore of the Endeavour River (Lohe 1966). A young German missionary, G. H. Schwarz, arrived in November 1886, and the Missionary Flierl in the following year. Both determined to exclude white people from the discussion, to remind an uppity interlocutor of his own rank and station (e.g. 'NgaZi [we twoJ go for mayi [food] now'. Similarly, Guugu Yimidhirr conversation relies on frequent English lexical items. Choosing Guugu Yimidhirr over English usually signals that non-white speakers make up the community speaking or who can be excluded - there is a great deal of variation in Hopevale speech, and Guugu Yimidhirr is under heavy pressure to regularize and simplify; only the oldest speakers of the language, and of these only people whose legitimate ancestral claims to the area, speak with confidence of 'proper' Guugu Yimidhirr and revile the guugu dyiga 'weak speech' of younger people.

Nonetheless, Guugu Yimidhirr is the first language of children, though many are effectively bilingual in English. Missionary Schwarz and Flierl both educated their pupils in Guugu Yimidhirr and worked with Aboriginal 'Cape York English'.

Present-day language at Hopevale is something of a conglomerate. Much ordinary conversation is in English with a heavy sprinkling of Guugu Yimidhirr pronouns and common nouns e.g. 'NgaZi [we twoJ go for mayi [food] now'. Similarly, Guugu Yimidhirr conversation relies on frequent English lexical items. Choosing Guugu Yimidhirr over English usually signals that non-white speakers make up the community speaking or who can be excluded - there is a great deal of variation in Hopevale speech, and Guugu Yimidhirr is under heavy pressure to regularize and simplify; only the oldest speakers of the language, and of these only people whose legitimate ancestral claims to the area, speak with confidence of 'proper' Guugu Yimidhirr and revile the guugu dyiga 'weak speech' of younger people.

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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 (1855) and Banks (1962). Later visits by passing navigators in the early 1800s seem not to have enlarged on Cook's wordlist. Missionary Flierl, and his successors, Schwarz and Poland began serious studies of the language in the middle 1880s, and their efforts culminated in Roth's 'The Structure of the Koko Yimidir Language' (1901a), as well as several shorter grammatical sketches (Schwarz and Poland, n.d.) and a lengthy dictionary (Roth 1901b). Several later missionaries undertook brief studies of the language, but none attained the proficiency Schwarz displayed in his Guugu Yimidhirr Order of Services (1946). All of this work suffers from a basic misunderstanding of the sound system of the language (missing laminal sounds, for example, and not distinguishing long from short vowels) and from a heavy reliance on grammatical categories derived from the study of European languages and decidedly inappropriate for an analysis of Guugu Yimidhirr. (For example, Schwarz's translations consistently omit ergative inflection on transitive subjects. See 3.2.1 and 3.2.2[b].)

Jan de Zwaan (1969a, b) worked on the language in 1966 without significantly improving on Roth 1901a. De Zwaan's work prompted speculation about the acquisition of Cook's 1770 wordlist (Breen 1970, Haviland 1974). In addition, in the 1960s several linguists (Ken Hale, Gavan
TABLE 2.1 - Guugu Yimidhirr consonants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>bilabial</th>
<th>apico-alveolar</th>
<th>postalveolar</th>
<th>dental</th>
<th>palatal</th>
<th>velar (retroflex)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>stops</td>
<td>b d</td>
<td>m n</td>
<td>d n</td>
<td>nh</td>
<td>ng</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nasals</td>
<td>m n</td>
<td>m n</td>
<td>nh</td>
<td>nh</td>
<td>ng</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lateral</td>
<td>t r</td>
<td>r</td>
<td>r</td>
<td>r</td>
<td>y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rhotics</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>semi-vowels</td>
<td>w</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Breen, La Mont West) recorded fascinating interviews with Guugu Yimidhirr speakers now deceased (these have been deposited with the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies). The author's work on Guugu Yimidhirr began in 1971. Anthropologists and historians have also turned their attentions to Hopevale and its people. Roth (1901-10) cites a wealth of ethnographic and linguistic observations about the Cooktown and Cape Bedford people. Evans (1969, 1972) discusses Hopevale and its sister missions at Bloomfield and Marie Yamba. Terwiel-Powell (1975) describes Guugu Yimidhirr kinship. Loos (1976) puts early Hopevale history into the wider context of Aboriginal/White relations in North Queensland.

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

2. PHONOLOGY

2.1 PHONEMES AND THEIR REALIZATIONS

Guugu Yimidhirr sounds like a typical Australian language: its inventory of phonemes resembles that of many languages of the continent. In this grammar the author writes Guugu Yimidhirr words in a practical orthography designed for eventual wider use in the Hopevale community. Table 2.1 shows the consonANTS of the language. (In this orthography, by convention, ng represents the cluster of homorganic doro-velar nasal and stop, and n.g represents the cluster apico-alveolar nasal plus doro-velar stop. The cluster mng represents homorganic apico-postalveolar (retroflex) nasal and stop i.e., mng.) 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 warra 'bad' when spoken emphatically). The rhotic r is heavily retroflexed word-finally, and before a consonant, and tends to be a more neutral back glide 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, dudaa 'run', which, in the speech of older people seems to begin with an apico-postalveolar retroflex stop, as if it were written rdudaa (often, in fact, rdurdaa).

Guugu Yimidhirr has six contrasting vowels, the common Australian three-vowel system with significant length. Table 2.2 diagrams the vowels of the language. The practical orthography conventionally represents long vowels as doubled letters, although lengthening and shortening processes (see 2.3, 2.5[a]) suggest that length and not true doubling is involved. The vowels i (also ei) and u (also eu) 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>wudhí 'gave'</td>
<td>wudji 'strong, fast'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>buunupha 'male turtle'</td>
<td>bunyang 'night owl'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>madhi 'embraced'</td>
<td>madji 'rain'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>guwthí 'song type'</td>
<td>guya 'to put'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yidharr 'to put'</td>
<td>yiddarr 'to get stuck'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

2.2 PHONOTACTICS

Most Guugu Yimidhirr roots are disyllabic, and virtually all begin with consonants. (The known exceptions are two particles: na, which signifies agreement, and aalalal 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>Initial</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>45%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u</td>
<td>31%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Syllable</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>2%</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 dh- seems to be followed by the different vowels with the normal frequency, iy is followed by i with unusual frequency (see Dixon 1970):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Initial</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dh</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iy</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Syllable</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

There is also slight statistical evidence for a weak sort of vowel harmony, in that the second syllable of a disyllabic word tends to share the same vowel as the first syllable more frequently than the overall second-syllable vowel frequencies would predict. Thus, 50% of words with a in the first syllable also have a in the second (the total frequency would predict only 49%); 26% of words with i in the first syllable have i in the second (rather than the expected 22%); and 41% of words with u in the first syllable have u in the second (rather more than the 29% of all roots which have u in the second syllable).

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

$$C_1 V_1 (C_2 V_2)^n (C_3)$$ (where $n > 0$).
There are, in fact, a few monosyllabic roots; except for a few particles all of these have long vowels, and most are closed with a final consonant, e.g. buurr 'nest', miil 'eye'. The demonstratives and a few loan words from English are open monosyllables: nheec 'that, there'; yit 'this, here' (sometimes pronounced yi:gi); dit 'tea'.

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

— C₁ can be any stop, nasal or semi-vowel (b, d, (rd), dh, dy, g; m, n, nh, ng, ngi; w, y).
— C₃ can be the liquid, either rhotic, the laminal semi-vowel, or n or nh (l; rr, r; y; m, nh).
— C₉ represents either a single medial consonant or a cluster of up to three consonants, defined by the following possibilities:

C₂ can be:
1) any consonant
2) any homorganic nasal-stop cluster, i.e. mb, nd, nhdh, ngdy, nng, or rnd (retroflex nasal plus retroflex stop)
3) any possible final consonant (i.e., possible candidate for C₃ above) followed by either a bilabial or velar stop or nasal, or a bilabial or velar homorganic nasal-stop cluster, i.e. l, rr, r, y, n, or nh, followed by b, m, mb, g, ng, or ngg.

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

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

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

unlamungurr 'thunder' + -nda = unlamungu-nda

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sanskrit</th>
<th>Reduplicated Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>balgal</td>
<td>balgalgal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gunda</td>
<td>gundaarndal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>waadal</td>
<td>waadaizdal</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sanskrit</th>
<th>Reduplicated Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yisarr</td>
<td>yisarrwarr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baasal</td>
<td>baaswalal</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sanskrit</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ndawal</td>
<td>'make'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>waadaal</td>
<td>'say'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yiyiwal</td>
<td>'look for' (rare)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baaalgal</td>
<td>'make'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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:

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<td>yisarr</td>
<td>yisarrwarr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baasal</td>
<td>baaswalal</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Long vowels always bear stress. We have seen that all monosyllabic fullwords have long vowels; the only short monosyllables are unstressed clitic particles:

winka:ni 'go'
| 'How are you, then?'

ndhu niha ba'l
| '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. gugu 'language'.
bárrrbalma 'mangrove', džámbongal '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:

magíll 'branch'  gadjírm 'girl'

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

báurrvay 'water'  ngáян 'what'

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

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

magíll-ngay-ay 'just branches'

dagaal'li-ga-n 'growing'

[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:

magíll-ngay-ay 'just branches'

dagaal'li-ga-n 'growing'

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

bárrray-ga-ngay-ga-ay '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:

nambal 'stone' + ngan 'ablative' = nambángañgañg

These shortening 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:

bárrray + ay 'locative' + gu 'emphatic' = báurrvay-gau 'still in the water'

bárrray + -bi 'locative' + -gu 'emphatic' = báurrvay-bígu

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 laminar series (and there are few enough minimal pairs that such a practice does not render their speech confusing, although others accuse them of speaking with guugu dyiga 'soft words'). Others pronounce laminal sounds with very little palatalization - people say that they talk 'hard' - so that laminals are difficult to distinguish from apical sounds. Another important sort of variation involves the vowel plus semi-vowel combination ay. In unstressed position, in the speech of older speakers, this combination is much reduced so as to sound almost like i. However, many younger speakers have made the change complete, and treat morphemes with unstressed ay as if they had i.

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

older speakers: nambal-bay 'on the stone'

bubulay 'on the ground'

younger speakers: nambal-bi; bubul-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: giinday biibii 'many (lit. grandfather-father)', emphatic: gaii biibii

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

gambay 'far', emphatic: gaii gambay 'very far, indeed'

Dramatic speech also has exaggerated stress and elaborately lengthened vowels.
2.5 MORPHOPHONOLOGICAL PROCESSES

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

[a] Lengthening and shortening. A disyllabic stem of the form
\[ C_1 V_1 C_2 V_2 (C_3) \]
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 (\( m \) 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
\[ C_1 V_2 V_2 C_3 + \text{suffix.} \]

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 nambaZ 'stone, money' plus a suffix; the second shows nambaZ followed by a clitic particle.

(3) Nyu'Lu nambaaZ-dhil'l'
3sg+NOM money-COM
He has money.

(4) D agu nambaZ dyi
thing+AllS money+AllS
That's really money.

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

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

(b) Retroflexion. Medial clusters, of the form \( i + \) plus apical stop, nasal or cluster, produced by morphological processes - notably in verb reduplication - change according to the following rules:

(a) \( l \rightarrow r \)
(b) \( i \rightarrow m \)

[4] Assimilation of final laminal nasal. Words ending in \( nh \) exhibit some special properties which we can exemplify with the word dhauunnh 'friend'. The collective plural suffix -garr combined with dhauunnh yields the word dhauuynggarr. 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:

\[ \text{dhauunnh} + \text{-garr} \]
\[ \text{dhauuynggarr} \]
\[ \text{dhauunnh} + \text{-ng} \]
\[ \text{dhauunnyngarr} \]

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

[5] Dropping rules. Two further rules account for the behaviour of certain clusters produced by various morphological processes. First, no geminate consonants occur; any cluster \( C_1 C_2 \) of identical consonants reduces to \( C \) (see section 3.4.2.). Second, a cluster of the form \( iy \), in word-final position or before a consonant, reduces to \( i \) (see section 3.4.3(b)).
Morphologically 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.

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

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

3.2 MORPHOLOGY OF NOUNS AND ADJECTIVES

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

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

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

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

DAT(ive): marking beneficiary, 'indirect object', possessors, etc. This is the most neutral oblique case.

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

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

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

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

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

### TABLE 3.1 - Guugu Yimidhirr Cases

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SYNTACTIC CASES</th>
<th>ABS</th>
<th>ERG</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-γ</td>
<td>-ngu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-mdy/-nh; -sinh</td>
<td>-bih/-l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(-npu, -gaw)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PERIPHERAL SYNTACTIC CASES</th>
<th>INST</th>
<th>DAT</th>
<th>PURP</th>
<th>CAU</th>
<th>CAU(sal)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(same as ERG)</td>
<td></td>
<td>-bi/-wih; -bih</td>
<td>-nh</td>
<td>-nga</td>
<td>-ngu:ngu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(same as DAT)</td>
<td></td>
<td>-bih</td>
<td>-nh</td>
<td>-nga</td>
<td>-ngu:ngu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LOCAL CASES</th>
<th>LOC/ALL</th>
<th>ABL</th>
<th>SUP</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(same as DAT)</td>
<td>(same as CAU)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-bih</td>
<td>-nh</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ESSIVE CASES</th>
<th>ADES</th>
<th>ABE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-gb</td>
<td>-gb</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

3.2.2 CASE FORMS. We may recall that all suffixes in Guugu Yimidhirr fall into three types, according to their behaviour with respect to lengthening in second syllables of disyllabic stems. Since only stem-final second syllables are affected, suffixes will behave in slightly different ways when attached to monosyllabic, disyllabic, or longer stems. To recapitulate, a colon, \(\colon\), 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). 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 \(-\text{bi}/-\text{wi}\) where \(-\text{bi}\) attaches to consonant final stems, and \(-\text{wi}\) to vowel-final stems.)
no lengthening, and -sink neither requires a long final syllable nor enclitics shortening.

\textit{wu}l\textit{unggurr} 'lightning, flame' \textit{wu}l\textit{unggur}-nda-wu\textit{linggurr}-nda-wu\textit{linggurr}-\textit{inh}

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

- bama 'person'
- bida 'small'
- wama 'large'
- warra 'bad'
- mayi 'food'

Similarly, disyllables with long final syllables in \textit{n} or \textit{y} form ergatives with -sil (and not with -sink):

- buurru 'water'
- ngabak 'head'
- mabun 'one'
- disam 'scrub turkey'
- daw-gay 'wind'

This suffix -sil also occurs with \textit{y}-final trisyllables:

- badhuy 'bone'

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

- babi 'grandmother'
- ngamari 'woman'
- yarriga 'boy'

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

- ngamari 'dog, dingo'
- ngamari 'ERG'

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

\textit{Guda}-garr yarriga dyinda-y.

\textit{dog}-PL(=ERG) boy+ABS hit-PAST

The dog hit the boy.

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

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

- \textit{Gabirr}-inh/gabirr-nda nganbih gunday-y
  - girl-ERG lsg+ACC hit-PAST
  - The girl hit me [just now, recently - and I still have the mark to show it].

- \textit{Gabirr}-nga nganbih gunday-y
  - girl-ERG lsg+ACC hit-PAST
  - The girl hit me [some time ago, - neutral sense].

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

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

- mil 'eye'
- mil-bi 'in the eye'
- biga 'house'
- biga-bi 'in the house, at the house'
- bida 'father'
- bida-bi 'to/for the father'
- gabirr 'girl'
- gabirr-bi 'to/for the girl'

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

- buurru 'water'
- buurru-ay 'in the water'
- gamu-ba 'older sister'
- gamu-ba-ay 'to/for the older sister'

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

- gambagamba 'old woman'
- gambagamba-uit/gambagamba-uy 'to/for the old woman'

- biirri 'river'
- biirri-biirri 'to/at/in the river'

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

- yiaa 'beach' yiaa-inh 'on/to the beach'
- dyuugaar 'sand' dyuugaar-inh 'in/to the sand'

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

- nangguurr 'at/to camp'
- gan.gaa:IT 'Cooktown (literally, quartz)'

(9) Ngayu dhaad-a gan.gaa:IT
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 dhaad-a Brisbane
I'll go to Brisbane.

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

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

Phrase

(12) Ngayu dhaada dhaawun.
I'll go out to sea (i.e., onto the ocean). (See part [i] of the present section.)

[4] Ablative and Causal are marked by the suffix -ngan and 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.

A 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) Mayi-ngan dhaad-a. food-AVL-ga
I'll go after dinner.

(14) Mayi ngawal-ga ngayu dhaada. food after-ga
I'll go after dinner.

(15) Ngawal mai-ga ngayu dhaada. 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 nh. See 3.2.6 below.)

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

- mayi 'food' mayi-ngu
- bayan 'house' bayan-ngu
- mill 'eye' mill-ngu
- badhi 'bone' badhi-ngu

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

- buurru ay-a (also: buurru ay-ngu)
- daan.gay-a

(16) Ngayu mill-ga dhaad-a
I'll go for [my] eyes [to have them examined].

(17) Nyundu xamh dhaal-ga?
Where are you going?

(18) Gad-il. nambaa-ga
Come-IMP stone-GOAL
Come for [i.e., to get] the money [literally, the stone].

(19) Ngayu gad-il-ga biniaa-mul.
I don't know [his] name.

(20) Barri ngawal-ga ve-fa?
mouth-GOAL exist-NONPAST familiar clitic particle
Does [anything] exist for the mouth? (i.e., is there anything to eat, drink, or smoke?)

[g] Abusive. 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 Abusive, is productive. It is much like the inverse of the Dative.
(21) Ngayu Paanta-aga gada-y
log+NOM Pastor-ABESS come-PAST
I came from [being with] the Pastor.

(22) Yarrenan ngayu bitba-aga maa-nt.
horse+ABESS log+NOM father-ABESS take+PAST
I got the horse from [my] father.

(23) Yi ngayu yalma-aga
class+NOM sandhill-ABESS
This is a tree of the sandhill [i.e., of the type that grows on the sandhill].

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

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

ngamu 'mother'
ngamu-uga

dyiiru 'wife'
dyiiru-gal

bidha-gurr 'children'
bidha-gurr-gal

(24) Biwuul-ga'l g=.M, yi'I'Pg-ii
mother-in-law-ADES NOT talk-IMP
Don't speak with your mother-in-law;

(25) NgatJu ngamu.-ugal nhi.n.gaalngga-y bi'lu-u(
mother-ADES sit+REDUP-PAST
I was sitting with [her] hip. (The speaker is recalling how his mother used to tell him stories when he was a child.)

(26) Maandi baru-u(y)nh-gu God-gal
bring+PAST lap-SUP-gu
[They] brought [him] to the lap of God.

(27) Ngagu-u maand-ii!
shoulder-SUP take-IMP
Carry [him] on [your] shoulder!

(28) Bayan mugu-unh wunaarna.
house back-SUP exist+REDUP+NONPAST
[It] is lying on top of the house.

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

(29) Nyulu yalma-aga yaldma-aga sanda-y.
log+NOM sandhill-SUP sandhill-SUP go-PAST
He went by way of the sandhills [and there were a lot of them].

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

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

Ngamu 'mother'
Ngamu-ngay

Gamba 'old woman'
Gamba-gamba-ngay

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

Gga:ma:ga 'younger brothers (of a single brother)'
Gga:ma:ga-ga:ma:ga 'younger

Gia:raal-ga:ta:ta 'wives (of one husband)'

Bula dyiiraal-garr gaga buli
3du+NOM wife-PL+A.BS sick fall+PAST
His two wives fell sick.

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

Nhangu gabiirr-gabiirr
3sg+GEN+ABS girlKREDUP+AES child-PL+ABS
He had many daughters. (Literally: 'his girls children very many existed'.)

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

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

Gida 'small, child'
Gida-gida-gurr 'children'

Gida-pa-ngiih 'male'
Gida-pa-ngiih-gurr 'adult man, adult men'

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

3.3 Morphology of nouns and adjectives 55
and a (rather idiosyncratic) reduplicated form: dyiirray-dyiirrayng-gurr 'old men'.

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

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

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

(32) Yiɪ bayan ngaanhdhu-wi

this+ABS house+ABS woman-GEN+ABS ("woman-DAT"

This is the woman’s house.

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

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

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

\[
N + -:ga + -mu- + \text{Case}
\]

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

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

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

(34) Ngayu gada-y bayan ngaanhdhu-uga-mu-n.
lst+Nom come-PAST house- woman-GEN-mu-ABL
I came from the woman’s house.

Here the whole Ablative NP has the form:

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

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

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

(35) Yiɪ bayan bibaba yarrrga-aga-mi

this+ABS house+ABS father- boy-GEN-mu-DAT

This is the boy’s father’s.

(Both this sentence and sentence (32) above appear to have the same form: Deictic + Noun NP + Dative, with the overall meaning 'This[Noun belongs to[NP]'. See 4.1.4[e] below.

Clearly the sense of Dative inflection is closely related to the notion of possession, elsewhere indicated by Genitive derived forms. It is also notable that no further recursion is possible to express, for example, the 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 -i combine, as in sentence (35) to form -mi (pronounced -may by older speakers.) A possessive expression may function alone as a complete NP, when the meaning (i.e., the thing possessed, the 'head' noun) is understood.

(36) Ngayu chada-y bibaba-aga-mi

lsg+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) Bibaba yarrrga-aga-mu-n gudaa gunda-y

father- boy-GEN-mu-ERG dog+ABS hit-PAST

The boy’s father hit the dog.

(38) Yarrrga-aga-mu-n gudaa gunda-y bibaba-ngun.

boy-GEN-mu-ERG dog+ABS hit-PAST father-ERG

The boy’s father hit the dog.

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

(39) Yarrrga mangal guda.

boy+ABS hand+ABS sick.

The boy’s hand is sore.
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:

The bird pecked me.

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.

This is the boy's father's eye.

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

The old man is very sick still.

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

The child came without its mother.

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 'other, different' has the following case forms:

The boy has a spear [i.e., he's standing here now armed with a spear].

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':
The same suffix is used to form emphatic pronouns, which function much like reflexive pronouns, see 3.3.1, 4.3.1 and (273-2).

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

(59) Bama-nggu
Aboriginal person-gu come-IMP
Let only Aboriginal people come!

(60) Bidha-nggu wa-mu.
small-gu exist-NOM-PAST
There is (still, just) a little.

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

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

(62) Nyulu yaadgi yaadgi dindoal-gu yaadgi.
tree+ABS burn+PAST burn+PAST quick-gu burn+PAST
The tree burned and burned quickly.

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

(63) Doni-igu dhad-ii! Doni-inggu dhad-ii!
slow-gu go-IMP slow-gu go-IMP
Go slowly!

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

(64) Nyulu warra wongaan wongoh-mu-wugu budhuw-gu.
3sg+NOM bad (=very) high sky-back very-gu
He [went] very high, right up in the sky.

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

Hugh Hershberger (1984c:69) describes a seemingly cognate Gugu Yalandji suffix -ku as indicating 'a prior time', and she includes the meanings 'still' or 'yet' within her description of the use of the suffix. Many of her remarks about -ku apply to Gugu Yimidhirr -gu/-ygu (although there is no Gugu Yimidhirr counterpart to the Gugu Yalandji suffix -da which indicates 'time either now or following'). For example, two time words, wun.guwnh 'tomorrow' and ngulgu 'afternoon, evening', both have forms suffixed with -gu/-ygu that indicate a prior time: wun.guwnh-gu 'this morning, earlier', and ngulgu-ngu 'yesterday'.

This suffix also frequently attaches to locative expressions, to add the meaning 'near to' or 'right next to'.
(67) Nyulu dindaal-gu mayi buka-y
3sg+NOM quick-gu food+ABS eat-PAST
He ate quickly. (I.e., he finished everything quickly.)

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

(69) Nyulu warrra dabaa.
3sg+NOM bad good
He is very good.

(70) Nyulu nhangu gudaa-gu dindaa-gu.
3sg+NOM 3sg+ACC hit-PAST dead-RES
He hit him and killed him. (literally: he struck him dead.)

(71) Nyulu yuugu dibbi wuulu wundera-ngaaygu.
3sg+NOM tree+ABS break-PAST all+ABS empty-RES
He broke all the trees [and left the place] empty. (A giant dingo thrashing around in his death throes.)

(72) Biilha buli gadhawarra-ngaaygu
child+ABS fall+PAST rotten=bad (=unconscious)-RES
The child fell down [and was thereby knocked] unconscious.

(73) Yi' gudda bigibigi malin
this+ABS dog+ABS pig
USITATIVE
This dog is a good pig-hunter.

(74) Nyuuru warrra buurrwaza-ngaaygu malin.
1sg+NOM bad (very) water-poison (alcohol) USITATIVE
I am a very bad alcoholic.

(b) barra-balga 'along'. Appended to a noun this particle

3.2 Morphology of nouns and adjectives

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

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

...and we have already met the particle budhun 'very' that follows the adjective it modifies (see (64)). The moderately productive adjective suffix -ngaaygu has a resultative meaning. A word of the form Adj+-ngaaygu 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.

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

(75) Dyaarba bbaru darrga gana bbaru gada-y
snake+ABS ground along underside along come-PAST

The snake came [by an] underground [route].

(76) Nyulu mungguyal bali nga dambirin go:da-y
3sg+MOM mountain along east+ALL water rat+ABS run-PAST

The water rat ran along the mountain range towards the East.

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

(77) Birri gumbal warraal
river+ABS belly high

The river is/was belly deep.

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

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

(78) Nhila gala!
now EMPR
Right now it will happen, let it happen!

(79) Nyulu gala!
3sg+MOM EMPR
He's the one! (i.e., let him do it; or he's the one who will do it!)

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

(80) Nganhdha ngalba bidha-gurr.
women+ABS covered with child-PLU

The woman is surrounded by/has lots of children.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st person</td>
<td>ngaiiinh, nganhdhaan (Inland dialect)</td>
<td>ngalbaa (Coastal dialect)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd person</td>
<td>yubaal, yubaa</td>
<td>ngallinh (exclusive)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd person</td>
<td>yandu, yandul</td>
<td>yura</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>=mal 'become small'</th>
<th>=mal 'become deep'</th>
<th>=mal 'shrivel'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bidha</td>
<td>'small'</td>
<td>bidha =mal 'become small'</td>
<td>'become deep'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>badhal</td>
<td>'deep'</td>
<td>badhal =mal 'shrivel'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>buyan</td>
<td>'old, wrinkled'</td>
<td>buyan =mal 'shrivel'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

galbay 'long' | galbay =gurral 'lengthen'
binaal 'smart, knowledgeable' | binaal =gurral 'teach'

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

warra 'bad' | warra =gurral 'ruin'

3.3 PRONOUN MORPHOLOGY

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

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nom (SA)</th>
<th>ACC (O)</th>
<th>DAT/GEN+ABS</th>
<th>Purp</th>
<th>ABBE</th>
<th>ADES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ngayu</td>
<td>nganhi</td>
<td>ngadhu</td>
<td>ngadhenuyu</td>
<td>ngadhenu, ga</td>
<td>ngadhenu, gal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nyongu</td>
<td>nhinalan (in)</td>
<td>nhamu</td>
<td>nhanenuyu</td>
<td>nhanenu, ga</td>
<td>nhanenu, gal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nyulu</td>
<td>nhinhaan (in)</td>
<td>nhangu</td>
<td>nhanguwuyu</td>
<td>nhangu, ga</td>
<td>nhangu, gal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngili</td>
<td>ngaliin/ ngaliinin</td>
<td>ngaliin</td>
<td>ngaliinwuyu</td>
<td>ngaliin, ga</td>
<td>ngaliin, gal</td>
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<tr>
<td>ngaliinh</td>
<td>ngaliinhun</td>
<td>ngaliinchuyu</td>
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<td>ngaliinchun, gal</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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<td>yubaiul</td>
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<td>yubalinwuyu</td>
<td>yubalin, ga</td>
<td>yubalin, gal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bola</td>
<td>bulam(in)/ bulangan</td>
<td>bulangan</td>
<td>bulanganwuyu</td>
<td>bulangan, ga</td>
<td>bulangan, gal</td>
</tr>
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<td>nganhdhanun</td>
<td>nganhdhanun</td>
<td>nganhdhanun</td>
<td>nganhdhanun, ga</td>
<td>nganhdhanun, gal</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yurru</td>
<td>yurruan/ yurruan/ yurruan/</td>
<td>yurruan</td>
<td>yurruanwuyu</td>
<td>yurruan, ga</td>
<td>yurruan, gal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dura</td>
<td>duranan/ duranan/ duranan/</td>
<td>duranan</td>
<td>durananwuyu</td>
<td>duranan, ga</td>
<td>duranan, gal</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### TABLE 3.4 - Genitive and comitative forms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GEN+ABS</th>
<th>GEN+ERG; GEN+ABL</th>
<th>GEN+GEN; GEN+LOC</th>
<th>COM</th>
<th>GEN+COM</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
The longer accusative forms ending in \(-in\) are especially rare at Hopevale, and the 3rd person singular accusative form *nhinhaan*(in) has been all but replaced by *nhangu*. (Roth (1901a:18) shows *nhangu* as both accusative and genitive.) It is hard to determine, under present circumstances, how much of the variation in the pronoun paradigm is due to dialect differences at some earlier stage of the language.

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

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

Table 3.5 - Interrogative/Indefinite Pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>'who'</th>
<th>'what'</th>
<th>'where'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wanhu</td>
<td>ngaamna</td>
<td>ngaamalinda/</td>
<td>ngaamalingun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wanhaa</td>
<td>ngaamalinda/</td>
<td>ngaamalingun</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngadhu</td>
<td>ngaamalingun</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngadhun</td>
<td>ngaamalingun</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>ngadhun ga</td>
<td>ngaamalingun</td>
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<tr>
<td>ngadhun ga</td>
<td>ngaamalingun</td>
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<td>ngadhun</td>
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<tr>
<td>ngadhun ga</td>
<td>ngaamalingun</td>
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<tr>
<td>ngadhun ga</td>
<td>ngaamalingun</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngadhun ga</td>
<td>ngaamalingun</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

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

(82) *Nyulu-ngu* guda-adi
3sg+NOM-EMPH hit-REFL+PAST
He hit himself.

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

(83) *Ni* bayaan ngadhu-ngu
this+ABS house+ABS lsg+DAT-EMPH
This house is mine, my own.

(84) *Nyulu* ngadhan ga-gu yirngagyla-y
3sg+NOM lsg+ADES-EMPH talk+REDUP-PAST
He was talking with [just] me.

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

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

(85) *Bika-dhu* gada-y
father+ABS lsg+ONOM come-PAST
My father came.

3.3.2 INTERROGATIVE/INDEFINITE PRONOUNS. Guugu Yimidhirr has the usual complement of words for asking 'what?' 'who?' 'where', etc., and these same words function not only as interrogatives but as indefinite pronouns ('someone, somewhere, 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 *wanhu* 'who', *ngaamna* 'what', and *wanhdhaa* 'where'. See Table 3.5.

[a] *Wanhu* 'who' displays all the case forms appropriate to an animate noun, viz., ergative and absolute, dative, adessive and abessive, purposive, (occasionally) ablative/
causal, and it occurs in the full range of GEN+case forms. There is, in addition, a special ergative only form, wanhdhu, used exclusively as transitive subject (A function).

(R.M.W. Dixon has suggested that wanhdhu here is the original ergative form, deriving from the proto-Australian root ‘wanh-’ with the ergative suffix ‘-du’. In both Yidiny and Dyirbal, spoken to the South of Guugu Yimidhirr, the ergative form of ‘who’ is wanydyu. In Guugu Yimidhirr, the form wanhdhaa thus appears to be the result of analogic re-interpretation, with the pronoun inflected like a noun.)

(86) wanhdhawanhunnda gundza-gu? 
who-LOC+ABL I was frightened

Who did the hitting? (Spoken only when we know that someone hit someone.)

(87) wanhdhu maa-noa, nhapu. 
who-LOC have+NOM, who
Finders keepers [literally, whoever takes it, it's his].

There is also a special hesitation form, wanhdhaarru, 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 nthila gada-y wanhdhaarru ... Bob. 
3sg+NOM him+OBJ what-LOC+ABL Bob.
What’s his name today ... Bob.

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

(89) Yi wanhdhu-ni bi galga?
this+OBJ what-LOC+NOM speak+ABL
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 ngaanii. (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: ngaanii (but not the non-short- ened dative/locative ngaanii) means ‘in the process of doing what?’

(90) Nyundu ngaanii? 
2sg+NOM what-LOC/NOM
What are you up to? What are you doing?

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

(91) Ngaanii-ngu damba-aadi? 
what-PURP frightened-REFL+PAST
What was [he] frightened of?

But there is a further specialized Purposive or Causal form, ngaanii, that acts very much like English ‘why’.

(92) Ngaanii baandaadhi-l?
why cry+REDUP-NONPAST
Why are you crying?

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

(93) Nyundu ngaanii-gal (yirrgaalgal)? 
2sg+NOM what-ADES talk+REDUP-NONPAST
What are you talking to? mumbling about? (said to someone seeming­ ly talking to himself).

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

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

(94) Nyulu wanhdhaa-ga dhaadha? 
3sg+NOM where-ALL go+REDUP+NONPAST
Where’s he going?

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

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

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

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

There is also a form wanhdhaarrru which means ‘where was that place now...?’

(96) Nyundu wanhdhaaarru ... gaa-parr.
1du+NOM camp+PAST where-dya-callit ... Cooktown (4LOC).
We camped at ... uh ... Cooktown.

[d] wanhdhaha ‘how’. The common form of greeting at mod­ ern Hopevale is:

(97) Nyundu wanhdhaha?
2sg+NOM how
How are you?
to which the conventional reply is ganaa 'alright'.

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

(98) Dhana wanhdharr ga'dhal?  
3pl+NOM how go+REDUP+NONPAST  
Which way are they going? Or: by what means of transportation are they going?

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

(100) Ngayu wanhdharr giri-ni?  
1sg+NOM how give-CONTRF  
How should I give it? (i.e., I can't give it because I don't have it.)

(101) Ngayu wanhdharr dada-ni, ngayu gaga-dhirr  
1sg+NOM how go-CONTRF 1sg+NOM sick-COM(+ABS)  
How am I supposed to go? I'm sick.

The uncertainty and indefiniteness of all of these pronouns can be heightened by appending the clitic particle _bu_dhu_ (which elsewhere in a clause means 'if' - see 4.3.8).

(102) Bibha wanhdharr? Wanhdharr budhu?  
child+ABS where+LOC where+LOC indeed  
Where is the child? Where, indeed [i.e., I haven't any idea].

(103) Ngayu binaa-ni mulu ngaanaa budhu ma-en-ti  
1sg+NOM know-PRIV 3sg+NOM what+ABS 'if' take-PAST  
I don't know what-in-the-world he got.

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

A: Nyundu namba ba'lay?  
2sg+NOM stone+ABS make-PAST  
Did you polish/fix that stone [i.e., to make it smooth that way]?

B: Guaarti. Yarrba gala-uyu.  
No that way EMPR-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 _yi_?) 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 _nhaa_ 'that, that one' very often functions as a kind of third person pronoun - especially to denote inanimate objects which cannot be pronominalized with _ngu_ - or as a definite article. In such cases, _nhaa_ is often reduced to a seeming monosyllable of the form _nha_.

(104) Bungi gada-y, nulu nhaayun gundu-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:

(105) Buliga gada-y, nulu ngaaku gunda-y  
bullock+ABS come-PAST 3sg+NOM that+ABS kill-PAST  
The bullock came and he killed it.

Or an ergative form may be used anaphorically:

(106) Ngayu nhinamaa yimmaan gida-l  
1sg+NOM Zsg+ACC this+INST hit-NONPAST  
I'll hit you with this [thing I have here].

3.3 Pronoun morphology

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Instrumental</th>
<th>Locative/Allative</th>
<th>Ablative/Causal</th>
<th>Purposive</th>
<th>Comitative</th>
<th>Plural Absolutive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Absolutive</td>
<td>yil, yi</td>
<td>nhaa, ngaayun</td>
<td>nhaa, ngaayun</td>
<td>nhaa, ngaayun</td>
<td>nhaa, ngaayun</td>
<td>nhaa, ngaayun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ergative/Instrumental</td>
<td>yimin</td>
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<td>nhaa</td>
<td>nhaa</td>
<td>nhaa</td>
<td>nhaa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locative</td>
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<td>ngaayun, ngaayun</td>
<td>ngaayun, ngaayun</td>
<td>ngaayun, ngaayun</td>
<td>ngaayun, ngaayun</td>
<td>ngaayun, ngaayun</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ablative/Causal</td>
<td>yiimangai</td>
<td>nhaa</td>
<td>nhaa</td>
<td>nhaa</td>
<td>nhaa</td>
<td>nhaa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purposive</td>
<td>yiimudhirr</td>
<td>nhaa</td>
<td>nhaa</td>
<td>nhaa</td>
<td>nhaa</td>
<td>nhaa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comitative</td>
<td>yiimudhirr</td>
<td>nhaa</td>
<td>nhaa</td>
<td>nhaa</td>
<td>nhaa</td>
<td>nhaa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural Absolutive</td>
<td>yinharrin</td>
<td>nhaa</td>
<td>nhaa</td>
<td>nhaa</td>
<td>nhaa</td>
<td>nhaa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

Table 3.6 - Deictics

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Instrumental</th>
<th>Locative/Allative</th>
<th>Ablative/Causal</th>
<th>Purposive</th>
<th>Comitative</th>
<th>Plural Absolutive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Absolutive</td>
<td>yil, yi</td>
<td>nhaa, ngaayun</td>
<td>nhaa, ngaayun</td>
<td>nhaa, ngaayun</td>
<td>nhaa, ngaayun</td>
<td>nhaa, ngaayun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ergative/Instrumental</td>
<td>yimin</td>
<td>nhaa</td>
<td>nhaa</td>
<td>nhaa</td>
<td>nhaa</td>
<td>nhaa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locative</td>
<td>yirr, yirra</td>
<td>ngaayun, ngaayun</td>
<td>ngaayun, ngaayun</td>
<td>ngaayun, ngaayun</td>
<td>ngaayun, ngaayun</td>
<td>ngaayun, ngaayun</td>
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<tr>
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<td>nhaa</td>
<td>nhaa</td>
<td>nhaa</td>
<td>nhaa</td>
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<td>nhaa</td>
<td>nhaa</td>
<td>nhaa</td>
<td>nhaa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comitative</td>
<td>yiimudhirr</td>
<td>nhaa</td>
<td>nhaa</td>
<td>nhaa</td>
<td>nhaa</td>
<td>nhaa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural Absolutive</td>
<td>yinharrin</td>
<td>nhaa</td>
<td>nhaa</td>
<td>nhaa</td>
<td>nhaa</td>
<td>nhaa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The form nhaamu is used in discourse to mean 'therefore'.

(108) Nyulu wana-munurarr bama-agal yirrpa-rda guagu
3sg+NOM breath=unable man-ABS speak-CONTRF speech-
wygga-nggurr
white man-GEN-mu-DAT that-PURP 3sg+NOM speech+ABS
yin-mi-dhirr
max-mi.

The local cases locative/allative and ablative specify both locations involved in the action or state of the verb of a sentence, and by extension they refer to points in time as well. Certain roots occur exclusively with the local cases, with somewhat special inflectional possibilities, to provide additional locational or temporal qualification.

The most prominent examples are the words for the Cardinal Points, which figure heavily in Guugu Yimidhirr talk about direction, position or motion. There is a four-term system of roots, and their meanings correspond roughly to the English compass points, rotated 15° to 20° clockwise. (Thus, for example, while the sun is said to rise nagaal-mu-n 'from the East', so, too, is Cooktown, which by standard compass lies southeast of Hopevale, said to be nagaar 'to the East' by speakers at Hopevale Mission. The general orientation of the coastline in the Guugu Yimidhirr area is slightly tilted counterclockwise off true North-South, and generally points down the coast as 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: gunggarr, for example, means 'on the Northern side' rather than 'to the North'. The roots are

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>guwa-</td>
<td>'North'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dyibaa-</td>
<td>'South'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>naga-</td>
<td>'East'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>guwa-</td>
<td>'West'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These roots are used to indicate motion, position or location. For example:

- gunggarr 'along the North side'
- guwa-lan 'along the West side'
- dyibaarr 'along the North side'
- nagaal 'along the East side'

The suffix -nggurr 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 gunggarrnggurr '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:

- guwa nggurrrawar 'a bit Westwards'
- dyibaa nggurrrawar 'a bit Eastwards'
- nagaal nggurrrawar 'a bit Southwards'
- guwa nggurrrawar 'a bit Northwards'

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

- guwa nggurrrawar =ma 'a bit Westwards'
- dyibaa nggurrrawar =ma 'a bit Eastwards'
- nagaal nggurrrawar =ma 'a bit Southwards'
- guwa nggurrrawar =ma 'a bit Northwards'
There are also several ablative forms, denoting motion from greater or lesser distances: the suffixes -nun and -nunganh mean 'motion from a moderate distance in the ...'; the suffixes -imun and -l.munganh mean 'from a long way in the ...'.

Two further roots are straightforward locational qualifiers:

- Wangaarr 'above (rest and motion to)'
- Bada 'below (rest and motion to)'

The expression Yii wangaarr '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 Wangaarr, and the end where the Aboriginal community lives is Bada.) The ablative forms of these roots are:

- Wangaarrmun/wangaarrmun/wangaarrnunganh/wangaarrmun 'from above'
- Badaimun 'from below'

However, Wangaarrmun also means 'on top (of something)' and 'onto'.

(112) Nyulu yugu yirra-yin nyulu bugu-l-ngay wangaarrmun
3sgNOM tree+ABS put-PAST 3sg+NOM antbed-PLU+ABS above+SUPJ?
yirra-yin.
put-PAST
He put the wood [down], and then he piled antbeds on top of [the wood].

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

(113) Mondal bbaru-wi badi-badimbar gada-y, mondal
rest+ABS ground-LOC under-REDUP come-PAST rest+ABS
Wangaarrnggarr bbaru-wi gada-y
above
Some came underneath the surface of the ground, and some came along above the ground [supernatural snakes summoned by magic].

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

(114) Bayan gana-wi, dhaigal-y.
house- bottom-ALL go-PAST
He went under the house.

(115) Nyulu dhaigal-bi
3sgNOM front-LOC
He's first. He's in front.

(116) Mirrabugan wawu-wi, nhin.galngga-l.
cave- inside-LOC sit+REDUP-NONPAST
He's sitting inside the cave.

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

- Nhila 'now, today' (there is an adjective nhilaa 'new')
- Ngulugu 'yesterday, in the afternoon'
- Ngwa-guwaun 'tomorrow, in the morning'
- Wunaun 'long ago'

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

(117) Ngulugu-nguqung bada yesterday-gu below
day-before-yesterday.

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

(118) Nhali warra dabarraba-ngu buhdan-gu dada-a
1du+NOM very early-gu very-gu go-NONPAST
We'll go very very early in the morning.

And consider:

food-ABS-gu 1du+NOM go-NONPAST
We'll go after eating.

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

(120) Ngayu wudhurr gunbu-ga-y
1sgNOM night+ABS two+ABS sit-PAST
I stayed two nights (i.e., days).

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

- Nubuun 'one'
- Gunbur 'two'
- Gadjam 'three or four'
- Nupiarm 'five, a few'

Of these the first three have been encountered in other case forms. The root Nubuun appears to act like other numerals with long final syllables: the ergative is Nubuun-nil (though some speakers say Nubuun-tha) as in:
(121) Nyulu mhaa-dhi-gu bala-ga-y.
3sg+NOM one-ERG-gu make-PAST
He alone made it.

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

Ergative: gudhiirra(a)-mu-n
Dative: gudhiirra(a)-mu-ay

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

(122) Nyulu dyadyu gudu-ga-y, bazzu budhaa
lagh+NOM kangaroo-rat+ABS close-gu come-PAST lose+ABS very
Dabi gudhiirra-gu bulaa.
kick+PAST two+ABS-gu 3du+ACC
Kangaroo rat came up close, [and he] kicked them both right in the loins.

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

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

(123) B=gam> winga-adhi dhanaan ngamu=gu:yr,rG.
mouth+ABS open-REF+PAST three+ABS many+ABS swallow+PAST
It opened its mouth, [and] swallowed the ..twle lot of them.

Adessive complement (with verbs of speaking and telling), or even an Instrumental NP (e.g., the verb milbit '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 by the noun or pronoun subject. Of a working vocabulary of 1700 roots collected in 1972 and 1977, 218 were verbs. Of these, 59% were transitive, 34% intransitive, and a further 10% were reflexive only — effectively intransitive. Table 3.7 also shows cross-cutting categorization groups verbs into conjugations according to their inflectional characteristics. There are three major conjugations, labelled L, V and R after their respective NONPAST suffixes. There are also a few monosyllabic L conjugation verbs, as well as two small and somewhat irregular MA and NA verbal conjugations, again named after their respective NONPAST suffixes. These conjugations can be distinguished by contrasting their NONPAST, PAST and IMPERATIVE forms, as shown in Table 3.7. Table 3.7 also shows, for the monosyllabic verb roots (monosyllabic L conjugation roots, and MA and NA conjugation verbs), the stem forms which is the basis for other inflections and derivations. For example, the purposive suffix is -nhu, which combines directly with the verb stem of L, V or R conjugation verbs. However, before it can combine with a monosyllabic root a formative must be added to create a disyllabic stem; the MA conjugation root nhaa- 'see' uses the stem form nhaa-dhi- to combine with the purposive suffix to form nhaa-dhi-nhu. (In the example sentences such a form would be shown as nhaadhi-nhu and glossed 'see-PURP'.) Table 3.8 shows inflected forms from the various conjugations.

Except for the NONPAST, PAST and IMP forms, different inflectional suffixes are alike for all conjugations, with a few special forms for members of the R conjugation. Table 3.9 lists the remaining suffixes, and Table 3.10 gives examples of full inflected forms for verbs of the different conjugations. In the remainder of this section we...
TABLE 3.8 - Verbal inflection for five conjugations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>L conj.</th>
<th>monoys. L.</th>
<th>V conj.</th>
<th>R conj.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NONPAST</td>
<td>gunda-1</td>
<td>Banaban-go-l</td>
<td>guda-a</td>
<td>ngalu-rr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PAST</td>
<td>gunda-y</td>
<td>Banaban-go-di</td>
<td>guda-y</td>
<td>ngalu-rin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IMPERATIVE</td>
<td>gunda-1a</td>
<td>Banaban-go-la</td>
<td>guda-rr</td>
<td>ngalu-rru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PURP</td>
<td>gunda-nhu</td>
<td>Banaban-go-di-ru</td>
<td>guda-nhu</td>
<td>ngalu-nhu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Inflection:  
- hit'  
- ask'  
- go'  
- 'shut, close'

MA conj.  
- naa-maa  
- wu-naz  
- maz-ni  
- maa-ni

PAST  
- naa-dhi  
- wu-naz  
- maa-ni  
- maa-ni

IMP  
- naa-ssa  
- wu-naz  
- maa-ni  
- maa-ni

PURP  
- naa-dhi-nhu  
- wu-naz-nhu  
- maa-ni-nhu  
- maa-ni-nhu

'hit'  
'ask'  
'go'  
'shut, close'

TABLE 3.9 - Further verb inflections

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Inflection:</th>
<th>Suffix</th>
<th>Suffix for R conjugation (if different from normal suffix)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PURP</td>
<td>-nhu</td>
<td>(same)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CONTRF (contrafactual)</td>
<td>-nda</td>
<td>(same)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PAST+NEG</td>
<td>-inz</td>
<td>-rmmz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CAUTIONARY</td>
<td>-za</td>
<td>-rwaza</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ANTICIPATORY</td>
<td>-yga</td>
<td>-rryga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRECAUTIONARY</td>
<td>-ygaamu</td>
<td>-rrin.gamu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SUBORDINATE 1/ PERFECTIVE</td>
<td>-yga</td>
<td>-rrin.gamu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SUBORDINATE 2</td>
<td>-nhun</td>
<td>(same)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

(125) Ngadhu  dhaaba-ngadhi-ilmugu.
    lsg+GEN ask-PAST+NEG
    I didn't ask him.

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

(126) Ngulu-ngu  Dhaaba-ngadha-adhi.
    3sg+MOM ask-REF+PAST
    He asked himself.

Most common verbs in Guugu Yimidhirr are disyllabic L conjugation members. Some typical examples are baigal 'make, with four syllables, although their pattern of lengthening with the NONPAST suffix) to create a disyllabic stem for further inflection, hence, with the PAST+NEG suffix -lmugu.

There are about fifty R conjugation verbs in the everyday working vocabulary, slightly more than half with stem-final a, and almost all the rest with stem-final u. Only R conjugation verbs have stem-final long vowels (although verbs from other conjugations sometimes undergo lengthening of the final stem vowel when suffixed) and, in fact, a few verbs have a non-past form in -it but otherwise behave like R conjugation and not l conjugation verbs. (In the everyday language the verbs marril 'swim', mirrili 'tell, show', and uillhook 'hook with a hook' use regular R conjugation suffixes, as shown on Tables 3.7 and 3.9; but they have i in place of rr in each case.) The everyday R conjugation verbs wannydyurr 'gather, heap up' and yidyurr 'get stuck' (as well as some avoidance language verbs) have stem-final vowel short i. Between 50% and 70% of the R conjugation verbs are transitive: the percentage is slightly higher with u-final than with a-final roots. With the exception of the verb yidgyurr (or yidgyurr) 'sneeze' all R-conjugation verbs are a.

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

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

mua-max 'see'
wa-max 'give'
wa-max 'rise, get up, ascend'

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

(127) Ngadhu  yirrga-y
    lsg+GEN+ABS father+ABS story+ABS tell-PAST
    My father told stories.

(128) Hurrh  yirrga-agil!
    2pl+MOM speak-REF+IMP
    You (all) have a talk, have a yarn!

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

There are about fifty R conjugation verbs in the everyday working vocabulary, slightly more than half with stem-final a, and almost all the rest with stem-final u. Only R conjugation verbs have stem-final long vowels (although verbs from other conjugations sometimes undergo lengthening of the final stem vowel when suffixed) and, in fact, a few verbs have a non-past form in -it but otherwise behave like R conjugation and not l conjugation verbs. (In the everyday language the verbs marril 'swim', mirrili 'tell, show', and uillhook 'hook with a hook' use regular R conjugation suffixes, as shown on Tables 3.7 and 3.9; but they have i in place of rr in each case.) The everyday R conjugation verbs wannydyurr 'gather, heap up' and yidyurr 'get stuck' (as well as some avoidance language verbs) have stem-final vowel short i. Between 50% and 70% of the R conjugation verbs are transitive: the percentage is slightly higher with u-final than with a-final roots. With the exception of the verb yidgyurr (or yidgyurr) 'sneeze' all R-conjugation verbs are a.

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(129) Ngadhu  wa-waa!
    lsg+MOM give-IMP
    You give [it] to me!
(130) Nyundu nhaa-wala!
3sg+NOM see-REDUP+IMP
You keep on looking!

(131) Wal-a.a!
arise-IMP
Get up! Look out! Ile careful:

(132) Nyuzu gaari iJXMLfdyi-nhu.
3sg+NOM NOT arise-PURP
He won’t/doesn’t want to get up.

(133) Ngadhu wudhi-il,imqu.
lsg+DAT give-PAST+NEG
He didn’t give [it] to me.

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

(134) Nyati waadha-ayi
ldu+NOM give-REF+IMP
Let’s trade [things with each other].

(135) Wanhdaarrna nhamun gal nhaaadhal-ayi
how
3sg+MES see+REDUP-REF+NONPAST
How does [it] seem to you?

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

wu-naa ‘lie down, sleep, exist’
maa-naa ‘get, marry’
-naa-naa ‘cause...’

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

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

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

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

3.6 Verbal morphology

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

(138) Nyulu Nhaa-dyu nhaa-nhu.
3sg+NOM go-PAST lie down-PURP
He went to lie down.

(139) Ngayu namabu miini-ilmagu.
lsg+MON get-REF+PAST
I didn’t get money.

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

(140) Bu.la maana-adi.
lsg+DAT get-REF+PAST
They two got married.

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

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

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

Some Coastal speakers from the southern reaches of the Guugu Yimidhirr area also interpret the MA conjugation verbs wu-maa ‘give’ and nhaa-maa ‘see’ as if they were regular L conjugation verbs of the form wu-dhii and nhaadhii; hence one frequently hears imperatives: nhaadhii ‘look!’ or wu-dhii ‘give [it]!’. (Interestingly, the nearest language to the South, Gugu Yalandji, has just two conjugations: one with
non-past in -l (predominantly transitive) and the other with non-past in -y (predominantly intransitive). These two conjugations correspond fairly closely to Guugu Yimidhirr L and V conjugations respectively; many of the members are cognate. And consider the following Gugu Yalanji forms (from R. Hershberger 1964b:38):

daji-n 'gave'
nyaji-n 'saw'
daji-i 'give'
nyaji-i 'see'
daya 'give'
nyaka 'see'

[In the Hershbergers' orthography the letter j is equivalent to the Guugu Yimidhirr dy. Note also the different morphological analyses of the forms yijarrin (G. Yal) yidhamn (G. Yim)
both of which mean 'put (past)'; the Gugu Yalanji form is the transitive stem yija'X'ri plus past suffix -n. The Guugu Yimidhirr form is the R conjugation stem yidha- plus the appropriate past suffix -rrin.)

Table 3.11 summarizes the relationships between transitivity and conjugation.

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

Reduplicated imperative forms suggest 'keep ...
: djad-di 'go!' djadiri 'keep going! go further!' 

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

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

Only the last two syllables (or the single syllable in the case of a monosyllabic conjugation verb) of a verb stem
are involved in reduplication. These last syllables will have the form:

\((C_1 \text{v}_1 (L) [N]) C_2 \text{v}_2\)

1 2 3 4 5 6

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

- warmba - 'return (trans)'
  1 2 3 4 5 6
- gun da - 'hit'
  1 2 4 5 6
- da da a - 'go'
  1 2 5 6
- b ai ga - 'make'
  1 2 3 5 6
- b aa wa - 'cook'
  1 2 5 6
- Nh i n g a - 'sit'
  1 2 4 5 6
- Nh i n m a - 'knead'
  1 2 4 5 6
- y wh i l i - 'stand'
  1 2 5 6
- b ii n i - 'die'
  1 2 5 6

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

\((C_1 \text{v}_1 (L) [N']) C_2 \text{v}_2\)

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

\((C_1 \text{v}_1 (L) [N] N') C_2 \text{v}_2\)

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 1 in segment 7. Furthermore, by the process of retroflexization, if segment 9 is an apico-dominal nasal and segment 8 is empty, segments 7 and 9 will be replaced by r.

(Id --- r); and if segment 8 or segment 9 is an apico-dominal nasal, then segment 7 drops and the cluster composed of segments 8 and 9 (or segment 9 alone, if segment 8 is null) are replaced by the corresponding retroflex (in --- n; ind --- r). Finally, the following rule is peculiar to verb reduplication:

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

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

- warmbaatmba
  1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

- gun daa r maa - 'returning'
  1 2 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

- dh ad a i ma - 'going'
  1 2 5 6 7 9 10

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

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

- nh in g a t ng g a - 'sitting'
  1 2 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

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

- y wh i l i t - 'standing'
  1 2 5 6 9 10

- b ii n i i t - 'dying'
  1 2 5 6 9 10

The last three forms also make use of the rule that drops a consonant that immediately precedes an identical consonant (C1C1-Ci). (The reader may wish to refer again to 2.5 where some of these phonological processes are discussed.) This pattern of reduplication applies to all verbs except those in the R conjugation. A few final remarks will clarify the pattern. First, the operation of the lengthening rule gives further evidence that verbs formed with the monosyllabic L conjugation roots (-ngaZ; -nat, and -bat), as well as the four-syllable L conjugation roots should be treated as compounds. Reduplicated stems of these verbs have long vowels in other than the first two syllables, as in the following examples:

- gawad eng i - 'drown'
- gawad eng i t ing i l - 'drowning'

- nag waZ - 'measure'
- nag waZ il - 'measuring'

- dh a baZ - 'ask'
- dh a baZ ng aZ - 'asking'

- gada baZ - 'break'
- gada baZ baZ - 'breaking'

The reader may wish to refer again to 2.5 where some of these phonological processes are discussed.) This pattern of reduplication applies to all verbs except those in the R conjugation. A few final remarks will clarify the pattern. First, the operation of the lengthening rule gives further evidence that verbs formed with the monosyllabic L conjugation roots (-ngaZ; -mat, and -bat), as well as the four-syllable L conjugation roots should be treated as compounds. Reduplicated stems of these verbs have long vowels in other than the first two syllables, as in the following examples:
For those R conjugation verbs which actually end in -iiZ the same reduplication pattern applies, except that the inserted syllable has l in place of rr:

\[ \text{miirr-r-l 'tell, show'} \quad \text{miirrr-l 'telling, showing'} \quad \text{gayiti-l 'hook'} \quad \text{gayiti-l 'hooking'} \]

A minority of speakers apply pattern (b) even to stems that have d, dh, or dy as C\(_2\). This gives such forms as:

\[ \text{baygya-rr 'cover'} \quad \text{baygyaaygya-rr 'covering'} \quad \text{etc.} \]

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

\[ C_1 V_1 (V_1) \text{ or } C_1 V_1 (V_1) N \text{ or } C_1 V_1 (V_1) N V_2 (V_2) \]

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

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

Thus the reduplicated stem will always have the following shape:

\[ C_1 V_1 (V_1) \text{ or } C_1 V_1 (V_1) N C_2 V_2 C_2 V_2 \]

(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:

\[ \text{dhamba-l'l' 'throw'} \quad \text{dhambanba-1'l' 'throwing'} \]
\[ \text{dhanggu-rr 'scratch'} \quad \text{dhanggu.n.gu-I'l' 'scratching'} \]
\[ \text{gariba-F!' 'jump'} \quad \text{garibanba-1'l' 'jumping'} \]
\[ \text{gaa:nydya-F!' 'crawl'} \quad \text{gaa:nydyandya-l'l' 'crawling'} \]
\[ \text{miimuu-l'l' 'gather'} \quad \text{mi-inrunmu-1'l' 'gathering'} \]
\[ \text{nhanga-1'l.' 'shake'} \quad \text{nhangannga-l'l.' 'shaking'} \]
\[ \text{wuamuu-rr 'sneak, spy on'} \quad \text{wuamu.n.mu-rr 'sneaking, spying'} \]

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

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

[a] NONPAST. This inflection, shown in the citation form of each verb, refers to a non-past action or state. Ordinarily, on a reduplicated stem NONPAST suggests present ongoing action, whereas on a simple stem it implies future action, action 'by and by'.
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(141) *Ngayu ngayu budaaru-l ngayu yi-way nhin.go-l.
1sg+MOM food+ABS eat+REDUP-NONPAST 1sg+MOM here-LOC sit-NONPAST
I'm eating food and I'll stay here.

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

(142) *Biiaay ngarruma yara guwa 'chamba-rrin,
bone+ABS skin+ABS yonder West+ALL throw-PAST
[She] threw the skin and bone(s) off to the West yonder.

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

(143) Gaara *ndurdii nyulu!
let go-IMP 3sg+MOM
Let him go!

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

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

(145) *Ngal ngaarrun.
1sg+MOM hunting(+PURP?) go-NONPAST yam+ABS dig-PURP
We two will go hunting to dig some yams.

(146) Yii ngaardu-umu biiba-ri buubii nhualmalma-nhu.
this+ABS lag+GEN-mu-DAT father-DAT nose+ABS smell+REDUP-PURP
This is my father's nose [for him] to smell with.

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

*chamba 'throw'
chaa-bi-nhu

*nhaa-ma 'see'
nhau-rrilhi-nhu

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

(147) *Ngayu *nhadhay buda-lu ngayu gachgubuludu.
2sg+MOM that+ABS eat-CONTRF 2sg+MOM sick+fall-CONTRF
If you had eaten that, you would have gotten sick.

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

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

(148) Wa-l-aa badar gayii-lebojal
arise-IMP fishhook+ABS snag-REDUP-CAUT
Watch out, your hook will get snagged!

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

(149) *Ngayu *dnddii-gaa *nyangyi-yla nrmadmama-yiyu
2sg+MOM quick-EMPH bathe-IMP shiver-ANTIC
Have a bogy 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) *Ngal ngaardu-yla / *nddii-nhu ngayu yidha-nmu.
before 2sg+MOM quick-EMPH bathe-IMP 2sg+MOM eat-ANTIC
before you go, put some food [out] for me.

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

(151) *Yuuru *guva guula-um danga-y ngalgal
3sg+MOM each-oven+ABS earth-INST bury-PAST smoke+ABS
earth-INST-3gamu.
arise-PRECAUT
He covered the oven with dirt, lest smoke rise [from it].
(A man tried to hide the fact that he was cooking something in an earth oven.)
(152) Mulban.gu garra-ba la gada=kha=ti-yga:mu!

firmly hold-IMP break-PRECAUT

Hold it! tightly lest it break!

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

(153) Dhona ngalan-bi ghadaara-yga mina-angu mula-angu

3pl+NOM sun-LOC go+REDUP-PERF meat-PURP honey-PURP

ghadaara-yga, gadaara-yga ngul'gumal'gumal, mayl go+REDUP-PERF come+REDUP-PERF afternoon food+ABS baaxa-ayga. cook-PERF

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

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

(154) Nyulu dhaneen.gal gaga mittiri-li,G bana nyulu

3sg+NOM 3pl+ADES word+ABS tell-PAST man+ABS 3sg+NOM

bimti-nga
die-PERF

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

(155) Nyulu jinutil-thirr duda-y nhangu dygiiral gudhitirma-mu-n

3sg+NOM fear-COM+ABS run-PAST 3sg+ACC wife- two-mu-ERG

baaxa-ayga.
cook-PERF

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

(156) Nyulu dhada-y gungqala nhangu genda-nhu nhangu gaangga

3sg+NOM go-PAST North+ALL 3sg+ACC kill-PURP 3sg+GEN+ABS year+ABS

baga-ayga.
dig-SUB1

He went Northwards to kill him, because he had dug up his yam. Finally, this suffix marks a subordinate verb that denotes action simultaneous with the action of the main verb.

(157) Nyulu gaangga nhu-ah nuhaan=bi wunaarma-yga

3sg+NOM yam+ABS see-PAST road-LOC 1st+REDUP-SUB1

He saw a yam lying on the road.

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

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TABLE 3.12 - Verbal derivations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Derivational function</th>
<th>Suffix or form</th>
<th>Suffix or form for R conjugation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>REDUP (3.5.2)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Continuing or repetitive action</td>
<td>Stem reduplication</td>
<td>R conjugation stem reduplication</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DER</td>
<td>-:y - :i</td>
<td>-:yy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Derived form' (3.5.3)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REF+PAST</td>
<td>- :dhi</td>
<td>'derived form' plus appropriate form of ngarrar or ngghal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REF+IMP</td>
<td>- :yi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REF stem form</td>
<td>- :dhi-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

(158) Dubi-la, ngall baaxa=qarabi goz=nhun days yi,

leave-IMP 1st+NOM loin=hither come-SUB2 thing+ABS this+ABS

take-NOPAST.

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

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

ghadaara-nhu - shada-ahunu

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

3.5.4 REFLEXIVE FORMS. We have already met one important derivational process involving verbs: verbal reduplication is a process which derives from one verb stem another different verb stem that denotes continuative aspect (3.5.2). There is another important derivational process with verbs,
TABLE 3.13 - Derived forms for the five conjugations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>REDUP-NONPAST</td>
<td>gunda-ay</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DER</td>
<td>gwul-aya</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REF+PAST</td>
<td>gunda-adhi</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REF+NONPAST</td>
<td>gunda-agya</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REF+IMP</td>
<td>gunda-agyi</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REF-PURP</td>
<td>gunda-adhi-nhu</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>MA conj.</th>
<th>NA conj.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>REDUP-NONPAST</td>
<td>ngalbu=ng-a-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DER</td>
<td>ngalbuna-ya</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REF+PAST</td>
<td>ngalbu=ngadha-adhi</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REF+NONPAST</td>
<td>ngalbu=ngadha-agya</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REF+IMP</td>
<td>ngalbu=ngadha-agyi</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REF-PURP</td>
<td>ngalbu=ngadha-adhi-nhu</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are three portmanteau suffixes which combine with a simple or reduplicated verb stem to form the PAST, NONPAST, or IMP reflexive forms. Thus, a reflexive verb in the past tense will be realized by the suffix -:dhi; (82), (91), (123), (126), and (160) exhibit the realization of this morpheme string REF+PAST. Similarly, the sequence REF+IMP requires the suffix -:yi (see (128) and (134)), and the sequence REF+NONPAST uses the suffix -:ya (see (135)).

(159) Nyulu wagugaa-ngalba-analysis for the five conjugations

(161) Nyulu gunggali gumbaa=rrin, wangi waarmba-adhi-lemgu. 3sg+WOM North+ALL throw-PAST boomerang+ARS return-REF-PAST+NEG
He threw (the boomerang) to the North, and the boomerang didn't return.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>REF Stem</th>
<th>REF+NONPAST</th>
<th>REF+IMP</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nhaa 'see'</td>
<td>nhaa-dha-adhi</td>
<td>nhaa-dha-ayi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wu 'give'</td>
<td>wu-dha-adhi</td>
<td>wu-dha-ayi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maas 'get'</td>
<td>maas-na-adhi</td>
<td>maas-na-ayi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>me 'CAUS'</td>
<td>ma-na-adhi</td>
<td>ma-na-ayi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For purposes of replication, these verbs use the bare root plus the stem formative shown: nhaa-dha- reduplicates to nhaa-dhaa as in (162) Nyulu-ugu nhaa-dhhadha-11u=maadha-ya-ya glass-LOC

(162) Nyulu-ugu nhaa-dhaadha-ya giiaadha-3sg+WOM look-REDUP-REF+PAST glass-LOC
He is looking at himself in the glass.

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

ngiirgaa 'to be totally incompetent, unable to do anything'
dilrbaa 'abduct'
yirrgaa 'be incapable, unable to do anything'

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

(163) Nyulu bayaga=rrer=ngarra-adhi tabu-urh 3sg+WOM cover-DER+REF-PAST dirt-INST
He covered himself with dirt. (i.e., he buried himself in the dirt.)

The hypothetical ngarra- combines with the derivative 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 -ngai: combined with the derived form of an R conjugation stem, this alternate form acts like a hypothetical L conjugation stem ngadha-. Compare the verbs in the following two sentences:

(164) tharaa gali=ugw dhaabu=ngadhaadha-dhi 3pl+WOM spear-DAT ask+REDUP-REF+PAST
They were asking each other for spears.
Like MA conjugation verbs, the monosyllabic -ngal uses the stem-forming suffix -dha- before combining with reflexive suffixes; this appears to be the origin of the hypothetical ngadha- used with R conjugation reflexive forms. Notice here that while -ngal uses the stem form nga-dhi- for non-reflexive verb inflection, it has a final a in place of the final i in reflexive forms.

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

(166) Gai-ti daga-adi-nhu milu-xi come-IMP daga-ADJ+PAST shade-LOC
Come to sit in the shade!

Other common reflexive-only L conjugation roots are baddha- 'be finished', buurrgga- 'enter' dumba- 'be frightened', etc. All these verbs are syntactically intransitive; they occur with Absolute noun subjects and Nominative pronoun subjects.

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

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

The particle baga productively combines with the derived form of a verb to produce an adjectival-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 Absolute case, acting as the O NP of the Transitive Verb stem. For example:

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

(170) Wiibbi miil-ti-l baga nhuyun. story tell-IMP=baga that+ABS
That one is a gossip; or: that one is always telling stories;
or: that one is liable to tell stories [so watch out!].

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

(171) Ddi-ti nhina wag-urra-gi baga mmuili? run-IMP 2sg+ACC follow-DEP=baga that+ABS
Run, he is liable to follow you!

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

(172) Mjulu bidim dagay=ma-ni mambal-bi 3sg+NOM child+ABS sit=CAUS-PAST rock-LOC
She sat the child down on a rock.

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