Handbook of Australian Languages

edited by

R. M. W. Dixon and
Barry J. Blake

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Volume 1

Introduction
Guugu Yimidhirr
Pitta-Pitta
Gumbaynggir
Yaygir

Handbook of Australian Languages

edited by
R.M.W. Dixon and
Barry J. Blake

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Contents

List of maps xii

Preface xiii

Contributors' addresses xv

Abbreviations xvi

INTRODUCTION by BARRY J. BLAKE AND R.M.W.DIXON

1 OVERVIEW 1

2 THE STUDY OF AUSTRALIAN LANGUAGES 4

3 THE HANDBOOK 5

4 THE NATURE OF AUSTRALIAN LANGUAGES 6

4.1 Case relationships 6

4.2 Pronouns 11

4.3 Verbs 13

4.4 Word building processes 15

4.5 Particles and clitics 17

4.6 Phonology 18

4.7 Auxiliary forms of languages 24

FURTHER READING 24

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS 25

GUUGU YIMIDHIRR by JOHN HAVILAND

1 THE LANGUAGE AND ITS SPEAKERS 27

1.1 Linguistic type 27

1.2 Yimidhirr and Imudhi - inland and coastal 29

1.3 Territory and neighbours 30

1.4 Sociolinguistic notes 32

1.5 Hopevale Mission 33

1.6 Previous research on Guugu Yimidhirr 35

2 PHONOLOGY

- 2.1 Phonemes and their realizations 36
- 2.2 Phonotactics 38
- 2.3 Length and stress 41
- 2.4 Phonological variation 43
- 2.5 Morphophonological processes 44

3 MORPHOLOGY

- 3.1 Parts of speech 45
- 3.2 Morphology of nouns and adjectives 46
 - 3.2.1 Cases 46
 - 3.2.2 Case forms 48
 - 3.2.3 Nominal derivational morphology 55
 - 3.2.4 Post-inflectional suffixes 60
 - 3.2.5 Adjective derivations 62
 - 3.2.6 Independent particles with nominal expressions 63
 - 3.2.7 Verbs derived from nominal expressions 64
- 3.3 Pronoun morphology
 - 3.3.1 Personal pronouns 65
 - 3.3.2 Interrogative/indefinite pronouns 69
 - 3.3.3 Deictics 72
- 3.4 Morphology of time, location and number words 74
- 3.5 Verbal morphology
 - 3.5.1 Transitivity and conjugations 78
 - 3.5.2 Verbal reduplication 87
 - 3.5.3 Verbal inflection 91
 - 3.5.4 Reflexive forms 95
 - 3.5.5 Further verbal derivations 99

4 SYNTAX

- 4.1 Simple sentences 100
 - 4.1.1 Noun phrases 102
 - 4.1.2 Verbs - syntactic types 105
 - 4.1.3 Verb modifiers 107
 - 4.1.4 Syntactic extensions 107
 - 4.1.5 Local and temporal extensions 114
 - 4.1.6 Nominal sentences 115
- 4.2 Word-level derivations 118
- 4.3 Reflexive constructions 121
 - 4.3.1 Reflexives and reciprocals 121
 - 4.3.2 Accidents 123
 - 4.3.3 'Reflexive-only' verbs 126
 - 4.3.4 Body-part metaphors 127
 - 4.3.5 Anti-passives and passives 128
 - 4.3.6 Generalized action 132
 - 4.3.7 Summary of reflexive uses 134
- 4.4 Subordinate structures 134
 - 4.4.1 Purposive clauses 135
 - 4.4.2 Causal clauses 138

4.4.3	Simultaneous action	140
4.4.4	Past and future action	143
4.5	Contrafactual constructions	143
4.6	Apprehensional constructions	146
4.6.1	Before and after	147
4.7	Possession	147
4.8	Particles	151
4.9	Ergative hopping and modifying expressions	154
4.10	Discourse notes	156
TEXT 160		
VOCABULARY 167		
	Alphabetical vocabulary	167
	Vocabulary in semantic fields	171
LIST OF AFFIXES 179		
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS 180		

PITTA-PITTA by BARRY J. BLAKE

1	THE LANGUAGE AND ITS SPEAKERS	
1.1	Linguistic type	183
1.2	Tribal and language names	183
1.3	Territory and neighbours	184
1.4	Present situation	185
1.5	Past investigations	186
1.6	Present corpus	187
2	PHONOLOGY	
2.1	Phonemes	187
2.2	Phonotactics	187
2.2.1	Examples illustrating phonotactics	188
2.3	Pronunciation	190
2.4	Morphophonemics	192
3	MORPHOLOGY	
3.1	Parts of speech	192
3.2	Noun and pronoun morphology	
3.2.1	Noun and pronoun inflection	192
3.2.2	Examples illustrating inflection	195
3.3	Noun derivational suffixes	199
3.4	Verb morphology	201
3.4.1	Verb inflection	201

3.4.2	Derivational suffixes	204
3.5	Suffixes for deriving verbs from nouns	210
3.6	Derivation of nouns from verbs	211
3.7	Compounding	211
3.8	Reduplication	212
3.9	Adverb-forming suffixes	212
4	SYNTAX	
4.1	General	213
4.2	Word order	
4.2.1	Simple sentence patterns	213
4.2.2	The noun phrase	214
4.3	Subordinate clauses	
4.3.1	Purposive clauses and indirect commands	215
4.3.2	Relative clauses	216
4.3.3	Case marking with verbs	218
4.4	Free form particles and clitics	219
4.5	Interrogatives and indefinites	223
4.6	Co-ordination	224
APPENDIX - A LIST OF FUNCTION MORPHEMES IN THE EASTERN AND WESTERN LANGUAGES 224		
VOCABULARY		
	Pitta-Pitta - English alphabetical vocabulary	226
	Vocabulary in semantic fields	233
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS 242		
GUMBAYNGGIR by DIANA EADES		
1	THE LANGUAGE AND ITS SPEAKERS	
1.1	Linguistic type	245
1.2	Tribal and language names	246
1.2.1	North and south	246
1.2.2	Ba:nbay	247
1.2.3	Gambalamam	248
1.2.4	Spellings	249
1.3	Territory and neighbours	249
1.4	Cultural information	
1.4.1	Recent information	251
1.4.2	Past investigations	252
1.5	Yesterday and today	
1.5.1	Contact history	253
1.5.2	Present situation	253
1.6	Past linguistic investigations	
1.6.1	Short vocabulary lists	254

- 1.6.2 Grammatical studies 256
- 1.6.3 Recent fieldwork 259
- 1.6.4 Sources for this study 260
- 1.6.5 Miscellaneous 260

2 PHONOLOGY

- 2.1 Phonemes and their realizations 261
 - 2.1.1 Stops and nasals 261
 - 2.1.2 Lateral and rhotics 262
 - 2.1.3 Semivowels and vowels 263
- 2.2 Phonotactics 264
 - 2.2.1 Syllable structure 264
 - 2.2.2 Occurrence of phonemes 266
- 2.3 Stress 268
- 2.4 Vowel length 268
- 2.5 Reduplication 270

3 MORPHOLOGY

- 3.1 Parts of speech 270
- 3.2 Noun Morphology
 - 3.2.1 Nouns and 'adjectives' 271
 - 3.2.2 Classes of nouns 272
 - 3.2.3 Noun cases - form 273
 - 3.2.4 Noun cases - function 274
 - 3.2.5 Double case inflections 277
 - 3.2.6 Discussion of form of noun cases 277
 - 3.2.7 Irregular nouns 282
 - 3.2.8 Local nouns 284
 - 3.2.9 Derivations 285
 - 3.2.10 Nominalizer 287
 - 3.2.11 Number 288
 - 3.2.12 Trees 288
 - 3.2.13 Demonstratives 289
 - 3.2.14 Interrogative and indefinite nouns 290
- 3.3 Pronoun morphology
 - 3.3.1 First and second person pronouns 291
 - 3.3.2 Taboo pronoun 292
 - 3.3.3 First person pronouns - discussion of form 292
 - 3.3.4 Hierarchy of pronouns and nouns in main syntactic cases 293
 - 3.3.5 Third person pronouns - form 295
 - 3.3.6 Third person pronouns - function 296
 - 3.3.7 Interrogative and indefinite pronoun 297
- 3.4 Verb morphology
 - 3.4.1 Transitivity 297
 - 3.4.2 Conjugation 298
 - 3.4.3 Examples of tenses 300
 - 3.4.4 Irregular verbs 300
 - 3.4.5 Interrogative verb 302
 - 3.4.6 Verbalizers 303
 - 3.4.7 Adverbs 304
 - 3.4.8 Locational deictics 308

4 SYNTAX

- 4.1 Simple sentences
 - 4.1.1 Verbless sentences 309
 - 4.1.2 Verbal sentences 310
 - 4.1.3 Noun phrase constituency 313
 - 4.1.4 Verb complex constituency 314
 - 4.1.5 Word-level derivations 314
 - 4.1.6 Reciprocal 314
 - 4.1.7 Possession 316
 - 4.1.8 Deep structure of possessive phrases 318
- 4.2 Complex sentences
 - 4.2.1 Conjoined sentences 320
 - 4.2.2 Facilitative conjunction 321
 - 4.2.3 Conditional sentences 322
 - 4.2.4 Temporal sentences 323
 - 4.2.5 Relative clauses 323
 - 4.2.6 Purposive clauses 328
- 4.3 Indirect speech 329
- 4.4 Polar interrogatives 330
- 4.5 Imperatives 330
- 4.6 Particles 330
 - 4.6.1 Time particles 331
 - 4.6.2 Discourse particles 331
 - 4.6.3 Interrogative particles 332
 - 4.6.4 Other particles 332
- 4.7 Interjections 334
- 4.8 Universal clitic 334
- 4.9 Idioms 335

TEXTS

- Introductory notes 335
- Text I 336
- Text VI 340
- Text IX 345
- Song I 345
- Song II 346

VOCABULARY 347

- Gumbaynggir - English alphabetical list 348
- Vocabulary in semantic fields 355
- Appendix - The influence of English 359

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS 360

ADDENDUM 361

YAYGIR by TERRY CROWLEY

1	THE LANGUAGE AND ITS SPEAKERS	363
1.1	Linguistic type	364
1.2	Tribal and language names	364
1.3	Territory and neighbours	364
1.4	Present situation and past investigations	365
2	PHONOLOGY	
2.1	Phonemes and their realizations	365
2.2	Phonotactics	369
2.3	Historical phonology	371
2.3.1	Initial consonant deletion and lenition	371
2.3.2	Rhotic change -:ɽ→-ɽ-	373
3	MORPHOLOGY	
3.1	Parts of speech	373
3.2	Noun morphology	373
3.3	Pronouns and demonstratives	376
3.4	Verb morphology	377
4	SYNTAX	378
A	YAYGIR TEXT	379
	VOCABULARY	
	Yaygir - English alphabetical list	380
	Vocabulary in semantic fields	382
	REFERENCES	385

List of Maps

- 1 Australia, showing approximate locations of languages referred to in Introduction xviii
- 2 Guugu Yimidhirr and neighbours 26
- 3 Pitta-Pitta and neighbouring languages 182
- 4 Gumbaynggir, Yaygir and neighbours 244

Preface

This *Handbook* is intended to make available short grammatical sketches of Australian languages. Each grammar is written in a standard format, following guidelines provided by the editors, and includes a sample text (where available) and vocabulary list. (See section 3 of the Editors' Introduction.)

The first volume includes one account of a living language - Guugu Yimidhirr, which is still spoken by some hundreds of people, mostly living at Hopevale Mission and at Cooktown. The other three sketches deal with dying (or dead) languages - there is one fluent speaker of Gumbaynggir, the last good speaker of Pitta-Pitta died as the volume was being prepared for publication, and the last speaker of Yaygir died in 1973. These three grammars contain all that is known of the languages; the vocabularies are also exhaustive. (There are further texts in Gumbaynggir, which are available in the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, P.O. Box 553, Canberra City, A.C.T. 2601.) In the case of Guugu Yimidhirr John Haviland has provided a sample vocabulary, extracted from his fairly comprehensive dictionary, following the editors' 500-word list. Work on this language is continuing.

Haviland has employed a practical orthography for Guugu Yimidhirr, using just letters of the Roman alphabet; this has made it possible to employ italic type for all Guugu Yimidhirr material. The other authors use some non-Roman symbols, and here Australian language material is typed with a standard phonetic ball.

Each contributor to the handbook is responsible for having his grammar typed according to a standard style-sheet, and providing camera-ready copy for the editors. Authors are responsible for their own sub-editing and proof-checking.

It is planned that Volumes 2 and 3 of the *Handbook* should follow at intervals of roughly a year. It is hoped to include in further volumes Bāgandji by Luise Hercus, Antikirinya (a Western Desert dialect) by Karl Rensch, Yukulta by Sandra Keen, Marganj/Gunja by J.G.Breen, Kaititj by Harold J. Koch, Wargamay and Nyawaygi by R.M.W.Dixon, Yuulngu by Frances Morphy, Kala Lagau Langgus by Ephraim Bani and T.J. Klokeid, Warungu by Tasaku Tsunoda and Peter Sutton, Gügu-Dhayban by Bruce Rigsby and Mpakwithi by Terry Crowley. Volume 2 will definitely include a full linguistic assessment of the material on Tasmanian, and its possible relationship to mainland Australian languages, by Crowley and Dixon.

It is a pleasure to thank the typists, whose skill and patience has contributed so much to the success of this volume: Ellalene Seymour (Introduction, Gumbaynggir, Yaygir), Ann Buller and Ria van de Zandt (Guugu Yimidhirr), and Joan Juliff (Pitta-Pitta); and Val Lyon, who drew the maps with care and skill.

July 1978

R.M.W.Dixon

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Abbreviations

A	transitive subject (function)	GEN	genitive
ABES	abessive (case)	GOAL	archaic purposive/goal (case)
ABL	ablative (case)		
ABS	absolutive (case)	H	stop homorganic with preceding nasal
ACC	accusative (case)		
ADES	adessive (case)	IMPERF	imperfective (aspect)
ADV	adverb	IMP	imperative (verbal affix)
ADVBLSR	adverbializer	INC, inc	inclusive (pronoun)
ALL	allative (case)	INCHO	inchoative (deriving intransitive verb from noun or adjective)
ANTIC	anticipatory (verb inflection)		
ANTIPASS	anti-passive (verb affix)		
		INST	instrumental (case)
BEN	benefactive (case)	INTER	interjection
		INTR, intr	intransitive
C	consonant		
CAU	causal (case)	K-S	kin and section
CAUS	causative (deriving transitive verb from noun or adjective)	LOC	locative (case)
CAUT	cautionary (verb inflection)	MASC	masculine (gender)
CLIT	clitic	N	noun
COM	comitative (nominal or verbal affix)	NEG	negative
COMP	complement	NOM	nominative (case)
CONTRF	contrafactive (verb inflection)	NOMLSR	nominaliser
		NP	noun phrase
		O	transitive object (function)
DAT	dative (case)		
DEIC	deictic	PART	particle
DEM	demonstrative	PASS	passive (verb affix)
DER	derived form (of verb)	PAST	past tense
DISC	discourse	PERF	perfective (aspect)
DU, du	dual (number)	PL, PLU, pl	plural (number)
DUR	durative	PREC(AUT)	precautionary (verb inflection)
		PRES	present (tense)
EMPH	emphatic	PRIV	privative (nominal affix)
ERG	ergative (case)		
EXC, exc	exclusive	PURP	purposive (noun or verb affix)
FAC CONJ	facilitative conjunct- ion		
FEM	feminine (gender)	RECIP	reciprocal
FUT	future (tense)		

REDUP	reduplicated	T	text
REF, REFL	reflexive	TR, tr	transitive
REL	relative clause		
RES	resultative	V	vowel
		V	verb
S	intransitive sub- ject (function)	VBLSR	verbaliser
SG, sg	singular (number)	VP	verb phrase
SUB	subordinate	1	first person
SUP	superadjacent (case)	2	second person
		3	third person

In the Guugu Yimidhirr grammar, § indicates a 'shortening suffix' (see page 44), and the following juncture marks are used:

- morpheme boundary where morphemes can be easily segmented
- + morphemes combined into portmanteaux or not easily segmented
- = compound - a morpheme boundary which does not engender lengthening

27 Alawa	33 Gidabal	49 Mpakwithi	30 Wangkumara
12 Andigirinya	35 Guamu	19 Murinypata	40 Wargamay
11 Arabana	Gumbaynggir —	2 Nhanda	41 Warungu
13 Aranda	see map 4	32 Nganjaywana	7 Western Desert
49 Awnggthim	23 Gunwinygu	5 Ngaluma	language
31 Bāgandji	17 Gurindji	39 Nyawaygi	48 Wik Munkan
6 Bandjima	Guugu Yimidhirr —	14 Pintupi	Yaygir —
37 Bidjara	see map 2	7 Pitjantjatjara	see map 4
18 Brinken	16 Kaititj	Pitta-Pitta —	43 Yidiny
25 Burera	52 Kala Lagau	see map 3	51 Yinwum
34 Duungidjauw	Langgus	24 Rembarnga	47 Yir Yoront
4 Dhalanji	46 Kunjen	3 Thargari	21 Yiwadja
44 Djaabugay	45 Lama-Lama	20 Tiwi	29 Yukulta
10 Djaru	28 Lardil	1 Wadjuk	8 Yulbaridja
42 Dyirbal	50 Linnghithigh	15 Walbiri	26 Yuulngu
Galgadungu —	36 Marganj/Gunja	9 Walmadjari	
see map 3	22 Maung	38 Wamin	

Map 1: Australia, Showing Approximate Location of Languages Referred to in Introduction

Introduction

by Barry J. Blake and R.M.W. Dixon

1. OVERVIEW

At the time of the European invasion and settlement (late eighteenth to early twentieth century depending on area), Australia was inhabited by something like 300,000 Aborigines. They were semi-nomadic hunter-gatherers living in small groups, mostly patrilocal clan groups.

Tindale in his *Aboriginal Tribes of Australia* (1974) classifies the mainland population into approximately 600 tribes with an average membership of 450, and Jones, in the appendix on Tasmanian tribes, gives the population of that island as having been between 3,000 and 4,000 at a conservative estimate. However, no full-blood Tasmanians survive today and very few full-blood Aborigines can be found in Victoria and the adjacent parts of South Australia and New South Wales.

The difficulty of determining the number of languages spoken over a large area - essentially a difficulty in distinguishing a dialect difference from a language difference - is well known to linguists; determining the number of tribes presents similar difficulties. Moreover, the two classifications are related inasmuch as language difference is one criterion for making a tribal boundary. A clear-cut language boundary always runs along a tribal boundary; but tribal boundary - as defined on the basis of shared rites, kinship systems etc. or as seen by the Aborigines themselves - does not necessarily imply a clear-cut language boundary.

The preliminary classification of Australian languages carried out by O'Grady, Wurm and Hale (1966; see also O'Grady et al. 1966:21ff) recognises about 230 languages, grouped into twenty-six so-called 'families' (as revised by Wurm 1972). The classification is based on cognate densities obtained from comparing items on a 100-word test list. Communalects having over 70% in common were classified as dialects of a single language. Twenty-five of these 'families' are concentrated in or near Arnhem Land and the Kimberleys in the far north of the continent. The

twenty-sixth family covers the remaining nine-tenths of Australia - it is called Pama-Nyungan, after the words for 'man' at the geographical extremes of Cape York (pama) and the Perth area (nyunga).

Australian languages have not yet been proved all to be genetically related - through reconstructions of aspects of the proto-language and demonstration of the regular processes by which modern languages developed from this. But many scholars are confident that it should in time be possible to prove their genetic unity.

The languages of Tasmania ceased to be used in the 1880's. The little written material that survives on them is of very poor quality, and could not yield any firm conclusions about linguistic relationship. Tasmanian languages show only a few cognates with mainland tongues, but what can be inferred of their structure (especially at the phonological level) fits into the general typological pattern of the mainland. Crowley and Dixon (forthcoming), in an intensive study of materials on Tasmanian, conclude that there is *no* evidence suggesting that Tasmanian languages were *not* of the normal Australian type.

Not only are the languages of Tasmania extinct, but so are the languages of Victoria and from the highly settled parts of other states. Viable languages can only be found today across the northern coast from Roebourne to Cape York and in the inland of the Northern Territory and Western Australia and the adjacent areas of South Australia. In all parts of Australia languages are dying, many having only a score or fewer elderly speakers. Of the 230 odd languages listed in O'Grady et al. 1966, approximately a dozen have over 500 speakers, about two dozen have between 100 and 500 speakers, about 50 have between 10 and 100 speakers and about 100 have less than 10 speakers (Sutton 1975).

Australian languages all employ suffixes for tense and aspect and almost all employ suffixes or postpositions to indicate case relationships. The use of these syntactic suffixes with stems that may be composed of bases and derivational suffixes gives the languages an agglutinative character, particularly as the morphemes are usually isolable and there is little fusion of number, case and gender or of person and tense. Almost all the non-Pama-Nyungan languages and some of the Pama-Nyungan ones use cross-referencing bound pronouns to indicate the major syntactic relationships of noun phrases to verbs. These features are all explained and illustrated in section 4.1.

One of the most striking characteristics of Australian languages is that they are for the most part very similar in their phonological systems (but see 4.6 below) and share some common traits in morphology and syntax, while showing considerable divergence in vocabulary. The pronouns (see 4.2) are strikingly similar across the continent, the first person beginning with *ŋa* (or in a few cases *ŋi*) in practically every language, and the second person involving a small number of forms that look as if they could easily derive from a common form. Despite the lexical diversity mentioned above, Capell (1956) has been able to compile a list of nearly fifty lexical roots that are found in every

area (though not every language) of the mainland and further isolated cognates can be found between any two areas of the continent, perhaps suggesting an earlier lexical unity.

So far it has not proved possible to demonstrate a genetic connection between Australian languages and any language found outside Australia. Despite early attempts to demonstrate resemblances between Australian languages and Dravidian languages etc., no data has been produced showing systematic correspondences between an Australian language or proto-language and a non-Australian language or proto-language. The most likely direction of genetic relationship is with the non-Austronesian languages of New Guinea. Australia was connected with New Guinea by a land bridge only 10,000 years ago (whereas a date of 30,000 or more years B.P. has been given by archaeologists for the arrival of Aboriginal man on the continent). But no detailed comparisons of Australian and Papuan languages have been attempted as yet.

Australian languages offer the linguist some exciting prospects. First of all there is the challenge of reconstructing earlier stages of Australian languages. Then there is the variety of ergative systems particularly among the Pama-Nyungan languages. Ergative languages (see section 4.1) are a distinct minority among the world's languages and they are not represented among the commonly studied languages of Europe. An understanding of these significantly different systems is essential for an appreciation of the nature of human language as a whole and as a prerequisite to the formulation of any hypothesis of universal grammar.

Australia also provides numerous examples of grammatical hierarchies, particularly person hierarchies. For example, there are a number of languages that rank the first person above the second and third and the second above the third, in grammatical rules. Thus, in some languages, the first person bound pronoun must always precede the second person bound pronoun irrespective of which is the Agent and which is the Object. The whole question of the relationship between hierarchical principles and the principles of marking syntactic functions like Agent and Object, and their interrelation with the lexical content of the nouns and pronouns involved, is a fascinating area, the study of which promises to reveal something of the motivation for a lot of apparently arbitrary grammatical rules (see especially Silverstein 1976).

And finally there is the question of the relationship between the social organisation and the culture of the speakers and the development of their languages. Prospectively interesting areas include the nature of the bi-dialectism and bilingualism that resulted from exogamy, the practice of choosing wives from other local groups and occasionally from other tribes; the 'avoidance languages' used in the presence of those who are in a taboo relationship; and the reflection of the culture in the semantic organisation of the lexicon.

2. THE STUDY OF AUSTRALIAN LANGUAGES

The study of Australian languages began with the collection of short vocabularies in Guugu-Yimidhirr by officers of Captain Cook's 'Endeavour' in 1770. The collecting of short vocabularies was to become fairly popular after the first settlement in 1788 and continued into the first decade of the twentieth century. Particularly noteworthy is a collection of vocabularies representing nearly 500 dialects published by E.M.Curr in 1886-7 in the four volumes of *The Australian Race*.

During the nineteenth century a number of amateur linguists produced sketch grammars of Australian languages. Most of these sketches are reasonable, some quite good, but almost all fail to make those phonemic distinctions that Europeans find difficult to hear.

The first generation of the twentieth century, or at least the period 1912-1930, saw practically no new work on Australian languages though some missionaries were studying languages during this period. The first professional study of Australian languages was undertaken by Arthur Capell, of Sydney University, during the 'thirties. He studied a large number of languages briefly and a few languages in depth and began producing a stream of publications which are still appearing; these range from notes on features of particular languages, to area studies and general articles, and they include the handbook *A New Approach to Australian Linguistics*, which first appeared in 1956. During the early period of professional study, Strehlow produced a grammar of Aranda (1942-1944) and other publications on the language and culture of the Aranda.

In the late fifties and early sixties, O'Grady, Hale and Wurm did extensive survey and depth work. Particularly valuable as a reference is volume 8 No. 2 of *Anthropological Linguistics*, an issue devoted entirely to Australian languages. This contains a lexicostatistic classification of Australian languages, notes on phonological systems, a history of research on Australian languages, numerous sketches of western Australian languages by O'Grady, and an appendix by Hale on the phonological peculiarities of the northern Paman languages of Cape York.

In 1961 the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies was founded to direct and finance research in Aboriginal Studies; by the middle of the decade they had begun to fund a number of scholars working on Australian languages. This new supply of finance coincided with the establishment of the first linguistics department (Monash 1965) and the growth of linguistics within departments or schools at the University of Sydney, Macquarie University, the University of Queensland, the University of Western Australia and at the Australian National University where linguistics was established as a department in the Research School of Pacific Studies followed in 1970 by a department in the Faculty of Arts and the Faculty of Asian Studies (within the School of General Studies). In addition, the Australian Branch of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, an international missionary organisation, was established in 1961.

As a result of all this development, the late sixties and early seventies saw a great increase in the quantity of material being produced on Australian languages, though the quantity was still meagre in proportion to the number of scholars engaged in the work and for a time the quality often left a lot to be desired, principally owing to the inexperience and lack of training of the researchers concerned. Today a substantial number of capable linguists, some employed in universities, some employed by the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies and some working for the Summer Institute of Linguistics, are producing a volume of significant work.

The most recent development, and perhaps the most significant from the point of view of the Aboriginal people themselves, has been the establishment of bilingual education programmes, mainly in the Northern Territory. In support of this a School of Australian Linguistics was established in Darwin in 1974 to provide training in linguistic analysis for native speakers of Australian languages. (At the time of writing the S.A.L. has been relocated at Batchelor, 100km. south of Darwin.).

3. THE HANDBOOK

In proposing that a *Handbook of Australian Languages* be produced, the editors sought to provide an avenue of publication for grammars of dying languages and sketch grammars of living languages.

A good deal of the work that has been done over the past decade has been salvage work of languages with, in most cases, fewer than half a dozen speakers. The result of this kind of study is often a grammar that is too brief for publication as a monograph but too large for most journals. The *Handbook* is intended to provide a convenient outlet for the authors of salvage grammars, and since it will bring together a number of grammars in a series of volumes it will facilitate reference for the reader. In the case of depth study of a living language, it is often the case that the linguist is involved in a study that stretches over a decade or more. The editors of the *Handbook* hope to encourage such linguists to produce a brief grammar for the *Handbook*, so that the basic facts of the language are made available earlier than would otherwise have been the case.

Grammars produced for the *Handbook* are to be empirical studies written in as straightforward a style as possible, with a minimum of esoteric terminology and conventions. They are intended not only for the professional linguist but for others involved in Australian linguistics, e.g. European and Aboriginal school teachers working on the bilingual education of Aboriginal children, and specialists in other fields such as anthropology and ethnomusicology. Since linguistics is a technical subject it is impossible to reduce the terminology to the point where an entirely uninitiated reader could follow the grammar; but someone

with one year's linguistics or the equivalent reading should have no difficulty. Some elementary texts in linguistics have been included in the bibliography at the end of the introduction.

The editors have prepared a set of guidelines for intending contributors. It is hoped that this will result in typologically similar languages receiving similar treatment. They have also prepared a list of 500 glosses which they would like contributors to use as the basis for a short vocabulary.

4. THE NATURE OF AUSTRALIAN LANGUAGES

Australian languages tend to have relatively simple morphological structures. Nouns and pronouns are suffixed to show case relationships and verbs to show distinctions of tense and/or aspect. The nouns and verbs may themselves be formed from a base with the addition of one or more derivational suffixes, or more rarely they may consist of a reduplicated base or result from the compounding of two morphemes. There is no morphologically distinct class of adjectives, and the lexical items corresponding to English adjectives behave like nouns. Locational and temporal adverbs are either uninflected or else they take nominal-type case marking for locative ('at'), allative ('to') or ablative ('from').

Except in the case of some cross-referencing bound pronouns (see below), Australian languages seldom exhibit morphophonemic alternations that obscure the agglutinative character of words; there is little fusion of any kind and little suppletion (as in English, *I/me* or *go/went* for instance).

4.1 CASE RELATIONSHIPS

Australian languages employ two methods of marking syntactic case relationships,

- (a) Case inflections
- (b) Cross-referencing pronouns.

Some languages have a fairly rigid word order, in others an underlying or basic word order can be determined, and in others again no fixed word order seems to be discernible. In very few cases, however, does word order mark syntactic relationships, except perhaps as a redundant, reinforcing mechanism. In most Pama-Nyungan languages an order of Agent-Object-Verb can be determined. In a minority of Pama-Nyungan languages and in some of the northern languages, the basic order is Agent-Verb-Object.

Languages of the Pama-Nyungan family all employ case inflections and some employ cross-referencing pronouns as well. The case inflections most frequently follow an 'ergative' pattern on nouns and an 'accusative' pattern on pronouns. The Intransitive Subject is normally unmarked,

as might be expected. With nouns the Object of a transitive verb is also unmarked whereas the Agent is suffixed by what is generally known as the ergative case. With pronouns the transitive Agent remains unmarked while the Object is marked by an accusative suffix. Since the three main syntactic functions will be referred to a good deal in this Introduction, we will use a single letter as abbreviation for each:

Transitive subject - A
Intransitive subject - S
Transitive Object - O

(A number of contributors to the *Handbook* will also be employing these abbreviations). The typical case system can thus be summarized:

	Nouns	Pronouns
A	ergative	ϕ
S	ϕ	ϕ
O	ϕ	accusative

Here ϕ indicates a 'zero inflection' (that is, the plain stem is used for these functions).

Such a 'norm' arrangement of cases can be illustrated from Bidjara, a Central Queensland language (Breen 1973):

- (1) mardī barri-la
man cry-PAST
A man cried
- (2) mardī-ndu binu-ŋu baru gundha-la
man-ERG other-ERG axe steal-PAST
The other man stole an axe.
- (3) ŋaya barri-la
I cry-PAST
I cried
- (4) ŋaya mardī naga-la
I man see-PAST
I saw a man
- (5) mardī-ndu ŋadyuna naga-la
man-ERG me-ACC see-PAST
A man saw me

In the Pama-Nyungan languages which employ cross-referencing pronouns, we find that (with only a few partial exceptions) these pronouns operate in an accusative pattern. Usually there is one cross-referencing bound form for S and A and another for O. This is the common system in Pitjantjatjara and surrounding dialects of the Western Desert language. The other possibility is found in Wik-Munkan (Cape York) (Kilham 1977) and Guamu (N.S.W.) (Wurm 1969:60), for example, where only one cross-referencing form is used and that is for S and A.

The use of cross referencing pronouns can be illustrated from Walbiri, N.T. (Hale 1973b). In Walbiri one set of bound pronouns represents S and A and another set O. The bound pronouns are normally suffixed to a catalytic particle (that can indicate tense); in a transitive clause,

these bound or clitic pronouns generally occur in the order: A followed by O. In comparing the following sentences, note that free pronouns in Walbiri inflect on an ergative pattern like nouns.

- (6) η at^Yulu ka-na pu|a-mi
 I PRESENT-I shout-NONPAST
 I am shouting
- (7) n^Yuntulu ka-npa pu|a-mi
 you PRES-you shout-NONPAST
 You are shouting
- (8) η at^Yulu-|u ka-na-nku n^Yuntulu n^Ya-n^Yi
 I-ERGATIVE PRESENT-I-you you see-NONPAST
 I see you
- (9) n^Yuntulu-|u ka-npa-t^Yu η at^Yulu n^Ya-n^Yi
 you-ERGATIVE PRES-you-me me see-NONPAST
 You see me

Many Pama-Nyungan languages exhibit some variation from the basic pattern of 'ergative marking with nouns and accusative marking with pronouns'.

In a small number of languages free pronouns as well as nouns inflect on an ergative pattern. The case of Walbiri has already been noted. Other Pama-Nyungan languages with this system include Pintupi (N.T.), Walmadjari (W.A.), Galgadungu (Q.), Yalarnnga (Q.), and Djaru (W.A.). In the non-Pama-Nyungan area, Muriny-Pata (N.T.) and Rembarnga (N.T.) also have both nouns and free pronouns inflecting ergatively.

In some languages ergative *and* accusative marking is used on some persons and numbers in the pronoun paradigm, particularly in the first and second singular, or in the third person in all numbers. And in a few languages ergative and accusative marking is found on all pronouns, e.g. in Duungidjawa (s.e.Q) (Wurm 1976) we find:

		Nominative (S function)	Ergative (A function)	Accusative (O function)
Sing.	1	η ai	η adYu	η anYa
	2	η in	(η)indu	(η)ina
	3	yo:(ru)	yo:(ru)ndu	yo: η a

In some languages accusative marking as well as ergative marking is found on some or all nouns. The grammar of Gumbaynggir in this volume describes how accusative marking occurs on kinship nouns and personal proper nouns. In some Arandic languages (N.T.) accusative marking occurs on all human nouns, in Thargari (W.A.) on all animate nouns and in Wangkumara (Q.) on all nouns (Breen 1976a).

A small number of Pama-Nyungan languages do not show ergative inflections. Lardil (Morrington Island, Q.) has an entirely accusative system of case marking as have some of its neighbours. In Western Australia, Ngarluma and some adjacent languages have developed an accusative system of marking (Hale 1970). It seems likely that both these groups have developed from ancestor languages that did show a degree of ergativity, through morphological loss and re-analysis.

In some languages case marking is sensitive to tense. The accusative language Lardil (Q.), has separate future and non-future accusative and locative. The grammar of Pitta-Pitta, in this volume of the *Handbook*, describes a more complex system: this language has ergative and accusative markings on all nominals in the non-future, but in the future it uses a suffix -*ŋu* for S and A and a suffix -*ku* for O; -*ku* also marks the goal of verbs 'like' and 'seek' irrespective of tense.

Pitta-Pitta nominal inflections:

	Non-future	Future
S	- <i>∅</i>	- <i>ŋu</i>
A	- <i>lu</i>	- <i>ŋu</i>
O	- <i>pa</i>	- <i>ku</i>

The non-Pama-Nyungan languages almost all use cross-referencing bound pronouns prefixed to the verb or to an auxiliary verb. In some instances the order of the cross-referencing pronouns in a transitive clause is determined by the principle of the hierarchy of persons, first person preceding second and third, and second preceding third irrespective of syntactic function. This principle is not confined to the prefixing languages and is also found for instance in the Pama-Nyungan language, Pitjantjatjara (W.A.).

Another feature of the cross-referencing pronouns of the non-Pama-Nyungan languages is that they often show some fusion and other irregularities in transitive clauses, so that the synchronic description of these languages involves describing a set of bound pronouns for intransitive subject and another set of unanalysable portmanteau morphemes for various Agent-Object combinations e.g. first singular acting on third plural or second dual acting on third dual. This is one of the few instances where the transparent character of Australian languages is not maintained. In Gunwinygu (N.T.) (Oates 1964:42), for example we find that the bound form singular pronouns in intransitive clauses are

1st person *ŋa-*, 2nd person *yi-*, 3rd person *∅-ga-*

but in transitive clauses we do not get forms that can be derived simply from the above by allowing for case marking and/or hierarchical ordering. For example, *gan-bun* means 'You will hit me' (*bun* = 'hit'), *ŋan-bun* means 'He will hit me', and *bun* without any prefixed pronoun combination at all means 'I will hit you'.

In many instances the prefixing languages do not use suffixes nor any other marking on noun phrases to indicate the major syntactic relationships but instead rely entirely on the cross-referencing system.

The dative case relationship and the concrete (or 'local') case relationships are usually expressed by suffixes. In a few cases postpositions are used and some non-Pama-Nyungan languages employ one or two prefixes.

The following case relationships can be distinguished syntactically for a large number of Australian languages:

Intransitive Subject (S)
 Transitive Agent (A)
 Transitive Object (O)
 Dative
 Genitive
 Instrumental
 Locative ('at')
 Allative ('to')
 Ablative ('from')
 Causal ('because of')

but they are not all allotted separate case forms. As mentioned above nouns usually inflect on an ergative pattern with an ergative suffix representing the agent and the unmarked form representing both intransitive subject and the object. The ergative suffix usually represents the instrumental case relationship as well. The commonest ground for distinguishing agent and instrumental is that the former may be cross referenced but not the latter. In a scattered minority of languages instrumental falls together not with ergative but with locative.

It is fairly common for the dative case marker to cover the possessive (=genitive) sense without there being a separate genitive form. The dative usually expresses the notion of purpose ('go for yams') and beneficiary ('go on behalf of my mother') and it serves to mark the complement of most intransitive verbs (as in English 'weep for his friend') or nominals ('a spear for fish'). In some languages the dative expresses the indirect object but in others the indirect object is expressed by the same case as the object, i.e. by the nominative or accusative.

The allative case relationship is sometimes represented by the dative case form and in a small number of languages by the locative form. A number of languages have a case suffix to express cause as in 'die of thirst', 'flee because of the fire', etc. but often this sense is carried by the ablative, instrumental, dative or locative or by a conjunction (and a subordinate clause) rather than a case suffix.

The following noun paradigm is fairly typical. It is taken from Thargari (W.A.) (Klokeid 1969), but the allomorphy has been considerably reduced:

Nominative	-ø	(for S and O, but see accusative)
Ergative	-du	(A and instrumental)
Accusative	-ŋa	(O with animate nouns and also pronouns)
Dative	-ku	(genitive and dative)
Locative	-da	
Allative	-kuda	
Ablative	-waḍi	

The ergative case is usually marked by forms such as -lu, ŋku or -tu. In some languages -ŋku occurs with stems ending in vowels, and -tu, or better -Tu, occurs with stems ending in consonants. (T indicates a stop that assimilates in point of articulation with the stem-final consonant.) In a number of languages -ŋku occurs with vowel-final stems of less than three syllables and -lu occurs with stems of three or more syllables. Hale (1976b) suggests that all

these allomorphs might derive historically from *-lu.

The locative case is usually marked by forms such as -la, -ŋka, or -ta, i.e. by forms that are the same as the ergative forms except that the vowel is a rather than u. Hale (1976) suggests that these derive from *-la.

The accusative is almost always represented by -ŋa -nʸa, or, in a very few cases, -na. The dative is -ku in a high proportion of languages, some languages having a lenited (weakened) allomorph -wu after vowels. Ablatives often begin with -ŋu-. e.g. ŋuru, ŋupi, etc. The other case inflections are realised by a great variety of different forms.

4.2 PRONOUNS

Australian languages usually distinguish singular, dual and plural pronouns over three persons: first, second and third. The following paradigm from Warungu (n-e Q.) (Tsunoda 1974) is quite typical,

	Singular	Dual	Plural
1	ŋaya	ŋali	ŋana
2	yinda	yubala	yura
3	nʸula	bula	dʸana

A few languages lack duals: Gidabal (s-e Q.) (Geytenbeek and Geytenbeek 1971:15), Maung (N.T.) (Capell and Hinch 1970), Tiwi (N.T.) (Osborne 1974:54), Yiwadja (N.T.) (Capell 1962:156), Dyaabugay (n-e Q.) (Hale 1976c). And a few have trial (= referring to 'three') or paucal (= referring to 'a few') forms: Arabana (S.A.) (Hercus 1966), a number of languages in the Kimberleys (Capell and Coate, forthcoming) and some languages in Victoria (Hercus 1966).

A large number of languages make an inclusive versus exclusive distinction in the first person non-singular. Thus there can be separate forms for 'I and you' (including the addressee) and for 'I and him/her' (excluding the addressee). In some languages the non-singular pronouns exhibit different forms according to the kinship relationship between the persons referred to. Hale (1966b) discusses examples from Lardil (Q.) and the Arandic languages (N.T.). See also O'Grady et al (1966:88, 130) for Bandijma (W.A.) and Wadjuk (W.A.).

The following example is from the Lower Aranda dialect (Hale 1966b). Two principles are involved. The first is the principle of 'alternate generation levels'. A person is 'harmonic' with respect to his own generation and all even-numbered generations counting away from his own, and 'disharmonic' with respect to odd-numbered generations. Thus a man is disharmonic with respect to his father and his son but harmonic with respect to his grandfather and his grandson. The other principle is that of agnatic kinship. A man is agnate with respect to his patrilineal descent line, each patrilineal descent line related to the first through a common male and the sisters of all the males in the group. A man is thus agnate with respect to his brothers and sisters, his children, his son's children, his

brother's children, his father, his father's brothers and sisters and so on; he is non-agnate with respect to his wife's relatives. In Lower Aranda, the third set of pronouns in the table below is used if the referents are not exhaustively agnatic. Set I is used if they are harmonic and agnatic and set II if they are disharmonic and agnatic.

	I	II	III
Dual 1	ili-n	il-ak	il-ant
2	aŋ-aŋir	mpil-ak	mpil-ant
3	il-aŋir	al-ak	al-ant
Pl 1	un-ar	un-aki-r	un-anti-r
2	aŋ-aŋiy	ar-aki-r	ar-anti-r
3	il-aŋiy	in'-aki-r	in--anti-r

The forms of the pronouns are quite similar across the continent. The first person pronoun in almost every language is based on the root *ŋa-*. For the first person singular 'I', forms such as *ŋat^yu*, *ŋat^u*, *ŋat^{ya}*, *ŋata*, *ŋaya*, *ŋayu*, *ŋan^{ya}*, and *ŋaypa* occur. These probably derive from *ŋay* augmented by a form that formerly functioned as an ergative (-*tu*), or by a form that formerly functioned as an accusative (-*n^{ya}*), or by a form that is a phonological filler (-*pa*). However, no rigorous reconstruction has been completed yet.

The first person dual 'we two' is *ŋali* in a very large number of languages. Where there is an inclusive/exclusive distinction *ŋali* usually represents the inclusive while the exclusive is formed in a variety of ways, often just by augmenting *ŋali*. The first person plural 'we all' is represented by a variety of forms beginning with *ŋa-*; *ŋana* is fairly common, especially in Queensland.

The second person singular 'you' is represented by a small variety of forms. The first syllable is very often *n^yun-* or *n^yin-* with *yun-* and *yin-* in a smaller number of languages. In some languages, mostly in the east, the first syllable is *ŋun-* or *ŋin-*. The range of second syllables is much the same as for the first person singular, thus we find forms such as *n^yuntu*, *n^yinta*, *yinta*, *ŋinpa*.

The second person dual 'you two' is commonly represented by forms such as *ŋupala*, *n^yumpala*, *yupala*, *ŋupalu*. The second person plural 'you all' is usually represented by forms such as *n^yura*, *ŋura*, *yura*. The laminal nasals *n* and *n^y*, can be shown to derive from a single original laminal *N^y* (see Dixon 1970 and section 4.6 below), and *y* in *yinta* etc. can be shown to be a lenited (softened) form of *N^y*. However, it remains to be demonstrated whether one single proto-form was the genesis for the variety of second person pronouns in modern languages.

The third person singular is sometimes represented by zero, i.e. by no form at all, in contrast to overt forms for first and second person and for third person non-singular. All languages have demonstrative pronouns, usually with a three way distinction such as between (a) near the speaker (b) distant from the speaker, and (c) neither near nor far. It is normal for one of the demonstratives to be used in unmarked circumstances where no deictic (pointing) function is required, and it thus comes to be a third person pronoun.

The only third person singular pronoun root (non-demonstrative) that is at all common is n^y ula, η ula, n^y ulu, η ulu in Queensland. In a few languages there is a masculine/feminine distinction (natural gender). In Pitta-Pitta, for example, ηu - refers to non-feminine and ηan - to feminine. These serve as stems to which inflections are added. Deictic clitic suffixes are then added obligatorily after the inflections: -yi (near the speaker), -aarri (distant) or -ka (non-specific), that is:

ηu -wa-yi	he - nominative - near
ηu -wa-ka	he - nominative - non-specific
ηu -wa-aarri	he - nominative - far
ηan -pa-yi	she - nominative - near
ηan -ku-ka	she - dative - non-specific
ηan -tu-aarri	she - ergative - far

Further discussion of these forms is in the Pitta-Pitta grammar, in this volume.

The third person dual is represented by η ula in a large number of languages. In some languages, particularly in Queensland, this form also functions as the word for 'two'. The third person plural is commonly represented by η ana or t^y ana.

4.3 VERBS

Most Pama-Nyungan languages have between 2 and 5 verbal conjugations. Each verb belongs to just one conjugation and takes an appropriate set of suffixial allomorphs.

We can illustrate with the three conjugations of Yidin^y (n-e Q.) (Dixon 1977). Verb roots are recognised to end in a vowel, and the inflections on verbs in main clauses are:

	Conjugation 1	Conjugation 2	Conjugation 3
present-future	-ŋ	-l	-ŕ
past	-ŋu	-lŋu	-ŕŋu
imperative	-n	-ø	-r
purposive	-na	-lna	-ŕna

For past and purposive we could recognise a 'conjugation marker' -ø, -l, or -ŕ, which is followed by the invariable inflections -ŋu and -na. But note this solution would not be appropriate for present-future and imperative.

The majority of languages in Western Australia have four to six conjugations, whereas only two or three can be recognised for most languages in Queensland and New South Wales. There are two isolated languages on the north-east coast (Guugu-Yimidhirr and Nyawaygi) that do have five or more conjugations, and these show formal and other similarities with the West Australian classes. It is likely that the ancestor language, proto-Australian, had five or six conjugations, but some of these have fallen together in various modern languages. There is a sprinkling of languages with no conjugational contrast (effectively: just one conjugation) - most of the languages of South Australia are of this type.

Each conjugation will normally have a transitivity preference, although there is no strict correlation between transitivity and conjugation. Thus in Yidin^y 80% of the verbs in conjugation 2 are transitive while 60% of those in conjugation 1 are intransitive. There are typically just two 'open' conjugations, with the remainder each having only a handful of members (often predominantly monosyllabic). For example, only 15 verbs are known for conjugation 3 in Yidin^y as against over a hundred for each of the other two classes.

Most Australian languages inflect verbs for tense. A three-term system 'past/present/future' is common, but there are languages which simply contrast 'past' with 'non-past', or 'future' with 'non-future'. 'Future' will normally refer to simple prediction ('will') and must usually be distinguished from the 'purposive' inflection, describing need or obligation ('want to', 'should', 'ought to' etc.). Whereas the forms of tense inflections tend to differ from language to language, purposive is -gu in most languages (Yidin^y is an exception in having -na). Verbal purposive -gu is almost certainly to be identified with the nominal dative -gu (see Capell, 1956:77 and Dixon, 1976:421-82). Some languages have distinct inflections for positive and negative imperative, but the majority have a single imperative ending (and show the prohibition by a preposed particle 'don't').

Australian languages typically allow a number of derivational affixes - between root and inflection - with aspectual-type specifications. Apart from the widespread occurrence of a 'continuous' suffix, the semantic effect of these affixes again differs greatly from language to language.

There are also derivational affixes that have syntactic effect - deriving a transitive from an intransitive stem and vice versa, forming a reflexive or reciprocal, and so on. For instance, in Yidin^y, verbs are marked as reflexive by a derivational affix -:d^yi-, coming between root and inflection. Corresponding to the transitive sentence:

- (10) wagud^ya-ngu bun^ya wawa-l
 man-ERG woman look at-PRES
 The man is looking at the woman

there is the derived intransitive:

- (11) wagu:d^ya wawa:-d^yi-ŋ
 man look at-REFL-PRES
 The man is looking at himself (e.g. at his reflection in a pool of water)

As in many other Australian languages, the reflexive affix -:d^yi- can also be used to mark an 'antipassive' construction. The underlying A NP has surface S function in a derived antipassive, and the underlying O NP goes into dative case (marked by -nda). The verb again involves the derivational affix -:d^yi-. Thus the antipassive (derived intransitive) version of (10) is:

- (12) wagu:d^ya bun^ya:-nda wawa:-d^yi-ŋ
 man woman-DAT look at-ANTIPASS-PRES
 The man is looking at the woman.

(12) has the same cognitive meaning as (10), just as an active sentence and its passive version do in a language like English.

There are syntactic reasons for placing a transitive sentence in antipassive form for languages like Yidin^y. For instance, two clauses can be conjoined if they have a (nominal) noun phrase in common and if this is in S or O function in each clause. Thus:

- (13) wagu:d^ya manga-ŋ
 man laugh-PRES
 The man is laughing

can not be coordinated with (10) since the repeated noun (wagud^ya 'man') is in S function in (13) but in A function in (10). However, (13) can be joined with (12), where wagud^ya is in derived S function. Thus:

- (14) wagu:d^ya manga-ŋ bun^ya:-nda wawa:d^yi-ŋ
 man laugh-PRES woman-DAT look at-ANTIPASS-PRES
 The man laughs and looks at the woman

Some Arnhem Land languages have conjugation classes that are probably related to the Pama-Nyungan pattern. In the non-Pama-Nyungan area tense and aspect may be shown by prefixes to the verb, but the kinds of semantic distinction that are made are similar to those in the rest of the continent.

4.4 WORD BUILDING PROCESSES.

All Australian languages use derivational suffixes to form words and all make some use of compounding and reduplication.

Lexical roots are normally nominal or verbal, the nominal group covering the semantic range of English nouns and adjectives. Roots cannot normally appear in both the nominal and verbal classes (like English run, love, etc) unless overt morphological derivational suffixes are used.

There are usually derivational suffixes for the following (all exemplification from Yidin^y, Q):

[a] a suffix with the approximate meaning 'having something' or 'having some characteristic'. It is added to a nominal stem and the resulting formation is nominal, e.g. from gid^yar 'line, mark, strip' is derived gid^yar-d^yi literally 'with stripe', the name for 'policeman' as in:

- (15) gid^yar-d^yi-ŋgu bun^ya wawa-l
 stripe-WITH-ERG woman look-PRES
 The policeman is looking at the woman

[b] a suffix meaning 'lacking' e.g. from mayi 'food' is derived mayi-gimbal 'foodless' as in:

- (16) d^yad^ya mayi-gimbal badi-ŋ
 child food-WITHOUT cry-PRES
 The child who has no food is crying

[c] a suffix for forming intransitive verbs from nominal stems, having the approximate meaning 'become' e.g. *ga:dYu:!* 'dirty', *ga:dYu:!*-daga- 'become dirty', as in:

- (17) *yinqu bana ga:dYu:!*-daga- η
 THIS water dirty-BECOME-PRES
 This water has become dirty

[d] a suffix for forming transitive verbs from nominal stems, having the approximate meaning 'make' e.g. *mada* 'soft', *mada-na-* 'make soft, soften', as in:

- (18) *bun^Ya:-ngu mayi mada:-na-*
 woman-ERG food soft-MAKE-PRES
 The woman is softening the food

[e] a suffix which derives transitive verbal stems from intransitive roots. In some languages the object of the transitive sentence is identical to the subject of the corresponding intransitive construction (this is a 'causative' sense); in other languages it is the transitive subject which corresponds to intransitive subject. In a few languages the transitivising verbal suffix can have either kind of effect, depending on the semantic type of the verb to which it is added. Thus the derivational suffix *-na-* in *Yidin^Y* forms transitive stem *badi-na-* 'cry about' from intransitive *badi-n* 'cry' and transitive *gun^Yd^Yi-na-* 'break' from the intransitive root *gun^Yd^Yi-n* 'break'. Compare:

- (19)a. *yinqu d^Yugi gun^Yd^Yi- η*
 THIS branch break-PRES
 This branch is breaking
- b. *wagud^Ya:-ngu yinqu d^Yugi gun^Yd^Yi:-na-*
 man-ERG THIS branch break-TRANSITIVISER-PRES
 A man is breaking this branch
- (20)a. *bun^Ya badi- η*
 woman cry-PRES
 The woman is crying
- b. *bun^Ya:-ngu d^Yad^Ya badi:-na-*
 woman-ERG child cry-TRANSITIVISER-PRES
 The woman is crying over the child

It is not unusual to find the same form functioning as an affix that derives transitive verbal stems from nominals, under (d), and also for deriving transitive verbal stems from intransitive roots, under (e) - like *-na-* in *Yidin^Y*. However, many languages do have different forms - in the *Pitta-Pitta* grammar it will be seen that *-kuri* is the denominative transitive verb, (d), whereas the deverbal transitive verb, (e) is *-ri*. Derived stems can have fairly idiosyncratic meanings, as *Pitta-Pitta* root *ṇanka-* 'to remain, to sit, to exist' and transitive *ṇanka-ri* 'to have a baby', literally 'to cause to exist'.

Most Australian languages use a derivational verb suffix to express the reflexive, as in sentence (11) above for *Yidin^Y*. In some languages this suffix expresses the reciprocal as well; *Pitta-Pitta*, described later in this volume, is an example of this type. Other languages can have distinct suffixes for deriving reflexive and reciprocal

stems, as in Dyirbal:

root - balga-l 'hit'
 reflexive stem - balga-yiri-y 'hit oneself'
 reciprocal stem - balgal-nb̄ari-y 'hit each other'

These stems behave like intransitive verbs, taking just one obligatory NP which is in S function; this is the normal behaviour of reflexive and reciprocal stems in Australian languages.

In a minority of languages a reflexive pronoun is used instead of (rarely, as well as) a reflexive verb suffix.

In some languages dual and plural number is expressed by stem-forming suffixes. Dyirbal is fairly typical in having a dual suffix -d^yaran, but showing plurality by reduplication of the root. Thus yibi 'woman', yibi-d^yaran 'two women', yibi-yibi 'three or more women'.

Australian languages seem to make rather sparing use of compounding at least as far as nouns are concerned. Verb compounding is, however, highly developed in some western languages. In a corpus of 600 Walmatjari verbs, only 60 were monomorphemic, the remainder involving an invariable first element followed by one of the sixty 'simple verbs' (see Hudson 1978). And in Gurindji (N.T.) there are only thirty 'simple verbs'. This contrasts sharply with Dyirbal (n-e Q) where over 90% of a corpus of 600 verbs were monomorphemic.

Most if not all Australian languages make some use of reduplication, sometimes as in Dyirbal to indicate plurality, sometimes to show variety or intensity, often to form an 'adjective' from a noun e.g. in Pitta-Pitta we find ŋapu 'water', ŋapu-ŋapu 'wet'; mayi 'dirt', mayi-mayi 'dirty'; maka 'fire', maka-maka 'hot'.

To cater for introduced concepts and artifacts, Australian languages employ the three standard possibilities. They extend the meaning of existing terms, they use morphological word building processes, and they borrow. In Galgadungu (Q) for example kat^yapi ('kite hawk') was extended to cover 'aeroplane'; kanimain^yt^yir was composed from kanimai ('to tie') and -n^yt^yir (agent-noun-forming suffix like English -er) to express 'policeman' (because he ties people up) and English pot was borrowed as putu to describe 'stew'.

4.5 PARTICLES AND CLITICS

Australian languages typically employ some non-inflecting words that can be called 'particles'. These are used to express various meanings, but typically to express notions such as negation, interrogation, uncertainty, emphasis, direction or orientation. Sometimes these particles are unstressed and may be pronounced as part of the preceding word (i.e. they can be cliticised); in some cases they occur only as suffixes to a preceding word (i.e. they exist only as clitics).

In Wargamay, for example, the particles include ŋa: 'not', ŋaru 'don't', mari 'might be, perhaps', d^yamu 'just,

only', *nuri* 'in turn' and *wara* 'inappropriate referent of the S or O NP'. In this language the particles are never cliticised, but are always independent words, occurring in a sentence anywhere before the verb, as in:

- (21) *mamu mari ṇad^ya n^yuṇa ganda-gu*
by-and-by MIGHT I IT burn-PURP
I might burn it by-and-by

- (22) *n^yulanga wagun wara gunba-y*
HE-ERG tree INAPPROPRIATE cut-PRES
He cut the wrong tree down

Polar questions (those demanding a 'yes' or 'no' answer) can in some languages only be marked by intonation. Other languages have an interrogative clitic. In *Dyirbal*, for instance, the interrogative clitic *-ma* must follow the first word of the sentence, whatever this is. Word order is in fact very free, so that 'she saw him' could be:

- (23) *bayi bangun buṛa-n*
HE SHE-ERG see-PAST

but it could equally well be *bayi buṛan bangun* or *bangun bayi buṛan* or *bangun buṛan bayi* or *buṛan bayi bangun* or *buṛan bangun bayi*. The interrogative version of this sentence, 'Did she see him', can also have any one of these six orders, with *-ma* added to the first word - *bayima bangun buṛan* or *bangunma bayi buṛan* and so on.

4.6 PHONOLOGY

It has often been remarked in previous literature that Australian languages exhibit great phonological similarity (e.g. Capell 1956:4, O'Grady et al. 1966:56, Wurm 1972:31). As a first approximation this is true, but considerable divergences from the norm exist in the Arandic languages of central Australia and in languages of the Cape York peninsula.

It is convenient to take the phonological system of *Pitjantjatjara* as a reference point as it represents one of two very common phonological systems found in Australia. The inventory of *Pitjantjatjara* is as follows (see Glass and Hackett 1970, Douglas 1964):

Consonants

	Bilabial	Apico- alveolar	Apico- domal (retroflex)	Laminal	Dorso- velar
Stops	p	t	ṭ	t ^y	k
Nasals	m	n	ṇ	n ^y	ŋ
Laterals		l	ḷ	l ^y	
Flap		r			
Semi-vowels (w)			ɽ	y	w

Vowels

	Front	Back
High	i	u
Low	a	

The term bilabial refers simply to sounds made with the lips like English p, b, m. Apico-alveolars are made with the tip (apex) of the tongue touching the upper gum (alveolar) ridge as in English t, d, n and l. The apico-domals are produced with the tip of the tongue curled back (retroflexed) towards the roof of the mouth as in some Indian languages. These apico-domal sounds are similar to typical American pronunciations of the intervocalic consonants in words like *warder*, *morning*, *Shirley* i.e. they sound like combinations of a *r* sound and a *t* or *d* or *n* or *l* sound.

The label 'retroflex' is often applied also to the sound represented here by *ɻ*. It is almost always a frictionless continuant or glide with a quality varying from the common Received Pronunciation [ɹ] to the retroflex [ɻ] of the English West Country dialect. The other rhotic, represented here by *r*, is normally a flap or trill as in Scots English.

The laminals *tʲ*, *nʲ* and *lʲ* are articulated with contact between some part of the blade or of the front of the tongue and an area at the back of the upper teeth or with the gum ridge or palate. The point of the tongue is either resting at the back of the lower teeth or protruding between the upper and lower teeth. The exact area of articulation is relatively free in some languages, but in others there is some 'natural' allophony e.g. in Pitjantjatjara where an interdental allophone occurs before /a/ and /u/ but a more alveo-dental allophone before the front vowel /i/ (see Douglas 1964, Dixon 1970, Jernudd 1974). The dorso-velars are produced by placing the back (dorsum) of the tongue against the soft palate (velum) as in English *g* or *ng*. The velar nasal *ŋ* is the single sound that follows the vowel in English words like *sing*.

Voicing is not phonologically significant in most Australian languages - that is, the interchange of, say, [t] for [d] does not change the meaning of a word as it does in English e.g. *cat* versus *cad*. The part voicing plays in pronunciation varies from language to language and even from speaker to speaker. In some languages the articulation of stops is natural in that there is little if any voicing in word initial position but regular voicing between vowels especially in syllables at a distance from primary stress.

Linguists working on Australian languages have been divided in their choice of symbols for representing the stops, some preferring p, t, k, etc., others b, d, g, etc. Most base their preference on the actual pronunciation, using p, t, k, etc. where the pronunciation is predominantly voiceless and b, d, g, etc., where the pronunciation is predominantly voiced. We have used both voiced and voiceless symbols in the Introduction; the reader will soon get used to the interchangeability of b/p, d/t, and k/g in writings on Australian languages. Contributors to the *Handbook* are free to make their own choice of symbols for the stops.

Voicing is contrastive in a small and scattered minority of languages, e.g. Thargari (W.A.), Wangkumara (s-w Q). In the Kundjen examples quoted in the comparative table on page 23 the voiced symbols represent a series of unaspirated voiceless stops contrasting with a voiceless aspirated series. In some languages a prenasalised series contrasts with an oral series, and some linguists have used the voiced symbols for the former, (e.g. Sharpe 1972, on Alawa, N.T.).

Of the vowels, /a/ needs little comment. It is similar to the sound of the modern Received Pronunciation of but, or sometimes it is longer as in calm. /i/ and /u/ may be (close) like the R.P. vowels of beet and boot respectively or mid-high (half-close) like the close /e/ and /o/ of Italian vedere 'to see' and sole 'sun'. In some languages /u/ is not particularly rounded.

Pitjantjatjara makes a distinction between long and short vowels although it may be possible to interpret the phonetically long vowels as sequences of identical vowels. Vowel length is distinctive in perhaps a little less than half the languages of Australia.

Languages with the phoneme inventory of Pitjantjatjara extend over most of Western Australia and the same consonant inventory is found in the Kimberleys, although these languages have some additional vowels. Along the western and southern periphery of the state a variation occurs in which two laminal series occur instead of one.

One series is usually referred to as (lamino-)dental and the other as (lamino-)palatal. The articulation of the former series, usually written ɬ , ɳ , ɭ , is as described for the most forward variants of the laminal series of single laminal languages and the palatal series is articulated with contact between the front of the tongue and the pre-palatal area or the palate. This variation is common also in western and central Queensland and is found extensively in New South Wales with scattered occurrences also in Arnhem Land and Daly River. The single laminal system, as described for Pitjantjatjara, and the double laminal variation between them account for well over half the languages of Australia.

Dixon (1970) demonstrates the likelihood of the double laminal system having developed from the single laminal system on the basis of the dental cognates and the palatal cognates in double laminal languages being in the following type of complementary distribution: cognates of t^{y} and n^{y} in the single laminal languages show up as ɬ and ɳ respectively in double laminal languages before /u/ and /a/ and as t^{y} and n^{y} respectively before /i/, e.g.

	Double Laminal language	Single Laminal language
'you (plural)'	ɳura	$\text{n}^{\text{y}}\text{ura}$
'to see'	ɳaka-	$\text{n}^{\text{y}}\text{aka-}$
'to sit'	$\text{n}^{\text{y}}\text{ina-}$	$\text{n}^{\text{y}}\text{ina-}$

Dixon suggests that this complementarity may reflect the original allophony with palatal allophones before /i/ and dental before /a/ and /u/. The double laminal languages may have gained the extra series of laminals by introducing

palatals before /a/ and /u/ and dentals before /i/. Some support for this thesis is provided by the relatively low frequency of sequences such as t^ya, t^yu and t^yi as against ta, tu, t^yi in double laminal languages.

Almost all the languages of Cape York lack the retroflex series (ɽ, ɳ and ɭ), Yir Yoront (Alpher 1973) and Guugu Yimidhirr (see the grammar in this volume) being exceptions. This variation extends down into eastern and central Queensland and most of the languages of New South Wales and some Victorian languages also lack retroflexes.

In general there are as many nasals as there are stops, and there is a lateral in each stop/nasal series other than bilabial and dorso-velar. But there are languages that do not have this number of laterals. In Cape York and eastern Queensland generally, where the retroflex series is lacking, it is common to find no laminal lateral so that the languages in that area have only the alveolar lateral. This is also the case in Arnhem Land and a little further to the west: Burera, Tiwi and some of the Daly River languages have only one lateral (see Osborne 1974, Tryon 1974).

Other deviations from the norm as far as phoneme inventory is concerned are much less widespread. In the Arandic languages of central Australia and extending through Arabana right down to Adelaide, S.A., prestopped nasals occur - bm, d_ɳ, dn etc. - and in Arabana and the languages to the south, prestopped laterals (or laterally released stops) are encountered - d_l, dl, etc. (Hercus 1972). Pre-nasalised stops occur in a few languages, Yinwum (Cape York, Q.) and Lama-Lama (also Cape York) for example. Fricatives occur in a number of languages, e.g. in Linngithigh and in a number of other languages of Cape York, and also in Brinken (Daly River, N.T.).

Some languages have more than three vowels, usually /e/, or /e/ and /o/, as well as /i/, /a/, and /u/. In some cases it can be shown that these systems with 'extra' vowels have developed out of the basic three vowel system. A number of instances of these developments in Cape York are illustrated in Sutton 1976 (see, in particular, the papers by Hale). An example is given on page 22 below.

The normal phonotactic pattern is for words to be of two or more syllables. In almost all languages most (sometimes all) words must begin with a single consonant and most consonants can occur word initially. However, it is unusual for a flapped or trilled /r/ to occur initially and some languages do not allow initial laterals. If there are two sets of apicals, there is usually neutralisation in initial position with the realisation being retroflex in a majority of cases.

Most languages allow some final consonants. The consonants n, l, r, ɳ and ɭ are allowed in most languages of this type, sometimes with the addition of laminal nasal and lateral. Yulbaridja, a single laminal language of W.A., allows t^y, n^y and l^y (as well as n, l, r, ɳ and ɭ); Dhalandji, a double laminal language of W.A. allows n^y (as well as n, l, r, ɳ) word finally.

However, some deviations from this phonotactic norm occur as a result of a change or group of associated historical changes that can be conveniently labelled 'initial

dropping'. Initial dropping is a change that has taken place in a number of parts of Australia and consists in essence of the loss of an initial consonant. Minimally such a change affects the phonology to the extent that it exposes initial vowels. This has happened in Nhanda (W.A.) for example, though the change has not been complete and it remains unclear whether the limitation of initial dropping was phonologically conditioned, or reduced in its effect on the lexicon by subsequent borrowing from phonologically intact languages, or whether both these possibilities are realised. Limited initial dropping has occurred also in Galgadungu (w.Q), but here a whole initial syllable is lost, in some cases thereby exposing medial nasal-plus-homorganic-stop clusters (*N^yumpala>mpaya). Loss of initial vowels and syllables is a feature of the Arandic languages of central Australia, northern and southern (but not central) Cape York (Sutton 1976) and of Nganjaywana in New England (Crowley 1976). In some cases the initial dropping has resulted in the exposing of the most heterorganic clusters of consonants as initials, and in some cases has produced monosyllabic stems. The general effect of such changes has been to produce languages that look radically different from the Australian norm.

Essentially, initial dropping affects the phonotactics (word shapes) rather than the phoneme inventory, though the latter may be affected by the results of reinterpretation consequent on the loss. For example, the exposure of nasal-plus-stop clusters in initial position in Galgadungu allows for the possibility of interpreting these clusters as unit phonemes since they pattern like unit phonemes. However, initial dropping is often accompanied by other changes that may affect the inventory. In northern Cape York for example, stops and nasal-plus-stop clusters were softened to fricatives after an original long vowel in the first syllable, e.g. in Linngithigh, *pi:pa became iβa (father), where β represents a voiced bilabial fricative, and *mu:n^yi- became oði- (to swim), where ð represents a voiced dental fricative (Hale 1966a:169). These fricatives are phonemically distinct from the stops.

In some languages in northern and southern Cape York an initial vowel was lost in itself but is reflected in the changed quality of the second vowel. In some cases this produced mid vowels e and o. For example, in Yinwum (northern Cape York, Hale 1966a:171), a sequence C₁aC₂i became C₂e if C₂ was non-laminal, thus *ŋali became le 'we dual-inclusive'.

In some cases, the short vowel of the first syllable, especially if high, metathesised into the second syllable, usually appearing as the corresponding glide. In Awnghthim (northern Cape York, Hale 1966a:172), *nYiŋku 'you' became ŋkyu and *t^yuma 'fire' became mwa. Changes of this type also appear in southern Cape York, New England and central Australia.

TABLE 1.1 - Examples of phonetic dropping

	Typical 'Intact' forms	West Coast Nanda	Central Arandic	New England Ngan ^y aywana	S. Cape York Kund ^y en etc.	N. Cape York Linnjiti ^y etc.
sit	n ^y ina	-	ni-	ni-	ina-	ina-
meat, animal	min ^y a	-	itn ^y a	-	iŋ	n ^y a
two	kut ^y ara	uŋara	tira	-	ud ^y ir	ut ^y i-
urine	kumpu	umpu	mpwa	-	mpu	mpu
faeces	kuna	una	tna	-	noa	nwa
I/me	nat ^y u	ŋayi	aŋa	ya-	aŋu-	aŋu-, to-
tongue	t ^y alan ^y	talan ^y	lin ^y a	tan-	ley	lan (mouth)
where	wan ^y t ^y a	wan ^y a	ŋta-	-	t ^y a	-
tooth	rira or lira	ira	ra-	ira	ria (mouth)	-
we two	ŋali	ŋali	ayli	ti-	(a)li	(a)li
(they) two	pula	-	ala	twa-	ul	ula, lwa

Table 1.1 gives eleven roots widespread in Australia. The first column gives typical forms found in the phonologically intact languages, forms which will be almost exactly the forms we would want to posit as proto-forms for Pama-Nyungan. The other columns illustrate the effect of initial dropping and associated changes from five separate areas. The table involves conflation to the extent that different languages have been used to illustrate different roots for the Central, southern Cape York and northern Cape York areas. (The sources are O'Grady et al., (1966), Hale (various notes), Crowley 1976, Sommer 1972, Hale 1966a).

4.7 AUXILIARY FORMS OF LANGUAGE

In some tribes an auxiliary form of language is used in the presence of certain kin, particularly in front of a parent-in-law of the opposite sex.

In Djaru (W.A.) the auxiliary system simply involves replacing verbs by a single generic verb, and one must refer to the proscribed in-law as 'they' rather than as 'he' or 'she'. On Mornington Island the Lardil (Hale 1973a) have an auxiliary speech system for advanced initiates, /tɛmɪ'n/, with a restricted vocabulary of generic terms, i.e. one special term is used for all large sea-dwelling animals, one term for all land- and air-dwelling animals, one for all vegetable foods and so on. This special vocabulary is expressed by a phonological inventory that includes unusual consonants not found in the everyday language nor in any other Australian language e.g., nasalised clicks, ejective stops and an ingressive lateral fricative. The Dyirbal (Q.) have an elaborate auxiliary language (Dixon 1971, 1972). The phonology and grammar are the same as in the everyday language but the vocabulary, which consists entirely of forms not found in the everyday language, operates at a more general level. For example, whereas the everyday language has four terms for 'wipe/rub', 'massage', 'paint with finger', and 'paint with the flat of the hand' the auxiliary language has a single generic term to cover the range of these four (Dixon 1972: 32-33).

FURTHER READING

Good general introductions to linguistics include Fromkin and Rodman, 1978; Bolinger, 1975; Langacker, 1973; Bloomfield, 1933 and Sapir 1921.

Relevant background information on Australian anthropology will be found in Berndt and Berndt, 1964 and Elkin, 1954. For Australian prehistory the standard textbook is Mulvaney, 1975.

General works on Australian languages include Capell, 1956; Dixon 1972 (chapter one), Blake, 1977, O'Grady, Voegelin and Voegelin, 1966 and Dixon, forthcoming. Full details of these and other references will be found in the

bibliography at the end of this volume.

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Map 2: Guugu Yimidhirr and Neighbours

Guugu Yimidhirr

by John Haviland

1. THE LANGUAGE AND ITS SPEAKERS

In June and July, 1770, Lt. James Cook, the botanist Joseph Banks and members of the crew of H. M. Bark *Endeavour* had a number of encounters with the Aboriginal inhabitants of what is now far North Queensland. During an enforced stay on the banks of the river they named the Endeavour, while their ship was undergoing repairs after running onto a reef, these Europeans recorded more than one hundred words of the local language. Notable among these was the name of a strange animal, which Cook describes in his Diary: 'its progress is by successive leaps or hops, of a great length, in an erect posture ... This animal is called by the natives *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 *l*, a retroflex glide rhotic *r*, a flap or trilled rhotic *rr*, and the semi-vowels *w* and *y*. Guugu Yimidhirr has a three vowel system that distinguishes *a*, *i*, and *u*, with contrastive length. Stress and vowel length are related, with a long syllable always stressed. All monosyllabic full words have long vowels. Polysyllabic words ordinarily have primary stress on the first syllable and secondary stress on subsequent odd-numbered syllables.

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

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

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

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

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

1.2 YIMIDHIRR AND IMUDHI - INLAND AND COASTAL

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

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

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

mangal 'hand'

mangal-ngay 'hands'

In *Guugu Nyiiguudyi* the equivalents are:

manul 'hand'

manul-ngay 'hands'

Or again:

G Yim

balgay 'wash (past)'*balgala* 'wash! (imp.)'

G Nyiig

gunbay 'wash (past)'*gunbala* 'wash! (imp.)'

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

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

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

1.3 TERRITORY AND NEIGHBOURS

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

1.4 SOCIOLINGUISTIC NOTES

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

1.5 HOPEVALE MISSION

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

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

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

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

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

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

1.6 PREVIOUS RESEARCH ON GUUGU YIMIDHIRR

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

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

TABLE 2.1 - *Guugu Yimidhirr consonants*

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

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

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

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

2. PHONOLOGY

2.1 PHONEMES AND THEIR REALIZATIONS

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

TABLE 2.2 - *Guugu Yimidhirr vowels*

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

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

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

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

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

LAMINO-DENTAL

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

LAMINO-PALATAL

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

2.2 PHONOTACTICS

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

C₂ can be:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

<i>balgal</i> 'make'	<i>balgaalgal</i> (reduplicated form)
<i>gundal</i> 'hit'	* <i>gundaalndal</i> (non-occurring predicted form)
	<i>gundaarndal</i> (actual reduplicated form)
<i>waadal</i> 'say'	* <i>waadaaldaɭ</i> (non-occurring predicted form)
	<i>waadaaraɭ</i> (actual reduplicated form)

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

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

<i>yiwarrr</i> 'look for'	<i>yiwaarrwarrr</i> (rare)
	<i>yiwarrrarr</i> (usual reduplicated form)
<i>baawal</i> 'cook'	<i>baawaalwal</i> (rare)
	<i>baawalal</i> (usual reduplicated form)

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

2.3 LENGTH AND STRESS

There is a close relationship between vowel length and stress. In a word of two syllables, in which neither vowel is long, stress ordinarily falls on the first syllable, e.g.: *nāmbal* 'stone'. A word with more than two syllables, again without long vowels, has primary stress on the first syllable, and secondary stress on all odd numbered syllables, e.g.: *mārrbugān* 'cave', *bīgibīgi* 'pig', *dūrrginbīgu* 'Indian Head (place name)'.

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

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

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

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

bāarrabarra 'mangrove', *dhāabangāl* '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:

magiil 'branch'

gabiirr 'girl'

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

būurrāay 'water'

ngāāntā 'what'

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

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

mārrbugān-bi-gū 'still in the cave'

bāyan-ngāy-gu 'just the houses'

dhāabangāl-ngal-ā 'keep asking!'

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

magiil-ngay-gū 'just branches'

dagāarr-garr-in '(was) growing'

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

būurrāay-bi-gu 'still in the water'

wāandāar-ngāy-gu 'just white cockatoos'

miirriil-in-ga 'had spoken'

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

These shortening suffixes normally alternate with ordinary

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

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

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

2.4 PHONOLOGICAL VARIATION

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

older speakers: *burriway* [*burriwəy*] 'emu'

younger speakers: *burriwi*

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

older speakers: *nambaal-bay* 'on the stone'

bubu-way 'on the ground'

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

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

gunday 'he hit it', emphatic: *gu^dnday*

gami=biiba 'many (lit. grandfather-father)', emphatic: *ga^bmi=biiba*

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

galbay 'far', emphatic: *ga^albay* 'very far, indeed'

Dramatic speech also has exaggerated stress and elaborately lengthened vowels.

2.5 MORPHOPHONOLOGICAL PROCESSES

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

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

$$C_1V_1C_2V_2(C_3)$$

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

$$C_1V_1C_2V_2V_2C_3$$

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(c) *lnd*→*rnd* (i.e., homorganic retroflex nasal + stop cluster)

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

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

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

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

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

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

3. MORPHOLOGY

3.1 PARTS OF SPEECH

One can distinguish the following word categories in Guugu Yimidhirr:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

3.2 MORPHOLOGY OF NOUNS AND ADJECTIVES

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

SYNTACTIC CASES					
ABS	-Ø				
ERG	-ngun -nda/ -:nh; -\$inh -\$il/ -:l -: (-ngunda; -garr)				
PERIPHERAL SYNTACTIC CASES	INST (same as ERG)				
	DAT -bi/-wi; -\$i -: -\$inh				
	PURP -:ngu -\$a				
	CAU -nganh				
	GOAL -:ga				
LOCAL CASES	LOC/ALL (same as DAT)				
	ABL (same as CAU)				
	SUP -:nh -:				
<table> <tr> <td>ABES</td><td> -:ga</td></tr> <tr> <td>ADES</td><td> -:gal</td></tr> </table>		ABES	-:ga	ADES	-:gal
ABES	-:ga				
ADES	-:gal				
ESSIVE CASES					

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

mangal 'hand' *mangaar-nda~mangaal-nda*
gabiirr 'girl' *gabi-nda~gabiirr-nda~gabirr-inh*
waarigan 'moon' *waariga-nda*
gamay 'clay' *gamaay-nda*
yugu 'wood' *yugu-unh*
baduur 'hook' *badur-inh (~baduur-nda)*
mumi 'stickiness' *mumi-inh*
muliir 'tooth' *mulir-inh (~muliir-nda)*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

ywasaal 'beach'
dyuugaar 'sand'

ywasaal-inh 'on/to the beach'
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.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

- (25) *Ngayu ngamu-ugal nhin.gaalngga-y bilu-u(y)nh-gu*
 1sg+NOM mother-ADES sit+REDUP-PAST hip-SUP-gu
 I was sitting with my mother on/by [her] hip. (The speaker is recalling how his mother used to tell him stories when he was a child.)
- (26) *Maandi baru-u(y)nh-gu God-gal*
 bring+PAST lap-SUP-gu God-ADES
 [They] brought [him] to the lap of God.
- (27) *Ngagu-u maand-ii !*
 shoulder-SUP take-IMP
 Carry [him] on [your] shoulder!
- (28) *Bayan mugu-unh 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 reduplication of the inflected noun, presumably to emphasize the expanse and extent of the area involved. The root is *yalmba* 'sandhill'.

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

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

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

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

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

gaarga 'younger brother' *gaarga-garr* 'younger brothers (of a single person)'
dyiiral 'wife' *dyiiraal-garr* 'wives (of one man)'

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

$$\left[\begin{array}{cc} \text{NP} & \text{NP+Gen} \end{array} \right]_{\text{NP}} + \text{Case}$$

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

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

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

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

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

N + *-:ga* + *-mu-* + Case

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

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

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

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

Here the whole Ablative NP has the form:

[*bayan*_{NP} [*ngaanhdhu*]_{NP} +GEN]_{NP} +ABL

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

NP [N N+GEN] +DAT

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

See 4.3.4 and 4.7.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

- (54) *Nyulu yindu-umu-gal mirrii-lin*

3sg+NOM other-mu-ADES tell-PAST

She told the other one.

- (55) *Nyulu yii-mu-un buligi gunda-y*

3sg+NOM this-mu-ERG bullock+ABS hit-PAST

This one killed the bullock.

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

- (56) *Yimi=yimi-dhirr won.guunh.*

this=REDUP-COM tomorrow.

[Let's do it] the same way again tomorrow. (Said by one brother to another after unsuccessfully waiting to ambush an enemy who was known to pass by a certain route daily.)

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

3.2.4 POST-INFLECTIONAL SUFFIXES

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

- (57) *Bambu yii galgā-angū-ugu*

bamboo+ABS this+ABS spear-PURP-EMPH

This bamboo is for spears.

- (58) A: *Mayi wanhdhaa?* B: *Ngaanaa?* A: *Mayi-igu!*

food+ABS where+LOC

What?

food-EMPH

Where is the food?

The food!

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

- (65) *Nyulu bayan-bi-gu*
3sg+NOM house-LOC-gu

He is near the house; OR: he is right in the house.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

independent particles that precede and modify adjectives include:

dharra 'somewhat, fairly, a little'
buy 'more'
gurra 'more, again'
buurri 'still more'
banggarr 'a bit more'

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

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

- (70) *Nyulu nhangu gunda-y dhuyu-ngaygu*.
 3sg+NOM 3sg+ACC hit-PAST dead-RES
 He hit him and killed him. (Literally: he struck him dead.)
- (71) *Nyulu yugu dumbi wulbu wurhdha-ngaygu*.
 3sg+NOM tree+ABS break+PAST all+ABS empty-RES
 He broke all the trees [and left the place] empty. (A giant dingo thrashing around in his death throes.)
- (72) *Bidha buli gadha=warra-ngaygu*
 child+ABS fall+PAST rotten=bad (=unconscious)-RES
 The child fell down [and was thereby knocked] unconscious.

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

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

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

- (73) *Yii gudaa bigibigi malin*
 this+ABS dog+ABS pig USITATIVE
 This dog is a good pig-hunter.
- (74) *Ngayu warra buurraay=gaga malin*.
 1sg+NOM bad (=very) water=poison (=liquor) USITATIVE
 I am a very bad alcoholic.
- [b] *barrga~balga* 'along'. Appended to a noun this particle

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

- (75) *Dyaarba bubu barrga gana barrga gada-y*
 snake+ABS ground along underside along come-PAST
 The snake came [by an] underground [route].
- (76) *Nyulu manydyaal balga naga durrigin duda-y*
 3sg+NOM mountain along east+ALL water rat+ABS run-PAST
 The water rat ran along the mountain range towards the East.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

TABLE 3.2 - *Nominative forms of Guugu Yimidhirr personal pronouns*

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

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

<i>bidha</i> 'small'	<i>bidha=mal</i> 'become small'
<i>badhal</i> 'deep'	<i>badhaal=manaaya</i> 'become deep'
<i>buyun</i> 'old, wrinkled'	<i>buyun=mal</i> 'shriveled'

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

<i>galbay</i> 'long'	<i>galbaay=gurral</i> 'lengthen'
<i>binaal</i> 'smart, knowledgeable'	<i>binaal=gurral</i> 'teach'

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

<i>warra</i> 'bad'	<i>warraa=gurral</i> 'ruin'
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3.3 PRONOUN MORPHOLOGY

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

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

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

TABLE 3.3 - Personal pronoun paradigm

NOM (SA)	ACC (O)	DAT/GEN+ABS	PURP	ABES	ADES	
ngayu	nganhi	ngadhu	ngadhungu	ngadhun.ga	ngadhun.gal	1st singular
nyundu	nhina(an (in))	nhanu	nhanuungu	nhanu.ga	nhanu.gal	2nd singular
nyulu	nhinhac(in)	nhangu	nhanguungu	nhangu.ga	nhangu.gal	3rd singular
ngali	ngalin/ ngalinin	ngalin	ngalinungu	ngalin.ga	ngalin.gal	1st dual inclusive
ngalihin	ngalihin	ngalihin	ngalihinungu	ngalihin.ga	ngalihin.gal	1st dual exclusive
yubaal	yubalin/ yubalinh/ yubaamin	yubalin/ yubalinh	yubalinungu	yubalin.ga/ yubalingga	yubalin.gal/ yubaalinggal/ yubaalinggal	2nd dual
bula	bulaan(in)/ bulangan	bulaan/ bulangan	bulangangu/ bulangu	bulaan.ga/ bulangan.ga	bulaan.gal/ bulangan.gal	3rd dual
nganhthaan	nganhthaan	nganhthaan	nganhthaanungu	nganhthaan.ga	nganhthaan.gal	1st plural (Inland)
ngana	nganagan	nganagan	nganaganungu	nganagan.ga	nganagan.gal	1st plural (Coastal)
yurra	yurraan/ yurranagan	yurraan/ yurranagan	yurraanungu/ yurranaganungu	yurraan.ga/ yurranagan.ga	yurraan.gal/ yurranagan.gal	2nd plural
thana	thanaan/ thanagan	thanaan/ thanagan	thanaanungu/ thanaganungu	thanaan.ga/ thanagan.ga	thanaan.gal/ thanagan.gal	3rd plural

TABLE 3.4 - Genitive and comitative forms

GEN+ABS	GEN+ERG ; GEN+ABL	GEN+GEN ; GEN+LOC	COM	GEN+COM	
ngadhu	ngadhuumun	ngadhuumi	ngadhuundhiirr	ngadhuumudhiirr	1st singular
nhanu	nhanuun	nhanuumi	nhanuundhiirr	nhanuumudhiirr	2nd singular
nhangu	nhanguumun	nhanguumi	nhanguundhiirr	nhanguumudhiirr	3rd singular
ngal'in	ngal'in.gamun	ngal'in.gami	ngal'indhirr	ngal'in.gamudhiirr	1st dual inclusive
ngal'inhun	ngal'inhun.gamun	ngal'inhun.gami	ngal'inhundhiirr	ngal'inhun.gamudhiirr	1st dual exclusive
yubalin	yubalin.gamun	yubalin.gami	yubalindhirr	yubalin.gamudhiirr	2nd dual
bulaan/ bulangan	bulaan.gamun/ bulangan.gamun	bulaan.gami/ bulangan.gami	bulaandhiirr/ bulangandhiirr	bulaan.gamudhiirr/ bulangan.gamudhiirr	3rd dual
etc.					

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

TABLE 3.5 - Interrogative/Indefinite Pronouns

	'who'	'what'	'where'
ABSOLUTIVE	<i>wanhu</i>	<i>ngaanaa</i>	
ERGATIVE/ INSTRUMENTAL	<i>wanhunda/ wanhdhu</i>	<i>ngaaniilinh/ ngaaniilnda/ ngaaniilngun</i>	
DATIVE	<i>wanhun/ wanhunbi</i>		
LOCATIVE		<i>ngaaniilbi/ ngaaniili</i>	<i>wanhdhaa/ wanhdhaalbi</i>
ALLATIVE		<i>ngaaniili</i>	<i>wanhdhaalga/ wanhdhaalbi</i>
CAUSAL/ ABLATIVE		<i>ngaaniilnganh/ ngaanii</i>	<i>wanhdhaalnganh</i>
PURPOSIVE	<i>wanhunngu</i>	<i>ngaaniilngu/ ngaanii</i>	
ABESSIVE	<i>wanhun.ga</i>	<i>ngaaniilga</i>	
ADESSIVE	<i>wanhun.gal</i>	<i>ngaaniilgal</i>	
'HESITATION'	<i>wanhaarru</i>	<i>ngaanaarru</i>	<i>wanhdhaarru</i>
COMITATIVE	<i>wanhundhirr</i>	<i>ngaaniildhirr</i>	
GENITIVE+Case Stem	<i>wanhun.ga-mu-</i>		
<hr/>			
	'where'	'how'	
	<i>wanhdha=wanhdhaa(lga)</i>	<i>wanhdharra</i>	

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

But there is a further specialized Purposive or Causal form,

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

- (98) *Dhana wanhddharra dhadaara?*
 3pl+NOM how go+REDUP+NONPAST
 Which way are they going? Or: by what means of transportation are they going?
- (99) *Yii wanhddharra?*
 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 *wanhddharra* with the contrafactual form of a verb (see below, 3.5.3[e]) in a rhetorical question (which expects a negative answer).

- (100) *Ngayu wanhddharra wudhi-nda?*
 1sg+NOM how give-CONTRF
 How should I give [it]? (I.e., I can't give it because I don't have it.)
- (101) *Ngayu wanhddharra dhada-nda, ngayu gaga-dhirr*
 1sg+NOM how go-CONTRF 1sg+NOM sick-COM(+ABS)
 How am I supposed to go? I'm sick.

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

- (102) *Bidha wanhddhaa? Wanhddhaa budhu?*
 child+ABS where+LOC where+LOC indeed
 Where is the child? Where, indeed [i.e., I haven't any idea]!
- (103) *Ngayu binaal-mul nyulu ngaanaa budhu maa-ni*
 1sg+NOM know-PRIV 3sg+NOM what+ABS 'if' take-PAST
 I don't know what-in-the-world he got.

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

- (104) A: *Nyundu nambal balga-y?*
 2sg+NOM stone+ABS make-PAST
 Did you polish/fix that stone [i.e., to make it smooth that way]?
- B: *Gaari. Yarrba gala-aygu.*
 No that way EMPH-gu
 No, that's the way it was [i.e., that's how I found it, it is that way naturally].

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

TABLE 3.6 - *Deictics*

	'here, this'	'there, that, then'
Absolutive	<i>yii, yiyi</i>	<i>nhaa, nhaayun</i>
Ergative/ Instrumental	<i>yiimuan</i>	<i>nhaamuan</i>
Locative/ Allative	<i>yiiway, yuway, yiimu</i>	<i>nhayay, nhaamu</i>
Ablative/ Causal	<i>yiiimunganh</i>	<i>nhaamunganh, nhaawanun</i> (ablative only)
Purposive		<i>nhaamuu</i>
Comitative	<i>yimudhiir, yimiidhiir</i>	<i>nhamudhiir, nhamiidhiir</i>
Plural Absolutive	<i>yinharrin</i>	<i>nhanharrin</i>

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

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

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

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

Or an ergative form may be used anaphorically:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

3.4 MORPHOLOGY OF TIME, LOCATION AND NUMBER WORDS

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Two further roots are straightforward locational qualifiers:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

<i>nhila</i>	'now, today' (there is an adjective <i>nhilaa</i> 'new')
<i>ngulgu</i>	'yesterday, in the afternoon'
<i>wun.guwnh</i>	'tomorrow, in the morning'
<i>ngudha=ngudha</i>	'long ago'

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

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

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

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

And consider:

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

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

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

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

<i>nubuun</i>	'one'
<i>gudhiirra</i>	'two'
<i>gunduu</i>	'three or four'
<i>gaguwarr</i>	'five, a few'

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

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

As we saw in section 3.2.3[d], the roots *gudhiira* and *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: *gudhiirr(a)-mu-n*
 Dative: *gudhiirr(a)-m-ay*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

3.5 VERBAL MORPHOLOGY

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

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

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

* see text for details

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

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

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

TABLE 3.8 - *Verbal inflection for five conjugations*

	L conj.	monosyl. L	V conj.	R conj.
NONPAST	<i>gunda-l</i>	<i>dhaaba=nga-l</i>	<i>dhada-a</i>	<i>ngalbu-rr</i>
PAST	<i>gunda-y</i>	<i>dhaaba=nga-dhi</i>	<i>dhada-y</i>	<i>ngalbu-rrin</i>
IMPerative	<i>gunda-la</i>	<i>dhaaba=nga-la</i>	<i>dhad-ii</i>	<i>ngalbu-rru</i>
PURPositive	<i>gunda-nhu</i>	<i>dhaaba=nga-dhi-nhu</i>	<i>dhada-nhu</i>	<i>ngalbu-nhu</i>
	'hit'	'ask'	'go'	'shut, close'

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

TABLE 3.9 - *Further verb inflections*

Inflection:	Suffix	Suffix for R conjugation (if different from normal suffix)
PURPositive	<i>-nhu</i>	(same)
CONTRF (contrafactual)	<i>-nda</i>	(same)
PAST+NEG	<i>:-lmugu</i>	<i>:-rrmugu</i>
CAUTIONary	<i>-ya</i>	<i>:-rr=baga</i>
ANTICIPatory	<i>-yigu</i>	<i>-rrigu</i>
PRECAUTIONary	<i>:-ygamu</i>	<i>-rrin.gamu</i>
SUBordinate 1/ PERFective	<i>:-yga</i>	<i>-rrin.ga</i>
SUBordinate 2	<i>-nhun</i>	(same)

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

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

TABLE 3.10 - Verbal inflection

	'hit'	'go'	'close'	'see'	'lie'	'get'
NONPAST REDUP:	<i>gunda-l</i> <i>gundaarma-da-l</i>	<i>dhada-a</i> <i>dhadaara</i>	<i>ngalbu-rr</i> <i>ngalbuurru-rr</i>	<i>nhaa-maa</i> <i>nhaa-maalma</i>	<i>wu-naa</i> <i>wunaarna</i>	<i>maa-naa</i> <i>maanaarna</i>
PAST REDUP:	<i>gunda-y</i> <i>gundaarma-da-y</i>	<i>dhada-y</i> <i>dhadaara-y</i>	<i>ngalbu-rrin</i> <i>ngalbuurru-rrin</i>	<i>nhaa-dhi</i> <i>nhaa-dhi-l-dhi</i>	<i>wu-nay</i> <i>wunaarna-y</i>	<i>maa-ni</i> <i>maanaarmay/</i> <i>maani-ni</i>
IMP REDUP:	<i>gunda-la</i> <i>gundaarma-da-la</i>	<i>dhad-i-i</i> <i>dhadi-iri</i>	<i>ngalbu-rru</i> <i>ngalbuurru-rru</i>	<i>nhaa-waa</i> <i>nhaawa-la</i>	<i>wu-naa</i> <i>wunaarna</i>	<i>maa-rraa</i> <i>maarna-la</i>
PURP REDUP:	<i>gunda-nhu</i> <i>gundaarma-da-nhu/</i> <i>gundaa-nhu</i>	<i>dhada-nhu</i> <i>dhadaara-nhu/</i> <i>dhadaa-nhu</i>	<i>ngalbu-nhu</i> <i>ngalbuurru-nhu/</i> <i>ngalbuu-nhu</i>	<i>nhaadhi-nhu</i> <i>nhaadhi-l-dhi-nhu/</i> <i>nhaadhi-nhu</i>	<i>wuna-nhu</i> <i>wunaarna-nhu/</i> <i>wuna-nhu</i>	<i>maani-nhu</i> <i>maanaarna-nhu/</i> <i>maani-nhu</i>
CONTRF REDUP:	<i>gunda-nda</i> <i>gundaarma-da-nda</i>	<i>dhada-nda</i> <i>dhadaara-nda</i>	<i>ngalbu-nda</i> <i>ngalbuurru-nda</i>	<i>nhaadhi-nda</i> <i>nhaadhi-l-di-nda</i>	<i>wuna-nda</i> <i>wunaarna-nda</i>	<i>maani-nda</i> <i>maanaarmi-nda</i>
PAST NEG.	<i>gunda-al-mugu</i>	<i>dhada-al-mugu</i>	<i>ngalbu-urru-mugu</i>	<i>nhaadhi-i-l-mugu</i>	<i>wuna-al-mugu</i>	<i>maani-i-l-mugu</i>
CAUT.	<i>gunda-ya</i>	<i>dhada-ya</i>	<i>ngalbu-urr-baga</i>	<i>nhaadhi-ya</i>	<i>wuna-ya</i>	<i>maani-ya</i>
ANTIC.	<i>gunda-yi-gu</i>	<i>dhada-yi-gu</i>	<i>ngalbu-rrigu</i>	<i>nhaadhi-yi-gu</i>	<i>wuna-yi-gu</i>	<i>maani-yi-gu</i>
PRECAUT.	<i>gunda-ay-gamu</i>	<i>dhada-ay-gamu</i>	<i>ngalbu-rrin.gamu</i>	<i>nhaadhi-i-gamu</i>	<i>wuna-ay-gamu</i>	<i>maani-i-gamu</i>
SUB. 1	<i>gunda-ayga</i> <i>gundaarma-da-ayga/</i> <i>gundaarmi-da-ga</i>	<i>dhada-ayga</i> <i>dhadaara-ayga/</i> <i>dhadaariga</i>	<i>ngalbu-rrin.gu</i> <i>ngalbuurru-rrin.ga</i>	<i>nhaadhi-i-ga</i> <i>nhaadhi-l-dhi-ga</i>	<i>wuna-ayga</i> <i>wunaarna-ayga/</i> <i>wunaarmi-ga</i>	<i>maani-i-ga</i> <i>maanaarna-ayga/</i> <i>maanaariga</i>
SUB. 2	<i>gunda-nhun</i>	<i>dhada-nhun</i>	<i>ngalbu-nhun</i>	<i>nhaadhi-nhun</i>	<i>wuna-nhun</i>	<i>maani-nhun</i>

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

Notice that, for the purposes of syllable lengthening, a verb like *dhaaba=ngal* must be considered a *compound*, since a lengthening suffix like *-: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) *Nyulu-ugu dhaaba=ngadha-adhi.*
 3sg+NOM-*gu* ask-REF+PAST
 He asked himself.

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

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

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

There are three known transitive V conjugation verbs:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

nhaa-maa 'see'
wu-maa 'give'
wal-maa 'rise, get up, ascend'

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

- (134) *Ngali wuudha-ayi*
 1du+NOM give-REF+IMP
 Let's trade [things with each other].
- (135) *Wanhdharra nhamun.gal nhaadhaaldha-ya?*
 how 2sg+ADES see+REDUP-REF+NONPAST
 How does [it] seem to you?

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

- (138) *Nyulu dhada-y wuna-nhu.*
 3sg+NOM go-PAST lie down-PURP
 He went to lie down.
- (139) *Ngayu nambal maani-ilmugu.*
 1sg+NOM money+ABS get-PAST+NEG
 I didn't get money.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

TABLE 3.11 - Relationship between transitivity and conjugation

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

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

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

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

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

yijarrin (G. Yal)

yidharrin (G. Yim)

both of which mean 'put (past)'; the Gugu Yalandji form is the transitive stem *yijarri* plus past suffix *-n*. The Guugu Yimidhirr form is the R conjugation stem *yidha-* plus the appropriate past suffix *-rrin*.)

Table 3.11 summarizes the relationships between transitivity and conjugation.

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

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

Reduplicated imperative forms suggest 'keep ...':

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

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

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

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

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

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

1 2 3 4 5 6

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

where *N'* is a homorganic nasal conditioned by the following consonant (*C*₂), and where the presence or absence of the segment *N'* is conditioned (as the square brackets show) by the presence or absence of a nasal in segment 4 of the original stem. The resulting reduplicated stem will have the following overall form:

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

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

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

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

Lengthening rule: Unless segment 9 (C_2) is a member of L (viz., *l*, *rr*, *r*, *y*, or *w*) lengthen segment 6.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

<i>gwadyanydyi-l</i>	'drown'
<i>gwadyanydyiilnydyi-l</i>	'drowning'
<i>ngurangada-l</i>	'measure'
<i>ngurangadaara-l</i>	'measuring'
<i>dhaaba=nga-l</i>	'ask'
<i>dhaaba=ngaal-ngal</i>	'asking'
<i>gada=ba-l</i>	'break'
<i>gada=baal-ba-l</i>	'breaking'

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

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

NONPAST: *wumaalma* 'giving'
 wunaarma 'lying'

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

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

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

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

$C_1 V_1 (V_1) (L) C_2 V_2 (V_2) -$
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

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

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

For example:

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

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

$C_1 V_1 (V_2) (L) C_2 V_2 rr C_2 V_2 -$
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

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

<i>daga-rr</i>	'grow'	<i>dagaarrga-rr</i>	'growing'
<i>buybu-rr</i>	'coax'	<i>buybuurrbu-rr</i>	'coaxing'
<i>dhulu-rr</i>	'scrub'	<i>dhulurru-rr</i>	'scrubbing'

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

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

A minority of speakers apply pattern (b) even to stems that have *d*, *dh*, or *dy* as *C*₂. This gives such forms as:

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

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

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

or

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

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

nNV_2 in the first case, or
 $nC_2 \bar{V}_2$ in the second.

Thus the reduplicated stem will always have the following shape:

C_1	V_1	(V_1)	(N)	C_2	V_2	n	C_2	V_2	$-$
1	2	3		4	5	6	7	8	9

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

<i>dhamba-rr</i>	'throw'	<i>dhambanba-rr</i>	'throwing'
<i>dhanggu-rr</i>	'scratch'	<i>dhanggun.gu-rr</i>	'scratching'
<i>ganba-rr</i>	'jump'	<i>ganbanba-rr</i>	'jumping'
<i>gaanydya-rr</i>	'crawl'	<i>gaanydyandya-rr</i>	'crawling'
<i>miimu-rr</i>	'gather'	<i>miimu-rr</i>	'gathering'
<i>nhanga-rr</i>	'shake'	<i>nhangannga-rr</i>	'shaking'
<i>waanuu-rr</i>	'sneak, spy on'	<i>waanunu-rr</i>	'sneaking, spying'

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

- (145) *Ngali wadhin dhada-a gaangga бага-nhu.*
 1du+NOM hunting(+PURP?) go-NONPAST yam+ABS dig-PURP
 We two will go hunting to dig some yams.

- (146) *Yii ngadhu-um-i biiba-wi budhiil nhuumaalma-nhu.*
 this+ABS 1sg+GEN-mu-DAT father-DAT nose+ABS smell+REDUP-PURP
 This is my father's nose [for him] to smell with.

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

dhambarr 'throw'

dhambanba-nhu
dhambaa-nhu

nhaa-maa 'see'

nhaa-dhiil dhi-nhu
nhaa-dhi-nhu

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

TABLE 3.12 - Verbal derivations

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

and so on. Sections 4.4.2 and 4.4.3 below discuss in more detail the subordinate structures that employ 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, ngali baaru=nguundu gada-nhun dagu yii*
 leave-IMP ldu+NOM loin=hither come-SUB2 thing+ABS this+ABS
maandi-i.
 take-NONPAST.

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

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

dhadaara-nhun ~ dhada-anhun

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

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

TABLE 3.13 - *Derived forms for the five conjugations*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

NP TransVerb=*baga*

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

(169) *Nyulu galga balga-al=baga*

3sg+NOM spear make-DER=*baga*

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

(170) *Milbi miirrii-l=baga nhayun.*

story tell-DER=*baga* that+ABS

That one is a gossip; or: that one is always telling stories;

or: that one is liable to tell stories [so watch out!].

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

(171) *Dud-ii, nhina wugu-urr=baga-aygu nyulu!*

run-IMP 2sg+ACC follow-DER=CAUT-*gu* 3sg+NOM

Run, he is liable to follow you!

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

(172) *Nyulu bidha dagaay=ma-ni nambaal-bi*

3sg+NOM child+ABS sit=CAUS-PAST rock-LOC

She sat the child down on a rock.

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

- (173) *Gabirr-inh nhaamuun nganhi bulii=ma-ni*
 girl-ERG that+ERG 1sg+ACC fall+DERIVED=CAUS-PAST
 That girl made me fall.

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

- (174) *Nyulu bama yirrgaay=yirrgaay*
 3sg+NOM person+ABS tall+DER=talk+DER
 He talks too much.

- (175) *Gaari budaay=budaay=mana-ayi*
 NOT eat+DER=eat+DER=INCHO-IMP (=CAUS-REF+IMP)
 Don't be eating all the time!

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

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

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

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

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

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

4. SYNTAX

4.1 SIMPLE SENTENCES

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

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

Intransitive:	S	Verb	
Transitive:	A	O	Verb

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

A noun phrase may include:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

- (186) *Nyulu biini buurraay gaga-nganh.*
3sg+NOM die+PAST water- poison-CAU
He died from [drinking] poison water [i.e., grog].

- (187) *Nambal warrga-al dyaarba baydya-rrin nyulu.*
rock- big-INST snake+ABS cover-PAST 3sg+NOM
He crushed the snake with a large stone.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

- (191) *Dhana wulbu-wmu-n minha girrbadhi bidaara-y*
 3pl+NOM all-mu-ERG meat+ABS dugong+ABS harpoon+REDUP-PAST
dyiirraayng-gurr-nda.
 old man-PLU-ERG.

All the old men used to harpoon dugong.

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

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

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

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

in Absolutive case, as befits nouns in O function.

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

[Personal Pronoun X]
 NP

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

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

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

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

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

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

- (192) *Nhayun bidha bula biiba nhangu-mu-gal dubi*
 that+ABS child+ABS 3du+NOM father- 3sg+GEN-mu-ADES leave+PAST
waarigan-gal
 Moon-ADES

The two of them left that child with his father Moon. (Moon's wives leave their child in his care while they go hunting.)

Here the Adessive NP has constituents

[*biiba nhangu waarigan*]
 [father his Moon]
 NP

which are inflected and distributed in the sentence.

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

- (193) *Ngaliinh Dyaagi-ngun gambarr balga-y*
 1duexc+NOM Jack-ERG pitch+ABS make-PAST
 Jack and I made the pitch.

Or consider:

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

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

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

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

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

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

- (196) *Nyundu gaari yaadyi-la!*
 2sg+NOM NOT burn-IMP
 Don't get burned! Don't burn yourself!
- (197) *Ngayu wulunggurr-inh yaadyi.*
 1sg+NOM flames-INST burn+PAST
 I got burned on the flames; I burned myself on/with/from the flames.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

A sentence like

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

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

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

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

- (i) X+ABS Y+DAT (expressing the proposition 'X is Y's').

and

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

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

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

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

- (216) *Ngayu galga biiba-wi maandi-i.*
 1sg+NOM spear+ABS father-

DAT	take-NONPAST
GEN+ABS	

I am taking the spear to father.
I am taking father's spear [to someone else].

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(226) *Ngayu buurraay-ngu.*

1sg+NOM water-PURP

I'm after water; I want water; I've come for water.

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

(227) *Ngali gaanga-angu dhada-a gun.gun-bi.*

1du+NOM yam-PURP go-NONPAST scrub-ALL

We'll go to the scrub for yams.

See 4.4 below.

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

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

(228) *Ngayu nanguurrr-ga dhadaara.*

1sg+NOM camp-GOAL go+REDUP+NONPAST

I'm going to[wards] camp..

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

(229) *Ngayu* $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} ?bayan-ga \\ bayan-bi \end{array} \right\} dhadaara.$

1sg+NOM house-ALL go+REDUP+NONPAST

I'm going to[wards] the house.

Younger speakers seem almost never to use the *-:ga* suffix in this way except in the indefinite/interrogative pronoun *wanhdhaalga* (as in (17)).

4.1.5 LOCAL AND TEMPORAL EXTENSIONS. Sentences whose verbs are inherently concerned with motion or position will normally include local extensions in locative/allative case (showing rest in or at some place or motion to it), in ablative case (indicating motion away from a place), or in superjacent case (showing rest or motion on or above something); see 3.2.2. Often a local extension will receive the post-inflectional suffix *-:gu* to show proximity: not *in* or *on* but *close* to, etc.

- (230) *Bidha bayan-bi-gu nhin.gaalngga-y.*
child+ABS house-LOC-*gu* sit+REDUP-PAST

The child was sitting near/by the house.

Explicit locational qualifiers (described in 3.4) can also be local extensions, often in combination with an NP bearing local case inflection.

- (231) *Ngali naga-alu dhadaara yusal-inh.*
1du+NOM East-ALL go+REDUP+NONPAST beach-ALL
We're going East to the Beach.

Verbs of perception and speech can also be accompanied by local extensions:

- (232) *Nyulu nhaamuun wangga-amu-n bada nhaa-dhi.*
3sg+NOM that+ERG above-mu-ABL?/ERG? down see-PAST.
He - that one - looked down from above. (Or: that one up above looked down.)

(In (232) nothing in the form of the word *wanggaamun* allows us to decide between the ablative and the ergative readings.)

When the verb of a sentence is not inherently concerned with motion or rest, the sentence may have a local extension (in locative or superjacent case) describing the location at which the action takes place.

- (233) *Biiba nhangu biini Woorabinda.*
father+ABS 3sg+GEN+ABS die+PAST Woorabinda(+LOC).
His father died at Woorabinda.

Notably, it seems the rule that a local extension in such a sentence refers to the location (with respect to the action in question) of the S or the O NP, and not to that of the A NP. Thus the following sentence cannot mean 'I killed the game while I was on the tree.'

- (234) *Ngayu yugu-wi minha gunda-y.*
1sg+NOM tree-LOC meat+ABS kill-PAST
I killed the animal on the tree.

(234) must be read to mean that the animal (e.g., a bird) was on the tree when I killed it. To describe a situation in which I was on the tree and, for example, speared an animal which was on the ground, Guugu Yimidhirr would require either a circumlocation (with my location independently specified) or a subordinate construction of the sort described in 4.4.3.

- (235) *Ngayu yugu-wi madha-adhi minha daama-y.*
1sg+NOM tree-LOC/ALL climb-PAST meat+ABS spear-PAST
I climbed up the tree, [and I] speared the animal.

By contrast, a sentence like (234) is similar in meaning to

the following sentence which contains an explicit subordinate verb (of a type also described in 4.4.3).

- (236) *Ngayu yugu-wi nhin.gaalnggi-ga minha gunda-y.*
 1sg+NOM tree-LOC sit+REDUP-SUB1 meat+ABS kill-PAST
 I killed the animal [while it was] sitting on the tree.

Temporal extensions add information about the time when the action of a sentence takes place. (See (118)-(120).) Clock time is expressed with the word *ngalan* 'sun'.

- (237) *Nyundu ngalan ngaanaa waarmba-aya?*
 2sg+NOM sun+ABS what+ABS return-REF+NONPAST
 What time are you going back?

One responds to such a question by saying something like *ngalan yarrba* 'sun there', and pointing to the appropriate section of the sky to show the sun's position at the time one plans to leave.

4.1.6 NOMINAL SENTENCES. Guugu Yimidhirr has no real copula, and equational sentences therefore have an explicit verb only when necessary to carry marked tense (see (250) below). In the NONPAST tense, then, such sentences have a subject (an NP inflected as in S function), followed by a nominal predicate which may consist of:

[a] *a noun in absolutive case (i.e., in uninflected form), sometimes with genitive or adjectival qualification.* Such sentences often have a deictic as subject, and serve to identify some entity.

- (238) *Yii mayi*
 this+ABS food+ABS
 This is food [i.e., this is edible].

- (239) *Nyulu nhayun biiba ngadhu.*
 3sg+NOM that+ABS father+ABS 1sg+GEN+ABS
 That one is my father.

[b] *a dative expression.* See 4.1.4[e] immediately above. Sentences like (32), (35), (42), (83) and (89) state some sort of possessive relationship between the S NP and the entity that the dative expression refers to. Notice that a sentence like (83) can have two interpretations; if the S NP is the entire expression *Yii bayan* 'this house', and the predicate is the dative expression *ngadhu-ugu* 'my own, to/for me alone' then the sentence means 'This house is mine'. The sentence would provide the information that this (particular) house was *mine*. Or, parsing the sentence according to the construction mentioned in [a] above, the S NP might be simply the deictic *Yii* 'this'; the predicate would then be the entire NP *bayan ngadhu-ugu* 'my house', and the sentence would mean 'This [thing here] is my house. [I.e., it is not just a pile of sticks; or, it is the house that is all mine, not someone else's]'. The following sentence seems to be unambiguously a declaration of possession, in which the S NP is *galga yii* 'this spear' and the remainder is a Dative expression serving as a predicate.

- (240) *Galga yii biiba ngadhu-um-i.*
 spear+ABS this+ABS father- lsg+GEN-*mu*-DAT
 This spear [belongs] to my father.

(Compare sentence (146).)

[c] *an adjective.* See (39) and (69).

[d] *a noun with Abessive or Purposive inflection.* See sentences (23) and (57) respectively, as well as (226).

[e] *an adjective-like derived expression.* See (73-4), (77) (80), (169-70), and the discussion at 3.2.6[d].

[f] *a locational qualifier, of various sorts.* See (17), (58), (65), (102) and (115).

[g] *a comitative construction.* Some comitative (or privative) expressions are equivalent to simple adjectives and can stand alone as predicates; see (44), (45), (51-3), (61), (103) and (109). Frequently, however, a comitative construction expects a complement, which will take the Purposive case. The complement is very much like the object of a verb, especially in the case of such comitative predicates as *wawu-dhirr* 'want (literally, soul-with)'.
 (241) *Ngayu wawu-dhirr mayi-ingu*
 lsg+NOM 'want' food-PURP
 I want food.

- (242) *Bidha dingga-dhirr minha-angu*
 child+ABS hungry-COM meat-PURP
 The child is hungry for meat.

(Many modern Guugu Yimidhirr speakers leave a complement to the predicate *wawu-dhirr* - sometimes shortened to just *wawu* - in the Absolutive case, but this practice must certainly be regarded as innovative, possibly deriving from English.)

[h] *adjective plus purposive complement.* In a similar way, many adjectives normally expect complements, and these too have Purposive inflection.

- (243) *Gamba-gamba nhayun yinil dyaarba-angu*
 old woman+ABS that+ABS afraid+ABS snake-PURP
 That old lady is afraid of snakes.

Some adjectives and comitative constructions can also take full sentential complements, as in (103) or

- (244) *Nyulu wawu-dhirr-gu macana-adhi-nhu.*
 3sg+NOM soul-COM-gu get-REF-PURP
 He wants to get married.

[i] *body-part plus adjective.* Members of a special subset of the nominal sentences with adjective predicates have the overall form:

Whole Part Adjective

in which the whole is usually a person, the part usually a metaphorically significant body-part word, and the adjective one which gives rise to body-part metaphor. Many human propensity and personality concepts are expressed in Guugu Yimidhirr in terms of physical properties ascribed to parts

of the body. For example, qualities associated with intelligence and perception are often connected with expressions about the ear (see (218)); strong emotion is often expressed with reference to *gambul* 'the stomach'; and *mangal* 'hand' has to do with industriousness, productivity, and generosity.

- (245) *Nyulu ngadhu gaarga mangal burrburr.*
 3sg+NOM 1sgGEN+ABS younger brother+ABS hand+ABS hard+ABS
 My brother is stingy [literally, my younger brother's hand is hard].

Because the body-part in question is inalienably possessed by the person, it is possible to treat the entire Body-part+Adjective construction as the predicate in such nominal sentences.

[j] *walu* 'like' plus noun. The noun *walu* refers to the temples, the side of the face, and, by extension, to the sides of anything. (For example, an old-fashioned name for the cow is *walu yugu-dhirr*, literally, 'temple with stick (i.e., horn)'). As a body-part, *walu* figures in nominal sentences of the sort described in the previous paragraph.

- (246) *Nhayun gabiirr walu dabaar budhuun-gu*
 that+ABS girl+ABS face+ABS good very-gu
 That girl is very pretty.

Walu also acts as a kind of preposition meaning 'like, resembling' preceding a noun or adjective.

- (247) *Dyiiri walu yarrba: walu mugu bidiga.*
 sky+ABS like thus like seed tree species.
 Heaven is like this: it is like the seed of the *bidiga* tree.
 (From a recent local translation of Mark 4:31.)

(As the author understands it, Guugu Yimidhirr Lutherans considered the *bidiga*, a kind of native fig-tree that bears tiny fruit, but which grows to be an enormous tree, to be an appropriate equivalent for the plant in the 'mustard-seed' passage translated here.)

- (248) *Dhana-ngan guugu walu yindu=yindu.*
 3pl-GEN+ABS language+ABS like different.
 Their language is different (in many places)/seems different.

Interrogative words, in various forms, can also function as predicates, as in (90), (97), (99), (102); and consider:

- (249) *Nyundu ngaaniil-ngu wawu-dhirr?*
 2sg+NOM what-PURP want-COM
 What do you want?

Nominal sentences usually have no verb; however, when they occur in other than the unmarked (non-past, non-continuous) tense or aspect, they must have a dummy verb, or they must employ derived verbs, to carry the tense. *Wu-naa* 'lie, exist' usually acts as this dummy verb:

- (250) *Gana-aygu ngayu yinil wu-nay; nhila gaari, nhila*
 before-gu 1sg+NOM frightened 'be'-PAST, now NOT now
murnda=mana-aadhi
 tame=CAUS-REF+PAST.
 Before I used to be afraid, but not now; now I have become brave ['tame'].

See (116), which may be analysed either as a verbal sentence with a locative extension, or as a nominal sentence with a locative predicate and the verb *nhin.gal* acting as a dummy verb to hold continuative aspect.

Older speakers criticise younger speakers for indiscriminately using *wu-naa* as a tense-carrying dummy verb, when the subjects of the nominal predicates involved do *not* actually *lie* but rather stand or sit. Hence, since a bullock does not normally sit or lie down, the following sentence, according to one knowledgeable Guugu Yimidhirr speaker, must have the verb *yuulili* 'standing', and not *wunaarnay* 'lying' or *nhin.gaalnggay* 'sitting'; this complaint may be a symptom of this speaker's proprietary feelings about the language, and it flies in the face of common usage in which the tense/aspect carrier is *just* a dummy, with no independent semantic content.

- (251) *Buligi* *nhayun* *warra guli-dhirr yuulili* *gana-aygu.*
 bullock+ABS that+ABS very anger-COM stand+REDUP+PAST before-gu
 That bullock used to be very savage.

4.2 WORD-LEVEL DERIVATIONS.

In 3.2.6-7, and 3.5.5 we discussed the morphology of certain deverbal nouns and also the forms of causative and inchoative verbs formed from nouns, verbs, and adjectives. In this section we summarize the constructions that produce such derived words.

[a] *VP+ -baga*, 'agentive'. Transitive sentences are of the form:

$$\begin{array}{ccc} \left[\text{NP}_1 \right] & \left[\text{NP}_2 \right] & \text{TV} \\ \text{A} & \text{O} & \end{array}$$

When a transitive verb has a conventionalized noun object (from NP_2), Guugu Yimidhirr speakers frequently form a nominal predicate (with the meaning 'X-er' where X is the verb) of the form

object noun verb root *-baga*

The resulting expression functions as the predicate of a nominal sentence. (See (169)-(171).)

[b] *Causative constructions*. Nominal sentences whose predicates consist of adjectives or nouns mean something like 'S is P', where S is the subject NP and P is the predicate. Such sentences have the external form of intransitive sentences (i.e., there is a single S NP, inflected like the subject NP of any tense-bearing intransitive verb). We saw in the last section that such sentences can bear the full range of verbal inflection by utilizing a dummy verb, usually *wu-naa*. From a nominal sentence

$$\begin{array}{ccc} \left[\text{NP}_1 \right] & \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{Adj} \\ \text{Noun} \end{array} \right\} & (= 'S \text{ is } P') \\ \text{S} & \text{Pred} & \end{array}$$

it is usually possible, subject to semantic plausibility, to form a causative transitive sentence of the form

$$\left[\text{NP}_2 \right]_A \left[\text{NP}_1 \right]_O \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{Adj} \\ \text{Noun} \end{array} \right\} = \text{gurral}$$

which means 'X (=NP₂) causes S to be P'. Hence from (252) with an adjectival predicate, we can derive the causative transitive sentence (253).

- (252) *Galga yii warra.*
spear+ABS this+ABS bad.
This spear is bad.

- (253) *Bidha-al nyulu galga yii warraa=gurra-y.*
child-ERG 3sg+NOM spear+ABS this+ABS bad=CAUS-PAST
The child ruined this spear.

Similarly, a sentence like (255) derives from a nominal sentence like (254) which has a purposive extension.

- (254) *Nyulu wangarr guugu-ungu binaal.*
3sg+NOM white man+ABS language-PURP knowing
The white man knows the language.

- (255) *Wanhdhu nhangu wangarr guugu-ungu binaal=gurra-y?*
who+ERG 3sg+ACC white man+ABS language-PURP knowing=CAUS-PAST
Who taught the white man the language?

The causative *gurral* can also apply to noun predicates, as in:

- (256) *Mungurru-ngun gabiirr dyiiraal=gurra-y.*
carpet snake-ERG girl+ABS wife=CAUS-PAST.
Carpet snake made the girl his wife. [Carpet snake abducts the daughter of a spirit and takes her home against her will.]

A very similar process produces a causative transitive version of an intransitive sentence with an intransitive verb, but the causative verbalizer is the NA conjugation root *=ma-naa* (see 3.5.5). (172) and (173) show causative forms of the verbs in (257) and (258) respectively.

- (257) *Bidha daga-adhi nambaal-bi.*
child+ABS sit-REF+PAST rock-LOC.
The child sat on the rock.

- (258) *Ngayu buli*
1sg+NOM fall+PAST
I fell.

[c] *Inchoative constructions.* Predicates of nominal sentences can be verbalized in another way; from a sentence 'S is P' can be derived the inchoative sentence 'S becomes/comes to be P'. Two verbalizing suffixes attach to adjectives and noun predicates to form inchoative verb stems: the monosyllabic L conjugation verb *mal*, and the causativizing *ma-naa* with Reflexive inflection.

- (259) *Galga yii warra=* $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{ma-dhi} \\ \text{INCHO-PAST} \\ \text{mana-adhi} \\ \text{CAUS-REF+PAST} \end{array} \right.$
spear+ABS this+ABS bad
This spear became bad.

- (260) *Nyulu wangarr guugu-ungu binaal=*
 3sg+NOM white man+ABS language-PURP knowing
 The white man will learn the language.

ma-l
 INCHO-NONPAST
mana-aya
 CAUS-REF+NONPAST

The inchoative construction is also possible with nouns:

- (261) *Dagu nyundu wanhdharra wuurruyu=ngaadhaar=mana-adhi?*
 So 2sg+NOM how curer=CAUS-REF+PAST
 So, how did you become a curer?

There seems to be no semantic difference between the *mal* forms and those with *ma-naa+REF*. (R. Hershberger (n.d.:note 9) describes two clearly cognate inchoative verbalisers in Gugu Yalandji and says, of the difference, 'the intransitive verbalizer *-manadji-* seems to be most used when the action indicated by the verb happens to, rather than by, the subject of the verb.') One difference in Guugu Yimidhirr has to do with dialect: Coastal speakers favour inchoatives with *mal* and Inland speakers use *ma-naa+REF* exclusively.

Two other intransitive verb roots occasionally have inchoative force, with two adjectives *guli* 'angry, full of hate; savage' and *gaga* 'poison, sick'. In nominal sentences these adjectives normally occur with the comitative suffix *-dhirr*.

- (262) *Nyulu gaga-dhirr. Nyulu guli-dhirr.*
 3sg+NOM sick-COM 3sg+NOM anger-COM
 He's sick. He's angry.

While inchoatives can be formed from the unsuffixed stems plus *ma-naa+REF*, more frequently the inchoative forms are:

- (263) *Nyulu gaga=buli. Nyulu guli=gada-y.*
 3sg+NOM sick=fall+PAST 3sg+NOM angry=come-PAST.
 He fell sick. He got angry.

(It is possible, although there is no evidence to show it, that the first example here is a borrowing from English phraseology.)

Inchoative constructions can also be based on body-part metaphors of the sort described in the preceding section.

- (264) *Mangal gima=ma-la!*
 hand+ABS soft=INCHO-IMP
 Be generous! Become generous! (Literally, may your hand be soft!)

And inchoative forms are also used with cardinal-point roots to describe motion in specific directions:

- (265) *Naga=ma-la! Guwa=guwa=mana-ayi.*
 east=INCHO-IMP west=REDUP=CAUS-REF+IMP
 Move to the East. Move slightly to the west.

[d] *Loan-word constructions.* Nouns, and a few adjectives, may be freely incorporated into Guugu Yimidhirr from English by simple phonological alteration; we have already seen numerous English names in Guugu Yimidhirr, as well as the word *gilaadha* 'glass'. Verbs, however, do not enter Guugu Yimidhirr freely; instead, English verbs undergo cer-

tain changes and then are incorporated as noun-like words that require verbalization with causative or inchoative verbalisers. Generally, intransitive verbs from English are borrowed directly, and occur with an inchoative verbaliser.

- (266) *Nyulu dhanaan binaal=gurra-y work=madhi-nhu.*
 3sg+NOM 3plu+ACC knowing=CAUS-PAST 'work'=INCHO-PURP
 He taught them to work.

Transitive verbs are pidginized (roughly, by altering the phonology and by adding the common Cape York Creole transitive suffix *-im* (Crowley & Rigsby 1979)) and then incorporated into Guugu Yimidhirr as noun-like words that require the Causative verbalizer *=gurral*.

- (267) *Nyulu wangaarr-nda gaari mayi wu-dhi, nyulu*
 3sg+NOM white man ERG NOT food+ABS give-PAST, 3sg+NOM
sell+im=gurra-y
 'sell'=CAUS-PAST
 The white man didn't give the food away, he sold it.

Many younger people, who have very limited knowledge of Creole and in fact are fluent in an English much closer to standard Australian, often incorporate English transitive verbs without the *-im* suffix, simply adding the causative *-gurral*.

4.3 REFLEXIVE CONSTRUCTIONS

The reflexive stem formed in Guugu Yimidhirr with the suffix *-dhi* acts like an intransitive stem derived from a transitive stem. What we here call the 'reflexive' suffix *-dhi* is in many ways functionally parallel (and clearly cognate) to the Gugu Yalandji 'passive' suffix *-dji* (R. Hershberger 1964b:46-9), to the yidiny *-dyi-n* which has anti-passive and reflexive uses, among others (Dixon 1977: 273-293), and perhaps to the Dyaabugay 'mediopassive' *-yi-* (K. Hale 1976c:238). All these suffixes derive an intransitive verb stem from a transitive stem; and all involve some deviations from the normal pattern of case marking on the central NPs in sentences containing the derived verbs. We call the derived forms 'reflexives' after what seems to be the central and most common use of such verbs, although the label should not obscure the fact that the *-dhi* suffix has a wide range of uses.

4.3.1 REFLEXIVES AND RECIPROCALLS. As we have seen, (4.1, 4.1.2), a transitive verb has an animate A NP and a second NP in O function; an intransitive verb has a S NP. In a reflexive construction the entity referred to by the A NP performs its actions on itself; if such an action were expressed by a normal transitive sentence (which it cannot be in Guugu Yimidhirr), the A NP and the O NP would both refer to the same thing. Instead, Guugu Yimidhirr expresses actions performed by agents on themselves by means of reflexive verbs, with the agent/patient expressed in the S NP; (162) and (163) express such reflexive actions. Often the subject pronoun of a reflexive sentence receives the post-

inflectional suffix *-:gu* which emphasizes that the action was performed by and on that person himself. Compare the following question and answer dialogues:

(268) A: *Wanhḏhu gudaā nḥanu gunda-y?*
 who+ERG dog+ABS 2sg+GEN+ABS hit-PAST
 Who hit your dog?

B: *Ngayu-ugu gunda-y.*
 1sg+NOM-*gu* hit-PAST
 I hit [him]. (I.e., I did it myself.)

(269) A: *Wanhḏhu nhina gunda-y?*
 who+ERG 2sg+ACC hit-PAST
 Who hit you?

B: *Ngayu-ugu gunda-adhi*
 1sg+NOM-*gu* hit-REF+PAST
 I hit myself. (I.e., I did it myself.)

Exactly the same construction expresses reciprocal action, which can be construed as a kind of generalized reflexive action performed by members of a group on other members of the same group, and vice versa. (167) is a reciprocal sentence of this sort, based on the transitive verb *munggil* 'beat up'.

(270) *Bula(-agu) gunda-adhi.*
 3du+NOM (-*gu*) hit-REF+PAST
 The two of them hit each other (hit themselves).

The suffix *-:gu* strengthens the reflexive (as opposed to the reciprocal) reading of the verb in such a sentence. (It would also be possible to use an expression like *nubuun=nubuun-gu* 'one by one, each one at a time' to force a reflexive reading.) Compare the force of the suffix *-:gu* in the following non-reflexive cases (see 3.2.4, and 3.3.1):

(271) A: *Ngadhū gudaā gunda-la!*
 1sg+GEN+ABS dog+ABS hit-IMP
 Hit my dog!

B: *Nyundu-ugu gunda-la*
 2sg+NOM-*gu* hit-IMP
 Hit it yourself!

(272) *Ngadhū-ugu gudaā gunda-la.*
 1sg GEN ABS-*gu* dog ABS hit-IMP
 Hit my dog (and no one else's)!

When an agent does something to his or her own body - expressed usually by an inalienably possessed body part - Guugu Yimidhirr also uses a reflexive construction. (See (168).)

(273) *Nyulu nhinhinhi yabarraban nhawaay-gu barrgaar*
 3sg+NOM proper+ABS gigantic+ABS there+LOC-*gu* mouth+ABS
walnga-adhi dhanaan dyuumbi
 open-REF+PAST 3pl+ACC swallow+PAST.

The gigantic proper opened his mouth right there and swallowed them.

In all these reflexive and reciprocal constructions, the agent (denoted by the S NP) acts upon itself (or the agents

act on one another in the reciprocal case); and generally the action is intentional - it is 'controlled and regulated' by the agent, although self-directed. The S NP receives case marking like the S NP of any intransitive verb: personal pronouns take the Nominative case, and all other nominals receive Absolutive inflection.

Whether a reflexive verb form is interpreted as reflexive or reciprocal is influenced, as we have seen, by the presence of the suffix *-:gu* on the S NP, and also by the number of the S NP: a dual or plural subject suggests reciprocal rather than reflexive action. Similarly, a reduplicated verb stem, with reflexive inflection, also suggests reciprocal action.

- (274) *Dhana gundaarnda-ya.*
 3pl+NOM hit+REDUP-REF+NONPAST
 They're hitting each other.

Guugu Yimidhirr, like Yidiny (Dixon 1977:281), but unlike intervening Dyaabugay (Hale 1976c:238) and Gugu Yalandji (R. Hershberger 1964b:45-6), has no separate inflection for reciprocal. Reflexive (and reciprocal) meanings seem to be the first readings that Guugu Yimidhirr speakers will supply for a verb form with reflexive suffixes: these seem, then, to be the central meanings of the derivational affixes we have labelled 'reflexive'.

4.3.2 ACCIDENTS. Another common construction with reflexive verb stems describes actions that are accidental, unintentional results of purposive action, or results set in motion by inanimate entities (which are not capable of intention in the first place). Thus, for example, with the verb *wagil* 'cut' we can have intentional transitive action:

- (275) *Nyundu minha wagi naaybu-unh.*
 2sg+NOM meat+ABS cut+PAST knife-INST.
 You cut the meat with a knife.

And we can have reflexive action, exemplified by (160) which exhorts the addressee to exercise care so as not to cut himself. When things go wrong, however, someone may be cut by accident.

- (276) *Nganhi wagi-idhi naaybu-unh*
 1sg+ACC cut-REF+PAST knife-INST.
 I got cut on the knife.

Except for the reflexive form of the verb, this sentence looks morphologically like a transitive sentence, with an Accusative pronoun in O function, and an NP with ERG/INST inflection. An A NP is not possible with a reflexive verb (nor, indeed, with any intransitive verb), and thus the word *naaybu-unh* must be read as an instrumental extension: 'with the knife, by means of the knife'. (276) contrasts with two different sorts of sentence. For example, the following sentence implies that I took a knife and deliberately cut myself:

- (277) *Ngayu wagi-idhi naaybu-unh.*
 1sg+NOM cut-REF+PAST knife-INST
 I cut myself with a knife.

The only difference between (276) and (277) is the case of the 'subject' pronoun, a difference that would be totally obscured if there were a noun in S function. So for example, (278) is ambiguous between two readings:

- (278) *Dhana yuuli mangal gunda-adhi*
 3pl+NOM stand+PAST hand+ABS hit-REF+PAST
 They stood up and hit their hands [i.e., clapped
 (intentionally)]. (Reflexive). OR: They stood up and
 bumped their hands [e.g., against something] (Accident)

Such an ambiguity can be resolved, syntactically, by the form of a pronoun.

- (279) *Ngayu dhamal daama-adhi galga-anh.*
 1sg+NOM foot+ABS spear-REF+PAST spear-INST
 I speared myself in the foot with a spear (i.e., punishing
 myself).

- (280) *Nganhi dhamal daama-adhi galga-anh*
 1sg+ACC foot+ABS spear-REF+PAST spear-INST
 I got speared in the foot, accidentally, with a spear (e.g.,
 it fell out of a tree and got me on the foot).

Contrast both these sentences with the full transitive sentence in which the A NP (some indefinite person) has been deleted.

- (281) *Nganhi dhamal daama-y galga-anh*
 1sg+ACC foot+ABS spear-PAST spear-INST
 Somebody speared me in the foot, with a spear.

(Omitting an A NP, or using an indefinite pronoun in its place, are both frequent devices to express indefinite agents; see 3.3.2.)

Sentence (276) also contrasts with a sentence with active verb inflection.

- (282) *Nganhi wagi bama-al.*
 1sg+ACC cut+PAST man-ERG
 The man cut me.

(282) is a normal transitive sentence, with an ERG A NP *bamaal*; the sentence implies that the man actively and intentionally, or otherwise through his own efforts and under his control, cut me. Clearly, ordinarily only animate entities can act as Agents in such actions; however, if an inanimate entity does bring about some action, as it were, under its own power, the verb of the sentence describing such an event will be active and not reflexive. Consider the following example:

- (283) *Yugu buli buligi baydya-rrin.*
 tree+ABS fall+PAST bullock+ABS cover-PAST
 The tree fell [and it] covered [i.e., crushed] the bullock.

The unstated but understood A NP of the second verb *baydyarrin* 'covered' is the tree mentioned in the first clause of (283). Notice that the form of the verb is active, rather than reflexive, even though the A NP is inanimate. In a similar context we could presumably have a sentence like (284), which would contrast with (276); imagine, for example, that a knife that had been balanced on the edge

of a table fell and struck my foot. I might say (after saying 'ouch!'):

- (284) *Nganhi wagi naaybu-unh.*
 1sg+ACC cut+PAST knife-ERG
 The knife cut me.

I have, as it were, attributed some sort of activity (if not malice) to the knife; now the suffix on *naaybuunh* may be analysed as Ergative; and the verb is active rather than reflexive.

Sometimes accidental action is precipitated by an animate entity, which acted unintentionally. In such a case, the actual but inadvertent agent can appear explicitly in a sentence, with Acessive inflection.

- (285) *Bigibigi-wi ngamba-aygu gunda-adhi gudaa ngadhun.gal*
 pig-DAT unawares-gu kill-REF+PAST dog+ABS 1sg+ADES
 While hunting pigs, I accidentally killed [my] dog.

There is thus a structural resemblance, but an important semantic difference with striking syntactic repercussions, between the following two sentences.

- (286) *Ngayu galga nhanu dumbi.*
 1sg+NOM spear+ABS 2sg+GEN+ABS break+PAST
 I broke your spear [on purpose].
- (287) *Ngadhun.gal galga nhanu dumbi-idhi.*
 1sg+ADES spear+ABS 2sg+GEN+ABS break-REF+PAST
 I broke your spear [by accident]. (Such a form of words also suggests the tone of an apology.)

Consider, again, the verb *yaadyil* 'burn' (see 4.1.2 and 4.1.4[a] above). A sentence with *yaadyil* can have an S pronoun in Accusative case, in a way that exactly parallels the Accusative pronoun 'subjects' of reflexive verbs denoting accidental action. (See (199).) Moreover, *yaadyil*, and, indeed, many fully intransitive verbs, also allow Agents, marked by Acessive case, which unintentionally engineer some action or result.

- (288) *Nhina yaadyi ngadhun.gal*
 2sg+ACC burn+PAST 1sg+ADES
 You got burned and it was my fault (e.g., I spilled the boiling water on you).

And compare the following sentences:

- (289) *Nhanu minha gundil buli.*
 2sg+GEN+ABS meat+ABS egg+ABS fall+PAST
 Your (edible) egg fell [and presumably broke].
- (290) *Ngayu nhanu minha gundil buli=ma-ni.*
 1sg+NOM 2sg+GEN+ABS meat+ABS egg+ABS fall=CAUS+PAST
 I dropped [literally, caused to fall] your egg.
- (291) *Nhanu minha gundil buli ngadhun.gal.*
 2sg+GEN+ABS meat+ABS egg+ABS fall+PAST 1sg+ADES
 I dropped your egg by accident.

(289) is a straightforward intransitive construction, and (290) its causative counterpart. But whereas (290) could hardly be used, for example, as an apology, (291) is tailor-

made for such a purpose since it emphasizes the accidental nature of the event, and my unintentional involvement in it.

Here, then, the use of reflexive inflection is one of a set of devices in Guugu Yimidhirr to show deviations from the canonical form of action (when an animate agent 'controls and regulates' action on some patient) - in this case, when action is not controlled or regulated but accidental.

- (292) *Bidha gaanga-adhi naliin.gal guugu-unh*
 child+ABS waken-REF+PAST ldu+ADES speech-INST
 We woke up the child by talking.

4.3.3 'REFLEXIVE-ONLY' VERBS. A 1700 root Guugu Yimidhirr vocabulary contains about twenty verb roots which occur *only* in reflexive form. Many of these verbs seem to denote actions which could have transitive counterparts (and, indeed, subject to the change of final stem vowel some doubtless are the reflexive counterparts of existing transitive verbs: see 3.5.4). Hence, there are such possible pairs as

REFLEXIVE ONLY	TRANSITIVE
<i>daga-</i> 'sit down'	<i>dagil</i> 'set down, build, erect'
<i>mira-</i> 'wave, show self'	<i>mirriil</i> 'show, tell' (an R conjugation verb)
<i>muurra-</i> 'hesitate, refuse, delay'	<i>muurriil</i> 'deny (something), refuse to give (something)'

The question remains why other verbal concepts are expressed by reflexive-only verbs rather than by simple intransitives.

First, it is notable that other languages with syntactically important reflexive constructions have verbs that correspond to the Guugu Yimidhirr reflexive-only verbs that are also *reflexive in form*. Thus, for example, the Spanish equivalent of *daga-* 'sit down' is *sentarse* (literally, 'seat oneself'); or of *dumba-* 'get a fright' *asustarse* (literally, 'frighten oneself'). Here is a list of the known Guugu Yimidhirr reflexive-only verbs, arranged in rough categories.

- a. *daga-* 'sit down'
mira- 'show self'
muurra- 'refuse, hesitate'
- b. *buura-* 'get sore, feel sore, ache'
buurmgga- 'enter'
dumba- 'get a shock, get a fright, start with fright, make self jump'
madha- 'climb up'
nuurda- 'make a noise, make self visible by making noise'
nyuuga- 'move, shift around restlessly, make self visible by moving'
yilba- 'share, split hunting catch'
ngunda- 'masturbate'
- c. *badha-* 'be finished, come to an end'
banda- 'explode'
ganda- 'shine, be shining or glittering'
minhdha- 'stick, adhere; keep company with'
nhanda- 'finish, come to an end, cease to exist'

nhinda- 'bump against, knock against, bump together'
dhanna- 'explode, burst'

Verbs in group (a) are plausibly related to full transitive verbs, with a shift of final stem vowel from *i* to *a*; that is, they may well arise by the normal process of reflexive-stem formation.

A notable feature of verbs in group (b) is this: all must have animate subjects (like transitive verbs), and all seem to involve an animate entity moving or manipulating its body, or otherwise acting on itself; that is, they involve inherently reflexive action, with animate agents. The one exception, *yiilba-* 'share' seems inherently reciprocal, and also requires an animate (and non-singular) agent.

(293) *Ngali wadhin dhada-a minha daama-l ngali*
 ldu+NOM hunting go-NONPAST meat+ABS spear-NONPAST ldu+NOM
yiilba-aya.
 share-REF+NONPAST.

We'll go hunting and spear game and share [whatever we get].

That is, the meanings of all these verbs seem consistent with their treatment as reflexives, like those verbs discussed in 4.3.1 above.

Verbs in group (c) all seem to denote events that happen to inanimate objects (or to the bodies of animate entities) or conditions that characterize such objects. (Two verbs, *minhdha-* 'keep company with one another' and *nhinda-* 'bump against one another' can, in these senses, also be grouped with the other verbs of group (b) above.) From each of these verbs it is possible to form a transitive causative verb with *-gurral*, meaning 'cause it to happen'. But in the reflexive form, each verb seems to denote something that happens to the object or objects in question, as it were, by itself, with no particular outside agency. (Compare Spanish *acabarse* 'be finished', *reventarse* 'explode', *lucirse* 'shine, sparkle', *pegarse* 'stick', and *encontrarse con* 'bump into' or *chocarse* 'collide' - all themselves reflexive in form.) The spontaneous sense of these verbs is illustrated in the following sentence, which uses *badha-* 'finish' both in reflexive and causative form.

(294) *Mayi gaari badha-adhi, nyundu-ugu badhaay=ma-ni.*
 food+ABS NOT finish-REF+PAST 2sg+NOM-gu finish=CAUS-PAST
 The food isn't just finished [i.e., it didn't finish itself],
 you finished it!.

It may be possible, that is, to explain the reflexive-only form of such verbs by relating their meanings to the use of reflexive forms to describe actions performed *without* conscious outside agency (as in the use of reflexive to describe accidents, discussed in 4.3.2 above).

4.3.4 BODY-PART METAPHORS. We have seen that a reflexive verb is used when an animate entity performs some action on its own body. Body parts figure heavily in metaphorical expressions denoting personality, propensity, etc. and many expressions that in English take the form of adjectives, are in Guugu Yimidhirr of the form:

Person	Body-part	Reflexive Verb.
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That is, they have a literal meaning: 'X Ys his Z' where Y is a transitive verb and Z is a body part. (There are other sorts of body-part expressions as well, that do not involve reflexive verbs.) For example, an expression parallel to the English 'swelled head' appears in the following sentence.

(295) *Nyulu dumu yima-adhi.*

3sg+NOM chest+ABS expand-REF+PAST.

He puffed his chest [i.e., he acted proud, he put on airs].

And consider:

(296) *Bula yaba=gaarga gambul yirnga-adhi*

3du+NOM older brother=younger brother- belly+ABS turn-REF+PAST.

The two brothers got quite envious [literally, they turned their bellies].

(The compound *yaba=gaarga* denotes an older brother/younger brother pair; similarly Guugu Yimidhirr has *gaanhaal=dyin.g-urr* 'sisters [literally, older sister=younger sister]' which refers to two sisters. Notably, the expressions *gami=biiba* 'grandfather=father' and *ngamu=biiba* 'mother=father' both mean 'a great many', as if the family could serve as a transparent metaphor for size or number.)

(297) *Ngayu gambul buda-adhi.*

1sg+NOM belly+ABS eat-REF+PAST

I got fed up [sick of it, bored]. (Literally, I ate my stomach.)

Because of the syntax of reflexives, although these expressions have the literal meanings of transitive sentences in which the person acts on his body part, they have the form of a simple complex predicate, which is combined with a subject NP much the way a nominal predicate or an intransitive verb is. That is, we can think of the entire complex expression *gambul yirngal+REF* as a frozen intransitive verb meaning 'get fed up, get bored', despite the actual underlying syntax. Here the syntax of inalienable possession, along with the form of reflexive constructions facilitates metaphorical expressions based on body parts.

4.3.5 ANTI-PASSIVES AND PASSIVES. Some of Guugu Yimidhirr's close neighbours, notably Yidiny (Dixon 1977:277-280), use a derivational process like reflexive stem formation to produce an intransitive sentence from a transitive sentence by: (1) converting the verb into a specially suffixed intransitive form; (2) putting the A NP into S function with the derived verb; and (3) putting the original O NP into some oblique case (often dative) in the derived intransitive sentence. Just as the passive, in a nominative/accusative system, converts a transitive sentence into an intransitive sentence with the accusative O NP serving as the S NP of the derived passive sentence, the process described here is called anti-passive because it changes a transitive sentence to an intransitive sentence in which the syntactically highly marked A NP of the original transitive clause appears as the unmarked S NP. There are usually good syntactic reasons for having such a derived intransitive; often the derived form is needed to allow embedding or coordination which depends on having identical S or O function NPs, when in the full

transitive form one NP is in A function. Forming the anti-passive achieves the desired transformation of syntactic function and case inflection.

Guugu Yimidhirr has a construction which produces, with a few verbs, intransitive sentences which look just like antipassives, as described above. One such sentence is (164); another rather different example is the following:

- (298) *Wudhurr galbay dhana yarrga-ngay buurraay=gaga-wi*
 night+ABS long+ABS 3pl+NOM boy-PLU+ABS water=potion-DAT
buda-adhi.
 eat-REF+PAST
 The boys drank booze all night long.

And consider:

- (299) *Ngali gadiil-dhirr ngali garrgu galga-wi wuudha-aya.*
 ldu+NOM name-COM+ABS ldu+NOM later spear-DAT give-REF+NONPAST
 We are namesakes [literally, with name, i.e., share the same name], so by and by we will exchange spears.

In both these sentences, the verb is reflexive, the underlying agent is realized as an S NP (with nominative or absolutive inflection on pronominal and nominal constituents), and the underlying O NP bears dative inflection.

However, Guugu Yimidhirr does not have compelling syntactic reasons for an anti-passive construction. Despite the ergative/absolutive pattern of noun inflection, very few possibilities for coordination, subordination, or embedding depend on having coreferential NPs in S or O function (which would, for nouns, result in unmarked Absolutive case marking). In fact, with a few notable exceptions (see the discussion of subordination in 4.4 below) Guugu Yimidhirr links clauses which have common subjects - either transitive subjects (A function) or intransitive subjects (S function); moreover, Guugu Yimidhirr relies heavily on pronouns (which inflect on a nominative/accusative pattern) and deictics to keep referential identity and syntactic role clear. Referential prominence - the degree to which a NP is foregrounded as the topic of discourse - rather than syntactic role seems to decide how sentences will be linked together and what pronouns, deictics, etc. are required. (See 4.10 for notes on discourse.) Consider the following two sentences:

- (300) *Nyulu yarrga gada-y.*
 3sg+NOM boy+ABS come-PAST
 The boy came.
- (301) *Nyulu yarrga-a mayi buda-y.*
 3sg+NOM boy-ERG food+ABS eat-PAST
 The boy ate the food.

Even though the NP [*nyulu yarrga*] is in S function in (300) and A function in (301), and despite the fact that *yarrga-a* in (301) bears ergative inflection whereas *yarrga* in (300) is in absolutive form, there is no difficulty in conjoining these two sentences, in either order, and omitting the coreferential NP in the second clause.

- (302) *Nyulu yarrga gada-y mayi buda-y.*
 3sgNOM boy+ABS come-PAST food+ABS eat-PAST.
 The boy came and ate the food.

- (303) *Nyulu yarrga-a mayi buda-y (nyulu) gada-y*
 3sg+NOM boy-ERG food+ABS eat-PAST 3sg+NOM come-PAST.
 The boy ate the food and [then] (he) came.

(In (303) the second occurrence of *nyulu* is likely but not absolutely necessary.) In languages like Dyirbal (Dixon 1972:65-79) and Yidiny (Dixon 1977:277-282, 388-392) such coordination without anti-passivizing the transitive sentence is impossible; whereas in Guugu Yimidhirr a sentence like (302) has the character of a favourite construction. Of course it is also possible to coordinate (300) with an 'anti-passive' version of (301); but the resulting sentence is not better than (249) - it merely means something different.

- (304) *Nyulu yarrga gada-y mayi-wi buda-adhi.*
 3sg+NOM boy+ABS come-PAST food-DAT eat-REF+PAST.
 The boy came and had a good feed of food.

In fact, there is no general 'anti-passive' construction in Guugu Yimidhirr, since most transitive verbs do not allow a construction like those in (298) and (299). For example, some verbs, when reflexivized have their 'underlying' objects in Adessive case.

- (305) *Nyulu wangarr maa-ni.*
 3sg+NOM white person+ABS get-PAST
 He married a white woman.
- (306) *Nyulu wangaarr-gal maana-adhi.*
 3sg+NOM white person-ADES get-REF+PAST
 He got married with a white woman.
- (307) *Nyulu ngamu-ugu gaymbaalmba-y.*
 3sg+NOM mother+ABS-gu curse+REDUP-PAST
 He was cursing his mother.
- (308) *Nyulu ngamu-ugal gaymbaalmba-dhi.*
 3sg+NOM mother-ADES curse+REDUP-REF+PAST
 'He was cursing against his mother' (This is the original English gloss.)

(306) and (308) suggest that getting married (with Reflexive form) and cursing (with Reflexive form) are just things one does, or things that happen to one, which in some tangential way involve others (and the Adessive NPs denote the others). Another revealing example involves the following three sentences.

- (309) *Ngayu ngalgal dubi.*
 1sg+NOM smoke+ABS leave+PAST.
 I left my cigarettes/tobacco [literally, smoke]. (I.e., I didn't bring them.)
- (310) *Ngadhu ngalgal dubi-idhi.*
 1sg+GEN+ABS smoke+ABS leave-REF+PAST
 My smokes got left. (I.e., I forgot them, they were left by accident.)
- (311) *Ngayu ngalgaal-ga(/-ngu) dubi-idhi*
 1sg+NOM smoke-GOAL(-PURP) leave-REF+PAST
 I left off smoking; I've given up smoking.

In all three sentences there is a different relationship be-

tween me, the cigarettes, and the act of leaving: in (309) I leave them; in (310) they get left but I didn't (intentionally) do it; in (311) I leave cigarettes, but for good, in a more generalized way.

If anything, Guugu Yimidhirr uses the derived reflexive forms more as *passives* than as anti-passives; and this is in keeping with the strong subject orientation of the syntax, a nominative/accusative patterning despite ergative/absolute noun morphology. Consider for example the following exhortation:

- (312) *Dindal dubi-idhi-gamu.*
 quick leave-REF-PRECAUT.
 [Go] quickly before you get left!

Here the (implicit) subject is the 2nd person pronoun 'you'; but this implicit subject is the logical *object* of the verb *dubil* 'leave' and the precautionary form urges the subject not to be left behind; therefore, the verb must be put into reflexive form so that its syntactic *subject* will match the subject of the overall sentence. The unreflexivized sentence would have quite a different meaning:

- (313) *Dindal dubi-igamu.*
 quick leave-PRECAUT
 [Go] quickly before you leave [him behind]. (I.e., go and find him and take him - you might miss him.)

It would also be possible to have a sentence with an explicit 2sg+ACC pronoun, especially if the A NP of the verb *dubil* was understood from previous context:

- (314) *Dindal nhina dubi-igamu.*
 quickly 2sg+ACC leave-PRECAUT
 Hurry before [he] leaves you!

The concern in stringing clauses together in Guugu Yimidhirr seems not simply to be keeping one subject throughout a chain of clauses, whether they are transitive or intransitive, but rather to keep the (potentially shifting) topic of a clause or group of clauses clearly foregrounded. Consider the following sequence of sentences:

- (315) a. *Nyulu wurrbal yuba gada-y,*
 3sg+NOM Fog+ABS close come-PAST,
 Fog came close,
 b. *yugu naga daama-y.*
 tree+ABS on the East spear-PAST
 and speared the tree on the Eastern side.
 c. *Nhangu dharramali bunggu gudhiirrigu daama-adhi*
 3sg+ACC Thunder+ABS knee+ABS two+ABS-gu spear-REF+PAST
dhirrgal-i-gu
 right through
 Both Thunder's knees got speared right through,
 d. *yugu guwa galmba daama-adhi.*
 tree+ABS West also spear-REF+PAST.
 and the tree on the West side also was speared.

Clauses (a) and (b) focus on Fog's approach and his act of spearing - the first thing he aims for and spears is the

Eastern tree. Clauses (c) and (d) shift attention to the other things that are speared on the same throw, and the reflexive form of the verbs shifts attention away from the conscious act of spearing and onto the objects that are affected by the act. The reflexive form also suggests not that spearing Thunder and the other tree were unintentional acts, but that they were the consequences of the main act of spearing the first tree, with the spear plowing inexorably on through knees and another tree. See (285). The sense is much like this: 'Fog came and speared the first tree, spearing Thunder's knees and another tree in the bargain'.

The reflexive form seems not, then, to be strictly a syntactic device at all, but rather a kind of packaging device (I owe this expression to William Foley) which helps direct attention to the salient NPs in a bit of discourse, and to emphasize the nature of their involvement or participation in the actions: is an NP acting, or being acted upon, or both?

4.3.6 GENERALIZED ACTION. If there are no systematic syntactic reasons for an anti-passive construction, what then is the force of reflexive forms in sentences like (298) and (304), or (164) and (299), or again in (306), (308), and (311)?

A sentence like (299) clearly involves some sort of reciprocity but the precise conditions are different from those which obtain in straightforward reciprocal constructions (see (270), (274)). The verb *wu-maa* 'give' normally involves three distinct NPs: an animate NP in A function (the person who gives), an inanimate NP in O function (the thing that is given), and a second animate NP in 'indirect object' function, with Dative inflection. One way of viewing the act of giving is as a transaction from one person to another, with the object given merely the medium of the transaction. In (299) the reciprocity between givers and receivers is marked by reflexive form, and the objects involved - spears - are shown in an oblique case, peripheral to the reciprocal action which involves the animate actors. (In both (299) and (164) the word *galga-wi* can be replaced by *galga-angu* with Purposive inflection.) Another verb, *milbil* 'promise', shows even more clearly the sense in which an act of giving involves two animate entities, one giving (or in this case promising to give) to the other. A normal transitive sentence with *milbil* has an A NP (the promiser), an O NP (the person to whom a promise is given), and usually a further Instrumental NP (the thing promised).

- (316) *Nyundu nganhi galga-anh milbi.*
 2sg+NOM 1sg+ACC spear-INST promise+PAST
 'You promised me with a spear' (English gloss offered; i.e., you promised to give me a spear.)

In reflexive form, *milbil* implies a mutual promise, or an agreement; the Purposive complement that accompanies a reflexive form of *milbil* shows what the agreement was about.

- (317) *Ngulgu ngali milbi-idhi wadhin dhada-nhu.*
 yesterday 1du+NOM promise-REF+PAST hunting go-PURP
 Yesterday we agreed to go hunting.

This example illustrates a general feature of reflexive verb stems: frequently, although a reflexive stem can be formed from a transitive verb for normal and systematic reasons (i.e., to describe reflexive or reciprocal action, or to characterize accidental action), the exact sense of a verb reflexive in form may well go beyond the normal, predictable reflexive meaning. Thus from transitive *milbil* 'promise' we have reflexive 'agree'; from transitive *ma-naa* 'get' we have a reflexive meaning 'be married, get married' (sentence (306)); from transitive *budal* 'eat' is derived a reflexive that means 'have a good feed, stuff oneself' (sentence (304)). And so on.

Even the seemingly straightforward *gundal* 'hit, kill' has a reflexive form whose meaning goes beyond the reflexive/reciprocal and accidental senses. (269), (270), and (274) illustrate reflexive and reciprocal uses of the verb, and (287) shows the 'accidental' sense of the reflexive form. However, the following sentence is also possible:

(318) *Nyulu gunda-adhi*
3sg+NOM hit-REF+PAST

He had a fight; he was in a fight.

Here the reflexive form seems to suggest a generalized sort of action in which the person in question was a participant; but the sentence itself does not specify whether he was a hitter or a receiver of hits - only that hitting was going on and that he was involved.

The same sort of generalized action is depicted in (298) and (304), with the verb *budaadhi*. In both cases the food consumed is relegated to a peripheral NP in Dative case; the reflexive form of the normally transitive *budal* 'eat' is now an intransitive verb that depicts generalized eating (stuffing oneself, in fact), in which the participants are not specifically acting on some object but rather just participating in an eating event.

This, then, is a different sort of motivation for reflexive verb forms: to demote specific O NPs to the status of peripheral accessories to a generalized sort of action, in which the underlying A NPs are now participants, in S function. Thus, the reflexive form of *ma-naa* denotes the state of being married (and to whom one is married is not a central concern, see (306)); the reflexive of *gaymbal* 'swear at' denotes a particular kind of verbal behaviour, and the target of the verbal abuse is not particularly relevant to the activity (see (307)).

Notably, reflexive stem forms also occur with a few intransitive verbs; in each case, the meaning of the reflexive form derives from applying to the meaning of the original intransitive root the notion of reflexivity, reciprocity, accidental non-intentionality, or generalized action:

yirrgaa 'speak'

yirrga-adhi 'agree with one another;
have a conversation'

barrbil 'camp overnight'

barrbi-idhi 'get married in the bush;
i.e., sleep together illicitly in the scrub,
away from camp'

<i>daabal</i> 'move about, wade'	<i>daaba-adhi</i> 'make involuntary motion; move or change position (inanimate object)'
<i>gacwal</i> 'sing out' (usually with an Acessive complement which denotes the person one calls to)	<i>gaawa-adhi</i> 'yell (in general), shout hoping for someone to hear'
<i>nganggaa</i> 'be unable to do something, be hesitant about something' (and the thing one can't do is usually expressed with a Purposive verb form)	<i>ngangga-adhi</i> 'be totally incompetent at everything'

4.3.7 SUMMARY OF REFLEXIVE USES. *Guugu Yimidhirr* transitive verbs all require animate A NPs, which refer to Agents who consciously control and regulate some action on some object. Reflexive forms arise when the circumstances of action do not conform to this transitive paradigm. We have distinguished several different such cases:

(1) When the A NP is also the O NP; that is, when an Agent acts on himself, or when several Agents act on one another;

(2) When there is no animate Agent, or when that Agent only accidentally acts;

(3) When the focus of a sentence promotes the object of action to a position of prominence, so that the sentence revolves around an entity and what happens to it (rather than on an Agent and what he or she does);

(4) And, finally, when the action in question is of a generalized nature, so that the focus of a sentence demotes the Agent from a transitive actor on objects to a participant in the generalized action.

The conditions for the regular use of reflexive verb forms fall into two categories - semantic and pragmatic. First, the nature of the action to be described (reflexive/reciprocal or accidental) affects the form of the resulting verb (cases (1) and (2), and, to some extent, case (3)). Second, when the referential emphasis of discourse leads attention away from an Agent towards an Object, a syntactic device (like the use of reflexive forms) may achieve the shift of focus from A NP to O NP.

4.4 SUBORDINATE STRUCTURES

There are three kinds of subordinate clause in *Guugu Yimidhirr*: Causal, Purposive, and Simultaneous Action clauses. Each type corresponds to a type of syntactic extension: a Causal clause to a Causal NP, and so on. Whereas Causal NPs or Purposive NPs relate the action of a verb to some cause, or purpose or goal, Causal and Purposive

clauses spell out these causes or purposes with full verbs. Similarly, just as some Dative NPs - especially when the noun in question denotes an *activity* - specify action simultaneous with the action of the main verb (see (218)-(219)), another sort of subordinate clause also specifies simultaneous action with an inflected verb.

4.4.1 PURPOSIVE CLAUSES. As we saw in section 4.1.4[f], purposive NPs are exactly parallel to subordinate clauses whose verbs have the purposive suffix *-nhu*. For example, (227), with a purposive NP, and (145) with a purposive subordinate clause, have otherwise very similar structures. Additionally, those adjectival or nominal predicates that take Purposive complements can usually also take Purposive clauses as complements. Thus, corresponding to (241) is

- (319) *Ngayu wawu-dhirr mayi buda-nhu.*
 1sg+NOM want-COM+ABS food+ABS eat-PURP
 I want to eat food.

And compare (243), with the predicate *yinil* 'afraid', with

- (320) *Nyulu gaari yinil dhada-nhu, nyulu murnda dhada-nhu.*
 3sg+NOM NOT afraid+ABS go-PURP 3sg+NOM tame+ABS go-PURP
 He's not afraid to go; he is willing to go [literally, brave for going].

A subordinate *-nhu* clause need not share any NPs with the main clause to which it attaches, though there must be some logical relationship between the two clauses.

- (321) *Nyulu yugu baawa-y nyundu mayi buda-nhu.*
 3sg+NOM fire+ABS light-PAST 2sg+NOM food+ABS eat-PURP
 She lit the fire so that you could eat food.

Similarly, with verbs of desire or commands:

- (322) *Ngayu wawu-dhirr-gu nyundu dhada-nhu.*
 1sg+NOM want-COM-gu 2sg+NOM go-PURP
 I want you to go.

However, it is more common for the two clauses to share NPs, and in certain situations, a coreferential NP in the subordinate clause will be omitted. Compare (322) with (319), in which the A NP of the verb *buda-nhu* is understood to be *ngayu*, the same as the S NP of the nominal predicate 'want'. (138), (145) and (320) all have the same sort of structure: the S NP in the intransitive main clause refers to the same entity as the S or A NP in the *-nhu* clause. In such cases, the S or A NP of the subordinate clause is omitted. This is true whether or not the S NP in the main intransitive clause is a pronoun or a noun (or, commonly, a noun with adjoined personal pronoun):

- (323) *Nyulu gabiirr gada-almugu mayi baawa-nhu.*
 3sg+NOM girl+ABS come-PAST+NEG food+ABS cook-PURP
 The girl didn't come to cook the food [i.e., she was supposed to come but never showed up].

Notice that the A NP in the subordinate clause here would be of the form

nyulu gabirr-inh
3sg+NOM girl-ERG

had it not been omitted - so the rule which deletes an NP in A function in the subordinate clause is based on coreferentiality rather than on equal morphological form with the S NP of the main clause. (What matters is that the same girl who didn't come was supposed to cook the food, and the fact that the word *gabiirr* is in Absolutive case in the main clause and ergative in the subordinate clause does not affect the deletion.)

If the S NP of an intransitive main clause is coreferential with the O NP of a subordinate *-nhu* clause, the O NP seemingly may not be deleted. If the O NP is inanimate, the entire NP must remain in the subordinate clause; if it is animate, at least an accusative pronominal trace must be left behind.

- (324) *Nyundu yuuli-i dyiral nhamu-wmu-n nhina nhaadhi-nhu.*
2sg+NOM stand-IMP wife- 2sg+GEN-mu-ERG 2sg+ACC see-PURP
You stand up, so your wife [can] see you.

When the main clause is transitive, the treatment of coreferential NPs is somewhat more complicated. When the main and subordinate clauses share both A and O NPs, these are both normally deleted from the *-nhu* clause.

- (325) *Nyulu yarrga-ngun yugu bandi baawa-nhu.*
3sg+NOM boy-ERG tree+ABS chop+PAST burn-PURP
The boy chopped [down] the tree in order to burn it.

(Whether or not we ultimately analyse such a sentence in terms of deletion of NPs, it is clear that there are some sorts of constraints on coreferentiality operating to insure that a sentence like (325) is understood to mean that the wood was to be burned, and that the boy intended to do it.) Sometimes the verb with purposive inflection - all that remains of the subordinate clause once A and O NPs have been deleted - moves to an earlier position in the sentence.

- (326) *Ngayu nhila dii buda-nhu yirmgaalnga-l*
1sg+NOM now tea+ABS eat-PURP turn+REDUP-NONPAST
I am stirring the tea now so that I can drink it.

Similarly, when both main and subordinate clauses have the same O NP, this is frequently omitted from the subordinate clause, even when the A NPs differ between the two.

- (327) *Guudyu yii ngayu daama-y nyundu buda-nhu*
fish+ABS this 1sg+NOM spear-PAST 2sg+NOM eat-PURP
I speared this fish for you to eat.

A verb of ordering (like *waadal* 'say', *gurral* 'say, make', *dyiidyurr* 'order, instruct') in the main clause takes as object the person who is ordered to do something; what that person is ordered to do appears in a *-nhu* clause, whose A or S NP is coreferential with the O NP, object of the main verb. The A or S NP of the *-nhu* clause is deleted.

- (328) *Ngayu nhangu bidha waada-y dyaarba gunda-nhu.*
1sg+NOM 3sg+ACC child+ABS tell-PAST snake+ABS kill-PURP
I told the child to kill the snake.

TABLE 4.1 - *Deletion of coreferential NPs
in Purposive Subordinate Clauses*

Main Clause NP Function	Deleted NP in Subordinate <i>-nhu</i> Clause
S	A or S (not O)
A	A (not S)
O	O; sometimes S or A

Here is another example of a deleted S NP in a *-nhu* clause, coreferential to the O NP in the main clause.

- (329) *Nganhi dhana dubi biini-nhu.*
 1sg+ACC 3pl+NOM leave+PAST die-PURP
 They left me to die.

Furthermore, an A NP in a *-nhu* clause coreferential to the A NP in the main clause routinely is deleted.

- (330) *Ngayu burnday bandi-l minha gundil maani-nhu.*
 1sg+NOM notch+ABS cut-NONPAST meat+ABS egg+ABS get-PURP
 I'll cut notches [in the tree] to get the eggs. (Man cuts notches in a tree so that he can climb to get eggs from a nest.)

Sometimes an S NP in a *-nhu* clause coreferential to the A NP of the main clause will be deleted, but ordinarily Guugu Yimidhirr speakers will retain such an S NP.

- (331) *Nyulu nambal yabarraban maandi dagaadhi-nhu.*
 3sg+NOM rock+ABS gigantic+ABS bring+PAST sit-PURP
 He brought [up] a large rock for him to sit [down on].

But in

- (332) *Ngayu nambuurr balgaalga-l ngayu wuna-nhu.*
 1sg+NOM bed+ABS make+REDUP-NONPAST 1sg+NOM lie down-PURP
 I am making a bed to sleep on [for me to sleep on].

the second occurrence of *ngayu* seems to resist deletion.

Table 4.1 summarizes the various possibilities for deletion of coreferential NPs in Purposive clauses.

Sentences (138), (145), and (319)-(320) illustrate what is by far the most frequent configuration with purposive subordinate clauses: the main clause is intransitive, and its S NP is coreferential with the (deleted) S or A NP of the subordinate *-nhu* clause. (Compare this construction with the very common sequence of clauses sharing a common topic shown in (302), and discussed in 4.3.5 and 4.10.) All other combinations of coreferential NPs in main and *-nhu* clauses are relatively infrequent; the possibilities for deletion seem to depend heavily on the meanings and contexts of such sentences. Roughly, an A or an O NP common to both clauses may be deleted from the subordinate clause. But sometimes the S or A NP of the *-nhu* clause is coreferential with the O NP of the main clause - a fact that suggests that an O NP is also a potential candidate (along with the S or A NP) for being the most prominent NP of a sentence, a possible *topic* for a string of sentences. We shall return to this question in 4.4.3 and 4.10 below.

A purposive clause occasionally looks a bit like a kind of relative clause that describes what some object or person is good for or what it does. See, for example, (146). The following sentence (which comes from the same myth as (146)) makes more explicit the connections between the main clause and the *-nhu* clause that accompanies it.

- (333) *Yii ngadhu-um-i biiba-wi mil bubu*
 this+ABS 1sg+GEN-mu-DAT father-DAT eye+ABS earth+ABS
nhaadhiidhi-nhu mil-ngun
 see+REDUP-PURP eye-INST

These are my father's eyes, for him to see the earth with.

But it is equally possible to leave understood both the A NP of the *-nhu* clause (in these cases, the owner of the body part) and the instrumental NP denoting the body part itself.

- (334) *Yii ngadhu-um-i biiba-wi ngaaguul nganhi mida-nhu.*
 this+ABS 1sg+GEN-mu-DAT father-DAT arm+ABS 1sg+ACC lift-PURP
 This is my father's arm [for him] to lift me [with].

And it is also possible for the descriptive *-nhu* clause to replace the 'head' noun entirely, as in the following sentence (from the same story):

- (335) *Yii ngadhu-um-i biiba-wi mayi budaa-nhu*
 this+ABS 1sg+GEN-mu-DAT father-DAT food+ABS eat+REDUP-PURP
 This is [what] my father [uses] for eating food [i.e., his mouth].

Purposive clauses anticipate future action: action that will follow that described in the main verb, or action that is intended to follow it. In a similar way, a purposive NP denotes an entity which will be the object of or be otherwise involved in some action subsequent to that of the verb. When I say 'I'm going for fish' I mean that after a while I will catch fish, or receive fish, etc. The subordinate structures considered in the next section are oriented to past action, and show the causal antecedents of the action denoted by the main verb.

4.4.2 CAUSAL CLAUSES. As we saw in 3.5.3[j], the verbal suffix *:-yga* seems to have three distinct uses. On an independent verb it marks perfective action, or remote past action (particularly appropriate, say, to mythological accounts); see (153-4). The suffix also marks subordinate clauses expressing action simultaneous with that of the main verb, under fairly restricted conditions of coreferentiality, as we shall see in the next section. But *:-yga* may be used to form a subordinate clause that indicates a causal antecedent to the main verb, much as a Causal NP with *-nganh* expresses cause or origin (see 4.4.4[b]). Examples are (156-7).

The correspondence between subordinate causal clauses with *:-yga* and causal NPs is apparent in the relationship between (186) and

- (336) *Nyulu biini buurraay gaga buda-ayga.*
 3sg+NOM die+PAST water+ABS poison+ABS eat-SUB1
 He died from drinking grog.

Causal clauses relate to main clauses much as Purposive clauses do. Thus, for example, there need be no NP common

to both main and subordinate clause, if there is an appropriate logical interrelationship between the two.

- (337) *Nhila=ngarraal-gu birri warrga dudaara ganbi*
 now=?-gu river+ABS big+ABS run+REDUP+NONPAST blood+ABS
nhangu ngamu=ngaadhaarr-bi duda-ayga.
 3sg+GEN+ABS mother=dog-GEN+ABS run-SUB1.

Nowadays a great river runs [there], as a result of the dingo's blood flowing. (From a story about a river formed where a giant dingo was killed in mythological times.)

But ordinarily main and Causal clause share NP(s), and the conditions which allow deletion of an NP coreferential to an earlier one are similar to those governing coreferential deletion on purposive clauses. There is, however, one additional possibility not seen with purposive clauses: it seems to be possible to delete an O NP in a causal clause when it is coreferential with the S NP of the main clause.

- (338) *Ngayu buli yarraman-ngun dhuurrnga-ayga*
 1sg+NOM fall+PAST horse-ERG push-SUB1
 I fell because the horse pushed me.

(But compare (156), in which the O NP (an accusative pronoun) in the subordinate clause is not deleted despite its coreferentiality with the S NP of the main clause.)

In fact, the relationships of coreferentiality in these constructions are extremely varied. Consider the sentence

- (339) *Nhangu dyaarba-nganh maandi dyinda-ayga*
 3sg+ACC snake-ABL take+PAST bite-SUB1.
 [Somebody] took him away from the snake because [it] had bitten [him].

Here the evident A NP of the subordinate clause is coreferential to an ablative adjunct to the main clause; and the O NP is the same in both clauses (and notice the lack of an explicit A NP on the main verb *maandi* 'took'). It is an open question whether syntactic constraints on deletion or some pragmatically based canons of interpretation are more appropriate to explain a sentence like the following, which displays both purposive and causal subordinate clauses:

- (340) *Nyulu dhada-y gungga-alu nhangu gunda-nhu nhangu gaangga*
 3sg+NOM go-PAST north-ALL 3sg+ACC kill-PURP 3sg+GEN+ABS yam+ABS
baga-ayga.
 dig-SUB1

He went North to kill him, for having dug up his yam.

Here it may be revealing to represent the three underlying clauses with indices on the noun phrases:

1. He₁ went North
2. He₁ will kill him₂.
3. He₂ dug his₁ yam up.

In subordinating clause 2 to clause 1, the S NP of clause 1 is coreferential to the A NP of clause 2 and (in typical fashion) the latter is deleted. In turn, clause 3 is subordinated to the resulting sentence, and now the A NP of clause 3, coreferential to the O NP of clause 2, is deleted. In the

resulting sentence, the reference of the non-deleted 3rd person pronominal forms switches from person₁ (S function in clause 1), to person₂ (O function in clause 2), and back to person₁ again (genitive modifier to the O NP of clause 3). All other pronouns are deleted.

A particularly interesting Causal clause shows how the Causal suffix *:-yga* may be affixed to a verb which does not, at first sight, seem to be the main verb of a clause.

- (341) *Biiba-ngun nhangu diinga-y nyulu wawu=murrgarra*
 father-ERG 3sg+ACC laugh at-PAST 3sg+NOM CAN'T
galga-anh daama-ayga
 spear-INST spear-SUB1.

[His] father laughed at him, because he couldn't spear with a spear.

The subordinate clause here means '[because]he couldn't spear[things]with a spear'. There is no explicit O NP. Notably, Causal marking can help clarify the structure of such a clause: the main verb, which receives the suffix *:-yga*, is the form of *daamal* 'to spear', and not *wawu=murrgarra* 'can't', which is revealed as a modal qualifier (see 4.8).

However, clauses with full nominal predicates *can* appear as causal subordinate clauses, with a dummy verb carrying the suffix *:-yga*. The following example comes from a Guugu Yimidhirr sermon describing the great Flood:

- (342) *Ngayu dhula warrga diiga-l bubu-wi bama wulbu*
 1sg+NOM flood+ABS big+ABS send-NONPAST land-ALL man+ABS all+ABS
warraa=gurra-nhu, bama milga-mul nhin.gaalngg-iga.
 bad=CAUS-PURP man+ABS ear-PRIV+ABS sit+REDUP-SUB1

I will send a great flood to the earth to destroy all men, because men have been disobedient.

Here the privative form of *milga* 'ear' is a nominal predicate meaning 'disobedient'; the reduplicated form of *nhin.gal* 'sit' is the dummy carrier of the subordinate suffix (as well as the bearer of the aspectual information contained in the reduplication).

The semantic and syntactic parallel between the Causal verbal suffix *:-yga* and the nominal suffix *-nganh* becomes even more striking when we consider that both kinds of Causal marking can indicate both cause and priority in time. Compare (13) with the following:

- (343) *Ngayu dhada-a mayi buda-ayga*
 1sg+NOM go-NONPAST food+ABS eat-SUB1
 I will go after eating food.

Similarly, notice the structure and the first reading of the following sentence; (the dog is unambiguously the entity doing the eating).

- (344) *Ngayu guda gunda-y mayi buda-ayga.*
 1sg+NOM dog+ABS kill-PAST food+ABS eat-SUB1
 I killed the dog after/because it ate the food.

4.4.3 SIMULTANEOUS ACTION. Whereas purposive clauses denote actions which will follow (or are intended to follow) the action of the main verb, and whereas causal clauses

denote actions antecedent to the main clause, two further subordinating suffixes mark verbs which depict action simultaneous to the main verb. And while the conditions of coreferentiality between main clauses and purposive or causal clauses are relatively free, the syntactic functions of the constituent NPs of simultaneous action clauses are central to the choice between verb suffixes *:-yga* and *-nhun*.

A typical example of the SUB1 suffix *:-yga* marking simultaneous actions is (157). A slightly more complicated case is the following:

- (345) *Nyulu bidha baadhiidhi-l mayi budaari-ga*
 3sg+NOM child+ABS cry+REDUP-NONPAST food+ABS eat+REDUP-SUB1
yindu-umu-n nhangu dyiinbaalmba-y
 other-mu-ERG 3sg+ACC tease+REDUP-PAST
 The child is crying [because] another teased him while he was eating.

The suffix *:-yga* may be used to mark simultaneous action precisely when the S or A NP of the subordinate clause is coreferential with the NP in O function in the main clause; and in such a case the S or A NP of the subordinate clause is generally deleted. Occasionally, even the O NP of the main clause does not appear, suggesting, as in examples we have seen before, an indefinite sense.

- (346) *Nyulu nhaa-dhi mayi nhangu budaari-ga.*
 3sg+NOM see-PAST food+ABS 3sg+GEN+ABS eat+REDUP-SUB1
 He saw [someone] eating his food.

The vast majority of sentences with subordinate clauses marking simultaneous action have a subordinate verb in reduplicated form (indicating, naturally enough, continuous action). Moreover, the favourite form of this simultaneous action construction uses *nhaa-maa* 'see' as the independent verb, to produce a sentence that means 'X sees Y Z-ing'.

- (347) *Nyulu yugu-wi nhaa-dhi nhin.gaaln-gi-ga nyulu*
 3sg+NOM tree-LOC see-PAST sit+REDUP-SUB1 3sg+NOM
binaal-mul ngaanaa budhu.
 know-PRIV what+ABS INDEF
 He saw [something] sitting on a tree, [but] he didn't know what [it was].

However, there seems no reason in principle why any transitive verb cannot serve as the verb in a main clause, or why a non-reduplicated verb form cannot, when appropriate in meaning, occur in a clause marking simultaneous action:

- (348) *Dhanaan mundal dyuumbi gunbu dumbiilmbi-ga*
 3pl+ACC others+ABS swallow+PAST dance+ABS break+REDUP-SUB1
 [The giant fish] swallowed the rest of them while they were dancing. [Literally, 'breaking the dance']
- (349) *Ngayu bama nhaadhi buligi gundaarmdi-ga.*
 1sg+NOM man+ABS see+PAST bullock+ABS big+REDUP-SUB1
 I saw a man beating the bullock.
- (350) *Ngayu bama nhaadhi buligi gunda-ayga*
 1sg+NOM man+ABS see+PAST bullock+ABS kill-SUB1
 I saw a man kill the bullock [i.e., when he killed, who killed, the bullock].

In (348) the verb of the main clause is *dyuumbil* 'swallow', rather than *nhaa-maa* 'see'. And in (350) the subordinate verb of simultaneity is in non-reduplicated form - so that the sentence suggests 'I saw the man at the moment that he (finally managed to) kill the bullock' - a sentence whose English gloss obscures the sense of simultaneity involved.

The strict conditions on the structure in which simultaneous *-yga* can occur provide another sort of motivation for the 'reflexive' *-dhi* forms discussed in 4.3.5 above. A sentence containing a subordinate clause of simultaneous action will have the form:

A NP O NP₁ Transitive verb A or S NP₁ Verb-SUB1

where the subscript shows that both NPs in question refer to the same entity. There is, within this structure, no provision for a subordinate clause of simultaneity in which the coreferential NP is in O function in the *-yga* clause. So, for example, there is no equivalent to (157), using a transitive form of the subordinate verb, that means 'I saw the bullock being beaten'. Such a sentence can, however, fairly obviously be constructed to meet the structural conditions described by using a *-dhi* form of the subordinate verb.

- (351) *Ngayu buligi nhaa-dhi gundaarnda-dhi-ga.*
 1sg+NOM bullock+ABS see-PAST beat+REDUP-REF-SUB1
 I saw the bullock getting beaten.

The other systematic gap in the structure which admits clauses of simultaneity derives from the fact that the S or A NP of the subordinate clause must be coreferential with the main clause O NP - something that would be impossible when the main clause is intransitive, or when the linking NP is in S or A function in the main clause. In such cases, which seem to be relatively rare in Guugu Yimidhirr, the subordinate clause uses the suffix *-nhun* to indicate simultaneity; see (158). Most subordinate clauses with *-nhun* seem to be intransitive; most, in fact, involve verbs of motion (or lack of it).

- (352) *Ngayu mayi buda-y gadaa-nhun*
 1sg+NOM food+ABS eat-PAST come(+REDUP)-SUB2
 I ate the food while (I was) coming

(Notice that the word *gadaanhun*, with a long middle vowel, is equivalent to the full reduplicated form *gadaaranhun*; see section 3.5.3[k].)

- (353) *Dhana ngudhu nhaa-dhi miilu-wi yuulii-nhun*
 3pl+NOM games+ABS see-PAST shade-LOC stand+REDUP-SUB2
 They watched the games while (they were) standing in the shade.

However, it is possible for a subordinate clause of simultaneity to have a transitive verb.

- (354) *Mayi budaa-nhun dhana bidhagurr wuurili-l*
 food-ABS eat+REDUP-SUB2 3pl+NOM child-PLU play+REDUP-NONPAST
 While (they are) eating food the children are playing.

Unlike the subordinate clauses with *-yga*, clauses with *-nhun* are relatively infrequent in current Guugu Yimidhirr;

speakers seem to prefer instead simply to coordinate (by concatenating) clauses denoting simultaneous occurrences:

- (355) *Dhana bidha-gurr wuwrili-l mayi*
 3pl+NOM child-PLU+ABS play+REDUP-NONPAST food+ABS
budaara-l.
 eat+REDUP-NONPAST

The children are playing and eating food.

4.4.4 PAST AND FUTURE ACTION. We have seen that a purposive clause is oriented to a time subsequent to that of the main verb, and a causal clause to a time before that of the main verb. It is natural, then, that when independent verbs have either *-nhu* or *:-yga* suffixes, their meanings have affinities with what we might call future (with overtones of intention, desire, etc.) and past (with overtones of completion) respectively; see (132).

- (356) *Nyundu dhada-nhu gan.gaarr?*
 2sg+NOM go-PURP Cooktown+ALL
 Are you going/do you want to go to Cooktown?

And see again (153)-(154).

The suffix *:-yga* underscores the completion and factuality of an event, especially in clauses which complement verbs of telling or knowing. Contrast the following sentences:

- (357) *Ngayu binaal-mul wu-nay nyulu balga-adhi (nguba gaari).*
 1sg+NOM know-PRIV lie-PAST 3sg+NOM make-REF+PAST PERHAPS NOT
 I didn't know if he was born (or not).

- (358) *Ngayu binaal-mul wu-nay nyulu balga-adhi-ga.*
 1sg+NOM know-PRIV lie-PAST 3sg+NOM make-REF-PERF
 I didn't know that he was born [and he was].

A sentential complement to a verb like *miirriil* 'tell, show' uses Perfective *:-yga* evidently to emphasize factuality:

- (359) *Gaari miirrii-lin bula ngalbi-iga.*
 NOT tell-PAST 3du+NOM steal-PERF
 [They] didn't say that they two had stolen [it]. (That is, they wouldn't admit it, but they had stolen it.)

A better understanding of these details must await further research.

4.5 CONTRAFACTUAL CONSTRUCTIONS

Guugu Yimidhirr has several straightforward devices for describing situations which do not obtain, i.e., for expressing negation. We have already seen that the negative particle *gaari* 'not' immediately precedes a verb (as in (132), (205)) - including an imperative (sentences (144), (160), (207)) - or a nominal predicate:

- (360) *Nhayun gaari burrburr*
 that+ABS NOT hard+ABS
 That's not strong.

In a sentence like (48), the negative particle seems to modify both the verb, and the positional modifier that immediately follows the particle; the same is true in

- (361) *Ngayu gurra-aygu gaari bada gada-a*
 1sg+NOM again-gu NOT down come-NONPAST
 I will not come down ever again. (The Moon, speaking to his
 wives who had tried to kill him, to announce his intention
 to stay forever in the sky.)

Moreover, *gaari* can appear alone as a simple mark of denial:
 'No: that is not the case'.

We have also seen certain other particular negative devices: the opposite of a comitative construction with *-dhirr* is a privative construction with *-mul* (see (51)-(53), (357), (358)). The logical relationship between a comitative and a privative may not be exactly one of contradiction: the privative and the comitative may not exhaust all possibilities. For example, the predicate *garrbun-dhirr* means 'happy, delighted'; this is a comitative form, although there is no independent noun *garrbun*. But the corresponding privative predicate does not exactly mean the opposite of 'happy' - it means 'not (yet) happy' rather than 'unhappy':

- (362) *Garrbun-dhirr=mana-ayi*
 happy-COM=CAU-REF+IMP
 Be happy!

- (363) *Garrbun-mul!*
 happy-PRIV (+IMP)
 Don't be too hasty in being happy! Don't count your chickens...

Here, the force of the privative suffix *-mul* is not simply the absence of some property or condition or thing, but rather its lack in the context of its possible presence. In a similar way, the past negative verbal suffix (section 3.5.3(f)) indicates not simply a neutral negative, but the negation of a proposition that was, in a certain context, possible or at issue; see (133), (139), (323).

- (364) *Ngaliin-gal gada-almugu nyulu*
 1du-ADES come-PAST+NEG 3sg+NOM
 He didn't come with us. (Moon and his wives search for a child,
 and the wives report that the child did not, as Moon had
 asserted, accompany them on their hunting trip.)

Another very commonly employed negative word, which has the character of a nominal predicate, is *guya* 'nonexistent, not'.

- (365) *Nambal wu-waa! Ngadhu guya*
 money+ABS give-IMP 1sg+GEN+ABS nonexistent.
 Give me money! I have none.

The emphatic form with *-gu*, *guyaaygu*, means 'nothing at all, none at all'.

- (366) *Minha daama-y? Guya-aygu*
 meat-ABS spear-PAST? none-EMPH
 Did [you] spear any game? None at all.

As a single word negative reply, many speakers appear to use *gaari* and *guya* interchangeably.

In section 3.5.3[e] we met the verbal suffix *-nda*. When asked to exemplify the use of verbs in *-nda*, Guugu Yimidhirr speakers ordinarily choose a contrary-to-fact conditional

like (147) as a typical case.

- (367) *Nyulu nhamu dhamuunh wuna-nda buurraay wudhi-nda.*
 3sg+NOM 2sg+GEN friend be-CONTRF water+ABS give-CONTRF.
 If he were your friend, he would give you water.

A sentence like (367) suggests that he didn't give you water and that, accordingly, he isn't your friend either.

The contrafactual suffix is also used to evoke a hypothetical, but as yet unrealized situation; speakers refer to hypothetical situations normally to comment on their possibility or impossibility: (100-1), and (108) use the contrafactual verb to mark something as impossible. Similarly,

- (368) *Wanhðharra dudu-nda wali, nhangu dyuumbi-l*
 how run-CONTRF around 3sg+ACC swallow-NONPAST
 How could he run away (around); he was going to be swallowed.
 (A creature being pursued by a giant fish.)

On the other hand, the contrafactual form may also be used to comment upon or inquire about the possibility of some as yet unrealized occurrence.

- (369) *Ngayu nhayun yugu bandi-nda gurra.*
 1sg+NOM that+ABS tree+ABS chop-CONTRF also
 I could [easily] chop down that tree.

- (370) *Ngayu buligi ganaa gunda-nda?*
 1sg+NOM bullock+ABS alright kill-CONTRF
 Would it be alright for me to kill the bullock?

And consider the following long hypothetical conditional, quoted from an inspirational speech about loyalty to one's own homeland:

- (371) *Ngayu yurraan dhaabangadhi-nda 'Yurrangan nanggurr wanhðhaa?'*
 1sg+NOM 2pl+ACC ask-CONTRF 2pl+GEN+ABS camp+ABS where
yurra wulbu-umu-n miirrii-nda 'Ngadhu bubu yii.'
 2pl+NOM all-mu-ERG tell-CONTRF 1sg+GEN+ABS ground+ABS here
 If I were to ask you all 'Where is your camp?' you would all
 say 'My land is here...'

Or consider the following rhetorical question:

- (372) *Nganiil-nganh ngayu balga-nda?*
 what-ABL/CAU 1sg+NOM make-CONTRF
 From what should I make [it]? (Said by someone who is supposed
 to make a fishing spear for someone else.)

The implication of this question could be either: 'There is nothing I could possibly use to make it, so how can I be expected to do it' (emphasizing impossibility); or 'What in the world shall I use to do it' (emphasizing that I *can* make it, but that I haven't yet done so and am in some doubt about doing so; and have thus framed the event as hypothetical pending other information that you might be able to supply).

Seemingly related to the contrafactual form is a 'critical form' based on the verbal suffix *-nda*, with an additional suffix *-dyi* appended to it. The resulting verb form is used to chide someone for *not* doing something that he or she should have done.

- (373) *Nyundu ngaanii daama-y dubi-nda-dyi?*
 2sg+NOM why spear-PAST leave-CONTRF-dyi?
 Why did you spear [it], why didn't you leave it [i.e., you should have left it]? (Comment directed at a youth who speared a totemic animal.)
- (374) *Nyundu dhada-nda-dyi?*
 2sg+NOM go-CONTRF-dyi
 Why didn't you go? (I.e., you should have gone.)

4.6 APPREHENSIONAL CONSTRUCTIONS

We have seen that the purposive case on noun phrases can be used in two more or less opposite senses. First, purposive indicates a goal or desired, intended object (see (225)-(227)); but it can also mark an object that inspires fear or ought to be avoided (see (224)). Purposive subordinate clauses correspond to noun phrases with purposive inflection with the former meaning. But there are also clauses that correspond to purposive noun phrases that denote objects to be avoided. Such clauses are used to issue warnings, cautions and admonitions - uniformly about events, actions, and outcomes that are undesirable. (Notice that (224) has both an NP in purposive inflection (in the avoidance sense) and a cautionary verb as well.)

There are three sorts of 'apprehensional' clauses, whose morphology is described in section 3.5.3(g)-(i): a Cautionary clause that suggests an imminent (and undesirable) possibility (see (47), (148)); an 'anticipatory' clause that also expresses an event that is on the verge of happening, and which usually occurs together with a suggestion about what alternative course of action should be followed *before* the undesirable occurs (as in (149) and (150)). Finally, the precautionary clause is like an English cause introduced by *lest*, to denote an undesirable occurrence which can be avoided by taking certain prior precautions (see (151), (152), (312)-(314)).

Of these three clause types, only the cautionary forms occur independently.

- (375) *Bidha buurray-ay buli-ya*
 child+ABS water-ALL fall-CAUT
 The child might fall in the water!

Such a sentence, in socially situated speech, would of course have the force of a (strong and urgent) suggestion that the child be moved out of danger. Normally, however, apprehensional clauses of all three sorts occur together with independent main verbs - often imperatives - which express a remedy appropriate in the face of a negatively evaluated possibility or likelihood.

- (376) *Yuba-aygu dhad-ii bidha buurray-ay buli-ya*
 near-gu go-IMP child+ABS water-ALL fall-CAUT
 Go up close; the child might fall in the water.

A more intimate relationship obtains between a main clause and a precautionary clause. A purposive complement expresses a goal towards the realization of which the action of the

main verb is aimed. A precautionary clause expresses an undesirable outcome which the action of the main verb is designed to prevent, avoid, or otherwise sidestep.

- (377) *Yuba-aygu dhad-ii bidha buli-igamu*
 near-gu go-IMP child+ABS fall-PRECAUT
 Go up close so that the child won't fall.

Notice that it is not necessary for the main clause and the subordinate precautionary clause to share any NPs at all. Frequently, however, there is an NP common to both the independent clause and the apprehensional clause (of any of the three varieties described). For example, in (149) and (312) the S NP of the main clause is coreferential with the (deleted) S NP of the anticipatory or the precautionary clause. The only other frequently observed structure in which a coreferential NP in an apprehensional clause is routinely deleted can be seen in (152), where an O NP in the main clause is coreferential to a (deleted) S NP in the precautionary etc. clause. However, too few unelicited examples of such constructions have been observed to draw firm conclusions about the deletability in general of coreferential NPs.

4.6.1 BEFORE AND AFTER. Nouns that denote events can express time as well; with ablative inflection, such a noun can mean 'after the event' (sentence (119)). And with the preposition *magu* 'before' and purposive case, such a noun can be used to express 'before the event'. For example,

- (378) *Ngayu dyanydyi-l magu mayi-ingu*
 1sg+NOM bathe-NONPAST before food-PURP
 I'll have a bath before eating.

We have seen that subordinate clauses with verbs in *-yga* parallel temporal expressions formed from nouns in ablative case (see (343)-(344)).

Similarly, *magu* combines with clauses whose verbs bear either ANTIC inflection (with *-yigu*) or the subordinate suffix *-nhun* to express time before; see (150). Such a construction does not seem to require coreferential NPs in main and anticipatory clauses, although the conditions on deletion when there is a coreferential NP are not yet clear.

4.7 POSSESSION

As we have seen (4.1.4[e]), and as the forms suggest (see 3.2.3[b]), there is a close relationship between ordinary (alienable) possession, marked by genitive inflection, and the recipient or beneficiary of an act, marked by dative. Thus, for example, what is a dative NP in (379) is identical in form to what is apparently a genitive expression in (380).

- (379) *Dhana gada-ayga, badhibay ngarraa-ngay wudhi-iga bulaan*
 3pl+NOM come-PERF bone+ABS skin-PLU+ABS give-PERF 3du+DAT
gambagamba-wi gurra gaminhdharr nhangu-um-i
 old lady-DAT AND grandchild- 3sg+GEN-mu-DAT
 They came [and] gave bones and skin to the old lady and to her grandchild.

- (380) *Bulaan gambagamba-wi gurra gaminhdharr nhangu-um-i*
 3du+GEN+ABS old lady-GEN+ABS AND grandchild 3sg+GEN-mu-GEN+ABS
mayi badha-adhi.
 food+ABS finish-REF+PAST

The food of the old lady and her grandchild was finished.

In (379) the food (the skin and bones) comes into the possession of the old lady and her grandchild as a result of an act of giving in which they are the recipients; in (380) the food which they received (which they possessed) starts out in their possession, and they finish it. Notice that a GEN plus GEN construction of the sort seen in (380) is possible even with a noun:

- (381) A: *Yii wanhun mayi?*
 this+ABS who+GEN+ABS food+ABS
 Whose food is this?
- B: *Yii ngaliin gaminhdharr gambagamba-ga-m-i*
 this+ABS 1du+GEN+ABS grandchild- old lady-GEN-mu-GEN+ABS
 This is ours - mine and that of the old lady's grandchild.

The identity of forms between DAT and GEN+ABS makes ambiguity possible, as in (216) and the following:

- (382) *Nyulu ngadhu galga maandiindi.*
 3sg+NOM {1sg+DAT spear+ABS take+REDUP+NONPAST
 {1sg+GEN+ABS
 He is bringing {the spear to me.
 {my spear.

The morphological identity of dative and genitive inflection suggests that alienable possession, the relationship typically between a thing and the being that has control over it (rights to its use, over its disposal, etc.) resembles the relationship that obtains between the object and the beneficiary of a verb like *give*.

Let's look more closely at the structure of the possessive expressions in (379)-(381). We saw in section 3.2.3[b] that a possessed NP has the form:

[NP NP+GEN]_{NP} +Case

The subject of the intransitive verb *badhaadhi* 'be finished' in (380) shows both a 'possessor of a possessor' construction, and a compound NP with the coordinating *gurra* 'and'.

(383)

'the food of the two of them: of the old lady and of her grandchild'

The exact status of what is represented here as NP₄, which dominates the coordination of 'old lady' and 'grandchild', is not clear. Guugu Yimidhirr speakers often accomplish such coordination, which is clearly crucial in determining the form of the adjoined pronoun *bula* '3du', without the explicit conjunction *gurra* 'and'; but seemingly any non-singular NP carries with it, as it were, the potential for making explicit its exact composition in terms of individual components. (See (188), (192)-(194).) The case associated with each constituent in a tree like (383) can be thought of as being distributed downwards onto each component constituent liable to case inflection. Thus *mayi* bears ABS inflection; the components of NP₃ will have GEN+ABS inflection. Hence the pronoun *bula* will be marked for GEN+ABS, as will *gambagamba*. Similarly, constituent NP₅ as a whole will carry GEN+ABS inflection: the noun *gamindharr* appears alone, and the pronoun carries the entire case load - both its own genitive, and the further genitive of the whole NP:

nhangu-um-i
3sg+GEN-mu-GEN+ABS.

An ordinary possessor will normally be animate, often human: not every sort of entity in the world can be a recipient, or can exercise control over a possession. Nor, indeed, can every sort of thing be possessed in this way. Guugu Yimidhirr distinguishes alienable (socially constituted) possession, which requires genitive inflection on the noun denoting the possessor, from so-called inalienable possession, which expresses the relationship between whole and part. See 3.2.3[b], 4.1.1[f], and 4.3.4. Normally an inalienably possessed NP has the form

$\left[\begin{array}{cc} \text{Whole} & \text{Part} \end{array} \right]_{\text{NP}} + \text{Case}$

where the case of the entire NP is distributed over both whole and part, with no genitive inflection at all. The relationship between alienable and inalienable possession is clarified somewhat by the observation that while the Whole can itself be an alienably possessed NP, the Part cannot.

- (384) *Yarrga-wi biiba dhamal wagi-idhi.*
boy-GEN+ABS father+ABS foot+ABS cut-REF+PAST
The boy's father's foot got cut.

When the possessor is animate, especially human, it also appears to be possible to express the part-whole relationship with an alienably possessed construction, using genitive inflection. Compare (42) with (384). I have been able to discern no difference - in meaning, in contextual appropriateness or syntactic acceptability between the following possibilities:

- (385) *Nyulu* $\left\{ \begin{array}{cc} \text{ngadhu} & \text{mangal wagi} \\ \text{1sg+GEN+ABS} & \text{hand+ABS cut+PAST} \end{array} \right.$
 $\left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{nganhi} \\ \text{1sg+ACC} \end{array} \right.$
He cut my hand/cut me in the hand.

However, when part and whole are inanimate Guugu Yimidhirr speakers resist the explicit genitive construction. Thus, the following two sentences are not equivalent:

- (386) *Ngayu yugu magiil bandi.*
 1sg+NOM tree+ABS branch+ABS chop+PAST
 I chopped the tree branch.

- (387) *Ngayu yugu-wi magiil bandi.*
 1sg+NOM tree-?LOC branch+ABS chop+PAST
 I chopped the branch [while I was or while it was?] on the tree.

Sentence (387) is of doubtful acceptability in the first place, and there is a clear temptation to interpret the suffix *-wi* as locative rather than genitive. In fact, (387) immediately suggested to a native Guugu Yimidhirr speaker the following less puzzling example, in which the word *yugu-wi* is unambiguously interpreted 'on the tree'.

- (388) *Ngayu yugu-wi minha gunda-y.*
 1sg+NOM tree-LOC meat+ABS kill-PAST
 I killed the game [while it was] on the tree.

Similarly, although a few speakers will accept the second alternative in the following sentence, the appositional rather than the genitive construction is certainly preferred.

- (389) *Yugu-inh*
 tree-ERG
Yugu-uga-mu-n
 tree-GEN-mu-ERG
 The tree
 The tree's } *magil-inh nganhi baydya-rrin.*
 branch-ERG 1sg+ACC cover-PAST
 branch covered [i.e., fell on] me.

Within the genitive construction to express possession, there is no difficulty in describing the possessor of a possessor (or of a whole). Thus, for example, the phrase

yarrga-aga-m-i biiba-wi milil 'the boy's father's eye'

in sentence (42) represents both the inalienable relationship between the father and his eye, and the alienable relationship (from the point of view of Guugu Yimidhirr syntax) between the boy and his father. When the inalienable relationship is between an inanimate whole and its parts, it is at least in some cases also possible to express the possessor of the inalienable possessor (the whole), as in the following sentence:

- (390) *Ngadhu dinggi milguul guya.*
 1sg+GEN+ABS boat+ABS oil+ABS NONE
 My boat has no petrol.

However, so far no examples have been encountered displaying constructions like 'my tree's branch' or even 'the point/tip of my spear', which combine both alienable possession and a strict part/whole relationship.

Furthermore, although the constructions of the language provide for 'possession of a possessor', or even for 'possession of a possessor of a whole (which has a part)', further embedding of possession is impossible, within the mechanisms that have been described. There is, however, one

situation which may frequently require description in terms of more complexity than exhibited in examples so far: the description of complex kin relationships. Imagine, for example, how one might describe the homeland of one's father's mother. We need, it seems, a structure of the form:

[homeland [of the mother [of the father [of me]]]]

Here there are too many levels of embedding to be handled by existing mechanisms (although much could be accomplished by the *lexicalization* of such complex notions as 'father's mother' (= 'grandmother') etc.). However, consider the following sentence:

(391) *Muunhdhi nhayun bubu ngadhu-um-i biiba-wi*
 'Jack River' that land+ABS lsg+GEN-mu-GEN+ABS father-GEN+ABS
 ngamu-uga
 mother-ABES

Jack River: that is my father's homeland on his mother's side.
 (Literally: my father's land from his mother.)

Such constructions appear repeatedly in genealogical discussions - which celebrate the socially constituted relationships *par excellence*; but their productivity in other contexts is not yet attested.

4.8 PARTICLES

In this section we discuss several independent particles: largely non-inflecting words that give modal or other qualification to sentences. We have already met the most important of these: *gaari* 'not' and *guya* 'none'. *Gaari* is the negative particle used with most verb forms and with nominal predicates as well. Ordinarily *gaari* precedes the word it negates, although it can also stand alone to mean simply 'no'. The word *guya* behaves rather more like a predicate on its own, meaning 'non-existent'; however, *guya* does not inflect for case, behaving like a predicative-only adjective. Both *gaari* and *guya* occur with the emphatic suffix *-gu*: *gaarigu* 'no, indeed'; *guyaaygu* 'none at all'. (Particles in general, although they do not inflect for case or tense, allow the emphatic suffix *-gu*.)

Several other particles deal with the factuality of statements. *Bira* 'indeed, certainly' usually follows a predicate and emphasizes its truth; *nguba* 'perhaps' also follows a predicate to suggest some doubt about a proposition, or lack of information. The same particle is used to express a notion like English 'or':

(392) *Nyulu biini nguba, nguba gaari*
 3sg+NOM die+PAST PERHAPS PERHAPS NOT
 Either he died or he didn't [i.e., perhaps he died, perhaps not].

The related particle *budhu* 'if' signals uncertainty, or questions the possibility of some outcome, sometimes very much like a subordinate conjunction, sometimes in a more modal sense.

- (393) *Nyundu budhu dhada-a nyundu minha maa-naa bira.*
 2sg+NOM if go-NONPAST 2sg+NOM meat+ABS get-NONPAST indeed.
 If you go you'll get meat for sure. Should you go, you'll get meat for sure.
- (394) *Wanhu gada-y? Wanhu budhu?*
 who+ABS come-PAST who+ABS if
 Who came? Who, indeed? [I.e., I have no idea, or am uncertain and would like to know, too.]

By contrast, the particle *bira* emphasizes certainty: 'certainly, for sure, in any case'. The particle may be attached to a declaration to suggest an outcome that might have been called into question.

- (395) *Yimi=yimi-dhirr wan.guunh, nyulu gada-a bira.*
 this=REDUP-COM tomorrow 3sg+NOM come-NONPAST surely
 Just the same tomorrow [i.e., let's do the same thing again tomorrow]; [because] he's bound to come [again tomorrow].
 (Two brothers, who have been waiting to ambush another mythic character, plan after failing on one day to try again the following day.)

The desiderative particle *guuna* frequently cooccurs with imperative verb forms; see (143). It can also occur alone, usually with the suffix *-gu/-:ygu*.

- (396) *Minha wu-naa nguba? Guunu-uygu*
 meat+ABS exist-NONPAST perhaps? 'let'-gu.
 Is there any meat Very likely [hopefully].

The word *ganaa* 'alright' acts like an adjectival predicate, although it seems to have no attributive use. For example, a frequent greeting formula is depicted in the following sentence.

- (397) *Nyundu ganaa? Ganaa.*
 2sg+NOM OK OK
 How are you [=are you OK]? I'm fine [=OK].

However, no noun phrase occurs with *gaana* modifying a noun; one cannot say *?bama ganaa* to mean 'the man [who is] alright'. Following an entire clause, and separated from the following words by a pause, the word gives a sense of (satisfactory?) completion, creating a construction that means 'once X, then Y'.

- (398) *Nyundu mayi buda-y ganaa, ngali dhada-a*
 2sg+NOM food+ABS eat-PAST OK 1d+NOM go-NONPAST
 When you have eaten [enough?], then we'll go.

Interestingly, a normal conversational device to allow a speaker to hesitate, or to rephrase some remark which has not come out right, uses the expression *gaari ganaa* (literally, 'not right'):

- (399) *Gadil nhangu - gaari ganaa - Victor.*
 name+ABS 3sg+GEN+ABS NOT OK
 His name is - uh - Victor.

(There seems a very likely relationship between *ganaa* and the words *gana* 'the bottom, the underside, underneath' (a noun) and the time word *ganaaygu* 'long ago'.)

Murrnga 'only' can point to different constituents within a sentence:

- (400) *Murrnga nubun-gu daama-y nyulu*
 only one-gu spear-PAST 3sg+NOM
 He speared only one [i.e., not two].
- (401) *Murrnga nyulu minha daama-y.*
 only 3sg+NOM meat+ABS spear-PAST
 Only he speared meat [no one else got any].

And so forth: *murrnga* immediately precedes the constituent which it encompasses (and so far no clear cases are attested in which *murrnga* seems to modify a verb, as, e.g., in 'He only fell down (i.e., he didn't hurt himself)'). However, *murrnga* also can follow an entire clause (again separated from succeeding material by a pause), to give a modal sense: 'if only X; then Y' or 'if it should just happen that X, then Y'.

- (402) *Nyundu dhada-a murrnga, nyundu nhaa-maa*
 2sg+NOM go-NONPAST only 2sg+NOM see-NONPAST
 If you'll just go, you'll see.

Possibly related to *murrnga* is the particle *murrgarra*, which, often in combination with *wawu* 'soul, breath, want', signifies inability and impossibility.

- (403) *Ngayu (wawu=murrgarra dhada-a.*
 1sg+NOM (breath=)unable go-NONPAST
 I can't go

(See sentence (341).) Whereas an expression like *wawu-dhirr* 'want' takes a purposive complement (see (319) and (322)), the particle *murrgarra*, or the expression *wawu=murrgarra*, always occurs with the non-past form of a verb (no examples with a past tense verb have been encountered). Furthermore, transitive sentences with *murrgarra* show the same pattern of case marking as normal declarative transitive sentences.

- (404) *Nyulu gabirr-inh yugu wawu=murrgarra bandi-l.*
 3sg+NOM girl-ERG tree+ABS unable chop-NONPAST.
 The girl can't cut down the tree.

A further particle, *dhiliinh* 'in return', emphasizes that an action or an event was to pay back some previous action or event (the word is sometimes uttered alone with the meaning 'that serves you right! that pays you back! that's what you deserve!').

- (405) *Ngayu dhiliinh gunda-nhu.*
 1sg+NOM in return hit-PURP
 I intend to hit [him] back [e.g., because he hit me].

Two particles indicate habitual action. *Nhidyin* and *nhuumaar* both mean 'always, regularly'; the coastal expression *magu=bada-aygu* (literally, 'before and after') is regularly used to mean 'always, forever, eternally'.

- (406) *Bidha-gurr yii bubu-wi nhuumaar wuurili*
 child-PLU+ABS these dirt-LOC always play+REDUP+NONPAST
 These kids are always playing in the dirt/on the ground.
 (always=regularly, habitually)

The word *gurra* acts both as a conjunction 'and', and as a particle meaning 'again' or giving an emphatic definiteness to an action. The *-gu* suffix emphasizes the meaning 'again'.

(407) *Nyulu dhada-y gurra(-aygu)*.

3sg+NOM go-PAST again (*-gu*).

He really *did* go; he finally went after all; ... and he went.

OR: he went again.

Galmba 'also' suggests that the action depicted in a sentence took place in addition to some ongoing activity or independent happening.

(408) *Nyulu dhada-y galmba*

3sg+NOM go-PAST also

He went, too [i.e., someone else was going and he *also* did].

Note the clearly related expression: *galmbaa=galmbaa* 'piled one on top of another', which is used figuratively in the following dismayingly accurate portrait of Guugu Yimidhirr by one of its most accomplished native speakers:

(409) *Nganhdhamun guugu warra galmbaa=galmbaa*

1pl+GEN+ABS language+ABS very piled on top of another

Our language is just piled on top of itself [i.e., very complex].

4.9 ERGATIVE HOPPING AND MODIFYING EXPRESSIONS

Sentences like (341) and (404) show that an expression like *wawu=murrgarra* 'unable, can't' is some sort of a modal qualifier to a verb; it is not, in itself, an independent intransitive predicate which has some sort of a complement bearing non-past or other inflection. This situation is rather different from that of such comitative expressions as *wawu-dhirr* 'want' and *wawu-mul* 'not want'; these appear to serve as intransitive predicates (whose S NP will bear ABS and/or NOM case marking), regardless of whether the complement clause, with purposive inflection, is transitive (see (319)) or intransitive (see (322)).

Even here, however, speakers occasionally produce sentences which display what might be called 'ergative-hopping' in which a transitive complement clause engenders ergative inflection on what appears to be the S NP of the predicate *wawu-dhirr* or *wawu-mul*.

(410) *Yarrga-anh wawu-mul yugu bandi-nhu*.

boy-ERG want-PRIV tree+ABS chop-PURP

The boy doesn't want to chop the tree down.

This sentence seems to be somewhat less likely to occur than the following equivalent in which there is no ergative NP.

(411) *Nyulu yarrga wawu-mul yugu bandi-nhu*.

3sg+NOM boy+ABS want-PRIV tree+ABS chop-PURP

The boy doesn't want to chop the tree down.

However, (410) is perfectly acceptable, and the transitivity of the complement verb *bandi-nhu* 'chop' seems enough here to force the ergative suffix onto *yarrga* (which, in a full transitive sentence, would be the A NP for the verb *bandil*),

despite the fact that *yarrga* in (411) is transparently the S NP of the predicate *wawu-mul*.

Ergative inflection evens hops, occasionally, from a transitive clause onto a prior NP which is at once the A of the transitive clause and the S NP of an intransitive full verb which precedes it - something which seems especially likely to happen if the preceding intransitive verb is a verb of motion (compare auxiliary verbs in many languages):

- (412) *Gaarga-ngun gada-y ngalan banydyi*
 younger brother-ERG come-PAST sun+ABS wait+PAST
 The younger brother came and waited for the sun [to rise].

In such cases, 'ergative hopping' is unusual but not considered incorrect. But contrast the following sequence, which exhibits a more common discourse construction (see next section).

- (413) *Nyulu bidha waarmba-adhi nhangu baaru garrba-y.*
 3sg+NOM child+ABS return-REF+PAST 3sg+ACC loin+ABS grab-PAST
 The boy went back and grabbed his [father's] genitals.

Here the NP shown as *nyulu bidha* '(he) the child' appears in nominative/absolutive form as S of the intransitive (reflexive) verb in the first clause, although the same NP is the underlying A of the second verb *garrba-y*. (See also (302).)

A few adjectives can also occur with ergative inflection, giving a particular qualification to an act. Here is one example. The word *binaal* acts like an adjectival predicate meaning 'know'; it can take a variety of complements.

- (414) *Ngayu binaal-mul nyulu bidha wanhthaal-bi dhada-y*
 1sg+NOM know-PRIV 3sg+NOM child+ABS where-ALL go-PAST
 I don't know where the child went.

(Gavan Breen has pointed out to me that historically *binaal* means 'ear'; Guugu Yimidhirr makes heavy use of the current word *milga* 'ear' in expressions having to do with knowledge, attention, intelligence, etc.)

- (415) *Nyulu dyiirraaynggurr warra binaal-gu galga balga-a-nhu.*
 3sg+NOM old man+ABS very know-gu spear+ABS make-REDUP+PURP
 The old man is very good at [i.e., knows how to] make spears.

Moreover, although *binaal* never functions as an attributive adjective, in combination with the suffix *-gu* it forms an adverb-like expression which modifies (and agrees in case with) an S or an A NP to mean 'voluntarily, knowingly, on purpose'; in this use it must bear the case appropriate to a nominal expression in S or A function:

- (416) *Gambagamba binaal-gu dhada-y.*
 old lady+ABS know-gu+ABS go-PAST
 The old lady went knowingly, on purpose.
- (417) *Nyulu ngadhu marrgin binal-ing-gu dhamba-rrin.*
 3sg+NOM 1sg+GEN+ABS rifle+ABS know-ERG-gu throw-PAST
 He lost my rifle intentionally.

Similarly, other modifying expressions accept ergative inflection when they modify an A NP, as in:

- (418) *Dhana ngamu=gurral-ing-gu dyaarba gundaarnda-y.*
 3pl+NOM many-ERG-gu snake+ABS beat+REDUP-PAST
 They all beat the snake as a mob.

In sentences so far encountered, expressions like *binaal-gu* 'knowingly' do not occur in cases other than Absolutive and Ergative. (See (124).)

4.10 DISCOURSE NOTES

Guugu Yimidhirr makes heavy use of personal pronouns and demonstratives in anaphoric constructions to facilitate chaining sentences together, and to maintain NPs as prominent topics in strings of discourse. We have already seen that, despite ergative morphology on nouns, Guugu Yimidhirr freely links clauses so that the S NP in the first clause is coreferential with the (deleted) A NP in the second clause. So, a sentence like (302) is very frequent in Guugu Yimidhirr narrative, and sentences of the reverse type (for example (303)) are also possible, if less common.

The use of adjoined pronouns and explicit demonstratives to keep topics straight over a sequence of sentences is illustrated in the first few lines of the story of the Moon and his two wives.

- (419) *Waarigan nyulu bubu-wi nhin.gaalngga-y.*
 Moon+ABS 3sg+NOM earth-LOC sit+REDUP-PAST
 The Moon, (he) lived on the Earth.

Here the main character of the narrative is introduced - *Waarigan* 'the Moon' - with a noun starting the sentence and an adjoined pronoun accompanying it. The next sentence in the story is:

- (420) *Nhangu dyiiral gudhiirra wu-nay.*
 3sg+GEN+ABS wife+ABS two+ABS lie-PAST
 He had two wives.

The Moon is still the topic, and it is clear that *nhangu* means 'his (wives)'.

- (421) *Ganggal nubun, bidha yarrga*
 child+ABS one+ABS little one+ABS boy+ABS
 ... and one child, a son.

Here is still more information about Moon's family.

- (422) *Bidha nhayun yarrga bulaan-gal dyiiraal-garr-gal warra*
 child+ABS that+ABS boy+ABS 3du-ADES wife-PLU-ADES very
binaa budhnam-gu nhaadha-adhi
 sweet very-gu see+REF+PAST
 That boy was very dearly loved by the two wives. (Literally,
 the boy seemed very sweet to the two wives.)

Here the focus of attention shifts momentarily to the boy and his mothers' feelings towards him; the narrative accomplishes the shift by using the demonstrative *nhayun* 'that'.

In these sentences the individual constituents of each clause are present. Near the beginning of each clause is a reflex of the topic of the current segment of discourse. In (419) the topic is introduced by the initial noun and adjoined

pronoun; in (420) the same topic is reflected in the possessive pronoun which starts the sentence, a pronoun which is elided (almost audibly) in (421). In (422) the topic shifts, and this shift is signalled by highlighting the new topic, the child, with the demonstrative *nhayun*. Guugu Yimid-hirr seems to use the device of bringing the referentially most prominent constituent of a sentence to the front - introducing it to attention, and then remarking about it in some way.

In sentences like (302) and (303), two clauses have been collapsed by deleting an identical topic in the second clause, and chaining together the remainders. Such 'topic chains' also occur regularly with intransitive clauses sharing coreferential S NPs, and transitive clauses with coreferential A NPs.

- (423) *Nyulu nhayun waarigan gada-y waarmggu=wunaarna-y.*
 3sg+NOM that+ABS moon+ABS come-PAST sleep=lie+REDUP-PAST
 [Then] the Moon came and lay down to sleep.

The topic, *nyulu nhayun waarigan* 'that Moon', is the S NP of both *gada-y* 'came' and *wunaarnay* 'lying'. In the following sequence of sentences, the topic of the first clause is superseded in the second, which in turn is part of a topic chain in which a common A NP is deleted in its second occurrence.

- (424) a. *Bidha nyulu biini.*
 child+ABS 3sg+NOM die+PAST
 The child died.
 b. *Nyulu biiba nhangu-umu-n diiga-y,*
 3sg+NOM father- 3sg+GEN-mu-ERG free-PAST
 His father let [him] loose,
 c. *bidha nhangu bubu-wi yidha-rrin.*
 child+ABS 3sg+GEN+ABS ground-LOC put-PAST
 [and then he] set his child on the ground.

(Except for the placement of a pause after *diigay*, in (424b), the last two clauses could also be parsed so as to read: 'His father released his child and set him on the ground'.) In (b) the shift of focus is accomplished by introducing a new noun and adjoined pronoun at the beginning of the sentence (though note that the possessive pronoun in (b) is still taken to refer back to the previous topic, the boy). Part (c) is chained directly to (b), and both clearly share the same A NP - namely 'the father'. Note also that the possessive pronoun in (c) now refers to the *father*, i.e., to the topic in the previous sentence.

We have now seen topic chains that link two clauses together and in which the repeated NP in the second clause is deleted. The chains we have observed have linked an S NP in the first clause to either an S or an A NP in the subsequent clause; or an A NP in the first clause to either an S or an A NP in the following clause. In these cases, the NP in the first clause which inspires chaining is clear topic of the sequence. If two transitive sentences share both A and O NPs, then they can be freely chained together; after the first clause, both A and O NPs can be deleted.

- (425) *Ngadhu-umu-n biiba-a nyulu mayi bacwa-y, buda-y.*
 1sg+GEN-mu-ERG father-ERG 3sg+NOM food+ABS cook-PAST eat-PAST
 My father cooked the food and [he] ate [it].

- (426) *Yugu warrga-al bayan nhayun baydya-rrin, (bayan) dumbi.*
 tree- big-ERG house+ABS that+ABS cover-PAST house+ABS
 break+PAST
 The large tree fell on [literally, covered] the house, and crushed it.

In (426), according to some speakers, the second occurrence of the O NP *bayan* 'house' makes the sentence marginally clearer.

It also seems possible for the S or A NP of the first clause to be coreferential with a deleted O NP in a subsequent clause, as in the following examples:

- (427) *Dhudan-ay yugu buli, dhana bandi.*
 road-LOC tree+ABS fall+PAST 3pl+NOM chop+PAST
 The tree fell on the road, and they chopped [it] up.
- (428) *Nyulu bidha bayan-bi gada-y ngayu (nhangu) gunda-y.*
 3sg+NOM child+ABS house-LOC come-PAST 1sg+NOM 3sg+ACC hit-PAST
 The child came into the house and I hit him.

In (428) the accusative pronoun can appear in the second clause but it can just as well be omitted. The prominent NP in the first clause again appears to function as the topic of the entire construction; in interpreting the second clause, which has, as it were, only the O position empty, the normal reading is to treat the topic as the (deleted) O NP.

There is only one other case in which two sentences are chained together, and in which a coreferential NP in the second clause can be omitted: the details are somewhat complicated. Occasionally, it appears, an O NP in the first sentence of a sequence can be interpreted as the topic of a sentence, and hence be chained to a second clause with a coreferential (deleted) S NP. But the conditions under which such a topic chain can be built appear to be heavily restricted. First, such an O NP in the first clause must appear before the A NP in order. And there is a strong presumption, in such a construction, that the A NP will itself not be animate, especially not human. The following sentence illustrates the sort of sequence involved.

- (429) *Birra gaangga wunydyu-rrin daan.gay-il dyiba-alu*
 leaf+ABS yam+ABS blow-PAST wind-ERG south-ALL
dharramali-gal buli
 Thunder-ADES fall+PAST
 The yam leaf was blown South by the wind, and it landed in front of Thunder.

If the A NP of the initial transitive clause is animate, then there is some possibility for confusion or ambiguity.

- (430) *Birra wunydyu-rrin ngayu, nhaway buli.*
 leaf+ABS blow-PAST 1sg+NOM there fall+PAST
 I blew the leaf, and [it] fell over there. (But, in the absence of any special clarifying context, the sentence could also mean: I blew the leaf, and I fell over there.)

A topic chain built around an initial clause in which an O NP precedes an animate A NP is likely to be somewhat odd or confused. Consider, for example, the sequence in (431).

- (431) ?*Ngadhu biiba gunda-y ngayu, buli.*
 lsg+GEN+ABS father+ABS hit-PAST lsg+NOM fall+PAST
 I hit my father and I? fell down.

Such a topic chain is unclear, because the ordinary presumption that the A NP of the first clause will be the continuing topic of the sequence conflicts with the special prominence of the O NP which derives from its initial position. Ordinarily, the second clause of such a chain would contain an explicit S NP, consisting of at least a pronoun: *nyulu buli* 'he fell', or *ngayu buli* 'I fell'.

An attempted topic chain whose first clause has a verb requiring an animate NP, and in which no overt A NP appears, is totally confused and unintelligible without some context to supply the missing A NP.

- (432) **Nhangu gunda-y, buli.*
 3sg+ACC hit-PAST fall+PAST
 ?Somebody hit him, and he? fell down.

Such a string could only occur as part of a longer topic chain, in which it would be possible to interpret both the A NP of *gunday* 'hit' and the S NP of *buli* 'fell' as coreferential with the topic of the entire segment of discourse.

If neither of the conditions mentioned above is fulfilled - that is, if the A NP of the initial transitive clause is animate, and if it precedes the O NP - then the deleted S NP of the second clause of this sort of topic chain is always understood to be coreferential with the A NP of the first clause. This is the case, for example, in (303). In fact, whenever the A NP precedes the O NP in the first clause in such a construction, chaining which links a coreferential O NP in the first clause with the S NP of the second is impossible.

- (433) *Ngayu yugu bandi, buli.*
 lsg+NOM tree+ABS chop+PAST fall+PAST
 { *yugu buli*
 tree+ABS fall+PAST
 I chopped the tree, {and I fell down.
 {and the tree fell down.

The first alternative here, the topic chain with deleted coreferential NP, has only one reading, in which the chain links the A NP of the first clause to the S NP of the second - a familiar and ordinary sort of topic chain. The second reading is only possible if the S NP *yugu* 'tree' is made explicit.

These considerations suggest, tentatively, that only topics, introduced in a first clause, can form the basis for chains to a second clause, in which the noun phrase coreferential to the topic can be deleted. Moreover, there are, seemingly, several interrelated features that define topicality: first, S NPs are unambiguously available as topics, and can be linked with S, A or O NPs in second and subsequent clauses. Second, the leftmost NP in a sentence seems to have

some higher prominence or salience as a topic than do NPs that follow it. Third, A NPs seem themselves to have more prominence than O NPs, so that the inherent prominence of an A NP can override or at least mitigate the prominence of a leftmost O NP. And, evidently, animate NPs are more likely topics - or have more prominence - than inanimate ones. This is an area of Guugu Yimidhirr syntax which remains to be explored in detail.

TEXT

The following narrative, told by Tulo Gordon of Hopevale, a well-known painter and storyteller, comes from a mountainous area just north of the Endeavour River. Tulo learned the story, which tells of supernatural snakes and an angry old lady, from his mother Minnie.

- 1 *Yii milbi dhana gunbu dumbi.*
this+ABS story+ABS 3pl+NOM corroborree+ABS break+PAST
This is a story about how they had a great dance.
- 2 *Dhana yinharrin gunbu dumbiilmibi-ga wudhuurr-bi.*
3pl+NOM these dance+ABS break+REDUP-PERF night-LOC
These people would have a dance at night.

The expression *gunbu dumbil*, literally 'dance break', is the normal idiom for 'have a dance, have a corroboree.' Although the expression is frequent enough in speech that the initial [d] of *dumbil* is occasionally pronounced as a trilled rhotic [rr] (see section 2.1), producing a string that sounds like [gunburrumbil], it is not entirely frozen. That is, it is possible to modify the word *gunbu*, as in *gunbu warrga dumbi* '[they] had a great dance'. The deictics *yinharrin* 'these' and *nhanharrin* 'those' behave somewhat unusually, in that neither bears case inflection in A, S or O functions; the NPs which they accompany are normally inflected.

- 3 *Bama warrga-aygu.*
people+ABS big-gu
Lots of people. (I.e., there were lots of people.)
- 4 *Ngalan-bi dhana yinharrin wadhin dhadaara-yga.*
sun-LOC 3pl+NOM these hunting go+REDUP-PERF
In the days, these people would go out hunting.

The expression *wadhin dhadaa* means 'go hunting'; again the expression is not totally frozen as it commonly occurs in either order: *nyulu dhaday wadhin* 'he went hunting'. The word *wadhin* appears to be related to the adjective *wadhi* 'wounded' which applies to animals speared but not killed or caught. The suffix on *wadhi-n*, however, is not productive and there are no further case forms known.

- 5 *Ngulgu=ngulgu dhana gada-ayga,*
evening+REDUP 3pl+NOM come-PERF
In the evening they would come home,
- 6 *minha-ngay maandi-iga, mula maandi-iga, gaangga maandi-iga.*
meat-PLU+ABS bring-PERF honey+ABS bring-PERF yam+ABS bring-PERF
they would bring meat, honey, and yams.

- 7 *Dhana daga-adhi-ga, mayi baawa-ayga, minha galmba,*
 3pl+NOM sit-REF-PERF food+ABS cook-PERF meat+ABS also
 They would sit down, cook the [vegetable] food, and the meat, too;
- 8 *buda-ayga dhana iiii,*
 eat-PERF 3pl+NOM [continuation]
 [and then they] would eat and eat and eat;
- A frequent narrative device lengthens the final syllable of a word, or appends the conventional long *ii* sound, to indicate extended duration of an action.
- 9 *wanydyi-iga, gunbu dumbi-iga wudhuurr-bi,*
 arise-PERF dance+ABS break-PERF night-LOC
 then they would get up and dance all night long.
- 10 *Nhayun bada gambagamba nhin.gaalngga-y,*
 that+ABS yonder old lady+ABS sit+REDUP-PAST
 That old lady was [literally: sitting] down there,
- 11 *nhangu gaminhdharr galmba,*
 3sg+GEN+ABS grandchild+ABS also
 along with her grandchild.
- 12 *Dhana yinharrin gunbu dumbi-iga iiii...mayi buda-ayga*
 3pl+NOM these dance+ABS break-PERF food+ABS eat-PERF
 These ones had their dance, and they danced...and they ate the food.
- 13 *Dhana gada-ayga, badhibay ngarraa-ngay wudhi-iga bulaan*
 3pl+NOM come-PERF bone+ABS skin-PLU+ABS give-PERF 3du+DAT
gambagamba-wi gurra gaminhdharr nhangu-um-i.
 old lady-DAT and grandchild- 3sg+GEN-mu-DAT
 They came, and gave the bone[s] and skin [from their game] to both
 the old lady and to her grandchild.
- 14 *Bula budaari-ga.*
 3du+NOM eat+REDUP-PERF
 They would eat [it].
- 15 *Nyulu nhayun gambagamba guli=gada-y.*
 3sg+NOM that+ABS old lady+ABS angry=come-PAST
 That old lady got angry.
- 16 *Dhana wulbu wadhin dhada-y.*
 3pl+NOM all+ABS hunting go-PAST
 They all [i.e., the rest of the people] went hunting.
- 17 *Nyulu gaanha nhangu-ugu maa-ni,*
 3sg+NOM yamstick+ABS 3sg+GEN+ABS-gu take-PAST
 She [the old lady] took her own yamstick;
- 18 *bula gudhiirri-gu badiimbarr dhada-y birri-wi.*
 3du+NOM two+ABS-gu downwards go-PAST river-ALL
 and the two of them [the old lady and her grandchild] went down to
 the river.
- 19 *Minha yidi gunda-y nyulu.*
 animal+ABS stingaree+ABS kill-PAST 3sg+NOM
 She killed an [edible] stingaree.
- 20 *Minha gunda-y nyulu, maandi bayan-bi.*
 animal+ABS kill-PAST 3sg+NOM take+PAST house-ALL
 She killed the meat, and took [it] to the house.

- 21 *Wambu-um-ay duuga-y, ngalmbu=mana-adhi-nda, walnga-y.*
 ash-mu-LOC bury-PAST cooked=CAUS-REF-CONTRF open-PAST
 She buried it in the ashes, until it was cooked, [and then she]
 opened it.

The word *wambu* 'ash' apparently requires the catalytic *mu* before it can carry non-absolutive inflection. Notice, further, the use of a contra-factual verb form (with the reflexive form of the causative verbalizer *ma-naa*) to suggest 'until such time as it might be cooked'.

- 22 *Minha balnggarr bula buda-y buda-y iii...*
 meat+ABS flesh+ABS 3du+NOM eat-PAST eat-PAST [continuation]
 They ate the flesh of the animal, and they ate and ate and ate...
- 23 *Badhibay maa-ni, ngarraa maa-ni,*
 bone+ABS get-PAST skin+ABS get-PAST
 [Then she] got the bone[s] and skin,
- 24 *nyulu badhibay ngarraa yarra naga dhamba-rrin,*
 3sg+NOM bone+ABS skin+ABS yonder East+ALL throw-PAST
 she threw the skin and bones over there to the East,
- 25 *badhibay ngarraa yarra guwa dhamba-rrin,*
 bone+ABS skin+ABS yonder West+ALL throw-PAST
 she threw the skin and bones over there to the West,
- 26 *yarra dyibaarr dhamba-rrin yarra gunggaarr dhamba-rrin.*
 yonder South+ALL throw-PAST yonder North+ALL throw-PAST
 over yonder to the South and to the North she threw [them].
- 27 *Bula nhamu-ngayng-gu wanydyi dhada-y gurra manydyaal-bi.*
 3du+NOM then-ABL-gu arise+PAST go-PAST and mountain-ALL
 After that, they two got up and went to the mountains.
- 28 *Bula manydyaal-bi duda-y.*
 3du+NOM mountain-ALL run-PAST
 They ran off to the mountains.
- 29 *Marrbugan-bi duuga-adhi ngalba-adhi.*
 cave-ALL enter-REF+PAST hide-REF+PAST
 They entered a cave and hid themselves.

Note that the verb *duuga-* is a reflexive-only verb, meaning 'enter'.

- 30 *Nhamu-ngayng-gu dyaarba-ngay - yirmbaal-ngay*
 then-ABL-gu snake-PLU+ABS - supernatural serpent-PLU+ABS
dyaarba -
 snake+ABS -
 After that, the snakes - the supernatural snakes -

The supernatural serpents, introduced here in 30, are now the topic of the narrative; the third person pronouns in 31-39 all refer to these snakes. The word *yirmbal* 'supernatural serpent' is also the word for 'rainbow' (hence, 'rainbow serpent'), although other sorts of creatures are also the supernatural guardians of certain places - giant eels and fish, for example. These, too, may be called *yirmbal*.

- 31 *dhana nguwal nhuuma-y nhayun minha yidi.*
 3pl+NOM scent+ABS smell-PAST that+ABS meat+ABS stingaree+ABS
 they smelled the scent of that stingaree.

Notice that *nguwal* 'scent' is here inalienably possessed.

- 32 *Dhana gada-y waguurr-nganh*,
3sg+NOM come-PAST outside-ABL
They came from the outside [i.e., from inland];
- 33 *gurra buurraay-nganh dhalun-nganh galmba gada-y*,
and water-ABL sea-ABL also come-PAST
and they also came from the water, from the sea;
- 34 *mundal bubu-wi badi=badiimbarr gada-y*,
some+ABS ground-LOC under=underneath come-PAST
some came underneath the [surface of] the earth;
- 35 *mundal wanggaar=nggarr bubu-wi gada-y*,
some+ABS above=REDUP? ground-LOC come-PAST
others came above the ground;
- 36 *mundal birri wanggaar gada-y*.
some+ABS river- above come-PAST
and others came up the rivers.

The preposition-like positional words in these sentences derive from *bada* 'down, below' and *wanggaar* 'above, high'. The reduplicated form *badi=badiimbarr* in 34 means 'just under, just beneath'. The complicated form with *-nggarr* in 35 is perhaps a reduplicated form of *wanggaar* (but notice the flapped rhotic which ends the form shown). In 36, the construction shown may be a contraction of *birri-wi wanggaar* 'on the river upwards', with an explicit locative suffix on *birri*.

- 37 *Warra warrga-aygu budhuun-gu dyaarba-ngay waguurr-nganh gada-y*.
very big-gu very-gu snake-PLU+ABS outside-ABL come-PAST
Very very many snakes came from inland [literally, from the outside].
- 38 *Yarra guwa-nun dyiba-nun gungga-nun naga-almun*,
yonder West-ABL South-ABL North-ABL East-ABL
From yonder in the West, from the South, from the North, and from the East,
- 39 *dhana wulbu gada-y*.
3pl+NOM all+ABS come-PAST
they all came.
- 40 *Dhana yinharrin wanhधारra-gala duda-nda?*
3pl+NOM these how-EMPH run-CONTRF
These people [i.e., the dancers] - how could they run away?

The story now shifts back to the perspective of the people who were having the corroboree, a shift signalled by the deictic *yinharrin* with *dhana*; in telling such a story, the narrator might well accompany the expression *dhana yinharrin* 'these people' with a gesture to indicate that he was shifting attention from the snakes back to the celebrants.

- 41 *Wawu=murrgarra duda-a*.
soul=unable run-NONPAST
They couldn't run away.
- 42 *Dhanaan mundal nha-gala dyumbi*.
3pl+ACC there+ABS just then and there swallow+PAST
Many of them were swallowed right there.
- 43 *Dyaarba-anh dyumbi gunbu dumbiilmbi-ga*.
snake-ERG swallow+PAST dance+ABS break+REDUP-SUBJ
The snake[s] swallowed them while [they were] dancing.

In 42 there is no explicit A NP (although it is clear that the snakes are doing the swallowing), and this allows the sequence to maintain the dancers (who in this sentence are denoted by the O NP *dhanaan*) as topic. Notice the conditions on coreferentiality between the O NP in the main clause and the A NP in the subordinate (simultaneous time) clause in 43.

- 44 *Mundal duda-y duda-y manydyaal-bi duda-y,*
other+ABS run-PAST run-PAST mountain-ALL run-PAST
Others ran way, ran off to the mountains.
- 45 *Mundal wali duda-y wanhdhaa-budhu.*
other+ABS around run-PAST where+ALL-[dubitative]
Others just ran about, who knows where.
- 46 *Nyulu yii warra bunydyul...*
3sg+NOM here+ABS old+ABS frill lizard+ABS
Now this here Frill-Lizard...
- 47 *Nyulu wanhdharra galmba duda-nda wali?*
3sg+NOM how also run-CONTRF around
How was he, too, to run around?
- 48 *Nhangu dyuumbi-l.*
3sg+ACC swallow-NONPAST
He would be swallowed [by and by].
- 49 *Nyulu bubu wali nhaa-dhi wanhdhaa duda-nhu.*
3sg+NOM ground+ABS around see-PAST where+ALL run-PURP
He looked all around the area [to find] where to run.
- 50 *Nyulu dhiliinh wanggaar nguulbaan-bi dhada-y.*
3sg+NOM then up cloud-ALL go-PAST
Then he went up to a cloud.
- 51 *Nyulu duda-yigu nyulu nambal yabarraban maa-ni,*
3sg+NOM run-ANTIC 3sg+NOM rock+ABS gigantic+ABS get-PAST
Before he ran off, he got a gigantic stone,
- 52 *maandi wanggaar nguulbaan-bi,*
take+PAST up cloud-ALL
and he took [it] up to the cloud;
- 53 *nyulu dyaarba nhaa-maa bada-amu-n gadaari-ga,*
3sg+NOM snake+ABS see-NONPAST down-mu-ABL come+REDUP-SUB1
so that if he should see a snake coming up from below,
- 54 *nyulu nambal diiga-l nhangu baydya-nhu.*
3sg+NOM stone+ABS send-NONPAST 3sg+ACC cover-PURP
he would drop the stone, and crush it.
- 55 *Nyulu nhaamuun wangga-amu-n nhaa-dhi, wanhdhaa?*
3sg+NOM that+ERG above-mu-ABL see-PAST where
That one [Frill Lizard] looked down from up there, 'where [is every-body]?'
- 56 *Dagu dyaarba nhiirruul nyulu nhaa-dhi wanggaar*
thing snake+ABS greensnake+ABS 3sg+NOM see-PAST up
gadaari-ga birri barrga.
come+REDUP-SUB1 river along
The fact was, he saw a greensnake coming up along the river.

A common conversational habit in Guugu Yimidhirr is to introduce an utterance with the word *dagu* which literally means 'thing'. The device lends a bit of informality to a conversation. Languages to the North

evidently had a different word which served the same function; for example, the people who spoke the language known as Guugu Yinaa were reputed to begin every utterance with the word *yinaa*. The force of *dagu* at the beginning of a stretch of talk seems to be to focus attention; as if one said, 'This is the thing, this is the case, listen to this...' See line 68.

- 57 *Nyulu baarrnga-y: 'Walaa walaa,*
3sg+NOM yell-PAST rise+IMP rise+IMP
He sang out, 'Watch out, watch out!'
- 58 *Ngayu nambal nhila-budhu diiga-l bada...'*
1sg+NOM rock+ABS now-EMPH send-NONPAST down
I'm going to let go of this stone [and let it drop] right now!'
- 59 *Nyulu guugu gaari nhaa-dhi,*
3sg+NOM word+ABS NOT see-PAST
But he [the snake] didn't hear.
- 60 *Nhayun guugu-ugu nhaadhi-ilmugu*
that+ABS word-gu see-PAST+NEG
He didn't hear those words.
- 61 *Nyulu bunydyul-nda nambal diiga-y bada.*
3sg+NOM frill lizard-ERG rock+ABS send-PAST down
Frill Lizard dropped the stone.
- 62 *Nhayun nambal bada gada-y iii*
that+ABS rock+ABS down come-PAST...
That rock dropped...
- 63 *nhangu mugu baydya-rrin.*
3sg+ACC back+ABS cover-PAST
and crushed his [the snake's] back.
- 64 *Nhamu-ngayng-gu nyulu dharramali dyiba-nun gada-y.*
then-ABL-gu 3sg+NOM thunder+ABS South-ABL come-PAST
After that, Thunder came from the South.
- 65 *Dharramali-ngun nhangu dhaabanga-dhi,*
thunder-ERG 3sg+ACC ask-PAST
Thunder asked him [Frill-lizard]:
- 66 *'Ngaaniil-ngayng-ga?'*
what-CAU-ga
'What's this all from, eh?'

The clitic particle *-ga* conveys a sense of informality and friendliness. For example, a common greeting is *wanhdharra-ga* 'howdy'.

- 67 *Nyulu bunydyul gada-y dharramali-gal miirrii-lin,*
3sg+NOM frill lizard+ABS come-PAST thunder-ADES tell-PAST
Frill Lizard came up and told Thunder:
- 68 *'Dagu nhayun gambagamba bula nhangu gaminhdharr...*
thing that+ABS old woman+ABS 3du+NOM 3sg+GEN+ABS grandchild+ABS
'Well, that old woman and her grandchild...
- 69 *Bula nhacamuun minha yidi gunda-y,*
3du+NOM that+ERG animal+ABS stingaree+ABS kill-PAST
Those two killed a stingaree;

- 70 *badhibay wali dhamba-rrin ngarraa galmba*
bone+ABS around throw-PAST skin+ABS also
they threw the bones around, and the skin, too.
- 71 *Bula warraa=gurra-y dyaarba-ngay dhacwi.*
3du+NOM bad=CAUS-PAST snake-PLU+ABS call+PAST
They ruined (things), they called the snakes.
- 72 *Dyaarba-ngay gada-y nganhধানun dyuumbi-nhu.*
snake-PLU+ABS come-PAST 1pl+ACC swallow-PURP
The snakes came to swallow us.
- 73 *Mundal buda-y, mundal duda-y.*
some+ABS eat-PAST some+ABS run-PAST
Some were eaten, and some ran away.
- In 73, *mundal* 'some, others' is in O function in the first clause, and in S function in the second (in both cases, the case form is absolutive). But there is no explicit A NP for *buday* 'ate'.
- 74 *Ngayu murrnga yarrba wanggaar gada-y.'*
1sg+NOM only this way up come-PAST
I only came up here [i.e., only I managed to come up...].
- 75 *'Mmm.' Nyulu dharramali dhiliinh waada-adhi,*
3sg+NOM thunder+ABS then say-PAST REF
'Hmmm,' then Thunder said [to himself]:
- 76 *'Ngayu dhada-a wali yiwa-rr wanhdhaa bula.'*
1sg+NOM go-NONPAST around search-NONPAST where+LOC 3du+NOM
'I'll go and look around[to find out] where those two are.'
- 77 *Nyulu dhada-y yiwa-rrin yiwa-rrin iii*
3sg+NOM go-PAST search-PAST search-PAST...
He went and he looked and he looked...
- 78 *Garrgu nyulu dhamal nhaa-dhi nhila-aynggu marrbugan-bi*
afterwards 3sg+NOM foot(print)+ABS see-PAST new-gu cave-ALL
duuga-adhi-ga.
enter-REF-SUBJ
Then he saw fresh footprints going into a cave.
- 79 *Nyulu banydyi bula waguurr ganba-rrin,*
3sg+NOM wait+PAST 3du+NOM outside jump-PAST
He waited [until] they jumped [i.e., poked their heads] out.
- 80 *Nyulu wangga-mu-n dharramali-ngun wulunggurr-ngun gunda-y*
3sg+NOM up-mu-ABL thunder-ERG light-INST hit-PAST
gunda-y gunda-y bulaan gudhiirri-gu.
hit-PAST hit-PAST 3du+ACC two+ABS-gu
Thunder, from above, hit the two of them [again and again] with thunderbolts.
- 81 *Dhada-y, nyulu miirrii-lin bunyduul-gal.*
go-PAST 3sg+NOM tell-PAST frill lizard-ADES
[Then] he went, and he told Frill Lizard [about it].
- 82 *Dagu bunyduul-ngun midal galbay budhuun-gu maa-ni.*
thing frill lizard-ERG lawyer cane+ABS long+ABS very-gu get-PAST
Well, then Frill Lizard got a very long lawyer cane.
- 83 *Bada diiga-y diiga-y iii*
down send-PAST send-PAST ...
And he let it down, down, down...

- 84 *bulaan gudhiirri-gu dhulagadha-y, gayii-lin.*
 3du+ACC two+ABS-gu tangle-PAST hook-PAST
 and [he] tangled it around them, and hooked them.
- 85 *Maandi maandi wangunh maandi nagaalu iii*
 take+PAST take+PAST high in the sky take+PAST East+ALL...
 He took them way out East, up in the sky...
- 86 *dhaluun dhamba-rrin.*
 sea+ALL throw-PAST
 ...and threw them far out to sea.

VOCABULARY

We give first an alphabetical listing of the words used in sample sentences in this grammar; this is intended as an aid to following the examples and text. There is then a listing of important vocabulary items by semantic fields, following the basic 500-word list prepared by the editors of the *Handbook*. Note that forms occurring in the semantic field listing will only appear in the alphabetical vocabulary if they have been used in a sample sentence in the grammar.

ALPHABETICAL VOCABULARY

For each word is listed the part of speech and a rough gloss. Verbs are specified for transitivity class, and conjugation membership is shown by the final consonant or vowel - *l*, *V*, or *rr* - or by a final syllable -*maa* or -*naa* for MA and NA conjugations. Other words are shown in normal citation form, NOM for pronouns, and ABS case for other nominals. The words are listed in normal English alphabetical order. The following abbreviations are used:

N gen	generic noun
N	other noun
Adj	adjective
Loc	locational qualifier
Time	time qualifier
Num	numeral
Deic	deictic
Int	interrogative/indefinite pronoun
Pron	personal pronoun
Vint	intransitive verb
Vtr	transitive verb
Vref	reflexive-only verb
Adv	adverb
Part	particle
Excl	exclamation
Eng	probable loan from English

In reading the example sentences it may often be instructive to see whether a particular verb is transitive or intransitive, or what the absolutive form of a particular noun looks like; this is the information this wordlist can

provide. It does not pretend, however, to exhaust the semantic and syntactic properties of the words shown.

baadhil, Vint: cry
baarrngaa, Vint: sing out, yell
baaru, N: loins, crotch
baawal, Vtr: cook, burn
bada, Loc: below, down
badha-, Vref: be finished
badhibay, N: bone
badhuurr, N: zamia palm
baduur, N: fishhook
baga, Part: (agitive, cautionary)
bagal, Vtr: dig
balgal, Vtr: make, wash, fix
balil, Vint: go (Respect language)
balnggarr, N: flesh, meat
bama, N gen: person, Aboriginal
bambu, N(Eng): bamboo
bandil, Vtr: chop, cut down
banydyii, Vtr: wait for
barrbil, Vint: camp, spend the night
barrga-balga, Part: along
barrgaar, N: mouth
bayan, N: house
baydyarr, Vtr: cover, crush
bidal, Vtr: harpoon
bidha, Adj: small
bidiga, N: fig species with edible fruit
bigibigi, N: pig
biiba, N: father
biilil, Vint: paddle
biinii, Vint: die
bilu, N: hip
binaa, Adj: sweet, delicious, well-loved
binaal, N?:know
biniirr, N: ironbark tree
bira, Part: for sure
birra, N: leaf
birri, N: river
biwul, N: mother-in-law
bubu, N: land, dirt, place
budal, Vtr: eat
budhiil, N: nose
budhu, Part: if, (dubitative)
budhuun, Part: very
bugul, N: antbed
bula, Pron: 3du
buligi, N: bullock
bulii, Vint: fall
bunggu, N: knee
bunydyul, N: frill-lizard
burnday, N: notch
burrburr, Adj: hard

burriway, N: emu
buurraay, N: water
daamal, Vtr: spear
daan.gaay, N: wind
daarraalngan, Ngen: kangaroo (Respectful language)
dabaar, Adj: good
dabarraba-aygu, Time: early (Coastal dialect)
dabunh, N: 'bush mango' tree
daga-, Vref: sit, be seated
dagu, N: thing, introductory particle
dani, Adj: slow

dhaaba-ngal, Vtr: ask for
dhaawil, Vtr: call, summon
dhabil, Vtr: kick
dhadaa, Vint: go
dhagal, N: front
dhalun, N: sea
dhamal, N: foot
dhambarr, Vtr: throw
dhana, Pron: 3pl
dhanggurr, Vtr: scratch
dharramali, N: thunder
dhawunh, N: friend
dhiliinh, Part: then, in return
dhirrgaligu, Adv: right through
dhudaan, N: road, path
dhugidhugi, N(Eng?): chicken
dhula, N: flood
dhula=gadhal, Vtr: tangle up, ensnare
dhuuril, Vtr: eject
dhuurrngal, Vtr: push
dhuyu, Adj: dead
diigal, Vtr: send, free, let loose
diingal, Vtr: laugh at
dindal, Adj: fast
dingga-dhirr, N?+COM: hungry
dinggi, N(Eng): boat
dubil, Vtr: leave
dudaa, Vint: run
dumba-, Vref: be frightened
dumbil, Vtr: break
 - *gunbu dumbil*, dance
dumu, N: chest
durrigin, N: water rat
duugal, Vtr: bury
dyaarba, N: snake

dyadyu, N: kangaroo rat
dyanydyil, Vint: bathe
dyiba-, Loc: south
dyidyirr, N: bird
dyiga, Adj: weak, fresh, unripe
dyigan, N: grass
dyiinbal, Vtr: tease
dyiiral, N: wife
dyiiri, N: sky, heaven (Coastal dialect)
dyiirraanh, N: male, man
dyindal, Vtr: peck, bite
dyuugaar, N: sand
dyuumbil, Vtr: swallow

gaangal, Vtr: waken, disturb, nudge
gaangga, N: yam
gaanha, N: yamstick
gaarga, N: younger brother
gaari, Part: no, not
gabiirr, N: girl
gadaa, Vint: come
gada=bal, Vint: break
gadha, Adj: rotten
 - *gadha=warra*, unconscious
gadhii, Loc/Adj: distant
gadil, N: name
gaga, Adj: poison, sick, salty
 - *gaga=bulii*, get sick
gaguwarr, Num: a few, five
gala, Part: (emphatic)
galbay, Adj: long
galga, Adj: spear
galmba, Part: also
gambagamba, N: old woman
gambarr, N: pitch
gambul, N: stomach, matriline
gaminhdharr, N: son's child (male speaking)
gana, N: underside
 - *ganaaygu*, before, long ago
ganaa, Part: alright, okay
ganbi, N: blood
gan.gaarr, N: quartz, Cooktown
ganggal, N: child
gangurru, N: kangaroo species
ganhil, N: traditional song
garrbal, Vtr: hold, grab
garrbun-dhirr, N?+COM: happy, contented
gayil, Vtr (R conjugation): hook, snare
giidha, N: Moon (Coastal dialect)
gilaadha, N(Eng): glass
gima, Adj: soft
girrbadhi, N: dugong

gudaa, N: dog
gudhiirra, Num: two
gulbu, Adj: together, in a mass
gulgi, N: claw
guli, N/Adj: anger, hatred, angry
gunbu, N: dance, corroborree
gundal, Vtr: hit, kill
gundil, N: egg
gungga-, Loc: north
gun.gun, N: scrub, forest
gurra, Part: more, and
gurrul, Vtr: say, tell, CAUS
gurrma, N: earth oven
guudyu, Ngen: fish
guugu, N: talk, language, word
guuna, Part: let, (desiderative)
guunduu, Num: three
guwa, Loc: west
guya, Part: none, nonexistent

ma, Excl: come, well, so...
maa-naa, Vtr: get, take, marry
maandii, Vtr: bring, take
madha-, Vref: climb
magiil, N: branch
magu, Part: before
malin, Part: (usitative)
mamba, N: fat
 = *ma-naa*, Vtr: cause, CAUS
mangal, N: hand
manydyal, N: mountain
marrbugan, N: cave
marrgin, N: rifle
mayi, Ngen: vegetable food
midal, N: lawyer-cane
miidal, Vtr: lift
mil, N: eye
milu, N: shade
mirriil, Vtr (R conj): tell, show
milbi, N: story, news
milbiir, N: wommera
milbil, Vtr: promise (to give)
mitga, N: ear
mitgul, N: oil, grease, liquid fat
minha, Ngen: meat, edible animal
minhdhil, Adj: hot
mugu, N: back, seed
mula, Ngen: honey, bee
mulban.gu, Adv: tightly, firmly
mundal, N/Adj: the rest, the others
munggil, Vtr: beat, gather in (large catch of fish, etc.)
mungurru, N: scrub python, large carpet snake

murnda, Adj: tame, unafraid
murrnga, Part: only
murrngarra, Part/Adj?: unable
maunhdhi, Loc: Jack River area
mauri, N: hair

naaybu, N(Eng): knife
naga, Loc: east
nambal, N: stone, money
nambuurr, N: bed
nanggurr, N: camp
narra=damal, Vint: shiver

ngaabaay, N: head
ngaadharr, N: dog, dingo
ngaaguul, N: arm
ngaanaa, Int: what
ngaanhdu, N: woman
ngagu, N: shoulder
ngalan, N: sun, day
ngalba, Part: covered with
ngalbil, Vtr: steal
ngalburr, Vtr: close
ngalgal, N: smoke, tobacco
ngali, Pron: ldu
ngalmbu, Adj: cooked, ripe
ngamba, Part: heedless, unaware
ngamu, N: mother
ngana, Pron: lpl (Coastal dialect)
nganhdhaan, Pron: lpl
ngarraa, N: skin
ngayu, Pron: lsg
nguba, Part: perhaps
ngudha=ngudha, Time: long ago
ngudhu, N: game, play
ngulgu, Time: afternoon, yesterday
ngundu, Loc/Part: in this
 direction, towards here
nguulbaan, N: cloud
ngawal, N: scent
ngawal, Part: after, from

nhaa, Deic: there, that
 - *nhayun*, that
nhaa-maa, Vtr: see
nhidyin, Part: always, regularly
nhiirruul, N: greensnake
nhila, Time: now, today
nhin.gal, Vint: sit
nhinhinhi, N: groper
nhuumaar, Part: always, regularly
nhuumal, Vtr: smell

nubuan, Num: one

nyulu, Pron: 3sg
nyundu, Pron: 2sg

waadal, Vtr: say, tell
waarigan, N: moon (Inland dialect only)
waarmbal, Vtr: return
waarnngu, N/Adj: sleep, sleepy
wadhin, N?: hunting
 - *dhadaa wadhin*, go hunting
 - *wadhi*, Adj: wounded
wagil, Vtr: cut
waguurr, Loc: outside
walanggar, N: death adder
wali, Adv: around, all around
wal-maa, Vint: rise, ascend
walngal, Vtr: open
walu, N: temple, side
walu, Part: like
wambu, N: ash
wangarr, N: white man, devil
wanggaar, Loc: high, above
wangi, N: boomerang
wangunh, N: sky, high (Inland dialect only)
wanhdhaa, Int/Loc: where
wanhdharra, Int: how
wanhu, Int: who
 ERG: *wanhdu*
warra, Adj: bad, very
warra, Part: resident of
warraal, Part: 'so high'
 (see sentence (77))
waarbi, N: tommyhawk, axe
warrga, Adj: large
wawu, N: breath, soul, inside
wudhurr, N: night
wugurr, Vtr: follow, look for
wulbu, Adj: all
wulunggurr, N: thunder, lightning,
 light, flame
wu-maa, Vtr: give
wu-naa, Vint: lie, exist
wun.guunh, Time: tomorrow,
 morning
wunhdha, Adj: empty
wunydyurr, Vtr: blow on, blow
 away
wurrbal, N: fog
wurrnga, Vint: suffer
wuurri-wuuril, Vint: play
wuurruyu=ngaadharr, N: curer,
 native doctor

yaadyil, Vint: burn
yaba, N: older brother
yabarraban, Adj: gigantic
yalgaarr, Adj: separate, apart
yalmba, N: sandhill
yarra, Deic: there, yonder

yarraman, N: horse
yarrba, Deic: that way, thus
yarrbaarrga, Adv: severely
yarrga, N: boy
yidharr, Vtr: put
yidi, N: stingaree
yii, Deic: this, here
 - *yiway*, here
 - *yimi-dhirr*, in this way
yilba-, Vref: share, split with
 each other
yima-, Vref: swell, puff
yindu, Adj: other, different

yinil, Adj: afraid
yirmbal, N: supernatural creature,
 guardian of sacred place,
 rainbow
yirngal, Vtr: turn
yirrgaa, Vint: speak
yiwarr, Vtr: search for
yuba, Adj: near
yubaal, Pron: 2du
yugu, N: tree, wood, fire
yumurr, N: child (of male)
yurra, Pron: 2pl
yawaal, N: beach

VOCABULARY IN SEMANTIC FIELDS

Ordinary everyday Guugu Yimidhirr words are shown with rough English glosses. For many, but by no means all, of these words, a few older speakers still know a respectful 'Brother-in-law' language alternate form (see 1.4), to be used in place of the ordinary word in the presence of avoided or especially respected relatives. Such respectful equivalents are shown preceded by a dollar-sign (\$). When no respectful equivalent is shown for an everyday word, either no special word is needed to replace it in respectful speech, or the equivalent is simply unknown. (Briefly, some words could be pronounced in everyday form with tabooed relatives if they were spoken in a slow and soft tone; these were often words denoting non-sensitive objects - particular plant or game species, for example. Thus, although the word *mayi* '[vegetable] food' has the respectful equivalent *gudhubay*, the phrase *mayi badhuurr*, which denotes the edible nut of the *badhuurr* 'zamia palm' would be rendered in polite speech by replacing *mayi* by *gudhubay*, but leaving *badhuurr* unchanged: *gudhubay badhuurr*. However, very many respectful equivalents for common words have been forgotten, even when speakers know that a respectful term used to exist.)

When well-known Inland or Coastal variants are shown, the Coastal term is marked (C). The wordlist also characterizes a few words by rough labels, like 'rude' or 'vulgar'; the implied hierarchy is, from least to most unacceptable, 'impolite', 'rude', 'vulgar'. Verbal etiquette in traditional Guugu Yimidhirr society was an elaborate matter, which such labels can only crudely suggest.

NOUNS

A - Body Parts

ngaabaay; *gambuugu* (C);
 \$*gudyiir*, head
garu, brain
muuri; \$*wulmul* (=hair, fur);
 \$*muungga* (=whiskers), hair, fur
binga; \$*diiyan*, grey hair
 - *binga-dhirr*, grey-haired

bidi; \$*gaman*, forehead
walu; \$*gaman*, temple, side of face
nhumbul; \$*gaman*, cheek
miil; \$*walgul*, eye
budhiil; \$*bunhabunha*, nose, face
milga; \$*dhuba*, ear
baari; \$*dyinu*, chin

bandiin; \$dyinu, hip, waist
 bunggu; \$dyinu, knee
 dhinbaar; \$dyinu; yurnggal (C),
 elbow, forearm
 dhunggan; \$dyinu, anklebone, shin,
 heelbone
 gaamurr; \$dyinu, armpit
 gala; \$dyinu, crotch, loins
 marda; \$dyinu, wrist
 nuurnul; \$dyinu, flank, side,
 rib area
 nhuru; \$dyinu, heel
 waara; \$dyinu, hipbone
 guugulu; \$dyinu, pelvis
 barrgaar; \$nyurruumu, mouth
 yimbi; \$nyabiil, lip
 nganhdhaar; \$nyabiil, tongue
 walarr; \$wulmul, \$muungga,
 beard, stubble, moustache
 - walarr yimbi-wi, moustache
 muliir; \$baabuul, tooth (and
 euphemism for vagina)
 buurgul (=foam); nhumba (=spit),
 spittle, saliva
 manu; \$nyuunydyu; ngandaal (C)
 (=neck, gill), neck, throat
 dhudhurr; \$nyuunydyu, back of
 head and upper neck
 murrul; \$nyuunydyu, windpipe,
 Adam's apple, interior of
 throat
 yangay; \$nyuunydyu, neck below
 nape, back of neck
 dhaway, shoulderblade
 ngagu; \$yangay, shoulder
 mugu; \$yangay, back, seed, shell,
 etc.
 ngaaguul, upper arm
 mangal; \$dhalgumu, hand
 guluurr; \$dhalgumu, thumb
 ngagin, little finger, toe
 gulgi; \$birrin, finger- or toe-
 nail, claw
 guyuu; \$yiman; \$munyil (also=fish);
 \$muna, breast, milk
 dumu; \$nyanbarr, chest
 yiirmbaarr; \$ganhaganha, rib
 gambul; dhamba (esp. of animal);
 \$ganbin, belly, stomach
 dhuul; \$dhuulmul, guts, bowels,
 intestines
 dhuulburr; \$maudhiil (and C),
 navel, umbilical cord
 dadhali; burrguul (C); \$walngga,
 heart
 wawu; \$walngga, breath, insides
 gungimbarr, kidney

buyagar; (also called: nganhdhaar
 gudaa 'dog's tongue', from its
 shape), lung
 dhiba; \$malgaarrga, liver
 babaal, buttocks
 buga (impolite); \$baanggaarr,
 bottom, anus
 gumari; \$balnggirr; wulu (C),
 leg, thigh, root
 baaru; \$balnggirr, lap, front
 bibaar; \$balnggirr, shin
 bilu; \$balnggirr, hip bone,
 side of pelvis
 ngarri; \$balnggirr, calf
 dhamal; \$buyiibuyii, foot,
 footprint
 duunugu; \$buyiibuyii, corn (on
 foot)
 nugali; \$buyiibuyii, ankle
 buru (vulgar); nganmaar (vulgar);
 gurribil (C), penis
 gunul (very rude); gulun (curse),
 phallus
 dilmbarr (rude); gundil (=egg'),
 testicle
 biral, semen
 dyirril; gaygan, pubic hair
 dyinal (vulgar), woman's sex
 organs
 mangga; garradha; dhanhdha,
 faeces
 gumbu; \$dyilaarr, urine, bile
 dhudhi; \$nguymal; \$milmal
 (= 'muscle'), body
 ngarraa; \$dyiriwan, skin
 muunhuun; \$dyiriwan, peeling or
 flaking skin; snakeskin
 murrbun; \$dyiriwan, ringworm or
 skin disease
 badhibay, bone
 ganbi; garribi; \$binhdhaar;
 \$garrrun, blood
 mamba; \$munaal, fat, solid fat,
 cheese
 ngaala; \$wabirr (= 'water');
 \$galmar (=odour), sweat
 bandal; buudhi; \$burmul, sore,
 swelling
 balamu; \$burmul, abscess, boil
 bambu; \$burmul, pus

B - Human Classification

bana; \$yambaal, person,
 Aboriginal
 dyirraanh, man, male
 ngaanhdhu; \$wugulugul, adult
 woman

gambagamba; *\$wugulugul*, old woman
ganggal; *bidha* (= 'small'); *yumurr*
 (esp. son of man); *\$duula*,
 child, baby
yarrga, *\$balngu*, boy, male child
dyiirraaynggurr, old man
gabiirr; *maral*; *\$munamuna*
 (cf. 'breast'), girl,
 unmarried woman
ngaanhdhu; *\$wugulugul*, adult
 woman
gamba(gamba); *\$wugulugul*, old
 woman
bilu-mayarr; *\$wugulugul*
 (cf. 'hip-bone'), widow,
 widower
wuurruya-ngadharr, Aboriginal
 'doctor'
wangarr; *\$maaluul*, white man
 (=ghost)
buliman; *gaarrgiil*; *gulidyi*,
 policeman
yigi; *\$maaluul*, ghost

C - Kinship

muga(ga)y; *\$ngagumadharr*, senior
 uncle or aunt; (i.e., mother's
 older brother or sister); self-
 reciprocal
bitba; *\$ngagumadharr*, father,
 father's younger brother etc.
ngamu; *\$ngulmburr*, mother,
 mother's younger sister, etc.
babi; *\$ngulmburr*; *\$ngunbal*,
 father's mother, etc.
biimuur; *\$ngulmburr*, father's
 younger sister, etc.
biwul; *\$ngulmburr*, wife's mother
mugur; *\$ngulmburr*; *\$ngunbal*,
 mother's brother, mother's
 brother's son, etc.
ngadhiina; *\$ngulmburr*, father-
 in-law
ngadhi, mother's father
gami; *\$ngunbal*, mother's mother,
 father's father
yaba; *\$bulngaarr*, older brother
gaarga; *\$bulngaarr*, younger
 brother
gaanhaal, older sister
dyin.gurr, younger sister
yumurr; *\$duula*, child (of man)
dyuway; *\$duula*, son (of woman)
ngudhurr; *\$duula*, daughter (of
 woman)
ngiidhidhi; *\$duula*, daughter-in-
 law (of man)

dunhu, husband, sister's husband
dyiiral; *\$munamuna*, wife, wife's
 sister
gaminhdharr; *\$ngunbal*, son's child
ngadhinil, daughter's child
guman.ga, brother's wife
biidyirr, woman's son-in-law
ngalaadhin, man's son-in-law
nganydya, spouse's grandparent;
 grandchild's spouse

D - Mammals

balin.ga; *\$nhalngarr*, porcupine
 (echidna)
guguur, mouse, rat
dhigul; *\$dyinu* (cf. 'chin', 'hip',
 etc.), native cat
wudyirr; *\$nyiwa*, small bandicoot
yarrbay; *\$nyiwa*, rabbit bandicoot
bigibigi; *\$nyiwa*, (wild) pig
gulaan; *\$yumbu*, possum
gadaar; *\$daarraalngan*, wallaby
 (lives on flat)
bawurr; *\$daarraalngan*, rock
 wallaby
bibal; *\$daarraalngan*, small scrub
 kangaroo
dyadyu; *\$daarraalngan*, kangaroo
 rat
gangurru; *\$daarraalngan*;
ngurruwugu; large black or grey
 kangaroo
nharrgali; *\$daarraalngan*, large
 red kangaroo
wudul; *\$daarraalngan*, whip-tail
 kangaroo
dhulmbanu; *\$daarraalngan*, wallaroo
yawurrinh; *bulgadhiirr*; *\$gunhdhin*,
 tail (eg. of kangaroo)
ngaadharr; *\$guguur* (cf. 'mouse',
 rat'), dingo, dog
gudaa; *\$guguur*, tame dog
dyungginh; *\$mulbuur*; *gaambi*,
 flying fox
bangguurrga, small flying fox with
 thin fur
manu-wudhuga (literally, 'neck with
wudhu' -- a type of fine grass),
 large species of flying fox with
 prominent neck fur
dhiibuul, bat
yarraman; *\$guguur* (cf. 'dog'),
 horse
buligi, bullock, cow
mauri bunggaga (cf. 'hair, fur'),
 sheep

E - Reptiles

ganhaarr; \$wayin, crocodile, large
 goannas, salt-water lizards
dhagay; *barri*, \$wayin, sand goanna
danhdhidhirr; \$wayin, freshwater
 crocodile
guwaarrga; \$wayin, spotted tree
 goanna
walmbarra; \$wayin, sandhill goanna
dugul; \$marngurr, freshwater
 turtle
ngawiya; \$marngurr, sea turtle
manuya, printy
gulgul, blue-tongue lizard
bunydyul; \$wanggu, frill lizard
gubuy; \$wanggu, treeclimbing
 goanna
dyaarba; *dhunggul* (C); \$dhama,
 snake (generic)
ngudhuul, black-headed python
mungurru; \$ngagawarra, scrub
 python
gabul; \$ngagawarra, carpet snake
nhiirruul, green snake
dhambanh, file snake
walanggar; \$dhama, death adder
biigaarr; \$dhama, taipan
yarramu; \$dhama, brown snake
munhimunhi (= 'black+REDUP'), red-
 bellied black snake
yuuray, [poisonous] sea snake
gamulu, [non-poisonous] river
 snake

F - Birds

dyidhirr, bird (generic)
gundil; \$wurruun, egg
buurr; \$bunydyi, bird's nest; tea
budyuur, feather (generic); tail-
 feathers
burriway; \$ngunhdhangunhdha, emu
gurrbal, native companion
bilu-warra (lit., 'hip-bad'),
 pelican
dhamaarrbina, goose (magpie
 goose)
dyuril-dyuril, curlew
wungguarrga, plains turkey
diwaan; \$ngubu, scrub turkey
guugu dyibamunganh (lit., 'voice
 from the south'), black swan
bunggu-dyirrir, bower bird
wuguuy, wompoo pigeon
muluwmul, dove
dabarr, brown pigeon
wabul, Torres Strait pigeon
gurradhuwaar, magpie

waadha, crow
biiba-dyirrinn, cicada-bird
 (cricket)
didhirridhin, wren
bayil-bayil, magpie lark
dhuga, scrubhen
digal, thornbill
gurruulga; *gugaa*, kookaburra
 (2 species?)
bunydyia; \$yalmburr (= 'meat'),
 night-owl
waandaar; \$ngigirril, white
 cockatoo
ngurraar; \$ngigirril, black
 cockatoo
galin.galin, brown hawk
gudhal, eaglehawk
garrgil, hawk species (?)
guurumugu, 'meat' hawk
wandii, seahawk
ganbil, parrot with crimson wing
mundurr, giant crane
dhiilbuurr, jabaroo
dunguuyngga; \$yalmburr (= 'meat'),
 duck
bulbuurrmbul, pheasant (?)
milgaandurr, seagull

G - Fishes

gudyu; *guyu*; \$munyil, fish
 (generic)
barrbal, silver bream
murrabal, freshwater barramundi
bigudhirr, jewfish
bulal, poisonous blowfish (salt)
dunun, stonefish
gaalnggaan, blue-tailed mullet
marrbaarrga, rock cod
muurraar, black catfish
wuyumadharr, perch
biganh, small river eel
dindurr, large seagoing eel

H - Insects, etc.

bugul, antbed
giira, ant (generic)
yangga, *dhinggan*; \$muunhdhurr,
 green ant
mawal, wasp
nhuumbirr, beeswax, honeycomb
mula; \$gulngguun, sugarbag; bee
 (generic)
dhuru; \$gulngguun, native bee
 species
gudha; \$gulngguun, black bee
ngaymburr; \$gulngguun, tiny
 native bee species

wunba; \$gulingguun, 'English bee'
 dinhanhaharr; \$burruul-dhirr (lit.
 'with anger'), scorpion
 gaalaaya, centipede
 buluurrbuluur, blowfly
 dhabaga; \$gunhdhin, fly
 gubirr, marchfly
 mawu; \$gudirr, mosquito
 walbulbul, butterfly, moth
 mudhurr, edible grub species
 bulubul, spider (generic)
 dhabulin; \$dyinu (cf. 'chin',
 'hip' etc.), earthworm
 gadu, leech
 yulnggurr, prawn or shrimp
 digirr; (cf. mugu, 'back', 'seed',
 'shell'), shell (generic)
 dhuwan.ga, freshwater mussel
 milbaar, Nautilus shell
 dhandaar; \$yimun, (green river)
 frog
 bundiil, grasshopper
 wuugul, louse, flea

I - Language, Ceremony, etc.

guugu, \$ngiirrul, word, speech,
 language
 milbi; \$ngiirrul, story, news,
 myth
 gadil; \$nangginanggi, name, music
 sticks
 gunbu; \$wanma, dance, song,
 corroboree
 ganhil, extemporaneous, abusive
 song
 yiital, song type for dancing
 nganydya, initiation ceremony
 and ground
 muurruul; \$yanyil, (= 'cut'),
 scars, body decorations

J - Artefacts, etc

wangi, boomerang
 milbiir, wommera
 gaanha, yamstick (and wild
 'hopwood' tree from which
 it is made)
 gugulu, nulla-nulla, fighting
 stick
 galga; \$gandul, spear (generic)
 yinba; \$gandul, four-pronged
 spear
 banydyarr; \$gandul, four-pronged
 fishing spear
 digarra; \$gandul, fighting spear
 with stingaree barb

murranggal; \$gandul, bullet
 spear
 wandin, bark shield
 warrbi; \$gadil-baga, axe,
 tommyhawk
 biida; \$wirriir, shell knife
 bulal, firesticks
 magarr, fishnet; cobweb
 wangga, canoe
 banyin; \$dirrbu, dilly-bag type
 ngunyin; \$dirrbu, small dilly-bag
 bunba; \$dirrbu, large dilly-bag
 dubal, bark trough
 nambal; \$wambagan, stone, money

K - Food, Fire, Water

minha; \$yalmburr, meat, animal
 mayi, \$gudhubay, vegetable food,
 tucker
 yugu; \$gunhdhin, tree, wood, fire
 wambu, ashes
 ngalgal; \$buluur, smoke,
 cigarette
 wulunggurr, flames, light
 buurraay; \$wabirr, water
 buurraay gaga (= 'salt, poison'),
 salt water, liquor
 wumbal; mulidhin (C), creek
 birri, river
 namu, walngga, swamp
 madyi; \$dualbun, rain; matches

L - Celestial, Weather etc.

ngalan; \$gandaganda, sun; daytime
 wungaar; \$gandaganda, dry season
 milu; \$gandu, shade, shadow
 waarigan; \$gin.gin; giidha (C),
 moon
 dawaar, star
 wudhurr; \$budubudu, night
 yirmbal, rainbow; supernatural
 serpent
 wangunh; dyiiri (C), sky
 nguulbaan, cloud
 girray, mist, drizzle
 wurrbal, fog
 dharramali; \$buduumbina, thunder
 wulunggurr; malbarr; \$buduumbina
 (cf. 'flames, light'), lightning

M - Geography

bubu; \$wuurrii, place, ground,
 country
 nanggurr; \$wuurrii, camp
 bayan; \$gaymba, house
 dhudaan; \$yimbulimbul, path, road,
 track

dyuugaar; \$nyinyiirr, sand
 bunhdhi; \$wuurrii gimbal (= 'soft')
 mud, swampy ground
 gamay; \$dharrbi, white clay
 wuba, red ochre
 bargabarga, yellow ochre
 bulbuur; \$wuurrii, dust
 warrigan; diyarr (C); \$burriigan,
 hole (in the ground)
 marrbugan; \$burriigan, cave
 yaarrguurr; \$wuurrii dhulnggal
 (= 'good'), plain, flatlands
 manydyal; \$yinga, mountain
 nambal; \$wambagan, stone
 diiguurr; \$nyinyiirr, gravel

N - Arboreal, etc.

yugu; \$gunhdhin, tree, wood, etc.
 birra; \$yidhulidhul, leaf
 gun.gun; madya (C), scrub,
 dense scrubland
 dhaba; \$dyigu, stick
 dhumuul, thorn, splinter
 dharrandharran; \$gunhdhin, root,
 or root cluster
 dyin.gal, single root or vine
 ngan.ga, flower; feather
 munhu; gadhaa (C); \$buunhdhi,
 grass
 munuunh, burr (from grass)
 mabil; munhdhiina; ngurri,
 etc., species of water lily
 (edible)
 baarrabarra, common mangrove tree
 babadha, bloodwood
 badhuarr, zamia palm
 banday, native 'cherry' tree
 bidiga, wild 'fig'
 biniirr, ironwood tree
 budhaya, lady-apple tree
 budhu, ti-tree
 bungga, black-boy grass tree
 dabunh, wild 'mango' tree
 dalgan, native 'pine' (Casuarina)
 dhibugun, pandanus sp. with
 edible nut
 dhilbi; dhuumbiin, leichhardt
 tree
 dundurr, white gum
 duwaar, black palm
 gaarraay, raffia palm
 garrbil, sea-growing mangrove,
 'sea cedar'
 guurrui, 'burdekin' plum
 maya, 'sleepy' tree
 mili, 'stinging' tree
 mulaan, wattle sp.

ngulaga, pandanus, grows on beach
 winha, wild 'nanda' fruit
 yaarunh, wattle sp.
 gaangga; \$waldhan, yam (generic)
 wugay; \$garu, yellow yam

O - ADJECTIVES

nubuun; \$nhuluur, one
 gudhiirra; \$dhambuul, two
 guunduui; \$guluur, three, a few
 warrga-aygu; \$dhalga, many (cf.
 large)
 munhi; \$muyngguul, black
 bilbin; \$muyngguul, grey, darkish
 dyingga; \$dhuulnggaal-gu (= 'good')
 white
 diini; \$dhulnggal, red
 warrga; \$dhalga, big
 bidha; \$yigal, small
 galbay; \$wunyaan, long, tall
 murru; \$yigal, short
 muymanh, fat, healthy-looking
 (cf. mamba)
 barban; daarraay (C), bala;
 \$dyirrun, thin, unhealthy-
 looking
 waalaal; \$dhalga, wide
 dhubu; \$dhudhun, narrow, close
 together
 dhumbuurr-gu; \$dhulnggal,
 straight, proper
 gurruunhgurruunh; \$dyirrun,
 crooked, improper
 minhdhil; \$wulnggan, hot
 wungaar; \$wulnggan, very hot
 weather
 muganhmuganh; \$muyguurmuyguur,
 cold
 duna, moist, wet
 banydyil, dry
 buula; \$dhamarr+PAST, dried up
 (e.g., tree)
 burrburr; \$maydyarr, hard, strong
 mulban-gu; \$maydyaarr-gu, tight,
 tightly
 gima; \$gimbal, soft, weak
 gulnggul; \$ngunaarrngunaarr,
 heavy
 budharr; \$gaari ngunaarrngunaarr,
 light (weight)
 diirril; balbaaynhbalbaaynggu;
 galbun.galbun; \$dhulnggal,
 sharp (point or edge)
 dunu; budul (C); \$dyirrun,
 blunt, dull
 gaga; \$dyirrun, sweet, salty,
 sour, poisonous

nhilaa; \$dirrgaa, new
nhila; \$dirrga, now, soon (time)
dyiga; \$dirrga, fresh, unripe
 (fruit, moon)
mugul; \$dyirrun, old
dabaar; buudhan (C); \$dhulnggal,
 good
warra; \$dyirrun, bad
bungal; \$dhulnggal, clever,
 expert
yiril; \$mnan.gal, afraid, cowardly;
 wild (animal)
murnda; \$dhulnggal, brave, tame,
 willing
gulay, larrikin, promiscuous
dhuyu; \$nharr=badhi, dead
ngaambuurr-gu, alive
gayal; \$gamburr, raw, uncooked,
 unripe
ngalmbu; \$dhama-rrin, cooked, ripe
yiidhiil, ripening, almost ripe
 (fruit)
gadha; \$gunay (= 'bloated'), foul
 (smelling), rotten
warnggu; \$wulbul, sleeping,
 asleep
burra; \$walgul dyirrun
 (= 'bad eye'), blind
burun; gadan; \$wulmul gaari
 (= 'hair not'), bald
mamba-dhirr (= 'fat-COM');
 \$mnaal-dhirr, fat
midhi-dhirr (= 'point-COM'),
 sharp (pointed)
milga-mul (= 'ear-PRIV');
 \$dhuba-mul, deaf, stupid,
 inattentive
milga-dhirr; \$dhuba-dhirr,
 obedient
muyan(-dhirr), ashamed,
 embarrassed
guli-dhirr; \$burraul-dhirr,
 angry, wild
gaga-dhirr; \$ngambuuy-dhirr, sick
dingga-dhirr; \$wuyngga-dhirr,
 hungry
gambuul-dhirr (= 'stomach-COMIT'),
 satisfied, full
wanu=biini (= 'breath-die'), tired,
 thirsty, sleepy

VERBS

P - Motion

dhadaa; \$balil, go
gadaa; \$madal+REF, come
buurnggal+REF; \$duugal+REF, enter

waarmbal; \$wali=rambal, return (tr)
yirngal, turn (tr), rotate
wugurr; \$nguna=ngal, follow,
 chase (tr)
gaynydyarr; \$nhidu-wi madal+REF
 (= 'knees-on come'), crawl
ganbarr; \$dhala=mal, jump,
 protrude
wuuri, play, dance
waarril; \$guurrbal, fly
dudaa; \$wanal+REF, run
bulii; \$gulnggal+REF, fall
madhal+REF; \$yandal; mabil (C),
 climb up (intr)
dyanydyil; \$gubu=rragal+REF,
 bathe, bogey
maaril; \$dhaanuurr, swim
nguurrmal=dudaa, dive

Q - Rest

nhin.gal; \$nyarrgal+REF, sit,
 stay, exist
walmaa; \$yandal, get up, arise,
 rise
yuulii; \$nguraarr=ngal+REF,
 stand up (intr)
wunaa; \$wadharr, lie down, exist
dhaarmbil, float

R - Induced Position

yidharr; \$nambirr, put, put down
gayaa=bagal; \$nambirr, hang up (tr)
waalnggal, hang (intr)
maa=naa; \$gayil, pick up, take,
 marry, get
garrbal; \$nandaarr=ngal, hold
maandii; \$daburr, carry, bring
midaarr; \$daburr, lift
dirrbaa; \$daburr, abduct, run off
 with
dubil; \$nambirr, leave
bulngal; \$yalmbuurr=ngal, pull
 (up, out)
buunydyaal; \$yalmbuurr=ngal, drag
 along
dhuurmgal; \$yalmbuurr=ngal, push
dhambarr; \$gala=budal, throw
nhiinggurr; \$gala=budal,
 pour (out)
ngalbil; \$dawiing=gayil, hide,
 steal
yiwarra, \$gan.gurr, look for, search
 for; REF= lose, be lost
wamil; \$yudurr, find
wu-maa, \$maybal, give

S - Affect

gundal; \$ngulnggal, hit, beat, kill
bandil; \$ngulnggal, chop, call out
yanggil; \$ngulnggal, crack, smash open, scrape
yiigaardamal; \$ngulnggal, split
dhabil; \$ngulnggal, kick
daamal; \$wurarr, spear
bidal; \$wurarr, harpoon
nhiril; \$wurarr, poke, impale
munggil; \$wurarr, haul in (catch of fish or game); thrash
dyinydyal, squeeze, pinch
dhuugil, \$yulmbal, rinse, squeeze, sluice
balgal; \$yulmbal, make, do, wash, fix
dagil; \$yulmbal, erect, build, put together
dhulurr; \$yulmbal, scrub
dhiigal; \$yulmbal, straighten
milbil; \$yulmbal, promise to give to (someone)
bagal; \$wanggar, dig, stab, poke, peck, jab, sting
bunhdharr; \$wanggar, dig up (e.g., nest)
dhanggurr; \$wanggar, scratch
walngal; \$wanggar, open, set free, untie, loosen
nhuyal; \$wanggar, accuse, be suspicious of
wagil; \$yanyil, cut
gadabal; \$wan.guur=mal, break (intr)
dumbil; \$wan.guur=mal, break (tr)
bandal+REF; \$wan.guur=mal, break open, burst (intr)
yaadyil; \$dhamarr, cook, burn (intr)
dhumbal; \$dhamarr, boil (intr)
baawal; \$nyarrgal; \$buudyirr, cook, burn (tr)
wuubal; \$buudyirr; \$nyarrgal, singe (hair off game)
gadhal; \$mudil, tie up
dhulnggal; \$buuyurr, rub, rub on, paint
gaanil, smear, smear on
baydyarr; \$nhidal, cover, crush, fall on
duugal; \$nhidal wuurrii-wi (= 'earth in'), bury

T - Attention

banydyii; \$nyarrgal+REF, wait
nhaa-maa; \$midu=ngal, see

U - Talking, etc.

yirrgaa, speak, say, talk (intr)
waadal; \$maybal, tell, say (tr)
miirril; \$miral, tell (story, news)
gurrall; \$maybal, say, tell, think, do
muurril; *ngandal*; \$gaari maybal; \$dawiing=gayil, refuse, eny
nyandal+REF; \$dawiing=gayil, come to an end, finish (intr)
dhaaba-ngal; \$gaman=wanggar, ask (someone for something)
dhunhdharr; \$gaman=wanggar, ask (for something)
ngaadal; \$maybal, answer back, help
gawal, sing out, call out, yell

V - Corporeal

budal; \$bamba=ngal, eat
baadal; \$bamba=ngal, try, taste
dhuumbil; *nhuumbil*; \$bamba=ngal, swallow
gaydyil; \$gaamarr, vomit (intr)
nguyaaarr=ngal; \$bidhaarr=ngal, dream
waaybadhil, yawn
nyuumal; \$nyunyurr, smell
budharr; \$wunydyurr, blow, blow on
bunydyal (C); *dyidyil*, \$nyunydyal, lick, lap up, drink
bunal; *bundal*; etc., copulate with
dagarr; \$dhalga=mal (= 'get big'), grow, grow up
buural+REF, get sore
biinii; \$nhar=bal+REF, die
baadyil; \$dyiraay=mal, cry, sob, wail
diingal; \$bumbuy=gayil, laugh at (tr)
nguurangadal; \$nguraarr=ngal, try on, measure

W - LOCATION

gunggaarr, north
dyibaarr; \$dhalbaarr, south
nagaar, east
gawaar; \$nguwaar, west
yuba; \$nhirra, near
gadhi; \$dhaalburr, far
wanggaar; \$yamurr, above, high up

galmbaa; \$yamurr, on top of
bada; \$dhuurun, down, below
muunhdhiirr-gu; \$dhuurun, beneath,
 under, down into

X - TIME

ngulgu; \$duray, yesterday;
 afternoon
wun.guunh; \$munaal, tomorrow,
 morning, earlier today
nhila; \$dirrga, now
garrrgu; \$dhaaway, later

dhagaal-bi-gu; \$dhaaway,
 before, first, in front

Y - INTERJECTIONS

yuu, yes
gaari, no, not
binaal; \$ngaanhdharr, know
 knowingly
binaal-mul;
 \$ngaanhdharr-mul,
 don't know

LIST OF AFFIXES

As an aid to the reader, the following list shows the most important affixes and particles discussed in this grammar, the standard gloss for each, and a list of the sections where each is discussed.

- REDUP (adjectives), 3.2.5
 REDUP (verbs), 3.5.2, 3.5.5.
- :, ALL, 3.3.3[c]
 -: , ERG/INST, 3.2.2[b](d)
 -: , NONPAST, 3.5.3[a]
 -: , SUP, 3.2.2[i]
- \$a, PURP, 3.2.2[e]
- :-arru, 'hesitation', 3.3.2
- =baga, CAUT, 3.5.3[g], 3.5.5,
 4.2[a], 4.6
barrga-balga, 'along', 3.2.6[b]
 -bi/-wi (~ -bay/-way), DAT/LOC/
 ALL/GEN+ABS, 3.2.2[c], 4.1.3[e],
 4.1.6[b], 4.3.5-6, 4.7
budhu, DUBITATIVE, 3.3.2[d], 4.8
- :-dha-, REF formative, 3.5.4
 -dhi, PAST, 3.5.3[b]
 -dhi, REF(+PAST), 3.5.4, 4.3
 -dhiirr, COM, 3.2.3[c], 4.1.6[g],
 4.9
- :-ga, ABES, 3.2.2[g], 4.1.3[c],
 4.7
 -ga, GOAL, 3.2.2[f], 3.3.2[c],
 4.1.3[g]
 -ga-, GEN, 3.2.3[b], 3.3.1,
 4.7
 -gal, ADES, 3.2.2[h], 4.1.3[d],
 4.3.2
gala, EMPH, 3.2.6[e]
- :-gamu, PRECAUT, 3.5.3[i], 4.6
 -garr, PLU(+ERG), 3.2.2[b](e),
 3.2.3[a]
 -garra/-:ygarra, EMPH, 3.2.4[c]
 -gu, EMPH, 3.2.4[a], 3.3.1
 -gu/-:ygu, EMPH, 3.2.4[b],
 3.2.2[i], 3.4, 4.1.3
 -gurr, PLU, 3.2.3[a]
 =gurral, CAUS, 3.2.7, 4.2[b],
 4.2[d]
- i, DAT/LOC/ALL (after -mu-),
 3.2.3[b]
 -\$i (~-say), DAT/LOC/ALL/GEN+ABS,
 3.2.2[c]
 -ii, IMP, 3.5.3[c]
 -\$il/-:il, ERG/INST, 3.2.2[b](c)
 -\$inh/-:nh, ERG/INST, 3.2.2b
 -\$inh, LOC/ALL, 3.2.2[c]
 -\$iirr, COM, 3.2.3[c]
- l, NONPAST, 3.5.3[a]
 -:l, ERG/INST, cf. -\$il/-:l
 -la, IMP, 3.5.3[c]
 -:lmugu, PAST+NEG, 3.5.3[f], 4.5
 -:lmun, ABL, 3.4
 -:lnggurr, SUP, 3.4
 -:lu, ABL, 3.4
- =mal, INCHO, 3.2.7, 3.4, 3.5.1,
 3.5.5, 4.2[c-d]
malin, USITATIVE, 3.2.6[a]
 =ma-naa, CAUS, 3.2.7, 3.4, 3.5.1,
 3.5.5, 4.2[c]
 -mu-, catalytic formative, 3.2.3[b],

- 3.2.3[d], 3.3.3, 4.7
 -mul, PRIV, 3.2.3[c], 4.5
 -:n, ERG/INST/ABL/CAU (after -mu-),
 3.2.3[b]
 -nda, CONTRF, 3.3.2[d], 3.5.3[d],
 4.5
 -nda, ERG/INST, 3.2.2b
 -n.garr, ABL, 3.4
 -nganh, ABL/CAU, 3.2.2[d],
 4.1.3[b]
 -ngay, PLU, 1.2, 3.2.2[b](e),
 3.2.3[a]
 -ngaygu, RES, 3.2.5, 4.1.3
 -:ngu, PURP, 3.2.2[e], 4.1.3[f]
 -ngun, ERG/INST, 3.2.2[b](a)
 -ngunda, ERG/INST, 3.2.2[b](e)
 -:nh, ERG/INST, cf. -sinh/-:nh
 -:nh, SUP, 3.2.2[i]
 -nhu, PURP, 3.5.3[d], 4.4.1
 -nhun, SUB2, 3.5.3[k], 4.4.3
 -rr, NONPAST, 3.5.3[a]
 -rrigu, ANTIC, 3.5.3[h], 4.6
 -rrin, PAST, 3.5.3[b]
 -rrin.ga, SUB1/PERF, 3.5.3[j]
 -rrin.gamu, PRECAUT, 3.5.3[i]
 -:rrmugu, PAST+NEG, 3.5.3[f], 4.5
 -rrV, IMP, 3.5.3[c]
 warra, 'native of', 3.2.6[d]
 -wi (~-way), DAT/LOC/ALL/
 GEN+ABS, cf. -bi/-wi
 -y, PAST, 3.5.3[b]
 -ya, CAUT, 3.5.3[g], 4.6
 -:ya, REF+NONPAST, 3.5.4
 -:yga, SUB1/PERF, 3.5.3[j], 4.2.2-3
 -:ygarra, EMPH, cf. -:garra/
 -:ygarra
 -:ygu, EMPH, cf. -:gu/-:ygu
 -:yi, REF+IMP, 3.5.4
 -yigu, ANTIC, 3.5.3[h], 4.6

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Map 3: Pitta-Pitta and Neighbouring Languages

Pitta-Pitta

by Barry J. Blake

1. THE LANGUAGE AND ITS SPEAKERS

1.1 LINGUISTIC TYPE

Pitta-Pitta (/pitapiṭa/[pṭi:ṭpṭi:ṭ]) is a language with a simple morphological structure, partly isolating and partly agglutinating. All bound morphemes are suffixes and they are used for word-building (derivational) processes and to express case relations with nouns and tense and aspect with verbs. Some clitic particles are used and free form function words are an important feature of the language.

Word order is free at the referential level.

The marking of the syntactic cases is highly unusual. In the non-future tenses, S is marked by zero, A by an ergative suffix -ṭu and O by an accusative suffix -ṭa. In the future, S and A are marked by a common form, -ṭu, while O is marked by the dative, at least according to Roth 1897. However, our informants use either the dative or the accusative for O in the future. The case marking system is the same for all classes of nominals. There are free pronouns but no bound pronouns.

The phonological system is typical for Australia (see general introduction §4.6). There are both lamino-dentals and lamino-palatals. There is a trilled rhotic /rr/ distinct from the flap /r/ and the glide /ɾ/. No word final consonants occur. There are no morphophonemic alternations save for a few relics in the pronoun paradigms.

1.2 TRIBAL AND LANGUAGE NAMES

Pitta-Pitta is the dialect of one particular clan and, together with the dialects of a number of neighbouring clans, it is part of a language for which there is no obvious name. The following list gives the names of all the clans who spoke related dialects. Alternative

spellings are shown (see Tindale 1974 for a list of primary and secondary sources of these spellings). The location of these clans is shown on the map.

Pitta-Pitta/piṭapiṭa/, Bitta Bitta, Pitapita, Bidha-Bidha
(Blake 1977 following A.I.A.S. conventions)

Ringu-Ringu/riṅuriṅu/, Ringoringo, Ringu-Ringu, Ringa-Ringaroo
This is often heard as [riṅɤriṅɤ] but some carefully pronounced tokens are heard as [riṅuriṅu].

Mayawarli/mayawaṛi/ (possibly /mayawali/), Maiali, Majawali,
Mailly, Myall, Myallee, Myoli, Miorli, Majuli, Maiawali

Kunkalanya/kunkalanʔa/, Kunkulenje, Koonkoolenya, Koomkoolenya,
Koonkalinga, Koonkalinye

Ngulupulu/ṅulupulu/, Moorloobulloo, Ngulubulu, Oolooooloo

Karanya/?/, Karenya, Kurrana, Karanja

Rakaya/ɾakaya/, Rukkia, Rakkaia

There is very little grammatical information available for dialects other than Pitta-Pitta. Breen has two hours recorded in Ngulupulu from Bill Gorringer, and Nora Jacks remembers a few sentences of Kunkalanya by heart.

The sum total of this information, other than lexical, is a few bound morphemes that differ from the Pitta-Pitta forms. These are listed in the appendix.

1.3 TERRITORY AND NEIGHBOURS

The 'Pitta-Pitta' dialects are very closely related to a group of dialects spoken immediately to the west. The northern group of these western dialects are referred to as Wangka-Yutjuru (/waŋkayutʔuru/) and the southern group as Wangka-Manha (/waŋkamana/). These terms mean 'good (or straight, right, correct) language' and 'bad language' respectively. We shall refer to the western dialects collectively as the western language and the Pitta-Pitta dialects as the eastern language. The map gives the location of all eastern and western clans that we have information on.

The western language can justifiably be set off from the eastern on the grounds that the two are mutually incomprehensible. Lexically for instance Lhanima, a southern dialect of the western language, and Pitta-Pitta have 63 per cent of basic vocabulary in common, 27 per cent of of function morphemes identical in form and 45 per cent similar or identical in form. On the other hand the eastern and western languages are structurally isomorphic, the differences being purely in the realisation of some lexical and some grammatical morphemes. Very little exposure would be required for a speaker of one of the

languages to be able to understand the other. Function morphemes of the western language are listed in the appendix alongside their eastern counterparts.

The following table gives an indication of the lexical similarity between those dialects of the eastern and western languages for which we have data. The eastern language is represented by Mayawarli, Ringu-Ringu, Pitta-Pitta, Ngulupulu and Kunkalanya. The northern dialects of the western language are represented by material supplied by the late Mrs. Ida Toby in what she calls Wangka-Yutjuru, though this appears to be a name for the dialects of a number of clans. The southern dialects of the western language are represented by Lhanima/*lanima*/ using material supplied by Nora Jacks. The figures are based on a 250 word list but the actual number of words available ranges from 78 for Kunkalanya to 233 for Pitta-Pitta. The lists consist mostly of nouns for body parts, kin, fauna, flora, natural phenomena and artifacts. There are a few basic adjectives (adjectives from the point of view of English) and verbs.

		R-R	P-P	Ngu.	Kun.	W-Y	L
eastern language	Mayawarli	66	72	61	72	46	45
	Ringu-Ringu		76	83	74	59	64
	Pitta-Pitta			89	88	60	63
	Ngulupulu				89	62	67
	Kunkalanya					57	64
western language	Wangka-Yutjuru						84
	Lhanima						

The eastern and western languages have in common that they distinguish the syntactic cases differently in the future from in the non-future, a feature which sets them off from their neighbours.

The only neighbouring language to which they are similar is Mithaka/*mijaka*/ in the south. Pitta-Pitta shares 44 per cent of vocabulary with Mithaka, 48 per cent with Yarluyandi and 35 per cent with Wangga-*Nguru*. These lexical sharings are matched by shared function morphemes and syntactic features. Clearly the eastern and western languages are the northernmost of a chain of related languages running to the south.

1.4 PRESENT SITUATION

Pitta-Pitta is virtually extinct. The only remaining speakers are Ivy Nardoo of Boulia and Linda Craigie of Mt. Isa. About 90 per cent of the material on which this description is based was given to us by Nora Jacks. Unfortunately Nora died as a result of a heart attack in Boulia in 1977. Linda Craigie was not able to contribute much because of her age and health and Ivy Nardoo only became known to us after she returned to Boulia from Palm Island at a time when most of the field work had been

completed.

1.5 PAST INVESTIGATIONS

Roth published a grammar of Pitta-Pitta as the first chapter of his 'Ethnological studies among the north-west-central Queensland Aborigines' (1897). The grammar is fairly accurate but all the phonemic distinctions that Europeans find difficult are missed. Chapter 2 of his work embodies a comparative list of 45 lexical items in Warluwara (Roth's Walookera), Yaruwinga, Andegerebinha, Yurla-Yurlanya (Roth's Ulaolinya), Wangka-Yutjuru, Karanya, Pitta-Pitta, Mayawarli, Guwa, Wunumara, Mayi-Thakurti and Kalkatungu, plus a comparative table of kinship terms in Pitta-Pitta, Kalkatungu, Mayi-Thakurti, Mayi-Yapi, Wunumara, Guwa and Wamin.

Curr (1886), volume two, contains the following relevant lists:

- 102(a) The Hamilton River, Warena
- (b) The Hamilton River - Ringu-Ringu
- (c) The Lower Georgina - Runga-Rungawah
- (d) Between the Georgina and Burke rivers -
 Ringa-Ringaroo
- 104 On the Hamilton River, and near Boulia -
 The Bitta-Bitta tribe
- 105 Junction of King's Creek and the Georgina
 River - Moorloobulloo

List 105 is Ngulupulu, 104 is Pitta-Pitta, 102(a), (b) and (d) are Ringu-Ringu. 102(c) seems to be a mixture of eastern dialects and some western dialect, probably Rangwa, as the name of the source suggests.

The 'Science of Man' journal includes the following relevant word lists:

Kunkalanya

Vol. 1, No.2, Mar. 1898: Koon-kalinga tribe, West Queensland, 50 miles south-east from Sandringham [word list] supplied by W.C. Field.

Mayawarli

Vol. 2, No. 3, Apr. 1899: Word list for Myallee supplied by E. Lamb, Esq. Brighton Downs.

Vol. 3, No. 12, Jan. 1901: Word list supplied indirectly by H.S. Dutton, Chief Secretary, Brisbane.

Vol. 4, No. 8, Sept. 1901: Mi-or-li and Kal-ka-doon Tribes, [notes] by C.W. Mackie, Brighton Downs.

Vol. 7, No. 2, Mar. 1904: Goa and Myalli language [mostly place names] per E.C. Lamb, Brighton Downs, Diamantina River.

Vol. 8, No. 1, Mar. 1906: Aboriginal Place Names with their Meanings, Diamantina, Language of the Mially Tribe, supplied indirectly by J.S. Dutton.

Other sources

Peter Ford has tape-recorded a little Ngulupulu from Bill Gorringe.

1.6 PRESENT CORPUS

This description is based on 50 hours of material recorded by the author and Gavan Breen. These recordings consist mainly of translations of English sentences. There are two or three hours of text material, narrative and conversation, but this is of poor quality.

2. PHONOLOGY

2.1 PHONEMES

Consonants

	bi- labial	apico- alveolar	apico- post- alveolar (retro- flex)	lamino- dental	lamino- palatal	dorso- velar
stops	p	t	ʈ	ʈ	tʃ	k
nasals	m	n	ɳ	ɳ	nʃ	ŋ
laterals		l	ɭ	ɭ	ɭʃ	
rhotics		r	ɽ			
glides	w	rr			y	w

r represents a flap, rr a trill and ɽ a somewhat retroflexed glide.

Vowels

	front	back
high	i	u
low	a	

a: also occurs, but only in the deictic enclitic -a:rrɪ 'far' (see §3.2.1.) and in kuna:rra 'far (side of)'.

2.2 PHONOTACTICS

Each word contains at least two vowels.

A word may begin with any stop or nasal except t or n. The liquids ɭ, ɭ, r and ɽ each occur initially only in one or two words. The glides occur initially, but not before their vocalic counterparts. We do not hear [yi] and [wu] in word-initial positions. i and u occur initially but not a.

Between vowels any single consonant may occur. We do not recognise sequences of vowels within a morpheme. We hear sequences such as [ai], [avi] and [ayi] without any apparent contrast between a sequence without and a sequence with a glide. We have regularised all these to sequences with a glide. Thus we write /ayi/, /awu/, /iya/, /uwa/, /iyu/ and /uwi/. We hear [i:] and [u:], but slow, clear tokens of words with [i:] and [u:] contain [iyi] and [uwu]. We phonemicise them /iyi/ and /uwu/ respectively. We hear [a:], in the deictic clitic suffix indicating 'far' e.g. [ṇu-lu-a:ri] 'he-ERG-far' and in [kuna:ri] 'far (side of)'. We phonemicise this as /a:/. We hear [a:] in [para:ṅku] 'insane', but clear tokens contain a sequence [awa], thus we phonemicise /parawaṅku/.

Across morpheme boundaries we allow sequences of vowels. Thus we write the locative, -ina, and the allative, -inu, and sequences such as kukuina 'at the back' and kukuinu 'to the back', kaṇaina 'with the man' and kaṇainu 'to the man'. A bound morpheme may begin with [i] but not [yi], or [u] but not [wu]. This observation is based on slow, careful speech. In fluent speech there is a tendency to insert an epenthetic glide. Thus kukuina may be pronounced [kukuwina] and kaṇaina may be pronounced [kaṇayina]. The tendency to insert the glide after a is not strong when the following vowel bears secondary stress as it would in kaṇaina. Thus we often hear [kaṇaina]. In light of this we have considered the possibility that a sequence such as kaṇa+ina contrasts with a similar sequence without a morpheme boundary, but it may simply be a matter of the strength of the glide in relation to the position of the stress.

A rule of epenthesis is also needed to insert glides before the suffix /-a:rri/, which was mentioned above. Thus /ṇu-lu-a:rri/ is pronounced [ṇuluwa:ri].

We have not included these epenthetic glides at morpheme boundaries in our phonemic transcription. One could use a transcription which included all epenthetic glides, or one which omitted all predictable glides, including the glides we write in /miyi/ 'eye' and /mayi/ 'dirt'.

The following consonant clusters may occur between vowels:

- (a) homorganic nasal plus stop
- (b) homorganic lateral plus stop
- (c) apical nasal or lateral or rr plus labial or velar stop or nasal.

As can be seen from the lists below, not every possibility captured by these generalisations has been observed in our small corpus. The absence of liquid plus nasal clusters in our data might be systematic rather than accidental. So might the absence of clusters beginning with ṇ.

No consonants are permitted at the end of a word.

2.2.1 EXAMPLES ILLUSTRATING PHONOTACTICS. The examples have been chosen to illustrate phonemic oppositions by minimal pairs wherever possible.

Single consonants

	Initial		Intervocalic	
p	paya	bird	kupi	fish
t	-		kuti	pull
t̪	t̪akuku	child	kaʈi	head
t̪	t̪ina	foot	kaʈi	meat
tʲ	tʲanka	father's father	paʈya	bite
k	kaŋa	man	kuku	back
m	maʎi	fishing net	yami	father's sister
n	-		ina	you:ACC
ŋ	ŋayipa	knife	maŋa	maybe
ɖ	ɖupu	spouse	maŋa	bad
nʲ	nʲiʎpa	louse	kanʲini	mother's mother
ŋ	ŋaʎa	cheek	maŋu	mucus
l	-		ŋali	we two
ʎ	ʎatya	all right	ʎaʎi	tongue
ɭ	ɭayinuru	again	maʎu	no
ʎʲ	-		miʎya	eye
r	raŋwa	Rangwa (clan name)	ŋura	camp
rr	-		parri	many
ɽ	ɽɭurɭu	Ringu-Ringu (clan)	maŋa	hand
y	yumulu	night	paya	bird
w	wama	snake	kaʎawarri	rabbit

Consonant clusters

mp	kimpa	blood			
nt	kunti	house	ɭt		
ŋt̪	kaŋt̪a	go	ɭt̪		
ŋt̪	kun̪t̪i	mosquito	ɭt̪	paʎt̪apaʎt̪a	flat
nʲtʲ	ŋanʲtʲya	I	ʎtʲ	ŋaʎtʲya	spittle
ŋk	miŋka	hole			
np	kunparra	shield	ŋp		
nk	yanka	tell	ŋk		
nm	kanmaŋi	Water Snake	ŋm		
nŋ	inŋu	you (F:S)	ŋŋ		
lp	piʎpa	forehead	ɭp	piʎpa	penis, lightning
lk	waʎka	child	ɭk	waʎka	sun

lm		!m
lŋ		!ŋ
rrp	warrpa	young (of animal)
rrk	ɬarrka	stand
rrm		
rrŋ		

Vowels

The vowel phonotactics have been illustrated in the course of illustrating the consonants except for initial *i* and *u* - *itʷa* 'to dance', *ulu* 'bee'.

Exceptions

A small number of words do not conform to the phonotactics of the language. *wowo*[*wowo*] 'bullroarer' is presumably onomatopoeic. *alutʷa* 'wild banana' also occurs in the permissible form *ŋalutʷa*. *ŋkawa* 'wood duck' also occurs in the permissible form *kawa*.

2.3 PRONUNCIATION

Two points of articulation require little comment, labial and velar, since they are the same in English and numerous other languages. A velar preceding the vowel *i* has a particularly advanced point of articulation, thus *kimpa* 'blood' is [*ɰimpa*], with some pronunciations difficult to distinguish from *tʷ* (see below).

The apico-alveolars are as in English *t*, *n* and *l* and the apico-postalveolars are pronounced with the tongue making contact further back than for *t*, *n* and *l*. These 'retroflexes', as they are generally called, are distinguishable mainly by the *r*-colouring they impart to the preceding vowel. In word-initial position there is no contrast between alveolar and post-alveolar, so that one has only to distinguish apicals from the lamino-dentals. The word-initial apicals are noticeably retroflex in clear tokens and have been taken to be phonemically postalveolar despite the neutralisation of alveolar and postalveolar points of articulation.

The lamino-dentals are pronounced with the blade of the tongue against the teeth, sometimes with the apex protruding between the upper and lower teeth. The lamino-palatals are pronounced with the front of the tongue making contact with the roof of the mouth and the alveolar area, the tip of the tongue being behind the lower teeth. The lamino-palatals are easy to distinguish from the lamino-dentals, but the lamino-dentals are difficult to distinguish from the apico-alveolars.

The flapped *r* is as in Spanish *pero* 'but' and the trill as in Spanish *perro* 'dog'. The retroflex glide is as in some dialects of English. The tongue is bunched and the tip raised and the sound is the same as the intervocalic *r* of the English West Country though in some tokens much the

same as the intervocalic *r* of Received Pronunciation.

The stops are typically fortis and voiceless. Voiced allophones may occur, particularly between unstressed vowels. On the other hand the stops are often pronounced as voiceless geminates between vowels. Thus *pīṭṭapīṭṭa* 'Pitta-Pitta' is often pronounced [pīṭṭepīṭṭə]. The nasals, laterals and occasionally the glides may also be pronounced geminate between vowels.

The word *kaṭi* 'yes, O.K.' is normally pronounced [káḍ(d)i] and appears to form a minimal pair with *kaṭi* 'head' which is normally pronounced [kaṭ(ṭ)i]. However, this voicing appears to be associated with the intonation and lack of stress characteristically associated with this word.

The vowels *i*, *a* and *u* are similar to the vowels of 'been', 'balm' and 'boot' respectively. In a closed syllable, they are similar to the vowels of *bin*', 'bun' and 'put'. *a* has a very fronted allophone following a palatal and to some extent preceding a palatal. Thus *yapiṛi* 'father' is pronounced [yápiṛi].

Unstressed *a* tends towards schwa. Thus *kilka* 'upper arm' is [kílka].

Stress

Each word pronounced in isolation is marked by a stress on the initial syllable. The remaining syllables of a disyllabic or trisyllabic word are not as weak as unstressed syllables are in English. If, for instance, the sonorous vowel *a* occurs in the second syllable following *i* or *u* in the first, then the second syllable appears almost as prominent as the first.

In words of more than two syllables, there is a tendency for a secondary stress to appear. It normally appears on the third syllable of words of four syllables. In a word of five syllables where a new morpheme begins in the fourth syllable, the secondary stress appears in the fourth syllable, *ṭákuku-ṭinu*. The secondary stress is quite weak.

In fluent speech, function words are typically unstressed and phonologically incorporated in the lexical words that immediately precede them. Where two pronouns occur in a clause they are typically placed together and pronounced like one word (i.e. with one strong stress)

<i>pīṭi-ka</i>	<i>ṇā-ṭu-i-ṇa-ka</i>
hit -PAST	I-ERG-him-ACC-HERE
I hit him.	

In rapid speech, at least in the speech of Nora Jacks, there is a tendency to use very little stress other than on the initial syllable of a phrase, so that not only are function words cliticised but lexical items tend to be incorporated in a rapid burst of syllables with little stress on any syllable other than the first.

It is difficult to say much about the pattern of stresses in clauses as there is free word order at the information level and word order varies a good deal in accordance with the thematic organisation of the sentence.

2.4 MORPHOPHONEMICS

Pitta-Pitta does not have any productive morphophonemic alternation. There is some fossilised alternation in some singular forms of the personal pronouns (see §3.2.1). A few verb stems show some apparently irregular fluctuation between -i and -a in the second syllable. Thus we have recorded *kaṇṭa* and *kaṇṭi* 'walk' with the suffix -ma (§3.4.2[a]) though *kaṇṭa* is the common form of this verb. *paṇṭa* 'to crack' also appears as *paṇṭi* before -ma. *ṭiwa* and *ṭiwi* have been recorded for 'be jealous' with various suffixes. There are insufficient examples for us to be clear about what is involved.

There is a rule of haplology whereby two expected occurrences of the syllable -ya are reduced to one. Thus -ya 'present tense' plus *yaṇu* 'hither' is expressed as -*yaṇu* (see (38)).

3. MORPHOLOGY

3.1 PARTS OF SPEECH

Broadly the following parts of speech can be recognised: nominals, verbs and adverbs. Nominals are marked for case; verbs for tense and aspect, and adverbs are invariable.

Stems are normally nominal or verbal and a noun cannot be used as a verb or vice versa without the use of a derivational suffix. However, *kuna* and *pura* may be used as noun and as verb. They mean 'faeces/defecate' and 'urine/urinate' respectively.

Nominals may be subdivided into nouns and personal pronouns. Interrogative/indefinite pronouns have the same case forms as nouns. Nouns cover the same content as nouns and adjectives in English. Personal pronouns occur in three persons, first, second and third and in three numbers, singular, dual and plural. Third person singular pronouns occur in feminine and non-feminine forms and all third person pronouns are normally marked by deictic enclitics.

Morphologically there is only one class of verbs. Semantically verbs cover the range covered by verbs in English, but some Pitta-Pitta verbs cover the content covered by adjectives in English. See the vocabulary.

3.2 NOUN AND PRONOUN MORPHOLOGY

3.2.1 NOUN AND PRONOUN INFLECTION. The list given below shows the case inflections occurring with nouns. There is no allomorphic variation. Note that there is a different system of marking the syntactic cases in the future from that operating in the non-future. There is also a discre-

pancy between the system described by Roth and the system used by our informants. According to Roth, in the non-future S is marked by zero, A by -lu and O by -ḡa. In the future, S and A are marked by -ḡu and O by -ku. Nora Jacks and Ivy Nardoo use both -ḡa and -ku for O in the future. Mrs. Jacks, from whom most of our material is derived, uses -ḡa more often than -ku.

nominative	-ø	
ergative	-lu	(strictly 'ergative-instrumental')
accusative	-ḡa	
future subject	-ḡu	
dative	-ku	
purposive	-ḡa	
locative	-ina	
allative	-inu	
ablative	-inʸa	
causal	-la	

The locative, allative, ablative and causal each represent a single case relation. The nominative represents the S relation but only in the non-future. The ergative represents both A and INSTRUMENTAL functions in the non-future. -ḡa represents the O relation in the non-future (Roth), or according to our recorded information, O in the non-future and O in the future, with -ku being an alternative in the future. -ḡu represents S and A and INSTRUMENTAL in the future. -ku is labelled dative since it represents the complement of some intransitive verbs such as ʃiwa 'to be jealous of'. We could say that it represents the DATIVE case relation. It also expresses O in the future and in the anti-passive construction as explained in §3.4.2[b]. The purposive covers the roles of possessor, beneficiary and purpose. In §3.4.2[b] it is suggested that possessor and beneficiary fall within one syntactic relation, that of POSSESSOR-BENEFICIARY, leaving PURPOSIVE as a distinct case relation.

The following tables show the case inflections with the personal pronouns. Note that in the third person singular a distinction is made between feminine and non-feminine. For convenience, we use the labels 'masculine' and 'feminine'. Any animal, including humans, of the female sex must be referred to by the 'feminine' pronoun. Every other entity must be referred to by the 'masculine' pronoun. Note too that the third person pronouns are almost always followed by deictic clitics. The form -yi (or -yu following the u in the preceding syllable) refers to proximity to the speaker. -ka refers to something relatively far from the speaker in contrast to -yi. Thus one talks of ḡuwayi 'this' and ḡuwaka 'that'. -ka is also used where no deixis is required. It is the unmarked option and has a very high frequency of occurrence. -a:rri refers to something relatively far from the speaker, further than something marked by -ka. In the glosses, -yi is glossed as 'here' and -a:rri as 'far'. -ka is more difficult to gloss accurately as the presence of a third person pronoun in apposition to a noun is often used to indicate that the noun is definite. It is glossed as 'here' ex-

cept where it stands in contrast to -yi.

Some morphophonemic changes can be observed in these tables. They are not examples of productive morphophonemic rules and they are simply presented in the paradigms without analysis.

The nominative of all personal pronouns is shown in table 3.1.

TABLE 3.1 - *Pronouns*

<i>Singular</i>	1		gan ^{yt} ya
	2		inpa
	3	Masc. Near	puwayi
		General	puwaka
		Far	puwa:rri
		Fem. Near	panpayi
		General	panpaka
		Far	panpa:rri
<i>Dual</i>	1		gali
	2		gula
	3	Near	pulayi
		General	pulaka
		Far	pula:rri
<i>Plural</i>	1		gapa
	2		gura
	3	Near	tanayi
		General	tanaka
		Far	tana:rri

The pronouns occur with the same range of case suffixes as the nouns do but there are some differences of form. Table 3.2 shows the singular pronouns with the various case suffixes. The dual and plural pronouns may be formed simply by adding the suffixes given in the noun paradigm to the stems listed above. The 'near' deictic form is always -yu following the vowel -u, so the ergative of 'these two here' is pulaluyu and so on. When a:rri is suffixed, an m sometimes appears between the case suffix and a:rri; thus we recorded the ergative of 'those two over there' as pulaluma:rri. Roth does not record an m in this form but he does for the locative and allative in all three numbers.

TABLE 3.2 - Pronoun Inflection

	<i>Ergative</i>	<i>Fut. Subject</i>	<i>Accusative</i>
1	ḡaṭu	ḡanʸu	ḡanʸa
2	intu	inḡu	ina
3m	ḡuluyu	ḡuḡuyu	iḡayi
	ḡuluka	ḡuḡuka	iḡaka
	ḡulua:rri	ḡuḡua:rri	iḡa:rri
3f	ḡantuyu	ḡanḡuyu	ḡanayi
	ḡantuka	ḡanḡuka	ḡanaka
	ḡantua:rri	ḡanḡua:rri	ḡana:rri
	<i>Dative</i>	<i>Purposive</i>	<i>Locative</i>
1	ḡanʸtʸuku	ḡanʸaṛi	ḡanʸtʸira
2	inku	inkaṛi	inkira
3m	ḡukuyu	ḡukaṛi	ḡiḡinayi
	ḡukuka	ḡukaṛika	ḡiḡinaka
	ḡukua:rri	ḡukaṛia:rri	ḡiḡinama:rri
3f	ḡankuyu	ḡankaṛi	ḡaḡinayi
	ḡankuka	ḡankaṛika	ḡaḡinaka
	ḡankua:rri	ḡankaṛia:rri	ḡaḡinama:rri
	<i>Allative</i>	<i>Ablative</i>	<i>Causal</i>
1	ḡanʸtʸuṛu	[ḡanʸiinʸa]	ḡaṭaṛila
2	inkuṛu	[inḡiinʸa]	intaṛila
3m	ḡunkuṛuyu	ḡiḡiinʸayi	-
	ḡunkuṛuka	ḡiḡiinʸaka	ḡulaṛika
	ḡunkuṛua:rri	ḡiḡiinʸa:rri	-
3f	ḡankuṛuyu	ḡantaṛiyi	-
	ḡankuṛuka	ḡantaṛika	-
	ḡankuṛua:rri	ḡantaṛia:rri	-

For every purposive singular form, there is an alternative with *y* for *ṛ* thus: ḡanʸaṛi or ḡanʸayi.

The dashes in the causal column indicate that the relevant form has not been recorded.

The bracketed items in the ablative column have not been recorded but are phonemicisations of forms in Roth 1897:4.

Interrogative/Indefinite pronouns

There is no morphologically distinct class of interrogative or indefinite pronouns. *waṛa* 'who' or 'someone' and *miḡa* 'what' or 'something' take the same inflections as nouns.

3.2.2 EXAMPLES ILLUSTRATING INFLECTION

The syntactic case relations

The system of marking the syntactic case relations has already been outlined in §3.2.1. The first group of examples below illustrates the following:

- $\emptyset$ nominative (marking S in non-future)
- lu ergative (marking A and INSTRUMENTAL in the non-future)
- na accusative (marking O in the non-future)
- nu future subject (marking S, A and INSTRUMENTAL in the future)
- ku dative (marking DATIVE with some intransitive verbs and O in the future)

Note that the references to future and non-future immediately above refer to the strict system recorded by Roth. As mentioned in §3.2.1 our informants use both -na and -ku to mark O in the future. There are instances where Nora Jacks uses -na rather than -ku to mark the complement of intransitive verbs. This means she uses - $\emptyset$ to mark S and -na to mark the DATIVE complement.

The intransitive verbs taking a complement in -ku include: *tiwa* 'to be jealous of', *yaia* 'to like', *wantili* 'to wait for' and *wapa* 'to look for'. See also §3.4

The 'future' system of case marking is always used with - $\emptyset$, the future tense marker, and with the imperative. With -li η a 'purposive' there is some fluctuation (see §3.4.2[b]). The non-future system is used with all other verbal inflections.

- (1) pan η t η arra nu-wa-ka pan η t η i-ya
much he-NOM-HERE ail-PRES
He is very sick.
- (2) iupu-lu nan η a pat η a-pat η a-ya
caterpillar-ERG me bite-bite-PRES
A caterpillar is biting me.
- (3) dajarra-inu nu-nu-ka kan η a- $\emptyset$ nan η ainu
Dajarra-ALL he-F:S-HERE go-FUT tomorrow
He will go to Dajarra tomorrow.
- (4) tipu-nu nana-nu tuwa nu-ku-ka kana-ku man η a-ku
stone-F:S [INSTR] we-F:S [A] pelt he-F:O-HERE man-F:O bad-F:O
We will throw stones at (or pelt with stones) the bad man.
- (5) man η a-lu nu-wa-ka yanka-ka
hand-ERG he-NOM-HERE talk-PAST
'He talked longa hand (i.e. used sign language).'
- (6) pan η kupan η ku-lu kan η a-ya
stick-ERG go-PRES
He walks with a (walking) stick.
- (7) ka η i-na i-na-ka tipu-lu pantu η arrpa-ka
snake-ACC he-ACC-HERE stone-ERG crash:down-PAST
A stone crashed down and crushed the snake.

In the following example it is not certain whether the verb in -li η a is dependent or independent. In any case S is marked for future (see §3.4.2[b]):

- (8) tat η i-na, wima-kana-li η a in-nu
eat-IMP big-INTR-PURP you-F:S
Eat up [so] you'll get big.

The next two examples illustrate -ku marking the complement of an intransitive verb of motion to give the sense of 'across' and -ku marking the complement of a 'non-motion' intransitive verb:

- (9) yuṭa-ka ḡu-wa-ka ḡarraḡu-ku
swim-PAST he-NOM-HERE flood-DAT
He swam across the floodwaters.
- (10) yaṭa-ya ḡanʸtʸa in-ku
like-PRES I you-DAT
I like you.

Purposive

The purposive case form covers the roles of possessor, beneficiary and purpose.

- (11) waḡa-ḡa ḡu-wa-ka piyawaḡi ?
who-PURP he-NOM-HERE dog
Whose dog is it?
- (12) kaṭi ḡu-wa-ka piyawaḡi-ḡa
meat he-NOM-HERE dog-PURP
The meat is for the dog.

Note in the next example that the accusative marks the purposive phrase qualifying O (see also (102)):

- (13) ḡa-tu katʸu-ḡa watʸama-ka kiniyari-ḡa-ḡa
I-ERG clothes-ACC wash-PAST girl-PURP-ACC
I washed the clothes for the girl (or 'I washed the girl's clothes').
- (14) ḡanʸtʸa waka-kana-ka ṭipu-ḡa
I work-INTR-PAST money-PURP
I worked for money.

The purposive is used to express the possession of objects, friends and kin. It is not used to express whole-part relationships, such as 'the man's leg' or 'the leaves of the tree'. These relations are expressed by juxtaposing the nominals for the whole and the part. See §4.

Note also the following use of the purposive:

- (15) tʸira-ḡa ḡa-tu ḡunʸtʸi-ka kakila-ḡa
boomerang-ACC I-ERG give-PAST coolaman-PURP
I gave a boomerang [in exchange] for a coolaman.

Locative - location at, in, on, etc.

- (16) ḡaṅka-ya ḡanʸtʸa kunti-ina
sit-PRES I house-LOC
I'm sitting (or stopping) in the house.
- (17) maka-ina in-pa kurra-kaḡa
fire-LOC you-NOM fall-LEST
You might fall in the fire.

The orientation of one entity in relation to another is expressed by the addition of an adverb to a locative phrase e.g. *kunti-ina kukuina* 'behind the house'. *kukuina* is etymologically *kuku* 'back' plus *-ina* 'locative' but it is not a noun in the locative case synchronically. It cannot, for instance, be qualified.

Allative - motion to or towards

- (18) *paripi-inu nanvta kanpa-ya kupi-na*
creek-ALL I go-PRES fish-PURP
I'm going to the creek for fish.
- (19) *minka-inu nu-lu-ka kapi-na nanupa-ka*
hole-ALL he-ERG-HERE meat-ACC insert-PAST
He put the meat into the hole.

Ablative - motion from, source, origin

- (20) *papi-ka-yanu nanvta puninvti-inva*
come-PAST-HITHER I Springvale-ABL
I came from Springvale.
- (21) *wapa-inva-na in-tu mari-ka kapi-na ?*
who-ABL-ACC you-ERG get-PAST meat-ACC
Who did you get the meat from?

Causal

The 'causal' refers to 'indirect cause' or 'reason' and most examples could be translated into English by 'because'. It also marks the complement of *talala* 'afraid' and *talatarrka* 'to fear'.

- (22) *kiniyari nan-pa-ka talala kupakupa-la*
girl she-NOM-HERE afraid old:man-CAU
The girl is frightened of the old man.
- (23) *wilakana-ya nu-wa-ka yampi-la*
hide-PRES he-NOM-HERE m:in:law-CAU
He is hiding from his mother-in-law.
- (24) *mali-la nanvta karatvi-ya*
cold-CAU I shiver-PRES
I'm shivering from the cold.
- (25) *nyamuru-la mutvi-na-ra*
devil-CAU sleep-IMP-PLUR
'Go to sleep from [i.e. to avoid] the devils.'

Instances have been observed of the causal being used following the ablative. The meaning in each case is the same as if the causal had been suffixed directly to the stem.

- (26) *takuku talatala-tvi-ya kupakupa(-inva)-la*
child fear-INTR-PRES old:man(-ABL)-CAU
The child is frightened of the old man.

Note the intransitive verb forming suffix *-tvi* in this example. It is a western language form equivalent to Pitta-Pitta *-kana* (§3.5). *talala* in (22) is a reduced

reduplicated form of *ʔalaʔala*. This western language suffix seems to occur also in (24).

3.3 NOUN DERIVATIONAL SUFFIXES

-maru concomitant

-maru means roughly 'having'. It may refer to 'having' in the sense of 'having in one's possession', 'owning', 'having someone with one' or 'having a characteristic'. *-maru* may be added to any noun by a syntactic rule, but some noun + *maru* combinations have been lexicalised. A list of these follows. Note that *-maru* may be suffixed to the negative particle as well as to nouns.

<i>kaŋa</i>	intoxicant	<i>kaŋamaru</i>	intoxicated
<i>maʔtara</i>	emu feathers	<i>maʔtaramaru</i>	emu
<i>manʔtʔiri</i>	flesh	<i>manʔtʔirimaru</i>	yellow belly (type of fish)
<i>kanti</i>	wax	<i>kantimaru</i>	handle of a knife ('wax on it')
<i>maʔu</i>	negative particle	<i>maʔumaru</i>	empty, empty handed
<i>maŋaŋi</i>	'death bone'	<i>maŋaŋimaru</i>	tribal doctor
<i>ŋala</i>	skin	<i>ŋalamaru</i>	uncircumcised (Roth)

Examples of the productive use of *-maru* include:

- (27) *tʔira-maru-ŋu* *ŋanʔu kaŋta-ø*
 boomerang-CON-F:S I:F:S go-FUT
 I'll go with a boomerang.
- (28) *kaŋti-ma-ka* *ŋanʔtʔa paŋatʔi-maru* (n.b. *kaŋta* → *kaŋti*)
 go-AROUND-PAST I torch-CON
 I went around [looking for him] with a torch.

-maru reciprocal kin marker

-maru also has another related but distinct function (see Breen 1976b:290-2), namely that of marking of number of relatives one of whom is in the relationship to the others denoted by the stem. In *Pitta-Pitta kanʔini* means mother's mother and daughter's child. *kanʔini-maru* means two persons one of whom is the mother's mother of the other.

-yaku privative

-yaku means 'lacking' and is thus the antonym of *-maru*. *-yaku* may be added to any noun, but, as with *-maru*, there are some derivations that need to be recorded in the lexicon:

<i>ŋupu</i>	spouse	<i>ŋupuyaku</i>	unmarried
<i>maʔka</i>	mark, stripe	<i>maʔkayaku</i>	'no name'

When a person dies he is 'no name' i.e. his name is taboo.

An example of the productive use of *-yaku*:

- (29) $\eta a\eta i\eta u r r u - y a k u$ $\eta a n y t \eta a$
 food-PRIVATIVE I
 I have no food.

-wara *possessed*

-wara marks human nouns as being 'possessed' by a third person.

- (30) $k u p a k u p a - \eta a$ $\eta i \eta i - w a r a$
 old:man-PURP old:bro-POSSESSED
 The old man's elder brother.
- (31) $k a \eta a - l u$ $\eta u - l u - k a$ $\eta u p u - w a r a - \eta a$ $p a r a t \eta a - \eta a$ $p i \eta i - y a$
 man-ERG he-ERG-HERE spouse-POSS-ACC female-ACC hit-PRES
 The man beats his wife.
- (32) $\eta i \eta i - w a r a - l u$ $p i \eta i - k a$ $w a \eta i - w a r a - \eta a$
 old:bro-POSS-ERG hit-PAST younger:sib-POSS-ACC
 The older brother hit the younger.

-mala *your*

-mala marks human nouns as being 'possessed' by a second person. Roth (1897:6) describes -mala as being restricted to the singular, but this does not appear to be so:

- (33) $\eta i \eta i - m a l a - l u$ $\eta a n y a$ $p i \eta i - k a$
 old:bro-your-ERG me:ACC hit-PAST
 Your brother hit me.

Number marking

$\eta u \eta u$ *another, one.....another*

$\eta u \eta u$ occurs as a free form (compare $\eta u \eta u \eta u$ 'one') and as a derivational suffix, being placed after the head that it modifies and in turn being followed by an inflection that the head takes. It means 'another', and two tokens of $\eta u \eta u$ may be used to express 'one (is/did so-and-so), the other (is/did so-and-so)'.

- (34) $k a \eta a - l i \eta a$ $\eta a r i$ $\eta a n y u$ $\eta u r a - \eta u \eta u - i n u$
 go-PURP now I:F:S camp-OTHER-ALL
 I'm going to another camp.
- (35) $\eta u \eta u - l u$ $p a l k u - l u$ $\eta a n y a$ $y a n k a - k a$
 other-ERG man-ERG me:ACC tell-PAST
 Another man told me.

There is one example of the free form $\eta u \eta u$ being used to express 'alone':

- (36) $\eta u \eta u$ $\eta a n y t \eta a$ $k a \eta a - k a$
 alone I go-PAST
 I went alone.

parrkula two

parrkula is a free form meaning 'two' but it may be used as a derivational suffix:

- (37) napu pu-wa-ka tipu-parrkula-ina
 water it-NOM-HERE hill-TWO-LOC
 The water is near the two hills.

parri, -pitviri plural

parri, a free form meaning 'many, a number of, much' may be used as a derivational suffix. -pitviri appears only as a derivational suffix and has the same meaning.

In the first example below, Linda Craigie first gives parri and then in rephrasing gives pitviri. The gloss PRES:HITHER on -yanu reflects a rule of haplology whereby one of the two expected occurrences of -ya is omitted: -ya-yanu → yanu.

- (38) warka-parri-na pula-ka kanṯa-ya tuka-yanu
 kid-PL-ACC they:DU-HERE go-PRES take-PRES:HITHER
 warka-pitviri-na tuka-yanu nura-inu
 kid-PL-ACC take-PRES:HITHER camp-ALL
 These two are bringing [their] kids to camp.

3.4 VERB MORPHOLOGY

There are no morphologically determined subclasses of verbs i.e. there are no conjugations, nor are there any irregular verbs.

Syntactically verbs are intransitive or transitive. ṇunvṯi 'to give' is ditransitive and takes both O and the 'indirect object' in the accusative.

Some verbs seem to be semantically two-place verbs, but they take intransitive marking with S marked by -∅ and the complement marked by -ku e.g. yaṯa 'to like', tiwa 'to be jealous of'. It may be that these are simply intransitive verbs, but we have no instances where they are used without a complement. Other intransitive verbs taking a complement in -ku include: wapa 'to look (for)', wantili 'to wait (for)', malvṯarra 'to be hungry (for)', manuwāvṯi 'to be wild (with)', patvāli 'to be wild (with)', ṇarapṇka 'to forget', paṅkali 'to listen for' ('to listen to' or 'to hear' is expressed by paṅka or paṅkali (see also §3.4.2[b]) with transitive marking in the past and intransitive-type marking in the non-past), waṅkali 'to sing' and kiṯali 'to call out'.

-ku occurs marking the complement of verbs of motion and indicates the sense of 'across': ṯakarra-ku kanṯa-ka 'went across the plain'.

3.4.1 VERB INFLECTION. Verb inflection is fairly simple. There are forms for past, present and future tense, a purposive, a form corresponding roughly to English 'lest' and some imperative forms.

-ya present tense

This refers to action going on at the time of speaking or to habitual activity:

- (39) miiya nanviva kimpa-kira-ya
 nose I blood-flow-PRES
 My nose is bleeding.
- (40) yawu kaŋi-na ŋatvi-ya , pukarra-na ŋatvi-ya
 not meat-ACC eat-PRES grass-ACC eat-PRES
 [Kangaroos] don't eat meat, they eat grass.

-ka past tense

- (41) panvivarra na-tu ŋatvi-ka , ika-ya pari nanviva
 much I-ERG eat-PAST full-PRES now I
 I ate a lot, now I'm full.

-ø future tense

The future is expressed by the absence of any inflection on the verb and the use of the distinctively future system of case marking (see §3.2.1). Roth claims that the future tense of the verb is marked by 'the terminal vowel [being] emphasised and lengthened' (1897:9). We find no evidence for this:

- (42) nanvainu nanvu kaŋta-ø
 tomorrow I:F:S go-FUT
 Tomorrow I'll go.

-liŋa purposive

-liŋa, which we gloss as 'purposive' (PURP) is discussed in §3.4.2[b].

kala lest

- (43) maŋu kaŋta-na , piŋi-kala ina
 NEG go-IMP hit-LEST you:ACC
 Don't go. He might hit you.
- (44) kaŋi-la-ka na-tu i-na-ka piyawaŋi-lu ŋatvi-kala
 climb-CAUS-PAST I-ERG it-ACC-HERE dog-ERG eat-LEST
 I put it up so the dog couldn't get it.
- (45) mipa-kana-kala inpa
 blind-INTR-LEST you
 [Don't do it or] you might go blind.

J.G. Breen has pointed out to me that this suffix may be derived from -ka 'past tense' and -la 'causal'. Compare the use of the ablative, allative and locative with -ka - see section 4.3.3.

-na imperative

The dual imperative is indicated by the addition after -na of -la and the plural by the addition of -ra (compare puŋa 'you two' and puŋa 'you mob').

The particle kawa 'come here!' has an imperative sense and may be suffixed by -la and -ra. It may also be suffixed redundantly by the clitic -yaŋu 'hither' as in the first example.

- (46) kawa-la-yaŋu
come:IMP-you:DU-HITHER
Come here, you two!
- (47) malu pili-ŋa-la
not hit-IMP-you:DUAL
Don't you two hit [him, her it]!
- (48) itvi-ŋa layi
die-IMP EMPHATIC
Drop dead!

-la 'hither' imperative

-la indicates a command to carry out an activity in the direction of the speaker. It often corresponds to 'back' as in 'give it back' or 'run back'.

Like *-ŋa*, it may be followed by *-la* or *-ra* to indicate a dual or plural addressee.

- (49) malu ŋanupali-la
NEG enter-HITHER:IMP
Don't come in!

mala third person imperative

- (50) kaŋla-mala ŋu-ŋu-ka
go-3:IMP he-F:S-HERE
Let him go!
- (51) mayala ŋu-ŋu-ka latvi-mala
let he-F:S-HERE eat-3:IMP
Let him eat it.

-kainu first person imperative

Note that *kainu* may be derived from *-ka* 'past tense' plus *-inu* 'allative'.

- (52) latvi-kainu ŋaŋa-ŋu
eat-1:IMP we-F:S
Let's eat!

ŋaŋkala

It seems that the imperative of *ŋaŋkala* (possibly *ŋaŋka* 'sit' plus *-la*) may be used to form a first or third person imperative (compare Roth 1897:22):

- (53) ŋaŋkala-ŋa ŋali-ŋa kaŋla-liŋa
? -IMP we:DU-ACC go-INT
Let us go!

-ŋa contemporaneous imperfect

There are a small number of examples in which *-ŋa* is used with dependent verbs to indicate that the action described is going on at the same time as the action of the main verb:

- (54) *piŋi-ka ŋa-lu ŋana-ka ŋinpa-ŋa-ŋa*
 hit-PAST I-ERG she:ACC-HERE run-ŋa-ACC
 I hit her as she was running along.

However, in a sentence such as (54) -ka is normally used in the subordinate clause. -ŋa occurs in the western language marking imperfect aspect, but it is always followed by an inflectional suffix. It is not certain that it is a genuine feature of the eastern language.

3.4.2. DERIVATIONAL SUFFIXES

[a] *Suffixes not affecting syntactic class*
 -ma around

-ma indicates a sense of 'around' or 'not in a particular direction'. The stems *kaŋŋa* and *paŋŋa* appear with a stem-final -i instead of -a before -ma, though *kaŋŋama* has been recorded as well as *kaŋŋima*.

<i>kaŋŋa-</i>	walk	<i>kaŋŋima</i>	go for a walk (around)
<i>ŋinpa-</i>	run	<i>ŋinpama</i>	run around
<i>ŋinpaŋi</i>	run away with	<i>ŋinpaŋima</i>	run around with
<i>wapa</i>	look for	<i>wapama</i>	look around
<i>ŋaŋka</i>	sit	<i>ŋaŋkama</i>	sit around
<i>paŋŋa-la</i>	to crack (V_t)	<i>paŋŋima</i>	to crack (V_i)

- (55) *maŋu ŋanŋtŋa kaŋŋi-ma-ka*, *paŋŋtŋarra ŋanŋtŋa ŋaŋka-ma-ka*
 not I go-AROUND-PAST much I sit-AROUND-PAST
 I didn't go out. I sat around a lot.

-yaŋŋa along

-yaŋŋa means to do something while walking along.

- (56) *waŋka-li-ya ŋu-wa-ka kaŋŋa-yaŋŋa-ka*
 sing-||-PRES he-NOM-HERE go-ALONG-PAST
 He sang as he walked along.

- (57) *ŋatŋi-yaŋŋa-yaŋu*
 eat -ALONG-HITHER
 He's coming this way eating as he comes.

- (58) *tŋira-ŋa ŋu-lu-ka ŋawi-ka kanta-yaŋŋa-ka-lu*
 boomerang-ACC he-ERG-HERE throw-PAST go-ALONG-PAST-ERG
 While walking along he hurled the boomerang.

[b] *Suffixes affecting syntactic class*

-la causative

-la is used to form transitive verbs from intransitive ones and ditransitive ones from transitive ones.

First of all we illustrate the formation of transitive verbs:

<i>kaŋi</i>	to climb up	<i>kaŋila</i>	to put up
<i>ŋarrka</i>	to stand	<i>ŋarrkala</i>	to stand something up
<i>miŋŋi</i>	to play	<i>miŋŋila</i>	to play with (e.g. a toy)
<i>yaŋŋi</i>	to burn (V_i)	<i>yaŋŋila</i>	to burn (V_t)
<i>waki-li</i>	to shake, quiver	<i>wakila</i>	to shake, make quiver

- (59) *turru-pu-lu waki-la-ya pukarra-na*
 wind-ERG shake-CAUS-PRES grass-ACC
 The wind makes the grass wave.

-la is also used to make a transitive verb ditransitive. If we compare (60) and (61) below, we can see that the beneficiary that is expressed by the purposive case in the first sentence is expressed by the accusative in the second sentence in which the verb is marked by -la. -la is commonly used to allow a possessor and a beneficiary to be expressed like O, i.e. by the accusative. It cannot be used to facilitate the expression of a purpose adjunct by the accusative and on these grounds we suggest that a syntactic distinction be drawn between the POSSESSOR-BENEFICIARY on the one hand and the PURPOSE on the other. It is doubtful whether any distinction should be made between possessor and beneficiary. In many cases an example of -na can be translated by 'of' or 'for', as in the following example. See also §3.2.2.

- (60) *nan-pa-ka kaŋta-ka yaŋturru-na mari-liŋa nanYaŋi-na*
 she-NOM-HERE go-PAST food-ACC get-PURP me:PURP-ACC
 She went to get my food/food for me.
- (61) *nan-pa-ka kaŋta-ka yaŋturru-na mari-la-liŋa nanYa*
 she-NOM-HERE go-PAST food-ACC get-CAUS-PURP me:ACC
 She went to get me the food.

Where the POSSESSOR-BENEFICIARY is third person and where it is not emphasised, it is normal for -la to be used with the verb and for the third person to be represented by zero:

- (62) *kaŋta-na ŋatvi-la-liŋa*
 go-IMP see-CAUS-PURP
 Go [and] have a look at it for him (or her).

See also under *maŋ* below and (116) and (118).

In the following example -la seems to facilitate the omission of the beneficiary in the final clause:

- (63) *katYu-na ŋa-tu watYama-ka yapiŋi-na-na ; maŋakiŋapa-ka*
 clothes-ACC I-ERG wash-PAST father-PURP-ACC help-PAST
yapiŋi-na katYu-na watYama-la-liŋa
 father-ACC clothes-ACC wash-CAUS-PURP
 I washed the clothes for [my] father; I helped [my] father, I washed the clothes for him..
- (64) *yakaya ŋiŋi-na nanYa piŋi-la-ya*
 yakai old:bro-ACC me:ACC hit-CAUS-PRES
 Yakai! He hit my brother on me. ('on' as in 'He did the dirty on me'. 'on' indicates that 'me' is a beneficiary, but in an adversative sense, of the action.)

The above construction is used to capture the adversative sense of beneficiary i.e. someone who is disadvantaged. In cases like this, the construction could not be derived, in transformational terms, from the same deep

structure as:

- (65) *ṇanʔaṛi-na ṭiṭi-na piṭi-ya*
 me:PURP-ACC old:bro-ACC hit-PRES
 He hit my brother.

The meaning of (64) and (65) seems to differ in exactly the same way as the translations that have been allotted to them.

Non-productive causatives

- ṛi
<i>ṭinpa</i>	to run	<i>ṭinpaṛi</i>	to run away with
<i>ṇaṅka</i>	to exist	<i>ṇaṅkaṛi</i>	to give birth to, to look after
- nma
<i>ṇuṭa</i>	to go back	<i>ṇuṭanma</i>	to send back
- lpa
<i>kurra</i>	to fall	<i>kurralpa</i>	to drop

-mali reflexive and reciprocal

-mali is used to express both the reflexive and the reciprocal.

- (66) *mṭa-na inpa mirrinta-mali-ya ?*
 what-PURP you scratch-REFL-PRES
 Why are you scratching yourself?
- (67) *maḷu ṭatʔi-na-ra , ṭatʔi-mali-kala nura*
 NEG eat-IMP-PL eat-REFL-LEST you:PL
 Don't eat it [sc. totem]. You will eat yourself.
- (68) *tʔira-na ṇali ṇunʔtʔi-mali-ka*
 boomerang-ACC we:DU give-RECIP-PAST
 We exchanged boomerangs.

-mali is used in constructions of the following type, but more often than not -li rather than -mali is used. See under -li below.

- (69) *miḷka ṇanʔtʔa paṅka-mali-ya*
 tooth I ache-REFL-PRES
 My tooth is aching.

Where the reciprocal is to be expressed with an intransitive verb, the verb is first transitivised with -la.

- (70) *ṭiwa-la-mali-ya maṇa pula-ka*
 jealous-CAUS-RECIP-PRES MAY they:DU-HERE
 These two must be jealous of one another.
- (71) *paṅka-ka ṇa-ṭu nura-na wiya-la-mali-ka-na*
 hear-PAST I-ERG you-ACC laugh-CAUS-RECIP-PAST-ACC
 'I heard you laughing.'

In the above example mali seems to indicate 'with one another' rather than 'at one another'.

-li
If -li is suffixed to a transitive verb, A is marked by the nominative and O by the dative. The semantic effect of using -li can be gleaned from comparing the following pairs of sentences:

- (72) pi₁i-ya ŋa-tu ina
hit-PRES I-ERG you:ACC
I am hitting you.
- (73) pi₁i-li-ya ŋanʔtʔa in-ku
hit-li-PRES I you-DAT
'I feel like to hit you.'
- (74) ŋa-tu ʔatʔi-ka i-ŋa-ka ka₁i-ŋa
I-ERG eat-PAST it-ACC-HERE meat-ACC
I ate the meat.
- (75) ŋanʔtʔa ʔatʔi-li-ya ka₁i-ku
I eat-li-PRES meat-DAT
'I want to have a feed of meat.'
- (76) iŋka-ka ina ŋa-tu
kiss-PAST you:ACC I-ERG
I kissed you.
- (77) iŋka-li-ya ŋanʔtʔa in-ku
kiss-li-PRES I you-DAT
I desire you.

As can be seen, the introduction of -li indicates volition as opposed to actual activity.

-li also occurs in expressions of the following type:

- (78) ka₁a punta-li-kala ŋu-wa-ka
leg break-li-LEST he-NOM-HERE
[Be careful] he doesn't break his leg.

Roth (1897:22) gives -mali, the reflexive/reciprocal marker in this construction. We have recorded both -li and -mali.

Examples (73), (75) and (77) should be compared with the example of the anti-passive given in the introduction (see §4.3). They appear to represent an anti-passive construction. They differ from the examples that occur in Dyirbal, Yidin^y and Kalkatungu in that Pitta-Pitta is not an ergative language but one displaying accusative as well as ergative marking. However, once one makes allowance for the fact that Pitta-Pitta marks O as well as A in the non-future, these examples are morphologically parallel to the examples found in Dyirbal. The semantic effect of using the anti-passive construction has parallels in Dyirbal (Dixon 1972:91) and Kalkatungu (Blake 1976).

Since -li occurs as a reflexive marker, as in (78) above, and since the normal reflexive is -mali, one could consider analysing -mali as ma + li. This is probably a correct historical analysis, but nothing seems to be gained synchronically by adopting it.

As can be seen from the examples above and from the examples below, the functions of -li are rather diffuse and

difficult to describe. Although we point out that -li functions as an anti-passive marker, it does not always function clearly in that capacity. For this reason we decline to gloss it as anti-passive and simply leave it unglossed.

-li is used to mark transitive verbs where O is not to be expressed:

- (79) ʃatʃi-li-ya ɳanʏtʃa
 eat-li-PRES I
 'I'm going to have a feed.'

Roth (1897:23) gives 'I am at-eating, at dinner, etc.' as the translation of this sentence. This may be correct.

There are instances of -li suffixed to a transitive verb to yield an intransitive verb. For example, -li suffixed to ʃarrpa 'to press' yields the intransitive verb, ʃarrpali, 'to weigh heavy'. Suffixed to panʏtʃa 'to smell something', it yields the intransitive verb, panʏtʃilli, 'to give off a smell' (note the change in the final vowel of the stem).

-li is used without further affixation for tense to indicate habitual activity or capacity for activity. With transitive verbs we find that A is marked either by the ergative or the nominative. Where the ergative is used, the reference is to the past. Where the nominative is used, the reference is to the present. In both instances O is marked either by the accusative or by the nominative. The accusative seems to be used for a definite O and the nominative for an indefinite O:

- (80) ʃatʃi-li ɳa-ʃu i-ɳa-ka
 eat-li I-ERG it-ACC-HERE
 'I used to eat that.'
- (81) yaramana ɳa-ʃu kaʃi-ma-li
 horse I-ERG climb-AROUND-li
 'I used to ride a horse.'

Note in the above example we have a collocation of -ma 'AROUND' and -li, which is homophonous with -mali the reflexive/reciprocal marker.

- (82) ɳaʃu ʃatʃi-li ɳanʏtʃa
 nardoo eat-li I
 'I'm a nardoo eater.'

-li also occurs with intransitive verbs to indicate habitual activity or capacity for activity. Any distinction between past and present is made lexically:

- (83) ɳanʏtʃa ʃakuku , ɳanʏtʃa ʃunʏtʃi-li
 I child I cry-li
 When I was a child, I used to cry a lot.

This example also occurs with -paɳiya suffixed to -li. -paɳiya also occurs with ɳaŋka-li, ɳaŋkalipaɳiya meaning 'used to live'. We have not been able to ascribe a

meaning to paṛiya.

- (84) ṭiwi-li wima nan-pa-ka (n.b. ṭiwa → ṭiwi-)
 jealous-li big she-NOM-HERE
 She's very jealous.

In a few instances the concomitant suffix '-maru' is added to -li with no apparent semantic function:

- (85) wama piṭi-li-maru nanṽṽa
 snake kill-li-CON I
 I kill snakes.
- (86) maḷu ṭana-ka ṭakuku yuṭa-li-maru
 not they-HERE child swim-li-CON
 'They can't swim, those kids.'

In Wangka-Manha, the concomitant suffix -ṭa would normally be used with -li to express habitual activity or capacity for activity, and in Wangka-Yutjuru a suffix -muku is normally added to -li in this function.

Verbs in -li, when used without an O as in ṭatṽṽṽṽ wima (eat-li big), seem to be ambiguous. ṭatṽṽṽṽ wima means 'a big eater' or 'plenty of eating', 'plenty of meat on it'. However, the data available on this point is meagre.

-liṇa

Verbs suffixed by -liṇa are common. They occur either as independent verbs meaning 'to be going to do' or as dependent verbs in subordinate clauses expressing purpose or expressing indirect commands. -liṇa should perhaps be analysed as -li plus the purposive case suffix, -ṇa. In independent clauses the actor may be marked by the nominative which rather suggests that -liṇa is not a verb suffix at all but rather a nominaliser plus purposive. But on the other hand, A is sometimes marked by the ergative. In other instances again, A is marked by the future subject form, -ṇu, which neutralises the distinction between S and A. It is difficult to argue about whether -liṇa should be treated as a verb suffix or as a nominaliser plus a purposive on the basis of the marking of the complement. Nora Jacks, from whom most of the material is taken, uses -ṇa for O but there are a few instances of -ku in conjunction with the use of the future subject marker, -ṇu. Since Nora Jacks tends to use -ṇa as an alternative to -ku, we cannot interpret instances of -ṇa as evidence of transitivity.

Since there are some instances of the nominative being used for the actor (indicating it is S in an intransitive construction) and some instances of the ergative being used for the actor (indicating it is A in a transitive construction), the matter must remain unresolved. We will, for convenience, gloss -liṇa as if it were a verb suffix, leaving it unanalysed. We will call it the purposive form (PURP) in both independent and dependent clauses.

-li is probably to be identified with the anti-passive -li discussed in the preceding section, at least hist-

orically. Synchronically -li if separated from -na is probably best considered a nominaliser. Anticipating what we say in the syntax (§4.3.1), we should point out that -li does not act as an anti-passive marker in any subordinate clause as anti-passives do in Dyirbal and certain other languages.

- (87) ṇanʔtʔa ṇatʔi-liṇa ʔana-ṇa-ka ṇanʔainu
 I see-PURP they-ACC-HERE tomorrow
 I'll see them tomorrow.
- (88) tʔira-ṇa ṇa-ʔu ṇuʔakuri-ya paya-ṇa ʔuwa-liṇa
 boomerang-ACC I-ERG make-PRES bird-ACC hit(with missile)-
 PURP
 I'm making a boomerang to kill birds.
- (89) yanka-ka ṇa-ʔu murra-ṇa mari-liṇa
 tell-PAST I-ERG stick-ACC get-PURP
 I told him to pick up sticks.
- (90) kaṇṭa-yaṇu ṇanʔtʔa ʔatʔi-liṇa kaṭi-ku
 go-PRES:HITHER I eat-PURP meat-DAT
 I came to have a feed of meat.

This last example also occurs with kaṭi-ṇa. Note that the expected present tense from kaṇṭa-ya does not occur because of a rule of haplology deleting one of two successive potential occurrences of -ya in kaṇṭa-ya-yaṇu. The use of the present tense to express past time (note the translation) occurs sporadically

3.5 SUFFIXES FOR DERIVING VERBS FROM NOUNS

-kana *intransitiviser*

-kana is used to derive intransitive verbs from noun or adverb bases. In some instances it has an inchoative sense but not always. If an English verb is adopted, it must be given a verbalising suffix, so the English intransitive verb, 'work', appears as waka-kana.

- (91) karu-kana-ya ṇari ṇu-wa-ka ʔakuku
 boy-INTR-PRES now he-NOM-HERE baby
 This baby is growing up into a boy.
 'This baby is getting a real boy.'
- (92) mali-maru-kana-ka ṇanʔtʔa maka ṇiṇku-kana-ka-ina (see §4.3.3)
 cold-CON-INTR-PAST I fire ? -INTR-PAST-LOC
 I got cold when the fire went out.

-ʔarrka *intransitiviser*

-ʔarrka (compare tarrka 'to stand') has been noted with a few stems:

yurraʔi-ʔarrka	to be ashamed
ʔala-ʔarrka	to be frightened

-tʲi intransitiviser

-tʲi is the intransitiviser in the western language. It is noted here as it appears in a few Pitta-Pitta words e.g. ʃalaʃala-tʲi 'to be afraid' in example (26).

-kuri transitiviser

-kuri is used to form a transitive verb from nouns or adverbs. Some formations need to be recorded in the lexicon:

maŋa	bad	maŋakuri	to lose
ŋuʎa	(not recorded on its own)	ŋuʎakuri	to make

An example of the productive use of **-kuri** is:

- (93) wiyarru ŋu-wa-yi , maʎu i-ŋa-yi kuŋʃikuŋʃi-kuri-liŋa
 rigid it-NOM-HERE NEG it-ACC-HERE bent-TR-PRUP
 It's hard. You can't bend it.

3.6 DERIVATION OF NOUNS FROM VERBS

Nouns may be formed from intransitive and transitive verbs by the addition of **-li**. However, the use of this suffix is better explained in conjunction with the other functions of **-li**. See §3.4.2[b].

3.7 COMPOUNDING

Compound nouns and verbs are reasonably frequent. The following types have been noted:

- (a) nouns consisting of noun followed by a modifying noun:

waŋkamaŋa	Wangkamanha (language-bad)
ŋampamaŋa	sad (stomach-bad)

- (b) nouns consisting of two nouns without any clear evidence of one modifying the other:

kaŋakarru	male (man-boy)
paŋrkuʎaŋuʃu	three (two-one)

- (c) verbs consisting of a noun plus a verb:

kukuʃuka-	to carry on the back (back-carry)
ŋupupaʃa-	to marry (spouse-grab)
ŋalapunta-	to skin (skin-cut)
ʃuʎtʲiʎipunta-	to gut (guts-cut)

3.8 REDUPLICATION

Noun, verb and adverb stems may be reduplicated:

(a) Nouns

napu	water	napunapu	wet
mayi	dirt	mayimayi	dirty
maka	fire	makamaka	hot
parru	yellow	parruparru	yellow
	ochre		
kurri	red ochre	kurrikurri	red
malka	mark, stripe	malkamalka	painted (as for corroboree), marked
			striped
parrkula	two	parrkulaparrkula	four

There are a number of examples of reduplication among the nouns that are semantically of the adjectival type. In these cases the unreduplicated form is not recorded, e.g. kinikini 'cheeky', wipiwipi 'sulky'.

(b) Verbs

In general the effect of reduplication with verbs is to indicate repeated action.

tarri	crawl	tarritarri	keep crawling
kuri	cut (the sur- face)	kurikuri	scratch (repeatedly)
nunytvi	give	nunytvinunytvi	teach

(c) Adverbs

yarrkayi	later in the day	yarrkayarrkayi	later in the day
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(note the partial reduplication. The meaning of the reduplicated form may be intensive i.e. much later.)

nuruwa!kainu	yesterday	nuruwa!kainunuruwa!kainu	some days ago
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3.9 ADVERB-FORMING SUFFIXES

-manṭa *adverb-forming*

maṇa	bad	maṇamaṇṭa	badly
kuyunu	good	kuyunumaṇṭa	well
ṇuṛu	one	ṇurumaṇṭa	once
parrkula	two	parrkulamaṇṭa	twice
watṽawatṽa	Bedourie	watṽawatṽamaṇṭa	in the direction of Bedourie

- (94) ku!ka-manṭa i-ṇa-ka mar!-ṇa
tail-ADV it-ACC-HERE grab-IMP
Grab it by the tail.

- (95) kuku-maŋta ŋu-lu-ka ʔarri-ka i-na-ka kaʔi-na
 back-ADV he-ERG-HERE spear-PAST it-ACC-HERE meat-ACC
 He speared the game from behind.

-na adverb-forming

-na may be used to form an adverb from a noun. It is not common in this function and its use appears to be optional:

- (96) walirri-maru ŋanytʔa , wima-na ŋanytʔa kaŋta-ka
 tired-CON I big-ADV I walk-PAST
 I'm tired, I've walked a lot.

4. SYNTAX

4.1 GENERAL

A good deal of the syntax has already been described in §3. In this chapter we describe word order, subordinate clauses, free function words and clitics.

4.2 WORD ORDER

4.2.1 SIMPLE SENTENCE PATTERNS. There is a good deal of apparent freedom in word order. In intransitive clauses both SV and VS occur, while in transitive clauses AOV, AVO and VAO occur.

Some clear principles emerge:

- (a) A generally precedes O unless overridden by (b),
- (b) the topic precedes the comment but a focussed element is commonly brought to the beginning of the sentence. This means that part of the comment or all of it, where it consists of only one word, may precede the topic. It is this principle that produces most of the apparent freedom of word order. In the following sentence (previously given as (32)) kaŋa is the topic:

- (97) kaŋa-lu ŋu-lu-ka ŋupu-wara-na paratʔa-na piʔi-ya
 man-ERG he-ERG-HERE spouse-POSS-ACC female-ACC hit-PRES
 The man beats his wife.

In the following (previously given as (7)), kaʔi is presumably topic as would be expected from general principles since the other actant ʔipu is an indefinite inanimate. The principle of the topic preceding the comment applies to produce the relatively unusual pattern of O preceding A:

- (98) *kaŋi-na i-na-ka ʔipu-lu pantuʔarrpa-ka*
 snake-ACC he-ACC-HERE stone-ERG crash;down-PAST
 The snake was crushed by a stone.

There does not have to be much emphasis on the main focus for it to appear as the first word in the clause. This tendency is very much in evidence in sentences with pronominal actants. Pronouns are not nearly as common as nouns in the first position in the clause and in sentences with two pronominal actants we regularly find the verb first:

- (99) *piŋi-ka ŋa-tu ina*
 hit-PAST I-ERG you:ACC
 I hit you.

Pronouns tend to be topics. First and second person are 'given' in discourse and third persons are commonly referring to actants given by the situation or given earlier in the context. By the 'topic precedes comment' principle one would expect them in sentence-initial position, but it is very often the case that the non-pronominal actant is in strong focus and therefore precedes. SV and AOV patterns are common in elicited sentences. In (97) above, there is no strong focus. It is typical of elicited sentences. In naturally given material, pronominal actants are common, including zero forms, and the focus principle more apparent.

Oblique case actants (purposive, instrumental, allative, locative and ablative) frequently appear in sentence initial position, more often than not representing the main point (i.e. the focus) of the sentence in which they occur.

Negatives and interrogatives almost invariably occur in sentence-initial position.

4.2.2 THE NOUN PHRASE. The noun phrase consists of a noun or pronoun. A noun may be qualified by another noun, which usually follows, or a purposive-possessive noun phrase, which normally precedes:

- (100) *ŋanʔaŋi murra wiŋa*
 me:PURP stick big
 My big stick.

A noun may also be accompanied by a third person pronoun which normally incorporates a deictic clitic (see §3.2). The appositional third person pronoun typically follows nouns in S or A function but frequently precedes nouns in O function:

- (101) *ʔaŋa-ya ŋa-tu i-na-yi papa-na*
 winnow-PRES I-ERG it-ACC-HERE papa-ACC
 I'm winnowing the papa [seed].

Where a purposive-possessive noun phrase or an ablative noun phrase qualifies another noun phrase, it takes the case marking appropriate to the function of the qualified noun phrase in the sentence:

- (102) *ṭiṭa-na-lu yaramana-lu ṭawi-kala ṇanʼya*
 white:man-PURP-ERG horse-ERG throw-LEST me-ACC
 The white man's horse might throw me.

There are some examples where an ablative complement shows future agreement with S:

- (103) *kalpurru-inʼya-ṇu ṇanʼyu kaṇṭa-liṇa*
 Boulia-ABL-F:S I:F:S go-PURP
 I'm going to leave Boulia.

See also examples (21), (60) and (63).

4.3 SUBORDINATE CLAUSES

4.3.1 PURPOSIVE CLAUSES AND INDIRECT COMMANDS. A dependent clause with a verb marked by *-liṇa* typically expresses purpose (see (88)). If a verb such as *yanka* 'to tell' is the governing verb, the dependent clause expresses an indirect command (see (89)). The same construction is also used to express infinitival-type complements:

- (104) *mutʼvi-liṇa ṇanʼtʼya yaṭa-ya*
 sleep-PURP I like-PRES
 I like to sleep.

Normally a major actant (S, A or O) of the dependent clause will be coreferential with S or O in the main clause and not overtly expressed in the dependent clause. Any other actant in the dependent clause is simply expressed by the case marking appropriate to its syntactic function. For example, alongside (89) where A in the dependent clause is coreferential with O in the main clause, consider the following where O in the dependent clause is coreferential with O in the main clause:

- (105) *ṭuka-ka-yaṇu ṇa-ṭu tʼyata-ṇa ṇamaṛi-ṇu watʼyama-liṇa*
 take-PAST-HITHER I-ERG shirt-ACC mother-F:S wash-PURP
 I brought a shirt for my mother to wash.

Consider also the following pair. In (106), A of the dependent clause is coreferential with S in the main clause; in (107), O of the dependent clause is coreferential with S in the main clause:

- (106) *kaṇṭa-ya ṇu-wa-ka ṇupu-wara-ṇa piṭi-liṇa*
 go-PRES he-NOM-HERE spouse-POSS-ACC hit-PURP
 He is going to hit his wife.
- (107) *kaṇṭa-ya ṇu-wa-ka ṇupu-wara-ṇu piṭi-liṇa*
 go-PRES he-NOM-HERE spouse-POSS-F:S hit-PURP
 He is going to get hit by his wife.

In the following O of the dependent clause is coreferential with S in the main clause, but since A in the dependent clause is an indefinite actant expressed by zero, O is

repeated in the dependent clause to avoid ambiguity:

- (108) *maļu nanʔtʔa kaŋʔa-ka-yaŋu piŋi-liŋa nanʔa*
 NEG I go-PAST-HITHER hit-PURP me:ACC
 I didn't come here to get hit.

There does not seem to be any means of indicating that an INSTRUMENTAL case relation is involved in a -liŋa clause. Consider the following example which is typical:

- (109) *tʔira-na na-tu paka-ya paya-na piŋi-liŋa*
 boomerang-ACC I-ERG whittle-PRES bird-ACC kill-PURP
 I am making a boomerang to kill birds (with).

We think an English speaker would understand that in the English translation given above, 'boomerang' is understood as an 'instrumental subject' of the infinitive whether or not 'with' is used. However the corresponding Pitta-Pitta sentence is understood, there does not seem to be the possibility of expressing the INSTRUMENTAL relation in the purposive clause.

4.3.2 RELATIVE CLAUSES. The term 'relative clause' is a convenient label for a construction which corresponds partly in function to the relative clause in English. Consider the following examples:

- (110) *natʔi-ka na-tu i-na-ka takuku-na tunʔtʔi-ka-na*
 see-PAST I-ERG he-ACC-PAST child-ACC cry-PAST-ACC
 I saw the kid cry.
- (111) *takuku-lu piŋi-ka-maru tinpa-ka nari nu-wa-ka talala*
 child-ERG hit-PAST-CON run-PAST now he-NOM-HERE afraid
 Having been hit by the child, he ran away frightened.

The first of these examples could have been translated by 'I saw the kid crying', 'I saw the kid when he was crying', 'I saw the kid who cried/was crying' and the second could have been translated by 'Because he had been hit...' or 'The child who had been hit...'.
 In discussing this construction we will use a number of examples such as (110) above and describe them on the assumption that the verb *natʔi* 'to see' takes an O independent of the subordinate clause. Thus (110) could be described as a sentence in which O of the main verb and S of the subordinate clause are coreferential. This may seem a dubious assumption, but constructions with *natʔi* have been checked with verbs such as *mamaka* 'to grab'. These examples are not presented since they are rather contrived. Clearly if we have a verb like *mamaka* in a sentence like (110), then *takuku* must be understood as O in the main clause and S in the dependent clause.

As can be seen from (110) above, the accusative marking is added to the tense-marked verb of the clause that is modifying the O of the main clause. The O of the subordinate clause is also marked by the accusative.

- (112) *patʷi-ka ɳa-ɬu i-ɳa-ka piyawa!i-ɳa patʷa-ka-ɳa ʈakuku-ɳa*
 see-PAST I-ERG he-ACC-HERE dog-ACC bite-PAST-ACC child-ACC
 I saw the dog bite the child.

When A occurs in the relative clause and is not coreferential with an actant in the main clause, it is expressed by the normal case marking (-*ɬu* in the non-future, -*ɳu* in the future):

- (113) *ɳa-ɬu ɳatʷi-ka piɬi-ka-ɳa kaɳamaru-lu ʈakuku-ɳa ɳanʷaɽi-ɳa*
 I-ERG see-PAST hit-PAST-ACC drunk-ERG child-ACC me:PURP-ACC
 I saw my kid being belted up by a drunk.

The reader might wonder how it can be argued that *kaɳamaru* is not an actant in the main clause and how the passive translation can be justified. As noted above, one can substitute *mamaka* for *patʷi* in these constructions. If this is done, it becomes clear that (112) involves coreference between O and A and (113) involves coreference between O and O.

Examples (110), (112) and (113) illustrate the case where O is qualified. We now consider cases where S is qualified. We have already presented (111) in which S is coreferential with O. In the following examples, S is coreferential with S and A respectively. Note that in all these instances the verb of the qualifying clause is suffixed by the concomitant suffix *-maru*. *-maru* is common with clauses qualifying S but not obligatory:

- (114) *maɬʷtʷarra ɳanʷtʷa muɬʷi-ka-maru*
 fresh I sleep-PAST-CON
 I'm fit now that I've had a sleep.

- (115) *panʷtʷi-ya ɳanʷtʷa ɳapu-ɳa maɳa-ɳa ʈima-ka-maru*
 ail-PRES I water-ACC bad-ACC drink-PAST-CON
 I'm sick having drunk bad water.

There seem to be no instances of a relative clause qualifying A. Attempts to elicit such constructions regularly result in separate sentences being used to translate the English:

- (116) *ɳu-lu-ka ɳanʷa waɬka-ɳa piɬi-la-ka ɳu-lu-ka*
 he-ERG-HERE me child-ACC hit-CAUS-PAST he-ERG-HERE
ʈipu-ɳa maɬu ɳiɬa-la-ka ɳanʷa
 money-ACC too steal-CAUS-PAST me:ACC
 The bloke who belted up my kid on me stole my money too.

Where a POSSESSOR-BENEFICIARY is coreferential, *-la* marks the verb of the clause with the POSSESSOR-BENEFICIARY which of course is not represented overtly by a noun phrase:

- (117) *natʷi-ka ɳa-tu waika-ɳa tʷira-ɳa in-tu tuka-la-ka-ɳa*
 see-PAST I-ERG kid-ACC boomerang-ACC you-ERG take-CAUS-PAST-ACC
 I saw the kid whose boomerang you took.

-la often appears in relative clauses with *ɳiʃa-* 'to steal' yielding a verb '*ɳiʃala*' which effectively corresponds to 'rob' in that O does not need to be expressed:

- (118) *manuwanʷtʷi-ka ɳu-wa-ka ɳiʃa-la-ka ɳa-tu*
 angry-PAST he-NOM-HERE steal-CAUS-PAST I-ERG
 He was wild because I robbed him.

This sentence is also recorded with -maru 'CONCOMITANT' suffixed to *ɳiʃa-la-ka*. Compare (111).

Relative clauses in which an actant is in a local case are difficult for our main informant and our examples, which are all elicited, must be treated cautiously. The following construction, one variant with -maru and the other without, have been elicited several times. Note that -inʷa, the ablative case suffix, is used to express both LOCATIVE and ABLATIVE, when used in this construction:

- (119) *ʃipu-ɳa ɳa-tu i-ɳa-ka natʷi-ka ʃarrka-ka(-maru)-inʷa-ɳa*
 rock-ACC I-ERG it-ACC-HERE see-PAST stand-PAST(-CON)-ABL-ACC
 I saw the rock he stood on.
- (120) *ʃipu-ɳa ɳa-tu natʷi-ka ʃarri-ka(-maru)-inʷa-ɳa*
 rock-ACC I-ERG see-PAST jump-PAST(-CON)-ABL-ACC
 I saw the rock he jumped from.

The nature of what we have been calling the 'relative clause' becomes clear from examples like the following:

- (121) *yalu-ɳa in-pa ʃarupali-ka-maru , ɳa-tu wiri ʃawi-ka*
 speech-ACC you-NOM speak-PAST-CON I-ERG LIKE spill-PAST
 I almost spilled it with you talking.

Here there is no actant common to the clauses which are shown to be related only by the suffixing of -maru to the verb of the first one.

4.3.3. CASE MARKING WITH VERBS. There are examples of the ablative, locative and allative suffixed to stems consisting of a verb plus -ka. These combinations mean 'after', 'while' and 'until' respectively:

- (122) *ʃatʷi-ka-inʷa , mutʷi-ka ɳari ɳanʷtʷa*
 eat-PAST-ABL sleep-PAST now I
 After [I] ate, I had a sleep.
- (123) *kanʃi-ma-ka-inʷa ɳanʷtʷa*
 walk-AROUND-PAST-ABL I
 I've just come back from a walk.

- (124) *nat̚vi-na i-na-ka kaɬi-na , kaŋta-ka-ina naŋt̚t̚va* (cf. (92))
 see-IMP it-ACC-HERE meat-ACC go-PAST-LOC I
 Watch the meat while I'm gone.
- (125) *naŋka-na ɲuɬa-ka-inu naŋvu*
 stop-IMP return-PAST-ALL I:F:S
 Stop [here] till I come back.

It is uncertain whether *-ka* in these constructions should be identified with *-ka* 'past' though, as J.G. Breen has pointed out, since *-n̄va* the past tense marker in the western language is also used in analogous constructions in that language, we can be fairly certain that *-ka* in these examples is related to *-ka* 'past' diachronically.

In the case of the ablative we have examples where the ergative is suffixed following *-in̄va*:

- (126) *na-t̚u ɬala piɬi-ka , nat̚vi-ka-in̄va-lu*
 I-ERG CONDIT hit-PAST see-PAST-ABL-ERG
 I would have hit [him] if [I] had seen [him].

4.4 FREE FORM PARTICLES AND CLITICS

This section contains an inventory of all grammatical morphemes that are neither inflectional nor derivational. In some instances we found it difficult to decide whether some forms were free or clitic (meaning in this instance 'obligatorily suffixed' after inflectional suffixes). Some forms may be free but since they are characteristically unstressed and pronounced as part of a preceding word, they appear to be clitics.

Deictic clitics

-yi, -ka and -a:rr̄i

These deictic clitics have already been dealt with in the section on personal pronouns. See §3.2.1.

Directional clitics

-yaŋu hither

-yaŋu occurs with verbs and pronouns, and with *naɾi* 'now'.

- (127) *wiŋta-in̄va inpa kaŋta-ka-yaŋu*
 where-ABL you go-PAST-HITHER
 Where did you come from?
- (128) *ɲu-wa-ka-yaŋu*
 he-NOM-HERE-HITHER
 He's coming here.
- (129) *naɾi-yaŋu naŋ-pa-ka*
 now-HITHER she-NOM-HERE
 She's coming here.

-yaka, -ka *thither*

-yaka occurs with verbs, pronouns and with *pari* 'now'.
-ka occurs with the imperative.

- (130) *ṇa-tu yanka-ka kaṇṭa-liṇa-yaka*
I-ERG tell-PAST go-INT-THITHER
I told him to go over there.

- (131) *piyawaḷi ṇu-wa-ka-yaka*
dog he-NOM-HERE-THITHER
The dog [walked] towards him.

- (132) *maḷu kaṇṭa-ṇa-ka*
NEG go-IMP-THITHER
Don't go there.

maṇa may
maṇa will be glossed as 'may' for convenience. It means roughly 'may', 'might', 'perhaps', 'maybe'.

- (133) *kaṇṭa-liṇa maṇa*
rain-PURP MAY
It might be going to rain.

- (134) *puḷimaru-kana-ka maṇa*
thirsty-INTR-PAST MAY
'He mighta got perished.'

- (135) *kimpa tṽira-ina . piṭi-mali-ka maṇa ṭana-ka*
blood boomerang-LOC hit-RECIP-PAST MAY they-HERE
[There's] blood on the boomerang. 'They might've fight.'

- (136) *maḷu kaṇṭa-ṇa-ka . piṭi-kaḷa ina maṇa*
NEG go-IMP-THITHER hit-LEST you:ACC MAY
Don't go there. You might get hit.

- (137) *piṭi-liṇa maṇa ṇaṇa-ṇa ṇu-wa-ka ṭarupali-ya*
kill-PURP MAY we-ACC he-NOM-HERE talk-PRES
'He's talking about to kill us.'

wiri like

wiri corresponds to English 'like' as in 'He talks like my brother'. It is also used with verbs to indicate that an action or state that is intended, posited, etc. was not in fact realised. In this sense, it partly corresponds to the colloquial English use of 'like' as in 'I saw him like'.

- (138) *ṭiṭi wiri ṇu-wa-ka ṭarupali-ya*
old:bro LIKE he-NOM-HERE talk-PRES
He talks like my brother.

- (139) *kaṇṭa-liṇa wiri ṇaṇṭṭa*
go-PURP LIKE I
'I was going to go' [but I didn't].

- (140) *kaŋta-liŋa wiri inpa*
 go-PURP LIKE you
 'You're supposed to go.'

- (141) *kurra-ka ŋanʔtʔa wiri*
 fall-PAST I LIKE
 I nearly fell.

ʔala conditional

ʔala is used to express conditions. It frequently occurs as the second word in the clause and it frequently occurs in both the 'if' clause and the 'then' clause as in the following example:

- (142) *inpa ʔala kaŋta-ka ŋura-inu , ŋa-ʔu ʔala ina kaʔi-ŋa*
 you COND go-PAST camp-ALL I-ERG COND you:ACC meat-ACC
ŋunʔtʔi-ka
 give-PAST
 If you'd come to [my] camp, I would have given you meat.

There are a few examples of simple sentences in which *ʔala* seems to function like *wiri*:

- (143) *kananʔa-ka ʔala ŋa-ʔu*
 spear-PAST COND I-ERG
 I thought I'd speared it.

-yapi just

-yapi means to have just done something and nothing more or to have done something quickly or with minimal attention:

- (144) *wapa-ka-yapi ŋanʔtʔa in-ku*
 seek-PAST-JUST I you-DAT
 I just had a quick look for you.

- (145) *piʔi-ka-yapi ŋu-lu-ka*
 hit-PAST-JUST he-ERG-HERE
 'He just hit [her and ran off].'

ŋari now

ŋari means 'now'. It sometimes occurs with this meaning, but more often it is a meaningless filler like English 'now' or 'well'. It is of very high frequency in its 'meaningless' function:

- (146) *ʔikara-kana-ya ŋari*
 sky-INTR-PRES now
 It's clearing up now [of weather].

- (147) *ʔurru yanka-mali-ø ; wakakana-ya ŋari ŋanʔtʔa ; ŋanʔainu*
 later talk-RECIP-FUT work-PRES now I tomorrow
ŋuʔa-ʔa
 return-HITHER:IMP
 Later on [we'll] talk. I'm working now. Come back tomorrow.

layi emphatic

layi is a marker of emphasis.

- (148) takuku *layi* nali
child EMPH we:DU
We [were] only children [when our mother died].
- (149) nari nanyu nuja-ø-yanu tinaṭa-na *layi*
now I:F:S return-FUT-HITHER dinner-PURP EMPH
'I'll just get back in time for dinner.'
- (150) kimpa *layi* nu-wa-ka . panʸtʸarra watʸi-na
blood EMPH it-NOM-HERE thoroughly cook-IMP
The meat is [still] raw. Cook it properly.
- (151) itʸi-ka wiri kimpa *layi*
die-PAST LIKE alive EMPH
He seemed to be dead, [but] he's alive.

puni

puni is a free form meaning 'a number of'. It is frequently followed by the emphatic particle *layi*. It is glossed by the colloquial 'mob':

- (152) *puni-nu layi nura-nu kaṇṭa-ṭa-ra*
mob-F:S EMPH you:PL-F:S go-HITHER:IMP-PL
'Come here you mob!'

-watʸi before

- (153) naṅka-na piṭi-kala-watʸi na-tu ina
sit-IMP hit-LEST-BEFORE I-ERG you:ACC
Sit down before I hit you.
- (154) maṭukaka kaṇṭa-na pala-la-watʸi
quickly go-IMP rain-CAU-BEFORE
Go quickly before the rain.

maṭu negative

maṭu expresses the negative. It is used in commands to express 'don't'. See examples (108), (132), (136) and others.

yawu negative

yawu occurs sporadically as a negative. *maṭu* is much more common.

pani cannot

pani means 'to be unable'. It frequently occurs as the first word in the sentence.

- (155) pani na-tu i-na-ka tuwa-ya
CANNOT I-ERG it-ACC-HERE hit-PRES
I can't hit it [sc. target].

mun̩ti

mun̩ti is a nominal used in apposition to another nominal as an intensifier:

- (156) nan̩t̩ya mun̩ti t̩n̩pa-ka-yaka
 I INTENS run-PAST-THITHER
 I ran over there myself.
- (157) na-t̩u mun̩ti-lu kan̩ka-ka i-na-ka pi̩tipuru-na
 I-ERG INTENS-ERG knit-PAST it-ACC-HERE bag-ACC
 I knitted the bag myself.

na̩ka copula

na̩ka the lexical verb 'to sit', 'to stay', 'to remain', 'to exist' may be used as a copula with nominal predicates to allow the expression of tense:

- (158) kun̩ri t̩ywarri in-ŋu na̩ri na̩ka-li̩a
 hair long you-F:S now COPULA-PURP
 'You can have long hair then' (when you grow up).
- (159) takuku-in̩ya la̩yi nan̩-pa-ka mi̩pa na̩ka-ka
 child-ABL EMPH she-NOM-HERE blind COPULA-PAST
 She has been blind since childhood.

4.5 INTERROGATIVES AND INDEFINITES

The roots wi̩ŋa 'where', wa̩a 'who' and mi̩pa 'what' function morphologically like nouns. wi̩ŋa occurs only with -ina (locative), -inu (allative) and -in̩ya (ablative). wa̩a and mi̩pa occur freely with all noun suffixes. mi̩paŋa (purposive) and mi̩paŋa (causal) correspond to English 'why'. wa̩a and mi̩pa function as indefinites as well as interrogatives.

'How' is expressed by wi̩ŋila, 'how many' by mi̩paŋaŋi and 'when' by winku.

There are two interrogative verbs, mi̩paŋakuri (transitive) and mi̩paŋakana (intransitive). Thus one can say mi̩paŋakuri intu? or mi̩paŋakana in̩pa? to mean, 'What are you doing?'.

wa̩a

wa̩a occurs as a derivational suffix to ka̩na 'man' meaning 'someone':

- (160) ka̩nawa̩a-lu t̩uka-ka ya̩ramana-na
 someone-ERG take-PAST horse-ACC
 Someone took the horse.

Polar interrogative sentences are signalled by rising intonation.

4.6 CO-ORDINATION

Co-ordination is effected simply by juxtaposing sentences and omitting actants that have been referred to earlier in the sequence. Typically it happens that the co-reference is between S and A, but there are no grammatical restrictions on co-reference. The same principle that is found in subordinate clauses is found in compound sentences and sequences of sentences. A previously mentioned actant is represented by zero and other actants appear in their normal case form:

- (161) *kaṇa-lu ṇu-lu-ka piṭi-ka piyawaḷi-ṇa ṭipu-ṇa*
 man-ERG he-ERG-HERE hit-PAST dog-ACC money-ACC
ṭinpa-ri-ka maṭu
 run-CAUS-PAST too
 The man beited the dog and ran away with the money too.
- (162) *ṭipu-ṇa ṇu-lu-ka ṭawi-ka ṭinpa-ka ḷayi*
 stone-ACC he-ERG-HERE throw-PAST run-PAST EMPH
 He threw a stone and then ran away.
- (163) *kiniyari ṇan-pa-ka kaṇṭi-ma-ka paiku-lu piṭi-ka*
 girl she-NOM-HERE go-AROUND-PAST man-ERG hit-PAST
 The girl went for a walk and a man hit her.

APPENDIX

A LIST OF FUNCTION MORPHEMES IN THE EASTERN AND WESTERN LANGUAGES

For the western language our sources are the late Ida Toby (Wangka-Yutjuru) and the late Nora Jacks (Lhanima). For the eastern language we have little material on dialects other than Pitta-Pitta. From the few hours of Ringu-Ringu recorded from Linda Craigie and a few sentences in Kunkalanya recorded from Nora Jacks, we discovered no forms of function morpheme different from those found in Pitta-Pitta. From the few hours of Ngulupulu recorded from Bill Gorringe by Gavan Breen, it appears the privative suffix is -kaka, the locative, -inta, and the allative, -intu

	EASTERN LANGUAGE	WESTERN LANGUAGE	
	<i>Pitta-Pitta</i>	<i>Wangka-Yutjuru</i>	<i>Lhanima</i>
nominative	-ø	-ø	-ø
ergative	-lu	-ru	-ru
accusative	-ṇa	-ṇa	-ṇa
future subject	-ṇu	-ṇu	-ṇu
dative	-ku	?	?
purposive	-ṇa	-ṇa	-ṇa
locative	-ina	-na	-na
allative	-inu	-nuṇa	-nuṇa
ablative	-inʷa	-minʷa	-minʷa
causal	-ia	-ra	-ra
concomitant	-maru	-ṭa	-ṭa

EASTERN LANGUAGE

WESTERN LANGUAGE

*Pitta-Pitta**Wangka-Yutjuru Lhanima*

privative	-yaku	-yawu	-yawu
possessed	-wara	-wara	-wara
your	-mala		
singular	-ṇuṇu	-kunya	
dual	-parrkula	-tɻila	-tɻila
		-kula	
plural	-parri, -pitɻiri	-tɻi	
present	-ya	-ṇi	-ṇi, -ṇi
past	-ka	-nɻa	-nɻa
future	-ø	-ø	-ø
lest	-kala	-liṛa	-liṛa
imperative	-ṇa	-ru	-ru
dual (imperative)	-la	-kulu	-kulu
plural (imperative)	-ra	-ṛura	-ṛula
'hither' imperative	-ṭa		
other imperatives	-mala		
	-kainu		
	ṇaṅkala		
around	-ma	-ma	
along	-yaṇṭa	-ṇa	
causative	-la, -ṛi, -nma, -ipa	-la	
reflexive, reciprocal	-mali	-mari	-nmari
anti-passive, etc.	-li	-li	-li
purposive (verbal)	-liṇa	-liṇa	-liṇa
intransitiviser	-kana	-tɻi	-tɻi
transitiviser	-kuri	-kuri	
adverb forming	-maṇṭa, -ṇa	-maṇṭa	
deictics - here	-yi	-ki	-ki
- there	-ka	-para	-para
- far	-a:rrɪ		-ni
- previously referred to			-ṛi
directional - hither	-yaṇu	-lu	-lu
- thither	-yaka, -ka		
may	maṇa	maṇa	
like	wiri	wiri	
conditional	ṭala	ṭara	tara
just	-yapi		
now	ṇari	para	para
emphatic	ṭayi	-la	
before	-watɻi	-watɻi	-watɻi
negative	maṭu, yawu	maṭu	maṭu
cannot	pani	pani	
intensifier	muṇṭi		
copula	ṇaṅka		
interrogatives/indefinites			
where	wiṇṭa	ṭaṇa	ṭaṇa
who	waṛa	waṛa	waṛa
what	miṇa	miṇa	miṇa
how	wiṭila	ṭilampara	ṭilampara
how many	miṇapaṇi	miṇamaṇṭi	miṇamaṇṭi
when	winku	winkulu	winkulu
interrogative verb (TR)	miṇakuri		
interrogative verb (INTR)	miṇakana	miṇatɻi	miṇatɻi

PITTA-PITTA - ENGLISH ALPHABETICAL VOCABULARY

alutya, (sic), N: wild banana

ika, Vintr: be full

lkanta, Vtr: swallow

ila:rri, Adv: over there

ili, N: bindi-eye

ilimar, N: echidna, spinifex

ilka, N: front of neck

inima, Vtr: carry on shoulder

iniwalingka, N: echidna

inka, Vtr: kiss, make love

iri, N: same

irrairramali, Vintr: argue

irrka, Vtr: touch, feel

itya, Vintr: dance

ityara, N: spear

ityi, Vintr: die

kakila, N: coolaman, car, buggy

kaku, N: older sister

kalakurra, N: type of corroboree

kalamaru, N: frog

kalarangkuyu, N: 'large grub'

kalari, N: woman's mother-in-law

kalatura, N: scrub turkey

kali, Inter: I don't know

kalka, N: lively

kaluku, N: log

kalu, N: liver

kalu, N: reed

kalumpa, N: clover

kalura, N: totem

kala, N: thigh

kalawarri, N: possum, rabbit

kalawima, N: fast

kalvara, N: afterbirth

kalvirrka, N: green

kalvityikalvityi, N: catfish

kampa, Vtr: send word to

kampanmali, N: paint oneself

kamparra, N: lap-lap

kamula, N: camel

kananka, V: spear, stab, knit,
weavekanankanankalimar, N: needle-
bush

kankari, N: stone knife

kanmari, N: Mythological water
snake

kanti, N: antbed

kantikanti, N: ceremonial club

kana, N: man

kanakarru, N: male

kanakuri, Vtr: circumcise

kanja, Vintr: go

kanju, N: hollow

kanja, N: light rain

kanji, N: spinifex wax

kanvini, N: mother's mother

kanvya, N: rat

kanvtyipulu, N: policeman

kanvtyu, N: slow

kana, N: alcohol

- kanamaru, N: drunk

kanija, N: lame

kanka, N: gully

kanka, Vtr: bring

kanukanurra, N: slow

kapa, N: bird

kapani, N: kitehawk

kapa, N: witchetty grub

kapuja, N: hat

kaputyu, N: milk, breast (female)

kara, Vintr: answer

karamali, Vintr: coil up

karapati, N: leaf

karinkari, N: a cold

karra, Vtr: tie up

karraty, Vintr: shiver

karrayawu, N: widow

karrka, Vintr: shout

karrkuma, N: mouse

karrku, N: perch (fish)

karru, N: boy

karrukuku, N: grave

karapari, N: coolibah

karigarra, N: sandhill goanna

karityuru, N: waterhole

kata, N: tick

katampa, N: 'scissors'

katuluka, Vintr: cough

katl, Inter: right, O.K.

kati, N: head

- kati palka, Vtr: hit on the
head

- kati takarra, N: bald

- kati turkapulu, N: grey-haired

katipityiri, N: snake sp.

katitawi, Vtr: knock over

katiwiri, Vintr: bathe oneself

katl, N: meat, animal, snake

kati, Vintr: climb

katyirpa, Vtr: insert

katyu, N: clothes

kawa, N: wood duck

kawa, Vintr: vomit

kawunu, N: dress

kawurru, N: down

kiki, N: vulva, vagina

kilan^ytyi, N: galah
 kilin^ytya, N: galah
 kilka, N: arm, wing
 kilvikil^yvi, N: armpit
 kimpa, N: blood, alive, raw
 kinikini, N: mischievous
 kiniyari, N: girl, girl nearing
 puberty
 kin^yta^u, N: shrimp
 kin^ytya, N: female
 kin^ykikin^yki, N: half-caste
 kipul^yyu, N: duck, whistler duck
 kira, Vintr: flow, blow (of
 wind)
 kirri, N: skilful
 kirrikirri, N: a cold
 ki^yta, Vintr: call out
 kit^yikana, Vintr: be happy
 kit^yi layi, Inter: 'good job'
 kiyin^yku, N: navel
 kukarri, N: yellow ochre
 kuku, N: back
 kukuina, Adv: behind
 kuku^y, N: digging stick
 kuku^yuka, Vtr: carry on back
 kulipila, N: kangaroo
 kulirikul^yi, N: peewee
 kulparri, N: emu
 kulpurru, N: netted head cap
 kul^yka, N: tail (of animal)
 kul^yyu, N: testicles
 kul^yuru, N: whitewood
 kumara, N: carbeen
 kumpal^yta, N: chisel
 kumpu, N: anus
 kuna, N: faeces
 kuna, Vintr: defecate
 - kunakira, Vintr: have
 diarrhoea
 kunamal^yaru, N: grub sp.
 kunarri, N: desert
 kunin^ytyiri, N: fly
 kuniri, N: hair
 - kuniri mu^yimu^yirri, N: curly
 haired
 - kuniri tyimpa, N: dark hair
 - kuniri wilapara, N: thick hair
 kuniyipa, N: shade
 kunparra, N: shield
 kuntanarri, N: black shag
 kuntara, N: snake sp.
 kunti, N: house
 kunti, N: 'wax', 'cement'
 - kuntimaru, N: handle of stone
 knife
 kuntiya, N: damp ground
 ku^yma, Vtr: enclose, hem in

kun^yat^yvi, N: lobster
 kun^yikun^yi, N: curved throwing stick
 toy, crooked
 kun^yi, N: pig weed
 kun^yta, N: corpse
 kun^yi, N: mosquito
 kupakupa, N: old man
 kupi, N: fish
 kupu, N: spider
 kuri, Vtr: cut
 kurra, Vintr: fall
 - kurrala, Vtr: drop
 - kurralpa, Vtr: drop
 kurratinakana, Vintr: be giddy
 kurrawi, N: humpy
 kurri, N: red ochre
 - kurrikurri, N: red
 kurrit^yala, N: eaglehawk
 kurrit^ya, N: mussel
 kurrapu, N: magpie
 ku^yimara, N: snake sp.
 ku^yu, N: stranger
 kuti, N: swan
 kutukutu, N: mist
 ku^yarra, N: male (of animals)
 ku^yu, N: umbilical cord
 ku^yi, Vtr: pull
 ku^yu, N: smoke
 ku^ya, N: rotten
 ku^yukutu^y, N: pup
 kuya(na), N: ceremonial knife
 kuyamarra, N: dogwood
 kuyi, N: ceremonial knife
 kuyirri, N: boy nearing puberty
 kuyun^yu, N: good

lat^ya, Inter: right, O.K.
 likara, N: headband
 lin^yki lin^ykirri, N: body markings

layiguru, Adv: again

maka, N: fire, firewood
 - makamaka, N: hot
 makapari, N: gidyea
 makuwa^yta, N: spear
 malaka, N: dog
 mali, N: cold
 - malit^yira, N: cool breeze
 malka, N: body markings
 - malkamalka, N: striped
 - malkamaru, N: policeman
 mala, N: thigh
 mali, N: net
 malimaru, N: pelican
 maluma^yukaka, Inter: hurry up!
 malumata, N: wrong

- mal̥t̥ara, N: emu feathers
 - mal̥t̥aramaru, N: emu
 mal̥t̥arra, N: froth
 mal̥t̥i̥ta, N: warm
 mal̥u, Part: no, not
 mal̥y̥t̥arra, N: eager
 mal̥y̥t̥ari, N: hip
 mamaka, Vtr: grab
 mambu, N: elbow
 man̥ji, Vtr: hunt, gather
 manta, Vtr: weigh heavy
 manuwan̥y̥t̥i, Vtr: angry
 manuwan̥kukana, Vtr: forget
 mḁpa, Part: maybe, might
 mḁnkamḁka, N: slow
 mḁnt̥a, Vtr: take from
 mḁnt̥ḁti, N: short
 mḁnu, N: heart
 - mḁnukḁnt̥a, Vtr: worry, be sad
 mḁpa, N: bad
 man̥y̥t̥irimiru, N: yellow belly
 mḁnanipari, N: echidna
 mḁgḁnimaru, N: Aboriginal doctor
 mḁgḁru, N: seeds of nut grass
 mḁnkala, N: black bream
 mḁnkimḁnki, N: sheep
 mḁnkura, N: big
 mḁnu, N: nasal mucus
 - mḁnumaru, N: with a cold
 mḁnumḁnu, N: fingernail, toenail
 mḁnuna, N: mountain devil
 mapala, Vtr: camp out
 mari, Vtr: get
 marra, N: open
 marrawi, N: sinew
 marrip̥i̥na, N: back of neck
 marr̥ki, N: gun
 marr̥pḁnt̥i, N: centipede
 mḁra, N: hand
 - mḁrḁmḁra, N: empty-handed
 mḁrḁkḁnt̥i, N: initiated man
 mḁrḁtḁkḁnt̥a, Vtr: enter uninvited
 mḁrḁtḁwi, Vtr: drop
 mḁrḁtḁu̥nku, N: plain goanna
 mḁtḁn̥kuru, N: plover
 mḁti, N: ankle
 mḁti, N: bullant
 mḁt̥ari, Vtr: leave behind
 mḁt̥y̥umpa, N: kangaroo
 mayḁti, N: good
 mayamaya, N: dog
 mayi, N: ground, dirt
 - mayimayi, N: dirty
 miku, N: vulva, vagina
 - mikumaru, N: subincised penis
 - mikumarukuri, Vtr: subincise
 mil̥il̥pu, N: eyebrow, eyelash
 mil̥il̥pi, N: eyebrow, eyelash
 mil̥ka, N: tooth
 mil̥ya, N: face, nose
 - mil̥y̥apakan̥i, N: nose pin
 - mil̥yḁ pḁl̥ta, N: flat nosed
 - mil̥yḁ p̥ir̥kill, N: big nosed
 - mil̥yḁ t̥uy̥uyu, N: bandicoot
 - mil̥yḁ wakara, N: big nosed
 - mil̥y̥awil̥y̥irikana, Vtr: grimace
 mil̥y̥ḁn̥karri, Vtr: drown
 mil̥y̥ika, N: salt
 mint̥iyala, N: cork tree
 mi̥nt̥i, Vtr: play
 mi̥nt̥ika, N: deep
 mi̥na, N: what
 - mi̥gḁpḁni, N: how many
 mi̥n̥ka, N: hole
 mi̥n̥kara, N: fingernail
 mi̥n̥kḁtḁwi, Vtr: spill
 mi̥n̥kurri, N: skilful
 mi̥n̥kurru, N: Aboriginal doctor
 mi̥pa, N: blind
 mi̥pi, N: mistletoe
 mirimiri, N: headband
 mirri, N: little girl
 mirrinta, Vtr: scratch
 mirriwi̥ni, N: stone, money
 mir̥t̥y̥i, N: leaf
 mi̥rḁra, N: friend
 mi̥tikara, Adv: all night
 mi̥ta, N: charcoal
 mi̥yi, N: eye
 muki, N: fly
 mukiri, N: paddymelon
 mul̥ka, N: tree
 mulurru, N: hilltop
 mu̥lu, N: crab
 muma, N: ghost
 muman̥y̥ini, N: night-hawk
 mumap̥arri, N: night-hawk
 mump̥an̥y̥i, N: wild orange
 munap̥ampu, N: plain pigeon
 munuwar̥ru, N: white-necked heron
 mu̥na, N: chest
 mu̥nt̥u, N: circumcised penis
 mu̥nt̥u, N: blunt
 mu̥nuina, Adv: inside
 mun̥y̥t̥ya, N: docile
 mun̥y̥t̥y̥i, N: flax
 mun̥y̥t̥y̥umun̥y̥t̥y̥ukuri, Vtr: pack up
 mu̥n̥ka, N: thunder
 mu̥n̥kḁta, Adv: near
 mupu, N: 'itchy grub'
 murra, N: stick
 murr̥i̥nt̥i, N: thumb
 murr̥ku, N: carney, bearded dragon
 (amphibolurus barbatus)

murruka, N: mosquito
 murrumurru, N: rough
 muturru, N: ornamental scars on
 shoulders
 mutyi, V: sleep
 muyutu, N: old woman

ḡala, Vintr: peel
 ḡala, N: bark, skin
 - ḡalamaru, N: uncircumcised penis
 - ḡalapunta, Vtr: skin
 - ḡalawaṇṇi, Vtr: skin
 ḡaṅka, Vintr: stay, remain, sit
 - ḡaṅkaṛi, Vtr: give birth to
 ḡarawa, Vtr: hear, listen to
 ḡari, Part: now, well, then
 ḡarrapa, Vtr: cover, bury
 ḡatyi, Vtr: see, look at
 ḡinkira(yi)waḷka, Adv: today
 ḡiṅkukana, Vintr: go out (of fire)
 ḡiṅkukuri, Vtr: extinguish
 ḡiṅuṅu, N: frog
 ḡirra, Vtr: send
 ḡiṭa, Vtr: steal
 ḡuḷi, Vtr: squeeze
 ḡuruṅu, N: tea-tree
 (Mel. alternifolia)

nṡamura, N: soft (to touch)
 nṡamuru, N: ghost
 nṡaṅi, N: moon
 nṡiḷkinṡiḷki, N: greasy
 nṡiḷpa, N: louse
 nṡinta, Vtr: scratch
 nṡirrinṡirri, N: angry
 nṡunukana, Vintr: be tired

ḡalawira, N: eaglehawk
 ḡalutṡa, N: wild banana
 ḡaḷpa, N: water bag
 ḡaḷu, N: man's father-in-law,
 mother's brother
 ḡaḷṡa, N: cheek
 ḡaḷṡṡa, N: saliva
 ḡamaḷṡṡa(ḷa), N: hungry
 ḡamanṡa, N: breast (female), milk
 ḡamaṛi, N: mother, mother's
 sister
 ḡampa, N: belly (external)
 - ḡampa patṡapatṡamali, Vintr:
 have stomach ache
 - ḡampamaṅa, N: sad
 ḡamurru, N: orphan
 ḡanakatṡi, Vtr: cook
 ḡanka, N: chin, beard
 - ḡanka walara, N: long beard
 ḡankala, Adv: later on

ḡanupa, Vtr: insert
 ḡanupali, Vintr: enter
 ḡaṇṭaṭa, N: a few
 ḡaṇṭitṡirri, N: club
 ḡanṡainu, Adv: tomorrow
 ḡanṡṡakuṭa, N: woman's father-in-law
 ḡapiḷaṭa, N: wild orange
 ḡapu, N: water
 - ḡapugaṅu, N: wet
 ḡara, N: ear
 - ḡaramuṇṡu, N: deaf
 - ḡarapiṇṭa, Vtr: forget
 - ḡareṅunka, Vtr: forget
 - ḡaratṡuwarri, N: donkey
 ḡarawa, N: ear
 ḡarawapari, N: echidna
 ḡaruṅkarri, N: honey
 ḡarraṅu, N: flood
 ḡarrimaṇṭa, N: flood
 ḡarrka, Vtr: follow
 ḡarrkaina, Adv: between
 ḡarrkunu, N: wallaroo
 ḡari, Vintr: breathe
 - ḡariṅari, Vintr: pant
 ḡaṛura, N: war spear
 ḡaṭaṭa, N: father's father
 ḡaṭu, N: nardoo
 ḡaṭa, N: little boy
 ḡaṭaṅa, N: father's mother
 ḡaṭapiyaka, N: offspring (man
 speaking)
 ḡaṭari(ka), N: offspring (woman
 speaking)
 ḡilinṡṡa, N: galah
 ḡintupunta, Vintr: finish
 ḡinṡimala, N: rat
 ḡkawa(sic), N: wood duck
 ḡulukurra, Vintr: yawn
 ḡuḷu, N: forehead
 ḡunku, N: pituri
 ḡuntamali, Vintr: paint oneself
 ḡuntuṛuku, N: heel
 ḡuṇṭa, Vtr: grease
 ḡunṡṡi, Vtr: give
 ḡunṡṡimalli, Vintr: swap
 ḡunṡṡiṅunṡṡi, Vtr: teach
 ḡura, N: camp
 ḡurku, N: heel
 ḡuruṅuru, N: sleepy
 ḡuṛuiri, N: different
 ḡuṛuṅupaina, Adv: on one side of
 ḡuṛuru, N: one
 ḡuṛuwaḷka, Adv: yesterday, tomorrow
 ḡuṭa, Vintr: return
 - ḡuṭanma, Vtr: bring back
 paka, Vtr: whittle, chisel, dig

pala, N: rain
 palka, Vtr: split
 palkinunytvi, Vtr: give back
 palku, N: man
 pala, N: mouth
 - palapiliṇa, N: spoonbill
 palipali, N: 'turban'
 palikari, Vintr: ache
 palitapalta, N: flat
 pali, N: fat
 palvtyura, N: type of corroboree
 pampu, N: brain, egg
 - pampu wiri ('like an egg'), N:
 round
 pani, Part: cannot
 pantipanti, N: green
 pantipanti, N: moccasin
 pantuṭarrpa, Vtr: crash down
 paṅkupaṅku, N: walking stick
 paṇṭa, Vintr: crack
 paṇṭara, N: cloud
 paṇṭira, N: friend
 panvtya, N: knee
 panvtyaliyaku, N: tasteless
 panvtyapanvtya, N: with taste
 panvtyarra, Adv: very
 panvtyi, Vintr: be ill
 panvtyikuri, Vtr: spread
 paṅka, Vtr: hear, listen to
 papa, N: puppa grass
 papala, N: shoulder
 papulurru, N: froth
 paratya, N: woman
 - paratyakuri, Vtr: initiate female
 parawaṅku, N: insane
 paripara, N: river goanna
 paririkana, Vintr: learn
 parkamu, N: scrub turkey
 parri, N: many
 - parrimaṇṭa, Adv: often
 - parriparri, N: possessions
 parrkula, N: two
 - parrkulanuṇu, N: three
 - parrkulaparrkula, N: four
 parru, N: yellow ochre
 - parruparru, N: yellow
 paratvi, N: flame
 pariipi, N: river
 paṭa, N: mud
 paṭa, Vtr: call (by such-and-such a
 name)
 paṭa, Vtr: hold
 paṭa, N: boy
 paṭi, Vintr: come
 paṭinanytvi, Adv: in the morning
 (today)

paṭipañṭa, Adv: in the morning
 (tomorrow)
 patya, Vtr: bite
 paya, N: bird
 pikirri, N: corpse
 pilpa, N: forehead
 - pilpamaga, N: insane
 - pilpapampu, N: rock wallaby
 pilpurru, N: dove
 pilpa, N: lightning
 pilpa, N: penis
 pintapinta, N: fire drill
 pinti, Vtr: count
 pintilya, N: grasshopper
 piṇa, N: leg, shin, bone
 piṇamagara, N: greedy
 piṇapuṭi, Vintr: walk
 piṇṭa, N: waterlily
 piṇṭapurru, N: fish trap
 pinvi, N: shoulder
 pinvtyi, N: nest
 piṅkipurra, Vtr: divide up
 pipa, Vtr: see, look at
 pipapurru, N: boomerang
 piriṇaru, N: splitjack
 pirkili, N: big
 piruwalli, N: kitehawk
 pirrapampu, N: rock wallaby
 pirriminytvi, N: black cockatoo
 pirripa, Adv: up
 pirriṇi, N: soft (of sound)
 pirrpa, Vtr: pour
 - pirrpali, Vintr: pour
 pirrpi, Vintr: descend
 piṇiri, Adv: nearby
 piṭipa, Vtr: find
 - piṭipamali, Vintr: meet
 piṭi, Vtr: hit, kill
 - piṭimali, Vintr: fight
 piṭipuru, N: dilly bag
 piṭya, N: stick with noose for
 pulling down fruit
 pitvirri, N: pituri
 pitvuṭu, N: kitehawk
 piyawaṭi, N: dog
 pukarra, N: grass
 puliṭi, N: cow, bullock
 puluna wanvtyi, Vintr: itch
 puṭila, N: thirsty
 puṭuma, N: type of corroboree
 puṭa, N: footprints
 puna, N: satiated
 punka, Vtr: blow
 punta, Vtr: break
 puṅku, N: knee
 puṇi, N: many
 puṇṭa, Vtr: suck

puḡu, N: ashes
 puṇṽtṽu, N: body hair, fur
 puṇka, Vtr: make fire
 pura, N: urine
 pura, Vintr: urinate
 purutṽa, N: sugar
 purralku, N: brolga
 purrinṽtṽuru, N: silver bream
 purrkaḷa, N: snake sp.
 purrpu, Adv: far
 purruna, N: chick
 purrunḡali, N: side
 puṭa, N: eager
 puwa, Vintr: swell

ṭakuku, N: baby, small child
 ṭakumaṅkura, N: fat
 ṭakuwima, N: fat
 ṭaṅa, Vtr: winnow
 ṭanparra, N: nest
 ṭanu, N: weak (ill)
 ṭaṅkaṭaṅka, Vtr: weave
 ṭapu, N: silent
 ṭapukuri, Vtr: shut
 ṭari, Vtr: kick
 ṭarri, Vintr: boil
 ṭarri, Vintr: jump
 ṭawaḷi, N: hollow, hollow log
 ṭikarra, N: sky
 ṭinimaṅkura, N: belligerent
 ṭinpa, Vintr: run
 ṭipu, N: hill, stone, money
 ṭiwa, Vintr: be jealous
 ṭunṽtṽi, Vintr: cry
 ṭunṽtṽikuri, Vtr: tie together
 ṭutṽarra, N: straight, right, true
 ṭutṽurukuri, Vtr: straighten
 ṭutṽurupa, Vtr: straighten
 ṭuwa, Vtr: hit with missile

ṭaka, N: coolaman
 ṭakarra, N: shallow, flat, plain
 ṭakarra, Adv: outside
 ṭakaṭawi, Vtr: winnow
 ṭakuma, Vtr: see, look at
 ṭakura, N: old man
 ṭala, Part: if
 ṭalala, N: frightened
 ṭalaṭarrka, Vintr: fear
 ṭalka, N: bandicoot
 ṭali, N: tongue
 ṭampaṅara, N: pelican
 ṭapa, Vtr: push
 ṭapa, Vtr: scoop up
 ṭarawaḷi, N: trousers
 ṭarra, Vtr: block
 ṭarra(wa), N: wide

ṭarri, Vintr: crawl, creep up
 ṭarri, Vintr: spear, stab, weave
 ṭarrka, N: kangaroo rat
 ṭarrka, Vintr: stand
 - ṭarrkala, Vtr: stand
 ṭarrkali, N: 'horns'
 ṭarrpa, Vtr: press
 ṭarawa, N: left hand
 ṭarupali, Vintr: speak
 ṭata, Vintr: refuse
 ṭata, N: untamed
 ṭati, N: feather
 ṭatika, N: water fowl
 ṭatṽi, Vtr: eat
 ṭawa, Vintr: pretend
 ṭawi, Vtr: throw
 ṭawinṽa, N: bad
 ṭawunu, N: town
 ṭilimari, N: gidyea
 ṭilu, Vtr: cook
 ṭima, Vtr: drink
 ṭina, N: foot
 ṭinaṅara, Adv: north
 ṭinapali, N: possum
 ṭinapinṽtṽa, Vtr: track
 ṭinaputu, N: moccasin
 ṭinata, N: bird
 ṭinka, N: grave
 ṭintama, N: yam
 ṭiṇi, N: riverbank
 ṭinṽtṽa, Vtr: chop
 ṭipaṭi, N: lizard
 ṭiraṭira, N: fire drill
 ṭirimaṅkura, N: belligerent
 ṭiripalimarṽ, N: needle
 ṭiriwima, N: belligerent
 ṭirramarra, N: open
 ṭirrapula, N: pituri
 ṭirrapinṽta, N: open
 ṭirrapinṽa, Vintr: ask
 ṭirriwa, Adv: east
 ṭirriwanṽtṽi, N: angry
 ṭirrkamarukana, Vintr: cook
 ṭirrpā, Vtr: sew
 ṭirapa, Vtr: cook
 ṭiṭa, N: ant
 ṭiṭa, N: white man
 ṭiṭi, N: older brother
 ṭiwa, N: owl
 ṭuka, Vtr: take
 ṭulkuru, N: plain
 ṭuli, N: mussel
 ṭulṽtṽi, N: intestines
 - ṭulṽtṽi kuṇṭikuṇṭi, N: stomach
 ache
 - ṭulṽtipuṇṽta, Vtr: gut
 ṭumpa, Vintr: lie down

tumpaki, N: tobacco
 tunanytyi, N: lobster
 tunytyikuri, Vtr: join
 tupu, N: caterpillar
 tupu (Eng.), N: soap
 turrka, N: dust
 - turrkapulu, N: white
 - turrkaturrka, N: dusty
 turrka, Vtr: rub
 - turrkamali, Vintr: wash oneself
 turrupu, N: wind
 tuta, N: fat
 - tutamangkura, N: fat
 - tutawima, N: fat
 tutu, N: 'insect'
 tuyuyu, N: little

tyakitityakiti, N: light(in weight)
 tyalatyala, N: confused
 tyalatyala, N: very shallow
 tyalu, N: calf
 tyami, N: father's sister
 tyanka, N: mother's father
 tyaji, N: moon
 tyanka, N: thin
 tyaralku, N: big green frog
 tyata, N: shirt
 tyata, N: sister-in-law
 tyiku, N: maggot
 tyikula, N: egg
 tyila, N: boomerang
 tyilkuyari, Vintr: shine
 tyilpi, N: wart
 tyilawanka, Vtr: mix
 tyimpa, N: black, blue
 tyinpi, N: star
 tyinturu, N: clear water
 tyipa, N: moon
 tyira, N: boomerang
 tyirityiri, N: willy wagtail
 tyirrkatyirrkka, N: hat
 tyityityityi, N: budgerigar
 tyunŋa, N: dirty water
 tyunŋu, N: belly (external)
 tyupuru, N: narrow, little
 tyutyu, N: pup
 tyuwarri, N: tall, long

ulu, N: bee
 utyakuri, Vtr: overcook

wakaŋa, N: crow
 wakarra, Adv: south
 wakili, Vintr: shake
 wakiŋi, N: crow
 wakiŋi, N: crow
 wakunpa, Vintr: bark (of dog)

walakati, N: oven
 walakatyi, Vtr: cook
 walanara, N: curved throwing stick
 toy
 walirri, N: tired
 walika, N: baby, small child
 walpara, N: boney bream
 walirimaru, N: lazy
 waiŋka, N: sun, day
 waiŋkutyā, N: sand goanna
 waiŋpa, N: boughs with leaves
 waiŋuwa, N: windbreak
 waiŋirri, N: dew
 wama, N: carpet snake
 wamira, N: woomera
 wampa, Vtr: shoo
 wampaŋurru, N: Seven Sisters
 wani, N: corroboree, song
 wanka, Vintr: sing
 wantaparra, N: black ibis
 wanti, Vintr: wait
 wantu, N: heel
 wanukuŋa, N: whitewood
 wanŋyi, Vintr: get up, arise
 wanama, Vtr: know
 wanŋi, N: younger sibling
 wanŋkuma, Vtr: turn, swing around
 wanŋkuma, Vtr: stir
 wapa, Vintr: look for
 - wapaŋi, Vtr: hunt, gather
 wapi, Vintr: look for
 wapitya, N: initiation corroboree
 warukatyi, N: emu
 waruwira, N: corella
 warra, N: wide
 warrapuŋa, N: kangaroo
 warrapuŋa, N: white
 warrara, Adv: far
 warri, Vintr: shift
 warraŋa, N: young (of animals)
 warruwa, N: rotten
 warruwa, Vtr: cover, bury
 warruwa, Vintr: smell
 wara, N: who
 waramata, N: tomahawk
 warampaŋa, N: tomahawk
 warawaiŋka, Adv: tomorrow
 watamukali, N: black ibis
 watila, Vtr: make fire
 watyama, Vtr: wash something
 watyi, Part: before
 watyi, Vtr: cook
 wayinymari, N: white woman
 wayirri, N: sandhill
 wilakuri, Vtr: hide
 wilpa, N: sore, wound
 wilpi, N: shade

- wilpi, N: humpy, hut
 wilakana, Vintr: hide
 wilapara, N: scrub
 wilta, N: sweat
 - wiltawanYtYi, Vintr: sweat
 wima, N: big
 winku, Adv: when
 wiŋi, N: grass apron
 wiŋi, Vintr: arrive
 wiŋta, Adv: where
 wiŋkuru, N: noisy
 wipiwiŋi, N: sulky
 wiri, Part: like, as
 wiri, Vintr: sink
 wiri, Vtr: sharpen, grind
 wiriwiri, N: whirlwind
 wirrku, N: crooked
 wirru, N: blue crane
 wiŋuka, N: 'little potatoes'
 wiŋi, N: sore, wound
 wiŋila, Adv: how
 witYaritYari, N: club
 witYipakani, N: blue crane
 wiya, Vintr: laugh
 wiyarru, N: hard
 wiyunŋa, Vintr: whisper
 wiyuwima, N: successful (in hunting)
 wiyuyaka, N: unsuccessful (in hunting)
 wowo (sic), N: whirler

 yakaparri, N: button grass
 yakaŋi, N: tired
 yakili kuna:rra, Adv: on the other side of
 yakili ŋalpa, Adv: on this side of
 yaku, N: older sister
 yakuŋa, N: dilly bag
 yalaŋu, N: sorry
 yalka, N: empty
 yalu, N: language
 - yaluŋunYtYi, Vtr: send word to
 yalawa, Vtr: cook

 yalka, N: dry
 yaŋpi, N: net
 yami, N: father's sister
 yampaŋi, N: sweet
 yampi, N: man's mother-in-law
 yamuru, N: ghost
 yana, N: similar
 yanka, N: mother's father
 yanka, Vtr: tell(to do), tell(news)
 - yankamali, Vintr: converse
 yanku, N: windbreak
 yaŋŋi, N: brother-in-law
 yaŋi, N: pubic hair
 yaŋŋari, N: 'paw-paw'
 yaŋŋi, Vintr: burn
 - yaŋŋila, Vtr: burn
 yaŋŋurru, N: vegetable food
 yapa, N: untamed
 yapariri, N: young man
 yapiŋi, N: father, father's brother
 yaramana, N: horse
 yarawira, N: hot
 yarra, N: wide
 yarraka, N: puppa grass
 yarralpa, Vtr: scold
 yarri, N: strong
 yarrkayarrkayi, Adv: later today
 yarrki, N: light, thin
 yarrkumaŋa, N: ghost
 yatYa, Inter: right, O.K.
 yawu, Part: no, not
 yawuwira, N: corella
 yulkakana, Vintr: to sulk
 yuŋa, Adv: west
 yumulu, N: night, darkness
 yunku, Vintr: sulk
 yuŋa, N: clothes, blanket
 yurra, N: buttocks
 yurraŋimaru, N: ashamed
 yurraŋiŋarrka, Vintr: be shy
 yuru, N: elbow
 yuŋa, Vintr: swim
 yuwana, N: top cord of emu net

VOCABULARY IN SEMANTIC FIELDS

NOUNS

A - Body Parts

- kaŋi, head
 pampu, brain
 kuniŋi, hair
 kaŋi ŋakarra, bald
 kaŋi ŋurŋkapulu, grey haired
 kuniŋi muŋimuŋŋirri, curly haired

- kuniŋi wilapara, thick hair
 kuniŋi tYimpa, dark hair
 pilpa, forehead
 ŋulu, forehead
 miyi, eye
 mililpu, eyebrow, eyelash

milpilpi, eyebrow, eyelash
 miŷa, nose, face
 miŷa paŷa, flat nosed
 miŷa wakara, big nosed
 miŷa pirrkili, big nosed
 ŋara, ear
 ŋarawa, ear
 ŋaŷa, cheek
 paŷa, mouth
 ŋanka, chin, beard
 ŋanka walara, long beard
 miŷka, tooth
 ŷali, tongue
 ŋaŷtŷa, saliva
 maŋu, nasal mucus
 iŷka, front of neck
 marripiŋa, back of neck
 papaŷa, shoulder
 pinŷi, shoulder
 kiŷiŷiŷi, armpit
 kilka, arm
 mampu, elbow
 yurru, elbow
 maŷa, hand
 murrinŷi, thumb
 miŋkara, fingernail
 maŋumaŋu, fingernail
 kaputŷu, breast(female), milk
 ŋamanŷa, breast(female), milk
 muŋa, chest
 purruŋkali, side
 maŷtŷari, hip
 ŋampa, belly (external)
 tŷuŋtu, belly (external)
 kiŷiŋku, navel
 kuŷu, umbilical cord
 kaŷara, afterbirth
 ŷuŷtŷi, intestines
 ŷuŷtŷi kuŷiŷiŷi, stomach ache
 ŋampa patŷapatŷamali, stomach ache
 maŋu, heart
 kaŷu, liver
 kuku, back
 yurra, buttocks
 kumpu, anus
 piŷpa, penis
 ŋalamaru, uncircumcised penis
 muŋtu, circumcised penis
 miŷamaru, subincised penis
 kuŷka, tail (of animal)
 kuŷu, testicles
 miŷu, vulva, vagina
 kiŷi, vulva, vagina
 yaŋi, pubic hair
 kuna, faeces
 pura, urine
 piŋa, leg

maŷa, thigh
 kaŷa, thigh
 puŋku, knee
 paŷtŷa, knee
 tŷalu, calf
 piŋa, shin
 maŷi, ankle
 ŷina, foot
 wantu, heel
 ŋunturuku, heel
 ŋurru, heel
 maŋumaŋu, toenail
 puŷa, footprints
 kuŷa, corpse
 piŷirri, corpse
 puŷtŷu, body hair, fur
 ŋala, skin
 piŋa, bone
 marrawi, sinew
 kiŷpa, blood
 ŷuta, fat
 wiŷa, sweat
 muturru, ornamental scars on
 shoulders
 wiŷi, sore, wound
 wiŷpa, sore, wound
 tŷilpi, wart
 kariŋkari, a cold
 kirrikiŷi, a cold

B - Human Classification

kaŋa, man
 paŷku, man
 maŷakaŷi, initiated man
 paŷatŷa, woman
 ŷakuku, baby, small child
 waŷka, baby, small child
 warra, young (of animals)
 karra, boy
 paŷa, boy
 ŋaŷa, little boy
 kuyirri, boy nearing puberty
 yaŷariri, young man
 kaŷakarra, male
 kuŷarra, male (of animals)
 kiŷiyari, girl
 miŷi, little girl
 kiŷiyari, girl nearing puberty
 kiŷtŷa, female
 kupakupa, old man
 ŷakura, old man
 muŷutŷu, old woman
 karrawawu, widow
 ŋamurru, orphan
 maŷaŷamaru, Aboriginal doctor
 miŷkurru, Aboriginal doctor

pañtira, friend
 miçara, friend
 kuçu, stranger
 yarkumaça, ghost
 muma, ghost
 yamuru, ghost
 nyamuru, ghost
 tiça, white man
 wayinyamari, white woman
 kanytyipulu(Eng.), policeman
 malkamaru, policeman
 kinkikinki, half-caste

C - Kin

namaçi, mother, mother's sister
 naçu, mother's brother
 yapiri, father, father's brother
 yami, father's sister
 tyami, father's sister
 kanyini, mother's mother
 yanka, mother's father
 tyanka, mother's father
 naçaga, father's mother
 naçaça, father's father
 yaku, older sister
 kaku, older sister
 tiçi, older brother
 waçi, younger sibling
 naçari(ka), offspring (woman speaking)
 naçapiyaka, offspring(man speaking)
 naçu, man's father-in-law
 yampi, man's mother-in-law
 nanytyakuça, woman's father-in-law
 kalari, woman's mother-in-law
 yaçi, brother-in-law
 tyaçi, sister-in-law

D - Mammals

kulipila, kangaroo
 matyumpa, kangaroo
 warrapuça, kangaroo
 pilapampu, rock wallaby
 pirrapampu, rock wallaby
 narrkunu, wallaroo
 çarrka, kangaroo rat
 iniwaçinka, echidna
 maçaipari, echidna
 narawapari, echidna
 ilimar, echidna
 kanytya, rat
 qinyimala, rat
 karrkuma, mouse
 çalka, bandicoot
 milya çuyuyu, bandicoot
 tinapali, possum
 kaçawarri, possum

piyawaçi, dog
 mayamaya, dog
 malaka, dog
 tyutyu, pup
 kuttyukutyu, pup
 kamula(Eng.), camel
 yaramana, horse
 naratyuarri, donkey
 puliti(Eng.), cow, bullock
 maçkimaçki, sheep
 kaçawarri, rabbit

E - Reptiles

tipaçi, lizard
 maçuna, mountain devil
 murrku, carney (bearded dragon)
 kaçingarra, sandhill goanna
 waçkutya, sand goanna
 maçaunku, plain goanna
 paripara, river goanna
 kaçi, snake
 wama, carpet snake
 kuntaça, snake sp.
 kuçimara, snake sp.
 kaçipityiri, snake sp.
 purrkaça, snake sp.
 kanmari, Mythological Water Snake

F - Birds

paya, bird
 kapaçi, bird
 tinata, bird
 çanparra, nest
 pinytyi, nest
 tyikula, egg
 pampu, egg
 kılka, wing
 taçi, feather
 kawurru, down
 purruna, chick
 warukatyi, emu
 kulparri, emu
 maçaramaru, emu
 maçara, emu feathers
 purralku, brolga
 maçimar, pelican
 çampaçara, pelican
 wantaparra, black ibis
 waçamukali, black ibis
 paçapiliça, spoonbill
 kuntanarri, black shag
 munuwarru, white-necked heron
 wirru, blue crane
 wityipakani, blue crane
 kuti, swan
 taçika, water fowl
 kaçaçura, scrub turkey

parrkamu, scrub turkey
 maṭaṅkuru, plover
 kipulYu, duck
 kipulYu, whistler duck
 ŋkawa(sic), wood duck
 kawa, wood duck
 pilpurru, dove
 munapampu, plain pigeon
 kurrparu, magpie
 kulirikuḷi, peewee
 wakiri, crow
 wakiṭi, crow
 wakaḷa, crow
 tyiritYiri, willy wagtail
 ḷiwa, owl
 waruwira, corella
 yawuwira, corella
 pirriminYtYi, black cockatoo
 kilinYtYa, galah
 ḡilinYtYa, galah
 kilanYtYi, galah
 tyitYitYitYi, budgerigar
 kurriṭala, eaglehawk
 ḡalawira, eaglehawk
 pitYuṭu, kitehawk
 kapaṇi, kitehawk
 piruwalli, kitehawk
 mumaparri, night-hawk
 mumanYini, night-hawk

G - Water Dwellers

kupi, fish
 kaḷYtYikaḷYtYi, catfish
 maṅkala, black bream
 walpara, boney bream
 purrinYtYuṛu, silver bream
 manYtYirimaru, yellow belly
 karrkuṛu, perch
 kalamaru, frog
 ḡiṇuṇu, frog
 tyaralku, big green frog
 ṭuṇanYtYi, lobster
 kuṇṭatYi, lobster
 mulu, crab
 ṭuḷi, mussel
 kurritYa, mussel
 kiṇṭaḷu, shrimp

H - Insects, etc.

ṭuṭu, 'insect'
 ḷiṭa, ant
 maṭi, bullant
 ulu, bee
 ḡaruṅkarri, honey
 marrpaṇṭi, centipede
 muki, fly
 kuninYtYiri, fly

tyiku, maggot
 kuṇṭi, mosquito
 murruḷka, mosquito
 ṭupu, caterpillar
 kapaṛa, witchetty grub
 kalaranḡuyu, 'large grub'
 mupu, 'itchy grub'
 kunamaḷYaru, grub sp.
 kupu, spider
 kata, tick
 nYiḷpa, louse
 piṇṭiḷYa, grasshopper

I - Language, Ceremony etc.

yalu, language
 wani, corroboree, song
 puḷuma, type of corroboree
 kalakurra, type of corroboree
 paḷYtYura, type of corroboree
 wapitYa, initiation corroboree
 kampanmali, paint oneself
 ḡuntamali, paint oneself
 kurimali, paint oneself
 malka, body markings
 ḷiṅkiḷiṅkirri, body markings
 kaṇakuri, circumcise
 mikamarukuri, subincise
 paraṭYakuri, initiate a female
 kalura, totem

J - Human Artefacts

ḡura, camp
 kurrawi, humpy, hut
 wilpi, humpy, hut
 yanku, windbreak
 waḷuwa, windbreak
 ṭinka, grave
 karrukuku, grave
 parriparrri, possessions
 tyira, boomerang
 tyila, boomerang
 pipapurru, boomerang
 makuwaṭa, spear
 itYaṛa, spear
 ḡaṛura, war spear
 wamira, woomera
 ḡaṇṭitYirri, club
 witYaṛitYaṛi, club
 kantikanti, ceremonial club
 kunparra, shield
 ṭiripalimaru, needle
 katampa, 'scissors'
 paṅkupanku, walking stick
 wowo(sic), whirler
 kuṇṭikuṇṭi, curved throwing stick
 toy

walaṇara, curved throwing stick
 toy
 kukuru, digging stick
 warampaṭa, tomahawk
 waramata, tomahawk
 pintapinta, fire drill
 tiratira, fire drill
 kumpaṭa, chisel, adze
 kankari, stone knife
 kuya, ceremonial knife
 kuyi, ceremonial knife
 kuyana, ceremonial knife
 kuntimaru, handle of stone knife
 kunti, 'wax', 'cement'
 maḷi, net
 yaḷpi, net
 yuwana, top cord of emu net
 pintapurru, fish trap
 pitṽa, stick with noose for
 pulling down fruit
 yakuṭa, dilly bag
 piṭipuru, dilly bag
 ṇaḷpa, water bag
 kakila, coolaman
 ṭaka, coolaman
 yuṇa, blanket, clothes
 kaṭṽu, clothes
 ḷilkara, headband
 mirimiri, headband
 paḷipaḷi, 'turban'
 ṭarrkali, 'horns'
 kulpurru, netted head cap
 miḷṽapakani, nose pin
 kamparra, lap-lap
 wiṇi, grass apron
 ṭinaputu, moccasin
 pantipanti, moccasin
 ṭawunu (Eng.), town
 kunti, house
 kakila, car, sulky, buggy
 ṭṽirrkatiṽirrkka, hat
 kapuṭa, hat
 kaṭṽu, clothes
 ṭṽata (Eng.), shirt
 ṭarawaḷi, trousers
 kawunu (Eng.), dress
 ṭupu (Eng.), soap
 ṭipu, money
 miṛriwiṇi, money
 marrki, gun

K - Fire, Water, Food

maka, fire, firewood
 walakaṭi, oven
 miṭa, charcoal
 puṇu, ashes
 paṇatṽi, flame

kuṭu, smoke
 ṇapu, water
 ṭṽinturu, clear water
 ṭyūṇa, dirty water
 miḷṽikamaru, salty water
 paṛipi, river
 kaṭitṽuru, waterhole
 ṇarraṇu, flood
 ṇarrimaṇa, flood
 papulurru, froth
 maḷṭarra, froth
 kaṭi, meat, animal
 yaṇṭurru, vegetable food
 puruṭṽa, sugar
 ṇarunkari, honey
 miḷṽika, salt
 ṭumpaki (Eng.) tobacco
 kaṇa, alcohol

L - Celestial, Weather

waḷka, sun, day
 ṭṽaṇi, moon
 nṽaṇi, moon
 ṭṽipa, moon
 ṭṽinpi, star
 wampanurru, Seven Sisters
 yumulu, night, darkness
 wiḷpi, shade
 kuniyipa, shade
 pala, rain
 kaṇṭa, light rain
 ṭikarra, sky
 paṇṭara, cloud
 kutukutu, mist
 waḷṭirri, dew
 muṇka, thunder
 piḷpa, lightning
 piṇamali, to flash
 ṭurruṇu, wind
 wiriwiri, whirlwind
 malitṽira, cool breeze

M - Geography

mayi, ground, dirt
 kuntiṽa, damp ground
 paṭa, mud
 ṭurka, dust
 miḷṽika, salt
 kurri, red ochre
 parru, yellow ochre
 kukarri, yellow ochre
 kunarri, desert
 wiḷapara, scrub
 ṭakarra, plain
 ṭulkuru, plain
 ṭipu, hill
 mulurru, hilltop

wayirri, sandhill
 ŭipu, stone
 mirriwiŭi, stone
 ŭiŭi, riverbank
 kaŭka, gully
 miŭka, hole
 kaŭtu, hollow
 kanti, antbed

N - Arboreal, etc.

mulka, tree
 kalkuru, log
 ŭawaŭi, hollow log
 murra, stick
 ŭala, bark
 waŭpa, boughs with leaves
 karapati, leaf
 mirrtŭi, leaf
 pukarra, grass
 yarraka, puppa grass
 papa, puppa grass
 yakaparrŭi, button grass
 iŭimarŭu, spinifex
 kaŭŭi, spinifex wax
 kuŭi, pig weed
 iŭi, bindi-eye
 ŭaŭtu, nardoo
 kalumpa, clover
 kalu, reed
 munŭtŭi, flax
 piŭŭa, waterlily
 ŭintama, yam
 maŭaru, seeds of nut grass
 wiŭuka, 'little potatoes'
 mukiri, paddymelon
 piŭŭirri, pituri
 ŭirrapula, pituri
 ŭunku, pituri
 mipi, mistletoe
 kaŭapari, coolibah
 ŭiŭimari, gidyea
 makapari, gidyea
 ŭuruŭu, tea-tree (*Mel.alternifolia*)
 mintiyala, cork tree
 kuyamarra, dogwood
 kumara, carbeen
 waŭukuŭa, whitewood
 kulŭuru, whitewood
 kanaŭkanaŭkalimarŭu, needlebush
 ŭapiŭaŭa, wild orange
 mumpanti, wild orange
 alutŭa(sic), wild banana
 ŭalutŭa, wild banana
 yaŭŭari, 'paw-paw'
 piŭiŭaru, splitjack

O - Nouns of Quality

ŭuruŭu, one
 parrkula, two
 parrkulaŭuru, three
 parrkulaparrkula, four
 ŭaŭŭaŭa, a few
 parri, many
 puŭi, many
 tŭimpa, black, blue
 warrapuŭa, white
 ŭurkapulu, white
 kurrikurri, red
 parruparru, yellow
 kaŭŭirrkka, green
 pantipanti, green
 malkamalka, striped
 miŭŭika, deep
 ŭakarra, shallow
 tŭalatŭala, very shallow
 ŭawaŭi, hollow
 wima, big
 maŭkura, big
 piŭrkili, big
 ŭuyuyu, little
 tŭupuŭu, little
 tŭuwarri, tall, long
 maŭŭaŭi, short
 marra, open
 ŭuta, fat
 paŭŭi, fat
 ŭutawima, fat
 ŭutamaŭkura, fat
 ŭakuwima, fat
 ŭakumaŭkura, fat
 tŭaŭka, thin
 yarra, wide
 warra, wide
 ŭarra(wa), wide
 tŭupuŭu, narrow
 ŭarawa, left hand
 ŭutŭarra, right, true
 maŭumata, wrong
 ŭutŭarra, straight
 kuŭŭiŭiŭi, crooked
 wirrku, crooked
 maŭŭiŭiŭi, warm
 makamaka, hot
 yarawira, hot
 mali, cold
 ŭapuŭapu, wet
 yaŭka, dry
 wiŭarru, hard
 nŭamura, soft (to touch)
 piŭriŭi, soft (of sound)
 paŭŭapaŭŭa, flat
 murrumurru, rough
 nŭiŭiŭiŭiŭiŭi, greasy

turrkaṭurrka, dusty
 mayimayi, dirty
 tʻakitiṭʻakiti, light
 yarrki, light, thin
 muṇṭu, blunt
 pampu wiri, round ('like an egg')
 yalka, empty
 kaṭkawima, fast
 kanʻtʻu, slow
 kaṇukaṇurra, slow
 maṇkamaṇka, slow
 yarri, strong
 ṭanu, weak (ill)
 yampaṭi, sweet
 panʻtʻapanʻtʻa, with taste
 panʻtʻaliyaku, tasteless
 wiyuwima, successful (in hunting)
 wiyuyaka, unsuccessful (in hunting)
 maṇamaṇa, empty-handed
 kuyunu, good
 mayaṭi, good
 maṇa, bad
 ṭawinʻa, bad
 kirri, skilful
 miṇkurri, skilful
 maṭʻtʻarra, eager
 puṭa, eager
 kalka, lively
 tʻalatʻala, confused (cf. very shallow)
 ṭalala, frightened
 yurraṭimaru, ashamed
 yapa, untamed
 ṭaṭa, untamed
 munʻtʻa, docile
 manuwanʻtʻi, angry
 ṭirriwanʻtʻi, angry
 nʻirrinʻirri, angry
 parawaṇku, insane
 piṭpamaṇa, insane
 ṭiwa, jealous
 ṇampamaṇa, sad
 maṇukaṇṭa, sad
 yalaṇu, sorry
 wipiwipi, sulky
 yulka, sulky
 yunku, sulky
 waṭirimaru, lazy
 ṭinimaṇkura, belligerent
 ṭirimaṇkura, belligerent
 ṭiriwima, belligerent
 piṇamaṇara, greedy
 kinikini, mischievous
 kaṇiya, lame
 ṭapu, silent
 wiṇkuru, noisy
 kimpa, alive

kimpa, raw
 kuṭʻa, rotten
 warruwa, rotten
 maṇumaru, with a cold
 yakaṭi, tired
 walirri, tired
 ṇuruṇuru, sleepy
 ṇamaṭʻtʻa(ia), hungry
 puṭila, thirsty
 puna, satiated
 kaṇamaru, drunk
 ṇaramuṇṭu, deaf
 mipa, blind
 liri, same
 yana, similar
 ṇuṇuiri, different

VERBS

P - Motion

kaṇṭa, go
 piṇapuṭi, walk
 paṭi, come
 ṇuṭa, return
 wiṇi, arrive
 ṇanupali, enter
 maṇṭakaṇṭa, enter uninvited
 ṭarri, crawl, creep up
 ṭinpa, run
 miṇṭi, play
 kira, flow
 kira, blow (of wind)
 ṭarri, jump
 itʻa, dance
 wanʻtʻi, get up, arise
 kaṭi, climb
 piṇrpi, descend
 kurra, fall
 pantuṭarrpa, crash down
 wiri, sink
 kaṭiwiri, bathe oneself
 yuṭa, swim
 miṭʻaṇkarri, drown
 ṭinapinʻtʻa, track
 ṇarrka, follow
 maṇṇi, hunt, gather
 wapaṇi, hunt, gather
 wapi, look for
 piṭipa, find
 piṭipamali, meet

Q - Rest, State and Change of State

ṇaṇka, stay, remain, sit
 ṭarrka, stand
 ṭumpa, lie
 muṭʻi, sleep

mapala, camp out
 wiłakana, hide
 puwa, swell
 karamali, coil up
 wakili, shake
 warruwa, smell
 țarri, boil
 pañta, crack
 ɢala, peel
 yañti, burn
 ɢiŋkukana, go out (of fire)
 tʷiɪkuyari, shine
 țarrpali, weigh heavy
 manta, weigh heavy
 ika, be full

R- Induced Position

țarrkala, stand
 pața, hold
 mari, get
 mamaka, grab
 kurrala, drop
 kurralpa, drop
 mațaawi, drop
 mațari, leave behind
 warri, shift
 ɢirra, send
 wampa, shoo
 țuka, take
 mañta, take from
 ɢița, steal
 kukuțuka, carry on back
 inima, carry on shoulder
 kaŋka, bring
 ɢuțanma, bring back
 țapa, push
 kuți, pull
 țawi, throw
 țirrapința, open
 țirramarra, open
 țapukuri, shut
 kuŋma, enclose, hem in
 munʷtʷumunʷtʷukuri, pack up
 waŋkuma, turn
 țunʷtʷikuri, join
 ɢanupa, insert
 kațyirrpa, insert
 țarra, block
 wiłakuri, hide
 ɢarrapa, cover, bury
 warruwa, cover, bury
 paŋtʷikuri, spread
 karra, tie up
 țutʷurukuri, straighten
 țutʷurupa, straighten
 ɢunʷtʷi, give
 ɢunʷtʷimali, swap

palkiŋunʷtʷi, give back
 piŋkiɢurra, divide up
 pinti, count

S - Affect

piți, hit, kill
 kațipaika, hit on the head
 țuwa, hit with missile
 pițimali, fight
 țari, kick
 waŋkuma, swing around
 ɢuli, squeeze
 kațitawi, knock over
 irrka, touch, feel
 ɢuñta, grease
 țurrka, rub
 țurrkamali, wash oneself
 wațyama (Eng.), wash something
 nʷinta, scratch
 mirrinta, scratch
 kuri, cut
 punta, break
 paka, whittle, chisel, dig
 țarrpa, press
 wiri, sharpen, grind
 ținʷtʷa, chop
 palka, split
 kanaŋka, spear, stab
 țarri, spear, stab
 țirrpa, sew
 kanaŋka, knit
 kanaŋka, weave
 țarri, weave
 țankațanika, weave
 țunʷtʷikuri, tie together
 țapa, scoop up
 piirrpa, pour
 piirrpa, pour
 waŋkuma, stir
 tʷiɪlawanika, mix
 miŋkațawi, spill
 țanika, winnow
 țakațawi, winnow
 ɢalapunța, skin
 ɢalawañti, skin
 țuiʷtʷipunța, gut
 watʷi, cook
 yațawa, cook
 țirapa, cook
 țirrkamarukana, cook
 țilu, cook
 ɢanakatʷi, cook
 wałakatʷi, cook
 utʷakuri, overcook
 yañtilla, burn
 wațila, make fire
 puŋka, make fire

ḡiḡkukuri, extinguish

T - Attention

wanti, wait

ḡatvi, see, look at

ḡakuma, see, look at

ḡipa, see, look at

wapa, look for

ḡaḡka, hear, listen to

ḡarawa, hear, listen to

manuwunkukana, forget

ḡarapunka, forget

ḡarapiḡḡa, forget

U - Talking etc. and Emotion

ḡarupali, speak

yanka, tell (news), tell (to do)

kampa, send word to

yaluḡunvtvi, send word to

ḡirrapaḡa, ask

yankamali, converse

irrairramali, argue

kiḡa, call out

paḡa, call (by such-and-such a name)

yarraipa, scold

kara, answer

ḡata, refuse

karrka, shout

wakunpa, bark (of dog)

wiyunḡa, whisper

wiya, laugh

ḡunvtvi, cry

wanka, sing

ḡawa, pretend

paririkana, learn

ḡunvtvinunvtvi, teach

yurraḡiḡarrka, be shy

ḡalaḡarrka, fear

yulkakana, sulk

maḡukaḡa, worry

kiḡvikana, be happy

waḡama, know

pura, urinate

kuna, defecate

kunakira, have diarrhoea

ḡaḡkaḡi, give birth to

kurratiḡakana, be giddy

puluna wanvtvi, itch

paḡkaḡi, ache

karraḡvi, shiver

wiḡḡawanvtvi, sweat

panvtvi, be ill

nḡunukana, be tired

miḡyaḡkarri, drown

itvi, die

W - Adverbial

ḡintupunta, finish

ḡiḡiri, nearly

X - Location

ḡinaḡara, north

wakarra, south

ḡirriwa, east

yuḡa, west

muḡkaḡa, near

warraḡa, far

purruḡa, far

ḡirriḡa, up

kukuina, behind

ḡarkaina, between

muḡuina, inside

ḡakarra, outside

ḡila:rra, over there

ḡuḡuḡuḡpaina, on one side of

yakiḡi ḡalpa, on this side of

yakiḡiḡi kuna:rra, on the other side

Y - Time

ḡuruwaḡka, yesterday

ḡiḡkiḡa(yi)waḡka, today

yarrkaḡarrkaḡi, later today

paḡiḡpaḡa, in the morning (tomorrow)

paḡiḡanvtvi, in the morning (today)

waḡawaḡka, tomorrow

ḡuruwaḡka, tomorrow

ḡanḡaiḡu, tomorrow

miḡikara, all night

ḡankala, later on

parrimaḡa, often

ḡayiḡuru, again

Z - Interjections

kaḡi, right, O.K.

yaḡa, right, O.K.

ḡaḡa, right, O.K.

kiḡvi ḡayi, 'good job'

muḡumaḡukaka, hurry up!

kali, I don't know

V - Corporeal

ḡaḡi, breathe

ḡaḡiḡaḡi, pant

punka, blow

ḡatvi, eat

ḡiḡa, drink

paḡa, bite

punḡa, suck

ḡakanta, swallow

kaḡuluka, cough

kawa, vomit

ḡulukurra, yawn

ḡiḡka, kiss

miḡyawiliḡirikana, grimace

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Map 4:

Gumbaynggir, Yagir and Neighbours

Gumbaynggir

by *Diana Eades*

1. THE LANGUAGE AND ITS SPEAKERS

1.1 LINGUISTIC TYPE

Gumbaynggir was spoken along the north coast of New South Wales between Nambucca Heads and Grafton. (See map for full extent of language territory.) It now has only one fluent speaker and it appears to be at least 50 years since it was a viable form of communication for even a small group of people.

The Gumbaynggir language is entirely suffixing and morphologically fairly simple. It has the following word classes: *nominal*, containing noun, pronoun and demonstrative, *verbal*, containing verb, adverb and locational deictic, *particle* and *interjection*. There is also one universal clitic found only in texts, where it occurs frequently. Word order appears to be free.

There is a small and uncomplicated stock of phonemes consisting of the three basic vowels, with phonemic length on each, and 13 consonants. These are: a nasal and a stop for each of the following points of articulation - bilabial, apico-alveolar, lamino-palatal and dorso-velar; two rhotics - a post-alveolar continuant and an alveolar trill; an apico-alveolar lateral; and laminal and labio-velar semivowels.

There are two classes of nouns, with 'kin and section' nouns differing from 'ordinary nouns' in their case systems, at both syntactic and morphological levels. Pronouns show an inclusive/exclusive distinction in first person dual and plural numbers. Verbs show no conjugational contrast and receive only one suffix (tense) in simple sentences. The tense system appears to distinguish past, present and future. There are seven irregular verbs, six of which appear to have underlying monosyllabic consonant-final stems. Verbalization processes are very productive, while the nominalization process is rarely used.

The language is basically nominative-accusative in syntactic type with a complex realization of syntactic cases. The 'ordinary nouns' and third person pronouns inflect in an ergative-absolutive system. The 'kin and section' nouns and pronouns for 1sg, 2du, 1pl and 2pl have distinct forms for each of the three core syntactic functions: intransitive subject, transitive subject and transitive object. The other pronouns (1du and 2sg) inflect in a nominative-accusative pattern. The language proves an exception to some universal claims about nominal hierarchies.

Sentences can be modified by one or more particles. Locational information is given either by a noun in a local case modifying the head noun, by a locational deictic, by a locational adverb modifying the verb, or by a demonstrative.

The language has a strong tendency to use a fairly straightforward conjoining structure for complex sentences. A purposive construction is used for embedding sentences when the verb in the lower sentence is implicated by the verb in the higher sentence. Relative clauses, which are grammatically more complex, appear to be strongly avoided by the last speakers of the language.

1.2 TRIBAL AND LANGUAGE NAMES

Three (or maybe even four) different dialects of Gumbaynggir have been suggested; but there is little supporting evidence available.

1.2.1 NORTH AND SOUTH. Smythe [1948/9] claims there was a dialectal difference between north and south, mainly in vocabulary and the realization of nominal plurals.

A closer study of Smythe's claim shows that the vocabulary differences are very slight. For a basic 90-word list, there are no words different between Smythe's dialect, and that spoken by Harry Buchanan (my consultant from the south). In his vocabulary list Smythe has several English words which are translated by a different word for the northern and southern speakers of Gumbaynggir. But a closer look at these words shows that 14 out of 33 differ by such features as vowel length, different vowels or different initial stops. It will be shown in 1.6.2 that Smythe is inconsistent and unreliable in these aspects of the sound system of Gumbaynggir. Also the words that differ for north and south by initial /g/ versus initial /g/ do not have /g/ consistently for north or vice versa. A glaring example of the inaccuracies in Smythe's north-south vocabulary distinctions is in the following entry (p.135): "woman" njamm! S, bŭar N'. In fact /nam!/ is 'woman' and /buwa:r/ 'baby'. So, at best, the vocabulary difference between supposed north and south dialects is slight. There appears to have been no difference in phonology.

Perhaps there is a dialectal difference in one area of noun morphology. Smythe says that all words for species of trees and an additional 10 nouns have been found with plural endings. I have found slight evidence (from Harry Buchanan, the southern consultant) of a similar plural ending, but only on five nouns. This may have been a dialectal difference, or else Buchanan may just have been unfamiliar with these plurals. Crowley (1978: Section 5 of chapter 3) gives similar evidence from a Waalubal speaker who 'learnt only a simplified version of the language in which plurals were rarely overtly marked', although 'many nouns originally had a plural'.

With the rest of the grammar there is still only very slight evidence of dialectal distinction. The negative imperative particle is *wana:in* Smythe and *wuna:* from my southern consultant. The 1sg ergative pronoun is *ɲayɖa* in Smythe and *ɲa:ɖa* from my southern consultant. And more convincingly, Smythe's verbs frequently contain a present tense in *-ɖi*, while this form is found only on irregular verbs with my southern consultant. It is interesting that the present tense is *-ɖi* (*~yɖi~ɲɖi*) in Yaygir, the language immediately north of Gumbaynggir (Crowley: this volume 3.4).

From the limited syntactic data in Smythe, we can note a difference in the relative clause construction between the dialect he describes and that spoken by my southern consultant. This difference is discussed in full in 4.2.5. The relative clause construction appears to be more widely used in the dialect Smythe describes and there is possibly a rule determining whether the relative clause affix is applied to the verb or the noun. It also seems possible that there is case agreement on this affix. But in the southern dialect the environment for relative clauses is more limited; the affix appears mainly suffixed to the embedded verb and there appears to be no case agreement on this suffix.

In summary, there was probably some minor dialectal variation between a northern and southern Gumbaynggir which is evidenced in the realization of present tense, the marking of plurals and the use and construction of relative clauses.

1.2.2 BA:NBAY. Several writers over the last 70 years have given Ba:nbay as the name of a dialect or language in the west of the Gumbaynggir region. The only information on Ba:nbay comes from R.H.Mathews' four-page grammar [1903b], and about seven pages in his manuscript book IV, which are mainly notes for the published article. Mathews locates Ba:nbay (which he spells Banbai) at 'Guyra, Ben Lomond, Wollomombi and Kookarabooka' (now spelt Kookabookra).

To compare Ba:nbay with Gumbaynggir we are limited to a small amount of vocabulary and restricted morphology, as Mathews gives no hint of syntactic or phonological processes in Ba:nbay.

Comparing all of Mathews' Ba:nbay vocabulary (from ms. and published work) with that from Harry Buchanan (my Gumbaynggir consultant from Nambucca Heads) we find 74 out of 85 words in common (that is 87%). This difference is not very significant, especially allowing for discrepancies in obtaining equivalents for vocabulary lists in English, and for probable recorders' errors at the beginning of the century.

Taking account of the fact that Mathews often has phonetic inaccuracies in his spelling (1.6.2) his Ba:nbay pronouns appear the same as Gumbaynggir pronouns. The only significant difference in the small amount of noun morphology for Ba:nbay is the genitive case forms. Mathews' eight examples of nouns in this case basically have the ending -gu, which marks the dative (and allative) in Gumbaynggir. Gumbaynggir genitive (on ordinary nouns) is -gundl. Whether this is a genuine dialectal difference it is impossible to tell. The conjugation of verbs, the structure of sentences (verbless, transitive and intransitive) and even the formation of adverbs, all seem, from the brief glimpse in Mathews' Ba:nbay, to parallel Gumbaynggir exactly. Note that the -gi present tense, which appears only on irregular verbs in the southern dialect, seems to be as regular in Ba:nbay as in the northern dialect. It probably alternates freely with the -y present tense.

For a detailed comparison of Mathews' Ba:nbay with Smythe's Gumbaynggir [1948/9] see Hoddinott [1967]. Hoddinott's main informant for Ba:nbay was Frank Archibald of Armidale (formerly from Oban in the Ba:nbay region). Archibald, who is now probably 90 and virtually unable to recall any of his original language, told both Hoddinott and Crowley that his language was Ba:nbay and that it was mutually intelligible with Gumbaynggir. This correlates with Buchanan's statements about Ba:nbay and with the comparison of the limited material of this dialect with Gumbaynggir. From the small amount of vocabulary and simple sentences Hoddinott was able to collect from Archibald over 12 years ago, his dialect seems almost the same as Gumbaynggir. There are a few vocabulary differences and one grammatical difference not noted by Hoddinott, namely the imperative form of the verb, given by Archibald as verb stem + wa. (cf. Gumbaynggir imperative, verb stem or verb stem + la- see 3.4.2).

It thus seems quite likely that the people in the west of the Gumbaynggir region spoke a slightly different dialect, which was known as Ba:nbay. And it was most probably distinct from the dialect of the north, described by Smythe.

1.2.3 GAMBALAMAM. As reported by Crowley [1976:19] there appears to have been yet another name associated with the Gumbaynggir area. Buchanan recalls that the language Gambalamam was spoken on the top of the Dorrigo Plateau (about 80km north west of Nambucca Heads), and says that it was 'almost the same' as Gumbaynggir. This is the only reference we have to this dialect. (Crowley [1976]

mistakenly referred to this dialect as Gamblamang).

This grammar mainly concerns the southern dialect of Gumbaynggir, for which we have the most data.

1.2.4 SPELLINGS. The following are among the different spellings that have been used for the language we are describing:

kombinegherry	Palmer 1884	kumbangar	Nekes and Worms 1953
coombyngura	JCC 1896	gumbaingar	Smythe 1948/9, Capell
coombagoree	McDougall 1899		1963, Hoddinott 1967
coombangree	McDougall 1901		Wurm 1972.
kũmbanggerri	Mathews ms.	kumbainggar	Oates and Oates 1970
koombanggaree	Mathews ms.	kumbaingir	Tindale 1938
kũmbainggerri	Mathews ms, 1903a	kumbainggiri	Ryan 1964, Tindale 1974
kumbainggeri	Mathews 1910		
kumbangera1	Enright 1939		

I have adopted the spelling Gumbaynggir, based on the pronunciation of the speaker I worked with.

1.3 TERRITORY AND NEIGHBOURS

Precise information concerning the extent of the territory of Gumbaynggir and its neighbours is not easy to ascertain, as most of these languages are dead and the descendants of the tribes are now scattered over a wide area, mainly in various towns throughout New South Wales. The information given here comes from reliable published sources, local people and remaining speakers. Harry Buchanan has been the chief consultant in this aspect, as he remembers where the people lived and is not relying on second-hand information from general surveys. Crowley, who consulted with Buchanan among others, has worked on locating languages in the North-East of New South Wales (see Crowley 1976:20; 1978:Map 1). Much of the information contained in our map is drawn from these two maps of Crowley's.

Gumbaynggir was spoken between the Nambucca and Grafton area and extended inland as far as the Great Dividing Range. The thin coastal strip from Coffs Harbour to Evans Head was Yaygir territory. (Note that this is a greater area than that ascribed to Yaygir by Smythe [1948/9], Oates and Oates [1970] and Capell [1963] who restricted the language to the Lower Clarence River). North of the main Gumbaynggir area were the twenty or so closely related dialects of the Bandjalang language. To the west were Yugambal and Nganyaywana, while to the south were Djangadi and Ngamba:. Of these surrounding languages little is known of Ngamba:, Yugambal and Nganyaywana dialects, all of which are now extinct. Djangadi is known from Holmer's outline grammar [1966]. Bandjalang dialects are known mainly from Smythe [1978], Cunningham [1969], Geytenbeek and Geytenbeek [1971] and Crowley [1978]. Information on Yaygir is given in this volume.

Gumbaynggir is much more like Yaygir than any other of its near neighbours. The two languages appear to share about 46% common vocabulary. Yaygir phonology appears similar to Gumbaynggir except that Yaygir has developed a third rhotic, and it also allows word-initial vowels. There are several cognates between the two languages which differ only in the absence of an initial consonant in Yaygir. See Crowley ([1976:45] and 2.3 of this volume) for further comparison. Yaygir and Gumbaynggir have some grammatical similarities and, from our incomplete knowledge of Yaygir, we can see definite correspondences with Gumbaynggir in forms of pronouns, noun case and verb tense suffixes. There is little information on Yaygir complex sentences, but the purposive construction appears to be similar.

Similarities between Gumbaynggir and the Bandjalang dialects are not great. A lexical comparison with the Waalubal dialect around Tabulam reveals only 22% cognate vocabulary. The Bandjalang dialects differ phonologically from Gumbaynggir in having a fourth vowel /e/, and in the lack of the /r/-/ɾ/ contrast in the rhotic. They differ phonetically in the fricative realization of non-apical stops. Bandjalang pronouns are less complex than Gumbaynggir, having no separate dual forms and no inclusive/exclusive distinction for the first person plural. The actual pronominal forms also differ greatly between the two languages. As pointed out by Crowley (1978: Section 4 of chapter 6), Bandjalang is grammatically isolated from its neighbours. This is seen for example in Bandjalang's anti-passive construction and its very complex set of demonstratives.

The Yugambal dialects, for which the sources are very scanty, appear more similar to Nganyaywana and Djangadi than to Gumbaynggir. Yugambal and Gumbaynggir share only 24% common vocabulary on a short basic word list. There are no details available of Yugambal phonology. Gumbaynggir and Yugambal show similarities of form with some pronouns and noun cases.

Gumbaynggir's other neighbour to the west is Nganyaywana, a phonologically aberrant language. Crowley [1976] discusses the drastic phonological changes that have made Nganyaywana look so different from its neighbours. (These diachronic changes include initial syllable reduction, addition of /a/ to stem-final consonant, metathesis and semi-vowel assimilation). Taking all these historical changes into account, we see a lexical cognate score of 19% with Gumbaynggir (on a small basic word list). Grammatically, Gumbaynggir and Nganyaywana are alike in some pronominal and nominal case forms.

Gumbaynggir is not closely related to its main neighbour to the south - Djangadi. The two languages share only about 20% common vocabulary. Although there are phonological similarities, there do not appear to be many significant grammatical similarities. The Djangadi pronominal system is much simpler than that of Gumbaynggir with a straightforward nominative-accusative case system and no inclusive/exclusive distinction in the first person.

Very few of the actual pronominal forms in the two languages are similar. The rest of the grammars of the two languages appear to have very little in common.

There is no information on Ngamba:, except for Buchanan's vivid memories of the location of the tribe and their brutal extermination by black police during his childhood. Buchanan says the Ngamba: language was rather similar to Gumbaynggir. It is not known whether it was a dialect of Gumbaynggir or a separate language.

Similarly we have no recorded information for Ngaku, but Djangadi speakers report that it was a 'heavy dialect' of their language.

1.4 CULTURAL INFORMATION

1.4.1 RECENT INFORMATION. Considering that the language is no longer used, there is quite detailed information available on Gumbaynggir. But we shall see in 1.6 below that this is limited to vocabulary and grammatical description. We really have no idea of the sociolinguistic situation.

Today there are no visible remains of the Gumbaynggir socio-political systems. However, we do have a rather reliable picture of the structure of the former subsection system. It is presented below as recalled for Crowley in 1973 by Harry Buchanan. Apart from spelling differences, it is the same as the system in Mathews (1900b) and McDougall (1900-1)

TABLE 1.1 *Subsection system*

<i>Male</i>		<i>Female</i>
garbu:ŋ	married	wirga:n
wiŋu:ŋ	their children were	wa:ŋgan
maŋu:ŋ	married	wa:ŋgan
wambu:ŋ	their children were	wirga:n
wiŋu:ŋ	married	ga:ŋgan
garbu:ŋ	their children were	guŋa:n
wambu:ŋ	married	guŋa:n
maŋu:ŋ	their children were	ga:ŋgan

It appears that the system has hardly been used this century. Buchanan recalls that the classification of all people into one of these eight 'points of the world', enabled people to travel to different tribes. A Gumbaynggir, when visiting another tribe, would be ascribed family relationships with members of that tribe, based on his equivalent sub-section. Even spouses could be obtained in this way.

The only hint of any avoidance language is the pronoun *nguḁa*: which Buchanan says was 'used instead of *ŋiḁnda*' between brother(s) and sister(s). Buchanan is the only source of this information and he knows nothing further. See 3.3.2.

Again, the only songs which are translatable are from Buchanan. Transcriptions of his two songs are on pp. 345-7. The first of these two songs is in fact a corroboree song and several words are not used outside the song. A few other Gumbaynggir people over the last fifteen years have sung a few songs on tape. However, in each case, neither the singer, nor the recorder, nor the present writer has been able to translate or understand them.

1.4.2 PAST INVESTIGATIONS. Apart from Smythe's grammar of the language [1948/9], there has been no real study of any significance of the Gumbaynggir people, their history, culture or social structure.

The main information of a non-linguistic nature about the Gumbaynggir people is found in three short papers by R.H. Mathews. In 'Initiation Ceremonies of Australian Tribes' (1898), Mathews describes the 'Bürbüng ceremony' of the Gumbaynggir and Djangadi people. 'The Murrawin Ceremony' (1900b) describes the preliminary form of initiation, referred to by Buchanan as *maguwan*. 'The Walloonggurra Ceremony' (1900a) describes yet another ceremony ascribed to the Gumbaynggir people. We have no idea how accurate these articles are as Gumbaynggir people today can recall almost nothing of these tribal ceremonies. It appears that there have been no corroborees at all performed since World War II.

McDougall (1900-1901) has written several very short papers on the 'Manners, Customs and Legends' of the Gumbaynggir. These include paragraphs on fishing, the first fire experienced by Gumbaynggir people and a few short legends. However none of the recent informants has referred to any of these details.

Enright (1939) gives a short Gumbaynggir story in English, and a few general notes on initiation and fishing.

A few recent studies of the North Coast area are worth referring to. McBryde (1974) is an archaeological survey of north-eastern New South Wales (including the Gumbaynggir area). Calley (1959) and Kitaoji (1976) are theses studying aspects of the sociology of the Bandjalang and Djangadi people respectively.

1.5 YESTERDAY AND TODAY

1.5.1 CONTACT HISTORY. Prentis (1972) is an excellent study of the contact history of the Northern Rivers area, which includes Gumbaynggir territory. This section very briefly extracts some of the major factors of the contact history between Gumbaynggir people and colonizing Europeans.

The first meetings between black and white in this area occurred in 1823, when the explorer Oxley discovered the Tweed River. Contact continued over the next 20-30 years with convict-escapees, cedar-getters, squatters (pastoralists) and gold-diggers. By the 1860's the area was opening up for European agriculture, and Aborigines were beginning to be employed. Late in the nineteenth century the Aborigines were being segregated from Europeans, treated paternalistically and evangelized.

'Such factors as geographic isolation, the nature of Aboriginal society and culture, the number, character and ideas of white settlers, the rate of growth and nature of settlement, and government policy, all had their effect on the shape which Aboriginal-European relations took in the Northern Rivers. The Europeans' unspoken assumption was that the Aborigines were not using the land and so they had a right to do so, with little thought of compensation. This fundamental misunderstanding of Aboriginal life was compounded by many other, smaller ones. The degree of hostility and mutual contempt varied greatly throughout the region.

'In general, Aboriginal society was slower to break down in the Northern Rivers than in other regions, and the decline in population was slower also. The main causes of depopulation were European contagious diseases and the consequent undermining of general health; deliberate killings by Europeans were overall of limited significance in this respect.' Prolonged contact with Europeans left the Aborigines by the 1880's as socially isolated and semi-dependent fringe-dwellers, clinging to remnants of their traditional life' (Prentis 1972:iii).

According to Prentis there were about 900 Gumbaynggir people in 1823, and about 496 in 1910. The writer knows of no current statistics but certainly this Northern Rivers area has one of the largest concentrations of Aborigines in NSW today. However, there is so much inter-marriage and movement up and down the coast that there appear to be very few (if any) 'full-blood' Gumbaynggir.

It is probably true to say that only a handful of older people regard themselves as Gumbaynggir. Culturally, the younger generations have been completely assimilated.

1.5.2 PRESENT SITUATION. There is no one alive today speaking Gumbaynggir as a first language. It is probably at least fifty years since it was an effective medium for communication among even a small group of people. There is only one person who has a fluent command of the language. He is Mr. Harry ("Tiger") Buchanan about 80 years old, who is so well known and respected, not only in

Nambucca Heads where he lives, but among many people, black and white, all along the north coast of New South Wales. Buchanan, who has been the most fluent speaker over the past fifteen years, has been able to keep his language alive by using it for prayer, and until recently by talking in his language to *wa:ngi* (his dog). Understandably, because he has no one to converse with regularly, he sometimes finds it hard to recall certain sentence structures and vocabulary. For "Tiger" the traditional stories still live and are a very important part of his faith.

There are a few other people scattered over the Gumbaynggir area who remember some vocabulary and can recall sentences, but they are far from fluent in the language. And there are also a few others reputed to remember words and phrases, some of whom are either unwilling to help or have forgotten the language. The following people, some of whom are now deceased, have all shared their knowledge of Gumbaynggir with the present writer or with Crowley: Ray McDonald, Jane Brown, Frank Archibald, Eddie Buchanan, Benji Buchanan, Victor Briggs, Ivy Smith, Ray Button, Claude Roberts, Della Walker. It appears that the people younger than about 40 years old know no language at all and show no interest in it.

Sadly, Gumbaynggir is yet another Australian language which is dying. It is hoped that this study can help respectfully to preserve what is known of the language of the Gumbaynggir people. Any gaps in the grammar are due to the lack of available data and should in no way suggest that Gumbaynggir lacks the richness and complexity that characterize all human languages.

1.6 PAST LINGUISTIC INVESTIGATIONS

1.6.1 SHORT VOCABULARY LISTS. Most Gumbaynggir vocabulary lists were collected around the turn of the century when the language undoubtedly had many speakers. Unfortunately, these lists are of limited value today because of their phonetic inaccuracies. This problem is illustrated for a few sample words, in Table 1.2 below.

J.C.C. (1896) This list of about eighty words of basic vocabulary is very inaccurate. There is no consistent vowel length although 'ah' sometimes corresponds to /a:/ Sounds which do not occur in English such as initial velar nasal and final palatal nasal have not been uniquely represented. (Examples are in Table 1.2). Final /r/, which again does not occur in English, is written as 'ra'. There is no indication of the rhotic contrast.

A.C. McDougall (1899) McDougall's list is about as long as J.C.C.'s and at least as unreliable phonetically. Again, initial velar nasals, final palatal nasals, final /r/, vowel length and rhotic contrasts are all unaccounted for. The third person plural pronouns (in subject, object and possessive cases) are all translated as *yarang*, which is basically a demonstrative, although it can

sometimes replace a pronoun. (See 3.2.13 and 3.3.6 below).

E. Hargrave (1903) This list of about seventy words is the worst Gumbaynggir source. It is appallingly inaccurate, as best shown with a few examples:

Hargrave		Actual phonemic forms:
crogan	'one'	/galugun/
tuom	'smoke'	/gu:m/
ingee	'to sit down'	/ṇayingi/
piccaninies	'children'	/gunuy(bin)/

W.R. Harper (1897) Of the nineteen words ascribed by Harper to the 'Bellinger River dialect' thirteen are Gumbaynggir words. They are phonetically fairly inaccurate.

E.F.R. (1896) Of the 46 words ascribed by E.F.R. to the 'Tribe near Orara River', probably about thirty six are Gumbaynggir words. The standard of transcription is nearly as bad as that of Hargrave.

E.F.R.		Actual phonemic forms:
mularguha	'lightning'	/marawgay/
gesna	'foot'	/gi:na/
chyne-bora	'man'	/ga:nbar/

E. Palmer (1884) Palmer's list of about 150 words is probably the most phonetically reliable of the early vocabulary lists. Although he had no consistent representation for vowel length or rhotic contrasts, he had accurately transcribed initial velar nasals and final /r/'s. However, his list is still an indication of the unreliability of linguistic data compiled with no real understanding of linguistic techniques. Palmer also has five pronouns, a demonstrative and the conjugation of two verbs:

Palmer		Actual phonemic forms:
kieeng	'to talk'	/gayi/
bindima	'to throw'	/bindayma/

with brief incomplete conjugations.

Palmer's pronouns		Actual phonemic forms:	
ngai	'I'	/ṇaya/	1sg S
eenda	'thou'	/ṇi:nda/	2sg S, A
yurrun or illingitto	'he'	/yaraṇ/	DEM or ?
ngū-ūki	'we'	/ṇiyagay/	1pl exc S
eenda	'you'	/ṇi:nda/	2sg S, A
woomarka	'they'	/wuma:ga/	N 'many'

What is interesting here is Palmer's observation (1883:309) that 'the addition of the syllable "uki" or of "unguki", forms the past tense'. This is presumably the universal clitic -agay added to a verb in past tense. See 4.8 below where this clitic is discussed. Apart from Palmer's brief

TABLE 1.2 *Sample of vocabulary lists*

	ENGLISH	PHONEMIC FORM	J.C.C	McDOUGALL	HARGRAVE
1.	sea	/ga:gal/	cagool	cargul	
2.	night	/ŋu:nmar/	moonmurra	noonmurra	onmutta
3.	ear	/ŋa:lgan/	naalgun	norlgan	nalgun
4.	hair	/ma:ɕa/	mahra	marrar	
5.	mouth	/gala:p/	djellan	chaline	

	HARPER	E.F.R.	PALMER	MATHEWS	SMYTHE	TINDALE
1.	kägul	kerkal	kargul		ga:ɾgal	
2.	unmurra	khoomera		ngunmur	ŋunma:r	
3.		knarlgan	ngarlgan	ngalgan	ŋalgan	['ŋa:lgan]
4.		marka	marrah		ma:ra	['ma:ra]
5.		deltyn		dhullan*	djala:nj	['tɔlainj]

*in Mathews' ms. this is transcribed much more accurately as dyallaŋ.

reference here, the only examples of -agay are in Buchanan's texts on tape and the manuscripts of Laves' texts.

N. Tindale (unpublished vocabulary 1938) Tindale's vocabulary of about 55 words was compiled some 30-40 years after the other lists discussed above. It has a far greater phonetic accuracy with initial velars, vowel length and some final /r/'s shown correctly.

Nekes and Worms (1953) Nekes and Worms' study, which is mainly concerned with languages of Western Australia, also includes eleven Gumbaynggir words, which, apart from the lack of vowel length distinctions, are reasonably accurately transcribed.

Table 1.2 gives an indication of the extent of inadequacy of the sources. It also shows how people with no phonetic script used English to transcribe a very different language. A few sample words were chosen to illustrate such features of Gumbaynggir words as vowel length, initial /ŋ/, final /p/, medial /ɕ/, and final /r/.

1.6.2 GRAMMATICAL STUDIES

[i] *R. H. Mathews (1903a, 1910, unpublished manuscripts)*

Mathews has published a brief grammatical sketch of Gumbaynggir, which is very similar in organisation to his articles on many other New South Wales languages. (See for example Mathews: 1901a, 1901b, 1902). Note that the 1903 article, written in German, appears to be essentially equivalent to the 1910 article in English.

As with his studies of other languages, Mathews' Gumbaynggir article begins with short notes on the sound system, entitled 'Orthography'. He makes significant comments on the articulatory and phonotactic properties of several sounds. This includes a description of the palatal and velar nasals. The dental sounds 'dh' and 'nh'

are also described, but in fact they do not occur in Gumbaynggir, even phonetically. As one would expect with such an early study, Mathews gives no indication of the phonemic patterning of sounds.

The rest of the grammar is very sparse and written according to Indo-European-type categories, several of which are not relevant to Gumbaynggir, such as gender, adjectives and prepositions. No mention is made of the split case system for nouns and pronouns (see 3.2.2 and 3.3.4 below), the processes of nominalization and verbalization (3.2.10 and 3.4.6 below), the class of irregular verbs (3.4.4 below), or derived adverbs (3.4.7 below). The article contains very few examples, and no text material at all. There is no indication of complex sentence structures, such as conjoining, relative clauses or purposives (4.2 below).

Perhaps the most useful contribution of Mathews' grammar is its 300-word vocabulary list. However, it is fraught with phonetic problems, in addition to many inaccuracies. Examples are in Table 1.2, and:

Mathews:		Actual Phonemic forms:	
ngunmara	'darkness'	/ŋu:nmar/	
ngunmur	'night'		
warriwai	'west wind'	/wari:way/	'go east-PRES'
gabuwai	'east wind'	/ga:baway/	'go west-PRES'
tyanggora	'leaves'	/dangu:r/	

Mathews' manuscript books II and VII contain a total of 27 pages of handwritten notes on Gumbaynggir. These were obviously the notes on which his published work was based. They contain several pronoun and verb paradigms and a lot of vocabulary, and include a draft of the published article (in English).

Mathews' brief Ba:nbay data is discussed in 1.2.2 above.

[ii] W. E. Smythe 1948/9. Smythe's grammar of about 150 pages is not only much longer than any other written Gumbaynggir source, but it is also much more reliable, detailed and accurate. However, it is beset with problems at all levels. One of the most basic problems is due to the fact that Smythe had no real understanding of phonological theory. He lists a confusing array of 21 consonants, 16 vowels and 9 diphthongs. Not only does this make the vocabulary unmanageable, but it also complicates tremendously the phonotactics and many aspects of morphology, such as verb conjugations. Throughout his work, vowel length is terribly inconsistent.

The grammar is written in terms of typical Indo-European categories although Smythe does state (p.19): 'Not one of the parts of speech found in this language is exactly equivalent to anything in English'. However, several of Smythe's categories are unnecessary - for example gender (p.22) or prepositions (p.59) - or overlapping - for example adverbs (p.57-9), which are mainly particles, and include some nouns. A classic example of Smythe's morphological categories is his description

of possessive pronouns (p.33): 'the pronominal oblique derived adjectives are, of course, the possessive adjectives'.

Perhaps the best features of Smythe's morphology are the pronoun charts (p.37-9) and the description of noun case functions (p.25-6). In both these aspects, we see the best of Smythe's systematic and detailed analysis. Two insights worth pointing to are that of the morphological relation between inclusive and exclusive pronouns (p.36-7) and that of the connection between pronouns and 'proper' nouns (p.37).

The worst aspects of Smythe's morphology are undoubtedly his verb conjugations (p.47-57) and noun declensions (p.29-32). In both areas, the phonetic problems have disguised phonological groupings, and also led to erroneous classifications. Smythe has failed to realize that apart from a small group of irregular verbs and nouns, both conjugations and declensions are regular. So Smythe's eight conjugation classes in fact represent one conjugation class and a small group of (seven) irregular verbs.

The nine declension classes for common nouns are both extremely repetitious for several cases, and confusingly irregular in membership. Smythe was obviously unaware that noun cases are, on the whole, regularly suffixed. There are areas of irregularity, mainly the ergative/locative suffixes following a short vowel or semi-vowel, and a small group of nouns with irregular ablative and/or allative (see 3.2.6 and 3.2.7 below).

Firstly then, Smythe's declension tables could have been simplified greatly by separating the small areas of irregularity from the main regular case suffixes. Secondly, Smythe's cross-referencing on nouns in the vocabulary list to the declension table is inconsistent. For example, the third declension is said to comprise 'words ending in -nj'. The example given is *gi:danj* 'moon', which, in the vocabulary, is listed as belonging to the second declension. In fact no words in the vocabulary are listed as third declension.

The fourth and fifth declensions comprise words ending in -m and -ŋ respectively, and Smythe lists correct case suffixes. However, there is no hint of the regularity of these correspondences, and the fact that the only difference between the two declensions is in the homorganic stop of the ergative and locative cases. In a similar way, Smythe misses the relation of declensions four and five to declension two. This (second) declension basically contains words ending in -nj (and also some irregular vowel-final nouns). But one of the examples given is phonetically mis-spelt and so appears to end in -n. This is 'sandfly' *gi:n* (which from its conjugation should undoubtedly be *gi:n* cf. 'ant'). The main problem at the basis of the conjugation classes is caused by phonetic inaccuracies. The example just quoted is only one of many.

As recently as 1969, this grammar of Smythe's was described as 'the only published description of an Australian language [with] an adequate section on syntax'

(Dixon 1969:35). Certainly some aspects of 'Part 4. Syntax' are still impressive, in particular the sections on word order (p.67-9), verbless sentences (p.70), reflexives and reciprocals (p.74). Although there are problems with his analyses of complex sentences, his introduction reveals a significant understanding of the language (even though stated in reference to English).

For example: 'In Gumbáinggar, complex sentences containing dependent clauses are not used with the same frequency that they are in English. Gumbáinggar on the whole prefers a series of principal clauses, joined by conjunctions, or merely related by tone of voice ... The means of building up complex sentences are there, but the average speaker does not bother with them and prefers to resolve complex sentences into a series of principal clauses' (p.75-6). (Refer also to 4.2.1 and 4.2.5 of this grammar.)

But his treatment of temporal, conditional and relative clauses is confusingly mixed and he has failed to see the syntactic and semantic differences involved (see 4.2.3-4.2.5 below). His discussion of relative clauses is also considerably weakened by the very limited and repetitious examples. (For a full discussion of Smythe's relative clauses see Eades, forthcoming).

Smythe's vocabulary list is impressive in its length (30 pages), but frustrating in its phonetic inaccuracies, frequently erroneous discrepancies between north and south (see 1.2.1 above), and mistaken information. Examples are in table 1.2 and:

Smythe:	Actual phonemic forms:
'big' bafwai N and S	
ba:fwei S	/barway/
'beach' gi:duɹ	/gidu:r/
'faeces' gu:ŋa	/gu:na/
'west' wari	/ga:ba/
'east' ga:bau	/wari:/

Following the grammar are 344 illustrative sentences, each including interlinear gloss, and 9 short texts, more than half of which are only a few lines long. Both the sentences and the texts provide further examples of vocabulary, and grammar, but they tend to be rather repetitious.

There are a few features of Gumbaynggir mentioned in Smythe's grammar that I have never encountered. These are: lengthened consonants (p.7), the comparative suffixes of 'adjectives' (p.35), gi:aŋ with possessives (p.40), the interrogative particle ma:nji (p.70) and the agent verbal noun suffix -gír (p.77).

1.6.3 RECENT FIELDWORK. The tape archives at the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies contain several tape recordings which include at least a little Gumbaynggir language. The main tapes are by:

Nils Holmer (1964) eliciting about thirty words of basic vocabulary from an unnamed informant.

Barbara Gibbons (1966) eliciting about fifty words of basic vocabulary and ten fluent simple phrases from Les Nixon.

Ian Sim (1966-67) eliciting a short basic vocabulary from Harry Kelly. Kelly also tells a few very short but fluent texts.

John Gordon (1968) recording four short songs from two different informants, one of whom is Fred Laurie. The songs are said to be in Gumbaynggir but their meaning is not known. Harry Buchanan also sings two songs (the same as sung for the present writer and transcribed on pp. 345-7).

Janet Bolt (1966) recording two corroboree songs, from two different informants, one of whom is Paddy Callaghan. Again the songs are said to be in Gumbaynggir but their meaning is not known.

W.G. Hoddinott recorded at least six tapes in the 1960's with many people who could remember some Gumbaynggir in varying degrees of fluency. These tapes have provided a little supporting vocabulary and further examples of basic grammatical structure. Unfortunately, Hoddinott has not recorded unelicited material such as texts.

1.6.4 SOURCES FOR THIS STUDY. Terry Crowley (1973) recorded three tapes of Gumbaynggir, mainly with Harry Buchanan. His tapes include elicited sentences on virtually all grammatical structures and several texts. Crowley's recordings have made a significant contribution to the writer's Gumbaynggir corpus.

The present writer has spent a total of about ten weeks (spread over a period of three years, 1974-6) fieldwork on Gumbaynggir, again mainly with Buchanan. Tapes from these field trips contain several texts and elicited sentences on all possible grammatical structures. Fieldnotes and tapes from the writer's fieldwork form the bulk of the corpus of this work.

Copies of all Gumbaynggir tapes recorded by Crowley and the writer are also available at the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies.

1.6.5 MISCELLANEOUS

Gerhardt Laves (1929) transcribed two Gumbaynggir texts. They have never been published, but are in the AIAS library, annotated by the present writer. The first manuscript (which is typed) is 12 pages long, the second (which is untyped) is about 40 pages. These texts are useful additions to the Gumbaynggir corpus. Phonetically they are fairly accurate, but the typed text has no indication of vowel length. Both texts are told as dialogues and they are very repetitious. However, they contain good examples of various grammatical constructions. They are also interesting ethnographically and are much more detailed than the texts told for the present writer by Buchanan.

J.S. Ryan (1964) is a survey of some aboriginal place names in the New South Wales mid-north coast and adjacent inland areas. It is not very useful to a study of Gumbaynggir as it mainly repeats inaccurate information from older sources. Hence it contains many significant phonetic/phonological spelling errors. The following is just one example of a blatant error in information:

'Buck-/Bu- ... indicate "water" as an element in place names. Bucca Bucca (near Nambucca) is also said to mean "crooked creek".'

However Buchanan's unquestionable explanation is that bagabaga refers to the knee (baga) of Birugan (the mythical hero) which landed at present-day Nambucca when he was slain.

CHAPTER 2 PHONOLOGY

2.1 PHONEMES AND THEIR REALIZATIONS

Gumbaynggir has the following phonemes:

Consonants

	Bilabial	Apico-Alveolar	Lamino-Palatal	Dorso-Velar
stop	b	d	ɟ	g
nasal	m	n	ɲ	ŋ
lateral		l		

Alveolar trill rhotic r
 Post-alveolar continuant rhotic ɾ
 Labio-velar semivowel w
 Laminal semivowel y

Vowels

Front	Back
i, i:	u, u: High
a, a:	Low

2.1.1 STOPS AND NASALS. The distribution of voicing in Gumbaynggir is quite unusual. The *stops* are usually voiced, though they are sometimes voiceless intervocalically /ga:bi/, [ga:bi, ga:pi] 'wallaby'.

There are only two words with voiceless initial stop. They are (1) a word borrowed directly from English: /di:/, [ti:] 'tea'; and (2) an interjection: /kalaŋ/, [kalaŋ] 'gee'.

Word initially the *nasal* phonemes are realized as simple nasals, but elsewhere they can occur with pre-stopping:

/nami/	[nami, na ^b mi]	'woman'
/guruwin/	[guruwin, guruwi ^d ɲ]	'whiting'
/ganay/	[ganay, ga ^d nay]	'yamstick'
/gawngan/	[gawngan, gaw ^g ŋgan]	name of mythical heroine

2.1.2 LATERAL AND RHOTICS. The *lateral* is sometimes prestopped intervocalically, but like the nasals there is free variation between the prestopped and the non-prestopped form. e.g. /gi:li/, [gi:li]~[gi:^dli] 'now'.

/ɭ/ is a *post-alveolar continuant* and /r/ is usually realized as an *alveolar trill*. This distinction is illustrated in the minimal pair:

/ga:ɭa/ 'cloud', /ga:ra/ 'horse'

Word medially between most vowels, /r/ and /l/ appear sometimes to have overlapping realizations, and both are frequently realized as a retroflex flap. This archiphoneme is represented phonetically as [d] and its alternation with [r] and [l] is illustrated in a few sample words.

/ma:ra/	[ma:ra]~[ma:ɖa]	'hand'
/mulur/	[mulur]~[muɖur]	'red'
/galugun/	[galugun]~[gaɖugun]	'one'
/-gari/	[-gari]~[-gaɖi]	'having' affix

The environment for this optional overlap in realizations appears to be word medially between all vowels except /i(:)/ and /i(:)/. So we have the minimal pair:

/gi:li/ 'now' (Time particle); /gi:ri/ 'sharpen-PRES/IMP'

Between other vowels, the alterations [r]~[d] or [l]~[d] are found in many words. For most words, the underlying phonemic representation is unambiguous because both phonetic alternants have been given. However, for a very small number of words there is no clear evidence whether the consonant in question is /r/ or /l/. But if these words had been elicited more frequently, either [r] or [l] would have been heard in some instances of each word. However, as these two phonemes do not contrast in this environment, it does not matter which phonemic symbol is used. We could in fact use /R/ or /L/ to represent this archiphoneme, but it is not useful anywhere else in the grammar, so either /r/ or /l/ is used.

It is interesting that this overlap has confused Laves and Smythe. For example Laves gives both *miñara* and *miñala* for 'why'? Smythe gives *muɭu:f* for 'blood' and *mu:ru* for 'red', whereas *mulur* is actually 'blood', and by extension, also 'red'. And Hoddinott (1967:59) says 'Mathews ... tends to write 'r' for 'l' medially'. If we look at the phonotactic patterning of /r/, /l/ and /ɭ/ it seems that the language only contrasts two (or less than two) of these three sounds in each environment. None of the three consonants can occur word-initially or as the second member of a consonant cluster, (except for the English borrowing *bawruŋ* 'Bowraville'). Only /r/ and /l/ can occur word finally or as the first member of a consonant cluster. In fact /ɭ/ has a very low functional load. It occurs in roots only and is not found in any pronouns or grammatical suffixes. It can occur only intervocalically and is attested between most pairs of vowels but *not* between /i(:)/ and /i(:)/.

It is possible that neutralization of the distinction between /r/ and /l/ word medially between all vowels except /i(:)/ and /i(:)/ has developed to promote a pattern of no more than two contrasts between /r/, /l/ and /ɹ/. In this environment then, the contrast is between /ɹ/ and the archiphoneme representing the overlap between /r/ and /l/. Note that we have, for example

ga:ɹa 'cloud', ga:ra 'horse', but no *ga:la

But this gap, and the lack of any words containing /ɹ/ between /i(:)/ and /i(:)/, could in fact reflect the limitations of the small lexicon, rather than being a feature of the language.

Theoretically, we could reduce these three units /l/, /r/ and /ɹ/ to two phonemes. The first would be realized as /l/ word finally, as first member of a -CC-, and between /i(:)/ and /i(:)/; it would be realized as either /l/ or /r/ in other intervocalic positions. The second phoneme would be realized as /r/ word-finally, as first member of a -CC-, and between /i(:)/ and /i(:)/; in other intervocalic positions, this second phoneme would be realized as /ɹ/.

However this abstract solution is considered to be inappropriate for three main reasons. Phonetically, it would not be a realistic reflection of these sounds. Also, as pointed out above, we might find more contrasts if we had a fuller vocabulary of the language. And thirdly, it would not adequately describe the correspondence between Gumbaynggir and other Australian languages, which usually distinguish at least /l/-/r/-/ɹ/. (See for example Yaygir (Crowley 2.1 in this volume) which distinguishes /l/-/r/-/ɹ/-/ɹ/. Yaygir /ɹ/ corresponds to Gumbaynggir /ɹ/.)

2.1.3 SEMIVOWELS AND VOWELS. The *semivowels* /y/ and /w/ are often not pronounced word initially before /i/ and /u/ respectively; with the following two words the initial semivowel is in fact rarely articulated.

/yila:/	[ila:]~[yila:]	'here' (LOC DEIC)
/wuma:ga/	[uma:ga]~[wuma:ga]	'many'

Vowel length is phonemic, as is illustrated in the following minimal and near-minimal pairs:

yaraŋ	'this, here' (DEM)	yara:ŋ	'go-PAST'
gani	'tie-IMP'	gadi:	'drown-IMP'
nuŋu:	'kangaroo'	mu:pu	'louse'

A long vowel can occur in either first or second syllable (see below for details of distribution). Each word contains no more than one long vowel. It appears that compounds of two words which each contain a long vowel can retain both long vowels; the only example is gu:wami:-lar 'Smoky Cape' (cf gu:wa 'fog', mi:lar 'cave').

The vowel /u/ appears to have comparatively little phonetic variation, and is realized as a high back rounded vowel.

/a/ is a mid low unrounded vowel, but its realization varies considerably in some environments.

Adjacent to a laminal, especially /y/, /a/ tends to assimilate by becoming more high and more front, and is realized as [ɛ], sometimes [e]:

/biyagay/	[byɛgɛy]	'not' (PART)
/gagandila/	[gagandila]~[gagandɛla]	'stand-IMP'
/ŋiya:pa/	[ŋyɛpa]	'1pl inc-O'

Adjacent to /w/, /a/ tends to assimilate by becoming more high and more back and is realized as [ɔ]:

/gawnggan/	[gɔwnggan]~[gawnggan]	'pretty'
/waranwaran/	[wɔranwɔran]~[waranwaran]	'battleaxe'
/wagin/	[wɔgin]	'completely (PART)'

Word finally before /r/, /l/, /n/ and /ŋ/, the vowels /i/ and /a/ tend to be centralized and thus difficult to distinguish.

/gapa:mbil/	[gapa:mbəl]~[gapa:mbil]	'nose'
/ga:gal/	[ga:gəl]~[ga:gal]	'sea'
/gumbaynggir/	[gumbaynggər]~[gumbaynggir]	'Gumbaynggir'
/guruwal/	[guruwəl]~[guruwal]	'tailor fish'

The allophonic variation of /i/ and /a/ is restricted largely to the short varieties of these vowels.

2.2 PHONOTACTICS

As with the phonemic inventory, the phonotactic system of Gumbaynggir is fairly 'normal' for an Australian language. (see 4.6 of Editors' Introduction).

In this section the phonotactics of Gumbaynggir is illustrated with several numerical tables. In each case, these figures are based on a dictionary count of all roots (no derived verbs, adverbs etc. are included).

2.2.1 SYLLABLE STRUCTURE. Gumbaynggir syllable structure is CV(:)(C). Roots vary from one to five syllables in length:

1 syllable	20 roots	4 syllables	20 roots
2 syllables	314 roots	5 syllables	2 roots
3 syllables	117 roots		

The monosyllables include:

- 6 irregular verbs (see 3.4.4)
- 1 English-borrowed noun, di: 'tea'
- 9 nouns, all of the structure, CV:C
- 1 particle, waw 'also'
- 1 demonstrative, ya:m 'here', 'this'
- 2 interjections, ŋi: 'yes' and bu: 'go on!'

Monosyllabic words all contain a long vowel, or have a syllable-final consonant, or both.

Like many other Australian languages Gumbaynggir has a very large proportion of word roots either disyllabic or trisyllabic.

The 20 quadrisyllabic roots comprise:

TABLE 2.1 Occurrence of consonants

Word initial	b	m	d	n	g	ɲ	g	ŋ		y	w
Word final		m		n		ɲ		ŋ	l	r	w*
i(:)-i(:)	b	m	d	n	g	ɲ	g	ŋ	l	r	w
Elsewhere between vowels	b	m	d	n	g	ɲ	g	ŋ	R**	ɕ y	w
First member of CC-		m		n		ɲ		ŋ	l	r	w
Second member of -CC-	b	m*	d		g	ɲ*		ŋ*		r*	w*

* very rarely (see below)

**R is an archiphoneme covering /r/ and /l/ - see 2.1.2

[a] five names of trees which end in the syllable -ga; this was probably earlier a detachable suffix (see 3.2.12).

[b] three words with inherent reduplication:

galagala Reciprocal particle (see 4.1.6)

bagabaga 'Nambucca'

waranwaran 'battleaxe'

[c] two words which appear to be compounds:

gu:wami:lar 'Smoky Cape' cf gu:wa 'fog', mi:lar 'cave'

wigirgagi 'cannibal' cf wigi:r 'meat',

ga:gi 'initiation ceremony'

[d] ten words for which no morphological analysis can be provided.

The two five-syllabled words comprise one verb which may be a derived form (however, it is the only instance of such a suffix, so this word is actually included as a verb root) - ginangubala 'kick', cf gi:na 'foot'. And a place name yariyapini, 'Yarihapini mountain'. (Buchanan thinks this word might have originated in Djangadi where yari means 'koala'.)

Suffixes are usually of one or two syllables and there is very little combination of suffixes. Hence most inflected words are three to five syllables long. One of the longest inflected words encountered is:

wigirgagi-gundi-ya (ŋuɕa:la)
cannibal-GEN-LOC (camp-LOC)

The occurrence of long vowels in roots of two and three syllables is as follows:

No. of syllables	Final Segment	Long vowel in first syllable	Long vowel in second syllable
2	C	52	57
2	V	74	23
3	C	3	18
3	V	5	18

TABLE 2.2 - *Initial segments*

followed by	initial consonant										Total
	b	d	g	g	m	n	ɲ	ŋ	w	y	
a	24	4	27	51	13	2	3	16	21	7	168
a:	11	7	8	15	6	1	2	8	15	3	76
i	19		6	9	4			1	6	4	49
i:	2	3	3	5	5	4	1	2	3	3	31
u	21	7	16	39	11	1		3	7	5	110
u:	7	3	7	9	4		1	5	2	1	39
Total	84	24	67	128	43	8	7	35	54	23	473

As stated above (2.1.3), there are no long vowels in third syllable position. In words of more than three syllables, there are almost no long vowels. The only instances are:

wuru:naga 'salt water oak tree'
 bura:badi 'arrive'
 gu:wami:lar 'Smoky Cape' (see above)

See 2.4 below for details of vowel length shift.

2.2.2 OCCURRENCE OF PHONEMES. Table 2.1 summarizes consonantal phonotactics. Vowels can occur word medially or word finally. There are no vowel clusters.

[i] *Word-initially*. Table 2.2 shows the distribution of initial segments of roots in the vocabulary list.

One of the most striking features shown by this table is the infrequent occurrence of initial syllables containing i(:)- only 17% of total (51% have a(:), 32% have u(:)).

The most frequently occurring initial consonants are /g, b, ɟ, w, and m/.

There are certain instances of most frequently combining consonants and vowels being similar in articulatory nature e.g. ba, ga, gu. However, it is not a very strong tendency and not as noticeable as in other Australian languages (see, for example, Eades [1976a:36] on Dharawal and Dhurga).

[ii] *Word-finally*. We show below the distribution of final segments of word roots in the vocabulary list. Verbs are not included in this table as, apart from the irregular verbs, they all end in either a(:) or i(:) (see table 3.7 in 3.4.1).

				total
a	72	a:	7	79
i	36	i:	5	41
u	15	u:	7	22
<u>123</u>			<u>19</u>	<u>142</u>

m	26	r	64
n	52	l	15
ɲ	28	y	26
ŋ	19	w	5

Total consonants 235

The five words which have final /w/ are:

biraw	N	'north'	gu:ɟulaw	Part 'yesterday'
gambaw	N	'kidney'	waw	Part 'also'
galumbaw	Part 'a long time ago'			

[iii] *Word-medially*. There is almost no restriction on vowels, semivowels or consonants occurring medially outside clusters. As described above (2.1.2) there appears to be no distinction between /r/ and /l/ word medially between vowels, except between /i(:)/ and /i(:)/.

Clusters of two consonants are quite frequent word medially. There are no phonemic consonant clusters word finally or word initially. However phonetic consonant clusters do appear word initially as a result of stress rules (see 2.3 below). Consonant clusters which have been found intramorphemically are (those marked * have been encountered in only one root):

mb			mg			mŋ*
nb	nd	ng	ng	nm		
ɲb*		ɲg	ɲg*	ɲm*		
			ŋg			
lb		lg	lg	lm*	lp*	lw*
rb		rg	rg	rm		rw
yɲb*			yg	ym*		yw*
			wg			

(The cluster /wr/ is also found in the word bawruŋ 'Bowra-ville', which is probably a direct English borrowing).

Clusters of homorganic nasal plus stop i.e. /mb, nd, ng, ɲg/ are the most frequently occurring, followed by non-nasal continuant plus velar stop. There are no homorganic lateral-stop or lateral-nasal clusters found in the data.

There are very few clusters of three consonants intramorphemically. The only examples consist of a semivowel followed by velar nasal plus homorganic stop:

gawŋgan	'mythical heroine, pretty'
gumbayŋgir	'Gumbaynggir language, people'
bulayŋgun	'blanket' (English borrowing)

Consonant clusters intermorphemically do not vary much from the intramorphemic clusters. All verb roots are vowel final, so most of the consonant clusters across morpheme boundaries involve nominal affixes or verbalizers attached to nouns. Most nominal affixes begin with /b/ or /g/ and the clusters involving /Cɲ/ are produced by the ablative case. Most verbalizers involve the addition of a segment beginning with a homorganic stop to a word final nasal.

The consonant clusters encountered intermorphemically are:

mb		mg	mp
nb	nd	ng	np
pb		pg	
qb		qg	qp
lb		lg	lp
rb		rg	
yb	yg	yg	yp
wb		wg	yq

The only cluster of three consonants found intermorphemically consists (as intramorphemically) of a semivowel followed by nasal plus homorganic stop: ymb.

There are no clusters of geminate consonants. Where the same consonant ends a stem and begins a following affix one of the occurrences is deleted e.g. wa:gay, 'fire' plus -yu 'ERG': wa:gayu; gi:biɲ 'bird' plus -ɲar 'ABL': gi:biɲar.

2.3 STRESS

In Gumbaynggir words, the stress falls on

[1] a long vowel

[2] (or if there is no long vowel) a syllable-final vowel plus semivowel cluster. (If there are two such sequences in a word, stress occurs on the first.)

[3] (or if neither of the above applies) on the first vowel, with the exception that in a word of three or more syllables one of the middle vowels may receive stress.

The pattern is shown in the following examples:

mí:mi	'mother'	námi	'woman'
gálí:	'ldu inc S,A'	galú:ngir	'clever man'
gamáy	'spear'	gáliwan	'jewfish'
gáwgan	'shield'	gálugun~galúgun	'one'
má:nay	'take-PRES'		

However there is a strong tendency for the initial vowel to be deleted and the second syllable stressed in a word with the initial syllable either /Cuw/ or /Ciy/:

/buwa:r/	[bwá:r]	'baby'
/giyaɲari/	[gyéɲari]	'schnapper'

2.4 VOWEL LENGTH

Vowel length is phonemic, but there is a global rule which shifts vowel length in certain environments. This rule, which is expressed below in three parts, applies only to nouns inflected with non-zero case forms. The pronouns are not regularly derived or declined and have no regular morphophonemic processes. Vowel length in the verb and other (minor) parts of speech is generally consistent, (with the exception of irregular verbs discussed in 3.4.4). But see discussion at 3.4.6 for the occasional deletion of vowel length with the addition of a verbalizer.

This global rule affecting vowel length on nouns is crucial to the discussion of noun cases in 3.2.6. The rule is explained below and summarized using standard conventions for syllable structure.

With the addition of non-zero case forms to nouns, the following changes affect the noun stem:

[a] In a disyllabic word which has the first vowel long and ends in a vowel, *vowel length is obligatorily moved from the first to the second vowel* e.g.

'dog' wa:ŋgi 'S,O form', wɑŋgi:gu 'DAT'
'black' gu:ɕu 'S,O form', guɕu:la 'LOC'

That is CV:(C)CV → CV(C)CV: + non-zero case form.

[b] In a disyllabic, vowel final word which has no long vowel, *there is a tendency for the second vowel to be lengthened* e.g.

'woman' nɑmi 'S,O form', nɑmi:paɾ~nɑmipaɾ 'ABL'

That is CV(C)CV tends → CV(C)CV: + non-zero case form.

[c] *Vowel length does not shift under any other circumstances.* All other noun stems are unaffected by vowel length shift. That is, there is no change of vowel length on the addition of non-zero case forms to any trisyllabic stem, any disyllabic consonant final stem, or any disyllabic vowel final stem which has the second vowel long.

e.g. 'kangaroo'	nʉŋu:	'S,O-Form'	nʉŋu:du	ERG
'man'	ni:gar	"	ni:gargundi	GEN
'noise'	buɕa:l	"	buɕa:lu	ERG
'territory'	gagun	"	gagunda	LOC
'two'	bulari	"	bularigu	DAT
'Woolgoolga'	wi:gułga	"	wi:gułgagu	ALL
'oak tree'	gala:mga	"	gala:mgala	LOC
'short'	galigam	"	galigambu	ERG
'fig'	gu:liyam	"	gu:liyampar	ABL
'tongue'	gapa:mbil	"	gapa:mbilu	ERG

Vowel length shift obviously cannot affect monosyllables. And long vowels do not occur in noun stems of more than three syllables, or in any syllable apart from the first or second (see 2.2.1).

It appears that the kin and section nouns mi:mi 'mother'; and ba:ba 'father' are not affected by this global rule. (Apart from ba:i 'father', which is rarely used and not found in inflected form, these two nouns are the only kin and section nouns of the structure CV:CV.)

The following examples illustrate the use of the vowel length shift global rule to a noun inflected for case, and to this case-inflected form when adverbialized. However the verbalized form of the noun root (which naturally has no case inflection) does not undergo vowel length shift.

'camp' - ɲu:ɕa 'S,O-form', ɲuɕa:la 'LOC',
 ɲuɕa:lami 'to camp', ɲu:ɕamba 'make camp'
 camp-LOC-ADVLSR camp-VLSR

2.5 REDUPLICATION

There is slight evidence that Gumbaynggir like 'most if not all Australian languages' makes 'some use of reduplication' (Editors' Introduction). As there are so few reduplicated forms in the corpus, each form will be treated here, rather than separately in both noun and verb morphology sections. In each example, it is the first two syllables which are repeated.

[1] *ŋa:la* N 'side' when reduplicated, is given a type of plural meaning: *ŋa:laŋa:la* 'on each side'.

[2] *mulur* N 'blood', 'red', when reduplicated is given a less definite meaning: *mulurmulur* 'reddish-brown'.

[3] *waŋuwa* V intr 'go high', when reduplicated is given a more intense meaning: *waŋuwaŋuwa* 'go higher and higher'.

[4] *wari*: N 'east', when reduplicated (*wariwari*) appears to have the same meaning.

[5] *dawara* V intr 'become angry' when reduplicated (*dawadawara*) appears to have the same meaning.

Note also that the site of present day Nambucca Heads is *bagabaga*. *baga* means 'knee' and *bagabaga* is the place where the legendary hero *Birugan*'s knees landed when he was slain. *galagala*, the reciprocal particle (see 4.1.6), appears to be the reduplicated form of *gala*, a discourse particle.

3. MORPHOLOGY

3.1 PARTS OF SPEECH

In Gumbaynggir most words are either nominals or verbals. The *nominal* set contains nouns, pronouns and demonstratives. Nouns and pronouns are grouped together because of the difficulty in distinguishing their usage and morphological and syntactic properties. The nouns belong to one of two classes - 'kin and section' or 'ordinary'. The 'kin and section' nouns are morphologically more like first and second person pronouns than ordinary nouns. They give definite reference and are frequently used where a third person pronoun would be expected. There are two demonstratives, which do not inflect, and which occur very frequently. They can give locational specification to nouns and pronouns, and they are also widely used for anaphora. Locational relations, expressed in many languages by prepositions or postpositions, are frequently expressed by one of a small group of local nouns. These local nouns are ordinary nouns found mainly in a local case, usually modifying a head noun.

Nouns can be used either as the head word of an NP, or else to modify another noun. Thus many nouns express both a characteristic or quality, and an abstract concept. A few examples

da:ndur 'sick, sickness' (also 'the sick one' see 3.2.1)
 dawa:r 'angry, anger' (also 'the angry one' see 3.2.1)

- (1) dawa:du ma:lan gula:na
 anger-ERG take-PAST 3sg-0
 Anger seized him OR The angry person seized him

In the vocabulary lists, nouns are glossed with their most frequently used meanings e.g. barway 'big'. However, the many other senses should also be remembered e.g. 'the big one', 'bigness'.

There is a suffix -gam which when added to verb roots derives a noun. But this nominalizer is rarely used and is not very productive. It appears to be used mainly for syntactic, rather than lexical, purposes.

The *verbal* set contains verbs, adverbs (which are largely derived) and locational deictics. There are several verbalizers which are very productive and frequently used. Locational adverbs belong to a restricted class derived mainly from nouns to give specific locational information about a verb (mainly a verb of motion). There are eight regular adverbs and one irregular adverb which modify the verb with meanings outlined in 3.4.7 below; all these adverbs conjugate as verbs. The five locational deictics give restricted locational specification to any verb.

The other word classes are *particles* and *interjections*. The particles qualify a sentence, mainly with regard to time or features of discourse or in a negative or modal - aspectual sense. The corpus contains four interjections, which are vocalized expressions of emotion.

3.2 NOUN MORPHOLOGY

3.2.1 NOUNS AND 'ADJECTIVES'. In Gumbaynggir the only justification for recognising a distinction between nouns and adjectives would be semantic. Some nouns more typically (although not exclusively) occur modifying the head noun of an NP than do others. These are words describing characteristics or qualities, such as 'good', 'tall' etc. But morphologically and syntactically all nouns function in the same way whether they are used mainly to modify the head noun or not. These 'adjective'-type nouns are more likely than the other nouns to be verbalized e.g. daruy 'good', daruya 'become good' (but note such applications of this verbalizer as gi:biɲ 'bird', gi:biɲa 'become a bird'). However, this tendency does not warrant grammatical distinction, as it is accounted for by semantic restrictions.

Further evidence for the treatment of modifying nouns as nouns is seen in the application of the vowel length shift (explained in 2.4). This rule applies equally well to modifying and non-modifying nouns, but not to any other word class.

The following two sentences illustrate the use of a noun as a modifying noun in one sentence and as a head noun in the next:

- (2) barwaygu ni:gadu buwa:ŋ gi:bar gunuy
 big-A man-A hit-PAST child-O small-O
 The big man hit the small child.

The words *barwaygu* and *gunuy* modify the meaning of the nouns *ni:gadu* and *gi:bar*. But in the following equally grammatical (but semantically less specific) sentence, the two former words are head nouns.

- (3) barwaygu buwa:ŋ gunuy
 big-A hit-PAST small-O
 The big one hit the small one.

3.2.2 CLASSES OF NOUNS. The case system of *Gumbaynggir* differentiates two classes of nouns. The great majority belong to the first class, which I call 'ordinary nouns'. The second and smaller class is best termed 'kin and section nouns'. It contains the following :

- [i] all nouns referring to kinship e.g. *mi:mi* 'mother', *ŋaŋi* 'brother-in-law'.
- [ii] the eight subsection names (see Table 1.1)
 e.g. *wambu:ŋ*
- [iii] two personal names of culture heroes : *birugan*, *gawngan*.
- [iv] a few personal names derived from special characteristics e.g. *wargun* 'left-handed person', *gudi* 'sweet-heart'
- [v] the names of the 'schools' of initiation (1.4.2) e.g. *maŋwan*.

There may have been a few more nouns in [iii] and [iv] which are no longer remembered, but personal names appear to be very rarely used. In the stories recorded by Laves in 1929, which presumably represent the language at a better stage of fluency, there are no personal names. Instead the characters are referred to and addressed by a kinship noun, such as *guyu* 'brother', or the names *birugan* and *gawngan*. Although these latter names refer to the main mythical heroes (male and female respectively), they are also used for personal names. In fact they are extended even further and, used as modifying nouns, they mean 'handsome' and 'pretty' respectively. Similarly kinship terms are used as personal names or as terms of address. Thus, 'Tiger' Buchanan addresses me as *giŋa* 'sister', my husband as *ŋaŋi* 'brother-in-law' and my child when a baby as *gawngan* and later as *gunuy* 'little one'.

This two-way classification of nouns ('ordinary' or 'kin and section') appears to be relevant only to case systems, as we shall see below, and not in any syntactic or further morphological way.

(It is more common for an Australian language, if it does have a separate class of nouns referring to people, to include *all* human nouns in that class. But note that words such as 'boy', which do not fit one of the categories listed above for 'kin and section nouns', are treated in the *Gumbaynggir* case system as 'ordinary nouns'.)

TABLE 3.1 - Noun cases

	ordinary nouns	kin and section nouns	
		V-	N-
S	-∅	-ga	-ga, after ŋ- -ba elsewhere
A = INST	-Hu after nasals -u after l- -du after r- (with deletion of r) -du after long vowels -ŋgu or -lu, after u- or a-* -yu or ɟu after i-, or y-*	-gu	-Su
O	-∅	-ŋa	-a
DAT	-gu	-ŋu	-u
ALL	=DAT	-gu	-gu
GEN	-gundi	-ŋundi	-undi
LOC	-Ha after nasals -a after l- -da after r- (with deletion of r) -wa after long vowels -ŋga or -la, after u- or a-* -ya or -ga after i- or y-*	-ɣumbala	-umbala
ABL	-na after r- (with deletion of r) -nar after vowels and other consonants -(y)na irregularly	-ɣumbayna	-umbayna

*For the explanation of locative and ergative on ordinary nouns following a vowel or semi-vowel see 3.2.6. (There is a general rule which deletes one of two identical consonants such as /y/ in the combination of stem final -y + ergative -yu).

3.2.3 NOUN CASES - FORM. The inflections of nouns are shown in Table 3.1. Note that H represents a stop homorganic with the preceding stem-final nasal. (All kin and section nouns end in a vowel or a nasal.) Example paradigms for three nouns are in Table 3.2.

TABLE 3.2 - *Examples of noun cases*

	ordinary noun	kin and section nouns	
	ni:gar 'man'	ŋaɟi: 'brother-in law'	nu:gaŋ 'mother'
S	ni:gar	ŋaɟi:ga	nu:gaŋga
A(=INST)	ni:gadu	ŋaɟi:gu	nu:gaŋgu
O	ni:gar	ŋaɟi:ŋa	nu:gaŋa
DAT	ni:gargu	ŋaɟi:ŋu	nu:gaŋu
LOC	ni:gada	ŋaɟi:ŋumbala	nu:gaŋumbala
ALL	ni:gargu	ŋaɟi:gu	nu:gaŋgu
ABL	ni:gana	ŋaɟi:ŋumbayŋa	nu:gaŋumbayŋa
GEN	ni:gargundi	ŋaɟi:ŋundi	nu:gaŋundi

3.2.4 NOUN CASES - FUNCTION

Syntactic Core Cases. The following abbreviations are used.

- S - marks intransitive subject function
- A - marks transitive subject function
- O - marks transitive object function

The 'ordinary nouns', like third person pronouns, inflect on an ergative-absolutive case system. That is, one case (absolutive) is used to mark both S and O functions, with another case (ergative) for A function. However, the 'kin and section' nouns, like some of the first and second person pronouns, have a three-way system with a separate case inflection for each of the S, A and O functions. (For a further discussion of these main syntactic cases, see 3.3.4 below.) There are numerous examples throughout this grammar which involve these three cases. See also, in the texts given at the end, TI.4; VI.16,21,26; IX.1a and

- (4T) bulari gawŋganba yila: ŋayingi
 two-S women-S there stay-PRES
 The two (beautiful) women are staying there.

- (5T) wura:ŋ birugandu du:wa
 [VI.25] pullout-PAST Birugan-A boomerang-O
 Birugan pulled out the boomerang.

Letter T after an example number indicates that it is from a text.

Dative - indicates the purpose or the beneficiary of the action of the verb:

- (6) wa:gaɣ ma:na ŋaɟi:ŋu
 wood-O fetch-IMP brother-in-law-DAT
 Get some wood for brother-in-law.

Instrumental - marks the weapon or tool with which an action is performed: See TI.32 (134) and

- (7) gula:du ŋa:ŋa bawgaŋ muni:mbu
 3sg-A 1sg-O strike-PAST stone-INST
 He hit me with a stone

Although the ergative and instrumental cases have identical expression, they are syntactically two distinct cases, realizing the separate functions described above. This is illustrated in TVI.5.

Locative fulfils many functions :

[i] to indicate location or rest at, on or in, somewhere.
See (29), (31), (32), (151), TVI.14, 29g and :

(8) *ɲaya ɲuɕa:la ɖala:ra ɲayingiw*
1sg-S camp-LOC inside-LOC stay-FUT
I will stay in the camp.

[ii] to indicate that the noun is in company with humans
(when at rest):

(9) *gula:gundi ɲu:ganga ɖagandɪ yaraŋ ɲaɖi:ɲumbala*
3sg-GEN-S mother-S stand-PRES DEM brother-in-law-LOC
Her mother is standing with her brother-in-law.

[iii] to indicate a period of time or season:

(10) *yiriŋinda gi:daŋga ɲaya ga:lawaygu*
so many-LOC moon-LOC 1sg-S return-FUT
In this many months I will return (said while
holding up number of fingers)

[iv] to indicate a specific time (use here is optional):

(11) *gula:na bagu:li ɲu:nmada*
3sg-S sleep-PRES night-LOC
He sleeps at night.

In the following example, locative is not used, but S case marking is :

(12) *ɲu:nmar ɲa:na ɲayagi gula:du*
night-S 1sg-O watch-PRES 3sg-A
She watches me at night.

[v] it is normally, but not invariably employed with the name of a language being used :

(13) *ɲa:na gula:du ɖura:ŋ ɖangadiya*
1sg-O 3sg-A speak-PAST Djangadi-LOC
He spoke to me in Djangadi.

Note the following example with the instrumental case:

(14) *gumbayŋgidu ɲa:ɖa ɖura:ŋ*
gumbaynggir-INST 1sg-A speak-PAST
I spoke in Gumbaynggir.

[vi] For something which is a cause:

(15) *ni:gada ɲa:na bu:mgu*
man-LOC 1sg-O hit-FUT
I will be hit because of the man.

[vii] It is normally but not invariably used for comparison:

(16) *ɲapundi ma:la ɖamay barway ɲamigundiya*
1sg-GEN hand-S PART big-S woman-GEN-LOC
My hand is bigger than the woman's.

Sentence (16) could be paraphrased by :

- (17) ḡapundi ma:la ḡunuy/ ḡamigundi ma:la barway
 lsg-GEN hand-S small-S woman-GEN-S hand-S big-S
 My hand is small. The woman's hand is big.

[viii] There are seven 'middle verbs' which are intransitive but have an NP complement in locative case. With these verbs the locative case fulfils a syntactic function. The complement NP appears to be optional for some verbs and obligatory for others, as indicated below:

dulupmi	'smile at someone/something'	(opt)
ḡalabi	'sneak up on someone/something'	(opt)
ḡawari	'cross something'	(oblig)
ḡayi	'talk to someone'	(opt)
ḡa:ri	'play with someone/something'	(opt)
wa:mbi	'fear something'	(oblig)
and the derived verb		
dawara	'be angry about someone/something'	(opt)

Examples are found in (78), (157), (183a) and :

- (18) wuna: ḡa:ri yaraḡ ḡi:bada
 don't play-IMP DEM boy-LOC
 Don't play with that boy.

See also 3.4.1.

Allative - indicates motion to somewhere. Examples are in (26), (30), (158), TI.30 and:

- (19) ḡaya yari yara:ḡ ḡa:ḡalḡu
 lsg-S PART go-PAST beach-ALL
 I went to the beach.

Allative and Dative have the same realization with ordinary nouns (though not with kin and section nouns), but they are syntactically two distinct cases, realizing separate functions, as is shown in the following sentence:

- (20) ni:ḡar yara:ḡ ḡa:ḡalḡu ḡala:ḡḡu
 man-S go-PAST beach-ALL shell-DAT
 The man went to the beach for shells.

Ablative - indicates motion from somewhere. Examples are in (33), (132), (167), (180) and:

- (21) birmadi ḡilina ḡala:mḡapar
 run-PRES 3sg-S oak-tree-ABL
 He is running from the oak tree.

Genitive - indicates possessor in alienable possession (see 4.1.7 for alienable and inalienable possession). Examples are in (62), (63), (148), (149), (158) and:

- (22) yaraḡ ḡamay ni:ḡarḡundi
 DEM spear-S man-GEN-S
 That spear is the man's.

As is the general pattern in Australian languages a noun inflected for genitive case can optionally take a further case inflection - see 4.1.7. (In this way the genitive case appears to act more like a derivational suffix than an inflectional suffix). Examples are in (157) and:

- (23) ba:bagu gunuygundiya gu:ngu gala:n gamay barway
 father-A child-GEN-A say-FUT tongue-S too big-S
 The child's father will say '(your) mouth is too big'.

3.2.5 DOUBLE CASE INFLECTIONS. It appears that generally a noun inflected for case does not take a further case inflection (disregarding the genitive discussed above). However, there are two examples only of a noun with two case inflections - ablative plus ergative. One is on the irregular noun 'west' ga:ba which has the doubly inflected form gaba:yṇadu in the following sentence (see 3.2.7 for case forms of ga:ba).

- (24T) ya:m ṇiyangidambu gaba:yṇadu barway biyambaṇ
 DEM 3pl-A west-ABL-A big-O eat-PAST
 These ones from the west were eating big (figs).

The other example is the local noun 'above' waṇu which normally has the irregular ablative waṇu:ṇar (see 3.2.8). But in this doubly inflected form the ablative suffix used is another irregular form -ṇa (see Table 3.1). An example is in TVI.17.

3.2.6 DISCUSSION OF FORM OF NOUN CASES

[i] Ordinary nouns

Looking back to the noun case forms in Table 3.1 we see a confusing situation for the ergative-instrumental and locative cases following a short vowel or semivowel -y. (Note that the only noun stem ending in -w found in one of these cases is biraw 'north', which is included here with -a final stems. gambaw 'kidney' is found only in the unmarked S,O case.)

In the following explanation I will give examples from either ergative or locative case which differ only in the vowel of the suffix (-u for ergative and -a for locative). It is the consonant of the suffix preceding this vowel which is problematic.

It appears that the ending for ergative (and locative) following a short vowel or y- is solely morphologically determined. Ergative is -gu or -yu, following i- or y-, and -ṇgu or -lu following a- or u- and there are no apparent conditioning factors in either group.

I present below the full list of noun stems ending in i-, y-, a-, u-, or w- elicited by me with either ergative and/or locative suffix, so that it can be seen that there is simply no synchronic solution for these forms. (Note that the nouns in /Cu/ are in ergative case; those in /Ca/ are in locative).

	S,O	ERG-INST or LOC
[a] 'cave'	ba:lu	balu:la
'bark'	ba:gu	bagu:la
'black'	gu:ṇu	guṇu:la
'poison', 'devil'	bi:ga	biga:lu

	'tooth'	di:ɕa	diɕa:lu
	'knee'	baga	baga:la
	'Nambucca'	{ bagabaga nambaga }	{ bagabagala nambagala }
	'oak tree'	gala:mga	gala:mgalu
	'west'	ga:ba	gaba:la
	'bone'	gulu:ra	gulu:ralu
	'why'	mi:na	mi:na:la
	'camp'	ɲu:ɕa	ɲuɕa:la
	'cloud'	ga:ɕa	gaɕa:la
	'hair'	ma:ɕa	maɕa:la
	'north'	bi:raw	bi:ra:la
[b]	'louse'	mu:ɲu	muɲu:ɲgu
	'water'	ɲa:lu	ɲalu:ɲgu
	'top'	waɕu	waɕu:ɲga
	'foot'	gi:na	gina:ɲgu
	'boomerang'	du:wa	duwa:ɲgu
	'faeces'	gu:na	guna:ɲga
	'hand'	ma:la	mala:ɲga
	'back'	wa:la	wala:ɲga
[c]	'head'	ga:li	gali:ɕa
	'dog'	wa:ɲgi	wangi:ɕu
	'two'	bula:ri	bulariɕu
	'leg'	ɲa:ɕi	ɲaɕi:ɕa
	'near'	da:li	dali:ɕa
	'under'	ga:li	gali:ɕa
	'spear'	gamay	gamayɕu
	'grog'	gara:ɲay	garaɲayɕu
	'egg'	miɕubay	miɕubayɕu
	'big'	ba:way	ba:wayɕa
	'red clay'	ma:ɲay	ma:ɲayɕu, ma:ɲayu
	'shark'	ya:ɲga:y	ya:ɲga:yɕa
	'possum'	ba:may	ba:mayɕu
	'small'	ɲu:ɲuy	ɲu:ɲuyɕa
	'lightning'	ma:rawgay	ma:rawgayɕu
[d]	'Dy. language'	ga:ɲa:di	ga:ɲa:diya
	'possum'	gu:ɲa:li	gu:ɲa:liyu
	'heart'	mi:ɲgi	mi:ɲgi:ya
	'woman'	na:mi	na:mi:yu
	'mine'	ɲa:ɲu:ndi	ɲa:ɲu:ndiya (and other pro- nouns in GEN)
	'top'	ba:li	ba:liya
	'-GEN'	-gu:ndi	-gu:ndiyu
	'fire'	wa:ɲay	wa:ɲayu
	'red clay'	ma:ɲay	ma:ɲayu, ma:ɲayɕu
	'near'	du:bu:ɲay	du:bu:ɲayu

It is appropriate here to refer the reader back to 2.4 which explains the rule of vowel length shift in nouns. Without repeating the details of this rule which applies regularly for all nouns, it is sufficient to say that the above words all show regular application of these rules.

We first discuss words in -a and -u (sections [a] and [b] above), and then turn to words in -i and -y ([c] and [d]).

The question is why do nouns such as ba:lu, or ɲu:ɕa in group [a] take the -lu ergative (and -la locative), but those such as ɲa:lu or ɲu:na in group [b] have -ɲgu ergative (and -ɲga locative). We have to look at all possibilities.

Noun class? Perhaps there is a classificatory system within ordinary nouns, which is (now) only evident on those ending in a vowel. But from the nouns we are dealing with, this does not appear a plausible solution as we have 'tooth, bone' in -lV but 'hand, foot, faeces' in -ɲgV. Similarly 'cloud' is in -lV but 'water' is in -ɲgV. Note also that there is no other good evidence in the language of noun classes.

Number of syllables? There are three trisyllabic words in -lV, but there are several disyllabic words in both, so this is obviously not a feature to distinguish the two groups.

Phonotactics? A glance at the combination of consonants and vowels of words in both groups shows that there is no apparent clue here to the -lV/-ɲgV distinction. Compare for example:

ba:lu +lV	ɲa:lu + ɲgV
bi:ga +lV	gi:na + ɲgV
ga:ba +lV	ma:la + ɲgV

-lV and -ɲgV in other Australian languages. -lu and -ɲgu are frequent alternants for the ergative in languages throughout Australia (similarly -la and -ɲga are frequently found locative alternants). This alternation has been given a credible diachronic explanation by Hale [1976b], who suggests that in earlier forms of many Australian languages the ergative was originally -lu/V- and -du/C- (with assimilation). But with the development of a rule to disallow all vowel-final disyllables, -ɲ was added to close the final syllable. The ergative on these forms would then have become -gu following -ɲ. But, at a still later stage in the development of these languages word final -ɲ was dropped from the root form. So the ergative of these forms would be re-analysed as -ɲgu. This hypothesis explains why so many languages (such as Walbiri) have -ɲgu for ergative on disyllabic vowel final stems. The -lu which originally followed all vowel final stems would now be generalised to all non-disyllabic vowel final stems.

The fact that -ɲgV is the only ergative/locative suffix in Gumbaynggir of the form CCV adds credence to the relevance of Hale's hypothesis here. (Although, we would ask why there is no -ɲgV suffix following -i). As we have seen above in Gumbaynggir it is not as simple as -ɲgV following disyllabic vowel final stems and -lV following trisyllabic vowel final stems. But maybe those nouns taking -ɲgV have their underlying base form in -ɲ (which is deleted in the S,O case) and so take -gu as the regular ergative following -ɲ. In other words, I am suggesting that we examine the possibility that Hale's general diachronic rule is a synchronic rule in Gumbaynggir. Comparative evidence from Bandjalang (Crowley 1978: Chapter 8) and Crowley's reconstructed Proto-Northern New South Wales

(PNNSW) (Crowley, 1976) would suggest that some of the nouns in the list above could be underlying $\sim\eta$ final stems.

To test the above hypothesis we will use the following example:

'faeces' gu:na S,0; guna:nga LOC (cf. PNNSW gunan S,0 and Bandjalang gunan S,0)

If we suggest that the underlying form for 'faeces' in Gumbaynggir is gunan (with which vowel long?), then we would need a rule to delete final $\sim\eta$ before other cases e.g. guna:parABL. Before we even worry about how the vowel length rule would apply to give the first vowel long for S,0 and the second vowel long for all other case forms, we note the following two words: .

'scrub' nanu:ŋ S,0
'wattle-tree gum' ga:nin S,0

Note the ablative of 'scrub' is nanu:ŋpar.

If the underlying form for 'faeces' is guna:ŋ then how can we predict the deletion of word final $\sim\eta$ before S,0 in this word and not for 'scrub'? And if it is gu:nan, how can we delete $\sim\eta$ before S,0 for 'faeces' and not 'wattle-tree gum'? This shows that it is not feasible to posit the underlying forms of words in group [b] as ending in $\sim\eta$.

To test whether it is possible to posit the words in group [a] as ending in $\sim l$ in their underlying form we will use the following example:

'camp' nu:ga S,0; nu:ga:la LOC (cf. PNNSW nu:gal S,0)

If we suggest the underlying form for 'camp' in Gumbaynggir is nu:gal or nu:ga:l, then the locative would simply be $\sim a$ (and ergative $\sim u$), which is the regular case form for noun stems ending in $\sim l$. We would need a rule to delete this final $\sim l$, before all other cases. (e.g. nu:ga:gu DAT). As with the example of 'faeces' discussed above, the language produces counter-examples to this hypothesis. For example 'sea' ga:gal S,0; 'noise' bu:ga:l S,0. If the underlying form of 'camp' is nu:gal, how can we predict the deletion of final $\sim l$ before the S,0 case here, but not for 'sea'? And if the underlying form of 'camp' is nu:ga:l, how can we predict the deletion of final $\sim l$ before the S,0 case, but not for 'noise'?

So once again it is clear that this hypothesis that some of the problematic vowel final stems actually end in a consonant, is not plausible. It would have been a rather abstract solution, as all the other case forms are based on the S,0 forms and so the underlying forms set up to predict locative and ergative would have had no other use and would never actually occur in surface forms in the language.

Synchronic conclusion. It appears that the use of $\sim IV$ versus $\sim \eta V$ in Gumbaynggir today is irregular and cannot be predicted. For this reason in the vocabulary list all vowel final noun stems are followed in brackets by the ergative form, where it is known.

Note that 'tooth' in Gumbaynggir ergative is di:ga:lu, but in Bandjalang S,0 form is diran, so perhaps the historical relationship between these forms is also far more

confused than it first appeared.

It is nevertheless significant that the consultant never hesitated or gave contradictory forms on these lists [a] and [b].

Historical perspectives. Several of the words in [a] and [b] above are found in languages all over Australia. It is interesting to compare the relevant Gumbaynggir forms with the following words from Capell's Common Australian Vocabulary (1956: Chapter 4):

'excrement'	*gunaŋ	'hand'	*maraŋ
'foot'	*dinaŋ	'tooth'	*liraŋ

(But note that there are very few languages in which these common cognates have a long vowel).

As pointed out in 1.3, Gumbaynggir is rather different from its neighbouring languages. It could be that words such as 'sea', 'noise' came into Gumbaynggir from one source or era, and those such as 'camp' from a completely different direction or age.

Or possibly at an earlier stage in the language the forms in [a] ended in -l, those in [b] ended in -ŋ, and for some reason the language dropped -l and -ŋ in all cases except the ergative/locative. But forms which came into the language at a later stage ending in -l or -ŋ (such as 'sea') retained the stem final -l or -ŋ.

It is impossible to check these hypotheses today with such low lexical cognate scores between Gumbaynggir and its neighbours. But if either of these hypotheses were true, then problems with the ergative/locative suffix could be historically explained, even though not synchronically predicted.

The second problem with ergative/locative suffixes is why do some nouns in -l or -y, have ergative -gu (and locative -ga), while others have -yu (-ya). (Note the general rule that when two identical consonants are joined, one is deleted). We can again consider possible solutions.

Noun class? As with the first group of nouns discussed above, there does not appear to be any evidence that this distinction between case forms was made on the basis of a classificatory system. Note we have 'head' and 'leg' in -gV, but 'heart' in -yV. Also 'dog' is in -gV, while 'possum' is in -yV.

Number of syllables? As there are both disyllabic and trisyllabic noun stems in both -gV and -yV, the number of syllables is not a distinguishing feature.

Phonotactics? There is not enough evidence to say much here, but there are certainly no striking phonotactic patterns which distinguish nouns in -gV from those in -yV.

Phonological solution? We will examine the possibility that the nouns in group [c] actually have their underlying form ending in -g, and therefore suggest ergative/locative to be -a/-u, following g-. So, for example, we would suggest the underlying form of 'dog' to be wa:ŋgiɡ, 'spear'

gamayd. Note that unlike the parallel suggestion made above there is no comparative reason for such underlying forms.

This would in fact be a quite artificial solution to the problem, as there are no words in surface form which end in any of the stops in Gumbaynggir or any of its neighbours. We would also need a specific rule to delete word final -ŋ and also to delete -ŋ before all case endings except locative and ergative (e.g. *wanŋi:par* ABL, *gamaygu* DAT). So not only is this solution very abstract, but it has no use or relevance in the grammar in any other way, and apparently bears no reality to the historical development of the language.

With these nouns in -y and -i, not only are we at a loss for a synchronic explanation, but there are no apparent clues to the historical development of these forms. We will simply have to conclude that there is no predictable rule at work here. This is borne out by the fact that the consultant has given both ergative alternants for magay (but note this never happened with the -lV /-ŋgV forms). As with the irregular forms in a- and u-, the ergative form is included in brackets in the vocabulary for all nouns ending in i- and y-, where it is known. (See 1.6.2 for discussion of Smythe's very inconsistent and erroneous treatment of these case endings).

Ordinary Nouns - Other cases. The dative is clearly the founding form on which the genitive is based, and the allative has the same form as dative.

[*ii*] *Kin and Section Nouns*

As with the ordinary nouns, the dative appears to be the founding form for the genitive; and here also for the locative and ablative cases. We show in 3.3.4 how the kin and section nouns appear syntactically to be part-way between nouns and pronouns (and here we have supporting morphological evidence). The locative and ablative forms for kin and section nouns basically consist of

the kin and section noun dative suffix -ŋu/V- or -u/C-,
plus the pronominal dative suffix -mba
plus one of the ordinary noun locative suffix -la
or ablative suffix -(y)ŋa

That is, for kin and section nouns, locative is ɲumbala/V-, umbala/C-; ablative is ɲumbayɲa/V-; umbayɲa/C-. Unlike the case forms of ordinary nouns discussed above there appear to be no irregularities with case suffixes on kin and section nouns.

3.2.7 IRREGULAR NOUNS. There is a small group of nouns which are irregular in some case forms. As a whole, this group of nouns does not appear to have any semantic, phonological or morphological feature in common. But perhaps the irregularities shown in these few nouns are indicative of an earlier noun classificatory system. Note that group [ii] below comprises one definite semantic group - three (of the four) compass points.

[i] Irregular ablative only

	S,O	ABL
'camp'	ɔu:ɕa	ɔu:ɕa:yɔa
'top'	waɕu	waɕu:ɔnar
'outside'	ɕala:r	ɕala:yɔa
'shade'	mu:r	mu:ru:na
'water'	ɔa:lu	ɔalu:wɔa
'pademelon'	ɕulɕu:	ɕulɕu:wɔa

(Note that 'top' and 'outside' belong to the group of local nouns discussed below at 3.2.8.)

[ii] Irregular allative and ablative

	S,O	ALL	ABL
'east, down'	wari:	wari:	wari:ɔa
'west, up'	ga:ba	ga:ba	gaba:yɔa
'north'	biraw	biraw or birawgu	birayɔa

Note that 'south' is completely regular:

wangga:n wangga:ngu wangga:nɔar

Because of semantic selectional restrictions, these nouns occur only in local cases and the S,O unmarked case. Note that they are all regular (taking into account the discussion in 3.2.6 above) for the locative case.

'east, down'	wari:wa	'north'	bira:la
'west, up'	gaba:la	'south'	wangga:nda

Apart from the irregularities already shown in the allative and ablative paradigms above, the consultant sometimes uses the unmarked S,O forms as alternatives to these nouns with case endings - for example TI.1, VI.29m. (Note that 'east' and 'west' have *never* been found with marked allative case endings, although 'east' has been found adverbialized with -ma added to marked allative (see 3.4.7).)

It seems therefore that these four nouns, which are very frequently used, can optionally occur without case ending. The meanings probably cover for example, both 'east' and 'eastwards', and there is a parallel here to the optional use of locative for expressions of time (discussed in 3.2.4 above).

- (25) wuna: ga:ba birmadi
 don't west run-IMP
 Don't run west (i.e. inland).

- (26) ɕu:ɕulaw ɔall: ya:ngu wangga:ngu
 tomorrow I du inc-S go-FUT south-ALL
 Tomorrow we will go south.

Note that the four nouns discussed above can be verbalized and adverbialized exactly as other nouns. (For full explanation of these processes see 3.4.6 and 3.4.7). Examples are in TI.6,8,9; VI.29m, 29n, 29o and :

- (27) ɔari ɔaringi wari:waygu
 3sg-S want-PRES east-VBLSR-PURP
 He wants to go east.

TABLE 3.3 - *Local Nouns*

LOC		Stems			
dali:ga	'near'	(da:li)	also dali:gu	ALL	
dulbuya	'near'	(dulbuy)			
gali:ga	'under'	(ga:li)			
bimi:da	'middle'	bimi:r			
ga:wada	'across (the sea)'	ga:war	also ga:wana	ABL	
wa:ginga	'outside'	wa:gip	also wa:gingu	ALL	
wa:cu:nga	'on top of'	wa:cu	also wa:cu:nar	ABL	
gala:ra	'inside; in'	(gala:r)	also gala:yga	ABL	
manga:la	'a long way'	(ma:nga)			
baliya	'on top'	(bali)			
mari:da	'a long way'	mari:r	also mari:na	ABL	
wala:nga	'behind'	wa:la	also wala:gu	ALL	

The semantic distinction between the two first words - dali:ga and dulbuya - is unclear.

- (28) nari yara:n gaba:lamin
 3sg-S go-PAST west-LOC-ADVBLR-PAST
 He went west.

3.2.8 LOCAL NOUNS. There is a small group of nouns, found mainly in the locative case which occur mainly as modifying nouns, giving further locational specification to the head noun; forms are given in Table 3.3 (those stem forms in brackets have not been elicited, but are presumed).

The noun stems in Table 3.3 are not used frequently. They are used in citation form and sometimes in a local sense, where the meaning is clear. Examples are TVI.1, 29h and:

- (29) nali: ya:m nayingi bigu:da gali:ga
 1 duinc-S DEM sit-PRES tree-LOC under-LOC
 You and I are sitting under a tree.
- (30) birmadi bigu:rgu dali:gu ni:gargu
 run-IMP tree-ALL near-ALL man-ALL
 Run near the tree to that man.
- (31) naya ya:m gugu: gaba:la wa:cu:nga gulu:mba
 1sg-S DEM LOC DEIC west-LOC top-LOC hill-LOC
 I was over there (to the west) on the top of a hill.
- (32T) (nari) gurudan ya:m nalu:nga gala:ra
 (3sg-S) plant-PAST DEM water-LOC in-LOC
 He planted it in the water.

Although these local nouns usually occur modifying a noun in a local case, they sometimes occur without another noun, where the meaning is understood. Examples are TVI.13, IX.1i and:

- (33) bulari yara:n gawa:na yila:min
 TI.1 two-S DEM across-ABL here-ADVBLR-PAST
 Those two returned from across (the sea).

I have not been able to elicit many examples of these local nouns but it seems clear that they are ordinary nouns, used only in local cases because of semantic restrictions. They can be adverbialized (just like any other noun in locative case), giving further specific locational information to verbs of motion. (See 3.4.7). Some local nouns have also been found verbalized, e.g. waɣuwa 'go high' (see 3.4.6).

- (34) bulu:ngal bawgin dali:gamin nandi:da
 fish-S swim-PAST near-LOC-ADVBLSR-PAST bridge-LOC
 The fish swam (at) near the bridge.

OR The fish were swimming (around) near the bridge.

3.2.9 DERIVATIONS. The following derivational affixes when added to a noun root form a noun stem. Some are attested in a few examples only, and all are difficult to elicit in non-zero case forms.

[i] -gari is the comitative affix meaning 'having'. (The following information on this affix is also contained in Eades 1976b).

(a) It has been found meaning 'having an inalienable human attribute' (sometimes in an extraordinary way) only with the following five words :

gu:bi	'moustache'	gu:bigari	'having a moustache'
bulu:p	'stomach'	bulu:ngari	'pregnant (lit. having a stomach)'
gu:gar	'sister'	gu:gargari	'having a sister'
wigi:r	'flesh'	wigi:rgari	'having flesh'
muya	'breath'	muyagari	'having breath'

The last two words make sense in context, in TIII, where Birugan finds the skeletons of his brothers and causes them to have flesh and then breathe again.

Elsewhere, e.g. 'having hair' the possessive case is used.

(b) -gari has been found meaning 'having an alienable human attribute' only with the following two words:

biri:n	'bread'	biri:ngari	'having bread'
nuɣu:	'kangaroo'	nuɣu:gari	'having a kangaroo'

Elsewhere, e.g. 'having a dog', the possessive case is again used.

(c) -gari is used for something inanimate held by a human agent at rest:

- (35) ni:gadu pa:waŋ ɣunuy bulu:ngalgari
 man-A see-PAST child-O fish-COM-O
 The man saw the child holding the fish.

(d) -gari is used for something inanimate held by a human agent moving :

- (36) ni:gar birmadi du:wagari
 man-S run-PRES boomerang-COM-S
 The man with a boomerang is coming.
 The man is coming with a boomerang.

(e) -gari is used for a human moving in the company of human(s):

- (37) nami ya:ban gula:gundi ga:nbargari
 woman-S come-PRES 3sg-GEN-S husband-COM-S
 The woman is coming with her husband.

(f) -gari has been found on two words only, meaning 'characterized by':

mu:pu	'lice'	mu:puɣari	'lice-infested'
bi:ga	'poison'	bi:gaɣari	'poisonous'

It is unfortunate that all the examples have noun with -gari in either intransitive subject or transitive object function. These cases are marked by -Ø inflection and thus we have no way of knowing whether this 'having' form declines. However, there are a few instances of a noun suffixed with -gari being verbalized with the intransitive verbalizer -wa. This seems to indicate that a noun inflected with -gari follows the normal pattern of nouns.

[ii] -biya is the privative suffix meaning 'without':

- (38) ni:gar ga:laway wi:gi:rbiya ga:lu:wi:ga
man-S return-PRES meat-PRIV-S river-ABL
The man returned from the river without fish.
- (39) ya:m wa:ga:r bi:gu:rbiya
DEM ground-S tree-PRIV-S
This ground has no trees.

I am not sure of the scope of this affix, as there are few examples.

[iii] - [iv]-buqan and -gurdin both mean 'like':

- (40) yaraŋ gi:bar bawgiŋ {bulu:ngalgurdiŋ
 bulu:ngalbugaŋ
DEM boy-S swim-PAST fish-LIKE-S
That boy was swimming like a fish.

[v] -gir attached to a noun (or pronoun) means 'only'.
Examples are TI.2 and :

- (41) ni:gargir yaraŋ ɲuɕa:la
man-ONLY-S DEM camp-LOC
He was the only man at the camp.
- (42) gula:nagir yaraŋ wulu:giŋ
3sg-S-ONLY DEM swim-PAST
He was the only one to go for a swim.

[vi] -bin attached to a noun means 'even':

- (43) buwa:rbin dulupmin wangl:ga
baby-EVEN smile-PAST dog-LOC
Even the baby smiled at the dog.
- (44) biri:nbin ŋa:ga ŋi:na biyagay nura:w
bread-EVEN-O 1sg-A 2sg-O not give-FUT
I won't even give you bread.

(Note that Smythe (p.34) has a list of nominal derivational affixes which include -gari, -biya and -bugan. I have not encountered -gal and -dir from his list. -ba, translated by him as '? likeness to a person', is none other than the S case ending on kin and section nouns - see 3.2.3.)

3.2.10 NOMINALIZER. There is a process which derives nouns from verbs, but it is not very widely used and is difficult to elicit. The suffix *-gam* is added to the present tense form of the verb and the noun thus formed acts like any ordinary noun in taking case inflections. This nominalization process appears to be used mainly to avoid sentences involving a relative clause (see 4.2.5).

- (45) *narigu na:waŋ ya:m gulu:ra bagu:liaygam*
 3sg-A see-PAST DEM bones-O lie-PRES-gam-O
 He saw the bones lying.

This *-gam* process is also frequently used where the object of a verb such as 'see' or 'hear' involves a sentence. The dependent sentence is transformed into a noun phrase by the *-gam* nominalizer. For example the following two sentences:

- (46a) *gara:ŋa ŋari* (46b) *ŋari garga:liay*
 listen-IMP 3sg-O 3sg-S call out-PRES
 Listen to him He is calling out.

when put into a complex sentence structure, become :

- (47) *gara:ŋa ŋari garga:liaygam*
 listen-IMP 3sg-O call out-PRES-gam-O
 Listen to him calling out.

Although most of the examples of the nominalizer involve its addition to an intransitive verb, it appears that when *-gam* is added to a transitive verb, the participle so formed refers to the patient of the verb:

- (48) *ŋa:ga nuŋu: na:waŋ biyambaygam*
 1sg-A kangaroo-O see-PAST eat-PRES-gam-O
 I saw the kangaroo being eaten.

The sentence 'I saw the kangaroo eating' was given as:

- (49) *ŋa:ga nuŋu: na:waŋ/ narigu biyambaŋ*

It seems that the noun formed by the addition of *-gam* takes ordinary nominal case inflections:

- (50) *ŋayan buŋgi:gamba ŋali: ya:ngu ma:naygu ga:yi*
 sun-S set-PRES-gam-LOC 1du inc-A go-FUT fetch-PURP bream-O
 When the sun sets (/at the setting of the sun) we will
 go and get bream.

See 3.2.4 for the use of locative case to indicate time.

The *-gam* nominalizer is also found on modifying nouns in simple sentences:

- (51) *gu:gawaygam ni:gar ŋayingiŋ bigu:da*
 tired-VBLSR-PRES-gam-S man-S sit-PAST tree-LOC
 The tired man was sitting near the tree.

Here the modifying noun consists of the noun *gu:ga* plus verbalizer *-wa* plus present tense form *-y* plus nominalizer *-gam*. It seems that this sentence could equally well be expressed as:

- (52) *gu:ga ni:gar ŋayingiŋ bigu:da*

There is possibly a fine semantic distinction between these two sentences which the consultant was unable to specify. (See also TVI.31 and (181).)

3.2.11 NUMBER. In 1.2.1, I discussed the possible dialectal difference involving a plural suffix on nouns. From my fieldwork, it appears that number in the southern dialect is generally not marked, but the following instances of optional plural number have been elicited (from my southern consultant). Sometimes in a noun phrase it is the head noun which has the plural suffix, sometimes the modifying noun, sometimes both and sometimes neither. There appears to be no regular pattern of agreement. All of the following noun phrases involving plural have been given:

gi:bar gura:m(bin)	'poor boys'
boy poor-PL	
gunuy(bin) gura:m(bin)	'poor children'
child-PL poor-PL	
gura:m(bin)	'poor (fellows)'
poor-PL	
gi:bar(in)	'boys'
boy-PL	
barway(bin) gundun	'big figs'
big-PL fig	
wuma:ga(l)(bin) gunuy(bin)	'lots of children'
many-PL child-PL	
wuma:ga gunuy	'lots of children'
many child	

I can find no semantic distinction between the last two phrases.

The above examples are the only instances of plural marking on nouns in the southern dialect. But in Smythe's description of the northern dialect all words for trees and an additional ten nouns (mainly referring to humans) are found with the plural suffix, which is mainly -ip or -bin.

Note that this Gumbaynggir plural suffix is quite similar in form to one of the Waalubal plural suffixes -:gbip. This alternant occurs on only four nouns in the corpus, of which three refer to trees - Crowley 1978: Section 5, Chapter 3. There is one noun in Gumbaynggir which is a plural and has no singular form : gamambi 'children'. Note -bi here.

3.2.12 TREES. It appears that the northern dialect of Gumbaynggir and probably most of the Bandjalang dialects have had some form of noun class for trees. There is some slight evidence from our southern dialect of Gumbaynggir of an earlier classification system in this semantic area. Apart from the general word bigu:r 'tree', all words for species of tree in Gumbaynggir end in -ga. Once again, compare with Waalubal (Crowley 1978: 6.4 of Chapter 3), where nouns referring to trees optionally take the suffix -ga: in the singular and plural. But unlike Waalubal, this 'suffix' in Gumbaynggir is now crystallized as part of the noun root.

- (53) yaraŋ mu:r ŋaɲumbala birawaŋ gala:mgalu
 DEM shade-0 lsg-LOC throw-PAST oak tree-ERG
 That oak tree provided shade for me.

There is only one instance in the corpus of a pair of words differentiated by the -ga suffix: ga:ɣuŋ 'black fig', ga:ɣuŋga 'fig tree'.

The small amount of evidence on this aspect in Gum-gaynggir appears to fit in with other fragments of coastal languages which suggest an earlier noun class system for languages of this area. Relevant evidence on this topic is discussed in 6.5 of Chapter 3 in Crowley (1978).

3.2.13 DEMONSTRATIVES. There are two demonstratives which are very widely used and never inflect. They are

- ya:m - 'here, this'
 yaraŋ - 'there, that'

It appears that for my consultant at least, yaraŋ is the unmarked demonstrative used where a specific meaning is not required but as a semantic equivalent to the English indefinite article 'the'. This tendency will be particularly noticeable in the texts.

The demonstratives are used:

[1] in verbless sentences (as the only member of the topic NP). Examples are (120) and :

- (54) ya:m ni:gar Here is a man; this is a man.
 (55) yaraŋ guɣiga There (that) is a peppermint tree.

[2] in noun phrases (in all possible sentence types). Examples are TI.1, 14, 28, VI.21, (86) and:

- (56) yaraŋ ni:gadu biyambay (Transitive sentence)
 DEM man-A eat-PRES
 That man is eating.
 (57) ya:m guɣuga da:ndur (Verbless sentence)
 DEM fellow-S sick-S
 This fellow is sick.

Note that ambiguity can arise between these first two uses of the demonstratives:

- (58) yaraŋ ni:gar barway
 DEM man-S big-S

could be a complete sentence meaning *either* 'That is a big man', *or* 'That man is big', *or* it could be a noun phrase meaning 'that big man', when followed by a verb. (Note that word order within the noun phrase is very flexible (see 4.1.3) and on this point we have to reject Smythe's suggestion (p.71) that 'the Gumbaingar equivalent of 'the good man' could never be confused with 'the man is good' because the word order is different".)

[3] as a non-human third person pronoun. Examples are TVI.13, (32) and:

- (59) ya:m gawariŋ - It's broken.

[4] as a human third person pronoun. Examples are TVI.3, (71) and:

- (60) yaraŋ ɲayɲgi ɲuɕa:la dali:ga
 DEM sit-PRES camp-LOC near-LOC
 He is sitting near the camp.

[5] in addition to a third person pronoun. Examples are TI.15, VI. 16 and:

- (61) yaraŋ daruyay gula:na
 DEM well-PRES 3sg-S
 He is well.

[6] in addition to a first or second person pronoun; ya:m is used with the first person and yaraŋ with the second, so 'I' is identified with 'this/here' and 'you' with 'that/there'. The use of the demonstratives in this sense appears to be entirely optional. Examples are TVI.36, (29) and:

- (62) ɲi:nda yaraŋ ɲaɲundi giɕa:ga
 2sg-S DEM 1sg-GEN sister-S
 You are my sister.
- (63) ɲaya ya:m ɕawgar ɲinundi ɕagu:ga
 1sg-S DEM DISC PART 2sg-GEN brother-S
 So I am your brother.
- (64) gula:du ɲa:waŋ ɲiya:na ya:m
 3sg-A see-PAST 1pl inc-O DEM
 He saw us.

3.2.14 INTERROGATIVE AND INDEFINITE NOUNS. It appears that the following nouns are used in either an interrogative or indefinite sense - mɲa meaning either 'what' or 'something' and ɕuɕi meaning either 'where' or 'somewhere'. Although Smythe has a full regular nominal paradigm for the first of these two words, I will just present those forms I have been able to elicit:

S,O	mɲa	ɕuɕi
A	mɲa:lu	
LOC	mɲa:la	ɕuɕi:da, ɕu:da
DAT	mɲa:gu	
ABL	mɲa:yɲa	ɕuɕana, ɕuɕi:na

Some examples are TVI.33, TIX.1b, 1f, 1g and:

- (65) mɲa:gu yaraŋ du:waŋ buwa:r
 what-DAT DEM cry-PAST baby-S
 What was that baby crying for? OR Why was that baby crying?
- (66) ɲiyalagay ɕayɲi mɲa bigu:r
 1pl exc-A cut-PAST something-O stick-O
 We cut up some sticks.
- (67) ɕuɕana ɲuɕawɲ ba:nay
 where-ABL 2pl-S come-PRES
 Where do you come from?
- (68) ba:baga ɲayɲgi ɕu:da
 father-S sit-PRES (some)where-LOC
 Father is sitting somewhere OR Where is father sitting?

The semantic distinction between the two readings of the above sentence is made unambiguous by intonation. The interrogative sentence has a rising intonation on the last word, where the intonation of the indefinite sentence is falling.

TABLE 3.4 - *Pronouns*

	S	A	O	DAT
1 sing	ḡaya	ḡa:ḡa	ḡa:ḡa	ḡaḡu
1 dual inc	ḡali:	ḡali:	ḡali:ḡa	ḡalimba
1 dual exc	ḡaligay	ḡaligay	ḡalḡagay	ḡalimbagay
1 plur inc	ḡiya:	ḡiya:la	ḡiya:ḡa	ḡiyamba
1 plur exc	ḡiyagay	ḡiyalagay	ḡiyagay	ḡiyambagay
2 sing	ḡi:nda	ḡi:nda	ḡi:ḡa	ḡinu
2 dual	bula:	bula:la	bula:ḡa	bulamba
2 plural	ḡugawin	ḡugalinḡu	ḡugaliḡa	ḡugamba

	ALL	GEN	LOC	ABL
1 sing	ḡaḡugaliway	ḡaḡundi	ḡaḡumbala	ḡaḡumbapar
1 dual inc	ḡaḡalimbaygu	ḡalimbandi	ḡalimbala	ḡaḡalimbapar
1 dual exc	ḡaḡalimbagaygu	ḡaḡalimbandigay	ḡalimbalaḡay	ḡaḡalimbapargay
1 plur inc	ḡḡiyambaygu	ḡḡiyambandi	ḡḡiyambala	ḡḡiyambapar
1 plur exc	ḡḡiyambagaygu	ḡḡiyambandigay	ḡḡiyambalaḡay	ḡḡiyambapargay
2 sing	ḡḡinugaliway	ḡḡinundi	ḡḡinumbala	ḡḡinumbapar
2 dual	ḡḡulambaygu	ḡḡulambandi	ḡḡulambala	ḡḡulambapar
2 plural	ḡḡugambingu	ḡḡugambandi	ḡḡugambala	ḡḡugambapar

3.3 PRONOUN MORPHOLOGY

3.3.1 FIRST AND SECOND PERSON PRONOUNS. All pronouns in Gumbaynggir exist as free forms. (There are no bound form pronouns). The first and second person pronouns distinguish either seven cases (if they are in a NOM-ACC system) or eight cases (if they are in a three way S-A-O system). For full explanation see 3.3.4 below.

There are numerous examples of pronouns in sentences throughout this grammar. See specifically: TI.5,7,16,18; VI.9, 14,26; IX.1a.

Although I was able to elicit all the above case forms in S,A,O and dative cases and many of the genitive and locative forms, I was unable to elicit allative and ablative pronouns. The consultant had some difficulty in remembering several pronominal forms, especially in dual and plural number. In elicitation, he sometimes replaced pronouns with nouns to overcome this difficulty. Hence the gaps in genitive and locative and the full allative and ablative paradigms above are based on my phonemicization of Smythe's paradigms. Such forms, based on Smythe, are indicated above by ḡ.

Note that Smythe gives all the ablative forms in -pa(ra). I have phonemicized this pronominal ablative as -par. Because word final /r/ is never pronounced in Australian English this had probably confused Smythe and caused him to write pa(ra). Further evidence to support this suggestion comes from the ablative case ending on nouns, which I have found to be clearly /par/ (apart from a

few quite different irregular suffixes, see 3.2.7). Smythe (p.29) gives the ablative on nouns as *na(ra)*, *pa(ra)* etc. (that is, all of the form *Ca(ra)*).

3.3.2 TABOO PRONOUN. Harry Buchanan recalls one avoidance pronoun, used only between brother(s) and sister(s). It has the form *ɲuɟa:* and was used 'instead of *ɲi:nda*'. However, this is all that is known about this pronoun and there is no mention of it in any texts. We do not know if it was part of a wider system of avoidance pronouns, as are found, for instance in much of central Australia (e.g. Kaititj, Harold Koch personal communication).

3.3.3 FIRST AND SECOND PERSON PRONOUNS - DISCUSSION OF FORM. It is very interesting to compare the inclusive pronoun forms with the corresponding exclusive members. It appears that the exclusive forms in each case are formed by adding /-gay/ to the inclusive forms (sometimes with change of vowel length). And with the exception of allative which is irregular in other ways (see below), this morpheme /-gay/ is added after case endings. It seems not unlikely that Gumbaynggir or its proto-language did not have an inclusive-exclusive distinction and that this was a later development. It is also relevant here that Bandjalang, a near northern neighbour of Gumbaynggir has no distinction between inclusive and exclusive. (Crowley 1978: Section 9 of Chapter 3).

Many of the pronominal roots and the case suffixes above are reminiscent of other Australian languages. (See 4.2 of the Editors' Introduction).

Except for 2 sg the object forms involve /*na*/. This is the Gumbaynggir reflex of a very widespread pronominal (and in some languages, nominal) affix. It is discussed in detail by Dixon [1970: 94-96]. Note that /*na*/ is the form of /*Na*/ expected in a single laminal language such as Gumbaynggir.

The ergative forms in /*la*, *ga*, *gu*/ are all reminiscent of ergative suffixes in many languages throughout the continent.

The pronoun roots /*ɲaya*, *ɲi:nda* and *ɲali:*/ are also very widespread, but vowel length here is not very common in other Australian languages. /*bula:*/ is undoubtedly related to the numeral /*bulari*/.

The second person plural pronouns *ɲuɟawɲ* etc. are unusual and unlike any others in the Gumbaynggir case system. Perhaps there is a connection here with the taboo pronoun *ɲuɟa:* (discussed in 3.3.2 above) and the rarely found nominal plural (discussed in 3.2.11: -*bin* and -*in* further north).

Although vowel length in the pronoun system is not predictable and the pronominal forms cannot be segmented exactly regularly, we can generalize a little and analyze the paradigm (apart from the three main syntactic cases). Broadly speaking *Dative* is the founding form for all the other cases. This includes the singular pronouns which do not have -*mba*- in the dative as the other pronouns, but base the allative and genitive on the dative, and locative and ablative on dative plus -*mba*-. For the non-singular pronouns

GEN = DAT + -ndi

LOC = DAT + -la

ABL = DAT + -nar

The allative is less regular and consists of

DAT + -galiway for singular numbers

DAT + -(ga)(y)gu for all non-singular
numbers except for 2 pl.

3.3.4 HIERARCHY OF PRONOUNS AND NOUNS IN MAIN SYNTACTIC CASES. If we look at the pronominal case markings for intransitive subject, transitive subject and transitive objects functions we see that 1 du inc, 1 du exc and 2 sg have nominative case form for S and A functions and accusative form for O function. But there are distinct forms for all of S, A and O for the other pronouns - 1 sg, 1 pl inc, 1 pl exc, 2 du and 2 pl.

Why this peculiar split of case systems? This question is easier to answer when we recall 'kin and section nouns' have distinct forms for all of S, A and O whereas ordinary nouns and third person pronouns show ergative (A) versus absolutive (S and O) cases.

This question of split case systems is discussed in depth by Silverstein (1976). Basically, Silverstein claims that all noun phrases have an 'inherent lexical content' and because of this some more naturally occur as instigators or agents of actions and some as patients. So, for example, an inanimate noun is usually acted on and rarely acts. Thus we would expect, applying general notions of markedness, that an inanimate noun would receive overt case marking when functioning as transitive subject (that is, would be in an ERG-ABS case system).

This claim is illustrated clearly by comparing the following two sentences from Gumbaynggir:

(69) na:ga biyambaŋ da:m
1 sg-A eat-PAST yam-O
I ate yam(s).

(70) da:mbu da:ndurambaŋ na:na
yam-A sick-VBLSR-PAST 1 sg-O
The yam(s) made me sick.

Here the first person pronoun is shown naturally as an agent, whereas the noun 'yam' is marked in this function.

So the split of case-marking is not random but has an underlying semantic motivation. Basically we expect pronouns to be most naturally agents (of tr or intr action) so for them S and A functions are unmarked whereas O is marked (a NOM-ACC system).

Inanimate nouns would be the least natural agents of a transitive action, so here S and O are unmarked while A is marked (an ERG-ABS system).

Thus, it is seen that the NOM-ACC system is most natural for pronouns and the ERG-ABS system for inanimate nouns. Other nominals fall part way between the two. Silverstein suggests a hierarchy of nominals with the two independent parameters of case marking, called Accusative and Ergative, starting from the top and bottom respectively. These parameters may overlap, causing a three-way S-A-O

TABLE 3.5 - *Gumbaynggir nominal hierarchy*

1 du 2 sing			
	other 1st and 2nd person pronouns	kin and section nouns	
			3rd person pronouns ordinary nouns
ACC →			← ERG

split in the middle of the hierarchy, such as operates in Gumbaynggir for some pronouns and for kin and section nouns.

Silverstein's hierarchical principles applied to Gumbaynggir produce the scheme in Table 3.5.

Note that the order of nominals in this scheme is not universally applicable as some languages place proper nouns (which include kin and section nouns) below third person pronouns on the hierarchy. (For example Kala Laggau Langus - Bani and Klokeid 1976). Silverstein has used various universally applicable features to specify nominals on the hierarchy. But it is impossible to find any meaningful features which separate 1 du and 2 sg from all the other first and second person pronouns. For Gumbaynggir he chooses the feature bundle [+tu, + restr] which imply hearer included and restricted (i.e. non-plural) membership respectively. So the pronouns which combine these features are 2 sg, 1 du, 2 du. However 2 du is not NOM-ACC, as we have seen above; it has a three-way S-A-O split. Silverstein overcomes this problem by claiming that 2 du is irregular in Gumbaynggir. The switch from S-A-O to ERG-ABS is explained by Silverstein in terms of definite vs. indefinite reference. Note that Silverstein rightly excludes the exclusive forms which, as we have shown in 3.3.3 above, are later derivatives of the inclusive forms.

Although the details are more messy for Gumbaynggir than some of the other languages investigated by Silverstein, this theory clearly shows the 'essentially semantic motivation for case-marking schemata' (Silverstein 1976: 125). Apart from explaining the chaotic system in Gumbaynggir (and many other languages), Silverstein's hierarchical theories explain the nature of nouns and pronouns. And what is particularly interesting here in Gumbaynggir is the relationship between 1st and 2nd person pronouns and kin and section nouns on the one hand, and third person pronouns and ordinary nouns on the other. This relationship is seen not only in the syntactic arrangement of cases as shown on the above diagram but also in the morphological data of these forms.

This morphological connection was shown in 3.2.6[ii] and is repeated here. The locative and ablative forms for kin and section nouns basically consist of

the kin and section noun dative suffix: -ŋu/V-, -u/C-

TABLE 3.6 - Third person pronouns

	ABS	ERG
3 sg	gula:na malana ŋilina (ŋilir)	gula:du malandu ŋilinadu
3 du	ŋari (ŋilina) bulari	ŋarigu (ŋilinadu) bularigu
3 pl	ŋiyaggidam	ŋiyaggidambu

plus the pronominal dative suffix: -mba
 plus one of the ordinary noun locative suffix: -la
 or ablative suffix: -(y)ŋa

That is for kin and section nouns

locative is ŋumbala/V-, umbala/C-

ablative is ŋumbayŋa/V-, umbayŋa/C-

Here it is useful to extend Silverstein's notions on third person forms (see for example his p.117) and say that in Gumbaynggir:

ordinary nouns are lexical third person nominals

and third person pronouns are deictic and anaphoric third person nominals.

3.3.5 THIRD PERSON PRONOUNS - FORM. As is the case with many Australian languages, Gumbaynggir third person pronouns are a small, irregular and relatively unimportant class; forms are given in Table 3.6. Like ordinary nouns, these third person pronouns in Gumbaynggir inflect on an ERG-ABS case system, but the ergative (A) suffix does not precisely follow the rule for forming ergative of nouns.

These third person pronouns are not frequently used and are difficult to elicit. There are several examples of third person pronouns in sentences throughout this grammar. See also TI.1,4,9,15; VI.4,5,18,26,27.

I can find no feature which determines which of the four singular forms is used, but this does not necessarily indicate that the choice is arbitrary. It appears that malana and ŋilina can also be used in the indefinite sense, meaning 'someone'. Third person pronouns, especially malana and ŋilina can be found modifying the head noun of an NP. (For NP constituency see 4.1.3).

The pronoun ŋilina is perhaps unmarked with respect to number, as the consultant has occasionally used it to indicate plural. It is also possibly in free variation with the form ŋilir. Note that Smythe's paradigm (p.39) gives ŋilir as the ABS form and ŋilina as ablative. While this seems to fit the system of the language, it does not correspond with the usage of my consultant. Note also that in the dative, both these roots are treated as alternatives: ŋilinagu~ŋilirgu.

The dual third person pronoun is the same as the ordinary noun meaning 'two' - bulari. Probably the third person system originally distinguished only singular and non-singular and the dual is a later innovation in Gumbaynggir.

Smythe gives a full (7 case) range of inflections for *gilir*, *gula:na* and *bulari*, apparently based on the first and second person pronouns. Apart from those O and A case forms listed above I have been able to elicit only the following.

<i>gula:gundi</i>	GEN
<i>gula:gumbala</i>	LOC
<i>gilinagu, gilirgu</i>	DAT

It could be that the language did have a full 7 case range for these third person pronouns. The consultant has quite likely forgotten them. As we shall see in the next section the third person pronouns are in fact rarely used.

3.3.6 THIRD PERSON PRONOUNS - FUNCTION. *Humans* are rarely referred to in the third person. In *elicitation* the informant invariably replaces the requested third person pronoun with a noun. (Note that this rarely happens with first and second person pronouns). I find it hard to believe that this would be a mistake or memory failure, as the forms in the table above were elicited. But the speaker obviously preferred not to use them.

In *conversation* the speaker nearly always referred to a third person either by a term of relationship (using *giga:* 'sister' and *guyuorgagu* 'brother' in an unmarked sense) or one of the two names *gawnggan* and *birugan* (see [i] and [iii] of 3.2.2 above).

Texts were frequently told as dialogues and so do not contain many references to a third person. This is true of Laves' stories recorded in 1929, Smythe's stories (1948/9), and those elicited (recently) by Crowley and the present writer. Also, where a third person pronoun would be expected in a *text*, one of the following is sometimes found:

- (1) the kin and section nouns *birugan* and *gawnggan* to refer to male and female respectively (see 3.2.2). Although these are primarily the names for culture heroes, they are extended to refer to other people, and used as modifying nouns they mean 'handsome' and 'pretty' respectively.
- (2) the kin and section nouns specifying terms of relationship. As in conversation, the terms for 'brother' - *guyu* and *gagu* and 'sister' *giga:* seem to be the ones most frequently extended in meaning. See Text I in particular.
- (3) sometimes a third person is referred to simply by one of the demonstratives *ya:m* and *yaraŋ*. See Text VI.3,9 and:

- (71) *guna:* *yaraŋ yila:mi*
 tell-IMP DEM here-ADVBLSR-IMP
 Tell him 'come here' (Tell him to come here).

I can find no factor which determines the use of one of the above nouns in preference to a third person pronoun.

Non-humans are not referred to by pronouns, but rather by the demonstratives *ya:m* and *yaraŋ*. See Text VI.13 and:

- (72) *ya:m gawariŋ* 'It's broken' (lit. '(someone) broke it').

Note that the third person pronouns are definitely well attested, and are a unique class. They do not fit into the kin and section nouns, or the 1st and 2nd person

pronouns, because they inflect on an ERG-ABS system, and they cannot fit in with the ordinary nouns (which are ERG-ABS) because the third person ergative forms are not regular.

3.3.7 INTERROGATIVE AND INDEFINITE PRONOUN

[i] 'who', 'someone' S,O wa:ru
A wa:du

Although Smythe gives a full regular pronominal paradigm, I have been unable to elicit this pronoun in any further cases. Examples are (159), (160) and:

(73) wa:ru yara:ŋ
who/someone-S go-PAST
Who went? OR Someone went.

(74)(T) wa:du ŋa:pa ba:lgu
who-someone-A 1 sg-O marry-FUT
Who is going to marry me? OR Someone is going to marry me.

[ii] As mentioned in 3.3.5 above it appears that the third person pronouns *malana* and *ŋilina*, can also be used in the indefinite sense, meaning 'someone'. These two pronouns have not been found as interrogatives.

3.4 VERB MORPHOLOGY

3.4.1 TRANSITIVITY. Gumbaynggir verb roots are either *intransitive* - that is, occurring with an S NP, or *transitive* occurring with both an O NP and an A NP. (See 4.1.2 for details of when any of these NPs may be optionally deleted.)

Transitive and intransitive stems take exactly the same inflections, there being no morphological indication of the syntactic distinction of transitivity. Compare intransitive (75) with transitive (76).

(75) ya:m ni:gar gagangi
DEM man-S stand-PRES
This man is standing.

(76) yaraŋ ni:gadu biyambay bulu:ngal
DEM man-A eat-PRES fish-O
That man is eating fish.

There are a small number of transitive verbs which have both a direct and an indirect object. These 'three-place' verbs use the absolutive case for both object NPs. The only three-place verbs attested are: *biga:ramba* 'name with', *dunda* 'cover with', *ŋura:* 'give', *pagaygura* 'show', *ŋambigura* 'give to drink'. (See 3.4.6 below for discussion of verbs derived by suffixes -amba, -ygura.)

(77) ŋa:ga ŋura:w wigi:r gi:bar
1sg-A give-FUT meat-O boy-O
I will give meat to the boy.

We do not have enough information to be certain how the two object NPs can be disambiguated. But it seems that the direct object usually precedes the indirect object. However,

TABLE 3.7 : *Transitivity of verb roots*

	-a(:)#	-i(:)#	Total
Transitive	32	20	52
Intransitive	11	18	29
3-place	2		2
'Middle'		6	6
TOTAL	45	44	89

this could be the result of the influence of English word order.

There are seven 'middle' verbs which are intransitive but have an NP complement in locative case. With these verbs the locative case fulfils a syntactic function, and not a spatial/locational type relation. The complement NP appears to be obligatory for *gawari* 'cross' and *wa:mbi* 'fear' but optional for *dulupmi* 'smile at', *galabi* 'sneak up on', *gayi* 'talk to', *ga:ri* 'play with' and the derived verb *dawara* 'be angry about'.

- (78) *ɲaya* *dulupmi* *ɲapundiya* *buwa:da*
 lsg-S smile-PRES lsg-GEN-LOC baby-LOC
 I am smiling at my baby.

See also: (18), (157), (183a).

Gumbaynggir has a rich and productive set of verbalizing suffixes which produce 41% of all the verbs in the corpus. That is, of a total of 151 verbs, only 89 are basic verb roots. These figures and those below do not include the seven irregular verbs, which are discussed at 3.4.4 below.

Verb roots end in /a/, /a:/, /i/ or /i:/. Table 3.7 above shows the number of verb roots and the correlation between their transitivity and stem final vowel. (It does not include irregular verbs, derived verbs or the subjectless sentence *gulu:na* 'to rain' which is discussed in 4.1.2.)

Clearly there is no significant connection between the stem final vowel of a verb root and its transitivity. All we can say is that more transitive verb roots end in /a/ than /i/, while more intransitive verb roots end in /i/ than /a/. And this tendency is borne out by the 3-place verbs (which are transitive) and the 'middle' verbs (which are intransitive).

3.4.2 CONJUGATION. Unlike the majority of Australian languages, *Gumbaynggir* has no conjugational contrast (see 4.3 of Editors' Introduction). That is, there is only one major conjugation class, with the following inflections:

Present	-y
Past	-ŋ
Future	-w
Purposive-Future	-ygu
Imperative	-ø~la

There is a surface phonological rule that reduces /i+ y/ to /i/ before a word boundary or a consonant.

But there are seven irregular verbs which reflect

minor conjugational classes in an earlier stage of the language.

Inflections

(i) *Present*. The present tense is mainly used to refer to any event taking place at or about the time of speaking. In texts, the present tense can be used to refer to past events and appears to have a stylistic impact similar to the parallel use of the present tense in English narration of past events.

There are two verbs with stem final /i/ whose present tense suffixes alternate between /y/ and /yay/. And there are four verbs with stem final /a/ whose present tense suffixes are sometimes found with epenthetic /iy/ between the last consonant of the stem and the last inflected syllable. These verbs are:

biyamba	'eat'	biyambay~biyambiyay
bawga	'spear'	bawgay~bawgiyay
ba:la	'marry'	ba:lay~ba:liyay
da:lga	'sing'	da:lgay~da:lgiyay
galubi	'urinate'	galubi~galubiyay
ganga:li	'call out'	ganga:li~ganga:liyay

It seems not impossible that the longer of these two alternants might convey continuous aspect, such as 'am eating', as against habitual aspect, such as 'usually eat' or 'always eat'. However, this is by no means consistent with these six verbs and, with all other verbs, the one present tense form refers to any aspect of the present tense.

Note that Smythe claims two present tense suffixes. But his -gi/-gi present tense, I have found only in 5 irregular verbs. It could be a dialectal difference, especially as Yaygir, Gumbaynggir's nearest neighbour to the north, has its present tense in -gi~-ygi~-ngi. See TI.6, VI.29d and (37).

(ii) *Past*. The past tense is used mainly to refer to any events which have already taken place. But it also appears to be used in an unmarked sense, as the speaker frequently translates an English sentence in present or future tense with a past tense verb. (Note that Yaygir has the same past tense suffix -ŋ. Crowley 3.4). See TI.1,3,11; VI.3,5,17,34.

(iii) *Future*. Although there are two future tense morphemes, the consultant uses them interchangeably on verbs and with no difference in meaning; but with one exception, ma:(n), the irregular verbs are never found with the -w future tense suffix. None of the adverbs has been found with the -ygu future tense suffix. (See for example sentence (80) below which shows a verb in -ygu future modified by an adverb in -w future.

Today the -w and -ygu future suffixes appear to be syntactically and semantically identical. See TVI.13,21.

- (79) gi:li gali: biyambaw/biyambaygu
 now ldu inc-A eat-FUT
 Now we will eat.

- (80) gugarga gawgar ŋi:nda ga:lawaygu yila:miw
 when so 2sg-S return-FUT LOC DEIC-ADVBLR-FUT
 So when will you return there (i.e. home)?

The -ygu suffix is also used for purposive inflection on embedded verbs implicated by the main verb. (For full discussion of purposive see 4.2.6). It is not unlikely that the use of this suffix as future marker has arisen through the deletion of a main verb 'wish', 'intend' etc. However, in Buchanan's usage, either future suffix may be used in a desiderative sense.

Crowley (3.4) gives three different 'future' suffixes for Yaygir, /-wi/, -gu~ngu, -na/. He also cites /-gu~ygu/ as Yaygir purposive.

(iv) *Imperative*. There appears to be free variation between $\emptyset$ and -la as the imperative suffix. About 50% of the examples of the imperatives found in -la are first person (non-singular) or third person. However -la can express a second person imperative, and all persons can be found with $\emptyset$ imperative. See TI.5,16,24; VI.36 and

- (81) wulu:gi(la) Let's go for a swim! OR Go for a swim! OR
 Let him go for a swim!

The particle wuna: is added to make an imperative sentence prohibitive.

Refer to 4.5 for the syntactic structure of imperatives, and 4.2.2 for the use of the baya facilitative conjunction in the expression of third person imperatives.

Note that Smythe (p.43) claims that the imperative is -ili, when the object of the verb is plural. I have found no evidence of this. Yaygir imperative suffix is $\emptyset$ (Crowley 3.4).

3.4.3 EXAMPLES OF TENSES

- (82) ŋaya birmadigu ni:gargu
 1sg-S run-FUT man-ALL
 I'll go to the man.
- (83) gu:da ŋi:nda ŋayingi?
 where-LOC 2sg-S live-PRES
 Where do you live?
- (84) gula:na yaraŋ biyagay wulu:giŋ
 3sg-S DEM not swim-PAST
 He didn't swim.
- (85) gu:ɕulaw ŋiya:la barway bulu:ŋgal biyambaw
 tomorrow 1pl inc-A big-0 fish-0 eat-FUT
 Tomorrow we will eat a big fish.
- (86) biyamba yaraŋ wiɕi:r gi:li
 eat-IMP DEM meat-0 now
 Eat that meat now!

There are numerous other examples of verb tenses throughout this grammar.

3.4.4 IRREGULAR VERBS. The corpus contains seven irregular verbs, as set out in table 3.8 below. It appears that

TABLE 3.8 - IRREGULAR VERBS

	'go' (INTR)	'take' (TR)	'see' (TR)	'hear' (TR)	'hit, kill' (TR)	'say' (TR)	'cry' (INTR)
Past	ya:ra:ŋ	ma:niŋ	na:waŋ	ŋa:ra:waŋ	bu:wa:ŋ	du:ra:ŋ	du:waŋ
Present	ya:ban ya:ŋgi*	ma:ŋgi	na:ga:y* na:yagi	ŋa:ra:ŋi'yay ŋa:ra:yŋgi		du:ŋgi	du:way
Purposive- Future)	ya:ngu ya:ni:gu* ya:na:ngu*	ma:ngu, ma:niw ma:ni:gu* ma:na:ygu*	na:gu na:ga:ygu	ŋa:ra:ngu ŋa:ra:na:ygu	bu:ngu bu:na:ygu*	du:ngu	du:ngu
Imperative	ya:na:	ma:na ma:ni	na:ga na:yaga na:yagi*	ŋa:ra:na	bu:na bu:mba*	du:na:	du:wa
Suggested root	ya(:)(n)	ma:(n)	na:	ŋa:ra:(ŋ)	bu(m)	du:(n)	du:(ŋ)
EXAMPLES	(19), (26), (37), (180)	(6), (94)	(12), (35), (127)	(47), (108)	(2), (139), (140), (193)	(13), (172), (198)	(199)
TEXT EXAMPLES	I.30, VI.2,8		I.13, 35		I.15	VI.11,30	

*These forms are rarely used.

except for ɲara:(ŋ) 'hear' the roots of these verbs were originally monosyllabic and probably consonant final. But no verbs in the language today are either monosyllabic or consonant final. It appears that as these irregular verbs have been generalized and made disyllabic, a few alternative forms have emerged, most noticeably for purposive-future. However, as indicated on the chart, some of these alternants are rarely used, and it is mainly the forms based on monosyllabic roots which occur.

It is noticeable that vowel length is not consistent for all the verbs. And for ɲa:, 'see', it appears that /a:/ is replaced in some forms by /aya/.

It appears (Crowley 1978: Section 6 of chapter 4) that irregular verbs in Proto-Bandjalang were monosyllabic and consonant final. Three of these verbs cited by Crowley have cognates in Gumbaynggir which are also irregular.

Gumbaynggir	Proto-Bandjalang	Waalubal dialect (of Bandjalang)	
ya(:)n	yan	yanga	'go'
bu(m)	bum	bumga	'hit, kill'
du:(ŋ)	duŋ	dunga	'cry'

Purposive-Future. (See 3.4.2 above for discussion of -w future). All of these verbs have a future tense form, which mainly involves the addition of -gu to the verb root, similar to the purposive-future suffix for regular verbs. Several also have -gu added to disyllabic stem. This form has caused confusion for 'go' and 'take', where the disyllabic stem appears to alternate between /-i#/# and /-a#/#. However, these forms are rarely used.

Imperative. As with the purposive-future suffix, there are two possible imperatives with two verbs ('take' and 'see'), depending on whether the disyllabic stem is analyzed with /-i#/# or /-a#/#. The rarely used imperative alternate for 'hit, kill' has an added consonant.

Present. No separate present tense form has been elicited for 'hit, kill', and the use instead of the past tense form, supports the suggestion in 3.4.2 above that past is the unmarked tense. As discussed earlier, 'go', 'take', 'see', 'hear' and 'say', are the only verbs encountered in the southern dialect with the /-gi~gi/ present tense. However, from Smythe's evidence it appears that this suffix was found on many verbs in the northern dialect. Perhaps this suggests that the northern dialect is more archaic than the southern dialect in this feature. One of the present tense forms for 'go', ya:ban, is possibly used mainly to indicate continuous aspect. e.g. ni:gar ya:ban - 'the man is coming'.

Past. Almost all the forms in the past tense have a suppletive consonant and vowel.

Note that, as discussed in 4.1.6, bu(m) is the only verb in the language with an overtly marked reciprocal, bumiri.

3.4.5 INTERROGATIVE VERB. In the corpus there is one interrogative verb. It is transitive and appears to mean

'do what?' or 'what's the matter?' The verb is /gira/ and it appears to conjugate normally. Examples TVI.9 and:

- (87) giraŋ ŋi:nda ga:gala
 INT VB-PAST 2sg-A beach-LOC
 What was wrong with you at the beach? OR What were you
 doing at the beach?

3.4.6 VERBALIZERS. The devices used to form verbs from nouns, or from other verbs, are much more productive than the nominalization process discussed in 3.2.10 above. It has already been mentioned above that 41% of all the verbs in the corpus have been formed by one of the verbalizers.

[i] An intransitive verb can be formed from a noun root by the addition of -a following a consonant and -wa following a vowel. Most verbs derived in this way have a basically inchoative meaning. Examples in TI.7,36, VI.4, 36-37 and (61):

<i>Noun</i>		<i>Derived Intransitive Verb</i>
wi:gun	'hot'	wi:guna 'become hot'
muni:m	'stone'	muni:ma 'become a stone' (as in TI.27)
gu:ga	'tired'	gu:gawa 'become tired'

But a few verbs derived from an item with locational meaning, by the addition of -a~wa, have the meaning 'to go to the direction of'. For examples see TI.12, (191) and: ga:ba 'west'; ga:bawa 'go west'. And there is one example with a noun root inflected for allative: wa:gip-gu 'outside-ALL', wa:ginguwa 'go outside'.

[ii] A transitive verb can be formed from a noun root by the addition of

- da following n-
- ba following m-
- mba following y-or a vowel
- amba following all other consonants.

Verbs derived in this manner have a basically causative meaning, e.g.

<i>Noun</i>		<i>Derived Transitive Verb</i>
wi:gun	'hot'	wi:gunda 'make hot, warm'
muni:m	'stone'	muni:mba 'turn into a stone' (as in TI.27)
yuru:n	'long'	yuru:nda 'lengthen'
gu:nu	'alive'	gu:numba 'revive' (as in Text III)
dawa:r	'angry'	dawaramba 'make angry, torment'

There are four verbs derived in this way which though transitive, are not found with a noun in object function. This is because the causative verb is derived from its object, which is thus the basis of the derived verb.

da:mbar	'damper'	da:mbaramba	'make a damper'
wa:gay	'fire'	wa:gaymba	'make a fire'
gu:ɕa	'camp'	gu:ɕamba	'make camp'
bu:ɕa:l	'noise'	bu:ɕa:lamba	'make a noise'

An English sentence such as 'I'm going to make a fire with wood' is always paraphrased, as no noun in object function occurs with these verbs. For examples TIX.1j and:

- (88) ma:na bigu:r/ ŋa:ga wa:gaymbaw
 fetch-IMP wood-O lsg-A fire-VBLSR-FUT
 Fetch some wood. I'm going to make a fire.

These verbs are syntactically transitive because their subject noun is always in ergative case and they are formed with a transitive verbalizer. They can be compared with verbs formed with the 'constructive' verbalizer *-ma* in Bandjalang (Crowley 1978: 2.2.2 of chapter 4).

There is also one verb root in Gumbaynggir, which has object incorporation. This is *galub* 'urinate'. e.g.

- (89) *ga:ga* *garingi* *galubigu*
 1sg-A *want-PRES* *urinate-PURP*
 I want to urinate.

Here the object (*galu:bay* 'urine'), which is a noun cognate to the verb, is deleted because it is semantically redundant. Presumably, there were more examples of this kind when Gumbaynggir was a more viable language.

[iii] A transitive (causative) verb can be formed from an intransitive verb root by the addition of *-ygura*. (Note that this could also be expressed as *-ra* added to the purposive-future suffix, or *-gura* onto the present suffix.) The resulting verb means to cause someone or something to perform the action of the verb root and the NP which is in S function with the intransitive verb takes O function with the derived transitive verb.

INTR. VERB ROOT		DERIVED CAUSATIVE VERB	
<i>birmadi</i>	'run'	<i>birmadigura</i>	'make run'
<i>da:lga</i>	'sing'	<i>da:lgaygura</i>	'make sing'
<i>gadi:</i>	'drown'	<i>gadigura</i>	'cause to drown'
<i>ga:ri</i>	'play'	<i>garigura</i>	'play with'
<i>ga:mga</i>	'break'	<i>ga:mgaygura</i>	'cause to break'

Note the two irregular derivations:

<i>ya:(n)</i>	'go'	<i>yanigura</i>	'let go'
<i>gagangi</i>	'stand'	<i>gaganigura</i>	'cause to stand'

When this causative verbalizer is added to a transitive verb root, the derived verb is a 3-place verb, with both indirect and direct object in absolutive case (see 3.4.1).

TR. VERB ROOT		DERIVED CAUSATIVE VERB	
<i>na:</i>	'see'	<i>nagaygura</i>	'show'
<i>gambi:</i>	'drink'	<i>gambigura</i>	'give something to someone to drink'

See also TI.18,20; VI.17; IX.1c and (198).

It is obvious from some of the above examples that verb roots sometimes delete vowel length when a verbalizer is added. However, not all verbs do, and there appears to be no rule applicable to this process.

3.4.7 ADVERBS. Gumbaynggir has a small class of adverbs, which modify the verb and, except for *-ygu* future, inflect as the verb they modify; they cannot normally occur without a verb. They are divided into three groups, locational, regular and irregular.

[i] *Locational Adverbs.* The most numerous adverbs are those derived from a noun in locative or allative case with the addition of *-mi* for intransitives or *-ma* for transitives. Three of the locational deictics (discussed below in 3.4.8) have also been found adverbialized in this

manner. Locational adverbs are restricted in that they modify mainly verbs of motion. They serve to give more specific locational direction to the verb. As explained in 3.4.2, they are never found with the -ygu future inflection. (See for example (90) below). The verb being modified is occasionally deleted (see TI.1).

As there are so few locational adverbs in the corpus, they are listed in full below. (It is difficult to give a grammatically precise English gloss).

Intransitive (modify intransitive verbs)

<i>Noun + LOC</i>		<i>Derived Intransitive Locational Adverb</i>	
ba:ba+ɲumbala	'father'	ba:baɲumbalami	'to father'
bagabaga+la	'Nambucca'	bagabagalami	'at, to Nambucca'
gagun+da	'home ground'	gagundami	'at, to home ground'
da:li+ga	'close'	dali:gami	'close'
ga:ba+la	'west, up'	gaba:lami	'westwards'
ga:gal+ta	'beach'	ga:galami	'at, to beach'
ga:war+da (r deleted)	'across'	ga:wadami	'across'
gidu:r+da (r deleted)	'sand'	gidu:dami	'on, to sand'
ɲa:lu+ɲga	'water'	ɲalu:ɲgami	'in, to water'
ɲu:ɟa+la	'camp'	ɲu:ɟalami	'at, to camp'
wanga:n+da	'south'	wanga:ndami	'at, to south'
wari:+wa	'east'	wari:wami	'at, to east'
waɟu+ɲga	'top'	waɟu:ɲgami	'on, to top'

<i>Locational Deictic</i>		<i>Derived Intransitive Locational Adverb</i>	
gugu:	'over there'	gugu:ri	'at, to there'
mulu:	'far off'	mulu:mi	'at, to far off'
yila:	'here'	yila:mi	'at, to here'

It should be noted that the adverbializer is added to the noun in locative case after the vowel length rule has applied (see 2.4 and 3.2.6). The locational deictic gugu: appears to be irregular in having adverbializer -ri instead of -mi. Examples of intransitive type (i) are at TI.9, 16; VI.29f, 29n; (28), (33), (34) and:

- (90T) ɲaya ya:m ga:lawaygu ba:baɲumbalamiw
 1sg-S DEM back-VBLSR-FUT father-LOC-ADVBLSR-FUT
 I will go back to my father.

In the above sentence I find it impossible to tell why the noun 'father' was adverbialized. It seems that the following sentence would be equally grammatical and contain exactly the same meaning.

- (91) ɲaya ya:m ga:lawaygu ba:baɲumbala
- (92T) biruganba yara:ɲ gidu:damiɲ
 Birugan-S go-PAST sand-LOC-ADVBLSR-PAST
 Birugan went along the sand.
- (93T) biruganba yara:ɲ yila:miɲ gagundamiɲ
 Birugan-S go-PAST here-ADVBLSR-PAST ground-LOC-ADVBLSR-PAST
 Birugan walked here on the ground.

Transitive (modify transitive verbs).

<i>Noun + LOC</i>		<i>Derived Transitive Locational Adverb</i>	
ŋu:ɟa+la	'home'	ŋuɟa:lama	'at, to home'
<i>Noun + ALL</i>			
ga:ba+gu	'west'	gaba:guma	'westwards'
waɟu+gu	'top'	waɟuguma	'at, to top, up'
wari:+gu	'east'	wari:guma	'eastwards'
wa:la+gu	'back'	wala:guma	'backward'

Locational Deictic

mulu:	'far off'	mulu:ma	'at, to far off'
yila:	'here'	yila:ma	'at, to here'

The corpus does not clearly show why some adverbializers are formed from the noun in locative, and some from the noun in allative case. It could be that where there is motion specified in the verb, it is not needed in the adverbializer and so locative is used. Unfortunately, the data is not sufficient for this to be verified.

- (94T) (wigirɟagiyu) gala ma:niŋ (gula:nə) ŋuɟa:lamaŋ
(cannibal-A) again take-PAST (3sg-0) home-LOC-ADVBLR-PAST
Once again (the cannibal) took (him) home.

- (95) ŋa:ga gulu:n payagi wari:gumay
1sg-A rain-0 see-PRES east-ALL-ADVBLR-PRES
I see rain in the east.

As with the intransitive locational adverbs, it is impossible to know the semantic difference between the syntactic structures [Verb-Adverb] and [Verb-Noun+LOC/ALL]. So, for instance, it is impossible to distinguish in meaning between sentence (94) above and

- (96) (wigirɟagiyu) gala ma:niŋ (gula:nə) ŋuɟa:gu/ŋuɟa:la

[ii] *Regular Adverbs.* Only eight regular adverbs have been found. Six of these are in fact derived verbs, which when used adverbially have a slightly different meaning. They are derived from three nouns, each having a transitive and intransitive member, which have little semantic difference. The other two regular adverbs appear not to be derived but adverb roots. As with the locational adverbs, regular adverbs have the same transitivity as the verb they modify.

It seems odd that no other adverbs of this type have been found, but this is quite likely to be a limitation of the data, rather than the language itself. However, there is almost no evidence for these regular adverbs in Smythe, and no additional evidence (to Buchanan's corpus) in the Laves stories or on Hoddinott's tapes.

As there are so few examples, each one is illustrated below:

- (a) da:ɟi, Noun 'hard', 'tough', 'loud'
[i] da:ɟiwa, Intr. Verb 'become hard, tough, loud'

- (97) yaraŋ gamay da:ɟiwaygu
DEM spear-S hard-VBLR-FUT
That spear will harden.

[ii] da:ɕiwa, Intr. Adverb 'do something hard, loud, fast'

- (98) naya birmadi da:ɕiway
 lsg-S run-PRES hard-ADVBLSR-PRES
 I run fast.

[iii] da:ɕimba, Tr. Verb 'harden [something]'

- (99) yaraŋ gamay da:ɕimba muni:mba
 DEM spear-O hard-VBLSR-IMP stone-LOC
 Harden that spear on the stone!

[iv] da:ɕimba, Tr. Adverb 'do something hard, loud, fast'

- (100) guna: da:ɕimba nu:gaga
 speak-IMP loud-ADVBLSR-IMP mother-O
 Speak loudly to mother!

(b) daruy, Noun 'good'

[i] daruya, Intr. Verb 'become good, better'

- (101) gawgar gura:m daruyaw
 DISC PART poor-S good-VBLSR-FUT
 So the poor fellow will get better.

[ii] daruya, Intr. Adverb 'do properly, well'

- (102) naya gu:nguway daruyay
 lsg-S sleep-PRES good-ADVBLSR-PRES
 I sleep well.

[iii] darunda, Tr. Verb 'make, build'. See TIX.1f and:

- (103) nali: darundaŋ nu:ɕa
 ldu inc-A build-PAST camp-O
 We built a camp.

[iv] darunda, Tr. Adverb 'do properly'

- (104) nali: gula:na nara:ngu darundaw
 ldu inc-A 3sg-O listen-FUT good-ADVBLSR-FUT
 We will listen to him properly.

The above example shows a combination within the verb complex of a verb with -ygu future (irregular here, see 3.4.4) and an adverb with -w future (see discussion of future in 3.4.2). Note that the transitive verb and adverb darunda is irregularly derived. We would expect the form *daruymba.

(c) gunuy, Noun 'small'

[i] gunuymba, Tr. Verb 'make small'

- (105) yaraŋ da:mbar gunuymba
 DEM damper-O small-VBLSR-IMP
 Make that damper smaller.

[ii] gunuymba, Tr. Adverb '(do something) gradually'

- (106) gunuymba yanigura
 little-ADVBLSR-IMP go-VBLSR-IMP
 Let (it) go gradually!

The intransitive adverb derived from gunuy is gunuymbi, found in the following example:

- (107T) gunuymbiw gaṇaygir ga:lawaygu
 little-ADVBLSR-FUT later return-FUT
 (They) will return home gradually later.

The adverbializer here is not -a as we would expect, but -mbi. Also there is no intransitive verb derived from gunuy in the corpus, but this could be an omission.

There are three other words in the corpus derived with -mbi, all found in texts. But it is not clear whether they are verbs or adverbs. The first two are found as imperatives and the third in past tense. Perhaps this -mbi suffix is related to the -mi intransitive adverbializer.

barwaybarwaymbi 'walk big!' (cf. barway Noun 'big')
 nagarnagarmbi (see TI.7) 'stick your chest out!' (cf. nagar Noun 'chest')

gidu:rambiṇ (see TVI.291) 'went on the sand' (cf. gidu:r Noun 'sand' and gidu:dami Loc. Adv. '(go) on sand')

(d) There are two adverbs, glossed as 'quickly'. They are gurubi (INT) and gurubili (TR). This -li suffix is found nowhere else in the language.

- (108) gumbaynggir gurubiliw ṇi:nda ṇara:ṇgu
 Gumbaynggir-0 quickly-FUT 2sg-A learn-FUT
 You will learn Gumbaynggir quickly.

- (109) ṇaya gurubi birmadi
 1sg-S quickly-PRES run-PRES
 I run fast.

Note also the three particles garada, garadamba and balama (4.6.4). It is quite likely that these three words were originally adverbs. garada and garadamba both mean 'quickly' and differ only in use, the former occurring in intransitive and the latter in transitive sentences. (Note -mba is the expected transitive adverbializer). balama means 'slowly' and seems to occur in either intransitive or transitive sentences.

[iii] *Irregular adverb*. There is one irregular adverb muda 'to be unable'. It is found in the following forms:

muday	Present
mudaw~mudiw	Future
mudaṇ	Past

The imperative is not found, presumably for semantic reasons. Both alternants of the future are found frequently. This adverb is used with transitive or intransitive verbs. For examples see TVI.6,9 and:

- (110) ṇa:ga muday biyambay yaraṇ ṇuṇu:
 1sg-A unable-PRES eat-PRES DEM kangaroo-0
 I can't eat that kangaroo.

- (111) gula:na mudaṇ da:lgan
 3sg-S unable-PAST sing-PAST
 He couldn't sing.

3.4.8 **LOCATIONAL DEICTICS**. The following five locational deictics have been encountered. They give locational information about a verb and can occur anywhere in a sentence. It seems likely that there were more words in

this class, as it has at least one gap.

<i>In relation</i>	<i>In relation</i>	
<i>to speaker</i>	<i>to addressee</i>	
yila:	ɲiliŋ	near
guɟu:	guɟu:	medium distance
mulu:		far

yila: occurs very frequently in texts and sentences and appears to have an inflected form yila:na, meaning 'from here'. This resembles an irregular ablative form, so it is possible that these locational deictics originally inflected like nouns. As stated in 3.4.7, yila:, guɟu: and mulu: have all been found adverbialized, with the -mi adverbializer (and also -ma for yila:).

Some examples are TI.16,17,18; VI.14,21; IX.1c-d, 1h, 1j; (4), (31), (206), (207) and:

- (112) ɲi:nda guɟu: birmadi gala:mgagu
2sg-S LOC DEIC run-IMP oak tree-ALL
Run over there to the oak tree.
- (113) birmadi guɟu:ri balu:ngu
run-IMP LOC DEIC-ADVLSR-IMP grandmother-ALL
Run over there to grandmother.

Again there appears to be no syntactic or semantic difference between the sentence with guɟu: and that with guɟu:ri.

- (114) ɲali: ɲayingiw yila:
1du-S sit-FUT LOC DEIC
We will sit here.
- (115) (yana:) mulu:mi
(go-IMP) LOC DEIC-ADVLSR-IMP
Go far away!
- (116) yana: mulu:
go-IMP LOC DEIC
Go far away.

As mentioned in 3.4.7, the verb is sometimes deleted when it occurs with an adverb.

- (117) ɲa:ri ɲiliŋ gidu:da
play-IMP LOC-DEIC sand-LOC
Play there in the sand (i.e. near addressee).

CHAPTER 4 SYNTAX

4.1 SIMPLE SENTENCES

4.1.1 VERBLESS SENTENCES. A verbless sentence obligatorily contains a Topic NP and a Comment NP. The *Topic NP* is
a noun phrase in S case.

The *Comment NP* can be

- a noun phrase in unmarked or S case
- or a noun phrase in genitive case
- or a noun phrase in dative case
- or a noun phrase in a local case.

See 4.1.3 for noun phrase constituency.

A verbless sentence can be modified by any of the particles marked *Verbless* in the list presented and discussed in 4.6 below. Examples are TI.2, 14, 28; VI.7; (22), (39), (54), (57), (152) and:

- (118) ya:m ni:gar gawgar ɲinundi gagu:ga
DEM man-S DISC PART 2sg-GEN-S brother-S
So this man is your brother.
- (119) bi:way ɲi:nda yaraŋ barway
NEG PART 2sg-S DEM big-S
You are not big.
- (120) ya:m gi:bar
DEM boy-S
This is a boy OR Here is a boy

The ambiguity of sentences like (120) is discussed in 2.1.13.

4.1.2 VERBAL SENTENCES.

[i] *An intransitive sentence* is one which contains an intransitive V(erb) C(omplex) (see 4.1.4 for VC constituency). It also contains an NP in S function. Optional extensions of both intransitive and transitive sentences are listed at [iii] below.

Word order seems remarkably flexible, but the preferred order in intransitive sentences is, for Harry Buchanan:

S V

Changes to VS are much more frequent in texts, and this could indicate that the speaker is influenced by English word order in elicited sentences. Examples of basic intransitive sentences: TI.3; VI.2, 10, 34 and:

- (121) barway nuŋu: ɲayinggi
big-S kangaroo-S sit-PRES
The big kangaroo is sitting.
- (122) dulupmiŋ yaraŋ ni:gar
smile-PAST DEM man-S
That man was smiling.

In an intransitive sentence which contains a locational deictic, the verb is sometimes deleted. Examples are TI.17 and:

- (123) ya:m ni:gar yila:
DEM man-S LOC DEIC
The man is here.

This sentence is underlying ya:m ni:gar ɲayinggi yila:. ɲayinggi is a commonly used verb meaning 'live, stay, sit'. It can also have a broader existential meaning. The above sentence therefore means 'The man is here'.

Note that sentences which contain a locational deictic and have the verb deleted are of a different type to the verbless sentences described in 4.1.1 above. Locational deictics are verbals and optional constituents of the verb complex. There is no morphological or syntactic way in which they can be analyzed as part of the NP. But a verbless sentence contains two NPs only, and no verbals. Hence

it is clear that the sentence containing a locational deictic cannot be analyzed as a verbless sentence. It is more appropriately analyzed as an intransitive sentence with the verb *nayingi* deleted, as in (123) above.

Note there is one subjectless sentence in the data which contains only the verb *gulu:na* 'to rain', which is derived from the noun *gulu:n* 'rain' by the addition of the intransitive verbalizer (-a following a consonant).

(124) *gulu:naygu* - it will rain

It has been impossible to elicit further examples of subjectless sentences. Sentences such as 'it will storm' are translated as

(125) *buru:mgay ya:ban* - 'storm is coming'.

Many languages such as Latin, have a similar situation with verbs like 'rain' and Corinne Williams (personal communication) has reported a parallel situation in the Yuwaaliyaay language in north-western New South Wales. This language has only one subjectless sentence which again contains the verb 'to rain' in different tense forms: e.g. *gama:wa:na* - 'it is raining'.

[ii] A *transitive sentence* is one which contains a transitive verb complex. It also contains an NP in A case and an NP in O case. Optional extensions of both intransitive and transitive sentences are listed at [iii] below.

Word order is remarkably flexible, but the preferred word order in transitive sentences appears to be, for Buchanan:

A V O

However, all possible permutations of this order are found. (See for example: TIX.1a-VAO, I.18-OAV, VI.27-AOV, I.4-VOA, VI.21-OVA, VI.17-AVO.) Smythe (p.67) indicates that the preferred word order is

A O V

which is more common for Australian languages than AVO. Here again it seems not unlikely that my consultant, being the last speaker of his language, is influenced by English word order.

On the basis of the evidence available it would appear that the basic word order is

AOV for transitive sentences

VS for intransitive sentences.

This is a very odd combination. Most languages have the verb in the same relative position in all sentence types. However, this conclusion should not receive much attention as it is very hard to evaluate such factors as the influence of English, and the order of elicited sentences with the last speaker of a language.

Examples of basic transitive sentences are TI.4; VI.11, 25; IX.1a and:

(126) *ni:gadu buwa:n gi:bar*
 man-A hit-PAST boy-O
 The man hit the boy.

- (127) *ŋiya:la ŋuɖaliɲa na:gu*
 1pl inc-A 2pl-O see-FUT
 We will see you.

Sometimes either the A noun phrase or the O noun phrase can be deleted. Examples are TI.13, VI.3 and:

- (128T) *biyagay na:waŋ gula:na*
 not see-PAST 3sg-O
 He has never been seen. (OR literally '(no-one) has seen him').
- (129) *ŋali: biyambaw*
 1du inc-A eat-FUT
 We will eat.

And in imperative sentences it is possible to have both the A noun phrase and the O noun phrase deleted:

- (130) *biyamba*
 eat-IMP
 Eat!

[iii] *Optional extensions of intransitive and transitive sentences.*

- (a) an NP in a local case
- (b) an NP in dative case
- (c) an NP in instrumental case - transitive sentences only.
- (d) one or more particle e.g. *wala* - 'perhaps'.
 See list at 4.6.

Examples of extensions to intransitive sentences are TI.30; VI.36 and:

- (131) *naya biyagay gaɣaŋɲiŋ bigu:da dali:ga*
 1sg-S not stand-PAST tree-LOC under-LOC
 I was not standing under a tree.
- (132) *ŋali: ba:naŋ ɖalumbaw waŋga:ŋpaɾ*
 1du inc-S come-PAST long ago south-ABL
 A long time ago we came from the south.

Examples of extensions to transitive sentences are TVI.5, 17 and:

- (133) *wala ŋiya:la na:gu ŋuɖaliɲa ga:gala gaŋaygiɾ*
 perhaps 1pl inc-A see-FUT 2pl-O see-LOC later
 We might see you at the beach later.
- (134) *ni:gaɖu bawgaŋ bulu:ŋgal gamayɖu*
 man-A hit-PAST fish-O spear-INST
 (Literally. The man hit the fish with a spear)
 The man speared the fish.

[iv] *Reflexive.* In Gumbaynggir reflexive sentences are simply transitive sentences in which the A and O noun phrases are both singular and both have identical reference:

- (135) *gula:du bu:rwəŋ gula:na magayɖu*
 3sg-A paint-PAST 3sg-O red paint-INST
 He painted himself with red paint.

Note that this sentence could also mean 'He₁ painted him₂ with red paint' and is then not a reflexive sentence as the noun phrases refer to two different people. Sometimes

the consultant would disambiguate the two such possible readings by giving the reflexive sentence above as:

(136) gula:du bu:rwaŋ gula:naw magayu

The semivowel -w added to the third person object pronoun in a reflexive sentence is an optional reflexive morpheme. Note that word final -w is rare in Gumbaynggir. Apart from this optional reflexive suffix, it occurs only as one of the verbal future tense suffixes -w, and on five words: gu:ɟulaw 'tomorrow', ɟalumbaw 'a long time ago', biraw 'north', waw 'also', gambaw 'kidney'.

The following examples show the reflexive with first and second person pronouns.

(137) ɲa:ɟa ɲa:ɲa bu:rwaŋ magayu
1sg-A 1sg-O paint-FUT red clay-INST
I will paint myself with red clay.

(138) wuna: ɲi:nda bawga ɲi:na ɟi:na
don't 2sg-A spear-IMP 2sg-O foot-O
Don't spear your foot.

4.1.3 NOUN PHRASE CONSTITUENCY. A noun phrase must consist of:

	<i>Examples</i>	<i>Text examples</i>
either a noun	ni:gar 'man'	I.4,13; VI.16
or a demonstrative	ya:m 'this'	VI.3
or a pronoun	ɲaya 'I'	I.17, IX.1a

The *noun* can be accompanied by:

another noun	ni:gar barway 'big man'	
or a demonstrative	ya:m ni:gar 'this man'	I.1, 14; VI.29c
or a third person pronoun	ɲilina ni:gar 'the man'	I.3, VI.26, IX.1e
or both a demonstrative and another noun	ya:m barway ni:gar 'this big man'	
or both a third person pronoun and another noun	ɲilina ni:gar barway 'the big man'	
or a possessive NP	ɲapundi ɟiɟa:ga 'my sister'	I.18
or a possessive NP plus another noun	ɲapundi ɟiɟa:ga barway 'my big sister'	

The *pronoun* can be accompanied by:

a demonstrative	ɲaya ya:m 'I'	VI.36
-----------------	---------------	-------

Word order within the noun phrase appears fairly flexible. In elicited sentences, where the influence of English is great, the head noun tends to be the last constituent of the NP. In fact elicited sentences largely follow English order. In texts, all possible combinations of elements in the noun phrase are found with no obvious tendency to a particular set order. Within a sentence elements of the noun phrase are frequently randomly scrambled, as in: TI.15,18; VI.26.

4.1.4 VERB COMPLEX CONSTITUENCY. A verb complex must involve a verb e.g. *gagangi* 'stand' (see text examples I.3,4; VI.4,5,10; IX.1a).

The verb may be accompanied by

[i] a locational deictic e.g. *gagangi yila*: 'stand here' (text examples I.24; VI.21; IX.1c,j)

[ii] adverb(s) e.g. *yara:n gidu:damin* 'went on the sand' (text examples I.8, VI.9, 29f)

[iii] or a combination of the above e.g. *mudan gidu:damin yara:n yila*: 'was unable to go on the sand here'.

Word order within the verb complex appears very flexible. It is difficult to find a regular pattern. If an adverb occurs it frequently precedes the verb. Verb complexes, especially in texts, contain less elements than noun phrases. The great majority of VC's in the texts contain a verb only.

4.1.5 WORD-LEVEL DERIVATIONS. This section is a synthesis of information contained in various sections of Chapter 3. For a full treatment, with examples of the derivational processes described below, refer to 3.2.10 (Nominalizer), 3.4.6 (Verbalizers) and 3.4.7 (Adverbs).

[i] A noun can be formed from a verb by the addition of the suffix *-gam* to the present tense form. This process of nominalization is not widely used and occurs mainly to avoid sentences involving a relative clause.

[ii] An intransitive verb can be formed from a noun root by the addition of *-a* following a consonant or *-wa* following a vowel. The verb formed basically has an inchoative meaning.

[iii] A transitive verb can be formed from a noun root by the addition of *-mba* following a vowel or *y*, *-da* following *n-*, *-ba* following *m-*, or *-amba* following all other consonants. The derived verb has a basically causative meaning. (Note that three such derived verbs can also be used adverbally - see 3.4.7 [ii].)

[iv] A (transitive) causative verb can be formed from an intransitive by the addition of *-ygura*. When *-ygura* is added to a transitive verb root a three-place causative verb is formed and both objects are in the O case.

[v] An intransitive locational adverb can be formed by adding *-mi* to a noun in locative case or a locational deictic. These adverbs occur only with verbs of motion and give more specific locational direction.

[vi] A transitive locational adverb can be formed by adding *-ma* to a noun in locative or allative case or a locational deictic. These adverbs occur mainly with verbs of motion and give more specific locational direction.

4.1.6 RECIPROCAL. The reciprocal is overtly marked on one verb only. This is the irregular verb *bu(m)* - 'to hit, kill' which is probably semantically the verb most likely

to be used in a reciprocal sense. It is a transitive verb, but the addition of the reciprocal marker *-iri* has an intransitivizing effect. When *-iri* is added no tense suffix is used.

- (139) $\text{yaraŋ bulari bumiri}$
 DEM two-S hit-RECIP
 Those two were fighting.

Compare the same verb root *bu(m)* in the following transitive sentence:

- (140) $\text{yaraŋ bularigu bu:mgu yu:ngu}$
 DEM two-A hit-FUT bad-O
 Those two will hit the bad one.

It is interesting that in Yidip (Dixon 1977:282) the verb 'hit' is the only verb which when reduplicated forms an intransitive reciprocal. All other verbs in Yidip are unaffected for transitivity when reduplicated. And the Yidip verb 'hit' is *bunga-n* which is undoubtedly cognate with the Gumbaynggir verb 'hit' *bu(m)*.

To convey reciprocal meaning with any other verb there is no formal change to the verb. However, we can assume in the underlying structure a significant syntactic change which was possibly earlier marked by a verbal affix, probably *-iri*. The motivation for this is that (unlike a reflexive sentence which has an A and an O NP), a reciprocal sentence has only one NP - that of intransitive subject (S). So a verb which is normally transitive acts as an intransitive verb in a reciprocal sentence.

Note that reciprocal sentences frequently contain the (uninflected) particle *galagala*, which is possibly the reduplicated form of the discourse particle *gala* 'and', 'then', 'while' etc. For example:

- (141) $\text{yaraŋ ni:gar bulari galagala payagi}$
 DEM man-S two-S PART look-PRES
 Those two men are looking at each other.

Compare this reciprocal construction with the following transitive sentence:

- (142) $\text{yaraŋ ni:gadu bularigu payagi ya:m ni:gar bulari}$
 DEM man-A two-A look-PRES DEM man-O two-O
 Those two men are looking at these two men.

- (143) $\text{ŋiya: galagala bu:rwaw}$
 1pl inc-S PART paint-FUT
 We will paint each other.

Compare the reciprocal construction in (143) with the following transitive sentence:

- (144) $\text{ŋiya:la bu:rwaw ŋi:na}$
 1pl inc-A paint-FUT 2sg-O
 We will paint you.

Of course an intransitive verb can also be used in a reciprocal sense as shown in the following sentence:

- (145) bulari buwa:r dulupmi galagala
 two-S baby-S smile-PRES PART
 The two babies are smiling at each other.

Compare with the regular intransitive sentence:

- (146) ni:gar dulupmi galimbala
 man-S smile-PRES ldu inc-LOC
 The man is smiling at us.

Although the particle galagala occurs mainly in reciprocal sentences it has been found in a clearly transitive sentence in one of the texts. Here it appears to have an emphatic meaning. See TVI.14 and:

- (147T) wagin galagala budiw niyangidambu ni:na
 completely PART tear up-FUT 3pl-A 2sg-0
 They will tear you up completely.

Note the similarity in form between the -iri reciprocal suffix and the noun bulari - 'two', which is also the third person dual pronoun.

4.1.7 POSSESSION. It seems likely that there was a syntactic difference in Gumbaynggir between alienable and inalienable possession. Apart from the whole-part relationship which is expressed by inalienable possession, most possessive phrases involve alienable possession. (This includes kinship relations). Alienable possession is expressed by the genitive case inflection on the possessor NP, and no additional marking on the possessed NP. (See 3.2.3, 3.3.1 and 3.3.5 for genitive inflections). For example:

- (148) ni:gargundi gamay mu:gu
 man-GEN-S spear-S blunt-S
 The man's spear is blunt.
- (149) barwaygundi ni:gargundi buwa:r dulupmi
 big-GEN-S man-GEN-S baby-S smile-PAST
 The big man's baby was smiling.

The consultant frequently treats *inalienable possession* (mainly of body parts, both human and animal) as syntactically different. In these instances the possessor and possessed NP's are simply placed in apposition. However this syntactic distinction between alienable and inalienable possession appears to be optional for Gumbaynggir, as it is also for Yidiñ (Dixon 1977:357-64).

In the following sentences expressing inalienable possession the speaker has used genitive case in sentences (150), (152), (155) and nominal apposition in (151), (153), (154), (156). (See also (16), (17), (22), (138).)

- (150) ga:lgan gawgar ginundi gaga:la
 ear-0 so 2sg-GEN-0 open-IMP
 So open your ears.
- (151) gi:n yari nanumbala ga:lbada wa:ndin
 ant-S PART ising-LOC arm-LOC climb-PAST
 The ants were climbing my arm.

- (152) *ŋapundi ma:ɕa galigam*
 lsg-S hair-S short-S
 My hair is short.
- (153) *ŋa:na buwa:ŋ ga:li*
 lsg-O hit-PAST head-O
 translated as 'He hit me on the head.'
 (Literally '(he)hit my head').
- (154T) *yari birawan ŋilina gula:du mala:ŋgu*
 PART throw-PAST 3sg-O 3sg-A hand-A
 His hand threw it off.

The ergative NP in (154T) could be re-analyzed as '3sg-A hand-INST' and then translated as 'He threw it off with his hand'.

- (155) *gula:du ma:niŋ nuŋu:gundi ɕa:ɕa*
 he-A take-PAST kangaroo-GEN-O leg-O
 He took the kangaroo's leg.
- (156) *nuŋu: gaygiŋ ɕawgar ɕa:ɕa*
 kangaroo-O cut-PAST PART leg-O
 And so he cut off the kangaroo's leg.

It could be that the difference between the last two sentences above results from the fact that the kangaroo's leg is detached from its body in sentence (155), and therefore is no longer inalienably possessed.

It appears that a genitive form can optionally take a further case inflection. For example in the following sentence the first person possessive pronoun is inflected for locative, the case of the head noun of its NP (see also (23)):

- (157) *yaraŋ ni:gar guɕu: niyaŋgidam gayi ŋapundiya*
 DEM man-S LOC DEIC 3pl-S talk-PRES 1sg-GEN-LOC
 gagu:ŋumbala
 brother-LOC
 Those men over there are talking to my brother.

But in the following sentence there is no allative inflection on the noun 'man' which is already inflected as possessor.

- (158) *ma:na ŋa:lu ni:gargundi nami:gu*
 take-IMP water-O man-GEN-S woman-ALL
 Take water to the man's wife.

I have not succeeded in eliciting many sentences which contain the 'possessor of a possessor'. The following sentence indicates that the possessive is marked on the first possessor NP only:

- (159) *waru ŋinundi buwa:r biga:r*
 who-S 2sg-GEN-S baby-S name-S
 What is your baby's name?

Compare with:

- (160) *waru ŋinundi biga:r*
 What is your name?

TABLE 4.1 - *Dative and Genitive forms.*

	<i>Dative</i>	<i>Genitive</i>
ordinary nouns	-gu	-gundi
kin and section nouns	-gu	-gundi
1sg	ga ^u	ga ^u n ^u di
2sg	gi ^u	gi ^u n ^u di
1 du incl	ga ^u imba	ga ^u imba ^u di

(There are similar examples in Smythe: 'wa:ru gi:nundi pu:ganga biga:r - what is your mother-in-law's name?'; cf. 'to my father's house - ba:bagundigu gu:ga:gu')

But in the following sentence the topic NP has the possessive marked on both pronoun and noun. (The comment NP is also a possessive - gawngganundi).

- (161) gula:gundi namigundi gawngganundi wa:n
 3sg-GEN-S woman-GEN-S gawnggan-GEN-S face-S
 His wife's face is like a gawnggan's.
 (That is: His wife's face is angelic, beautiful).

We have no way of determining the rule in Gumbaynggir for expressing the 'possessor of a possessor'.

4.1.8 DEEP STRUCTURE OF POSSESSIVE PHRASES. The possessive (i.e. genitive case) morpheme in Gumbaynggir is exactly equal to the dative case plus the relative clause marker, which is -ndi following a vowel, -andi following a consonant. Table 4.1 shows this strikingly regular system. (See Table 3.4 for other first and second person non-singular pronouns which all have dative in -mba and genitive in -mbandi. Note that the exclusive marker -gay is suffixed after each full case form. Third person forms are not discussed here as they are rarely used in genitive case and are poorly attested.)

This morphological transparency was not noticed by Smythe [1948/9], or Dixon [1969], who used Smythe's Gumbaynggir information for his analysis of the possessive phrase in conjunction with the relative clauses in both Gumbaynggir and Dyirbal. (Dixon was doubtless misled by Smythe's inaccuracies in phonetics, phonology and morphology.)

It would appear that the idea of surface genitive case expressing underlying dative is relevant here. I argue that Dixon's underlying structure for the embedded possessive phrase (NP₁-NOM, NP₂-ERG, POSS-TENSE) does not correctly describe the Gumbaynggir situation. This underlying transitive structure seems to fit Dyirbal and also, for instance, Kuku-Thaypan [Rigsby 1976:263]. But for Gumbaynggir I propose that the underlying possessive structure is a verbless sentence with the possessor NP as beneficiary with respect to the possessed NP. Hence the possessor NP receives dative case marking in the lower (possessive) sentence. The possessed NP is in S case of course. (See 4.1.1 for verbless sentences.)

A similar underlying structure is proposed by Silverstein for Chinook. He says [1976:137] that 'From a

syntactic perspective it becomes obvious that the genitive is functionally a specialized adnominal dative case'. Note that later in the same article [p.158] Silverstein concludes the same about Dyirbal genitive: '... the possessor is in underlying or normal grammatical dative case relation, and the surface 'genitive' case is the special form for adnominal dative...'. Looking also at the genitive in English, Lyons [1969:392] rejects the underlying transitive structure with a verb of possession and uses the analysis of underlying dative case. He also cites supporting morphological evidence from Latin. There would thus appear to be quite a degree of naturalness in the semantic notion that the genitive case is a type of dative.

We turn now to the syntactic rules which act upon this underlying structure. Traditionally, possessive phrases have been interpreted as a kind of reduced relative clause, and Dixon's 1969 article has neat transformational rules to change the complex sentence with embedded possessive sentence to a simple sentence with possessive NP.

But there are problems with Dixon's analysis. Firstly it depends on his recognition that the genitive inflection on nominals is identical to the relative clause marker. As we have seen above, this is a mistaken identification. But, apart from this morphological mistake, there are syntactic problems with Dixon's generation of relative clauses. It is shown in Eades [forthcoming] that Dixon has overgeneralized on Smythe's limited and inaccurate relative clause data. (There is probably also a slight dialectal difference in relative clauses). I will here anticipate the discussion of the relative clause construction at 4.2.5 and briefly summarize the process. In the southern dialect, when the relative clause construction is used (and this use is limited) the constituent sentence is embedded into the matrix sentence and one of the common NP's is deleted. (It is not clear whether this deleted NP is from the matrix or the constituent sentence). The verb in the constituent sentence receives the relative clause affix. We will now illustrate the proposed derivation of possessive phrases in Gumbaynggir using the example sentence:

- (162) ni:gargundi:yu wa:ngi:gu yi:ngaŋ gi:bar
 man-GEN-A dog-A bite-PAST boy-O
 The man's dog bit the boy.

Assuming that the surface genitive case results from a deep dative relation, the phrase structure rules would generate (using Σ to indicate 'sentence'):

$A_{\Sigma} [ni:gar-DAT wa:ngi-S]_{\Sigma} wa:ngi]_A yi:nga-PAST gi:bar-O$

The relative clause transformation would now delete one of the forms $wa:ngi-S-A$ or $wa:ngi-A$ (which are both realized as $wa:ngi:gu$). As the embedded sentence is verbless, there is no verb on which to affix the relative clause marker. So we would need to extend the rule of relative clause marking to apply to the NP in dative case in verbless sentences. This rule is weak in that it is useful only in the case of possessives. (But it is no weaker

than Dixon's [1969:38] rule (IV) which has affix transfer to the N + ERG if V=POSS).

This rule would give the string:

[ni:gar-DAT-REL wa:ngi-S]_A yi:nga-PAST gi:bar-0

which surfaces as the correct sentence:

(162) ni:gar-gu-ndi-yu wangi:-gu yi:nga-ŋ gi:bar-ø

(Note that Dixon's rule would generate the possessor noun as *ni:garandiyu.)

Much of the work in this section and 4.2.5 is in Eades [forthcoming].

4.2 COMPLEX SENTENCES

4.2.1 CONJOINED SENTENCES. Two or more sentences are joined by juxtaposition when the (intransitive or transitive) subject noun phrases in both (or all) sentences have the same reference. The second (and subsequent) occurrences of the common noun phrases are deleted, whether they bear a different case inflection or not. The resulting conjoined sentence can comprise one intonation group.

(163T) (birugandu) buwa:ŋ gula:na biligayŋ
 Birugan-A hit-PAST 3sg-0 bisect-PAST
 Birugan hit him and chopped him in two

is the conjunction of two sentences:

(163a) birugandu buwa:ŋ gula:na

(163b) birugandu biligayŋ gula:na

Here the second object phrase is also deleted by application of the general rule which deletes co-referential constituents.

(164) guɖu: ni:gar ɲayŋgi dɭlupmi
 LOC DEIC man-S sit-PRES smile-PRES
 The man is sitting over there smiling

is the conjunction of two sentences:

(164a) guɖu: ni:gar ɲayŋgi

(164b) guɖu: ni:gar dɭlupmi

It seems that sentences such as the following, which can be translated with a non-restrictive relative clause in English (and probably also in the dialect Smythe describes, see 4.2.5), are conjoined sentences in Gumbaynggir.

(165) ni:gar yaraŋ dɭlupmi ɲayŋgi wa:gaya
 men-S DEM laugh-PAST sit-PAST fire-LOC
 The men who were laughing were sitting around the fire.
 OR The men were laughing and sitting around the fire.

In each of the above three sentences, the deleted noun phrase would have the same case marking as the head noun phrase (as both constituent sentences for (163) are transitive, and both for (164) and (165) are intransitive). The following two examples show what happens where the

case markings on the identical NP's are not the same.

In the first sentence below the first NP is in S case and the deleted NP in A case. And in the second sentence below the head NP is in A case and the deleted NP in S case. It is still the second NP which is deleted, and there is no transfer of case marking as they are both topic NP's.

- (166) ni:gar yaraŋ ɳayɳgi wa:gaya biyambay wigi:r
 men-S DEM sit-PRES fire-LOC eat-PRES meat
 The men are sitting around the fire and eating meat.
 OR The men who are sitting around the fire are eating meat.

- (167) gunuybindu na:waŋ ni:gar birmadiŋ ɳuɕa:yŋa
 child-PL-A see-PAST man-O run-PAST camp-ABL
 The children saw the man and ran from the camp.
 OR The children who saw the man ran from the camp.

All the above examples are instances of two sentences conjoined. In the texts, there are frequent instances of more than two sentences conjoined. Often, a story tells of the actions of one person, so the same subject noun phrase is the topic of many succeeding sentences.

- (168T) yara:ŋagay ɳilina biruganba/ yara:ŋ/ wa:ndiŋagay
 go-PAST-CLIT 3sg-S Birugan-S go-PAST climb-PAST-CLIT
 ɳulu:m/ na:waŋagay ni:gar
 mountain-O see-PAST-CLIT man-O
 Birugan went off, walked, climbed the mountain
 and saw a man.

In this sentence the first two verbs (both yara:ŋ) are intransitive and the next two transitive. But the subject of all these verbs is 'Birugan' and as the intransitive verbs occur first, ɳilina biruganba is in S case. A classic example is Text IX which describes how a ɳuɕa was made. In this short text, the only stated subject NP is ɳiya:lagay '1pl exc-A'. The rest of the text (except for the final statement, 'The end', contains verbs attached to the 1pl exc subject, describing the activities performed in making a camp. In fact most complex sentences in the texts are conjoined. There are very few examples of other complex structures (for details see pp. 335ff.).

This use of conjoined sentences in the texts parallels the structure of Dyirbal topic chains described by Dixon [1972:71]: 'If a number of consecutive sentences (...) have a common NP, with common referent, then they will form a topic chain ... This NP [in nominative case] may only be stated once, at the beginning of the topic chain; optionally all or part of it may be repeated later in the chain.'

4.2.2 FACILITATIVE CONJUNCTION. In the corpus there is a small group of sentences involving the use of the facilitative conjunction baya, which can be glossed as 'in order that', 'so', 'until', or 'let' (with a third person imperative meaning). It appears that the verb in the clause headed by baya is always suffixed for imperative. This conjunction is found in two different syntactic environments. Firstly, it is used in complex sentences, at the head of the second clause:

- (169a) ɲaɡi:ɲa ɲura:ɲ duɲa:r baya gula:du
 brother-in-law-0 give-PAST honey-0 FAC CONJ 3sg-A
 ɲambi:la
 drink-IMP
 Brother-in-law was given the honey to drink, so that he
 would drink it.

Note that this sentence could equally well be expressed with the purposive construction, which is discussed in 4.2.6.

- (169b) ɲaɡi:ɲa ɲura:ɲ duɲa:r ɲambi:gu
 brother-in-law-0 give-PAST honey-0 drink-PURP
 Brother-in-law was given honey to drink, so that he would
 drink it

The expression of such sentences using the purposive construction is very common, whereas there are very few examples involving *baya*.

Secondly, *baya* is found in simple sentences with a third person imperative:

- (170) baya ɲami:yu yi:lala
 FAC CONJ woman-A cook-IMP
 Let the woman cook (it).
 (171) wuna: ni:ɟuma baya yaraɲ buwa:r
 don't cold-IMP FAC CONJ DEM baby-S
 Don't let the baby get cold.

The use of this facilitative conjunction in simple sentences seems odd. But these sentences could be explained as complex sentences with the main sentence deleted. The deleted sentence would be something like ɲa:ɡa ɲariŋgi 'I wish', or ɲa:ɡa ɡu:ŋgi 'I say', and *baya* would be thus acting like a noun phrase complementizer. Smythe has translated *baya* as 'ut', and in this proposed structure *baya* does appear similar to the Latin 'ut' complementizer. The 'ut' complementizer introduces NP complements and has the meaning 'in order that'. Normally the embedded verb takes subjunctive marking.

Of the few examples containing *baya*, most are like sentence (169a) above where two sentences are conjoined, or of the simple sentence type such as (170-1). There is only one example where *baya* introduces a complement clause:

- (172) yaraɲ ɡuna: baya wa:ɡay ma:nila
 DEM tell-IMP FAC CONJ wood-0 fetch-IMP
 Tell him to fetch the wood.

4.2.3 CONDITIONAL SENTENCES. Any two sentences can be joined in a conditional construction. The suffix *-ndi* following a vowel or *-andi* following a consonant marks a sentence as hypothetical and is added to the word which is semantically emphatic. As shown in the example sentences below, this suffix can be added to a noun, verb, pronoun, particle (and possibly also other parts of speech). If there are two identical constituents, as in (176) below, the second tends to be deleted.

- (173) gidu:randi ŋi:nda biraw gulu:naygu
 sand-0-ndi 2sg-A dig-FUT rain-FUT
 If you dig in the sand it will rain.

(See 4.1.2 for a discussion of the subjectless sentence gulu:naygu.)

- (174) ŋi:nda ŋa:riwandi gidu:da gulu:naygu barway
 2sg-S play-FUT-ndi sand-LOC rain-FUT big-S
 If you play in the sand there will be big storms.

The difference in meaning between the -ndi on the noun in the first sentence and on the verb in the second sentence above is probably best translated by different emphases: If you dig in the *sand* versus If you *play* in the sand.

- (175) ŋi:ndandi ŋiliŋ wulu:giw ŋi:na bu:mgu gula:du
 2sg-ndi LOC DEIC swim-FUT 2sg-0 hit-FUT 3sg-A
 If you swim there he will hit you.

- (176) ŋaya wa:liw biyagayandi biyambaw
 1sg-S die-FUT NEG PART-ndi eat-FUT
 I will die if I don't eat.

4.2.4 TEMPORAL SENTENCES. Sentences such as (173) and (175) above can have a temporal as well as a conditional meaning. For example, (173) above could mean 'When you dig in the sand it will rain'. The -ndi construction is used in the same way to indicate temporal dependence as condition. The -ndi suffix appears to be added to the subject noun of the time clause.

- (177) ŋali: ya:ngu ŋayanandi bunggi:w
 ldu inc-S go-FUT sun-S-ndi set-FUT
 We will go when the sun sets.

- (178) ŋali:ndi ya:ngu town-gu ga:lawaygu buwa:r
 ldu inc-S-ndi go-FUT town-ALL return-FUT baby-0
 ŋambigura ŋudu:m
 feed-PRES breast-0

When(ever) we go to town we have to return to feed the baby.
 OR After we go to town, we have to return to feed the baby.

4.2.5 RELATIVE CLAUSES. The -ndi suffix is also used in the relative clause construction in Gumbaynggir. But there appears to be a slight dialectal difference between north and south in the use of relative clauses. Our discussion is limited by the fact that such complex sentences are difficult to elicit from the last speaker of the language today, and seemingly also from the handful of further speakers Smythe worked with some thirty years ago.

In the southern dialect, the only examples involve a relative clause to an NP in the matrix clause in O function, or in locative or instrumental case. But in fact, there seems to be a strong avoidance of relative clauses, which occur rarely in texts, and are, as indicated, extremely difficult to elicit. (Note also that there are no relative clauses in the Laves stories).

In the northern dialect, the only examples involve the common noun in both matrix and constituent clause in

either S, A or O function. Dixon [1969] contains an analysis of Smythe's relative clause data for the northern dialect; see Eades [forthcoming] for a full discussion of Dixon's analysis. It is sufficient to point out here that Dixon has overgeneralized on Smythe's very limited and inaccurate material to produce rules which are at best, not well justified by the corpus. The following discussion deals with relative clauses in the southern dialect, except where the northern dialect is specifically indicated.

If the common NP is in S or A case function in the matrix clause in the southern dialect, then the two sentences are conjoined. So many sentences which in Smythe's dialect are translated with a relative clause are simply conjoined in the southern dialect (see 4.2.1 above). For example:

- (179) ni:gadu yuɽa:l biyambaŋ guga:mgaŋ buwa:ŋ
 man-A food-O eat-PAST emu-O kill-PAST
 The man who had eaten the food killed the emu.
 OR The man ate the food and killed the emu.

cf. Smythe (p.77):

- 'jura:l bjeinbaŋandiu ni:gadu guga:mgaŋ bua:ŋ'
 food-O eat-PAST-ndi-A man-A emu-O eat-PAST
 The man who had eaten the food killed an emu.

Note that it might seem likely that relative clauses to S or A NP's could be possible for the southern dialect (the corpus being so slim that it is difficult to draw negative conclusions from it!). However, repeated attempts to elicit relative clauses to S and A NP's were made, and were unsuccessful (producing only examples of co-ordinate constructions).

If the common NP is in a local case in the matrix sentence, the two sentences are frequently simply juxtaposed. Sometimes as in the example below, the common NP is replaced in the second sentence by a locational deictic.

- (180) yana: ɲalu:wina/ yila: gadi:ŋ nami
 come-IMP water-ABL LOC DEIC drown-PAST woman-S
 Come away from the water. The woman drowned in it.
 OR Come away from the water the woman drowned in.

But note example (183) below with the common noun in locative inflection in the matrix clause, which is translated with a relative clause.

Another way of avoiding relative clauses is by the use of the -gam nominalizer e.g:

- (181) ɲarigu ɲa:waŋ ya:m gulu:ra bagu:liyaŋgam
 3sg-A see-PAST DEM bones-O lie-PRES-gam-O
 He saw the bones lying.

Here the verb 'lie' is nominalized and forms part of the object NP of the simple sentence. In fact the underlying structure of this sentence consists of two sentences:

- (181a) ɲarigu ɲa:waŋ ya:m gulu:ra He saw the bones.
 (181b) ya:m gulu:ra bagu:liyaŋ The bones are lying.

These two sentences can well be joined by the relative clause construction with the verb 'lie' embedded and taking the relative clause ending.

(182) η ari $\dot{g}$ u na:wa η ya:m gulu:ra bagu:liyayandi/bagu:lindi

(For the verb alternation see 3.4.2).

But while this sentence with the relative clause is approved of as grammatical the speaker finds the alternative sentence above using the -gam nominalizer much better. (For a full discussion of the -gam nominalizer see 3.2.10, and (47), (48), (50), (51).)

It appears that, in the southern dialect, NP's in only S, A or O function in the constituent clause can be relativized. This follows the pattern of the noun phrase accessibility hierarchy set up by Keenan and Comrie (1977). The common noun in the matrix sentence must be in object function, or in locative or instrumental case. It seems not unlikely that other cases such as dative, ablative etc. should also fit into this pattern, but because of the strong avoidance of relative clauses, examples of these have been impossible to elicit.

Although it is nearly impossible to elicit contrastive sentences using restrictive and non-restrictive relative clauses, it seems not unlikely that relative clauses in the southern dialect can only be used with a restrictive meaning. As pointed out above, the relative clause construction appears not to be used (in the southern dialect) if the common noun is in S or A case in the matrix sentence.

The relative clause construction appears very simple for the southern dialect. The constituent clause is embedded into the matrix clause and one of the common NP's is deleted. It is not clear whether this NP is deleted from the matrix or the constituent clause (see examples (186-7) below which have parallel syntactic structure, but which delete different NP's in the relative clause process.) The verb in the constituent clause receives the relative clause affix (-ndi after a vowel, -andi after a consonant). There is no case agreement, like that claimed by Dixon for the northern dialect (but note that the examples from Smythe of overtly marked case agreement are very few; the case agreement is mainly with S or O case, marked by $\emptyset$).

A few examples, explained in detail, can now be given. Into the matrix sentence:

(183a) yara η dawa η η iyangidam bulu:ngala
 DEM argue-PRES 3pl-S fish-LOC
 They were arguing about the fish

can be embedded the sentence:

(183b) gunuybindu ma:la η bulu:ngal
 children-A catch-PAST fish-O
 The children caught the fish.

The relative clause process involves deleting the common NP (in the main sentence here) and adding -andi (after a consonant) to the verb in the embedded sentence. Hence the sentence:

- (183) yaraŋ dawaraŋ ŋiyanggidam ma:laŋandi gunuybindu bulu:ŋgal.
They were arguing about the fish the children caught.

Here the meaning is obviously restrictive. (Note that word order is very flexible.)

According to Dixon's analysis of Smythe's grammar, this sentence in the northern dialect would be

- (184) *yaraŋ dawaraŋ ŋiyanggidam gunuybindundiya ma:laŋ bulu:ŋgal
with the -ndi relative and the locative case added to the subject noun in the embedded clause. But Buchanan has not accepted any such affix transfer or case agreement for his dialect.

Consider now ;

- (185) ni:gadu bindaymaŋ nuŋu: muni:mbu ma:laŋandi
man-A throw-PAST kangaroo-Ostone-INSTR pick up-PAST-ndi
waga:rpar
ground-ABL
The man threw at the kangaroo a stone he picked up from
the ground.

This complex sentence is composed of the matrix sentence:

- (185a) ni:gadu bindaymaŋ nuŋu: muni:mbu

and the embedded sentence:

- (185b) ni:gadu muni:m ma:laŋ waga:rpar

This is an example of relative clause to an instrumental NP (muni:mbu). The common NP is deleted from the embedded clause here (cf. sentence (183) above where the common NP is deleted from the matrix clause). The relative suffix (-andi after a consonant) is added to the verb in the embedded sentence.

Now consider:

- (186) ŋa:ga pa:waŋ ŋu:nmar gagu:ga buŋdiŋandi
1sg-A see-PAST night-S brother-S wake-PAST-ndi
I saw my brother waking up in the night.

The matrix sentence here is:

- (186a) ŋa:ga pa:waŋ ŋu:nmar gagu:ga

(note that gagu is a kin and section noun and the O case is marked here by -ŋa). The embedded sentence is:

- (186b) gagu:ga buŋdiŋ

The common noun gagu is in O case in the matrix sentence so the two sentences are joined by the relative clause construction. The common noun is deleted here in the O case and -andi is added to the verb in the embedded clause.

Finally, we can examine:

- (187) pa:ga pa:waŋ ya:m biŋugana bagu:lindi
1sg-A see-PAST DEM Birugan-O lie-PRES-ndi
I saw Birugan lying down.

This sentence is similar in composition to the previous sentence with the main sentence:

- (187a) ŋa:ga pa:waŋ ya:m biŋugana

and the embedded sentence:

(187b) biruganba bagu:li

But here when the relative clause construction is applied it is the S case form of the common noun which is deleted. We do not have enough data to know the logic behind the deletion of the common NP. Note that the relative suffix here is *-ndi* following the vowel of the present tense.

All the above examples show the relative clause marker *-ndi/-andi* suffixed to a verb. There are two examples in the northern dialect where this suffix appears to be transferred to the common N in the main clause. Dixon [1969] has generalized these two examples to write an 'affix transfer' rule, which he also uses to generate possessive phrases. (See Eades [forthcoming] for full discussion of the validity of this 'affix transfer' rule). There is virtually no support for affix transfer from the southern dialect. The relative clause affix is found on the noun in only one example:

(188) buwa:r yaraŋ dɔlɔpmin ni:gaɗandi biyambaŋ
 baby-S DEM smile-PAST man-LOC-ndi eat-PAST
 The baby was smiling at the man who was eating.

It consists of the matrix sentence:

(188a) buwa:r yaraŋ dɔlɔpmin ni:gada

and the embedded sentence:

(188b) ni:gadu biyambaŋ

Here it is the (ergative) noun in the embedded clause which is deleted. And for no predictable reason, the relative clause marker *-ndi* is added to the common noun in the matrix clause.

It is interesting that (188) could also have a temporal meaning, 'The baby was smiling at the man when he was eating'; the relative clause process has here added *-ndi* to the subject noun of what could semantically and syntactically be a time clause. But if we compare relative clauses with temporal and conditional clauses we see not only a semantic but a syntactic distinction (which can fall together to create the above ambiguous sentence).

Relative, temporal and conditional clauses all use the same suffix *-ndi/-andi*. With relative clauses this suffix appears mainly on the verb of the embedded sentence, and occasionally on the common noun in the main sentence. With temporal clauses, the suffix is added to the subject noun of the time clause. And with conditionals, the same suffix form is found added to the verb, noun, pronoun or particle which is held to be hypothetical. With temporals and conditionals it is the semantic environment which determines the use of the process and here the *-ndi* morpheme appears to have a definable meaning ('if', 'when'). But with relative clauses this morpheme has a grammatical motivation.

It would appear that there is a basic deep distinction here between embedded and adjoined clauses, following Hale [1976a]. The relative clause construction can be used

only where two sentences have an NP in common, and the relative clause is usually embedded after the head noun of the common NP in the main sentence. Hence the relative clauses appear to have an NP-relative interpretation characteristic of embedded relative clauses. Another characteristic, case agreement with the head noun, is found in the northern dialect. The temporal and conditional constructions, on the other hand, can be formed from any two sentences regardless of whether they have a constituent in common. So, frequently, in Hale's [1976a:79] words 'only the T-relative interpretation is available, since no arguments are shared'.

4.2.6 **PURPOSIVE CLAUSES.** In Gumbaynggir a sentence may be embedded in another sentence when the verb in one is implicated by the verb in the other. This purposive construction is similar to the 'for...to' type of embedding in English (see Jacobs and Rosenbaum 1968:ch.20). In the purposive construction in Gumbaynggir the two sentences must have an NP in common. Note that Bandjalang can have purposives without a common NP [Crowley:1978:5.3.3 of chapter 5]. It is not clear what, if any, restrictions are placed on the case function of the common NP. All elicited examples have this NP in S, A or O function, but other cases were possibly also used at an earlier stage of fluency. In Gumbaynggir purposive constructions the two sentences are juxtaposed, the common NP deleted and the purposive suffix *-ygu* attached to the verb. Note that this purposive suffix has the same form as one of the future suffixes (see 3.4.2).

The following two sentences show the difference between a conjoined and a purposive sentence. First a conjoined construction:

- (189) *ni:gar yaraŋ ba:nay ɲu:ɟa darunday*
 man-S DEM arrive-PRES house-O build-PRES
 The man is arriving and building a house.

The next sentence combines the same two simple sentences:

- (189a) *ni:gar yaraŋ ba:nay*
 (189b) *ni:gadu ɲu:ɟa darunday*

But the meaning is slightly different. In the purposive sentence (190) the man is arriving so that he can build a house and the two sentences are semantically joined by this 'purpose':

- (190) *ni:gar yaraŋ ba:nay ɲu:ɟa darundaygu*
 man-S DEM arrive-PRES house-O build-PURP
 The man is arriving to build a house.

Some further examples of the purposive:

- (191) *naya yari ga:baway ma:nigu bulu:ŋgal*
 lsg-S PART west-go-PRES catch-PURP fish-O
 I'm going up west to catch fish.
- (192) *ɲali: ɲaringgi ga:gal pa:gaygu*
 ldu inc-A want-PRES sea-O see-PURP
 We want to see the sea.

- (193) ɲali: bumaygu gulgu: biyambaygu
 ldu inc-A kill-FUT pademelon-0 eat-PURP
 We will kill pademelon to eat.

Note that as with the conjoined sentences, it is the second common NP which is deleted, regardless of its case inflection. In the following sentence the common noun *ɲami* is in O case in the main sentence and A case in the embedded purposive clause. It is the second occurrence of this NP which is deleted.

- (194) ni:gadu ma:niŋ ɲami biyambaygu wi:ɾ
 man-A fetch-PAST woman-0 eat-PURP meat-0
 The man brought the woman so she could eat the meat.

Another example:

- (195) ɲaya ya:m ɲuɕa:ia ɲinundiya ɲayingi biɕa:r
 1sg-S DEM camp-LOC 2sg-LOC stay-PRES language-0
 ɲinundi ɲara:ɲaygu
 2sg-0 learn-PURP
 I am staying at your camp to learn your language.

(Here the deleted NP is *ɲa:ga* '1sg-A'.)

The use of the purposive construction appears to be optional. The sentence 'Get some pippy shells for us to cook' is translated by either of the following:

- (196) ma:na mina gala:n ɲaligay yi:laygu
 fetch-IMP indef-0 pippy shells-0 ldu exc-A cook-PURP

In this sentence the subject is *ɲi:nda* 'you' (deleted because of imperative). In (197) below *ɲi:nda* is the subject of the first sentence, *ɲaligay* of the second.

- (197) ma:na mina gala:n / ɲaligay yi:law
 fetch-IMP indef-0 pippy shells-0 ldu exc-A cook-FUT

Other examples of purposive constructions are (27), (200) and TVI.1.

4.3 INDIRECT SPEECH.

Speech is usually reported directly, for example:

- (198) ɲu:gaɲa ɕu:ŋɕi ɲa:ga buwa:r yaraŋ ɲambigura
 mother-0 tell-PRES 1sg-A baby-0 DEM feed-PRES
 I'm telling the mother 'feed the baby'. (i.e. I'm telling the mother to feed the baby).
- (199) ɕuna: ɲu:gaɲa ya:m buwa:r du:waŋ
 tell-IMP mother-0 DEM baby-S cry-PAST
 Tell the mother the baby was crying.

These examples have to be used in translation of the 'that' construction in English indirect speech.

But Gumbaynggir does have means corresponding to the 'to' construction for indirect speech. Firstly, the purposive construction can be used, as discussed in 4.2.6:

- (200) ɲa:ga ɲi:na yaraŋ ɕura:ŋ ɕagaŋɕigu
 1sg-A 2sg-0 DEM tell-PAST stand-PURP
 I told you to stand up.

And in one instance, the baya facilitative conjunction is used, as discussed in 4.2.2:

- (172) yaraŋ guna: baya wa:gaŋ ma:niŋa
 DEM tell-IMP FAC CONJ wood-0 fetch-IMP
 Tell him to fetch the wood.

4.4 POLAR INTERROGATIVES

In Gumbaynggir polar interrogatives are answered by either ŋi: 'yes' or bi:way 'no'. There is no change in the form of the sentence between a statement and a polar interrogative, but the intonation of the interrogative sentences rises at the end.

- (201) ŋi:nda dawaray
 2sg-S angry-PRES

when spoken with a falling intonation means 'You are angry'; but with rising intonation means 'Are you angry?'. (See 3.2.14, 3.3.7 and 3.4.5 for interrogative nouns, pronoun, verbs and 4.6.3 for interrogative particles).

4.5 IMPERATIVES

Imperative sentences have the imperative suffix on the verb, and the topic NP (in A or S case function) is frequently, though not obligatorily, deleted. The topic NP is usually second person, but may be first person non-singular, or third person. Where a third person imperative occurs, it is constructed with baya (see 4.2.2). The particle wuna: is added to make an imperative sentence prohibitive. (See 3.4.2 for forms of the imperative suffix.)

- (202) wuna: (ŋi:nda) dulupmi
 don't (2sg-S) smile-IMP
 Don't smile!
- (203) (bula:la) biyambala yaraŋ bulu:ŋgaŋ
 (2du-A) eat-IMP DEM fish-0
 You two eat that fish!
- (204) (ŋali:) wulu:gi
 (1du inc-S) swim-IMP
 Let's go for a swim!
- (170) baya nami:yu yi:lala
 FAC CONJ woman-A cook-IMP
 Let the woman cook (it)!

4.6 PARTICLES

All the members of this word class qualify a complete sentence, but there are restrictions for some particles on the type of sentence they can qualify. These restrictions are indicated in Table 4.2. Translations of all particles and some example sentences follow. Particles can not take any form of inflection.

TABLE 4.2 : *Particles*

	Sentence type		
	Verbless	Intr	Tr
Time particles	+	+	+
Discourse particles	+	+	+
Interrogative particles	+	+	+
Others - bi:way	+		
biyagay		+	+
wuna:		+	+
wala	+	+	+
wagin	+	+	+
guga:r		+	+
mugur		+	+
gamay	+	+	+
gada		+	+
yida		+	+
garada		+	
garadamba			+
balama		+	+
yari		+	+
galagala			Reciprocal

4.6.1 TIME PARTICLES

galumbaw	'a long time ago'
gu:ɕulaw	'tomorrow'
gaywaɕa	'earlier today'
gi:li	'now, today'
gaɲaygir	'later'

These five particles need no explanation. However, it should be pointed out that there appears to be no word in Gumbaynggir corresponding to 'yesterday'. gaɲaygir can mean 'later today' or 'in one, two or several days'. However, it should be pointed out that both Smythe and Frank Archibald (on one of Hoddinott's tapes) give a form similar to gu:ɕulaw for 'yesterday' (cf. Buchanan 'tomorrow'). 'tomorrow' in both these sources is pagungiraw. This latter form has not been encountered anywhere else.

Time is also expressed by the locative case of nouns such as (cf. 3.2.4):

nayan bungigam	'sunrise'	nayanda bungigamba	'at sunrise'
nu:nmar	'night'	nu:nmada	'at night'

An example is:

- (205) gaɲaygir nali: ya:ngu ga:galgu
 later ldu inc-S go-FUT beach-ALL
 Later we will go to the beach.

4.6.2 DISCOURSE PARTICLES. These three particles, found mainly in texts, serve important functions in linking a statement with something from a previous statement. [i] gala has many meanings, including 'but', 'while', 'so', and 'and again'. It also occurs in a statement meaning 'on the one hand ..., on the other...'. It is best

understood from examples: TI.9, 11, 17; VI.14 and:

- (206) *ɲali:* *ya:m gayi* *yila:*
 ldu inc-S DEM talk-PRES LOC DEIC
 We are talking here.

- (207) *yaraŋ gala* *guɟu:* *bulari gayi*
 DEM DISC PART LOC DEIC two-S talk-PRES
 But (OR while OR on the other hand) those two are talking
 over there.

[ii] *ɟawgar* tends to imply that the sentence qualified contains a conclusion of a previous statement. It can translate as, 'thus', 'so', 'now'. See TI.2, 18; VI.6; IX.1j and:

- (208) *ɲaya ɟu:ɟaway* /*ɲaya ɟawgar* *baɟu:liw*
 lsg-S tired-VBLSR-PRES lsg-S DISC PART lie-FUT
 ɟu:ŋuwayɟu
 sleep-PURP
 I am tired. So I will lie down to rest.

[iii] *waw* 'also, too'

- (209) *birugaŋba ɲayingiŋ waw*
 Birugaŋ-S sit-PAST DISC PART
 Birugaŋ too sat down.

4.6.3 INTERROGATIVE PARTICLES

[i] *ɟugarga* - when?

[ii] *ɟuway* - where to?

[iii] *gala:ndi* - why?

- (210) *ɲilinaɟu ɟugarga biyambaŋ bulan*
 3sg-A when eat-PAST meat-O
 When did he eat the meat?

- (211) *ɟuway ɲali:* *ya:ŋu*
 where ldu inc-S go-FUT
 Where will we go?

- (212) *gala:ndi ya:m da:mbar ɟunuy*
 why DEM damper-S small-S
 Why is this damper small?

4.6.4 OTHER PARTICLES. Most of the remaining particles qualify a sentence in a modal or aspectual manner.

[i] *bi:way* 'not', negates verbless sentences (cf.4.7); see TI.2 and:

- (213) *yaraŋ ɟi:bar bi:way ɲaɲundi ɟaɟu:ga*
 DEM boy-S not lsg-GEN brother-S
 That boy is not my brother

[ii] *biyagay* 'not', negates verbal (transitive or intransitive) sentences. See TI.35 and:

- (214) *yaraŋ ɟi:bar biyagay ɟulupmi ɲaɲumbala*
 DEM boy-S not smile-PRES lsg-LOC
 That boy is not smiling at me

[iii] *wuna:* 'don't', is the negative imperative particle

- (215) wuna: gamay biyamba
 don't too much eat-IMP
 Don't eat too much!

[iv] wala 'perhaps, probably, maybe'

- (216) wala ya:m gu:liyam buga;
 probably DEM fig-S rotten-S
 This fig is probably rotten.

[v] wagin 'completely, totally'; this indicates the totality of an event or state. e.g. TVI.25,36 and:

- (217) naya wagin gandalay
 lsg-S completely full-PRES
 I am completely full (of food).

[vi] guḡa:r indicates that an action is performed until fully completed.

- (218T) biyambaḡ ḡilina / biyambaḡ ḡilina guḡa:r
 eat-PAST 3sg-0 eat-PAST 3sg-S PART
 (He) ate (it). He ate it all up.

The difference between wagin and guḡa:r is not known, but it appears that guḡa:r must qualify a verbal sentence, while wagin can qualify verbless or verbal sentences.

[vii] mugur indicates that an event is in vain, useless:

- (219) wuna: mugur dawara
 don't in vain mad-VBLSR-IMP
 Don't get mad for nothing!

[viii] gamay 'too much, too many'; see TVI.7 and (215).

[ix] gada 'almost, nearly'

- (220) gula:du gada bagiguraḡ gula:na wa:gaya
 3sg-A almost burn-VBLSR-PAST 3sg-0 fire-LOC
 He almost burnt himself in the fire.

[x] yida 'keep on...', a repetitive or continuous particle; see TVI.6 and:

- (221) yida da:lga biruganu
 PART sing-IMP birugan-DAT
 Keep on singing for Birugan.

[xi] garada 'quickly' (in intransitive sentences); see example (222), TI.27 and 3.4.7(ii).

[xii] balama 'slowly'; see also 3.4.7(ii):

- (222) naya yara:ḡ garada (/balama)
 lsg-S go-PAST quickly (/slowly)
 I went quickly (/slowly).

[xiii] garadamba 'quickly' (in intransitive sentences); see also 3.4.7(ii).

- (223) ḡa:ḡa ḡi:na bu:mgu garadamba
 lsg-A 2sg-0 kill-FUT quickly
 I will kill you quickly.

[xiv] *yari*. This particle is used mainly with verbs of motion, and is possibly derived from the irregular verb *ya:(n)* 'go'. Its meaning is not known. See TI.30; VI.1,4.
 [xv] *galagala*, the reciprocal particle (see also 4.1.6):

- (224) *yaraŋ ni:gar bulari gaŋaŋi galagala payagi*
 DEM man-S two-S stand-PRES RECIP look at-PRES
 Those two men are standing and looking at each other.

4.7 INTERJECTIONS

The following interjections occur in isolation and have no syntactic function. They do not inflect.

<i>ŋi:</i>	'yes, OK, all right, um'
<i>bi:way</i>	'no'
<i>ba:li</i>	'oh why?'
<i>bu:</i>	'go on'
<i>galaŋ</i>	'gee!'

Note that *bi:way* can fulfil the syntactic functions of a noun, a negative particle and an interjection. The nominal form *bi:way* can also occur with the intransitive verbalizer -a. The resulting verb *bi:waya* means 'to disappear, be finished'.

4.8 UNIVERSAL CLITIC

There is one clitic which is rarely used in conversation or elicited sentences, but occurs sometimes as often as three times in one sentence in texts. It is added after all other suffixes, and although it occurs mainly on verbs it is also found on all other parts of speech. The form of this clitic is:

-gay/V-,w-,y-
 -agay/C-

It is impossible to know precisely the meaning or function of this clitic. Buchanan has indicated that it is considered to be very important, but 'you can't bring it out in English'. The most likely explanation is that it is added for stylistic purposes, to make the texts more euphonious. This clitic is best observed in texts, rather than isolated sentences. A few of the many instances can be found in

TI.1,3,4,6; VI.1,2,10,18,34; IX.1b, 1e on verbs
 TI.23; VI.1,2 on nouns
 TVI.6,27,31,37,39 on pronouns
 TVI.17,29g,29p on demonstratives
 TVI.31 on locational deictics
 TI.34; IX.1f on particles
 TI.22 on interjections

(It is found on an adverb in another text). It is found in the Laves texts, and is mentioned by Palmer [1884] see 1.6.1).

4.9 IDIOMS

Between fully understanding the grammar and knowing the vocabulary of a language on the one hand, and fluently using this language like a native speaker, on the other, is a very large area. This area includes considerations of sociolinguistics, cultural background, and such aspects as idiomatic and colloquial speech. Working with the last fluent speaker makes it impossible to see more than the 'tip of the iceberg' of these aspects. Following is a short list of idiomatic expressions:

- [i] ɲa:lgan yu:ŋgu ('bad ears') used of someone who is slow to learn a language (such as the present writer!).
 - [ii] ɲa:lgan da:ɕi ('tough ears') best translated as English 'pigheaded'.
 - [iii] ɲa:lgan gaga:la ('open ears') means 'listen' (cf. ɲara:(ŋ) 'hear, listen to').
 - [iv] ɲala:p daruy ('good tongue') used of someone fluent in a language. This expression can also be verbalized and:
 - [v] ɲala:p daruya ('tongue become good') means 'learn the language well' or 'become fluent'.
 - [vi] ɲala:p mu:guwa ('tongue become blunt') means 'shut up'.
 - [vii] ɲala:p gura:m ('wretched tongue') term of abuse for chatterbox.
 - [viii] wagin yu:ŋgu ('completely bad') 'no good'.
 - [ix] yu:ŋgu ('bad')
 - [x] yu:ŋgu ga:li ('bad head')
 - [xi] yu:ŋgu ɲa:lgan ('bad ear')
 - [xii] ba:ba bulari ('father two')
- } all mean stupid
- [xii] ba:ba bulari ('father two') means 'father and someone else'; it can be used to mean for example 'father and mother' or 'father and son'.

TEXTS

INTRODUCTORY NOTES

Almost all of the text material for Gumbaynggir has been narrated by Harry Buchanan, who has made this part of the culture of his people truly alive. Readers are well advised to listen to tapes of some of these texts (held by the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, P.O. Box 553, Canberra City, A.C.T., 2601).

The texts consist of six Gumbaynggir myths and three texts of ethnographic information. Two myths and one of the latter texts are included here. (Transcriptions of the remaining texts are also held by the A.I.A.S). Following each text is a short summary, with explanatory notes, largely due to Buchanan. Because these texts have been told very fluently it is not always possible to analyze or translate every word. Hence there are a few gaps, marked '?'. To facilitate the reader's understanding, where there is a change of actor this is indicated in the English.

The texts are told as narratives, usually with dialogue between the main characters. In 4.2 we saw the

importance of the conjoining structure and the preference of simple sentences over other complex sentence structures. This syntactic preference is very clear in the text material. In the three texts included here (which involved no elicitation), there is one facilitative conjunction (in TI.19), no conditional or temporal, one relative clause (TVI.29s), one purposive construction (TVI.1) and one -gam nominalized construction (TVI.31). However, the conjoining structure is very common, and the transcriptions have followed this pattern. Effectively there is a new (numbered) sentence for each new (transitive or intransitive) subject NP. A new clause within a sentence is marked by /. (cf. topic chains in Dyirbal - Dixon 1972:71).

Narration in the texts is frequently in past tense, but there are numerous instances where the narrator lapses into present tense. This appears to have a stylistic impact similar to the parallel use of the present tense in English narration of past events. e.g. TI.6; VI.4, 29d, 37. Note that Buchanan sometimes lengthens the last[ay] of -agay or the last vowel in a past tense verb for stylistic effect. Repetition is used in the texts for emphasis, e.g. TVI.2, 13; I.13. Buchanan's statement to announce the end of a text is almost always

((*ŋilina*gay) *gawgar*) *bi:wayay*(gay)
ŋiliŋ
 3sg-S-CLIT DISC PART none-VBLSR-PRES-(CLIT)
 Lit. And so it has finished.
 The end.

TEXT I - BULAGUR: THE TWO BROTHERS.

- NARRATOR 1 *bulari yaraŋ ga:wana yila:miŋ /ma:laŋ*
 two-S DEM across-ABL here-ADVBLSR-PAST take-PAST
guŋu: gulu / ya gulu ma:laŋ / ga:ba buŋiŋagay
 there side-O ? side-O take-PAST west rise-PAST-CLIT
ŋiyangidam
 3pl-S
 Those two returned from across [the sea]. [They] took
 one part [of the sea?] over there, and took another
 part. They all came up in the west.¹
- 2 *ya:m gawgar bi:way muni:m /yaraŋ gidu:rgir*
 DEM DISC PART no stone-S DEM sand-only-S
 Well there were no stones, there was only sand.
- 3 *yara:ŋagay ŋilina ŋaŋi:ga*
 go-PAST-CLIT 3sg-S brother-in-law-S
 Brother-in-law went [there].
- 4 *ŋaŋamaŋaŋagay gula:na ga:galu*
 chase-PAST-CLIT 3sg-O sea-A
 The sea chased him.
- BROTHER- 5 *ŋaŋamaŋa ŋa:na yaraŋ*
 IN-LAW chase-IMP 1sg-O DEM
 Chase me!

- NARRATOR 6 yari wari;waygay²
PART east-VBLSR-PRES-CLIT
[He] went in [eastwards].
- BROTHER-IN- 7 barwaya ni:nda ? /nagarnagarmbi gagangila
LAW big-VBLSR-IMP 2sg-S chest-chest-? stand-IMP
Expand! (to the sea) Stick your chest out!
- NARRATOR 8 naɣamaɣanagay / naɣamaɣan gaba:lamiŋ
chase-PAST-CLIT chase-PAST west-LOC-ADVBLSR-PAST
[The sea] chased [him]. [It] chased [him] to
shore (i.e. westwards).
- 9 gala yagaran gula:du / yagaran /
DISC PART follow-PAST 3sg-A follow-PAST
wari:wamiŋ
east-LOC-ADVBLSR-PAST
And then he followed [the sea]. [He] followed [it]
in (i.e. eastwards).
- BROTHER-IN- 10 naɣamaɣa na:na yaran
LAW chase-IMP 1sg-0 DEM
Chase me!
- NARRATOR 11 gala naɣamaɣan
DISC PART chase-PAST
And then [the sea] chased [him].
- 12 wari:way
east-VBLSR-PRES
[He] went in [eastwards].
- 13 na:wanagay bulagudu/ bulagudu na:wan
see-PAST-CLIT 2 brothers-A 2 brothers-A see-PAST
He was seen by the two brothers. The two brothers
saw him.
- FIRST 14 O yaran naɣi:ga yu:ngu
BROTHER Oh DEM brother-in-law-S bad-S
Oh, that brother-in-law is bad.
- 15 yari nali: yaran bu:mba gula:na
PART 1du inc-A DEM kill-IMP 3sg-0
Let's kill him.
- 16 bu: ni:nda mulu:mi
INTER 3sg-S over there-ADVBLSR-IMP
Go on, you go over there!
- 17 naya gala yila:
1sg-S DISC PART here
And I'll [stay] here.
- 18 ninundi gawgar ga:gal ni:nda ga:mɲaygura
2sg-GEN-0 DISC PART sea-0 2sg-A break-VBLSR-IMP
gulu: gulu
there side-0
Thus you break your part of the sea there.
- 19 na:ga gala yila: / baya guga:rila
1sg-A DISC PART here FAC CONJ surround-IMP
And I'll [do the same] here, so that we surround [him].

- 20 gada ma:nila gula:na yaraŋ gadigurala
almost take-IMP 3sg-0 DEM drown-VBLSR-IMP
Let's almost take him and make him drown.
- SECOND BROTHER 21 ŋi:
Yes.
- FIRST BROTHER 22 bu:gaŋ
Go on.
- NARRATOR 23 ga:galagaŋ yara:ŋ
sea-S-CLIT go-PAST
The sea went.
- FIRST BROTHER (TO SEA) 24 gawari / gawari ŋiliŋ/ gawari yila:³
break-IMP break-IMP there break-IMP here
Break, break over there, break over here.
- NARRATOR 25 gawariŋagaŋ bulari / guga:riŋagaŋ /
break-PAST-CLIT two-S surround-PAST-CLIT
ma:laŋagaŋ guyuŋa ŋilina ŋaŋi:ŋa /
catch-PAST CLIT brother-0 3sg-0 brother-in-law-0
ma:laŋ / buwa:ŋagaŋ
catch-PAST hit-PAST-CLIT
Both [sides of the sea] broke and surrounded [him].
[It] caught the brothers and brother-in-law. [It]
caught [them] and hit [them].
- 26 gaŋga:liŋagaŋ ŋaŋi:gu
call out-PAST-CLIT brother-in-law-A
Brother-in-law called out:
- BROTHER-IN-LAW 27 muni:ma⁴ ŋaya gaŋada yaraŋ
stone-VBLSR-IMP 1sg-S quickly DEM
Let me become a stone quickly!
- FIRST BROTHER 28 ya guŋgaŋ yaraŋ
? hole-S DEM
There's a hole.
- SECOND BROTHER 29 ya guŋgaŋ yaraŋ
? hole-S DEM
There's a hole.
- FIRST BROTHER 30 ŋaya yari gulu:mgu ya:ngu
1sg-S PART mountain-ALL go-FUT
I am going to the mountain.
- 31 ŋi:nda gala gulu:mgu yari
2sg-S DISC PART mountain-ALL PART
And you are [going] to the mountain.
- NARRATOR 32 buwa:ŋagaŋ yila: birugana / buwa:ŋ
kill-PAST-CLIT there Birugan-0 hit-PAST
gula:na/biliŋgaŋgu/ duwa:ngu bindaymaŋ
3sg-0 split-PAST boomerang-INST slay-PAST
This fellow [here] was killed there. He was hit
and split [in three]. He was slain with a
boomerang.
- SECOND BROTHER 33 yari⁵ gala ŋaya yari ya:ngu
PART DISC PART 1sg-S PART go-FUT
Then I will go.

- NARRATOR 34 yariḡay ḡiḡariḡay
 PART-CLIT ?
 He's still going.
- 35 biyagay na:waḡ ḡula:na
 not see-PAST 3sg-0
 He has never been seen.
- 36 bi:wayayḡay
 end-VBLSR-PRES-CLIT
 The end.
 (Lit. [The story] finishes).

Text I - Summary and explanation: This story was apparently an important part of the mythology of the Gumbaynggir and Djangadi people as it explains the formation of the geological phenomena known today as Scott's Head and Yarihapini Mountain (see map).

It tells of two brothers returning to the beach near present-day Scott's Head. There they saw their brother-in-law, controlling the sea. For an unexplained reason this brother-in-law was bad and the two brothers plotted to kill him. They planned to divide the sea and sweep him out in the waves and drown him. They succeeded in the first part of their plan but the brother-in-law called out (to a deity?) to let him become a stone. So he became the large rock jutting out from the beach, known now as Scott's Head. The two brothers saw holes (caves) in the rock and travelled through these caves to the mountains. There the first brother was slain and became the tripartite rock formation now known as Yarihapini Mountain. The second brother has never been seen and is assumed to be still 'going'.

Scott's Head is actually in Ngamba: territory (see 1.3). (This language was reputedly rather similar to Gumbaynggir). Yarihapini Mountain is also in Ngamba: territory but yari is the Djangadi word for 'koala'. According to Buchanan this story was also part of Djangadi mythology, with the characters portrayed as bears.

The sea was important to the Gumbaynggir people culturally, as well as economically. The sea was viewed anthropomorphically and it was known that it could talk and had the power to rush up and 'abduct' people. But it could also be controlled by certain people such as the characters in this story, who could command the sea to chase them, to stand tall, to break, and so on.

Text I - Notes.

1. It is difficult to ascertain the precise meaning of this sentence. It seems to refer to the two brothers gathering up the sea and bringing it in.
2. A good example of the stylistic use of present tense in the narration of an event in the past.
3. A good example of the usage of the locational deictics ḡiliḡ and yila:, the first referring to near the addressee (here, the sea) and the second referring to near the speaker. This distinction is best translated here as 'over there ... over here'.

4. When recalling this story on another occasion Buchanan replaced this imperative of the intransitive verb with the imperative of the corresponding transitive verb. Instead of *muni:ma naya*, he said

muni:mba na:na (ni:nda)
 stone-VBLSR-IMP 1sg-0 (2sg-A)
 (You) turn me into a stone.

5. It is not known why the seemingly meaningless particle *yari* occurs twice in this sentence.

TEXT VI - THE DEATH OF BIRUGAN

- NARRATOR 1 *biruganbagay yara:ŋ yari du:wa gaygigu /*
 Birugan-S-CLIT go-PAST PART boomerang-0 cut-PURP
 yara:ŋagay/ gali:ga bigu:da ŋayingiŋ /
 go-PAST-CLIT under-LOC tree-LOC sit-PAST
 gaygiŋagay du:wa ŋilina / gaygiŋ
 cut-PAST-CLIT boomerang-0 3sg-0 cut-PAST
 Birugan went off to cut out boomerangs. [He]
 went off [and] sat under a tree. [He] was
 cutting out boomerangs, cutting away.
- 2 *ya:banagay dungu:ŋ yaraŋ/dungu:nagay*
 come-PRES-CLIT snake-S DEM snake-S-CLIT
 ya:ban yaraŋ
 come-PRES DEM
 [Along] came a snake. (Repeated).
- 3 *na:waŋ birugandu/ birawaŋ yaraŋ/*
 see-PAST Birugan-A throw-PAST DEM
 mala:ŋgu wa:lgaŋ
 hand-INST brush off-PAST
 Birugan saw [it], threw [it] off, brushed [it]
 away with [his] hand.
- 4 *gala yari gi:nay gala*
 DISC PART PART ant-VBLSR-PRES DISC PART
 ŋilina
 3sg-S
 But it (the snake) became an ant [this time].
- 5 *yari birawaŋ ŋilina gula:du mala:ŋgu*
 PART throw-PAST 3sg-0 3sg-A hand-INST
 He threw it away with his hand.
- 6 *ŋilinagay¹ galugumbiŋ gawgar yaraŋ*
 3sg-S-CLIT ? DISC PART DEM
 gula:gugay/ yidagay mudan
 ? PART-CLIT unable-PAST
 'He(?) turned into all sorts of different animals,
 tried to catch him, tried to kill him' but
 [they] couldn't.
- 7 *biruganba gamay da:ɕi / ŋalu:ŋgir barway*
 Birugan-S too strong-S clever man-S big-S
 Birugan was too strong, [he] was a great
 ŋalu:ŋgir.

- 8 yara:nagay
go-PAST-CLIT
[They] went off.
- ENEMIES 9 galaŋ giraw ŋiya:la ŋari / mudaw
Gee what do-FUT 1pl inc-A 3sg-0 unable-FUT
ŋiya:la gaduyiw yaraŋ
1pl inc-A catch-FUT DEM
Gee what will we do with him? We won't be able
to catch him.
- NARRATOR 10 yara:nagay ŋiyangidam
go-PAST-CLIT 3pl-S
They went off.
- 11 ŋa:ga ŋi:na gu:ngu
1sg-A 2sg-0 tell-FUT
I will tell you [about how they caught him].
- 12 gayiŋ ŋilina /6-fella²
talk-PAST 3 unmarked-S
gawgar / ali² ŋalu:ngir gulay / gayiŋagay
DISC PART clever man-S ? talk-PAST-CLIT
They discussed [how to catch him], all six
important ŋalu:nggir. [They] talked [about it].
- ONE 13 ŋaya ya:ngu /ŋa:ga wa:ndiw yaraŋ/gula:gundi
NGALU:NGGIR 1sg-S go-FUT 1sg-A climb-FUT DEM 3sg-GEN-0
bigu:r ŋa:ga wa:ndiw / ŋaya gala
tree-0 1sg-A climb-FUT 1sg-S DISC PART
wa:riyaygu wa:u:nga
wait-FUT top-LOC
I will go. I will climb it. I will climb his
tree and I will wait at the top.
- 14 gala ŋugawin ŋilin wa:ga:da
DISC PART 2pl-S LOC DEIC ground-LOC
galagala yana: ŋa:ga
RECIP³ go-IMP watch-IMP
And you go on the grass over there and watch.
- NARRATOR 15 yara:nagay
go-PAST-CLIT
[They] went.
- 16 biruganbagay yaraŋ ya:ban / gaygiŋ /
Birugan-S-CLIT DEM come-PRES cut-PAST
gaygiŋagay ŋilina du:wa /gaygiŋ
cut-PAST-CLIT 3sg-0 boomerang-0 cut-PAST
gula:du du:wa
3sg-A boomerang-0
Birugan came along, cutting away, cutting out a
boomerang. He cut out a boomerang.
- 17 ya:magay wa:u:ŋadu yaniguraŋ gamay
DEM-CLIT top-ABL-A go-VBLR-PAST spear-0
ŋilina / bawgaŋagay ya:m birugana
3sg-0 strike-PAST-CLIT DEM Birugan-0
The fellow from the top [of the tree] let go
his spear. It struck Birugan.

- 18 bu:nminagay / wura:ŋ ŋilina gamay /
 fall-PAST-CLIT pull out-PAST 3sg-0 spear-0
 ma:lanagay gangu:r/mu:ganagay ŋilina
 fetch-PAST-CLIT leaf-0 put-PAST-CLIT 3sg-0
 [He] fell, and pulled out the spear. [He] picked
 some leaves [and] put them on it (the wound).
- 19 bi:wayaygay⁴
 end-VBLSR-PRES-CLIT
 The end.
- 20 bura:badinagay ni:gar
 come out-PAST-CLIT man-S
 The people came out [from hiding].
- 21 birugana yila:na bagulwaw ya:m ni:gadu
 Birugan-0 LOC DEIC slay-FUT DEM man-A
 These people will slay Birugan here.
- 22 yara:nagay biruganba yila:na / gawariŋ yaraŋ /
 go-PAST-CLIT Birugan-S LOC DEIC cross-PAST DEM
 yarigay gula:miŋ
 PART ?
 Birugan went away from there and crossed [the
 water] [and] went home.
- ENEMIES 23 giraŋagay / ya:m ŋiya:nagay bagulwaw
 what do-PAST-CLIT DEM 1pl exc-0-CLIT slay-FUT
 wagin
 completely
 What did [he] do? [He] will slay us all
 completely.
- 24 o ŋi:
 Oh yes.
- NARRATOR 25 wura:nagay birugandu du:wa /
 pull out-PAST-CLIT Birugan-A boomerang-0
 bindaymaŋ / gaygiŋ gawgar wagin
 throw-PAST cut-PAST DISC PART completely
 biligu biligu / gala wura:ŋ
 half-ALL half-ALL DISC PART pull out-PAST
 gamay / gamaydu bawgaŋ wagin
 spear-0 spear-INST hit-PAST completely
 biligu biligu gala gamaydu
 half-ALL half-ALL DISC PART spear-INST
 Birugan pulled out a boomerang [and] threw it.
 Thus [he] cut right through [them] from one half
 to the other, then [he] pulled out his spear.
 [He] speared right through them from one end to
 the other.
- ENEMIES 26 ŋiya:nagay bagulwaw pariŋu gi:li birugandu
 1pl exc-0 slay-FUT 3sg-A now Birugan-A
 Now Birugan will kill us.
 (End of enemies now).

- NARRATOR 27 *ɲilinagay yara:ɲagay / ɲilinadugay gamay*
 3sg-S-CLIT go-PAST-CLIT 3sg-A-CLIT spear-O
bawgaɲ yari waɟu
 throw-PAST PART up
 He went off. He threw his spear up.
- 28 *bu:nmiɲagay ɲilina magay⁵ / bu:nmiɲ*
 fall-PAST-CLIT 3sg-S red clay-S fall-PAST
ɲilina magay
 3sg-S red clay-S
 Red clay fell. Red clay fell.
- 29 (a) *bunɲinagay ɲu:gaŋga gawŋgaɲba /*
 rise-PAST-CLIT mother-S gawŋgaɲ-S
 (b) *ma:lanagay magay ɲilina /*
 take-PAST-CLIT red clay-O 3sg-O
 (c) *bu:rwanagay ya:m ɲa:ɟi /*
 paint-PAST-CLIT DEM leg-O
 (d) *ɟalaygay /* (e) *birmadiɲ /*
 continue-PRES-CLIT run-PAST
 (f) *birmadiɲ yila:miɲ /* (g) *mipa:la*
 run-PAST LOC DEIC-ADVBLR-PAST INDEF-LOC
gawariɲ yaraɲagay / (h) *gala ga:wada*
 cross-PAST DEM-CLIT DISC PART across-LOC
birmadiɲ wira:l / (i) *gawariɲ yaraɲ /*
 run-PAST Warrel Creek-O cross-PAST DEM
 (j) *yariɲ ɟidu:rambiɲagay /* (k) *birmadiɲ /*
 PART-CLIT sand-?-PAST-CLIT run-PAST
 (l) *ɟidu:rambiɲ birmadiɲ /* (m) *ga:ba yara:ɲagay /*
 sand-?-PAST run-PAST west go-PAST-CLIT
 (n) *ga:ba yara:ɲ gaba:lamiɲ /*
 west go-PAST west-LOC-ADVBLR-PAST
 (o) *wari:gumaɲ ɲa:waɲ* (p) *ya:magay*
 east-ALL-ADVBLR-PAST see-PAST DEM-CLIT
ɲiyangɟidam / (q) *birmadiɲagay /* (r) *wari:way*
 3pl-O run-PAST-CLIT east-VBLR-PRES
wari:wamiɲ / (s) *ɲa:wanagay ya:m*
 east-LOC-ADVBLR-PAST see-PAST-CLIT DEM
birugana bagu:lindi
 Birugan-O lie-ndi.
 Birugan's mother (who was a gawŋgaɲ) rose, took
 the red clay [and] painted [Birugan's] leg, [she]
 went on, ran off, ran over there, crossed over
 what's-its-name, then ran across Warrel Creek,
 crossed it, ran on the sand, ran on the sand,
 went up (away from the water) went westwards,
 looked eastwards and saw them. (the enemies) ran
 off, went east, went east, saw Birugan lying down.
- 30 *ɟura:ɲagay ɟila:gungu*
 say-PAST-CLIT great grandfather-A
 Great grandfather said:
- GILA:GUNG 31 *yila:nagay daruyaygam yila:na ɲi:ndagay*
 LOC DEIC-CLIT good-VBLR-NOM-S LOC DEIC 2sg-S-CLIT
 It's good you are here.
 (Lit. Your being here is goodness).

- 32 buga: ? bura:badiŋ
 smell-S come-PAST
 A smell was coming [here].
- MOTHER 33 bu: buga: yila:na gu:da yaraŋ
 INTER smell-S LOC DEIC INT-S DEM
 Phew! Where is this bad smell (coming from?)?
- GILA:GUNG 34 wa:liŋagay biruganba
 die-PAST-CLIT Birugan-S
 Birugan died.
- NARRATOR 35 O ŋi: yaraŋ nu:gaŋgu
 O yes DEM mother-A
 Mother [said] O yes.
- MOTHER 36 wagin bigu:ra ŋuɟawin yaraŋ
 completely tree-VLSR-IMP 2pl-S DEM
 Turn into trees, all of you! (To enemies)
- NARRATOR 37 ŋilinagay wagin bigu:ray
 3 unmarked-CLIT completely tree-VLSR-PRES
 They all became completely turned into trees.
- 38 yaraŋ gu:garinagay ŋilina gawŋganba
 DEM surround-PAST-CLIT 3sg-S gawŋnggan-S
 nu:gaŋga / yariŋay baŋgiŋ ga:laway
 mother-S PART-CLIT fly-PAST return-PRES
 Mother went all around [them] and flew back.
- 39 ŋilinagay bi:wayay
 3sg-S-CLIT none-VLSR-PRES
 (It is no more) The end.

Text VI - Summary and Explanation: The death of Birugan took place at Margan, site of the present-day golf course at Arakoon. The trees, which were originally Birugan's killers are still standing in some places, though most have been chopped down for fairways. It seems that when Birugan died he fell into the sea and his knee landed at present-day Nambucca Heads. Hence its name bagabaga.

Birugan's enemies were trying to kill him, so they sneaked up on him, first as a snake and then as an ant. But he was too clever and just brushed them away. So they speared him from a tree. But Birugan pulled out the spear, rubbed some medicinal leaves into the wound and went off. To get his revenge, he speared and boomeranged a whole group of the people and killed them.

(Eventually Birugan died, presumably from his earlier spearing). His mother set off on a long venture and finally saw Birugan. Great grandfather explained Birugan's death and the smell of dead bodies. To punish the enemies, Birugan's mother turned them all into trees and then she flew away.

Note that Birugan's mother is a gawŋnggan and seems to fly as well as walk and run.

Text VI - Notes

1. The enemy in this text appears to be sometimes one, sometimes many. But by sentence 10, it is clearly a 'plural enemy'.

2. English.

3. It is not known why the reciprocal particle is used here. But see sentence (147) in 4.1.6.

4. The narrator then decided to continue the story.

5. The significance of 'red clay' is not known.

TEXT IX - nu:ɕa CAMP

- 1 (a) gaygiŋ ɲiya:lagay ba:gu / (b) gaygiŋagay
 cut-PAST 1pl exc-A bark-0 cut-PAST-CLIT
 mɪna bigu:r / (c) ɟaganiguraŋ gulu: /
 INDEF-0 tree-0 stand-VBLSR-PAST LOC DEIC
 (d) yila: gala / (e) yari mu:gaŋagay
 LOC DEIC DISC PART PART put-PAST-CLIT
 ɲilina ba:gu / (f) yariɟay mɪna darundaŋ /
 3sg-0 bark-0 PART-CLIT INDEF-0 fix-PAST
 (g) gala gaygiŋ galugun mɪna / (h) mu:gaŋ
 DISC PART cut-PAST one-0 INDEF-0 put-PAST
 mulu: / (i) ba:gu ɲilina baliya mu:gaŋ /
 LOC DEIC bark-0 3sg-0 top-LOC put-PAST
 (j) wa:gaymbaŋ ɟawgar gulu:
 fire-VBLSR-PAST DISC PART LOC DEIC
 We cut the bark and cut some trees. [We] stood some
 [trees] over there and some over here and put down
 the bark, fixed up the 'thingo', then cut one
 'thingo' and put it way over there, put the bark
 on the top, and made a fire over there.
- 2 yariŋagay bi:wayay
 PART-CLIT end-VBLSR-PRES
 The end. (Lit. [it] ends.)

Text IX Notes. This delightfully fluent little text simply describes how 'we' (1 pl exc) used to make camp. It does not contain much information as Buchanan has clearly forgotten a few nouns to describe parts of the camp. Hence the instances of the indefinite noun mɪna. (See 3.2.14).

It is an excellent example of the conjoined sentence structure discussed in 4.2.1. Apart from the final sentence, the whole text contains only one subject noun phrase - ɲiya:lagay 1pl exc-A. The rest of the text consists of verb phrases attached to the subject NP (ɲiya:lagay).

SONG I

- 1 wi:diŋ wira:l-wira:da ɲaya
 give-PAST Warrel Creek-LOC 1sg-S
 I gave [you something] at Warrel Creek
- 2 repeat line 1
- 3 wi:diŋ ɟumbul banga
 give-PAST smoke-0 big-0
 gave big smoke

- 4 purguwa bawgilan naya nura:m-nura:mba
 ? swim-? lsg-S ? -LOC
 'We all swim in the smoke'
- 5 gilapmaya wira:l-wira:da naya
 make fire-? Warrel Creek-LOC lsg-S
 I made a fire at Warrel Creek

This is a Gumbaynggir corroboree song, sung on several different occasions by Buchanan. Almost all of the words in this song are not encountered elsewhere in the language.

Song word		Elsewhere
wi:di	'give'	nura:
gumbul	'smoke'	gu:m
angga	'big'	barway
bawgila	'swim'	bawgi
gilapmaya	'make fire'	wa:gaymba

It therefore seems quite possible that the song language for Gumbaynggir differed considerably from the language of normal speech. However this is the only traditional song for which we have any translation or explanation (as mentioned in 1.4.1).

The following explanation of the song by Buchanan is taken from Crowley's Gumbaynggir field notes 1973: 'The song is sung with the following dance: Two rows of thirty boys and girls in alternation stand facing each other with a fire in the middle. There is also a fire at each end. The boys and girls sharpen sticks at one end and paint them. The girls' sticks are painted red with white spots, and the boys' are painted with white stripes. One man and one woman singer sit at each of the two end fires and a drummer sits at the middle fire. Also at each end fire are three young men 'swimmers', and two young men 'swimmers' are at the middle fire. As the singers sing, the young men 'swim' through the smoke. Also two men dressed as ghosts move up and down the row of children, who are swaying with their sticks'. The significance of this song and dance is not known.

SONG II

- 1 napundi ba:liga gumbaynggir
 lsg-GEN-S father-S gumbaynggir-S
 My father is a Gumbaynggir,
- 2 napundi mi:miga gangadi
 lsg-GEN-S mother-S djangadi-S
 my mother is a Djangadi,
- 3 naya gawgar ya:m gumbaynggir
 lsg-S DISC PART DEM gumbaynggir-S
 so I am a Gumbaynggir.
- 4 gala:ndi na:na warga payagi gunuy gudina
 why lsg-O not look-PRES little-O sweetheart-O
 Why won't my little sweetheart look at me.

- 5 gamay gunuy waranwaran du:wa da:ɟigu
spear little battleaxe boomerang strong-DAT
'I am good with a small spear, a battle axe and
a boomerang!'
- 6 naya gawgar ya:m gulbul wamangu
lsg-S DISC PART DEM clever-S corroboree-DAT
And I am good in the corroboree
- 7 napundi nami gawgar wa:ŋganba
lsg-GEN-S wife-S DISC PART wa:ŋgan-S
And my wife will be a wa:ŋgan
- 8 Repeat line 4

This is not a traditional song but was composed by Harry Buchanan many years ago. It is sung to the well known English tune of 'Knees up Mother Brown'. The meaning of the song is clear: the singer lists the reasons why he is excellently suited to marry his sweetheart, but laments the fact that she won't pay him any attention.

As with Song I, there is one word, which is not encountered elsewhere in the language: 'not' is expressed by *warga* in the song but *biyagay* elsewhere. There are two words only rarely encountered elsewhere in the corpus collected: *gulbul* 'clever' (normal alternative *mi:ndaɭ*), and *ba:li* 'father' (elsewhere *ba:ba* or *paligan*).

There appears to be a grammatical problem in line 4 (also repeated as the final line). The translation given involves the sweetheart as transitive subject and the lsg pronoun as transitive object. But in the song both NP's are in transitive object case. The grammatical structure of line 5 is also problematic.

VOCABULARY

The following list of Gumbaynggir vocabulary is drawn almost entirely from the fieldwork of the writer and Crowley. Words found only in written sources, such as Smythe or Mathews, could not be included because of problems of reliability. (See 1.6.1 and 1.6.2). We first include a Gumbaynggir-English vocabulary following the alphabetical order:

a, a:, b, d, g, g, i, i:, l, m, n, ɲ, ŋ, r, ɟ,
u, u:, w, y.

The abbreviation (EB) after a word indicates that it is borrowed from English. The abbreviation in the second column indicates what part of speech each word is. (See list of abbreviations at the beginning of this volume). Any noun case irregularities that are known are indicated. The unlabelled suffix in brackets following some nouns refers to the ergative/instrumental and locative case markings which are irregular following a short vowel or a semivowel. (See 3.2.6[i]). The irregular allatives and ablatives listed in 3.2.7 are also given in this vocabulary

list. The English glosses given are as accurate as could be deduced from the material. With kin terms, for example, the precise English equivalents are not known. So, for instance *gami* is glossed as 'grandmother', but it is not known whether this is maternal or paternal.

We then give a classification by semantic field, including the bulk of the alphabetical list. Note that this contains roots only (no derived verbs, adverbs etc.).

The reader should bear in mind several aspects of the grammar of the language when consulting this vocabulary list. Firstly, as discussed in 3.1, the language has no separate class of adjectives and most words which are typically adjectives in English, are actually nouns in Gumbaynggir. And these nouns can cover several ranges of meaning, e.g.

da:ndur 'sick, sickness, the sick one'
galpam 'wet, wetness, the wet thing, the wet person'.

Secondly, some English adjectives are actually expressed as verbs or nominalized verbs in Gumbaynggir.

e.g. cooked yi:lan cook-PAST
yi:laygam cook-PRES-gam

Thirdly, some English words have no Gumbaynggir equivalents and are expressed quite differently.

e.g. 'I am thirsty': na:ga naringi nambi:gu
lsg-A want-PRES drink-PURP
I want to drink.

Fourthly, as explained in 3.4.1 and 3.4.6 the number of verb roots is low. Many verbs are derived.

e.g. gagangi 'be standing'
gaganigura 'put standing'

GUMBAYNGGIR-ENGLISH ALPHABETICAL LIST

baba:r, N: club	bamay, N(-gV): possum
badan, N: rat, mouse	bambu:r, N: soft
baga, N(-lV): knee	bangi, Vintr: fly
- bagabaga, N(-lV)(place): Nam-	barigirga, N: ironbark tree
bucca	baringi, Vtr: hit with hand
- bagabagalami, AdvIntr: to, at	barway, N(-gV): big
Nambucca	- barwaya, Vintr: become bigger,
bagi:, Vintr: burn, cook	grow, grow up
- bagigura, Vtr: cook something,	bawga, Vtr: hit with thrown
let something burn	implement, spear
bagulwa, Vtr: slay, kill	bawgi, Vintr: swim
bagu:li, Vintr: lie down, sleep	bawrun(EB), N(place): Bowraville
balama, Part: slowly	bayi, Vintr: look for, search
balawir, N: flying fox	ba:ba, K-S N: father
balawunga, N: ti-tree	- ba:baqumbalami, AdvIntr: to
balga:r, N: wide	father
bali, LOC N (-yV): top	ba:bap, K-S N: great grandmother
baligin, N(place): Bellingen	ba:da, N: testicles
bali:ngur, N: oyster	ba:gu, N(-lV): bark (of tree)
balu:p, K-S N: grandmother	ba:la, Vtr: marry (also copulate?)

ba:li, Inter: (exclamation of surprise or query)
 ba:li, K-S N: father (rarely used)
 ba:lu, N(-IV): cave
 ba:na, Vintr: come, arrive
 ba:nba, Vtr: press
 ba:n, N: march fly
 biba:(EB), N: paper
 biga:, Vtr: follow
 biga:r, N: name, language
 - biga:ramba, Vtr: name someone something
 bigu:r, N: tree, stick, wood
 - bigu:ra, Vintr: become a tree
 bilagara, Vintr: run
 billi, N: half
 - billigaygi, Vtr: bisect, split
 billi:r, N: greedy
 bimi:r, LOC N: middle
 binap, N: vagina
 bindarga, N: pine tree
 bindayma, Vtr: hit with thrown implement
 bira, Vtr: dig, bury
 biraw, N(-IV), ALL biraw~
 birawgu, ABL birayqa: north
 birawa, Vtr: throw
 biri:n(EB), N: bread
 birmadi, Vintr: run
 - birmadigura, Vtr: make someone/ something run
 birugan, K-S N(Name): name of mythical hero, 'Lord', 'Jesus', handsome
 biyagay, Part: not
 biyamba, Vtr: eat
 bi:ga, N(-IV): evil spirit, ghost, devil, poison(ous)
 bi:way, Part: not
 bi:way, Inter: no
 bi:way, N: none, nothing
 - bi:waya, Vintr: be empty, be finished, disappear
 - bi:waymba, Vtr: finish, empty
 budi, Vtr: tear apart, break up
 budi:, Vtr: pull out
 bugawur, N: grass
 buga:, N: dirt(y), poison(ous), bad smell, smelly
 bulagan, K-S N: two women, two sisters
 bulagur¹, N: two brothers
 bulan, N: meat, cattle
 bulari, N(-gV): two
 bulawaq(EB), N: flour
 bulayngun(EB), N: blanket
 bulgur, N: drum

buli:n, N: grey wallaby
 bulu:n, N: belly (external)
 bulu:ngal, N: mullet, fish (general)
 bu(m), Vtr irregular: hit, kill
 bupgi, Vintr: wake up, get up, rise (of sun)
 buggi:, Vintr: disappear, set (of sun)
 bura:badi, Vintr: return, appear
 buru:mgay, N: thunderstorm
 buga:l, N: noise
 - buga:lamba, Vtr: make a noise
 buwa:r, N: baby, small child
 bu:, Inter: go on!
 bu:lmay, N: fight, battle
 bu:mbi, Vtr: break, smoke
 bu:nmi, Vtr: catch, pounce on, fall on/in
 - bunmigura, Vtr: cause someone/ something to fall
 bu:rga, N: eel
 bu:rgi, N: body
 bu:rwa, Vtr: paint, melt
 dara, Vtr: obey
 daruy, N: good, sweet, well
 - daruya, Vintr: become good & AdvIntr: properly
 - darunda, Vtr: make, build, fix & AdvTr: properly
 dawa, K-S N: sibling
 dawa:r, N: angry, anger
 - (dawa)dawara, Vintr: become angry, argue
 - dawaramba, Vtr: make someone/ something angry, torment
 da:lga, Vtr: sing
 - da:lgaygura, Vtr: make someone sing
 da:li, LOC N(-gV): near
 - dali:gami, AdvIntr: to near
 da:m, N: yam
 da:mbar(EB), N: damper
 - da:mbaramba, Vtr: make damper
 da:ndur, N: sick, sickness
 - da:ndura, Vintr: become sick
 - da:nduramba, Vtr: make someone sick
 da:ngi, N: fingernail
 da:gi, N: loud, hard, strong, tough
 - da:giwa, Vintr: become hard & AdvIntr: firmly, quickly, loudly
 - da:rimba, Vtr: harden something & AdvTr: firmly, quickly, loudly

di:(EB), N: tea
 di:mba, Vtr: smoke
 di:ga, N(-IV): tooth
 dulbuy, LOC N(-yV): near
 dulupmi, Vintr: smile
 dulu:, N: ankle
 dunda, Vtr: cover
 duŋa:r, N: honey, edible bee
 dungi:r, N: koala
 dungu:n, N: snake (general)
 du:lgam, N: flood
 du:(ŋ), Vintr irregular: cry
 du:wa, N(-ŋV): boomerang

gagana², N: shoe
 gagangl, Vintr: stand, stay
 - gaganigura, Vtr: cause someone/
 something to stand
 gagun, N: territory, home ground
 - gagundami, AdvIntr: at, to
 territory
 gala, Vintr: continue going
 galabi, Vintr: sneak up
 gala:, Vtr: eat
 gala:gir, N: stomach (internal),
 intestines (of human or animal)
 gala:p, N: mouth
 - gala:p barway, N: lip
 gala:r, LOC N(ABL gala:yŋa):
 inside
 - gala:wa³, Vintr: go inside
 galban, N: limb of tree
 galigam, N: short, small
 - galigamba, Vtr: make something
 short, small
 galubi, Vtr: urinate
 galumbaw, Part: a long time ago
 galu:bay, N: urine
 gamay, Part: too much, too many
 ganda, Vtr: gather, collect
 ganin, N: wattle tree
 ganinbirin, N(Place): Valla
 gangadi, N(-yV): Djangadi
 language and people
 gapap, N: starfish
 ganga:r, N: calf of leg, bottom
 half of body
 gangu:r, N: leaf
 garambin, N: trousers
 gara:ŋa, Vtr: intoxicate
 gaŋan, N: frog
 gawga, Vtr: send
 gawgar, DISC Part: thus, so
 ga:gi, N: initiation ceremony,
 ritual dance
 ga:lar, N: black lizard

ga:lbar, N(Place): arm & Taylor's
 Arm (about 39km. from Nambucca
 Heads)
 ga:li, LOC N(-gV): under
 ga:ngun, N: sour
 ga:niŋ, N: wattle tree gum
 ga:nbar, N: man (general), husband
 ga:ga, N: thigh (of human or animal)
 ga:wan, N: pheasant
 gibu(EB), N: sheep
 giga:, K-S N: sister
 ginangubala⁴, Vtr: kick
 giŋa:m, N: nose
 gira, Int Vtr: what's the matter?
 what doing?
 girmir, N: eyebrow
 gi:ba, N: back
 gi:bin, N: bird
 - gi:biŋa, Vintr: become a bird
 gi:na, N(-ŋV): foot
 guga(EB), N: sugar
 gugarga, IntPart: when?
 gugi, IntN (LOC gugida, gu:da ; ABL
 gugana, gugi:na): where?
 gula:r, N: dirt(y), ashes, dust,
 earth
 gulga:, N: island
 gulu, N: side, part
 gulu:m, N: hill, mountain
 gumba:l, N: carpet snake
 gundun, N: fig
 gunuy, N(-gV): small, child
 - gunuybinda, Vtr: reduce someone/
 something to little pieces
 - gunuymba, AdvTr: gradually; &
 Vtr: make something small
 - gunuymbi, AdvIntr: gradually
 gunga:r, N: pelican
 guruda, Vtr: plant
 gurugi, Vintr: hide
 guruwal, N: tailor fish
 guruwin, N: whiting fish
 guway, IntPart: where (to)?
 gu:ga, N: tired
 - gu:gawa, Vintr: become tired
 gu:liyam, N: fig
 gu:m, N: smoke
 gu:(n), Vtr irregular: tell
 gu:n, N: tail, shirt
 gu:ndan, N: witchety grub
 gu:ngun, N: brain, marrow of bone
 gada, Part: almost, nearly
 gadi:, Vintr: drown
 - gadigura, Vtr: drown someone/
 something

gaduyi, Vtr: catch
 gaga:la, Vtr: open
 gagu, K-S N: brother (elder?)
 gala, DISC Part: then, and,
 while etc.
 galagala, Part: (used in
 reciprocal sentences)
 galambila⁵, N: Coff's Harbour
 galaŋ, Inter: Gee!
 gala:mga, N(-IV): oak tree
 gala:n, N: pippy shell
 gala:ndi, IntPart: why?
 galimbin⁶, N: hat
 galpam, N: wet
 - galpamba, Vtr: make someone/
 something wet
 galugun, N: one, other
 gamambi, N PL: children
 gamaŋ, N(Place): Gumma
 gamay, N(-dV): spear
 gambaw, N: kidney
 gamba:ri, Vtr: carry on shoulder
 gami, K-S N: grandmother
 gami:n, N: fern
 ganay, N: yamstick
 gana:ngir, N: liver
 gani, Vtr: tie up
 ganu(EB), N: canoe
 gapa:mbil, N: tongue
 ganga:n, N: swamp
 ganga:ri, Vtr: forget
 gangibal(EB), N: policeman
 ganaygir, Part: later
 ganga:li, Vtr: bark, call out
 garada, Part: quickly(with Intr)
 garadamba, Part: quickly(with Tr)
 garaŋl, Vintr: jump
 garalum, N: lightweight
 garaŋay, N(-dV): beer
 gara:m, N: net
 garbu:n, K-S N: male subsection
 name
 gargar, N: curlew, dog bird
 gaŋa:ban, N: white
 gawari, Vintr: break(of sea),
 & cross (a river)
 gawgan, N: shield
 gawŋgan, K-S N(Name): mythical
 heroine, 'angel', sister,
 beautiful
 gayabarga, N: boxtree
 gayban, N: kangaroo rat
 gaygi, Vtr: cut
 gayi, Vintr: speak, talk
 gayila, Vtr: pour
 gaywaŋa, Part: earlier today

ga:ba, N(-IV), ALL ga:ba, ABL
 gaba:yŋa : upriver, west, inland
 - ga:bawa, Vintr: go upriver etc.
 - gaba:lami, AdvIntr: westwards etc.
 - gaba:guma, AdvTr: westwards etc.
 ga:bi, N: wallaby
 ga:gal, N: sea, beach
 - ga:galami, AdvIntr: at, to beach
 ga:gum, N: kookaburra
 ga:gun, N: black fig
 ga:gunga, N: fig tree
 ga:lawa, Vintr: return, go home
 ga:li, N(-dV): head
 ga:mŋa, Vintr: break
 - ga:mŋaygura, Vtr: cause
 something to break
 ga:ra, N: horse
 ga:ran, N: sore
 ga:rgan, K-S N: female subsection
 name
 ga:ra, N(-IV): cloud
 ga:war, LOC N: over water
 - ga:wadami, AdvIntr: to other
 side of water
 ga:yi N: bream
 gidu:r, N: sand
 - gidu:dami, AdvIntr: on, to sand
 gila:gun, K-S N: great grandfather
 giŋdagulay, N: wife (rarely used)
 girguŋam, N: male wild turkey
 girgulay, N: husband (rarely used)
 girgur, N: vine
 giri:n(EB), N: green, grey
 giya, N: centipede
 giyaŋari, N: schnapper
 gi:bar, N: boy
 gi:dan, N: moon, month
 gi:li, Part: now, today
 gi:n, N: ant
 - gi:pa, Vintr: become an ant
 gi:ri, Vtr: sharpen
 gudi, K-S N: sweetheart
 guŋa:r, Part: completely, till
 finished
 guŋu: LOC DEIC: over there (in rel-
 ation to speaker:medium distance)
 - guŋu:ri, AdvIntr: at, to over
 there
 guga:mga, N: emu
 guga:ri, Vintr: surround
 gugiga, N: peppermint tree
 gugu:r, N: cobra
 gula:m, N: skin
 gulbul, N: skilful, clever
 gulgu:, N ABL gulgu:wiŋa : scrub
 pademelon
 gulungin, N: old man

guluy: N: alcohol, grog
 gulu:, LOC DEIC: over there (in relation to addressee: medium distance)
 gulu:m, N: knob on tree
 gulu:n, N: rain
 - gulu:na, Subjectless sentence: it rain(s)
 gulu:ra, N(-IV): bone
 gumbaga, N: white gum tree
 gumbaynggir, N: Gumbaynggir language, people
 gumba:n, N: penis
 gumbur, N: spirit, devil, ghost
 gunbur, N: bored
 - gunbura, Vitr: become bored
 gungali, N(-yV): goanna
 gunu:lgin, N: groper
 gupun, N: cold (coryza)
 gura:m, N: poor, miserable, unfortunate
 guri:gi, Vitr: perform
 guri:, N: elbow
 guri:n, N: wind
 gurubi, AdvIntr: quickly (with Intr)
 gurubili, AdvTr: quickly (with Tr)
 guru:ga, N: whale
 gu:anda, K-S N: stage of initiation
 gu:ga:, N: mosquito
 - gu:ga:mba, Vtr: turn someone/ something into mosquito
 gu:ga:n, K-S N: female subsection name
 gu:quba, Vtr: smell
 gu:qulam, N: white clay, white paint
 gu:quman, N: uninitiated youth
 guygar, N: hole
 guyu, K-S N: brother
 guyugidam, K-S N: father-in-law(?)
 gu:bun, N: mopoke
 - gu:bupa, Vitr: become a mopoke
 gu:gar, N: young woman, sister
 gu:na, N(-ngV): faeces
 gu:nu, N: raw, alive
 - gu:numba, Vtr: bring to life, revive
 gu:nguwa, Vitr: sleep
 gu:qu, N(-IV): black
 gu:qulaw, Part: tomorrow
 gu:wa, N: fog, snow
 gu:wami:lar⁷, N(place):Smoky Cape
 magay, N: corn
 magay, N(-yV, -gV): red clay/paint

magur, N: cold (of food)
 malamgal, N: dingo
 malapa, Vitr: stay for a long time
 marangarga, N: spider
 marawga⁸, Vtr: strike (of lightning)
 marawgay⁸, N(-gV): lightning
 margan, N(place): Arakoon
 mari:r, LOC N: a long way
 marum, N: fat, plump
 ma:uwan, K-S N: stage of initiation
 ma:u:q, K-S N: male subsection name
 ma:la, N(-ngV): hand
 ma:la, Vtr:fetch, take, get hold of
 ma:(n), Vtr irregular: take, carry, bring
 ma:qun, N: mind, law
 ma:nga, LOC N: a long way ahead
 ma:qa, N(-IV): hair
 mila:ndi, N: hungry
 - milandiwa, Vitr: become hungry
 mipa, IntN(-IV) ABL mipa:yqa : what? something
 minggi, N(-yV): heart
 mi:qubay, N(-gV): egg
 mi:qan, N: flathead
 mi:l, N: eye
 mi:lar, N: forbidden cave
 mi:mi, K-S N: mother
 mi:ndal, N: good, clever
 - mi:ndala, Vitr: become clever
 muda, Adv irregular: be unable
 mugay, N: echidna
 mugur, Part: in vain
 muli, N: fly
 muliyam, N: sandfly
 mulur, N: blood, red
 mulurmulur, N: reddish-brown
 mulu:, LOC DEIC: far (in relation to speaker)
 - mulu:mi, AdvIntr: at, to far off
 - mulu:ma, AdvTr: to far off
 mulu:rmam, N: gum (of tree)
 muni:m, N: stone
 - muni:ma, Vitr: become stone
 - muni:mba, Vtr: make someone/ something become stone
 murbay, N: white fig
 muya, N: breath
 - muyagariwa, Vitr: get breath (i.e. start breathing)
 mu:ga, Vtr: put in, put on, fasten
 mu:gu, N: blunt, quiet
 - mu:guwa, Vitr: become blunt

- mu:gumba, Vtr: make something blunt
 mu:pu, N(-ngV): lice
 mu:r, N ABL muru:na : shade

 naga:r, N: chest
 nandī:r, N: vine, bridge
 na:ca, N: sad, sorry
 - na:cawa, Vintr: become sad, sorry
 ni:gar, N: black man
 ni:gi, N: charcoal
 ni:mbir, N: navel
 ni:cum, N: cold
 - ni:suma, Vintr: become cold
 nuqu:, N: kangaroo

 naligan, K-S N: father
 nambaga, N(-IV)(place): Nambucca Heads
 nani, N(-yV): black woman, wife
 na:, Vtr irregular: see
 - nagaygura, Vtr: cause someone to see something, show
 na:gili, Vtr: find, cover
 ni:m, N: anus
 nu:gan, K-S N: mother

 naba:mba, N: fellow, chap
 nadun, N: crab
 nagi:, K-S N: brother-in-law
 nala:p, N: stingray
 naliwan, N: jewfish
 nalu:ngir, N: clever person, witch doctor
 nambi:, Vtr: drink
 - nambigura, Vtr: make someone drink something, give someone something to drink
 nandal, N: full
 - nandala, Vintr: become full
 nanda:lgan, N: teenage girl
 nanda:mga, N: blackbutt tree
 nanu:q, N: scrub
 nara:(q), Vtr irregular: listen to, hear, remember, learn
 nara:r, N: cheek
 naringgi, Vtr: want
 nacamaga, Vtr: chase
 nayan, N: sun
 nayinggi, Vintr: sit, stay, live
 na:la, N: side
 na:lgan, N: ear
 na:lu, N(-ngV) ABL nalu:wina : water, river, creek
 - nalu:ngami, AdvIntr: at, to water
 na:ma, N; nape of neck

na:mbul, N: magpie
 na:ri, Vintr: play
 - narigura, Vtr: play with someone/ something
 na:ci, N(-gV): leg
 na:wa, N: language
 niliq, LOC DEIC: close (in relation to addressee)
 ni:, Inter: yes, OK, all right
 ni:mba, Vtr: ask
 nudu:m, N: breast, breastmilk
 nura:, Vtr: give
 nuri:p, N: female wild turkey
 nu:bi, N: moustache, beard
 nu:lup, N: mud
 nu:nmar, N: night
 nu:rgan, N: sharp
 - nu:rganda, Vtr: sharpen
 nu:ca, N(-IV) ABL nu:ca:yqa : house, camp
 - nu:camba, Vtr: make camp
 - nu:ca:lami, AdvIntr: at, to home
 - nu:ca:lama, AdvTr: at, to home

 wadana, N: what's-his-name
 waga:r, N: grass, ground, country
 waga:r, N: axe, tomahawk
 wagin, Part: completely, very
 wala, Part: perhaps, maybe
 waman, N: corroborree
 wamar, N: spear thrower
 wambu:q, K-S N: male subsection name
 wana:wa, Vtr: leave
 wandarga, N: blue-tongue lizard
 wanga:ga, N: tallow-wood tree
 wanga:n, N: south
 - wanga:ndami, AdvIntr: at, to south
 waranwaran, N: battle axe
 wara:day, N: duck
 wara:gan, N: blackfish
 wargun, K-S N: left-handed(person)
 wari:, N ALL wari: ABL wari:qa : east, to sea
 - wari:wa, Vintr: to east
 - wari:wami, AdvIntr: eastwards
 - wari:guma, AdvTr: eastwards
 wacu, LOC N(-ngV) ABL wacu:qnar : top
 - wacuwa, Vintr: go to top, go high
 - wacuwaquwa, Vintr: go higher and higher
 - wacu:ngami, AdvIntr: on, to top
 - wacuguma, AdvTr: at, to top, up
 waw, Disc Part: also
 waybala⁹(EB), N: white man
 wayguman(EB), N: white woman

- wa:ga, N: groin
 wa:gan, N: crow
 wa:gay, N(-yV): fire, firewood
 - wa:gaymba, Vtr: make fire
 wa:gip, LOC N: outside
 - wa:ginguwa, Vintr: go outside
 wa:la, LOC N(-ngV): behind,
 back of
 - wa:lawa, Vintr: go behind, go
 back
 - wala:guma, AdvTr: to back
 wa:lga, Vtr: knock off, brush
 with hand
 wa:li, Vintr: die
 wa:mbi, Vintr: be afraid, fear
 - wambigura, Vtr: frighten someone,
 make someone afraid
 wa:n, N: forehead, face
 wa:ndi, Vtr: climb
 wa:ngi, N(-gV): dog(tame)
 wa:ngan, K-S N: female subsection
 name
 wa:riya, Vintr: wait
 wa:ru, IntPro: who?, someone
 wa:ra, N: foam, saliva
 wigi:r, N: meat, flesh
 - wigirdagi, N(-yV): cannibal
 - wigirgariwa, Vintr: to get
 flesh on (of a skeleton as
 in Text II)
 wila:n, N: catfish
 wira:l, N(place): Warrell Creek
 wirga:n, K-S N: female
 subsection name
 wicu:n, K-S N: male
 subsection name
 wi:gum, N: fine (of weather)
 - wiguma, Vintr: become fine
 wi:gulga, N: black fig tree; &
 N(place):Woolgoolga
 wi:gun, N: hot, warm
 - wi:guna, Vintr: become hot,
 warm
 - wi:gunda, Vtr: make someone/
 something hot, warm
 wulbip, N: boat
 wulu:gi, Vintr: bathe, bogey
 - wulu:gigura, Vtr: wash someone/
 something
 wuma:ga, N: many, a lot, several
 wuna:, NegImpPart: don't
 wura:, Vtr: pull out, unfasten
 wuru:naga, N: salt water oak tree
 wuru:ni, Vintr: limp
 wu:gin, N: bee
 wu:cu, N: neck, throat, windpipe
 ya:gi, N: bridge of nose
 yagara, Vtr: follow
 yanda:ra, Vintr: come, arrive
 yanga:y, N(-gV): shark
 yara:n, DEM: there, that
 yari, Part:?
 yariyapini, N(place): Yarihapini
 Mountain
 ya:lgir, N: flathead
 ya:m, DEM: here, this
 ya(:)(n), Vintr irregular: go
 - yanigura, Vtr: cause someone/
 something to go, let someone/
 something go
 yida, Part: (continuous, repetitive)
 yila:, LOC DEIC: close(in relation
 to speaker)
 - yila:mi, AdvIntr: at, to here
 - yila:ma, AdvTr: at, to here
 yira, Vintr: do similarly
 yirigin, N: this many, in this
 way, such a ...
 yi:la, Vtr: cook
 yi:nga, Vtr: bite
 yi:rili, Vtr: peer at
 yugi:r, N: porpoise
 yulur, N: bandicoot
 yuru:n, N: long, tall
 - yuru:nda, Vtr: lengthen
 yuru:nga, N(place): Urunga
 yuca:l, N: food
 yu:ngu, N: bad
 - yu:nguwa, Vintr: become bad

Notes

1. This could perhaps be a K-S N, but it occurs only twice in texts and all other K-S nouns end in either a nasal or a vowel.
2. gagana 'shoe' is presumably somehow related to the verb gagangi 'stand'.
3. Irregular derivation.
4. This verb is somehow related to gi:na 'foot', but there is no other evidence in the language of this suffix -bala.
5. Buchanan says this means 'place of oak trees' (see gala:mga 'oak tree').

6. cf. ga:li 'head'.
7. Compounded from gu:wa 'fog', mi:lar, 'cave'.
8. This pair of words is the only example in the corpus of a related noun and verb differing only in final -y on the noun.
9. Irregular ergative form waybalu.

VOCABULARY IN SEMANTIC FIELDS

NOUNS

A - Body Parts

ga:li, head
 gu:ngun, brain
 ma:ra, hair
 wa:n, forehead, face
 mi:l, eye
 girmir, eyebrow
 gi:na:m, nose
 ya:gi, bridge of nose
 na:lgan, ear
 na:ra:r, cheek
 ga:la:n, mouth
 ga:la:n barway, lip
 gu:bi, beard, moustache
 di:ra, tooth
 ga:na:mbil, tongue
 wa:ra, saliva
 wu:ru, neck, throat, windpipe
 na:ma, nape of neck
 ga:lbar, arm
 guri:, elbow
 ma:la, hand
 da:ngi, fingernail
 nu:du:m, breast(female), breastmilk
 na:ga:r, chest
 bu:lu:n, stomach(external)
 ni:mbir, navel
 ga:la:gir, stomach(internal)
 mi:ngi, heart
 gambaw, kidney
 ga:na:ngir, liver
 gi:ba, back
 ni:m, anus
 ga:ra, thigh
 wa:ga, groin
 бага, knee
 na:ri, leg
 ga:ga:r, calf of leg
 du:lu:, ankle
 gi:na, foot
 gumba:n, penis
 ba:da, testicles
 binap, vagina
 gu:na, faeces
 ga:lu:bay, urine

bu:rgi, body
 gu:la:m, skin
 gu:lu:ra, bone
 gu:ngun, bone marrow
 mulur, blood
 muya, breath
 ga:rap, sore
 gu:ngun, cold(coryza)

*B - Human Classification
(ordinary nouns)*

ni:gar, man
 na:mi, woman, wife
 ga:nbar, man, husband
 na:ba:mba, fellow chap
 bu:lagur, two brothers
 bu:wa:r, baby, child
 gu:nuy, child
 ga:ma:mbi(PL), children
 gi:bar, boy
 gu:gunan, uninitiated youth
 gu:lungin, old man
 na:da:lgan, teenage girl
 gu:gar, young woman, sister
 gu:di, sweetheart
 na:lu:ngir, clever person,
 Aboriginal 'doctor'
 wa:gun, left handed person
 waybala, white man
 wayguman, white woman
 wa:da:na, what's-his-name
 wa:ru, who?, someone
 ga:ngibal, policeman
 bi:ga, evil spirit, devil, ghost
 gu:mbur, ghost
 wi:gidagi, cannibal
 gu:ba:ngir, Gumbaynggir person,
 people, language
 ga:ngadi, Djangadi person,
 people, language

C - Kin and Section Nouns

mi:mi, mother
 nu:gan, mother

ba:ba, father
 naligan, father
 ba:li, father (rarely used)
 gagu, brother (elder?)
 guyu, brother
 giga:, sister
 dawa, sibling
 bulagan, two women, two sisters
 na:gi:, brother-in-law
 gami, grandmother
 ba:bap, great grandmother
 balu:n, grandmother
 gila:gun, great grandfather
 guyugidam, father-in-law?
 gina:galay, wife (rarely used)
 giralay, husband (rarely used)
 ma:cu:n, } male subsection names
 wi:cu:n, }
 wambu:n, }
 garbu:n, }
 gu:ca:n, } female subsection names
 ga:rgan, }
 wirga:n, }
 wa:ngan, }
 ma:cuwan, stage of initiation
 gu:ca:nda, stage of initiation
 birugan, mythical hero
 gawngan, mythical heroine

D - Mammals

mu:gay, echidna
 badan, mouse, rat
 yulur, bandicoot
 dungi:r, koala
 bamay, possum
 ga:bi, wallaby
 bull:n, grey wallaby
 guga:mgan, emu
 gulgu:, scrub pademelon
 nu:gu:, kangaroo
 gayban, kangaroo rat
 gu:n, tail
 malamgal, dingo
 wa:ngi, dog (tame)
 balawir, flying fox
 ga:ra, horse
 bu:lan, cattle
 gibu, sheep

E - Reptiles

wandarga, blue tongue lizard
 ga:lar, black lizard
 gungali, goanna
 dun:gu:n, snake
 gumba:l, carpet snake
 gugu:r, cobra

F - Birds

gi:bin, bird (generic)
 mi:cu:ba:y, egg
 gunga:r, pelican
 gargar, curlew
 gu:bun, mopoke
 girgu:gam, male wild turkey
 nuri:n, female wild turkey
 na:mbul, magpie
 wa:gan, crow
 ga:gum, kookaburra
 ga:wan, pheasant
 wara:day, duck

G - Water Dwellers

bulu:ngal, fish (generic); &
 mullet
 naliwan, jewfish
 gunu:lgin, groper
 wara:gan, blackfish
 ya:lgir, mi:gan, flathead
 giya:gar, schnapper
 ga:yi, bream
 guruwal, tailor fish
 guruwin, whiting
 wilan, catfish
 bu:rga, eel
 guru:ga, whale
 yugi:r, porpoise
 nadun, crab
 gala:n, pippy shell
 ball:ngur, oyster
 ganap, starfish
 yanga:y, shark
 nala:n, stingray

H - Insects etc.

gi:n, ant
 du:ga:r, honey, edible bee
 giya, centipede
 muli, fly
 muliyam, sandfly
 ba:n, march fly
 gu:ca:, mosquito
 marangarga, spider
 ga:gan, frog
 mu:pu, lice
 wu:gin, bee
 gu:ndan, witchety grub

I - Language, Ceremony etc.

na:wa, language
 bi:ga:r, name, language
 ga:gi, initiation ceremony,
 dance

waman, corroboree
 bu:lmay, battle, fight
 ma:qun, law, mind
 bu:ga:l, noise

J - Human Artefacts

du:wa, boomerang
 ganay, yamstick
 baba:r, club
 gamay, spear
 wamar, spearthrower
 gawgan, shield
 waranwaran, battle axe
 waga:r, tomahawk
 gara:m, net
 ganu, canoe
 wulbin, boat
 bulayngun, blanket
 galimbin, hat
 garambin, trousers
 gagana, shoe
 gu:n, shirt
 biba:, paper
 bulgur, drum
 nandi:r, bridge

K - Fire, Water, Food

wa:gay, fire, firewood
 ni:gi, charcoal
 gula:r, ashes
 gu:m, smoke
 qa:lu, (fresh)water,
 creek, river
 ga:gal, sea, beach
 wa:ga, foam(of sea)
 ganga:n, swamp
 wigi:r, bulan, meat
 yu:ga:l, food
 ma:gay, corn
 da:mbar, damper
 biri:n, bread
 di:, tea
 guga, sugar
 bulawan, flour
 guluy, grog
 gara:ay, beer

L - Celestial, Weather

nayan, sun
 mu:r, shade
 gi:dan, moon
 nu:nmar, night
 ga:ga, cloud
 gu:wa, mist, fog, snow
 guri:n, wind
 gulu:n, rain

buru:mgay, thunderstorm
 marawgay, lightning
 du:lgam, flood

M - Geography

gagun, homeground, territory
 nu:ga, camp, home
 waga:r, ground, earth, grass, country
 gidu:r, sand
 nu:lup, mud
 gula:r, dust, dirt
 guygar, hole
 ba:lu, cave
 mi:lar, forbidden cave
 gulu:m, hill, mountain
 muni:m, stone
 gulga:, island
 gu:gulam, white clay
 magay, red clay

N - Arboreal etc.

bigu:r, tree, stick, wood
 gangu:r, leaf
 nanu:n, scrub
 bugawur, grass
 gami:n, fern
 gulu:m, knob on tree
 mulu:rmam, gum(from tree)
 ga:nin, wattle tree gum
 ba:gu, bark(of tree)
 galban, limb of tree
 gumbaga, white gum tree
 gugiga, peppermint gum tree
 gayabarga, box tree
 nanda:mga, black butt. tree
 waga:ga, tallow wood tree
 wuru:naga, salt water oak tree
 barigirga, ironbark tree
 wi:gulga, black fig tree
 ga:gunga, fig tree
 ga:gup, black fig
 murbay, white fig
 gundu:n, gu:liyam, fig
 gala:mga, oak tree
 bindarga, pine tree
 ganin, wattle tree
 balawunga, ti-tree
 da:m, yam
 nandi:r, girgur, vine

O Nouns of Quality

galugun, one
 bulari, two
 wuma:ga, several
 yirigin, this many
 gu:gu, black
 ga:ga:ban, white

giri:n, grey, green
 mulur, red
 mulurmulur, reddish brown
 barway, big
 gunuy, small
 yuru:n, tall, long
 galigam, short
 marum, fat
 balga:r, wide
 wi:gun, hot, warm
 ni:ɕum, cold
 wi:gum, fine(weather)
 galnam, wet
 da:ɕi, hard, tough, strong, loud
 bambu:r, soft
 garalum, light(weight)
 nu:rgan, sharp
 mu:gu, blunt, quiet
 ga:ngun, sour
 daruy, sweet; & good
 yu:ngu, bad
 bi:way, nothing
 birugan, good, handsome(of males)
 gawngan, good, pretty(of females)
 dawa:r, angry
 mi:ndal, gulbul, clever
 gura:m, unfortunate, miserable
 na:ɕa, sad, sorry
 gunbur, bored
 gu:nu, raw, alive
 magur, cold(of food)
 gu:ga, tired
 buga:, poison(ous), smell(y)
 bi:ga, dirt(y), poison(ous)
 da:ndur, sick
 mila:ndi, hungry
 gandal, sated(with food)
 billi:r, greedy

VERBS

P - Motion

ya:(n), go
 ba:na, come, arrive
 yanda:ra, come
 gala, continue going
 bura:badi, come, return
 ga:lawa, go home
 buggi:, disappear, set(of sun)
 bunji, emerge, rise(of sun)
 gawari, cross(a river)
 bi:ga:, yagara, follow
 naɕamaɕa, chase
 galabi, sneak up
 garaɕi, jump
 wuru:ni, limp
 na:ri, play
 bangi, fly

bilagara, birmadi, run
 wa:ndi, climb
 wulu:gi, bathe, bogey
 bawgi, swim
 gadi:, drown

Q - Rest

nayingi, stay, live; & sit
 malapa, stay for a long time
 bungli, get up
 gagangi, stand
 bagu:li, lie down; & sleep
 gu:nguwa, sleep

R - Induced Position

mu:ga, put in, on, fasten
 ma:la, pick up; & take hold of;
 & fetch
 ma:(n), carry in hand; & bring;
 & fetch
 gamba:ri, carry on shoulder
 ganda, gather, collect
 wana:wa, leave
 budi:, pull out
 wura:, pull out; & unfasten
 birawa, throw
 gawga, send
 gaduyi, catch
 bu:nmi, catch, pounce on, fall
 on/in
 guga:ri, surround
 gurugi, hide
 na:gili, cover, find
 nura:, give
 guruda, plant
 gayila, pour

S - Affect

bu(m), hit, kill
 baringi, hit with open hand
 bindayma, bawga, hit with
 thrown implement
 budi, tear apart, break up
 ginangubala, kick
 marawga, strike(of lightning)
 bagulwa, kill, slay
 wa:lga, knock off
 ba:nba, press
 bira, dig, bury
 gaygi, cut
 biligaygi, bisect, split
 gi:ri, sharpen
 bu:mbi, break(TR)
 ga:mna, break(INTR)
 gawari, break(of sea)
 bagi:, burn, cook(INTR)
 yi:la, cook(TR)

gaga:la, open
 gani, tie up
 bu:rwa, paint, melt
 dunda, cover
 darunda, make, build, fix
 dara, obey
 gurigi, perform
 yira, do similarly

T - Attention

wa:riya, wait
 na:, see, look at
 yi:rili, peer at
 bayi, look for, search
 nara:(ŋ), hear, listen to
 ganḡa:ri, forget

U - Talking etc.

gayi, speak, talk(INTR)
 gu:(n), tell(TR)
 ŋi:mba, ask
 ganḡa:li, call out, bark
 da:lga, sing
 du:(ŋ), cry

V - Corporeal

biyamba, gala:, eat
 yi:ŋga, bite
 ŋambi:, drink
 di:mba, bu:mbi, smoke
 guḡuba, smell
 ḡalubi, urinate
 ba:la, marry, (also copulate?)
 wa:li, die
 dulunmi, smile
 wa:mbi, fear
 ŋarḡḡi, want
 gara:ŋa, intoxicate

W - Irregular Adverb

muda, unable

X - Places and Locationals

Nouns

bagabaga, pambaga, Nambucca Heads
 bawruḡ, Bowraville
 ganinbirin, Valla
 baligin, Bellingen
 yuru:nga, Urunga
 galambila, Coff's Harbour
 wi:gulga, Woolgoolga
 wira:l, Warrel Creek
 ḡa:lbar, Taylor's Arm
 yariyapini, Yarihapini Mountain
 margan, Arakoon
 gu:wami:lar, Smoky Cape
 gaman, Gumma
 biraw, north
 wanga:n, south
 wari:, east
 ḡa:ba, west
 waḡu, bali, top
 ḡa:li, under
 da:li, dulbuy, near
 ma:ŋga, a long way ahead
 mari:r, a long way
 wa:ḡip, outside
 ḡala:r, inside
 bimi:r, middle
 wa:la, behind
 ḡa:war, over water
 bili, half
 ḡa:la, side
 ḡulu, side, part

Locational Deictics

In relation to speaker

yila:, near
 guḡu:, medium distance
 mulu:, far

In relation to addressee

ḡiliḡ, near
 ḡulu:, medium distance

APPENDIX - THE INFLUENCE OF ENGLISH

The influence of English on Gumbaynggir words can be seen in two main ways:

Firstly several English words have been adapted to fit the Gumbaynggir phonological system:

Gumbaynggir

ḡibu
 ganu
 bulawan
 ganḡibal

English

'sheep'
 'canoe'
 'flour'
 'constable'

Secondly, several Gumbaynggir words have been extended in meaning to cover a concept introduced by English.

<i>Gumbaynggir</i>	<i>original meaning</i>	<i>extended meaning</i>
nandi:r	'vine'	'bridge'
gu:n	'tail'	'shirt'
ga:lbar	'arm'	Taylor's Arm (name of place on bend in Nambucca River)

A very good example of this process is in Harry Buchanan instructing me to fix his seatbelt:

mu:ga	ya:m	Do it up!
put in-IMP	DEM	
wura:	ya:m	Undo it!
pull out-IMP	DEM	

In addition some words expressing loan concepts cannot be explained:

maḡay	'corn'
garaṇay	'beer'

The following two words are irregular derivations.

gagana	'shoe'	cf. gagangi	'stand'
galimbin	'hat'	ga:li	'head'

The only known influence of Gumbaynggir on English is in a few place names:

bagabaga	Nambucca
yurw:nga	Urunga
wira:l	Warrel Creek
wi:gulga	Woolgoolga

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This grammar could not have eventuated without the support of my family, in particular my husband, Peter.

ADDENDUM

Since the body of this grammar was typed, two further Gumbaynggir vocabulary lists have been uncovered:

Meston (n.d) is a handwritten manuscript - probably dating from the turn of the century - which contains about 150 Gumbaynggir words. The standard of transcription is higher than that of many similar sources. For example, word initial /ŋ/ is frequently transcribed as 'gn'; but vowel length and the rhotic contrast are among the distinctions not consistently represented.

Enright (1923) contains about 90 words, some of which are rather poorly spelled. Although he explains his vowel system in terms of English spelling there are still many inaccuracies. For instance Enright's *dal*-long 'mouth' would represent - according to his conventions - [dɛ:lɔŋ]; the actual form is /gala:p/.

Yaygir

by Terry Crowley

1. THE LANGUAGE AND ITS SPEAKERS

In January 1973, I was on a field-trip to northern New South Wales conducting a general survey to find out precisely what languages were spoken in the coastal area between Taree and the Clarence River, and to record as much linguistic data from this area as possible. It was found, as expected, that the current linguistic situation was on the whole rather dismal, and in most areas I was only able to record short vocabularies. I did find however, that Gumbaynggir could still claim a good speaker, and I recorded some data from him, and passed it on to Diana Eades who continued the work (see her grammar in this volume).

One more rather interesting result to come from this field-trip was the discovery of a speaker of Yaygir, Mr. Sandy Cameron of Yamba. At the time, I knew of the existence of no other data published on the language and arranged with Mr. Cameron to do some elicitation. It emerged that although the informant was not fluent, he certainly knew enough of the language to enable a sketch grammar to be written, and was most enthusiastic about working with me on this. At the time however, I was able to spend no more than a few days at Yamba, and I then left to survey the situation in the New England area, intending to return to Yamba at a future date to work on Yaygir, in conjunction with Bandjalang, as a topic for my honours year sub-thesis at the Australian National University in Canberra. When I returned to the area in December 1973 to begin recording Bandjalang, I discovered that Mr. Cameron had died four months earlier, and so no further field-work on Yaygir was possible, as he was the last speaker of the language.

From the data that was recorded in January 1973, a brief outline of the language was prepared; though, as the facts could never be checked and the gaps filled, it remained unpublished. However, as Yaygir appears to be the language most closely related to Gumbaynggir, I was asked to prepare this sketch for publication in the first volume of the *Handbook*.

1.1 LINGUISTIC TYPE

In its phonology, Yaygir is one of the more aberrant of the New South Wales languages in that it has, in addition to the two rhotics *r* and *ɹ* generally found, a voiceless trill *ɾ*. It also has a significant number of words with initial vowels, whereas every other language of northern New South Wales (with the exception of aberrant Nganjaywana; see Crowley 1976) allows only word initial consonants. These peculiarities can be explained by a series of phonological changes operating on a Gumbaynggir-type proto-phonology.

The grammatical type of Yaygir is difficult to establish given that most of the elicitation was purely lexical. Some facts are known however. The nominals were inflected according to a split-ergative system with nouns (and possibly third person pronouns) inflecting on a A/S-O pattern, second person pronouns inflecting on a A-S/O pattern, and first person pronouns inflecting on a A/S/O pattern.

The verb morphology is entirely suffixing. There is no pronominal cross-referencing on the verb. There are apparently two conjugational classes of verbs which differ only slightly in their behaviour, though one class suggests the existence of a possible earlier root-final *-n* or *-y*.

The basic word order in the corpus is S-V-O, but this fact quite likely reflects the syntax of the language of elicitation.

1.2 TRIBAL AND LANGUAGE NAMES

Yaygir has almost never been mentioned in the literature concerning New South Wales languages. In Smythe (1948-49:2-3) reference is made to a language called 'Jeigir' though he made no study of it. This name tallies with the name Yaygir [yeygir] by which Mr. Cameron referred to his people and language.

1.3 TERRITORY AND NEIGHBOURS

Mr. Cameron, the last speaker of Yaygir, described the territory of the tribe as extending from about Coff's Harbour in the south to about Evans Head in the north. The territory was entirely coastal, and extended no further inland than Cowper on the Clarence River (a distance of approximately thirty kilometres from the mouth of the Clarence).

In his grammar of Gumbaynggir, Smythe (1948-49:2-3) says that Yaygir was spoken in a 'small area ... between Maclean, Yamba and Woolli'. This, according to Mr. Cameron's information, is far too small an area. The map on page 244 shows the area where Yaygir once used to be spoken.

Adjacent to the Yaygir in the north were the Bandjalang. Bandjalang was spoken in many dialects, of which the present writer has gathered data on several (see Crowley 1978). In the south were the Gumbaynggir, who

also possibly spoke more than one dialect, though dialectal variation is not as evident as among the Bandjalang. A grammar of one dialect of Gumbaynggir is presented by Eades in this volume.

1.4 PRESENT SITUATION AND PAST INVESTIGATIONS

We have said that the Yaygir language is now extinct. Descendants of the Yaygir live at Yamba and Maclean, but the language is no longer used or remembered, and it appears that Sandy Cameron was the sole speaker before his death in 1973.

Previous work on the language was very limited in scope. Only the following sources are known:

(i) Anon. *Science of Man* 1(6) 1903 pp.8-9. Headed 'List of Words Used at Copmanhurst by the Blacks who Call Themselves Woomargou'. Use of the tribal name 'Woomargou' is unknown from any other source, and it has never been heard from Aborigines in the Yamba-Maclean area. The words listed are partly from the Copmanhurst dialect of Bandjalang, partly from Gumbaynggir, and partly from Yaygir. The number of Yaygir items however is small, numbering only about two dozen.

(ii) Robert Leycester Dawson. *Aboriginal Words and Names - Lower Clarence River Dialect* 1935. This source lists about 320 lexical items, mostly nouns, but gives no grammatical information.

(iii) Archibald Meston. About forty nouns were published under the heading 'Clarence River, New South Wales' in Meston 1889:10 and also occur - with slight spelling variations - in Manuscript Folio 2 pp.13-14 and again in Folio 4 (Meston papers, uncatalogued holdings, Oxley Library, Brisbane).

2. PHONOLOGY

2.1 PHONEMES AND THEIR REALIZATIONS

The probable phoneme inventory for Yaygir is:

	labial	apical	laminal	dorsal
stop	b	d	g	g
nasal	m	n	ɲ	ŋ
lateral		l		
semi-retroflex continuant		ɭ		
voiced trill		r		
voiceless trill		ɽ		
semi-vowel			y	w
vowel high			i(:)	u(:)
low			a(:)	

The vowel /u/ undergoes little noticeable allophonic variation, having the realization [u].

The low vowel /a/ is realized as [a] generally, though it has the following realizations in some environments:

(i) [æ] or [ɛ] when it is adjacent to either /y/ or /ɲ/, (though apparently not when it is adjacent to /g/). e.g.

/yaygir/	'language name'	[yæygir]
/yalgir/	'flathead'	[yælkir]
/bunap/	'small'	[búnæp]

(ii) [a] when it is between peripheral segments, e.g.

/biɲnibaŋ/	'kangaroo rat'	[bɪʒnibaŋ]
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(iii) [ə] when in a final closed syllable with final /r/, /ŋ/ or /l/, e.g.

/gambu:laŋ/	'native bee'	[gambu:ləŋ]
/yu:ɕal/	'food'	[yú:ɕəl]

The vowel /i/ is generally realized as [i], though there is some allophonic variation in some environments. Following word initial /w/ it is rounded to [ü], as in:

/wiya/	'sea mullet'	[wüya]
/wila:ra/	'big'	[wüla:ra]

Before word final /ŋ/, /r/ or /l/, /i/ is often realized as [ə], and so there is overlapping allophony with /a/. (This therefore constitutes an 'optional neutralisation' of the opposition between high and low when the vowel is unrounded.) e.g.

/milgir/	'woman'	[mɪlkir, mɪlkər]
/yara:gir/	'stomach'	[yará:gir, yará:gər]

The corpus contains one word in which there is an occurrence of a long mid-vowel [e:], [me:ri] 'morning star'. On the basis of a single example it would be unwise to state that Yaygir had a fourth vowel phoneme, though no conditioning factor is evident which would allow us to suggest that it is phonemically either /i/ or /a/. Although this form does not have a known cognate in Bandjalang, it should be pointed out that all the Bandjalang dialects have a fourth vowel phoneme, so such a situation is not an impossibility for Yaygir.

Vowel length is distinctive in Yaygir for all three vowels. There are two minimal pairs and several subminimal pairs to illustrate the phonemic status of vowel length;

/duwa/	'boomerang'	/du:wa/	'cry'
/ɲunar/	'cloud'	/ɲu:nar/	'crab'
/mugu/	'blunt'	/mu:lu/	'black snake'
/waɕa/	'froth'	/wa:rar/	'bandicoot'
/ina/	'foot'	/i:ŋa/	'nose'

In monosyllables, there is no distinction between long and short vowels, and all vowels are phonetically long, e.g.

[mi:l]	'eye'	[ya:]	'yes'
[wa:n]	'face, forehead'		

Also, in words of three or more syllables, apparently no long vowels occur after the second syllable.

Yaygir has only a single series of stops, there being no phonological distinction made between voiced and voiceless varieties, though both appear phonetically. There is some degree of free variation between the two, but the following distribution rules are fairly strictly adhered to:

(a) Word initially, a stop is invariably voiced, e.g.

/diga/	'tooth'	[dʲɪga]
/bunaŋ/	'small'	[bʲunaŋ]

(b) Following a short vowel or following an /l/ or /r/ which itself follows a short vowel, stops are voiceless, e.g.

/ŋagu/	'black, dark'	[ŋáku]
/yalgir/	'flathead'	[yálgir]
/warɟu:ri/	'shin'	[warɟú:ri]

(c) Following a 'heavy' vowel (i.e. a long vowel or a vowel followed by a semi-vowel) or following a heavy vowel followed by /l/ or /r/, a stop is voiced, e.g.

/a:gal/	'sea'	[á:gal]
/gi:biŋ/	'bird'	[gí:biŋ]
/wu:lbiŋ/	'canoe'	[wú:lbiŋ]
/yaygir/	'language name'	[yéygir]

(d) A stop will be voiced if it precedes a long /a:/ or /i:/ but is voiceless before /u:/, e.g.

/ŋada:l/	'hungry'	[ŋadá:l]
/wagu:ray/	'kangaroo'	[wakú:rey]
/giɟa:ga/	'sister'	[giɟá:ga]

(e) Stops are voiced in any intervocalic cluster of nasal + stop, regardless of the length specification on the preceding vowel, e.g.

/yapa:mbil/	'tongue'	[yapá:mbil]
/mangaŋ/	'reptile'	[mángan]
/ŋinda/	'you'	[ŋínda]

The nasal consonants undergo little allophonic variation except that, as in neighbouring Gumbaynggir and Bandjalang, an occasional pre-stopped variant is heard. These are so uncommon in the corpus that no distributional rules can be given, though the matter is probably one of free variation as in the neighbouring languages.

The semi-vowel /w/ was once heard with a pre-stopped free variant in:

/awa:ga/	'father'	[a ^b wá:ga, awá:ga]
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The laminal semi-vowel y was occasionally heard with a fricative realization, e.g.

/wiya/	'sea mullet'	[wüja, wüya]
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Of the laterals and rhotics, only /l/ and /ɾ/ undergo noticeable allophonic variation. The lateral /l/, when adjacent to a back vowel (i.e. either /a/ or /u/), is noticeably retroflexed, as in:

/ya: ban/	'goanna'	[yá: ban]
/a:gal/	'sea'	[á:ga]

The distinction between /d/ and /l/ is not made word initially in Yaygir and although in Mr. Cameron's speech the stop realization of the archiphoneme was almost always exclusively used, there was one word in which there was free variation between phonetic [d] and [l]:

/duwa/	'boomerang'	[dúwa, lúwa]
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However, if other speakers could have been recorded, it is possible that a greater degree of variation could have been encountered, as the Dawson source mentioned in 1.4 records [l-] wherever the present writer recorded [d-], e.g.

<i>Crowley</i>	<i>Dawson</i>		
[dá:bay]	[lá:bay]	/da:bay/	'dog'
[dʲki]	[lʲki]	/digi/	'head'
[dʲga]	[lʲga]	/diga/	'tooth'
[dá:ruy]	[lá:ruy]	/da:ruy/	'good'

The voiceless trill /ɾ/ is the most striking feature of the phonology of Yaygir. The writer knows of no other language in Australia to include such a sound in its phoneme inventory. Phonetically, /ɾ/ is a strongly trilled rhotic articulated with no vibration of the vocal chords, and with air being forcefully expelled from the lungs in the same way as is necessary to pronounce the so-called 'voiceless l' of Welsh. In Yaygir however, there is quite a degree of variation from this, the most frequently occurring allophone. Sometimes it is pronounced as a voiceless [ɾ̥] with the same high sub-glottal pressure as involved in the production of [ɾ] and the Welsh l. The allophones can even occasionally be heard as the full fricatives [ʃ], and, when adjacent to a voiced consonant, [ʒ] for example:

/daɾi/	'strong'	[dáɾi]
/diga/	'tooth'	[dʲga, dʲga]
/migu:bay/	'egg'	[miɾú:bay, mʲfú:bay]
/bʲɾnibaŋ/	'kangaroo rat'	[bʲɾnibaŋ, bʲʒnibaŋ]

It should also be noted that Dawson was struck by the existence of this sound and apparently heard it as a sequence of -sr-, as shown by his spellings:

maga	"mus-rah"	'hand'
ugu	"woors-roo"	'neck'
ɱaɾi	"nus-ree"	'skin'
diga	"liss-rah"	'tooth'

The presence of /ɾ/ in Yaygir is quite unusual for an Australian language, which generally have only two rhotics, /r/ and /ɾ/. However, there is little doubt as to the phonemic status of /ɾ/, as illustrated by the following sub-minimal pairs:

/ɱa:ri/	'play'	/ɱaɾi/	'leg'
/da:ruy/	'good'	/daɾi/	'strong'
/yara:/	'return'	/yaɾa/	'run'
/ara:rdan/	'centipede'	/gaɾa:ɱɱi/	'frog'

/ɲura:lami/	'return'	/ɲuɾa/	'give'
/maɾawŋgal/	'lightning'	/maɾa/	'hand'
/muɾa:du/	'hungry'	/miɾu:bay/	'egg'

It should perhaps also be noted that in the Djangadi language spoken on the Macleay River further south, the present writer also heard fricatives of this kind, though only as free variants of the phoneme /ɟ/.

Any single consonant or semi-vowel following a stressed short vowel is obligatorily geminated in Yaygir. This is particularly noticeable with the stops and the nasals but it also applies to the lateral and rhotic phonemes, as well as the semi-vowels (when the latter either become pre-stopped or fricativized, as mentioned above). In the phonetic transcriptions given above, phonetic gemination was not marked though it is generally found. More accurate phonetic representations are:

/bunap/	'small'	[bʉ́nnəp]
/wiya/	'flathead'	[wʉ́yya]
/ɲunar/	'cloud'	[ɲʉ́nnar]
/mugu/	'blunt'	[múkkʉ]
/waɾa/	'froth'	[wáɾɾa]
/ina/	'foot'	[ínnə]
/ɲagu/	'dark, black'	[ɲákku]

Primary stress in Yaygir is placed on the initial syllable of a word when there are no long vowels, otherwise the first long vowel is stressed, e.g.

/ya:lap/	'tongue'	[yá:ləp]
/iba/	'back'	[íppa]
/ɲagar/	'chest'	[ɲákkar]
/una:ɲay/	'excrement'	[uná:ɲey]
/wargu:ri/	'shin'	[wártú:ri]
/duguburun/	'locust'	[dúguburun]

2.2 PHONOTACTICS

A word in Yaygir can begin with any of the following:

- (i) any stop or nasal
- (ii) either semi-vowel
- (iii) any vowel, long or short

Thus, the only segments prohibited initially are the rhotics (remembering that the opposition between /l/ and /d/ is neutralized in this position). The frequencies of occurrence word initially on a dictionary count are:

b	7%	m	10%		
d	6%	n	2%	a(:)	5%
g	9%	ɲ	2%	ɣ	16%
g	2%	ɲ	15%	w	14%
				i(:)	4%
				u(:)	8%

These figures reveal that a significant percentage of words in Yaygir begin with vowels (17%), which contrasts sharply with the neighbouring languages Gumbaynggir and Bandjalang. The order of frequency of classes of initial segments are the semi-vowels (30%), the nasals (29%), then stops

(24%), and finally vowels (17%).

There are some problems in the treatment of word initial vowels in Yaygir, namely that occasionally the following (apparently free) alternations were attested word initially:

[i- ~ yi-]
[u- ~ wu-]
[a- ~ ɤa-]

as, for example, in:

/i:ɤa/ 'nose' [i:ɤa, yi:ɤa]
/umbu:gi/ 'koala' [umbú:gi, wumbú:gi]
/aɣi/ 'here' [ági, ɤági]

Alternations of the type [i- ~ yi-] and [u- ~ wu-] are fairly common in Australian languages, and are even attested in neighbouring Gumbaynggir and Bandjalang. The problem in Yaygir is that this alternation has not been observed with all i- and u- initial forms (though this could well be due to a lack of data). The [a- ~ ɤa-] alternation is problematic, but Gumbaynggir apparently has a similar alternation between ɤambul ~ ambul 'magpie'.

In word final position in Yaygir, we can have any of the following:

- (i) any vowel, long or short
- (ii) any nasal
- (iii) the liquids l and r
- (iv) the semi-vowel y

Thus, there is a prohibition on word-final stops, w, ɕ and ɣ. The statistical possibilities based on a dictionary count for segments occurring word-finally are:

i(:)	12.5%	m	3%	l	5%
a(:)	20%	n	13%	r	18.5%
u(:)	8.5%	ɲ	8.5%		
y	9%	ŋ	2%		

Consonant clusters in Yaygir are evidently less common and of a more restricted nature than in Gumbaynggir and Bandjalang, though this may well be a fact of the rather limited nature of the corpus rather than of the language itself. Little pattern can be observed in the clusters attested so it is quite likely that other cluster possibilities would complete the pattern. All clusters occur only intervocalically. The two-member clusters attested are:

	m	n	ɲ	ŋ	l	r	y	g
b	mb				lb			
d		nd				rd		
g			ɲg			rg		
g		ng		ɲg	lg	rg		
m		nm			lm			
w				ɲw		rw	yw	gw

The corpus also contains some intervocalic clusters with three members:

-rmb- -yng-
 -rng- -wng-
 -lmb-

One word contains a final cluster ([yálpərn] 'arm'), but this is poorly recorded on tape and could well be a mistake.

2.3 HISTORICAL PHONOLOGY

The present writer made brief reference to some of the phonological changes that have taken place in the history of Yaygir in an appendix to Crowley (1976). Although it can in no way be claimed that anything like the full situation will ever be known, we will now describe these changes in more detail and with exemplification that is as full as possible in each case. The changes are stated informally rather than formally, given that we do not have the full details of the changes that must have taken place.

The most important fact to emerge from a study of Yaygir historical phonology is that the proto-language from which it is derived split and developed into Gumbaynggir and Yaygir. Thus, although Gumbaynggir and Yaygir are clearly two different languages (the lexical cognate count is 46%), they do nevertheless constitute a distinct sub-group on their own. This conclusion is born out by grammatical similarities (as pointed out at various points throughout Eades' description of Gumbaynggir).

Some of the rules by which Yaygir and Gumbaynggir forms can be related are listed below.

2.3.1 INITIAL CONSONANT DELETION AND LENITION. Some word initial b-, g-, g-, w- and y- in Gumbaynggir correspond to Ø- in Yaygir, and some b-, g- and g- correspond to y-. There are yet other forms in which there has been no change. No conditioning factors can be suggested for these various correspondences. The cognates upon which we must base our generalizations are presented below:

	<i>Gumbaynggir</i>	<i>Yaygir</i>	
C→Ø	gi:na	ina	'foot'
	gi:ba	iba	'back'
	gi:daŋ	i:daŋ	'moon'
	wu:ɕu	uɕu	'neck'
	giŋa:m	i:ŋa	'nose'
	ga:bi	abi	'wallaby'
	guɕa:gaɪ	uɕa:gaɪ	'possum'
	gulu:n	u:lun	'rain'
	ga:gal	a:gal	'sea'
	gaba:la	aba:la	'west(loc)'
	gaŋga:li	aŋga:li	'shout'
	yi:la	ila	'cook'
	bindayma	ida:yma	'throw'
	yi:nɔa	iŋa	'bite'
	galu:ga*	aluga**	'kangaroo rat'
	gila:wai*	ilawai**	'black duck'

* Recorded only by Smythe.

** Recorded only by Dawson.

Gumbaynggir

guga:mgan
 buwa:r
 ya:diŋ*
 bali:n*
 bawgi
 gu:bun
 buga:

Yaygir

ugangan
 uwar**
 adiŋ**
 alin**
 agwa**
 ubun**
 uga**

'emu'
 'child'
 'chin'
 'knee'
 'swim'
 'mopoke'
 'rotten'

Bandjalang

galga

alga

'cut, chop'

Gumbaynggir

C→y

ga:lbar
 gala:n
 bulu:n
 gumba:l
 gara:gir
 gapa:mbil
 gidu:r
 ga:ɟa
 gangu:r

yalbarn
 ya:lan
 yu:lun
 yu:bal
 yara:gir
 yapa:mbil
 yudur
 yaɟa**
 yagur**

'arm'
 'mouth'
 'belly'
 'carpet snake'
 'intestines'
 'tongue'
 'sand'
 'thigh'
 'leaf'

Bandjalang

gambay
 galiger

yamban
 yali:gar

'hand'
 'tree'

The stop d- and the nasals never undergo deletion or lenition word initially. In addition, some of the segments listed above remain unchanged in some words. E.g.

Gumbaynggir

C→C

di:ɟa
 da:lga
 du:wa
 da:ɟi
 gi:bin
 naga:r
 ɲa:lgaŋ
 ya:lgiŋ
 da:rui
 mu:pu
 ɲa:ma
 ɲalu:nggir
 mi:l
 wa:n
 wa:gaɣ
 yu:ɟal
 ɲa:lu
 ɲayan

Yaygir

di:ɟa
 da:lga
 du:wa
 da:ɟi
 gi:bin
 nagar
 ɲalgaŋ
 yalgiŋ
 da:rui
 mupu
 ɲama
 ɲalu:nggir
 mi:l
 wa:n
 wa:gaɣ
 yu:ɟal
 ɲa:lu
 ɲayan

'tooth'
 'sing'
 'boomerang'
 'strong'
 'bird'
 'chest'
 'ear'
 'flathead'
 'good'
 'lice'
 'nape of neck'
 'clever man'
 'eye'
 'face'
 'fire'
 'food'
 'water'
 'sun'

Bandjalang

daba:y
 bi:lar
 galubay

da:bay
 bi:lar
 galu:bay

'dog'
 'spear'
 'urine'

* Recorded only by Smythe.

** Recorded only by Dawson.

2.3.2 RHOTIC CHANGE -: ζ → ζ -. An ζ following a long vowel in Gumbaynggir corresponds to ζ following a short vowel in Yaygir. The probable origin of ζ is through a geminate $\zeta\zeta$. As was pointed out in 2.1, single phonemes following a short vowel in Yaygir are automatically geminated. Presumably, Yaygir first lost the length of the vowel, which has been retained in Gumbaynggir. It then acquired the phonetic gemination rule, creating geminate $\zeta\zeta$. A change to ζ then becomes more feasible. Correspondences of this type are illustrated by:

<i>Gumbaynggir</i>	<i>Yaygir</i>	
ni: ζ um	ni ζ um	'cold'
ma: ζ a	ma ζ a	'hair'
da: ζ i	da ζ i	'strong'
ŋa: ζ i	ŋa ζ i	'thigh'
wu: ζ u	u ζ u	'neck'
di: ζ a	di ζ a	'tooth'

3. MORPHOLOGY

3.1 PARTS OF SPEECH

Clearly, given the nature of the field-work that was done on Yaygir, there is nothing like enough information to be able to set up word classes with the inflectional, derivational and syntactic justification for these. We can present only a part of the picture, though the existence of the following word classes does seem to be evident:

Nouns - obligatorily inflecting for case

Pronouns - obligatorily inflecting for case but on a different system to the nouns

Verbs - obligatorily inflecting for tense, or carrying a mark of subordination

Adjectives/Demonstratives - inflecting for case only when there is no head noun carrying a case inflection

Particles - miscellaneous forms such as time and place words which are not known to carry any suffixes

As the language is evidently so closely related to Gumbaynggir, one could perhaps refer to Eades' description for more detail on the possible word classes which might have been found in Yaygir.

3.2 NOUN MORPHOLOGY

The following case affixes were recorded. It is obvious that very many noun functions were not covered in elicitation, and in some cases even the allomorphy for the affixes that were covered is only partially known.

Absolute, marking Intransitive Subject (S) and Transitive Object (O) functions: - $\emptyset$, as in

- (1) *agi yira:li dulunmi-gi*
 this-ABS whiteman-ABS laugh-PRES
 This whiteman is laughing
- (2) *a:gal yara:na-gi*
 sea-ABS come-PRES
 The sea is coming in
- (3) *gi:biṇ-gu ma:ra-ŋ yumu*
 bird-ERG catch-PAST rat-ABS
 The bird caught a rat
- (4) *ŋangula-yu algi-ŋ aḡi wagu:ray*
 he-ERG kill-PAST this-ABS kangaroo-ABS
 He killed this kangaroo

Ergative/Instrumental, marking Transitive Subject and Instrumental functions: -Cu. As in most Australian languages, and also in neighbouring Gumbaynggir, the ergative/instrumental suffix undergoes some morphophonemic alternation, depending on the nature of the root final segment in the noun. Following a nasal, the suffix has the form of a stop homorganic in place of articulation with the root final segment, as in:

- (5) *agi gi:biṇ-gu ma:ra-ŋ aḡi gubar*
 this bird-ERG catch-PAST this grub
 The bird caught the grub
- (6) *agi buḡiga:n-du yaṇa:mbil-u ya:yi-gi*
 this cat-ERG tongue-INST eat-PRES
 The cat is eating it with its tongue

The ergative/instrumental allomorph following a stem ending in *l* is simply -u, as shown by (6). Following -r, the ergative/instrumental could be expected to have the same allomorphy as the locative, only with a difference in the vowel. If this were so, then the form after -r would be -u, the same as for the -*l* final stem. However, the only attested -r final ergatives delete the -r and add -du as in:

bugu:r→bugu:du 'boy'
bi:lar→bila:du 'spear'

Following a vowel, the ergative/instrumental has been attested as -lu and -yu, e.g.

- (7) *agi yali:gar aṇwa-ŋ iṇa:-lu*
 this tree-ABS break-PAST what-INST
 How did the tree break?
- (8) *ŋangula-yu ida:yma-ŋ*
 he-ERG throw-PAST
 He threw it away

Finally, the ergative/instrumental allomorph after a stem ending in *y* is probably -u, given that the locative of such forms is -a.

Locative: -Ca. Wherever there is data on the locative and the ergative/instrumental, we can maintain the generalization that the two suffixes have the same allomorphy, and differ only in the form of the vowel (with the single exception that locative is -a after a stem ending in *r*). Some

examples of the locative used in sentences are given below:

- (9) *ŋaɣa ma:ra-ŋ wiya ala:ɕa wulbi:n-ga*
I-A catch-PAST mullet-ABS there canoe-LOC
I caught the mullet from that canoe
- (10) *ŋinda ya:na ɲura:-la-mi*
you-S go-IMP home-LOC-INCH-IMP
Go home!
- (11) *ŋangula ya:ra-ŋ aba:-la*
he-S go-PAST up-LOC
He went up
- (12) *ŋali:ga ŋinda ila-ŋa-gi niɲi:-ya*
we-S you-S cook-?-PRES coals-LOC
You and I are cooking on the coals
- (13) *agi gi:biŋ-gu ma:ra-ŋ agi gubar waga:r-a*
this bird-ERG catch-PAST this grub-ABS ground-LOC
The bird got grubs from the ground

The locative case is also used to mark a complement of fear and the object of *ŋaraŋi*- 'listen'. e.g.

- (14) *agi buɣu:r wayi-gi daba:y-a*
this boy-ABS afraid-PRES dog-LOC
The boy is afraid of the dog
- (15) *ŋinda wayi-gi agi-ya abi-ya*
you-S afraid-PRES this-LOC wallaby-LOC
You are afraid of the wallaby
- (16) *agi yira:li ŋaraŋi-ya-ŋdi dulbay-a*
this whiteman-ABS listen-?-PRES language-LOC
This whiteman is listening to the language

Dative/Allative: -gu. The form of this suffix is apparently invariant. It is exemplified by:

- (17) *ŋaya muɣa:du ŋa:lu-gu*
I-S thirsty water-DAT
I am thirsty for water
- (18) *ŋangula yaɣa-ŋ yali:gar-gu*
he-S run-PAST tree-ALL
He ran to the tree
- (19) *yulwari algi-ya-gi miɲgir-gu*
they two-S fight-?-PRES woman-DAT
They are fighting for a woman

Ablative/Causal: -nda. This suffix is attested only post-vocally so its full allomorphy is unknown. E.g.

- (20) *ŋaɣa ma:ra-ŋ badi:da agi-nda aba:-la*
I-A catch-PAST potato this ABL up-LOC
I got the yam from there up there
- (21) *agi yali:gar aŋwa-ŋ agi-nda yuruway*
this tree-ABS break-PAST this-ABL storm
The tree broke because of the storm

Genitive/Benefactive: -ɲu(ŋdi). The genitive appears to be marked by -ɲu and -ɲundi in free variation. Any presumed functional difference between the two cannot be established from

the corpus. This suffix is attached to the possessor noun, which then precedes the possessed noun. E.g.

daba:ŋu(ŋdi) ŋaɟi	-	'the dog's leg'
daba:ŋu(ŋdi) uga	-	'the dog's tail'
ŋaŋgula:ŋu aɟi miɟir	-	'his wife'
aɟi buɟiga:ŋu(ŋdi) ya:lan	-	'the cat's mouth'
maɟaŋu(ŋdi) waɟar	-	'the boss's land'

Note that there is one example in the corpus of a possessed noun following the possessor noun rather than preceding it:

aɟi yira:liŋwan yira:liŋundi - the whiteman's whitewoman

As in Gumbaynggir, when some case affixes are added to nouns in Yaygir, there is some kind of alternation in the length of the vowels between suffixed and unsuffixed forms. Thus, we find changes to the following kinds in Yaygir:

	<i>Absolute</i>	<i>Ergative</i>	<i>Dative</i>	<i>Locative</i>
I. 'wallaby'	abi	abiyu		
'bird'	ɟi:biŋ	ɟi:biŋgu		
'tree'	yali:gar		yali:gargu	
'cat'	buɟiga:n	buɟiga:ndu		
'tongue'	yapa:mbil	yapa:mbilu		
'canoe'	wu:liŋ			wu:liŋga
'boy'	bugu:r	bugu:du		
'language'	dulbay			dulbaya
II. 'dog'	da:bay	daba:yu		daba:ya
'ground'	waɟar			waga:ra
'sand'	yudur			yudu:ra
'coals'	nigi			nigi:ya
'spear'	bi:lar	bi:la:du		
'hand'	yambaŋ	yamba:ŋgu		

There are, it would appear, two sets of nouns, one in which there is no change in the placement of vowel length, and another in which a previously short vowel in the final syllable is lengthened when suffixed. This phenomenon of shifting vowel length has been observed in Gumbaynggir by Eades. Eades has examined this limited Yaygir data and notes that the conditioning factors operative in Gumbaynggir are evidently not the same as those in Yaygir. Given the paucity of this data, this problem will therefore have to remain unsolved.

3.3 PRONOUNS AND DEMONSTRATIVES

The pronoun paradigm was only fragmentarily recorded. The singular forms attested are:

	S	A	O	GEN
1	ŋaya	ŋaɟa	ŋapa	ŋa:ŋu
2	ŋinda	ŋinda	ŋina	ŋu:nu
3m.	ŋaŋgula	ŋaŋgulayu	?	ŋaŋgula:ŋu
f.	ŋaŋgula:wan	ŋaŋgula:wandu	?	?

and there are also the following non-singular forms in the corpus:

	S	A	O	GEN
1 non-sg	ḡall:ga	?	ḡali:ḡa	?
3 d1	yulwari	?	?	?
3 pl	pungap	?	?	?

The known demonstratives are:

(ḡ)agi	-	'here, this'
(y)ila	-	'here'
(y)ala:ḡa	-	'there, a long way off'
ḡa:ḡi	-	'there, not too far away'

One of these, (ḡ)agi has been attested with non-zero case affixes: aḡinda 'ablative/causal' and aḡiyu 'ergative/instrumental'.

3.4 VERB MORPHOLOGY

The behaviour of Yaygir verbs is only very sketchily known. The corpus contains three affixes that appear to be derivational but as they occur only once or twice in each case it is quite impossible to generalize, or even to make suggestions about, their function. These "affixes" are: -wa, -ya and -ḡa. Following the root, or these affixes when they occur, are the various inflectional suffixes. There are evidently two conjugational classes, in which the second is sometimes characterised by the presence of a -ḡ/-y/-n before the suffix, while the first is characterized by $\emptyset$. The suffixes attested are:

	I	II
past	-ḡ	-ḡ
present	-ḡi	-ḡḡi/-y(ḡi)
future I	:-wi	:-wi
future II	-ḡu	-ḡuḡu
future III	-na	-na
purposive	-ḡu	-yḡu
imperative	- $\emptyset$	- $\emptyset$
'able'	-ḡay	-ḡay

In the table above, suffixes are given for what are referred to as futures I, II and III. The semantic differences between these three suffixes are not known, nor will they ever be known, though it is unlikely that a language would have three degrees of futurity. It is more likely that distinctions of some other nature were being made. I have a suggestion in my notes that future II could be an 'immediate future'. Eades reports that for Gumbaynggir also, there are two futures, -w and -yḡu (clearly cognate with futures I and II above) but no semantic or syntactic distinction between these was apparent.

Attested members of conjugation I are: ya:yī 'eat', alga/alḡi 'kill', pa: 'see', aḡa:li 'shout', ura:li 'swim', yara:na 'come', ḡa:ri, 'play', dulanmi 'laugh'. Conjugation II verbs include: ḡinaga 'sit', ila 'cook', yu: 'tell',

yara: 'return', waga 'sleep'. The conjugation membership of the majority of verbs elicited however is simply unknown.

Yaygir evidently had verbalizing suffixes which are cognate with the Gumbaynggir forms, and similar to them in function. Little will be said about them here however, as the data is so limited, and in fact it is only by having the Gumbaynggir data that we can even recognize these suffixes. They are attested in:

- (22) ɲaɣa ma:ni-ya:-wi ɲura:-la-mi
I-A take-?-FUT home-LOC-VERB
I will take it home

- (23) ɲaya aɣi gulu:ɣun-a-y
I-S this drunk - VERB-PRES
I am getting drunk

Also, from ɖaɣi 'strong' we can derive ɖaɣi-wa 'become strong'. Evidently, the inchoative verbalizer is -wa, becoming -a post-consonantally (as in Gumbaynggir).

4. SYNTAX

Given that the morphology was so sketchily recorded it is impossible to expect much in the way of syntactic information, and what little we do have is limited to word order in simple sentences (which is quite possibly strongly influenced by the use of English, as the language of elicitation).

The sentences in the corpus are for the most part S-V-O in order, e.g.

- (24) ɲaɣa ma:ra-ɲ wiya
I-A catch-PAST mullet-ABS
I caught a mullet

- (25) aɣi a:gal yara:na-ɣi
this sea-ABS come - PRES
The sea is coming in

Changes in this pattern are extremely rare.

In imperative sentences, the subject pronoun (when it is not deleted) is in post-verbal position, e.g.

- (26) yara:na-Ø (ɲinda)
come-IMP you-S
Come here!

When there is an instrumental or locative complement, there is apparently some freedom with regard to placement of the NP. Thus:

- (27) aɣi ɣi:biɲ-ɣu ma:ra-ɲ aɣi ɣubar waɣa:r-a
this bird-ERG catch-PAST this grub-ABS ground LOC
The bird got the grub on the ground

- (28) ɲaɣa alga:-wi ɲina bila:r-u
I-A kill-FUT you-O spear-INST
I will kill you with a spear

- (29) agi-yu bugiga:n-du yapa:mbil-u ya:yi-gi
 this-ERG cat-ERG tongue-INST eat-PRES
 The cat is eating it with its tongue
- (30) ninda yapa:mbil-u iri-gi
 you-A tongue-INST lick-PRES
 You are licking it with your tongue

All examples of allative/dative complements follow the verb:

- (31) nangula yaqa-n yali:gar-gu
 he-S run-PAST tree-ALL
 He ran to the tree
- (32) naya muqa:du na:lu-gu
 I-S thirsty water-DAT
 I am thirsty for water

(In this example, muqa:du 'thirsty' is behaving verbally in taking a complement of this type, though adjectives are also nominal in that they can take case inflections.)

The corpus contains little information on the techniques employed in sentence embedding, though a verb can take -gu in place of a tense inflection in a purposive construction, e.g.

- (33) nangula-yu ma:ra-n yali:gar dagi-wa-ygu
 he-ERG take-PAST stick-ABS strong-INCH-PURP
 He took a stick so it would be strong

Generally however, embedding and coordination are expressed in the corpus by simple juxtaposition:

- (34) naga na:wa-n agi wagu:ray nina:ga-ngi
 I-A see-PAST this kangaroo-ABS sit-PRES
 I saw the kangaroo sitting down
- (35) naya ya:ra-ngu ila nina:ga-na
 I-S go-FUT here sit-FUT
 I will go and sit here

A YAYGIR TEXT

No texts were recorded on tape in Yaygir, though Mr. Cameron did dictate a short monologue consisting of a series of very short sentences. The reason the text was not recorded was that the speaker felt unable to speak the language naturally after such a long period of disuse and had to think about each sentence before giving it. The 'text' as dictated was:

naga gulu:gun-a / naya yila nina:ga-ngu / naya agi gulu:gun-
 I-A drunk-VERB I-S here sit-FUT I-S this drunk-
 -a-y / naga na:bi-n warawara / naga ma:-ngu yulwari
 VERB-PRES I-A drink-PAST beer-ABS I-A take-FUT two-ABS
 warawara / naga ma:ni-ya:-wi nura:-la-mi nagwan naga
 beer-ABS I-A take-?-FUT home-LOC-VERB night I-A
 nabi:-gu / agi napa warawara / da:rui / nangula-yu
 drink-PURP this my-ABS beer-ABS good he-ERG

ida:yma-ŋ / aŋi buŋu:r alga-ŋ / ŋa:ri-gi warngar
 throw-PAST this boy-ABS break-PAST play-PRES child-ABS
 waŋi ŋa:wa-ŋ / ina aygi / yara:na ŋinda / ina
 no see-PAST foot-ABS cut-FUT come-IMP you-S foot-ABS
 aygi:-wi / u:la ŋa:ri / ŋangula-yu yudu:r-a / aŋi warngar
 cut-FUT there play he-ERG sand-LOC this child-ABS
 waŋa-ŋgi /
 sleep-PRES

I am drunk. I will sit here. I am drunk. I have been drinking beer. I will get two (bottles of) beer. I will take it home to drink at night. This is my beer. It is good. He threw it away. The boys broke it. The children were playing and didn't see it. They cut their feet. 'Come here, you will cut your feet.' They are playing there. He (buried it) in the sand. The children are sleeping.

VOCABULARY

YAYGIR-ENGLISH ALPHABETICAL LIST

abi, N: wallaby
 atga, V(I): cut, hit, kill
 algi, V(I): cut, hit, kill
 alina, N: wind
 amba:lam, N: catfish
 anga:li, V(I): shout
 anwiri, V: speak
 ara:rdan, N: centipede
 arugurum, Adj: one
 awa:ga, N: father
 aygi, V: cut
 a:gal, N: sea

badi:da, N: potato
 baginay, N: knife
 balalagan, N: stingray
 billi:ŋiman, N: policeman
 biŋbiŋ, N: pig
 biŋnibaŋ, N: kangaroo rat
 bi:lar, N: spear
 bugiga:n, N: cat
 bugurganda, N: girl
 buŋu:r, N: boy
 bulan, N: meat, cattle
 bunap, Adj: small
 bu:gi, N: kangaroo

dalga, V: sing
 daŋi, Adj: strong, hard
 da:baŋ, N: dog
 da:mbar, N: stone
 da:rui, Adj: good
 digi, N: head
 dimilawan, N: mosquito

diŋa, N: tooth
 duguburun, N: locust
 dulbay, N: language
 dulunmi, V(I): laugh
 duwa, N: boomerang
 du:wa, V: cry

gali:gar, N: pippi shell
 galu:baŋ, N: urine
 garuga, N: trousers
 ga:nan, N: ant
 giŋa:ga, N: sister
 giimbaŋ, N: sheep
 gi:biŋ, N: bird
 gubar, N: grub
 guga:baŋ, N: honey
 gu:wigu, N: cigarette

gaŋa:ngir, N: frog
 gulu:gun, Adj: drunk
 gu:gaga, N: kookaburra

iba, N: back
 ida:yma, V: throw
 ila, V(II): cook
 ila:wal, N: wild duck
 ina, N: foot
 ina:ga, V(II): sit
 inŋa, V: bite
 ira:li, N: whiteman
 i:dan, N: moon
 i:ŋa, N: nose

maŋa, N: boss

mangan, N: snake, lizard
 maça, N: hair
 maçawngal, N: lightning
 ma:na, V: take
 ma:ni, V: take
 ma:ra, V: take
 me:ri, N: morning star
 milgir, N: woman, wife
 miçu:bay, N: egg
 mi:l, N: eye
 mugu, Adj: blunt
 mupu, N: louse
 mungal, N: oyster
 murgi, N: whiting
 murugay, N: eel
 muça:du, Adj: hungry
 mu:lu, N: black snake

nagar, N: chest
 nigı, N: ashes, coals
 niğum, Adj: cold
 ni:mbir, N: navel

na, V(I): see
 naba, N: brother
 pari:gan, N: wood oyster
 pa:gi, V(I): see
 pa:wa, V(I): see
 pugum, N: mucus
 pu:ga:, N: mother

qada:l, Adj: full
 qadur, N: blue crab
 qadu:ra, Adj: white
 qagu, Adj: black, dark
 qagwan, N: night
 qalğan, N: ear
 qalu:ngir, N: clever chap
 qama, N: nape of neck
 qamu:lur, N: blood
 qaragan, N: swan
 qarağı, V: listen to
 qarğı, N: thigh
 qayan, N: sun
 qa:, Int: yes
 qa:bi, V: drink
 qa:lu, N: water, river
 qa:nga, N: eaglehawk
 qa:ri, V(I): play
 qina:ga, V(II): sit
 qubu, Time: tomorrow
 qubi, N: beard, moustache
 qudu, N: breast
 qunar, N: cloud
 qunqun, N: toadfish
 quça, V: give
 qu:nar, N: crab

uga, N: tail
 ugur, N: neck, throat
 ulman, N: penis
 uma:ga, N: grandfather
 umbu:gi, N: koala
 una:ğay, N: faeces
 ura:li, V(I): swim
 uçu, N: neck, throat
 uça:ğay, N: possum
 u:lun, N: rain
 u:ram, N: ghost
 u:run, N: camp, hut

waduwarı, N: grandmother
 wağar, N: ground
 wağı, Int: no
 waga, V(II): sleep
 wagar, N: axe
 wagu:ray, N: wallaby
 wana:, PART: don't
 wargu:ri, N: bone, shin
 warngar, N: child
 wağa, N: saliva, foam of sea
 wayı, V(I): fear
 wayngal, N: black and white fish sp.
 wa:ğay, N: fire
 wa:lmba, N: flying fox
 wa:n, N: forehead, face
 wa:rar, N: bandicoot
 wila:ra, Adj: big
 wiya, N: sea mullet
 wudu:wa, Adj: sharp
 wuluywan, N: sea mullet
 wura:li, V(I): swim
 wurgay, N: shrimp
 wuğan, Adj: deaf
 wuywuy, N: porpoise
 wu:lbin, N: canoe
 wu:lun, N: rain

ya, V: go
 yabur, Time: tomorrow
 yagin, N: buttocks
 yalbarn, N: arm
 yalgir, N: flathead
 yali:gar, N: tree
 yamban, N: hand
 yana:mbil, N: tongue
 yağıdawu, Time: yesterday
 yaraman, N: horse
 yara:, V(II): return
 yara:gir, N: stomach
 yara:na, V(I): come
 yaça, V: run
 yawira, Adj: hot
 yayar, N: man, husband
 ya:ğay, N: shark

ya:lap, N: mouth
 ya:iban, N: goanna
 ya:ra, V: go
 ya:wir, Adj: bad
 ya:yi, V(I): eat, lick
 yiralinwan, N: whitewoman
 yira:li, N: whiteman
 yi:ga, N: nose
 yudur, N: sand, beach

yulupaman, N: echidna
 yulwari, Adj: two
 yumu, N: rat
 yuruway, N: thunderstorm
 yu:, V(II): tell
 yu:bal, N: carpet snake
 yu:lup, N: belly
 yu:ra, V(II): tell
 yu:ral, N: food

VOCABULARY IN SEMANTIC FIELDS

NOUNS

A - Body Parts

digi, head
 maga, hair
 wa:n, forehead, face
 mi:l, eye
 (y)i:ga, nose
 ngalan, ear
 ya:lap, mouth
 nubi, beard, moustache
 diga, tooth
 yana:mbil, tongue
 waga, saliva
 nugum, mucus
 ugu, ugar, neck, throat
 nama, nape of neck
 yalbarn, arm
 yamban, hand
 nudu, breast
 nagar, chest
 yu:lup, belly (exterior)
 ni:mbir, navel
 yara:gir, stomach (internal)
 iba, back
 yagin, buttocks
 nagi, thigh
 ina, foot
 ulman, penis
 una:ray, faeces
 galu:bay, urine
 wargu:ri, bone, shin
 namu:lur, blood

B - Human Classification

yayar, man, husband
 milgir, woman, wife
 galu:ngir, clever chap
 warngar, child
 bugu:r, boy
 bugurganda, girl
 (y)ira:li, whiteman
 yiralinwan, whitewoman
 bili:giman, policeman

u:ram, ghost
 maga, boss

C - Kin Terms

nu:ga:, mother
 awa:ga, father
 naba, brother
 giga:ga, sister
 uma:ga, grandfather
 waduwari, grandmother

D - Mammals

yulupaman, echidna
 yumu, rat
 wa:rar, bandicoot
 umbu:gi, koala
 uga:gay, possum
 wagu:ray, abi, wallaby
 bu:gi, kangaroo
 bigniban, kangaroo rat
 uga, tail
 da:bay, dog
 wa:imba, flying-fox
 yaraman, horse
 bulan, cattle
 gimban, sheep
 bugiga:n, cat
 binbin, pig

E - Reptiles

ya:iban, goanna
 mangap, snake, lizard
 mu:lu, black snake
 yu:bal, carpet snake

F - Birds

gi:bin, bird (generic)
 migu:bay, egg
 qaragan, swan
 gu:gaga, kookaburra
 ga:nga, eaglehawk
 ila:wai, wild duck

G - Water Dwellers

wiya, wuluywan, sea mullet
yalgir, flathead
murgi, whiting
amba:lam, catfish
wayngal, black and white fish sp.
gungun, toadfish
balalagan, stingray
ya:gay, shark
wuywuy, porpoise
mururgay, eel
wurgay, shrimp
gu:nar, crab
gadur, blue crab
gali:gar, pippi shell
mungal, oyster
pari:gan, wood oyster

H - Insects etc.

ga:nap, ant
ara:rdap, centipede
dimilawan, mosquito
gubar, grub
duguburun, locust
mupu, louse
gara:ngir, frog

I - Language, Ceremony etc.

dulbay, language

J - Human Artifacts

duwa, boomerang
bi:lar, spear
wagar, axe
baginay, knife
wu:lbin, canoe
garuga, trousers

K - Food, Fire, Water

bulan, meat
yu:gal, food
badi:da, potato
guga:bay, honey
wa:gay, fire
nigi, ashes, coals
qa:lu, water, river
a:gal, sea
waga, foam (of sea)
gu:wigu, cigarette

L - Celestial, Weather

gayan, sun
i:dap, moon
me:ri, morning star
nagwan, night
gunar, cloud
alina, wind

(w)u:lun, rain
yuruway, thunderstorm
ma:awngal, lightning

M - Geography

u:run, camp, hut
wagar, ground
yudur, sand, beach
da:mbar, stone

N - Arboreal

yali:gar, tree

O - ADJECTIVES

arugurum, one
yulwari, two
nagu, black, dark
nadu:ra, white
wila:ra, big
bunap, small
yawira, hot
nigum, cold
dagi, strong, hard
wudu:wa, sharp
mugu, blunt
da:ruy, good
ya:wir, bad
mu:ga:du, hungry
nada:l, full
wu:gan, deaf
gulu:gun, drunk

*VERBS**P - Motion*

ya:ra, ya, go
yara:na, come (I)
yara:, return (II)
yaga, run
(w)ura:li, swim (I)

Q - Rest

(n)ina:ga, sit (II)
waga, sleep (II)

R - Induced Position

ma:ni, ma:ra, ma:na, take
ida:yma, throw
nuga, give

S - Affect

alga, algi, hit, kill, cut (I)
aygi, cut
ila, cook (II)

T - Attention

na:gi, na, na:wa, see (I)
nara:ni, listen to

U - Talking etc

aṇwiri, speak
 anga:li, shout (I)
 yu:, yu:ra, tell (II)
 dalga, sing

V - Corporeal

ya:yi, eat, lick (I)
 iṇga, bite
 ṇa:bi, drink
 du:wa, cry
 dulunmi, laugh (I)
 wayi, fear (I)

ṇa:ri, play (I)

Y - TIME

yaṇidawu, yesterday
 yabur, ṇubu, tomorrow

Z - INTERJECTION

ṇa:, yes
 waḡi, no

PARTICLE

wana:, don't

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