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A SKETCH GRAMMAR OF

DYABUGAY

ELISABETH PATZ

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CHAPTER 1 - INTRODUCTION

1.1 Linguistic Type

Dyabugay belongs to the Paman or Cape York Peninsula group of the Pama-Nyungan phylic family and can be regarded as a typical Australian language. It is entirely suffixing and has wide variation possibilities in word order, although the preferred order appears to be Subject-Object-Verb.

The phonology is rather simple with only four stop/nasal series (bilabial, apico-alveolar, laminal, dorso-velar), a single lateral, two rhotics (apical trill and retroflex continuant), two semi-vowels and three vowels. Vowel length is phonologically significant, but long vowels only occur in non-initial syllables of multi-syllabic words or in mono-syllabic words. Like other Australian languages Dyabugay shows no distinction between voiced and unvoiced stops. Words have to begin with a consonant; consonant clusters only occur in medial position. Stress lies on the long vowel in a non-final syllable or in a final closed syllable. Words without long vowels stress the first and every alternate syllable, except that the final syllable must be unstressed.

Dyabugay has clearly defined classes of noun , adjective, locational and time qualifier, (1st and 2nd person) pronoun, deictic, verb, particle and interjection. Adjectives can serve to modify an action, but always remain part of an NP. There are singular and non-singular forms for pronouns, but no dual forms and no inclusive/exclusive destruction. Deictics fulfill the function of 3 person pronouns. They are distinguished by a two-term spatial system 'here' and 'there'.

There are ten cases for nouns and adjectives and nine cases for pronouns and deictics. Locational and time qualifiers take only three of the nominal cases. Surface syntax employs the Absolutive/Ergative system for nouns (one case marking both intransitive subject and transitive object) and the Nominative/Accusative system for pronouns (one case marking transitive and intransitive subject). Deictics can use either system optionally. There are seven stem-forming derivational suffixes to be used with nouns and adjectives. These include Genitive and a three-fold Comitative with a rather diverse semantic range. The only derivational affix applicable to pronouns is Genitive. Reflexive is expressed by a universal reflexive pronoun for all persons and numbers.

There are two grammatical classes of verbs, transitive and intransitive, and two verb conjugations which are characterised by 'linking morphemes' between stem and suffix: -y- and -l-. Transitive and intransitive verbs do not coincide with the conjugations, however, there is a statistical correlation between transitive verbs and the l- conjugation and intransitive verbs and the y- conjugation.

The tense-system has three terms: Past, present and future. In all, there are nine verbal inflections serving to mark aspect, mood and syntactic functions such as subordinate clauses. Derivational suffixes indicate plurality of Subject or Agent reciprocity and change in transitivity and 'going to'/'coming to' - aspect. These suffixes can attach to verbs of either conjugation.

Dyabugay has four types of subordinate clauses, each of which is marked by a verbal inflection.

Sentence modification (negation, attempt, 'maybe', 'now', successive action, emphasis) is achieved partly through a number of non-inflecting particles and partly through post-inflectional suffixes.

There is a small set of generic nouns in Dyabugay which, however, rarely co-occur with specific nouns in an NP, but are rather used where specific reference to an object is not possible.

1.2 Language Name, Dialects and Territory

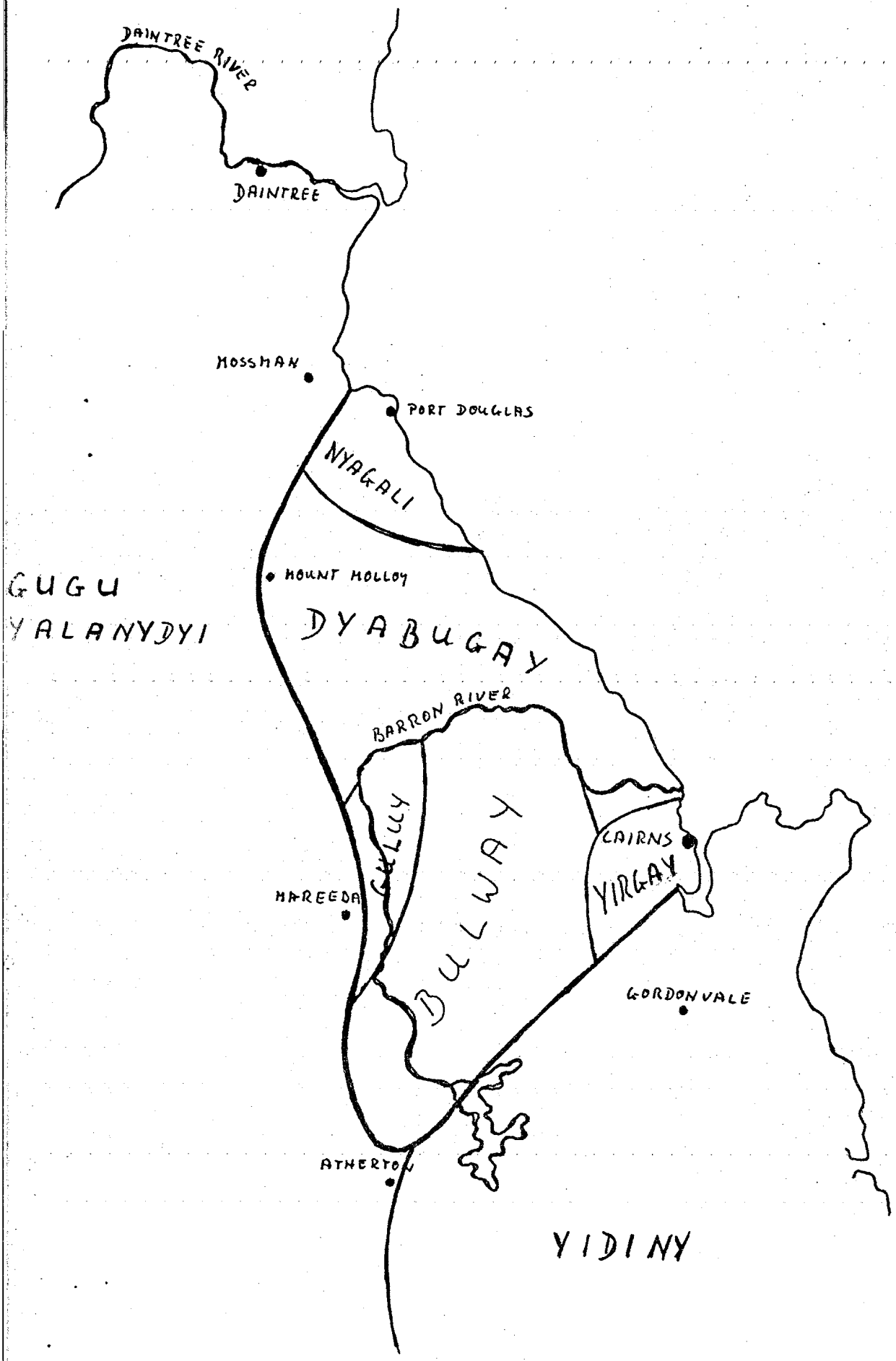
Hale (1976) recorded the name of the language as T^{y}a:pukay with a long vowel in the initial syllable. Dixon's field notes on Yidin show both long 'a:' and short 'a' in free variation. Compared with other vowels with phonologically contrastive length in Dyabugay, the 'a' in first syllable is in fact a short vowel, allbeit slightly lengthened because of its stressed position.

Dyabugay comprised five dialects: Yirgay, Guluy, Nyagali, Bulway and Dyabugay. The groups speaking these dialects inhabited a triangle from just south of Cairns to just north of Atherton in the tablelands, then northwards along the Barron River and on to about Mount Malloy, then meeting the coastline again between Port Douglas and Mossman. The distribution of the dialectal groups can be seen on Map 1 which is based on McConnel (1939) and communication with my informant. Dyabugay-speaking people, called Dyabugandi seemed to have occupied the relatively largest territory including a long stretch of the Barron River.

1.3 Neighbouring Languages

The immediate southern neighbour of the Dyabugay language group is Yidin with which Dyabugay shares 53% of common vocabulary, based on a 400-word list, as well as similarities in pronoun roots, in nouns and verb derivational and inflectional suffixes and in some enclitics, (Dixon 1977). Clearly, Dyabugay and Yidin are closely genetically related. No other language belongs to this small 'sub-family'.

The neighbour to the North and West is the Gugu Yalanydyi language group which used to inhabit a long, narrow belt around the Dyabugay group in the tablelands with only a short coastal strip in the Mossman area.



MAP 1. - THE DIALECTS OF DYABUGAY

1.4 Some Notes on Cultural Background

My knowledge of the cultural background of the Dyabugay people is based almost exclusively on talks with my main informant, Mr Gilpin Banning.

The Dyabugay were typical rainforest hunter-gatherers who roamed their territory in persuit of seasonal foods. Candlenut which had to be processed by grinding and soaking in water before becoming edible and wild yams appear to have been the staple diet. This was supplemented by seasonal fruit, e.g. quandong, and nuts and by meat from wallabies, bandicoots, some game birds such as scrub turkey and scrub hen and the eggs of the latter, further by witchetty grubs and a fairly wide variety of fish, prawns, crabs, turtle and shellfish out of the numerous creeks and the sea. Hunting tools included various types of boomerangs, spears with varying numbers of prongs and fish traps. The poisonous sap from a particular type of vine was used to make spears more effective and also, by adding it to pools in a creek, to stun fish which could then be easily scooped up in a dilly bag. Meat was cooked, usually wrapped in leaves to retain the juices, between hot stones in the ground. The cooking stones, for which only a particular type of rock (I believe 'iron stone') is suitable, were preheated in fire lit with the use of fire sticks and kindling. Half-round shelters of branches and leaves which could house a fair number of people and which are still built today as 'weekenders' served as protection from wind, rain and sun. Where it was possible, i.e. in the flat country of the tablelands and the coastal strip, rivers were negotiated on rafts, which could carry up to 20 people, and in small boats.

Medicinal treatment included poultice of heated up seaweed for poisonous bites and stings, the bite or extracted juice of green ants (the latter to be drunk) for fever and muscular pains, and crushed up leaves (the species of which I have not been able to ascertain) which could be either taken or their vapour inhaled for headaches.

Marriages were arranged in childhood. No communication between the partners was permitted until their betrothal after initiation in mid-teenage.

For their initiation boys were taken to live in an all-men camp for a few months. They received cuts on shoulders and chest, a ceremony during which the mother's brother played an important role as guardian of the initiant. During the healing period of the cuts which were treated with the fat of fresh-water eels the boys had to observe a certain diet and to maintain a certain posture when sitting and walking in restricted areas. Nothing seems to be known now about female initiation or about other aspects of the initiation ceremony, such as the handing on of special knowledge, legends, songs, etc, or the possible use of a special type of language.

In 1957 there were apparently only three initiated men left, their initiation, the last, dating back to the very beginning of this century.

Dead people were wrapped in bark and left standing upright for three days during which their relations gathered together to mourn. After that they were buried, according to my informant Mr Banning.

Virtually no detailed information was obtainable on kinship and on possible taboo relationships (e.g. in-laws) in which special

behaviour and a special language could have been required. There was intermarriage among the tribes making up the Dyabugay language group. Children of such marriages would belong to the father's tribe.

Not much information could be gained on spiritual and ritual aspects of tribal life, since Mr Banning himself had grown up in a very much europeanised environment. His memory included the knowledge of certain taboo plants which were not to be touched by anybody, and of certain types of food which were taboo for the uninitiated. Any breech of a taboo was thought to be punished by acts of nature, such as thunderstorms or gales. It was thought that the elements could be appeased by public self-accusation and repentance during which the culprit had to lean over a fire and cry out certain, apparently mythical words. Parents were responsible for the wrong-doings of their uninitiated children and had to perform this ceremony for them.

The only mythical tale which could be elicited from Mr Banning is the story of the creation of the tribal land by the mythical figure Damari. The same myth, although in more elaborate version, is also told by Yidiɲ people (Dixon, 1977). In 1952 a myth was elicited from a Dyabugay woman by one Douglas Seaton of Cairns and written up in the North Queensland Naturalist (20/101, 1952). This story closely resembles a Dyirbal story about the 'first man' and the 'first baby'.

1.5 Recent History

Mr Banning tells of the first encounter between his grandmother's people and Europeans in the second half of the 19th century. The meeting was a friendly one. The Dyabugay people were intrigued and bemused by the white skin of the new arrivals and kept comparing

their hands, palms and back of hands. The Europeans offered some sugar to taste which proved to be 'sweeter than honey'. But the following course of history turned out to be rather bitter. The Dyabugaŋgi lost their tribal land in the coastal strip to cane farmers and on the tableland to cattle farmers. Mission stations of various denominations were instrumental in the deliberate break up of tribal identity and suppression of tribal customs and language. In comparison, gifts of blankets and flour and the somewhat abrupt introduction to white man's 'civilization' including alcohol and opium was somewhat of a mixed blessing.

Some Dyabugaŋgi fought back - without much success, some were shot or deliberately killed in other ways (Mr Banning's mother escaped a mass shooting in the Davies Creek-Speewah area), many succumbed to introduced diseases such as influenza and some finally adapted to 'a new way of life' as fringe dwellers of European civilization, belonging neither here nor there.

Mona Mona Mission, founded in 1913 on the Barron River quite close to Cairns, catered mainly for Dyabugay people and their related tribes until it ceased to exist quite unceremoneously sometime between mid-1962 and mid-1963. A few also found their way into Yarrabah mission.

Some small tribal, or rather extended family communities exist today, such as in Redlynch where the local authorities in the early 70's provided caravan park facilities on tribal land to house about 20-30 people, or in Nantaka, a miniature shanty-town on the Barron River near Kuranda.

9/.

1.6 Informants

In the early 60's Hale estimated the number of remaining speakers who were still fluent in their language at about 50. In 1977/78 I have been able to find only two competent speakers, Mr Gilpin Banning of Redlynch and Mr Keatie Street of Yarrabah. Mr Banning, a speaker of Dyabugay (tribal name 'wurmbul') is in his late 60's. He grew up in the area around Crystal Cascades, Freshwater, Redlynch, his father working as labourer on the Cairns water supply scheme. He himself later worked in various jobs in the cane industry and also for some time as a miner in Cooktown. There he married a Gugu Yalanji woman. Since the two languages are not mutually intelligible, it was only natural for English to be the exclusive means of communication among parents and children, but nevertheless Mr Banning is grieved at the fact that his children and grandchildren show little or no interest in their father's language. Mr Banning is the acknowledged head of the small Redlynch settlement. He feels responsible to preserve anything that he knows about traditional tribal life and, being aware that he is one of the last speakers, is very eager to hand on his knowledge about the language. I owe him great thanks for his patience, his willingness to explain, his enthusiasm for this project and for hours of just 'yarning' about his people, his country and 'life' in itself.

Mr Keatie Street, a speaker of Nyagali, is presumably in his early 40's. He was brought up in the traditional way as a child and acquired the tribal language, unlike most of his contemporaries who were brought up at mission stations. He works and lives with his family at Yarrabah. I had two brief sessions with him in which I gained some valuable material for which I owe him thanks.

Most of the speakers in Hale's estimate of the early 60's have died by now or else are too old to work in a concentrated manner, or to remember clearly.

1.7 Previous Work

Previous work on Dyabugay include:

Hale, K.L. (1976a), 'T^{y}a:pukay', pp. 236-42 of The Languages of Cape York, ed. by Peter Sutton (AIAS).

----, (1976), 'Dja:bugay', pp. 321-326 of Grammatical Categories in Australian Languages, ed. by R.M.W. Dixon (Linguistics Series No. 22, AIAS).

Cassells, Helena (1977), Djabugay - a Language of the Cairns Rainforest Area. (Phonology and Morphology, some texts and Dy-E/E-Dy vocabulary lists).

Sandra Keen in early 1972, recorded ca 216 words and phrases.

Douglas Seaton of Cairns made some notes on Dyabugay customs, tools and weapons in 1963 which included a short vocabulary list. During the 1950's he had written a couple of articles in the North Queensland Naturalist on tribal customs and myths.

This work which was supported by a travel grant from the North Australia Research Unit of the ANU and further financial assistance from the Department of Linguistics, SGS, is based on 12 tapes of recorded elicitation and semi text and some 250 pages of transcribed and otherwise elicited material.

CHAPTER 2 - PHONOLOGY

2.1 Phonemic Inventory

Dyabugay has sixteen segmental phonemes, one of the smallest inventories known for an Australian language. There are only four places of articulation for stops and nasals in Dyabugay. Like all languages east of the Gulf of Carpentaria Dyabugay has a single apical lateral. There are two rhotics (a trilled apical rhotic and a retroflex rhotic continuant), two semivowels and three vowels. Length is phonologically contrastive for all three vowels.

Table 1 shows the complete phonemic inventory for Dyabugay:

	labial	apical	laminal	dorsal
Stop	b	d	ɟ	g
Nasal	m	n	ɲ	ŋ
Lateral		l		
Rhotic		r	ɽ	
Semivowel	w		y	

Vowels: open a(a:) close front i(i:) close back u(u:)

There is no phonemic distinction between voiced and voiceless stops, in fact stops are mostly voiced. This characteristic feature is evident where English loan words have been adapted to Dyabugay phonology as for instance in the case of 'motorcar' [muɟiga] and 'Christmas' [giriɟiman]. Stops can be voiceless in initial position and between short vowels, e.g. gaba [kapa] 'white clay'.

The distinctiveness of the two rhotics is illustrated in the following minimal pairs:

biri 'near, close'

biɽi 'fire'

gara-y 'to come'

gaɻa-y 'to fall, drop off'

wuru 'drumstick'

wuɻu: 'river'

The last pair also exemplifies the phonemic nature of vowel length which shall be illustrated further in the following pairs:

biɻi 'fire'

biɻi: 'again'

maɻa 'hand' -ABS

maɻa: 'hand -LOC/INST'

2.2 Phonotactics

A regular Dyabugay root is at least disyllabic, however nine examples of monosyllabic roots (4 verbal roots, 2 nominal roots, 3 interrogatives) have been attested. All of these monosyllabic roots show long vowels. They will be discussed separately under 2.6.

On the basis of my data I can set up the general root structure:

$C_1(V_1C_2)^nV_2(C_3)$ where $n \geq 0$ but ≤ 3

The remaining roots have at least two and at most four syllables, each of which contains a single vowel. A root begins in a single consonant C_1 and ends either in a vowel or a single consonant C_3. C_2 can be a single consonant or a two or three member cluster.

Possible occurrances at structural positions are:

V_1 can be any short vowel (a, i or u)

V_2 can be any short vowel or a long vowel (a:, i:, u:)

C_1 can be any stop, nasal or semi-vowel (b, d, ɖ, g, m, n, ɲ, ŋ, w, y)

C_3 can be any nasal except ŋ, the lateral, either rhotic or the laminal semi-vowel (m, ɲ, n, l, r, ɻ, y)

C_2 can be:

(i) any consonant

(ii) any homorganic nasal-stop cluster (mb, nd, ɲɟ, ŋg).

(iii) the lateral or the trilled apical rhotic followed by any non-apical stop, or nasal; or peripheral homorganic nasal-stop sequence, or w (l or r followed by ƀ, ɟ, g, m, ɲ, ŋ, mb, ŋg, or w). All of these combinations exist in my corpus. However, there are only one or two examples each of l or r followed by ɲ, ŋ or w.

(iv) the laminal semi-vowel followed by a peripheral stop, or peripheral nasal-stop sequence (y followed by b, g, mb, ng, ng). y + nasal plus stop cluster combinations are not well attested with only one occurrence of -ymb-, two of -yng- and three of -yŋg-.

(v) the apical nasal followed by a non-apical stop (n followed by b, ɟ, g).

(vi) l or r, followed by ng. -rng- does not occur in Yidiɲ. There are four occurrences of it (so far) in Dyabugay, one of which is in the common verb yarnga-y 'to be afraid'.

(vii) a rhotic followed by the apical homorganic nasal-stop sequence (r or ɽ followed by nd). These clusters are not possible in Yidin and they are quite uncommon in Dyabugay. Indeed, only one occurrence of each may have been a misinterpretation on the part of the listener. The examples are:

garndal 'slippery' for which a synonym gandal-gandal was given and baɽndil 'child' which was recorded by Hale, but has not been confirmed by me.

The retroflex rhotic continuant ɽ can probably be included as a first cluster-member under (iii), but so far only the forms ɽb (2x) and ɽg (2x) have been attested.

There is one occurrence of a nasal-nasal cluster which is an exception to the above mentioned possibilities: -nm- as in ɲunma-l 'to squash something on a hard object' (e.g. a fɽuit on a stone).

Consonant clusters at morpheme boundaries show a larger variety than the intramorphemic clusters listed above. Any root final consonant can combine with any initial consonant of a suffix with the exception of root final y which always totally assimilates with suffix-initial -ɲɟ- (examples in Chapter 3 - Morphology).

While no root can end in -ŋ, inflected words can do so. The present-marker for y- conjugation verbs is -ŋ and the original form of the 'intentional' inflection is probably -luŋ ~-ynguŋ (see 3.7.2).

Disyllabic suffixes show the same phonotactic possibilities as roots, but monosyllabic suffixes show some 'irregularities' in that they can have initial consonant clusters (e.g. -ŋgu ERG, -ybara/-lbara 'irrealis'), initial l (-lu ERG, -la LOC/INST) and, as mentioned above final -ŋ.

Loanwords from English are adapted to the Dyabugay phonemic system, but can show non-Dyabugay phonotactic possibilities such as initial vowel (aybi 'ibis') and initial rhotic (ɽadiɽadir 'rice', rilindi 'Redlynch').

2.3 Probabilities of occurrence

Based on a vocabulary list of 950 items I have calculated the occurrences of consonants in initial and final position as follows:

	initial	final
b	17.6%	- %
d	7.5	-
ɖ	14.4	-
g	22.5	-
m	10.2	2.1
n	1.5	6.1
ɲ	2.8	1.2
ŋ	6.0	-
r	-	4.7
ɽ	-	0.3
l	-	8.8
y	4.8	8.1
w	12.7	-
	100.0	32.3

Among the vowels, 'a' shows most frequent total occurrence in roots and 'i' least frequent occurrence. (This proportion might change slightly in the overall language pattern with the frequent use of verbal stem-forming suffixes -yi- and -ri-).

Most notable is the very high relative occurrence rate of 'a' in second third and fourth vowel position.

	1st pos.	2nd pos.	3rd pos.	4th pos.
a	39.8%	52.6%	56.1%	62.8%
i	21.4	21.4	23.9	16.3
u	38.8	25.0	20.0	20.9
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

The relatively high occurrence of i in the third position can be attributed to a number of inseparable -ri- stems (see 3.7.4.c)) being included in the count.

It is notable for Dyabugay that a non-initial syllable containing i or u is usually preceded by a syllable(s) containing the same vowel. Where, however, i or u in first position is followed by a different vowel, this vowel is more often a than i or u.

2.4 Stress

The Dyabugay stress pattern is not quite as intricate as that of Yidiɲ with regard to the interaction of stress and long vowels, however, some interesting observations can be made. (Furthermore there are a few irregularities for which I have no explanations as yet, such as buwál-bugá-ŋ 'speak, talk' which should be búwal-búgaŋ according to the rules set up below).

The basic stress pattern is as follows:

(i) Stress on long vowels in final closed syllable of a disyllabic word or in second syllable of a trisyllabic word:

gulá:y 'these' / guɟá:y 'those' / gulá:ɲɟa (~-LOC/INST)

wuɽú:ri-l 'to take out'

ɟína: 'foot' dinά:la LOC/INST'

míɲa 'vegetable food' miɲá:la LOC

(ii) Stress on first syllable in 2- and 3- syllabic words, with no long vowel in a closed syllable, e.g.:

bína 'ear'

máɽa 'hand'

ɟína: 'foot'

wúɽu: 'river'

dámari (mythical being)

búluru (mythical being)

(iii) Stress on first and penultimate syllable in words with more than 3 syllables:

gáɲara 'crocodile' gáɲaráŋgu 'crocodile-ERG'

dámari (mythical being) damáriŋgu (~-ERG)

bírbi-bírbi (tomahawk) bírbi-birbí-la (~-INST)

Thus Dyabugay does not have the same strict rule of S/U/S/U sequences as can be found in Yidiɲ. Indeed, Dyabugay, appears to favour a more loose S/U/U sequence which is further exemplified by the convention of a-insertion in verbal constructions with the 'coming to ...'/ 'going to ...' aspect (see 3.7.5), e.g.

wábar-a-gáliŋ 'go hunting, Pres.'

wáŋgal-a-gáliŋ 'go looking for something' - Pres

ɲúndal-a-gáliŋ 'come to see something' - Pres

2.5 Vowel Length

2.5.1 Conditioned Length

Each vowel in Dyabugay has phonologically contrastive long and short variants. However, in some environments vowels are phonetically lengthened and it is often hard to distinguish contrastive vowel length from phonetically conditioned vowel length.

Of the three vowels 'a' is most prone to phonetically conditioned length, followed by 'u' and finally 'i' which is least likely to be lengthened.

Contrastive vowel length does not occur in initial syllables (except in monosyllabic roots, see 2.6). Conditioned length, too, is confined to non-initial syllables. Environments that can condition length are -n, -y, -rhotic, particularly in final position, -l + nasal and ɽ-, e.g.

mala·n 'right hand'

girwa·y 'whip snake'

waba·r 'hunt'

ɲunda··-lna	'look' + Future	
	(nunda-l 'look' + Pres.)	
maɽa·	'hand'	
buɽa·-ɲ	'dry' -Past	

2.5.2 Contrastive Length

Contrastive length in closed syllables is extremely rare with only two examples attested so far:

gula:y 'these'

guɖa:y 'those'

One might suspect that in the last two examples vowel length is conditioned by the following -y. But the fact that the second syllable is also stressed speaks in favour of contrastive length and distinguishes the long vowel in these examples from the lengthened final vowels in Dyabugay, bibunba·y, bula·y. (Nevertheless, I am not totally certain of the contrastive vowel length in gula:y/guda:y. More systematic checking would be necessary).

The full list of nominal roots with final long vowel, and their cognates in Yidiɲ is:

	Dyabugay		cognates
A	durgu:	'mopoke'	durgu:
	gaɖu:	'ant bed on tree'	gaɖu:
	wuɽu:	'river'	wuɽu:
B	buga:	'night, black'	bugal
	ɖagu:	'left hand'	ɖaguy
	guɽi:	'good'	guɽiɲ
	mura:	'shed snake skin'	muray

	Dyabugay		cognates
C	gura:	'dog'	gudaga
D	ɖadu:	'shade'	ɖadu
	ɖina:	'foot'	ɖina
	ginga:	'thorn'	ginga
E	biɲi:	'month'	-
	ŋuda:	'cloud'	-

Set A shows the same forms for Dyabugay and Yidiɲ.

Set B shows that vowel length in Dyabugay has resulted from loss of a final consonant which is still present in Yidiɲ.

Set C shows the loss of a final syllable in Dyabugay.

In Set D Yidin cognates miss the final vowel length which is present in Dyabugay. But ɖadu is one of only four words in Yidin which has an irregular Locative (-:1) which could indicate that this word originally had more than two syllables (Dixon, 1977 p. 129).

Set E, finally, has no cognates in Yidin.

miɲa 'flesh food' needs to be mentioned here. This root only shows vowel length with INST/LOC inflection and also takes the INST/LOC suffix that normally follows long final root vowel or roots with more than two syllables: mina:la (see 3.2.2). miɲa also shows irregular affixation in Warrgamay and many other Cape York languages.

Final long vowels also occur in a number of local and temporal qualifiers:

	Dyabugay		cognates
A	biɽi:	'again'	biɽi
	gana:	'under'	gana
	munu:	'inside'	munu
	ŋambu:	'half way'	ŋambu

	Dyabugay		cognates
B	duŋgu:	'behind'	—
	guda:guda:	'always'	—
	guna:	'in the middle'	—

No comment can be made here on the possible evolution of the final long vowels in Dyabugay. Set A shows cognates without vowel length or final consonants, while no cognates at all could be ascertained for Set B.

There are no polysyllabic verbal roots with final long vowel in my data.

2.6 Monosyllabic Roots

There are nine monosyllabic roots in Dyabugay all of which are open syllables with long vowels. Long vowels occur in intitial syllables only in these words (with the exception of da:bura-y 'to yawn', where the long a: is probably onomatopoeic).

These roots are:

ma:	'vegetable food'
gu:	'nose'
ɖu:	'who'
ɖa:	'where'
ɲi:	'what'
du:-l	'to hit, kill'
ma:-l	'to make'
ŋa:-l	'to tell'
wa:-y	'to give'

All of these roots can form monosyllabic words, too.

The nominal root ma: has the cognate mayi in Yidin and in very many other languages. Its Comitative form in Dyabugay is in fact mayi-r

while it retains the monosyllabic root with all other inflections (see 3.2.5).

gu: is probably a reduction from guwu which is the cognate for 'nose' in Dyirbal. The monosyllabic root is maintained with all inflections in Dyabugay.

The monosyllabic interrogatives have cognates in the indefinite/interrogative system in Yidin (Dixon 1977). The oblique roots for indefinite/interrogatives in Yidin are:

waɲɖu	'someone/who'
waɲi	'something/what - generic'
waɲira	'something/what - specific'

and the form for indefinite/interrogative Locative is:

waɲɖa	'somewhere/where'

It appears that Dyabugay has dropped the first syllables of these forms and subsequently lengthened the vowel since monosyllabic roots with short vowels apparently are not possible. ɖu: 'who' inflects regularly (see 3.5). 'What' has the root ɲi: for S- and O- function only, but uses the root ɲira for Agent and oblique cases, which could mean that the Yidin paradigms for 'what-generic' and 'what-specific' have been collapsed into one in Dyabugay (see 3.5).

Monosyllabic verbal roots remain something of a puzzle at the moment. They all inflect regularly, retaining the monosyllabic root with long vowel throughout the paradigm. The only possible cognate that has been ascertained so far is duyi-l 'to hit with a blunt instrument' in Dyirbal mother-in-law language. Dyabugay du:-l 'to hit', kill' could be a reduction from this disyllabic form.

The evaluation of monosyllabic verbal roots in Dyabugay needs further investigation.

CHAPTER 3 - MORPHOLOGY

3.1 Parts of Speech

3.1.1 Grammatical Criteria

The following word classes with mutually exclusive membership can be set up for Dyabugay:

Noun, Adjective	Nominal
Pronoun	
Deictic	
Locational and Time Qualifier	
Verb	
Particle	
Interjection	

These classes are definable on the grounds of syntactic function, common affixation possibilities and semantic grouping.

Nouns and Adjectives, while semantically different, take the same case inflections as well as derivational suffixes. Usually, an Adjective will occur together with a noun in a qualifying function, but it can also stand on its own in a nominal syntactic function e.g. baŋgal-ndu 'the big one - ERG'. An Adjective can also serve to semantically modify a verb, but even then it is always clearly marked by a nominal inflection as part of an NP (see 4.2.6.1 (iv)). There are no adverbs, i.e. modifiers which are part of a VP, in Dyabugay.

Pronoun and Deictic label closed word classes. Pronouns have a case system of their own as far as the core syntactic cases are concerned, i.e. NOM/ACC vs. the nominal system of ABS/ERG. Peripheral syntactic and local case marking is largely similar to that of the nominal system.

Locational and Time Qualifiers are grouped together because a) their semantic content overlaps in many cases according to the widespread aboriginal concept of time and space, and b) both types of qualifiers take local inflectional and derivational suffixes from the nominal system.

Verbs have their own set of inflectional and derivational suffixes which distinguish them on formal grounds from any other parts of speech.

Particles do not take any suffixes except -(w)ala 'now' in some cases.

Interjections never accept suffixes and are further marked by sentence-initial position. They can also make up a whole sentence without any further addition.

3.1.2 Semantic Content

Nominals, Verbs and Qualifiers are open word classes.

Nouns include terms referring to fauna and flora; geographical and geological items ('mountain', 'path', 'river', 'mud', 'dust', etc); celestial bodies and meteorological phenomena ('sun', 'cloud', 'cyclone', 'lightning', etc); body parts, human beings and kinship ('male adolescent', 'young girl', 'husband', 'wife', 'father', 'father's father', etc); weapons, tools, ceremonial instruments and other institutional items of human habitat ('camp', 'hut', 'raft', etc); language and ceremony ('corroborree', 'men's dance', 'women's dance', etc); some physical states such as 'sickness', 'sleep' and mental states, e.g. 'anger'.

There are some generic terms, e.g. '(aboriginal) man', 'snake', 'bird', 'tree', 'edible meat', 'vegetable food'. Sub-classification of flora and fauna is achieved by use of the derivational suffix -(m)bara

'belonging to' (see 3.2.3.3).

Adjectives specify physical properties, dimensions, value ('good', 'bad'); mental states ('happy', 'angry'); physical states ('hungry', 'tired'). Adjectives can be productively derived from nouns by means of the comitative suffix (see 3.2.3.2), while many terms relating to the above semantic categories in fact appear to be 'frozen' comitative forms, i.e. the corresponding Noun cannot be elicited any more. Further there are terms for cardinal numbers 'one', 'two', 'three' and 'many, plenty'. There are two abstract colour terms, 'black' buga and 'white' ǧigawara. Other colours are referred to by the words for 'ochre', 'blood', 'brown ginger', etc.

Locational Qualifiers include compass points, terms for 'far away', 'in the middle', etc. Directional derivational suffixes are used to produce further local qualifications (see 3.2.3.4).

Time Qualifiers attested in my data referred to 'today', 'yesterday', 'tomorrow', 'long time ago'.

Deictics, based on the notion 'this/these here' and 'that/those there' also bear temporal connotations.

Pronouns include 1., 2. and 3. persons singular and plural, with the 3. person forms also functioning as deictics.

Verbs refer to bodily functions, motion and rest, sensory perception, utterances, and actions affecting an object.

Particles mark negation and prohibition, permission, possibility and succession of actions. They are listed under 3.9.

3.2 Morphology of Nominals

3.2.1. Inflections - System

Nominal inflections in Dyabugay can be divided into two main categories: syntactic and local cases. Syntactic cases are further

split up into two subcategories: core syntactic (obligatory constituents of a sentence) and peripheral syntactic (optional constituents of a sentence). The following table gives the full set of cases with their basic forms and indicates which cases have the same realization:

	Core Syntactic	
1.	Absolutive (S and O functions)	-ø
2.	Ergative (A function)	-ŋgu ~ -du
	Peripheral Syntactic	
3.	Instrumental	- : ~ -la ~ -da
4.	Purposive	-wu
5.	Dative	-:nda
6.	Causative	-malim ~ -mu
7.	Fear	-lan
	Local	
8.	Locative	= 3.
9.	Allative	= 4.
10.	Ablative_1	= 6.
	Ablative_2	-mundu

It is notable that (like in Yidiɲ) each local case falls together with a peripheral syntactic ease. While it is not difficult to explain why certain cases should have the same surface realization, there are also good reasons to make a syntactic distinction between these cases.

The identical realization of Instrumental and Locative is not uncommon in Australian languages. All Australian languages have

an Instrumental inflection which invariably falls together with either Ergative or, as in Dyabugay (and also in Yidiɲ), with Locative. However, a distinction has to be made because Instrumental cannot mark the optional component of an intransitive clause, whereas Locative can appear in both transitive and intransitive clauses.

Purposive and Allative bear a semantic relationship as both indicate a goal, Allative the goal of a movement:

(1) ŋawu bulmba-wu gali-ŋ-ala
I-S camp-ALL go-Pres-now
'I'm going home now'

and Purposive the goal of an implied action:

(2) ŋawu gali-ŋ baɟigal-wu
I-S go-Pres turtle-Purp
'I'm going for turtle' (i.e. to catch it)

(3) ŋawu ɟabulagay duga-ŋ bibunbay-wu
I-A mud cod-ABS get-Pres children-Purp
'I get a mud cod for the children' (i.e. to give to them)

It is important to note that Purposive always implies a further action which is not explicitly stated in the surface form of a sentence. Example (3), for instance, would have two underlying sentences: [I get a mud cod] [I give the mud cod to the children]. The function of Purposive as abbreviated surface realization of an underlying transitive clause clearly distinguishes it from the Allative case. Causative and Ablative also bear a semantic relationship: causative indicates the source of a physical state and Ablative marks the source of a movement.

(4) ɲura muraŋɟi wuna-ŋ ma:-malim ɟamuy-mu
you.sg. sick lie-Pres food-CAUS taboo-CAUS
'you lie sick from (eating) taboo-food'

(5) guɟi bunda-malim gara-ɲ

he-S mountain-ABL come-Past

'he came from the mountain'

(6) dumbun guda-guda daba-ɲ / bunda-mundu /

lightning everywhere fell down-Pres mt.-ABL

gulu-mundu / guŋgari-mundu / guwa-mundu

here-ABL north-ABL south-ABL

'Lightning comes down everywhere, from the mts,

from here, from north, from south'

Again, in contrast to the local case, the peripheral syntactic case causative implies an embedded clause, which distinguishes these cases on syntactic grounds. Furthermore, there also seems to be a slight formal difference between Causative and Ablative in that the full suffix - mundu apparently can only be used in the local sense, while -malim and the alternative form -mu are not restricted. [This could be an indication of an on-going merger between the 2 cases with -malim originally Causative and -mundu originally Ablative].

While the function of the core-syntactic cases is quite clear and will be sufficiently illustrated in 3.2.2, a few comments have to be made on the use of Dative and Fear. Both these cases are restricted to certain verbs. Fear marks the object of such verbs as 'to be afraid of', 'to run away from', 'to hide from'. Dative has been attested as indicating the goal of 'to give' and 'to tell' and as the surface marking of an animate deep object in anti-passive constructions (see Syntax 4.4.4 (iv)).

3.2.2 Inflections - Form

This section will list all the inflectional suffixes and their allomorphic variants in different phonological environments.

ABSOLUTIVE marks the intransitive subject and the transitive object. It always has ∅- inflection.

ERGATIVE marks the transitive subject. It is realized as:

-ŋgu/V-

root	ɲumbu	ergative	ɲumbuŋgu	'father'
	ɟama		ɟamaŋgu	'snake'
	gura:		gura:ŋgu	'dog'

-uŋgu/m-

root	gayam	ergative	gayamuŋgu	'stinging tree'
	wulam		wulam‿uŋgu	'perch'
	giram-giram		giram-giram‿uŋgu	'cramp'

-du/n-

root	buŋan	ergative	buŋandu	'sun'
	gurumbun		gurumbundu	'black snake'

-ɲdu/y- and y → ∅

/ɲ- and ɲ+ɲ → ɲ

root	bibunbay	ergative	bibunbaɲɟu	'children'
	dawaray		dawaraɲɟu	'thunderstorm'
	muraɲ		muraɲɟu	'fever'

-ndu/l-

root	ɟabul	ergative	ɟabulndu	'promised wife'
	baɟigal		baɟigalndu	'turtle'

-u/r-.

root	yaɽawar	ergative	yaɽawaru	'type of pois. tree'
	wumbar		wumbaru	'puppy dog'
	burmbur		burmburu	'grass tree'

-lu as an irregular form with bama 'aboriginal man'

INSTRUMENTAL/LOCATIVE. Instrumental marks the implement with which an action is carried out. Locative typically occurs with stative verbs such as 'sit', 'stand', 'lie', etc, however, it can also express directional nuances in connection with verbs of motion, e.g. 'going (further into) the shade', which is probably also the case where the object of 'to go hunting' is marked by Locative. Locative can of course also occur with any other verb whenever a location needs to be specified, e.g. 'I saw him on the road', 'He hit her in the camp', etc.

Furthermore, Locative serves as surface marker of an inanimate deep object in antipassive constructions (see 4.4.4 (iv)). The inflections are:

-:/V- with roots of two syllables

root	gaba	INST/LOC	gaba:	'white clay'
	bina		bina:	'gill, ear'
	maṛa		maṛa:	'hand'
	buŋgu		buŋgu:	'knee'

-la/V:-

/roots of more than 2 syllables ending in V-

root	ɖina:	LOC/INST	ɖina:la	'foot'
	ɖadu:		ɖadu:la	'shade'
	digara		digarala	'sand'
	birbi-birbi		birbi-birbila	'stone axe'
	manu-manu		manu-manula	'summit'

-da/n-

	dulbin		dulbinda	'tree, log'
	malan		malanda	'right side'

-unda/m-

gurŋam	gurŋamunda	'type of tree' (flame tree)
gaybam	gaybamunda	'type of berry'

-ɲɟa/y- and y → ∅

/ɲ- and ɲɲ → ɲ

guguy	gugunda	'centre'
gura:-bulay	gura:-bulaɲɟa	'proper name of a place'
buɟaɲ	buɟaɲɟa	'elephant, beetle'

-nda/l-

daŋgal	daŋgalnda	'wing'
digal	digalnda	'egg'

-a/r-

gaɲɟar	gaɲɟara	'armpit'
biɟir	biɟira	'loya vine'
biwur	biwura	'spear'

PURPOSIVE/ALLATIVE. As indicated before, Purposive implies an intended action while Allative marks the goal of verbs of motion. Both cases have only one realization:

-wu

root	baɟigal	Purp/All	baɟigalwu	'turtle'
	wawun		wawunwu	'turkey'
	bulmba		bulmbawu	'camp'
	gugiɲ		gugiɲwu	'flying fox'
	dalbay		dalbaywu	'long nosed bandicoot'
	wulam		wulamwu	'perch'

DATIVE. The goal marker of 'to give' and 'to tell' and surface marker of an animate deep object in antipassive constructions

has two allomorphs:

-:nda/V-

root	bama	Dat	bama:nda	'man'
	yaba		yaba:nda	'elder brother'

-ŋunda/C-

	bibunbay		bibunbayŋunda	'children'
	ganaŋgiray		ganaŋgirayŋunda	'younger brother'

CAUSATIVE/ABLATIVE. Ablative marks the source of a verb of motion and Causative the source of a physical state. Their realizations are:

-malim/V-

(in free variation with -m, possibly for reasons of economy in speech, or because of an influence from Yidin where the CAUS/ABL suffix has allomorphs -mu ~ -m).

root	bunda	CAUS/ABL	bundamalim	'mountain'
	ŋalga		ŋalgamalim	'fig tree'
	miɲa		miɲamalim	'fish, meat'

-mu/C-

	ɟulbin		ɟulbinmu	'tree, log'
	gula:y		gula:ymu	'these, here'
	gaɲɟar		gaɲɟarmu	'armpit'

-mundu/C- or V-

This suffix is only used in the local sense in connection with proper place names, locational qualifiers and common nouns with a local reference, e.g.

root	gimuy	ablative	gimuymundu	'Cairns'
	guwa		guwamundu	'North'
	ɟala-bagir		ɟala-bagirmundu	'other side'

-num, irregular suffix for use with 'bama' and pronouns.

FEAR. The marker of objects of verbs of apprehension is realized by two suffixes which seem to appear in free variation.

-lan

-ndabi:

root	ɟama	fear	ɟamalan	'snake'
	bana		banalan	'water'
	ɲura		ɲurandabi:	'you'
	ɲumu		ɲumundabi:	'father'
	ɟungi		ɟungindabi:	'crab, policeman'

-ndabi: has a phonological conditioned allomorph

-ɲɟabi:/y-

	ɟawaray		ɟawaraɲɟabi:	'thunderstorm'

-ndabi: can possibly be split up into -nda- + bi: (emphatic marker, see 3.8), because the last syllable -bi: is always stressed. This is unusual for Dyabugay which stresses penultimate syllables, but not final ones. The similarity of -nda- with the Dative inflection is possibly coincidental, since the Dative allomorph -ɲunda/C- has not been attested.

No conditioning factor could be determined for the use of either -lan or -ndabi:. In some cases, but not always, -ndabi: was rejected in combination with an inanimate object. -lan on the other hand cannot occur with pronouns or with interrogative 'who'. However, it does not seem to be restricted in its use with common nouns. This problem needs further investigation.

3.2.3 Derivations

3.2.3.1 Genitive Stems

In Yidiɲ and in many other Australian languages, Genitive is basically a derivational suffix in Dyabugay. A genitive stem which is formed by a nominal root + genitive affix fulfills adjectival function in an NP and inflects in the same way as the head noun.

When followed by Absolutive, the genitive affix is

- n/V-

-ŋun/C-

root	GEN + ABS	
bama	baman	'person'
guludu	guludun	'dove'
gadiraga	gadiragan	'Taipan'
gura:	gura:n	'dog'
ganal	ganalŋun	'goanna'
wawun	wawunŋun	'turkey'
gurbum	gurbumŋun	'pidgeon'
girgir	girgirŋun	'bush canary'

(7) ɟama- n diŋal wuna-ŋ digara-la

snake-GEN-ABS egg-ABS lie-Pres soft ground-LOC

'The snake's eggs lie in the soft ground'

(8) guɟa-ŋun bama- n gura:

this-GEN-ABS person-GEN-ABS dog-ABS

'The dog belongs to this person'

For an inflectional suffix to be added to a genitive stem, a linking morpheme is inserted between the stem and the suffix for all cases except INST/LOC. So far, my findings are not conclusive on this point. Complex genitive constructions are difficult to elicit and I have only one or two examples each of genitive stem plus

INST/LOC, plus PURP/ALL, plus DAT and plus FEAR. There are a few more examples of genitive stem plus ERG, but unfortunately none of genitive stem plus CAUS/ABL. The pattern of linking morphemes that emerged from these few examples is:

	GEN-stem	linking morpheme	inflection
'father'	ɲumbu-n-	-mu-	-ŋgu (ERG)
	ɲumbu-n-	-	-da (INST/LOC)
	ɲumbu-n-	-muŋgu-	-wu (PURP/ABL)
'child'	bibuy-ŋun-	-mu-	-nda (DAT)
	bibuy-ŋun-	-munda-	-lan (FEAR)

(I feel that at least the linking morpheme for FEAR ought to be taken with a grain of salt. Dative- and Fear-constructions were elicited in succession and the Dative form could easily have influenced the formation of the Fear form:

ŋawu guɟi bibuyŋunmunda gura:nda wa:ŋ ma:

⇓ 'I give the child's dog some food'

ŋawu yarngaŋ bibuyŋunmundalan gura:lan

'I am scared of the child's dog')

3.2.3.2 Comitative

Like Yidiɲ, Dyabugay can indicate an 'and/with -relationship' between the elements of an NP by means of a special derivation. This Comitative derivation has a wide range of application possibilities in Dyabugay. It can be divided into three sections which express different semantic nuances and which are realized by different affixes.

(i) COM_1 indicates a fairly close relationship between two things on an equal level. It's implications lie somewhere between the superior/inferior relationship of Possessive and the casual 'and' -relationship.

COM_1 is realized as:

-:r/V-

-ɲʤi/ɲ-, y- (ɣ → ∅ ; ɾɾ → ɾ)

-i/elsewhere, m-, n-, l-, r-, ɽ-

(9) ŋawu mulu-:r gali-ŋ wabar yalma-r
I two-con go-Pres hunting boomerang-COM
'I go hunting with two boomerangs' (i.e, I carry them with me, but do not use them at the moment)

(10) warʤan gulu walŋga-l bama-:r bibunba-ɲʤi
raft this float-Pres people-COM children-COM
'This raft floats with adults and children (aboard)'

(11) manga gagay-mu gara-ɲ ŋaɲʤinda guwal-i
cousin far-ABL come-Past we-DAT words-COM
'Cousin came from far away with news for us'

COM_1 also acts as a productive suffix in the forming of adjectives and derived nouns. While some adjectives seem to be 'frozen' comitative forms which are not analysable any more such as dali:r 'hungry', or baygar 'sore, bright', COM_1 still seems to have a productive function, e.g.

muraɲ	'fever'	→	muraɲʤi	'sick'
giʤar	'paint'	→	giʤari	'painted'
gambar	'clouds'	→	gambari	'cloudy'

Comitative also appears frequently in place names and tribal names:

Dyabugaɲʤi 'Dyabugay-speaking people'

Yidiɲʤi 'Yidiɲ-speaking people'

guyŋgay 'ghost' → guyŋgaɲʤi name of haunted place near Crystal Cascades

diŋal 'egg' → diŋali name of place near Redlynch on the way to Crystal Cascades where plenty of scrub hens used to nest.

(ii) COM_2 indicates 'one of a pair'. It is realized by the suffix

-wa/C-

-mba/V-

All nominal components of an NP take this affix, but pronominal components do not.

(12) yaba-mba magu-magu-mba bulmba-: ɲina-ŋ
elder brother-COM sister-COM camp-LOC sit-Pres
'Brother and sister are sitting in the camp'

(13) ŋama-mba bawi-mba gara-ŋ
mother-COM gr. mother-COM come -Pres
'Mother and grandmother are coming.

(14) ŋaɲdi baɲdil-wa(-ŋgu) miɲa buga-ŋ
we-A women-COM-(ERG) fish-ABS eat-Pres
'The women and I eat fish'

Co-occurrance possibilities of $Comitative_2$ with inflectional suffixes are somewhat doubtful at this stage. Data from the first field trip contained one example of COM_2 + ERG: ŋaɲdi yaba-mba-ŋgu miɲa bugaŋ. But during the second field trip Mr Banning consistently denied that such a construction was possible. Allegedly the Ergative marker had to be omitted.

(iii) COM_3 expresses an unmarked 'and/with' relationship. It is realized by the suffix -ɖada

(15) gulu bama gura:-ɖada gali-ŋ
that man-ABS dog-COMIT-ABS go-Pres
'That man goes with a dog'

(16) ŋawu magu-magu-ɖada-ŋgu buga-na miɲa
I-A sister-COMIT-ERG eat-Fut. fish
(My) sister and I will eat fish'

(17) nawu mulam-ɖada buga-na mina:
I juice-COM eat-Fut. fish
I'll eat the fish with some gravy'

Perhaps the difference between COM_1 and $COM_{2/3}$ can best be defined on the grounds that COM_1 can form an equational sentence together with the head NP (e.g. warɖan bama:r 'the raft is people-full') which is most clear in the case of derived adjectives. $COM_{2/3}$ on the other hand forms only an addition to the respective S- or O-NP and has no independent syntactic function. For further discussion of Comitative constructions, see 4.3.

3.2.3.3 Affiliation

This derivation indicates group-affiliation and is used in the place of Genitive with inanimate nouns. It is also an active ingredient in deriving nouns from nominal roots. It's realization is -mbara/y- -bara/elsewhere

e.g. gura: bulmbabara 'the dog of the camp'
ɖulbin bundabara 'the trees of the mountain'
gura: miɲabara 'dog of the meat = hunting dog'
ŋawu bulmbabara 'I belong to this country'
bama gulaymbara 'the people of these times/places

'type of rat'	yiɟi →	yiɟibara	'rat-like animals'
'war'	ɟirbi →	ɟirbibara bulmba	'fighting ground'
'tapping stick'	bibaɽa →	bibaɽabara	'singer of corroboree group'
'behind'	ɟuŋgu →	ɟuŋgubara	'lost descendents of a tribe'

3.2.3.4 Directional

This derivation differs from Allative in that it does not indicate the goal of a movement, but its direction 'along the way'. It has two forms expressing different aspects.

DIR_1 - ɟira occurs predominantly with locational qualifiers such as compass points and expresses the concept of '(to)wards', e.g.

guwaɟira 'northward, upwards'

ɟiliŋguɟira 'eastward, downwards'

also: gimuyɟira 'towards Cairns'

DIR_2 -mari expresses the concept of 'across, towards the other side of a place', e.g.

wuɽumari 'to the other side of the river'

bundamari 'to the other side of the mountain'

3.2.3.5 Quantifier 'all of'

Dyabugay has means to emphasise parts or whole of a sentence. While the other emphatic markers are post-inflectional, the 'all-of' marker -wuru is pre-inflectional and emphasises plurality of an NP, e.g.

(18) ŋaɟi-wuru-ŋgu / bawi-wuru-ngu ŋandiɲ na:-n
father's father-all of-ERG oldest pers.-all of-ERG we-TO tell-Past

gaɽi walu: gali-∅
not shore-LOC go-Imp

'all the grandfathers and all oldest persons told us not to go on (along) the shore'

For further emphasis -wuru is attached to the plural, i.e. duplicated, form of a noun, e.g.

wulman - wulman -wuru 'all the old men of a tribe'

3.2.3.6 'other'

-bagir attached to a noun indicates reference to another location or another object compared to either the speaker's or a previously described situation. It can be followed by inflections, e.g.

ɟala-bagir-mu
side - other - ABL 'from the other side'

[There is a noun bagira 's.o. else', as in
ŋawu gulu gura: bagiranda wa:ŋ
'I'm giving the dog to someone else'
but I can't really say which could be derived from what].

3.2.3.7 Comparative

-wayan attached to an adjective indicates a comparison to another NP, e.g.

(19) gulu bibuy baŋgal / guɟi bibuy baŋgal - wayan
'This child is big, that child is bigger.

[Although I have no evidence for it, there is no reason to assume that -wayan could not be followed by an inflectional suffix, e.g.
baŋgal-wayan-du miɲa bugaŋ
'The bigger one eats fish'
Therefore I have grouped the comparative among the derivational suffixes].

3.2.4 Co-occurrance of derivations and inflections

The general stem-forming suffixes, genitive, comitative, Affiliation, 'all of' emphatic marker, 'other' (and comparative) should be able to take any syntactic or local inflection, while the local stem-forming Directional$_{1/2}$ should be restricted to co-occurrance with local inflections. So far, there is no systematic evidence on this. More research would be necessary to determine accurately the co-occurrance possibilities of derivational and inflectional affixes.

3.2.5 Monosyllabic Nominal Roots

Three monosyllabic nominal roots have been attested:

ma: 'vegetable food'

gu: 'nose'

ga:y 'bright daylight'

Since monosyllabic roots are an unusual occurrence in the normal bi-syllabic and multi-syllabic root pattern in Dyabugay it is reasonable to speculate whether they are reduced forms of originally bi-syllabic roots. This hypothesis gains further support through the comitative form of ma: which is ma-yi-r and not, as would be expected, ma-:r . Any other inflectional suffixes with ma: are regular .

The cognate mayi 'vegetable food' is found in Yidiɲ as well as in other Cape York languages. It is therefore a reasonable assumption that Dyabugay ma: is a historical reduction from mayi.

gu: cannot be easily traced back to an historical disyllabic root at this stage. The Yidiɲ transitive verb root gudi-l 'to smell' and Dyirbal guwu 'nose' are possible cognates. 'guwu' has in fact been recorded for 'nose' in Dyabugay by Hale, however, the INST/LOC

form which is gu:-la shows that this word must be monosyllabic with a long vowel. A disyllabic root with final short vowel would only lengthen the final vowel for INST/LOC inflection:

*guwu → guwu: (See 3.2.2 Instrumental/Locative)

I have not been able to obtain gu: in more than three inflections, all of which are regular for roots with final long vowel:

gu:	ABS
gu:la	INST/LOC
gu:wu	PURP/ALL

More evidence would be required to hypothesize on the possible origin of gu:.

Not much can be said about ga:y either. Its inflectional suffixes are regular for a y- final root and I have not been able to determine a cognate anywhere.

3.2.6 Verbaliser - Inchoative

Dyabugay uses one verbaliser with inchoative function to transform nominal roots into intransitive verb-stems. The suffix is -mayi- which can (possibly) be analysed as verbal root ma(:) - 'to give' + -yi- 'passive' verb derivation = 'to become'.

Examples:

(20) ɲuran bala guɽi:-mayi-ŋ
your head good-Inc.-Pres
'your head is getting better (i.e. after headache)

(21) bayŋga wumbul-mayi-n
hot cooking stone hot-Inc.-Pres
'the cooking-stones become hot'

(22) bibunbay baŋgal-mayi-ɲ
'the children grew up (= became big)

3.2.7 Nominal Reduplication

Reduplication of nominal roots indicates plurality in the case of some common nouns and intensity in the case of adjectives. That a reduplicated nominal root should express plurality appeared to be quite clear on the basis of data from the first field trip. Six months later, however, Mr Banning maintained that nominal reduplication cannot be used to indicate plurality. Instead, he used quantifiers such as ŋabi 'plenty', -wuru 'all of' or the verbal 'plural S/A' affix -da- to express plurality. However, reduplicated forms indicating plural still 'slipped out' occasionally, but only in reference to kin.

The question whether Dyabugay really uses reduplication to indicate plurality remains unresolved for the time being. Some examples from first field trip data are given hereunder. They only include di-syllabic roots for nouns and adjectives so that unfortunately I cannot comment in any way on the reduplication process of tri-syllabic roots.

ɟulbin-ɟulbin	'(lots of) trees'
miɲa-miɲa	'many fish; lots of meat'
ŋaɟi-ŋaɟi	'grandfathers'
baŋgal-baŋgal	'very big'
wigil-wigil	'very sweet'
ɟagal-ɟagal	'very slow(ly), carefully'

A reduplicated form always inflects as a whole, thus where a suffix is conditoned by the number of syllables, a reduplicated form will require a different suffix than the individual root, e.g.

walu - LOC wàlu: '(mountain) side, beach'

walu-walu - LOC walu-walu-la

There are also some inherently reduplicated forms which in many cases imply some sort of plurality, e.g.

wiriwiri	'winding' (with many bends)
ŋaɲdunaɲdu	'versatile, clever at doing many things'

3.2.8 Special Plural Forms

Some common nouns referring to human beings have a special plural form. These are:

Sg.	Pl.	
bibuy	bibunbay	'child'
ŋama	ŋamani	'mother'
ɲumba	ɲumbuni	'father'

These are the only special plural forms attested.

3.3 Pronouns

3.3.1 Case System and Forms

Dyabugay distinguishes 1. and 2. person singular and plural. 3. person pronouns fall together with deictics. There is no specific dual form, dual being expressed through the use of mulu 'two'. Disregarding the 3. person forms which occupy a somewhat special position in their dual role as pronoun and deictic, the core syntactic system distinguishes S/A-function as unmarked form (Nominative) and O-function as marked form (Accusative). [1. person sg. can occur as a marked form in both S- and A- function, but the unmarked form is used more frequently. 3. person pronoun deictic can take Ergative inflection in A-function, but can equally well be used with it].

There appears to be no INST/LOC inflection for pronouns.

A full table of pronominal case inflections follows, including genitive stems.

	S	A	O	PURP/ALL	DAT	CAUS/ABL	Genitive Stems	
							+ø	+ oblique
1. Sg.		ŋawu(ŋgu)	ŋaɲa	(i) ŋay(a)ngu	(i) ŋay(a)nda	ŋayanum	ŋayaŋ	ŋayanmu-
1. Pl.		ŋaɲḏi	ŋaɲḏiɲ	ŋaɲḏingu	ŋaɲḏinda	ŋaɲḏinum	ŋaɲḏin	ŋaɲḏinmu-
2. Sg.		ɲura	ɲuraɲ	ɲurangu	ɲuranda	ɲuranum	ɲuran	nuranmu-
2. Pl.		ɲuramba	ɲurambaɲ	ɲurambangu	ɲurambanda	ɲurambanum	ɲuramban	ɲurambanmu-
3. Sg./	'here' gulu	gulu(ŋgu)	guluŋuɲ	gulungu	gulunda	gulunum	guluŋun	guluŋunmu-
Deictic	'there' guḏi	guḏa(ŋgu)	guḏaŋuɲ	guḏangu	guḏanda	guḏanum	guḏaŋun	guḏaŋunmu-
3. Pl.	'here' gulumbaray	~ -(ɲḏu)	~ -ɲ	~ -ŋungu	~ -ŋunda	~ -num	?	?
Deictic	'there' guḏumbaray	guḏumbara(ɲḏu)	guḏumbaraɲ	gudumbarayŋungu	guḏumbarayŋunda	guḏumbaraynum	?	?

3.3.2 Analysis

A general paradigm of pronominal case inflections can be set up as follows:

S/A (NOM)	- ∅
O (ACC)	- ɲ
PURP/ALL	- ngu
DAT	- nda
CAUS/ABL	- num
GEN + ∅	- n
GEN + oblique	- nmu

1. person singular forms show some irregularities which one can only attempt to explain in diachronic terms. Dixon (1977) gives 'ŋay' as a possible 1. sg. pronoun root in an ancestor language of Yidiɲ and Dyabugay. He shows further that a possible Ergative form 'ŋaɟu' (by regular affixation) could have been reinterpreted as root form for all cases but Accusative in Yidiɲ and Dyabugay. This form then underwent phonological changes: ɟ > y throughout in Dyabugay and in the Yidin Nominative form: ŋayu. In the Dyabugay Nominative form the semi-vowel then changed to 'w' in assimilation to the following 'u': ŋawu. Furthermore, in oblique cases and genitive, there are variations in the second root vowel in Dyabugay. Where this has gone to 'a' (CAUS/ABL, GEN) this could have been in assimilation to the first root vowel. The possible occurrence of 'i' in second position in PURP/ALL and DAT remains unexplained. (It has to be noted, however, that generally in Australian languages with only three phonologically distinct vowels, these vowels have a very wide range of realization possibilities and it can be hard to draw a definite line between them). I cannot at this stage offer an explanation for

the velar nasal in the 1. sg. Ablative and Genitive affixes where other pronoun forms show an apico-alveolar nasal.

Something remains to be said about 1. sg. Accusative form. The ancestor language is thought to have had the suffix -ɲa for pronouns in O-function. Together with the original 1. sg. root ŋay this would have become ŋaɲa. This form has not undergone any changes in Dyabugay while the suffix -ɲa was reduced to -ɲ on disyllabic and multisyllabic roots. (In Yidin the form ŋaɲa was reinterpreted as rŏot and the reduced Accusative suffix -ɲ added once more, giving ŋaɲaɲ).

3.3.3 Reflexive

Dyabugay has one universal reflexive free form ŋayaɲ 'self' which fulfills transitive object function in a reflexive sentence, e.g.

nawu	guniɲ	ŋayaɲ	'I cut myself'
ɲura	guniɲ	ŋayaɲ	'You cut yourself'
guɟaŋgu	guniɲ	ŋayaɲ	'he cut himself'
ŋaɳɖi	du:ɲ	ŋayaɲ	'we hit ourselves'

For plural forms, however, my informant was somewhat reluctant to use the reflexive and tended to use the reciprocal verb form instead. (For further discussion of Reflexive, see 4.5).

3.4 Deictics

Deictics in Dyabugay are based on a two-term spacial system of 'this here' and 'that there':

	'here'	'there'
Sg.	gulu	guɟi
Pl.	gula:y	guɟa:y

Deictics are also used as 3. person pronoun forms (see Table in 3.3.1). There are two separate forms for 3. person plural, gulumbaray and

guɖumbaray, however, these are also based on the two term spacial system and, in fact, appear to be extensions of the basic deictic forms.

guɖi and gulu are also frequently used as a kind of 'filler' word, similar to English 'well', 'uhm', etc.

Deictics take nominal inflection and derivations in agreement with the head noun of the NP that they belong to. Since case marking can be omitted on some members of an NP (see 4.2.6), it is sometimes hard to determine whether gulu or guɖi functions as a deictic or as a filler-word, although the intonation pattern usually helps to distinguish these two functions.

guɖi has the alternative root guɖa which is used when a suffix is added, e.g. ERG guɖaŋgu, GEN guɖaŋun.

When functioning as 3. person pronoun forms, deictics appear to occupy a special position in between nominal and pronominal status: their O-form is marked like that of pronouns; their A-form can be marked like that of nouns. It appears that gulu and guɖi have special stems, i.e. guluŋu-/guɖaŋu-, for O-function and Genitive, and the plural forms have special stems, i.e. gulumbarayŋu-/guɖumbarayŋu-, for PURP/ALL and DAT.

3.5 Interrogatives

The basic interrogative forms in Dyabugay are:

ɖu:	'who'
ɲi:	'what'
ɖa:	'where'
ɖiri	'how'

The paradigm of case inflections for ɖu: 'who' and ɲi: 'what' as elicited so far leaves some questions unanswered, particularly with

regard to case marking for S-, A- and O- function. ɲi: 'what' inflects like a nominal with a marked form for A- function and an unmarked one for S- and O- function. ɖu: 'who', on the other hand, follows the pronominal system of case marking (see 3.4.1) with a marked form for O- function and an unmarked one for S- and A- function. This had been attested by Cassells (1977) and was confirmed by data from my first period of field work. During the second field trip, however, I also encountered a marked form for ɖu: in A- function.

The paradigm as elicited so far reads as follows:

	S	A	O
who	ɖu:	ɖu: (ɖu:ŋgu)	ɖu:ɲ
what	ɲi:	ɲiraŋgu	ɲi:

	INST/LOC	PURP/ALL	DAT
who	?	ɖu:nda (ɖu:nwu)	ɖu:nda
what	ɲira:la	ɲirawu	?

	CAUS/ABL	FEAR
who	ɖu:num	ɖu:ndabi:
what	ɲiramalim	ɲiralan ɲira:ndabi:

	Genitive Stems		Comitative Stem
	+ ∅	+ oblique case	
who	ɖu:n	ɖu:nmu-	ɖu:mba
what	?	?	?

Question marks indicate that no form has been attested.

Comments on ɟu:

The nominal Dative inflection -nda apparently fulfills both Dative and PURP/ALL- function with the interrogative ɟu: 'who', i.e. it always indicates the goal of an action (e.g. to give to, to go to, etc). CAUS/ABL takes the irregular suffix -num which is also used with bama 'person'.

Comments on ɲi:

It has to be noted that in connection with any case inflection the root ɲira (with short 'i') is used. A comparison with Yidiɲ shows that Dyabugay could possibly have collapsed two interrogative paradigms into one. Yidiɲ has two forms for inanimate interrogatives (Dixon 1977, p. 184-5):

waɲi	'what genus'
waɲira	'what species, what kind of'

Dyabugay appears to have lost the first syllable of those forms and combined the two meanings of 'what genus' and 'what species' to simply 'what'. ɲira was reinterpreted as stem for Agent (Ergative) function and ɲi: (with a lengthened vowel in the monosyllabic form) as root for S/O (Absolutive) function.

In the INST/LOC form ɲira shows a long final root-vowel (and takes the appropriate inflection), while the stem-final vowel appears to be short with any other inflection. This phenomenon has also been observed with mina 'fish, meat' (see 2.5.2).

The forms of the other interrogatives are:

1)	ɟa:	'where'
	ɟa:wu	'where to'
	ɟa:malim ɟa:munda	'where from'

2) ɟa:ŋuŋɟa 'whereabouts'

3) ɟa:ŋunda 'when'

4) ɟiri 'how'

5) ɟirimbaŋ 'how many' (O- function)

Interrogatives are difficult to elicit. A particular problem was that my informant tended to answer in Dyabugay questions put in English, rather than to translate them. This has left me with many gaps in my data on interrogatives and I do not feel competent at this stage to go any deeper into the description and analysis of interrogatives.

3.6 Locational and Time Qualifiers - Case Inflections

Locational and Time Qualifiers, in representing a specification of location or time, are not specifically marked for Locative, nor can they take any syntactic inflections. Thus, case inflections applicable to locational and time qualifiers are only Allative and Ablative, e.g.

gagay-mu 'from far away'

gagay-wu 'to far away'

From the set of Derivational suffixes, locational and time qualifiers are restricted to use with Dir.$_1$ -ɟira 'towards' on semantic grounds. Dir.$_2$ 'to the other side of' requires a concrete local point such as 'mountain', 'camp', 'river', etc, and cannot be used with the general qualifiers. Dir.$_1$ occurs very frequently with compass points:

guŋgariɟira 'northwards' ɟilŋgudira 'southwards'

guwaɟira 'westwards' waŋgarɟira 'eastwards'

3.7 Morphology of Verbs

3.7.1 Introduction

Dyabugay recognises two grammatical classes of verbs, transitive

and intransitive, and two verb conjugations, y- conjugation and l- conjugation. Grammatical classes and formal classes do not coincide, but they correlate to some extent, i.e. l- conjugation has predominantly transitive verbs and y- conjugation predominantly intransitive verbs. Furthermore, transitive stems formed by means of the affix -ri- invariably have l- conjugation and intransitive stems formed by the affix -yi- always have y- conjugation. (For discussion of transitivity criteria see 4.4).

All verbal roots in Dyabugay are recognised to end in a vowel. In citation form the verbal root is marked by a final -l or -y according to its conjugational class. This conjugation marker is dropped when inflections or stem-forming affixes are added.

3.7.2 Verbal Inflections

Verbal inflections in Dyabugay include a three-term tense system (future, present, past), imperative, irrealis, perfective, intentional, apprehensional ('lest') and a synchronous subordinate marker. Apprehensional and synchronous subordinate serve to mark subordinate clauses only, while perfective and intentional can occur in independent main clauses as well as marking subordinate clauses (for subordinate clauses see 4.6). The forms of the inflections for the different conjugations are:

	y-conj.	l-conj.
future	-na	-lna
present	-ŋ	-l
past	-ɲ	-ɲ
imperative	-n	-ø
irrealis	-ybara	-lbara
perfective	-ymu	-ymu
intentional	-yŋgum	-lum

apprehensional	-yabi	-yabi
synchronous subordinate	-:ya	-:ya

While the use of present, future, past and imperative is straightforward and widely attested in the examples given throughout this and other chapters, it will be necessary to illustrate the use of the other inflections.

Irrealis marks an event that could happen or could have happened, if not prevented by another event.

(23) ŋaɲɟi ɟari-ybara
we-S drown-Irr.
'We could have drowned' (but someone saved us)

(24) ŋaɲɟiɲ gunday ɟu:-lbara /ɟuŋga-ɲ diliŋgu
we-O perhaps hit-Irr. run-Past down
'(someone) would perhaps have hit us, but we ran away (down the mountain)'

Perfective serves to indicate a completed action or a state resulting from a previous action.

(25) miɲa guni-guni-ymu
fish-ABS cut-redup-Perf
'The fish has been cut up into small pieces'

(26) ŋawu ma:ɲ gulu bulmba / wala ma:-ymu
I-A make-Past this camp-ABS now make-Perf
'I built a camp, it's done/built now'

(27) yaba-ŋgu miɲa buga-ɲ / guɟi wala buga-ymu
brother-ERG fish-ABS eat-Past he-A now eat-Perf
'(My) brother ate fish, he has finished eating now'

(For perfective subordinate clauses see 4.6.4).

Intentional has two distinct functions. In a main clause it indicates 'intend to do something/be about to do something'. In a subordinate clause it means 'in order to Verb' (for subordinate clause constructions see 4.6.1).

The suffix -lum/-yngum is sometimes pronounced with final -ŋ with no apparent phonological conditioning. (Hale had recorded -luŋ/-yngu, Cassells -lum/-yngum). It might be possible that the suffix originally had final -ŋ, but that this is gradually being replaced by the other peripheral nasal 'm'. ŋ is extremely rare in final position in Dyabugay. There are no ŋ-final roots and the only inflectional suffixes with final -ŋ are present tense for y- conjugation and the variant of 'intentional' as mentioned above. It could therefore be that this suffix is being adapted to the more common phonotactic pattern.

Examples:

(28) ŋawu ma:-lum bulmba
I-A make-Int. camp-ABS
'I intend to build a camp'

(29) ŋawu ɲina-yngum
I-S sit-Int.
'I had better sit down' (sic.)

Apprehensional indicates a possible, usually unpleasant event, and is very often accompanied by a negative imperative, i.e. 'don't do that, lest something might happen to you'. (For more detailed discussion see 4.6.2).

(30) ɡaɽi gali-ø gundi / gayam-uŋgu ganda-yabi
not go-Imp there stinging tree-ERG burn-App.
'don't go there, the stinging tree might burn (you)'

(31) guɟi gaɽi duga- /ŋaɲɟiɲ ɟawara-ɲgu du:-yabi
that-0 not pick-Imp we-TO thunderstorm-ERG hit-App.
'don't pick that (taboo plant), a thunderstorm might hit us'

Synchronous Subordinate (SSub) marks the object of a main clause as S (or A) of an embedded subordinate clause. (For more detailed discussion see 4.6.3)

(32) ŋawu ŋunda-l ɟarugan bura-:ya
I-A see-Pres scrub-hen-ABS fly-SSub
'I see the scrub hen flying'

(33) ŋawu ŋunda-l ɲuraɲ du-:ya gura:
I-A watch-Pres you-O hit-SSub dog-ABS
'I watch you hitting the dog'

3.7.3 Monosyllabic Verbal Roots

Dyabugay has four monosyllabic verb roots, all of which contain a long vowel. They are listed here according to their conjugational class:

	l-conj.	y-conj.
'to hit, kill'	du:-	
'to make, do'	ma:-	
'to tell'	ŋa:-	
'to give'		wa:-

All monosyllabic roots take the regular inflections for their respective conjugations and retain the monosyllabic root with long vowel throughout the inflectional paradigm, (see also 2.6).

The only irregularity is that monosyllabic roots apparently cannot take the stem-forming suffix -da- (3.7.4 a)).

[Monosyllabic roots may be reduplicated to imply repeated action which seems to be a prerequisite for the plural S/A marker -da-,

Examples:

(34) bama gali-gali-da-ɲ-ala gulu-malim bulmba-m

person-ABS go-redup-da-Past-now this-ABL camp-ABL

'People have gone away from this camp'

(35) waru-waru-ŋgu bulmba buda-buda-da-n

teenager-ERG camp-ABS tidy up-da-Pres

'(The) teenagers are tidying up the camp'

b) Examples for reciprocity marker -nɟiri-:

(36) bibunbay bari-ndiri-ŋ dalir

children-AB cry-Recip-Pres hungry

'The children are crying at each other/together with hunger'

(37) gula:y ŋunda-lɲɟiri-ɲ

they-A watch-Recip-Past

'They watched each other'

(For discussion of syntactic functions see 4.4.2)

c) -ri- basically serves to transitivise intransitive verb-roots (for more detail see 4.4.3), e.g.

intransitive root		transitivised stem	
warngi-y	'to turn'	warngiri-l	'to turn something'
wanda-y	'to fall'	wandari-l	'to knock something down'
maŋga-y	'to laugh'	maŋgari-l	'to laugh at something'
yarnga-y	'to be afraid'	yarngari-l	'to dislike something'
ɟuŋga-y	'to run'	ɟuŋgari-l	'to run off with'
bura-y	'to fly'	burari-l	'to fly off with'

Furthermore, I have encountered a number of trisyllabic transitive verb stems which have -ri- as their last syllable. Corresponding disyllabic intransitive roots could not be elicited for these verbs. I think it is possible that they might represent 'frozen' transitivised stems, e.g.

however, forms like * du: -du:-da-ŋ were rejected as unacceptable by my informant. Instead, he used quantifiers ɲabi or -wuru to indicate plurality of S/A in sentences which had verbs with monosyllabic roots].

3.7.4 Stem-forming Suffixes

There are four verbal stem-forming suffixes in Dyabugay. Their forms, with a brief description of their functions are:

-da-	indicates plurality of Subject or Agent
-nɟiri-	indicates reciprocity or a joint action
-ri-	transitivises verb stems
-yi-	detransitivises verb stems

A detailed discussion of their syntactic functions is given in 4.4.

The conjugational class of the derived verb stem is determined by the stem-forming suffix. The forms of the suffixes on roots from different conjugations are:

on l-conj. root	on y-conj. root
-da-y	-da-y
-lnɟiri-y	-ɲɟiri-y
-ri-l	-ri-l
-yi-y	-yi-y

a) -da- has only been attested with reduplicated verb roots. This is plausible since a reduplicated verb root indicates plurality of action which can be expected where plural Subjects or Agents are involved (see 4.4.1)

For some as yet unknown reason, -da- cannot be used with monosyllabic roots. I have no attested forms with trisyllabic roots so far.

bunbiri-l 'to hide something'

duwari-l 'to shake something'

niŋgiri-l 'to pour something out'

banɟari-l 'to follow someone'

wuɽuri-l 'to take something out'

d) -yi- basically serves to detransitivise transitive verb roots in syntactic environments where a transitive root would not be permitted (for more detail see 4.4.4). This hinges on the notion of intentional action (transitive) and unintentional action (intransitive). Some examples to illustrate this are:

transitive root		detransitivised stem	
ŋunda-l	'to watch, look at'	ŋundayi-y	'to see, to find something by chance'
nula-l	'to call someone'	nulayi-y	'to cry out, e.g. in pain'
ŋa:-l	'to tell'	ŋa:yi-y	'to speak, chat'
ŋada-l	'to cover up'	ŋadayi-y	'to step on unintentionally'
duga-l	'to catch, seize'	dugayi-y	'to comprehend, understand'

-yi- can also imply an ongoing action. In this function it can be used with both transitive and intransitive roots, but the derived stem is always intransitive.

burŋgayi-y	'to keep snoring'	(itr. root)
bulgayi-y	'to keep barking'	(itr. root)
ɲiruyi-y	'to keep on hanging, itr. (tr. root 'to hang up something)	
buɽa:yi-y	'to keep drying, itr. (tr. root 'to dry something')	

[Hale (1976) mentions another stem-forming suffix, the nominalizer -y, which he illustrates with one example. I have not been able to find any further evidence for such a nominalizer and suspect that the example quoted by Hale - gagabay 'vomit', noun, gagaba-l 'to vomit' - is an isolated instance of a cognate noun/verb pair].

3.7.5 Aspect Markers 'coming' and 'going'

gali-y 'to go' and gara-y 'to come' combine productively with any verb root to express the aspect 'to go to Verb' and 'to come to Verb'. Yidiɲ uses the 'going' - aspect marker (ŋali-) to also indicate 'doing an action while going'. I have not encountered examples of such a use in Dyabugay. The conjugation markers -y- and -l- are retained between the root and the aspect marker. With l-conjugation roots, -a- is inserted between the conjugation marker and the following aspect marker.

Examples:

(39) ŋawu miɲa biɽi-:-wala waya-l-a-gali-ŋ
I-A fish-ABS fire-LOC-now cook-l-a-go-Pres
'I'm going to cook fish in the fire now'

(40) gudi ɲinay-gara-ɲ bulmba-:
he-S sit-y-come-Past camp-LOC
'He came to sit in the camp'

3.7.6 Verbal Reduplication

Reduplication of the verb root implies repeated or habitual action, or, in conjunction with the plural S/A marker -da-, same actions performed simultaneously by a number of subjects or Agents (see 4.4.1).

Examples:

(41) gara-ɲ guɟi guɲu-mundu buŋan

come-Past he-S over there-ABL sun-ABS

(42) maga-maga-yi-ŋ

rise-redup-yi-Pres

'He came from over there where the sun (always) rises'

(43) bama-lu ŋaŋɟin ɟulbin guni-guni-da-ɲ

person-ERG we-GEN-ABS tree-ABS cut-redup-da-Past

'People cut down our trees' (i.e. a lot of people did a lot of cutting)

3.8 Post-inflectional Suffixes

Dyabugay uses three past-inflectional suffixes, -wala, -ŋuru and -bi:. The latter two are emphatic markers while -wala is a temporal marker 'now' which, however, also has emphatic implication. The use of these suffixes is illustrated hereunder.

(a) -wala/V-

~ -ala/C- 'now'

This can apparently be attached to any constituent of a sentence, however, I do not seem to have any examples of pronoun + (w)ala. According to its function as temporal marker, it is most often encountered in conjunction with verbs or with adjectives in equational sentences. Where it is attached to any other part of a sentence it also implies emphasis.

(44) ŋawu ma: yimbi: buwa-l-ala

I-A food-O d'bay-LOC put in-Pres-'now'

'I now put the food into the dilly-bag'

biɽi ganda-ŋ-ala

fire burn-Pres-now

'the fire is burning now'

(45) ɲura guɽi:-wala

'you are well now' (i.e. after having been sick)

(46) ŋawu ɲiwul-ala

'I am one now' (i.e. the only one left)

(47) gulaɲdu bibunbaɲdu bina-ŋunda-l

these-ERG children-ERG listen-Pres

(48) gaɟa-wala gulay

white men-now these

'these children listen to these white people now'

(i.e. and not to us)

(b) -ŋuru

The function of -ŋuru is not altogether clear to me. Hale describes it as meaning 'also, too' which is rather specific and quite strong on emphasis. H. Cassells regards it as a general stress or 'finishing-off' word of a sentence. But it appears that -ŋuru is not always utterance-final and that its stress-function is probably more general than assumed by Hale, e.g.

(49) guɟi ɲiwul-ŋuru 'he is <u>all</u> on his own'

ŋabi-nda-ŋuru ɟili-nda

plenty-DAT-stress eye-DAT

'under' everybody's eyes (all the people were watching)'

(c) -bi:

This suffix can best be labelled 'really, very', but like '-ŋuru', probably has a wider semantic implication. It can attach to any part of a sentence, e.g.

(50) ŋawu dalir-ala-bi:

'I'm really very hungry now'

(51) ŋawu gulun-bi: ɲina-na

I here-EMPH sit-Fut

'I'll stay right here'

(52) ŋayinda-bi: wa:-n

I-DAT-EMPH give-Imp

'give (that) to me!'

3.9 Particles

Dyabugay uses particles to express negation, temporal succession and 'perhaps'.

3.9.1 Particles of Negation

Particles of negation are gaɻi and balu. They immediately precede the syntactic element which they negate. (Unfortunately my examples only include negation of verbs).

a) gaɻi 'not'

(53) guḍi gaɻi gara-ɲ

he-S not come-Past 'He did not come'

(54) gaɻi gali-n bana-wu

not go-Imp water-ALL

'Don't go to the water'

(55) ɟamuy gaɻi duga-ø

taboo plant-ABS not get/fetch-Imp

'Don't get a taboo plant'

[Hale records gaɻi as being used as a privative suffix, but I have no evidence for this].

b) balu has a triple meaning: 1) to do something in vain or fail at something; 2) to try to do something; 3) to let someone do something. The common semantic element of these contents can be defined as 'attempted action with uncertain outcome'.

Examples:

(56) ŋawu balu magayi-ŋ gurŋam-unda/
I-S Part. climb-Pres g-tree -LOC
gandal-gandal
slippery-redup.
'I can't climb
or 'I try (in vain) to climb ...

(57) ŋaŋgi yaluguli ɟulbin balu ŋunda-l
we-A today tree(s) Part. see-Pres
'we can't see any trees nowadays' (they have been chopped down, i.e. we look in vain)

(58) ŋawu warngiri-l warɟan/ bana balu bari-ŋ
I-A turn-(tr.)-Pres raft-ABS water Part. run out-Pres
'I turn the raft and let the water run out'

3.9.2 Particles of temporal succession

Particles marking succession of time are bulay 'once' and garu 'then'.

a) bulay refers to a state or an object that has since been superseded or lost/disappeared. It immediately follows the nominal which it qualifies:

(59) bibunbay bulay 'when (we) were children'

(60) gunbi-l guɟi / bibuy bulay wagara gunda-l
plait-Pres she-A small Part. wide make-Pres
'She plaits (a dilly bag), (from) small (base she) makes (it) wide'

b) garu, which is only a time qualifier 'by and by' in Yidiŋ, refers to successive actions in Dyabugay in the context of 'now I do

this, then I do that', but it also functions as time qualifier as in yidiŋ.

Example:

(61) bana: murba buwa-n/
water-LOC inside go in-Imp

(62) garu bala ǰimbay-gali-n/
then leg-ABS grab-go-Imp
manu ǰiga-ø / garu bada guni-ø
neck-ABS twist-Imp then head-ABS cut-Imp
'go into the water, then go and grab (his) legs (the crane's legs). Wring (his) neck and then cut (his) head off'.

(62a) yaŋǰi garu ŋundal puraŋ biŋi: "By-by we see you again."

3.9.3 gunday 'perhaps, maybe'

gunday sometimes supplements the 'irrealis' or 'apprehensional' verb form, but it can also appear independently in a clause, e.g.

guǰi gunday miŋa ŋabi duga-lna
he-A maybe fish-ABS plenty-ABS catch-Fut.
'Maybe he will catch plenty of fish'

3.10 Interjections

The interjections that have been attested can be simply listed:

yiy 'yes'
buy 'yes, alright'
na:y 'oh' (surprise)
wa:y 'don't know'

[and a phonetically puzzling form:

ʃu: called out in fire ceremonies in repentance for wrong-doings].

CHAPTER 4 - SYNTAX

4.1 Notes on Sentence Constituents and Topicalization

Sentence constituency in Dyabugay depends to some extent on the speech context in which a sentence is uttered. By 'speech context' I mean a situation in which the references of Subject/Agent and/or Object have been established and are understood without continuous specification, in other words, a situation where English, for instance, can use pronouns and deictics. A sentence like 'He bought that', for example, depends on a speech context in which the referents of 'He' and 'that' are known, i.e. have been previously specified.

Obligatory sentence constituents in Dyabugay depend on whether a sentence is uttered a) independent of a speech context b) at the beginning of such a context, i.e. introducing a topic, or c) within such a context, i.e. in reference to a known topic. Sentence constituents which are obligatory for a) and b) appear to be optional for c). For example, a transitive sentence when uttered in the environment of a) or b) has to contain an agent, a transitive verb and a transitive object. In the environment of c), on the other hand, either the agent or the transitive object can be deleted, whichever remains topic throughout a sequence of utterances. In such a context the omission of agent or object will not give rise to ambiguity since the reference is well understood in the same way as a pronoun or deictic would be understood to have a certain reference in an English sentence. Dyabugay can also use deictics as replacement for proper or common nouns in a topic chain. The most common pattern appears to be for an agent or subject to be replaced by a deictic and for a

transitive object to be omitted in a topic chain.

The following discussion of simple sentence structure shall deal with sentences in the environment of a) and b) since these contain obligatory 'topic cores' and explicitly follow syntactic rules according to the transitivity category of the verb.

4.2 Simple Sentences

Intransitive and transitive clauses in Dyabugay are distinguished by the verb and corresponding obligatory nominal constituents. There are also minor clauses which include equational sentences and do not contain a verb.

4.2.1 Intransitive Core

An intransitive core consists of an intransitive Subject which can be an absolutive NP or a pronominal NP in S- function and an intransitive verb complex.

4.2.2 Transitive Core

A transitive core consists of a transitive Subject which can be an Ergative NP or a pronominal NP in A- function, a transitive verb complex and a transitive Object which can be an Absolutive NP or a pronominal NP in O- function.

4.2.3 Peripheral Constituents

In addition to the core both intransitive and transitive clauses can have an optional oblique NP such as Local (Locative, Allative, Ablative), Fear, Causative/Purposive, and/or a locational or time qualifier.

4.2.4 Minor Clauses

Since Dyabugay has no auxiliary verbs, equational sentences such as 'he is big' or 'this dog is good' consist of only an S-NP

and an adjective:

(1) gudi baŋgal 'he/that is big'

(2) gulu gura: guɻi: 'this dog is good'

An Ablative construction in a minor clause is like a derived adjective, e.g.

(3) guḏi gimuy-mundu 'He is from Cairns'
(=He is a Cairns bloke)

Minor clauses containing a specification of location can lack a verb like equational sentences, consisting of just an S-NP and a locative:

(4) bama bulmba-: 'The man is in the camp'

Sentences of this type describe an unmarked state. It appears to be more common, however, to specify the state and even more so the movement of a subject by using verbs like 'sit', 'stand', 'lie', 'come' and 'go', etc, rather than using just a minor sentence. This might be the reason why I have not encounted a minor locational clause containing an Allative (admittedly I never asked for one), since Allative definitely implies a movement and not a state like Locative and an adjectival Ablative. In the interest of accuracy this has to be specified as 'go', 'run', etc. By the same token the verb gara-y 'to come' has to be used in connection with Ablative where the actual physical movement from a place towards the speaker is referred to.

4.2.5 Word Order

Word order is very flexible in Dyabugay, the only apparent restriction being that the verb should not stand at the beginning of a sentence.

On being confronted with variations of a single transitive sentence containing different word orders Mr Banning opted for AOV

as the preferred order. One might call this the 'unmarked' word order and any other order 'marked' in that it serves to emphasise a particular sentence component.

Another factor which influences word order is that personal pronouns in either A-, S- or O- function are usually assigned the most prominent, i.e. sentence-initial position, particularly if the other NPs refer to something non-human:

(5) ŋaɲa gaɟiraga-ŋgu baya-ɲ
I-O Taipan-ERG bite-Past
'I was bitten by a Taipan'

But again, this is not a strict rule but a matter of preference. On the other hand, an object which is marked as specific by a deictic, be it human, animate or inanimate, is often placed at the beginning of the sentence:

(6) gulu walba ŋawu(ŋgu) daba-ŋ
that-ABS stone-ABS I-A throw-Pres
'I throw that stone'

Any NP which contains a deictic can be split up moving the noun after the verb and leaving the deictic stranded in initial position:

(7) guɟi bari-ŋ bibuy
this cry-Pres child-ABS
'This child is crying'

(8) gulaɣ ŋawu gunil-a- gali-ŋ
those-O I-A tie up - go-Pres
guɟi gunil-a-gali-ŋ warɟan
this tie up - go-Pres raft-ABS
'I am going to tie those up (the fig tree branches).
(I am) going to tie this raft together'.

Locational and time qualifiers are often found in initial position for emphasis but can also occur anywhere else in a sentence:

(9) bugara ŋawu murarɲdi wuna-ŋ
yesterday I-S sick lie-Past
'Yesterday I was sick'

In a topic chain it can happen that varying word order is used in successive sentences to highlight different aspects:

(10) yalma-: ŋawu-ŋgu wabar gali-ŋ
cross b'rang-INST I-A hunt go-Pres
gangula-wu / ŋawu yalma-:r
wallaby-Purp I cross b.-COMIT
gali-ŋ wabar / ŋawu mulu-:r
go-Pres hunt I two-COMIT
gali-ŋ wabar yalma-:r
go-Pres hunt cross b,-COMIT
'- I go hunting for wallaby with a cross b'rang'
(and not an ordinary one - marked)
'- I go hunting with a cross b'rang' (unmarked)
'- I go hunting with <u>two</u> cross b'rangs'
(marked - Note that the pronoun remains in initial position, but that the emphasised 'two' is split from the rest of the O-NP and takes 'second-best' sentence position).

4.2.6 Verbal Component

The verbal component of a sentence has one constituent only: a transitive or intransitive verb. The 'coming/going' aspect marker is part of the verb and not a constituent in its own right. This can be seen in examples (13) and (14), where aspect markers are attached

to an intransitive and a transitive verb respectively.

Examples:

(11) guruŋga maŋga-ŋ
the kookaburra laughs (itr. verb)

(12) guruŋga-ŋgu baya-l ɖama
the kookaburra bites a snake (tr. verb)

(13) ŋaɖi-wuru gula:y ɲinay-gara-ŋ
grandfather-all-ABS those sit - come-PRES
'All the grandfathers are coming to sit down'

(14) ŋabi-ŋgu wala ŋundal-a-gali-ymu [wuna:ya]
lots-ERG now look at - go-Perf [corpse]
'Lots (of people) have now gone to watch [the corpse]'.

More than one action can be referred to in a string of verbs, provided they agree in transitivity and verbal inflection:

(15) gula:y bibunbay giriyi-ɲ ŋambi-ɲ
those-S children-ABS shout-Past swim-Past
'Those children were shouting and swimming'

4.2.7 Noun-Phrase Constituents

A NP can have one or more constituents all of which agree in case. Normally, all NP-constituents bear case inflection, however, it is possible for the inflection to be omitted on some constituents. The general pattern seems to be (although I have not checked this systematically) that any non-final member of an unsplit NP can be without case marking. This makes deictics which usually are first members of an NP particularly prone to inflection omission. In a split NP (see 4.2.5) the split-off constituent and the final member of the NP- 'torso' have to be marked for case to indicate their connexion.

According to their head-constituent NPs can be classed as non-pronominal or pronominal NPs.

4.2.7.1 Non-Pronominal NPs

Non-pronominal NPs consist of:

(i) A single noun which can be a proper noun, a common specific noun or a generic noun, e.g.

(16) damari-ŋgu wamba-ɲ walba wumbul-wumbul
Damari-ERG spread-Past stone-ABS hot-redup
'Damari spread out very hot stones'

(17) bibunba-ɲdu bina-ŋunda-l bulmba-:
children-ERG listen-Pres camp-LOC
'The children listen to it (the story) in the camp'

(18) ŋaɲdi yaluguli ma: buga-ŋ
we-A today veg food-ABS eat-Pres
'We eat vegetable food today'

A list of generic nouns as elicited from Mr Banning and Mr Street is given hereunder. The remaining speakers of Dyabugay, unlike speakers of Yidiɲ, rarely use generic nouns in a classifying function together with common nouns. Elicitation was therefore somewhat difficult and the ensuing list cannot be regarded as complete since a number of generic nouns have possibly been forgotten or their semantic range become confused during the long period of non-use of the language.

List of generic nouns:

bama - aboriginal person

dayal - aboriginal man

banɟil - aboriginal woman

gaḏa – non-aboriginal person, white man (< ghost, spirit of dead person)

miṇa – edible meat or fish, any animal which is a potential food-source

ma: – vegetable food, any plant which is a potential food source

ḏaruy – any flying bird (e.g. not cassowary)

wubun – any frog, toad

ḏama – any snake, anything dangerous or poisonous (e.g. opium)

bana – any type of water, e.g. fresh~, salt~, rain~, stagnant~, but not necessarily any liquid. Both informants apparently had to stretch their imagination to call juice of fruit, plants or meat 'bana'. Any drinkable liquid was volunteered as the following word:

wira – any drinkable liquid (cf. Yidin wira = 'movable object')

[dilwi – volunteered as 'alcoholic drink', unfortunately I was unable to determine the original meaning of this word]

dulbin – tree

nara – vine

walba – stone, rock, mountain, star

mulay – hole, cave (horizontal and vertical)

bulmba – 'home', camp, shelter, potential camp site

Generic and specific common nouns can be combined in an NP, of which, however, I have only very few examples, e.g.

(19) guɖa:y bama darngi-darngi-wuru
these person elders-redup-'all of'-ABS
mayŋgal-ala
nothing-now
'All these old people have disappeared now'

(ii) A combination of two or more of (i).

(iii) An adjective. An adjective can occur on its own when functioning as a noun, e.g. baŋgal-ndu 'the big one-ERG'.

I have also encountered adjectives by themselves in imperative sentences, where they can remain as part of the otherwise deleted S- or A-NP. It appears that Dyabugay has no adverbials and that even where an adjective fulfills adverbial function, i.e. modifies a verb, it is still clearly marked as part of the S or A-NP by the appropriate nominal inflection. In such a capacity the adjective can remain in an imperative sentence as some kind of pseudo NP, e.g.

(20) dagal-ndu miɲa guni-ø
careful-ERG fish cut-Imp
'Cut up the fish carefully'
(cf. ŋawu dagalndu miɲa gunil
'I cut the fish carefully')

(21) giri-giri gara-n 'come quickly'
quick-ABS come-Imp

(22) giri-giri-ŋgu duga-n
quick-ERG get/catch-Imp
'Get (it) quickly'

(iv) A noun plus an adjective and/or a numeral. (NPs consisting of just a numeral have not been attested, but should be theoretically possible).

(23) mulu dama gulu

two snake over there

'There are two snakes over there'

(24) gulu bama gara-ɲ guɲun gandal-nda

this man-ABS come-Past there slippery-LOC

dumburu-la

road-LOC

'That man came there on a slippery road'

(v) A head noun modified by a noun or pronoun in genitive case. The modifiers are made to agree with the head noun in inflection after the Genitive endings have been attached.

(25) ŋawu (guɟi) bibuy-ŋunmu=nda

I-A child -GEN-DAT

gura:-nda wa:-ŋ ma:

dog-DAT give-Pres food-ABS

'I give food to the child's dog'

[Presumably a noun in genitive case could be modified by an adjective, e.g. 'the big man's dog', indicating that a genitive modification can be a full NP. However, I have no examples of such constructions and therefore cannot comment further on this].

(vi) Any of (i), (ii), (iv) in combination with a deictic, e.g. gulu bama 'this man', guɟi dama 'that snake'. The deictic usually precedes the noun and occurs more often in the S/A-NP than in an O-NP, i.e. it is more common for the Subject to be specific than for the Object.

(vii) Two nominals in Comitative construction (Comitative, see 4.3).

4.2.7.2 Pronominal NPs

A pronominal NP can consist of:

(i) A single pronoun form, e.g.

(26) ŋawu ɖiŋaɡarayi-n 'I sneeze

(27) ŋandiŋ gunday ganda-ybara
we-O perhaps burn/hurt-Irr
'We could have been hurt'

A single possessive pronoun, too, can stand on its own as an NP in the sense of 'mine', 'yours', etc, where the thing possessed has been previously specified:

(28) ŋayaŋ bulmba gura: ŋabir
my camp dog full of
ɲuran dawul-dawul
yours few (= 3-3)
'My camp has plenty of dogs, yours only a few'

(ii) A pronoun plus noun in comitative construction (Comitative see 4.3)

4.3 Comitative Constructions

There have been some discrepancies in the syntactic possibilities of the various types of Comitatives as expressed by Mr Banning during the first and second field trips. However, some sort of pattern seems to be emerging.

(i) -ɖada is the most unmarked form of Comitative and is best described as a simple copula 'and', or 'with' whichever is most unmarked in the context. There are no restrictions in its use with human, animate and inanimate nouns. It can be part of S/A -NPs and O-NPs alike.

(29) ŋawu magu-magu-ɟada-ŋgu buga-na miɲa
I-A sister-COMIT-ERG eat-Fut fish-ABS
'I and my sister will eat fish'

(30) gulu bama gura:-ɟada gali-ŋ
that man-ABS dog-COMIT-ABS go-Pres
'That man and (his) dog are going'

(31) ŋawu mulam-ɟada buga-na mina
I-A gravy-COMIT-ABS eat-Fut fish-ABS
'I'll eat fish with gravy'

(ii) -wa ∼ -mba could be regarded as a dual form in that it always refers to one of a pair. I only have examples of this Comitative in S/A-function, but there is no reason why it should not occur in O-function. This form is restricted to use with human nouns and in such a context is preferred over the unmarked form -ɟada. In a non-pronominal NP, -wa ∼ -mba is attached to both nominal constituents. According to second field trip data, no Ergative inflection can follow, although this NP is used in S- and A-function with transitive and intransitive verbs. (Why this should be so is quite unclear and needs further investigation). In a pronominal NP only the noun takes the Comitative ending in conjunction with the corresponding plural pronoun.

(32) (gulu) ŋama-mba bawi-mba gara-ŋ
mother-COMIT grandfather-COMIT come-Pres
'Mother and grandfather (the pair) are coming'

(33) yaba-mba ɲumbu-mba ɟama du:-ɲ
brother-COMIT father-COMIT snake kill-Past
'(my) brother and father killed a snake'
[yaba-mba-*ŋgu ɲumbu-mba-*ŋgu ...]

(34) ŋaɲɟi yaba-mba ɟama duːɲ

we brother-COMIT snake kill-Past

'We, my brother and I, killed a snake'

[ŋandi yaba-mba-*ŋgu ...]

(iii) -r ~ -ɲɟi ~-i. This type of Comitative forms an adjectival complement to the head noun of an NP. Semantically it implies a very close relationship between the referent of the head noun and the referent of the noun marked by Comitative. The latter would belong to or be carried by or somehow affect the referent of the head noun. In this respect this type of Comitative is quite different from both -ɟada and -mba. The latter have co-ordinating functions while the Comitative discussed in this paragraph is more like a modifier.

The Comitative marked noun as a (derived) adjective can also occur as an NP in its own right in equational sentences. I have only examples of this type of Comitative in S-NPs.

(35) guruŋga bura-ŋ dama-r / ɟamu-: waniri-l

kookaburra-ABS fly-Pres snake-COMIT beak-LOC carry-Pres

'The kookaburra flies with a snake, [he] carries [it] in his beak'

(= 'The snake-ful kookaburra flies')

(36) ŋawu gali-ŋ guraː-r

'I am going [carrying] a dog'

(37) warɟan bamaː-r

'The raft is full of people'

(38) ŋawu gaː-ɲɟi galiŋ

'I go [by] daylight'

[(iv) -DAT + bala:. This construction is syntactically quite unrelated to the types of Comitative described above. However, semantically it has to be classed as a type of Comitative and shall therefore be included at this stage, particularly since it suggests an interesting extension of the Comitative concept. The previous examples dealt with the syntactic and semantic relationship within <u>one</u> NP. The -DAT + bala: construction on the other hand establishes a comitative relationship between an S-NP (no A-NP attested) and an oblique Object marked as Dative plus the particle 'bala:'. This construction assigns the oblique Object the semantic role of leader and the Subject the role of follower in a joint action, e.g.

(39) ŋawu gali-ŋ-ala bama-nda bala:
I-S go-Pres-now person-DAT Past
'I go with a person/people - he/they are leading on']

4.4 Syntactic Functions of Verbal Stem-forming Suffixes

As mentioned before under 4.2 the transitivity class of the verb determines the obligatory core syntactic elements of a sentence. The following criteria apply in determining the transitivity or intransitivity of a verb-stem. For a <u>transitive</u> verb-stem to be used without special marking:

a) The Agent must have volitional control over the action.

b) The action must be discrete, and be performed by one single Agent.

c) There must be a transitive Object (Patient or Experiencer, etc)

d) The surface realization of a syntactic constituent must correspond to its deep syntactic role, i.e. the deep structure Agent must surface as Ergative-marked transitive Subject, the deep structure Patient/Experiencer as Absolutive-marked transitive Object.

For an intransitive verb-stem to be used without special marking -

e) The Subject is Actor or Experiencer (e.g. with verbs like 'run', 'sneeze', etc).

f) The action must be discrete and performed by one Actor.

g) The action does not have to be subject to volitional control.

Whenever any of the above requirements is violated in surface structure, a modification of the verb by means of a stem-forming suffix is required. (For forms of stem-forming suffixes, see 3.7.4).

4.4.1 Plural Subject or Agent

The suffix -da- indicates that the same type of action is performed by many Actors or Agents and on individual objects, i.e. a context where requirement b) for transitive verbs and requirement f) for intransitive verbs is not fulfilled. -da- is always attached to reduplicated verb roots which indicates a plurality of action, i.e. 'to do something a lot'.

(40) gaway ŋabi ɖana-ɖana-da-ŋ
star-ABS plenty stand-redup-da-Pres
'There are many stars'

(41) murgan wanda-wanda-da-ŋ-ala
quandong-fruit-ABS fall-redup-da-Pres - 'now'
'Quandong fruit is falling (off trees) now'

Examples with transitive roots:

(42) bundara-ŋgu murgan wuŋa-wuŋa-da-ŋ
cassowary-ERG qu. fruit-ABS swallow-redup-da-Pres
'Cassowaries gobble the quandong fruit all up'

(43) bama-lu ŋabi miŋa buga-buga-da-ŋ
person-ERG plenty-ABS meat-ABS eat-redup-da-Pres
'(The) people are eating a lot of meat'

4.4.2 Reciprocal

In Dyabugay it is common practice to delete coreferential NPs in deep structure like 'X hits Y and Y hits X'. The resulting surface form 'X/Y hit each other' does not comply with requirement d) for transitive verbs (deep and surface NP have to be identical), hence the verb root must be modified. The 'reciprocal' stem-forming suffix -ŋǰiri- allows the coreferential O-NPs to be deleted and the Agent to become Subject in Absolutive case. (The Absolutive case of the surface Subject-NP has unfortunately not been proven beyond any doubt. Most of my examples have Pronoun forms which do not show a distinction between S- and A- function. Nouns were difficult to elicit in reciprocal constructions. On two occasions where Mr Banning used a common noun in a reciprocal sentence, he first used Ergative marking, then corrected this to Absolutive, but apparently was not quite certain which was the right form).

Coreferential Agent and Beneficient (Dative) of the verb 'to give' can also be made reciprocal, in which case the transitive Object of 'give' is retained. Thus the resulting sentence would still be a transitive one and one can expect an Agent-NP with Ergative marking. Unfortunately I have only examples with pronominal NPs which do not show a distinction between A and S.

Furthermore, -ɳɟiri- can have the semantic implication of 'the same action performed in unison by several S or A'. (cf. -da- = the same type of action performed independently by several S or A).

Examples for reciprocity:

(44) ɲuramba gana du:-lnɟiri-ŋ
you-Pl-S always hit-Recip-Pres
'You are always hitting each other'

(45) miɲa-(ngu) buga-ɲɟiri-ŋ
fish-(ERG) eat-Recip-Pres
'Fish eat each other'

(46) gula:y ma: wa:-ɲɟiri-ŋ
they-A food-ABS give-Recip-Pres
'They give each other food'

Examples of action in unison:

(47) bama gara-ɲɟiri-ŋ
person-ABS come-Recip-Pres
'(Some) people are coming together'
i.e. walking together on the same road.

(48) gula:y bulmba ma:-lnɟiri-ŋ
they-A camp-ABS make-Recip-Pres
'They are building a camp together'

4.4.3 Transitivised Verb-stems

An intransitive verb by definition cannot take a direct Object. The stem-forming suffix -ri- transitivises an intransitive verb with the result that:

a) the underlying S → A with a transitive Object as Patient included in surface structure; or

b) the underlying S → O = Patient/Experiencer with an added Agent.

It has been suggested that this verbal derivation could be labelled 'Causative'. However, the suffix -ri- has wider implication than 'to cause someone to do something'. For instance maŋga- 'to laugh' → maŋgari- 'to laugh at someone' does not affect the Object in a causative manner, but affected it is, i.e. as the Patient or Experiencer of ridicule. Therefore I would prefer to label this suffix by its widest terms of reference as 'affective suffix'.

Examples:

(49)

a) guruŋga bura-ŋ 'The kookaburra flies'

b) guruŋga-ngu dama bura-ri-l
kookaburra-ERG snake-ABS fly-ri-Pres
'The kookaburra flies off with a snake'

The S of 49 a) becomes A in 49 b) with 'snake' as the transitive Object of buraril. 'Snake' could be added to 49 a) in Comitative form:

c) guruŋga ɖama-:r bura-ŋ
'The kookaburra flies with a snake'

(50)

a) ɖulbin wanda-ŋ 'The tree falls down'

b) ɖimbara:l-ndu ɖulbin-wuru wanda-ri-lna
cyclone-ERG tree-all of-ABS fall-ri-Fut
'The cyclone will blow down all the trees'

The S of 50 a) becomes 0 in 50 b).

4.4.4 Detransitivised Verb-stems

The stem-forming suffix -yi- comes to act in various environments where requirements for transitive verbs are not fulfilled.

-yi- has to be used:

(i) Where an action is non-volitional and non-controlled. This applies in the case of inaminate Agents or chance events. In such instances the Agent is still marked as such by an Ergative ending.

It must be noted that some inanimate Agents which perform actions that are regarded as characteristic for them can take transitive verbs without modification. It is characteristic for fire to burn things and for sand to cover up things - the transitive verb stem needs no modification. But it is not characteristic for trees to knock down people - the transitive verb stem has to be modified.

Examples:

(51) ŋaɲa du:-yi-ɲ burmbur-u
I-O hit-yi-Past grass tree-ERG
'I was hit by a grass tree'

(52) guɖa-ŋgu ŋunda-yi-ɲ bana: malway
he-ERG look at-yi-Past water-LOC reflection-ABS
'He happened to see his reflection in the water'

(ii) -yi- is used where the referent of the obligatory transitive object is unknown or unspecified and can therefore not be included in the surface structure. The deep Agent becomes Subject in the surface sentence:

(53) bama du:-yi-ŋ / guɖa-ŋgu ɟama gunday du:-l
person-ABS hit-yi-Pres he-ERG snake-ABS perhaps hit-Pres
'(That) man is hitting (something), perhaps he is hitting a snake'.

(54) ŋawu buga-yi-ŋ / ŋawu buga-ŋ miɲa
I-S eat-yi-Pres I-A eat-Pres fish-ABS
'I'm eating something (which I wont tell),
I'm eating fish'.

(iii) -yi- is used where a transitive verb root is used to express an intransitive ongoing action or a state.

Deep O → S, deep A → ∅.

In its capacity as (excessively) ongoing action marker -yi- has also been attested with intransitive verb roots.

(55) waybi bana: ɲiru-yi-ŋ
waterlily-ABS water-LOC hang-yi-Pres
'The waterlily is hanging in the water'
(cf. ŋawu ɲiru-l gambi 'I hang up clothes')

(56) guɟi muma-yi-ŋ-ala / ɟigara-ŋgu muma-ɲ
that-ABS cover-yi-Pres-Now sand-ERG cover-Past
'That is covered now, the sand covered (it)'

(57) gura: bulga-yi-ŋ
dog-ABS bark (itr.)-yi-Pres
'The dog keeps barking and barking'

(58) Dyabugay bina-wula-yi-ŋ-ala
Dyabugay forget (itr.)-yi-Pres-Now
'Dyabugay is forgotten now'

(iv) -yi- is used where there is a discrepancy between deep and surface NPs of the following kind:

deep A-NP → unmarked case

deep O-NP → marked case

In such an 'Antipassive' -construction the deep transitive verb has to be detransitivised by means of -yi-. The surface

marking of the deep O-NP can be DAT or LOC according to the following hierarchy (cf. Dixon, Yidin, 1977).

human - DAT

animate - DAT or LOC

inanimate - LOC

Such antipassive constructions could only be obtained in elicitation, they were not produced spontaneously in texts. In Yidiɲ antipassives are needed for subordination and coordination, but apparently in Dyabugay there is no corresponding syntactic need for them.

Examples:

(59)

a) yaba-ŋgu ɖulbin guni-l-ala
brother-ERG tree-ABS cut-Pres-now

b) yaba dulbin-da guni-yi-ŋ
brother-ABS tree-LOC cut-yi-Pres
'(My) brother cuts a tree'

(60)

a) bama-lu gura: du:-ɲ
person-ERG dog-ABS hit-Past

b) bama gura:-nda du:-yi-ɲ
person-ABS dog-DAT hit-yi-Past
'The man hit a dog'

(v) Summary of modifying functions of stem-forming suffixes

	Tr. Root S = Agent O = Patient/Exp.	Itr. Root S = Actor/Exp.
Coreferential deep A and O →Surface S	-ŋdiri-	
Deep A →Surface ABS (Antipassive)	-yi-	
Omitted Surface O	-yi-	
'affective' action	-	-ri-
uncontrolled action	-yi-	-
process/state	-yi-	(-yi-)
discrete action by Pl. S/A	-da-	-da-
joint action by Pl. S/A	-ŋdiri-	-ŋdiri-

4.5 Reflexive

In sentences where the transitive Object is coreferential with the Agent, the Object is replaced by the universal reflexive marker ŋayaɲ 'self' which is identical for all persons. The verb is not specifically marked.

(61) ŋawu guni-ɲ ŋayaɲ 'I cut myself'
ɲura guni-ɲ ŋayaɲ 'You cut yourself'
guɖi guni-ɲ ŋayaɲ 'He cut himself'
ŋaɳɖi du:ɲ ŋayaɲ 'We hit ourselves'

It appears that constructions like this always imply an intentional action (the transitive verb is not modified by -yi-). In fact, on

being consulted on the matter of reflexives during the second field trip, Mr Banning thought that the above sentences were rather comical, though grammatical, because 'people don't cut themselves like that unless they are a bit off their head'. He suggested a preferred form which indicated the accidental nature of the action: The transitive verb root is modified by -yi- and the coreferential Agent deleted, leaving:

(62) ŋaɲa guni-yi-ɲ
I-O cut-yi-Past
'I cut myself accidentally' (lit. 'I was cut')

(63) ɲura / mini-ŋayi-n / ɲuraɲ guni-yi-yabi
you watch out-Imp you-O cut-yi-'App.'
'You, watch out lest you cut yourself!'
(lit. 'you get cut')

Further examples of reflexives would be necessary to establish the acceptability of ŋayaɲ as 'intentional reflexive' marker, e.g. 'I rub myself', 'I paint myself', etc, which, however, I have not been able to obtain so far.

4.6 Subordinate Clauses

As far as my present research goes I can distinguish four types of subordinate clauses with three different coreferential systems. These are purposive construction, apprehensional construction, synchronous main - and sub-clause and perfective sub-clause. Purposive and apprehension can have both verbal and nominal realization. The verbal constructions serve to form the sub-clauses which shall be dealt with in this chapter. (For nominal Purposive constructions see 3.2.1 and 3.2.2).

4.6.1 Purposive Construction

The verbal inflection - lum ~ -yngum serves to express an intention. Used in a simple sentence it can be translated as 'X intends to do something' or 'X is about to do something'. Used in a subordinate clause it signals a link between the action in the main clause and the action in the sub-clause, i.e. action$_1$ is performed with the intention of doing action$_2$ and action$_2$ is dependent on and successive to action$_1$. This interaction of intention and dependence produces the 'purposive' relationship which can be glossed as 'in order to'.

A purposive main/sub-clause construction has to have an underlying form with coreferential Subject or Agent-NP in Σ and Σ'. Intentional-marking on the verb in Σ' and deletion of the S/A-NP in Σ' result in a purposive surface construction, e.g.

(64) ŋawu biwur duga-ŋ bundu-lum miŋa
I-A spear-ABS fetch-Pres to spear-Int. fish-ABS
'I fetch a spear in order to spear fish'

(65) ŋawu gulu miŋa giba-l-ala wayi-lum
I-A that fish-ABS scale-Pres-now cook-Int
'I scale that fish now in order to cook (it)'

[My data does not include any examples of intransitive + transitive clause or of transitive + transitive clause where $O_1 = A_2$, e.g. 'I took the man to spear the fish'. This needs further investigation.]

A purposive construction can also comprise an indirect command. Such a sentence typically contains ŋa: 'to tell' in the main clause and has underlying coreferentiality between the Dative-NP (Goal of 'tell') in Σ and the A/S-NP in Σ'.

(66) ŋawu ɲura-nda ŋa:-ɲ yalu-guli
I-A you-DAT tell-Past today
gudʒi balga-lum
it-ABS build-Int.
'I told you today to build it'

4.6.2 Apprehensional Construction

An apprehensional construction has two quite independent, even unrelated, underlying clauses Σ_1 and Σ_2. The link between these two is established by the verbal inflection -yabi 'lest' which indicates that action$_2$ is a potential undesirable result of action$_1$. The A/S-NP of Σ_1 can be coreferential with a transitive O-NP in Σ_2 but no deletion has to take place which is an indication for the syntactic independence of the two clauses.

Typically, but not necessarily, Σ_1 contains a negative imperative, e.g.

(67) gudʒi gaɻi duga-ø/ ɣandiɲ ɖawara-ɲdu du:-yabi
that-ABS not get-Imp we-O thunderstorm-ERG hit-'lest'
'Don't pick that (taboo plant), lest a thunderstorm hit us'. (no coref. NP)

(68) ɲura / mini-ɣayi-n / ɲuraɲ guni-yi-yabi
'you, watch out, lest you get cut'.
(coreferential NPs)

4.6.3 Synchronous Main- and Subordinate-Clause

This type of construction typically shows verbs of perception ('see', 'hear', etc) in its main clause but others are also possible. In contrast to the other sub-clause constructions, the different actions described in the two parts are synchronous. Underlying are two clauses with coreferentiality between the O-NP of Σ_1 and the S/A-NP in Σ_2.

Σ_2 is marked as 'synchronous subordinate' (SSub) by means of the verbal inflection -:ya, and its S/A-NP is deleted in surface structure, e.g.

(69) ŋawu guɟi ŋunda-ŋunda-l gura: du:-du:-ya
I-A he-O watch-Pres dog-ABS hit-redup-SSub
'I watch him hitting the dog'

(70) ɲura ŋaɲa bina-ŋunda-ɲ ŋa:-ya gulu-ŋunda
you-A I-O hear-Past tell-SSub he-DAT
'You heard me tell him'

The -:ya subordinate marker can also apply in cases where there is coreferentiality between an oblique object in Σ_1 and the S/A of Σ_2, e.g.

(71) nawu gura:-nda guɽi-guɽi-wanda-ɲ
I-S dog-DAT to stumble over-Past
ɟama baya-yi-:ya
snake-ABS bite-yi-SSub
'I stumbled over a dog which was biting away at a snake'.

I have no examples, however, with coreferential transitive object in Σ_1 and Σ_2, e.g. 'I saw the dog being hit'. This needs further investigation.

[The S/A-NP in the sub-clause can be retained for emphasis:

(72) ŋawu guɟi ŋunda-ɲ bama-lu gura: du:-ya
I-A he-O see-Past person-ERG dog-ABS hit-SSub
'I saw him, that man (was) hitting the dog']

4.6.4 Perfective Subordinate Clause

This construction starts off from the same type of underlying structure as the synchronous subordinate-clause and the same type of NP-deletion takes place. The difference is that this sub-clause is marked

as 'perfective' by the verbal suffix -ymu. As such this sub-clause functions as a complement in a relative-clause-type or even adjectival manner.

(73) miɲa wamba-ø guni-guni-ymu
fish-ABS put in-Imp cut-redup-Perf
'Put in the {cut-up fish / fish that has been cut up'

(74) ŋawu gura: du:-ɲ miɲa ŋayaŋ buga-ymu
I-A dog-ABS hit-Past meat my eat-Perf
'I hit the dog who had eaten my meat'

There is no reason that I am aware of why the main clause should not contain a verb of perception, however, I do not have any examples with a perception verb in main clause. More data would be required here.

4.7 Imperative

Imperative is marked by a verbal inflectional suffix -n ~ -ø. The Subject or Agent must be omitted in an imperative construction. However, the recipient of the order is often addressed preceding the imperative sentence, e.g. 'Hey you, do so and so!'. There is a distinct pause between address word and imperative sentence, thus it is unlikely that the address-word should be part of the imperative construction.

(75) (ɲura) magari-ø bugiɟi
(hey, you) lift-Imp box-ABS
'Hey you, lift up that box'

A negative imperative is formed by adding the negative particle gaɽi to a positive imperative much in the same way as an indicative sentence is negated.

(76) gaɽi magari-ø bugiɟi

'Don't lift up that box'

4.8 Questions

Polar questions (yes/no) do not show specific syntactic marking in Dyabugay. They are characterised by intonation only, i.e. by final rise in intonation.

For non-polar questions there is a set of interrogatives (see.3.5).

Final Remarks

One of the most challenging aspects in the study of a language, and yet also one of the most frustrating, is that every partial success in understanding its system merely opens up another, sometimes even unsuspected, vast area of intricacies. Thus after a year's work on Dyabugay (which furthermore could not have my undivided attention because of other coursework) I feel that I hand in an unfinished piece of work.

Throughout the text I have indicated where further research would be required on certain aspects for which I could not supply sufficient details. But particularly in the fields of phonology and syntax I have not but scratched the surface. Those aspects that I think I have come to grips with only indicate the need for further study, for instance on stress patterns, interrogative and pronominal paradigms, the verbal transitivity system and subordinate clauses.

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Text 1 - A drowning accident at Crystal Cascades

1. gulu bulumba waway / gadja gulu djani-(ja)-yunu
this-S country-S dangerous white man-ABS this drown-Past-Emph.

This country is dangerous. This white man drowned.

2. gundan-du wadi-ja gulu-malim /
flood-ERG wash away-Past here-ABL

The flood washed (him) away from here.

3. gulay balu wagga-ja bi-ji: /
they-A in vain search-Past again
They could not recover (him)

4. gayay pumbu gunda-ja / gulay baybu wamba-ja
my father work-Past these-O pipes-ABS to place-Past

My father worked (here). (He) put in these (water)-pipes.

5. wanini-ja gimuj-mundu gulu-wu-yunu /
carry-Past Cairns-ABL here-ALL-Emph.

(He) carried (the pipes) from Cairns to right here.

6. gulup bipi: wambal-a-gali-ja / .
this-O opening-ABS to place-a-go-Past .
mouth
(He) went to put in the (pipe's) opening.

7. baybu bana yalnguli / gulu yawu pinu-ny
pipes water today here I-S sit-Pres

There are water pipes today. I'm sitting here.

8. yawu puwamba-nda buwal-bugu-ny
I-S you Pl.-DAT talk-Pres
'I'm talking to you'

9. gudi-malim gada gulu gunda-ŋa pumbu-ŋgu
there-ABL whiteman-ABS this watch-Past father-ERG

(My) father watched this white man from there.

10. bana-ŋgu wadi-ŋa / walba-malim bura-ŋa / ɟana-ɟanay
water-ERG washaway-Past stone-ABL take-Past stand-redup-S

The water washed (him) away, took him off a stone (while he) was standing.

17. ɟambu / gudi walba-: ɟanay-gali-ŋa
'wait, watch out' he-S rock-LOC stand-go-Past

Watch out! He went to stand on a rock.

18. gaŋi ɟanay-gali-ŋbana guŋi: /
not stand-go-Irr. good

If he had not gone to stand (on the rock), (he would have been) alright.

19. gudi ɟanay-gali-ŋa /
he-S stand-go-Past

(But) he went to stand (on it).

20. gudaŋun walba-malim ɟina: bura-ŋa-ala /
his-ABS rock-ABL foot-ABS take-Past-now

His foot was taken off the rock.

21. bana gundan ɟuŋga-ŋa baŋgar /
water-ABS flood-ABS run-Past vehement, too much

The flood water ran too strong / too swiftly.

21. gudi wadi-ŋa / ɟina: bura-ŋa walba-malim
he-O washaway-Past foot-ABS take-Past rock-ABL
(The water) washed him away, took (his) foot off the rock.

22. gudi dari-ŋa wunda-ŋa /
he-S drown-Past fall-Past

He drowned, (he) fell.

23. bana yabi buruwa-ŋa guŋgu: balu wagga-kuma
person-ABS plenty-ABS jump-Past after/behind 'attempt' search-Purp

Lots of people jumped after (him) to try and search.

24. balu wala wagga-ŋa guda-ŋu /
'in vain' now search-Past he-Purp

They searched for him in vain.

25. [gulu bana giri-giri-ŋgu]$_{NP}$ daybi-ŋa /
this water fast-ERG pick up-Past
walba: ŋanaŋina
stone)-LOC stand-Perf
rock)

The fast flowing water picked (him) up, (who) had been standing on the stone.

26. bana giri-giri-ŋgu magari-ŋa /
water fast-ERG carry-Past

The fast flowing water carried (him) away.

Text 2 - Walk to Crystal Cascades

1. yawa: gura: yanay-gali-p /
   1-S south/west-LOC stand-go-Past
   (= Crystal Cascades area)
   I went to stand at Crystal Cascades

2. bigil-bigil-nda walba baygal-baygal /
   (name of river)-LOC stone/rock big-redup
   There are very big rocks in 'b-b-' river.

3. bana buruwa-l milmilgi-la /
   water-ABS jump-Pres (name of pond)-LOC
   The water drops (jumps) down in 'm'-pond

4. gugu-malim yawa diday-gali-p bi:pi: /
   there-ABL 1-S return-go-Past again
   From there I went to return again.

5. wugu dana-y bana / baygal /
   deep stand-Pres water-ABS big/much
   The water is deep, (there is) much (water).

6. gugu-malim yawa dida-p
   there-ABL 1-S return-Past
   From there I returned.

7. yawa gapi wala gali-p bi:pi: waygar gagay wayap
   1-S not now go-Past again uphill far comp.
   I did not go on further uphill.

8. (gugi) / yawuygu bina-:r-ala
   (:fillers) 1-S ear-COMIT-now (= to experience s.th.)
   I have experienced it now.

9. gugi yaŋu wala ŋundal-a-gali-ŋ /
there I-S now look-a-go-Past

I went to have a look there now.

10. guwa: bana wagu ŋaŋu-y /
C.C.-LOC water-ABS deep stand-Pres

At Crystal Cascade the water is deep.

11. gugu-malim ŋaŋuŋgu dida-ŋ /
there-ABL I-S return-Past

From there I returned.

12. gugi: wala / ŋaŋu wala ŋunda-ŋ /
good now I-S now see-Past

It is good now, I now have seen it.

Text 3 – Catching Prawns

1. yawu gula yimbi wamba-l walba-mari /
   D-A this d-bag-ABS put down-Pres rock-Dir

   I put this dilly-bag down across to the other side of the rock.

2. garu dungi yayay buwa-y wulur-wulur /
   then prawn-ABS my go in-Pres crayfish-ABS

   Then my prawns and crayfish go in.

3. buwa-y yimbi:: bipi: /
   go in-Pres d-bag-LOC mouth

   They go into the dilly-bag by the opening.

4. gudda: bipi: gudi yada-a wulumburu-la
   always mouth-ABS that cover-Imp leaves-INST

   Always cover the opening with leaves!

5. garu gudi mipa yapgi magari-lua yabi /
   then that fish-ABS we-A pick up-Fut plenty-ABS

   Then we will pick up plenty of fish.

Text 4 - Damari saved the coastal land from being flooded

1. gudi bayga - bayga wayi-p bana wala-: /
he-A hot/stones-ABS heat up-Past water side/shore-LOC
(cooking)

He (Damari) heated up cooking stones on the sea shore.

2. gudi yinay - gana-p /
he-S sit - come - Past

He came to stay

3. gininy - mari / gudi yina-p gundi wala: bana:
Cairns - Dir. he-S stay - Past there side-LOC water-LOC

Through to the other of Cairns, he stayed there on the shore.

4. bayga gundi gamba-p /
cooking-stone there burn - Past

(He) burned cooking stones there.

5. gula-gunu wamba-p walba wumbul- wumbul
here - Emph. put down-Past stone-ABS hot-ready-ABS

baygal - baygal
big - ready - ABS

Right here (he) put down very hot and very big stones.

6. walba yiya-ri-p wani ri-p bana-:
stone-ABS gather-ri-Past carry-Past water-LOC

(He) collected and carried the stones in the water (i.e. further in)

7. gula gayadi galugali gunda-l /
this we-A today look - Pres
watch

We (can) watch this today (i.e. the outcome of this action)

8. giri gudi bana yiŋga-ŋ / gudi bana /
manner/way/ now that water-ABS stop-Past that water

(This is) here that water stopped, that water.

9. biji gara-gara-ŋ / bana bibuŋ-ala /
fire-ABS burn-redup-Res water-ABS small-more

The fire burns on and on; the water is small (receding) more.

10. walba-ŋgu ganda-ŋ gilugu: buŋgan /
shore-ERG burn-Res S/E-LOC ground/soil-ABS

The (hot) shore burns the ground in the south-east.

11. damari-ŋgu ŋamba-ŋ walba wumbul-wumbul /
D.-ERG put down-Past shore-ABS flat-redup ABS
baŋgga /
cooking shore-ABS

Damari put down way flat shore, cooking shore.

12. gudi yalguli yaŋgi yunda-l-ala / bina-yunda-l
that today we-A look/watch-Res-now listen-Res
bulumba-: /
camp/country-LOC

We now look at this today, we listen to it in the camp.

Text 5 - The missing guinea pigs

1. (gudi) ŋa: yaŋgin yigi-baŋa /
(filler) where our nat-RFF (=guinea pig)

Where is our guinea pig?

2. yigi-baŋa yaŋgin gaŋa gudi mulu /
g.pig-ABS our always have two

Our guinea pigs are always two (There are always two of our guinea pigs.)

3. daŋal bulay / mulu wala /
three one two now

There used to be three, now there are two.

4. gaŋa yuŋa-ø / giri gudi bupdi-ŋ gudi-malim /
always watch-Imp how he-S escape-Past there-ABL

Always watch! How did he get away from there?

5. gudu-yum waŋa-: gaŋi bupdi-ŋ /
that-Emph wire-LOC not escape-Past

That one did not escape at the wire (-melting).

6. balu waŋga-l / mulu wala /
in vain search-Pres two now

(We) search in vain, there are two now.

7. piŋal piŋa-ŋgu duga-ŋ /
one-ABS what-ERG get-Past

What/something got one.

8. gunday yigi-bana wula-ja /
perhaps g.-pig-ABS die-Past /

Perhaps the guinea-pig died.

9. gana yunda-l-a-gali-n gunga:y /
always look-go-Imp. there-ABS

Always go to have a look at them!

10 mayygal balu wayga-l /
nothing in vain search-Pres

"I can't find nothing" (sic.)

11. gana bipi: buga:-wu wuna-n wurumba /
always back night-Purp lie down-Imp sleep

Always go back to lie down and sleep for the night!

12. yanji buga: bina-yunda-l murmur /
we-D night listen-Pres noise (loan word?)

We listen to noise at night.

13. mayygal / gagak / gagal-gagal /
nothing quiet quiet-redup

There's nothing; it's quiet; it's all quiet.

14. pina-yga gula buga-ja /
what-ERG this-ABS eat-Past

What has eaten it?

15. gudi magari-ø / gula magari-ø bugigi /
that lift up-Imp this lift up-Imp box-ABS

Lift that up, lift up this box!

16. ɟaɱa-bi: / ʃaɱa ɯɱa-ŋ ɟuʃi / ɯala ʃaɱa /
snake-Emph. snake-ABS lie-Pres there two snake

It's a snake! There lies a snake, two snakes!

17. ɟuʃa-ŋga baŋa-baŋa-ja /
that-ERG eat-nedup-Past

That (is what) had kept eating (the g. pigs).

18. ŋiʃi-bana ŋapaʃin ɟula:ɟuʃu baŋa-baŋa-ja /
g-pig-ABS our these-ERG eat-nedup-Past

These have kept eating our guinea pigs.

19. ɟula ʃaɱa wala du:-ø / ɟuɾi: wala /
this snake-ABS now hit-Imp

Hit this snake now! Straight now!

20. ɟuʃi ŋiʃi-bana piɯal-ala ʃaɱa-ʃaɱa-ŋ /
that g-pig-ABS one-now stand-nedup-Pres

That guinea-pig is left or its own now.

21. baŋin-ala daŋa-ø ɟuʃa-ɯa /
other-now get-Imp that-Purp

Get another one now for that one!