(173) *Gabirr-inh nhaamaan nganhi bulii=ma-ni*
      girl-ERG   that+ERG 1sg+ACC fall+DERIVED=CAUS-PAST
      That girl made me fall.

A last derived form involves full reduplication, al-
though the details of form and productivity are not yet
known. Reduplicating the 'Derived' form of a verb seems to
produce an adjective that means 'doing ... to excess, in the
habit of ... too much'.

(174) *Nyulu   bama   yirrgaay=yirrgaay*
      3sg+NOM person+ABS tall+DER=talk+DER
      He talks too much.

(175) *Gaari budaay=budaay=mana-ayi*
      NOT   eat+DER=eat+DER=INCHO-IMP(=CAUS-REF+IMP)
      Don't be eating all the time!

The same reduplicated forms occur with *magu* 'before' in a
meaning like that of the 'before' inflection.

(176) *Magu dudaay=dudaay garrba-la*
      before run+DER=run+DER grab-IMP
      Grab [him] before he runs!

I have no explanation, however, for the form of the reflex-
ive-only verb *badha-dhi* shown in the following:

(177) *Magu badhaaynh=badhaanh gunbu   nyulu walanggar*
      before finish=finish   dance+ABS 3sg   death adder+ABS
      wanydyi dhada-y
      rise+PAST go-PAST.
      Just before the dance came to an end, Death Adder got up and
      left. (Death Adder was going to hide before the dancers left
      the ground so that he could see where they went.)

No other similar examples of reduplication with the suffix
-*:nh* are known.

4. SYNTAX

4.1 SIMPLE SENTENCES

A simple Guugu Yimidhirr sentence consists of a verb
and one or more NPs (noun phrases) that occupy specific fun-
ctions or roles in relation to the verb. Intransitive verbs
require a subject NP (an NP in S function); transitive verbs
require one NP as subject (in function A) and another as
object (function O). NPs in these three functions are mar-
ked in a sentence by bearing case inflection: personal pro-
nouns in S and A function are Nominative, and in O function
are Accusative; all other nominal expressions have Absolutive
case for S and O functions, and Ergative case for A function.
Generally word order within a sentence is very free, and
different parts of a noun phrase can be spread around a
sentence; therefore, the case affixes on constituents of NPs
signal the different syntactic roles of the sentence.

There is, however, an unmarked normal word order for
intransitive and transitive simple sentences, as follows:

Intransitive:	S	Verb
Transitive:	A	O	Verb

The first pattern may be seen in (33) and (60) and the sec-
ond pattern may be seen in (6-8).

Although NPs in S, A and O functions may be deleted in
ordinary conversational utterances, they are nonetheless ob-
ligatory in the sense that they can only be omitted when
they are implicitly 'understood' in the context of the utter-
ance. In the absence of such a context, it is not possible
to utter a string composed of, say, a nominative personal
pronoun and a transitive verb, with no object:

(178) ??*Nyulu   gunda-y.*
      3sg+NOM hit-PAST
      She hit.

The verb *gundal* 'hit' is, as it were, incomplete without an
object. Only in a context in which the O NP can be supplied
does a sentence like (178) become appropriate; for example
if (178) were uttered after (33) it would be possible to
understand the pronoun *nyulu* of (178) as 'the woman', and to
supply as implicit object for the verb 'hit' the 'dog' men-
tioned in (33).

(179) *Gudaa   ngaanhdhu-wi biini.   Nyulu   gunda-y*
      dog+ABS woman-GEN+ABS die+PAST 3sg+NOM hit-PAST
      The woman's dog died; she hit [i.e. killed] [it].

Thus S, A, and O NPs are obligatory in the sense that an in-
transitive verb is *incomplete* without a subject, and a trans-
itive verb is similarly incomplete without both subject and
object.

Transitivity is both a syntactic and a semantic matter.
For example, whereas English uses the single verb *break* both
transitively and intransitively (*The toy broke* and *The child
broke the toy*) Guugu Yimidhirr has distinct transitive and
intransitive roots for 'break'. *Gada=bal* is intransitive, and
dumbil is transitive. The former verb requires only an NP
in S function (denoting the thing that gets broken); the
latter requires an O NP (the thing broken), and an A NP (the
person or creature that does the breaking).

(180) *Warrbi   gada=ba-dhi*
      tommyhawk+ABS break-PAST
      The tommyhawk got broken.

(181) *Nyulu   bidha-al   warrbi   dumbi*
      3sg+NOM child-ERG tommyhawk+ABS break+PAST
      The child broke the tommyhawk.

Simple sentences may also have additional NPs with var-
ious case inflections; individual verbs may, in fact, ordin-
arily 'govern' cases other than the central syntactic cases.
For example, a verb like *wu-maa* 'give' normally presupposes
a Dative NP (the beneficiary of the act of giving); or, a
verb like *miirriil* 'tell, show' usually occurs with an
Adessive NP that denotes the person to whom something is

told or shown. Such additional NPs are *extensions* of the
sentence beyond the nucleus of verb and S or A and O NPs;
extensions beyond these nuclear NPs are treated in 4.1.4
below.

4.1.1 NOUN PHRASES. A noun phrase may include several parts,
but it is the NP as a whole which has a function in a Guugu
Yimidhirr sentence; accordingly the entire NP attracts case
inflection. However, it is not always necessary for every
part of an NP to have an explicit case affix; in particular,
if a noun is immediately followed by a modifying adjective,
numeral, or genitive expression (within the same larger NP)
often the bare noun stem appears, and the case inflection
for the whole NP is found only on the modifier (see (34),
(35) and (37) above). The noun *may* also be fully inflected.

(182) *Nhanu-umu-n   gudaa-ngun warrga-al nganhi dyinda-y.*
      2sg+GEN-*mu*-ERG dog-ERG   big-ERG   1sg+ACC bite-PAST
      Your big dog bit me.

In (182) the A NP as a whole must bear Ergative inflection,
and, in fact, each constituent part – a genitive expression,
the head noun, and a modifying adjective – all have explicit
ergative suffixes. In (187-8) and (190) an NP-initial head
noun is uninflected and the succeeding adjective, numeral,
or genitive expression bears the case suffix.

A noun phrase may include:

(a) a specific noun, e.g., *yarrga* 'boy', *galga* 'spear',
babadha 'bloodwood tree'.

(b) a proper name, e.g., *Bili* 'Billy', *Daagda* 'The Doctor',
Muundu, *Dyaagi* 'Jack', etc.

(c) a personal pronoun (see 3.3.1).

(d) a generic noun – one of a limited set of nouns that de-
note large classes of things; the commonly used generic
nouns are: *mayi* 'vegetable food', *minha* 'edible meat', *mula*
'honey or bee', *yugu* 'tree, useful wood', *guudyu* 'fish', and
galga 'spear'. A generic noun usually precedes the specific
noun it encompasses.

(183) *Yugu   biniirr   yiwa-rra!*
      tree+ABS ironbark+ABS search-IMP
      Look for an ironbark tree!

Sometimes the generic noun will follow the particular noun,
especially in an utterance like (184) which identifies a
plant by its specific name, and then appends the information
that it is edible.

(184) *Ngali   nhayun dabunh   dyininaarnda-l   mayi.*
      1du+NOM that+ABS 'bush mango'+ABS call+REDUP-NONPAST food+ABS
      We call that *'dabunh'* – it's edible. Or: We call that edible
      plant *'dabunh'*.

(e) a genitive qualifier. A possessive expression *always*
bears case inflection agreeing with the case of the entire
NP of which it is a part, and it may precede or follow the
noun it modifies. (Or, as in (36), it may function as the
entire NP when the head noun is understood from context.)

And we have seen the possibility of a 'possessor of a poss-
essor' construction, as in (42).

(f) an inalienably possessed part. Inalienable possession
requires no special inflection on part or whole (possession
or possessor); both words merely appear together, the part
usually following directly on the whole. (See (39-41).)
Occasionally, especially when the possessor is a pronoun, the
part may come first; this is the case in the next example,
in which the part is Absolutive, but the pronoun Accusative:

(185) *Dyidyi-inda ngaabaay nganhi   baga-y*
      bird-ERG   head+ABS 1sg+ACC dig-PAST
      The bird pecked me on the head.

(g) one or more adjectives or adjectival modifiers. Adjec-
tives normally follow the nouns they modify; they are always
inflected for case (although frequently the preceding head
noun will appear uninflected).

(186) *Nyulu   biini   buarraay gaga-nganh.*
      3sg+NOM die+PAST water-   poison-CAU
      He died from [drinking] poison water [i.e., grog].

(187) *Nambal warrga-al dyaarba   baydya-rrin nyulu.*
      rock- big-INST snake+ABS cover-PAST 3sg+NOM
      He crushed the snake with a large stone.

Numerals in Guugu Yimidhirr modify nouns in the same way as
adjectives; they, too, are always inflected for case, even
when the immediately preceding head noun is not marked.
See (155).

(188) *Bula   dyiiral gudhiirra-mu-n yarrba gurra-y: 'Ma, ngali*
      3du+NOM wife-   two-*mu*-ERG   thus   say-PAST come 1du+NOM
      dhada-a!'
      go-NONPAST
      The two wives spoke thus: 'Come, we'll go!'

An adjective can even modify a personal pronoun, as in the
following sentence where the pronoun in A function is in
Nominative case, whereas the modifying adjective is in Erga-
tive case.

(189) *Ngayu warrga-al-gu mulban.gu nhaamaalma.*
      1sg+NOM big-ERG-*gu* clearly see+REDUP+NONPAST
      [Now that I am] full grown [literally, big] I see clearly [i.e.,
      I understand how things are].

(190) *Nyulu biiba Dyaagi-iga-mu-n   binal-ing-gu bama   daama-y.*
      3sg+NOM father- Jack-GEN-*mu*-ERG know-ERG-*gu* man+ABS spear-PAST
      Jack's father knowingly [i.e., on purpose] speared a man.

Comitative constructions (see 3.2.3[c]), which have been de-
scribed as adjective-like, also modify nouns within NPs, and
must bear appropriate case inflection. (See (45) and (48-50).)

(h) a deictic. Deictic words are always inflected (see
3.3.3) to agree in case with the NP of which they are a part.
(107) has, for example, an A NP that consists of a personal
pronoun (in Nominative case) and a deictic (in Ergative case).

(i) Finally, a NP can include a noun from the set of logical
or quantifying words, which includes such roots as *wulbu* 'all',

yindu 'a different one', *mundal* 'the rest, some, the remainder'. For the inflectional forms of *wulbu* and *yindu* see 3.2.3[d]; a sentence with an adessive form *yindu* is at (54).

(191) *Dhana   wulbu-umu-n minha   girrbadhi bidaara-y*
    3pl+NOM all-*mu*-ERG meat+ABS dugong+ABS harpoon+REDUP-PAST
    dyiirraayng-gurr-nda.
    old man-PLU-ERG.
    All the old men used to harpoon dugong.

(191) has the typical form of a transitive sentence, except that the A function NP has been broken into two parts, the A NP is

$$\begin{bmatrix} dhana\ wulbu\ dyiirraaynggurr \\ they\ all\ old\ men \end{bmatrix}_{NP}$$ (=Personal Pronoun/Quant/Specific Noun)

put into the appropriate inflection for an A function NP; the O NP is

$$\begin{bmatrix} minha\ girrbadhi \\ meat\ dugong \end{bmatrix}$$ (=generic/specific)

in Absolutive case, as befits nouns in O function.

The possible constituents of a noun phrase may be put together in various ways. First, if the referent of the noun phrase is an animate being, especially a human (or a group of human beings), it is normal for the whole NP to begin with the appropriate personal pronoun, *whether or not* there are any other constituents. That is, the norm arrangement for an NP that refers to a human is:

$$\begin{bmatrix} Personal\ Pronoun\ X \end{bmatrix}_{NP}$$

where X represents the remaining constituents of the NP, if any. Not all animate NPs are thus adjoined to a personal pronoun, but most animate NPs in A, S or O function are.

The remainder X (which may constitute the entire NP if there is no personal pronoun adjoined, or if the referent of the NP is inanimate – in which case no pronoun is possible) may appear in one continuous string, or its parts may be distributed throughout the sentence. In the former case, there is a preferred order for the central constituents of the NP as follows:

    (1) generic noun (if any)
    (2) specific noun (or proper name)
    (3) inalienably possessed part (if any)
    (4) adjective (including numeral)

A genitive qualifier, a logical or quantifying modifier, or a deictic may come either at the beginning or the end of this core, though there seems to be a preference for genitive qualifiers to follow the head noun (the most specific noun of (1)-(3)) and for deictics to precede it.

A common stylistic device with an animate NP in A, S or O function leaves a pronominal trace, in the proper case, in preferred sentence position for the NP's function, with the fully inflected noun elsewhere in the sentence, frequen-

tly at the end. (191) is an illustration. Here is another instance:

(192) *Nhayun   bidha   bula   biiba   nhangu-mu-gal   dubi*
    that+ABS child+ABS 3du+NOM father- 3sg+GEN-*mu*-ADES leave+PAST
    waarigan-gal
    Moon-ADES
    The two of them left that child with his father Moon. (Moon's wives leave their child in his care while they go hunting.)

Here the Adessive NP has constituents

$$\begin{bmatrix} biiba\ nhangu\ waarigan \\ father\ his\ \ \ \ Moon \end{bmatrix}_{NP}$$

which are inflected and distributed in the sentence.

An NP may refer to a set (of people, of objects) which may be greater than the individual constituents of the NP. For example, an NP may denote the speaker and one other person, and hence consist of the pronoun *ngaliinh* and the name of the other person, as in

(193) *Ngaliinh   Dyaagi-ngun gambarr   balga-y*
    1duexc+NOM Jack-ERG   pitch+ABS make-PAST
    Jack and I made the pitch.

Or consider:

(194) *Bula   ngadhu   yumurr   yuwal-inh dhada-y*
    3du+NOM 1sg+GEN+ABS. child+ABS beach-ALL go-PAST
    Those two – my son included – went to the beach.

4.1.2 VERBS - SYNTACTIC TYPES. Most intransitive verbs require a single NP subject; personal pronoun constituents of this NP will receive Nominative inflection, and other constituents will be marked by Absolutive. Reflexive forms normally follow exactly this pattern, acting syntactically just like ordinary intransitive verbs. However, there is also a distinct pattern for some reflexive verbs in some contexts, and also for just one non-reflexive (apparently) intransitive verb *yaadyil* 'burn, be burned'. Under this pattern, there is still a single subject NP; however, a pronominal constituent of this NP will receive *Accusative* marking (normally appropriate for pronouns in O function), while other constituents take Absolutive form. This pattern of case marking with reflexive forms is explored further in 4.3 below. Here we shall consider the syntactic properties of the verb *yaadyil*.

The Yidiny language (Dixon 1977:257-8) distinguishes two types of transitive verb. The majority of transitive verbs 'expect an animate (normally human) agent, who controls and regulates the action'. But a very few transitive verbs, including the verb *guba-n* 'burn', require inanimate subjects. An appropriate subject for this verb might be the sun, or a torch; and though sentences occur with *guba-n*, an Absolutive noun object, and no explicit subject, Dixon considers that these are elliptical sentences 'with the ergative NP unstated (but potentially statable)'.

Guugu Yimidhirr *yaadyil*, however, behaves in most cases like an ordinary *intransitive* verb.

(195) *Yugu   yaadyi   yaadyi   guwa-alu buli.*
tree+ABS burn+PAST burn+PAST west-ALL fall-PAST
The tree burned and burned and fell down to the West.

A pronominal subject normally receives *Nominative* inflection, even if there is an instrumental NP.

(196) *Nyundu gaari yaadyi-la!*
2sg+NOM NOT burn-IMP
Don't get burned! Don't burn yourself!

(197) *Ngayu   wulungguar-inh yaadyi.*
1sg+NOM flames-INST   burn+PAST
I got burned on the flames; I burned myself on/with/from the flames.

And often a seemingly potential inanimate subject (or instrument) does not receive Ergative or Instrumental inflection.

(198) *Gama ngalan-bi yaadyi-la dhudaan.*
let sun-DAT burn-IMP road+ABS
Let the road burn [i.e., dry out] in the sun! (I.e., I hope the road dries in the sun.)

Nonetheless, sentences do occur in which there are an inanimate NP in Ergative/Instrumental case, and a personal pronoun in Accusative case with *yaadyil*, as in:

(199) *Dyuugaar minhdhiil-nda nganhi dhamal yaadyi.*
sand-   hot-INST   1sg+ACC food+ABS burn+PAST
The hot sand burned my foot/my foot got burned by the hot sand.

Here it seems that *yaadyil* is acting like a transitive verb with an inanimate subject, like Yidiny *guba-n*. Is *yaadyi-l* (and are the reflexive verbs that behave in essentially similar ways) halfway between intransitive and transitive in syntactic type?

To give an explanation that anticipates later discussion (in 4.3) we recall Dixon's phrase about animate agents 'who control...and regulate...the action'. Surely part of the rationale behind ergative/absolutive marking for nouns and nominative/accusative marking for personal pronouns is this: personal pronouns denote humans, typical agents (who *can* control and regulate action), whereas many nouns denote inanimate objects - unlikely agents themselves but frequently the objects of 'control' and 'regulation' by animate agents. Thus the unmarked (Nominative) case for pronouns is appropriate for S and A functions, and the unmarked case for nouns (Absolutive) is appropriate for S and O functions. The marked cases (Ergative and Accusative) indicate the more striking situations in which nouns are agents (controlling and regulating other things) and in which pronouns are objects (themselves being controlled and regulated).

Now a verb like *yaadyil* (like most of the reflexive forms of transitive verbs) refers to something that can happen to both inanimate objects (like trees or roads, in (195) and (198)) and to people. But it can happen to people in the same way it happens to things - without their having any control over what happens to them (see (199) where the S

pronoun receives ACC inflection and the inalienably possesed body part ABS); or it can happen to people, as it were, with their collusion (as in (197) where the S pronoun is in NOM case). The full flavour of this sort of collusion may be seen in (196) which may be glossed: 'Don't let yourself get burned!'. Verbs of this sort occupy a middle ground between transitive verbs with animate agents and intransitive verbs that merely have subjects; we may say, provisionally, that *yaadyil* is intransitive in form but 'reflexive' in syntactic type. (For a discussion of 'split S' systems of syntactic marking, see Dixon 1979.)

4.1.3 VERB MODIFIERS. Associated with the verb in a simple sentence may be one or more adverbs. Most adverbs seem to be derived from adjectives with the suffix -:*gu/-:ygu* (see 3.2.4[b], (62), (63) and (189)). Adverbs are not, seemingly, formed from nouns, and a few words seem to modify verbs, without having any corresponding adjectival form: *mulban.gu* 'clearly, firmly, tight', *mumbaarrgu* 'firmly', *yarrbaarga* 'extremely, severely', *wali* 'all around, around, in every direction', *nyuunday=nyuunday* 'over and over', *ngan.gu* 'quickly'. Particles may also contribute aspectual or modal nuances to a verb: *nguba* 'perhaps' expresses doubt, *bira* 'certainly' certainty; *nhuumaar* expresses the regularity of action, *murrga* 'only' its uniqueness. And so on. (See 4.8.)

The 'resultative' adverbial forms in -:*ngaygu* (see 3.2.5, (70-2)) also modify verbs, though they presumably have a more complex origin. That is, in a sentence like (70) the word *dhuyu-ngaygu* presumably refers to the person who was hit, who as a result of hitting died. That is, it refers to the NP in O function (and not, say, to the NP in A function). Underlying a sentence like (70), then are sentences meaning: 'A hit B' and 'B was dead', which are combined into a single sentence (70), with the verb of the second sentence represented as the resultative adverbial *dhuyu-ngaygu*. See 4.4 with regard to subordinate constructions.

4.1.4 SYNTACTIC EXTENSIONS. Following Dixon (1977:258-268) we may consider simple sentences to consist of a nucleus - the verb and S, or A and O, NPs - and 'peripheral NPs, marked by either syntactic or local cases'. NPs marked by the various peripheral syntactic cases add additional participants or accessories to the nucleus of a sentence. The following extensions occur in Guugu Yimidhirr sentences:

[a] *Instrumental*. In 3.2.2[b] we saw that case suffixes for Ergative and Instrumental were identical. In a transitive sentence a nominal A NP will bear Ergative inflection; but an additional (usually inanimate) NP denoting a weapon, tool, or instrument used in performing the action may also occur, with an Ergative/Instrumental suffix. See, for example, (106), (151), (163), (187) and (199). Some inanimate things are, of course, more capable of initiating and controlling action than others; in some cases, then, an inanimate NP with ERG/INST inflection will seem more reasonably an Agent than an Instrument.

(200) *Daan.gay-il   birra   nubuun maa-ni   gaangga-wi*
     wind-ERG/INST leaf+ABS one+ABS take-PAST yam-GEN+ABS
     wuaydyu-rrin.
     blow-PAST
     The wind took one of the yam's leaves and blew [it] away.

In (200), whether or not *daan.gaay* 'wind' is considered (by
Guugu Yimidhirr speakers) to be animate or inanimate, the
wind seems to be the active agent in blowing the leaf, and
not the instrument by which some other agent manages to blow
it. Similarly, an NP composed of an animate noun and an in-
alienably possessed body part may receive ergative/instru-
mental inflection, where the animate noun is interpreted as
Agent and the body part interpreted as Instrument.

(201) *Dyidyi-inda gulgi-inh nganhi dhangu-rrin*
     bird-ERG   claw-INST 1sg+ACC scratch-PAST
     The bird scratched me with its claws.

The distinction between ERG and INST is, then, frequen-
tly unclear with ordinary transitive sentences. However,
there are two important syntactic differences between
Ergative A NPs and Instrumental extensions. First, in var-
ious reflexive constructions (see 4.3), what starts as an
ERG A NP in an active transitive sentence, becomes an ABS S
NP in the reflexive construction. But an INST NP can sur-
vive such a transformation unchanged. For example, compare
the following two sentences.

(202) *Nyulu   bidha-al gudaa wagi   naaybu-unh.*
     3sg+NOM child-ERG dog+ABS cut+PAST knife-INST
     The child cut the dog with a knife.

(203) *Bidha   nyulu-ugu wagi-idhi   naaybu-unh.*
     child+ABS 3sg+NOM-gu cut-REF+PAST knife-INST
     The child cut himself with a knife.

In the reflexive sentence, (203), the child who did the cut-
ting is represented by an S NP (with the noun in ABS case,
and the pronoun in NOM case), whereas the instrument still
bears INST inflection. (See the further discussion at
4.3.2.) Similarly, verbs using reflexive inflection to ex-
press generalized action (4.3.6) or 'anti-passive' (4.3.5),
must have S NPs with ABS (or, in the case of pronouns, NOM)
inflection; but they *may* occur with INST NPs as well.

(204) *Dhana   ngamu-gurra-aygu gunda-adhi   yugu-ngun.*
     3pl+NOM many+ABS-gu   hit-REF+PAST stick-INST
     The big mob of them had a fight with sticks.

We have already seen that a verb like *yaadyil* 'burn',
though behaving in most ways like an intransitive verb, oc-
casionally seems to occur with both an ACC pronoun and an NP
with ERG/INST inflection; this is the case, for example, in
(199). In most cases, however, the pattern of nominal and
pronominal case marking with *yaadyil* is like that with other
intransitive verbs: the S NP receives NOM inflection with
pronominal constituents and ABS inflection with nominal con-
stituents (see (195)-(198)). In either case, although an
ERG A NP is not possible with an intransitive verb, an INST
NP *is* possible:

(205) *Nhanu   miil   gaari wurrgaalga   ngalga-anda?*
     2sg+GEN+ABS eye+ABS NOT   suffer+REDUP+NONPAST smoke-INST
     Aren't your eyes suffering from the smoke?

In such a sentence it does not seem to be possible to inter-
pret *ngalgaanda* (from *ngalgal* 'smoke') as an A NP, and *nhanu
miil* as the O NP, since substituting a personal pronoun for
nhanu miil is possible only if the pronoun is in NOM, and not
ACC, case.

(206) { *Nyulu   gaari wurrgaalga   ngalga-anda?*
      3sg+NOM NOT   suffer+REDUP+NONPAST smoke-INST

      **Nhangu gaari wurrgaalga   ngalga-anda?*
      3sg+ACC NOT   suffer+REDUP+NONPAST smoke-INST
      Isn't he suffering from the smoke?

An explicit Agent could be incorporated into such a const-
ruction only with a derived Causative verb of the form
wurrgaay=ma-naa 'cause to suffer'.

(207) *Nhangu gaari wurrga-ay=ma-rraa!*
     3sg+ACC NOT   suffer-DER=CAUS-IMP
     Don't make him sore! Don't make him suffer!

Instrumental may thus be distinguished from Ergative on
the grounds that only Instrumental NPs can occur with intran-
sitive constructions. Notably, it is normal for an A NP,
marked with ergative, to denote an animate entity (capable
of being an agent), whereas an Instrument, marked with inst-
rumental case, is more likely to be some inanimate object;
the agent initiates and controls action, whereas the inst-
rument is only a passive tool employed by the agent. (An NP
may, of course, be indeterminate between an INST and an ERG
interpretation in a particular transitive sentence.)

And while it is possible for an intransitive verb to be
accompanied by an instrumental NP, frequently a Causal NP
will express a similar idea. Contrast the following alter-
nate versions.

(208) { *Ngayu   gaga=buli   ngalan-ngun*
      1sg+NOM sick=fall+PAST sun-INST

      Ngayu   gaga=buli   ngalan-nganh
      1sg+NOM sick=fall+PAST sun-CAU
      I fell sick because of/from the sun.

Here the second alternative seems to predominate (see the
following section).

(b) *Causal.* A Causal extension denotes the cause of the
action or state referred to in the verb; or it may indicate
the material from which something is made. See (186) and:

(209) *Nyulu   milbiir   biniirr-nganh balga-y*
     3sg+NOM wommera+ABS ironbark-CAU make-PAST
     He made the wommera from ironbark [wood].

In modern Hopevale speech the suffix *-nganh* which marks
Causal (and Ablative) NPs seems frequently to be replaced by
the Ergative/Instrumental suffix *-ngun* (although most people
will correct such usage if it is repeated back to them); it
may be that the suffixes (and hence the cases) are undergoing

a process of amalgamation; collapsing the two suffixes would result in little confusion where the ablative sense of *-nganh* is concerned. And there is clearly a close relationship between Causal and Instrumental. (In Yidiny, for example, Instrumental, not Causal, denotes the material from which something is made; see Dixon 1977:263.)

[c] *Abessive/Origin, -:ga.* As in (21-23), a noun phrase in Abessive case can denote action that leaves the conscious presence of an animate being, or that involves something that comes from a source: a one-time possessor, a place of origin. Unlike the plain ablative case which merely describes a location away from which action moves, the abessive normally marks a person with whom, say, interaction has been taking place, but whose company is now abandoned. Often ablative and abessive are both involved in a sentence, the ablative marking a place and the abessive marking the person who occupied the place:

(210) *Nyulu   duda-y   dhanaan-ga nangguar-nganh*
      3sg+NOM run-PAST 3pl-ABES   camp-ABL
      He ran away from them out of the camp.

Here the case usage suggests that it was because of the people that the subject ran away from the camp: he was not just running out of the camp, but he was actively getting *away from* them. An Abessive extension to a sentence may also suggest that the person denoted by the Abessive NP has been the Agent of some previous action, that relates to the present sentence.

(211) *Nyundu galga   wanhun-ga maa-ni?*
      2sg+NOM spear+ABS who-ABES get-PAST
      From whom did you get the spear? (I.e., who gave it to you?)

In (211) using the genitive pronoun *wanhun* in place of the Abessive would produce a sentence that meant: 'Whose spear did you get?' - not suggesting that the owner gave it to you, but only that it belongs to him. (Roth (1901a:16) declares that there are two possessive suffixes for Guugu Yimidhirr: 'when the article possessed is not in its real lawful owner's possession, *-ga*...when the article possessed is actually in its real lawful owner's possession: *-we* after a vowel, *-be* or *-e* after a consonant.' Roth is evidently describing what are here called Abessive and Genitive forms respectively.) Abessive marks a relationship that is in one sense the opposite of that marked by Dative (i.e., leaving someone's possession as opposed to entering it) and in another sense the opposite of Adessive (leaving someone's presence, control etc., as opposed to entering it).

[d] *Abessive, -:gal.* An adessive extension introduces an animate NP in whose presence the action of the verb takes place - someone who is or will be involved in the events portrayed. Examples may be found in (93), (108), (135), (192). Verbs of speaking, showing, and telling use an Adessive extension to mark the person to whom something is said, shown, etc. An Adessive NP marks a person who will be actively involved in the events portrayed in the sentence, or subsequent related events; a location marked with

Locative/Allative NP is neutral in this respect. Contrast:

(212) *Ngayu   biiba-agal dhada-a*
      1sg+NOM father-ADES go-NONPAST
      I'm going to [be with, see, talk with etc. my] father.

(213) *Ngayu   biiba-aga-m-i   dhada-a*
      1sg+NOM father-GEN-*mu*-ALL go-NONPAST
      I'm going to my father's [place] [whether or not I'll see him].

A sentence like

(214) *Gaangga birra   dharramali-gal buli*
      yam+ABS leaf+ABS Thunder-ADES fall+PAST
      The yam leaf fell at [i.e., in front of] Thunder.

suggests that Thunder (a mythic character) will not only notice the yam leaf that has come into his presence, but will probably act as a result of seeing it.

In reflexive sentences (4.3) an Adessive NP often refers to the perpetrator of some unintentional action; that is, it marks the underlying A NP of a transitive sentence.

[e] *Dative.* With certain transitive verbs, Dative indicates an indirect object, a third NP whose referent is the beneficiary of some act of giving (with verbs like *wu-maa* 'give' and *maandii* 'take, bring'); see (129) and (150). Such a context lends sense to the morphological equivalence between DAT and GEN+ABS inflection by showing the relationshp between recipient/beneficiary and possessor. In fact, simple sentences that express possession may be considered to involve a dative NP that stands for the possessor. There are two common constructions of this sort:

(i)   X+ABS Y+DAT   (expressing the proposition 'X is Y's').

and

(ii) X+ABS Y+DAT *wu-naa* (expressing the proposition 'Y has X' or 'Y's X exists').

Examples of the first sort are in (32), (35) and (89). An example of the second sort is (46); and consider the following sentence:

(215) *Nhanu-un-i   biiba-wi   yarraman wu-naa?*
      2sg+GEN-*mu*-DAT father-DAT horse+ABS exist-NONPAST
      Does your father have a horse?

The close semantic relationship between dative and genitive in such a sentence can be seen from the equivalence of two possible literal translations of (215): 'Does your father's horse exist?' or 'Does a horse exist to/for/of your father?'. And the morphological equivalence between DAT and GEN+ABS renders the following sentence ambiguous between a dative and a possessive reading:

(216) *Ngayu   galga   biiba-wi   maandi-i.*
      1sg+NOM spear+ABS father-{DAT   take-NONPAST
                             {GEN+ABS
      {I am taking the spear to father.
      {I am taking father's spear [to someone else].

Dative extensions can also have a wide range of oblique functions in a sentence, introducing NPs that are involved

in some way in the action or state denoted by the verb, but whose function is not subsumed under the more specific meanings of the other case extensions. See (108), (164), and (198). Here are some further examples:

(217) *Dhana   dhada-y birri-wi   dhamaal-bi.*
3pl+NOM go-PAST river-ALL foot-DAT
They went on foot to the river.

(218) *Nyulu   milga   ngalbu-rrin guudyu-wi.*
3sg+NOM ear+ABS close-PAST   fish-DAT
[Literally:] he closed his ear for fish. [I.e., he was completely absorbed in fishing.]

(219) *Dhana   yirrga-a   gulbu-ugyu milbi-wi.*
3pl+NOM talk-NONPAST together-*gu* story-DAT
They get together to have a yarn.

(220) *Ngayu   nhila badur-ay   dhada-a.*
1sg+NOM now   fishhook-DAT go-NONPAST
I'm going fishing [lit., for the fishhook] today.

(221) *Buurraay gaga-wi   ngaabaay warra=mana-adhi.*
water-   poison-DAT head+ABS bad=INCHO-REF+PAST
[He] got drunk [while drinking] liquor. (Literally: While drinking poison water [his] head became bad.)

Sometimes a Dative, rather than a Purposive extension indicates the specific goal or purpose of action; for example, the conventional way to express 'going fishing' uses the dative.

(222) *Gabiirr=gabiirr guudyu-wi dhadaara.*
girl=REDUP+ABS fish-DAT go+REDUP+NONPAST
The girls are going fishing.

Other kinds of hunting, however, regularly use Purposive extensions.

(223) *Yarrga-ngay bigibigi-ngu dhada-y.*
boy-PLU+ABS pig-PURP   go-PAST
The boys went out [hunting] for pig[s].

A few reflexive constructions use the dative to mark the underlying object of a transitive verb, as is the case with 'anti-passive' constructions in other Australian languages. (See 4.3.5.)

[f] *Purposive, -:ngu.* As in (223), a purposive extension marks an explicit goal or purpose that motivates the action of the verb. Purposive inflection can also mark something which inspires fear (see (91)) or which the speaker is warning about.

(224) *Wal-aa   dyaarba-angu dyinda-ya*
rise-IMP snake-PURP   bit-CAUT
Watch out for that snake - it might bite!

A purposive NP often indicates something that the subject of the verb is actively seeking.

(225) *Ngayu wawu   biini-i   buurraay-ngu*
1sg+NOM inside+ABS die-NONPAST water-PURP
[Literally:] my insides are dying for water, [i.e., I'm thirsty for water.]

In fact, a Purposive NP can occur without an explicit verb, as in (57) and

(226) *Ngayu   buurraay-ngu.*
1sg+NOM water-PURP
I'm after water; I want water; I've come for water.

Purposive extensions exactly parallel verbal Purposive complements, which use the verbal suffix *-nhu*. (See 3.4.3[d] above.) In fact, a Purposive extension can often be replaced by a purposive complement clause which itself contains the same NP. Compare (145), which has a purposive complement *gaanggaa baganhu* 'to dig yams', with the following example which contains a purposive NP.

(227) *Ngali   gaanga-angu dhada-a   gun.gun-bi.*
1du+NOM yam-PURP   go-NONPAST scrub-ALL
We'll go to the scrub for yams.

See 4.4 below.

Purposive NPs also mark the underlying objects of certain nominal and adjectival predicates which are transitive in meaning, although formally intransitive (in that they do not accept NPs in A or O functions); such predicates are *wawu(-dhirr)* 'want', *yinil* 'afraid of', *binaal* 'familiar with', etc. See 4.1.6.

[g] *Archaic purposive/dative: GOAL, -:ga.* Section 3.2.2[f] describes the so-called GOAL case which occurs in a limited number of expressions formed with the suffix *-:ga* which seem to have dative or purposive meaning. Roth (1901a:29-30) describes what seems to be this suffix as indicating (a) 'to, in, into, at' (b) 'after, for, on the look-out for, to hunt' and (c) 'for holding or containing'. Not all of Roth's examples seem to be acceptable to modern Guugu Yimidhirr speakers, who generally use Locative/Allative for (a), and Dative (which is morphologically identical to Locative/Allative) or Purposive for (b), and Purposive for (c). Nonetheless, isolated examples exist of expressions in which the suffix *-:ga* appears in Syntactic extensions to sentences with all of the meanings Roth gives; see (16)-(20). However, by no means all nouns can combine with *-:ga* to give a purposive/allative sense. One can say:

(228) *Ngayu   nangguurr-ga dhadaara.*
1sg+NOM camp-GOAL   go+REDUP+NONPAST
I'm going to[wards] camp.

But if the destination is home, the allative form seems, to modern speakers, much better:

(229) *Ngayu   [?bayan-ga] dhadaara.*
       [bayan-bi]
1sg+NOM house-ALL go+REDUP+NONPAST
I'm going to[wards] the house.

Younger speakers seem almost never to use the *-:ga* suffix in this way except in the indefinite/interrogative pronoun *wanhdhaalga* (as in (17)).

4.1.5 LOCAL AND TEMPORAL EXTENSIONS. Sentences whose verbs are inherently concerned with motion or position will normally include local extensions in locative/allative case (showing rest in or at some place or motion to it), in ablative case (indicating motion away from a place), or in superjacent case (showing rest or motion on or above something); see 3.2.2. Often a local extension will receive the post-inflectional suffix *-:gu* to show proximity: not *in* or *on* but *close* to, etc.

(230) *Bidha   bayan-bi-gu nhin.gaalngga-y.*
      child+ABS house-LOC-*gu* sit+REDUP-PAST
      The child was sitting near/by the house.

Explicit locational qualifiers (described in 3.4) can also be local extensions, often in combination with an NP bearing local case inflection.

(231) *Ngali   naga-alu dhadaara   yuwal-inh.*
      1du+NOM East-ALL go+REDUP+NONPAST beach-ALL
      We're going East to the Beach.

Verbs of perception and speech can also be accompanied by local extensions:

(232) *Nyulu   nhaamam wangga-amu-n   bada nhaa-dhi.*
      3sg+NOM that+ERG above-*mu*-ABL?/ERG? down see-PAST.
      He - that one - looked down from above. (Or: that one up above
      looked down.)

(In (232) nothing in the form of the word *wanggaamun* allows us to decide between the ablative and the ergative readings.)
     When the verb of a sentence is not inherently concerned with motion or rest, the sentence may have a local extension (in locative or superjacent case) describing the location at which the action takes place.

(233) *Biiba   nhangu   biini   Woorabinda.*
      father+ABS 3sg+GEN+ABS die+PAST Woorabinda(+LOC).
      His father died at Woorabinda.

Notably, it seems the rule that a local extension in such a sentence refers to the location (with respect to the action in question) of the S or the O NP, and not to that of the A NP. Thus the following sentence cannot mean 'I killed the game while *I* was on the tree.'.

(234) *Ngayu   yugu-wi minha   gunda-y.*
      1sg+NOM tree-LOC meat+ABS kill-PAST
      I killed the animal on the tree.

(234) must be read to mean that the animal (e.g., a bird) was on the tree when I killed it. To describe a situation in which *I* was on the tree and, for example, speared an animal which was on the ground, Guugu Yimidhirr would require either a circumlocution (with my location independently specified) or a subordinate construction of the sort described in 4.4.3.

(235) *Ngayu   yugu-wi   madha-adhi minha   daama-y.*
      1sg+NOM tree-LOC/ALL climb-PAST meat+ABS spear-PAST
      I climbed up the tree, [and I] speared the animal.

By contrast, a sentence like (234) is similar in meaning to

the following sentence which contains an explicit subordinate verb (of a type also described in 4.4.3).

(236) *Ngayu   yugu-wi nhin.gaalnggi-ga minha   gunda-y.*
      1sg+NOM tree-LOC sit+REDUP-SUB1   meat+ABS kill-PAST
      I killed the animal [while it was] sitting on the tree.

     Temporal extensions add information about the time when the action of a sentence takes place. (See (118)-(120).) Clock time is expressed with the word *ngalan* 'sun'.

(237) *Nyundu ngalan ngaanaa waarrba-aya?*
      2sg+NOM sun+ABS what+ABS return-REF+NONPAST
      What time are you going back?

One responds to such a question by saying something like *ngalan yarrba* 'sun there', and pointing to the appropriate section of the sky to show the sun's position at the time one plans to leave.

4.1.6 NOMINAL SENTENCES. Guugu Yimidhirr has no real copula, and equational sentences therefore have an explicit verb only when necessary to carry marked tense (see (250) below). In the NONPAST tense, then, such sentences have a subject (an NP inflected as in S function), followed by a nominal predicate which may consist of:

[a] *a noun in absolutive case (i.e., in uninflected form), sometimes with genitive or adjectival qualification.* Such sentences often have a deictic as subject, and serve to identify some entity.

(238) *Yii   mayi*
      this+ABS food+ABS
      This is food [i.e., this is edible].

(239) *Nyulu nhayun biiba   ngadhu.*
      3sg+NOM that+ABS father+ABS 1sg+GEN+ABS
      That one is my father.

[b] *a dative expression.* See 4.1.4[e] immediately above. Sentences like (32), (35), (42), (83) and (89) state some sort of possessive relationship between the S NP and the entity that the dative expression refers to. Notice that a sentence like (83) can have two interpretations; if the S NP is the entire expression *Yii bayan* 'this house', and the predicate is the dative expression *ngadhu-ugu* 'my own, to/for me alone' then the sentence means 'This house is mine'. The sentence would provide the information that this (particular) house was *mine*. Or, parsing the sentence according to the construction mentioned in [a] above, the S NP might be simply the deictic *Yii* 'this', the predicate would then be the entire NP *bayan ngadhu-ugu* 'my house', and the sentence would mean 'This [thing here] is *my* house. [I.e., it is not just a pile of sticks; or, it is the house that is all mine, not someone else's]'. The following sentence seems to be unambiguously a declaration of possession, in which the S NP is *galga yii* 'this spear' and the remainder is a Dative expression serving as a predicate.

(240) *Galga   yii   biiba   ngadhu-um-i.*
    spear+ABS this+ABS father- 1sg+GEN-*mu*-DAT
    This spear [belongs] to my father.

    (Compare sentence (146).)

[c] *an adjective.* See (39) and (69).

[d] *a noun with Abessive or Purposive inflection.* See sentences (23) and (57) respectively, as well as (226).

[e] *an adjective-like derived expression.* See (73-4), (77) (80), (169-70), and the discussion at 3.2.6[d].

[f] *a locational qualifier, of various sorts.* See (17), (58), (65), (102) and (115).

[g] *a comitative construction.* Some comitative (or privative) expressions are equivalent to simple adjectives and can stand alone as predicates; see (44), (45), (51-3), (61), (103) and (109). Frequently, however, a comitative construction expects a complement, which will take the Purposive case. The complement is very much like the object of a verb, especially in the case of such comitative predicates as *wawu-dhirr* 'want (literally, soul-with)'.

(241) *Ngayu   wawu-dhirr mayi-ingu*
    1sg+NOM 'want'   food-PURP
    I want food.

(242) *Bidha   dingga-dhirr minha-angu*
    child+ABS hungry-COM   meat-PURP
    The child is hungry for meat.

(Many modern Guugu Yimidhirr speakers leave a complement to the predicate *wawu-dhirr* - sometimes shortened to just *wawu* - in the Absolutive case, but this practice must certainly be regarded as innovative, possibly deriving from English.)

[h] *adjective plus purposive complement.* In a similar way, many adjectives normally expect complements, and these too have Purposive inflection.

(243) *Gamba-gamba nhayun yinil   dyaarba-angu*
    old woman+ABS that+ABS afraid+ABS snake-PURP
    That old lady is afraid of snakes.

Some adjectives and comitative constructions can also take full sentential complements, as in (103) or

(244) *Nyulu   wawu-dhirr-gu maana-adhi-nhu.*
    3sg+NOM soul-COM-*gu* get-REF-PURP
    He wants to get married.

[i] *body-part plus adjective.* Members of a special subset of the nominal sentences with adjective predicates have the overall form:

    Whole Part Adjective

in which the whole is usually a person, the part usually a metaphorically significant body-part word, and the adjective one which gives rise to body-part metaphor. Many human propensity and personality concepts are expressed in Guugu Yimidhirr in terms of physical properties ascribed to parts

of the body. For example, qualities associated with intelligence and perception are often connected with expressions about the ear (see (218)); strong emotion is often expressed with reference to *gambul* 'the stomach'; and *mangal* 'hand' has to do with industriousness, productivity, and generosity.

(245) *Nyulu   ngadhu   gaarga   mangal burrburr.*
    3sg+NOM 1sgGEN+ABS younger brother+ABS hand+ABS hard+ABS
    My brother is stingy [literally, my younger brother's hand is hard].

Because the body-part in question is inalienably possessed by the person, it is possible to treat the entire Body-part+ Adjective construction as the predicate in such nominal sentences.

[j] *walu 'like' plus noun.* The noun *walu* refers to the temples, the side of the face, and, by extension, to the sides of anything. (For example, an old-fashioned name for the cow is *walu yugu-dhirr*, literally, 'temple with stick (i.e., horn)'.) As a body-part, *walu* figures in nominal sentences of the sort described in the previous paragraph.

(246) *Nhayun   gabiirr walu   dabaar budhuun-gu*
    that+ABS girl+ABS face+ABS good   very-*gu*
    That girl is very pretty.

Walu also acts as a kind of preposition meaning 'like, resembling' preceding a noun or adjective.

(247) *Dyiiri   walu yarrba: walu mugu bidiga.*
    sky+ABS like thus   like seed tree species.
    Heaven is like this: it is like the seed of the *bidiga* tree.
    (From a recent local translation of Mark 4:31.)

(As the author understands it, Guugu Yimidhirr Lutherans considered the *bidiga*, a kind of native fig-tree that bears tiny fruit, but which grows to be an enormous tree, to be an appropriate equivalent for the plant in the 'mustard-seed' passage translated here.)

(248) *Dhana-ngan guugu   walu yindu-yindu.*
    3p1-GEN+ABS language+ABS like different.
    Their language is different (in many places)/seems different.

    Interrogative words, in various forms, can also function as predicates, as in (90), (97), (99), (102); and consider:

(249) *Nyundu ngaaniil-ngu wawu-dhirr?*
    2sg+NOM what-PURP   want-COM
    What do you want?

Nominal sentences usually have no verb; however, when they occur in other than the unmarked (non-past, noncontinuous) tense or aspect, they must have a dummy verb, or they must employ derived verbs, to carry the tense. *Wu-naa* 'lie, exist' usually acts as this dummy verb:

(250) *Gana-aygu ngayu   yinil   wu-nay,   nhila gaari, nhila*
    before-*gu* 1sg+NOM frightened 'be'-PAST, now   NOT   now
    murnda-mana-aadhi
    tame=CAUS-REF+PAST.
    Before I used to be afraid, but not now; now I have become brave ['tame'].

See (1.16), which may be analysed either as a verbal sentence with a locative extension, or as a nominal sentence with a locative predicate and the verb *nhin.gal* acting as a dummy verb to hold continuative aspect.

Older speakers criticise younger speakers for indiscriminately using *wu-naa* as a tense-carrying dummy verb, when the subjects of the nominal predicates involved do *not* actually *lie* but rather stand or sit. Hence, since a bullock does not normally sit or lie down, the following sentence, according to one knowledgeable Guugu Yimidhirr speaker, must have the verb *yuulili* 'standing', and not *wunaarnay* 'lying' or *nhin.gaalnggay* 'sitting'; this complaint may be a symptom of this speaker's proprietary feelings about the language, and it flies in the face of common usage in which the tense/aspect carrier is *just* a dummy, with no independent semantic content.

(251) *Buligi   nhayun   warra guli-dhirr yuulili   gana-aygu.*
      bullock+ABS that+ABS very anger-COM   stand+REDUP+PAST before-*gu*
      That bullock used to be very savage.

4.2 WORD-LEVEL DERIVATIONS.

In 3.2.6-7, and 3.5.5 we discussed the morphology of certain deverbal nouns and also the forms of causative and inchoative verbs formed from nouns, verbs, and adjectives. In this section we summarize the constructions that produce such derived words.

[a] *VP+ -baga, 'agentive'.* Transitive sentences are of the form:

$$\begin{bmatrix} NP_1 \end{bmatrix}_A \quad \begin{bmatrix} NP_2 \end{bmatrix}_O \quad TV$$

When a transitive verb has a conventionalized noun object (from NP_2), Guugu Yimidhirr speakers frequently form a nominal predicate (with the meaning 'X-er' where X is the verb) of the form

    object noun   verb root   =baga

The resulting expression functions as the predicate of a nominal sentence. (See (169)-(171).)

[b] *Causative constructions.* Nominal sentences whose predicates consist of adjectives or nouns mean something like 'S is P', where S is the subject NP and P is the predicate. Such sentences have the external form of intransitive sentences (i.e., there is a single S NP, inflected like the subject NP of any tense-bearing intransitive verb). We saw in the last section that such sentences can bear the full range of verbal inflection by utilizing a dummy verb, usually *wu-naa*. From a nominal sentence

$$\begin{bmatrix} NP_1 \end{bmatrix}_S \quad \begin{Bmatrix} Adj \\ Noun \end{Bmatrix}_{Pred} \quad (='S \text{ is } P')$$

it is usually possible, subject to semantic plausibility, to form a causative transitive sentence of the form

$$\begin{bmatrix} NP_2 \end{bmatrix}_A \quad \begin{bmatrix} NP_1 \end{bmatrix}_O \quad \begin{Bmatrix} Adj \\ Noun \end{Bmatrix} = gurral$$

which means 'X (=NP_2) causes S to be P'. Hence from (252) with an adjectival predicate, we can derive the causative transitive sentence (253).

(252) *Galga   yii   warra.*
      spear+ABS this+ABS bad.
      This spear is bad.

(253) *Bidha-al nyulu galga   yii   warraa=gura-y.*
      child-ERG 3sg+NOM spear+ABS this+ABS bad=CAUS-PAST
      The child ruined this spear.

Similarly, a sentence like (255) derives from a nominal sentence like (254) which has a purposive extension.

(254) *Nyulu   wangarr   guugu-ungu binaal.*
      3sg+NOM white man+ABS language-PURP knowing
      The white man knows the language.

(255) *Wanhdhu nhangu wangarr   guugu-ungu binaal=gura-y?*
      who+ERG 3sg+ACC white man+ABS language-PURP knowing=CAUS-PAST
      Who taught the white man the language?

The causative *gurral* can also apply to noun predicates, as in:

(256) *Mungurru-ngun   gabiirr dyiiraal=gura-y.*
      carpet snake-ERG girl+ABS wife=CAUS-PAST.
      Carpet snake made the girl his wife. [Carpet snake abducts the daughter of a spirit and takes her home against her will.]

A very similar process produces a causative transitive version of an intransitive sentence with an intransitive verb, but the causative verbalizer is the NA conjugation root =*ma-naa* (see 3.5.5). (172) and (173) show causative forms of the verbs in (257) and (258) respectively.

(257) *Bidha   daga-adhi   nambaal-bi.*
      child+ABS sit-REF+PAST rock-LOC.
      The child sat on the rock.

(258) *Ngayu   buli*
      1sg+NOM fall+PAST
      I fell.

[c] *Inchoative constructions.* Predicates of nominal sentences can be verbalized in another way; from a sentence 'S is P' can be derived the inchoative sentence 'S becomes/ comes to be P'. Two verbalizing suffixes attach to adjectives and noun predicates to form inchoative verb stems: the monosyllabic L conjugation verb *mal*, and the causativizing *ma-naa* with Reflexive inflection.

(259) *Galga   yii   warra* {*ma-dhi*
      spear+ABS this+ABS bad   INCHO-PAST
      This spear became bad.   *mana-adhi*
                                 CAUS-REF+PAST

(260) *Nyulu   wangarr   guugu-ungu   binaal=*
    3sg+NOM white man+ABS language-PURP knowing
    The white man will learn the language.

$$\begin{cases} \textit{ma-l} \\ \text{INCHO-NONPAST} \\ \textit{mana-aya} \\ \text{CAUS-REF+NONPAST} \end{cases}$$

The inchoative construction is also possible with nouns:

(261) *Dagu nyundu wanhdharra wuurruyu=ngaadhaarr=mana-adhi?*
    So   2sg+NOM how   curer=CAUS-REF+PAST
    So, how did you become a curer?

There seems to be no semantic difference between the *mal*
forms and those with *ma-naa+REF*. (R. Hershberger (n.d.:note
9) describes two clearly cognate inchoative verbalisers in
Gugu Yalandji and says, of the difference, 'the intransitive
verbalizer -*manadji*- seems to be most used when the action
indicated by the verb happens to, rather than by, the sub-
ject of the verb.') One difference in Guugu Yimidhirr has
to do with dialect: Coastal speakers favour inchoatives
with *mal* and Inland speakers use *ma-naa+REF* exclusively.
    Two other intransitive verb roots occasionally have
inchoative force, with two adjectives *guli* 'angry, full of
hate, savage' and *gaga* 'poison, sick'. In nominal sentences
these adjectives normally occur with the comitative suffix
-*dhirr*.

(262) *Nyulu   gaga-dhirr. Nyulu   guli-dhirr.*
    3sg+NOM sick-COM   3sg+NOM anger-COM
    He's sick. He's angry.

While inchoatives can be formed from the unsuffixed stems
plus *ma-naa+REF*, more frequently the inchoative forms are:

(263) *Nyulu   gaga=buli.   Nyulu   guli=gada-y.*
    3sg+NOM sick=fall+PAST 3sg+NOM angry=come-PAST.
    He fell sick. He got angry.

(It is possible, although there is no evidence to show it,
that the first example here is a borrowing from English
phraseology.)
    Inchoative constructions can also be based on body-
part metaphors of the sort described in the preceding
section.

(264) *Mangal gima=ma-la!*
    hand+ABS soft=INCHO-IMP
    Be generous! Become generous! (Literally, may your hand
     be soft!)

And inchoative forms are also used with cardinal-point roots
to describe motion in specific directions:

(265) *Naga=ma-la!   Guwa-guwa=mana-ayi.*
    east=INCHO-IMP west=REDUP=CAUS-REF+IMP
    Move to the East. Move slightly to the west.

[d]   *Loan-word constructions.* Nouns, and a few adjectives,
may be freely incorporated into Guugu Yimidhirr from
English by simple phonological alteration; we have already
seen numerous English names in Guugu Yimidhirr, as well as
the word *gilaadha* 'glass'. Verbs, however, do not enter
Guugu Yimidhirr freely; instead, English verbs undergo cer-

tain changes and then are incorporated as noun-like words
that require verbalization with causative or inchoative ver-
balisers. Generally, intransitive verbs from English are
borrowed directly, and occur with an inchoative verbaliser.

(266) *Nyulu   dhanaan binaal=gurra-y   work=madhi-nhu.*
    3sg+NOM 3plu+ACC knowing=CAUS-PAST 'work'=INCHO-PURP
    He taught them to work.

Transitive verbs are pidginized (roughly, by altering the
phonology and by adding the common Cape York Creole transi-
tive suffix -*im* (Crowley & Rigsby 1979)) and then incorporated
into Guugu Yimidhirr as noun-like words that require the
Causative verbalizer =*gurral*.

(267) *Nyulu   wangaarr-nda gaari mayi   wu-dhi,   nyulu*
    3sg+NOM white man ERG NOT   food+ABS give-PAST, 3sg+NOM
    sell=im=gurra-y
    'sell'=CAUS-PAST
    The white man didn't give the food away, he sold it.

Many younger people, who have very limited knowledge of
Creole and in fact are fluent in an English much closer to
standard Australian, often incorporate English transitive
verbs without the -*im* suffix, simply adding the causative
=*gurral*.

4.3 REFLEXIVE CONSTRUCTIONS

    The reflexive stem formed in Guugu Yimidhirr with the
suffix -*dhi* acts like an intransitive stem derived from a
transitive stem. What we here call the 'reflexive' suffix
-*dhi* is in many ways functionally parallel (and clearly cog-
nate) to the Gugu Yalandji 'passive' suffix -*dji* (R.
Hershberger 1964b:46-9), to the yidiny -:*dyi-n* which has
anti-passive and reflexive uses, among others (Dixon 1977:
273-293), and perhaps to the Dyaabugay 'mediopassive' -*yi*-
(K. Hale 1976c:238). All these suffixes derive an intran-
sitive verb stem from a transitive stem; and all involve
some deviations from the normal pattern of case marking on
the central NPs in sentences containing the derived verbs.
We call the derived forms 'reflexives' after what seems to
be the central and most common use of such verbs, although
the label should not obscure the fact that the -*dhi* suffix
has a wide range of uses.

4.3.1 REFLEXIVES AND RECIPROCALS.

As we have seen, (4.1,
4.1.2), a transitive verb has an animate A NP and a second
NP in O function; an intransitive verb has a S NP. In a
reflexive construction the entity referred to by the A NP
performs its actions on itself; if such an action were ex-
pressed by a normal transitive sentence (which it cannot be
in Guugu Yimidhirr), the A NP and the O NP would both refer
to the same thing. Instead, Guugu Yimidhirr expresses ac-
tions performed by agents on themselves by means of reflex-
ive verbs, with the agent/patient expressed in the S NP;
(162) and (163) express such reflexive actions. Often the
subject pronoun of a reflexive sentence receives the post-

inflectional suffix -:*gu* which emphasizes that the action was performed by and on that person himself. Compare the following question and answer dialogues:

(268) A: *Wanhdhu gudaa   nharu   gunda-y?*
       who+ERG dog+ABS 2sg+GEN+ABS hit-PAST
       Who hit your dog?

     B: *Ngayu-ugu   gunda-y.*
       1sg+NOM-*gu* hit-PAST
       I hit [him]. (I.e., I did it myself.)

(269) A: *Wanhdhu nhina   gunda-y?*
       who+ERG 2sg+ACC hit-PAST
       Who hit you?

     B: *Ngayu-ugu   gunda-adhi*
       1sg+NOM-*gu* hit-REF+PAST
       I hit myself. (I.e., I did it myself.)

Exactly the same construction expresses reciprocal action, which can be construed as a kind of generalized reflexive action performed by members of a group on other members of the same group, and vice versa. (167) is a reciprocal sentence of this sort, based on the transitive verb *munggil* 'beat up'.

(270) *Bula(-agu)   gunda-adhi.*
       3du+NOM (-*gu*) hit-REF+PAST
       The two of them hit each other (hit themselves).

The suffix -:*gu* strengthens the reflexive (as opposed to the reciprocal) reading of the verb in such a sentence. (It would also be possible to use an expression like *nubuun=nubuun-gu* 'one by one, each one at a time' to force a reflexive reading.) Compare the force of the suffix -:*gu* in the following non-reflexive cases (see 3.2.4, and 3.3.1):

(271) A: *Ngadhu   gudaa   gunda-la!*
       1sg+GEN+ABS dog+ABS hit-IMP
       Hit my dog!

     B: *Nyundu-ugu   gunda-la*
       2sg+NOM-*gu* hit-IMP
       Hit it yourself!

(272) *Ngadhu-ugu   gudaa   gunda-la.*
       1sg GEN ABS-*gu* dog ABS hit-IMP
       Hit *my* dog (and no one else's)!

When an agent does something to his or her own body – expressed usually by an inalienably possessed body part – Guugu Yimidhirr also uses a reflexive construction. (See (168).)

(273) *Nyulu   nhinhinhi yabarraban   nhawaay-gu   barrgaar*
       3sg+NOM groper+ABS gigantic+ABS there+LOC-*gu* mouth+ABS
       walnga-adhi   dhanaan dyuumbi
       open-REF+PAST 3pl+ACC swallow+PAST.
       The gigantic groper opened his mouth right there and swallowed them.

In all these reflexive and reciprocal constructions, the agent (denoted by the S NP) acts upon itself (or the agents

act on one another in the reciprocal case); and generally the action is intentional – it is 'controlled and regulated' by the agent, although self-directed. The S NP receives case marking like the S NP of any intransitive verb: personal pronouns take the Nominative case, and all other nominals receive Absolutive inflection.

Whether a reflexive verb form is interpreted as reflexive or reciprocal is influenced, as we have seen, by the presence of the suffix -:*gu* on the S NP, and also by the number of the S NP: a dual or plural subject suggests reciprocal rather than reflexive action. Similarly, a reduplicated verb stem, with reflexive inflection, also suggests reciprocal action.

(274) *Dhana   gundaarnda-ya.*
       3pl+NOM hit+REDUP-REF+NONPAST
       They're hitting each other.

Guugu Yimidhirr, like Yidiny (Dixon 1977:281), but unlike intervening Dyaabugay (Hale 1976c:238) and Gugu Yalandji (R. Hershberger 1964b:45-6), has no separate inflection for reciprocal. Reflexive (and reciprocal) meanings seem to be the first readings that Guugu Yimidhirr speakers will supply for a verb form with reflexive suffixes: these seem, then, to be the central meanings of the derivational affixes we have labelled 'reflexive'.

4.3.2 ACCIDENTS. Another common construction with reflexive verb stems describes actions that are accidental, unintentional results of purposive action, or results set in motion by inanimate entities (which are not capable of intention in the first place). Thus, for example, with the verb *wagil* 'cut' we can have intentional transitive action:

(275) *Nyundu minha   wagi   naaybu-unh.*
       2sg+NOM meat+ABS cut+PAST knife-INST
       You cut the meat with a knife.

And we can have reflexive action, exemplified by (160) which exhorts the addressee to exercise care so as not to cut himself. When things go wrong, however, someone may be cut by accident.

(276) *Nganhi wagi-idhi   naaybu-unh*
       1sg+ACC cut-REF+PAST knife-INST.
       I got cut on the knife.

Except for the reflexive form of the verb, this sentence looks morphologically like a transitive sentence, with an Accusative pronoun in O function, and an NP with ERG/INST inflection. An A NP is not possible with a reflexive verb (nor, indeed, with any intransitive verb), and thus the word *naaybu-unh* must be read as an instrumental extension: 'with the knife, by means of the knife'. (276) contrasts with two different sorts of sentence. For example, the following sentence implies that I took a knife and deliberately cut myself:

(277) *Ngayu wagi-idhi   naaybu-unh.*
       1sg+NOM cut-REF+PAST knife-INST
       I cut myself with a knife.

The only difference between (276) and (277) is the case of
the 'subject' pronoun, a difference that would be totally
obscured if there were a noun in S function. So for example,
(278) is ambiguous between two readings:

(278) *Dhana   yuuli   mangal   gunda-adhi*
      3pl+NOM stand+PAST hand+ABS hit-REF+PAST
      They stood up and hit their hands [i.e., clapped
         (intentionally)]. (Reflexive). OR: They stood up and
         bumped their hands [e.g., against something] (Accident)

Such an ambiguity can be resolved, syntactically, by the
form of a pronoun.

(279) *Ngayu   dhamal   daama-adhi   galga-anh.*
      1sg+NOM foot+ABS spear-REF+PAST spear-INST
      I speared myself in the foot with a spear (i.e., punishing
         myself).

(280) *Nganhi   dhamal   daama-adhi   galga-anh*
      1sg+ACC foot+ABS spear-REF+PAST spear-INST
      I got speared in the foot, accidentally, with a spear (e.g.,
         it fell out of a tree and got me on the foot).

Contrast both these sentences with the full transitive sen-
tence in which the A NP (some indefinite person) has been
deleted.

(281) *Nganhi   dhamal   daama-y   galga-anh*
      1sg+ACC foot+ABS spear-PAST spear-INST
      Somebody speared me in the foot, with a spear.

(Omitting an A NP, or using an indefinite pronoun in its
place, are both frequent devices to express indefinite
agents; see 3.3.2.)
     Sentence (276) also contrasts with a sentence with ac-
tive verb inflection.

(282) *Nganhi   wagi   bama-al.*
      1sg+ACC cut+PAST man-ERG
      The man cut me.

(282) is a normal transitive sentence, with an ERG A NP
bamaal; the sentence implies that the man actively and in-
tentionally, or otherwise through his own efforts and under
his control, cut me. Clearly, ordinarily only animate en-
tities can act as Agents in such actions; however, if an
inanimate entity does bring about some action, as it were,
under its own power, the verb of the sentence describing
such an event will be active and not reflexive. Consider
the following example:

(283) *Yugu   buli   buligi   baydya-rrin.*
      tree+ABS fall+PAST bullock+ABS cover-PAST
      The tree fell [and it] covered [i.e., crushed] the bullock.

The unstated but understood A NP of the second verb
baydyarrin 'covered' is the tree mentioned in the first
clause of (283). Notice that the form of the verb is ac-
tive, rather than reflexive, even though the A NP is inani-
mate. In a similar context we could presumably have a sen-
tence like (284), which would contrast with (276); imagine,
for example, that a knife that had been balanced on the edge

of a table fell and struck my foot. I might say (after say-
ing 'ouch!'):

(284) *Nganhi   wagi   naaybu-unh.*
      1sg+ACC cut+PAST knife-ERG
      The knife cut me.

I have, as it were, attributed some sort of activity (if not
malice) to the knife; now the suffix on *naaybuunh* may be an-
alysed as Ergative; and the verb is active rather than
reflexive.
     Sometimes accidental action is precipitated by an ani-
mate entity, which acted unintentionally. In such a case,
the actual but inadvertent agent can appear explicitly in a
sentence, with Adessive inflection.

(285) *Bigibigi-wi ngamba-aygu gunda-adhi   gudaa   ngadhun.gal*
      pig-DAT   unawares-*gu* kill-REF+PAST dog+ABS 1sg+ADES
      While hunting pigs, I accidentally killed [my] dog.

There is thus a structural resemblance, but an important se-
mantic difference with striking syntactic repercussions, be-
tween the following two sentences.

(286) *Ngayu   galga   nharu   dumbi.*
      1sg+NOM spear+ABS 2sg+GEN+ABS break+PAST
      I broke your spear [on purpose].

(287) *Ngadhun.gal galga   nharu   dumbi-idhi.*
      1sg+ADES   spear+ABS 2sg+GEN+ABS break-REF+PAST
      I broke your spear [by accident]. (Such a form of words also
         suggests the tone of an apology.)

     Consider, again, the verb *yaadyil* 'burn' (see 4.1.2
and 4.1.4[a] above). A sentence with *yaadyil* can have an S
pronoun in Accusative case, in a way that exactly parallels
the Accusative pronoun 'subjects' of reflexive verbs denot-
ing accidental action. (See (199).) Moreover, *yaadyil*,
and, indeed, many fully intransitive verbs, also allow Ag-
ents, marked by Adessive case, which unintentionally engin-
eer some action or result.

(288) *Nhina   yaadyi   ngadhun.gal*
      2sg+ACC burn+PAST 1sg+ADES
      You got burned and it was my fault (e.g., I spilled the boiling
         water on you).

And compare the following sentences:

(289) *Nhanu   minha   gundil   buli.*
      2sg+GEN+ABS meat+ABS egg+ABS fall+PAST
      Your (edible) egg fell [and presumably broke].

(290) *Ngayu   nhanu   minha   gundil   bulii-ma-ni.*
      1sg+NOM 2sg+GEN+ABS meat+ABS egg+ABS fall-CAUS-PAST
      I dropped [literally, caused to fall] your egg.

(291) *Nhanu   minha   gundil   buli   ngadhun.gal.*
      2sg+GEN+ABS meat+ABS egg+ABS fall+PAST 1sg+ADES
      I dropped your egg by accident.

(289) is a straightforward intransitive construction, and
(290) its causative counterpart. But whereas (290) could
hardly be used, for example, as an apology, (291) is tailor-

made for such a purpose since it emphasizes the accidental nature of the event, and my unintentional involvement in it.

Here, then, the use of reflexive inflection is one of a set of devices in Guugu Yimidhirr to show deviations from the canonical form of action (when an animate agent 'controls and regulates' action on some patient) - in this case, when action is not controlled or regulated but accidental.

(292) *Bidha   gaanga-adhi   naliin.gal guugu-unh*
child+ABS waken-REF+PAST 1du+ADES   speech-INST
We woke up the child by talking.

4.3.3 'REFLEXIVE-ONLY' VERBS. A 1700 root Guugu Yimidhirr vocabulary contains about twenty verb roots which occur *only* in reflexive form. Many of these verbs seem to denote actions which could have transitive counterparts (and, indeed, subject to the change of final stem vowel some doubtless are the reflexive counterparts of existing transitive verbs: see 3.5.4). Hence, there are such possible pairs as

REFLEXIVE ONLY	TRANSITIVE
daga- 'sit down'	*dagil* 'set down, build, erect'
miira- 'wave, show self'	*miirriil* 'show, tell' (an R conjugation verb)
maarra- 'hesitate, refuse, delay'	*maarril* 'deny (something), refuse to give (something)'

The question remains why other verbal concepts are expressed by reflexive-only verbs rather than by simple intransitives.

First, it is notable that other languages with syntactically important reflexive constructions have verbs that correspond to the Guugu Yimidhirr reflexive-only verbs that are also *reflexive in form*. Thus, for example, the Spanish equivalent of *daga-* 'sit down' is *sentarse* (literally, 'seat oneself'); or of *dumba-* 'get a fright' *asustarse* (literally, 'frighten oneself'). Here is a list of the known Guugu Yimidhirr reflexive-only verbs, arranged in rough categories.

a.	*daga-*	'sit down'
	miira-	'show self'
	maarra-	'refuse, hesitate'
b.	*buura-*	'get sore, feel sore, ache'
	buuangga-	'enter'
	dumba-	'get a shock, get a fright, start with fright, make self jump'
	madha-	'climb up'
	maanda-	'make a noise, make self visible by making noise'
	nyuuga-	'move, shift around restlessly, make self visible by moving'
	yiilba-	'share, split hunting catch'
	ngunda-	'masturbate'
c.	*badha-*	'be finished, come to an end'
	banda-	'explode'
	ganda-	'shine, be shining or glittering'
	minhdha-	'stick, adhere; keep company with'
	nhanda-	'finish, come to an end, cease to exist'

nhinda- 'bump against, knock against, bump together'
dharru- 'explode, burst'

Verbs in group (a) are plausibly related to full transitive verbs, with a shift of final stem vowel from *i* to *a*; that is, they may well arise by the normal process of reflexive-stem formation.

A notable feature of verbs in group (b) is this: all must have animate subjects (like transitive verbs), and all seem to involve an animate entity moving or manipulating its body, or otherwise acting on itself; that is, they involve inherently reflexive action, with animate agents. The one exception, *yiilba-* 'share' seems inherently reciprocal, and also requires an animate (and non-singular) agent.

(293) *Ngali   wadhin dhada-a   minha   daama-l   ngali*
1du+NOM hunting go-NONPAST meat+ABS spear-NONPAST 1du+NOM
yiilba-aya.
share-REF+NONPAST.
We'll go hunting and spear game and share [whatever we get].

That is, the meanings of all these verbs seem consistent with their treatment as reflexives, like those verbs discussed in 4.3.1 above.

Verbs in group (c) all seem to denote events that happen to inanimate objects (or to the bodies of animate entities) or conditions that characterize such objects. (Two verbs, *minhdha-* keep company with one another' and *nhinda-* 'bump against one another' can, in these senses, also be grouped with the other verbs of group (b) above.) From each of these verbs it is possible to form a transitive causative verb with -:*gurral*, meaning 'cause it to happen'. But in the reflexive form, each verb seems to denote something that happens to the object or objects in question, as it were, by itself, with no particular outside agency. (Compare Spanish *acabarse* 'be finished', *reventarse* 'explode', *lucirse* 'shine, sparkle', *pegarse* 'stick', and *encontrarse con* 'bump into' or *chocarse* 'collide' - all themselves reflexive in form.) The spontaneous sense of these verbs is illustrated in the following sentence, which uses *badha-* 'finish' both in reflexive and causative form.

(294) *Mayi   gaari badha-adhi,   nyundu-ugu badhaay=ma-ni.*
food+ABS NOT   finish-REF+PAST 2sg+NOM-*gu* finish=CAUS-PAST
The food isn't just finished [i.e., it didn't finish itself], *you* finished it!.

It may be possible, that is, to explain the reflexive-only form of such verbs by relating their meanings to the use of reflexive forms to describe actions performed *without* conscious outside agency (as in the use of reflexive to describe accidents, discussed in 4.3.2 above).

4.3.4 BODY-PART METAPHORS. We have seen that a reflexive verb is used when an animate entity performs some action on its own body. Body parts figure heavily in metaphorical expressions denoting personality, propensity, etc. and many expressions that in English take the form of adjectives, are in Guugu Yimidhirr of the form:

Person Body-part Reflexive Verb.

That is, they have a literal meaning: 'X Ys his Z' where Y is a transitive verb and Z is a body part. (There are other sorts of body-part expressions as well, that do not involve reflexive verbs.) For example, an expression parallel to the English 'swelled head' appears in the following sentence.

(295) *Nyulu   dhamu   yima-adhi.*
3sg+NOM chest+ABS expand-REF+PAST.
He puffed his chest [i.e., he acted proud, he put on airs].

And consider:

(296) *Bula   yaba=gaarga   gambul   yirnga-adhi*
3du+NOM older brother=younger brother- belly+ABS turn-REF+PAST.
The two brothers got quite envious [literally, they turned their bellies].

(The compound *yaba=gaarga* denotes an older brother/younger brother pair; similarly Guugu Yimidhirr has *gaanhaal=dyin.g-iar* 'sisters [literally, older sister=younger sister]' which refers to two sisters. Notably, the expressions *gami=biiba* 'grandfather=father' and *ngamu=biiba* 'mother=father' both mean 'a great many', as if the family could serve as a transparent metaphor for size or number.)

(297) *Ngayu   gambul   buda-adhi.*
1sg+NOM belly+ABS eat-REF+PAST
I got fed up [sick of it, bored]. (Literally, I ate my stomach.)

Because of the syntax of reflexives, although these expressions have the literal meanings of transitive sentences in which the person acts on his body part, they have the form of a simple complex predicate, which is combined with a subject NP much the way a nominal predicate or an intransitive verb is. That is, we can think of the entire complex expression *gambul yirngal*+REF as a frozen intransitive verb meaning 'get fed up, get bored', despite the actual underlying syntax. Here the syntax of inalienable possession, along with the form of reflexive constructions facilitates metaphorical expressions based on body parts.

4.3.5 ANTI-PASSIVES AND PASSIVES. Some of Guugu Yimidhirr's close neighbours, notably Yidiny (Dixon 1977:277-280), use a derivational process like reflexive stem formation to produce an intransitive sentence from a transitive sentence by: (1) converting the verb into a specially suffixed intransitive form; (2) putting the A NP into S function with the derived verb; and (3) putting the original O NP into some oblique case (often dative) in the derived intransitive sentence. Just as the passive, in a nominative/accusative system, converts a transitive sentence into an intransitive sentence with the accusative O NP serving as the S NP of the derived passive sentence, the process described here is called anti-passive because it changes a transitive sentence to an intransitive sentence in which the syntactically highly marked A NP of the original transitive clause appears as the unmarked S NP. There are usually good syntactic reasons for having such a derived intransitive; often the derived form is needed to allow embedding or coordination which depends on having identical S or O function NPs, when in the full

transitive form one NP is in A function. Forming the antipassive achieves the desired transformation of syntactic function and case inflection.

Guugu Yimidhirr has a construction which produces, with a few verbs, intransitive sentences which look just like antipassives, as described above. One such sentence is (164); another rather different example is the following:

(298) *Wudhurr   galbay   dhana   yarrga-ngay buurrany=gaga-wi*
night+ABS long+ABS 3pl+NOM boy-PLU+ABS water=poison-DAT
buda-adhi.
eat-REF+PAST
The boys drank booze all night long.

And consider:

(299) *Ngali   gadiil-dhirr ngali   garrgu galga-wi wuudha-aya.*
1du+NOM name-COM+ABS 1du+NOM later   spear-DAT give-REF+NONPAST
We are namesakes [literally, with name, i.e., share the same name], so by and by we will exchange spears.

In both these sentences, the verb is reflexive, the underlying agent is realized as an S NP (with nominative or absolutive inflection on pronominal and nominal constituents), and the underlying O NP bears dative inflection.

However, Guugu Yimidhirr does not have compelling syntactic reasons for an anti-passive construction. Despite the ergative/absolutive pattern of noun inflection, very few possibilities for coordination, subordination, or embedding depend on having coreferential NPs in S and O function (which would, for nouns, result in unmarked Absolutive case marking). In fact, with a few notable exceptions (see the discussion of subordination in 4.4 below) Guugu Yimidhirr links clauses which have common subjects - either transitive subjects (A function) or intransitive subjects (S function); moreover, Guugu Yimidhirr relies heavily on pronouns (which inflect on a nominative/accusative pattern) and deictics to keep referential identity and syntactic role clear. Referential prominence - the degree to which a NP is foregrounded as the topic of discourse - rather than syntactic role seems to decide how sentences will be linked together and what pronouns, deictics, etc. are required. (See 4.10 for notes on discourse.) Consider the following two sentences:

(300) *Nyulu   yarrga gada-y.*
3sg+NOM boy+ABS come-PAST
The boy came.

(301) *Nyulu   yarrga-a mayi   buda-y.*
3sg+NOM boy-ERG   food+ABS eat-PAST
The boy ate the food.

Even though the NP [*nyulu yarrga*] is in S function in (300) and A function in (301), and despite the fact that *yarrga-a* in (301) bears ergative inflection whereas *yarrga* in (300) is in absolutive form, there is no difficulty in conjoining these two sentences, in either order, and omitting the coreferential NP in the second clause.

(302) *Nyulu   yarrga gada-y   mayi   buda-y.*
3sgNOM boy+ABS come-PAST food+ABS eat-PAST.
The boy came and ate the food.

(303) *Nyulu   yarrga-a mayi   buda-y   (nyulu) gada-y*
      3sg+NOM boy-ERG food+ABS eat-PAST 3sg+NOM come-PAST.
      The boy ate the food and [then] (he) came.

(In (303) the second occurrence of *nyulu* is likely but not
absolutely necessary.) In languages like Dyirbal (Dixon
1972:65-79) and Yidiny (Dixon 1977:277-282, 388-392) such
coordination without anti-passivizing the transitive sentence
is impossible; whereas in Guugu Yimidhirr a sentence like
(302) has the character of a favourite construction. Of
course it is also possible to coordinate (300) with an 'anti-
passive' version of (301); but the resulting sentence is not
better than (249) - it merely means something different.

(304) *Nyulu   yarrga gada-y   mayi-wi buda-adhi.*
      3sg+NOM boy+ABS come-PAST food-DAT eat-REF+PAST.
      The boy came and had a good feed of food.

    In fact, there is no general 'anti-passive' construc-
tion in Guugu Yimidhirr, since most transitive verbs do not
allow a construction like those in (298) and (299). For ex-
ample, some verbs, when reflexivized have their 'underlying'
objects in Adessive case.

(305) *Nyulu   wangarr   maa-ni.*
      3sg+NOM white person+ABS get-PAST
      He married a white woman.

(306) *Nyulu   wangaarr-gal   maana-adhi.*
      3sg+NOM white person-ADES get-REF+PAST
      He got married with a white woman.

(307) *Nyulu   ngamu-ugu   gaymbaalmba-y.*
      3sg+NOM mother+ABS-gu curse+REDUP-PAST
      He was cursing his mother.

(308) *Nyulu   ngamu-ugal   gaymbaalmba-dhi.*
      3sg+NOM mother-ADES curse+REDUP-REF+PAST
      'He was cursing against his mother' (This is the original
      English gloss.)

(306) and (308) suggest that getting married (with Reflexive
form) and cursing (with Reflexive form) are just things one
does, or things that happen to one, which in some tangential
way involve others (and the Adessive NPs denote the others).
Another revealing example involves the following three
sentences.

(309) *Ngayu ngalgal dubi.*
      1sg+NOM smoke+ABS leave+PAST.
      I left my cigarettes/tobacco [literally, smoke]. (I.e., I didn't
      bring them.)

(310) *Ngadhu   ngalgal dubi-idhi.*
      1sg+GEN+ABS smoke+ABS leave-REF+PAST
      My smokes got left.(I.e., I forgot them, they were left by
      accident.)

(311) *Ngayu ngalgaal-ga(/-ngu) dubi-idhi*
      1sg+NOM smoke-GOAL(-PURP) leave-REF+PAST
      I left off smoking; I've given up smoking.

In all three sentences there is a different relationship be-

tween me, the cigarettes, and the act of leaving: in (309)
I leave them; in (310) they get left but I didn't (intent-
ionally) do it; in (311) I leave cigarettes, but for good,
in a more generalized way.

    If anything, Guugu Yimidhirr uses the derived reflexive
forms more as *passives* than as anti-passives; and this is in
keeping with the strong subject orientation of the syntax,
a nominative/accusative patterning despite ergative/absolut-
ive noun morphology. Consider for example the following
exhortation:

(312) *Dindal dubi-idhi-gamu.*
      quick leave-REF-PRECAUT.
      [Go] quickly before you get left!

Here the (implicit) subject is the 2nd person pronoun 'you';
but this implicit subject is the logical *object* of the verb
dubil 'leave' and the precautionary form urges the subject
not to be left behind; therefore, the verb must be put into
reflexive form so that its syntactic *subject* will match the
subject of the overall sentence. The unreflexivized sentence
would have quite a different meaning:

(313) *Dindal dubi-igamu.*
      quick leave-PRECAUT
      [Go] quickly before you leave [him behind]. (I.e., go and
      find him and take him - you might miss him.)

It would also be possible to have a sentence with an explicit
2sg+ACC pronoun, especially if the A NP of the verb *dubil* was
understood from previous context:

(314) *Dindal nhina   dubi-igamu.*
      quickly 2sg+ACC leave-PRECAUT
      Hurry before [he] leaves you!

    The concern in stringing clauses together in Guugu
Yimidhirr seems not simply to be keeping one subject through-
out a chain of clauses, whether they are transitive or int-
ransitive, but rather to keep the (potentially shifting)
topic of a clause or group of clauses clearly foregrounded.
Consider the following sequence of sentences:

(315) a. *Nyulu   warrbal yuba gada-y.*
         3sg+NOM Fog+ABS close come-PAST,
         Fog came close,

      b. *yugu   naga   daama-y.*
         tree+ABS on the East spear-PAST
         and speared the tree on the Eastern side.

      c. *Nhangu dharramali bunggu   gudhiirrigu daama-adhi*
         3sg+ACC Thunder+ABS knee+ABS two+ABS-gu spear-REF+PAST
         dhirrgal-i-gu
         right through
         Both Thunder's knees got speared right through,

      d. *yugu   guwa galmba daama-adhi.*
         tree+ABS West also spear-REF+PAST.
         and the tree on the West side also was speared.

Clauses (a) and (b) focus on Fog's approach and his act of
spearing - the first thing he aims for and spears is the

Eastern tree. Clauses (c) and (d) shift attention to the other things that are speared on the same throw, and the reflexive form of the verbs shifts attention away from the conscious act of spearing and onto the objects that are affected by the act. The reflexive form also suggests not that spearing Thunder and the other tree were unintentional acts, but that they were the consequences of the main act of spearing the first tree, with the spear plowing inexorably on through knees and another tree. See (285). The sense is much like this: 'Fog came and speared the first tree, spearing Thunder's knees and another tree in the bargain'.

The reflexive form seems not, then, to be strictly a syntactic device at all, but rather a kind of packaging device (I owe this expression to William Foley) which helps direct attention to the salient NPs in a bit of discourse, and to emphasize the nature of their involvement or participation in the actions: is an NP acting, or being acted upon, or both?

4.3.6 GENERALIZED ACTION. If there are no systematic syntactic reasons for an anti-passive construction, what then is the force of reflexive forms in sentences like (298) and (304), or (164) and (299), or again in (306), (308), and (311)?

A sentence like (299) clearly involves some sort of reciprocity but the precise conditions are different from those which obtain in straightforward reciprocal constructions (see (270),(274)). The verb *wu-maa* 'give' normally involves three distinct NPs: an animate NP in A function (the person who gives), an inanimate NP in O function (the thing that is given), and a second animate NP in 'indirect object' function, with Dative inflection. One way of viewing the act of giving is as a transaction from one person to another, with the object given merely the medium of the transaction. In (299) the reciprocity between givers and receivers is marked by reflexive form, and the objects involved - spears - are shown in an oblique case, peripheral to the reciprocal action which involves the animate actors. (In both (299) and (164) the word *galga-wi* can be replaced by *galga-angu* with Purposive inflection.) Another verb, *milbil* 'promise', shows even more clearly the sense in which an act of giving involves two animate entities, one giving (or in this case promising to give) to the other. A normal transitive sentence with *milbil* has an A NP (the promiser), an O NP (the person to whom a promise is given), and usually a further Instrumental NP (the thing promised).

(316) *Nyundu nganhi galga-anh milbi.*
　　　2sg+NOM 1sg+ACC spear-INST promise+PAST
　　　'You promised me with a spear' (English gloss offered; i.e., you promised to give me a spear.)

In reflexive form, *milbil* implies a mutual promise, or an agreement; the Purposive complement that accompanies a reflexive form of *milbil* shows what the agreement was about.

(317) *Ngulgu   ngali   milbi-idhi   wadhin dhada-nhu.*
　　　yesterday 1du+NOM promise-REF+PAST hunting go-PURP
　　　Yesterday we agreed to go hunting.

This example illustrates a general feature of reflexive verb stems: frequently, although a reflexive stem can be formed from a transitive verb for normal and systematic reasons (i.e., to describe reflexive or reciprocal action, or to characterize accidental action), the exact sense of a verb reflexive in form may well go beyond the normal, predictable reflexive meaning. Thus from transitive *milbil* 'promise' we have reflexive 'agree'; from transitive *ma-naa* 'get' we have a reflexive meaning 'be married, get married' (sentence (306)); from transitive *budal* 'eat' is derived a reflexive that means 'have a good feed, stuff oneself' (sentence (304)). And so on.

Even the seemingly straightforward *gundal* 'hit, kill' has a reflexive form whose meaning goes beyond the reflexive/reciprocal and accidental senses. (269), (270), and (274) illustrate reflexive and reciprocal uses of the verb, and (287) shows the 'accidental' sense of the reflexive form. However, the following sentence is also possible:

(318) *Nyulu   gunda-adhi*
　　　3sg+NOM hit-REF+PAST
　　　He had a fight; he was in a fight.

Here the reflexive form seems to suggest a generalized sort of action in which the person in question was a participant; but the sentence itself does not specify whether he was a hitter or a receiver of hits - only that hitting was going on and that he was involved.

The same sort of generalized action is depicted in (298) and (304), with the verb *budaadhi*. In both cases the food consumed is relegated to a peripheral NP in Dative case; the reflexive form of the normally transitive *budal* 'eat' is now an intransitive verb that depicts generalized eating (stuffing oneself, in fact), in which the participants are not specifically acting on some object but rather just participating in an eating event.

This, then, is a different sort of motivation for reflexive verb forms: to demote specific O NPs to the status of peripheral accessories to a generalized sort of action, in which the underlying A NPs are now participants, in S function. Thus, the reflexive form of *ma-naa* denotes the state of being married (and to whom one is married is not a central concern, see (306)); the reflexive of *gaymbal* 'swear at' denotes a particular kind of verbal behaviour, and the target of the verbal abuse is not particularly relevant to the activity (see (307)).

Notably, reflexive stem forms also occur with a few intransitive verbs; in each case, the meaning of the reflexive form derives from applying to the meaning of the original intransitive root the notion of reflexivity, reciprocity, accidental non-intentionality, or generalized action:

yirrgaa 'speak'	*yirrga-adhi* 'agree with one another; have a conversation'
barrbil 'camp overnight'	*barrbi-idhi* 'get married in the bush; i.e., sleep together illicitly in the scrub, away from camp'

daabal 'move about, wade'   *daaba-adhi* 'make involuntary motion; move or change position (inanimate object)'

gaawal 'sing out' (usually with an Adessive complement which denotes the person one calls to)   *gaawa-adhi* 'yell (in general), shout hoping for someone to hear'

nganggaa 'be unable to do something, be hesitant about something' (and the thing one can't do is usually expressed with a Purposive verb form)   *ngangga-adhi* 'be totally incompetent at everything'

4.3.7 SUMMARY OF REFLEXIVE USES. Guugu Yimidhirr transitive verbs all require animate A NPs, which refer to Agents who consciously control and regulate some action on some object. Reflexive forms arise when the circumstances of action do not conform to this transitive paradigm. We have distinguished several different such cases:

(1) When the A NP is also the O NP; that is, when an Agent acts on himself, or when several Agents act on one another;

(2) When there is no animate Agent, or when that Agent only accidentally acts;

(3) When the focus of a sentence promotes the object of action to a position of prominence, so that the sentence revolves around an entity and what happens to it (rather than on an Agent and what he or she does);

(4) And, finally, when the action in question is of a generalized nature, so that the focus of a sentence demotes the Agent from a transitive actor on objects to a participant in the generalized action.

The conditions for the regular use of *reflexive* verb forms fall into two categories - semantic and pragmatic. First, the nature of the action to be described (reflexive/reciprocal or accidental) affects the form of the resulting verb (cases (1) and (2), and, to some extent, case (3)). Second, when the referential emphasis of discourse leads attention away from an Agent towards an Object, a syntactic device (like the use of reflexive forms) may achieve the shift of focus from A NP to O NP.

4.4 SUBORDINATE STRUCTURES

There are three kinds of subordinate clause in Guugu Yimidhirr: Causal, Purposive, and Simultaneous Action clauses. Each type corresponds to a type of syntactic extension: a Causal clause to a Causal NP, and so on. Whereas Causal NPs or Purposive NPs relate the action of a verb to some cause, or purpose or goal, Causal and Purposive

clauses spell out these causes or purposes with full verbs. Similarly, just as some Dative NPs - especially when the noun in question denotes an *activity* - specify action simultaneous with the action of the main verb (see (218)-(219)), another sort of subordinate clause also specifies simultaneous action with an inflected verb.

4.4.1 PURPOSIVE CLAUSES. As we saw in section 4.1.4[f], purposive NPs are exactly parallel to subordinate clauses whose verbs have the purposive suffix *-nhu*. For example, (227), with a purposive NP, and (145) with a purposive subordinate clause, have otherwise very similar structures. Additionally, those adjectival or nominal predicates that take Purposive complements can usually also take Purposive clauses as complements. Thus, corresponding to (241) is

(319) *Ngayu   waru-dhirr   mayi   buda-nhu.*
      1sg+NOM want-COM+ABS food+ABS eat-PURP
      I want to eat food.

And compare (243), with the predicate *yinil* 'afraid', with

(320) *Nyulu   gaari yinil   dhada-nhu, nyulu   murnda   dhada-nhu.*
      3sg+NOM NOT   afraid+ABS go-PURP   3sg+NOM tame+ABS go-PURP
      He's not afraid to go; he is willing to go [literally, brave for going].

A subordinate *-nhu* clause need not share any NPs with the main clause to which it attaches, though there must be some logical relationship between the two clauses.

(321) *Nyulu   yugu   baawa-y   nyundu mayi   buda-nhu.*
      3sg+NOM fire+ABS light-PAST 2sg+NOM food+ABS eat-PURP
      She lit the fire *so that* you could eat food.

Similarly, with verbs of desire or commands:

(322) *Ngayu   waru-dhirr-gu nyundu   dhada-nhu.*
      1sg+NOM want-COM-*gu*   2sg+NOM go-PURP
      I want you to go.

However, it is more common for the two clauses to share NPs, and in certain situations, a coreferential NP in the subordinate clause will be omitted. Compare (322) with (319), in which the A NP of the verb *buda-nhu* is understood to be *ngayu*, the same as the S NP of the nominal predicate 'want'. (138), (145) and (320) all have the same sort of structure: the S NP in the intransitive main clause refers to the same entity as the S or A NP in the *-nhu* clause. In such cases, the S or A NP of the subordinate clause is omitted. This is true whether or not the S NP in the main intransitive clause is a pronoun or a noun (or, commonly, a noun with adjoined personal pronoun):

(323) *Nyulu   gabiirr   gada-almugu mayi   baawa-nhu*
      3sg+NOM girl+ABS come-PAST+NEG food+ABS cook-PURP
      The girl didn't come to cook the food [i.e., she was supposed to come but never showed up].

Notice that the A NP in the subordinate clause here would be of the form

nyulu   gabirr-inh
3sg+NOM girl-ERG

had it not been omitted - so the rule which deletes an NP in
A function in the subordinate clause is based on coreferent-
iality rather than on equal morphological form with the S
NP of the main clause. (What matters is that the same girl
who didn't come was supposed to cook the food, and the fact
that the word *gabiirr* is in Absolutive case in the main
clause and ergative in the subordinate clause does not af-
fect the deletion.)

If the S NP of an intransitive main clause is coreferen-
tial with the O NP of a subordinate *-nhu* clause, the O NP
seemingly may not be deleted. If the O NP is inanimate, the
entire NP must remain in the subordinate clause; if it is
animate, at least an accusative pronominal trace must be
left behind.

(324) *Nyundu   yuuli-i   dyiiral nhanu-umu-n   nhina   nhaadhi-nhu.*
      2sg+NOM stand-IMP wife-   2sg+GEN-*mu*-ERG 2sg+ACC see-PURP
      You stand up, so your wife [can] see you.

When the main clause is transitive, the treatment of
coreferential NPs is somewhat more complicated. When the
main and subordinate clauses share both A and O NPs, these
are both normally deleted from the *-nhu* clause.

(325) *Nyulu yarrga-ngun yugu   bandi   baawa-nhu.*
      3sg+NOM boy-ERG   tree+ABS chop+PAST burn-PURP
      The boy chopped [down] the tree in order to burn it.

(Whether or not we ultimately analyse such a sentence in
terms of deletion of NPs, it is clear that there are some
sorts of constraints on coreferentiality operating to insure
that a sentence like (325) is understood to mean that the
wood was to be burned, and that the boy intended to do it.)
Sometimes the verb with purposive inflection - all that re-
mains of the subordinate clause once A and O NPs have been
deleted - moves to an earlier position in the sentence.

(326) *Ngayu nhila dii   buda-nhu yirngaalnga-l*
      1sg+NOM now   tea+ABS eat-PURP turn+REDUP-NONPAST
      I am stirring the tea now so that I can drink it.

Similarly, when both main and subordinate clauses have the
same O NP, this is frequently omitted from the subordinate
clause, even when the A NPs differ between the two.

(327) *Guudyu yii ngayu   daana-y   nyundu buda-nhu*
      fish+ABS this 1sg+NOM spear-PAST 2sg+NOM eat-PURP
      I speared this fish for you to eat.

A verb of ordering (like *waadal* 'say', *gurral* 'say,
make', *dyiidyurr* 'order, instruct') in the main clause takes
as object the person who is ordered to do something; what
that person is ordered to do appears in a *-nhu* clause, whose
A or S NP is coreferential with the O NP, object of the main
verb. The A or S NP of the *-nhu* clause is deleted.

(328) *Ngayu nhangu bidha   waada-y dyaarba gunda-nhu.*
      1sg+NOM 3sg+ACC child+ABS tell-PAST snake+ABS kill-PURP
      I told the child to kill the snake.

TABLE 4.1 - *Deletion of coreferential NPs
in Purposive Subordinate Clauses*

Main Clause NP Function	Deleted NP in Subordinate *-nhu* Clause
S	A or S (not O)
A	A (not S)
O	O; sometimes S or A

Here is another example of a deleted S NP in a *-nhu* clause,
coreferential to the O NP in the main clause.

(329) *Nganhi dhana dubi   biini-nhu.*
      1sg+ACC 3pl+NOM leave+PAST die-PURP
      They left me to die.

Furthermore, an A NP in a *-nhu* clause coreferential to
the A NP in the main clause routinely is deleted.

(330) *Ngayu   buanday bandi-l   minha   gundil maani-nhu.*
      1sg+NOM notch+ABS cut-NONPAST meat+ABS egg+ABS get-PURP
      I'll cut notches [in the tree] to get the eggs. (Man cuts
      notches in a tree so that he can climb to get eggs from a
      nest.)

Sometimes an S NP in a *-nhu* clause coreferential to the A NP
of the main clause will be deleted, but ordinarily Guugu
Yimidhirr speakers will retain such an S NP.

(331) *Nyulu nambal yabarraban maandi   dagaadhi-nhu.*
      3sg+NOM rock+ABS gigantic+ABS bring+PAST sit-PURP
      He brought [up] a large rock for him to sit [down on].

But in

(332) *Ngayu nambuuarr balgaalga-l   ngayu   uuna-nhu.*
      1sg+NOM bed+ABS   make+REDUP-NONPAST 1sg+NOM lie down-PURP
      I am making a bed to sleep on [for me to sleep on].

the second occurrence of *ngayu* seems to resist deletion.
Table 4.1 summarizes the various possibilities for de-
letion of coreferential NPs in Purposive clauses.
Sentences (138), (145), and (319)-(320) illustrate what
is by far the most frequent configuration with purposive
subordinate clauses: the main clause is intransitive, and
its S NP is coreferential with the (deleted) S or A NP of the
subordinate *-nhu* clause. (Compare this construction with the
very common sequence of clauses sharing a common topic shown
in (302), and discussed in 4.3.5 and 4.10.) All other com-
binations of coreferential NPs in main and *-nhu* clauses are
relatively infrequent; the possibilities for deletion seem
to depend heavily on the meanings and contexts of such sen-
tences. Roughly, an A or an O NP common to both clauses may
be deleted from the subordinate clause. But sometimes the S
or A NP of the *-nhu* clause is coreferential with the O NP of
the main clause - a fact that suggests that an O NP is also
a potential candidate (along with the S or A NP) for being
the most prominent NP of a sentence, a possible *topic* for a
string of sentences. We shall return to this question in
4.4.3 and 4.10 below.

A purposive clause occasionally looks a bit like a kind of relative clause that describes what some object or person is good for or what it does. See, for example, (146). The following sentence (which comes from the same myth as (146)) makes more explicit the connections between the main clause and the *-nhu* clause that accompanies it.

(333) *Yii   ngadhu-un-i   biiba-wi   miil   bubu*
      this+ABS 1sg+GEN-*mu*-DAT father-DAT eye+ABS earth+ABS
      nhaadhiildhi-nhu miil-ngur
      see+REDUP-PURP   eye-INST
      These are my father's eyes, for him to see the earth with.

But it is equally possible to leave understood both the A NP of the *-nhu* clause (in these cases, the owner of the body part) and the instrumental NP denoting the body part itself.

(334) *Yii   ngadhu-un-i   biiba-wi   ngaaguul nganhi miida-nhu.*
      this+ABS 1sg+GEN-*mu*-DAT father-DAT arm+ABS 1sg+ACC lift-PURP
      This is my father's arm [for him] to lift me [with].

And it is also possible for the descriptive *-nhu* clause to replace the 'head' noun entirely, as in the following sentence (from the same story):

(335) *Yii   ngadhu-un-i   biiba-wi   mayi   budaa-nhu*
      this+ABS 1sg+GEN-*mu*-DAT father-DAT food+ABS eat+REDUP-PURP
      This is [what] my father [uses] for eating food [i.e., his mouth].

Purposive clauses anticipate future action: action that will follow that described in the main verb, or action that is intended to follow it. In a similar way, a purposive NP denotes an entity which will be the object of or be otherwise involved in some action subsequent to that of the verb. When I say 'I'm going for fish' I mean that after a while I will catch fish, or receive fish, etc. The subordinate structures considered in the next section are oriented to past action, and show the causal antecedents of the action denoted by the main verb.

4.4.2 CAUSAL CLAUSES. As we saw in 3.5.3[j], the verbal suffix *-:yga* seems to have three distinct uses. On an independent verb it marks perfective action, or remote past action (particularly appropriate, say, to mythological accounts); see (153-4). The suffix also marks subordinate clauses expressing action simultaneous with that of the main verb, under fairly restricted conditions of coreferentiality, as we shall see in the next section. But *-:yga* may be used to form a subordinate clause that indicates a causal antecedent to the main verb, much as a Causal NP with *-nganh* expresses cause or origin (see 4.4.4[b]). Examples are (156-7).

The correspondence between subordinate causal clauses with *-:yga* and causal NPs is apparent in the relationship between (186) and

(336) *Nyulu   biini   buwrraay gaga   buda-ayga.*
      3sg+NOM die+PAST water+ABS poison+ABS eat-SUB1
      He died from drinking grog.

Causal clauses relate to main clauses much as Purposive clauses do. Thus, for example, there need be no NP common

to both main and subordinate clause, if there is an appropriate logical interrelationship between the two.

(337) *Nhila=ngarraal-gu birri   warrga dudaara   ganbi*
      now=?-gu   river+ABS big+ABS run+REDUP+NONPAST blood+ABS
      nhangu   ngamu=ngaadhaarr-bi duda-ayga.
      3sg+GEN+ABS mother=dog-GEN+ABS run-SUB1.
      Nowadays a great river runs [there], as a result of the dingo's blood flowing. (From a story about a river formed where a giant dingo was killed in mythological times.)

But ordinarily main and Causal clause share NP(s), and the conditions which allow deletion of an NP coreferential to an earlier one are similar to those governing coreferential deletion on purposive clauses. There is, however, one additional possibility not seen with purposive clauses: it seems to be possible to delete an O NP in a causal clause when it is coreferential with the S NP of the main clause.

(338) *Ngayu   buli   yarraman-ngun dhaarrnga-ayga*
      1sg+NOM fall+PAST   horse-ERG   push-SUB1
      I fell because the horse pushed me.

(But compare (156), in which the O NP (an accusative pronoun) in the subordinate clause is not deleted despite its coreferentiality with the S NP of the main clause.)

In fact, the relationships of coreferentiality in these constructions are extremely varied. Consider the sentence

(339) *Nhangu   dyaarba-nganh maandi   dyinda-ayga.*
      3sg+ACC   snake-ABL   take+PAST bite-SUB1.
      [Somebody] took him away from the snake because [it] had bitten [him].

Here the evident A NP of the subordinate clause is coreferential to an ablative adjunct to the main clause; and the O NP is the same in both clauses (and notice the lack of an explicit A NP on the main verb *maandi* 'took'). It is an open question whether syntactic constraints on deletion or some pragmatically based canons of interpretation are more appropriate to explain a sentence like the following, which displays both purposive and causal subordinate clauses:

(340) *Nyulu   dhada-y gungga-alu nhangu   gunda-nhu nhangu   gaangga*
      3sg+NOM go-PAST north-ALL 3sg+ACC   kill-PURP 3sg+GEN+ABS yam+ABS
      baga-ayga.
      dig-SUB1
      He went North to kill him, for having dug up his yam.

Here it may be revealing to represent the three underlying clauses with indices on the noun phrases:

1. He_1 went North
2. He_1 will kill him_2.
3. He_2 dug his_1 yam up.

In subordinating clause 2 to clause 1, the S NP of clause 1 is coreferential to the A NP of clause 2 and (in typical fashion) the latter is deleted. In turn, clause 3 is subordinated to the resulting sentence, and now the A NP of clause 3, coreferential to the O NP of clause 2, is deleted. In the

resulting sentence, the reference of the non-deleted 3rd per-
son pronominal forms switches from person$_1$ (S function in
clause 1), to person$_2$ (O function in clause 2), and back to
person$_1$ again (genitive modifier to the O NP of clause 3).
All other pronouns are deleted.

A particularly interesting Causal clause shows how the
Causal suffix *-:yga* may be affixed to a verb which does not,
at first sight, seem to be the main verb of a clause.

(341) *Biiba-ngun nhangu diinga-y   nyulu wawu=murrgarra*
    father-ERG 3sg+ACC laugh at-PAST 3sg+NOM CAN'T
    galga-anh daama-ayga
    spear-INST spear-SUB1.
    [His] father laughed at him, because he couldn't spear with a
    spear.

The subordinate clause here means '[because]he couldn't
spear[things]with a spear'. There is no explicit O NP. Not-
ably, Causal marking can help clarify the structure of such
a clause: the main verb, which receives the suffix *-:yga*,
is the form of *daamal* 'to spear', and not *wawu=murrgarra*
'can't', which is revealed as a modal qualifier (see 4.8).

However, clauses with full nominal prediates *can* ap-
pear as causal subordinate clauses, with a dummy verb carry-
ing the suffix *-:yga*. The following example comes from a
Guugu Yimidhirr sermon describing the great Flood:

(342) *Ngayu dhula   warrga diiga-l   bubu-wi bama   wulbu*
    1sg+NOM flood+ABS big+ABS send-NONPAST land-ALL man+ABS all+ABS
    warraa=gurra-nhu, bama   milga-mul   nhin.gaalngg-iga.
    bad-CAUS-PURP   man+ABS ear-PRIV+ABS sit+REDUP-SUB1
    I will send a great flood to the earth to destroy all men,
    because men have been disobedient.

Here the privative form of *milga* 'ear' is a nominal predicate
meaning 'disobedient'; the reduplicated form of *nhin.gal*
'sit' is the dummy carrier of the subordinate suffix (as well
as the bearer of the aspectual information contained in the
reduplication).

The semantic and syntactic parallel between the Causal
verbal suffix *-:yga* and the nominal suffix *-nganh* becomes
even more striking when we consider that both kinds of
Causal marking can indicate both cause and priority in time.
Compare (13) with the following:

(343) *Ngayu dhada-a   mayi   buda-ayga*
    1sg+NOM go-NONPAST food+ABS eat-SUB1
    I will go after eating food.

Similarly, notice the structure and the first reading of
the following sentence; (the dog is unambiguously the entity
doing the eating).

(344) *Ngayu gudaa   gunda-y   mayi   buda-ayga.*
    1sg+NOM dog+ABS kill-PAST food+ABS eat-SUB1
    I killed the dog after/because it ate the food.

4.4.3 SIMULTANEOUS ACTION. Whereas purposive clauses de-
note actions which will follow (or are intended to follow)
the action of the main verb, and whereas causal clauses

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denote actions antecedent to the main clause, two further
subordinating suffixes mark verbs which depict action simul-
taneous to the main verb. And while the conditions of core-
ferentiality between main clauses and purposive or causal
clauses are relatively free, the syntactic functions of the
constituent NPs of simultaneous action clauses are central
to the choice between verb suffixes *-:yga* and *-nhun*.

A typical example of the SUB1 suffix *-:yga* marking
simultaneous actions is (157). A slightly more complicated
case is the following:

(345) *Nyulu   bidha   baadhiildhi-l   mayi   budaari-ga*
    3sg+NOM child+ABS cry+REDUP-NONPAST food+ABS eat+REDUP-SUB1
    yindu-umu-n nhangu dyiinbaalmba-y
    other-*mu*-ERG 3sg+ACC tease+REDUP-PAST
    The child is crying [because] another teased him while he was
    eating.

The suffix *-:yga* may be used to mark simultaneous action
precisely when the S or A NP of the subordinate clause is
coreferential with the NP in O function in the main clause;
and in such a case the S or A NP of the subordinate clause
is generally deleted. Occasionally, even the O NP of the
main clause does not appear, suggesting, as in examples we
have seen before, an indefinite sense.

(346) *Nyulu   nhaa-dhi mayi   nhangu   budaari-ga.*
    3sg+NOM see-PAST food+ABS 3sg+GEN+ABS eat+REDUP-SUB1
    He saw [someone] eating his food.

The vast majority of sentences with subordinate clauses
marking simultaneous action have a subordinate verb in re-
duplicated form (indicating, naturally enough, continuous
action). Moreover, the favourite form of this simultaneous
action construction uses *nhaa-maa* 'see' as the independent
verb, to produce a sentence that means 'X sees Y Z-ing'.

(347) *Nyulu   yugu-wi nhaa-dhi nhin.gaaln-gi-ga   nyulu*
    3sg+NOM tree-LOC see-PAST sit+REDUP-SUB1   3sg+NOM
    binaal-mul ngaanaa budhu.
    know-PRIV what+ABS INDEF
    He saw [something] sitting on a tree, [but] he didn't know
    what [it was].

However, there seems no reason in principle why any transit-
ive verb cannot serve as the verb in a main clause, or why a
non-reduplicated verb form cannot, when appropriate in mean-
ing, occur in a clause marking simultaneous action:

(348) *Dhanaan mundal   dyuumbi   gurbu   dumbiilmbi-ga*
    3pl+ACC others+ABS swallow+PAST dance+ABS break+REDUP-SUB1
    [The giant fish] swallowed the rest of them while they were
    dancing. [Literally, 'breaking the dance']

(349) *Ngayu bama   nhaadhi buligi   gundaarndi-ga.*
    1sg+NOM man+ABS see+PAST bullock+ABS big+REDUP-SUB1
    I saw a man beating the bullock.

(350) *Ngayu bama   nhaadhi buligi   gunda-ayga*
    1sg+NOM man+ABS see+PAST bullock+ABS kill-SUB1
    I saw a man kill the bullock [i.e., when he killed, who killed,
    the bullock].

In (348) the verb of the main clause is *dyuumbil* 'swallow',
rather than *nhaa-maa* 'see'. And in (350) the subordinate
verb of simultaneity is in non-reduplicated form - so that
the sentence suggests 'I saw the man at the moment that he
(finally managed to) kill the bullock' - a sentence whose
English gloss obscures the sense of simultaneity involved.

The strict conditions on the structure in which simul-
taneous *-:yga* can occur provide another sort of motivation
for the 'reflexive' *-dhi* forms discussed in 4.3.5 above. A
sentence containing a subordinate clause of simultaneous ac-
tion will have the form:

A NP   O NP$_1$ Transitive verb   A or S NP$_1$ Verb-SUB1

where the subscript shows that both NPs in question refer to
the same entity. There is, within this structure, no pro-
vision for a subordinate clause of simultaneity in which the
coreferential NP is in O function in the *-:yga* clause. So,
for example, there is no equivalent to (157), using a transi-
tive form of the subordinate verb, that means 'I saw the bull-
ock being beaten'. Such a sentence can, however, fairly ob-
viously be constructed to meet the structural conditions
described by using a *-dhi* form of the subordinate verb.

(351) *Ngayu   buligi   nhaa-dhi gundaarnda-dhi-ga.*
      1sg+NOM bullock+ABS see-PAST beat+REDUP-REF-SUB1
      I saw the bullock getting beaten.

The other systematic gap in the structure which admits
clauses of simultaneity derives from the fact that the S or
A NP of the subordinate clause must be coreferential with
the main clause O NP - something that would be impossible
when the main clause is intransitive, or when the linking NP
is in S or A function in the main clause. In such cases,
which seem to be relatively rare in Guugu Yimidhirr, the
subordinate clause uses the suffix *-nhun* to indicate simul-
taneity; see (158). Most subordinate clauses with *-nhun*
seem to be intransitive; most, in fact, involve verbs of
motion (or lack of it).

(352) *Ngayu   mayi   buda-y   gadaa-nhun*
      1sg+NOM food+ABS eat-PAST come(+REDUP)-SUB2
      I ate the food while (I was) coming

(Notice that the word *gadaanhun*, with a long middle vowel,
is equivalent to the full reduplicated form *gadaaranhun*;
see section 3.5.3[k].)

(353) *Dhana   ngudhu   nhaa-dhi miilu-wi yuulii-nhun*
      3pl+NOM games+ABS see-PAST shade-LOC stand+REDUP-SUB2
      They watched the games while (they were) standing in the shade.

However, it is possible for a subordinate clause of simul-
taneity to have a transitive verb.

(354) *Mayi   budaa-nhun   dhana bidhagurr wuurili-l*
      food-ABS eat+REDUP-SUB2 3pl+NOM child-PLU play+REDUP-NONPAST
      While (they are) eating food the children are playing.

Unlike the subordinate clauses with *-:yga*, clauses with *-nhun*
are relatively infrequent in current Guugu Yimidhirr;

speakers seem to prefer instead simply to coordinate (by con-
catenating) clauses denoting simultaneous occurrences:

(355) *Dhana   bidha-gurr   wuurili-l   mayi*
      3pl+NOM child-PLU+ABS play+REDUP-NONPAST food+ABS
      budaara-l.
      eat+REDUP-NONPAST
      The children are playing and eating food.

4.4.4 PAST AND FUTURE ACTION. We have seen that a purposive
clause is oriented to a time subsequent to that of the main
verb, and a causal clause to a time before that of the main
verb. It is natural, then, that when independent verbs have
either *-nhu* or *-:yga* suffixes, their meanings have affinities
with what we might call future (with overtones of intention,
desire, etc.) and past (with overtones of completion) respec-
tively; see (132).

(356) *Nyundu   dhada-nhu gan.gaarr?*
      2sg+NOM go-PURP   Cooktown+ALL
      Are you going/do you want to go to Cooktown?

And see again (153)-(154).

The suffix *-:yga* underscores the completion and factual-
ity of an event, especially in clauses which complement verbs
of telling or knowing. Contrast the following sentences:

(357) *Ngayu   binaal-mul wu-nay   nyulu   balga-adhi   (nguba gaari).*
      1sg+NOM know-PRIV lie-PAST 3sg+NOM make-REF+PAST PERHAPS NOT
      I didn't know if he was born (or not).

(358) *Ngayu   binaal-mul wu-nay   nyulu   balga-adhi-ga.*
      1sg+NOM know-PRIV lie-PAST 3sg+NOM make-REF-PERF
      I didn't know that he was born [and he was].

A sentential complement to a verb like *miirriil* 'tell, show'
uses Perfective *-:yga* evidently to emphasize factuality:

(359) *Gaari miirrii-lin bula   ngalbi-iga.*
      NOT   tell-PAST   3du+NOM steal-PERF
      [They] didn't say that they two had stolen [it]. (That is, they
      wouldn't admit it, but they *had* stolen it.)

A better understanding of these details must await further
research.

4.5 CONTRAFACTUAL CONSTRUCTIONS

Guugu Yimidhirr has several straightforward devices for
describing situations which do not obtain, i.e., for expres-
sing negation. We have already seen that the negative par-
ticle *gaari* 'not' immediately precedes a verb (as in (132),
(205)) - including an imperative (sentences (144), (160),
(207)) - or a nominal predicate:

(360) *Nhayun   gaari burrburr*
      that+ABS NOT   hard+ABS
      That's not strong.

In a sentence like (48), the negative particle seems to modi-
fy both the verb, and the positional modifier that immediate-
ly follows the particle; the same is true in

(361) *Ngayu   gurra-aygu gaari bada gada-a*
1sg+NOM again-*gu*   NOT   down come-NONPAST
I will not come down ever again. (The Moon, speaking to his
wives who had tried to kill him, to announce his intention
to stay forever in the sky.)

Moreover, *gaari* can appear alone as a simple mark of denial·
'No: that is not the case'.
    We have also seen certain other particular negative de-
vices: the opposite of a comitative construction with -*dhirr*
is a privative construction with -*mul* (see (51)-(53), (357),
(358)). The logical relationship between a comitative and a
privative may not be exactly one of contradiction: the pri-
vative and the comitative may not exhaust all possibilities.
For example, the predicate *garrbun-dhirr* means 'happy, de-
lighted'; this is a comitative form, although there is no
independent noun *garrbun*. But the corresponding privative
predicate does not exactly mean the opposite of 'happy' _
it means 'not (yet) happy' rather than 'unhappy':

(362) *Garrbun-dhirr=mana-ayi*
happy-COM=CAU-REF+IMP
Be happy!

(363) *Garrbun-mul!*
happy-PRIV (+IMP)
Don't be too hasty in being happy! Don't count your chickens...

Here, the force of the privative suffix -*mul* is not simply
the absence of some property or condition or thing, but
rather its lack in the context of its possible presence. In
a similar way, the past negative verbal suffix (section
3.5.3(f)) indicates not simply a neutral negative, but the
negation of a proposition that was, in a certain context,
possible or at issue; see (133), (139), (323).

(364) *Ngaliin-gal gada-almugu   nyulu*
1du-ADES   come-PAST+NEG 3sg+NOM
He didn't come with us. (Moon and his wives search for a child,
and the wives report that the child did not, as Moon had
asserted, accompany them on their hunting trip.)

    Another very commonly employed negative word, which has
the character of a nominal predicate, is *guya* 'nonexistent,
not'.

(365) *Nambal   wu-wna! Ngadhu   guya*
money+ABS give-IMP 1sg+GEN+ABS nonexistent.
Give me money! I have none.

The emphatic form with -*gu*, *guyaaygu*, means 'nothing at all,
none at all'.

(366) *Minha   daama-y? Guya-aygu*
meat-ABS spear-PAST? none-EMPH
Did [you] spear any game? None at all.

As a single word negative reply, many speakers appear to use
gaari and *guya* interchangeably.
    In section 3.5.3[e] we met the verbal suffix -*nda*. When
asked to exemplify the use of verbs in -*nda*, Guugu Yimidhirr
speakers ordinarily choose a contrary-to-fact conditional

like (147) as a typical case.

(367) *Nyulu   nhanu dharaanh wuna-nda biwrraay wudhi-nda.*
3sg+NOM 2sg+GEN friend   be-CONTRF water+ABS give-CONTRF.
If he were your friend, he would give you water.

A sentence like (367) suggests that he didn't give you water
and that, accordingly, he isn't your friend either.
    The contrafactual suffix is also used to evoke a hypo-
thetical, but as yet unrealized situation; speakers refer to
hypothetical situations normally to comment on their possib-
ility or impossibility: (100-1), and (108) use the contra-
factual verb to mark something as impossible. Similarly,

(368) *Wanhdharra duda-nda   wali, nhangu dyuumbi-l*
how   run-CONTRF around 3sg+ACC swallow-NONPAST
How could he run away (around); he was going to be swallowed.
   (A creature being pursued by a giant fish.)

On the other hand, the contrafactual form may also be used to
comment upon or inquire about the possibility of some as yet
unrealized occurrence.

(369) *Ngayu nhayun   yugu   bandi-nda   gurra.*
1sg+NOM that+ABS tree+ABS chop-CONTRF also
I could [easily] chop down that tree.

(370) *Ngayu buligi   ganaa   gunda-nda?*
1sg+NOM bullock+ABS alright kill-CONTRF
Would it be alright for me to kill the bullock?

And consider the following long hypothetical conditional,
quoted from an inspirational speech about loyalty to one's
own homeland:

(371) *Ngayu   yuraan dhaabangadhi-nda 'Yurrangan nangurr wanhdhaa?'*
1sg+NOM 2pl+ACC ask-CONTRF   2pl+GEN+ABS camp+ABS where
       yurra   wulbu-umu-n miirrii-nda 'Ngadhu   bubu   yii.'
2pl+NOM all-*mu*-ERG tell-CONTRF   1sg+GEN+ABS ground+ABS here
If I were to ask you all 'Where is your camp?' you would all
say 'My land is here...'

Or consider the following rhetorical question:

(372) *Nganiil-nganh ngayu balga-nda?*
what-ABL/CAU   1sg+NOM make-CONTRF
From what should I make [it]? (Said by someone who is supposed
to make a fishing spear for someone else.)

The implication of this question could be either: 'There is
nothing I could possibly use to make it, so how can I be ex-
pected to do it' (emphasizing impossibility); or 'What in the
world shall I use to do it' (emphasizing that I *can* make it,
but that I haven't yet done so and am in some doubt about
doing so; and have thus framed the event as hypothetical pen-
ding other information that you might be able to supply).
    Seemingly related to the contrafactual form is a 'crit-
ical form' based on the verbal suffix -*nda*, with an addition-
al suffix -*dyi* appended to it. The resulting verb form is
used to chide someone for *not* doing something that he or she
should have done.

(373) *Nyundu ngaanii daama-y   dubi-nda-dyi?*
  2sg+NOM why   spear-PAST leave-CONTRF-*dyi?*
  Why did you spear [it], why didn't you leave it [i.e., you
    should have left it]? (Comment directed at a youth who
    speared a totemic animal.)

(374) *Nyundu dhada-nda-dyi?*
  2sg+NOM go-CONTRF-*dyi*
  Why didn't you go? (I.e., you should have gone.)

4.6 APPREHENSIONAL CONSTRUCTIONS

We have seen that the purposive case on noun phrases
can be used in two more or less opposite senses. First, pur-
posive indicates a goal or desired, intended object (see
(225)-(227));but it can also mark an object that inspires
fear or ought to be avoided (see (224)). Purposive subord-
inate clauses correspond to noun phrases with purposive in-
flection with the former meaning. But there are also clauses
that correspond to purposive noun phrases that denote objects
to be avoided. Such clauses are used to issue warnings,
cautions and admonitions - uniformly about events, actions,
and outcomes that are undesirable. (Notice that (224) has
both an NP in purposive inflection (in the avoidence sense)
and a cautionary verb as well.)

There are three sorts of 'apprehensional' clauses,
whose morphology is described in section 3.5.3(g)-(i): a
Cautionary clause that suggests an imminent (and undesirable)
possibility (see (47), (148)); an 'anticipatory' clause that
also expresses an event that is on the verge of happening,
and which usually occurs together with a suggestion about
what alternative course of action should be followed *before*
the undesirable occurs (as in (149) and (150)). Finally,
the precautionary clause is like an English cause introduced
by *lest*, to denote an undesirable occurrence which can be
avoided by taking certain prior precautions (see (151),
(152), (312)-(314)).

Of these three clause types, only the cautionary forms
occur independently.

(375) *Bidha   buurray-ay buli-ya*
  child+ABS water-ALL fall-CAUT
  The child might fall in the water!

Such a sentence, in socially situated speech, would of course
have the force of a (strong and urgent) suggestion that the
child be moved out of danger. Normally, however, apprehen-
sional clauses of all three sorts occur together with in-
dependent main verbs - often imperatives - which express a
remedy appropriate in the face of a negatively evaluated
possibility or likelihood.

(376) *Yuba-aygu dhad-ii bidha   buurray-ay buli-ya*
  near-*gu* go-IMP child+ABS water-ALL fall-CAUT
  Go up close; the child might fall in the water.

A more intimate relationship obtains between a main clause
and a precautionary clause. A purposive complement express-
es a goal towards the realization of which the action of the

main verb is aimed. A precautionary clause expresses an
undesirable outcome which the action of the main verb is de-
signed to prevent, avoid, or otherwise sidestep.

(377) *Yuba-aygu dhad-ii bidha   buli-igamu*
  near-*gu* go-IMP   child+ABS fall-PRECAUT
  Go up close so that the child won't fall.

Notice that it is not necessary for the main clause and
the subordinate precautionary clause to share any NPs at all.
Frequently, however, there is an NP common to both the in-
dependent clause and the apprehensional clause (of any of
the three varieties described). For example, in (149) and
(312) the S NP of the main clause is coreferential with the
(deleted) S NP of the anticipatory or the precautionary
clause. The only other frequently observed structure in
which a coreferential NP in an apprehensional clause is
routinely deleted can be seen in (152), where an O NP in the
main clause is coreferential to a (deleted) S NP in the pre-
cautionary etc. clause. However, too few unelicited examples
of such constructions have been observed to draw firm con-
clusions about the deletability in general of coreferential
NPs.

4.6.1 BEFORE AND AFTER.
Nouns that denote events can ex-
press time as well; with ablative inflection, such a noun
can mean 'after the event' (sentence (119)). And with the
preposition *magu* 'before' and purposive case, such a noun
can be used to express 'before the event'. For example,

(378) *Ngayu   dyanydyi-l   magu mayi-ingu*
  1sg+NOM bathe-NONPAST before food-PURP
  I'll have a bath before eating.

We have seen that subordinate clauses with verbs in -*:yga*
parallel temporal expressions formed from nouns in ablative
case (see (343)-(344)).

Similarly, *magu* combines with clauses whose verbs bear
either ANTIC inflection (with -*yigu*) or the subordinate suf-
fix -*nhun* to express time before; see (150). Such a con-
struction does not seem to require coreferential NPs in main
and anticipatory clauses, although the conditions on deletion
when there is a coreferential NP are not yet clear.

4.7 POSSESSION

As we have seen (4.1.4[e]), and as the forms suggest
(see 3.2.3[b]), there is a close relationship between ordin-
ary (alienable) possession, marked by genitive inflection,
and the recipient or beneficiary of an act, marked by dative.
Thus, for example, what is a dative NP in (379) is identical
in form to what is apparently a genitive expression in (380).

(379) *Dhana   gada-ayga, badhibay ngarraa-ngay wudhi-iga bulaan*
  3pl+NOM come-PERF bone+ABS skin-PLU+ABS give-PERF 3du+DAT
  gambagamba-wi gurra gaminhdharr nhangu-um-i
  old lady-DAT AND   grandchild- 3sg+GEN-*mu*-DAT
  They came [and] gave bones and skin to the old lady and to
    her grandchild.

(380) *Bulaan   gambagamba-wi   gurra gaminhdharr nhangu-um-i*
  3du+GEN+ABS old lady-GEN+ABS AND   grandchild 3sg+GEN-*mu*-GEN+ABS
   mayi   badha-adhi.
    food+ABS finish-REF+PAST
   The food of the old lady and her grandchild was finished.

In (379) the food (the skin and bones) comes into the posses-
sion of the old lady and her grandchild as a result of an act
of giving in which they are the recipients; in (380) the food
which they received (which they possessed) starts out in
their possession, and they finish it. Notice that a GEN plus
GEN construction of the sort seen in (380) is possible even
with a noun:

(381) A: *Yii   wanhun   mayi?*
     this+ABS who+GEN+ABS food+ABS
     Whose food is this?

   B: *Yii   ngaliin   gaminhdharr gambagamba-ga-m-i*
     this+ABS 1du+GEN+ABS grandchild- old lady-GEN-*mu*-GEN+ABS
     This is ours - mine and that of the old lady's grandchild.

The identity of forms between DAT and GEN+ABS makes ambiguity
possible, as in (216) and the following:

(382) *Nyulu   ngadhu   galga   maandiindi.*
   3sg+NOM ⎰1sg+DAT   spear+ABS take+REDUP+NONPAST
        ⎱1sg+GEN+ABS
   He is bringing ⎰the spear to me.
          ⎱my spear.

The morphological identity of dative and genitive inflection
suggests that alienable possession, the relationship typical-
ly between a thing and the being that has control over it
(rights to its use, over its disposal, etc.) resembles the
relationship that obtains between the object and the benefi-
ciary of a verb like *give*.

   Let's look more closely at the structure of the posses-
sive expressions in (379)-(381). We saw in section 3.2.3[b]
that a possessed NP has the form:

   [NP   NP+GEN]$_{NP}$ +Case

The subject of the intransitive verb *badhaadhi* 'be finished'
in (380) shows both a 'possessor of a possessor' construc-
tion, and a compound NP with the coordinating *gurra* 'and'.

(383)
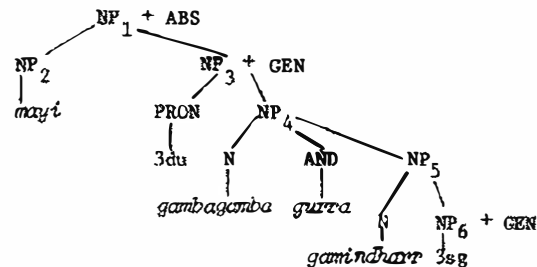
'the food of the two of them: of the old lady and of her grandchild'

The exact status of what is represented here as NP$_4$, which
dominates the coordination of 'old lady' and 'grandchild',
is not clear. Guugu Yimidhirr speakers often accomplish
such coordination, which is clearly crucial in determining
the form of the adjoined pronoun *bula* '3du', without the
explicit conjunction *gurra* 'and'; but seemingly any non-
singular NP carries with it, as it were, the potential for
making explicit its exact composition in terms of individual
components. (See (188), (192)-(194).) The case associated
with each constituent in a tree like (383) can be thought of
as being distributed downwards onto each component constit-
ent liable to case inflection. Thus *mayi* bears ABS inflect-
ion; the components of NP$_3$ will have GEN+ABS inflection.
Hence the pronoun *bula* will be marked for GEN+ABS, as will
gambagamba. Similarly, constituent NP$_5$ as a whole will carry
GEN+ABS inflection: the noun *gamindharr* appears alone, and
the pronoun carries the entire case load - both its own geni-
tive, and the further genitive of the whole NP:

   nhangu-um-i
   3sg+GEN-*mu*-GEN+ABS.

   An ordinary possessor will normally be animate, often
human: not every sort of entity in the world can be a reci-
pient, or can exercise control over a possession. Nor, in-
deed, can every sort of thing be possessed in this way. Guugu
Yimidhirr distinguishes alienable (socially constituted) pos-
session, which requires genitive inflection on the noun de-
noting the possessor, from so-called inalienable possession,
which expresses the relationship between whole and part. See
3.2.3[b], 4.1.1[f], and 4.3.4. Normally an inalienably pos-
sessed NP has the form

   [Whole   Part]$_{NP}$ +Case

where the case of the entire NP is distributed over both
whole and part, with no genitive inflection at all. The re-
lationship between alienable and inalienable possession is
clarified somewhat by the observation that while the Whole
can itself be an alienably possessed NP, the Part cannot.

(384) *Yarrga-wi   biiba   dhamal   wagi-idhi.*
   boy-GEN+ABS father+ABS foot+ABS cut-REF+PAST
   The boy's father's foot got cut.

When the possessor is animate, especially human, it al-
so appears to be possible to express the part-whole relation-
ship with an alienably possessed construction, using genitive
inflection. Compare (42) with (384). I have been able to
discern no difference - in meaning, in contextual appropria-
teness or syntactic acceptability between the following pos-
sibilities:

(385) *Nyulu   ⎰ngadhu   mangal   wagi*
   3sg+NOM ⎱1sg+GEN+ABS hand+ABS cut+PAST

        ⎰nganhi
        ⎱1sg+ACC
   He cut my hand/cut me in the hand.

However, when part and whole are inanimate Guugu Yimidhirr speakers resist the explicit genitive construction. Thus, the following two sentences are not equivalent:

(386) *Ngayu   yugu   magiil   bandi.*
   1sg+NOM tree+ABS branch+ABS chop+PAST
   I chopped the tree branch.

(387) *Ngayu   yugu-wi   magiil   bandi.*
   1sg+NOM tree-?LOC branch+ABS chop+PAST
   I chopped the branch [while I was or while it was?] on the tree.

Sentence (387) is of doubtful acceptability in the first place, and there is a clear temptation to interpret the suffix *-wi* as locative rather than genitive. In fact, (387) immediately suggested to a native Guugu Yimidhirr speaker the following less puzzling example, in which the word *yugu-wi* is unambiguously interpreted 'on the tree'.

(388) *Ngayu   yugu-wi   minha   gunda-y.*
   1sg+NOM tree-LOC meat+ABS kill-PAST
   I killed the game [while it was] on the tree.

Similarly, although a few speakers will accept the second alternative in the following sentence, the appositional rather than the genitive construction is certainly preferred.

(389) *Yugu-wrh*
   tree-ERG
                       magil-inh ngarhi baydya-rrin.
   Yugu-uga-mu-n   branch-ERG 1sg+ACC cover-PAST
   tree-GEN-*mu*-ERG
   The tree
              } branch covered [i.e., fell on] me.
   The tree's

Within the genitive construction to express possession, there is no difficulty in describing the possessor of a possessor (or of a whole). Thus, for example, the phrase

yarrga-aga-m-i biiba-wi miil 'the boy's father's eye'

in sentence (42) represents both the inalienable relationship between the father and his eye, and the alienable relationship (from the point of view of Guugu Yimidhirr syntax) between the boy and his father. When the inalienable relationship is between an inanimate whole and its parts, it is at least in some cases also possible to express the possessor of the inalienable possessor (the whole), as in the following sentence:

(390) *Ngadhu   dinggi   milgaal guya.*
   1sg+GEN+ABS boat+ABS oil+ABS NONE
   My boat has no petrol.

However, so far no examples have been encountered displaying constructions like 'my tree's branch' or even 'the point/tip of my spear', which combine both alienable possession and a strict part/whole relationship.

Furthermore, although the constructions of the language provide for 'possession of a possessor', or even for 'possession of a possessor of a whole (which has a part)', further embedding of possession is impossible, within the mechanisms that have been described. There is, however, one

situation which may frequently require description in terms of more complexity than exhibited in examples so far: the description of complex kin relationships. Imagine, for example, how one might describe the homeland of one's father's mother. We need, it seems, a structure of the form:

[homeland [of the mother [of the father [of me]]]]

Here there are too many levels of embedding to be handled by existing mechanisms (although much could be accomplished by the *lexicalization* of such complex notions as 'father's mother' (= 'grandmother') etc.). However, consider the following sentence:

(391) *Muunhdhi   nhayun bubu   ngadhu-un-i   biiba-wi*
   'Jack River' that   land+ABS 1sg+GEN-*mu*-GEN+ABS father-GEN+ABS
   ngamu-uga
   mother-ABES
   Jack River: that is my father's homeland on his mother's side.
   (Literally: my father's land from his mother.)

Such constructions appear repeatedly in genealogical discussions -- which celebrate the socially constituted relationships *par excellence*; but their productivity in other contexts is not yet attested.

4.8 PARTICLES

In this section we discuss several independent particles: largely non-inflecting words that give modal or other qualification to sentences. We have already met the most important of these: *gaari* 'not' and *guya* 'none'. *Gaari* is the negative particle used with most verb forms and with nominal predicates as well. Ordinarily *gaari* precedes the word it negates, although it can also stand alone to mean simply 'no'. The word *guya* behaves rather more like a predicate on its own, meaning 'non-existent'; however, *guya* does not inflect for case, behaving like a predicative-only adjective. Both *gaari* and *guya* occur with the emphatic suffix *-gu*: *gaarigu* 'no, indeed'; *guyaaygu* 'none at all'. (Particles in general, although they do not inflect for case or tense, allow the emphatic suffix *-gu*.)

Several other particles deal with the factuality of statements. *Bira* 'indeed, certainly' usually follows a predicate and emphasizes its truth; *nguba* 'perhaps' also follows a predicate to suggest some doubt about a proposition, or lack of information. The same particle is used to express a notion like English 'or':

(392) *Nyulu   biini   nguba,   nguba   gaari*
   3sg+NOM die+PAST PERHAPS PERHAPS NOT
   Either he died or he didn't [i.e., perhaps he died, perhaps not].

The related particle *budhu* 'if' signals uncertainty, or questions the possibility of some outcome, sometimes very much like a subordinate conjunction, sometimes in a more modal sense.

(393) *Nyundu budhu dhada-a   nyundu minha   maa-naa   bira.*
2sg+NOM if   go-NONPAST 2sg+NOM meat+ABS get-NONPAST indeed.
If you go you'll get meat for sure. Should you go, you'll get
meat for sure.

(394) *Wanhu   gada-y?   Wanhu   budhu?*
who+ABS come-PAST who+ABS if
Who came? Who, indeed? [I.e., I have no idea, or am uncertain
and would like to know, too.]

By contrast, the particle *bira* emphasizes certainty: 'cer-
tainly, for sure, in any case'. The particle may be attach-
ed to a declaration to suggest an outcome that might have
been called into question.

(395) *Yimi=yimi-dhirr wun.guunh, nyulu   gada-a   bira.*
this=REDUP-COM tomorrow   3sg+NOM come-NONPAST surely
Just the same tomorrow [i.e., let's do the same thing again
tomorrow]; [because] he's bound to come [again tomorrow].
(Two brothers, who have been waiting to ambush another
mythic character, plan after failing on one day to try
again the following day.)

The desiderative particle *guuna* frequently cooccurs
with imperative verb forms; see (143). It can also occur
alone, usually with the suffix *-gu/-:ygu*.

(396) *Minha   wu-naa   nguba? Guunu-uygu*
meat+ABS exist-NONPAST perhaps? 'let'-*gu*.
Is there any meat   Very likely [hopefully].

The word *ganaa* 'alright' acts like an adjectival pre-
dicate,although it seems to have no attributive use. For
example, a frequent greeting formula is depicted in the fol-
lowing sentence.

(397) *Nyundu ganaa? Ganaa.*
2sg+NOM OK   OK
How are you[=are you OK]? I'm fine[=OK].

However, no noun phrase occurs with *gaana* modifying a noun;
one cannot say *?bama ganaa* to mean 'the man [who is]alright.
Following an entire clause, and separated from the following
words by a pause, the word gives a sense of (satisfactory?)
completion, creating a construction that means 'once X,
then Y'.

(398) *Nyundu mayi   buda-y   ganaa, ngali   dhada-a*
2sg+NOM food+ABS eat-PAST OK   1d+NOM go-NONPAST
When you have eaten [enough?], then we'll go.

Interestingly, a normal conversational device to allow a
speaker to hesitate, or to rephrase some remark which has
not come out right,uses the expression *gaari ganaa* (liter-
ally, 'not right'):

(399) *Gadil   nhangu   - gaari ganaa - Victor.*
name+ABS 3sg+GEN+ABS NOT   OK
His name is - uh - Victor.

(There seems a very likely relationship between *ganaa* and
the words *gana* 'the bottom, the underside, underneath' (a
noun) and the time word *ganaaygu* 'long ago'.)

Murrga 'only' can point to different constituents with-
in a sentence:

(400) *Murrga nubuun-gu daama-y   nyulu*
only   one-*gu*   spear-PAST 3sg+NOM
He speared only one [i.e., not two].

(401) *Murrga nyulu   minha   daama-y.*
only   3sg+NOM meat+ABS spear-PAST
Only he speared meat [no one else got any].

And so forth: *murrga* immediately precedes the constituent
which it encompasses (and so far no clear cases are attested
in which *murrga* seems to modify a verb, as, e.g., in 'He
only fell down (i.e., he didn't hurt himself).'). However,
murrga also can follow an entire clause (again separated
from succeeding material by a pause), to give a modal sense:
'if only X; then Y' or 'if it should just happen that X,
then Y'.

(402) *Nyundu dhada-a   murrga, nyundu nhaa-maa*
2sg+NOM go-NONPAST only   2sg+NOM see-NONPAST
If you'll just go, you'll see.

Possibly related to *murrga* is the particle *murrgarra*,
which, often in combination with *wawu* 'soul, breath, want',
signifies inability and impossibility.

(403) *Ngayu   (wawu=)murrgarra dhada-a.*
1sg+NOM (breath=)unable go-NONPAST
I can't go

(See sentence (341).) Whereas an expression like *wawu-dhirr*
'want' takes a purposive complement (see (319) and (322)),
the particle *murrgarra*, or the expression *wawu=murrgarra*, al-
ways occurs with the non-past form of a verb (no examples
with a past tense verb have been encountered). Furthermore,
transitive sentences with *murrgarra* show the same pattern of
case marking as normal declarative transitive sentences.

(404) *Nyulu   gabirr-inh yugu   wawu=murrgarra bandi-l.*
3sg+NOM girl-ERG   tree+ABS unable   chop-NONPAST.
The girl can't cut down the tree.

A further particle, *dhiliinh* 'in return', emphasizes
that an action or an event was to pay back some previous ac-
tion or event (the word is sometimes uttered alone with the
meaning 'that serves you right! that pays you back! that's
what you deserve!').

(405) *Ngayu   dhiliinh gunda-nhu.*
1sg+NOM in return hit-PURP
I intend to hit [him] back [e.g., because he hit me].

Two particles indicate habitual action. *Nhidyin* and
nhuumaar both mean 'always, regularly'; the coastal expres-
sion *magu=bada-aygu* (literally, 'before and after') is reg-
ularly used to mean 'always, forever, eternally'.

(406) *Bidha-gurr   yii bubu-wi nhuumaar wuurili*
child-PLU+ABS these dirt-LOC always   play+REDUP+NONPAST
These kids are always playing in the dirt/on the ground.
(always=regularly, habitually)

The word *gurra* acts both as a conjunction 'and', and as
a particle meaning 'again' or giving an emphatic definite-
ness to an action. The *-gu* suffix emphasizes the meaning
'again'.

(407) *Nyulu   dhada-y gurra(-aygu)*.
　　　3sg+NOM go-PAST again *(-gu)*.
　　　He really *did* go; he finally went after all; ... and he went.
　　　　OR: he went again.

Galmba 'also' suggests that the action depicted in a sentence
took place in addition to some ongoing activity or indepen-
dent happening.

(408) *Nyulu   dhada-y galmba*
　　　3sg+NOM go-PAST also
　　　He went, too [i.e., someone else was going and he *also* did].

Note the clearly related expression: *galmbaa=galmbaa* 'piled
one on top of another', which is used figuratively in the
following dismayingly accurate portrait of Guugu Yimidhirr
by one of its most accomplished native speakers:

(409) *Ngarhdhamun guugu   warra galmbaa=galmbaa*
　　　1pl+GEN+ABS language+ABS very   piled on top of another
　　　Our language is just piled on top of itself [i.e., very complex].

4.9 ERGATIVE HOPPING AND MODIFYING EXPRESSIONS

Sentences like (341) and (404) show that an expression
like *wawu=murrgarra* 'unable, can't' is some sort of a modal
qualifier to a verb; it is not, in itself, an· independent
intransitive predicate which has some sort of a complement
bearing non-past or other inflection. This situation is
rather different from that of such comitative expressions as
wawu-dhirr 'want' and *wawu-mul* 'not want'; these appear to
serve as intransitive predicates (whose S NP will bear ABS
and/or NOM case marking), regardless of whether the comple-
ment clause, with purposive inflection, is transitive (see
(319)) or intransitive (see (322)).

Even here, however, speakers occasionally produce sen-
tences which display what might be called 'ergative-hopping'
in which a transitive complement clause engenders ergative
inflection on what appears to be the S NP of the predicate
wawu-dhirr or *wawu-mul*.

(410) *Yarrga-anh wawu-mul yugu   bandi-nhu*.
　　　boy-ERG   want-PRIV tree+ABS chop-PURP
　　　The boy doesn't want to chop the tree down.

This sentence seems to be somewhat less likely to occur than
the following equivalent in which there is no ergative NP.

(411) *Nyulu   yarrga wawu-mul yugu   bandi-nhu*.
　　　3sg+NOM boy+ABS want-PRIV tree+ABS chop-PURP
　　　The boy doesn't want to chop the tree down.

However, (410) is perfectly acceptable, and the transitivity
of the complement verb *bandi-nhu* 'chop' seems enough here to
force the ergative suffix onto *yarrga* (which, in a full tran-
sitive sentence, would be the A NP for the verb *bandil*),

despite the fact that *yarrga* in (411) is transparently the S
NP of the predicate *wawu-mul*.

Ergative inflection evens hops, occasionally, from a
transitive clause onto a prior NP which is at once the A of
the transitive clause and the S NP of an intransitive full
verb which precedes it – something which seems especially
likely to happen if the preceding intransitive verb is a verb
of motion (compare auxiliary verbs in many languages):

(412) *Gaarga-ngun   gada-y   ngalan banydyi*
　　　younger brother-ERG come-PAST sun+ABS wait+PAST
　　　The younger brother came and waited for the sun [to rise].

In such cases, 'ergative hopping' is unusual but not consid-
ered incorrect. But contrast the following sequence, which
exhibits a more common discourse construction (see next
section).

(413) *Nyulu   bidha   waarmba-adhi   nhangu baaru   garrba-y*.
　　　3sg+NOM child+ABS return-REF+PAST 3sg+ACC loin+ABS grab-PAST
　　　The boy went back and grabbed his [father's] genitals.

Here the NP shown as *nyulu bidha* '(he) the child' appears in
nominative/absolutive form as S of the intransitive (reflex-
ive) verb in the first clause, although the same NP is the
underlying A of the second verb *garrba-y*. (See also (302).)

A few adjectives can also occur with ergative inflection,
giving a particular qualification to an act. Here is one
example. The word *binaal* acts like an adjectival predicate
meaning 'know'; it can take a variety of complements.

(414) *Ngayu   binaal-mul nyulu   bidha   wanhdhaal-bi dhada-y*
　　　1sg+NOM know-PRIV 3sg+NOM child+ABS where-ALL   go-PAST
　　　I don't know where the child went.

(Gavan Breen has pointed out to me that historically *binaal*
means 'ear'; Guugu Yimidhirr makes heavy use of the current
word *milga* 'ear' in expressions having to do with knowledge,
attention, intelligence, etc.)

(415) *Nyulu   dyiirraanggurr warra binaal-gu galga   balga-a-nhu*.
　　　3sg+NOM old man+ABS   very know-*gu* spear+ABS make-REDUP+PURP
　　　The old man is very good at [i.e.,knows how to] make spears.

Moveover, although *binaal* never functions as an attributive
adjective, in combination with the suffix *-gu* it forms an
adverb-like expression which modifies (and agrees in case
with) an S or an A NP to mean 'voluntarily, knowingly, on
purpose'; in this use it must bear the case appropriate to a
nominal expression in S or A function:

(416) *Gambagamba binaal-gu dhada-y*.
　　　old lady+ABS know-*gu*+ABS go-PAST
　　　The old lady went knowingly, on purpose.

(417) *Nyulu   ngadhu   marrgin binal-ing-gu dhamba-rrin*.
　　　3sg+NOM 1sg+GEN+ABS rifle+ABS know-ERG-*gu* throw-PAST
　　　He lost my rifle intentionally.

Similarly, other modifying expressions accept ergative inf-
lection when they modify an A NP, as in:

(418) *Dhana   ngamu-gurrol-ing-gu   dyaarba   gundaarnda-y.*
      3pl+NOM many-ERG-*gu*   snake+ABS beat+REDUP-PAST
      They all beat the snake as a mob.

In sentences so far encountered, expressions like *binaal-gu*
'knowingly' do not occur in cases other than Absolutive and
Ergative. (See (124).)

4.10 DISCOURSE NOTES

Guugu Yimidhirr makes heavy use of personal pronouns and
demonstratives in anaphoric constructions to facilitate
chaining sentences together, and to maintain NPs as prominent
topics in strings of discourse. We have already seen that,
despite ergative morphology on nouns, Guugu Yimidhirr freely
links clauses so that the S NP in the first clause is core-
ferential with the (deleted) A NP in the second clause. So
a sentence like (302) is very frequent in Guugu Yimidhirr
narrative, and sentences of the reverse type (for example
(303)) are also possible, if less common.

The use of adjoined pronouns and explicit demonstratives
to keep topics straight over a sequence of sentences is il-
lustrated in the first few lines of the story of the Moon
and his two wives.

(419) *Waarigan nyulu   bubu-wi   nhin.gaalngga-y.*
      Moon+ABS 3sg+NOM earth-LOC sit+REDUP-PAST
      The Moon, (he) lived on the Earth.

Here the main character of the narrative is introduced -
Waarigan 'the Moon' - with a noun starting the sentence and
an adjoined pronoun accompanying it. The next sentence in
the story is:

(420) *Nhangu   dyiiral gudhiirra wu-nay.*
      3sg+GEN+ABS wife+ABS two+ABS   lie-PAST
      He had two wives.

The Moon is still the topic, and it is clear that *nhangu*
means *'his* (wives)'.

(421) *Ganggal   mubuun, bidha   yarrga*
      child+ABS one+ABS little one+ABS boy+ABS
      ... and one child, a son.

Here is still more information about Moon's family.

(422) *Bidha   nhayun   yarrga bulaan-gal dyiiraal-garr-gal warra*
      child+ABS that+ABS boy+ABS 3du-ADES wife-PLU-ADES   very
      binaa budhuur-gu nhaadha-adhi
      sweet very-*gu*   see+REF+PAST
      That boy was very dearly loved by the two wives. (Literally,
      the boy seemed very sweet to the two wives.)

Here the focus of attention shifts momentarily to the boy and
his mothers' feelings towards him; the narrative accomplishes
the shift by using the demonstrative *nhayun* 'that'.

In these sentences the individual constituents of each
clause are present. Near the beginning of each clause is a re-
flex of the topic of the current segment of discourse. In
(419) the topic is introduced by the initial noun and adjoined

pronoun; in (420) the same topic is reflected in the pos-
sessive pronoun which starts the sentence, a pronoun which
is elided (almost audibly) in (421). In (422) the topic
shifts, and this shift is signalled by highlighting the new
topic, the child, with the demonstrative *nhayun*. Guugu Yimid-
hirr seems to use the device of bringing the referentially
most prominent constituent of a sentence to the front - int-
roducing it to attention, and then remarking about it in
some way.

In sentences like (302) and (303), two clauses have been
collapsed by deleting an identical topic in the second clause,
and chaining together the remainders. Such 'topic chains'
also occur regularly with intransitive clauses sharing core-
ferential S NPs, and transitive clauses with coreferential
A NPs.

(423) *Nyulu   nhayun   waarigan gada-y   waarnggu-wunaarna-y.*
      3sg+NOM that+ABS moon+ABS come-PAST sleep=lie+REDUP-PAST
      [Then] the Moon came and lay down to sleep.

The topic, *nyulu nhayun waarigan* 'that Moon', is the S NP of
both *gaday* 'came' and *wunaarnay* 'lying'. In the following
sequence of sentences, the topic of the first clause is
superseded in the second, which in turn is part of a topic
chain in which a common A NP is deleted in its second occur-
rence.

(424) a. *Bidha   nyulu   biini.*
         child+ABS 3sg+NOM die+PAST
         The child died.

      b. *Nyulu   biiba nhangu-umu-n   diiga-y,*
         3sg+NOM father- 3sg+GEN-*mu*-ERG free-PAST
         His father let [him] loose,

      c. *bidha   nhangu   bubu-wi   yidha-rrin.*
         child+ABS 3sg+GEN+ABS ground-LOC put-PAST
         [and then he] set his child on the ground.

(Except for the placement of a pause after *diigay*, in (424b),
the last two clauses could also be parsed so as to read: 'His
father released his child and set him on the ground'.) In
(b) the shift of focus is accomplished by introducing a new
noun and adjoined pronoun at the beginning of the sentence
(though note that the possessive pronoun in (b) is still
taken to refer back to the previous topic, the boy). Part
(c) is chained directly to (b), and both clearly share the
same A NP - namely 'the father'. Note also that the posses-
sive pronoun in (c) now refers to the *father*, i.e., to the
topic in the previous sentence.

We have now seen topic chains that link two clauses to-
gether and in which the repeated NP in the second clause is
deleted. The chains we have observed have linked an S NP in
the first clause to either an S or an A NP in the subse-
quent clause; or an A NP in the first clause to either an S
or an A NP in the following clause. In these cases, the NP
in the first clause which inspires chaining is clear topic of
the sequence. If two transitive sentences share both A and
O NPs, then they can be freely chained together; after the
first clause, both A and O NPs can be deleted.

(425) *Ngadhu-umu-n   biiba-a   nyulu   mayi   baawa-y,   buda-y.*
  1sg+GEN-mu-ERG father-ERG 3sg+NOM food+ABS cook-PAST eat-PAST
  My father cooked the food and [he] ate [it].

(426) *Yugu   warrga-al bayan   nhayun   baydya-rrin,   (bayan)*
  tree- big-ERG   house+ABS that+ABS cover-PAST   house+ABS
    dumbi.
    break+PAST
    The large tree fell on [literally, covered] the house, and
    crushed it.

In (426), according to some speakers, the second occurrence
of the O NP *bayan* 'house' makes the sentence marginally
clearer.

   It also seems possible for the S or A NP of the first
clause to be coreferential with a deleted O NP in a subse-
quent clause, as in the following examples:

(427) *Dhudan-ay yugu   buli,   dhana   bandi.*
   road-LOC   tree+ABS fall+PAST 3pl+NOM chop+PAST
   The tree fell on the road, and they chopped [it] up.

(428) *Nyulu   bidha   bayan-bi gada-y   ngayu   (nhangu) gunda-y.*
   3sg+NOM child+ABS house-LOC come-PAST 1sg+NOM 3sg+ACC hit-PAST
   The child came into the house and I hit him.

In (428) the accusative pronoun can appear in the second
clause but it can just as well be omitted. The prominent NP
in the first clause again appears to function as the topic
of the entire construction; in interpreting the second
clause, which has, as it were, only the O position empty,
the normal reading is to treat the topic as the (deleted)
O NP.

   There is only one other case in which two sentences are
chained together, and in which a coreferential NP in the
second clause can be omitted: the details are somewhat com-
plicated. Occasionally, it appears, an O NP in the first
sentence of a sequence can be interpreted as the topic of a
sentence, and hence be chained to a second clause with a
coreferential (deleted) S NP. But the conditions under
which such a topic chain can be built appear to be heavily
restricted. First, such an O NP in the first clause must
appear before the A NP in order. And there is a strong pre-
sumption, in such a construction, that the A NP will itself
not be animate, especially not human. The following sentence
illustrates the sort of sequence involved.

(429) *Birra   gaangga wunydyu-rrin daan.gay-il dyiba-alu*
   leaf+ABS yam+ABS blow-PAST   wind-ERG   south-ALL.
    dharramali-gal buli
    Thunder-ADES   fall+PAST
    The yam leaf was blown South by the wind, and it landed in
    front of Thunder.

   If the A NP of the initial transitive clause is animate,
then there is some possibility for confusion or ambiguity.

(430) *Birra   wunydyu-rrin ngayu,   nhaxay buli.*
   leaf+ABS blow-PAST   1sg+NOM there   fall+PAST
   I blew the leaf, and [it] fell over there. (But, in the absence
   of any special clarifying context, the sentence could also
   mean: I blew the leaf, and *I* fell over there.)

A topic chain built around an initial clause in which
an O NP precedes an animate A NP is likely to be somewhat odd
or confused. Consider, for example, the sequence in (431).

(431) *?Ngadhu   biiba   gunda-y ngayu,   buli.*
   1sg+GEN+ABS father+ABS hit-PAST 1sg+NOM   fall+PAST
   I hit my father and I? fell down.

Such a topic chain is unclear, because the ordinary presum-
ption that the A NP of the first clause will be the contin-
uing topic of the sequence conflicts with the special pro-
minence of the O NP which derives from its initial position.
Ordinarily, the second clause of such a chain would contain
an explicit S NP, consisting of at least a pronoun: *nyulu
buli* 'he fell', or *ngayu buli* 'I fell'.

   An attempted topic chain whose first clause has a verb
requiring an animate NP, and in which no overt A NP appears,
is totally confused and unintelligible without some context
to supply the missing A NP.

(432) **Nhangu   gunda-y,   buli.*
   3sg+ACC   hit-PAST   fall+PAST
   ?Somebody hit him, and he? fell down.

Such a string could only occur as part of a longer topic
chain, in which it would be possible to interpret both the
A NP of *gunday* 'hit' and the S NP of *buli* 'fell' as core-
ferential with the topic of the entire segment of discourse.

   If neither of the conditions mentioned above is ful-
filled - that is, if the A NP of the initial transitive
clause is animate, and if it precedes the O NP - then the de-
leted S NP of the second clause of this sort of topic chain
is always understood to be coreferential with the A NP of
the first clause. This is the case, for example, in (303).
In fact, whenever the A NP precedes the O NP in the first
clause in such a construction, chaining which links a core-
ferential O NP in the first clause with the S NP of the
second is impossible.

(433) *Ngayu   yugu   bandi,*   { *buli.*
   1sg+NOM tree+ABS chop+PAST   fall+PAST

           yugu   buli
           tree+ABS fall+PAST }

   I chopped the tree, { and I fell down.
            and the tree fell down.

The first alternative here, the topic chain with deleted
coreferential NP, has only one reading, in which the chain
links the A NP of the first clause to the S NP of the sec-
ond - a familiar and ordinary sort of topic chain. The sec-
ond reading is only possible if the S NP *yugu* 'tree' is made
explicit.

   These considerations suggest, tentatively, that only
topics, introduced in a first clause, can form the basis for
chains to a second clause, in which the noun phrase corefer-
ential to the topic can be deleted. Moreover, there are,
seemingly, several interrelated features that define topica-
lity: first, S NPs are unambiguously available as topics,
and can be linked with S, A or O NPs in second and subsequent
clauses. Second, the leftmost NP in a sentence seems to have

some higher prominence or salience as a topic than do NPs that follow it. Third, A NPs seem themselves to have more prominence than O NPs, so that the inherent prominence of an A NP can override or at least mitigate the prominence of a leftmost O NP. And, evidently, animate NPs are more likely topics ~ or have more prominence - than inanimate ones. This is an area of Guugu Yimidhirr syntax which remains to be explored in detail.

TEXT

The following narrative, told by Tulo Gordon of Hopevale, a well-known painter and storyteller, comes from a mountainous area just north of the Endeavour River. Tulo learned the story, which tells of supernatural snakes and an angry old lady, from his mother Minnie.

1 *Yii   milbi   dhana   gunbu   dumbi.*
this+ABS story+ABS 3pl+NOM corroborree+ABS break+PAST
This is a story about how they had a great dance.

2 *Dhana   yinharrin gunbu   dumbiilmbi-ga   wudhaurr-bi.*
3pl+NOM these   dance+ABS break+REDUP-PERF night-LOC
These people would have a dance at night.

The expression *gunbu dumbil*, literally 'dance break', is the normal idiom for 'have a dance, have a corroboree.' Although the expression is frequent enough in speech that the initial [d] of *dumbil* is occasionally pronounced as a trilled rhotic [rr] (see section 2.1), producing a string that sounds like [*gunburrumbil*], it is not entirely frozen. That is, it is possible to modify the word *gunbu*, as in *gunbu warrga dumbi* '[they] had a great dance'. The deictics *yinharrin* 'these' and *nharharrin* 'those' behave somewhat unusually, in that neither bears case inflection in A, S or O functions; the NPs which they accompany are normally inflected.

3 *Bama   warrga-aygu.*
people+ABS big-*gu*
Lots of people. (I.e., there were lots of people.)

4 *Ngalan-bi dhana   yinharrin wadhin   dhadaara-yga.*
sun-LOC   3pl+NOM these   hunting go+REDUP-PERF
In the days, these people would go out hunting.

The expression *wadhin dhadaa* means 'go hunting'; again the expression is not totally frozen as it commonly occurs in either order: *nyulu dhaday wadhin* 'he went hunting'. The word *wadhin* appears to be related to the adjective *wadhi* 'wounded' which applies to animals speared but not killed or caught. The suffix on *wadhi-n*, however, is not productive and there are no further case forms known.

5 *Ngulgu-ngulgu dhana   gada-ayga,*
evening+REDUP 3pl+NOM come-PERF
In the evening they would come home,

6 *minha-ngay   maandi-iga, mula   maandi-iga, gaangga maandi-iga.*
meat-PLU+ABS bring-PERF honey+ABS bring-PERF yam+ABS bring-PERF
they would bring meat, honey, and yams.

7 *Dhana   daga-adhi-ga, mayi   baava-ayga, minha   galmba,*
3pl+NOM sit-REF-PERF food+ABS cook-PERF   meat+ABS also
They would sit down, cook the [vegetable] food, and the meat, too;

8 *buda-ayga dhana   iiiii,*
eat-PERF 3pl+NOM [continuation]
[and then they] would eat and eat and eat;

A frequent narrative device lengthens the final syllable of a word, or appends the conventional long *ii* sound, to indicate extended duration of an action.

9 *warydyi-iga, gunbu   dumbi-iga   wudhaurr-bi,*
arise-PERF   dance+ABS break-PERF night-LOC
then they would get up and dance all night long.

10 *Nhayun   bada   gambagamba   nhin.gaalngga-y,*
that+ABS yonder old lady+ABS sit+REDUP-PAST
That old lady was [literally: sitting] down there,

11 *nhangu   gaminhdharr   galmba.*
3sg+GEN+ABS grandchild+ABS also
along with her grandchild.

12 *Dhana   yinharrin gunbu   dumbi-iga iiii...mayi   buda-ayga*
3pl+NOM these   dance+ABS break-PERF   food+ABS eat-PERF
These ones had their dance, and they danced...and they ate the food.

13 *Dhana   gada-ayga, badhibay ngarraa-ngay wudhi-iga bulaan*
3pl+NOM come-PERF   bone+ABS skin-PLU+ABS give-PERF 3du+DAT
gambagamba-wi gurra gaminhdharr nhangu-um-i.
old lady-DAT and   grandchild- 3sg+GEN-*mu*-DAT
They came, and gave the bone[s] and skin [from their game] to both the old lady and to her grandchild.

14 *Bula   budaarri-ga.*
3du+NOM eat+REDUP-PERF
They would eat [it].

15 *Nyulu nhayun   gambagamba   guli=gada-y.*
3sg+NOM that+ABS old lady+ABS angry=come-PAST
That old lady got angry.

16 *Dhana   wulbu   wadhin dhada-y.*
3pl+NOM all+ABS hunting go-PAST
They all [i.e., the rest of the people] went hunting.

17 *Nyulu gaanha   nhangu-ugu   maa-ni,*
3sg+NOM yamstick+ABS 3sg+GEN+ABS-*gu* take-PAST
She [the old lady] took her own yamstick;

18 *bula   gudhiirri-gu badiimbarr dhada-y birri-wi.*
3du+NOM two+ABS-*gu*   downwards go-PAST river-ALL
and the two of them [the old lady and her grandchild] went down to the river.

19 *Minha   yidi   gunda-y nyulu.*
animal+ABS stingaree+ABS kill-PAST 3sg+NOM
She killed an [edible] stingaree.

20 *Minha   gunda-y nyulu, maandi   bayan-bi.*
animal+ABS kill-PAST 3sg+NOM take+PAST house-ALL
She killed the meat, and took [it] to the house.

21 *Wambu-um-ay dhaga-y, ngalmbu=mana-adhi-nda, walnga-y.*
ash~*mu*-LOC bury-PAST cooked=CAUS-REF-CONTRF open-PAST

She buried it in the ashes, until it was cooked, [and then she] opened it.

The word *wambu* 'ash' apparently requires the catalytic *mu* before it can carry non-absolutive inflection. Notice, further, the use of a contra-factual verb form (with the reflexive form of the causative verbalizer *ma-naa*) to suggest 'until such time as it might be cooked'.

22 *Minha balnggarr bula buda-y buda-y iii...*
meat+ABS flesh+ABS 3du+NOM eat-PAST eat-PAST [continuation]
They ate the flesh of the animal, and they ate and ate and ate...

23 *Badhibay maa-ni, ngarraa maa-ni,*
bone+ABS get-PAST skin+ABS get-PAST
[Then she] got the bone[s] and skin,

24 *nyulu badhibay ngarraa yarra naga dhamba-rrin,*
3sg+NOM bone+ABS skin+ABS yonder East+ALL throw-PAST
she threw the skin and bones over there to the East,

25 *badhibay ngarraa yarra guwa dhamba-rrin,*
bone+ABS skin+ABS yonder West+ALL throw-PAST
she threw the skin and bones over there to the West,

26 *yarra dyibaarr dhamba-rrin yarra gunggaarr dhamba-rrin.*
yonder South+ALL throw-PAST yonder North+ALL throw-PAST
over yonder to the South and to the North she threw [them].

27 *Bula nhamu-ngayng-gu warrdyil dhada-y gurra manydyaal-bi.*
3du+NOM then-ABL-*gu* arise+PAST go-PAST and mountain-ALL
After that, they two got up and went to the mountains.

28 *Bula manydyaal-bi duda-y.*
3du+NOM mountain-ALL run-PAST
They ran off to the mountains.

29 *Marrbugan-bi dhaga-adhi ngalba-adhi.*
cave-ALL enter-REF+PAST hide-REF+PAST
They entered a cave and hid themselves.

Note that the verb *dhaga-* is a reflexive-only verb, meaning 'enter'.

30 *Nhamu-ngayng-gu dyaarba-ngay ~ yirmbaal-ngay*
then-ABL-*gu* snake-PLU+ABS - supernatural serpent-PLU+ABS
  dyaarba ~
  snake+ABS ~
After that, the snakes - the supernatural snakes ~

The supernatural serpents, introduced here in 30, are now the topic of the narrative; the third person pronouns in 31-39 all refer to these snakes. The word *yirmbal* 'supernatural serpent' is also the word for 'rainbow' (hence, 'rainbow serpent'), although other sorts of creatures are also the supernatural guardians of certain places - giant eels and fish, for example. These, too, may be called *yirmbal*.

31 *dhana nguwal nhuuma-y nhayun minha yidi.*
3pl+NOM scent+ABS smell-PAST that+ABS meat+ABS stingaree+ABS
they smelled the scent of that stingaree.

Notice that *nguwal* 'scent' is here inalienably possessed.

32 *Dhana gada-y waguurr-nganh,*
3sg+NOM come-PAST outside-ABL
They came from the outside [i.e., from inland];

33 *gurra baurraay-nganh dhalun-nganh galmba gada-y,*
and water-ABL sea-ABL also come-PAST
and they also came from the water, from the sea;

34 *mundal bubu-wi badi=badiimbarr gada-y,*
some+ABS ground-LOC under=underneath come-PAST
some came underneath the [surface of] the earth;

35 *mundal wanggaar=nggarr bubu-wi gada-y,*
some+ABS above=REDUP? ground-LOC come-PAST
others came above the ground;

36 *mundal birri wanggaar gada-y.*
some+ABS river~ above come-PAST
and others came up the rivers.

The preposition-like positional words in these sentences derive from *bada* 'down, below' and *wanggaar* 'above, high'. The reduplicated form *badi=badiimbarr* in 34 means 'just under, just beneath'. The complicated form with -*nggarr* in 35 is perhaps a reduplicated form of *wanggaar* (but notice the flapped rhotic which ends the form shown). In 36, the con-struction shown may be a contraction of *birri-wi wanggaar* 'on the river upwards', with an explicit locative suffix on *birri*.

37 *Warra warrga-aygu budhuun-gu dyaarba-ngay waguurr-nganh gada-y.*
very big-*gu* very-*gu* snake-PLU+ABS outside-ABL come-PAST
Very very many snakes came from inland [literally, from the outside].

38 *Yarra guwa-nun dyiba-nun gungga-nun naga-almun,*
yonder West-ABL South-ABL North-ABL East-ABL
From yonder in the West, from the South, from the North, and from the East,

39 *dhana wulbu gada-y.*
3pl+NOM all+ABS come-PAST
they all came.

40 *Dhana yinharrin wardhan̄o-gala duda-nda?*
3pl+NOM these how-EMPH run-CONTRF
These people [i.e., the dancers] - how could they run away?

The story now shifts back to the perspective of the people who were having the corroboree, a shift signalled by the deictic *yinharrin* with *dhana*; in telling such a story, the narrator might well accompany the expression *dhana yinharrin* 'these people' with a gesture to indicate that he was shifting attention from the snakes back to the celebrants.

41 *Waru=murrgarra duda-a.*
soul=unable run-NONPAST
They couldn't run away.

42 *Dhanaan mundal nha-gala dyuumbi.*
3pl+ACC there+ABS just then and there swallow+PAST
Many of them were swallowed right there.

43 *Dyaarba-anh dyuumbi gunbu dhambiilmbi-ga.*
snake-ERG swallow+PAST dance+ABS break+REDUP-SUBI
The snake[s] swallowed them while [they were] dancing.

In 42 there is no explicit A NP (although it is clear that the snakes
are doing the swallowing), and this allows the sequence to maintain the
dancers (who in this sentence are denoted by the O NP *dhanaan*) as topic.
Notice the conditions on coreferentiality between the O NP in the main
clause and the A NP in the subordinate (simultaneous time) clause in 43.

44 *Mundal   duda-y   duda-y   manydyaal-bi duda-y,*
   other+ABS run-PAST run-PAST mountain-ALL run-PAST
   Others ran way, ran off to the mountains.

45 *Mundal   wali   duda-y   wanhdhaa-budhu.*
   other+ABS around run-PAST where+ALL-[dubitative]
   Others just ran about, who knows where.

46 *Nyulu yii   warra   bunydyul...*
   3sg+NOM here+ABS old+ABS frill lizard+ABS
   Now this here Frill-Lizard...

47 *Nyulu wanhdharra galmba duda-nda   wali?*
   3sg+NOM how   also   run-CONTRF around
   How was he, too, to run around?

48 *Nhangu dyuumbi-l.*
   3sg+ACC swallow-NONPAST
   He would be swallowed [by and by].

49 *Nyulu bubu   wali   nhaa-dhi wanhdhaa duda-nhu.*
   3sg+NOM ground+ABS around see-PAST where+ALL run-PURP
   He looked all around the area [to find] where to run.

50 *Nyulu dhiliinh wanggaar nguulbaan-bi dhada-y.*
   3sg+NOM then   up   cloud-ALL   go-PAST
   Then he went up to a cloud.

51 *Nyulu duda-yigu nyulu   nambal   yabarraban maa-ni,*
   3sg+NOM run-ANTIC 3sg+NOM rock+ABS gigantic+ABS get-PAST
   Before he ran off, he got a gigantic stone,

52 *maandi   wanggaar nguulbaan-bi,*
   take+PAST   up   cloud-ALL
   and he took [it] up to the cloud;

53 *nyulu   dyaarba   nhaa-maa   bada-amu-n gadaari-ga,*
   3sg+NOM snake+ABS see-NONPAST down-mu-ABL come+REDUP-SUB1
   so that if he should see a snake coming up from below,

54 *nyulu   nambal   diiga-l   nhangu baydya-nhu.*
   3sg+NOM stone+ABS send-NONPAST 3sg+ACC cover-PURP
   he would drop the stone, and crush it.

55 *Nyulu nhaamun wangga-amu-n nhaa-dhi, wanhdhaa?*
   3sg+NOM that+ERG above-mu-ABL see-PAST where
   That one [Frill Lizard] looked down from up there, 'where [is every-
   body]?'

56 *Dagu dyaarba   nhiirmul   nyulu   nhaa-dhi wanggaar*
   thing snake+ABS greensnake+ABS 3sg+NOM see-PAST up
   gadaari-ga   birri barrga.
   come+REDUP-SUB1 river along
   The fact was, he saw a greeensnake coming up along the river.

A common conversational habit in Guugu Yimidhirr is to introduce an
utterance with the word *dagu* which literally means 'thing'. The device
lends a bit of informality to a conversation. Languages to the North

evidently had a different word which served the same function; for
example, the people who spoke the language known as Guugu Yinaa were
reputed to begin every utterance with the word *yinaa*. The force of *dagu*
at the beginning of a stretch of talk seems to be to focus attention;
as if one said, 'This is the thing, this is the case, listen to this...'
See line 68.

57 *Nyulu baarrnga-y: 'Walaa   walaa,*
   3sg+NOM yell-PAST   rise+IMP rise+IMP
   He sang out, 'Watch out, watch out!

58 *Ngayu   nambal   nhila-budhu diiga-l   bada...'*
   1sg+NOM rock+ABS now-EMPH   send-NONPAST down
   I'm going to let go of this stone [and let it drop] right now!'

59 *Nyulu guugu   gaari nhaa-dhi,*
   3sg+NOM word+ABS NOT   see-PAST
   But he [the snake] didn't hear.

60 *Nhayun   guugu-ugu nhaadhi-ilmugu*
   that+ABS word-gu   see-PAST+NEG
   He didn't hear those words.

61 *Nyulu bunydyul-nda nambal   diiga-y bada.*
   3sg+NOM frill lizard-ERG rock+ABS send-PAST down
   Frill Lizard dropped the stone.

62 *Nhayun   nambal   bada gada-y   ttt*
   that+ABS rock+ABS down come-PAST...
   That rock dropped...

63 *nhangu mugu   baydya-rrin.*
   3sg+ACC back+ABS cover-PAST
   and crushed his [the snake's] back.

64 *Nhamu-ngayng-gu nyulu   dharramali dyiba-nun gada-y.*
   then-ABL-gu   3sg+NOM thunder+ABS South-ABL come-PAST
   After that, Thunder came from the South.

65 *Dharramali-ngun nhangu dhaabanga-dhi,*
   thunder-ERG   3sg+ACC ask-PAST
   Thunder asked him [Frill-lizard]:

66 *'Ngaaniil-ngayng-ga?'*
   what-CAU-ga
   'What's this all from, eh?'

The clitic particle -*ga* conveys a sense of informality and friendliness.
For example, a common greeting is *wanhdharra-ga* 'howdy'.

67 *Nyulu bunydyul   gada-y dharramali-gal miirrii-lin,*
   3sg+NOM frill lizard+ABS come-PAST thunder-ADES   tell-PAST
   Frill Lizard came up and told Thunder:

68 *'Dagu nhayun gambagamba bula   nhangu   gaminhdharr...*
   thing that+ABS old woman+ABS 3du+NOM 3sg+GEN+ABS grandchild+ABS
   'Well, that old woman and her grandchild...

69 *Bula   nhaamun minha   yidi   gunda-y,*
   3du+NOM that+ERG animal+ABS stingaree+ABS kill-PAST
   Those two killed a stingaree;

70 *badhibay wali   dhamba-rrin ngarraa galmba*
 bone+ABS around throw-PAST skin+ABS also
 they threw the bones around, and the skin, too.

71 *Bula   warraa=gurra-y dyaarba-ngay dhaayi.*
 3du+NOM bad=CAUS-PAST snake-PLU+ABS call+PAST
 They ruined (things), they called the snakes.

72 *Dyaarba-ngay gada-y   nganhdhanun dyuumbi-nhu.*
 snake-PLU+ABS come-PAST 1pl+ACC   swallow-PURP
 The snakes came to swallow us.

73 *Mundal buda-y, mundal duda-y.*
 some+ABS eat-PAST some+ABS run-PAST
 Some were eaten, and some ran away.

In 73, *mundal* 'some, others' is in 0 function in the first clause, and
in S function in the second (in both cases, the case form is absolutive).
But there is no explicit A NP for *buday* 'ate'.

74 *Ngayu   murrga yarrba wanggaar gada-y.'*
 1sg+NOM only   this way up   come-PAST
 I only came up here (i.e., only I managed to come up...).'

75 *'Mmm.' Nyulu   dharramali dhiliinh waada-adhi,*
       3sg+NOM thunder+ABS then   say-PAST REF
 'Hmmm,' then Thunder said [to himself]:

76 *'Ngayu dhada-a wali   yiwa-rr   wanhdhaa bula.'*
 1sg+NOM go-NONPAST around search-NONPAST where+LOC 3du+Nom
 'I'll go and look around[to find out] where those two are.'

77 *Nyulu dhada-y yiwa-rrin yiwa-rrin iiii*
 3sg+NOM go-PAST search-PAST search-PAST...
 He went and he looked and he looked...

78 *Garrgu   nyulu   dhamal   nhaa-dhi nhila-aynggu marrbugan-bi*
 afterwards 3sg+NOM foot(print)+ABS see-PAST new-gu   cave-ALL
 duuga-adhi-ga.
 enter-REF-SUB1
 Then he saw fresh footprints going into a cave.

79 *Nyulu banydyi bula   vagaarr ganba-rrin,*
 3sg+NOM wait+PAST 3du+NOM outside jump-PAST
 He waited [until] they jumped [i.e., poked their heads] out.

80 *Nyulu wanggaa-mu-n dharramali-ngun wulunggurr-ngun gunda-y*
 3sg+NOM up-mu-ABL   thunder-ERG   light-INST   hit-PAST
 gunda-y gunda-y bulaan gudhiiirri-gu.
 hit-PAST hit-PAST 3du+ACC two+ABS-gu.
 Thunder, from above, hit the two of them [again and again] with
   thunderbolts.

81 *Dhada-y, nyulu miirrii-lin bunyduuil-gal.*
 go-PAST 3sg+NOM tell-PAST   frill lizard-ADES
 [Then] he went, and he told Frill Lizard [about it].

82 *Dagu bunydyuul-ngun midal   galbay budhuun-gu maa-ni.*
 thing frill lizard-ERG lawyer cane+ABS long+ABS very-gu get-PAST
 Well, then Frill Lizard got a very long lawyer cane.

83 *Bada diiga-y diiga-y iiii*
 down send-PAST send-PAST ...
 And he let it down, down, down...

84 *bulaan gudhiirri-gu dhulagadha-y, gayii-lin.*
 3du+ACC two+ABS-gu   tangle-PAST   hook-PAST
 and [he] tangled it around them, and hooked them.

85 *Maandi   maandi   wanguonh   maandi   nagaalu iii*
 take+PAST take+PAST high in the sky take+PAST East+ALL...
 He took them way out East, up in the sky...

86 *dhaluun dhamba-rrin.*
 sea+ALL throw-PAST
 ...and threw them far out to sea.

VOCABULARY

We give first an alphabetical listing of the words
used in sample sentences in this grammar; this is intended
as an aid to following the examples and text. There is
then a listing of important vocabulary items by semantic
fields, following the basic 500-word list prepared by the
editors of the *Handbook*. Note that forms occurring in the
semantic field listing will only appear in the alphabetical
vocabulary if they have been used in a sample sentence in
the grammar.

ALPHABETICAL VOCABULARY

For each word is listed the part of speech and a rough
gloss. Verbs are specified for transitivity class, and
conjugation membership is shown by the final consonant or
vowel – *l*, *V*, or *rr* – or by a final syllable *-maa* or *-naa*
for MA and NA conjugations. Other words are shown in normal
citation form, NOM for pronouns, and ABS case for other no-
minals. The words are listed in normal English alphabetical
order. The following abbreviations are used:

N gen	generic noun
N	other noun
Adj	adjective
Loc	locational qualifier
Time	time qualifier
Num	numeral
Deic	deictic
Int	interrogative/indefinite pronoun
Pron	personal pronoun
Vint	intransitive verb
Vtr	transitive verb
Vref	reflexive-only verb
Adv	adverb
Part	particle
Excl	exclamation
Eng	probable loan from English

In reading the example sentences it may often be instruc-
tive to see whether a particular verb is transitive or in-
transitive, or what the absolutive form of a particular
noun looks like; this is the information this wordlist can

provide. It does not pretend, however, to exhaust the semantic and syntactic properties of the words shown.

baadhil, Vint: cry
baarrngaa, Vint: sing out, yell
baaru, N: loins, crotch
baawal, Vtr: cook, burn
bada, Loc: below, down
badha-, Vref: be finished
badhibay, N: bone
badhuwarr, N: zamia palm
badhur, N: fishhook
baga, Part: (agentive, cautionary)
bagal, Vtr: dig
balgal, Vtr: make, wash, fix
balil, Vint: go (Respect language)
balnggarr, N: flesh, meat
bama, N gen: person, Aboriginal
bambu, N(Eng): bamboo
bandil, Vtr: chop, cut down
banydyii, Vtr: wait for
barrbil, Vint: camp, spend the night
barrga-balga, Part: along
barrgaar, N: mouth
bayan, N: house
baydyarr, Vtr: cover, crush
bidal, Vtr: harpoon
bidha, Adj: small
bidiga, N: fig species with edible fruit
bigibigi, N: pig
biiba, N: father
biilil, Vint: paddle
biinii, Vint: die
bilu, N: hip
binaa, Adj: sweet, delicious, well-loved
binaal, N?:know
biniirr, N: ironbark tree
bira, Part: for sure
birra, N: leaf
birri, N: river
biwul, N: mother-in-law
bubu, N: land, dirt, place
budal, Vtr: eat
budhiil, N: nose
budhu, Part: if, (dubitative)
budhuin, Part: very
bugul, N: antbed
bula, Pron: 3du
buligi, N: bullock
bulii, Vint: fall
bunggu, N: knee
bunydyul, N: frill-lizard
burnday, N: notch
burrburr, Adj: hard

burriway, N: emu
buurrany, N: water

daamal, Vtr: spear
daan.gaay, N: wind
daarraalngan, Ngen: kangaroo (Respectful language)
dabaar, Adj: good
dabarraba-aygu, Time: early (Coastal dialect)
dabunh, N: 'bush mango' tree
daga-, Vref: sit, be seated
dagu, N: thing, introductory particle
dani, Adj: slow

dhaabangal, Vtr: ask for
dhaawil, Vtr: call, summon
dhabil, Vtr: kick
dhadaa, Vint: go
dhagal, N: front
dhalun, N: sea
dhamal, N: foot
dhambarr, Vtr: throw
dhana, Pron: 3pl
dhanggurr, Vtr: scratch
dharramali, N: thunder
dharranh, N: friend
dhiliinh, Part: then, in return
dhirrgaligu, Adv: right through
dhudaan, N: road, path
dhugidhugi, N(Eng?): chicken
dhula, N: flood
dhula-gadhal, Vtr: tangle up, ensnare
dhuuril, Vtr: eject
dhuurrngal, Vtr: push
dhuyu, Adj: dead

diigal, Vtr: send, free, let loose
diingal, Vtr: laugh at
dindal, Adj: fast
dingga-dhirr, N?+COM: hungry
dinggi, N(Eng): boat
dubil, Vtr: leave
dudaa, Vint: run
dumba-, Vref: be frightened
dumbil, Vtr: break
- *gunbu dumbil*, dance
dumu, N: chest
durrgin, N: water rat
duugal, Vtr: bury

dyaarba, N: snake

dyadyu, N: kangaroo rat
dyanydyil, Vint: bathe
dyiba-, Loc: south
dyidyirr, N: bird
dyiga, Adj: weak, fresh, unripe
dyigan, N: grass
dyiinbal, Vtr: tease
dyiiral, N: wife
dyiiri, N: sky, heaven (Coastal dialect)
dyiirraanh, N: male, man
dyindal, Vtr: peck, bite
dyuugaar, N: sand
dyuumbil, Vtr: swallow

gaangal, Vtr: waken, disturb, nudge
gaangga, N: yam
gaanha, N: yamstick
gaarga, N: younger brother
gaari, Part: no, not
gabiirr, N: girl
gadaa, Vint: come
gadambal, Vint: break
gadha, Adj: rotten
- *gadha-warra*, unconscious
gadhii, Loc/Adj: distant
gadil, N: name
gaga, Adj: poison, sick, salty
- *gaga-bulii*, get sick
gaguwarr, Num: a few, five
gala, Part: (emphatic)
galbay, Adj: long
galga, Adj: spear
galmba, Part: also
gambagamba, N: old woman
gambarr, N: pitch
gambul, N: stomach, matriline
gaminhdharr, N: son's child (male speaking)
gana, N: underside
- *ganaaygu*, before, long ago
ganaa, Part: alright, okay
ganbi, N: blood
gan.gaarr, N: quartz, Cooktown
ganggal, N: child
gangurru, N: kangaroo species
ganhil, N: traditional song
garrbal, Vtr: hold, grab
garrbun-dhirr, N?+COM: happy, contented
gayiil, Vtr (R conjugation): hook, snare
giidha, N: Moon (Coastal dialect)
gilaadha, N(Eng): glass
gima, Adj: soft
girrbadhi, N: dugong

gudaa, N: dog
gudhiirra, Num: two
gulbu, Adj: together, in a mass
gulgi, N: claw
guli, N/Adj: anger, hatred, angry
gunbu, N: dance, corroborree
gundal, Vtr: hit, kill
gundil, N: egg
gungga-, Loc: north
gun.gun, N: scrub, forest
gurra, Part: more, and
gurral, Vtr: say, tell, CAUS
gurrma, N: earth oven
guudyu, Ngen: fish
guugu, N: talk, language, word
guuna, Part: let, (desiderative)
guunduu, Num: three
guwa, Loc: west
guya, Part: none, nonexistent

ma, Excl: come, well, so...
maa-naa, Vtr: get, take, marry
maandii, Vtr: bring, take
madha-, Vref: climb
magiil, N: branch
magu, Part: before
malin, Part: (usitative)
mamba, N: fat
-ma-naa, Vtr: cause, CAUS
mangal, N: hand
manydyal, N: mountain
marrbugan, N: cave
marrgin, N: rifle
mayi, Ngen: vegetable food
midal, N: lawyer-cane
miidal, Vtr: lift
miil, N: eye
miilu, N: shade
miirriil, Vtr (R conj): tell, show
milbi, N: story, news
milbiir, N: wommera
milbil, Vtr: promise (to give)
milga, N: ear
milgual, N: oil, grease, liquid fat
minha, Ngen: meat, edible animal
minhdhil, Adj: hot
mugu, N: back, seed
mula, Ngen: honey, bee
mulban.gu, Adv: tightly, firmly
mundal, N/Adj: the rest, the others
munggil, Vtr: beat, gather in (large catch of fish, etc.)
mungurru, N: scrub python, large carpet snake

murnda, Adj: tame, unafraid
marrga, Part: only
marrgarra, Part/Adj?: unable
maunhdhi, Loc: Jack River area
mauri, N: hair

naaybu, N(Eng): knife
naga, Loc: east
nambal, N: stone, money
namburr, N: bed
nanggurr, N: camp
narra-damal, Vint: shiver

ngaabaay, N: head
ngaadharr, N: dog, dingo
ngaagaal, N: arm
ngaanaa, Int: what
ngaanhdhu, N: woman
ngagu, N: shoulder
ngalan, N: sun, day
ngalba, Part: covered with
ngalbil, Vtr: steal
ngalburr, Vtr: close
ngalgal, N: smoke, tobacco
ngali, Pron: 1du
ngalmbu, Adj: cooked, ripe
ngamba, Part: heedless, unaware
ngamu, N: mother
ngana, Pron: 1pl (Coastal dialect)
nganhdhaan, Pron: 1pl
ngarraa, N: skin
ngayu, Pron: 1sg
nguba, Part: perhaps
ngudha-ngudha, Time: long ago
ngudhu, N: game, play
ngulgu, Time: afternoon, yesterday
ngundu, Loc/Part: in this
  direction, towards here
ngulbaan, N: cloud
nguwal, N: scent
nguwal, Part: after, from

nhaa, Deic: there, that
- *nhayun*, that
nhaa-maa, Vtr: see
nhidyin, Part: always, regularly
nhiirraal, N: greensnake
nhila, Time: now, today
nhin.gal, Vint: sit
nhinhinhi, N: groper
nhaumaar, Part: always, regularly
nhuumal, Vtr: smell

nubuun, Num: one

nyulu, Pron: 3sg
nyundu, Pron: 2sg

waadal, Vtr: say, tell
waarigan, N: moon (Inland dialect
  only)
waarmbal, Vtr: return
waarnggu, N/Adj: sleep, sleepy
wadhin, N?: hunting
- *dhada wadhin*, go hunting
- *wadhi*, Adj: wounded
wagil, Vtr: cut
waguurr, Loc: outside
walanggar, N: death adder
wali, Adv: around, all around
wal-maa, Vint: rise, ascend
walngal, Vtr: open
walu, N: temple, side
walu, Part: like
wambu, N: ash
wangarr, N: white man, devil
wanggaar, Loc: high, above
wangi, N: boomerang
wangaanh, N: sky, high (Inland
  dialect only)
wanhdhaa, Int/Loc: where
wanhdharra, Int: how
wanhu, Int: who
  ERG: *wanhdhu*
warra, Adj: bad, very
warra, Part: resident of
warraal, Part: 'so high'
  (see sentence (77))
waarbi, N: tommyhawk, axe
warrga, Adj: large
wawu, N: breath, soul, inside
wudhurr, N: night
wugurr, Vtr: follow, look for
wulbu, Adj: all
wulunggurr, N: thunder, lightning,
  light, flame
wu-maa, Vtr: give
wu-naa, Vint: lie, exist
wun.guunh, Time: tomorrow,
  morning
wunhdha, Adj: empty
wuaydyurr, Vtr: blow on, blow
  away
wurrbal, N: fog
wurrgaa, Vint: suffer
wuurii-wuuril, Vint: play
wuurnuyu-ngaadharr, N: curer,
  native doctor

yaadyil, Vint: burn
yaba, N: older brother
yabarraban, Adj: gigantic
yalgaarr, Adj: separate, apart
yalmba, N: sandhill
yarra, Deic: there, yonder

yarraman, N: horse
yarrba, Deic: that way, thus
yarrbaarrga, Adv: severely
yarrga, N: boy
yidharr, Vtr: put
yidi, N: stingaree
yii, Deic: this, here
- *yiway*, here
- *yimi-dhirr*, in this way
yiilba-, Vref: share, split with
  each other
yima-, Vref: swell, puff
yindu, Adj: other, different

yinil, Adj: afraid
yirmbal, N: supernatural creature,
  guardian of sacred place,
  rainbow
yirngal, Vtr: turn
yirrgaa, Vint: speak
yiwarr, Vtr: search for
yuba, Adj: near
yubaal, Pron: 2du
yugu, N: tree, wood, fire
yumurr, N: child (of male)
yurra, Pron: 2pl
yuwaal, N: beach

VOCABULARY IN SEMANTIC FIELDS

Ordinary everyday Guugu Yimidhirr words are shown with rough English glosses. For many, but by no means all, of these words, a few older speakers still know a respectful 'Brother-in-law' language alternate form (see 1.4), to be used in place of the ordinary word in the presence of avoided or especially respected relatives. Such respectful equivalents are shown preceded by a dollar-sign ($). When no respectful equivalent is shown for an everyday word, either no special word is needed to replace it in respectful speech, or the equivalent is simply unknown. (Briefly, some words could be pronounced in everyday form with tabooed relatives if they were spoken in a slow and soft tone; these were often words denoting non-sensitive objects - particular plant or game species, for example. Thus, although the word *mayi* '[vegetable] food' has the respectful equivalent *gudhudbay*, the phrase *mayi badhuurr*, which denotes the edible nut of the *badhuurr* 'zamia palm' would be rendered in polite speech by replacing *mayi* by *gudhubay*, but leaving *badhuurr* unchanged: *gudhubay badhuurr*. However, very many respectful equivalents for common words have been forgotten, even when speakers know that a respectful term used to exist.)

When well-known Inland or Coastal variants are shown, the Coastal term is marked *(C)*. The wordlist also characterizes a few words by rough labels, like 'rude' or 'vulgar'; the implied hierarchy is, from least to most unacceptable, 'impolite', 'rude', 'vulgar'. Verbal etiquette in traditional Guugu Yimidhirr society was an elaborate matter, which such labels can only crudely suggest.

NOUNS

A - Body Parts
ngaabaay; gambuugu (C);
  $gudyiir, head
garu, brain
mauri; $wulmul (=hair, fur);
  $muungga (=whiskers), hair, fur
binga; $diiyan, grey hair
- *binga-dhirr*, grey-haired

bidi; $gaman, forehead
walu; $gaman, temple, side of face
nhumbul; $gaman, cheek
miil; $walgul, eye
budhiil; $bunhabunha, nose, face
milga; $dhuba, ear
baari; $dyinu, chin

bandiin; $dyinu, hip, waist
bunggu; $dyinu, knee
dhinbaar; $dyinu; yurnggal (C), elbow, forearm
dhunggan; $dyinu, anklebone, shin, heelbone
gaamurr; $dyinu, armpit
gala; $dyinu, crotch, loins
marda; $dyinu, wrist
muurnul; $dyinu, flank, side, rib area
nhuru; $dyinu, heel
waara; $dyinu, hipbone
guugulu; $dyinu, pelvis
barrgaar; $nyurruamu, mouth
yimbi; $nyabiil, lip
nganhdhaar; $nyabiil, tongue
walarr; $wulmul, $muungga, beard, stubble, moustache
- walarr yimbi-wi, moustache
muliir; $baabuul, tooth (and euphemism for vagina)
buargul (=foam); nhumba (=spit), spittle, saliva
manu; $nyuunydyu; ngandaal (C) (=neck, gill), neck, throat
dhudhurr; $nyuunydyu, back of head and upper neck
marrgul; $nyuunydyu, windpipe, Adam's apple, interior of throat
yangay; $nyuunydyu, neck below nape, back of neck
dhakay, shoulderblade
ngagu; $yangay, shoulder
mugu; $yangay, back, seed, shell, etc.
ngaaguul, upper arm
mangal; $dhalgumu, hand
guluurr; $dhalgumu, thumb
ngagin, little finger, toe
gulgi; $birrin, finger- or toe-nail, claw
guyuu; $yimun; $maayiil (also=fish); $muna, breast, milk
dumu; $nyanbarr, chest
yiirmbaarr; $ganhaganha, rib
gambul; dhamba (esp. of animal); $ganbin, belly, stomach
dhuul; $dhuulmul, guts, bowels, intestines
dhuulburr; $maadhiil (and C), navel, umbilical cord
dadhali; buarguul (C); $walngga, heart
waru; $walngga, breath, insides
gungimbarr, kidney

buyagar; (also called: nganhdhaar gudaa 'dog's tongue', from its shape), lung
dhiba; $malgaarrga, liver
babaal, buttocks
buga (impolite); $baanggaarr, bottom, anus
guman; $balnggirr; wulu (C), leg, thigh, root
baaru; $balnggirr, lap, front
bibaar; $balnggirr, shin
bilu; $balnggirr, hip bone, side of pelvis
ngarri; $balnggirr, calf
dhamal; $buyiibuyii, foot, footprint
duurugu; $buyiibuyii, corn (on foot)
nugal; $buyiibuyii, ankle
buru (vulgar); ngarmaar (vulgar); gurrbil (C), penis
gunul (very rude); gulun (curse), phallus
dilmbarr (rude); gundil (='egg'), testicle
biral, semen
dyirril; gaygan, pubic hair
dyinal (vulgar), woman's sex organs
mangga; garradha; dhanhdha, faeces
gumbu; $dyilaarr, urine, bile
dhudhi; $ngaymal; $milmal (='muscle'), body
ngarraa; $dyiriwan, skin
muunhuun; $dyiriwan, peeling or flaking skin; snakeskin
marrbun; $dyiriwan, ringworm or skin disease
badhibay, bone
ganbi; garrmbi; $binhdaar; $garrgun, blood
mamba; $munaal, fat, solid fat, cheese
ngaala; $wabirr (='water'); $galmarr (=odour), sweat
bandal; buudhi; $buurmail, sore, swelling
balamu; $buurmail, abscess, boil
bambu; $buurmail, pus

B - Human Classification
bama; $yambaal, person, Aboriginal
dyiirraanh, man, male
ngaanhdhu; $wugulugul, adult woman

gambagamba; $wugulugul, old woman
ganggal; bidha (='small'); yumurr (esp. son of man); $duula, child, baby
yarrga, $balngu, boy, male child
dyiirraaynggurr, old man
gabiirr; maral; $munamuna (cf. 'breast'), girl, unmarried woman
ngaanhdhu; $wugulugul, adult woman
gamba(gamba); $wugulugul, old woman
bilu-mayarr; $wugulugul (cf. 'hip-bone'), widow, widower
wuurruya-ngadharr, Aboriginal 'doctor'
wangarr; $maaluul, white man (=ghost)
buliman; gaarrgiil; gulidyi, policeman
yigi; $maaluul, ghost

C - Kinship
muga(ga)y; $ngagumadharr, senior uncle or aunt; (i.e., mother's older brother or sister); self-reciprocal
biiba; $ngagumadharr, father, father's younger brother etc.
ngamu; $ngulmburr, mother, mother's younger sister, etc.
babi; $ngulmburr; $ngunbal, father's mother, etc.
biimuur; $ngulmburr, father's younger sister, etc.
biwul; $ngulmburr, wife's mother
mugur; $ngulmburr; $ngunbal, mother's brother, mother's brother's son, etc.
ngadhiina; $ngulmburr, father-in-law
ngadhi, mother's father
gami; $ngunbal, mother's mother, father's father
yaba; $bulngaarr, older brother
gaarga; $bulngaarr, younger brother
gaanhaal, older sister
dyin.gurr, younger sister
yumurr; $duula, child (of man)
aynaay; $duula, son (of woman)
ngudhurr; $duula, daughter (of woman)
ngiidhidhi; $duula, daughter-in-law (of man)

dunhu, husband, sister's husband
dyiiral; $munamuna, wife, wife's sister
gaminhdharr; $ngunbal, son's child
ngadhinil, daughter's child
guman.ga, brother's wife
biidyirr, woman's son-in-law
ngalaadhin, man's son-in-law
ngaanydya, spouse's grandparent; grandchild's spouse

D - Mammals
balin.ga; $nhalngarr, porcupine (echidna)
gugaar, mouse, rat
dhigul; $dyinu (cf. 'chin', 'hip', etc.), native cat
wudyiir; $nyiwa, small bandicoot
yarrbay; $nyiwa, rabbit bandicoot
bigibigi; $nyiwa, (wild) pig
gulaan; $yumbu, possum
gadaar; $daarraalngan, wallaby (lives on flat)
baurr; $daarraalngan, rock wallaby
bibal; $daarraalngan, small scrub kangaroo
dyadyu; $daarraalngan, kangaroo rat
gangurru; $daarraalngan; ngurrumugu; large black or grey kangaroo
nharrgali; $daarraalngan, large red kangaroo
wudul; $daarraalngan, whip-tail kangaroo
dhulmbanu; $daarraalngan, wallaroo
yaaurrinh; bulgadhirr; $gunhdhin, tail (eg. of kangaroo)
ngaadharr; $guguur (cf. 'mouse, rat'), dingo, dog
gudaa; $guguur, tame dog
dyungginh; $mulbuur; gaambi, flying fox
bangguurrga, small flying fox with thin fur
manu-wudhuga (literally, 'neck with wudhu' -- a type of fine grass), large species of flying fox with prominent neck fur
dhiibuul, bat
yarraman; $guguur (cf. 'dog'), horse
buligi, bullock, cow
muuri bunggaga (cf. 'hair, fur'), sheep

E - Reptiles

ganhaarr; $wayin, crocodile, large
  goannas, salt-water lizards
dhagay; barri, $wayin, sand goanna
dhanhdhidhirr; $wayin, freshwater
  crocodile
guxarrga; $wayin, spotted tree
  goanna
walmbarra; $wayin, sandhill goanna
dugul; $marngurr, freshwater
  turtle
ngawiya; $marngurr, sea turtle
maruya, printy
gulgul, blue-tongue lizard
bunydyul; $wanggu, frill lizard
gubuy; $wanggu, treeclimbing
  goanna
dyaarba; dhunggul (C); $dhama,
  snake (generic)
ngudhaail, black-headed python
mungurru; $ngagawarra, scrub
  python
gabul; $ngagawarra, carpet snake
nhiirruul, green snake
dhambanh, file snake
walanggarr; $dhama, death adder
biigaarr; $dhama, taipan
yarramu; $dhama, brown snake
manhimanhi (='black+REDUP'), red-
  bellied black snake
yuuraay, [poisonous] sea snake
gamulu, [non-poisonous] river
  snake

F - Birds

dyidyirr, bird (generic)
gundil; $wurruun, egg
buurr; $bunydyi, bird's nest; tea
budyuur, feather (generic); tail-
  feathers
burriway; $ngunhdhangunhilha, emu
gurrbal, native companion
bilu-warra (lit. 'hip-bad'),
  pelican
dhamaarrbina, goose (magpie
  goose)
dyuriil-dyuriil, curlew
wungguurrga, plains turkey
diwaan; $ngubu, scrub turkey
*guugu dyibananganh (lit., 'voice
  from the south')*, black swan
bunggu-dyirrir, bower bird
wuguuy, wompoo pigeon
maaluumul, dove
dabarr, brown pigeon
wabul, Torres Strait pigeon
gurradhawaar, magpie

waadha, crow
biiba-dyirrin, cicada-bird
  (cricket)
didhirridhin, wren
bayiil-bayiil, magpie lark
dhuga, scrubhen
digal, thornbill
gurruulga; gugaa, kookaburra
  (2 species?)
bunydya; $yalmburr (='meat'),
  night-owl
waandaar; $ngigirril, white
  cockatoo
ngurraar; $ngigirril, black
  cockatoo
galin.galin, brown hawk
gudhal, eaglehawk
garrgiil, hawk species (?)
guarungugu, 'meat' hawk
wandii, seahawk
ganbil, parrot with crimson wing
mundurr, giant crane
dhiilbuurr, jabaroo
dunguuyngga; $yalmburr (='meat'),
  duck
bulbuurrmbul, pheasant (?)
milgaandurr, seagull

G - Fishes

guudyu; guyu; $munyiil, fish
  (generic)
barrbal, silver bream
murrabal, freshwater barramundi
bigudhirr, jewfish
bulal, poisonous blowfish (salt)
duun, stonefish
gaalnggaan, blue-tailed mullet
marrbaarrga, rock cod
maurraar, black catfish
wuyumadharr, perch
biganh, small river eel
dindurr, large seagoing eel

H - Insects, etc.

bugul, antbed
giira, ant (generic)
yangga, dhinggan; $muunhdhurr,
  green ant
mawal, wasp
nhuumbirr, beeswax, honeycomb
mula; $gulngguun, sugarbag; bee
  (generic)
dhuru; $gulngguun, native bee
  species
gudha; $gulngguun, black bee
ngaymburr; $gulngguun, tiny
  native bee species

wonba; $gulngguun, 'English bee'
*dinhanhdhurr; $burruul-dhirr (lit.
  'with anger')*, scorpion
gaalaaya, centipede
buluurrbuluur, blowfly
dhabaga; $gunhdhin, fly
gubirr, marchfly
maru; $gudiir, mosquito
walbuulbul, butterfly, moth
midhurr, edible grub species
bulubul, spider (generic)
*dhabulin; $dyinu (cf. 'chin',
  'hip' etc.)*, earthworm
gadu, leech
yulnggurr, prawn or shrimp
*digirr; (cf. mugu, 'back', 'seed',
  'shell')*, shell (generic)
dhawan.ga, freshwater mussel
milbaar, Nautilus shell
dhandaar; $yimun, (green river)
  frog
bundiil, grasshopper
waugul, louse, flea

I - Language, Ceremony, etc.

guugu, $ngiirrul, word, speech,
  language
milbi; $ngiirrul, story, news,
  myth
gadil; $nangginanggi, name, music
  sticks
gunbu; $wanma, dance, song,
  corroboree
ganhil, extemporaneous, abusive
  song
yiilai, song type for dancing
nganydya, initiation ceremony
  and ground
muurrwul; $yanyil, (='cut'),
  scars, body decorations

J - Artefacts, etc

wangi, boomerang
milbiir, wommera
gaanha, yamstick (and wild
  'hopwood' tree from which
  it is made)
gugulu, nulla-nulla, fighting
  stick
galga; $gandul, spear (generic)
yinba; $gandul, four-pronged
  spear
banydyarr; $gandul, four-pronged
  fishing spear
digarra; $gandul, fighting spear
  with stingaree barb

murranggal; $gandul, bullet
  spear
wandin, bark shield
warrbi; $gadiil-baga, axe,
  tommyhawk
biida; $wirriir, shell knife
bulal, firesticks
magarr, fishnet; cobweb
wangga, canoe
banyiin; $dirrbu, dilly-bag type
ngunyin; $dirrbu, small dilly-bag
bunba; $dirrbu, large dilly-bag
dubal, bark trough
nambal; $wambugan, stone, money

K - Food, Fire, Water

minha; $yalmburr, meat, animal
mayi, $gudhubay, vegetable food,
  tucker
yugu; $gunhdhin, tree, wood, fire
wambu, ashes
ngalgal; $buluur, smoke,
  cigarette
wulunggurr, flames, light
buurraay; $wabirr, water
buurraay gaga (='salt, poison'),
  salt water, liquor
wumbal; mulidhin (C), creek
birri, river
namu, walngga, swamp
madyi; $duulbun, rain; matches

L - Celestial, Weather etc.

ngalan; $gandaganda, sun; daytime
wungaar; $gandaganda, dry season
miilu; $gandu, shade, shadow
waarigan; $gin.gin; giidha (C),
  moon
dawaar, star
wudhurr; $budubudu, night
yirmbal, rainbow; supernatural
  serpent
wanganh; dyiiri (C), sky
ngaulbaan, cloud
girray, mist, drizzle
warrbal, fog
dharrarali; $buduunbina, thunder
*wulunggurr; malbarr; $buduunbina
  (cf. 'flames, light')*, lightning

M - Geography

bubu; $waarrii, place, ground,
  country
nanggurr; $waarrii, camp
bayan; $gaymba, house
dhudaan; $yimbulimbul, path, road,
  track

dyuugaar; $nyinyiirr, sand
bunhdhi; $waurii gimbal (='soft')
  mud, swampy ground
gamay; $dharrbi, white clay
wuba, red ochre
bargabarga, yellow ochre
bulbuur; $waurii, dust
warrigan; diyarr (C); $burrigan,
  hole (in the ground)
marrbugan; $burrigan, cave
yaarrguurr; $waurii dhulnggal
  (='good'), plain, flatlands
manydyal; $yinga, mountain
nambal; $wambugan, stone
diiguurr; $nyinyiirr, gravel

N – Arboreal, etc.

yugu; $gunhdhin, tree, wood, etc.
birra; $yidhulidhul, leaf
gun.gun; madya (C), scrub,
  dense scrubland
dhaba; $dyiigu, stick
dhumul, thorn, splinter
dharrandharran; $gunhdhin, root,
  or root cluster
dyin.gal, single root or vine
ngan.ga, flower; feather
munhu; gadhaa (C); $buunhdhi,
  grass
munaanh, burr (from grass)
mabil; muunhdhiina; ngurri,
  etc., species of water lily
  (edible)
baarrabarra, common mangrove tree
babadha, bloodwood
badhuurr, zamia palm
banday, native 'cherry' tree
bidiga, wild 'fig'
biniirr, ironwood tree
budhaya, lady-apple tree
budhu, ti-tree
bungga, black-boy grass tree
dabunh, wild 'mango' tree
dalgan, native 'pine' (Casuarina)
dhibugun, pandanus sp. with
  edible nut
dhilbi; dhaambiin, leichhardt
  tree
dundurr, white gum
duwaar, black palm
gaarraay, raffia palm
garrbil, sea-growing mangrove,
  'sea cedar'
guurruy, 'burdekin' plum
maya, 'sleepy' tree
mili, 'stinging' tree
mulaan, wattle sp.

ngulaga, pandanus, grows on beach
wunha, wild 'nanda' fruit
yaarunh, wattle sp.
gaangga; $waldhan, yam (generic)
wugay; $garu, yellow yam

O – ADJECTIVES

nubuun; $nhuluur, one
gudhiirra; $dhambuul, two
guunduu; $guluur, three, a few
warrga-aygu; $dhalga, many (cf.
  large)
munhi; $mangguul, black
bilbin; $mangguul, grey, darkish
dyinggaa; $dhulnggaal-gu (='good')
  white
diini; $dhulnggal, red
warrga; $dhalga, big
bidha; $yigal, small
galbay; $wunyaan, long, tall
murru; $yigal, short
maymunh, fat, healthy-looking
  (cf. mamba)
barban; daarrgaay (C), bala;
  $dyirrun, thin, unhealthy-
  looking
waalaal; $dhalga, wide
dhubu; $dhudhun, narrow, close
  together
dhumbuurr-gu; $dhulnggal,
  straight, proper
gurruunhgurruunh; $dyirrun,
  crooked, improper
minhdhil; $wulnggan, hot
wungaar; $wulnggan, very hot
  weather
muganhmuganh; $mayguurmayguur,
  cold
duna, moist, wet
banydyil, dry
buula; $dhamarr+PAST, dried up
  (e.g., tree)
burrbuurr; $maydyarr, hard, strong
mulban-gu; $maydyaarr-gu, tight,
  tightly
gima; $gimbal, soft, weak
gulnggui; $nguruurrnguruurr,
  heavy
budharr; $gaari nguruurrnguruurr,
  light (weight)
diirril; balbaaynhbalbaaynggu;
  galbun.galbun; $dhulnggal,
  sharp (point or edge)
dunu; budul (C); $dyirrun,
  blunt, dull
gaga; $dyirrun, sweet, salty,
  sour, poisonous

nhilaa; $dirrgaa, new
nhila; $dirrga, now, soon (time)
dyiga; $dirrga, fresh, unripe
  (fruit, moon)
mugul; $dyirrun, old
dabaar; buudhan (C); $dhulnggal,
  good
warra; $dyirrun, bad
bungal; $dhulnggal, clever,
  expert
yinil; $mun.gal, afraid, cowardly;
  wild (animal)
murnda; $dhulnggal, brave, tame,
  willing
gulay, larrikin, promiscuous
dhuyu; $nharr-badhi, dead
ngaambuurr-gu, alive
gayal; $ganburr, raw, uncooked,
  unripe
ngalmbu; $dhama-rrin, cooked, ripe
yiidhiil, ripening, almost ripe
  (fruit)
gadha; $gunay (='bloated'), foul
  (smelling), rotten
warnggu; $wulbul, sleeping,
  asleep
burra; $walgul dyirrun
  (='bad eye'), blind
burun; gadan; $wulmul gaari
  (='hair not'), bald
mamba-dhirr (='fat-COM');
  $munaal-dhirr, fat
midhi-dhirr (='point-COM'),
  sharp (pointed)
milga-mul (='ear-PRIV');
  $dhuba-mul, deaf, stupid,
  inattentive
milga-dhirr; $dhuba-dhirr,
  obedient
muyan(-dhirr), ashamed,
  embarrassed
guli-dhirr; $burnal-dhirr,
  angry, wild
gaga-dhirr; $ngambuuy-dhirr, sick
dingga-dhirr; $wuyngga-dhirr,
  hungry
gambuul-dhirr (='stomach-COMIT'),
  satisfied, full
waan-biini (='breath-die'), tired,
  thirsty, sleepy

VERBS

P – Motion

dhadaa; $balil, go
gadaa; $madal+REF, come
buunggal+REF; $diugal+REF, enter

waarmbal; $wali-rambal, return (tr)
yirrgal, turn (tr), rotate
wugurr; $nguna-ngal, follow,
  chase (tr)
gaynydyarr; $nhidu-wi madal+REF
  (='knees-on come'), crawl
ganbarr; $dhala-mal, jump,
  protrude
waurii, play, dance
waarril; $guurrbal, fly
dudaa; $wanal+REF, run
buiii; $gulnggal+REF, fall
madhal+REF; $yandal; mabil (C),
  climb up (intr)
dyanydyil; $gubu-rragal+REF,
  bathe, bogey
maariil; $dhaanaarr, swim
ngaarnal-dudaa, dive

Q – Rest

nhin.gal; $nyarrgal+REF, sit,
  stay, exist
walmaa; $yandal, get up, arise,
  rise
yuulii; $nguraarr-ngal+REF,
  stand up (intr)
wunaa; $wadharr, lie down, exist
dhaarmbil, float

R – Induced Position

yidharr; $nambirr, put, put down
gayaa-bagal; $nambirr, hang up (tr)
waalnggal, hang (intr)
maa-naa; $gayil, pick up, take,
  marry, get
garrbal; $nandaarr-ngal, hold
maandii; $daburr, carry, bring
miidaarr; $daburr, lift
dirrbaa; $daburr, abduct, run off
  with
dubil; $nambirr, leave
bulngal; $yalmbuurr-ngal, pull
  (up, out)
buunydyaal; $yalmbuurr-ngal, drag
  along
dhuurrngal; $yalmbuurr-ngal, push
dhambarr; $gala-budal, throw
nhiinggurr; $gala-budal,
  pour (out)
ngalbil; $dawiing-gayil, hide,
  steal
yiwarr, $gan.gurr, look for, search
  for; REF= lose, be lost
wamil; $yudurr, find
wu-maa, $maybal, give

S - Affect

gundal; $ngulnggal, hit, beat, kill
bandil; $ngulnggal, chop, call out
yanggil; $ngulnggal, crack, smash open, scrape
yiigaardamal; $ngulinggal, split
dhabil; $ngulnggal, kick
daamal; $wumarr, spear
bidal; $wumarr, harpoon
nhinil; $wumarr, poke, impale
munggil; $wumarr, haul in (catch of fish or game); thrash
dyinydyal, squeeze, pinch
dhuugil; $yulmbal, rinse, squeeze, sluice
balgal; $yulmbal, make, do, wash, fix
dagil; $yulmbal, erect, build, put together
dhulurr; $yulmbal, scrub
dhiigal; $yulmbal, straighten
milbil; $yulmbal, promise to give to (someone)
bagal; $wanggarr, dig, stab, poke, peck, jab, sting
bunhdharr; $wanggarr, dig up (e.g., nest)
dhanggurr; $wanggarr, scratch
walngal; $wanggarr, open, set free, untie, loosen
nhuyal; $wanggarr, accuse, be suspicious of
wagil; $yarnyil, cut
gadabal; $wan.guur-mal, break (intr)
dumbil; $wan.guur-mal, break (tr)
bandal+REF; $wan.guur-mal, break open, burst (intr)
yaadyil; $dhamarr, cook, burn (intr)
dumbal; $dhamarr, boil (intr)
baawal; $nyarrgal; $buudyiirr, cook, burn (tr)
waabal; $buudyiirr; $nyarrgal, singe (hair off game)
gadhal; $mudil, tie up
dhulnggal; $buyurr, rub, rub on, paint
gaanil, smear, smear on
baydyarr; $nhidal, cover, crush, fall on
duugal; $nhidal wuurrii-wi (='earth in'), bury

T - Attention

banydyii; $nyarrgal+REF, wait
nhaa-maa; $midu-ngal, see

U - Talking, etc.

yirrgaa, speak, say, talk (intr)
waadal; $maybal, tell, say (tr)
miirriil; $miiral, tell (story, news)
gurral; $maybal, say, tell, think, do
maurril; ngandal; $gaari maybal; $dawiing-gayil, refuse, eny
nyandal+REF; $dawiing-gayil, come to an end, finish (intr)
dhaaba-ngal; $gaman-wanggarr, ask (someone for something)
dhunhdharr; $gaman-wanggarr, ask (for something)
ngaadal; $maybal, answer back, help
gawal, sing out, call out, yell

V - Corporeal

budal; $bamba-ngal, eat
baadal; $bamba-ngal, try, taste
dhuumbil; nhuumbil; $bamba-ngal, swallow
gaydyil; $gaamarr, vomit (intr)
nguyaarr-ngal; $bidhaarr-ngal, dream
waaybadhil, yawn
nyuumal; $nyunyurr, smell
budharr; $wunydyurr, blow, blow on
bunydyal (C); dyidyal, $nyunydyal, lick, lap up, drink
bunal; bundal; etc., copulate with
dagarr; $dhalga-mal (='get big'), grow, grow up
buural+REF, get sore
biinii; $nhar-bal+REF, die
baadyil; $dyiraay-mal, cry, sob, wail
diingal; $bumbaay-gayil, laugh at (tr)
nguurangadal; $nguraarr-ngal, try on, measure

W - LOCATION

gunggaarr, north
dyibaarr; $dhalbaarr, south
nagaar, east
guwaar; $nguwaar, west
yuba; $nhirra, near
gadhii; $dhaalburr, far
wanggaar; $yamurr, above, high up

galmbaa; $yamurr, on top of
bada; $dhanun, down, below
maanhdhiirr-gu; $dhunun, beneath, under, down into

X - TIME

ngulgu; $duray, yesterday; afternoon
wun.guunh; $monaal, tomorrow, morning, earlier today
nhila; $dirrga, now
garrgu; $dhaaway, later

dhagaal-bi-gu; $dhaaway, before, first, in front

Y - INTERJECTIONS

yuu, yes
gaari, no, not
binaal; $ngaanhdharr, know knowingly
binaal-mul; $ngaanhdhaarr-mul, don't know

LIST OF AFFIXES

As an aid to the reader, the following list shows the most important affixes and particles discussed in this grammar, the standard gloss for each, and a list of the sections where each is discussed.

REDUP (adjectives), 3.2.5
REDUP (verbs), 3.5.2, 3.5.5.

-:, ALL, 3.3.3[c]
-:, ERG/INST, 3.2.2[b](d)
-:, NONPAST, 3.5.3[a]
-:, SUP, 3.2.2[i]

-$a, PURP, 3.2.2[e]

-:arru, 'hesitation', 3.3.2

=baga, CAUT, 3.5.3[g], 3.5.5, 4.2[a], 4.6
barrga-balga, 'along', 3.2.6[b]
-bi/-wi (~ -bay/-way), DAT/LOC/ ALL/GEN+ABS, 3.2.2[c], 4.1.3[e], 4.1.6[b], 4.3.5-6, 4.7
budhu, DUBITATIVE, 3.3.2[d], 4.8

-:dha-, REF formative, 3.5.4
-dhi, PAST, 3.5.3[b]
-:dhi, REF(+PAST), 3.5.4, 4.3
-dhirr, COM, 3.2.3[c], 4.1.6[g], 4.9

-:ga, ABES, 3.2.2[g], 4.1.3[c], 4.7
-:ga, GOAL, 3.2.2[f], 3.3.2[c], 4.1.3[g]
-:ga-, GEN, 3.2.3[b], 3.3.1, 4.7
-:gal, ADES, 3.2.2[h], 4.1.3[d], 4.3.2
gala, EMPH, 3.2.6[e]

-:gamu, PRECAUT, 3.5.3[i], 4.6
-garr, PLU(+ERG), 3.2.2[b](e), 3.2.3[a]
-:garra/ -:ygarra, EMPH, 3.2.4[c]
-:gu, EMPH, 3.2.4[a], 3.3.1
-:gu/-:ygu, EMPH, 3.2.4[b], 3.2.2[i], 3.4, 4.1.3
-gurr, PLU, 3.2.3[a]
=gurral, CAUS, 3.2.7, 4.2[b], 4.2[d]

-i, DAT/LOC/ALL (after -mu-), 3.2.3[b]
-$i (~-$ay), DAT/LOC/ALL/GEN+ABS, 3.2.2[c]
-ii, IMP, 3.5.3[c]
-$il/-:l, ERG/INST, 3.2.2[b](c)
-$inh/-:nh, ERG/INST, 3.2.2[b](b)
-$inh, LOC/ALL, 3.2.2[c]
-$irr, COM, 3.2.3[c]

-l, NONPAST, 3.5.3[a]
-:l, ERG/INST, cf. -$il/-:l
-la, IMP, 3.5.3[c]
-:lmugu, PAST+NEG, 3.5.3[f], 4.5
-:lmun, ABL, 3.4
-:lnggurr, SUP, 3.4
-:lu, ABL, 3.4

=mal, INCHO, 3.2.7, 3.4, 3.5.1, 3.5.5, 4.2[c-d]
malin, USITATIVE, 3.2.6[a]
=ma-naa, CAUS, 3.2.7, 3.4, 3.5.1, 3.5.5, 4.2[c]
-mu-, catalytic formative, 3.2.3[b],

3.2.3[d], 3.3.3, 4.7
-*mul*, PRIV, 3.2.3[c], 4.5

-:*n*, ERG/INST/ABL/CAU (after -*mu*-),
   3.2.3[b]
-*nda*, CONTRF, 3.3.2[d], 3.5.3[d],
   4.5
-*nda*, ERG/INST, 3.2.2[b](b)
-*n.garr*, ABL, 3.4

-*nganh*, ABL/CAU, 3.2.2[d],
   4.1.3[b]
-*ngay*, PLU, 1.2, 3.2.2[b](e),
   3.2.3[a]
-*ngaygu*, RES, 3.2.5, 4.1.3
-:*ngu*, PURP, 3.2.2[e], 4.1.3[f]
-*ngun*, ERG/INST, 3.2.2[b](a)
-*ngunda*, ERG/INST, 3.2.2[b](e)

-:*nh*, ERG/INST, cf. -$inh/-:nh
-:*nh*, SUP, 3.2.2[i]
-*nhu*, PURP, 3.5.3[d], 4.4.1

-*nhun*, SUB2, 3.5.3[k], 4.4.3

-*rr*, NONPAST, 3.5.3[a]
-*rrigu*, ANTIC, 3.5.3[h], 4.6
-*rrin*, PAST, 3.5.3[b]
-*rrin.ga*, SUB1/PERF, 3.5.3[j]
-*rrin.gamu*, PRECAUT, 3.5.3[i]
-:*rrmugu*, PAST+NEG, 3.5.3[f], 4.5
-*rrV*, IMP, 3.5.3[c]

warra, 'native of', 3.2.6[d]
-*wi* (~ -*way*), DAT/LOC/ALL/
   GEN+ABS, cf. -*bi/-wi*
-*y*, PAST, 3.5.3[b]
-*ya*, CAUT, 3.5.3[g], 4.6
-:*ya*, REF+NONPAST, 3.5.4
-:*yga*, SUB1/PERF, 3.5.3[j], 4.2.2-3
-:*ygarra*, EMPH, cf. -:*garra/*
   -:*ygarra*
-:*ygu*, EMPH, cf. -:*gu/-:ygu*
-:*yi*, REF+IMP, 3.5.4
-*yigu*, ANTIC, 3.5.3[h], 4.6

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS