I WOULD LIKE PROSPECTIVE READERS OF MY THESIS TO BE
DIRECTED TO THE SECOND COPY SIMPLY BECAUSE A FEW
MINOR TYPOGRAPHICAL ERRORS HAVE BEEN CORRECTED IN
THIS COPY.

(D.B.W. BIRK)
THE MALAKMALAK LANGUAGE,
DALY RIVER (WESTERN ARNHEM LAND)

by

David Barry Wilson Birk

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment
of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy at the Australian
National University.

July 1974
"The life of Human Beings is not passed in the sphere of transitive verbs alone."

Martin Buber

Unless otherwise acknowledged this thesis is the original work of the author.
This thesis describes the phonology and grammar of MalakMalak, an Australian Aboriginal language spoken by a dwindling number of speakers on the Daly River, Western Arnhem Land, about one hundred miles south-west of Darwin.

The Introduction outlines the geographical location and linguistic classification of the language, reviews previous descriptive work and explains the orientation of the present description.

Chapter 1 describes the Phonology of MalakMalak in terms of phonemes, syllables, phonological words and phonological phrases. There are fourteen consonant phonemes and five vocalic phonemes. One hundred and three two-consonant and twenty-nine three-consonant clusters have been attested, but no vocalic ones. Diphthongs have been interpreted as $[V+\text{glide}]$, and a sandhi rule operates to handle vocalic contiguity across word-boundaries within the Verb Complex. There are two types of phonological word according to stress-placement, and there is a variety of phonological phrases defined by intonation pattern.

Chapter 2 defines and describes the Word Classes which have been set up for the language. They are: noun, adjectival, pronoun, deictic specifier, adverb, particle, interjection, verb root, auxiliary.

Chapter 3 describes the morphology of the Auxiliary and the Verb Root, the Noun and the lexical Adjective, which together constitute the most productive areas of the grammar.

Chapter 4 describes the sentential syntax of MalakMalak, the syntax of the Verb Complex and Verb Complex complementation, and the syntax of the Noun Phrase.

Three MalakMalak texts are included in an appendix with interlinear and free translations.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I must commence these acknowledgements by paying tribute to the intelligence and patience of my informants, the late Harry Put and the late Mickey Moreen, Nugget Keith and Billy McCann. It was their easy sense of humour that kept us going through many repetitive sessions.

My thanks are due to Professors Stephen Wurm and Bob Dixon for their unfailing support and encouragement. I am also most grateful to my supervisors, Drs. Darrell Tryon and Tom Dutton, in particular the latter upon whom the major part of the supervision devolved.

I wish to mention the feminine support of Hilda Leach and my appreciation of Sue Doobov for her friendship and always intelligent typing.

I acknowledge here the help given to me by the Department of the Northern Territory in Darwin and the Darwin Catholic Mission, and finally the Australian National University without whom this research would not have been possible.
## CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>TITLE PAGE</td>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DECLARATION</td>
<td>ii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ABSTRACT</td>
<td>iii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS</td>
<td>iv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TABLE OF CONTENTS</td>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MAP</td>
<td>xiii</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### INTRODUCTION

0.1 The MalakMalak People 1
0.2 Language Classification 3
0.3 Previous Descriptive Work 5
0.4 Descriptive Orientation of the Thesis 6

### CHAPTER 1. PHONOLOGY

1.1 CONSONANT PHONEMES

1.11 Stops 11
1.12 Nasal Phonemes 11
1.13 Lateral Phonemes 11
1.14 Vibrant /ʔ/ and Continuant /r/ 12
1.15 Semi-Consonants 12
1.16 Consonantal Variants 12

1.2 VOCALIC PHONEMES

1.21 Vocalic Contrasts 15
1.22 Vocalic Variants 16

1.3 THE INTERPRETATION OF GLIDES 18

1.4 SANDHI 20

1.5 SYLLABLE PATTERNS 22

1.6 THE PHONOLOGICAL WORD

1.61 Distribution of Phonemes within the Phonological Word 26

1.61.1 Consonant Distribution 26
1.61.2 Two-consonant clusters 26
1.61.3 Three-consonant clusters 32
1.61.4 Vowel Distribution 33

1.7 THE PHONOLOGICAL PHRASE 34
# Chapter 2. Word Classes

## 2.1 The Word Classes

### 2.11 The Noun

- Information Interrogatives

### 2.12 The Adjectival

- Quantifiers

### 2.13 The Pronoun

- Subject Pronoun
- Object Pronoun
- Emphatic Pronoun

### 2.14 Deictic Specifiers

- Temporal Specifier
  - Temporal Interrogative
- Spatial Specifier
  - Spatial Interrogative
- Demonstrative Pronoun
- **alimiři/aŋuntu**

### 2.15 The Adverb

### 2.16 The Particle

### 2.17 The Interjection

### 2.18 The Verb Root

### 2.19 The Auxiliary

# Chapter 3. Morphology

## 3.1 Introduction to the Auxiliary Verb Morphology

### 3.11 Conjugation 1

### 3.12 Conjugation 2

### 3.13 Conjugation 3

### 3.14 Conjugation 4

### 3.15 Conjugation 5

### 3.16 Conjugation 6

### 3.17 Semantic and Deictic Functions: Conclusion

### 3.18 Morphophonemics of the Bound Subject Person Markers

- **1sgSP**
- **2sgSP**
- **3sgmSP**
- **3sgfSP**
3.18.5 3sgvSP 107
3.18.6 3sgeSP 108
3.18.7 A note on the third singular person marker in the \textit{purposive} paradigms of Conjugations 2, 3, 5 and 6 109
3.18.8 ldlSP 110
3.18.9 licSP 111
3.18.10 lexSP 111
3.18.11 2plSP 113
3.18.12 3plSP 114
3.18.3 The function of the bilabial semi-consonant in the \textit{sequential} paradigm of Conjugation 1 and the \textit{subjunctive} of all conjugations 115
3.19 AUXILIARY AFFIXES 117
3.19.1 Focal suffixes: \textit{-kka/-kna} 117
3.19.2 Focal suffixes: \textit{-na/-ta} 119
3.19.3 \textit{-wa/-ka} 119
3.19.4 Deictic Suffixes 123
3.19.5 Conjugation 1 and the Deictic Suffix 124
3.20 AFFIXES PREFIXABLE TO THE VERB \textit{ROOT} 125
3.20.1 \textit{par-} 125
3.20.2 \textit{lup-} 126
3.20.3 \textit{taq-} 126
3.21 AFFIXES SUFFIXABLE TO THE VERB \textit{ROOT} 126
3.21.1 \textit{-nō} 126
3.21.2 \textit{-telk/-puk} 127
3.21.3 \textit{-ma} 127
3.21.4 \textit{-ali} 129
3.22 THE "DEPARTING FROM" SUFFIX \textit{-man}$^y$ 130
3.23 NEGATION SUFFIXES AND THE ADVERSATIVE 131
3.23.1 \textit{-tan} 132
3.23.2 \textit{-wur} 132
3.23.3 \textit{-man}$^y$\textit{ṇa} 133
3.24 REDUPLICATION OF THE VERB ROOT 135
3.24.1 Partial Reduplication of the Verb Root 136
3.25 COMPOUND VERB ROOTS 138
3.26 MORPHOLOGY OF NOUNS AND LEXICAL ADJECTIVES 139
3.27 ADJECTIVAL CONCORD 140
3.27.1 Modification of Adjectives 147
3.27.11 Comparison 147
3.27.12 -manŋa 149
3.28 POSSESSION 150
3.29 -nò 151
3.29.1 Complement-marker 151
3.29.2 Benefactive 152
3.29.3 Possessor 154
3.29.4 Relator 154
3.30 THE QUANTIFYING SUFFIX -wuna 154
3.31 THE RESEMBLANCE-MARKER -man 155
3.32 THE DUBITATIVE 156
3.33 THE PROPRIETIVE 156
3.34 THE AGENTIVE (INSTRUMENTAL) 158
3.34.1 The Agentive and Transitivity 158
3.35 LOCATIVE AFFIXES 160
3.35.1 -yinŋa 160
3.35.2 -manŋa 161
3.35.3 -na/-an 163
3.36 THE COMITATIVE 164

CHAPTER 4. SYNTAX 167
4.1 INTRODUCTION 167
4.11 SENTENTIAL CONSTITUENTS 167
4.12 CO-ORDINATE AND SUBORDINATE RELATIONS 168
4.12.1 Conditionals 170
4.13 THE VERB COMPLEX 172
4.13.1 Transitivity 174
4.13.11 Noun Phrase, Adjectival and Deictic Complements 174
4.13.2 Indirect Objectivity 175
4.14 VERB COMPLEX COMPLEMENTATION 177
4.14.1 Verb Root/Auxiliary Complementation 177
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4.14.2</td>
<td>Participial Complementation</td>
<td>179</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.15</td>
<td>THE IMPERATIVE</td>
<td>183</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.15.1</td>
<td>The Positive Imperative</td>
<td>183</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.15.2</td>
<td>The Negative Imperative</td>
<td>184</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.16</td>
<td>THE CAUSATIVE/INCHOATIVE</td>
<td>185</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.17</td>
<td>THE VERB ROOT</td>
<td>188</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.18</td>
<td>THE NOUN PHRASE</td>
<td>201</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.19</td>
<td>MARKING WITHIN THE NOUN PHRASE</td>
<td>205</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TEXTS**

209

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

237
### ABBREVIATIONS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
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NP
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P
pl
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propr
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ptcpl
punct
purp
qf
rbl
recip
rel
S
sequ
sfm
sg
ss
subj
tr
trm
ts
v
VC
VR
cardinal numbers 1-3
(preceding sg/pl/ic/ex/dl)
cardinal numbers 1-6
preceeding (tense)
[ ]
( )
{ }

noun phrase
object
obligative
pronoun
plural
possessive
possibility
present
progressive
proprietary
particle
participle
punctiliar
purposive
quantifier
resemblance marker
reciprocal
reduced sentence
subject
sequential
sentence-final marker
singular
spatial specifier
subjunctive
transitive
terminal
temporal specifier
vegetative concord
verb complex
verb root
person indicators
conjugations
delimits sentence/phrase under discussion
indicates optionality only when enclosing a word class
indicates that at least one of the enclosed must be chosen
The use of raised i and u as the phonetic convention for fronted and rounded glides, respectively, follows Pike (1947, p. 45 fn 1). Other phonetic conventions also follow Pike (1947).
1. Ngangikurrunggur
2. Ngengomeri
3. Maramanandji
4. Narithiel
5. Maretyaben
6. Mare Amnu
7. Maredan
8. Marengar
9. Wadyiginy
10. Pungupungu
11. Maranungku
12. Ame
13. Randa
14. Malak Malak
15. Dyeraity
16. Matngala
17. Yunggor
18. Kanor

DEPARTMENT OF HUMAN GEOGRAPHY, A.N.U.
INTRODUCTION

0.1 MalakMalak is an Australian Aboriginal language spoken by a dwindling number of Aboriginals on the Daly River, Western Arnhem Land, about one hundred miles south-west of Darwin. There are currently not more than twenty speakers for only nine of whom it is the mother-tongue. The outlook for the language is bleak. Seven of these nine are a family of unmarried brothers and sisters who appear resigned to the celibacy demanded of them by their late mother. The eighth is the aged father of the family. The ninth is Solomon, the son of my original informant, the late Harry Put'YPut'y. The former is himself ageing and unwell and his ten year old son speaks rather more English than MalakMalak.

Historically, MalakMalak territory is situated on the north side of the Daly River, with the boundary about sixty miles from the mouth (Stanner 1933; Capell 1963). Most of the surviving speakers live on the north side at Wooliana. Stanner's topographical description of the Daly River (op. cit. pp. 380; 385) estimates the area of Aboriginal habitation to have been a "narrow strip of country, less than twenty miles long, on the alluvial flats between the middle and lower reaches of the ... river." It is originally to the MalakMalak that this settled strip of country belonged, according to Stanner (op. cit).
The tribal name of the MalakMalak is *Teñikan*. The language MalakMalak may not in fact be the original appellation. In 1909 Sidney Ray published a short article on a language which he reports Father Conrath, the then resident missionary on the Daly River, as calling *Ngolok-Wanggar*. This language is unquestionably MalakMalak. It has been suggested (Berndt, 1964: p.37) that MalakMalak was a dubbing by white settlers. The argument of naming by association with the mullock heaps beside which this people were said to have dwelt (Berndt, op.cit.) appears less plausible than the straightforward perversion of *ŋuluk* (from *Ngolok-Wanggar*) - *ŋuluk* means *language* in MalakMalak - into *Mulluk* (the customary spelling) by the substitution of a bilabial for a dorso-velar nasal word-initially.

The truth of the situation will probably never be known, these suggestions being based less on evidence than inference. Even so, the very possibility that the name currently accepted by the speakers of the language (and these show no awareness of any historical change of name) could have been thought of as resulting from the dubbing, whether through association or perversion, by non-native settlers, provides a telling index of the impact of the Europeans and the Chinese on the tribal remnants living on the Daly River.

By Stanner's estimate (op. cit. p.381) the period of intensive copper mining extended from 1895 to 1915. He also estimates the European and Chinese population during this period as numbering well over one hundred.
0.2 Malakmalak is a member of the Daly Family which comprises nine distinct languages and ten dialects (Tryon 1974), as in the following table (cp. language-map, p. xiii):
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>FAMILY:</th>
<th>DALY</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>GROUP:</td>
<td>Malak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Brinken-Wogaiti Tyemeri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SUB-GROUP:</td>
<td>Malak Daly Brinken Maranunggu Wogaiti Tyemeri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LANGUAGE:</td>
<td>Malak Matngala Marengar Maranunggu Pungupungu Ngangikurrunggurr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Malak Matngala Maramanandji Marithiel</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Yunggor Maretyaben Ame Wadyiginy Ngengomeri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kamor Mare Ammu Manda Batyamal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Maredan</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The earliest dated linguistic work on MalakMalak is a paper delivered by Rev. Adolph Kristen S.J. at the First Australian Catholic Congress, Sydney, in September 1900. In this paper Kristen presents a short text in an unnamed language and proceeds to parse it. The language is MalakMalak which is also the subject of an undated grammar of 214 pp. by Kristen. Again, the language is unnamed and referred to simply as *aboriginal language*. This work is divided into two parts. Part I is a section of thirty pages on the pronunciation of the language; Part II is mainly concerned with the classification of words and demonstrates that the author had developed a fairly sensitive understanding of the language. But his often keen linguistic intelligence would occasionally enter into conflict with his theological imagination, as in his attempts to relate *aboriginal language* (sic) to Hebrew.

An undated notebook was found among the papers of Rev. Donald MacKillop, S.J. in which several MalakMalak conjugation paradigms are listed with a high degree of accuracy.

W. Schmidt (1902 p.104) quotes some examples from MalakMalak. S.H. Ray (1909) gives some morphological notes and a wordlist of sixty-eight items based on an interview with Father Conrath of the Daly River Mission. Capell and Elkin (1937) list adjectival and pronominal concord classes. Capell (1937) mentions the pronominal system once more. Capell (1940) discusses MalakMalak noun classes and gives a word list of nineteen items. Tryon (1968) in his survey
of all the languages constituting the Daly Family gives a ninety-five item wordlist. Tryon (1970a) discusses noun classification and adjectival concord in MalakMalak (and other Daly River languages). Tryon (1970b) gives a brief structural sketch of MalakMalak while Tryon (1974) gives a more expanded structural sketch of the language primarily for the purpose of its comparison with other members of the Daly Family.

0.4 This thesis describes the basic phonological and grammatical facts of MalakMalak, based on material collected over the period from July 1971 to April 1972 and from April to August 1973. In presenting these facts the aim has been to describe the language on its own terms as far as this is possible. That is to say, it was deliberately decided to let the nature of the language itself determine, for the most part, the form of the description. This description has not, therefore, been cast in any particular theoretical mould. While acknowledging the theoretical limitations of this approach it must be stated that the orientation of this work is not towards linguistic theory - that is something to be left for subsequent research.

Chapter 1 describes the Phonology of MalakMalak in terms of phonemes, syllables, phonological words and phonological phrases.

In Chapters 2, 3 and 4 the essentials of the grammar are presented in a function-oriented way. Chapter 2 defines and describes the Word Classes and their functions. Chapter 3 describes the grammatical core of MalakMalak in that it
describes the morphology of the auxiliary and the verb root, the noun and the lexical adjective, which together constitute the most productive areas of the grammar.

0.41 The auxiliary is a free form occupying a role of crucial importance within sentence structure, as encoder of person, number, tense, mood and aspect. The free subject NP is repeated within the Verb Complex as a subject person marker prefixed to the auxiliary. The free object NP is repeated within the Verb Complex as an object pronoun suffixed to the auxiliary. The verb root and the auxiliary constitute the nucleus of the Verb Complex (v. 4.13) which can be expanded by the addition of an adverb.

The auxiliary comprises six conjugations, five of which have, as well as the grammatical functions already cited, both a semantic and a deictic function. The exception is Conjugation 1 (v. 3.11).

Conjugation 2 has the semantic function of "movement"
Conjugation 3 has the semantic function of "movement"
Conjugation 4 has the semantic function of "sitting"
Conjugation 5 has the semantic function of "lying"
Conjugation 6 has the semantic function of "standing"

The deictic function divides these five conjugations into two groupings: Conjugations 2, 3 and 5 carry the deictic meaning "far away from the speaker"; Conjugations 4 and 6 carry the deictic meaning "in the vicinity of the speaker".
The auxiliary, its functions and affixes are discussed in sections 3.11 to 3.19 (inclusive).

0.42 The Verb Root has the role of "lexical" verb and, except when functioning as a reduced sentence (v. Chapter 4, example 421), as a Verb Complex complement (v. 4.14.1(a)) or as a Positive Imperative (v. 4.16.1(b)), it is accompanied within the Verb Complex by an Auxiliary. When they occur together the Verb Root almost always precedes the Auxiliary.

There are, however, constraints operating on the co-occurrence of certain Verb Roots with certain Auxiliary Conjugations (v. 4.17). It has not been possible, at this stage, to formulate any satisfactory explanatory hypothesis for the existence of these constraints.

0.43 MalakMalak is a multiple classifying language (Capell 1940) which classifies Nouns into four classes (v. 3.26): (1) plants and vegetable foods; (2) animals hunted for meat; (3) trees; (4) a residual class including everything else.

There is a system of adjective/noun concord for a closed set of seven adjectives (v. 3.27) which reflects not the noun classes but the four prefixed third singular person-markers within the auxiliary paradigm (v. 3.11 - 3.16).

0.44 Chapter 4 is entitled Syntax, but syntactic functions are at least implicit in the descriptions of both the Word Classes and the Morphology. The sentential syntax of MalakMalak is relatively simple. With the exception of
Conditionals (v. 4.12.1) there is no formal marking of co-ordination and subordination. These relations are indicated by the juxtaposition of sentences (v. 4.12). Following the sentential syntax, Chapter 4 goes on to describe the syntax of the Verb Complex (v. 4.13; 4.15; 4.16; 4.17) and Verb Complex Complementation (v. 4.14) and the syntax of the Noun Phrase (v. 4.18; 4.19).

Three texts are appended, with interlinear and free translations, further to illustrate the points discussed in the grammar.
CHAPTER 1
THE PHONOLOGY OF MALAKMALAK

1.1 CONSONANTS. There are fourteen consonantal phonemes: four stops p t tʰ k, four nasals m n nʰ q, two laterals l lʰ, one vibrant (flapped) r̝, one continuant r, and two semi-consonants w y.

1.11 Consonantal Contrasts. The stops contrast at bilabial, apico-alveolar, lamino-alveolar, and dorso-velar points of articulation.

Word-initial examples:
- pak  sit
- tuɾk  drink
- tʰuɾk  bury
- kak  hurt

Word-medial examples:
- apap  sick, tired
- mata  rain
- matʰan  foot
- akak  vomit

Word-final examples:
- pap  rush
- pat  fly
- pitʰ  rub firesticks together
- pik  rope
1.12 The nasal phonemes m n n̩ y ŋ are voiced and contrast at bilabial, apico-alveolar, lamino-alveolar, and dorso-velar points of articulation.

Word-initial examples:

- man
- nan
- n̩y̩at
- ŋatŋat

Word-medial examples:

- aman
- p̩̩ny̩̩
- pana

Word-final examples:

- pam
- ŋan
- t̩ny̩
- t̩aŋ

1.13 The lateral phonemes are voiced and contrast at apico-alveolar and lamino-alveolar points of articulation.

Word-medial examples:

- yilik
- yil̩yi

Word-final examples:

- ŋul
- nul̩y̩

Of the two lateral phonemes only the apico-alveolar can occur word-initially.
1.14 The vibrant (flapped) ṟ is apico-alveolar contrasting with the semi-consonant post-alveolar frictionless continuant r:

Word-medial examples:

- miɾi  
- miri

Word-final examples:

- taɾ  
- tar

Neither ṟ nor r occur in word-initial position.

1.15 The semi-consonants w and y are voiced and contrast at the bilabial and lamino-palatal points of articulation.

Word-initial examples:

- wapi  take  walk  stone
- yipi  leave  yalk  moon

Word-medial examples:

- tawut  blood  t'eyö  shark

1.16 Consonantal Variants.

/p/  [p]  (i) voiceless bilabial stop, occurring word-initially and word-finally:

- payak  [pay̥ak]  back
- larap  [lar̥ap]  bind

(ii) word-finally, released and unreleased allophones alternate:

A raised consonant represents an unreleased consonant.
tap \quad [\text{tap} \sim \text{ta}^P] \quad \text{grab}

[b] \quad \text{voiced bilabial stop, occurring intervocically, and following voiced consonants:}

\quad \text{tapak} \quad [\text{tab}^\mathit{k}] \quad \text{break}

\quad \text{tumpurk} \quad [\text{tumbu}^\mathit{r}^\mathit{k}] \quad \text{hiccup}

/t/ \quad [t] \quad (i) \quad \text{voiceless apico-alveolar stop, occurring word-initially and word-finally, and following a voiceless consonant:}

\quad \text{tat}^y \quad [\text{ta}^i\text{t}^y] \quad \text{hit}

\quad \text{tat} \quad [\text{tat}] \quad \text{see/find}

\quad \text{tiktat} \quad [\text{tikta}^\mathit{t}] \quad \text{look back}

(ii) \quad \text{word-finally, released and unreleased voiceless allophones alternate:}

\quad t^y\text{eyöt} \quad [t^y\text{eyöt} \sim t^y\text{eyöt}] \quad \text{red kangaroo}

[d] \quad \text{voiced apico-alveolar stop, occurring intervocically, and following voiced consonants:}

\quad \text{titit} \quad [\text{ti}^\mathit{d}^\mathit{t}] \quad \text{cheeky yam}

\quad \text{anta} \quad [\text{and}^\mathit{t}] \quad \text{allright}

/t^y/ \quad [t^y] \quad (i) \quad \text{voiceless lamino-alveolar stop, occurring word-initially and word-finally:}

\quad t^y\text{iyit}^y \quad [t^y\text{iyit}^y] \quad \text{pick up}

(ii) \quad \text{word-finally, released and unreleased voiceless allophones alternate:}

\quad \text{yinmeyit}^y \quad [\text{yinmeyit}^y \sim \text{yinmeyit}^t^y] \quad \text{little (plm)}

[d^y] \quad \text{voiced lamino-alveolar stop, occurring intervocically, and following voiced consonants:}
/k/ [k] (i) voiceless dorso-velar stop, occurring word-initially and word-finally:

\[ \text{kak} \quad [\text{kak}] \quad \text{hurt} \]

(ii) word-finally, released and unreleased voiceless allophones alternate:

\[ \text{mint}^\text{y} \text{itak} \quad [\text{mind}^\text{y} \text{itak} ~ \text{mind}^\text{y} \text{ya}^k] \quad \text{emphatic pronoun} \]

\[ [g] \quad \text{voiced dorso-velar stop, occurring intervocally, and following voiced consonants:} \]

\[ \text{kakak} \quad [\text{kag} \text{ak}] \quad \text{long way} \]

\[ \text{pöŋköl} \quad [\text{pöŋgöl}] \quad \text{knee} \]

/1/ voiced apico-alveolar lateral resonant, occurring word-initially, word-medially, and word-finally:

1. \[ \text{lak} \quad [\text{lak}] \quad \text{eat (meat)} \]
2. \[ \text{t}^\text{y} \text{ölöl} \quad [\text{t}^\text{y} \text{ölöl}] \quad \text{go down (both recede (of water) and descend)} \]
3. \[ \text{palpal} \quad [\text{palpal}] \quad \text{wide} \]

\[ [l] \quad \text{velarized lateral, conditioned by an immediately preceding high open back rounded vowel, occurring, either by itself or as the first member of a cluster whose second member is the voiced dorso-velar stop [g] :} \]

\[ \text{kul} \quad [\text{kul}] \quad \text{stab (turtle)} \]

\[ \text{mulk} \quad [\text{mulg}] \quad \text{bamboo} \]

\[ \text{pulk} \quad [\text{pulg}] \quad \text{baby chicken} \]
/y/  [ɨ]  Fronted on- or off-glide:
yalk  [ɨalk]  moon
yöyö  [ɨʊ̯ʊ̯]  he stands up/
lies down (v. 3.15; 3.16)
ɛy  [ɛɨ]  spear (verb root)

/w/  [ʊ]  Rounded on-glide:
walk  [ʊalk]  stone

1.2 VOWELS. There are five vocalic phonemes in MalakMalak:
/i/  high close front unrounded
/e/  mid open front unrounded
/œ/  mid close retracted front unrounded
/a/  low open central unrounded
/u/  high open back rounded

1.2.1 Vocalic Contrasts
mi  food (non-meat)
tɛ  meat
tö  hole
ma  wallaby
mu  goose
yetik  liver
yöyöwa  3sgmSP.5/6 (Pres)  he lies down/stands up
yuyuwa  3sgmSP.5/6 (Past)  he lay down/stood up
larap  bind

All vowels have slightly nasalized allophones between nasals:
nimput  [nɪmbʊt]  swag
męŋkit  [męŋʊt]  white cockatoo
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phoneme</th>
<th>Allophone</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/i/</td>
<td>[i]</td>
<td>High close front unrounded vocoid occurring as the norm of the phoneme.</td>
<td>mi [mi] food</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[i]</td>
<td>High open front unrounded vocoid occurring in unstressed syllables. It occurs as carrier of primary stress only when immediately preceded, or immediately followed, by a fronted on-glide, e.g. yin_ya[^1n_ya] (initiated) man, piyip [p[^i]p] sick.</td>
<td>yinin [yinin] nose</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[e]</td>
<td>Mid close front unrounded vocoid occurring only in the following stressed syllable:</td>
<td>pi! [p[^e]!] go! (Verb Root imperative)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phoneme</td>
<td>Allophone</td>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Examples</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ə/</td>
<td>[ə]</td>
<td>Mid open front unrounded vocoid</td>
<td>meat, golden catfish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ɛ/</td>
<td>[ɛ]</td>
<td>Mid open front unrounded vocoid and the norm for this phoneme</td>
<td>meat, golden catfish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ɛi/</td>
<td>This allophone of /ɛi/</td>
<td>has a high white ant fronted off-glide and the lamino-alveolar stop /tʃ/ and the lamino-alveolar nasal /nʃ/</td>
<td>make, white ant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ɔ/</td>
<td>[ɔ]</td>
<td>Mid close retracted unrounded vocoid, and the norm for this phoneme.</td>
<td>tom, weak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/a/</td>
<td>[a]</td>
<td>Low open central unrounded vocoid, and the norm for this phoneme.</td>
<td>wallaby, put (p10)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/æ̯/</td>
<td>[æ̯]</td>
<td>Low close front unrounded vocoid, I will go occurring immediately following a high front vowel.</td>
<td>anuŋka, aenuŋka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phoneme</td>
<td>Allophone</td>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Examples</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[aᵊ]</td>
<td>This allophone of /a/ has a high fronted off-glide, occurring immediately preceding the lamino-alveolar consonants /tᵊ/, /nᵊ/, /lᵊ/.</td>
<td>matᵊan [maᵊdᵊan] foot -manᵊ [maᵊnᵊ] &quot;departing from&quot; suffix</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ʌ]</td>
<td>mid open central again unrounded vocoid bring occurring in un-stressed syllables.</td>
<td>pana [panʌ] waka [wakʌ]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/u/</td>
<td>High open back head rounded vocoid dust and the norm for the phoneme (in unaccented syllables).</td>
<td>puntu [pʊndu] pulu [pʊlu]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ʊ]</td>
<td>Low close back head rounded vocoid goose barramundi (found only, so far, in two monosyllabic lexical items).</td>
<td>mu [ʊ] wu [ʊ]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[uᵊ]</td>
<td>This allophone of /u/ has a feel around in shallow water (for</td>
<td>wutᵊ [wuᵊtᵊ]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
phonemic in the language. Secondly, the word \[ui\] is disyllabic: there is a perceptible chest-pulse between the two like vowels. Hence, to interpret the fronted on-glide in any way other than as a lamino-palatal semi-consonant would seem to be contrary to the phonetic facts.

(2) The \[ei\] diphthong case concerns the Verb Root \[ei\] "kill (potentially or actually) with a missile" immediately followed by the Auxiliary \[ai\]:

\[\text{[ei]} + [ai]\]

The question is whether the fronted off-glide of \[\text{[ei]}\] is to be interpreted vocalically or semi-consonantally.

The argument against the vocalic interpretation stems from the vowel-elision rule that results from the operation of sandhi (v. 1.4) within the Verb Complex (v. fn. 4). According to this rule, when vowels are contiguous across word-boundaries the vowel of the vowel-initial word elides the word-final vowel of the preceding word. Thus, if the fronted off-glide of \[\text{[ei]}\] is interpreted as a vowel the following should result: \[\text{[ei]} + [ai] > [eai]\] (a solution which does not adequately reflect the phonetic facts in that the vocalic sequence \[\text{[eai]}\] does not occur in the language).

\[2\]

Only one instance has been recorded in which vocalic length has a distinctive value: \[kupuk [kupuk] \text{dive (predicated of an individual)}\] as against \[kuwpuk [ku:pu:k] \text{dive (predicated of a number of persons)}\]. This is equivalent to the partial reduplication that has a pluralizing function with certain Verb Roots: e.g. \[yur > yurur: \text{lie down (predicated of an individual and a number, respectively; v. 3.24.1)}\]
But if, on the other hand, the fronted off-glide is interpreted as a lamino-palatal semi-consonant the vowel- elision rule cannot apply, and the sequence \([\varepsilon^i] + [a^i\text{ɪ}]\) is interpreted as \(ɛy\ aya\), as is heard in the language.

In review, then, it is clear that if the fronted glides are interpreted as semi-consonants, not only is this nearer to the phonetic facts but syllabic structure is also made neater by the avoidance of uncharacteristic vocalic sequences.

Thus, when occurring word-initially, \(i\) preceded by a fronted on-glide is interpreted as \(yi\)

\[ [i\text{ɪn}^y\text{a}] \rightarrow yin^ya \quad \text{(initiated) man} \]

Similarly, \(u\), when occurring word-initially, immediately preceded by a back rounded on-glide is interpreted as \(wu\)

\[ [u\text{ʊm}u^u\text{a}] \rightarrow wumuwa \quad \text{steal} \]

1.4 SANDHI. Vocalic contiguity across word-boundaries is handled differently in the language depending upon whether it occurs within or outside the Verb Complex. Within the Verb Complex sandhi takes place:

1. \(pi\) \(\text{at.ta} \rightarrow [p\text{ad}^a] \)

(VR) \(go\) (Aux) lexSP.2 (Pres/Past)

We (exclusive) go/went.

---

3 Further support for the interpretation of the back rounded on-glide as a semi-consonant is provided in the Morphophon- emics of Bound Person-Markers (section 3.19) where the occurrence of a back rounded on-glide between the vowels is interpreted as an intrusive bilabial semi-consonant: e.g. 

\[ [u\text{ʊ}^u\text{ʊn}^d\text{ʊn}^d] \rightarrow \text{wööntön} \]

4 The Verb Complex (VC) may be expanded as follows:

(adverb) \{((Verb Root)(Auxiliary)) \} (object pronoun)
2. tātma yī.ta +-aṛin\textsuperscript{y} \rightarrow [tātm\textsubscript{a} yīdārīn\textsuperscript{y}]

(VR) see.cnt (Aux) 3sgmSP.2(Pres/Past +1sgOP)

*He is/was looking at me.*

3. anti Ḇyma wut.ta

adv (recip) (VR)spear.cnt (Aux)3plSP.2(pres/Past)

[\textsuperscript{5}And\textsuperscript{i}m\textsuperscript{a} wūt\textsuperscript{a}]

(Aux)3plSP.2(Pres/Past)

*They fought each other with spears.*

In these and similar cases, as a result of the operation of sandhi the vowel of the vowel-initial word elides the word-final vowel of the preceding word, retaining its stress in the process, and a new phonological word is formed. Thus, in the case of both the trisyllabic words [yīdārīn\textsuperscript{y}] and [\textsuperscript{5}And\textsuperscript{i}m\textsuperscript{a}] primary stress falls on the second syllable through the process of elision.

Outside of the Verb Complex sandhi does not take place:

4. mī akāna \rightarrow mī ākan\textsubscript{a} [mī āgan\textsubscript{a}]

*Vegetable food* adv (neg)

*(v.1.6)*

*No food.*

5. tē ḫpuṛ\textsubscript{a} [tē ḫbuṛ\textsubscript{a}]

*Meat* 1(ic)OP(bf)

*Meat for us (inclusive).*

\textsuperscript{5}See section 1.6, below, for a discussion of *Word Stress.*
1.5 SYLLABLE PATTERNS.

The following syllable types occur:

V  a.ya lsgSP.1(Punct)
VC  ak  a species of catfish
CV  te  generic marker for animals hunted for meat, and the meat itself.
CVC  tek  camp
CVCC  tu̯k  drink (Verb Root).

1.6 THE PHONOLOGICAL WORD.

The phonological word in MalakMalak is a minimal utterance carrying one primary stress.

There are two types of phonological word defined by the position of the phonological stress. In the one, stress falls on the first syllable and all odd-numbered syllables subsequent to this. In the other case stress falls on the second syllable and all even-numbered syllables subsequent to this. In the former case, phonological word-boundary immediately precedes primary stress. In the latter case phonological word-boundary recognition is assisted by potential pause and, to a minor degree, phonemic distribution: \( y^u \), \( y \) and \( r \) cannot occur word-initially, nor \( w \) word-finally.

---

6 Primary stress falls obligatorily on the second syllable for five- and seven-syllable words and for four-syllable auxiliaries. Second syllable primary stress is optional for trisyllabic words (except where sandhi is involved, in which case it is obligatory).

7 Relative loudness, pitch and length were not measured mechanically in the analysis of stress.
Word stress carries little functional load in Malak. Primary stress is usually accompanied by raised pitch. In the following examples of individual cases primary stress is marked by (') and secondary stress by (').

Monosyllabic words carry primary stress:

\[ \text{tin'} \text{ pi} \]
(adv) go Try and go!

\[ \text{yőn wá} \]
yamstick pick up Pick up the yamstick!

Words of two syllables are stressed on the first syllable:

\[ \text{yőntön he (Subject Pronoun)} \]
\[ \text{tyürár spear} \]
\[ \text{műyný dog} \]
\[ \text{wůru arm (or rivulet)} \]

The only exceptions to this rule are (1) primary stress falls on the phrase-final syllable of yes/no interrogatives and imperatives (see section 1.7), and (2) where roots are reduplicated, in which case they carry reduplicated primary stress:

\[ \text{lámlám talk/have a chat} \]
\[ \text{pítý pítý rub firesticks} \]
\[ \text{wórkwórk flat-tailed catfish} \]
\[ \text{mírmír melt} \]
\[ \text{tůytůy stretch (intr.)} \]
Trisyllabic words are usually stressed on the first and third syllables:

- álawař woman
- melpapù father (reference as opposed to address)
- maparà follow
- ákunmàn where from?

However, a contrastive stress-pattern may be realized within the trisyllabic phonological word: primary stress may fall on the second syllable, giving the word an emphatic force:

- akánman where from?
- melpåpu father
- akåna negative (adverb/adjective)

If a trisyllabic phonological word in the Verb Complex has a second syllable primary stress this will be a result of sandhi (v. 1.4)

Tetrasyllable words are usually stressed on the first and third syllables:

- mút'urwùna very many
- múnakàra beautiful
- kårarkwàrat take a number of objects out (of some container)

Tetrasyllabic auxiliaries receive primary stress on the second, and secondary stress on the fourth, syllables. This is the only stress-placement possibility for tetrasyllabic auxiliaries in the language:
They will sit.
You (pl.) are going to lie down.
You (pl.) stood up.
You and I eat/ate (non-meat food).

Pentasyllabic words always take primary stress on the second syllable and secondary stress on the fourth:

ty'tewelramankil fork-stick
You and I will stand.
You and I will lie down.
They will lie down.
We are all going to stand.

Heptasyllabic words also always take primary stress on the second syllable, secondary stress falling on the fourth and sixth syllables (in accordance with the rule that every second syllable is stressed):

të an wuwuntununuwèkna: He would have given you (sg) meat.

Hexasyllabic words take primary stress on the first syllable, secondary stress on the third and fifth:

nöŋkörönöyûŋka You (pl.) will lie down.

That is to say, this is regular in terms of the first-syllable and odd-numbered subsequent-syllable stress rule.

Similarly, octasyllabic words take primary stress on the first syllable and secondary stress on odd-numbered syllables subsequent to this:
You (pl.) would have given them meat.

The environment for almost all instances of obligatory second-syllable stress-placement is the Verb Complex (cf. the sandhi phenomenon, 1.4). For example, the only heptasyllabic words in the language occur as inflected auxiliaries. Pentasyllabic words tend to be either auxiliaries, or Verb Roots such as parārattyat; pentasyllabic nouns like t'yamānkil are rare.

1.61 The Distribution of Phonemes within the Phonological Word.

1.61.1 Consonant Distribution.

Any single consonant except 1'y, ț and r may occur word-initially. There are no consonant clusters in the phonological word-initial position.

1.61.2 Consonant clusters are unequally divisible into those that occur intra-syllabically and those that occur inter-syllabically. There are seven intra-syllabic consonant-clusters, all of which have a liquid as initial consonant in the cluster, and ninety-six inter-syllabic clusters.

Of the clusters that have a stop as the final consonant, fifteen have an initial nasal:

---

\[ More \text{ precisely, regarding the latter, what R.H. Stetson (} \text{Motor Phonetics, 1928} \text{) called "abutting consonants".} \]
tumpurk  hiccough
lamtəl  stop (someone doing something)
lamtəra  stop (tr.)
timkut  bury (rubbish etc.)
yunpayin  good
piyantuk  underneath
yəntər  dew
alanki  bring back
wanəpi  paddle (a canoe)
manətutma  big crowd (of people)
puʁunpuʁun  boil (Verb Root)
tantaʃma  hit repeatedly
luŋtəʃat  (of bird, with anatomical food-bag: replenish
manətəʃmatan  not produce children
pöŋköl  knee

Five have an initial lateral:
pilp  slap
altak  break (tr.)
kaltəʃt (puntuna) carry (on head)
yalk  moon
tapulyp  extinguish fire (with fingers, as opposed to feet)

Four have a vibrant ɾ as initial consonant:
təurp  cut
muʁtuk  hatch
muʁtəɾ  trip
ŋiɾk  die
Four have a continuant r as initial consonant:

- **kurpuk**: wash
- **lērp**: meet (predicated of a large number of persons)
- **t'yewörtël**: forget
- **purwart'et**: get dark
- **purkin**: grey kangaroo
- **kark**: go up a slope (a bank, e.g.)

Four have a geminated stop sequence:

- **lup.pi.ma**: together.go.continuative
- **at.ta**: lex SP.2 (Pres./Past)
- **kat'y.tyuřkwat**: throw.put inside: throw inside
- **lak.kat'y**: eat (meat).throw: leave some meat (when unable to eat more)

Ten have a heterorganic stop sequence:

- **taptapali**: hold on to something moving (animal)
- **tapt'yiri**: drop
- **kumitpuluk**: sand goanna
- **yitt'yéřat**: slough skin
- **yitkař**: scale (fish)
- **kat'y.puk**: might beat (competitively)
- **tat'y.kak**: hurt (tr.)
- **yikpi**: small
- **lamty.aktan**: try to stop unsuccessfully
- **wakt'y.alkma**: waterfall

Of the remaining clusters that have a nasal as initial consonant, six have semi-consonants as final member:
manwiyuk  hungry

tat wööntöngörö  he/she sees/saw us (exclusive)
kin'ywat  hang (up)
man'yur  cover
t'iyanwat  send over (food, e.g.)
kat'yuk yönpunörö  he might beat us (ex) (competitively)

Of the clusters that have a stop as the initial consonant, thirteen have a nasal as final consonant:

apma  be quiet!
tapnö  grab him (male human or animal)
tapña  grab (something) over there
anti tatma  find each other
tatnö  find him
nyatn̓at  chip wood
tutña  causative.deictic suffix

kut'ama  whistle
tat'na  hit him
wat'uru  try
nakma  eat
nanakna  really
payakñarö  beetle

Eight have a semi-consonant as final consonant:

tapwapakkat'y  turn over (tr.) (of a turtle, e.g.)
apyurali  participial form of yur: lie (down)
tatwur  be missing
tatyur  sleep fitfully
yukut'wat move (fire e.g.) along (to harden newly-cut canoe)
kat'yipi leave behind (tr.)
yanakwuna just one
wakyen wet

Of the remaining clusters that have a nasal as the final consonant, twelve have nasals as initial consonants. (Three of these are geminated sequences which are morphemically glossed in what follows):

| lam lam.ma | talk (VR).cnt |
| tam. o'yat | cook (meat) wrapped up (i.e., in paperbark) |
| man mal | wing |
| qun na | spatial specifier. locative |

-yin qa in/on/beside
laqma light (antithesis of dark)
t'önö fire-place (lit. belongs to fire)
tat'yönpuŋ.ñayi he is going to hit her.
wany ma row or paddle
tat yimin'ño he sees/saw him
t'yinman'ña nobody
t'yinn'ukma water-rat

Of the remaining clusters that have an initial lateral, four have a nasal as final consonant:

wil ma swim
tölŋ stretch (intr.)
mul'mul ma ripe/soft
nil'ilŋ.ña take bark off in small strips  (away from speaker)
Three have a semi-consonant as final member:

- nöwölweřiyen yita  he makes a lot of trouble
- kalyur  carry
- t⁷il⁷wuřkali  wrinkled (skin)

Of the remaining clusters that have a vibrant (flapped) r as initial consonant, three have a nasal as final consonant:

- pařmat⁷y.  old woman
- kařnilyur  scratch skin so as to break it
- kařŋöyat  light pipe/cigarette

One has a lateral as final consonant:

- kařlak  pick edible meat (worm etc.) out of ground and eat it (predicated of a bird, e.g.)

Two have semi-consonants as final members:

- kuřwapi  drag along
- kařyit  comb hair

Of the remaining clusters that have a continuant r as the initial consonant, three have a nasal as final consonant:

- arma  dry (VR)
- alawarnö  for or belongs to the woman
- tarŋiřk  kill (VR) with a missile

One has a lateral as final consonant:

- man⁷t⁷urlin⁷  bush rope

Two have semi-consonants as final members:
yarwa leader (of fighting contingent) or boss
alawaryinga beside the woman

Of the clusters with an apico-alveolar lateral as the second consonant, one has a stop as initial consonant:

tat'lam capsize

Two have a nasal as initial consonant:

lamlam talk (vb. stem)
manlapar lung

1.61.3 Twenty-nine three-consonant clusters have been attested. They all occur word-medially across morpheme boundaries. The characteristic pattern is a syllable-final cluster (called an intra-syllabic cluster (v. 1.61.2)) followed by any one of the set of consonants permissible as second member of a two-consonant cluster. The typical composition of a syllable-final cluster in this phonological structure is: a liquid followed by a bilabial or dorso-velar stop or, in one instance, a dorso-velar nasal.

ŋalkpak sit down when full up with food
tarŋalktarŋalk bump into someone
ŋalkt'ye t stand up when full up with food
t'yalkma fall
telkqa singe hair from animal (away from speaker)
ŋalkwukut'y fill (lot of people) with food
t'yalkyur bend over
t'yirkt'y et join (VR) (e.g. 2 bits of wood)
karkkat^y  startle
pêrkma  rest (VR)
karkwat  take (meat, e.g.) from fire
t^yururkyiwařa, tönö  lot of people go into jungle
nalamuʁkma  swear, curse
aqurkna  half-way
turkwat  swallow
t^yurkyiwaña, tönö  one person goes into jungle
talptalpma  run along playing
kö̂lpt^yet  roast (a single animal)
kö̂lpma  roast (unmarked for quantity)
tapul^yp  extinguish fire
pul^ypur  (fire) dies down
tö̂l̂qma  stretch (VR)
lerpma  meet, of a large number
turppak, (pö̂nköl)  kneel down
t^yurpteyt^y  cut off
turptkat^y  dig
turpt^yet  plant (VR)
turppam  plant (plo)
mantum törpyur  spiked by fin (of catfish)

1.61.4 VOWEL DISTRIBUTION

The vowels /a/ and /ɛ/ may occur word-initially, /i/, /ʊ/ and /u/ may not. The only other constraints on vocalic distribution are, firstly, that /a/, /ɛ/ and /u/ do not follow /l^y/ and, secondly that there are no vocalic clusters (v. 1.3).
1.7 THE PHONOLOGICAL PHRASE

The phonological phrase consists of phonological words.

There is a variety of phonological phrases defined by the following intonation patterns.

A phrase-final fall in pitch level marks the end of a (non-interrogative) sentence.

A phrase-final high rise in pitch marks the end of a yes/no question. In an information question the interrogative carries a high pitch on its first syllable and primary stress falls on the phrase-final syllable with a concomitant low rise in pitch.

When the phrase-final intonation is no different from the pitch-level of the rest of the phrase, this denotes a sentence-medial phrasal statement. When the phrase-final intonation differs from that of the rest of the phrase only in that it has a low rise contour, this denotes a sentence-medial anticipative intonation.

The imperative intonation is marked by two features. Firstly, it is spoken faster than normal. Secondly, the phrase-final syllable receives primary stress with a concomitant low rise in pitch.

An emphatic negative involves a sharp fall in pitch.

---

9 What follows is not an exhaustive statement of the intonation patterns. Much more research into this area of the language is needed before such a statement will be possible.
"The part of speech reflects not so much our intuitive analysis of reality as our ability to compose that reality into a variety of formal patterns."

(Sapir, 1921)

2.1 The following word classes may be set up for the description of the language:

Noun
Adjectival
Pronoun
Deictic Specifier
Adverb
Particle
Interjection
Verb Root
Auxiliary

This section provides a brief introduction to the structure of the language by defining the word classes.

2.11 Noun.

The noun in MalakMalak can take certain affixes characteristic of the distributional class of words that
can occur as subject or object of a sentence.

The noun can take the following affixes:

- the Possessor suffix -nö (section: 3.28)
- the Benefactive suffix -nö (section: 3.29.2)
- the Intensive suffix -nö (section: 3.29.1)
- the Relator suffix -nö (section: 3.29.4)
- the Comitative suffix -yên (section: 3.36)
- the departing from suffix -man'y (section: 3.35.2)
- the Locative suffix -na/-an (section: 3.35.3)
- the Locative suffix -yinə (section: 3.35.1)
- the Agentive suffix -waŋ (section: 3.34)
- the Proprietary affix -mel- (section: 3.33)
- the Resemblance suffix -man (section: 3.31)
- the Quantifying suffix -wuna (section: 3.30)
- the Dubitative suffix -malak (section: 3.32)

Nouns can be qualified by an adjectival (v. 2.12; 4.18). The latter can be realized as a demonstrative, possessive, or lexical adjective, as a deictic specifier or as a quantifier. If a noun is qualified any adnominal affix (with the exception of -mel- and -malak) is suffixed to the adjectival.

The language classifies nouns into four classes (v. 3.26):

1. The generic free classifier mi (meaning non-meat food) classifies vegetable food;
2. The generic free classifier te (meaning meat food) classifies both animals hunted for meat and the meat itself;

\(^1\) v. 4.11
(3) The generic free classifier t'öö (meaning tree/wood) classifies trees.

(4) An unmarked residual class covering all other nouns in the language.

2.11.1 Information Interrogatives within the Noun Phrase are non-concordal: they reflect neither noun class nor adjectival concord. They are distinguished in terms of human and non-human referents, each consisting of a root from which other interrogatives can be formed by the addition of an appropriate suffix. Except when qualifying a NP (v. examples 3, 5 and 7 below), they occur sentence-initially.

Information interrogatives denoting human referents

[ɛyin] who?

1. [ɛyin] pi yita
   intrg go 3sgmSP.2(pres/past)
   *Who went?*

[ɛyin] + Comitative suffix [-yen]

[ɛyinyen] who else?

2. [ɛyinyen] ka yita
   intrg.comit come 3sgmSP.2(pres/past)
   *Who else came?*

[ɛyin] + Possessor suffix [-nö]

[ɛyinnö] whose?

---

2 NP can be expanded as: {(noun)(pronoun)}(adjectival), (v.4.18)

3 -nö corresponds to what Capell (1956) called a bivalent suffix: in MalakMalak it can be suffixed both to Noun Phrases and Verb Roots. One of the adnominal functions of -nö is to mark the possessor of an alienable possession (v. 3.28).
3. *t'yanar* [ṣiyinnō]
spear intrg.poss

*Whose spear?*

**Information interrogatives denoting non-human referents**

[nikita] what?

4. [nikita] ṣakma yita
   intrg eat(veg).cnt 3sgmSP.2(pres/past)

*What is/was he eating?*

5. yawuk [nikita]
other intrg.

*What else?*

[nikita] + Relator suffix [-nō]

[nikitanō] what for/why?

6. [nikitanō] ka nunta
   intrg.rel come 2sgSP.2(pres/past)

*Why have you come?*

[nikita] + departing from suffix [-man]

[nikitaman'] what's the matter?

The interrogative quantifier [apuntu] *how many?* is unrestricted as to referents:

7. alalk yinmeyiy [apuntu]
   child little(plm) intrg

*How many little boys?*

8. wu [apuntu]
   barramundi intrg

*How many barramundi?*

---

4 Another adnominal function of -nō (v. 3.29.4)
2.12 Adjectival

An adjectival (v. 4.18) is a word or group of words qualifying a noun or pronoun. It can be realized in the Noun Phrase (v. 4.18) as

(1) a demonstrative adjective (v. 2.14.3 examples 73/4)
(2) a possessive adjective (v. 3.28)
(3) a deictic specifier (v. 2.14)
(4) a quantifier (v. 2.12.1)
(5) a lexical adjective.

Lexical adjectives follow the noun or pronoun they modify and are, with the exception of a small closed set of seven, invariable. These seven (v. 3.27) are marked for concord with the nominal that they modify:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Tigrinya</th>
<th>Tigrinya</th>
<th>Tigrinya</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>big</td>
<td>yināli/yikpi</td>
<td>yönörön/yinanki</td>
<td>yunpayin/yinat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>little</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>old</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>good</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>new</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>bad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>short</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The unmatched short is treated by the language as the marked member of the pair long/short in so far as it is the only one that is concordally related to the nominal that it qualifies.

The concordal indices are not an exact reflection of the four-term noun-class system. Rather, the indices are: masculine, feminine, vegetative, and elemental/silvan, reflecting the third singular subject person-markers in the auxiliary paradigm (v. 3.11 - 3.16; 3.18).
Additionally, with the exception of the pair old/new, the concordal adjectives undergo partial reduplication when pluralized.

2.12.1 Quantifiers

The numeral adjectives from one to ten are as follows:

\begin{align*}
\text{yanak} & \theta & \text{one} \\
\text{we} & \text{Rana} & \text{two} \\
\text{we} & \text{Ranay} & \text{three} \\
\text{we} & \text{Ranwe} & \text{four} \\
\text{nanyilk yana} & \text{ara} & \text{five} \\
(\text{hand}) (\text{side}) \\
\text{nanyilk yana} & \text{ara} & \text{yanak} & \text{six} \\
\text{nanyilk yana} & \text{ara} & \text{we} & \text{Rana} & \text{seven} \\
\text{nanyilk yana} & \text{ara} & \text{we} & \text{Ranay} & \text{eight} \\
\text{nanyilk yana} & \text{ara} & \text{we} & \text{Ranwe} & \text{nine} \\
\text{nanyilk yana} & \text{ara} & \text{w} & \text{nanyilk yana} & \text{ara} & \text{ten} \\
\end{align*}

The ordinal series is formed by preposing wuru (lit. arm) to the cardinal number:

\begin{align*}
wuru & \text{we} & \text{Rana} & \text{twice} \\
\end{align*}

Other quantifiers include the dual marker wontot which characteristically occurs sentence-finally:

---

Small constitutes an exception in that the change of shape it undergoes when pluralized is beyond that of reduplication:

\begin{align*}
yikpi & \rightarrow \text{yinmeyi} & \text{y}
\end{align*}
9. pi wutta \(^6\) wöntöt
go 3plSP.2(pres/past) dlm
They both went.

10. yöntön tat\(^y\) yimin\(^y\)wörö wöntöt
3sgmSP hit 3sgmSP.1(punct).3p1OP dlm
He hit them both.

However, when modifying the first person inclusive pronoun wöntöt becomes a trial marker:

11. yeřkit mařin\(^y\) anti tutma ařtini wöntöt
licSP story adv(recip) caus.cnt licSP.4 dlm (purp)
We three are going to tell one another stories.

12. yöntön tat\(^y\) yimin\(^y\)ařpuřu wöntöt
3sgmSP hit 3sgmSP.1(punct).1licOP dlm
He hit the three of us.

ařawan is a quantifier glossed as together, which can qualify a nominal or a bound subject person-marker (v. example 15) in the auxiliary (v. 3.1 - 3.16; 3.18).

13. ŋuluk ařawanman
tribe qf.rbl
Like one tribe.

14. parařaŋ ki yeřkit ařawan pi ařta
corpse ds(ss) licSP qf go 1licSP.2(pres/past)
We all accompany the corpse together.

\(^6\) pi wutta comprises a Verb Root (in this case, pi) followed by an Auxiliary (in this case, wutta). The latter carries person, number, tense, mood, and aspect (v. 3.1 - 3.16).
15. ḏawān  wōttō  
   qf  3plSP.4(pres)  
   They are here together.

Eyineyinga is a quantifier glossed as each/separate, and is post-posed to the noun that it qualifies:

16. yin^a  alawar  eyineyinga  
   (initiated) man  woman  qf  
   Each married couple.

Mut^u^r/mut^u^rwuna are quantifiers glossed as many and very many, respectively, and which can qualify a nominal or a bound person-marker in the auxiliary.

17. alalk  mut^u^r  
   child  qf  
   Many children.

18. alalk  mut^u^rwuna  
   child  qf  
   Very many children.

19. mut^u^rwuna  ƛak  wōyōntōn  
   qf  eat(veg)  3plSP.1(sequ)  
   They all eat/ate (vegetable food).

Akana is an adjectival negative.

20. mi  akana  
   food(veg)  (neg)  
   No vegetable food.

2.13 Pronouns

The pronouns of the language are divided into a free set of subject pronouns and a bound set of object pronouns.
The latter cover direct and indirect objectivity and pronominal benefactives.

2.13.1. The Subject Pronoun shares the syntactic possibilities of the noun within the Noun Phrase.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pronoun</th>
<th>Function</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>𝜋a</td>
<td>speaker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yawot</td>
<td>speaker and at least one other person (excluding addressee)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yaŋki</td>
<td>speaker and addressee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yeɾkit</td>
<td>speaker and at least two other persons (including addressee)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wฉายari</td>
<td>one addressee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nukut</td>
<td>two or more persons at least one of whom is an addressee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yöntön</td>
<td>one male person (neither speaker nor addressee)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nöstön</td>
<td>one female person (neither speaker nor addressee)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wöɾöntön</td>
<td>two or more persons (neither speaker nor addressee)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The free subject pronoun has two functions in the language. Firstly, because the auxiliary obligatorily carries bound subject pronoun markers, the free subject pronoun is syntactically optional. When it does occur it therefore simply duplicates the bound subject pronoun as a NP in

---

7 The sex-distinction is neutralized in the plural.
sentence structure. Secondly, when pre-posed or post-posed to a noun the free subject pronoun conveys inalienable or alienable pronominal possession, respectively (v. 3.28)

2.13.2 The object pronouns are bound, and are suffixed to the auxiliary (or to a Verb Root in the case of a Verb Root imperative with a pronoun object, v. 4.15.1)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sentence</th>
<th>1sgOP</th>
<th>1exOP</th>
<th>1d1OP</th>
<th>1icOP</th>
<th>2sgOP</th>
<th>2p1OP</th>
<th>3sgmOP</th>
<th>3sgfOP</th>
<th>3plOP</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-ařin'y</td>
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</table>

2sgSP and 3sgfSP can disambiguate the bound person-marking in the following paradigms from the Auxiliary Conjugations:

Conjugation 1: future
Conjugation 2: pres/past; progr.; fut.; purp.
Conjugation 3: past; pres.; progr.; purp.
Conjugation 4: past; pres.; progr.; fut.
Conjugation 5: past; pres.; progr.; fut.
Conjugation 6: past; pres.; progr.; fut.

There is an exception to this rule: notably, where the pronoun is the benefactive object not of an auxiliary but of a noun; in which case it behaves as a free pronoun, e.g. te aŋpuɾu: meat for us (inclusive).
The free object NP is reflected within the Verb Complex by a person- and number-equivalent object pronoun (v. 4.13). Conversely, when an object pronoun occurs unaccompanied by a free object NP the former can be optionally anticipated by a free subject pronoun:

21. ŋa tat⁴ yimin⁴a⁴rin⁴
1sgSP hit 3sgmSP.1(punct).1sgOP

He hit/hits me.

2.13.3 Emphatic Pronoun. mint⁴itak

mint⁴itak can occur (1) by itself, or (2) accompanied by a subject pronoun:

22. mint⁴itak pakma yita
emphP sit.cnt 3sgmSP.2(pres/past)

He lives/lived by himself.

23. pi nunta waŋa⁷i mint⁴itak Darwinta
go 2sgSP.2(pres/past) 2sgSP emphP Darwin.sfm

You go/went to Darwin by yourself.

2.14 Deictic Specifiers.

The spatial and temporal specifiers are grouped together semantically in so far as they reflect the spatio-temporal co-ordinates of the situation of utterance.

2.14.1 Temporal Specifiers. Temporal specification is part of the auxiliary, and is obligatorily realized by the tense-marker (v. 3.11-3.16). However, additional temporal qualification of a sentence may be realized by any of the set of temporal specifiers.

v. 4.11
Syntactically, a **temporal specifier** (ts) usually occurs first in sentence-structure, and qualifies the entire event referred to by the sentence.

**muta**

24. **muta lamlammanöna** [ka wuttayööö
  **ts** talk.cnt.int **come** 3p1SP.2(pres/past)lexOP
  **wařiyat]**

**meet**

*Afterwards they come to meet us (excl.) to talk.*

**aman**

25. **aman pi anuŋka**
  **ts** go 1sgSP.2(fut) **clf red kangaroo.int**

*Now I will go for red kangaroo.*

**way**

26. **[way ayuwakna]** [payka yità]
  **ts** 1sgSP.5(past) **appear** 3sgmSP.2(pres/past)

*I was still sleeping when he appeared.*

27. **way akana yönuŋka**
  **ts** adv (neg) 3sgmSP.2(fut)

*He won't be long.*

**tỳintaŋ(way)**

**habitual specifier**

(This temporal specifier does not always occur sentence-initially)

---

Although it can occur in other positions in sentence-structure, sentence-initial occurrence is the norm.
28. t'yintanway yita
   ts  3sgmSP.2(pres/past) eat(veg).cnt
   He is always eating.

29. wöttö  t'yintan
   3plSP.4(pres) ts
   They're still here.

30. tatma  t'yintanway yitařin'y
   see.cnt ts  3sgmSP.2(pres/past).1sgOP
   He keeps looking at me.

n'yuřun Verb Root denoting habitual action

31. n'yuřunma wörö
   ts.cnt  3plSP.5(pres)
   They lie down all the time (or They are always a long way away. (v. 3.1; 3.15))

When qualifying a transitive action n'yuřun requires a noun-object to carry the suffix -nawuna. 12

32. waknawuna n'yuřunma yita
    beer.ts  ts.cnt  3sgmSP.2(pres/past)
    He drinks all the time.

33. nulukanawuna n'yuřunma yita
    story.ts  ts.cnt  3sgmSP.2(pres/past)
    He tells stories all the time.

A number of the temporal (and spatial) specifiers, although functionally and semantically deictic specifiers, 12

-nawuna can also assume a spatial sense:

e.g. artilnawuna
    salt water.ss : up to the salt water
are formally nouns. Thus, the following temporal specifiers are able to take adnominal suffixation and/or adjectival qualification.

\begin{align*}
\text{miřiyen} & \quad \text{during the day} \\
\text{sun.comit} & \\
34. \text{muta miřiyen} & \quad \text{atōma} \\
\text{ts sun.comit} & \quad \text{eat(meat) lsgSP.1(purp)} \\
\text{Later on during the day I am going to eat (meat).} \\
\text{pentŷi} & \quad \text{yesterday} \\
35. \text{pentŷi yawuk} & \quad \text{N(ts) A the other day} \\
\text{ŋöyö} & \quad \text{tomorrow} \\
36. \text{ŋöyö yawuk} & \quad \text{N(ts) A the day after tomorrow} \\
37. \text{tek yawuknö} & \quad \text{country/camp A.poss next time} \\
38. \text{nan'yilk yanaŋaɾaman'y} & \\
\text{hand ss.dpf} & \quad \text{last week} \\
39. \text{nan'yilk yanaŋaɾa yawuk} & \\
\text{hand ss A next week} \\
40. \text{nan'yilk yawuk} & \\
\text{hand A next day} \\
41. \text{yalk yawuk} & \\
\text{moon A next month} \\
42. \text{puwar.yinŋa} & \\
\text{night,loc} & \quad \text{morning} \\
43. \text{yĩŋki puwar} & \\
\text{afternoon night evening} \\
\ldots
\end{align*}
2.14.11 Temporal Interrogative

amanali when?

44. amanali tikka yönugka
   intrg(ts) back.come 3sgmSP.2(fut)
   When will he return?

2.14.2 Spatial specifiers.

Syntactically a spatial specifier (ss) can:

(1) modify a sentence (in which case it usually, but not always, occurs sentence-initially);
(2) it can qualify a NP post-positionally;
(3) it can assume the function of a demonstrative pronoun. A single spatial specifier may combine the functions of (1) and (2).

qun there

45. alalk yinmeyit' pi wutta qun
   child little(plm) 3p1SP.2(pres/past) ss
   The little boys go/went there.

46. tek qunna paypi wutta
   camp ss.loc emerge 3p1SP.2(pres/past)
   They emerge/emerged at the camp over there.

katuk yonder

47. katukan wöyö
   ss.loc 3p1SP.(pres)
   They are over yonder.

Katuk may undergo partial reduplication which has the effect of intensifying the spatial meaning:
48. yin'y a yawuk nath katuruk yö yö
    man A ptc1(emph) ss 3sgmSP.5(pres)

    The other man is a very long way away.
    Note that katuruk denotes vertical extension when co-occurring
    with kan't'yuk: kan't'yuk katuruk : very high

    ki here

49. perma ka wutta ki
    rest.cnt come 3plSP.2(pres/past) ss

    They come/came here for the holidays.

50. tikka tek kina
    back.come camp ss.loc

    Come back to this camp.

    piyantuk inside/underneath

51. te qunna pu'rpsma nunta
    meat ss.loc burn(tr).cnt 3sgfSP.2(pres/past)

    piyantukna ss.loc

    She cooks/cooked the meat over there inside.

52. antuk piyantuk
    house ss

    Inside the house.

    anurk halfway

53. pak wöttö wontöt anurkna
    sit 3plSP.4(pres) dlm ss.loc

    They both sit down halfway along.

    yanañařa ... yanañařa this side ... that side

    punar middle
54. [yananąña tatma wutta] [yananąña ss see.cnt 3pISP.2(pres/past) ss tatma wutta] [punärna tatma see.cnt 3pISP.2(pres/past) ss.loc see.cnt wuttanö] 3pISP.2(pres/past)3sgmOP

They looked this way; they looked that way; they were in the middle watching him.

Other spatial specifiers include the following:

ariyinęga in front of (an object with mouth.loc an opening)

55. antuk ariyinęga in front of the house
pött'yalmiyen in front of a person breast.straight

56. alawar pött'yalmiyen in front of the woman
t'yalmiyen ss right/straight

57. waŋkir t'yalmiyen patma yita crow ss fly.cnt 3sgmSP.2(pres/past)
The crow flies/flew straight.

yanpar left

58. mi walk t'yanıkir piyantuk wöyö food(veg) stone ss 3sge.SP.6(pres)
The food stands between stones.
wan'kar

outside

59. wan'kar yita
ss 3sgSP.2(pres/past)
He is outside.

antawan
near

60. wak antawan near the water

61. antawan yita
ss 3sgmSP.2(pres/past)
He is nearby.

kakak
far away

62. kakakan y ka yita
ss.dpf come 3sgmSP.2(pres/past)
He has come from far away.

me'akan
first

63. qa me'akan pi anuŋka wan'ari anuntu
lsgSP ss go lsgSP.2(fut) 2sgSP ss
I will go first, you next

...

2.14.21 Spatial Interrogatives.

akun where?

64. mi akun mōyō
food(veg) intrg(ss) 3sgvSP.5/6(pres)
Where is the food?

akun + departing from suffix -man' y
akuman' y where from?
65. \textit{akunman} \textsuperscript{y} ka nunta  
intrg.dpf come 2sgSP/3sgfSP.2(pres/past)  
Where have you/do you come from?/Where has  
she/does she come from?  

akun + Locative suffix -yinya  

akunyinya how far?  

66. \textit{akunyinya} pi wöröunjun\textsuperscript{y}  
intrg.loc go 3plSP.2(progr)  
How far are they going?  

akutena directional interrogative  

67. \textit{akutena} wilma nuntuŋ  
intrg.loc swim 2sgSP/3sgfSP.2(purp)(v. 3.12)  
Where are you/is she going to swim to?  

2.14.3 Demonstrative Pronouns.  

\textit{ki} this one  

\textit{qun} that one  

68. [\textit{ki} qatal yita] [\textit{qun}  
P(dm) strong 3sgmSP.2(pres/past) P(dm)  
töm yita]  
weak 3sgmSP.2(pres/past)  
This one is strong; that one is weak.  

yawuk(sg) other one  

quža (pl) other ones  

69. [yawuk te tulul yita]  
P(dm) meat dislike 3sgmSP.2(pres/past)  
[aŋ wöröntönnö]  
give 3plSP.1(sequ)  
The other fellow didn't like the meat they gave him.
70. **nura watiyaŋ nuntawörö**
    \[P(dm) \text{ share out 3sgfSP.2(pres/past).3plOP}\]
    She distributes/distributed (it) to the others.

**katuk**
    that one(yonder)

71. [**katuk**\text{man} \text{yönö} \text{akana}] [**pulit**\text{y}]
    \[P(dm).\text{rbl} 3sgmSP.4(pres) \text{adv(neg)} \text{old man}\]
    \[kiman \text{yöyö} \text{akana}\]
    \[P(dm).\text{rbl} 3sgmSP.5/6(pres) \text{adv(neg)}\]
    He does not resemble that one sitting down over yonder, nor does he resemble this old man lying down/standing up (v. 3.15; 3.16).

**nan**
    this one/that one

72. **mi nannö**
    \[food(veg) P(dm).\text{poss}\]
    The food belonging to that one.

**nan** can also assume a **demonstrative adjectival function**:

73. **te aŋ wöřöntön alalk yikpi**
    \[\text{meat give 3plSP.1(sequ) child little(sgm)}\]
    \[nanta\]
    \[A(dm).\text{sfm}\]
    They give/gave that little boy meat.

74. **alintyir attawa te papalu nan**
    \[\text{afraid lexSP.(pres/past) clf buffalo A(dm)}\]
    We (ex) are/were afraid of that buffalo.
2.14.4 The deictic specifiers alimiři and aŋuntu can function in both a temporal and a spatial environment:

alimiři
75. alimiři antι ñy má wutta
ts adv(recip) spear.cnt 3p1SP.2(pres/past)
They used to spear one another.
76. alimiři pi nuntuŋ
ss go 2sgSP.2(purp)
You (sg) go.

aŋuntu
77. aŋuntu y alalk yinmeyitŋ aŋuntumanŋ t'ęřat
adv child little(plm) ts.dpf be born(plS v.3.24.1)
wutuyuwakka
3plSP.6(past).foc
Then subsequently the little boys were born.
78. alalk nikpi t'ęŋ aŋuntu ńat'ępak
child little(sgf) tree ss hide
3sgfSP.4(past)
The little girl hid behind the tree.

2.15 Adverbs.

Adverbs modify the Verb Complex (VC) (v. 4.13)
numpaŋ perhaps
79. numpaŋ akak yinma
adv vomit 3sgmSP.2(purp)
Perhaps he'll vomit.
nanak

80. nanak apap aya
   adv sick 1sgSP.1(punct)
   I'm really sick.

wan'ara

81. wan'ara pi yita
   adv go 3sgmSP.2(pres/past)
   He goes/went slowly.

wat'uri

82. wat'uri pi wutta
   adv go 3plSP.2(pres/past)
   They went quickly.

tayt'uri

83. te tayt'uri nöyat aya
   meat adv cook 1sgSP.1(punct)
   I cooked the meat properly.

anti reciprocal adverb (v. 3.23.3)

84. anti lamlamma wöttö wöntöt
   adv talk.cnt 3plSP.4(pres) dlm
   They are both talking to one another.

85. wañaři anti waŋkaŋ nöntöma
   2sgSP adv convey 2sgSP.1(purp)
   Your turn to take (it).

tiny try to

86. na tiny pi atunno
   1sgSP adv go 1sgSP.2(purp).3sgmOP
   I'll try and go to him.
tin can also be used as a form of the positive imperative.

87. tin
tatnö
adv find.3sgmOP
Try and find him!

88. tin wat
nöntöma
adv attempt(VR) 2sgSP.1(purp)
Have a try!

awat
Don't! (Negative imperative)

89. awat teymarin
adv wait.cnt.1sgOP
Don't wait for me!

90. awat pak
adv sit down
Don't sit down!

naŋara desiderative adverb
naŋara always immediately precedes the VC, the following auxiliary occurring only in the purposive:

91. naŋara tikpi atun tekanta
adv(desid) back.go 1sgSP.2(purp) camp.sfm
I want to go back to the camp.

92. naŋara ĕtöyn tekanta
adv(desid) sleep 1sgSP.5(purp)
I want to go to sleep.

---

13 v. 4.16.1
14 v. 4.16.2
pawu obligatory adverb

pawu generally precedes the VC, but can occur elsewhere in sentence structure:

93. pawu nan'ilk yanaŋaŋaman'y te
adv(oblig) ts clf
kumukut lak aya
blue-tongue lizard eat(meat) lsgSP.1(punct)

I ought to have eaten the blue-tongue lizard last week.

94. pent'yi pi wiŋin't'ya pawu
ts go 3plSP.2(subj) adv(oblig)

They should have gone yesterday.

95. qa pawu yur atöyung
lsgSP adv(oblig) lie down lsgSP.5(purp)

I should lie down.

anin'y and ye'ya anin'y marks the temporally successive character of events while ye'ya singles out an event from the temporal flow as particular.

anin'y

96. [anin'y paröt ŋak wöwöntön alawar
adv sit up eat(veg) 3sgfSP.1(sequ) woman
yöntönta] [anin'y mi watiyan'y
3sgSP.sfm adv food(veg) share
yitawörö] [mut'yrwuna ŋak
3sgmSP.2(pres/past).3p10P qf eat(veg)
wööntön]
3plSP.1(sequ)
Then his wife sits up and eats (and) then he distributes the food to them. Everyone eats.

The old man pokes an eye out. Now he (the buffalo) is blind.

Say that again.

He heard the red kangaroo again.

This adverb is used to indicate the termination of a series of actions, and occurs sentence-finally:

100. [walk kararkwarat

stone take out (reduplicated to indicate plural object v. 3.24.1)

put down.leave put inside

manna] [talwakat'y

stomach.loc lift

[walk wuʃk wöwöntön

3sgmSP.1(sequ) stone put into 3sgmSP.1(sequ)
He takes out the stones, puts (them) down and leaves (them). He puts them inside the stomach [i.e. of a kangaroo about to be cooked by means of hot stones]. He lifts the stones up and puts one stone in the heart, another in the belly, another in the anus. He picks [the kangaroo] up and leaves it to roast in a hole, covers it up.

That's all.

15

They cannot speak our language.

---

See 3.23 for a discussion of bound negation-markers.
2.15.1 Interrogative Adverbs.

aman (plus Conjugation 1 and co-extensive low rise in pitch): What?

102. aman ařtöma
adv(intrg) licSP.1(purp)

What are we going to do?

amanali

103. kurmin[^amanali t^yen^ma
double hook-spear adv(intrg) make.cnt

How do you make a double hook-spear?

nunta]

2sgSP.2(pres/past)

2.16 Particles

The particle is a set of grammatical words comprising two members.

qan comparative particle (v. 3.27.11)

104. t^y^a^n^a[r [qan t^yalala]
spear ptcl(comp) long

A longer spear.

105. mi [qan mikpi] aŋařin^y
food(veg) ptcl(comp) little(sgv) give.1sgOP

Give me less food.

106. qan lapař wuta
ptcl(comp) light 3sgSP.2(pres/past)

It is a bit lighter.

The combination of the Conjugation 1 Auxiliary together with the concomitant intonation pattern distinguishes the interrogative adverb aman from the temporal specifier aman (v. 2.14.1).
\( \eta \text{aty}. \) The precise-syntactic function of this particle is not yet entirely clear. However, the fact that it is, in almost all instances, in complementary distribution with the bound focus-markers (v. 3.19.1) supports the hypothesis that \( \eta \text{aty} \) has the function of an emphatic marker.

107. \([\text{tek} \ \text{yawuknö} \ \text{akana} \ \eta \text{aty}]\) \[\text{tek} \ \text{camp} \ \text{other.int} \ \text{adv(neg)} \ \text{ptcl(emph)} \ \text{camp} \\
\text{kina} \ \eta \text{aty}]\) \\
**ss.loc** \[\text{ptcl(emph)}

*No other camp; just this camp.*

108. \(\eta \text{aty} \ \text{apap wöwöntön}\) \[\text{ptcl(emph)} \ \text{sick} \ \text{3sgmSP.1(sequ)}

*He is sick.*

109. \(\eta \text{aty} \ \text{yawöt wani maparama}\) \[\text{ptcl(emph)} \ \text{lexSP} \ \text{dreaming} \ \text{follow.cnt} \\
\text{atta}] \ [\text{wagari nunta} \\
\text{lexSP.2(pres/past)} \ \text{2sgSP} \ \text{2sgSP.2(pres/past)} \\
\text{mintyitakan nunta}] \ [\text{yawöt} \\
\text{emph.P.loc} \ \text{2sgSP.2(pres/past)} \ \text{lexSP} \\
\text{eyikeyik atta}] \\
\text{black} \ \text{lexSP.2(pres/past)}

*We just follow our dreamings; you have your own ways. We are black.*
2.17 Interjections.

yu  
yes!

aka  
(1) emphatic negative (with co-extensive sharp fall in pitch).

(2) emphatic interrogative: What? (with co-extensive high rise in pitch).

anta  
all right

kukuk  
wait/hang on!

tyenya  
an expression of approval.

ma  
interrogative or imperative interjection (with co-extensive high or low rise in pitch, respectively).

weya  
come here!

2.18 Verb Root.

Within the Verb Complex (v. 4.13) the Verb Root carries lexical meaning and is able to take the Continuative (v. 3.21.3), Intentive (v. 3.21.1), and Participial (v. 3.21.4) suffixes and the two markers of the modality of possibility (v. 3.21.2).

2.19 Auxiliary.

Within the Verb Complex the Auxiliary carries the grammatical functions of person, number, tense, mood and aspect. Auxiliary Conjugations are discussed in the following chapter.

anta can also occur in sentence structure with an adverbal function (v. Text 1, sentence 33).
CHAPTER 3
MORPHOLOGY

3.1 AUXILIARY VERB MORPHOLOGY

Introduction

Beside its role as a grammatical verb carrying person, number, tense, mood and aspect in sentence structure, each Auxiliary conjugation has a more specifically definable function. Conjugation 1, which has no semantic role, is the transivity index of the entire conjugation system. That is to say, 96% of all transitive Verb Roots recorded are able to select for Conjugation 1. Conversely, intransitive Verb Roots characteristically cannot select for Conjugation 1.

1 From a sample of 150 Verb Roots unable to select for Conjugation 1 eight (or 4%) are transitive:

\begin{verbatim}
kuřwapi  
mitt שת (pel y)  
pitin t et  
ttyzma  
tylul  
t tвор tark y  
wukut y  
yi pi
\end{verbatim}

\begin{verbatim}
drag  
paint (ceremonially)  
dislike  
wait (for)  
dislike  
remind  
throw away  
leave
\end{verbatim}

2 There are twelve recorded exceptions to this rule, all of which can select for Conjugation 1:

\begin{verbatim}
ηırfk  
apap  
manpurity  
manwiukηırfk  
nit  
tum  
wuwnuŋ  
yakayakay  
kan  jak  
tumpurk  
t yırfya  
ηe
\end{verbatim}

\begin{verbatim}
die  
sick/tired  
be satisfied  
be starving  
tell a lie  
inhale  
feel contented  
scream  
cough  
hiccough  
sneeze  
breathe
\end{verbatim}
Conjugations 2-6 (inclusive) have an identifiable semantic content; Conjugation 1 does not. Conjugations 2-6 are able to stand as independent verbs; Conjugation 1 only as a dependent grammatical verb. Conjugations 2-6 are accessible to Verb Roots carrying the continuative suffix -ma; Conjugation 1 is not.

Conjugation 2 has the semantic function of "movement".
Conjugation 3 has the semantic function of "movement".
Conjugation 4 has the semantic function of "sitting".
Conjugation 5 has the semantic function of "lying".
Conjugation 6 has the semantic function of "standing".

From the point of view of semantic function, then, Conjugations 2-6 fall into four fields.

Syntactically, however, the situation is more complex. In addition to carrying person, number, tense, mood, and aspect Conjugations 2-6 all carry a deictic function. On this basis they can be divided into two groups:

Conjugations 2, 3 and 5 carry a deictic function glossed as "yonder (far away from the speaker)".

Conjugations 4 and 6 carry a deictic function glossed as "in the vicinity of the speaker".

It so happens that there is a morphophonemic differentiation within the auxiliary conjugation system that divides Conjugations 2-6 into just the two groupings cited above.

The two groupings are characterized in terms of ŭ and t conjugation types which relate to the phonological shape of
the following bound person-markers in the present, past and progressive paradigms of Conjugations 2-6.

- First person exclusive bound subject pronoun (1exSP)
- Second person plural bound subject pronoun (2p1SP)
- Third person plural bound subject pronoun (3p1SP)

The Progressive paradigm will be taken as exemplar:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Conjug. 2</th>
<th>Conjug. 3</th>
<th>Conjug. 5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1exSP</td>
<td>2p1SP</td>
<td>3p1SP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a'yu-quny</td>
<td>nunguku-1-quny</td>
<td>woro-1-quny</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a'yu-reny</td>
<td>nungkoro-reny</td>
<td>woro-reny</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a'yu-1-quny</td>
<td>nungkoro-quny</td>
<td>woro-quny</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Conjugations 2, 3 and 5 are morphophonemically characterized by the ŋ conjugation-type. Conjugations 4 and 6 are morphophonemically characterized by the t conjugation type.

1. Although Conjugation 2 is an ŋ conjugation type (taking the Progressive paradigm as criterial) it contains an exception to the ŋ conjugation-type rule: the Present and Past tenses are conflated into a single paradigm which conforms to the t conjugation type.

2. The Purposive paradigms of Conjugations 2-6 conform to the t conjugation type in terms of the already cited indices; and the Future and Subjunctive paradigms of the same conjugations conform to the ŋ conjugation type.

3. The deictic functions of the Auxiliary conjugations are restricted to Conjugations 2-6. Conjugation 1, although it has the phonological shape of an ŋ conjugation type, does not have any deictic function at all. (This is likely to be
There are two further syntactic functions carried by Conjugations 2 and 3: Conjugation 2 has a copulative function (v. 3.12) and Conjugation 3 has a durative function (v. 3.13).

Person Markers (v. 3.18).

Each paradigm of each conjugation carries obligatory bound subject pronouns and optional bound object pronouns. The bound subject pronouns supplement the corresponding nine free subject pronouns by two. The two additions comprise the Vegetative (v) and the Silvan/Elemental (e). (These are directly reflected in the adjectival concord system, v. 3.27.) In terms of this pair of supplementary subject pronouns there is an asymmetry between the bound subject and object pronouns. That is to say, the nine bound object pronouns correspond to the nine free subject pronouns, on a one-to-one basis. There are no corresponding object pronoun forms for the Vegetative and Silvan/Elemental markers.

Tense, Aspect and Mood Paradigms.

Tense: Present, Past, and Future

Aspect: Progressive (with the exception of Conjugation 1), Punctiliar (Conjugation 1 only)

Mood: Purposive and Subjunctive.

Within the range of the Purposive are the Intentive (covering the desire and/or intention to do something) and the Positive.

In Conjugations 1 and 2 the Present and Past tenses are conflated. In Conjugation 1 the conflated tenses are called Punctiliar (carrying the aspectual overtone of unique performance) and the Sequential (v. 3.11).
Imperative. Within the range of the Subjunctive is the Potential (as opposed to the actual), often with the meaning of a 'counterfactual condition' in the protasis of a conditional sentence (v. 4.12.1).

3.11 Conjugation 1.

As already mentioned, Conjugation 1 has been interpreted in this description as the transitivity index of the conjugation system. It carries no semantic function and cannot stand alone, nor can it co-occur in the Verb Complex (v. 4.13) with the continuative suffix -ma. Related to the non-continuous aspect of this conjugation is the nature of the punctiliar paradigm. This paradigm, with an aspectually perfective force, and whose tense-range covers both past and present, describes unique events. Its function can be illustrated contrastively with that of paradigm 2, the sequential (whose tense-range also covers both past and present) which is used to express serial actions.

In the following passage the time-sequence is punctuated by unique events (rendered by the punctiliar):

```
110. [te yiŋi kark yuŋuy] 
clf crocodile come up 3sgmSP.2(progr)
[waliwaliman'y kark yuŋun'y'a] 
river.dpf come up 3sgmSP.2(progr).foc
[nŋŋŋŋun'y titna] [ŋat'y kark] 
3sgfSP.5(progr) bank.loc ptcl(emph) come up
```
The salt-water crocodile was coming up. He was coming up from the river. She was sleeping on the bank. He was just coming up. He bit her. The crocodile bit the little girl. The mother screamed.

The **sequential** describes serial activity: 

111. [alawar parat nöntyö] [työŋ leyp
woman get up 3sgfSP.5(pres) wood gather
wööntön] [ka nunta työŋ
3sgfSP.1(sequ) come 3sgfSP.2(pres/past) fire
tyakt'tet[pirpiyet wööntön]
prepare ignite 3sgfSP.1(sequ)

The woman gets up, carries wood, comes and prepares the fire and ignites (it).

---

Cf. Swahili -KA- tense which "expresses an action or state which follows another action." — E.O. Ashton, "Swahili Grammar", p.133.
### Conjugation 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Persons</th>
<th>Punctiliar</th>
<th>Sequential</th>
<th>Purposive</th>
<th>Future</th>
<th>Subjunctive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lsgSP</td>
<td>aya</td>
<td>awöntön</td>
<td>atöma</td>
<td>anmawa</td>
<td>awuntuwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2sgSP</td>
<td>nuntya</td>
<td>nöwöntön</td>
<td>nöntöma</td>
<td>nunmawa</td>
<td>nuwuuntuwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3sgmSP</td>
<td>ỹimin^y</td>
<td>wöwöntön</td>
<td>yinma</td>
<td>yinmawa</td>
<td>wuwuntuwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3sgfSP</td>
<td>nimin^y</td>
<td>wöwöntön</td>
<td>nunma</td>
<td>nunmawa</td>
<td>wuwuntuwa</td>
</tr>
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<td>3sgvSP</td>
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<td>möwöntön</td>
<td>munma</td>
<td>munmawa</td>
<td>muwuuntuwa</td>
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<td>ldsSP</td>
<td>aŋkaya</td>
<td>aŋköntön</td>
<td>aŋkötöma</td>
<td>aŋkunmawa</td>
<td>aŋkuntuwa</td>
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<td>1cSP</td>
<td>ąřkun^y</td>
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<td>ąřtöma</td>
<td>ąřkunmawa</td>
<td>ąřkuntuwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lexSP</td>
<td>ąřun^y</td>
<td>ąřöntön</td>
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<td>ąřunmawa</td>
<td>ąřuntuwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2plSP</td>
<td>ńuŋku ŋun^y</td>
<td>ńöŋköröntön</td>
<td>ńököttöma</td>
<td>ńuŋku ŋu-</td>
<td>ńuŋku ŋu-</td>
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<tr>
<td>3plSP</td>
<td>wiřmin^y</td>
<td>wöřöntön</td>
<td>wöttöma</td>
<td>wöřön-</td>
<td>wuňuntuwa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The subject-pronouns are incorporated into the auxiliary paradigms as bound prefixal person-markers which are set out for the conjugation as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Persons</th>
<th>Punctiliar</th>
<th>Sequential</th>
<th>Purposive</th>
<th>Future</th>
<th>Subjunctive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lsgSP</td>
<td>a-</td>
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<td>a-</td>
<td>a-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2sgSP</td>
<td>nunt-</td>
<td>nö-</td>
<td>nöń-</td>
<td>nu-</td>
<td>nu-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3sgmSP</td>
<td>ỹi-</td>
<td>wö-</td>
<td>yi-</td>
<td>yi-</td>
<td>wu-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3sgfSP</td>
<td>ni-</td>
<td>wö-</td>
<td>nu-</td>
<td>nu-</td>
<td>wu-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3sgvSP</td>
<td>mu-</td>
<td>mö-</td>
<td>mu-</td>
<td>mu-</td>
<td>mu-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3sgeSP</td>
<td>wu-</td>
<td>wö-</td>
<td>wu-</td>
<td>wu-</td>
<td>wu-</td>
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<td>Persons</td>
<td>Punctiliar (i)</td>
<td>Sequential (ii)</td>
<td>Purposive (iii)</td>
<td>Future (iv)</td>
<td>Subjunctive (v)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>----------------</td>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
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<tr>
<td>1dlSP</td>
<td>aŋka-</td>
<td>aŋk-</td>
<td>aŋkö-</td>
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The tense-markers, residually, are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Persons</th>
<th>Punctiliar (i)</th>
<th>Sequential (ii)</th>
<th>Purposive (iii)</th>
<th>Future (iv)</th>
<th>Subjunctive (v)</th>
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<tr>
<td>1sgSP</td>
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<td>-untuwa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Paradigm 3. Purposive

112. mi ŋak nöntöma

food eat 2sgSP.1(purp)

Eat the food!
113. wak wentawaliktap atōma
water like/desire 1sgSP.1(purp)
I'd like (some) water.

114. taratwat atōmawōro
look(pl.obj.).send 1sgSP.1(purp).3p1OP
I'll watch them.

115. [apap yinma] [tek yawuk qiyk
sick 3sg.mSP.1(purp) camp other die
yinma]
3sgmSP.1(purp)
If he's sick in another camp he will die.

116. aman ařtōma?
adv(intrg) 1(ic)SP.1(purp)
What are we going to do?

Paradigm 4. Future

117. mi ƞak anmawa
food eat 1sgSP.1(fut)
I will eat food.

118. mi aŋ anmanōwa
food give 1sgSP.1(fut).3sgm0P
I will give him food.

119. mi aŋ anmawōřōwa
food give 1sgSP.1(fut).3p1OP
I will give them food.

---

7 v. 3.19.3 regarding the word-final occurrence of -wa in this environment.
Paradigm 5. Subjunctive

120. te aŋ awuntunōwakka anti
meat give 1sgSP.1(subj).3sgmOP.foc adv(recip)

Had I given him meat he would have given
me some.

121. te aŋ nuwuntuwarin⁴ty akna anti
meat give 2sgSP.1(subj).1sgOP.foc adv(recip)

If you give me meat I will give you some.

The subjunctive also includes within its range the potential:

122. mata tarar wuwuntuwa
rain rain lightly 3sgeSP.1(subj)
It might rain lightly.

Although Conjugation 1 has been termed the transitivity index
of the conjugation system its transitivizing capacity is
extremely limited. yur (lie down) and t⁷et (stand up) are
the cognate verb roots for conjugations 5 and 6, respectively.
But when selecting Conjugation 1 they function as transitive
verbs.

123. ṭyãŋar yur aya pawuŋkan
spear lay 1sgSP.1(punctiliar) floor.loc
I lay spear on floor.
124. antuk t'et aëntön
   house put up lexSP.1(sequ)
   We (ex) erect(ed) the house.

One verb root has been encountered whose semantic content can be affected according to which of two conjugations it selects:

\[
\begin{align*}
  t'^uřk & \quad (1) + \text{conj. 1: bury} \\
  (2) + \text{conj. 2: enter}
\end{align*}
\]

125. puliťy t'^uřk ayanö
   old man bury 1sgSP.1(punct).3sgmOP
   I bury/buried the old man.

126. tono t'^uřk yita
   jungle enter 3sgmSP.2(pres/past)
   He enters/entered the jungle.

3.12 Conjugation 2.

Auxiliary Conjugation 2 is, semantically, a conjugation of "movement". It carries both a deictic and a copulative function.

In its unmarked role Conjugation 2:

(1) co-occurs with verb roots of "movement" in a semantically cognate role:

127. pi yita tönöna
    go 3sgmSP.2(pres/past) jungle.loc
    He goes/went to the jungle.
kupuk yita        waliwaliyinŋa

*dive* 3sgmSP.2(pres/past) *river.loc*

He dives/;ived into the river.

or occurs by itself as a verb of "movement":

128. tɛnö  ata

*meat.int* 1sgSP.2(pres/past)

*I'm going for meat.*

(ii) carries a deictic function glossed as "yonder (far away from the speaker)":

129. nilŋ  tarma  wutta

*nail* press.cnt 3plSP.2(pres/past)

They are/were hammering nails (over yonder)

130. yin'ŋa  eyin  yita?

*man* intrg 3sgmSP.2(pres/past)

Who is that man (over yonder)?

(iii) when occurring alone (i.e., without a verb root) Auxiliary Conjugation 2 can carry a copulative function:

131. karala  yunpayin  yita

*body*  *good*  3sgmSF.2(pres/past)

He is happy.

132. na  lɛr̥  aŋunŋ

1sgSP  *hot*  1sgSP.2(progr)

*I am hot.*

For the marked role of Conjugation 2 the semantic function of the auxiliary is *foregrounded*:

---

Term introduced by Paul L. Garvin in Garvin (1964).
133. \textit{t'alkyur nönyö}  
\textit{bend over} 2sgSP/3sgfSP.5(pres)  
\textit{She bends over/You (sg) bend over.}

becomes, when Conjugation 2 is selected:

134. \textit{t'alkyurali nunta}  
\textit{bend over} ptcp1 2sgSP/3sgfSP.2(pres/past)  
\textit{You (sg)/She go(es)/went along bent over.}

135. \textit{ka yita-nki}  
\textit{come} 3sgmSP.2(pres/past).dc  
\textit{He comes/came here.}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Conjugation 2</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Persons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1sgSP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2sgSP</td>
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<tr>
<td>3sgmSP</td>
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<td>3sgeSP</td>
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<td>1dpSP</td>
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<tr>
<td>1exSP</td>
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<tr>
<td>2pI\textsuperscript{a}SP</td>
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<td>3pI\textsuperscript{a}SP</td>
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The subject person-markers are as follows:
<table>
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<tr>
<th>Persons</th>
<th>Pres/Past</th>
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<th>Purposive</th>
<th>Future</th>
<th>Subjunctive</th>
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<td>wóřo-</td>
<td>wut-</td>
<td>wóřo-</td>
<td>wiř-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The tense-markers are, residually, as follows:

\[
\begin{align*}
1\text{sgSP} & \quad -\text{ta} \quad -\text{ŋun}^y \quad -\text{tuŋ} \quad -\text{nuŋ-ka} \quad -\text{win}^y\text{t}^y\text{a} \\
2\text{sgSP} \\
3\text{sgmSP} \\
3\text{sgfSP} \\
3\text{sgvSP} \\
3\text{sgvSP} \\
1\text{d1SP} \\
1\text{icSP} \\
1\text{exSP} \\
2\text{p1SP} \\
3\text{p1SP} & \quad -\text{ta} \quad -\text{ŋun}^y \quad -\text{tuŋ} \quad -\text{nuŋ-ka} \quad -\text{in}^y\text{t}^y\text{a} \\
\end{align*}
\]
Paradigm 1: Present/Past

136. alawar wapi yita tek yawukan
woman take 3sgmSP.2(pres/past) camp other.loc

He takes (his) wife to another camp.

137. alawar yin'y a yawot akana pi atta
woman man lexSP adv(neg) go lex.SP.2(pres/past)
tan
mix(intr)

We (ex) men and women don't mix.

Paradigm 2. Progressive

138. pi aŋun'y "mission"-na
go 1sgSP.2(progr) Mission.loc

I've been going to the Mission for some time.

139. katma yuŋun'y na
laugh.cnt 3sgSP.2(progr).loc

He used to laugh.

140. kina ka yuŋun'y
ss.loc come 3sgmSP.(progr)

He's been here some time.

141. wan'y ma woorŋun'y
row.cnt 3plSP.2(progr)

They used to row (nautical).

142. mat'y an lapar yuŋun'y
foot swell 3sgmSP.2(progr)

His foot is swelling.
143. tatma yita t^y intaŋ way
    see.cnt 3sgmSP.2(pres/past) always still
    yuŋuny
    3sgmSP.2(progr)
    He's still alive.

Paradigm 3. Purposive

144. yəli pi attunŋ taty
    paperbark go lexSP.2(purp) strike
    We (ex) are going to strip off paperbark.

145. kina ka yönpunŋ
    ss.loc come 3sgmSP.2(purp)
    Let him come here.

146. parakutman attunŋ
    white man.rbl lexSP.2(purp)
    We're getting like white men.

147. t^akat nuntuŋ!
    run 2sgSP.2(purp)
    Run!


148. tə mu pi yönuŋka tirit tikka
    clf goose go 3sgmSP.2(fut) shoot back.come
    yönuŋka
    3sgmSP.2(fut)
    He will go and shoot geese and come back.

149. akutəna pi anuŋka?
    intrg(ss) go 1sgSP.2(fut)
    Where shall I go?
Paradigm 5. Subjunctive

150. ka wiwin’y’a yin’y’a yanak eyin?
come 3sgmSP.2(subj) (initiated) man one who
Would any one man have come?

151. muyin’y quluk lamkamma wiwin’y’a
dogs language talk 3plSP.2(subj)
The dogs would have been able to speak.

152. antiman’y ga tc aŋma aŋkin’y nowakka
adv(recip).dpf(neg) meat give.cnt licSP.2(subj).
akana tc anti aŋ yönpuŋaŋ puřu
adv(neg) meat adv(recip) give 3sgmSP.2(purp)licOP
If we (ic) don't give him meat he won't give
us (ic) any.

3.13 Conjugation 3.

Auxiliary Conjugation 3 is semantically a conjugation of
"movement"; syntactically it carries a deictic function
(glossed as "yonder far away from the speaker") and an
iterative function (glossed as "keep on/go on doing (some­
thing)").

In its unmarked function Conjugation 3
(i) co-occurs with Verbs of "movement", in a semantically
cognate role

153. ka yöwörä pak
come 3sgmSP.2(pres) sit down
He is coming to sit down.
154. tikpi yöwọra yur
   back go 3sgmSP.3(pres) lie down
   He's on his way back to lie down.

(ii) carries a deictic function glossed as "yonder (away from speaker)" and an iterative function:

155. wurk mowọra
   big fire 3sgvSP.3(pres)
   Bush fire goes on (burning) a long way off.

(wurk (big fire) requires m- concord, rather than the w- concord which tyọŋ (fire) demands.)

In its marked function the auxiliary is semantically foregrounded:

156. te lakma yöwọraŋa
   meat eat.cnt 3sgmSP.3(pres).dc
   He kept on moving while eating over there.

TENSES. Paradigm 1. Present.

157. te welma yöwọra
   meat hang(intr).cnt 3sgmSP.3(pres)
   The meat goes on hanging there.

Paradigm 2. Past.

158. te ma pi yuwuľa ey
   clf wallaby on 3sgmSP.3(past) kill
   He goes on killing wallaby.

159. waliwali ki wuwuľa artil
   river ss 3sgeSP.3(past) sea
   This river went on flowing to the sea.
Paradigm 3. Progressive

160. yynöntön t'eyantakma yynöwöřen
3sgmSP listen.cnt 3sgmSP.3(progr)

He keeps on listening over there.

Paradigm 4. Purposive

161. te wëlma yynöpöraŋ
meat hang.cnt 3sgmSP.3(purp)

Let the meat go on hanging there.

162. mi yynöpöraŋ
food sgvSP.3(purp)

Let the food go on (cooking).

Paradigm 5. Future

163. yynöntön t'eyantakma yynöraŋka
3sgmSP listen.cnt 3sgmSP.3(fut)

He will go on listening over there.

Note that there is no Subjunctive paradigm for Conjugation 3.

Conjugation 3

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Persons</th>
<th>Past</th>
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<th>Purposive</th>
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The bound person-markers are as follows:

<table>
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<th>Persons</th>
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<th>3sgmSP</th>
<th>3sgfSP</th>
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The tense-markers are as follows:

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3.14 Conjugation 4.

Auxiliary Conjugation 4 is semantically a conjugation of "sitting"; syntactically it carries a deictic function glossed as "in the vicinity of the speaker".

In its unmarked function Conjugation 4

(i) occurs with the Verb Root "sit" in a semantically cognate role:

164. yōntōn pak yōnō
   3sgmSP sit 3sgmSP.4(pres)
   He sits down.

(ii) carries a deictic function glossed as "in the vicinity of the speaker":

165. yin'y a  muɾma  wōttō
   (initiated) man dance.cnt 3plSP.4(pres)
   The men are dancing here.

166. nilŋ tarma  yōnō
   nail press.cnt 3sgmSP.4(pres)
   He hammers the nail (in the speaker's vicinity).
In its semantically marked function the Auxiliary is foregrounded:

167. nan yilk yi̊ma anò

hand scratch.cnt 1sgSP.4(pres)

I am sitting down scratching my hand.

Conjugation 4

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**Paradigm 1. Past Tense.**

168. yöntön pak yunuwa

3sgmSP sit 3sgmSP.4(past)

He sat down.

The meaning of the verb root tik differs according to whether it is accompanied by a Conjugation 4 or a Conjugation 2 auxiliary:
169. *tik anuwa*

*I grew up.*

as opposed to:

170. *tik yita*

*back 3sgmSP.2(pres/past)*

*He came/comes back.*

171. *wöröntön lamamma wuttuwa*

*3plSP talk.cnt 3plSP.4(past)*

*They were sitting talking or They were talking in the speaker's vicinity.*

Paradigm 2. Present Tense.

172. *yin^a paröt pakali yönö*

*(initiated) man sits up sit.ptcpl 3sgmSP.4(pres)*

*The man gets into a sitting position (i.e. from lying position).*

173. *yin^a ki yönö*

*(initiated) man ss 3sgmSP.4(pres)*

*This man here.*

174. *puntu patma wönařin^y*

*head burst.cnt 3sgeSP.4(pres).1sgOP*

*My head is splitting (i.e. I have a bad headache).*


175. *alimiřiman^y yiniŋin^y*

*ts.apf 3sgmSP.4(progr)*

*He's been here a long time.*
176.  pön¹ tik aniŋinº

belly grow 1sgSP.4(progr)

I'm getting fat.

177.  [mi  mininº]   [wapi wutta

food 3sgvSP.4(progr) take 3plSP.2(pres/past)

numpan]

adv

Perhaps they took the food that was here.

Paradigm 4. Purposive

178.  luppakali  ætini

close together sit.ptcpl 1icSP.4(purp)

We'll/let's sit close together.

179.  pak nintini!

sit 2sgSP.4(purp)

Sit down!

180.  tik  yini!

grow up 3sgmSP.4(purp)

Let him grow up!

Paradigm 5. Future

181.  ñöyö  kina pak aniwa

tomorrow ss.loc sit 1sgSP.4(fut)

Tomorrow I'll sit here.

182.  ñöyö  t'ert'ermä aniwa

tomorrow sing.cnt 1sgSP.4(fut)

Tomorrow I will sing.
Paradigm 6. Subjunctive

183. **tə əŋma wiwinin^ya rın^ya y'kna la kma**
meat give.cnt 3sgmSP.4(subj).foc eat(meat).cnt
awinin^ya y'akna
1sgSP.4(subj).foc

*Had he given me meat I would have eaten it.*

3.15 Conjugation 5.

*Auxiliary Conjugation 5* is semantically a conjugation of "lying"; syntactically it carries a deictic function of "yonder (far away from the speaker).

In its unmarked function Conjugation 5

(i) co-occurs with Verbs of "lying" in a semantically cognate function:

184. **yur wöɾö**
lie down 3plSP.5(pres)

*They lie down.*

(ii) carries a deictic function meaning "yonder (far away from the speaker)":

185. **yin^ya murma wöɾö**
man dance.cnt 3plSP.5(pres)

*The men are dancing over yonder.*

186. **nilɔ tarmə wöɾö**
nail press.cnt 3plSP.5(pres)

*They are hammering nails over yonder.*

In its semantically marked function the Auxiliary is foregrounded:
188. alavar kan'akma nönyö
woman cough.cnt 3sgfSP.5(pres)

She is coughing lying down.
<table>
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<th>Persons</th>
<th>Past</th>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1dlSP</td>
<td>-yuwa</td>
<td>-yö</td>
<td>-yönum</td>
<td>-töyun</td>
<td>-nöyun</td>
<td>-win^ty^a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1cSP</td>
<td>-yuwa</td>
<td>-yö</td>
<td>-yönum</td>
<td>-töyun</td>
<td>-nöyun</td>
<td>-win^ty^a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1exSP</td>
<td>-uwa</td>
<td>-ö</td>
<td>-önun</td>
<td>-töyun</td>
<td>-nöyun</td>
<td>-in^ty^a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2plSP</td>
<td>-uwa</td>
<td>-ö</td>
<td>-önun</td>
<td>-töyun</td>
<td>-nöyun</td>
<td>-in^ty^a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3plSP</td>
<td>-uwa</td>
<td>-ö</td>
<td>-önun</td>
<td>-töyun</td>
<td>-nöyun</td>
<td>-in^ty^a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Fifty-nine verb roots have been encountered which can co-occur with Conjugation 5 only in the plural persons. The reasons for this constraint are not yet clear.

Verb Roots able to take Conjugation 5 in the plural only are marked by a bracketed asterisk. Constraints on the co-occurrence of particular verb roots with (full) auxiliary conjugations are marked by unbracketed asterisks.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ktēkat}^y & \quad 12345(*)6 \quad \text{startle (an animal, e.g.)} \\
\text{kölp} & \quad 12345(*)6* \quad \text{roast} \\
\text{kurkat}^y & \quad 12345(*)6 \quad \text{dig out} \\
\text{kuşwakat}^y & \quad 12345(*)6 \quad \text{turn around (tr.)} \\
\text{kuwpuk} & \quad 1*2345(*)6* \quad \text{dive into water (plural.subj.)} \\
\text{lakcat}^y & \quad 12345(*)6 \quad \text{leave meat when salted} \\
\text{larap} & \quad 12345(*)6 \quad \text{bind} \\
\text{leşiyet} & \quad 1*2345(*)6 \quad \text{spread out (intr.)} \\
\text{leşp (plural.subj.)} & \quad 1*2345(*)6 \quad \text{meet (marked for plurality)} \\
\text{leşp} & \quad 12345(*)6 \quad \text{gather firewood} \\
\text{minyetetali} & \quad 1*2345(*)6 \quad \text{throw firesticks at someone} \\
\text{karkwat} & \quad 12345(*)6 \quad \text{take out} \\
\text{altuřp} & \quad 12345(*)6 \quad \text{penetrate} \\
\text{ty} & \quad 12345(*)6(*) \quad \text{wound (with spear)} \\
\text{kuşwapi} & \quad 1*2345(*)6* \quad \text{drag} \\
\text{kalyur} & \quad 12345(*)6 \quad \text{carry (on shoulder)} \\
\text{kapukkupuk} & \quad 1*2345(*)6 \quad \text{bathe} \\
\text{kararwat} & \quad 12345(*)6 \quad \text{take out} \\
\text{kařiak(ma) (of bird, e.g.)} & \quad 12345(*)6 \quad \text{pick something out of ground and eat it} \\
\text{park} & \quad 12345(*)6 \quad \text{leave something behind} \\
\text{wat} & \quad 12345(*)6 \quad \text{send}
\end{align*}
\]
watiyag 12345(*)6 share
tar/tarmur 12345(*)6 crush/crush with feet
gēpat 12345(*)6 rub
aritapat 12345(*)6 open door
timkut 12345(*)6 bury (e.g. a dog a bone)
kark nönyö 1*234*5(*)6 come/go up
karark wōrō
wat'uk 12345(*)6 pour
wuřk 12345(*)6 fill up (a bag, e.g.)
tañkat'y 12345(*)6 mix up (people, etc.) (tr.)
yitt'ẽrat 12345(*)6 slough skin (of a snake, e.g.)
pin'y wukut'y 12345(*)6 bale (water) out
nakwirwir 12345(*)6 eat fruit and dribble juice
qatqat 12345*5(*)6 chip wood
qatañkat'y 12345(*)6 make a mistake
payiwarat 12345(*)6 bring out
peřpat 12345(*)6 frighten (tr.)
pit 12345(*)6 paint
pikpit 12345(*)6 rub firestick
pit 12345(*)6 miss (i.e. with spear)
tapak 12345(*)6 break
tapariřip 12345(*)6 turn over
tapatpam 12345(*)6 pick something up and put it down
tayipat 123*45(*)6 split
tuktarar 12345(*)6 hollow out a log for a canoe
t'yakt'y et 12345(*)6 make (i.e. prepare) fire
t'yampuřp 1*2345(*)6 stoke up fire
pay 1*234*5(*)6* emerge
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Tense/Mood/Aspect</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ταγιατγαγα</td>
<td>12345(*)6</td>
<td>pour water into an object</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>κιων τινγ`y</td>
<td>12345(*)6</td>
<td>fix up/repair</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>τιγαγα</td>
<td>12345(*)6</td>
<td>give (plural object)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>τόλολμυμυ</td>
<td>1<em>234</em>5(*)6</td>
<td>descend</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>τυρκ</td>
<td>12345(*)6</td>
<td>enter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>τυρπτεγιτγ`</td>
<td>12345(*)6</td>
<td>cut off</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ωριγα</td>
<td>12345(*)6</td>
<td>meet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ωρυμελωρυμελ</td>
<td>12345(*)6</td>
<td>try something out</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>υτρπτωα</td>
<td>1<em>2345(</em>)6</td>
<td>take back a gift</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>υυρμα</td>
<td>12345(*)6</td>
<td>drag net</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ταπτιτγ`</td>
<td>12345(*)6</td>
<td>drop</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TENSE/MOOD/ASPECT**

**Paradigm 1. Past Tense**

188. γοντον γυρ γυυυωα  
     3sgmSP lie down 3sgmSP.5(past)  
     He lay down.

189. γινγα αλαωα νυνυατ υυυωα  
     man woman sleep 3plSP.5(past)  
     The man/men (and) woman/women slept.

**Paradigm 2. Present Tense.**

190. μυινγ` μοροτ κιρκιρμα γογιο  
     dog bone crunch.cnt 3sgmSP.5(pres)  
     The dog is lying down crunching the bone.
191. yöntön man'yur yöyö
3sgmSP floats up 3sgmSP.5(pres)

He floats up.

Paradigm 3. Progressive

192. alimiři kina yur wöřönuŋy
3 plSP.5(progr)

They used to lie down here.

193. ts ss.loc lie down 3plSP.5(progr)

They are smelling the meat.

Paradigm 4. Purposive

194. nuŋnut yönyuŋ
sleep 3sgmSP.5(purp)

He's going to have a sleep.

195. yur nöntöyuŋ!
lie down 2sgSP.5(purp)

Lie down!

Paradigm 5. Future

196. Ị a eyantak anöyuŋnuŋuwa
1sgSP hear 1sgSP.5(fut)

I will listen to you.

197. Ị a yur anöyuŋka
1sgSP lie down 1sgSP.5(fut)

I will lie down.
Paradigm 6. Subjunctive

198. wanjaři yur niwin\textsuperscript{y}t\textsuperscript{y}akna ṇa yur
   2sgSP lie down 2sgSP.5(subj).foc 1sgSP lie down
   anöyŋųkakna
   1sgSP.5(fut).foc

   If you lie down I'll lie down.

199. yöntöŋ ariwit\textsuperscript{y}im wiwin\textsuperscript{ŋ}ayiwakka
   3sgmSP kiss 3sgmSP.2/5/6(subj).3sgfOP.foc
   anti nöntöŋ ariwit\textsuperscript{y}im nöönyųŋnöwakka
   adv(recip) 3sgfSP kie 3sgfSP.5(fut).3sgmOP.foc

   If he kisses her she will kiss him.

3.16 Conjugation 6.

Auxiliary Conjugation 6 is semantically a conjugation of "standing"; syntactically it carries a deictic function of "in the vicinity of the speaker". Conjugation 6 is grouped, deictically and morphologically, with Conjugation 4: both carry a deictic sense of "in the speaker's vicinity" and both fall within what has been called t conjugation type.

In its unmarked function Conjugation 6

(i) co-occurs with Verbs of "standing" in a semantically cognate function:

200. alawar pařat nönyō

   woman get up 3sgfSP.6(pres)

   The woman gets up.
The men are standing up.

(ii) carries a deictic function meaning "in the vicinity of the speaker":

She is cleaning the house here/nearby as opposed to:

She is cleaning the house over yonder.

In its semantically marked function the Auxiliary is foregrounded:

She is coughing standing up.

---

9 Partial reduplication of Verb Root for plural subject: \( ty\text{ê}t \) becomes \( ty\text{ê}\text{rat} \) (v. 3.24.1).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Persons</th>
<th>Past (i)</th>
<th>Present (ii)</th>
<th>Progressive (iii)</th>
<th>Purposive (iv)</th>
<th>Future (v)</th>
<th>Subjunctive (vi)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1sgSP</td>
<td>ayuwa</td>
<td>ayö</td>
<td>ayanin^y</td>
<td>atiyaŋ</td>
<td>aniyaŋ</td>
<td>awiŋ'y ty^a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2sgSP</td>
<td>nuntuyuwa</td>
<td>nöntyö</td>
<td>nintyaŋin^y</td>
<td>nintiyaŋ</td>
<td>niniyaŋka</td>
<td>niwín'y ty^a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3sgmSP</td>
<td>yuyuwa</td>
<td>yöö</td>
<td>yiyanin^y</td>
<td>yintyaŋ</td>
<td>yiniyaŋka</td>
<td>wiwín'y ty^a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3sgfSP</td>
<td>nuntuyuwa</td>
<td>nöntyö</td>
<td>nintyaŋin^y</td>
<td>nuntyaŋ</td>
<td>niniyaŋka</td>
<td>wiwín'y ty^a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3sgvSP</td>
<td>muyuwa</td>
<td>mööö</td>
<td>miyanin^y</td>
<td>muntyaŋ</td>
<td>miniyaŋka</td>
<td>miwín'y ty^a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3sgeSP</td>
<td>wuyuwa</td>
<td>yöö</td>
<td>wiyanin^y</td>
<td>wuntyaŋ</td>
<td>winiyaŋka</td>
<td>wiwín'y ty^a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1plSP</td>
<td>aŋkuyuwa</td>
<td>aŋköö</td>
<td>aŋkiyanin^y</td>
<td>aŋkitiyaŋ</td>
<td>aŋkiniyaŋka</td>
<td>aŋkin'y ty^a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1icSP</td>
<td>aŋtyuwa</td>
<td>aŋtyö</td>
<td>aŋtyaŋin^y</td>
<td>aŋtiyaŋ</td>
<td>aŋkiniyaŋka</td>
<td>aŋkin'y ty^a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1exSP</td>
<td>atyuwa</td>
<td>atyö</td>
<td>atyaŋin^y</td>
<td>attiyaŋ</td>
<td>aŋiniyaŋka</td>
<td>aŋtin'y ty^a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2plSP</td>
<td>nukutuyuwa</td>
<td>nökötyö</td>
<td>nikityaŋin^y</td>
<td>nikittiyaŋ</td>
<td>nikišiniyaŋka</td>
<td>nikišin'y ty^a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3plSP</td>
<td>wutuyuwa</td>
<td>wötyö</td>
<td>wityaŋin^y</td>
<td>wittiyaŋ</td>
<td>wirišiniyaŋka</td>
<td>wirišin'y ty^a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The bound person-markers are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Persons</th>
<th>Past (i)</th>
<th>Present (ii)</th>
<th>Progressive (iii)</th>
<th>Purposive (iv)</th>
<th>Future (v)</th>
<th>Subjunctive (vi)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1sgSP</td>
<td>a-</td>
<td>a-</td>
<td>a-</td>
<td>a-</td>
<td>a-</td>
<td>a-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2sgSP</td>
<td>nunt-</td>
<td>nönt-</td>
<td>nint-</td>
<td>nin-</td>
<td>ni-</td>
<td>ni-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3sgmSP</td>
<td>yu-</td>
<td>yö-</td>
<td>yi-</td>
<td>yin-</td>
<td>yi-</td>
<td>wi-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3sgfSP</td>
<td>nunt-</td>
<td>nönt-</td>
<td>nint-</td>
<td>nun-</td>
<td>ni-</td>
<td>wi-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3sgvSP</td>
<td>mu-</td>
<td>mö-</td>
<td>mi-</td>
<td>mun-</td>
<td>mi-</td>
<td>mi-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3sgvSP</td>
<td>wu-</td>
<td>wö-</td>
<td>wi-</td>
<td>wun-</td>
<td>wi-</td>
<td>wi-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1d1SP</td>
<td>aŋku-</td>
<td>aŋkö-</td>
<td>aŋki-</td>
<td>aŋki-</td>
<td>aŋki-</td>
<td>aŋk-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1icSP</td>
<td>aŋt-</td>
<td>aŋt-</td>
<td>aŋt-</td>
<td>aŋk-</td>
<td>aŋk-</td>
<td>aŋk-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1exSP</td>
<td>at-</td>
<td>at-</td>
<td>at-</td>
<td>at-</td>
<td>aŋi-</td>
<td>aŋ-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2plSP</td>
<td>nukut-</td>
<td>nököt-</td>
<td>nikit-</td>
<td>nikit-</td>
<td>niŋkiř-</td>
<td>niŋkiř-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3plSP</td>
<td>wut-</td>
<td>wöt-</td>
<td>wit-</td>
<td>wiř-</td>
<td>wiř-</td>
<td>wiř-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The tense-markers are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Persons</th>
<th>Past (i)</th>
<th>Present (ii)</th>
<th>Progressive (iii)</th>
<th>Purposive (iv)</th>
<th>Future (v)</th>
<th>Subjunctive (vi)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1sgSP</td>
<td>-yuwa</td>
<td>-yü</td>
<td>-yaŋin'y</td>
<td>-tiyaŋ</td>
<td>-niyaŋ</td>
<td>-wint'y a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2sgSP</td>
<td>-tyaŋ</td>
<td>-tyaŋ</td>
<td>-tyaŋ</td>
<td>-wint'y a</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3sgmSP</td>
<td>-tyaŋ</td>
<td>-tyaŋ</td>
<td>-tyaŋ</td>
<td>-wint'y a</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3sgfSP</td>
<td>-tyaŋ</td>
<td>-tyaŋ</td>
<td>-tyaŋ</td>
<td>-wint'y a</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3sgvSP</td>
<td>-tyaŋ</td>
<td>-tyaŋ</td>
<td>-tyaŋ</td>
<td>-wint'y a</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>-tyaŋ</td>
<td>-tyaŋ</td>
<td>-wint'y a</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1d1SP</td>
<td>-tiyaŋ</td>
<td>-tiyaŋ</td>
<td>-tiyaŋ</td>
<td>-int'y a</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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<td>-tiyaŋ</td>
<td>-tiyaŋ</td>
<td>-int'y a</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1exSP</td>
<td>-tiyaŋ</td>
<td>-tiyaŋ</td>
<td>-tiyaŋ</td>
<td>-int'y a</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2plSP</td>
<td>-yuwa</td>
<td>-yo</td>
<td>-yaŋin'y</td>
<td>-tiyaŋ</td>
<td>-niyaŋ</td>
<td>-int'y a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3plSP</td>
<td>-yuwa</td>
<td>-yo</td>
<td>-yaŋin'y</td>
<td>-tiyaŋ</td>
<td>-niyaŋ</td>
<td>-int'y a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
There are five verb roots which can take Conjugation 6 only in the plural persons (cf. 3.15):

- **kötap** 1234*5*6(*) line up
- **kulpak** 1*2345*6(*) get into a canoe
- **ey** 1234*5(*)6(*) wound (with spear)
- **kark/karark** (pl.subj.) 1*234*5(*)6(*) go up (to a place)
- **wat\textsuperscript{y}ñurupat** 1*2345*6(*) attempt to fly (of a young bird)

(Note that all these Verb Roots describe actions involving movement.)

**Paradigm 1. Past**

205. qa **wuřma** ayuwa

1sgSP stand up 1sgSP.6(past)

I stood up.

206. nöntön **t\textsuperscript{y}et** nuntyuwa

3sgfSP be born 3sgfSP.6(past)

She was born.

**Paradigm 2. Present**

207. men\textsuperscript{y}kit\textsuperscript{y} men\textsuperscript{y}kit\textsuperscript{y} kařlakma

sparrow-hawk pick out of ground (and) eat cnt

wötyö

3plSP.6(pres)

Sparrow-hawks pick things out of ground and eat them.

208. yin\textsuperscript{y}a **wuřma** yöyö

man stand up 3sgmSP.6(pres)

The man stands up.
209. wak kuškušma wöyö
water pull pull cnt 3sgmSP.6(pres)
The current is strong.

210. t'yänar t'yét möyö
spear stand 3sgvSP.6(pres)
The spear stands up.

Paradigm 3. Progressive

211. yöntön paʃatt'yet yiyanin'y
3sgmSP get up stand 3sgmSP.6(progr)
He used to stand up.

212. man wönatt'yet wiyanin'y aʃin'y wörö
stomach bad stand 3sgmSP.6(progr).1sgOP.3plOP
I am sorry for them.

213. t'yöŋ paʃkt'yet wiyanin'y
tree grow 3sgvSP.6(progr)
The tree is growing.

Paradigm 4. Purposive

214. qa wuɾma atiyaŋ
1sgSP stand up 1sgSP.6(purp)
I'm going to stand up.

215. paʃat nintiyaŋ!
get up 2sgSP.6(purp)
Get up!

Paradigm 5. Future

216. qa paʃat aniyaŋka
1sgSP get up 1sgSP.6(fut)
I will get up.
Paradigm 6. Subjunctive

218. waŋaŋi wurma niwin'y'a qa wurma
2sgSP stand up 2sgSP.6(subj) 1sgSP stand up
atiyan
1sgSP.6(purp)

If you stand up I’ll stand up.

3.17 It would appear, on evidence available so far, that the semantic function of the auxiliary is relatively slight in relation to its other functions. That is to say, there are other means of introducing the notion of physical posture into the Verb Complex than those provided by the auxiliary conjugations. The cognate verb roots for conjugation 4, 5 and 6, pak, yur and t'yet, can in a number of cases, be conjoined to a Verb Root. This operation forms a compound Verb Root which can take the participial suffix -ali (v. 3.21.4; 4.14.2). Thus, for example, the Verb Root tap ("grab") is constrained from Conjugation 5:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{mi}^* & \quad \text{tap} \quad \text{wörö} \\
\text{food(veg)} & \quad \text{grab} \quad 3\text{plSP.5(pres)}
\end{align*}
\]

For example, \(t'y\)alkyur nönyö

bend over 2sg/3sgSP.5(pres): 'She/you (sg) bend over

becomes, with the selection of Conjugation 2 plus deictic:

\(t'y\)alkyurali nunta

bend over.ptcpl. 2sg/3sgSP.2(pres/past)

'You go/She goes along over there bent over.'
But the following is acceptable:

219. tapyurali yöyö
     grab.lie.ptcpl. 3sgmSP.5(pres)
     He grabs (it) while lying down.

On the other hand, murma "dance (of men)" is able to select Conjugations 4 and 5, not in their semantic but in their deictic functions. (The auxiliary characteristically carries no semantic meaning when carrying a deictic function.)

3.18 The Morphophonemics of the bound Subject
Person-Markers.

The bound person-markers retain a consistency throughout the conjugations. That is to say, they retain, for the most part, a recognizable form throughout the various paradigms.

3.18.1 1sgSP is consistently a low open central unrounded vowel a-.

3.18.2 2sgSP consistently begins with an apico-alveolar nasal followed by either a high or mid-vowel. The second person singular marker can be realized by either an open or a closed monosyllable according to Conjugation and Paradigm. If it is a closed monosyllable the vowel can be followed by either a bilabial nasal:

as in the past, present and progressive paradigms of Conjugation 3.

or an apico-alveolar nasal:

as in the purposive paradigm of Conjugations 2, 3, 4, 5 and 6 and in the past, present and progressive
paradigms of Conjugation 5.

or an apico-alveolar nasal plus homorganic stop:

as in the past, present and progressive paradigms of Conjugation 6.

This monosyllabic person-marker and the subsequent syllable have like vowels in the following instances:

Conj. 1: nö.n.töma (purposive); nö.wöntön (sequential);
          nu.wuntuwa (subjunctive);

Conj. 2: nu.nuny (progressive); nun.tuŋ (purposive);
          nu.nuŋ(ka) (future);

Conj. 3: nöm.pöra (present); num.puŋa (past); nö.n.töňaŋ (purposive);
          nöm.pöre⟩n (progressive);
          nö.nöźaŋka (future);

Conj. 4: nu.nuwa (past); nöno (present); ni.niŋin⟩ (progressive);
          nin.tini (purposive); ni.niwa (future);

Conj. 5: nun.yuwa (past); nö.n.go (present); nö.n.goŋun⟩ (progressive);
          nö.n.goŋ (purposive);
          nö.n.goŋka (future);

Conj. 6: nunt.yuwa (past); nönt.go (present); nin.tiyaŋ (purposive);
          ni.niyaŋ (future);

The subjunctive of conjugations 2, 5 and 6: ni.wing⟩tya; and of Conjugation 4: ni.winiŋ⟩tya.

3.18.3 3sgmSP is consistently semi-consonant-initial.

With the exception of the subjunctive paradigms of all conjugations and the sequential paradigm of Conjugation 1
(which begin with the bilabial semi-consonant), this is the lamino-palatal semi-consonant followed by either a high or mid vowel. The third singular/masculine person markers can be realized by either an open or a closed mono-syllable according to conjugation and paradigm. If it is a closed monosyllable the vowel will be followed by an apico-alveolar nasal (as in the purposive paradigms of Conjugations 2, 3, 5 and 6). This monosyllabic person marker and the subsequent syllable have like vowels in the following instances:

Conj. 1: $yi.min^y$ (punctiliar); $wö.wöntön$ (sequential);
     $wu.wuntuwa$ (subjunctive);
Conj. 2: $yu.ṇun^y$ (progressive);
Conj. 3: $yö.wöřa$ (present); $yu.wura$ (past); $yö.nöřaŋ$ (purposive); $yö.wöřen^y$ (progressive);
     $yö.nöřaŋ$ (future);
Conj. 4: $yu.nuwa$ (past); $yö.nö$ (present); $yi.niŋin^y$ (progressive); $yi.ni$ (purposive); $yi.niwa$ (future);
Conj. 5: $yu.yuwa$ (past); $yö.yö$ (present); $yö.yöṇun^y$ (progressive); $yö.nöyŋ(ka)$ (future);
     $wi.winýt^ya$ (subjunctive);
Conj. 6: $yu.yuwa$ (past); $yö.yö$ (present);
     $yi.niyaŋka$ (future).

The subjunctive of Conjugations 2, 5 and 6: $wi.win^yt^ya$; and of Conjugation 4: $wi.winin^yt^ya$. 
3.18.4 3sgfSP consistently begins with an apico-alveolar nasal immediately followed by a high or mid-vowel. In all but the following paradigms this form is identical in shape with that of the second singular person-marker: the punctiliar, sequential and purposive paradigms of Conjugation 1; the subjunctive paradigms of Conjugations 1, 2, 4, 5 and 6; the purposive paradigms of Conjugations 4, 5 and 6.

The third singular feminine person-marker can be realized by either an open or a closed monosyllable. If it is a closed monosyllable the vowel can be followed by either a bilabial or apico-alveolar nasal or an apico-alveolar nasal plus homorganic stop. This monosyllabic person marker and the subsequent syllable have like vowels in the following instances. To avoid repetition only those forms non-identical with the second person singular will be exemplified.

Conj. 1: ni.min\(^y\) (punctiliar); wö.wöntön (sequential);
       wu.wuntuwa (subjunctive);
Conj. 2: nun.puŋ (purposive);
Conj. 3: nön.pöraŋ (purposive);
Conj. 4: ni.ni (purposive).

The subjunctive of Conjugations 2, 5 and 6: wi.win\(^y_t\)\(^y_a\);
and of Conjugation 4: wi.winin\(^y_t\)\(^y_a\).

3.18.5 3sgvSP. This is the person used when the referent is vegetable non-meat food and consistently begins with a bilabial nasal, immediately followed by a high or mid vowel.
The third singular *vegetative* person marker can be realized by either an open or a closed monosyllable. If it is a closed monosyllable the vowel will be followed by an apico-alveolar nasal (as in the *purposive* paradigm of Conjugations 2, 3, 5 and 6). This monosyllabic person marker and the subsequent syllable have like vowels in the following instances:

Conj. 1:  *mu.wuntuwa* (subjunctive);

Conj. 2:  *mu.qun* (progressive); *mu.pun* (purposive);

Conj. 3:  *mö.wöra* (present); *mu.wura* (past);

Conj. 4:  *mu.nuwa* (past); *mön.ö* (present); *mi.nijin* (progressive); *mi.ni* (purposive);

Conj. 5:  *mu.yuwa* (past); *mö.yö* (present); *mön.yqun* (progressive); *mön.yun* (future);

Conj. 6:  *mu.yuwa* (past); *mön.yö* (present); *mi.niyanka* (future).

The subjunctive paradigms of Conjugations 2, 5 and 6: *mi.wintua*; and that of Conj. 4: *mi.winta*.

3.18.6 3sgeSP. This form is used when the referent is wood, fire, water, earth (including areal space and stone) and consistently begins with a bilabial semi-consonant immediately followed by either a high or mid vowel. The third person singular *silvan/elemental* marker can be realized by either an open or a closed monosyllable.
If it is a closed monosyllable the vowel will be followed by an apico-alveolar nasal (as in the purposive paradigm of Conjugations 2, 3, 5 and 6). This monosyllabic person marker and the subsequent syllable have like vowels in the following instances:

Conj. 1: wu.wuntuwa (subjunctive).
Conj. 2: wu.ŋun⁰ (progressive); wun.puŋ (purposive);
Conj. 3: wö.wöra (present); wu.wuɾa (past);
    wö.npöɾaŋ (future);
Conj. 4: wu.nuwa (past); wö.nö (present);
    wi.niŋ⁰in⁰ (progressive); wi.ni (purposive);
    wi.niwa (future);
Conj. 5: wu.yuwa (past); wö.yö (present);
    wö.nöyuŋka (future);
Conj. 6: wu.yuwa (past); wö.yö (present);
    wi.niyaŋka (future).

The subjunctive paradigm of Conjugations 2, 3, 5 and 6: wi.win⁰t⁰ŋa; and that of Conj. 4: wi.win⁰t⁰ŋa.

3.18.7 The phonological shape of 3sgmSP, 3vSP and 3sgeSP in the purposive paradigm of each of the conjugations 2, 3, 5 and 6 should be noted because it contrasts with the person- and number-equivalent bound Subject Pronouns in the other paradigms. That is to say, the relevant Subject Pronoun markers in the purposive paradigm end in an apico-alveolar nasal, while in the other paradigms they are vowel-final. Comparing the purposive and the future
it will be seen that the presence of the apico-alveolar nasal differentiates the person-markers of these two paradigms:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Purposive</th>
<th>Future</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Person Markers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3sgmSP</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conj. 2</td>
<td>yön-</td>
<td>yö-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conj. 3</td>
<td>yön-</td>
<td>yö-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conj. 5</td>
<td>yön-</td>
<td>yö-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conj. 6</td>
<td>yin</td>
<td>yi-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tense Markers</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Conj. 2</td>
<td>-puŋ</td>
<td>-nuŋka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conj. 3</td>
<td>-pöŋaŋ</td>
<td>-nöŋka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conj. 5</td>
<td>-yuŋ</td>
<td>-nöŋuŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conj. 6</td>
<td>-tyaŋ</td>
<td>-niyaŋka</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.18.8 1dlSP consistently begins with a low open central unrounded vowel /a/ immediately followed by a dorso-velar nasal plus homorganic stop: aŋk-. This person marker can be realized by either the closed monosyllable: aŋk- or by an open disyllable: aŋk- plus a subsequent high, mid or low vowel. The closed monosyllabic realization occurs in the subjunctive paradigms of conjugations 1, 2, 4, 5 and 6, and in the sequential paradigm of Conjugation 1. The open disyllabic realization occurs in the purposive and future paradigms of all conjugations, the progressive paradigm of Conjugations 2, 3, 4, 5 and 6, the past and present paradigms of Conjugations 3, 4, 5 and 6, the present/past paradigm of Conjugation 2 and the punctiliar paradigm of Conjugation 1.
3.18.9 licSP. This is consistently a low open central unrounded vowel immediately followed by a vibrant (flapped) /ɾ/ which is in turn, in most cases followed by a dorso-velar or apico-alveolar stop: aɾk- aɾt-. In the cases where the vibrant (flapped) /ɾ/ is not followed by a stop the contrast between Inclusive and Exclusive (v. 3.18.10) person-markers in the given paradigm is maintained by the Exclusive person-marker's realization as a low open central unrounded vowel followed by an apico-alveolar stop. This case is exemplified in the past, present, progressive and purposive paradigms of Conjugation 3:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>licSP</th>
<th>aɾ-</th>
<th>aɾ-</th>
<th>aɾ-</th>
<th>aɾ-</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lexSP</td>
<td>at-</td>
<td>at-</td>
<td>at-</td>
<td>at-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Past) (Present) (Progressive) (Purposive)

Where the vibrant (flapped) /ɾ/ is followed by a dorso-velar stop this cluster can be followed by a high, mid, or low vowel, as in the following paradigms: the future paradigm of Conjugations 2, 3, 4, 5 and 6; the progressive paradigm of Conjugations 2 and 3; and the past and present paradigms of Conjugation 3.

3.18.10 lexSP consistently begins with a low open central unrounded vowel immediately followed by either a vibrant (flapped) /ɾ/ or an apico-alveolar stop. In the future paradigm all conjugations, in the progressive paradigm of Conjugations 2 and 3, and in the past and present paradigms of Conjugation 3 the vibrant (flapped) /ɾ/ can be followed by a high, mid or low vowel. Whenever

---

As in the purposive paradigm of all Conjugations, in the present/past paradigm of conjugation 2, and in the past, present and progressive paradigms of Conjugation 4.
the first person exclusive marker terminates in an apico-
alveolar stop, this stop stands as the first consonant of a
geminate cluster. In such instances the gemination is
morphologically motivated: the tense/aspect marker begins
with an apico-alveolar stop and the shape of the first
person exclusive marker distinguishes it from the first
person singular marker: e.g. in the purposive paradigm
of Conjugation 1 (lexSP) at.töma is opposed to (lsgSP)
a.töma. (Other cases of morphologically motivated
gemination involving this person marker also occur in the
purposive paradigm of Conjugations 2-6, inclusive in the
present/past paradigm of Conjugation 2, and in the past,
present and progressive paradigms of Conjugation 4.)

If, the vibrant (flapped) /ʁ/ of the first person
inclusive marker is followed by a dorso-velar stop (ark-)
the initial /a/ of the first person exclusive marker, in
the past, present and progressive paradigms of Conjugations
3 and 5, in the punctilior and sequential paradigms of
Conjugation 1, and in the progressive paradigm of
Conjugation 2 will be followed by a vibrant (flapped)
/ʁ/. The second person plural and third person plural
markers of these paradigms are also characterized by the
ʁ-form. If, however, the vibrant (flapped) /ʁ/ of the
first person inclusive marker is immediately followed by
an apico-alveolar stop (aʁt-), the initial /a/ of the first
person exclusive is also followed by an apico-alveolar
stop (at-) in the past, present and progressive paradigms
of Conjugations 4 and 6. The second person plural and
and third person plural markers of these paradigms are also characterized by the t-form. The only exceptions to the rule occur in the past and present paradigms of Conjugation 5. In these paradigms although the vibrant (flapped) /ň/ of the first person inclusive marker is followed by an apico-alveolar stop the first person exclusive marker is not at- but aň-, thereby distinguishing the first person exclusive of these paradigms (aňuwa and aňö, respectively) from that in the corresponding paradigms of Conjugation 6 (atyuwa and atyö, respectively).

3.18.11 2plSP consistently begins with an apico-alveolar nasal immediately followed by a high or mid vowel. This person marker can be realized by either a closed disyllable or an open trisyllable. A closed disyllable will end in either a vibrant (flapped) /ň/ (as in the subjunctive paradigm of all conjugations, the past, present and progressive paradigms of Conjugation 5, and the punctiliar and sequential paradigms of Conjugation 1); or it will end in an apico-alveolar stop (as in the purposive paradigm of all conjugations, the present/past paradigm of Conjugation 2, and the past, present and progressive paradigms of Conjugations 4 and 6.) The second vowel of a disyllable will always duplicate the first, and the third vowel of an open trisyllable will duplicate the two preceding. Between the second and third vowels of an open trisyllable a vibrant (flapped) /ň/ occurs (as in the future paradigms of Conjugations 1, 2, 4, 5 and 6, the progressive paradigms of Conjugations 2 and 3, and the past and present paradigms of Conjugation 3.)
If the vibrant (flapped) /ɻ/ of the first person inclusive marker is followed by a dorso-velar stop the second person plural marker will be characterized by an ɻ-form. Alternatively, if the vibrant (flapped) /ɻ/ of the first person inclusive marker is followed by an apico-alveolar stop the second person plural marker will be characterized by a t-form.

The ɻ-form always contains an intervocalic cluster of dorso-velar nasal followed by a homorganic stop. The t-form on the other hand has a dorso-velar stop but no dorso-velar nasal.

3.18.12 3plSP consistently begins with a bilabial semi-consonant followed by a high or mid vowel. This person marker can be realized by either a closed monosyllable or an open disyllable. If the vibrant (flapped) /ɻ/ of the first person inclusive marker is followed by a dorso-velar stop the closed monosyllabic third person plural marker will terminate in a vibrant (flapped) /ɻ/ (as in the subjunctive paradigm of Conjugations 1, 2, 4, 5 and 6, the punctiliar and sequential paradigms of Conjugation 1 and the past, present and progressive paradigms of Conjugation 5.) If, alternatively, the vibrant (flapped) /ɻ/ of the first person inclusive marker is followed by an apico-alveolar stop the closed monosyllabic third person plural marker will terminate in an apico-alveolar stop (as in the purposive paradigms of all conjugations, the past, present and progressive paradigms of Conjugations 4 and 6, and the present/past paradigm of Conjugation 2.)
If the third person plural marker is realized by an open disyllable a vibrant (flapped) /ɾ/ will occur between two like vowels (as in the future paradigm of all conjugations, the progressive paradigm of Conjugations 2 and 3, and the past and present paradigms of Conjugation 3.)

3.18.13 The function of the bilabial semi-consonant in the sequential paradigm of conjugation 1 and the subjunctive of all conjugations. The tense-marker of the sequential paradigm of Conjugation 1 is -öntön. However, owing to the language’s systematic avoidance of contiguous vowels (v. 1.3) a bilabial semi-consonant is infixed between the person marker and the vowel-initial tense-marker. Thus, the first person singular:

\[ a- + -öntön \rightarrow awöntön, \]

or the second person singular:

\[ nö- + -öntön \rightarrow nöwöntön \]

But when the person marker is consonant-final the intrusive semi-consonant is no longer necessary. For example, the first person dual:

\[ aŋk- + -öntön \rightarrow aŋköntön \]

or first person exclusive:

\[ ař- + -öntön \rightarrow ařöntön \]

A bilabial semi-consonant is, likewise, infixed between an open monosyllabic person marker and a vowel-initial tense-marker in the subjunctive paradigm of Conjugations 1, 2, 4, 5 and 5. For example, the first person singular of the subjunctive paradigm of Conjugation 1:
or the second person singular

*nu* + -\textit{untuwa} > \textit{nuvwuntuwa}

Similarly, when the person marker ends in a consonant the intrusive semi-consonant is no longer necessary. The first person dual, for example:

*aŋk* + -\textit{untuwa} > \textit{aŋkuntuwa}

or the first person inclusive:

*aŋk-* + -\textit{untuwa} > \textit{aŋkuntuwa}

The subjunctive paradigm of Conjugation 4 also makes use of the intervocalic bilabial semi-consonant, as in the first person singular:

*a-* + -\textit{inin yat'ya} > \textit{awinin yat'ya}

or the third person singular masculine, feminine or silvan/elemental:

*wi-* + -\textit{inin yat'ya} > \textit{wiwin yat'ya}

while the first person dual is:

*aŋk-* + -\textit{inin yat'ya} > \textit{aŋkinin yat'ya}

and the second person plural is:

*niŋki-* + -\textit{inin yat'ya} > \textit{niŋkirinin yat'ya}

Finally, the subjunctive paradigm of Conjugations 2, 4 and 5:

The first person singular

*a-* + -\textit{in yat'ya} > \textit{awin yat'ya}

or the third person singular vegetative:

*mi-* + -\textit{in yat'ya} > \textit{miwin yat'ya}

while the first person dual is:

*aŋk-* + -\textit{in yat'ya} > \textit{aŋkin yat'ya}

and the first person exclusive is:

*aŋ-* + -\textit{in yat'ya} > \textit{arin yat'ya}
3.19 AUXILIARY AFFIXES

There are two sets of suffixes that can be attached to the *Auxiliary*: (i) *focal* suffixes, (ii) *deictic* suffixes.

3.19.1 Focal Suffixes.

The *focal* suffix is a device for marking (or emphasizing) a word class in sentence structure. 

-kka/-kna are focal suffixes attachable to the Auxiliary.

The geminated dorso-velar stop in -kka is justified on the following grounds:

Within the phonological word formed by focal suffixation, the suffixal consonants always occur inter-vocalically because -kka/-kna can only be suffixed to auxiliaries ending in a low open central unrounded vowel /a/.

-kka constitutes an exception to the general rule that intervocalic stops are voiced. The dorso-velar stop is voiceless. To be consistent with the only other attested case of voiceless intervocalic stops (v. 3.18.10) the voiceless dorso-velar stop is interpreted as a geminate cluster.

-kka/-kna are in free variation and mark (or emphasize) the Verb Complex to which either of them is suffixed.
220. wi alimiri anti týma

**fight ts adv.(recip) spear**

wuttakka
3plSP.2(pres/past).foc
wutakna
3plSP.2(pres/past).foc

*They used to fight one another with spears.*

221. nöntön naman wuwuntuwa'ýin'y takna

3sgfSP speak 3sgfSP.1(subj).1sgOP.foc

*She would have spoken to me.*

222. parakut kimany pak wuttuwakna

white man ss.dpf sit sp1SP.4(past).foc

*White men stayed here.*

223. anjuntu týetýat wutyuwakka

ts born(pl.S) 3plSP.6(past).foc

*Afterwards they were born.*

Where -kka/-kna occurs with a Verb Complex containing a suffixed Object Pronoun the **focal suffix** always follows the latter (as in 221, above).

224. antiman'y naïa tε aŋma

adv(recip).dpf(neg) meat give.cnt

wiwin'y arín'y akna

3sgmSP.2(subj).1sgOP.foc adv(recip) adv(neg)

aŋ anuŋnöwakka
give 1sgSP.2(fut).3sgmOP.foc

*He could have given me meat but didn't, so I won't give him any.*

---

**The subjunctive paradigm is identical in form for Conjugations 2, 5 and 6. The form in question is labeled Conjugation 2**
3.19.2 The focal suffixes -na/-ta have the following distribution: They can be suffixed to auxiliaries ending in an apico-alveolar or lamino-alveolar nasal:

\[
\begin{align*}
225. \quad \text{yöntön} & \quad \text{mi} & \quad \eta ak & \quad \text{wööntönna} \\
\text{3sgmSP} & \quad \text{food(veg)} & \quad \text{eat (non-meat)} & \quad \text{3sgmSP.1(sequ).foc}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{wööntönta} & \quad \text{3sgmSP.1(sequ).foc}
\end{align*}
\]

He eats/ate (veg) food.

\[
\begin{align*}
226. \quad \eta a & \quad \text{pi anuny}na \\
\text{1sgSP} & \quad \text{go} & \quad \text{1sgSP.2(progr).foc}
\end{align*}
\]

I'm on my way.

\[
\begin{align*}
227. \quad \text{te} & \quad \text{lak} & \quad \text{a}kuny}na \\
\text{meat eat(meat)} & \quad \text{licSP.1(punct).foc}
\end{align*}
\]

We'll all eat/ate meat.

3.19.3 Within the Verb Complex, particularly in the future tense paradigms of all conjugations and in the past tense paradigms of Conjugations 4, 5 and 6, -wa/ka always occur auxiliary-finally (and post-Object Pronoun).

-\text{wa} follows a vowel while -\text{ka} follows a homorganic dorso-velar nasal. Both are subject to morphophonemic change (see below).

For example, the future paradigm of Conjugation 1:

\[
\begin{align*}
228. \quad \text{mi} & \quad \eta ak & \quad \text{anmawa} \\
\text{food(veg)} & \quad \text{eat (non-meat)} & \quad \text{1sgSP.1(fut)}
\end{align*}
\]

I will eat (veg) food.

and:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{because of the presence of Conjugation 2 (fut) in the reciprocal sentence. Moreover, the person marker } \text{wi-} & \quad \text{can denote any one of three Subject Pronouns 3sgmSP; 3sgfSP; 3sgeSP. The necessary choice of the masculine option is indicated by 3sgmOP (}-nöwa) occurring in anunöowakka.}
\end{align*}
\]
229. mi an anmanöwa
food(veg) give 1sgSP.1(fut).3sgmOP
I will give him food.

as opposed to:

230. *mi an anmawanö

The future paradigm of Conjugation 2:

231. pi ankanunŋka
go 1dlSP.2(fut)
You and I will go.

and

232. tɛyma ankanunŋŋayiwɑ
wait.cnt 1dlSP.2(fut).3sgfOP
You and I will wait for her.

as opposed to:

233. *tɛyma ankanunŋkanayi

That is, -ka > -wa, following a vowel-final Object Pronoun.

Another morphophonemic change occurs when the first person singular object pronoun is suffixed to the future paradigm of any conjugation. Because the first person singular object pronoun (-aŋ in') ends in a lamino-alveolar nasal the dorso-velar stop/bilabial semi-consonant (of the -ka/-wa suffix) becomes a homorganic lamino-alveolar stop:
234. téyma yénůŋařin't'ya
wait.cnt 3sgmSP.2(fut).1sgOP
He will wait for me.

235. mi aŋ yinmařin't'ya
food(veg) give 3sgmSP.1(fut).1sgOP
He will give me (veg) food.

The purposive and future paradigms of Conjugation 1 are distinguished in the third persons singular by the absence and presence, respectively, of the suffix -wa (v. 3.11). Correspondingly, when the first person singular object pronoun is suffixed to the purposive or future of Conjugation 1 in the third person singular the purposive and future paradigms are distinguished by the absence or presence, respectively, of the suffix -t'ya:

Purposive:

236. mi aŋ yinmařin'y
food(veg) give 3sgmSP.1(purp).1sgOP
He is going to give me (veg) food.

Future:

237. mi aŋ nunmařin'y't'ya
food(veg) give 3sgfSP.1(fut).1sgOP
She will give me (veg) food.
Purposive:

238. mi aŋ nunmarĩn\textsuperscript{y}

food(veg) give 3sgfSP.1(purp)1sgOP

She is going to give me (veg) food.

-\textsuperscript{ka} > -\textsuperscript{ya} following the lamino-alveolar nasal of the first person-singular object pronoun.

From the future paradigm of Conjugation 3:

239. yöntön \textsuperscript{y}eyantak yöno\textsuperscript{y}aŋka

3sgmSP hear/listen 3sgmSP.3(fut)

He will go on listening.

and:

240. yöntön \textsuperscript{y}eyantak yöno\textsuperscript{y}aŋnöwa

3sgmSP hear/listen 3sgmSP.3(fut).3sgmOP

He will go on listening to him.

as opposed to:

241. *yöntön \textsuperscript{y}eyantak yöno\textsuperscript{y}aŋkanö

From the past paradigm of Conjugation 4:

242. aŋ pak anuwa

1sgSP sit 1sgSP.4(past)

I sat down.
and:

243. te ḏma anunōwa

meat give.cnt 1sgSP.4(past).3sgmOP

I was giving him meat.

as opposed to:

244. *te ḏma anuwanō

From the past paradigm of Conjugation 5:

245. wōrōntōn AMAGENuruŋu wuruwa

3plSP sleep 3plSP.5(past)

They slept.

246. te kōlpma wuruŋayiwa

meat roast.cnt 3plSP.5(past).3sgfOP

They were roasting meat for her.

as opposed to:

247. *te kōlpma wuruŋayi

From the past paradigm of Conjugation 6:

248. wōrōntōn teparency wutyuwa

3plSP born(plS) 3plSP.6(past)

They were born.

249. wōrōntōn eyma wutyunōwa

3plSP spear.cnt 3plSP.6(past).3sgmOP

They were spearing him.

as opposed to:

250. *wōrōntōn eyma wutyuwanō

Deictic affixes suffixable to the auxiliaries.

3.19.4 -(a)nki(na) and -na which are towards speaker and away from speaker, respectively. They are suffixable to the auxiliary of each conjugation except Conjugation 1 (v. 3.19.5).
If the auxiliary ends in a vowel, -nki is suffixed, as in

251. ka yitanki
    come 3sgmSP.2(pres/past).dc
  He came.

252. pulit⁶⁷ pak yönönkina
    old man sit down 3sgmSP.4(pres).dc.loc
  The old man sits down over here.

253. pulit⁶⁷ yur yöyönkina
    old man lie down 3sgmSP.5(pres).dc.loc
  The old man is lying down over here.

In the case of the auxiliary ending in a consonant -anki is suffixed as in

254. ka yönpuŋanki
    come 3sgmSP.2(purp).dc
  Let him come over here.

-ŋa is suffixable both to the vowel- and consonant-final stems:

255. pi yitana
    go 3sgmSP.2(pres/past).dc
  He went over there.

256. waŋaři pi nuntuŋna
    2sgSP go 2sgSP.2(purp)dc
  Go over there!

3.19.5 Conjugation 1 and the deictic suffix.

A Verb Complex with a Conjugation 1 auxiliary can take the deictic suffix -ŋa, but not -(a)nki(na). Furthermore, -ŋa is suffixed not to the auxiliary but to the verb root.
257. numuru kaĘturukŋa ayanů
eye poke out.dc 1sgSP.1(punct).3sgmOP
   I poked his eyes out over there.
or
258. te t',e,řin'y tatŋa ayanů
clf goanna find.dc 1sgSP.1(punct).3sgmOP
   I found a goanna over there.

The only encountered case of metathesis involves -ŋa
suffixation. wiĘŋak: finished (which has distribution of
an adverb, v. 2.15) has been interpreted in this description
as a metathesis of
wiĘkŋa
finish.dc

3.20 Affixes prefixable to Verb Root
3.20.1 par-: elsewhere (with the derived meaning:
   wrong place).
259. yeĘa parwuňkamma wutta
   adv dc.work.cnt 3plSP.2(pres/past)
   At that point in time they were working
   elsewhere.
260. akana pi attuŋ tek yawuk
   adv(neg) go 1exSP.2(purp) country adj
   part'yurkmanũ
   dc.bury.cnt.3sgmOP
   We are not going to another country to bury
   him.
261. waŋaŋi parka nunta
2sgSP dc.come 2sgSP.2(pres/past)

You have come to the wrong place.

3.20.2 lupa-: together

262. luppakali aŋtini
together.sit.ptcpl licSP.4(purp)

We'll all sit together.

263. lupyurali aŋtɔyuŋ
together.lie.ptcpl licSP.5(purp)

We'll all lie together.

264. luptuŋ’tatarali aŋtiŋaŋ
together.stand (plS).ptcpl licSP.6(purp)

We'll all stand together.

265. luppima wutta
together.go they.2(pres/past)

They are friends.

3.20.3 taŋ-: still (cp Temporal Specifier t̕intaŋ v. 2.14.1):-

266. t̕oŋ tantaŋ tỹiŋaŋ

tree dc.stand 3sgsp.6(progr)

The tree is still there.

3.21 Affixes suffixable to the Verb Root:

3.21.1 -nō when suffixed to a verb root acquires an
Intensive force (v. 4.14.1):
Tomorrow he will come to fish.

3.21.2 -telk/-puk are markers of the modality of possibility, with the accompanying auxiliary always in the purposive. -telk, but not -puk, can be preceded by the continuative suffix -ma.

Wood might catch fire.

Man might die.

I might have an argument with her.

I might kill wallaby.

Might get wet.

3.21.3 -ma. -ma is a continuative suffix.

I used to go to the Mission.
The sole constraint on its occurrence is that it cannot co-occur with Auxiliary Conjugation 1. Every verb root carrying the suffix -ma can take Conjugation 2 as auxiliary. The conjugation that co-occurs most characteristically with the -ma suffix is Conjugation 2. In fact the typical effect of -ma suffixation (or -ma conversion, as this will be called subsequently) is to make the Verb Root in question Auxiliary Conjugation 2.

274. mi aŋ ayanö

food give 1sgSP.1(punct).3sgmOP

I gave him food.

becomes, when -ma is suffixed to the Verb Root:

275. mi aŋma atanö

food give 1sgSP.2(pres/past).3sgmOP

I am giving him food.

The reason for the incompatibility of -ma with Conjugation 1 is that Conjugation 1 expresses actions which are performed once only (cf. Punctiliar paradigm v. 3.11):

276. yin⁴ a ŋiŋk yimin⁴

man die 3sgmSP.1(punct)

Man died.

277. tat ayanö

see/find 1sgSP.1(punct).3sgmOP

I found him.

as opposed to:

278. tatma yita

see.cnt 3sgmSP.2(pres/past)

He is alive.
pak provides another example of the effect of ma-suffixation on the semantic content of a verb root:

\[
pak + \text{Conj. 4} \quad \text{Sit down.}
\]

\[
pak.ma + \text{Conj. 2} \quad \text{Live (in a location).}
\]

It has been noted that, in the following instances, -ma has an inchoative (v. 4.16) effect on the word class to which it is suffixed:

279. ye'yi puluma wöyö
\text{track dust(NP).cnt 3sgeSP.5(pres)}

The track is dusty.

280. qa leypma aŋun'y
\text{lsgSP hot(A).cnt lsgSP.2(progr)}

I am hot.

281. qa tumukma aŋun'y
\text{lsgSP cold(A).cnt lsgSP.2(progr)}

I am cold.

3.21.4 -ali. -ali is a participial suffix (v. 4.14.2)

282 eyali yita
\text{spear.ptcpl 3sgmSP.2(pres/past)}

He is/was wounded.

283. ye'raman'y pu̯pali wöyö
\text{adv.dpf burn.ptcpl 3sgeSP.6(pres)}^{13}

There is already a fire.

284. te ye'raman'y nöyatali wöyö
\text{meat adv.dpf cook.ptcpl 3sgmSP.5(pres)}^{14}

Meat is already cooked.

---

^{13} Fire is thought of as standing up: hence, Conjugation 6.

^{14} Meat (as opposed to the live animal) is thought of as supine: hence, Conjugation 5.
With the three standard postural Verb Roots, *pak*, *yur*, and *t*¥€¥ (t*¥€¥ with a plural subject, v. 3.24.1) the participle-formation is supplemented by the prefixation of *ap*—:

- *appakali* sitting
- *apyurali* lying
- *apt¥€¥atali* standing

Furthermore, in these instances the participial Verb Root tends to follow, rather than precede, the auxiliary:

285. *yönö appakali* he is sitting down all the time
    *yöyö apyurali* he is lying down all the time
    *wötyö apt¥€¥atali* they are standing up all the time.

3.22 *-man*¥

*-man*¥ is a suffix with the basic meaning "departing from". Its functions include elative (v. 3.35.2), negation (v. 3.23; 3.27.12), and the foregrounding of the actor from whom the action proceeds (v. 3.35.3) or of the action itself (v. 3.22). In the latter case *-man*¥ can be suffixed to a verb root or to auxiliary conjugation 4. The highly restricted distribution of *-man*¥ within the auxiliary conjugation system remains as yet largely unexplained. It is the deictic meaning of Conjugation 4 (v. 3.15) that is foregrounded.

286. *yin*¥a *wöttöman*¥ *mi*
    (initiated) man 3plSP.4(pres).dpf clf
    *tiqiři mōrpmōrpma wöttö*
munch.cnt 3plSP.4(pres)

These men are munching bush-apple.
ERRATUM: 289

For: tikpi yita

3sg.SP.2(pres/past) 3sg.SP.2(pres/past)

Read: tikpi yita

back.go 3sgmSP.2(pres/past)
Later this (fellow) here sent the meat.

I would have filled and brought my pipe here. to smoke.

He's eating and eating (meat) and goes back full up.

3.23 Negation suffixes and the Adversative. -tan and -wur are Adversative affixes that are suffixed to the Verb Root. The Adversative renders of no account the action described by the Verb Root to which it is suffixed. The difference between these is distributional: -wur can only be suffixed to verb roots; -tan can be suffixed to both verb roots and lexical adjectives (v. 3.27.12). But only when suffixed to a verb root does -tan have an adversative
function; when suffixed to a lexical adjective it is simply a negation marker.

3.23.1 1. -tan:

290. kaytan ayanö

call.av 1sgSP.1(pres/past).3sgmOP

I called him but there was no reply.

291. tikkatan yōnuŋkakka

back.come.av 3sgmSP.2(fut).foc

He will not be coming back.

292. tiŋkiri muŋtan

bush-apple ripe.

The bush apples aren't ripe.

293. te göyatalitan

meat cook.ptcpl.av

The meat isn't cooked yet.

294. ńetanma ata

breathe.av.cnt 1sgSP.2(pres/past)

I am short of breath.

295. ari tarartarartan aya

door knock.av 1sgSP.1(punct)

I knocked on the door but no one came.

3.23.2 2. -wur:

296. yönțön tatwur wöwöntön

3sgmSP find.av 3sgmSP.1(sequ)

He found nothing.

297. nöntön pėṭawur wöwöntön

3sgfSP dig.av 3sgfSP.1(sequ)

She digs and gets nothing.
3.23.3  **-man^y-na**

-\textit{man^y-na} is a negation marker that can be suffixed to \textit{lexical Adjectives} (3.27.12), to the reciprocal adverb \textit{anti}, and to \textit{Auxiliary Conjugation 4}. There are two problems here. Firstly, the highly restricted distribution of -\textit{man^y-na} remains as yet largely unexplained (cf. 3.22). Secondly, the function of the suffix -\textit{na} in this environment is not entirely clear either. When suffixed to an \textit{Auxiliary} -\textit{na} (v. 3.19.4) has the deictic meaning \textit{away from the speaker}. Suffixed to -\textit{man^y-}, however, -\textit{na} does not realize a deictic meaning. In example 299 below, for example, the deictic function is realized by the \textit{spatial specifier} \textit{qun}, and in example 300 by the Auxiliary itself. The hypothesis is that in certain environments -\textit{na} distinctively marks the \textit{negative} function of -\textit{man^y}. This is put forward on the following grounds:

1. The suffix -\textit{man^y} ("departing from") has an implicitly \textit{negative} meaning which remains merely latent in the \textit{elative} and \textit{foregrounding} functions (v. 3.22; 3.27.12). For example, when -\textit{man^y} is suffixed to the reciprocal adverb \textit{anti} it has an explicitly \textit{negative} function; -\textit{man^y} is in free variation with -\textit{man^y-na} in this particular environment.

298. \textit{tawur ayanunu}  
\textit{see.av 1sgSP.1(punct).2sgOP}  
\textit{You were missing.}  

299. \textit{qun anuwaman^y-na}  
\textit{ss 1sgSP.4(past).neg.dc}  
\textit{I wasn't there.}
300. [yiniwaman\(^y\)na] [tənə pi yənuŋka]
   3sgmSP.4(purp).neg meat.int go 3sgmSP.2(fut)
   He won't be here; he's going hunting.

antiman\(^y\)/antiman\(^y\)na has the following restricted distribution: it only occurs sentence-initially with the governing auxiliary in the subjunctive mood:

301. [antiman\(^y\)]
   antiman\(^y\)na
   adv(recip).dpf(neg) meat give.cnt
   wiwin\(^y\)ażin\(^y\)takna anti akana
   3sgmSP.2(subj).1sgOP.foc adv(recip) adv(neg)
   aŋ anuŋnəwakka
   give 1sgSP.2(fut).3sgmOP.foc
   He wouldn't give me meat so I won't give him (any).

302. antiman\(^y\)na
   adv(recip).dpf(neg) meat give.cnt
   wiwin\(^y\)ażin\(^y\)takna tə aŋ
   3sgmSP.2(subj).1sgOP.foc meat give
   awuntunöwakka
   1sgSP.1(subj).3sgmOP.foc
   If he had been giving me meat I would give him some.

2. Precisely because of the elative and foregrounding functions of -man\(^y\) the negative function is explicitly marked when suffixed to lexical adjectives or to auxiliary conjugation 4. The same NP (v. 4.18) can take the suffix -man\(^y\) in either its foregrounding function, for example, or its negative function:
303. alalk yikpiman⁶ qatankat⁶ yuyuwa
child little(sgm).dpf wrong 3sgmSP.6(past)
The little boy was wrong.

304. alalk yikpiman⁶na waɾatpi
child little(sgm).dpf(neg) walkabout.go
yita
3sgmSP.2(pres/past)
The big boy goes/went walkabout.

Similarly, -man⁶ can be suffixed to Auxiliary Conjugation 4 in either its foregrounding or its negative function:

305. [ki nönöman⁶ alawarman⁶]
ss 3sgfSP.4(pres).dpf woman.dpf
[akana teylamma nunta]
adv (neg) wait.talk.cnt 3sgfSP.2(pres/past)
This woman here is not waiting to talk.

306. alawar nönöman⁶na
woman 3sgfSP.4(pres).dpf(neg)
The woman isn't here.

3.24 Reduplication of the verb root. The reduplication of the verb root in MalakMalak denotes repeated action. Reduplicated roots take reduplicated primary stress (v. 1.6).

- lamlam talk
- pit⁴ pit⁴ rub firesticks
- puɾuŋpũɾuŋ boil
- taratarar knock (on door)
- tarattarar watch
- telkŋatelkŋa singe hair off wallaby
3.24.1 There is also a partial reduplication of the verb root, with a pluralizing effect. That is, if the verb root is intransitive the subject is pluralized; if transitive the object is pluralized.

The phonological nature of partial reduplication. Only certain one or two-syllable verb roots can undergo this process. Partial reduplication involves the reduplication of the vocalic nucleus of a monosyllable and of the second vowel of a di-syllable. Partial reduplication also typically involves the introduction of a liquid between the reduplicated vowels. This liquid is usually either a continuant r or a vibrant ŋ. A lateral is introduced only where one is already present word-finally (v. wil and tikal, below).

If a di-syllable has a continuant r intervocally, e.g. larap: tie, or if a monosyllable has a continuant r

---

15 The only recorded exception to the vocalic reduplication rule is t'yət > t'yətāt : stand/be born. kupuk > kuwpuk has already been mentioned (v. Chapter 1, fn. 2)

15a t'yən > t'yən'yən'y constitutes an exception to this principle.
or a vibrant ɬ as the first consonant of a two-consonant cluster, e.g. kark: proceed yaʃ:p: rub, then the reduplicated vowel will be followed immediately by a continuant r.

Partial reduplication has the regular alternate syllable stress pattern (v. 1.6), with primary stress falling on the first syllable.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Yuy</th>
<th>Yuyur</th>
<th>Yuyurur</th>
<th>PI</th>
<th>S</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lie down</td>
<td>yur</td>
<td>yurur</td>
<td>yurur</td>
<td>pl</td>
<td>S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stand/be born</td>
<td>tyet</td>
<td>tyetat</td>
<td>tyetat</td>
<td>pl</td>
<td>S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>take out</td>
<td>karkwat</td>
<td>kararkwarat</td>
<td>kararkwarat</td>
<td>pl</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>out</td>
<td>tyurp</td>
<td>tyurp</td>
<td>tyurp</td>
<td>pl</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
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<td>tyurk</td>
<td>tyurk</td>
<td>pl</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2) enter</td>
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<td>tyurk</td>
<td>tyurk</td>
<td>pl</td>
<td>S</td>
</tr>
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<td>get up</td>
<td>parat</td>
<td>parat</td>
<td>parat</td>
<td>pl</td>
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<td>cause</td>
<td>tut</td>
<td>turut</td>
<td>turut</td>
<td>pl</td>
<td>S</td>
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<td>larak</td>
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<tr>
<td>talk</td>
<td>lam</td>
<td>laram</td>
<td>laram</td>
<td>pl</td>
<td>S</td>
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<tr>
<td>walkabout</td>
<td>warat</td>
<td>warat</td>
<td>warat</td>
<td>pl</td>
<td>S</td>
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<td>hit</td>
<td>tatγ</td>
<td>taratγ</td>
<td>taratγ</td>
<td>pl</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grow up</td>
<td>tik</td>
<td>tirik(+ Conj.pl)</td>
<td>tirik(+ Conj.pl)</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
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<td>lie down</td>
<td>tikal</td>
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<td>pl</td>
<td>S</td>
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<tr>
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<td>tyenγ</td>
<td>tyenγ</td>
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<td>tarap</td>
<td>tarap</td>
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<td>niwarat</td>
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<td>kuwpuk</td>
<td>kuwpuk</td>
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<td>larap</td>
<td>larap</td>
<td>larap</td>
<td>pl</td>
<td>0</td>
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<tr>
<td>swim</td>
<td>wil</td>
<td>wilil</td>
<td>wilil</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rub</td>
<td>yaʃp</td>
<td>yaʃarp</td>
<td>yaʃarp</td>
<td>pl</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
load (into canoe) kulpat kulparat pl 0

go up kark karark pl s

break tapak tapořok pl 0

find tat tarat pl 0

...  

3.25 Compound Verb Roots. The Lexical Verb in Malak is, in a number of instances, compound. By this is meant the combination of two (or sometimes, more) lexical verb roots combining to form a single expanded unit. The meaning of the expanded unit is not always the sum of the meanings of the parts. For example:

talkyur which, literally, is fall and lie means bend over. Even so, a large number of lexical verb roots derive their meaning from the relations of the combined parts.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Root</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tuřk.wat</td>
<td>drink.send : swallow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tyuřk.wat</td>
<td>enter.send : put inside</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>katě.wat</td>
<td>throw.send : let go</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anj.wat</td>
<td>give.send : send over</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wa.kark.wat</td>
<td>pick up.come up.send : take out</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wa.tik.pi</td>
<td>pick up.back.go : take back</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tik.ka</td>
<td>back.come : come back</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>katě.yi.pi</td>
<td>throw.leave.go : leave (tr)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kat.parar</td>
<td>play.around : play around</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nalk.yur</td>
<td>full up.lie down : settle down</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kař.lak</td>
<td>prod in ground.eat (meat) : pick out of ground (and) eat</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
kal.\text{\textsuperscript{y}}\text{\textasciitilde}t \quad \text{carry.\textsuperscript{stand}} : \text{carry on head}

ku\text{\textsuperscript{u}}.\text{\textsuperscript{w}}.\text{a}.\text{pi} \quad \text{pull.\text{\textsuperscript{pick up.\text{go} : drag along}}}

lam.\text{\textsuperscript{t}}\text{\textsuperscript{y}}\text{ak} \quad \text{talk.\text{\textsuperscript{stop}} : stop}

pin\text{\textsuperscript{y}}.\text{\textsuperscript{w}}.\text{a}.\text{ka} \quad \text{get water.\text{\textsuperscript{pick up.\text{come} : get water and bring it}}}

pull\text{\textsuperscript{y}}.\text{p}.\text{yur} \quad \text{extinguish.\text{\textsuperscript{lie down} : die down (of fire)}}

tik.tat \quad \text{back.\text{\textsuperscript{look}} : look back}

\text{pat.\text{\textsuperscript{ka}.\text{wa}}} \quad \text{fly.\text{\textsuperscript{come.\text{pick up}} : fly in (and) pick up}

\ldots

3.26 \textit{The Morphology of Nouns and Lexical Adjectives.}

MalakMalak is a multiple-classifying language. \textit{Noun-class} constitutes a sub-classification of the \textit{word-class}: \textit{Noun}. MalakMalak groups its nouns into four classes, three of which are overtly marked by a generic classifier that immediately precedes the specific noun; the fourth is a residual class with no overt marking. The classifiers are as follows:

1. \textit{mi} - is a free form classifying \textit{plants and vegetable food}, which can occur as the generic noun for non-meat food.

2. \textit{te} - is a free form classifying \textit{animals hunted for meat}, which can occur as the generic noun for meat itself.

3. \textit{ty\text{\textsuperscript{o}}\text{\textsuperscript{n}}} - is a free form classifying \textit{trees}, which can occur as a generic noun for tree or wood covering (O'Grady 1960) what actually is (tree/wood) or potentially could be (fire).
4. The residual morphologically unmarked class includes everything else: parts of the body, kinship terms, natural phenomena, weapons, etc.

For example, from the four Noun Classes:

- mi yilik  
  lily-root  
- te ma  
  wallaby  
- t'yoq marir  
  paper-bark tree (paperbark itself: yéli)  
- mantulma  
  heart  
- puntu  
  head

The only instance of two homonymous words being differentiated by classifier is the following:

- mi wöt  
  water cabbage  
- te wöt  
  type of flatfish

In terms of O'Grady's formulation of what actually is or potentially could be (op.cit.)

- te pit'ak means both bee and honey.

Through mythological usage pululu (rainbow) takes the classifier te - te pululu. Because the banyan produces an edible fruit pön'ö (banyan tree) takes the classifier mi, as does ya'lin' (palm tree).

3.27 Adjectival Concord. The adjectival concord system reflects the four third person singular bound subject pronoun markers within the auxiliary conjugations (v. 3.18.3-6):

307. yin'y a t'alk yita  
  The man falls/fell  
  man  fall  3sgmSP.2(pres/past)
alawar t’alk nunta  The woman falls/fell
woman fall 3sgfSP.2(pres/past)
mi t’alk muta  The fruit falls/fell
food fall 3sgvSP.2(pres/past)
t’yön t’alk wuta  The tree falls/fell
tree fall 3sgeSP.2(pres/past)

For a small set of lexical adjectives there is a concordal relation with the noun, reflecting just the third singular subjectival concord exemplified above. The adjectival set comprises the following (exemplified in the masculine singular form):

- yunpayin - yinat  good - bad
- yinali - yikpi  big - little
- yinanki - yönörön  young - old
- yint’erik

(The adjective yint’reyik (short) is the marked member of the long/short antithesis in that it is morphologically marked for concord, whereas t’yalala (long) is invariable.)

---

16 A lexical adjective follows both the noun that it qualifies and any possessive adjective (v. 3.28) qualifying that noun
t’amar  qa  t’alala
spear  1sgSP(Aposs)  long
My long spear
308. **Good:**

\[ \text{yin}^y \text{a yunpayin} \]
\[ \text{man} \quad \text{good (sgm)} \]
\[ \text{alawar nupayin} \]
\[ \text{woman} \quad \text{good (sgf)} \]
\[ \text{mi} \quad \text{munpayin} \]
\[ \text{(veg) food good (sgv)} \]
\[ t^y \text{on} \quad \text{wunpayin} \]
\[ \text{tree good (sge)} \]

**Good-bad, big-little, and short also have plural forms.**

Those for yunpayin are as follows:

309.

\[ \text{yin}^y \text{a yunpanpan} \]
\[ \text{man} \quad \text{good (plm)} \]
\[ \text{alawar nupanpan} \]
\[ \text{woman} \quad \text{good (plf)} \]
\[ \text{mi yilik munpanpan} \]
\[ \text{clf lily-root good (plv)} \]
\[ t^y \text{on} \quad \text{wunpanpan} \]
\[ \text{tree good (ple)} \]

310. **Bad:**

\[ \text{yin}^y \text{a yinat} \quad \text{(pl. yinarat)} \]
\[ \text{man} \quad \text{bad (sgm)} \]
\[ \text{alawar nönat} \quad \text{(pl. nönařat)} \]
\[ \text{woman} \quad \text{bad (sgf)} \]
\[ \text{mi mönat} \quad \text{(pl. mönařat)} \]
\[ \text{food bad (sgv)} \]
\[ t^y \text{on} \quad \text{wönat} \quad \text{(pl. wönařat)} \]
\[ \text{tree bad (sge)} \]

---

\[ t^y \text{alala: Long cannot express concord, but it does have a plural form: } t^y \text{ulu.} \]
311. Big:  

\[\text{yin}^y\text{a yinali } (\text{pl. yiner})\]  

\[\text{man big (sgm)}\]  

\[\text{alawar nunali } (\text{pl. uner})\]  

\[\text{woman big (sgf)}\]  

\[\text{mi yilik munali } (\text{pl. muner})\]  

\[\text{clf lily-root big (sgv)}\]  

\[\text{t}^y\text{ön wunali } (\text{pl. wuner})\]  

\[\text{tree big (sge)}\]  

312. Little:  

\[\text{yin}^y\text{a yikpi } (\text{pl. yinmeyit}^y)\]  

\[\text{man little (sgm)}\]  

\[\text{alawar nikpi } (\text{pl. nincyt}^y)\]  

\[\text{woman little (sgf)}\]  

\[\text{t}^y\text{a}n\text{ar mikpi } (\text{pl. minmeyit}^y)\]  

\[\text{spear small (sgv)}\]  

\[\text{t}^y\text{ön/walk wikpi } (\text{pl. winmeyit}^y)\]  

\[\text{tree/stone small (sge)}\]  

313. Old:  

\[\text{yin}^y\text{a yönörön}\]  

\[\text{man old (sgm)}\]  

\[\text{alawar nönörön}\]  

\[\text{woman old (sgf)}\]  

\[\text{t}^y\text{a}n\text{ar mönörön}\]  

\[\text{spear old (sgv)}\]  

\[\text{t}^y\text{ön wonörön}\]  

\[\text{tree old (sge)}\]  

314. New/Young  

\[\text{alalk yinanki muyin}^y\text{ yinanki}\]  

\[\text{child young (sgm) dog young (sgm)}\]  

\[\text{alalk nunanki}\]  

\[\text{child young (sgf)}\]
The semantic field of nouns taking y-concord includes: male humans (and animals); edible meat; parts of the body; certain weapons used for killing humans; and rain (and tide).
The semantic field of nouns taking n-concord includes:
female humans (and animals); the sun and stars.

317. wiyan nönörön
mother old (sgf)
miři nunpayin
sun good (sgf)
nömöřöl nikpi
star small (sgf)

The semantic field of nouns taking m-concord includes:
non-meat foods; parts of the body directly associated with
food and speech; weapons and implements for obtaining food
(meat and non-meat); "Language" and "story".

318. mi munŋ'ytalk munanki
clf lily young(sgv)
pönŋ munali
belly big (sgv)
ŋantilk mönat
tongue bad (sgv) (i.e. sore tongue)
manŋ'ik pttiŋ munali
adam's apple big (sgv)
maparak  mōnat
(long) mangrove spear  bad (sgv)
mērmōt  mōnat
fishing spear  bad (sgv)
tyinparan  mōnat
stone spear  bad (sgv)
yēn  mōnōrōn
yam-stick  old (sgv)
ŋuluk  mōnōrōn
language  old (sgv)
marin  munpayin
story  good (sgv)

The semantic field of nouns taking w-concord includes:
trees, wooden objects and fire; natural phenomena; European
implements; and "stomach".

319. wenti wanali
canoe  big (sge)
kukpinti  wunali
one-handle  big (sge)
tyōŋ  wunpayin
fire  good (sge)
waliwali  wunali
river  big (sge)
tek  wunali
country  big (sge)
yēyi  wunpayin?
road  good (sge)
walk wikpi
stone/hill little (sge)
pantan wikpi
stone axe small (sge)
pepema wunali
wind big (sge)
työn wunali
fire big (sge)
"shot gun"
työn wikpi
fire little (sge)
"22"
työn wintyɛrik
fire short (sge)
revolver
yintin wunpayin
engine good (sge)
tel wönat
buttock bad (sge)
"flat tyre"
man wönat
stomach bad (sge)

3.27.1 Modification of adjectives

3.27.11 Comparison. ṃan is a free comparative particle that immediately precedes the word class that it modifies (v. 2.16).
321. walk kiwa [ŋan lapar] wuta
stone ss.foc ptcl(comp) light 3sgeSP.2(pres/past)
yawuk t'urma woyö
other heavy.cnt 3sgeSP.5/6(pres)
This stone's lighter than that one.

321. [ŋan kakak] pi aŋkatun
ptcl(comp) ss go 1dlSP.2(purp)
Let's (dl.) go a bit further.

322. t'añar [ŋan mintye'ik]
spear ptcl(comp) short(sgv)
The shorter spear.

323. t'añar ki [ŋan t'ala] t'añar na
spear ss ptcl(comp) long spear 1sgSP
mintye'ik
short(sgv)
This spear is longer than my spear.

324. yöntön [ŋan wanya] pi yita
3sgmSP ptcl(comp) adv go 3sgmSP.2(pres/past)
He is/was moving more slowly.

325. tye'zin' ki [ŋan yunpayin] yini
goanna ss ptcl(comp) good(sgm) salt-water
crocodile
nun yinat
ss bad
This goanna is better than that salt-water
crocodile.

326. mi [ŋan mikpi] aña'iny
food ptcl(comp) little(sgv) give.1sgOP
Give me less food.
3.27.12 -man^q'a. If -man^q'a is suffixed to an adjective it transforms the adjective into its antithesis. (Cp. the function of -man^q'a as a negation marker in the verb complex v. 3.23.3)

327. tek wikpiman^q'a wöönö camp little(sge).dpf(neg) 3sgeSP.4(pres) A big camp.

328. mi mönatman^q'a food bad(sgv).dpf(neg) Good food.

329. mawan^ wakyenman^q'a clothes water.comit.dpf(neg) Dry clothes.

330. t'yanar munankiman^q'a spear new(sgv).dpf(neg) Old spear.

331. walk lapařman^q'a stone light.dpf(neg) A heavy stone.

In certain environments -man^q'a can carry the sense of excess. For example, the question

332. t'yanar ki anta? (Is) this spear allright?

could be answered with the following retort:

333. mint'yëzikman^q'a! Too long!

or 334. t'yalalanaman^q'a! Too short!
The negative marker -tan can be suffixed to lexical adjectives (as well as to verb roots: v. 3.23.1). When suffixed to a lexical adjective -tan has a function similar to that of -man\textsubscript{y}na:

335. yikpitan

big (or too big, depending on context)

3.28 Possession.

Possessive adjectival sequences are formed by the preposing, in the case of inalienable possession, and by the post-posing, in the case of alienable possession, of the free subject pronoun to the noun to be qualified.

That is to say, a possessive relation between two NPs is realized in one of two ways. When the relation is that between part and whole, including inalienable possessions such as body-parts and kinship terms, the two nouns are simply juxtaposed, the possessor preceding the possessed:

336. alawar \textsubscript{y}yet

woman leg woman's leg

337. qa nan\textsubscript{y}il\textsubscript{k}

1sgSP hand my hand

338. mu t\textsubscript{y}i\textsubscript{y}min\textsubscript{y}

goose egg goose egg

339. yin\textsubscript{y}a puntu

man head man's head

340. yöntön mel\textsubscript{y}yet

3sgmSP parent his parent
Secondly, when the relation between two nominals is that of alienable possession, -nö is suffixed to the possessor noun:

341. muyiny yin' anö
    dog    man.poss
    *Man's dog.*
342. t'anar niyërinö
    spear  young man.poss
    *Young man's spear.*
343. tyoqöö
    fire.poss
    *Fire place.*
344. tikka atta tek
    back.come lexSP.2(pres/past) camp/country
    kinöwa
    ss.poss.sfm
    *We returned to this country (where) we belong.*

3.29 -nö.

The functions of -nö, in MalakMalak, are fourfold:

(i) Complement-marker
(ii) Benefactive
(iii) Possessor
(iv) Relator

3.29.1 Complement-marker (v. 4.14.1)

-nö marks an Intensive type of complement and, as such, can be suffixed to either a noun or a verb root:

---

18 Cf. what Capell (1956) called the bivalent suffix -ku.
I will go for wallaby.

Tomorrow he will go fishing.

Later they come to meet us (ex) to talk.

Whenever the Intensive -nö is suffixed to an intransitive verb root, it must be preceded by the Continuative suffix -ma:

We're not going; we're staying in the camp.

The Nominal Benefactive

-nö can be suffixed to a masculine and/or plural benefactive noun:

She cooked the food for her husband.
te  pulptitynö
meat old men (partial reduplication from singular
pulptity).bf

Meat for the old men.

In the case of a feminine and/or plural Beneficiary, the
third person singular feminine object pronoun is suffixed
to the noun:

350. mu yanakna t'ukat wöwöntön alalk
goose one pluck 3sgfSP.1(seq) child
nikpiñayi papa'mat^nayi alawar yöntönta
small(sgf).bf old women bf woman 3sgSP.sfm

His wife plucked one goose for the little
girl and the old women.

The Pronominal Benefactive has exactly the same form
as that of the object pronoun (-nö is also the 3rd person
singular masculine object pronoun):

351. te wu t'yiyit ayano
meat.clf barramundi catch 1sgSP.1(punct).3sgmOP

I caught barramundi for him.

352. te aŋpuŋu
meat licSP

Meat for us (inclusive).

as opposed to:

353. te ye'kit
meat licSP

Our (inclusive) meat.
3.29.3 Possessor (v. 3.28)

3.29.4 Relator

This function of -nö may be glossed about or because of:

354. pentsi puwar alawarnö qurqurmi ayuwa
    ts night woman.rel dream 1sgSP.5(past)

Last night I dreamt about a woman.

355. na minö t'eyantakma anö
    1sgSP food. hear.cnt 1sgSP.4(pres)

I am thinking about food.

3.30 -wuna

The quantifying suffix -wuna means all or only.

356. yin^awuna pi wutta
    man.qf go 3plSP.2(pres/past)

All the men went/Only the men went.

357. alawarwuna pi nunta
    woman.qf go 2sgSP.2(pres/past)

Just the woman went.

358. yanakwuna
    one.qf

Just one.

wuwuna

barramundi.qf

Just barramundi.
Everyone.

359. antawuna  wîrk  atta
    allright.qf  finish  lexSP.2(pres/past)
    We're all allright.

alalk  yinmeyi[wuna
    child  little(plm).qf
    All the little boys.

360. mint'itak  pi  nunta    wanařiwuna
emphP  go  2sgSP.2(pres/past)  2sgSP.qf
    You went, just you yourself.

3.31 -man is a suffixal Resemblance marker:

361. katukman  yönö    akana
    P(dm).rbl  3sgmSP.4(pres)  adv(neg)
    He is not like that one.

362. qaman    yönö    akana
    lsgSP.rbl  3sgmSP.4(pres)  adv(neg)
    He is not like me.

363. alalk  ʔa  awul    qaman    yönpuŋ
    child  lsgSP  dreaming  lsgSP.rbl  3sgmSP.2(purp)
    My child is going to have the same dreaming
    as I.

-man can also be suffixed to an adjectival realized as a
deictic specification (v. 4.18):

364. pulit'ki  yönömannaa
    old man  ss  3sgmSP.4(pres).rbl.loc
    Like the old man over here.
3.32 -malak. The Dubitative characterizes a particular aspect of the speaker's attitude to what he is saying. It can be glossed as 'I don't know.'

365. tek akumalakman⁴ ka yunun⁴
country/camp where.dub.dpf come 3sgmSP.2(progr)
I don't know where/which country he comes from.

366. amanmalak anmawa
adv(intrg).dub 1sgSP.1(fut)
I don't know what to do.

367. yin⁴a eyinmalak yitanki
man who.dub 3sgmSP.2(pres/past).dc
I don't know who the man coming up here is.

368. nikitamalak lamlamma yita
what.dub talk.cut 3sgmSP.2(pres/past)
I don't know what he's talking about.

369. t'anar akunmalak
spear where.dub
I don't know where the spear is.

3.33 mel: The Proprietive can function as a prefix or suffix on nouns and verb roots. The general sense of the Proprietive is that of responsibility or "source", as in the following kinship terms:

370. mel⁴et
propr.birth parent
melwiyi
propr.milk mother
meltapali  husband
melpapu  father
melyuwan  grandfather
melwilit  sibling
melnuquntu  sister
melalantu  brother

and:

371. melyal
propr.vein  root

The following exemplify -mel as a suffix:

372. tyqomel
    tree.propr  trunk
373. tyetmel
    leg.propr  thigh
374. mimel  yöntön
    propr.food
    The food he is entitled to.
375. yina  yöño  yöntön  melyaman
    man  3sgmSP.4(pres)  3sgmSP  propr.spear.dpf
    wöwöntönta
    3sgmSP.1(sequ).foc
    The man sitting down is responsible for the killing.
3.34 -waŋ is an Agentive marker with the related function of Instrumental. The Instrumental use of -waŋ presupposes an agent.

Instrumental

376. pirpënwaŋ ey ayanö
shovel-nosed spear.ag(inst) spear 1sgSP.1(punct).
He wounded him with a shovel-spear.

or the instrumental NP can occur sentence-finally:

377. ey ayan no pirpënwaŋ
378. nan'ylkwaŋ tat' yimin'no
hand.ag(inst) hit 3sgmSP.1(punct).3sgmOP
He hit him with his hand.

379. MalakMalakwaŋ lamma nunta?
MalakMalak.ag(inst) speak.cnt 2sgSP.2(pres/past)
Do you speak MalakMalak?

380. puntuwaŋ waratpi yita
head.ag(inst) walk around 3sgmSP.2(pres/past)
He walks/walked on his head.

3.34.1 The Agentive marker -waŋ can be suffixed to transitive or intransitive subject, but not to transitive object.

Intransitive subject:

381. alalk yikpiwan katpararma yita
child little.(sgm).ag play around.cnt 3sgmSP.2(pres/past)
yöntön mintyitak
3sgmSP emphP
The little boy is playing round about by himself.
382. nunwan appakali tyeyantakma
P(dm).ag ptcpl.pfx.eit.ptcpl hear.cnt
yöno
3sgmSP.4(pres)

That one sitting down all the time is thinking.

Transitive subject:

383. alawarwan akana muk nuntano
woman.ag adv(neg) ask 3sgfSP.2(pres/past).3sgmOP
yöntöwan akana muk yitanyayi
3sgmSP.ag adv(neg) ask 3sgmSP.2(pres/past).3sgfOP

The woman does/did not ask him (and) he does/did not ask her.

384. alalk yikpi wapi nuntano
child little(sgm) take 3sgfSP.2(pres/past).3sgmOP
melwiyiwan
mother.ag

The mother takes/took the little boy.

385. yinwan alalk yinmeyit tat yitawöro
man.ag child little(plm) see 3sgmSP.2(pres/past).3plOP

The man sees/saw the little boys.

In examples 381 to 385 -wan carries very little functional load. Its occurrence is predictable only when disambiguating the syntactic functions of NPs. -wan is, however, seldom needed as a disambiguating marker because of the alternative means of indicating the relations between NPs in transitive sentence structure: free subject and
object NPs are reflected in the Verb Complex as bound subject and object pronouns (v. 4.13; 4.13.1). But if, for example, both NPs of a transitive sentence were singular and masculine the bound object pronoun would be unable to disambiguate their syntactic functions. In such a case the Agentive -waŋ would be used to mark the subject NP:

386. alalk yikpiwan yin'yɑ' taŋ yimin'no

child little(sgm).ag man bite 3sgmSP.1(punct). 3sgmOP

The little boy bites/bit the man.

Note that the following ordering of NPs is also possible:

387. yin'yɑ alalk yikpiwan taŋ yimin'no

3.35 Locative Affixes.

3.35.1 -yin'ɑ: on/in/into/beside, and always functions suffixally:

388. mapamaha wuttanö tekyina

follow.cnt 3pISP.2(pres/past) camp.loc

They are following him into the camp.

389. walkyina yuyuwa naqatna

hill.loc 3sgmSP.6(past) top.loc

He stood on top of the hill.

390. t'onyina naq pak aniwa

tree.loc hide 1sgSP.4(fut)

I will hide in the tree.

391. melwiyiyina pak yonö

mother.loc sit 3sgmSP.4(pres)

He sits beside (his) mother.
392. *papalu* nakpararma wutta

*buffalo* eat.around.cnt 3plSP.2(pres/past)

yawótyinna

lexSP.loc

*The buffalo wander round beside us (and)*
eat.

393. *pi* ata antukyinna

*go* 1sgSP.2(pres/past) house.loc

*I went into the house.*

3.35.2 *man^y:* "departing from".

3.35.21 *elative* function.

394. *Darwin*man^y* ka ata

Darwin.dpf come 1sgSP.2(pres/past)

*I have come from Darwin.*

395. *tek*man^y* yipi yita

camp.dpf away.go 3sgmSP.2(pres/past)

*He goes/went away from the camp.*

3.35.22 *as an agentless instrumental:*

396. *wakyen* mataman^y*

water.having rain.dpf

*Wet from the rain.*

397. *te* yiqi man^yik wal^yimpaman^y*

clf (salt-water) crocodile throat axe.dpf

tu'rpali yita

cut.ptcpl 3sgmSP.2(pres/past)

*The crocodile's throat has been cut with an axe.*
3.35.23 -man also has the function of foregrounding the actor from whom the action (transitive or intransitive) proceeds.

398.  ny mint\textsuperscript{y}itakman\textsuperscript{y} pi ata
\begin{itemize}
\item 1sgSP emphP.dpf go 1sgSP.2(pres/past)
\end{itemize}
\begin{itemize}
\item I go/went by myself.
\end{itemize}

399.  yaw\texttt{\textring{}}tman akana pi tan\texttt{\textring{}}
\begin{itemize}
\item lexSP.dpf ptcl(neg) go mingle
\end{itemize}
\begin{itemize}
\item We (ex) do not mingle.
\end{itemize}

400. [stockman-man\textsuperscript{y} a\textsuperscript{n}untuman\textsuperscript{y}] pakma wutta\texttt{\textring{}}
\begin{itemize}
\item stockman.dpf ts.dpf sit.cnt. 3plSP.2 (pres/past)
\end{itemize}
\begin{itemize}
\item Stockmen lived there afterwards.
\end{itemize}

Note that a\textsuperscript{n}untuman\textsuperscript{y} functions as an adjectival within the Noun Phrase (v. 4.18).

401. [\textsuperscript{w}a\textsuperscript{n}a\textsuperscript{\textring{}}fiman tat yinmanunu] [mapara
\begin{itemize}
\item 2sgSP.dpf see 3sgmSP.1(purp).2sgOP follow yinmanunu]
\end{itemize}
\begin{itemize}
\item 3sgmSP.1(purp).2sgOP
\end{itemize}
\begin{itemize}
\item He (the buffalo) is going to see you (and) follow you.
\end{itemize}

Note that the direct object is being foregrounded.

402.  \textsuperscript{w}a\textsuperscript{n}a\textsuperscript{\textring{}}riman\textsuperscript{y} nata\textsuperscript{\textring{}}kat\textsuperscript{y} nuntyuwa
\begin{itemize}
\item 2sgSP.dpf wrong 2sgSP.6(past)
\end{itemize}
\begin{itemize}
\item You were wrong.
\end{itemize}

3.35.3 -an/na: into/onto/to

-na) are in free variation.

-an) are in free variation.

Post-vocalically in words of odd-numbered syllables:
-na > -nan

e.g. tö + na > tönan

hole hole.loc: into the hole
mantulma + na > mantulmanan
heart heart.loc: onto the heart
but waliwali + na > waliwalina (v. 406, below)
river to river

403. t'añar yur aya pawurkan

spear lay 1sgSP.1(punct) ground.loc
I lay spear on ground.

404. møntölna mulk pam aya

loc.shoulder bamboo put(pl.obj) 1sgSP.1(punct)
I put the bamboo onto my shoulder.

405. alawar wapi yitañayi tek

woman take 3sgmSP.2(pres/past).3sgfOP camp
yawukan other.loc
He took the woman to another camp.

406. waliwalina pi yönuŋka

river.loc go 3sgmSP.2(fut)
He will go to the river.

407. te turkwat yimin' manna akana

meat swallow 3sgmSP.1(punct) stomach.loc adv(neg)
He does not swallow the meat into his stomach.
(This describes a bird regurgitating food for its young.)
Motion towards a location can be morphologically unmarked, the sense of directional movement being carried by the Verb Complex itself. For example, sentence 160 from text 1 (v. Appendix):

\[ nəŋərə \ pi \ atuŋ \ tek \ yawuk \]
\[ adv(desid) \ go \ 1sgSP.2(purp) \ camp \ A \]

I want to go to another camp.

\[ pən^y_i \ pi \ yita \]
\[ ts \ go \ 3sgmSP.2(pres/past) \ Darwin \]

Yesterday he went to Darwin.

3.36 The Comitative

3.36.1 The comitative -yên is a derivational suffix whose meaning can be glossed as "having". Suffixable to NPs -yên can:

1. form a new noun

\[ tōmöl_yên \]
\[ testicles.comit \ bullock \]
\[ wi_yi_yên \]
\[ milk.comit \ cow \]
\[ tawut \ wonat_yên \]
\[ blood \ bad.comit \ leprosy \]

2. form an adjective

\[ wakyên \]
\[ water.comit \ wet \]
3. form a verb
t'yəwörynən
ear.comit hear/know/think

Other functions:

3.36.2 Human agent at rest with something inanimate:

410. yinyə yönə wörynən
man 3sgmSP.4(pres) tobacco.comit
The man sitting down has tobacco.

Human agent moving holding something inanimate:

411. t'yanaryən yitaŋa
spear.comit 3sgmSP.2(pres/past).dc
He went/goes over there with a spear.

3.36.3 Accompanitive

412. alawaryən yita
woman.comit 3sgmSP.2(pres/past)
He has a woman

3.36.4 Time

413. mi̱riynən pi aʁkununŋka
sun.comit go 1icSP.2(fut)
We will all go while it is light.

3.36.5 Describing a state.

414. wiɣəniɣən wöɣənə
anger.comit.anger.comit 3plSP.5(pres).3sgmOP
They are furious with him.
415. tiŋkiʁkyc  yita

sick.comit  3sgmSP.2(pres/past)

He has/had a fever.
4.1 Much of that which belongs properly to the syntax of MalakMalak has already been stated under the different Word Classes (v. Chapter 2) and in the Morphology (v. Chapter 3). What follows concerns the relations of the word classes to one another and will complete the syntactic description of the language.

4.11 The only obligatory constituent in MalakMalak sentence structure is the *Verb Complex* which can itself constitute a sentence (v. 4.13). Other word classes can be added to the *Verb Complex*, such as nouns (subject or object Noun Phrase (v. 4.18) and nouns with any of the affixal functions listed in section 2.11 and described in sections 3.28 to 3.36); adjectivals (v. 2.12; 4.18); particles (v. 2.16); deictic specifiers (v. 2.14); and Verb Complex Complements (v. 4.14).

416. [ŋɔyɔ] [yin'y] [ŋat'y] [alawar ɣontɔn]

ts SNP ptcl(emph) ONP
tomorrow man woman 3sgmSP

[tek yawukan] wapi ɣönuŋŋayiwa
N A.loc VR Aux.OP
camp other.to take 3sgmSP.2(fut).3sgfOP
[łamlammanɔ]
VRcpt
talk.cnt.int

Tomorrow the man will take his wife to another
camp to have a talk.

In the preferred ordering of constituents the subject and object Noun Phrases precede the Verb Complex (v. 4.19).

4.12 Any number of sentences in MalakMalak can be juxtaposed to indicate co-ordinate and subordinate relations between sentences. That is, sentences do not formally mark relationships of co-ordination or subordination (except for the case of Conditionals, which are marked by the mood of the protasis, v. 4.12.1). Thus, these sentences can be interpreted in various ways according to their content (the presence or absence of coreferential NPs, for instance) and the context of situation.

417. [\textit{yin'y}a tat ayanö]  
\textit{man} see 1sgSP.1(punct).3sgmOP \textit{woman}  
\textit{tat'y}ma yitaŋayi]  
\textit{hit.cnt} 3sgmSP.2(pres/past).3sgfOP

In answer to the question "What was he doing?" sentence (417) would be glossed:

"When I saw the man he was hitting his wife."

In answer to the question "What did you see?" sentence (417) would be glossed:

"I saw man who was hitting his wife."

or

"I saw man and he was hitting his wife."

418. [\textit{yin'y}a alalk nikpi tat'y yitaŋayi]  
\textit{man} child little(sgf) \textit{hit} 3sgmSP.2(pres/past)  
[\textit{kan'y}akma yita]  
cough.cnt 3sgmSP.2(pres/past)
Sentence (418) would be glossed:

"The man hit(s) the little girl and he was/is coughing."

or

"The man who was/is coughing hit(s) the little girl."

But in the following sentence:

419. [yin'awant alalk yikpi tat'y]
    man.ag child little(sgm) hit
    yitano'y] [kan'yakma

3sgmSP.2(pres/past).3sgmOP cough.cnt

yita]

3sgmSP.2(pres/past)

the concordal relationship between the bound third singular subject person marker and its potential nominal referent (either yin'y or alalk yikpi) would be unable to indicate unambiguously the nominal referent of kan'yakma yita. Sentence 419 would therefore be glossed as either

"The man hit the little boy who was coughing."

or

"The man who was coughing hit the little boy."

420. [gün wötyönki] [alawarman'y wa
    ss 3plSP.6(pres).dc woman.dpf pick up
    yimin'yayi] [wi wötyönki]

3sgmSP.1(punct).3sgfOP fight 3plSP.6(pres).dc

These three juxtaposed sentences would be glossed:

"Those over there are fighting over the woman he abducted."

Reduced sentences can be juxtaposed to indicate co-ordination.

A reduced sentence is one containing a Verb Complex without an Auxiliary; its typical environment is a narrative context such as the following:
421. [tuŋ tuʔurp] [wapi ʔunna] [tuʔpam]
wood cut(pl.0) take ss.loc put into ground
[tyetwεranʔan kil weɾanweɾan tuŋ wοnt^øyök
fork-stick two two wood short(ple)
tuʔurp] [taɾpyur larap] [waŋa
cut(pl.0) lay (on top of) tie bring
taɾpyur paraŋa nanta] [larap]
lay (on top of) corpse A(dm).sfm tie
[yuryipi]
lay(tr).leave(tr).go

"(They cut pieces of wood, take (them) over there, put (them) into the ground and cut four fork-sticks, and cut short pieces of wood and lay (them) across (the fork-sticks) and tie (them) and bring up that corpse, lay (it) across, tie (it to the platform) and leave (it)."

4.12.1 Conditionals.

The protasis of a Conditional sentence occurs only in the Purposive or Subjunctive moods; the apodosis can occur in the Purposive or Subjunctive moods or in the Future tense.

422. [apap yinma] [ŋiʔkpuk yinma]
sick 3sgmSP.1(purp) die.possib 3sgmSP.1(purp)
If he gets sick he might die.

423. [te aŋ awuntunōwakka] · · · anti
meat give 1sgSP.1(subj).3sgmOP.foc adv(recip)
[te aŋ wuwuntuwaʔin^tyakna]
meat give 3sgmSP.1(subj).1sgOP.foc

v. fn. 9 Chapter 12.
Had I given him meat he would have given me meat.

or

Were I to give him meat he would give me meat.

The subjunctive is unmarked for tense, whereas the purposive is marked for futurity.

424. [te aŋ wuwuntuwa\~in\~\~t\~akna] anti
meat give 3sgmSP.1(subj).1sgOP.foc adv(recip)
[te aŋ atömanō]
meat give 1sgSP.1(purp).3sgmOP

If he gave me meat I would give him meat.

The apodosis in the Future tense:

425. [mi ηak nuwuntuwa] [mi
food(veg) eat(non-meat) 2sgSP.1(subj) food(veg)
ηak anmawakna]
eat(non-meat) 1sgSP.1(fut).foc

If you eat (veg) food I will eat (veg) food.

Given two juxtaposed sentences, if the Verb Complex of one is in the subjunctive mood and the Verb Complex of the other is in neither the purposive or subjunctive moods nor in the future tense, then the latter sentence will be interpreted as an adverbial clause of reason.

426. te aŋ awuntunö\~wakka anti
meat give 1sgSP.1(subj).3sgm adv(recip)
te aŋ yimin\~a\~rin\~
meat give 3sgmSP.1(punct).1sgOP

I would give him meat because he gave me meat.
4.13. The Verb Complex.

The Verb Complex can be expanded as follows:

\[(\text{adverb})\{(\text{verb root})\{(\text{auxiliary})\}\}\{(\text{object pronoun})\}\]\n
Adverb, Verb Root, and Auxiliary are free forms; Object Pronoun is bound to the Verb Root or the Auxiliary, depending on which occurs. When the Verb Root and the Auxiliary co-occur within the Verb Complex the Verb Root precedes the Auxiliary:

427. akana pilp yinmaŋayiwa
    adv(neg) slap 3sgmSP.1(fut).3sgfOP

He will not slap her.

The Verb Complex assumes a role of central importance in the sentential syntax of MalakMalak because the aux. assigns person, number, tense, mood and aspect to the sentence in which it occurs. The transitivity of a verb root will also be registered in the Verb Complex through the ability or inability of the VR to take a pronoun object.

There is a concordal relationship between the (free) subject NP and the bound subject person marker of the auxiliary.

428. yin\(^y\)a wilma yita
    man swim.cnt 3sgmSP.2(pres/past)

The man is/was swimming.

\(^2\)If the Pronoun Object occurs as the benefactive object of a noun, the Pronoun Object occurs as a free form:

\[\text{te aŋpuŋu: meat for us (to)}\]

\(^3\)v.3.21.4 for an exception to this word-order rule.
429. alawar wilma nunta
   woman swim.cnt 3sgfSP.2(pres/past)
   The woman is/was swimming.

The (free) object NP is reflected in the *Verb Complex* by a person- and number-equivalent pronoun object.

430. alawar tat̄ yimin̄ ḡayi
   woman hit 3sgmSP.1(punct).3sgfOP
   He hit(s) the woman.

431. teyma anunqayiwa alawarno
   wait(tr).cnt 1sgSOP.2(fut).3sgfOP woman.bf
   I will wait for the woman.

Since alawar is unmarked for number, the suffixation of the third singular feminine pronoun object marks the noun alawar for singularity. Equivalently, in the following sentence the plurality of yin̄ a is indicated by the suffixation of the third plural pronoun object:

432. pent̄ yi t̄ eyantak aȳ owōf̄ o yin̄ ya wa
   ts hear 1sgSP.6(pres).3plOP man.sfm
   Yesterday, I heard the men.

Due to the repetition of the free subject and object in pronominal form within the *Verb Complex* there is no ambiguity over the interpretation of a sentence such as the following:

433. yin̄ ya alawar tat̄ yimin̄ ḡayi
   man woman hit 3sgmSP.1(punct).3sgfOP
   The man hit(s) the woman.

---

Nouns are not usually marked for number. The only recorded exceptions to this statement is the partial reduplication which pluralizes pulit̄ y: *old man* and paṟmat̄ y: *old woman*

\[
\begin{align*}
pulit̄ y & > \quad \text{pupulit̄ y} \\
paṟmat̄ y & > \quad \text{papaṟmat̄ y}
\end{align*}
\]
Only one interpretation is possible because of the gender concord between yin\textsuperscript{y}a and the third masculine singular bound subject person marker yi- of yimin\textsuperscript{y} and between alawar and the coreferential feminine singular pronoun object -\textsuperscript{qayi}.

4.13.1 Transitivity.

Transitivity is a property of the Verb Complex. As stated earlier, verb roots are inherently transitive or intransitive. Of all inherently transitive verbs recorded, 96% are able to take Conjugation 1 as an auxiliary. Verb roots that are inherently intransitive, on the other hand, characteristically cannot take Conjugation 1 as an auxiliary. For these reasons Conjugation 1 was termed the transitivity index of the Conjugation system.

There is no formal distinction in the language between transitive and intransitive subject, whether free or bound. The agentive marker -\textsuperscript{war} (v. 3.34) can be attached to a free subject NP whether transitive or intransitive, and the only constraint on its distribution within the Noun Phrase is that it cannot be suffixed to the free object NP.

4.13.11 Noun Phrase, Adjectival and Deictic Complements.

The intransitive Verb Complex can take a NP, adjectival or deictic complement:

\footnote{With the exception of the twelve intransitive Verb Roots listed in fn2 of section 3.1.}
NP Complement

434. [karala yunpayin] yita
   body good\(\text{sgm}\) 3sgmSP.2(pres/past)
   He is/was happy.

435. [puntu léy̱pma] ata
   head hot\(\text{cnt}\) 1sgSP.2(pres/past)
   I have/had a headache.

Adjectival Complement

436. yin\(\text{y}\) yita
   shy 3sgmSP.2(pres/past)
   He is shy.

437. ty̱alala yita
   long 3sgmSP.2(pres/past)
   He is tall.

Deictic Complement

438. ty̱ö̱q mařir [wak antawan] wöyö
   clf paperbark tree water ss 3sgeSP.6(pres)
   The paperbark tree stands near the water.

4.13.2 Indirect Objectivity

There is no formal marking of indirect objectivity in the language. Indirect objects behave, syntactically, in exactly the same way as direct objects. Again, it is the verb root itself that provides an index of the capacity for indirect objectivity: e.g. aŋ: give.
439. mi aŋ ațömanö
food(veg) give lsgSP.1(purp).3sgmOP
I'm going to give him food.

As is the case with direct object NPs, the indirect object NP is reflected in the Verb Complex by a gender- and number-equivalent pronoun object:

440. yin’ya alawar lamma nuntanö
man woman talk.cnt 3sgfSP.2(pres/past).3sgmOP
The woman is/was talking to the man.

In example 441 the pronoun object -nö indicates the singularity of yin’awa while in example 442 the pronoun object -wörö indicates its plurality:

441. pęnt’i naman ayanö yin’awa
ts speak lsgSP.1(punct).3sgmOP man.sfm
Yesterday I spoke to the man.

442. pęnt’i naman ayawörö yin’awa
ts speak lsgSP.1(punct).3p10P man.sfm
Yesterday I spoke to the men.

In the following two examples the pronoun object realizes a possessive function:

443. t’yanar tapak mutažin’
spear break 3sgvSP.2(pres/past).1sgOP
My spear has broken.

Note that t’yanar spear is one of the nouns that require m-concord either when qualified by a concordal adjective (v. 3.27) or as the referent of the third singular bound subject marker of the auxiliary.
A literal translation of example 443 would read: Spear has broken (to) me.

Similarly, sentence 444:

444. muyin^ yîrk yimin^ařin^
dog die 3sgmSP.1(punct).1sgOP

Literally: dog died (to) me

My dog died.

There is a concordal relationship between muyin^ and the masculine singular subject person marker yi- of yimin^.

In the following example the pronoun object realizes the affected party:

445. man wônatt^et wiyaqin^ařin^
stomach bad.stand 3sgeSP.6(progr)1sgOP

Literally: stomach is standing bad (to) me.

I am worried.

4.14 Verb Complex Complementation.

There are two types of Verb Complex complementation in MalakMalak: (i) verb root/auxiliary complementation and (ii) participial complementation.

4.14.1 Verb Root/Auxiliary Complementation.

(a) verb root ± -ma (the continuative suffix) ± -nö (the intensive suffix) (b) auxiliary complementation.

(a) The verb root complement is a reduced sentence (v. 4.12, example 421) complemented by a Verb Complex.

^6 man stomach requires w-concord (v. 3.27) when qualified by a concordal adjective or as referent of the third singular bound subject marker of the auxiliary. (man is one of the exceptions to the general rule that all body-parts take y-concord, v. 3.27)
The woman knows/knew how to cut (wood for a canoe).

I have come to (this) country for good.

He's on his way back to lie down.

Tomorrow he will come to fish.

We hunt out (and) spear a red kangaroo.

The little boys will go and bathe.

Monday morning he will take me to work.
(b) In the following sentences an auxiliary functions as complement of the preceding verb complex:

453. tat ayanö [yöwö̀ra]  
see 1sgSP.1(punct).3sgmOP [3sgmSP.3(pres)]  
I see him going along.

454. tat ayanö [yita]  
see 1sgSP.1(punct).3sgmOP [3sgmSP.2(pres/past)]  
I see/saw him over there (v. 3.12)

455. t'eyantak ayanö [yuwúra]  
hear 1sgSP.1(punct).3sgmOP [3sg.SP.3(past)]  
I heard him going along.

456. [qun yöönkö] tatma an önö  
[ss 3sgmSP.4(pres).dc] see.cnt 1sgSP.4(pres) 3sgmOP  
I see him sitting there.

457. tat anmanöwa [yönunkakka]  
see 1sgSP.1(fut).3sgmOP [3sgmSP.2(fut)]  
I will find him walking along.

In sentences 453 to 457 (inclusive) there is gender- and number-concord between the object pronoun of the Verb Complex and the bound subject person marker of the complement.

4.14.2 Participial Complementation

The participle-forming suffix -ali carries an habitual sense.

458. t'alkyurali nunta  
bend over ptcp 3sgfSP.2(pres/past)  
She goes/went along bent over.

---

7 v.3.21.4
The suffixation of -ali to pak-, yur-, and t'yel-, for example, creates a semantic force of sitting, lying or standing coextensive with the action described by the verb root of which it forms the complementation.

459. (a) paltam  
  palkali
  hide(behind something) sit.ptcp1
  yöno
  3sgmSP.4(pres)
(b) paltam  
  yurali
  hide(behind something) lie.ptcp1
  yöyo
  3sgmSP.5(pres)
(c) paltam  
  t'elali
  hide(behind something) stand.ptcp1
  yöyo
  3sgmSP.6(pres)
(a) Hide behind (something) sitting all the time.
(b) Hide behind (something) lying down all the time.
(c) Hide behind (something) standing up all the time.

In the following three examples, the participle forms the complementation not of a verb root but of an auxiliary:

460. (a) yöno  
  appakali
  3sgmSP.4(pres) sit.ptcp1
  He is always sitting down.
The prefix *ap-* is restricted in distribution to the three standard postural verb roots pak, yur and *t*ēt. When *ap-* is prefixed to one of these three participial complements the latter can follow the auxiliary but without the prefix *ap-* the participial complement form of these three verb roots precedes the auxiliary:

\[ \text{pakali} \quad \text{yōnō} \]
\[ \text{sit}.\text{ptcpl} \quad \text{3sgmSP}.\text{4(pres)} \]
\[ \text{He is sitting all the time.} \]

A distinction is drawn in the language between *succession* and *simultaneity* of the actions described by juxtaposed verb roots within the Verb Complex. If -ali is suffixed to the second of two juxtaposed verb roots that verb root will function as the participial complement of the first, and the action described by the second verb root will be understood as taking place simultaneously with that described by the first. But if -ali suffixation does not occur, the actions will be understood as being *successive.*

461. (a) alawar peyikan wurk pak nōnō
\[ \text{woman} \quad \text{bag}.\text{loc} \quad \text{put in} \quad \text{sit} \quad \text{3sgfSP}.\text{4(pres)} \]
\[ \text{The woman puts (it) in the bag and sits down.} \]
(b) alawar peyikan wurk yur nönyö
woman bag.loc put in lie down 3sgfSP.5 (pres)
The woman puts (it) in the bag and lies down.

(c) alawar peyikan wurk t'et nöntyö
woman bag.loc put in stand 3sgfSP.6(pres)
The woman puts (it) in the bag and stands up.

The participial suffix -ali converts succession into simultaneity.

462. alawar peyikan wurk pakali nöño
woman bag.loc put in sit.ptcpl 3sgfSP.4(pres)
The woman puts (it) into the bag while sitting down.

The ability of a verb root to take the participial complement pakali/yurali/t'etali does not necessarily reflect any constraint on the co-occurrence of that verb root with the semantically cognate auxiliary conjugations 4, 5 or 6.

The participial suffix -ali is not confined to the three standard 'postural' verb roots pak-, yur- and t'et. For example:

463. tæk nanman'y tappamali atta
camp A(dm).dpf grab.put.ptcpl lexSP.2(pres/past)
We have always retained this camp.

464. t'iyit'ali yitawöro
pick up.ptcpl 3sgmSP.(pres/past).3plOP
He goes along picking them up all the time.
4.15 The Imperative

4.15.1 The Positive Imperative. The Positive Imperative can be realized in MalakMalak in one of two ways: either (1) by the Purposive mood preceded by a verb root, or (2) by the verb root itself, without a subsequent auxiliary but with or without the preceding adverb tin⁴. There is no formal distinction between transitive and intransitive imperative.

e.g. (a) 466. ⁴mi ⁴ŋak ⁴nöntöma

(veg)food eat(non-meat) 2sgSP.1(purp)

Eat the food!

467. ⁴lak ⁴nöntöma

eat(meat) 2sgSP.1(purp)

Eat (non-meat) food!

468. ⁴ŋat⁴ŋak ⁴yini

hide 3sgmSP.4(purp)

Let him hide.

469. ⁴yur ⁴nukuttöyung

lie down 2plSP.5(purp)

You (pl) lie down!

470. ⁴pa⁴ŋat ⁴nintiyang

get up 2sgSP.6(purp)

Get up!
(b) The verb root form of the positive imperative with neither the auxiliary nor the adverb tin^y is as follows:

471. tūñ tūr̂p̂ma
   wood cut.cnt
   Cut the wood!

472. kina pakma
   ss.loc sit.down.cnt
   Stay here!

473. naman
   Speak!

474. mi aŋarin^y
   food(non-meat) give.1sgOP
   Give me food!

The verb root preceded by tin^y

475. tin^y tatnö
   adv find.3sgmOP
   Try and find him.

476. tin^y tappiyipman^y
   adv wind.dpf
   Try winding (it). (i.e., an outboard motor)

4.15.2 The Negative Imperative.

The negative imperative is formed with the adverb awat followed by either a verb root alone or by a verb root plus an auxiliary in the purposive mood.
477. \textit{awat} t̪̄yrməriny
\hspace{1cm} adv \hspace{0.5cm} wait.cnt.1sgOP
\hspace{1cm} \textit{Don't wait for me!}

478. \textit{awat} wumuwa
\hspace{1cm} adv \hspace{0.5cm} steal
\hspace{1cm} \textit{Don't steal!}

The negative force of \textit{awat} can be reinforced by the negative suffix -\textit{tan}:

479. \textit{awat} muɾt̪̄yɾtan nuntuŋ
\hspace{1cm} adv \hspace{0.5cm} trip.neg \hspace{0.5cm} 2sgSP.2(purp)
\hspace{1cm} \textit{Don't trip!}

480. \textit{awat} wat̪̄yɾ lamlammatan
\hspace{1cm} adv \hspace{0.5cm} adv \hspace{0.5cm} talk.cnt.neg
\hspace{1cm} \textit{Don't talk so fast!}

4.16 The Causative/Inchoative

The causative/inchoative construction is formed by the verb root \textit{tut} acting upon a lexical adjective:

481. mawuny [laŋkɛɾk tut] aya
\hspace{1cm} clothes clean \hspace{1cm} caus 1sgSP.1(punct)
\hspace{1cm} \textit{I make/made the clothes clean.}

482. töl [t̪̄alala tut] aya
\hspace{1cm} stick long \hspace{1cm} caus 1sgSP.1(punct)
\hspace{1cm} \textit{I lengthen(ed) the stick.}

483. tit [kerkɛɾ tut] aya
\hspace{1cm} edge sharp \hspace{1cm} caus 1sgSP.1(punct)
\hspace{1cm} \textit{I sharpen(ed) the blade.}

\footnote{V. 3.23}
484. [yikpi   tut] yita
   little(sgm) caus 3sgmSP.2(pres/past)
   He gets/becomes thin.

485. [yinali tut] yita
   big(sgm) caus 3sgmSP.2(pres/past)
   He gets/becomes big.

486. [tōm tut] yita
   weak caus 3sgmSP.2(pres/past)
   He gets/becomes weak.

487. [mawun⁴ waŋkaŋ wuyuwa] [wakyen
dress outside 3sgeSP.(past) water.comit
tut wuta]
   caus 3sgeSP.(pres/past)
   The dress was outside, so it got wet.

   tut has a partially reduplicated plural form: turut (v. 3.24.1)

488. qant⁴akpulu turut wutta
grown up caus(pl) 3plSP.2(pres/past)
   They grew/grow up.

The causative tut can also act upon a noun or a quantifier:

489. marin⁴ tut⁹ yimin⁴
   story caus 3sgmSP.1(punct)
   He tells/told a story.

490. mut⁴ur⁹ tut wi⁴min⁴
   qf caus 3plSP.1(punct)
   They have a big family.

Synonymous with this is marin⁴ t⁴et yita. See below for other instances of t⁴et in an inchoative function.
Colour- or light-descriptive terms as inchoatives tend to occur with \( t^y \) (or \( tutty^y \)) plus conjugation 6:

491. \( \text{quparaka} \quad t^y \quad \text{wiyani} \)
\dark \quad \text{stand} \quad 3\text{sg}SP.6(progr)
\text{It's getting dark.}

492. \( \text{eyikeyik} \quad tutty^y \quad \text{wiyani} \)
\black \quad \text{caus.stand} \quad 3\text{sg}SP.6(progr)
\text{It's getting black.}

493. \( \text{witma} \quad tutty^y \quad \text{wiyani} \)
\red \quad \text{caus.stand} \quad 3\text{sg}SP.6(progr)
\text{It's getting red.}

When the causative force is acting upon a verb root it has a different realization: the verb root \( \text{wat} \) (send). \( \text{wat} \) can be suffixed to other verb roots thereby forming compound verb roots:

494. \( \text{yina}^y \quad \text{nitwat} \quad \text{ayan} \)
\text{man} \quad \text{say "no". send}
\text{I made the man say no.}

495. \( \text{panaman}^y \quad \text{namanwat} \quad \text{yimina}^y \)
\text{father.dpf speak.send} \quad 3\text{sg}SP.1(punct).1\text{sg}OP
\text{Father made me speak.}

The suffixation of \( \text{wat} \) also covers the action of a causative force upon an adverb such as \( \text{wat}^y \text{ur} \) (quick):

496. \( \text{wat}^y \text{urwat} \quad \text{atu} \)
\text{quick.send} \quad 1\text{sg}SP.2(purp).3\text{sg}OP
\text{I am going to make him (go) quickly.}
In certain cases (v. 3.25) the suffixation of *wat* to a *verb root* has crystalized into a lexical item:

e.g. turkwat [drink + send] : swallow
tyurkwat [enter + send] : put inside
katywat [throw + send] : let go

4.17 The Verb Root.

It is characteristic of MalakMalak that the auxiliary conjugations which can potentially occur with any single verb root are multiple. However, certain constraints operate on a number of verb roots thereby restricting the number of auxiliary conjugations for which they can select.

Of a sample 350 verb roots 98 are able to select for all six auxiliary conjugations:

- *akak*  
  
  *vomit*

- *alturuk*  
  
  *smash*

- *ar*  
  
  *dry*

- *ariQar*  
  
  *open (mouth)*

- *(kariž) wir*  
  
  *weave (basket)*

- *kař*  
  
  *moult feathers*

- *kařQogyat*  
  
  *light (pipe/cigarette)*

- *kařturuk*  
  
  *poke*

- *kařyiwuy*  
  
  *stir*

- *kehrpekęp*  
  
  *crunch*

- *kuřpit*  
  
  *miss (i.e. with a missile)*

- *kuřput*  
  
  *cover up*

- *kuřtöwerkety*  
  
  *move fire along a hollowed out log*  
  
  *(i.e., in the manufacture of a canoe)*

- *kuřut*  
  
  *remove*
kuʁ  pull
lamtɛl  stop(someone from quarrelling)
manparart'et  stir stomach up
manpurity  be satisfied
manwiyuk  niʁk  starving hungry
milk  decorate
nil'ily  strip bark (from a tree)
nil  skin (an animal)
nin'yik  dislike
nit  tell a lie
n'atn'at  chip wood
ŋak  eat (non-meat)
lak  eat (meat)
ɣar  skin (animal)
ŋawan'ak  smell
ŋe  breathe
ŋeŋp  cut
ŋit  a verb of repulsion
ptčat, (tim)  dig (a hole)
wuʁk, (peyikan)  put into (a bag)
pilp  slap
yaʁyaʁ  plane down
lamt'ak  stop (someone) from quarreling
laʁ  tear

---

10 It's range includes: 1. hunt someone/something away. 2. say "no". 3. leave for a while e.g. unpicked lily-roots.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lurung</td>
<td>clean</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lurut</td>
<td>grind</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pirir</td>
<td>untie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pirpiryst</td>
<td>ignite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>popö</td>
<td>fan flames</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tapak</td>
<td>break</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>taratwat</td>
<td>watch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tarpat</td>
<td>bite off</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tattékut</td>
<td>show</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tat^y</td>
<td>hit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tat^ymuř</td>
<td>kick/smash (with feet)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṇogat</td>
<td>cook</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tayt^yarpr</td>
<td>cut an object into quarters</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mörpmörpr</td>
<td>munch (non-meat food)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>muřtam</td>
<td>block a creek</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>muřtuk</td>
<td>hatch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>numuru n^yip</td>
<td>wink</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṇalamuřk</td>
<td>swear/curse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṇal^yak</td>
<td>lick</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>piktap</td>
<td>arrest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>piwuy</td>
<td>swing (tr.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>telknɔa</td>
<td>singe hair (of a wallaby, e.g. before cooking)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tempelet^y</td>
<td>roll up (of swag)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tölŋ</td>
<td>stretch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tum</td>
<td>inhale</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tut</td>
<td>causative verb root (v. 4.16)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>töt^yat</td>
<td>take from earth/mud of a goanna/turtle, etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Word</td>
<td>Meaning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tulpkaty</td>
<td>dig for lily (in swamp)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>työk</td>
<td>spit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tyupak</td>
<td>spit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>naman</td>
<td>speak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yeřk</td>
<td>scrape hide</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yukutywat</td>
<td>move an object along gradually</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aritel</td>
<td>shut door</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kan'yak</td>
<td>cough</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kařkwut</td>
<td>sew</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kařyit</td>
<td>comb (hair)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kařt'yikat</td>
<td>poke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kurpuk</td>
<td>wash</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kuřuttyet</td>
<td>take clothes off</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>takaty</td>
<td>touch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tep</td>
<td>paint</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tumpurk</td>
<td>hicacough</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tuřkwat</td>
<td>swallow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tyararataty</td>
<td>tip out</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>týřya</td>
<td>sneeze</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wan'y</td>
<td>row (a boat)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tultul</td>
<td>be angry (tr)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>turakaty</td>
<td>push</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t'yiyity</td>
<td>catch/get</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t'yurp</td>
<td>out</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wa</td>
<td>pick up</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yakayakay</td>
<td>scream</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yentawaiktap</td>
<td>like</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Of the 350 verb roots already referred to, 228 are able to select for Conjugation 1 (98 of which have already been cited); and 122 are unable to select for Conjugation 1. (Ability or inability to select for Conjugation 1 is being regarded as definitive for the classification of verb roots because this conjugation stands as an index of their transitivity potential.)

The Verb Roots that can select for Conjugation 1.

Of the remaining 130 verb roots (from the sample of 350) that can select for Conjugation 1, 80 show full constraints on the selection of certain conjugations, and 50 show partial constraints (as in the verb roots able to select for Conjugations 5 and 6 in the plural persons only, v. 3.15 and 3.16, respectively). Of the 80 verb roots showing full conjugation-selection constraints, 38 cannot select for Conjugation 5:

- altak: break
- anwat: send over
- ațawat: spread (tr)
- kalt'yêt: carry (on head)
kurkař prod ground (with yamstick)
wakarkwat take out
alturp penetrate
aŋ give
tr make noise in undergrowth
kalpam carry (p1.o)
kat'kurpukat put into the water (of a canoe, e.g.)
putaty cover cooking meat with ashes
talturp burn
tëret break limbs (at joints)
wönturp degut a kangaroo/wallaby
tulkwut pull down (tr)
t'yëtpat break (branch) off
tapuyt' squeeze	'tölt'yöl dust (smthg.) down
t'yurppam cut and stack up wood
timkut bury (rubbish)
watwat fish
mawun'y kuřutpam take clothes off and put them down
t'yintar tip out
putuk cover up (tr)
tap grab/seize
tömt'urp degut a mullet
tuytuy stretch (intr)
t'yamöltyet sharpen (yamstick)
t'yintarwukut'y tip out
t'yukat'y pluck
t'yukkwat put inside
warwar  make dilly-bag
wirk (man'yik petirk) whisper
muiri  trip over
tappiyip  wind around
wakyentelk  mix cold and hot water
wzer  take out of earth oven

Four verb roots cannot select for Conjugation 6:

kölptyet  roast (a single piece of meat)
puy  disbelieve (tr)
war  (be) ready
yitkar  scale a fish

Two verb roots cannot select for Conjugation 4:

qoyattamkat'  cook (meat) wrapped up (i.e., in paperbark)
maparakat'  chase

Sixteen cannot select for Conjugations 4 and 5:

kat'yu'rwkwat  throw away
wakulpat  load (tr) (into canoe)
kum  bury
wi mama  engage in a fight (predicated of a large number of people)
mu'  move feet (around)
na'k  make noise in water with bamboo pole
partikt'etey  lean back and spear (tr)
payaktultkyet  turn over onto back (tr)
taratatar  knock (on door)
ta'  bite
tulkmu'  touch someone on ankle
tuptet

plant (single obj.)

Tutpamtap

lay wood like rollers on which to move canoe

T'ara'kat

rain heavily

T'et

plant

Wankit

flush out (animals from bush)

Four cannot select Conjugations 5 and 6:

Palin'tat

clap hands

Tappam

grab and keep

tökölp

roast in a hole

töy

straighten a bamboo

One verb root is unable to select Conjugations 4 or 6:

Mapara

follow

Fourteen verb roots are unable to select Conjugations 4, 5 or 6:

Apap

be ill or tired

Pin'waka

get water and bring it

Pin'wapi

get water and take it

Pin'wukut

bale water out

Tar'tetyi

tip out and leave

Tanirik

kill (with spear)

Mantetyi

cover up and leave

Tuppam

stick plant in ground

Ty'urk

bury

Wat'uktet

fill up and leave

Wukutpam

drop

Parkyi

leave behind

T'et

sting

T'etwat

'drop' a person off after giving him a lift
One verb root is unable to select for Conjugations 2, 3, 4 and 5:

\[ t^y\text{en}y\text{kat}^y \] arrange (something for someone)

The Verb Roots that cannot select for Conjugation 1.

Of the 122 verb roots unable to select for Conjugation 1, 108 show full constraints and 14 show partial constraints.

Of the 108 verb roots showing full constraints the following 37 can select for any auxiliary conjugation except Conjugation 1:

- katparar play around
- kat laugh/play
- lam(lam) talk
- lerpma hot
- luřukat\^y wait around for food
- manpařat resemble
- tiny stir up (intr)
- man\^yt\^et float up
- nanpuřuŋ show off
- muřma dance (of men)
- nöwölweriŋen make trouble
- n\^ypap\^apa be deaf
- töwerk cry
- tulma sulk
- tyinwitan avoid fights
- werwerparar tremble
- ariwit\^yim kiss
- wiŷenwiŷen argue
ariqar | open mouth
mirmir | melt
mu₂tʰɪtʰalk | trip and fall
numu₂u tʰɪlwuṣkali | a wrinkled face (have)
ŋun₂tʰet | sweat
t'yɔörtarkat'y | remind
t'yɛrt'yɛr | sing
tattaparar | look around
tat'yparar | forage (for yams)
tty | wait
tiktat | look back
t'yɛyantak | listen
pe̱ppe̱p | be frightened
wirwir | leak/bleed
welkun'y | swing (intr)
wumukut | blame
wuyurwuyur | peep
wuruwat | wave
ŋalamu̱r̥k | swear

The following 8 verb roots are unable to select for Conjugation 5:

awara (pl.subj.) | cry
kuņuŋ | dwell
tarŋalakatarŋalk | bump into someone
tɛlpat | keep someone company
t'yumpuŋkupuk | dive making a splash
wɛma | scream
titmiŋit | tease
kupuk | dive
One verb root is unable to select for Conjugations 2, 3 and 5:

\[ \textit{pon}^y \quad \text{pregnant} \]

Three are unable to select for Conjugation 4:

\[ \textit{lerp} \quad \text{meet (pl. subj.)} \]
\[ \textit{paxt}^y\textit{etpi} \quad \text{sneak up on} \]
\[ \textit{wilpay} \quad \text{cross over (i.e., to other side)} \]

Five verb roots are unable to select for Conjugation 6:

\[ \textit{puř} \quad \text{snore} \]
\[ \textit{tatyur} \quad \text{sleep fitfully (lit. see and lie down)} \]
\[ \textit{telponök} \quad \text{walk} \]
\[ \textit{turutturut} \quad \text{dream} \]
\[ \textit{piyip} \quad \text{be sick} \]

The following seventeen verb roots are unable to select for Conjugations 4 and 5:

\[ \textit{wakulpat} \quad \text{load objects into boat} \]
\[ \textit{kömpörwatpir} \quad \text{have a cold} \]
\[ \textit{luppi} \quad \text{go together: 'be friends'} \]
\[ \textit{nat}^y\textit{nat}^y \quad \text{hide (intr)} \]
\[ \textit{nyu} \quad \text{enter} \]
\[ \textit{pěrk} \quad \text{crawl (predicated of a snake)} \]
\[ \textit{pur} \quad \text{alight (of a bird)} \]
\[ \textit{talptalp} \quad \text{run along playing} \]
\[ \textit{tiramt}^y\textit{et} \quad \text{stand on top of bank} \]
\[ \textit{mitt}^y\textit{ėfat} \quad \text{paint (ceremonially)} \]
\[ \textit{t}^y\textit{ėrk} \quad \text{snap (of wood)} \]
wel  
\textit{t'yintart'yintar}  
\textit{t'yčťatwaťa (pl.S)}  
\textit{t'yčťet/t'yčťat (pl.S)}  
\textit{kařka}  
\textit{puťat}  
hang up (intr)  
spill  
stand in one line  
be born  
punt  
jump  

The following three \textit{verb roots} are unable to select for Conjugations 5 and 6:  
\textit{leřpt'yet}  
tuk  
pöŋköl tuřppak  
move around in grass  
take someone else's part (in a quarrel)  
kneel down  

The following \textit{verb root} is unable to select for Conjugations 2, 3 and 6:  
pöŋköl tartar  
cross legs  

The following \textit{verb root} is unable to select for Conjugations 4 and 6:  
\textit{kařnilyur}  
break skin (against an object)  

The following twenty-three \textit{verb roots} are unable to select for Conjugations 4, 5 and 6:  
\textit{altiritpi}  
\textit{kat'yipi}  
\textit{pi}  
\textit{ka}  
\textit{tyakat}  
\textit{arit'yuktyuk}  
go past  
leave behind (tr)  
go  
come  
race  
talk too much
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>papyiwařa</td>
<td>run away (predicated of a large number)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tyakatyiwaya</td>
<td>run away (predicated of an individual)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pařatt'akat</td>
<td>get up quickly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pur</td>
<td>warm up (of food, meat, etc.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>puṛu</td>
<td>crawl (predicated of a child)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tapat</td>
<td>walk slowly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tapali</td>
<td>have something for a long time/be married</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tiktatway</td>
<td>come back to life (myth)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tikka</td>
<td>return</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tur</td>
<td>big wave comes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tapalikat'yur</td>
<td>1. buck (of a horse); 2. pitch (of a canoe)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wapi</td>
<td>take</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>numuřu mērkwaya</td>
<td>commit adultery</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tyanar parkat'y</td>
<td>throw spear in wrong direction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tat'ywer</td>
<td>splash</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wōnatt'yetway</td>
<td>worry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tyurpi</td>
<td>sink</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Six verb roots are unable to select for Conjugations 2, 3, 4 or 5:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pitinyet'yet</td>
<td>dislike</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wuṛma</td>
<td>stand up</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pařat</td>
<td>get up</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tam'tyet'yet</td>
<td>stick to/catch onto (predicated of a spark)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tařptyet</td>
<td>stand on top (of something) (predicated of an inanimate object)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>puṛuqpuṛuq</td>
<td>boil</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Four verb roots are unable to select Conjugations 2, 3, 4 or 6:

- tarp'yur lie on top (of something) (predicated of an inanimate object)
- ṅaŋkyur twist (of a limb)
- tyalk'yur bend over
- yur lie down

4.18 The Noun Phrase

The MalakMalak Noun Phrase consists of a noun or pronoun head, or both, and an optional adjectival. An adjectival is a word or group of words qualifying a noun or pronoun which typically precede it.

An adjectival can be realized in the NP as (1) a quantifier (v. 2.12.1); (2) a demonstrative adjective; (3) a possessive adjective; (4) a deictic specification; (5) a lexical adjective.

(2) The adjectival as demonstrative adjective:

497. yin'yə nan tat wöttömanö
   man A(dm) see 3plSP.1(purp).3sgmOP
   They'll see this/that man.

498. alawar nan te̞ lak wówöntön
   woman A(dm) meat eat(meat) 3sgfSP.1(sequ)
   This/that woman eats/ate the meat.

(3) The adjectival as possessive adjective:

---

11 In the NP [wunpayin tekka] the head tek is marked for its untypical position (v. 4.19)

12 v. 3.28, above, for a discussion of alienable and inalienable possession.
499. tc qa t’uyöt yinali
meat lsgSP red kangaroo big(sgm)
My big red kangaroo.

In this, and similar cases, it is characteristically the noun-classifier that attracts the possessive adjective. Where there is no noun-classifier the possessive adjective immediately follows the noun it qualifies and immediately precedes an adjectival:

500. alalk qa ninmeyit’y
child lsgSP little(plf)
My little girls.

(4) The adjectival as a deictic specification.

501. tönö [qun wöyö]
jungle ss 3sgeSP.5(pres)
The jungle that lies over there.

502. yin’y a [ki yönö]
man ss 3sgmSP.4(pres)
The man who is here/This man.

503. [stockman-man’y aquntuman’y] pakmaña wutta stockman.dpf ts.dpf sit.cnt.dc 3plSP.2 (pres/past)
Stockmen lived there afterwards.

(5) The adjectival as a lexical adjective, In certain circumstances, such as the following, the adjective may stand by itself in the NP:

13 Cf. the discussion on lexical adjectives in section 3.27.
504. yikpi lak atōma
   little (sgm) eat(meat) 1sgSP.1(purp)
   I'm going to eat a little (meat).

In this sentence the object-noun meat is semantically implicit. Firstly, lak is a verb root which explicitly means "eat meat" (as opposed to Qak which means "eat non-meat food"), and is inherently transitive. Secondly, yikpi is y-concord (v. 3.27) which is the concord required for the qualification of, among other nominal fields, meat and animals. On these grounds, then, it is argued that a noun-object is implicit in the surface structure of the sentence.

One lexical adjective can be modified by another lexical adjective:

505. wikpi yinat ata
   little(sge) bad(sgm) 1sgSP.2(pres/past)
   I am/was a little unwell.

The speaker of this sentence would be male, as indicated by the y-concord (v. 3.27.1) of yinat. The adjective wikpi, the w-concord class denoting non-human referents, modifies the adjective yinat.

The noun, as a constituent of sentence structure, can have the function of subject or object and any of the affixal functions described in sections 3.28 to 3.36, such as agentive (v. 3.34) or locative (v. 3.35), for example:
Agentive:

506. nan$^*$ilkwaŋ  tat$^*$ yimin$^*$ŋayi

hand.ag(inst)  hit  3sgmSP.1(punct).3sgfOP

He hit(s) her with his hand.

Locative:

507. waliwaliiyĩŋa  wilma  yita

river.loc  swim.cnt  3sgmSP.2(pres/past)

He is/was swimming in the river

If the noun is qualified by an *adjectival* (other than an *adjectival* realized by a *deictic specifier* and *auxiliary*) then any adnominal affix (with the exception of -mel-, v. 3.33, and -malak, v. 3.32) is suffixed to the entire noun phrase:

e.g. 508  wawōl$^*$  wunaliyĩŋa  kapukkupuk  yönpuŋ

billabong  big(sge).loc  bathe  3sgmSP.2(purp)

He is going to bathe in the big billabong.

The free subject *pronoun* shares the syntactic possibilities of the noun, within the noun phrase. It can stand as a constituent of sentence-structure:

509. yönтон  karkatma  yita

3sgmSP  smile.cnt  3sgmSP.2(pres/past)

He is/was smiling.

It may be accompanied by another pronoun:

510. waŋari ŋa  pi  aŋkatuŋ

2sgSP  1sgSP  go  1dlSP.2(purp)

You and I are going to go.
or it can co-occur with a noun or an adjectival, or both, within the same Noun Phrase and with the same referent:

511. alawar alal k yikpi yöntö n muft y ak
   woman child little(sgm) 3sgmSP kick
   yitanayi
   3sgmSP.2(pres/past).3sgfOP

   The little boy (he) kicks/kicked the woman.

The pronoun can be head of a noun phrase:

512. ye tša munali nan muyuwa
   adv bi g(sgv) P(dm) 3sgvSP.6(past)

   At that time this was big (referring to an adjacent banyan).

513. yöntön yinali yita
   3sgmSP bi g(sgm) 3sgmSP.2(pres/past)

   He is/was big.

4.19 Marking within the Noun Phrase.

Word-order, except within the Verb Complex, is not fixed in MalakMalak. Within the Verb Complex the verb root almost always precedes the auxiliary.

The Verb Complex usually occurs sentence-finally. Noun Phrases usually occur pre-Verb Complex. When a NP occurs post-Verb Complex it is formally marked. The form of the sentence-final marking (sfm) is a low open central unrounded vowel /a/ which is suffixed to a sentence final NP.

14 But v. section 4.14.2, concerning the auxiliary and participial complementation.
If the sentence-final NP ends in a consonant there are three morphophonemically-conditioned variant forms:

(1) If the final consonant is a liquid or a glide the sfm is the vowel /-a/.

514. tat'y puk yinmañayi alawar-a
    hit.possib 3sgmSP.1(purp).3sgfOP woman.sfm
    He might hit the woman.

515. alalk yikpi tat yimin'y nö
    child little see 3sgmSP.1(punct).3sgmOP
    pululuy-a
    rainbow.sfm
    The little boy sees/saw the rainbow or The rainbow saw the little boy.

(2) If the final consonant is a stop the sfm has the syllabic structure CV, the C being a geminate of the word-final stop. The justification for the geminate interpretation is phonetic: notably, perceptible intervocalic devoicing. Intervocalic stops are normally voiced (v. 15 Phonology, section 1.16).

516. t'yewöryṇ en atta t'yönö waknö
    ear.comit lexSP.2(pres/past) tree.rel water.rel
    yin'y anö alalk yikpinö t'yewöryṇ en atta
    man.rel child little(sgm).rel ear.comit lexSP.2(pres/past)
    quluk-ka
    language.sfm

15 Cf. the intervocalic devoicing in the auxiliary system (v. 3.11-3.16): in the opposition between ata [ad∧] 1sgSP.2(pres/past) and atta [ad∧] lexSP.2(pres/past) the gemination of the medial stop is morphologically supported by the forms of the person- and tense-markers, respectively (v. 3.18.10).
We know the words for tree, for water, for man (and) for little boy.

517. ‘tyɛn’na’ naman wööntön alalk yinmeiyiti'ta
inj. speak 3plSP.1(sequ) child little(plm).sfm
"Thank-you", said the little boys.

(3) If the final consonant is a nasal the sfm has the syllabic structure CV, the C being a homorganic stop.

518. tyaŋar yaruwa tyiyiť wööntön yöntön-ta
spear woomera pick up 3sgmSP.1(sequ) 3sgmSP.sfm
He picks/picked up the spear and woomera.

519. ey yimin’nō pirıpınwanka
spear(VR) 3sgmSP.1(punct).3sgmOP shovel-spear.ag(inst).
sfm
He spear/speared him with a shovel-nosed spear.

If the sentence-final NP ends in a vowel a bilabial semi-consonant is infixed between the word-final vowel and /-a/:

520. [te taratpararma yita] [ey
meat look around.cnt 3sgmSP.2(pres/past) spear
wööntön tyeyöt-ta] [waka yitaŋayi]
3sgmSP.1(sequ) red kangaroo.sfm bring 3sgmSP.2(pres./past).3sgfOP
[yuryi yita] [yur
put down.leave 3sgmSP.2(pres/past) lie down

The occurrence of a homorganic stop preceding /-a/, rather than a geminate nasal, averts the ambiguity that would arise in the case of a geminate apico-alveolar nasal or dorso-velar nasal preceding /-a/, since -na and -ŋa are locative and deictic suffixes respectively (v. 3.35; 3.19.4)
The man looks around for meat, spears a red kangaroo, brings (it) for her, puts (it) down (and) leaves (it) (and) lies down.
TEXT 1

[ŋa mintyitak ŋuluk lamlama ata]

1 lsgSP emphP language talk.cnt lsgSP.2(pres/past)

[pi atawöörö wañiyat] [anti
go 1sgSP.2(pres/past).3plOP VRcpt(meet) adv(recip)

lamlama atta ŋuluk yawöttta]
talk.cnt lexSP.2(pres/past) language lexSP.sfm

[wööntööman y naman wööntöö] [ñamany naman

4 3plSP.dpf speak 3plSP.1(sequ) lsgSP.dpf speak

awööntööwöörö] [tek yawuk pi atta

1sgSP.1(sequ).3plOP camp A(ther) go 1lexSP.2(pres/past)
wunpayin tekka] [paypi attawöö]
good(sge) camp.sfm emerge.go 1lexSP.2(pres/past).3plOP

[pak attö] [tek wunpayin wöyö]
sit 1lexSP.4(pres) camp good(sge) 3sgeSP.5(pres)

[ayö tekat'y] [puwaryinga tikka atta]

10 1sgSP.5(pres) dawn ts(morning) back.come 1lexSP.2

[wööntöö wöttö] [aniny ka wutta

3plSP. 3plSP.4(pres) adv come 3plSP.2(pres/past)

wañiyat wötäyarin'y] [pi! tenö pi

meet 3plSP.6(pres).1sgOP VRimp meat.int go

añkatun] [t'yeyöt wänkit'y arööntöö

15 1dlSP.2(purp) red kangaroo hunt out 1lexSP.1(sequ)

ey] [tikpi atta] [kölpt'yet

VRcpt(spear) back.go 1lexSP.2(pres/past) roast

arööntöö tekna] [yawuk t'yet wa

18 lexSP.1(sequ) camp.loc P(ther) leg pick up

wööntöö] [yawuk t'yet wa wööntöö]

3sgm/fSP.1(sequ) P(ther) leg pick up 3sgm/fSP.1(sequ)
The emphatic particle $\text{nat}^y$ is translated here by the mildly emphatic just (as in We went out and just enjoyed.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{yawuk} & \quad \text{puntu} \quad \text{wa} \quad \text{wöwöntöns} \\
\text{P(another)} & \quad \text{head} \quad \text{pick up} \quad \text{3sgm/fSP.1(sequ)} \\
\text{yawuk} & \quad \text{payak} \quad \text{wa} \quad \text{wöwöntöns} \\
\text{P(another)} & \quad \text{back} \quad \text{pick up} \quad \text{3sgm/fSP.1(sequ)} \\
\text{yawuk} & \quad \text{wömö} \quad \text{wa} \quad \text{wöwöntöns} \\
\text{P(another)} & \quad \text{tail} \quad \text{pick up} \quad \text{3sgm/fSP.1(sequ)} \\
\text{yawuk} & \quad \text{wuru} \quad \text{wuru} \quad \text{yawuk} \quad \text{wa} \quad \text{wöwöntöns} \\
\text{P(another)} & \quad \text{arm} \quad \text{arm} \quad \text{P(another)} \quad \text{pick up} \quad \text{3sgm/fSP.1(sequ)} \\
\text{wi} & \quad \text{akana} \quad \text{lakma} \quad \text{nat}^y^1 \quad \text{pak} \\
\text{fight} & \quad \text{A(neg)} \quad \text{rs(eat meat).cnt ptcl(emph) sit attö} \\
\text{tek} & \quad \text{yawukman}^y \quad \text{tenö} \quad \text{ka} \\
\text{lexSP.4(pres)} & \quad \text{yita} \quad \text{t'eyikka} \quad \text{[aŋ ařöntönnö]} \\
\text{3sgmSP.2(pres/past)} & \quad \text{scrounger.sfm} \quad \text{give lexSP.1(sequ).3sgmOP} \\
\text{lak} & \quad \text{wöwöntöns} \quad \text{[nat}^y \quad \text{pak attö]} \\
\text{eat(meat)} & \quad \text{3sgSP.1(sequ)} \quad \text{ptcl(emph) sit lexSP.4(pres)} \\
\text{katma} & \quad \text{attö} \quad \text{[akana wi] \quad [alawar} \\
\text{laugh.cnt} & \quad \text{lexSP.4(pres)} \quad \text{A(neg) fight 32} \quad \text{woman} \\
\text{nat}^y \quad \text{nööö} \quad \text{[alalk yinmyit}^y \quad \text{anta} \\
\text{ptcl(emph)} & \quad \text{3sgfSP.4(pres)} \quad \text{33} \quad \text{child little(plm) adv(allright)} \\
\text{wöttöö} & \quad \text{[akana winö} \quad \text{[wak pi} \\
\text{3plSP.4(pres)} & \quad \text{A(neg) water.int water go} \\
\text{wutta} & \quad \text{[alawar pin}^y \quad \text{wööntöns} \\
\text{3plSP.3(pres/past)} & \quad \text{woman get water 3plSP.1(sequ)} \\
\text{ka} & \quad \text{wutta} \quad \text{t'yöq} \quad \text{t'akt'yet} \\
\text{come} & \quad \text{3plSP.2(pres/past) wood/fire VRcpt(prepare)} \\
\text{wak} & \quad \text{ölät wööntöns} \quad \text{[puŋpuŋ wööö} \\
\text{water cook} & \quad \text{3plSP.1(sequ) 39} \quad \text{boil 3sgeSP.6(pres)}
\end{align*}
\]
[\textit{yin}^y\textit{a wapi nunta}] \quad [\textit{aŋ}]
\begin{align*}
\text{man} & \quad \text{take} & \quad 3\text{sgfSP.2(pres/past)} & \quad \text{give} \\
\text{wöwöntönnö} & \quad \text{meltapali} & \quad [\textit{tuřk}]
\end{align*}
3\text{sgfSP.1(sequ).3sgmOP} \quad \text{propr.\textit{seize}.ptcpl} \quad \text{drink}
\begin{align*}
\text{wöwöntön} & \quad [\textit{akana wi}] & \quad [\textit{ŋuřa}]
\end{align*}
3\text{sgmSP.1(sequ)} \quad \text{A(neg)} \quad \text{fight} \quad P(\text{dm})\text{other(pl)}
\begin{align*}
\text{wöttö} & \quad \text{pin}^y \quad \text{wapi aŋ} \quad \text{wöwöntönwörö} \\
\end{align*}
3\text{plSP.4(pres)} \quad \text{get water} \quad \text{take} \quad \text{give} \quad 3\text{sgfSP.1(sequ).3plOP}
\begin{align*}
[\textit{tuřk wöřöntön}] & \quad [\textit{yur ařō} \quad \text{tekat}^y] \\
\text{drink} & \quad 3\text{plSP.1(sequ)} \quad \text{lie down} \quad \text{lexSP.5(pres)} \quad \text{dawn}
\end{align*}
\begin{align*}
[\textit{purwaryinña alawar minö} & \quad \text{pi nunta}] \\
\text{ts(morning)} & \quad \text{woman} \quad \text{food(veg).int} \quad \text{go} \quad 3\text{sgfSP.2(pres/past)}
\end{align*}
\begin{align*}
[yin^y\textit{a attö}] & \quad [\textit{mi titit} \quad \text{tat}^y\textit{ma}]
\end{align*}
\begin{align*}
\text{man} & \quad \text{lexSP.4(pres)} \quad \text{clf 'cheeky'} \quad \text{yam strike.cnt}
\end{align*}
\begin{align*}
nunta & \quad [\textit{ka nunta} \quad \text{köl}]
\end{align*}
\begin{align*}
3\text{sgfSP.2(pres/past)} & \quad \text{come} \quad 3\text{sgfSP.2(pres/past)} \quad \text{roast}
\end{align*}
\begin{align*}
\text{wöwöntön} & \quad [\textit{yin}^y\textit{a anin}^y \quad \text{paröt} \quad \text{pak yönö}]
\end{align*}
\begin{align*}
3\text{sgfSP.1(sequ)} & \quad \text{man} \quad \text{adv} \quad \text{sit up} \quad \text{sit} \quad 3\text{sgmSP.4(pres)}
\end{align*}
\begin{align*}
[\textit{ŋak wöwöntön}] & \quad [\textit{alawar anin}^y \quad \text{mi}]
\end{align*}
\begin{align*}
\text{eat(non-meat)} & \quad 3\text{sgmSP.1(sequ)} \quad \text{woman} \quad \text{adv} \quad \text{food(veg)}
\end{align*}
\begin{align*}
\text{watiyan} & \quad \text{nuntawörö} \quad [\textit{mut}^y\textit{uřwuna}]
\end{align*}
\begin{align*}
distribute & \quad 3\text{sgfSP.2(pres/past).3plOP} \quad \text{qf}
\end{align*}
\begin{align*}
\text{ŋak wöřöntön} & \quad [\textit{alalk yinmegit}^y \quad \text{alawar}
\end{align*}
\begin{align*}
\text{eat(non-meat)} & \quad 3\text{plSP.1(sequ)} \quad \text{child} \quad \text{little(plm)} \quad \text{woman}
\end{align*}
\begin{align*}
\text{yin}^y\textit{a ŋuřa} & \quad \text{ŋak wöřöntön}
\end{align*}
\begin{align*}
\text{man A(other pl)} & \quad \text{eat(non-meat)} \quad 3\text{plSP.1(sequ)}
\end{align*}
\begin{align*}
1 \text{ourselves.}) \quad \text{However, } \textit{ŋat}^y \text{ cannot always be felicitously rendered by } \textit{just}. \quad \text{In such cases it is not translated; but the emphatic force remains implicit.}
\end{align*}
This word is a partial reduplication of pulity: old man; the only other noun encountered so far that is pluralized by partial reduplication is papămat: old women from pařmat: old woman.
wööntön] [alawar pařat nöntyö] [työöŋ]
3sgmSP.1(sequ) woman get up 3sgfSP.6(pres) wood
leĩp wööntön] [ka nunta
gather firewood 3sgfSP.1(sequ) come 3sgfSP.2(pres/past)
työöŋ tyakt'yet] [pirpiyet wööntön] fire/wood VRcpt(prepare) ignite 3sgfSP.1(sequ)
[te nöyat wööntön yin'yanö] [nöyat wapi
meat cook 3sgfSP.1(sequ) man bf cook take
nunta] [aŋ wööntönnö]
3sgfSP.2(pres/past) give 3sgfSP.1(sequ).3sgmOP
[pařöt pak lak wööntön] [alalk yikpi
(sit up sit) eat(meat) 3sgmSP.1(sequ) child little(sgm)
kay yö yööwööŋ] [ka wutta] call 3sgmSP.6(pres).3plOP come 3plSP.2(pres/past)
[alalk yinmeyit'y lak wööntön] [ŋat'y
child little(plm) eat(meat) 3plSP.1(sequ) ptcl(emph)
lakma wutta alalk yinmeyit'yta]
eat(meat).cnt 3plSP.2(pres/past) child little(plm).sfm
[ŋat'y katpararma wutta alalk
ptcl(emph) play around.cnt 3plSP.2(pres/past) child
yinmeyit'yta] [alawar nönö tikalma
little(plm).sfm woman 3sgfSP.4(pres) lie down.cnt
nönyö] [yin'ya ŋat'y paröt pak yönö]
3sgfSP.5(pres) man ptcl(emph) sit up sit 3sgmSP.4(pres)
[ŋat'y tek yawukan pařat yipi yita]
ptcl(emph) camp A(other).loc get up leave 3sgmSP.2(pres/past)
[pi yita tek yawuk lamlammanö]
go 3sgmSP.2(pres/past) camp A(other) VRcpt(talk.cnt.int)
[tik ki yita] [alawaryingana pak
91 back ss 3sgmSP.2(pres/past) 92 woman.loc.loc sit
yönö] [wi akana] [alawarman'y akana
93 fight A(neg) 94 woman.dpf adv(neg)
lam nuntanö] [alalk yikpi
talk 3sgfSP.2(pres/past).3sgmOP 95 child little(sgm)
yönön melpapu maparapi yitanö]
3sgmSP father follow.go 3sgmSP.2(pres/past).3sgmOP
[wutta wöntöt ařawan tikka wutta
96 3plSP.2(pres/past) dlm A(qf) back.come 3plSP.2(pres/
past)
woëntöt] [pak wöttö wöntöt melwiyiinya alalk
(dlm) 97 sit 3plSP.4(pres) dlm mother.loc child
yikpi yin'y a yönön] [anin'y yin'y a alawar pi
little(sgm) man 3sgmSP adv man woman go
wutta wöntöt] [alawar wapi yita
3plSP.2(pres/past) dlm woman take 3sgmSP.2(pres/past)
tek yawukan lamlammanö] [lamlamma
camp A(other)loc VRcpt(talk.cnt.int) 100 talk.cnt
wutta wöntöt ařawan] [tikka wutta
3plSP.2(pres/past) dlm A(qf) 101 back.come 3plSP.2(pres/
past)
woëntöt] [tek yawuknö alawarwuna pi
102 dlm ts(camp) A(other.int) woman.qf go
nunta lamlamma tek yawukanta]
3sgfSP.2(pres/past) VRcpt(talk.cnt) camp A(other).loc.sfm

Note that because yin'y is not a kinship term the Possessive Adjective follows, rather than precedes, the Noun that it qualifies.
[alawarwuna wuũuwa yin'ya akana] [alawar

woman.qf 3plSP.5(past) man A(neg) 1

yin'ya yawot akana pi atta tan]

man lexSP adv(neg) go lexSP.2(pres/past) mix(intr)

[alawaryin'na tyeyantak tyetalina akana]

woman.loc hear stand.ptcp1.loc adv(neg)

[wörontön qat'y mint'itak wörö] [yawot

3plSP ptcl(emph) emphP 3plSP.5(pres) lexSP

pana yin'yawuna attö] [alawar nan

( iter) man.qf lexSP.4(pres) woman A(dm)

akana pi nunta tyeyantakmanö]

adv(neg) go 3sgfSP.2(pres/past) VRcpt(hear.cnt.int)

[tat'y puk yinman'ayi alawara] [aka

hit.possib 3sgmSP.1(purp) woman.sfm 1

nanta] [attö ärö] [paröt

P(dm).sfm lexSP.4(pres) lexSP.5(pres) sit up

wařa atta] [te pi attuŋ

walk around lexSP.2(pres/past) meat go lexSP.2(purp)

naman ațöntön] [te pi atta

say lexSP.1(sequ) 1 meat go lexSP.2(pres/past)

te tiřinnö] [alawar yin wa wööntön]

clf turtle.int woman yamstick pick up 3sgfSP.1(sequ)

[karma nunta] [kuley

prod(ground).cnt 3sgfSP.2(pres/past) stab

wööntön] [tutt'yet wööntön] [peyikan

3sgfSP.1(sequ) caus.stand 3sgfSP.1(sequ) bag.loc

wuŋ wööntön] [alaik qunna kātpararma

put in 3sgfSP.1(sequ) child ss.loc play around
yita] [kuwpuk wutta
3sgmSP.2(pres/past) dive(p1s) 3plSP.2(pres/past)
alawara] [yin'y a yĩxa kark pi yita]
woman.sfm man adv go up go 3sgmSP.2(pres/past)
[pak naŋatna yönö] [tikalma
121 sit top of bank.loc 3sgmSP.4(pres) lie down.cnt
yöyö] [alawaman'y té tiyin wama
3sgSP.5(pres) woman.dpf clf turtle pick up.cnt
nunta] [kark nunta ḋununa]
3sgfSP.2(pres/past) go up 3sgfSP.2(pres/past) ss.loc
[té tiyin pam wöwöntön] [pi nunta
127 clf turtle put 3sgfSP.1(sequ) go 3sgfSP.2(pres/past)
t'yöŋ t'yën'y] [t'yöŋ tapakma nunta]
fire VRcpt(make) wood break.cnt 3sgfSP.2(pres/past)
[ka nunta] [t'yöŋ t'yaktyet nunta]
130 come 3sgfSP.2(pres/past) fire prepare 3sgfSP.2(pres/past)
[ té nöyat wöwöntön] [yin'y a tikalma
132 meat cook 3sgfSP.1(sequ) man lie down.cnt
yöyö] [akana nöyat yita]
3sgmSP.5(pres) adv.(neg) cook 3sgmSP.2(pres/past)
[alawar nöyat wöwöntön] [muta té aŋ
135 woman cook 3sgfSP.1(sequ) ts meat give
wöwöntönnö alawarwaŋka] [yin'y a aŋ
3sgfSP.1(sequ).3sgmOP woman.ag.sfm man give
wöwöntönnö] [alalk yikpi aŋ
3sgfSP.1(sequ).3sgmOP child little(sgm) give
wööntönnö] [melpapu melwiyi lak
3sgfSP.1(sequ).3sgmOP 139 father mother eat(meat)
wořöntön] [anin^y yina^a alawar lak wööntönn]
3plSP.1(sequ) adv man woman eat(meat) 3plSP.1(sequ)
[alalk yinmeyit^y lakma wöttö
141 child little(plm) eat(meat).cnt 3plSP.4(pres)
wiřnak] [miři qun t^yet nöntyö] [pi
adv(trm) sun ss stand 3sgfSP.6(pres) go
wutta tēkanta] [tēkan pi
3plSP.2(pres/past) camp.loc.sfm camp.loc go
wutta qunna] [nat^y yina^a
3plSP.2(pres/past) ss.loc ptcl(emph) an
yönö pawuřkan] [alawar pařakpařakma
3sgmSP.4(pres) floor.loc woman make bed.cnt
nunta] [pařakpařakma nunta
147 3sgfSP.2(pres/past) make bed.cnt 3sgfSP.2(pres/past)
[pařakpařakma nunta wirŋak] [pak
148 make bed.cnt 3sgfSP.2(pres/past) adv(trm) sit
nönö anin^y] [yina^y nat^y yönö
3sgfSP.4(pres) adv man ptcl(emph) 3sgmSP.4(pres)
perpak yönö] [anin^y yita
rest.sit 3sgmSP.4(pres) adv 3sgmSP.2(pres/past)
yur göyö] [apap wööntönn]
lie down 3sgmSP.5(pres) sick 3sgmSP.1(sequ)
[yawukman^y tēk yawukman^y akana kay]
153 A(other).dpf camp A(other).dpf adv(neg) rs(call out)
[akana tattat wuttanö]
154 adv(neg) look for 3plSP.2(pres/past).3sgmOP
[nat^y] yur yöyö tekat^y]

155 ptcl(emph) lie down 3sgmSP.5(pres) dawn

[puwaryinja paröt pak yöño] [karala
156 morning sit up sit 3sgmSP.4(pres) body/skin

yunpayin yita] [lamlampararma
158 good 3sgmSP.2(pres/past) talk.around.cnt

yita] [katma yita]
3sgmSP.2(pres/past) laugh.cnt 3sgmSP.2(pres/past)

[naña\a pi atuq tek yawuk naman
160 adv(desid) go 1sgSP.2(purp) camp A(other) say
wööntön] [mamakma yitawörö]
3sgmSP.1(sequ) 161 good-bye.cnt 3sgmSP.2(pres/past).3plOP

[alawar ki nimpit taparin^ yööntön]
162 woman ss swag roll up 3sgfSP.1(sequ)
[kalyurpa\at nöntyö] [yen pa\akut
163 put on shoulder.get up 3sgfSP.6(pres) yamstick billy-can
luplup nönö alawara] [yin^y a
165 gather together 3sgfSP.6(pres) woman.sfm man
yööntön ty\aar yaruwa t\iyit^ yööntön te
3sgmSP spear woomera pick up(p10) 3sgmSP.1(sequ) meat
ty\amanö [pak wöttö wööntö
166 VRcpt(spear.cnt.int) sit 3plSP.4(pres) dlm
anur\kna] [te taratpararma yita]
167 ss(halfway).loc meat look(p10).around.cnt 3sgmSP.2(pres/
past)

[ey wööntön t\eyötta] [waka
168 spear 3sgmSP.1(sequ) red kangaroo.sfm pick up.come
yita\ayi yuryi] [nat^y
170 3sgmSP.2(pres/past).3sgfOP lay down.lcave ptcl(emph)
yita yur yöyö yin'yawa

3sgmSP.2(pres/past) lie down 3sgmSP.5(pres) man.sfm

[alawar pařat nöntyö] [tö t'yat
171 woman get up 3sgfSP.6(pres) 172 hole dig

wöwöntön qun] [walk lupiluppamma
3sgfSP.1(sequ) ss stone gather together.put(p10)
nunta] [yin'y a paröt pak yönö]
3sgfSP.2(pres/past) man sit up sit 3sgmSP.4(pres)

[t'y et tapőrök wöwöntön] [larap wöwöntön
173 leg (p10) 3sgmSP.1(sequ) tie 3sgmSP.1(sequ)

[t'yöö t'yakt'y et nunta] [t'yöö
177 fire/wood prepare 3sgfSP.2(pres/past) 178 wood
pirpiyet] [ęęęę wöyö] [teć
(ignite) burn(intr) 3sgfSP.6(pres) 180 clfr

[tyęyöt telkņa wöwöntön] [wöntuřp
red kangaroo singe (fur off) 3sgfSP.1(sequ) de-gut
wöwöntön] [alawar tek tatma nöño]

3sgfSP.1(sequ) 182 woman camp look.cnt 3sgfSP.4(pres)

[alalk yikpi katpararma yita]
183 child little(sgm) play.around.cnt 3sgmSP.2(pres/past)

[yelik göyat wöwöntön] [yin'y a yipi
184 liver cook 3sgfSP.1(sequ) man leave.go

yita pak] [t'yöö więk
3sgmSP.2(pres/past) VRcpt(sit) 186 fire finish

wutakka] [yöntön pařatka
187 3sgfSP.2(pres/past).foc 3sgmSP get up.come

yita] [walk kararkwarat wöwöntön
188 3sgmSP.2(pres/past) stone take out (p10) 3sgmSP.1(sequ)
I speak the language myself] [I go to meet them] and [we speak our language to one another] [They speak] and [I speak to them] [We go to another camp, a good camp] [We arrive at their camp] and [sit down][It is a good camp] [I
In the morning we return. They stay. Then they come to meet me here. Right! Let's go for meat. We hunt out (and) spear a red kangaroo and we return and we roast it at the camp. One gets a leg. Another gets a leg. Another gets the head. Another gets the back. Another gets the tail. One (gets) one arm, another gets the other arm. (There is) no quarrel. We just eat (and) sit down. A scrounger comes from another camp for meat and we give him (some). He eats. We just sit down. (There is) no quarrel. The woman sits down and the little boys are sitting down all right. (There is) no quarrel. The women go and get water. They come (and) prepare a fire. They heat the water and it boils. (The woman) takes (it) and gives it to (her) husband. He drinks. (There is) no quarrel. She gets water, takes (it) and gives (it) to the other people sitting down. They drink. We lie down till dawn. In the morning the woman goes for (vegetable) food. We men remain. She is moving (about) digging up 'cheeky' yams. She comes (and) roasts them. Then (her husband) sits up and eats. Then the woman distributes the food among them and everyone eats. The little boys, the women (and) the other men eat. The old men (and) the old women eat. We lie down till dawn. (There is) no quarrel. We just wake up (lit. sit up from sleep) (and) walk around. 

The deictic function of Conjugation 6 (v. 3.16).
We go for barramundi and catch two.

Everyone eats (lit. not for self to eat) The one who went for meat lies down. Then, in turn, another goes. He goes for meat and boards (a canoe) He goes fishing. He catches two (fish) returns and distributes (them). The woman gets up and gathers firewood. She comes (and) prepares a fire and ignites (it). She cooks the meat for the man. She cooks (and) takes (it) and gives (it) to him. He sits up (and) eats. The little boy calls out to them and the little boys come and eat (meat). The little boys are just eating (meat) and playing around. This woman lies down and the man sits up (and) remains sitting and gets up to leave for another camp. He goes to another camp to talk. He returns and sits down beside the woman. (There is no quarrel) The woman does not speak to him. The little boy follows his father. The two of them both come back together. The little boy (and) his father both sit down beside the mother. The man and woman go together. He takes the woman (i.e., his wife) to another camp to talk. They both talk together and return. The next time only the woman (i.e. his wife) went to another camp to talk. Only women were there; no men. We men do not mix with women nor do we listen standing beside the women. They just keep to themselves.

This exemplifies the deictic function of Conjugation 4 (v.3.14) The deictic function of Conjugation 5 (v. 3.15)
men are here][That woman (i.e. his wife) does not go to listen][He might hit her][How about that!][We sit down (and) lie down][Then we sit up (and) walk around]["We're going for meat," we say][We go for turtle][The woman gets (her) yamstick][She goes along prodding the swamp (feeling for turtles)][She stabs (one),]
[retrieves (it)] and [puts (it) into a bag][That child plays around][The women dive (into the water)]
[Then a man arrives] and [sits down at the top of the bank] and [lies down][The woman is getting turtle]
[She goes up (the bank) over there] and [puts the turtles (down)][She goes (and) makes a fire][She breaks wood] and [comes] and [prepares the fire] and
[cooks the meat][The man lies down][He does not cook][The woman cooks][Later on she gives him meat]
[She gives (some) to the man][She gives some to the little boy][The father (and) the mother eat][Then the men (and) women eat][The little boys eat (the meat) (and) that is all][It is early evening (between 5 and 6 o'clock)][They go the camp][They go to that camp over there][The man just sits down on the floor][The woman makes up one bed, then another, then another, (and) that is all][Then she sits down][The man just sits and rests][Then he goes (and) lies down][He is sick][From camp to camp no one calls for (or) looks for him][He just lies down till dawn][In the morning he sits up][He is happy][He walks around (and) talks] and
[laughs]["I want to go to another camp," he says] and
[bids them good-bye]\[This woman rolls up his swag]\n[She puts (it) on her shoulder (and) stands up]\[She collects together the yamstick and the billy]\[The man gets (his) spear (and) woomera in order to spear animals for meat]\[They both sit down halfway (to the other camp)]\[He walks around looking for potential meat] and \n[spears a red kangaroo]\[The man brings (it) to her, lays (it) down (and) leaves (it)] and \[just goes to lie down]\[The woman gets up] and \[digs a hole there]\n[She gathers the stones together in a heap]\[The man sits up] and \[breaks the legs (of the kangaroo)] and \n[ties them (together)]\[She prepares a fire] and \n[ignites (it)]\[It burns]\[She singes (the fur off) the kangaroo] and \[takes the guts out]\[The woman is looking after the camp]\[The little boy plays round about]\[She cooks the liver] and \[the man goes away to sit down]\[The fire dies down]\[The man gets up (and) approaches]\[He takes the stones (out of the hole) (and) leaves (them) in a heap]\[He puts a stone inside the stomach]\[He puts a stone on the heart] and \n[another in the belly] and \[another in the kangaroo's anus]\[He picks (the kangaroo) up, lays (it) down and leaves it to roast in the hole]\[The woman, for her part, is waiting]\[Together they both cover (it) up (and) that's all]\[That little boy does not approach]\[He might pick up the hot stone] and \[he might die]\[Only the man (and) the woman cover (it) up]

\footnote{tat + Conj. 4: "Look after".}
TEXT 2

[te] papalu waʁarat wutta tek
1
clf buffalo wander around(P1S) 3plSP.2(pres/past) camp
yawötyingana] [mi weni ŋakma wutta]
2
lexSP.loc.loc clf grass eat(non-meat).cnt 3plSP.2(pres/past)
[put'yënman' y ka wutta] [wi
3
bush.comit.dpf come 3plSP.2(pres/past) find
anti tat'y wutta papaluwa] [waya
adv(recip) hit 3plSP.2(pres/past) buffalo.sfm wire
tarat'y wöörtöön] [patuk t'ú rk wutta]
strike(p10) 3plSP.1(sequ) paddock enter 3plSP.2(pres/past)
[te] papalu mut'y' urwuna pima wutta]
7
clf buffalo qf go.cnt 3plSP.2(pres/past)
[anin'y t'ú rk yita tomołytn papaluwa]
6
adv enter 3sgmSP.2(pres/past) testicles buffalo
[t'urk yita yé ṭa nanta] [yé ṭa
9
enter 3sgmSP.2(pres/past) adv P(dm).sfm adv
winö yita] [mat'y'anwaŋ akana
fight.int 3sgmSP.2(pres/past) foot.ag(inst) A(neg)
pi atta] [taraktawŋ pi atta]
go 3lexSP.2(pres/past) tractor.ag(inst) go 1exSP.2(pres/past)
[nan put'yënman'y yita] [yé ṭa
13
P(dm) bush.comit.dpf 3sgmSP.2(pres/past) adv
winö yita] [ŋa Mitiŋan
fight.int 3sgmSP.2(pres/past) 1sgSP (narrator's wife)
mapara yimin'yö́ rö] [piyantukna yitawa]
follow 3sgmSP.1(punct).1exOP (ss).loc 3sgmSP.2(pres/past).foc
waya larapma atta] [ki weya! papalu!
wire tie.cnt lexSP.2(pres/past) ss inj buffalo
papalu! naman nimin' [nat' yakatanki
buffalo say 3sgfSP.1(punct) ptcl(emph) run dc
yuwu’] [pap pi atta] [paypi
3sgmSP.3(past) rush go lexSP.2(pres/past) emerge go
atta patukman’ ’ ] [papkarar
lexSP.2(pres/past) paddock dpf sfm rush climb
atta t'og ye’ikyinjana] [anu ]
lexSP.2(pres/past) clf gum-tree loc loc ss loc
t'et yuyuwa] [waya akana tayt’ir larap]
stand 3sgmSP.6(past) wire adv(neg) adv tie
[tikpi attakka qunna antuk pa’akut
back go lexSP.2(pres/past) loc ss loc house white man
t’ut] [mat’ an wa’atka atta
VRcpt(awaken(tr)) foot walk come lexSP.2(pres/past)
kina] [tat yimin’ yor] [nat’ yakat
ss loc see 3sgmSP.1(punct) lexOP ptcl(emph) run
gitanki] [t’og wikpiwa ey
3sgmSP.2(pres/past) dc fire little sge ag inst shoot
yimin’] [eyma yuwu’]
3sgmSP.2(pres/past) shoot cnt 3sgmSP.3(past)
t’alk yita] [akana yikpi
fall 3sgmSP.2(pres/past) adv(neg) little sgm
yita yonton newa] [yawuk pana
3sgmSP.2(pres/past) 3sgmSP big P another adv iter
piyantuka yuyuwa] [pi atta qunna
ss loc 3sgmSP.6(past) go lexSP.2(pres/past) ss loc
yurur] [tattat tikka attakka]
VRcpt(lie down plS) 35 look.look back.come lexSP.2(pres/past). foc
[walkyinna yuyuwa naqatna] [tat
36 hill.loc 3sgmSP.6(past) top of bank.loc see
yimin'yörö] [nan t'akat yitanki]
3sgmSP.1(punct).lexOP 38 P(dm) run 3sgmSP.2(pres/past).dc
[ŋat'y yawöt ŋat'y lefi atta ]
39 ptcl(emph) lexSP ptcl(emph) spread out lexSP.2(pres/past) (intr)
[ŋa t'yö karar ata] [aŋyknna
40 1sgSP tree climb 1sgSP.2(pres/past) 41 ss.loc
t'et yuyuwa] [paypiman'y ey
stand 3sgmSP.6(past) emerge.go.dpf shoot
gimin'yinö] [t'akattikpi yita]
3sgmSP.1(punct).3sgmOP run.back.go 3sgmSP.2(pres/past)
[mapara yimin'yinö] [ey yimin'yinö]
44 follow 3sgmSP.1(punct).3sgmOP shoot 3sgmSP.1(punct). 3sgmOP
[kay yuyuwa] [ŋuyma wutta
46 call out 3sgmSP.6(past) enter.cnt 3plSP.2(pres/past)
yanakman'y ŋa papaluwa] [ŋuyma wuřura
one.neg buffalo.sfm enter.cnt 3plSP.3(past)
[tun'yukarkma pakma attawa]
49 high place.arrive.cnt sit.cnt lexSP.2(pres/past).foc
[ŋuyma wuřura tē papalu nanta] [waya
enter.cnt 3plSP.3(past) clf buffalo A(dm).sfm wire
tarat'y wöyöntön] [ŋuy wutta
strike(plO) 3plSP.1(sequ) 52 enter 3plSP.2(pres/past)
puluki wiyiyen tē tömolyen nanta]
bullock milk.comit clf testicles.comit A(dm).sfm
[wi akana wutta] [waya nan
fight adv(neg) 3plSP.2(pres/past) wire A(dm)
pi atta wöntöt larapmanö]
go lexSP.2(pres/past) dlm VRcpt(tie.cnt.int)
[maparama wutta] [tät wööröntönyöö]
follow.cnt 3plSP.2(pres/past) see 3plSP.1(sequ).lexOP
[yarwa yawöt ka wööröunj] [yawöt waya
boss lexSP come 3plSP.2(progr) lexSP wire
ki larapma atta punctu yanaqaña] [tikpi
ss tie.cnt lexSP.2(pres/past) head ss back.go
atta tek] [tikka wuttanki
lexSP.2(pres/past) camp back.come 3plSP.2(pres/past).dc
minöna] [qakpararma wutta
food(veg).int.loc eat(non-meat).around.cnt 3plSP.2(pres/past)
yawötyinga] [tek yawötyinga pařak wööröö
lexSP.loc camp lexSP.loc make camp 3plSP.1(sequ)
[nućnutyurur wöörö puwara] [alint'iyär
sleep.lie down(p10) 3plSP.5(pres) night.sfm afraid
attawa te papalu nanta
lexSP.2(pres/past).foc clf buffalo A(dm).sfm
put'yenman'ya] [waya altakmatelk]
bush.comit.dpf.sfm wire rs(break.cnt.possib)
[puwaryinga pi atta taratparar:
66 ts(morning) go lexSP.2(pres/past) VRcpt(look around
akana] [antawuna wiřk waya] [anin' tarat'y
adv(neg) adv.qf finish wire adv strike(p10)
t'ürkma yitawa] [waya tarat'ali
enter.cnt 3sgmSP.2(pres/past).foc wire strike.ptcpl
[anin^ yawukman^ yita] [yawöt akana
adv back.run.go 3sgmSP.2(pres/past) lexSP adv(neg)
maparapi yitayörö] [pařakut göntön
follow.go 3sgmSP.2(pres/past).lexOP white man 3sgmSP
mint^itak eytapma wöwöntönnö]
emph P spear.grab.cnt 3sgmSP.1(sequ).3sgmOP
[alint^iyń atta] [puluki papalu anta
afraid 1lexSP.2(pres/past) bullock buffalo adv wutta]
[anin^ yawukman^ t^{uńk
3plSP.2(pres/past) adv P(another).dpf enter yita yeča winö] [yawöt alint^iyń
3sgmSP.2(pres/past) adv fight.int lexSP afraid atta]
[papalu katukman^ ńuypak 1lexSP.2(pres/past) buffalo ss.dpf enter.sit
wittin^y] [yawukman^ yawukman^ ńuy 3plSP.4(progr) P(another).dpf P(another).dpf enter wutta] [yawötyin^ną熵
3plSP.2(pres/past) lexSP.loc eat(non-meat)dc wöřöntön mi weńiwa] [alint^iyń attawa 3plSP.1(sequ) clf grass.sfm afraid 1lexSP.2(pres/past). foc papaluwuńawa] [wi anti tat^ma
buffalo.qf.sfm fight adv(recip) hit.cnt wuttawa wańkańa tekat^y]
3plSP.2(pres/past).foc open(i.e., unfenced)space.loc dawn [akana antawan pi atta] [wańkańiman^
adv(neg) ss go 1lexSP.2(pres/past) 2sgSP.dpf tat yinmanunu] [maparakat^y yinmanunu
see 3sgmSP.1(purp).2sgOP chase 3sgmSP.1(purp).2sgOP
TEXT 2

[The buffalo wandered about up to our camp] and [ate grass]
[They came from the bush] [The buffalo fought one another]
[They broke the wire fence] and [entered the paddock] [A
large number of buffalo went in] [Then a bull buffalo
entered] [That one went in] [At that point he wanted a
fight] [We did not go by foot] [We went by tractor]
[The one who had come from the bush] [wanted a fight at
that moment] [He followed Mitir̄an (the narrator's wife)
and me] and [went inside (the paddock)] [We fixed up the
fence.]

["Here! Come here! Come here! Buffalo! Buffalo!"
she said] [He just kept on running towards me] [We rushed
off] and [disappeared from the paddock] [We rushed up
a gumtree] [The buffalo was standing halfway (between the
fence and the gumtree)] [We had not fixed the wire properly]
[We went back to the house over there to wake the white
fellow] [We came back here by foot] and [he (the buffalo)
saw us] [He ran towards us] [(The white man) fired a .22]
He went on firing. (The buffalo) fell. He was not little; he was a big one. Another one came into the paddock. We went over there to lie down. We came back to look for (other buffalo). One was standing up on the top of the hill and was looking at us. That one ran towards us. We (the narrator and the white man) just spread out. I climbed a tree. (The white man) emerged and shot him. He (the white man) ran back and followed him and shot him. (The buffalo) cried out. A large number of buffalo entered (the paddock). They kept coming in. We lived there for a year and the buffalo kept coming in. and broke the wire. Those bullocks, cows and bulls came in. They did not fight. We both went to fix up that wire. They followed and they saw us. "Our bosses are coming," (they thought). We fixed this wire in one corner and went back to the camp. The (the buffalo) came back for food. They wandered around beside us eating. They settled down next to our camp. and at night they lay down to sleep. We were afraid of that one from the bush. He might break the wire. In the morning we went to look around (and) there were none (i.e. buffalo). The wire fence was alright. Then he broke in. They kept on breaking the wire fences. We fixed them, and that was all. We went back to get a shot-gun. We left the tractor standing and returned by foot. That buffalo from the bush lay

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8 The deictic function of Conjugation 6, v. 3.17.
down] [He was sick] [He had been lacerated by the wire]
[The white man saw that he was bleeding] [We looked
round from buffalo to buffalo] [They were allright, not
lacerated by the wire] ["They are allright," we said]
[We went to look] and [he lay down] [We stood up]
and [that buffalo just kept on running towards us, with
the intention of fighting right then] [(The white man)
fiIed his .22 in that direction] [Then (the buffalo) ran
back] [He did not follow us] [(The white man) himself
shot him] [We were afraid] [But the bullocks (and)
buffalo were allright] [Then another one entered (the
paddock) wanting to fight right then] [We were afraid]
[Those buffalo were coming in to stay] [One by one they
came in] and [ate grass next to us] [We were afraid
of all the buffalo] [They fought each other outside (the
paddock) (till) dawn] [We did not go near] ["If the
wild buffalo sees you] [he will chase you] [just as he
saw] and [chased these little boys." ] [At that point
(the wild buffalo) ran away] and [disappeared into the
jungle]

TEXT 3
[wörontön papařmat waľakwařakma wutta]
3plSP old women not know.cnt 3plSP.2(pres/past)
[muyin qun wutta] [ŋuluk lamma
2 dog ss 3plSP.2(pres/past) 3 language speak.cnt
wiřin'ya] [nan'ilk larlarali wutta]
3plSP.2(subj) hand swell.ptcpl 3plSP.2(pres/past)
[pit'yunma wöroqun'] [qat'y yipi
5 rub firesticks.av.cnt 3plSP.2(progr) ptcl(emph) leave
wöroqun' t'yönno] [aŋuntu mi ñapma
3plSP.2(progr) fire.int ss food(veg) raw
ŋañak wiřin''] [muyin' akana
eat(non-meat.p10) 3plSP.1(punct) ñap dog adv(neg)
lamlam wuttawa] [wöroontön lamlamma
talk 3plSP.2(pres/past).foc 3plSP talk.cnt
wiřin'ya yín'amanna] [mi titit ñapma
3plSP.2(subj) man.rbl.sfm clf 'cheeky yam' raw
ŋañak wiřin''] [ŋantilk larlarali
eat(non-meat.p10) 3plSP.1(punct) tongue swell.ptcpl
wutta] [papañmat'y qun t'yönjen tikka
3plSP.2(pres/past) ña old women ss fire.comit back.come
wöroqun'] [yeĩa njumpakali wittin'']
3plSP.2(progr) adv silent.sit.ptcpl 3plSP.4(progr)
[mi titit kölp wiřin'] [t'yõŋ
14 clf 'cheeky yam' roast 3plSP.1(punct) fire
wukut'ma wöroqun'] [te t'yõŋaratapaya ka
throw away.cnt 3plSP.2(progr) clf chicken-hawk come
yũun' paltamyur t'yõŋ yeĩikyînña] [t'yõŋ
3sgmSP.2(progr) VRcpt(perch) clf white gum.loc fire
kuřtöwrkat'y nuñun'na pañmat'ya]
shift.throw 3sgfSP.2(progr).foc old woman.sfm
[t'yalkyurka yita] [wapi
fall.lie down.come 3sgmSP.2(pres/past) pick up.go
TEXT 3

Those old woman dogs did not know how to speak. Their paws were swollen. They had been rubbing firesticks unsuccessfully and were just leaving (to look) for fire. Those left behind ate a lot of raw food. The dogs did not talk. They would have talked like men but they had eaten a lot of raw 'cheeky yam' and their tongues were swollen. Those old women (dogs) were returning with fire. While (the yam-eaters) were sitting silently, (he old woman dogs) roasted the 'cheeky' yams and threw away some fire. A chicken-hawk was coming to perch in a white gum. An old woman (dog) was flicking out (bits of) fire so he swooped down and took (some) (crying) "tit-tit-tit-tit-tit". He took the

v. 2.14.2
charcoal (up) to the sky], [It dropped]. and [He kept on looking back] [Today (this charcoal) is a high hill belonging to the Telikan tribe].

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10 The tribal name of the MalakMalak.
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