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MINOR TYPOGRAPHICAL ERRORS HAVE BEEN CORRECTED IN  
THIS COPY.

(D.B.W. BIRK)

1.1.75

THE MALAKMALAK LANGUAGE,  
DALY RIVER (WESTERN ARNHEM LAND)

by

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment  
of the requirements for the degree of  
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*"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.



## ABSTRACT

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+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.



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## ABBREVIATIONS

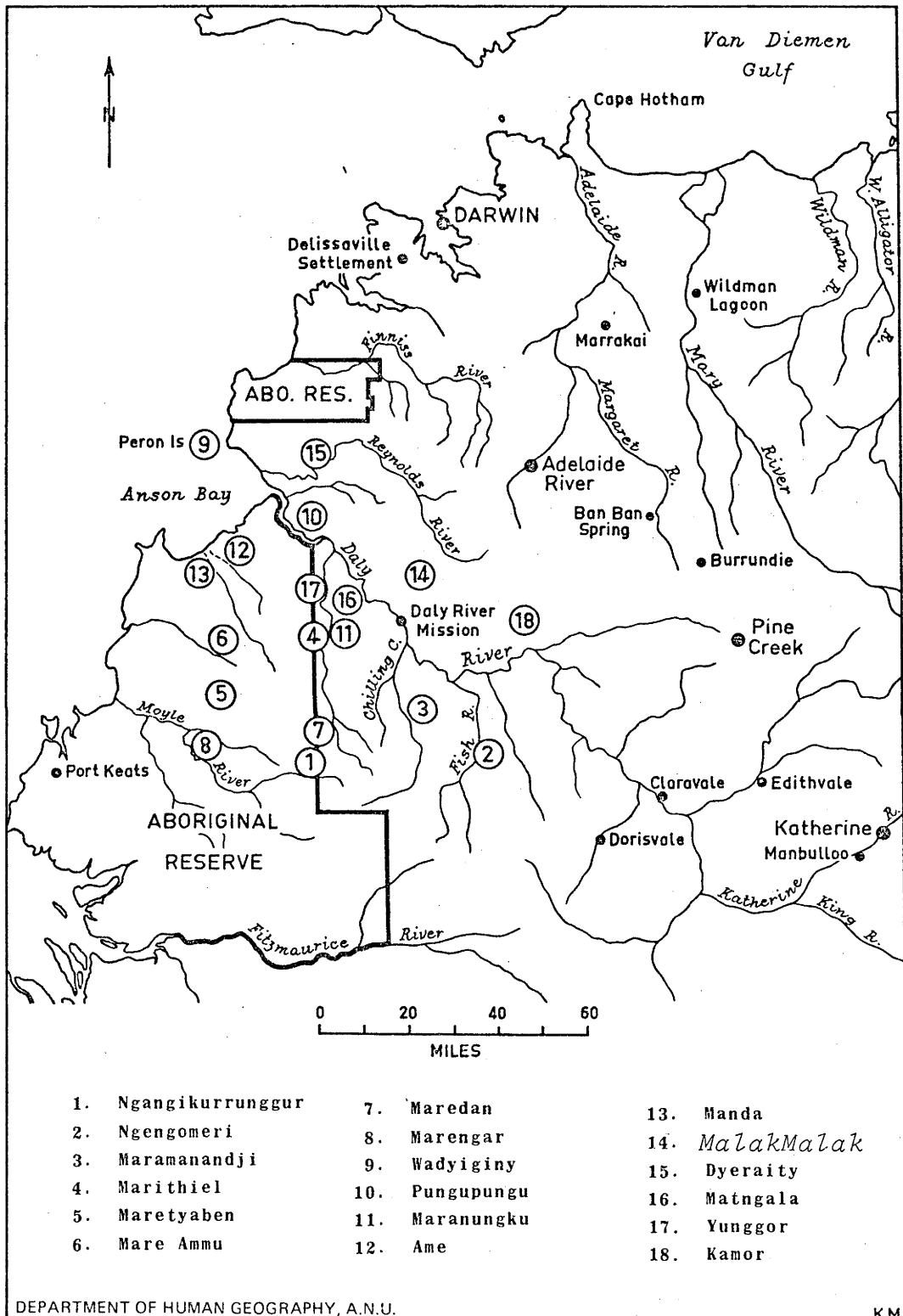
A	adjective
adv	adverb
ag	agentive
av	adversative
Aux	auxiliary
bf	benefactive
caus	causative
clf	classifier
cnt	continuative
comit	comitative
comp	comparative
cpt	complement
dc	deictic suffix
desid	desiderative
dl	dual
d1m	dual marker
dm	demonstrative
dpf	"departing from" affix
ds	deictic specifier
dub	dubitative
e	silvan/elemental concord
emph	emphatic
ex	exclusive
f	feminine concord
foc	focal suffix
fut	future
ic	inclusive
imp	imperative
inj	interjection
inst	instrumental
int	intensive
intr	intransitive
intrg	interrogative
iter	iterative
loc	locative
m	masculine concord
neg	negative

NP	noun phrase
O	object
oblig	obligative
P	pronoun
pl	plural
poss	possessive
possib	possibility
pres	present
progr	progressive
propr	proprietary
ptcl	particle
ptcpl	participle
punct	punctiliar
purp	purposive
qf	quantifier
rbl	resemblance marker
recip	reciprocal
rel	reduced sentence
S	subject
sequ	sequential
sfm	sentence-final marker
sg	singular
ss	spatial specifier
subj	subjunctive
tr	transitive
trm	terminal
ts	temporal specifier
v	vegetative concord
VC	verb complex
VR	verb root
cardinal numbers 1-3 (preceding sg/pl/ic/ex/dl)	person indicators
cardinal numbers 1-6 preceding (tense)	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



- . indicates that the elements  
between which it occurs are  
bound
- > becomes:
- . . . indicates inexhaustive listing

The use of raised <sup>i</sup> and <sup>u</sup> as the phonetic convention for fronted and rounded glides, respectively, follows Pike (1947, p. 45 fn 1). Other phonetic conventions also follow Pike (1947).



## 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 southwest 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<sup>y</sup>Put<sup>y</sup>. 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 *Telikan*. 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):

FAMILY:

DALY

GROUP: Brinken-Wogaity Tyemeri

Malak

SUB-GROUP: Malak Brinken Maranunggu Wogaity Tyemeri

Daly

LANGUAGE: MalakMalak Matngala Marengar Maranunggu Pungupungu Ngangikurrungguri

Dyeraity Maramanandji

Marithiel

DIALECT: Matngala Marithiel Maranungku Pungupungu Ngangikurrungguri

Yunggor Maretyaben Ame Wadyiginy Ngengomeri

Kamor Mare Ammu Manda Batyamal

Maredan

0.3 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  $p$   $t$   $t^y$   $k$ , four nasals  $m$   $n$   $n^y$   $\eta$ , two laterals  $l$   $l^y$ , one vibrant (flapped)  $\check{r}$ , 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:

<i>pak</i>	<i>sit</i>
<i>tuřk</i>	<i>drink</i>
<i>t<sup>y</sup>uřk</i>	<i>bury</i>
<i>kak</i>	<i>hurt</i>

Word-medial examples:

<i>apap</i>	<i>sick, tired</i>
<i>mata</i>	<i>rain</i>
<i>mat<sup>y</sup>an</i>	<i>foot</i>
<i>akak</i>	<i>vomit</i>

Word-final examples:

<i>pap</i>	<i>rush</i>
<i>pat</i>	<i>fly</i>
<i>pit<sup>y</sup></i>	<i>rub firesticks together</i>
<i>pik</i>	<i>rope</i>



1.12 The nasal phonemes  $m$   $n$   $n^y$   $\eta$  are voiced and contrast at bilabial, apico-alveolar, lamino-alveolar, and dorso-velar points of articulation.

Word-initial examples:

<i>man</i>	<i>stomach</i>
<i>nan</i>	<i>that</i> (demonstrative)
<i>n<sup>y</sup>atn<sup>y</sup>at</i>	<i>chip wood</i>
<i>\eta at\eta at</i>	<i>be unable to fix something</i>

Word-medial examples:

<i>aman</i>	<i>now</i>
<i>pön<sup>y</sup>ö</i>	<i>banyan</i>
<i>pa\eta a</i>	<i>father</i>
<i>pana</i>	<i>again</i>

Word-final examples:

<i>pam</i>	<i>put</i>
<i>\eta an</i>	<i>comparative particle</i>
<i>tin<sup>y</sup></i>	<i>try</i> (adverb)
<i>ta\eta</i>	<i>mix</i> (intr.)

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

Word-medial examples:

<i>yilik</i>	<i>lily-root</i>
<i>yil<sup>y</sup>i</i>	<i>bubble</i>

Word-final examples:

<i>\eta ul</i>	<i>penis</i>
<i>nul<sup>y</sup></i>	<i>sea-breeze</i>

Of the two lateral phonemes only the apico-alveolar can occur word-initially.

1.14 The vibrant (flapped)  $\check{r}$  is apico-alveolar contrasting with the semi-consonant post-alveolar frictionless continuant  $r$ :

Word-medial examples:

<i>mi<math>\check{r}</math>i</i>	<i>sun</i>
<i>miri</i>	<i>tears</i>

Word-final examples:

<i>ta<math>\check{r}</math></i>	<i>bite</i>
<i>tar</i>	<i>crush</i>

Neither  $\check{r}$  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:

<i>wapi</i>	<i>take</i>	<i>walk</i>	<i>stone</i>
<i>yipi</i>	<i>leave</i>	<i>yalk</i>	<i>moon</i>

Word-medial examples:

<i>tawut</i>	<i>blood</i>	<i>t<sup>y</sup>eyö</i>	<i>shark</i>
--------------	--------------	-------------------------	--------------

1.16 Consonantal Variants.

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

<i>payak</i>	[pay $\wedge$ k]	<i>back</i>
<i>larap</i>	[lar $\wedge$ p]	<i>bind</i>

(ii) word-finally, released and unreleased<sup>1</sup> allophones alternate:

<sup>1</sup>

A raised consonant represents an unreleased consonant.

*tap* [tap ~ ta<sup>p</sup>] *grab*

[b] voiced bilabial stop, occurring intervocally, and following voiced consonants:

*tapak* [tab<sup>h</sup>k] *break*  
*tumpurk* [tumbu<sup>h</sup>k] *hiccough*

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

*tat<sup>y</sup>* [ta<sup>i</sup>t<sup>y</sup>] *hit*  
*tat* [tat] *see/find*  
*tiktat* [tik<sup>h</sup>tat] *look back*

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

*t<sup>y</sup>eyöt* [t<sup>y</sup>eyöt ~ t<sup>y</sup>eyöt<sup>t</sup>] *red kangaroo*

[d] voiced apico-alveolar stop, occurring intervocally, and following voiced consonants:

*titit* [tid<sup>h</sup>t] *cheeky yam*  
*anta* [and<sup>h</sup>] *allright*

/t<sup>y</sup>/ [t<sup>y</sup>] (i) voiceless lamino-alveolar stop, occurring word-initially and word-finally:

*t<sup>y</sup>iyit<sup>y</sup>* [t<sup>y</sup>iy<sup>h</sup>t<sup>y</sup>] *pick up*

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

*yinmeyit<sup>y</sup>* [yinmeyit<sup>y</sup> ~ yinmeyit<sup>t<sup>y</sup></sup>]

*little (plm)*

[d<sup>y</sup>] voiced lamino-alveolar stop, occurring intervocally, and following voiced consonants:

$at^y_{a\eta}$	$[ad^y_{\wedge\eta}]$	<i>grandmother</i>
$y\epsilon nt^y_{ir}$	$[y\epsilon nd^y_{\iota r}]$	<i>dew</i>

/k/ [k] (i) voiceless dorso-velar stop, occurring word-initially and word-finally:

<i>kak</i>	$[kak]$	<i>hurt</i>
------------	---------	-------------

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

$mint^y_{itak}$	$[mind^y_{\iota tak} \sim mind^y_{\iota ya^k}]$	
		<i>emphatic pronoun</i>

[g] voiced dorso-velar stop, occurring intervocallically, and following voiced consonants:

<i>kakak</i>	$[kag\wedge k]$	<i>long way</i>
<i>pöŋköl</i>	$[pöŋgöl]$	<i>knee</i>

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

1. *lak*  $[lak]$  *eat (meat)*
2.  $t^y_{ölöl}$   $[t^y_{ölöl}]$  *go down (both recede (of water) and descend)*
3. *palpal*  $[palpal]$  *wide*

[l] 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] :

<i>kul</i>	$[kul]$	<i>stab (turtle)</i>
<i>mulk</i>	$[mulg]$	<i>bamboo</i>
<i>pulk</i>	$[pulg]$	<i>baby chicken</i>

/y/	[ <sup>i</sup> ]	Fronted on- or off-glide:	
		<i>yalk</i>	[ <sup>i</sup> alk] <i>moon</i>
		<i>yöyö</i>	[ <sup>i</sup> ö <sup>i</sup> ö] <i>he stands up/ lies down (v. 3.15; 3.16)</i>
		<i>ey</i>	[ε <sup>i</sup> ] <i>spear (verb root)</i>

/w/    [<sup>u</sup>]    Rounded on-glide:

*walk*            [<sup>u</sup>alk]            *stone*

1.2 VOWELS. There are five vocalic phonemes in MalakMalak:

/i/	high close front unrounded
/ε/	mid open front unrounded
/ö/	mid close retracted front unrounded
/a/	low open central unrounded
/u/	high open back rounded

### 1.21 Vocalic Contrasts

<i>mi</i>	<i>food (non-meat)</i>
<i>te</i>	<i>meat</i>
<i>tö</i>	<i>hole</i>
<i>ma</i>	<i>wallaby</i>
<i>mu</i>	<i>goose</i>
<i>yεlik</i>	<i>liver</i>
<i>yöyöwa</i>	3sgmSP.5/6 (Pres) <i>he lies down/stands up</i>
<i>yuyuwa</i>	3sgmSP.5/6 (Past) <i>he lay down/stood up</i>
<i>larap</i>	<i>bind</i>

All vowels have slightly nasalized allophones between nasals:

<i>nimpit</i>	[nĩmbɪt]	<i>swag</i>
<i>mεŋkit</i>	[mẽŋgɪt]	<i>white cockatoo</i>

möntöl	[m <sup>̃</sup> öndöl]	shoulder
ŋan <sup>y</sup>	[ŋän <sup>y</sup> ]	bush cucumber
ŋun	[ŋün]	deictic specifier

## 1.22 Vocalic Variants

<u>Phoneme</u>	<u>Allophone</u>	<u>Description</u>	<u>Examples</u>
/i/	[i]	High close front unrounded vocoid occurring as the norm of the phoneme.	mi [mi] food pi [pi] go
	[ɪ]	High open front unrounded vocoid occurring in un- stressed syllables. It occurs as carrier of primary stress only when immediately preceded, or immediately fol- lowed, by a fronted on-glide, e.g. yin <sup>y</sup> a [i <sup>i</sup> {n <sup>y</sup> a}] (initiated) man, piyip [p <sup>i</sup> {ɪp}] sick.	yinin [yɪnɪn] nose tiřin [tɪrɪn] turtle
	[e]	Mid close front unrounded vocoid occurring only in the following stressed syllable:-	pi! [pé!] go! (Verb Root imperative)

<u>Phoneme</u>	<u>Allophone</u>	<u>Description</u>	<u>Examples</u>
/ɛ/	[ɛ]	Mid open front unrounded vocoid and the norm for this phoneme	tɛ [tɛ] <i>meat</i> pɛ [pɛ] <i>golden catfish</i>
	[ɛ <sup>i</sup> ]	This allophone of /ɛ/ has a high fronted off-glide occurring immediately preceding the lamino-alveolar stop /t <sup>y</sup> / and the lamino-alveolar nasal /n <sup>y</sup> /	tɛt <sup>y</sup> tɛt <sup>y</sup> [tɛ <sup>i</sup> t <sup>y</sup> tɛ <sup>i</sup> t <sup>y</sup> ] <i>white ant</i> t <sup>y</sup> ɛn <sup>y</sup> [t <sup>y</sup> ɛ <sup>i</sup> n <sup>y</sup> ] <i>make</i>
/ö/	[ö]	Mid close retracted front unrounded vocoid, and the norm for this phoneme.	töm [töm] <i>weak</i> pöpö [pöpö] <i>fan flames</i>
/a/	[a]	Low open central unrounded vocoid, and the norm for this phoneme.	ma [ma] <i>wallaby</i> pam [pam] <i>put (p10)</i>
	[ae]	low close front unrounded vocoid, occurring immediately following a high front vowel.	pi anuŋka [pi aenuŋka]: <i>I will go</i>

<u>Phoneme</u>	<u>Allophone</u>	<u>Description</u>	<u>Examples</u>
	[a <sup>i</sup> ]	This allophone of /a/ has a high fronted off-glide, occurring immediately preceding the lamino-alveolar consonants /t <sup>y</sup> /, /n <sup>y</sup> /, /l <sup>y</sup> /.	mat <sup>y</sup> an [ma <sup>i</sup> d <sup>y</sup> an] <i>foot</i> -man <sup>y</sup> [ma <sup>i</sup> n <sup>y</sup> ] <i>"departing from"</i> suffix ŋal <sup>y</sup> il <sup>y</sup> [ŋa <sup>i</sup> l <sup>y</sup> il <sup>y</sup> ] <i>skin</i>
	[ʌ]	mid open central unrounded vocoid occurring in unstressed syllables.	pana [panʌ] <i>again</i> waka [wakʌ] <i>bring</i> tapak [tapʌk] <i>break</i>
/u/	[ʊ]	High open back rounded vocoid and the norm for the phoneme (in unaccented syllables).	puntu [pʊndʊ] <i>head</i> pulu [pʊlʊ] <i>dust</i>
	[ɔ]	Low close back rounded vocoid (found only, so far, in two monosyllabic lexical items).	mu [mɔ] <i>goose</i> wu [wɔ] <i>barramundi</i>
	[u <sup>i</sup> ]	This allophone of /u/ has a	wut <sup>y</sup> [wu <sup>i</sup> t <sup>y</sup> ] <i>feel around in shallow water (for</i>



phonemic in the language.<sup>2</sup> Secondly, the word [<sup>u</sup>ɪ̯ɪ̯] 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 [<sup>ɛ</sup>i̯] diphthong case concerns the *Verb Root* [<sup>ɛ</sup>i̯] "kill (potentially or actually) with a missile" immediately followed by the *Auxiliary* [<sup>a</sup>i̯ʌ]:

$$[\sup{\epsilon}i] + [\sup{a}i\wedge]$$

The question is whether the fronted off-glide of [<sup>ɛ</sup>i̯] is to be interpreted vocally or semi-consonantly.

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 [<sup>ɛ</sup>i̯] is interpreted as a vowel the following should result: [<sup>ɛ</sup>i̯] + [<sup>a</sup>i̯ʌ] > [ɛa<sup>i</sup>ʌ] (a solution which does not adequately reflect the phonetic facts in that the vocalic sequence [ɛa<sup>i</sup>ʌ] does not occur in the language).

<sup>2</sup> Only one instance has been recorded in which vocalic length has a distinctive value: *kupuk* [kupʊk] *dive* (predicated of an individual) as against *kuwpuk* [ku:pʊk] *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*: *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  $[\varepsilon^i] + [a^i\wedge]$  is interpreted as  $\varepsilon y aya$ , 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,  $\iota$  preceded by a fronted on-glide is interpreted as  $yi$

$[\iota^i \iota n^y a] > yin^y a$  (initiated) man

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

$[\upsilon^u \upsilon m \upsilon^u a] > wumuwa$  steal<sup>3</sup> :

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.<sup>4</sup> Within the Verb Complex sandhi takes place:

1.  $p\acute{i}$   $\acute{a}t.ta$  >  $[p\acute{a}d\wedge]$

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

*We (exclusive) go/went.*

<sup>3</sup> Further support for the interpretation of the back rounded on-glide as a semi-consonant is provided in the *Morphophonemics 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.

$[\upsilon^u \ddot{o} \ddot{o} nd \ddot{o} n] > w \ddot{o} w \ddot{o} nt \ddot{o} n$  .

<sup>4</sup> The Verb Complex (VC) may be expanded as follows:

(adverb) { (Verb Root) (Auxiliary) } (object pronoun)

2. *tátma yí.ta +-ařín<sup>y</sup>* > [*tátma yídářín<sup>y</sup>*]  
 (VR) *see.ent* (Aux) 3sgmSP.2(Pres/Past +1sgOP)  
*He is/was looking at me.*

3. *anti éyma wut.ta*  
 adv (recip) (VR)*spear.ent* (Aux)3plSP.2(pres/Past)  
 [*ʌndé<sup>i</sup>ma wútʌ*]  
 (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 [*yídářín<sup>y</sup>*] and [*ʌndé<sup>i</sup>ma*] primary stress falls on the second syllable<sup>5</sup> through the process of elision.

Outside of the Verb Complex sandhi does not take place:

4. *mí akána* [*mí ʌgána*] ~ *mí ákanà* [*mí ágʌnà*]  
*vegetable food* adv (neg) (v.1.6)

*No food.*

5. *té ářpuřù* [*té ářbuřù*]  
*meat* 1(ic)OP(bf)

*Meat for us (inclusive).*

<sup>5</sup>

See section 1.6, below, for a discussion of *Word Stress*.

## 1.5 SYLLABLE PATTERNS.

The following syllable types occur:

V a.ya 1sgSP.1(Punct)

VC ak a species of catfish

CV tɛ generic marker for animals hunted for meat,  
and the meat itself.

CVC tɛk camp

CVCC tuɣk drink (Verb Root).

## 1.6 THE PHONOLOGICAL WORD.

The phonological word in MalakMalak is a minimal utterance carrying one primary stress.<sup>6</sup>

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.<sup>7</sup> 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:  $l^y$ ,  $\check{r}$  and  $r$  cannot occur word-initially, nor  $w$  word-finally.

<sup>6</sup>

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).

<sup>7</sup>

Relative loudness, pitch and length were not measured mechanically in the analysis of stress.

Word stress carries little functional load in MalakMalak. 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:

tín<sup>y</sup> pí

(adv) go

*Try and go!*

yén wá

yamstick pick up

*Pick up the yamstick!*

Words of two syllables are stressed on the first syllable:

yöntön he (Subject Pronoun)

t<sup>y</sup>áŋár spear

múyin<sup>y</sup> dog

wúru 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:

lám<sup>l</sup>lám talk/have a chat

pít<sup>y</sup>pít<sup>y</sup> rub firesticks

wérkwérk flat-tailed catfish

mírmír melt

túytúy stretch (intr.)

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

álawàr woman  
 mĕlpapù father (reference as opposed to address)  
 màparà follow  
 ákunmàn<sup>y</sup> 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:

akúnman<sup>y</sup> where from?  
 mĕlpápu father  
 akána 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)

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

mút<sup>y</sup>uřwuna very many  
 múnankàřa beautiful  
 kárarkwàrat 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:

<i>wiřiniwà</i>	<i>They will sit.</i>
<i>nukúttöyùŋ</i>	<i>You (pl.) are going to lie down.</i>
<i>nukútyuwà</i>	<i>You (pl.) stood up.</i>
<i>ŋák aŋkáyawà</i>	<i>You and I eat/ate (non-meat food).</i>

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

<i>t<sup>y</sup>etwéřamàŋkil</i>	<i>fork-stick</i>
<i>aŋkíniyàŋka</i>	<i>You and I will stand.</i>
<i>aŋkönöyùŋka</i>	<i>You and I will lie down.</i>
<i>wöřönöyùŋka</i>	<i>They will lie down.</i>
<i>ařkíniyàŋka</i>	<i>We are all going to stand.</i>
<i>pařárat<sup>y</sup>èřat</i>	<i>get up and stand up (pl. subject)</i>

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):

<i>te aŋ <u>wuwúntunùnuwàkna</u>:</i>	<i>He would have given</i>
	<i>you (sg) meat.</i>

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

<i>nöŋkörönöyùŋka</i>	<i>You (pl.) will lie down.</i>
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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:

te aŋ nũŋkuřũntuwöřöwàkka

*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 *pařáratt<sup>y</sup>èřat*; pentasyllabic nouns like *t<sup>y</sup>etwéřamàŋkil* are rare.

1.61 The Distribution of Phonemes within the Phonological Word.

1.61.1 Consonant Distribution.

Any single consonant except *l<sup>y</sup>*, *ř* 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.<sup>8</sup>

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

<sup>8</sup>

More precisely, regarding the latter, what R.H. Stetson (*Motor Phonetics*, 1928) called "abutting consonants".



tumpuřk	hiccough
lamtɛl	stop (someone doing something)
lamt <sup>y</sup> ak	stop (tr.)
timkut	bury (rubbish etc.)
yunpayin	good
piyantuk	underneath
yɛnt <sup>y</sup> ir	dew
alanki	bring back
wan <sup>y</sup> pi	paddle (a canoe)
man <sup>y</sup> tutma	big crowd (of people)
puřunpuřun	boil (Verb Root)
taŋtat <sup>y</sup> ma	hit repeatedly
luŋt <sup>y</sup> ɛřat.	(of bird, with anatomical food-bag: replenish
man <sup>y</sup> t <sup>y</sup> ɛtmatan	not produce children
pöŋköl	knee

Five have an initial lateral:

pilp	slap
altak	break (tr.)
kalt <sup>y</sup> ɛt (puntuna)	carry (on head)
yalk	moon
tapul <sup>y</sup> p	extinguish fire (with fingers, as opposed to feet)

Four have a vibrant ř as initial consonant:

t <sup>y</sup> uřp	cut
muřtuk	hatch
muřt <sup>y</sup> iř	trip
ŋiřk	die

Four have a continuant *r* as initial consonant:

{	<i>kurpuk</i>	<i>wash</i>
	<i>lɛrp</i>	<i>meet (predicated of a large number of persons)</i>
	<i>tʲɛwörtɛl</i>	<i>forget</i>
	<i>purwartʲɛt</i>	<i>get dark</i>
{	<i>purkin</i>	<i>grey kangaroo</i>
	<i>kark</i>	<i>go up a slope ( a bank, e.g.)</i>

Four have a geminated stop sequence:

<i>lup.pi.ma</i>	<i>together.go.continulative</i>
<i>at.ta</i>	<i>lex SP.2 (Pres./Past)</i>
<i>katʲ.tʲuɾkwat</i>	<i>throw.put inside: throw inside</i>
<i>lak.katʲ</i>	<i>eat (meat).throw: leave some meat (when unable to eat more)</i>

Ten have a heterorganic stop sequence:

<i>taptapali</i>	<i>hold on to something moving (animal)</i>
<i>taptʲiɾ</i>	<i>drop</i>
<i>kumitpuluk</i>	<i>sand goanna</i>
<i>yittʲɛɾat</i>	<i>slough skin</i>
<i>yitkaɾ</i>	<i>scale (fish)</i>
<i>katʲpuk</i>	<i>might beat (competitively)</i>
<i>tatʲkak</i>	<i>hurt (tr.)</i>
<i>yikpi</i>	<i>small</i>
<i>lamtʲaktan</i>	<i>try to stop unsuccessfully</i>
<i>waktʲalkma</i>	<i>waterfall</i>

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

<i>manwiyuk</i>	<i>hungry</i>
<i>tat wöwöntönyöörö</i>	<i>he/she sees/saw us (exclusive)</i>
<i>kin<sup>y</sup>wat</i>	<i>hang (up)</i>
<i>man<sup>y</sup>yur</i>	<i>cover</i>
<i>t<sup>y</sup>iyarwat</i>	<i>send over (food, e.g.)</i>
<i>kat<sup>y</sup>puk yönpunyoörö</i>	<i>he might beat us (ex) (competitively)</i>

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

<i>apma</i>	<i>be quiet!</i>
<i>tapnö</i>	<i>grab him (male human or animal)</i>
<i>tapŋa</i>	<i>grab (something) over there</i>
<i>anti tatma</i>	<i>find each other</i>
<i>tatnö</i>	<i>find him</i>
<i>n<sup>y</sup>atn<sup>y</sup>at</i>	<i>chip wood</i>
<i>tutŋa</i>	<i>causative.deictic suffix</i>
<i>kut<sup>y</sup>ma</i>	<i>whistle</i>
<i>tat<sup>y</sup>nö</i>	<i>hit him</i>
<i>wat<sup>y</sup>ŋuru</i>	<i>try</i>
<i>ŋakma</i>	<i>eat</i>
<i>nanakna</i>	<i>really</i>
<i>payakŋarö</i>	<i>beetle</i>

Eight have a semi-consonant as final consonant:

<i>tapwapakkat<sup>y</sup></i>	<i>turn over (tr.) (of a turtle, e.g.)</i>
<i>apyurali</i>	<i>participial form of yur: lie (down)</i>
<i>tatwur</i>	<i>be missing</i>
<i>tatyur</i>	<i>sleep fitfully</i>

yukut <sup>y</sup> wat	move (fire e.g.) along (to harden newly-cut canoe)
kat <sup>y</sup> yipi	leave behind (tr.)
yanakwuna	just one
wakyɛn	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):

lamlam.ma	talk (VR).cnt
tam.ŋöyat	cook (meat) wrapped up (i.e., in paperbark)
manmal	wing
ŋun.na	spatial specifier. locative
-yinŋa	in/on/beside
laŋma	light (antithesis of dark)
t <sup>y</sup> öŋnö	fire-place (lit. belongs to fire)
tat <sup>y</sup> yönpuŋ.ŋayi	he is going to hit her.
wan <sup>y</sup> ma	row or paddle
tat yimin <sup>y</sup> nö	he sees/saw him
eyinman <sup>y</sup> ŋa	nobody
t <sup>y</sup> inn <sup>y</sup> ukma	water-rat

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

wilma	swim
töŋŋ	stretch (intr.)
mul <sup>y</sup> mul <sup>y</sup> ma	ripe/soft
nil <sup>y</sup> il <sup>y</sup> ŋa	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*  
 t<sup>y</sup>il<sup>y</sup>wuřkali *wrinkled (skin)*

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

pařmat<sup>y</sup> *old woman*  
 kařnilyur *scratch skin so as to break it*  
 kařňöyat *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*  
 tarňiřk *kill (VR) with a missile*

One has a lateral as final consonant:

man<sup>y</sup>t<sup>y</sup>urlin<sup>y</sup> *bush rope*

Two have semi-consonants as final members:

yarwa	leader (of fighting contingent) or boss
alawaryinŋa	beside the woman

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

tat <sup>y</sup> 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 <sup>y</sup> ɛt	stand up when full up with food
t <sup>y</sup> alkma	fall
telkŋa	sing hair from animal (away from speaker)
ŋalkwukut <sup>y</sup>	fill (lot of people) with food
t <sup>y</sup> alkyur	bend over
t <sup>y</sup> irkt <sup>y</sup> ɛt	join (VR) (e.g. 2 bits of wood)

<i>kεrkkat<sup>y</sup></i>	<i>startle</i>
<i>pεrkma</i>	<i>rest (VR)</i>
<i>karkwat</i>	<i>take (meat, e.g.) from fire</i>
<i>t<sup>y</sup>uřurkyiwařa, tönö</i>	<i>lot of people go into jungle</i>
<i>ηalamuřkma</i>	<i>swear, curse</i>
<i>aηuřkna</i>	<i>half-way</i>
<i>tuřkwat</i>	<i>swallow</i>
<i>t<sup>y</sup>uřkyiwaya, tönö</i>	<i>one person goes into jungle</i>
<i>talptalpma</i>	<i>run along playing</i>
<i>kölp<sup>y</sup>εt</i>	<i>roast (a single animal)</i>
<i>kölpma</i>	<i>roast (unmarked for quantity)</i>
<i>tapul<sup>y</sup>p</i>	<i>extinguish fire</i>
<i>pul<sup>y</sup>pyur</i>	<i>(fire) dies down</i>
<i>tölηma</i>	<i>stretch (VR)</i>
<i>lεrpma</i>	<i>meet, of a large number</i>
<i>turppak, (pöηköl)</i>	<i>kneel down</i>
<i>t<sup>y</sup>uřptεyt<sup>y</sup></i>	<i>cut off</i>
<i>tuřpkat<sup>y</sup></i>	<i>dig</i>
<i>tuřpt<sup>y</sup>εt</i>	<i>plant (VR)</i>
<i>tuřppam</i>	<i>plant (p10)</i>
<i>mantum töřpyur</i>	<i>spiked by fin (of catfish)</i>

#### 1.61.4 VOWEL DISTRIBUTION

The vowels /a/ and /ε/ may occur word-initially, /i/, /ö/ and /u/ may not. The only other constraints on vocalic distribution are, firstly, that /a/, /ε/ and /u/ do not follow /l<sup>y</sup>/ 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.<sup>9</sup>

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.

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<sup>9</sup> 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.



CHAPTER 2  
WORD CLASSES IN MALAKMALAK

*"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*.<sup>1</sup>

The noun can take the following affixes:

the Possessor suffix	-n <sup>ö</sup>	(section: 3.28)
the Benefactive suffix	-n <sup>ö</sup>	(section: 3.29.2)
the Intentive suffix	-n <sup>ö</sup>	(section: 3.29.1)
the Relator suffix	-n <sup>ö</sup>	(section: 3.29.4)
the Comitative suffix	-yεn	(section: 3.36)
the <i>departing from</i> suffix	-man <sup>y</sup>	(section: 3.35.2)
the Locative suffix	-na/-an	(section: 3.35.3)
the Locative suffix	-yinŋa	(section: 3.35.1)
the Agentive suffix	-waŋ	(section: 3.34)
the Proprietary affix	-mεl-	(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 -mεl- 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;

<sup>1</sup>

v. 4.11



3. t<sup>y</sup>aŋar [ɛyinnö]  
*spear intrg.poss*  
*Whose spear?*

Information interrogatives denoting non-human referents

- [nikita] *what?*
4. [nikita] ŋakma *yita*  
*intrg eat(veg).cnt 3sgmSP.2(pres/past)*  
*What is/was he eating?*
5. yawuk [nikita]  
*other intrg.*  
*What else?*

[nikita] + Relator suffix [-nö]<sup>4</sup>

- [nikitanö] *what for/why?*
6. [nikitanö] ka nunta  
*intrg.rel come 2sgSP.2(pres/past)*  
*Why have you come?*
- [nikita] + departing from suffix [-man<sup>y</sup>]  
 [nikitaman<sup>y</sup>] *what's the matter?*

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

7. alalk yinmɛyit<sup>y</sup> [apuntu]  
*child little(plm) intrg*  
*How many little boys?*
8. wu [apuntu]  
*barramundi intrg*  
*How many barramundi?*

<sup>4</sup> Another adnominal function of -nö (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:

<i>yinali/yikpi</i>	<i>yönörön/yinanki</i>	<i>yunpayin/yinat</i>
<i>big/little</i>	<i>old/new</i>	<i>good/bad</i>
<i>yin<sup>y</sup>t<sup>y</sup>eřik</i>		
<i>short</i>		

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.<sup>5</sup>

### 2.12.1 Quantifiers

The numeral adjectives from one to ten are as follows:

yanakŋa	one
wεřana	two
wεřanayεna	three
wεřanwεřan	four
nan <sup>y</sup> ilk yanaŋařa (hand) (side)	five
nan <sup>y</sup> ilk yanaŋařa yanakŋa	six
nan <sup>y</sup> ilk yanaŋařa wεřana	seven
nan <sup>y</sup> ilk yanaŋařa wεřanayεna	eight
nan <sup>y</sup> ilk yanaŋařa wεřanwεřan	nine
nan <sup>y</sup> ilk yanaŋařa <del>nan</del> <sup>y</sup> ilk yanaŋařa	ten

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

wuru wεřana	twice
-------------	-------

other quantifiers include the *dual* marker *wöntöt* which characteristically occurs sentence-finally:

<sup>5</sup>

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

yikpi > yinmeyit<sup>y</sup>

9. pi wutta<sup>6</sup> wöntöt

go 3plSP.2(pres/past) dlm

*They both went.*

10. yöntön tat<sup>y</sup> yimin<sup>y</sup>wörö wöntöt

3sgmSP hit 3sgmSP.1(punct).3plOP dlm

*He hit them both.*

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

11. yeřkit mařin<sup>y</sup> 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<sup>y</sup> yimin<sup>y</sup>ařpuřu wöntöt

3sgmSP hit 3sgmSP.1(punct).licOP 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 licSP.2(pres/past)

*We all accompany the corpse together.*

<sup>6</sup> 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. ařawan wöttö  
 qf 3p1SP.4(pres)

*They are here together.*

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

16. yin<sup>y</sup>a alawar eyineyinŋa  
 (initiated) man woman qf

*Each married couple.*

mut<sup>y</sup>uř/mut<sup>y</sup>uřwuna 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<sup>y</sup>uř  
 child qf

*Many children.*

18. alalk mut<sup>y</sup>uřwuna  
 child qf

*Very many children.*

19. mut<sup>y</sup>uřwuna ŋak wöřöntön  
 qf eat(veg) 3p1SP.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.

na	1sgSP	<i>speaker</i>
yawöt	1exSP	<i>speaker and at least one other person (excluding addressee)</i>
yaŋki	1d1SP	<i>speaker and addressee</i>
yεřkit	1icSP	<i>speaker and at least two other persons (including addressee)</i>
waŋari	2sgSP	<i>one addressee</i>
nukut	2p1SP	<i>two or more persons at least one of whom is an addressee</i>
yöntön	3sgmSP	<i>one male person (neither speaker nor addressee)</i>
nöntön	3sgfSP	<i>one female person (neither speaker nor addressee)</i>
wöröntön	3p1SP	<i>two or more persons (neither speaker nor addressee)</i> <sup>7</sup>

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

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<sup>7</sup>

The sex-distinction is neutralized in the plural.

sentence structure.<sup>8</sup> 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,<sup>9</sup> 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)

-ařin <sup>y</sup>	1sgOP
-yöřö	1exOP
-nuŋku	1d1OP
-ařpuřu	1icOP
-nunu	2sgOP
-nuŋkuřu	2p1OP
-nö	3sgmOP
-ŋayi	3sgfOP
-wöřö	3p1OP

---

<sup>8</sup> 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.*

<sup>9</sup> 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 ařpuřu: 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.     $\eta a$          $tat^y$      $yimin^y a\check{r}in^y$   
           1sgSP   *hit*     3sgmSP.1(punct).1sgOP  
                   *He hit/hits me.*

### 2.13.3 Emphatic Pronoun. $mint^y itak$

$mint^y itak$  can occur (1) by itself, or (2) accompanied by a subject pronoun:

22.     $\underline{mint^y itak}$      $pakma$       $yita$   
           emphP         *sit.cnt*    3sgmSP.2(pres/past)  
                   *He lives/lived by himself.*

23.     $pi$      $nunta$                      $wa\eta a\check{r}i$      $\underline{mint^y itak}$      $Darwinta$   
           *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*<sup>10</sup> may be realized by any of the set of *temporal specifiers*.

<sup>10</sup>

v. 4.11

Syntactically, a *temporal specifier* (ts) usually occurs first<sup>11</sup> in sentence-structure, and qualifies the entire event referred to by the sentence.

*muta* *later/afterwards*

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

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

*aman* *now*

25. aman pi anuŋka te t<sup>y</sup>eyötnö  
ts go 1sgSP.2(fut) clf red kangaroo.int  
Now I will go for red kangaroo.

*way* *durative specifier*

26. [way ayuwakna] [payka yita]  
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.*

t<sup>y</sup>intaŋ(way) *habitual specifier*

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

<sup>11</sup>

Although it can occur in other positions in sentence-structure, sentence-initial occurrence is the norm.



are formally nouns. Thus, the following *temporal specifiers* are able to take adnominal suffixation and/or adjectival qualification.

*miřiyen* *during the day*

*sun.comit*

34. *muta miřiyen lak atöma*

*ts sun.comit eat(meat) 1sgSP.1(purp)*

*Later on during the day I am going to eat (meat).*

*pent<sup>y</sup>i* *yesterday*

35. *pent<sup>y</sup>i yawuk*

*N(ts) A the other day*

*ņöyö* *tomorrow*

36. *ņöyö yawuk*

*N(ts) A the day after tomorrow*

37. *tek yawuknö*

*country/camp A.poss next time*

38. *nan<sup>y</sup>ilk yanaņarāman<sup>y</sup>*

*hand ss.dpf last week*

39. *nan<sup>y</sup>ilk yanaņara yawuk*

*hand ss A next week*

40. *nan<sup>y</sup>ilk yawuk*

*hand A next day*

41. *yalk yawuk*

*moon A next month*

42. *puwar.yinņa*

*night.loc morning*

43. *yinķi puwar*

*afternoon night evening*

...

## 2.14.11 Temporal Interrogative

*amanali* *when?*

44. amanali *tikka* *yönuᅇka*  
 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).

*ᅇun* *there*  
 45. *alalk yinmᅇyit<sup>y</sup> pi wutta* *ᅇun*  
*child little(plm) 3p1SP.2(pres/past) ss*

*The little boys go/went there.*

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

*katuk* *yonder*

47. *katukan* *wöřö*  
 ss.loc 3p1SP.(pres)

*They are over yonder.*

*Katuk* may undergo partial reduplication which has the effect of intensifying the spatial meaning:

48. yin<sup>y</sup>a yawuk ηat<sup>y</sup> katuruk yöyö  
 man A ptcl(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<sup>y</sup>t<sup>y</sup>uk: kan<sup>y</sup>t<sup>y</sup>uk katuruk : very high*

ki here

49. perma ka wutta ki  
 rest.cnt come 3p1SP.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 ηunna puřpma 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.*

aηuřk halfway

53. pak wöttö wöntöt aηuřkna  
 sit 3p1SP.4(pres) dlm ss.loc

*They both sit down halfway along.*

yanaηařa ... yanaηařa this side ... that side  
 puηar middle



54. [yananařa tatma wutta] [yananařa  
 ss see.cnt 3p1SP.2(pres/past) ss  
 tatma wutta] [puřarna tatma  
 see.cnt 3p1SP.2(pres/past) ss.loc see.cnt  
 wuttanö ]  
 3p1SP.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:

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

55. antuk ariyinņa in front of the house

pött<sup>y</sup>almiyen in front of a person

breast.straight

56. alawar pött<sup>y</sup>almiyen in front of the woman

t<sup>y</sup>almiyen ss right/straight

nan<sup>y</sup>ilk t<sup>y</sup>almiyen right hand

57. waņkir t<sup>y</sup>almiyen patma yita

crow ss fly.cnt 3sgmSP.2(pres/past)

*The crow flies/flew straight.*

yanpar left

nan<sup>y</sup>ilk yanpar left hand

t<sup>y</sup>aņkir piyantuk in between [lit. on top,  
 underneath]

58. mi walk t<sup>y</sup>aņkir piyantuk wöyö

food(veg) stone ss 3sgeSP.6(pres)

*The food stands between stones.*

waŋkař *outside*

59. waŋkař 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. kakakman<sup>y</sup> ka yita  
 ss.dpfc come 3sgmSP.2(pres/past)  
*He has come from far away.*

mεřakan *first*

63. ŋa mεřakan pi anuŋka waŋaři aŋuntu  
 1sgSP ss go 1sgSP.2(fut) 2sgSP ss  
*I will go first, you next*

. . .

#### 2.14.21 Spatial Interrogatives.

akun *where?*

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

akun + departing from suffix -man<sup>y</sup>

<sup>n</sup><sub>^</sub>akuman<sup>y</sup> *where from?*

65. akunman<sup>y</sup> 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 -yinŋa

akunyinŋa how far?

66. akunyinŋa pi wöröŋun<sup>y</sup>  
 intrg.loc go 3plSP.2(progr)  
*How far are they going?*

akutena directional interrogative

67. 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.

ki this one

ŋun that one

68. [ki natal yita] [ŋun  
 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

ŋuŋa (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. ɲura watiyaŋ nuntawörö

P(dm) share out 3sgfSP.2(pres/past).3p10P

*She distributes/distributed (it) to the others.*

katuk

*that one(yonder)*

71. [katukman yönö akana] [pulit<sup>y</sup>

P(dm).rbl 3sgmSP.4(pres) adv(neg) old man

kiman yöyö akana]

P(dm).rbl 3sgmSP.5/6(pres) 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).poss

*The food belonging to that one.*

nan can also assume a demonstrative adjectival function:

73. te aŋ wöröntön alalk yikpi

meat give 3p1SP.1(sequ) child little(sgm)

nanta

A(dm).sfm

*They give/gave that little boy meat.*

74. alint<sup>y</sup>ir attawa te papalu nan

afraid lexSP.(pres/past) clf buffalo A(dm)

*We (ex) are/were afraid of that buffalo.*

2.14.4 The deictic specifiers *alimiři* and *ařuntu* can function in both a temporal and a spatial environment:

*alimiři*

75. *alimiři* *anti* *eyma* *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.*

*ařuntu*

77. *anin<sup>y</sup>* *alalk* *yinmeyit<sup>y</sup>* *ařuntuman<sup>y</sup>* *t<sup>y</sup>εřat*  
*adv* *child* *little(plm)* *ts.dpf* *be born(plS*  
*v.3.24.1)*  
*wutyuwakka*

3p1SP.6(past).foc

*Then subsequently the little boys were born.*

78. *alalk* *nikpi* *t<sup>y</sup>öŋ* *ařuntu* *řat<sup>y</sup>pak*  
*child* *little(sgf)* *tree* *ss* *hide*  
*nunuwa*

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 really

80. nanak apap aya  
adv sick 1sgSP.1(punct)

*I'm really sick.*

wan<sup>y</sup>ařa slowly

81. wan<sup>y</sup>ařa pi yita  
adv go 3sgmSP.2(pres/past)

*He goes/went slowly.*

wat<sup>y</sup>uř quickly

82. wat<sup>y</sup>uř pi wutta  
adv go 3plSP.2(pres/past)

*They went quickly.*

tayt<sup>y</sup>iř properly

83. te tayt<sup>y</sup>iř ŋöyat 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. waŋaři anti waŋkaŋ nöntöma  
2sgSP adv convey 2sgSP.1(purp)

*Your turn to take (it).*

tin<sup>y</sup> try to

86. ŋa tin<sup>y</sup> pi atuŋnö  
1sgSP adv go 1sgSP.2(purp).3sgmOP

*I'll try and go to him.*

*tin*<sup>y</sup> can also be used as a form of the positive<sup>13</sup> imperative.

87. *tin*<sup>y</sup> *tatnö*

adv *find.3sgmOP*

*Try and find him!*

88. *tin*<sup>y</sup> *wat*<sup>y</sup> *ηuru* *nöntöma*

adv *attempt(VR) 2sgSP.1(purp)*

*Have a try!*

*awat*<sup>14</sup>

*Don't!* (Negative imperative)

89. *awat* *tεymařin*<sup>y</sup>

adv *wait.cnt.1sgOP*

*Don't wait for me!*

90. *awat* *pak*

adv *sit down*

*Don't sit down!*

*naηařa*

*desiderative adverb*

*naηařa* always immediately precedes the VC, the following auxiliary occurring only in the purposive:

91. *naηařa* *tikpi* *atuη* *tekanta*  
adv(desid) *back.go 1sgSP.2(purp) camp.sfm*

*I want to go back to the camp.*

92. *naηařa* *ηuřηut* *atöyuη*  
adv(desid) *sleep 1sgSP.5(purp)*

*I want to go to sleep.*

<sup>13</sup>  
v. 4.16.1

<sup>14</sup>  
v. 4.16.2

pawu

obligative adverb

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

93. pawu nan<sup>y</sup>ilk yanaŋaŋaman<sup>y</sup> tɛ  
 adv(oblig) ts clf  
 kumukut lak aya  
*blue-tongue lizard eat(meat) 1sgSP.1(punct)*  
*I ought to have eaten the blue-tongue lizard last week.*

94. pɛnt<sup>y</sup>i pi wiŋin<sup>y</sup>t<sup>y</sup>a pawu  
 ts go 3plSP.2(subj) adv(oblig)  
*They should have gone yesterday.*

95. ŋa pawu yur atöyüŋ  
 1sgSP adv(oblig) lie down 1sgSP.5(purp)  
*I should lie down.*

anin<sup>y</sup> and yeŋra anin<sup>y</sup> marks the temporally successive character of events while yeŋra singles out an event from the temporal flow as particular.

anin<sup>y</sup>

96. [anin<sup>y</sup> paröt ŋak wöwöntön alawar  
 adv sit up eat(veg) 3sgfSP.1(sequ) woman  
 yöntönta] [anin<sup>y</sup> mi watiyaŋ  
 3sgSP.sfm adv food(veg) share  
 yitawöŋö] [mut<sup>y</sup>urwuna ŋak  
 3sgmSP.2(pres/past).3plOP qf eat(veg)  
 wöŋöntön]  
 3plSP.1(sequ)



*Then his wife sits up and eats (and) then he distributes the food to them. Everyone eats.*

yεřa

97. [p

- lit
<sup>y</sup> numuřu kartuřuk wöwöntön]  
old man eye poke out 3sgmSP.1(sequ)

[yεřa wun<sup>y</sup>pak yönö]  
adv blind.sit 3sgmSP.4(pres)

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

pana iterative adverb

98. pana naman nöntöma  
adv(iter) say 2sgSP.1(purp)

*Say that again.*

99. tε t<sup>y</sup>eyöt [pana t<sup>y</sup>eyantak  
clf red kangaroo adv(iter) hear

yuyuwa]

3sgmSP.5/6(past)

*He heard the red kangaroo again.*

wiřqak terminal adverb : finished

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)  
wöwöntön [pamyi t<sup>y</sup>uřkwat  
3sgmSP.1(sequ) put down.leave put inside  
wöwöntön manna] [talwakat<sup>y</sup>  
3sgmSP.1(sequ) stomach.loc lift  
yöyö] [walk wuřk wöwöntön  
3sgmSP.1(sequ) stone put into 3sgmSP.1(sequ)

mantulmanan] [yawuk                      pon<sup>y</sup>an  
 heart.loc              another(stone) belly.loc  
 wuřk              wöwöntön]              [yawuk  
 put into 3sgmSP.1(sequ)      another(stone)  
 t<sup>y</sup>inpititan wuřk              wöwöntön  
 anus.loc              put into 3sgmSP.1(sequ)  
 walkka] [wa kölpt<sup>y</sup>εt              yuryi  
 stone.sfm              pick up.roast      lay down  
 wöwöntön              tönan] [kuřput wöwöntön  
 3sgmSP.1(sequ) hole.loc      cover      3sgmSP.1(sequ)  
wiřηak]  
 adv(trm)

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.

akana    adverbial negative <sup>15</sup>  
 101. ηuluk              yawötnö              [akana              lamma  
             language      lexSP.poss              adv(neg)      speak.cnt  
 wutta]  
 3p1SP.2(pres/past)

They cannot speak our language.

<sup>15</sup>

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):<sup>16</sup> *What?*

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

*What are we going to do?*

*amanali* *How?* (cf. 2.14.11)

103. *kurmin<sup>y</sup>* [*amanali* *t<sup>y</sup>en<sup>y</sup>ma*  
*double hook-spear* adv(intrg) *make.cnt*  
*nunta*]  
2sgSP.2(pres/past)

*How do you make a double hook-spear?*

2.16 Particles

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

*ŋan* *comparative particle* (v. 3.27.11)

104. *t<sup>y</sup>aŋar* [*ŋan* *t<sup>y</sup>alala*]  
*spear* ptcl(comp) *long*

*A longer spear.*

105. *mi* [*ŋan* *mikpi*] *aŋařin<sup>y</sup>*  
*food(veg)* ptcl(comp) *little(sgv)* *give.1sgOP*

*Give me less food.*

106. *ŋan* *lapař* *wuta*  
ptcl(comp) *light* 3sgeSP.2(pres/past)

*It is a bit lighter.*

---

16

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).

$\eta at^y$ . 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  $\eta at^y$  has the function of an emphatic marker.

107. [tek yawuknö akana  $\eta at^y$ ] [tek  
*camp other.int adv(neg) ptcl(emph) camp*  
 kina  $\eta at^y$ ]  
 ss.loc ptcl(emph)

*No other camp; just this camp.*

108.  $\eta at^y$  apap wöwöntön  
 ptcl(emph) sick 3sgmSP.1(sequ)

*He is sick.*

109. [ $\eta at^y$  yawöt wani maparama  
 ptcl(emph) lexSP *dreaming follow.cnt*  
 atta] [waḡari nunta  
 lexSP.2(pres/past) 2sgSP 2sgSP.2(pres/past)  
 mint<sup>y</sup>itakan nunta] [yawöt  
 emph.P.loc 2sgSP.2(pres/past) lexSP  
 eyikeyik atta]  
 black 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).*
- <sup>17</sup>  
anta           *all right*
- kukuk        *wait/hang on!*
- t<sup>y</sup>ɛn<sup>y</sup>na      *an expression of approval.*
- ma            *interrogative or imperative interjection (with co-extensive high or low rise in pitch, respectively).*
- wɛya         *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.

---

17

anta can also occur in sentence structure with an adverbial 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 *transitivity index* of the entire conjugation system. That is to say, 96% of all *transitive Verb Roots* recorded are able to select for Conjugation 1.<sup>1</sup> Conversely, *intransitive Verb Roots* characteristically cannot select for Conjugation 1.<sup>2</sup>

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

kuřwapi	drag
mitt <sup>y</sup> erāt (pɛl <sup>y</sup> i)	paint (ceremonially)
pitin <sup>y</sup> t <sup>y</sup> et	dislike
tɛy <sup>y</sup> ma	wait (for)
tyltul	dislike
t <sup>y</sup> ewör tarkat <sup>y</sup>	remind
wukut <sup>y</sup>	throw away
yipi	leave

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

ŋirk	die
apap	sick/tired
manpurit <sup>y</sup>	be satisfied
manwiyukŋirk	be starving
nit	tell a lie
tum	inhale
wuŋwuŋ	feel contented
yakayakay	scream
kan <sup>y</sup> ak	cough
tumpuřk	hiccough
t <sup>y</sup> iřya	sneeze
ŋɛ	breathe

*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  $\check{r}$  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:

	<i>Conjug. 2</i>	<i>Conjug. 3</i>	<i>Conjug. 5</i>
1exSP	ařu-ŋun <sup>y</sup>	ařö-ren <sup>y</sup>	ařö-ŋun <sup>y</sup>
2p1SP	nunķuřu-ŋun <sup>y</sup>	nönķkөрö-ren <sup>y</sup>	nönķkөрö-ŋun <sup>y</sup>
3p1SP	wөрö-ŋun <sup>y</sup>	wөрö-ren <sup>y</sup>	wөрö-ŋun <sup>y</sup>
	<i>Conjug. 4</i>	<i>Conjug. 6</i>	
1exSP	at-tiŋin <sup>y</sup>	at-yaŋin <sup>y</sup>	
2p1SP	nikit-tiŋin <sup>y</sup>	nikit-yaŋin <sup>y</sup>	
3p1SP	wit-tiŋin <sup>y</sup>	wit-yaŋin <sup>y</sup>	

(The person-markers precede the hyphen in the above examples.)

*Conjugations 2, 3 and 5* are morphophonemically characterized by the ř conjugation-type.<sup>3</sup> *Conjugations 4 and 6* are morphophonemically characterized by the t conjugation type.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>3</sup> The ř conjugation type characteristically has in 2p1SP a homorganic nasal preceding the dorso-velar stop.

<sup>4</sup> Three points can be made here:

1. Although *Conjugation 2* is an ř conjugation type (taking the *Progressive* paradigm as criterial) it contains an exception to the ř 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 ř 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 ř 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,<sup>5</sup> 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

<sup>4</sup> related to the fact that it has no semantic function either.)

<sup>5</sup> 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. [tɛ yɪŋi kark yuŋun<sup>y</sup>]  
 clf crocodile come up 3sgmSP.2(progr)
- [waliwaliman<sup>y</sup> kark yuŋun<sup>y</sup>t<sup>y</sup>a]  
 river.dpf come up 3sgmSP.2(progr).foc
- [nönyöŋun<sup>y</sup> titna] [ŋat<sup>y</sup> kark]  
 3sgfSP.5(progr) bank.loc ptcl(emph) come up

yuŋun<sup>y</sup> ] [tař yimin<sup>y</sup>ŋayi]  
 3sgmSP.2(progr) bite 3sgmSP.1(punct).3sgfOP  
 [yiŋiwan tař yimin<sup>y</sup> alalk  
 crocodile.ag bite 3sgmSP.1(punct) child  
 nikpiwa] [yakayaka nimin<sup>y</sup>  
 little(sgf).sfm scream 3sgfSP.1(punct)  
 neman<sup>y</sup>t<sup>y</sup>a]  
 parent.sfm

*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:<sup>6</sup>

111. [alawar pařat nöntyö] [t<sup>y</sup>öŋ leřp  
 woman get up 3sgfSP.5(pres) wood gather  
 wöwöntön] [ka nunta t<sup>y</sup>öŋ  
 3sgfSP.1(sequ) come 3sgfSP.2(pres/past) fire  
 t<sup>y</sup>akt<sup>y</sup>et][pirpiyet wöwöntön]  
 prepare ignite 3sgfSP.1(sequ)

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

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Swahili -KA- tense which "expresses an action or state which follows another action." - E.O. Ashton, "Swahili Grammar", p.133.

Conjugation 1

Persons	Punctiliar (i)	Sequential (ii)	Purposive (iii)	Future (iv)	Subjunctive (v)
1sgSP	<i>aya</i>	<i>awöntön</i>	<i>atöma</i>	<i>anmawa</i>	<i>awuntuwa</i>
2sgSP	<i>nuntya</i>	<i>nöwöntön</i>	<i>nöntöma</i>	<i>nunmawa</i>	<i>nuwuntuwa</i>
5sgmSP	<i>yimin<sup>y</sup></i>	<i>wöwöntön</i>	<i>yinma</i>	<i>yinmawa</i>	<i>wuwuntuwa</i>
3sgfSP	<i>nimin<sup>y</sup></i>	<i>wöwöntön</i>	<i>nunma</i>	<i>nunmawa</i>	<i>wuwuntuwa</i>
3sgeSP	<i>muya</i>	<i>möwöntön</i>	<i>munma</i>	<i>munmawa</i>	<i>muwuntuwa</i>
3sgfSP	<i>wuya</i>	<i>wöwöntön</i>	<i>wunma</i>	<i>wunmawa</i>	<i>wuwuntuwa</i>
1d1SP	<i>aᅇkaya</i>	<i>aᅇköntön</i>	<i>aᅇkötöma</i>	<i>aᅇkunmawa</i>	<i>aᅇkuntuwa</i>
1icSP	<i>aᅇkun<sup>y</sup></i>	<i>aᅇköntön</i>	<i>aᅇtöma</i>	<i>aᅇkunmawa</i>	<i>aᅇkuntuwa</i>
1exSP	<i>aᅇrun<sup>y</sup></i>	<i>aᅇöntön</i>	<i>attöma</i>	<i>aᅇrunmawa</i>	<i>aᅇruntuwa</i>
2p1SP	<i>nunᅇkuᅇrun<sup>y</sup></i>	<i>nöᅇköröntön</i>	<i>nököttöma</i>	<i>nunᅇkuᅇu- nmawa-</i>	<i>nunᅇkuᅇu- ntuwa</i>
3p1SP	<i>wiᅇmin<sup>y</sup></i>	<i>wöᅇöntön</i>	<i>wöttöma</i>	<i>wöᅇön- mawa</i>	<i>wuᅇuntuwa</i>

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

Persons	Punctiliar (i)	Sequential (ii)	Purposive (iii)	Future (iv)	Subjunctive (v)
1sgSP	<i>a-</i>	<i>a-</i>	<i>a-</i>	<i>a-</i>	<i>a-</i>
2sgSP	<i>nunt-</i>	<i>nö-</i>	<i>nön-</i>	<i>nu-</i>	<i>nu-</i>
5sgmSP	<i>yi-</i>	<i>wö-</i>	<i>yi-</i>	<i>yi-</i>	<i>wu-</i>
3sgfSP	<i>ni-</i>	<i>wö-</i>	<i>nu-</i>	<i>nu-</i>	<i>wu-</i>
3sgvSP	<i>mu-</i>	<i>mö-</i>	<i>mu-</i>	<i>mu-</i>	<i>mu-</i>
3sgeSP	<i>wu-</i>	<i>wö-</i>	<i>wu-</i>	<i>wu-</i>	<i>wu-</i>

Persons	Punctiliar (i)	Sequential (ii)	Purposive (iii)	Future (iv)	Subjunctive (v)
1d1SP	aŋka-	aŋk-	aŋk <sup>ö</sup> -	aŋku-	aŋk-
1icSP	ařk-	ařk-	ař-	ařku-	ařk-
1exSP	ař-	ař-	at-	ařu-	ař-
2p1SP	nuŋkuř-	nönkör-	nököt-	nuŋkuřu-	nuŋkuř-
3p1SP	wiř-	wöř-	wöt-	wöřö-	wuř-

The tense-markers, residually, are as follows:

Persons	Punctiliar (i)	Sequential (ii)	Purposive (iii)	Future (iv)	Subjunctive (v)
1sgSP	-ya	-wöntön	-töma	-nmawa	-wuntuwa
2sgSP	-ya	-wöntön	-töma	-nmawa	-wuntuwa
3sgmSP	-min <sup>y</sup>	-wöntön	-nma	-nmawa	-wuntuwa
3sgfSP	-min <sup>y</sup>	-wöntön	-nma	-nmawa	-wuntuwa
3sgvSP	-ya	-wöntön	-nma	-nmawa	-wuntuwa
3sgeSP	-ya	-wöntön	-nma	-nmawa	-wuntuwa
1d1SP	-ya	-öntön	-töma	-nmawa	-untuwa
1icSP	-un <sup>y</sup>	-öntön	-töma	-nmawa	-untuwa
1exSP	-un <sup>y</sup>	-öntön	-töma	-nmawa	-untuwa
2p1SP	-un <sup>y</sup>	-öntön	-töma	-nmawa	-untuwa
3p1SP	-min <sup>y</sup>	-öntön	-töma	-nmawa	-untuwa

Paradigm 3. Purposive

112. mi ŋak nöntöma

*food eat 2sgSP.1(purp)*

*Eat the food!*

113. wak yentawaliktap atöma  
 water like/desire 1sgSP.1(purp)  
*I'd like (some) water.*
114. taratwat atömawöro  
 look(pl.obj.).send 1sgSP.1(purp).3p10P  
*I'll watch them.*
115. [apap yinma] [tek yawuk ɲiŋk  
 sick 3sg.mSP.1(purp) camp other die  
 yinma]  
 3sgmSP.1(purp)  
*If he's sick in another camp he will die.*
116. aman aŋtöma?  
 adv(intrg) 1(ic)SP.1(purp)  
*What are we going to do?*

Paradigm 4. Future

117. mi ɲak anmawa  
 food eat 1sgSP.1(fut)  
*I will eat food.*
118. mi aŋ anmanöwa<sup>7</sup>  
 food give 1sgSP.1(fut).3sgm0P  
*I will give him food.*
119. mi aŋ anmawöŋöwa  
 food give 1sgSP.1(fut).3p10P  
*I will give them food.*

<sup>7</sup>

v. 3.19.3 regarding the word-final occurrence of -wa in this environment.

## Paradigm 5. Subjunctive

120. tε aŋ awuntunōwakka anti  
 meat give 1sgSP.1(subj).3sgmOP.foc adv(recip)  
 tε aŋ wuwuntuwařin<sup>y</sup>t<sup>y</sup>akna  
 meat give 3sgmSP.1(subj).1sgOP.foc

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

121. tε aŋ nuwuntuwařin<sup>y</sup>t<sup>y</sup>akna anti  
 meat give 2sgSP.1(subj).1sgOP.foc adv(recip)  
 tε aŋ anmanunuwakka  
 meat give 1sgSP.1(fut).2sgOP.foc

*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 *t<sup>y</sup>et* (*stand up*) are the cognate *verb roots* for conjugations 5 and 6, respectively. But when selecting Conjugation 1 they function as transitive verbs.

123. t<sup>y</sup>aŋar yur aya pawuřkan  
 spear lay 1sgSP.1(punctiliar) floor.loc

*I lay spear on floor.*

124. antuk t<sup>y</sup>εt ařöntön  
 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:

t <sup>y</sup> uřk	(1) + conj. 1:	bury	}
	(2) + conj. 2:	enter	

125. pulit<sup>y</sup> t<sup>y</sup>uřk ayanö  
 old man bury 1sgSP.1(punct).3sgmOP  
 I bury/buried the old man.

126. tono t<sup>y</sup>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*:

(i) 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/dived into the river.*

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

128. tɛnō 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<sup>y</sup>a 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 3sgmSP.2(pres/past)  
*He is happy.*

132. ŋa lɛrǔ aŋun<sup>y</sup>  
 1sgSP hot 1sgSP.2(progr)  
*I am hot.*

For the marked role of Conjugation 2 the semantic function of the auxiliary is "foregrounded":<sup>8</sup>

<sup>8</sup> Term introduced by Paul L. Garvin in Garvin (1964).

133.  $t^y$ alkyur nönyö

*bend over* 2sgSP/3sgfSP.5(pres)

*She bends over/You (sg) bend over.*

becomes, when Conjugation 2 is selected:

134.  $t^y$ alkyurali

nunta

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

*You (sg)/She go(es)/went along bent over.*

135. ka yita-nki

*come* 3sgmSP.2(pres/past).dc

*He comes/came here.*

#### Conjugation 2

Persons	Pres/Past (i)	Progressive (ii)	Purposive (iii)	Future (iv)	Subjunctive (v)
1sgSP	ata	aḡun <sup>y</sup>	atun	anunḡka	awin <sup>y</sup> t <sup>y</sup> a
2sgSP	nunta	nuḡun <sup>y</sup>	nuntun	nununḡka	niwin <sup>y</sup> t <sup>y</sup> a
3sgmSP	yita	yunḡun <sup>y</sup>	yonpun	yönunḡka	wiwin <sup>y</sup> t <sup>y</sup> a
3sgfSP	nunta	nuḡun <sup>y</sup>	nunpun	nununḡka	wiwin <sup>y</sup> t <sup>y</sup> a
3sgvSP	muta	muḡun <sup>y</sup>	munpun	mönunḡka	miwin <sup>y</sup> t <sup>y</sup> a
3sgeSP	wuta	wunḡun <sup>y</sup>	wunpun	wönunḡka	wiwin <sup>y</sup> t <sup>y</sup> a
1d1SP	aḡkata	aḡkunḡun <sup>y</sup>	aḡkatun	aḡkanu- ḡka	aḡkin <sup>y</sup> t <sup>y</sup> a
1icSP	aḡta	aḡkunḡun <sup>y</sup>	aḡtin	aḡkanu- ḡka	aḡkin <sup>y</sup> t <sup>y</sup> a
1exSP	atta	aḡunḡun <sup>y</sup>	attun	aḡanu- ḡka	aḡin <sup>y</sup> t <sup>y</sup> a
2plSP	nukutta	nuḡkuḡunḡun <sup>y</sup>	nukuttun	nuḡkuḡ- ununḡka	niḡkiḡin <sup>y</sup> - t <sup>y</sup> a
3plSP	wuttun	wönunḡun <sup>y</sup>	wuttun	wönunu- ḡka	wiḡin <sup>y</sup> t <sup>y</sup> a

The subject person-markers are as follows:

Persons	Pres/Past	Progressive	Purposive	Future	Subjunctive
1sgSP	a-	a-	a-	a-	a-
2sgSP	nun-	nu-	nun-	nu-	ni-
3sgmSP	yi-	yu-	yön-	yö-	wi-
3sgfSP	nun-	nu-	nun-	nu	wi-
3sgvSP	mu-	mu-	mun-	mö-	mi-
3sgeSP	wu-	wu-	wun-	wö-	wi-
1d1SP	aŋka-	aŋku-	aŋka-	aŋka-	aŋk-
1icSP	ař-	ařku-	ař-	ařka-	ařk-
1exSP	at-	aru-	at-	ara-	ar-
2p1SP	nukut-	nuŋkuřu-	nukut-	nuŋkuřu-	niŋkiř-
3p1SP	wut-	wöřö-	wut-	wöřö-	wiř-

The tense-markers are, residually, as follows:

1sgSP	-ta	-ŋun <sup>y</sup>	-tuŋ	-nuŋ-ka	-win <sup>y</sup> t <sup>y</sup> a
2sgSP					
3sgmSP					
3sgfSP					
3sgvSP					
3sgeSP					-win <sup>y</sup> t <sup>y</sup> a
1d1SP					-in <sup>y</sup> t <sup>y</sup> a
1icSP					
1exSP					
2p1SP					
3p1SP	-ta	-ŋun <sup>y</sup>	-tuŋ	-nuŋ-ka	-in <sup>y</sup> t <sup>y</sup> a

## 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<sup>y</sup>a yawöt akana pi atta  
 woman man lexSP adv(neg) go lex.SP.2(pres/  
 taŋ past)  
 mix(intr)  
*We (ex) men and women don't mix.*

## Paradigm 2. Progressive

138. pi aŋun<sup>y</sup> "mission"-na  
 go 1sgSP.2(progr) Mission.loc  
*I've been going to the Mission for some time.*

139. katma yuŋun<sup>y</sup>na  
 laugh.cnt 3sgSP.2(progr).loc  
*He used to laugh.*

140. kina ka yuŋun<sup>y</sup>  
 ss.loc come 3sgmSP.(progr)  
*He's been here some time.*

141. wan<sup>y</sup>ma wöŋöŋun<sup>y</sup>  
 row.cnt 3plSP.2(progr)  
*They used to row (nautical).*

142. mat<sup>y</sup>an lapar yuŋun<sup>y</sup>  
 foot swell 3sgmSP.2(progr)  
*His foot is swelling.*

143. tatma yita t<sup>y</sup>intaŋ way  
 see.cnt 3sgmSP.2(pres/past) always still  
 yuŋun<sup>y</sup>  
 3sgmSP.2(progr)

*He's still alive.*

Paradigm 3. Purposive

144. yeŋi pi attuŋ tat<sup>y</sup>  
 paperbark go lexSP.2(purp) strike  
*We (ex) are going to strip off paperbark.*

145. kina ka yöŋpuŋ  
 ss.loc come 3sgmSP.2(purp)

*Let him come here.*

146. paŋakutman attuŋ  
 white man.rbl lexSP.2(purp)  
*We're getting like white men.*

147. t<sup>y</sup>akat nuntuŋ!  
 run 2sgSP.2(purp)

*Run!*

Paradigm 4. Future.

148. te 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. akuteŋa pi anuŋka?  
 intrg(ss) go 1sgSP.2(fut)

*Where shall I go?*

## Paradigm 5. Subjunctive

150. ka wiwin<sup>y</sup>t<sup>y</sup>a yin<sup>y</sup>a yanak eyin?  
 come 3sgmSP.2(subj) (initiated) man one who  
*Would any one man have come?*
151. muyin<sup>y</sup> ηuluk lamkamma wiřin<sup>y</sup>t<sup>y</sup>a  
 dogs language talk 3plSP.2(subj)  
*The dogs would have been able to speak.*
152. antiman<sup>y</sup>ηa tε aηma ařkin<sup>y</sup>nowakka  
 adv(recip).dpf(neg) meat give.cnt licSP.2(subj).  
 3sgmOP.foc  
 akana tε anti aη yönpuηařpuřu  
 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 (something)").

In its unmarked function Conjugation 3

(i) co-occurs with Verbs of "movement", in a semantically cognate role

153. ka yöwöřä pak  
 come 3sgmSP.2(pres) sit down  
*He is coming to sit down.*

154. tikpi yöwöřa 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. wuřk möwöřa  
big fire 3sgvSP.3(pres)

*Bush fire goes on (burning) a long way off.*

(wuřk (big fire) requires m- concord, rather than the w- concord which t<sup>y</sup>öŋ (fire) demands.)

In its marked function the auxiliary is semantically foregrounded:

156. te lakma yöwöřaŋa  
meat eat.cnt 3sgmSP.3(pres).dc

*He kept on moving while eating over there.*

TENSES. Paradigm 1. Present.

157. te wɛlma yöwöřa  
meat hang(intr).cnt 3sgmSP.3(pres)

*The meat goes on hanging there.*

Paradigm 2. Past.

158. te ma pi yuwuřa ey  
clf wallaby on 3sgmSP.3(past) kill

*He goes on killing wallaby.*

159. waliwali ki wuwuřa artil  
river ss 3sgeSP.3(past) sea

*This river went on flowing to the sea.*

## Paradigm 3. Progressive

160. *yöntön t<sup>y</sup>eyantakma yöwöřen<sup>y</sup>*  
 3sgmSP *listen.cnt.* 3sgmSP.3(progr)

*He keeps on listening over there.*

## Paradigm 4. Purposive

161. *tε welma yönpöřaη*  
*meat hang.cnt* 3sgmSP.3(purp)

*Let the meat go on hanging there.*

162. *mi mönpöřaη*  
*food* sgvSP.3(purp)

*Let the food go on (cooking).*

## Paradigm 5. Future

163. *yöntön t<sup>y</sup>eyantakma yönöřaηka*  
 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

Persons	Past Paradigm 1	Present Paradigm 2	Progress- ive Paradigm 3	Purposive Paradigm 4	Future Paradigm 5
1sgSP	<i>awuřa</i>	<i>awöřa</i>	<i>awöřen<sup>y</sup></i>	<i>atöřaη</i>	<i>anöřaηka</i>
2sgSP	<i>numpuřa</i>	<i>nömpöřa</i>	<i>nömpöřen<sup>y</sup></i>	<i>nöntöřaη</i>	<i>nönöřaηka</i>
3sgmSP	<i>yuwuřa</i>	<i>yöwöřa</i>	<i>yöwöřen<sup>y</sup></i>	<i>yönpöřaη</i>	<i>yönöřaηka</i>
3sgfSP	<i>numpuřa</i>	<i>nömpöřa</i>	<i>nömpöřen<sup>y</sup></i>	<i>nönpöřaη</i>	<i>nönöřaηka</i>
3sgvSP	<i>muwuřa</i>	<i>möwöřa</i>	<i>möwöřen<sup>y</sup></i>	<i>mönpöřaη</i>	<i>mönöřaηka</i>
3sgeSP	<i>wuwuřa</i>	<i>wöwöřa</i>	<i>wöwöřen<sup>y</sup></i>	<i>wönpöřaη</i>	<i>wönöřaηka</i>



Persons	Past Paradigm 1	Present Paradigm 2	Progress- ive Paradigm 3	Purposive Paradigm 4	Future Paradigm 5
1d1SP	aŋkuwura	aŋkōwōra	aŋkōwōren <sup>y</sup>	aŋkötōraŋ	aŋkōnōraŋka
1icSP	aŋkuwūra	aŋkōwōra	aŋkōwōren <sup>y</sup>	aŋtōraŋ	aŋkōnōraŋka
1exSP	aruŋa	arōra	arōren <sup>y</sup>	attōraŋ	arōnōraŋka
2p1SP	nuŋkuruŋa	nōŋkōrōra	nōŋkōrōren <sup>y</sup>	nukuttōraŋ	nōŋkōnōraŋka
3p1SP	wuŋura	wōrōra	wōrōren <sup>y</sup>	wōttōraŋ	wōrōnōraŋka

The bound person-markers are as follows:

1sgSP	a-	a-	a-	a-	a-
2sgSP	num-	nöm-	nöm-	nön-	nö-
3sgmSP	yu-	yö-	yö-	yön-	yö-
3sgfSP	num-	nöm-	nöm-	nön-	nö-
3sgvSP	mu-	mö-	mö-	mön-	mö-
3sgeSP	wu-	wö-	wö-	wön-	wö-
1d1SP	aŋku-	aŋkō-	aŋkō-	aŋkō-	aŋkō-
1icSP	aŋku-	aŋkō-	aŋkō-	aŋ-	aŋkō-
1exSP	aŋu-	aŋö-	aŋö-	at-	aŋö-
2p1SP	nuŋkuŋu-	nōŋkōrō-	nōŋkōrō-	nukut-	nōŋkō-
3p1SP	wuŋu-	wōrō-	wōrō-	wöt-	wōrō-

The tense-markers are as follows:

1sgSP	-wuŋa	-wōra	-wōren <sup>y</sup>	-tōraŋ	-nōraŋka
2sgSP	-puŋa	-pōra	-pōren <sup>y</sup>	-tōraŋ	-nōraŋka
3sgmSP	-wuŋa	-wōra	-wōren <sup>y</sup>	-pōraŋ	-nōraŋka
3sgfSP	-puŋa	-pōra	-pōren <sup>y</sup>	-pōraŋ	-nōraŋka
3sgvSP	-wuŋa	-wōra	-wōren <sup>y</sup>	-pōraŋ	-nōraŋka
3sgeSP	-wuŋa	-wōra	-wōren <sup>y</sup>	-pōraŋ	-nōraŋka

Persons	Past Paradigm 1	Present Paradigm 2	Progress- ive Paradigm 3	Purposive Paradigm 4	Future Paradigm 5
1d1SP	-wuřa	-wöřa	-wöřen <sup>y</sup>	-töřaŋ	-nöřaŋka
1icSP	-wuřa	-wöřa	-wöřen <sup>y</sup>	-töřaŋ	-nöřaŋka
1exSP	-ra	-ra	-ren <sup>y</sup>	-töřaŋ	-nöřaŋka
2plSP	-ra	-ra	-ren <sup>y</sup>	-töřaŋ	-nöřaŋka
3plSP	-ra	-ra	-ren <sup>y</sup>	-töřaŋ	-nöřaŋka

### 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. yöntön pak yönö  
3sgmSP sit 3sgmSP.4(pres)  
*He sits down.*

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

165. yin<sup>y</sup>a muřma wöttö  
(initiated) man dance.cnt 3plSP.4(pres)  
*The men are dancing here.*

166. nilŋ tarma yönö  
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<sup>y</sup>ilk yir̃ma anö  
hand scratch.cnt 1sgSP.4(pres)

*I am sitting down scratching my hand.*

Conjugation 4

Persons	Past (i)	Present (ii)	Progress- ive (iii)	Purpos- ive (iv)	Future (v)	Subjunctive (vi)
1sgSP	anuwa	anö	aniŋin <sup>y</sup>	atini	aniwa	awinin <sup>y</sup> t <sup>y</sup> a
2sgSP	nunuwa	nönö	niniŋin <sup>y</sup>	nintini	niniwa	niwinin <sup>y</sup> t <sup>y</sup> a
3sgmSP	yunuwa	yönö	yiniŋin <sup>y</sup>	yini	yiniwa	wiwinin <sup>y</sup> t <sup>y</sup> a
3sgfSP	nunuwa	nönö	niniŋin <sup>y</sup>	nini	niniwa	wiwinin <sup>y</sup> t <sup>y</sup> a
3sgvSP	munuwa	mönö	miniŋin <sup>y</sup>	mini	miniwa	miwinin <sup>y</sup> t <sup>y</sup> a
3sgeSP	wunuwa	wönö	winiŋin <sup>y</sup>	wini	winiwa	wiwinin <sup>y</sup> t <sup>y</sup> a
1d1SP	aŋkun- uwa	aŋkönö	aŋkiŋin <sup>y</sup>	aŋkit- ini	aŋkiniwa	aŋkinin <sup>y</sup> t <sup>y</sup> a
1icSP	ařtuwa	ařtö	ařtiŋin <sup>y</sup>	ařtini	ařkiniwa	ařinin <sup>y</sup> t <sup>y</sup> a
1exSP	attuwa	attö	attiŋin <sup>y</sup>	attini	ařiniwa	ařinin <sup>y</sup> t <sup>y</sup> a
2p1SP	nukut- tuwa	nukuttö	nikitt- iŋin <sup>y</sup>	nikitt- ini	niŋkiřiniwa	niŋkiřin <sup>y</sup> iŋin <sup>y</sup> t <sup>y</sup> a
3p1SP	wutt- uwa	wöttö	wittiŋin <sup>y</sup>	wittini	wiřiniwa	wiřinin <sup>y</sup> t <sup>y</sup> a

The bound person-markers are as follows:

1sgSP	a-	a-	a-	a-	a-	a-
2sgSP	nu-	nö-	ni-	nin-	ni-	ni-
3sgmSP	yu-	yö-	yi-	yi-	yi-	wi-
3sgfSP	nu-	nö-	ni-	ni-	ni-	wi-
3sgvSP	mu-	mö	mi-	mi-	mi-	mi-
3sgeSP	wu-	wö-	wi-	wi-	wi-	wi-

Persons	Past (i)	Present (ii)	Progress -ive (iii)	Purposive (iv)	Future (v)	Subjunctive (vi)
1d1SP	aŋku-	aŋkō-	aŋki-	aŋki-	aŋki-	aŋk-
1icSP	ař-	ař-	ař-	ař-	ařki-	ařk-
1exSP	at-	at-	at-	at-	aři-	ař-
2p1SP	nukut-	nukut-	nikit-	nikit-	niŋkiři-	niŋkiř-
3p1SP	wut-	wöt-	wit-	wit-	wiři-	wiř-

The tense-markers are as follows:

1sgSP	-nuwa	-nō	-niŋin <sup>y</sup>	-tini	-niwa	-winin <sup>y</sup> t <sup>y</sup> a
2sgSP				-tini		
3sgmSP				-ni		
3sgfSP				-ni		
3sgvSP				-ni		
3sgeSP			-niŋin <sup>y</sup>	-ni		-winin <sup>y</sup> t <sup>y</sup> a
1d1SP	-nuwa		-iŋin <sup>y</sup>	-tini		-inin <sup>y</sup> t <sup>y</sup> a
1icSP	-tuwa		-tiŋin <sup>y</sup>			
1exSP						
2p1SP						
3p1SP	-tuwa	-nō	-tiŋin <sup>y</sup>	-tini	-niwa	-inin <sup>y</sup> t <sup>y</sup> a

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. wöřöntön lamlamma wuttuwa

3p1SP talk.cnt 3p1SP.4(past)

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

Paradigm 2. Present Tense.

172. yin<sup>y</sup>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<sup>y</sup>a ki yönö

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

*This man here.*

174. puntu patma wönařin<sup>y</sup>

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

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

Paradigm 3. Progressive.

175. alimiřiman<sup>y</sup> yiniřin<sup>y</sup>

ts.apf 3sgmSP.4(progr)

*He's been here a long time.*

176. pön<sup>y</sup> tik aniŋin<sup>y</sup>  
 belly grow 1sgSP.4(progr)  
*I'm getting fat.*
177. [mi miniŋin<sup>y</sup>] [wapi wutta  
 food 3sgvSP.4(progr) take 3plSP.2(pres/past)  
 numpaŋ]  
 adv  
*Perhaps they took the food that was here.*

Paradigm 4. Purposive

178. luppakali aŋtini  
 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. ŋöyö kina pak aniwa  
 tomorrow ss.loc sit 1sgSP.4(fut)  
*Tomorrow I'll sit here.*
182. ŋöyö t<sup>y</sup>ert<sup>y</sup>erma aniwa  
 tomorrow sing.cnt 1sgSP.4(fut)  
*Tomorrow I will sing.*

## Paradigm 6. Subjunctive

183. te aṅma wiwinin<sup>y</sup>arin<sup>y</sup>ta<sup>y</sup>kna lakma  
 meat give.cnt 3sgmSP.4(subj).foc eat(meat).cnt  
 awinin<sup>y</sup>t<sup>y</sup>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 wöřö  
 lie down 3plSP.5(pres)  
*They lie down.*

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

185. yin<sup>y</sup>a murma wöřö  
 man dance.cnt 3plSP.5(pres)  
*The men are dancing over yonder.*

186. nilŋ tarma wöřö  
 nail press.cnt 3plSP.5(pres)

*They are hammering nails over yonder.*

In its semantically marked function the Auxiliary is foregrounded:

188. alawar kan<sup>y</sup>akma nönyö

woman cough.cnt 3sgfSP.5(pres)

*She is coughing lying down.*



Conjugation 5

Persons	Past (i)	Present (ii)	Progressive (iii)	Purposive (iv)	Future (v)	Subjunctive (vi)
1sgSP	ay <sup>y</sup> wa	ay <sup>ö</sup>	ay <sup>ö</sup> qun <sup>y</sup>	at <sup>ö</sup> y <sup>u</sup> q	an <sup>ö</sup> y <sup>u</sup> qka	awin <sup>y</sup> t <sup>y</sup> a
2sgSP	nunyuwa	nöny <sup>ö</sup>	nöny <sup>ö</sup> qun <sup>y</sup>	nönt <sup>ö</sup> y <sup>u</sup> q	nön <sup>ö</sup> y <sup>u</sup> qka	niwin <sup>y</sup> t <sup>y</sup> a
3sgmSP	yuyuwa	y <sup>ö</sup> y <sup>ö</sup>	y <sup>ö</sup> y <sup>ö</sup> qun <sup>y</sup>	y <sup>ö</sup> ny <sup>u</sup> q	yön <sup>ö</sup> y <sup>u</sup> qka	wiwin <sup>y</sup> t <sup>y</sup> a
3sgfSP	nunyuwa	nöny <sup>ö</sup>	nöny <sup>ö</sup> qun <sup>y</sup>	nön <sup>y</sup> uq	nön <sup>ö</sup> y <sup>u</sup> qka	wiwin <sup>y</sup> t <sup>y</sup> a
3sgvSP	muyuwa	m <sup>ö</sup> y <sup>ö</sup>	m <sup>ö</sup> y <sup>ö</sup> qun <sup>y</sup>	mön <sup>y</sup> uq	mön <sup>ö</sup> y <sup>u</sup> qka	miwin <sup>y</sup> t <sup>y</sup> a
3sgeSP	wuyuwa	w <sup>ö</sup> y <sup>ö</sup>	w <sup>ö</sup> y <sup>ö</sup> qun <sup>y</sup>	wön <sup>y</sup> uq	wön <sup>ö</sup> y <sup>u</sup> qka	wiwin <sup>y</sup> t <sup>y</sup> a
1d1SP	a <sup>q</sup> kuy <sup>u</sup> wa	a <sup>q</sup> k <sup>ö</sup> y <sup>ö</sup>	a <sup>q</sup> k <sup>ö</sup> y <sup>ö</sup> qun <sup>y</sup>	a <sup>q</sup> k <sup>ö</sup> t <sup>ö</sup> y <sup>u</sup> q	a <sup>q</sup> kön <sup>ö</sup> y <sup>u</sup> qka	a <sup>q</sup> kin <sup>y</sup> t <sup>y</sup> a
1icSP	a <sup>ř</sup> ty <sup>u</sup> wa	a <sup>ř</sup> ty <sup>ö</sup>	a <sup>ř</sup> ty <sup>ö</sup> qun <sup>y</sup>	a <sup>ř</sup> t <sup>ö</sup> y <sup>u</sup> q	a <sup>ř</sup> kön <sup>ö</sup> y <sup>u</sup> qka	a <sup>ř</sup> kin <sup>y</sup> t <sup>y</sup> a
1exSP	a <sup>ř</sup> wa	a <sup>ř</sup> ö	a <sup>ř</sup> öqun <sup>y</sup>	att <sup>ö</sup> y <sup>u</sup> q	a <sup>ř</sup> ön <sup>ö</sup> y <sup>u</sup> qka	a <sup>ř</sup> in <sup>y</sup> t <sup>y</sup> a
2p1SP	nu <sup>q</sup> ku <sup>ř</sup> uwa	nön <sup>q</sup> k <sup>ö</sup> y <sup>ö</sup>	nön <sup>q</sup> k <sup>ö</sup> y <sup>ö</sup> qun <sup>y</sup>	nukutt <sup>ö</sup> y <sup>u</sup> q	nön <sup>q</sup> k <sup>ö</sup> y <sup>ö</sup> n <sup>ö</sup> y <sup>u</sup> qka	ni <sup>q</sup> ki <sup>ř</sup> in <sup>y</sup> t <sup>y</sup> a
3p1SP	wu <sup>ř</sup> uwa	w <sup>ö</sup> y <sup>ö</sup>	w <sup>ö</sup> y <sup>ö</sup> qun <sup>y</sup>	wött <sup>ö</sup> y <sup>u</sup> q	w <sup>ö</sup> y <sup>ö</sup> n <sup>ö</sup> y <sup>u</sup> qka	wi <sup>ř</sup> in <sup>y</sup> t <sup>y</sup> a

The bound person-markers are as follows:

Persons	Past (i)	Present (ii)	Progress- ive (iii)	Purpos- ive (iv)	Future (v)	Subjunctive (vi)
1sgSP	a-	a-	a-	a-	a-	a-
2sgSP	nun-	nön-	nön-	nön-	nö-	ni-
3sgmSP	yu-	yö-	yö-	yön-	yö-	wi-
3sgfSP	nun-	nön-	nön-	nön-	nö-	wi-
3sgvSP	mu-	mö-	mö-	mön-	mö-	mi-
3sgeSP	wu-	wö-	wö-	wön-	wö-	wi-
1d1SP	aḡku-	aḡkö-	aḡkö-	aḡkö-	aḡkö-	aḡk-
1icSP	aḡt-	aḡt-	aḡt-	aḡ-	aḡkö-	aḡk-
1exSP	aḡ-	aḡ-	aḡ-	at-	aḡö-	aḡ-
2p1SP	nunḡkur-	nönḡkөр-	nönḡkөр-	nukut-	nönḡkөрö-	niḡkiḡ-
3p1SP	wuḡ-	wөр-	wөр-	wöt-	wөрö-	wiḡ-

The tense-markers are as follows:

1sgSP	-yuwa	-yö	-yöḡun <sup>y</sup>	-töyḡ	-nöyḡ	-win <sup>y</sup> t <sup>y</sup> a
2sgSP				-töyḡ		
3sgmSP				-yḡ		
3sgfSP						
3sgvSP						
3sgeSP				-yḡ		-win <sup>y</sup> t <sup>y</sup> a
1d1SP				-töyḡ		-in <sup>y</sup> t <sup>y</sup> a
1icSP	-yuwa	-yö	-yöḡun <sup>y</sup>			
1exSP	-uwa	-ö	-öḡun <sup>y</sup>			
2p1SP						
3p1SP	-uwa	-ö	-öḡun <sup>y</sup>	-töyḡ	-nöyḡ	-in <sup>y</sup> t <sup>y</sup> a

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.

<i>keřkat<sup>y</sup></i>	1234*5(*)6	<i>startle (an animal, e.g.)</i>
<i>kölp</i>	12345(*)6*	<i>roast</i>
<i>kurkat<sup>y</sup></i>	12345(*)6	<i>dig out</i>
<i>kuřwapakat<sup>y</sup></i>	12345(*)6	<i>turn around (tr.)</i>
<i>kuwpuk</i>	1*234*5(*)6*	<i>dive into water (plural.subj.)</i>
<i>lakkat<sup>y</sup></i>	12345(*)6	<i>leave meat when salted</i>
<i>larap</i>	12345(*)6	<i>bind</i>
<i>leřiyet</i>	1*2345(*)6	<i>spread out (intr.)</i>
<i>leřp (plural.subj.)</i>	1*2345(*)6	<i>meet (marked for plurality)</i>
<i>leřp</i>	12345(*)6	<i>gather firewood</i>
<i>min<sup>y</sup>t<sup>y</sup>etali</i>	1*2345(*)6	<i>throw firesticks at someone</i>
<i>karkwat</i>	12345(*)6	<i>take out</i>
<i>altuřp</i>	12345(*)6	<i>penetrate</i>
<i>ey</i>	1234*5(*)6(*)	<i>wound (with spear)</i>
<i>kuřwapi</i>	1*234*5(*)6*	<i>drag</i>
<i>kalyur</i>	12345(*)6	<i>carry (on shoulder)</i>
<i>kapukkupuk</i>	1*2345(*)6	<i>bathe</i>
<i>kararwat</i>	12345(*)6	<i>take out</i>
<i>kařlak(ma) (of bird, e.g.)</i>	1234*5(*)6	<i>pick something out of ground and eat it</i>
<i>park</i>	1234*5(*)6	<i>leave something behind</i>
<i>wat</i>	12345(*)6	<i>send</i>

watiyaŋ	12345(*)6	share
tar/tarmur	12345(*)6	crush/crush with feet
yεřpat	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 wöřö		
wat <sup>y</sup> uk	12345(*)6	pour
wuřk	12345(*)6	fill up (a bag, e.g.)
taŋkat <sup>y</sup>	12345(*)6	mix up (people, etc.) (tr.)
yitt <sup>y</sup> εřat	12345(*)6	slough skin (of a snake, e.g.)
pin <sup>y</sup> wukut <sup>y</sup>	12345(*)6	bale (water) out
nakwirwir	12345(*)6	eat fruit and dribble juice
ŋatŋat	1234*5(*)6	chip wood
ŋataŋkat <sup>y</sup>	12345(*)6	make a mistake
payiwarat	12345(*)6	bring out
pεřpaŋ	12345(*)6	frighten (tr.)
pεt	12345(*)6	paint
pikpit	12345(*)6*	rub firestick
pit	12345(*)6	miss (i.e. with spear)
tapak	12345(*)6	break
tappariřip	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 <sup>y</sup> akt <sup>y</sup> εt	12345(*)6	make (i.e. prepare) fire
t <sup>y</sup> ampuřp	1*2345(*)6	stoke up fire
pay	1*234*5(*)6*	emerge

$t^y$ ayat $^y$ aya	12345(*)6	<i>pour water into an object</i>
kiwaŋ $t^y$ εn $^y$	12345(*)6	<i>fix up/repair</i>
$t^y$ iyaŋ	12345(*)6	<i>give (plural object)</i>
$t^y$ öölölmuru	1*234*5(*)6	<i>descend</i>
$t^y$ uřk	12345(*)6	<i>enter</i>
$t^y$ uřpteyit $^y$	1234*5(*)6	<i>cut off</i>
wařiyat	12345(*)6	<i>meet</i>
wurumεlwurumεl	12345(*)6	<i>try something out</i>
yεřputwa	1*2345(*)6	<i>take back a gift</i>
yurma	12345(*)6	<i>drag net</i>
tapt $^y$ iř	12345(*)6	<i>drop</i>

## TENSE/MOOD/ASPECT

## Paradigm 1. Past Tense

188.	yöntön	yur	yuyuwa
	3sgmSP	<i>lie down</i>	3sgmSP.5(past)

*He lay down.*

189.	yin $^y$ a	alawar	ŋuřŋut	wuřuwa
	man	woman	<i>sleep</i>	3plSP.5(past)

*The man/men (and) woman/women slept.*

## Paradigm 2. Present Tense.

190.	muyin $^y$	möröt	keřpkeřpma	yöyö
	dog	bone	<i>crunch.cnt</i>	3sgmSP.5(pres)

*The dog is lying down crunching the bone.*

191. yöntön man<sup>y</sup>yur yöyö  
 3sgmSP floats up 3sgmSP.5(pres)  
*He floats up.*

Paradigm 3. Progressive

192. alimiři kina yur wöröğun<sup>y</sup>  
 ts ss.loc lie down 3plSP.5(progr)  
*They used to lie down here.*

193. te ηawan<sup>y</sup>ak wöröğun<sup>y</sup>  
 meat smell 3plSP.5(progr)  
*They are smelling the meat.*

Paradigm 4. Purposive

194. ηurğut yönyuğ  
 sleep 3sgmSP.5(purp)  
*He's going to have a sleep.*

195. yur nöntöyuğ!  
 lie down 2sgSP.5(purp)  
*Lie down!*

Paradigm 5. Future

196. ηa t<sup>y</sup>eyantak anöyuğnunuwa  
 1sgSP hear 1sgSP.5(fut)  
*I will listen to you.*

197. ηa yur anöyuğka  
 1sgSP lie down 1sgSP.5(fut)  
*I will lie down.*

## Paradigm 6. Subjunctive

198. waŋaʔi yur niwin<sup>y</sup>t<sup>y</sup>akna ŋa yur  
 2sgSP lie down 2sgSP.5(subj).foc 1sgSP lie down  
 anöyuŋkakna  
 1sgSP.5(fut).foc

*If you lie down I'll lie down.*

199. yöntön ariwit<sup>y</sup>im wiwin<sup>y</sup>ŋayiwakka  
 3sgmSP kiss 3sgmSP.2/5/6(subj).3sgfOP.foc  
 anti nöntön ariwit<sup>y</sup>im nönöyuŋnöwakka  
 adv(recip) 3sgfSP kis 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 paʔat nöntyö  
 woman get up 3sgfSP.6(pres)

*The woman gets up.*

201.  $yin^y a t^y \epsilon \dot{\epsilon} \dot{a} t^9$                        $witya \eta in^y$   
*man stand (pl S) 3plSP.6(progr)*

*The men are standing up.*

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

202.  $n\ddot{o}nt\ddot{o}n$   $antuk$   $lu\check{r}u\eta ma$                        $n\ddot{o}nty\ddot{o}$   
 3sgfSP *house clean.cnt* 3sgfSP.6(pres)

*She is cleaning the house here/nearby*

as opposed to:

203.  $n\ddot{o}nt\ddot{o}n$   $antuk$   $lu\check{r}u\eta ma$                        $n\ddot{o}ny\ddot{o}$   
 3sgfSP *house clean.cnt* 3sgfSP.5(pres)

*She is cleaning the house over yonder.*

In its semantically marked function the Auxiliary is foregrounded:

204.  $kan^y akma$                        $n\ddot{o}nty\ddot{o}$   
*cough.cnt* 3sgfSP.5(pres)

*She is coughing standing up.*

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<sup>9</sup> Partial reduplication of Verb Root for plural subject:  $t^y \epsilon t$  becomes  $t^y \epsilon \dot{\epsilon} \dot{a} t$  (v. 3.24.1).



Conjugation 6

Persons	Past (i)	Present (ii)	Progressive (iii)	Purposive (iv)	Future (v)	Subjunctive (vi)
1sgSP	ayyawa	ayö	ayañin <sup>y</sup>	atiyañ	aniyañ	awin <sup>y</sup> ta
2sgSP	nuntuyyawa	nöntyö	nintyañin <sup>y</sup>	nintiyañ	niniyañka	niwin <sup>y</sup> ta
3sgmSP	yuyyawa	yöyö	yiyañin <sup>y</sup>	yintyañ	yiniyañka	wiwin <sup>y</sup> ta
3sgfSP	nuntuyyawa	nöntyö	nintyañin <sup>y</sup>	nuntyañ	niniyañka	wiwin <sup>y</sup> ta
3sgvSP	muyyawa	möyö	miyañin <sup>y</sup>	muntyañ	miniyañka	miwin <sup>y</sup> ta
3sgeSP	wuyyawa	wöyö	wiyañin <sup>y</sup>	wuntyañ	winiyañka	wiwin <sup>y</sup> ta
1d1SP	añkuyyawa	añköyö	añkiyañin <sup>y</sup>	añkitiyañ	añkiniyañka	añkin <sup>y</sup> ta
1icSP	ařtyyawa	ařtyö	ařtyañin <sup>y</sup>	ařtiyañ	ařkiniyañka	ařkin <sup>y</sup> ta
1exSP	atyawa	atyö	atyañin <sup>y</sup>	attiyañ	ařiniyañka	ařin <sup>y</sup> ta
2p1SP	nukutyuwa	nökötyö	nikityañin <sup>y</sup>	nikittiyañ	niñkiniyañka	niñkin <sup>y</sup> ta
3p1SP	wutyuwa	wötyö	wityañin <sup>y</sup>	wittiyañ	wiřiniyañka	wiřin <sup>y</sup> ta

The bound person-markers are as follows:

Persons	Past (i)	Present (ii)	Progressive (iii)	Purposive (iv)	Future (v)	Subjunctive (vi)
1sgSP	a-	a-	a-	a-	a-	a-
2sgSP	nunt-	nönt-	nint-	nin-	ni-	ni-
3sgmSP	yu-	yö-	yi-	yin-	yi-	wi-
3sgfSP	nunt-	nönt-	nint-	nun-	ni-	wi-
3sgvSP	mu-	mö-	mi-	mun-	mi-	mi-
3sgeSP	wu-	wö-	wi-	wun-	wi-	wi-
1d1SP	aŋku-	aŋkö-	aŋki-	aŋki-	aŋki-	aŋk-
1icSP	ařt-	ařt-	ařt-	ař-	ařki-	ařk-
1exSP	at-	at-	at-	at-	aři-	ař-
2p1SP	nukut-	nököt-	nikit-	nikit-	niŋkiři-	niŋkiř-
3p1SP	wut-	wöt-	wit-	wit-	wiři-	wiř-

The tense-markers are as follows:

1sgSP.	-yuwa	-yö	-yaŋin <sup>y</sup>	-tiyaŋ	-niyaŋ	-wint <sup>y</sup> a
2sgSP				-tyaŋ		
3sgmSP						
3sgfSP						
3sgvSP						
3sgeSP				-tyaŋ		-wint <sup>y</sup> a
1d1SP				-tiyaŋ		-int <sup>y</sup> a
1icSP						
1exSP						
2p1SP						
3p1SP	-yuwa	-yo	-yaŋin <sup>y</sup>	-tiyaŋ	-niyaŋ	-int <sup>y</sup> a

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 <sup>y</sup> urupat	1*2345*6(*)	attempt to fly (of a young bird)

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

Paradigm 1. Past

205.	ŋa	wuřma	ayuwa
	1sgSP	stand up	1sgSP.6(past)
		<i>I stood up.</i>	

206.	nöntön	t <sup>y</sup> et	nuntyuwa
	3sgfSP	be born	3sgfSP.6(past)
		<i>She was born.</i>	

Paradigm 2. Present

207.	meŋkit <sup>y</sup> meŋkit <sup>y</sup>	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 <sup>y</sup> a	wuřma	yöyö
	man	stand up	3sgmSP.6(pres)
		<i>The man stands up.</i>	

209. wak kuřkuřma wöyö  
 water pull.pull.cnt 3sgmSP.6(pres)

*The current is strong.*

210. t<sup>y</sup>aŋar t<sup>y</sup>et möyö  
 spear stand 3sgvSP.6(pres)

*The spear stands up.*

### Paradigm 3. Progressive

211. yöntön pařatt<sup>y</sup>et yiyanin<sup>y</sup>  
 3sgmSP get up.stand 3sgmSP.6(progr)

*He used to stand up.*

212. man wönatt<sup>y</sup>et wiyaŋin<sup>y</sup>ařin<sup>y</sup>wörö  
 stomach bad.stand 3sgmSP.6(progr).1sgOP.3p1OP

*I am sorry for them.*

213. t<sup>y</sup>öŋ pařkt<sup>y</sup>et wiyaŋin<sup>y</sup>  
 tree grow 3sgvSP.6(progr)

*The tree is growing.*

### Paradigm 4. Purposive

214. ŋa wuřma atiyaŋ  
 1sgSP stand up 1sgSP.6(purp)

*I'm going to stand up.*

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

*Get up!*

### Paradigm 5. Future

216. ŋa pařat aniyaŋka  
 1sgSP get up 1sgSP.6(fut)

*I will get up.*

217. yin<sup>y</sup>a muřma wiřiniyaŋka  
 man dance.contin. 3plSP.6(fut)

*The men will dance (in the speaker's vicinity).*

Paradigm 6. Subjunctive

218. waŋaři wuřma niwin<sup>y</sup>t<sup>y</sup>a ŋa wuřma  
 2sgSP stand up 2sgSP.6(subj) 1sgSP stand up  
 atiyaŋ  
 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<sup>10</sup> 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<sup>y</sup>et*, 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:

mi\* tap wöřö  
 food(veg) grab 3plSP.5(pres)

<sup>10</sup>

For example, *t<sup>y</sup>alkyur nönyö*  
*bend over 2sg/3sgfSP.5(pres): 'She/you (sg) bend*  
*over*

becomes, with the selection of Conjugation 2 plus deictic:

*t<sup>y</sup>alkyurali nunta*  
*bend over.ptcpl. 2sg/3sgfSP.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, *muřma* "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: *nön.töma* (purposive); *nö.wöntön* (sequential);  
*nu.wuntuwa* (subjunctive);

Conj. 2: *nu.ɲun<sup>y</sup>* (progressive); *nun.tuɲ* (purposive);  
*nu.nuɲ(ka)* (future);

Conj. 3: *nöm.pöřa* (present); *num.puřa* (past); *nön.töřaɲ*  
(purposive); *nöm.pöřen<sup>y</sup>* (progressive);  
*nö.nöřaɲka* (future);

Conj. 4: *nu.nuwa* (past); *nönö* (present); *ni.niɲin<sup>y</sup>*  
(progressive); *nin.tini* (purposive); *ni.niwa*  
(future);

Conj. 5: *nun.yuwa* (past); *nön.yö* (present); *nön.yöɲun<sup>y</sup>*  
(progressive); *nön.täyuɲ* (purposive);  
*nö.nöyuɲ(ka)* (future);

Conj. 6: *nunt.yuwa* (past); *nönt.yö* (present); *nin.tiyaɲ*  
(purposive); *ni.niyaɲ* (future);

*The subjunctive of conjugations 2, 5 and 6: ni.win<sup>y</sup>t<sup>y</sup>a; and of  
Conjugation 4: ni.winin<sup>y</sup>t<sup>y</sup>a.*

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<sup>y</sup>* (punctiliar); *wö.wöntön* (sequential);  
*wu.wuntuwa* (subjunctive);

Conj. 2: *yu.ɲun<sup>y</sup>* (progressive);

Conj. 3: *yö.wöřa* (present); *yu.wura* (past); *yön.pöřaŋ*  
(purposive); *yö.wöřen<sup>y</sup>* (progressive);  
*yö.nöřaŋ* (future);

Conj. 4: *yu.nuwa* (past); *yö.nö* (present); *yi.niŋin<sup>y</sup>*  
(progressive); *yi.ni* (purposive); *yi.niwa*  
(future);

Conj. 5: *yu.yuwa* (past); *yö.yö* (present); *yö.yöŋun<sup>y</sup>*  
(progressive); *yö.nöyuŋ(ka)* (future);  
*wi.winyt<sup>y</sup>a* (subjunctive);

Conj. 6: *yu.yuwa* (past); *yö.yö* (present);  
*yi.niyaŋka* (future).

*The subjunctive of Conjugations 2, 5 and 6: wi.win<sup>y</sup>t<sup>y</sup>a; and  
of Conjugation 4: wi.winin<sup>y</sup>t<sup>y</sup>a.*



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<sup>y</sup>* (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<sup>y</sup>t<sup>y</sup>a;*  
*and of Conjugation 4: wi.winin<sup>y</sup>t<sup>y</sup>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.ŋun<sup>y</sup>* (progressive); *mun.puŋ* (purposive);

Conj. 3: *mö.wöřa* (present); *mu.wuřa* (past);  
*mön.pöřaŋ* (purposive); *mö.wöřen<sup>y</sup>* (progressive);  
*mö.nöřaŋ* (future);

Conj. 4: *mu.nuwa* (past); *mö.nö* (present); *mi.niŋin<sup>y</sup>*  
 (progressive); *mi.ni* (purposive);  
*mi.niwa* (future);

Conj. 5: *mu.yuwa* (past); *mö.yö* (present); *mö.yöŋun<sup>y</sup>*  
 (progressive); *mö.nöyuŋka* (future);

Conj. 6: *mu.yuwa* (past); *mö.yö* (present); *mi.niyaŋka*  
 (future).

*The subjunctive paradigms of Conjugations 2, 5 and 6:*

*mi.win<sup>y</sup>t<sup>y</sup>a*; and that of Conj. 4: *mi.win<sup>y</sup>t<sup>y</sup>a*.

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.ŋun<sup>y</sup>* (progressive); *wun.puŋ* (purposive);

Conj. 3: *wö.wöřa* (present); *wu.wuřa* (past);  
*wö.npöřaŋ* (future);

Conj. 4: *wu.nuwa* (past); *wö.nö* (present);  
*wi.niŋin<sup>y</sup>* (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, 5 and 6: wi.win<sup>y</sup>t<sup>y</sup>a; and that of Conj. 4: wi.win<sup>y</sup>t<sup>y</sup>a.*

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:

	<u>Purposive</u>	<u>Future</u>
<u>Person Markers</u>		
<u>3sgmSP</u>		
Conj. 2	yön-	yö-
Conj. 3	yön-	yö-
Conj. 5	yön-	yö-
Conj. 6	yin	yi-
	<u>Tense Markers</u>	
Conj. 2	-puŋ	-nuŋka
Conj. 3	-pöřaŋ	-nöřaŋka
Conj. 5	-yuŋ	-nöyuŋ
Conj. 6	-tyaŋ	-niyaŋka

3.18.8 1d1SP 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) /ř/ which is in turn, in most cases followed by a dorso-velar or apico-alveolar stop: ařk- ařt-. In the cases where the vibrant (flapped) /ř/ is not followed by a stop<sup>11</sup> 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:

licSP	ař-	ař-	ař-	ař-
lexSP	at-	at-	at-	at-
	(Past)	(Present)	(Progressive)	(Purposive)

Where the vibrant (flapped) /ř/ 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) /ř/ 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) /ř/ can be followed by a high, mid or low vowel. Whenever

<sup>11</sup>

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 (1sgSP) *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) /ɣ/ of the first person inclusive marker is followed by a dorso-velar stop (*aɣk-*) the initial /a/ of the first person exclusive marker, in the *past*, *present* and *progressive* paradigms of Conjugations 3 and 5, in the *punctiliar* and *sequential* paradigms of Conjugation 1, and in the *progressive* paradigm of Conjugation 2 will be followed by a vibrant (flapped) /ɣ/. The second person plural and third person plural markers of these paradigms are also characterized by the ɣ-form. If, however, the vibrant (flapped) /ɣ/ of the first person inclusive marker is immediately followed by an apico-alveolar stop (*aɣt-*), 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) /ɣ̣/ of the first person *inclusive* marker is followed by an apico-alveolar stop the first person *exclusive* marker is not *at-* but *aɣ̣-*, thereby distinguishing the first person exclusive of these paradigms (*aɣ̣uwa* and *aɣ̣ö*, respectively) from that in the corresponding paradigms of Conjugation 6 (*atyuwa* and *atyö*, respectively).

3.18.11 2p1SP 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) /ɣ̣/ (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) /ɣ̣/ 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) / $\check{r}$ / of the first person inclusive marker is followed by a dorso-velar stop the second person plural marker will be characterized by an  $\check{r}$ -form. Alternatively, if the vibrant (flapped)/ $\check{r}$ / 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  $r$ -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) / $\check{r}$ / 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) / $\check{r}$ / (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) / $\check{r}$ / 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) /ɣ/ 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 infixes between the person marker and the vowel-initial tense-marker.

Thus, the first person singular:

a- + -öntön > awöntön,

or the second person singular:

nö- + -öntön > 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 > aŋköntön

or first person exclusive:

ař- + -öntön > ařöntön

A bilabial semi-consonant is, likewise, infixes 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:

a + -untuwa > awuntuwa

or the second person singular

nu + -untuwa > nuwuntuwa

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

aŋk + -untuwa > aŋkuntuwa

or the first person inclusive:

aŋk- + -untuwa > aŋkuntuwa

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

a- + -inin<sup>y</sup>t<sup>y</sup>a      awinin<sup>y</sup>t<sup>y</sup>a

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

wi- + -inin<sup>y</sup>t<sup>y</sup>a > wiwin<sup>y</sup>t<sup>y</sup>a

while the first person dual is :

aŋk- + -inin<sup>y</sup>t<sup>y</sup>a > aŋkinin<sup>y</sup>t<sup>y</sup>a

and the second person plural is:

niŋki- + -inin<sup>y</sup>t<sup>y</sup>a > niŋkiŋinin<sup>y</sup>t<sup>y</sup>a

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

The first person singular

a- + -in<sup>y</sup>t<sup>y</sup>a > awin<sup>y</sup>t<sup>y</sup>a

or the third person singular *vegetative*:

mi- + -in<sup>y</sup>t<sup>y</sup>a > miwin<sup>y</sup>t<sup>y</sup>a

while the first person dual is:

aŋk- + -in<sup>y</sup>t<sup>y</sup>a > aŋkin<sup>y</sup>t<sup>y</sup>a

and the first person exclusive is:

aŋ- + -in<sup>y</sup>t<sup>y</sup>a > aŋin<sup>y</sup>t<sup>y</sup>a

### 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 intervocalically 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 eyma  
*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 wuwuntuwařin<sup>y</sup> takna  
 3sgfSP speak 3sgfSP.1(subj).1sgOP.foc

*She would have spoken to me.*

222. parakut kiman<sup>y</sup> pak wuttuwakna  
*white man* ss.dpf *sit* splSP.4(past).foc

*White men stayed here.*

223. aņuntu t<sup>y</sup>eřat 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<sup>y</sup> ȳa te aȳma  
 adv(recip).dpf(neg) meat give.cnt  
 wiwin<sup>y</sup> ařin<sup>y</sup> t<sup>y</sup> akna<sup>12</sup> anti akana  
 3sgmSP.2(subj).1sgOP.foc adv(recip) adv(neg)  
 aȳ anuȳn<sup>ö</sup>wakka  
 give 1sgSP.2(fut).3sgmOP.foc

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

<sup>12</sup>

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:

225. *yöntön mi                      ɲak                      wöwöntöna*  
           3sgmSP *food(veg) eat (non-meat) wöwöntöta*  
           *He eats/ate (veg) food.*                      3sgmSP.1(sequ).foc
226. *ɲa            pi    aɲun<sup>y</sup>na*  
           1sgSP *go* 1sgSP.2(progr).foc  
           *I'm on my way.*
227. *tɛ            lak                      aɲkun<sup>y</sup>na*  
           *meat eat(meat) licSP.1(punct).foc*  
           *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*).

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

For example, the *future* paradigm of Conjugation 1:

228. *mi                      ɲak                      anmawa*  
           *food(veg) eat(non-meat) 1sgSP.1(fut)*  
           *I will eat (veg) food.*

and:

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because of the presence of Conjugation 2 (fut) in the reciprocal sentence. Moreover, the person marker *wi-* 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 *anuɲnöwakka*.

229. *mi*                    *aŋ*     *anmanöwa*  
           *food(veg)*        *give*    1sgSP.1(fut).3sgmOP  
                               *I will give him food.*

as opposed to:

230. \**mi*                    *aŋ*     *anmawanö*

The *future* paradigm of *Conjugation 2*:

231. *pi*    *aŋkanuŋka*  
           *go*    1d1SP.2(fut)  
                               *You and I will go.*

and

232. *tey<sup>m</sup>a*                *aŋkanuŋŋayiwa*  
           *wait.cnt*    1d1SP.2(fut).3sgfOP  
                               *You and I will wait for her.*

as opposed to:

233. \**tey<sup>m</sup>a*                *aŋkanuŋkaŋayi*

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 (*-ařin<sup>y</sup>*) 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. tɛy<sup>m</sup>a      yönuŋařin<sup>y</sup>t<sup>y</sup>a  
 wait.cnt    3sgmSP.2(fut).1sgOP

*He will wait for me.*

235. mi            aŋ      yinmařin<sup>y</sup>t<sup>y</sup>a  
 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<sup>y</sup>a*:

*Purposive:*

236. mi            aŋ      yinmařin<sup>y</sup>  
 food(veg)    give    3sgmSP.1(purp).1sgOP

*He is going to give me (veg) food.*

*Future:*

237. mi            aŋ      nunmařin<sup>y</sup>t<sup>y</sup>a  
 food(veg)    give    3sgfSP.1(fut).1sgOP

*She will give me (veg) food.*

Purposive:

238. mi aŋ nunmařin<sup>y</sup>  
 food(veg) give 3sgfSP.1(purp)1sgOP  
*She is going to give me (veg) food.*

-ka }  
 -wa } > -t<sup>y</sup>a following the lamino-alveolar nasal of  
 the first person-singular object pronoun.

From the future paradigm of Conjugation 3:

239. yöntön t<sup>y</sup>eyantak yönöřaŋka  
 3sgmSP hear/listen 3sgmSP.3(fut)  
*He will go on listening.*

and:

240. yöntön t<sup>y</sup>eyantak yönöřaŋnōwa  
 3sgmSP hear/listen 3sgmSP.3(fut).3sgmOP  
*He will go on listening to him.*

as opposed to:

241. \*yöntön t<sup>y</sup>eyantak yönöřaŋkanö

From the past paradigm of Conjugation 4:

242. aŋ pak anuwa  
 1sgSP sit 1sgSP.4(past)  
*I sat down.*



and:

243.    tε       aŋma        anunöwa  
           meat   give.cnt   1sgSP.4(past).3sgmOP  
           I was giving him meat.

as opposed to:

244.    \*tε    aŋma    anuwanö

From the past paradigm of Conjugation 5:

245.    wöřöntön    ŋuřŋut    wuřuwa  
           3plSP       sleep    3plSP.5(past)  
           They slept.

246.    tε       kölpma        wuřuŋayiwa  
           meat   roast.cnt   3plSP.5(past).3sgfOP  
           They were roasting meat for her.

as opposed to:

247.    \*tε    kölpma    wuřuwaŋayi

From the past paradigm of Conjugation 6:

248.    wöřöntön    t<sup>y</sup>εřat        wutyuwa  
           3plSP       born(plS)    3plSP.6(past)  
           They were born.

249.    wöřöntön    εyma        wutyunöwa  
           3plSP       spear.cnt    3plSP.6(past).3sgmOP  
           They were spearing him.

as opposed to:

250.    \*wöřöntön    εyma    wutyuwanö

*Deictic affixes suffixable to the auxiliaries.*

3.19.4    -(a)nki(na) and -ŋa 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. *pulit<sup>y</sup> pak yönönkina*  
*old man sit down 3sgmSP.4(pres).dc.loc*

*The old man sits down over here.*

253. *pulit<sup>y</sup> 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 yönpuḡanki*  
*come 3sgmSP.2(purp).dc*

*Let him come over here.*

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

255. *pi yitaḡa*  
*go 3sgmSP.2(pres/past).dc*

*He went over there.*

256. *waḡaři pi nuntuḡa*  
*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 *-ḡa*, but not *-(a)nki(na)*. Furthermore, *-ḡa* is suffixed not to the auxiliary but to the verb root.

257. numuřu kařturukŋa ayanö  
 eye poke out.dc 1sgSP.1(punct).3sgmOP  
*I poked his eyes out over there.*

or

258. tε t<sup>y</sup>εřin<sup>y</sup> tatŋa ayanö  
 clf goanna find.dc 1sgSP.1(punct).3sgmOP  
*I found a goanna over there.*

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

*wiřkŋa*  
*finish.dc*

### 3.20 Affixes prefixable to Verb Root

- 3.20.1 *par-*: *elsewhere* (with the derived meaning: *wrong place*).

259. yeřa parwuřkamma wutta  
 adv dc.work.cnt 3p1SP.2(pres/past)  
*At that point in time they were working elsewhere.*

260. akana pi attuŋ tek yawuk  
 adv(neg) go lexSP.2(purp) country adj  
 part<sup>y</sup>urkmanö  
 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 lup-: together

262. luppkali aŋtini  
 together.sit.ptcpl licSP.4(purp)  
*We'll all sit together.*
263. lupyrali aŋtöyüŋ  
 together.lie.ptcpl licSP.5(purp)  
*We'll all lie together.*
264. lupt<sup>y</sup>çŋatali aŋtiyaŋ  
 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 t<sup>y</sup>intaŋ  
 v. 2.14.1):-

266. t<sup>y</sup>öŋ taŋt<sup>y</sup>et wiyaŋin<sup>y</sup>  
 tree dc.stand 3sgSP.6(progr)  
*The tree is still there.*

3.21 Affixes suffixable to the Verb Root:

- 3.21.1 -nö when suffixed to a verb root acquires an  
 Intentive force (v. 4.14.1):

267. ḡöyö ka yönuḡka watwatmanö  
 ts come 3sgmSP.2(fut) fish.int  
*Tomorrow he will come to fish.*

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

268. t<sup>y</sup>öḡ tuḡpmatɛlk wönpuḡ  
 wood catch fire.cnt.possib 3sgSP.2(purp)  
*Wood might catch fire.*

269. yin<sup>y</sup>a ḡiḡkpuk yinma  
 man die.possib 3sgmSP.1(purp)  
*Man might die.*

270. wi lamtɛlk atuḡḡayi  
 fight talk.possib 1sgSP.2(purp).3sgfOP  
*I might have an argument with her.*

271. te ma ɛypuk atöma  
 clf wallaby kill.possib 1sgSP.1(purp)  
*I might kill wallaby.*

272. wakyɛn tutmatɛlk  
 water.comit caus.cnt.possib  
*Might get wet.*

3.21.3 -ma. -ma is a continuative suffix.

273. Mission-na pima aḡun<sup>y</sup>  
 Mission.loc go.cnt 1sgSP.2(progr)  
*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. yin<sup>y</sup>a ŋiřk yimin<sup>y</sup>  
*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* + *Conj.* 4 *Sit down.*

*pak.ma* + *Conj.* 2 *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. *yeři puluma wöyö*  
*track dust(NP).cnt 3sgeSP.5(pres)*

*The track is dusty.*

280. *ŋa leřpma aŋun<sup>y</sup>*  
*1sgSP hot(A).cnt 1sgSP.2(progr)*

*I am hot.*

281. *ŋa tumuřkma aŋun<sup>y</sup>*  
*1sgSP cold(A).cnt 1sgSP.2(progr)*

*I am cold.*

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

282 *eyali yita*  
*spear.ptcpl 3sgmSP.2(pres/past)*

*He is/was wounded.*

283. *yeřaman<sup>y</sup> puřpali wöyö*  
*adv.dpf burn.ptcpl 3sgeSP.6(pres)*<sup>13</sup>

*There is already a fire.*

284. *te yeřaman<sup>y</sup> ŋöyatali yöyö*  
*meat adv.dpf cook.ptcpl 3sgmSP.5(pres)*<sup>14</sup>

*Meat is already cooked.*

<sup>13</sup>

*Fire* is thought of as *standing up*: hence, Conjugation 6.

<sup>14</sup>

*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<sup>y</sup>εt* (*t<sup>y</sup>εřat* with a plural subject, v. 3.24.1) the participle-formation is supplemented by the prefixation of *ap-*:

<i>appakali</i>	<i>sitting</i>
<i>apyurali</i>	<i>lying</i>
<i>apt<sup>y</sup>εřatali</i>	<i>standing</i>

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

285. <i>yönö</i>	<i>appakali</i>	<i>he is sitting down all the time</i>	
	<i>yöyö</i>	<i>apyurali</i>	<i>he is lying down all the time</i>
	<i>wötyö</i>	<i>apt<sup>y</sup>εřätali</i>	<i>they are standing up all the time.</i>

### 3.22 -*man<sup>y</sup>*

-*man<sup>y</sup>* is a suffix with the basic meaning "departing from". Its functions include *relative* (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<sup>y</sup>* can be suffixed to a verb root or to *auxiliary conjugation 4*. The highly restricted distribution of -*man<sup>y</sup>* 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. <i>yin<sup>y</sup>a</i>	<i>wöttö</i>	<u><i>man<sup>y</sup></i></u>	<i>mi</i>
	(initiated) <i>man</i>	3plSP.4(pres).dpf	clf
<i>tiŋkiři</i>	<i>möřpmöřpma</i>	<i>wöttö</i>	
<i>bush-apple</i>	<i>munch.cnt</i>	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)

287. muta ki yönöman<sup>y</sup>t<sup>y</sup>a                    tε    wat  
 ts    ss    3sgmSP.4(pres).dpf    meat    send  
 yimin<sup>y</sup>  
 3sgmSP.1(punct)

*Later this (fellow) here sent the meat.*

288. payp wurkman<sup>y</sup>    awuntuwa                    waka  
 pipe    fill.dpf    1sgSP.1(subj)    bring  
 awin<sup>y</sup>t<sup>y</sup>a                    kina            arpuŋ    anmawa  
 1sgSP.2(subj)    ss.loc    smoke    1sgSP.1(punct)

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

289. lakma                    yita                                    lakma.  
 eat(meat)                    3sgmSP.2(pres/past)eat(meat).cnt  
 yita                                    ŋalkman<sup>y</sup>                    tikpi  
 3sgmSP.2(pres/past)    full up.dpf    3sg.SP.2(pres/past)  
 yita  
 3sg.SP.2(pres/past)

*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 yönükkakka

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

*He will not be coming back.*

292. tiḡkiri muḡtan

*bush-apple ripe.*

*The bush apples aren't ripe.*

293. te ḡöyatalitan

*meat cook.ptcpl.av*

*The meat isn't cooked yet.*

294. ḡetanma 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. yöntön tatwur wöwöntön

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

*He found nothing.*

297. nöntön peḡatwur wöwöntön

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

*She digs and gets nothing.*

298. tatwur ayanunu  
 see.av 1sgSP.1(punct).2sgOP

*You were missing.*

3.23.3 -man<sup>y</sup>ŋa

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

1. The suffix -man<sup>y</sup> ("departing from") has an implicitly *negative* meaning which remains merely latent in the *relative* and *foregrounding* functions (v. 3.22; 3.27.12). For example, when -man<sup>y</sup> is suffixed to the reciprocal adverb *anti* it has an explicitly negative function; -man<sup>y</sup> is in free variation with -man<sup>y</sup>ŋa in this particular environment.

299. ŋun anuwaman<sup>y</sup>ŋa  
 ss 1sgSP.4(past).neg.dc

*I wasn't there.*

300. [yiniwaman<sup>y</sup>ηa] [tɛnö pi yönuŋka]  
 3sgmSP.4(purp).neg meat.int go 3sgmSP.2(fut)

*He won't be here; he's going hunting.*

antiman<sup>y</sup>/antiman<sup>y</sup>ηa has the following restricted distribution: it only occurs sentence-initially with the governing auxiliary in the *subjunctive* mood:

301. antiman<sup>y</sup> }  
 antiman<sup>y</sup>ηa } tɛ aŋma  
 adv(recip).dpf(neg) meat give.cnt  
 wiwin<sup>y</sup>ařin<sup>y</sup>t<sup>y</sup>akna anti akana  
 3sgmSP.2(subj).1sgOP.foc adv(recip) adv(neg)  
 aŋ anuŋnöwakka  
 give 1sgSP.2(fut).3sgmOP.foc

*He wouldn't give me meat so I won't give him (any).*

302. antiman<sup>y</sup> }  
 antiman<sup>y</sup>ηa } tɛ aŋma  
 adv(recip).dpf(neg) meat give.cnt  
 wiwin<sup>y</sup>ařin<sup>y</sup>t<sup>y</sup>akna tɛ 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 *relative* and *foregrounding* functions of *-man<sup>y</sup>* 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<sup>y</sup>* in either its *foregrounding* function, for example, or its *negative* function:

303. *alalk yikpiman<sup>y</sup>                    ɲatankat<sup>y</sup> yuyuwa*  
*child little(sgm).dpf wrong                    3sgmSP.6(past)*

*The little boy was wrong.*

304. *alalk yikpiman<sup>y</sup>ɲa                    waʔatpi*  
*child little(sgm).dpf(neg) walkabout.go*  
*yita*  
*3sgmSP.2(pres/past)*

*The big boy goes/went walkabout.*

Similarly, *-man<sup>y</sup>* can be suffixed to *Auxiliary Conjugation 4* in either its *foregrounding* or its *negative* function:

305. [*ki                    nönöman<sup>y</sup>                    alawarman<sup>y</sup>*]  
*ss                    3sgfSP.4(pres).dpf woman.dpf*  
 [*akana                    tɛylamma                    nunta*]  
*adv (neg) wait.talk.cnt 3sgfSP.2(pres/past)*

*This woman here is not waiting to talk.*

306. *alawar nönöman<sup>y</sup>ɲa*  
*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).*

<i>lamlam</i>	<i>talk</i>
<i>pit<sup>y</sup>pit<sup>y</sup></i>	<i>rub firesticks</i>
<i>puʔuŋpuʔuŋ</i>	<i>boil</i>
<i>taratarar</i>	<i>knock (on door)</i>
<i>tarattarat</i>	<i>watch</i>
<i>tɛlkɲatɛlkɲa</i>	<i>singe hair off wallaby</i>

tuytuy	stretch (intr.)
t <sup>y</sup> ölt <sup>y</sup> öl	dust something down
t <sup>y</sup> urt <sup>y</sup> ut	leak
tultul	get angry
mirmir	melt
yakayyakay	scream
ar; arar	dry
gakgak	eat (a lot)
. . .	

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<sup>15</sup> and of the second vowel of a di-syllable. *Partial reduplication* also typically involves the introduction of a liquid between the reduplicated vowels.<sup>15a</sup> This liquid is usually either a *continuant r* or a *vibrant ř*. 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* intervocalically, e.g. *larap: tie*, or if a monosyllable has a *continuant r*

<sup>15</sup>

The only recorded exception to the *vocalic reduplication* rule is t<sup>y</sup>εt > t<sup>y</sup>εřat : *stand/be born*. *kupuk* > *kuwpuk* has already been mentioned (v. Chapter 1, fn. 2)

<sup>15a</sup> t<sup>y</sup>εn<sup>y</sup> > t<sup>y</sup>εn<sup>y</sup>εn<sup>y</sup> constitutes an exception to this principle.

or a vibrant  $\check{r}$  as the first consonant of a two-consonant cluster, e.g. *kark: proceed yařp: 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.*

<i>lie down</i>	<i>yur</i>	<i>yurur</i>	pl	S
<i>stand/be born</i>	$t^y\epsilon t$	$t^y\epsilon\check{r}at$	pl	S
<i>take out</i>	<i>karkwat</i>	<i>kararkwarat</i>	pl	O
<i>cut</i>	$t^yurp$	$t^yu\check{r}urp$	pl	O
(1) <i>bury</i>	} $t^yurk$	$t^yu\check{r}urk$	pl	O
(2) <i>enter</i>			pl	S
<i>get up</i>	<i>parat</i>	<i>pařarat</i>	pl	O
<i>cause</i>	<i>tut</i>	<i>turut</i>	pl	S
<i>eat(meat)</i>	<i>lak</i>	<i>larak</i>	pl	O
<i>talk</i>	<i>lam</i>	<i>laram</i>	pl	S
<i>walkabout</i>	<i>wařat</i>	<i>wařarat</i>	pl	S
<i>hit</i>	$tat^y$	$tarat^y$	pl	O
<i>grow up</i>	<i>tik</i>	<i>tirik(+ Conj.</i>	pl	S
<i>lie down</i>	<i>tikal</i>	<i>tikalal</i>	pl	S
<i>make</i>	$t^y\epsilon n^y$	$t^y\epsilon n^y\epsilon n^y$	pl	O
<i>grab</i>	<i>tap</i>	<i>tarap</i>	pl	O
<i>pluck</i>	$t^yukat^y$	$t^yukarat^y$	pl	O
<i>name/mention</i>	<i>niwat</i>	<i>niwarat</i>	pl	O
<i>dive</i>	<i>kupuk</i>	<i>kuwpuk</i>	pl	S
<i>bind</i>	<i>larap</i>	<i>lararp</i>	pl	O
<i>swim</i>	<i>wil</i>	<i>wilil</i>		
<i>rub</i>	<i>yařp</i>	<i>yařarp</i>	pl	O



<i>load (into canoe)</i>	<i>kulpat</i>	<i>kulparat</i>	pl	0
<i>go up</i>	<i>kark</i>	<i>karark</i>	pl	S
<i>break</i>	<i>tapak</i>	<i>tapořok</i>	pl	0
<i>find</i>	<i>tat</i>	<i>tarat</i>	pl	0
. . .				

3.25 *Compound Verb Roots.* The Lexical Verb in MalakMalak 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:

*t<sup>y</sup>alkyur* 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.

<i>tuřk.wat</i>	<i>drink.send</i>	:	<i>swallow</i>
<i>t<sup>y</sup>uřk.wat</i>	<i>enter.send</i>	:	<i>put inside</i>
<i>kat<sup>y</sup>.wat</i>	<i>throw.send</i>	:	<i>let go</i>
<i>aŋ.wat</i>	<i>give.send</i>	:	<i>send over</i>
<i>wa.kark.wat</i>	<i>pick up.come up.send</i>	:	<i>take out</i>
<i>wa.tik.pi</i>	<i>pick up.back.go</i>	:	<i>take back</i>
<i>tik.ka</i>	<i>back.come</i>	:	<i>come back</i>
<i>kat<sup>y</sup>.yi.pi</i>	<i>throw.leave.go</i>	:	<i>leave (tr)</i>
<i>kat.parar</i>	<i>play.around</i>	:	<i>play around</i>
<i>ŋalk.yur</i>	<i>full up.lie down</i>	:	<i>settle down</i>
<i>kař.lak</i>	<i>prod in ground.eat (meat)</i>	:	<i>pick out of ground (and) eat</i>

kal.t <sup>y</sup> εt	carry.stand	: carry on head
kuř.wa.pi	pull.pick up.go	: drag along
lam.t <sup>y</sup> ak	talk.stop	: stop
pin <sup>y</sup> .wa.ka	get water.pick up.come:	get water and bring it
pul <sup>y</sup> p.yur	extinguish.lie down:	die down (of fire)
tik.tat	back.look	: look back
pat.ka.wa	fly.come.pick up	: fly in (and) pick up

. . .

### 3.26 *The Morphology of Nouns and Lexical Adjectives.*

MalakMalak is a multiple-classifying language. *Noun-class* constitutes a sub-classification of the *word-class: 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. *mi* - is a free form classifying *plants and vegetable food*, which can occur as the generic noun for non-meat food.
2. *tε* - is a free form classifying *animals hunted for meat*, which can occur as the generic noun for meat itself.
3. *t<sup>y</sup>öŋ* - is a free form classifying *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*:

<i>mi yilik</i>	<i>lily-root</i>
<i>tε ma</i>	<i>wallaby</i>
<i>t<sup>y</sup>öŋ mařir</i>	<i>paper-bark tree (paperbark itself: <i>yeli</i>)</i>
<i>mantulma</i>	<i>heart</i>
<i>puntu</i>	<i>head</i>

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

<i>mi wöt</i>	<i>water cabbage</i>	}
<i>tε wöt</i>	<i>type of flatfish</i>	

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

*tε pit<sup>y</sup>ak* means both *bee* and *honey*.

Through mythological usage *pululuy* (*rainbow*) takes the classifier *tε* - *tε pululuy*. Because the banyan produces an edible fruit *pön<sup>y</sup>ö* (*banyan tree*) takes the classifier *mi*, as does *yařin<sup>y</sup>* (*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.	<i>yin<sup>y</sup>a</i>	<i>t<sup>y</sup>alk</i>	<i>yita</i>	<i>The man falls/fell</i>
	<i>man</i>	<i>fall</i>	<i>3sgmSP.2(pres/past)</i>	

<i>alawar</i>	<i>t<sup>y</sup>alk</i>	<i>nunta</i>	<i>The woman falls/fell</i>
<i>woman</i>	<i>fall</i>	<i>3sgfSP.2(pres/past)</i>	
<i>mi</i>	<i>t<sup>y</sup>alk</i>	<i>muta</i>	<i>The fruit falls/fell</i>
<i>food</i>	<i>fall</i>	<i>3sgvSP.2(pres/past)</i>	
<i>t<sup>y</sup>öŋ</i>	<i>t<sup>y</sup>alk</i>	<i>wuta</i>	<i>The tree falls/fell</i>
<i>tree</i>	<i>fall</i>	<i>3sgeSP.2(pres/past)</i>	

For a small set of lexical adjectives<sup>16</sup> 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):

<i>yunpayin - yinat</i>	<i>good - bad</i>
<i>yinali - yikpi</i>	<i>big - little</i>
<i>yinanki - yönörön</i>	<i>young - old</i>
<i>yint<sup>y</sup>εřik</i>	<i>short</i>

(The adjective *yint<sup>y</sup>εřik* (*short*) is the marked member of the *long/short* antithesis in that it is *morphologically* marked for concord, whereas *t<sup>y</sup>alala* (*long*) is invariable.)

<sup>16</sup>

A lexical adjective follows both the noun that it qualifies and any possessive adjective (v. 3.28) qualifying that noun

<i>t<sup>y</sup>aŋar</i>	<i>ŋa</i>	<i>t<sup>y</sup>alala</i>
<i>spear</i>	<i>1sgSP(Aposs)</i>	<i>long</i>
<i>My long spear</i>		

308. *Good:*
- yin*<sup>y</sup>*a* *yunpayin*  
*man* *good* (sgm)  
*alawar* *nunpayin*  
*woman* *good* (sgf)  
*mi* *munpayin*  
*(veg) food good* (sgv)  
*t*<sup>y</sup>*ö*<sub>ŋ</sub> *wunpayin*  
*tree good* (sge)

*Good-bad, big-little, and short* also have plural forms. <sup>17</sup>

Those for *yunpayin* are as follows:

- 309.
- yin*<sup>y</sup>*a* *yunpanpan*  
*man* *good*(plm)  
*alawar* *nunpanpan*  
*woman* *good* (plf)  
*mi* *yilik* *munpanpan*  
*clf* *lily-root good* (plv)  
*t*<sup>y</sup>*ö*<sub>ŋ</sub> *wunpanpan*  
*tree good* (ple)
310. *Bad:*
- yin*<sup>y</sup>*a* *yinat* (pl. *yinarat*)  
*man* *bad* (sgm)  
*alawar* *nönat* (pl. *nönařat*)  
*woman* *bad* (sgf)  
*mi* *mönat* (pl. *mönařat*)  
*food bad* (sgv)  
*t*<sup>y</sup>*ö*<sub>ŋ</sub> *wönat* (pl. *wönařat*)  
*tree bad* (sge)

<sup>17</sup> *t*<sup>y</sup>*alala*: *long* cannot express concord, but it does have a plural form: *t*<sup>y</sup>*ulu*.

311. *Big:*
- yin<sup>y</sup>a yinali (pl. yiner)  
 man big (sgm)  
 alawar nunali (pl. nuner)  
 woman big (sgf)  
 mi yilik munali (pl. muner)  
 clf lily-root big (sgv)  
 t<sup>y</sup>öŋ wunali (pl. wuner)  
 tree big (sge)
312. *Little:*
- yin<sup>y</sup>a yikpi (pl. yinmeyit<sup>y</sup>)  
 man little (sgm)  
 alawar nikpi (pl. ninmeyit<sup>y</sup>)  
 woman little (sgf)  
 t<sup>y</sup>aŋar mikpi (pl. minmeyit<sup>y</sup>)  
 spear small (sgv)  
 t<sup>y</sup>öŋ/walk wikpi (pl. winmeyit<sup>y</sup>)  
 tree/stone small (sge)
313. *Old:*
- yin<sup>y</sup>a yönörön  
 man old (sgm)  
 alawar nönörön  
 woman old (sgf)  
 t<sup>y</sup>aŋar mönörön  
 spear old (sgv)  
 t<sup>y</sup>öŋ wönörön  
 tree old (sge)
314. *New/Young*
- alalk yinanki muyin<sup>y</sup> yinanki  
 child young (sgm) dog young (sgm)  
 alalk nunanki  
 child young (sgf)

- t<sup>y</sup>aŋar munanki  
 spear new (sgv)  
 t<sup>y</sup>öŋ wunanki  
 tree new (sge)
315. *Short:*
- yin<sup>y</sup>a yint<sup>y</sup>εřik (pl. yönt<sup>y</sup>öřök)  
 man short (sgm)  
 alawar nint<sup>y</sup>εřik (pl. nönt<sup>y</sup>öřök)  
 woman short (sgf)  
 t<sup>y</sup>a ar mint<sup>y</sup>εřik (pl. mönt<sup>y</sup>öřök)  
 spear short (sgv)  
 t<sup>y</sup>öŋ wint<sup>y</sup>εřik (pl. wönt<sup>y</sup>öřök)  
 tree short (sge)

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).*

316. ŋa t<sup>y</sup>εt yönörön  
 1sgSP parent old  
*My old father.*
- tε yunpayin  
 meat good (sgm)  
 karala yunpayin yita  
 body good (sgm) 3sgmSP.2(pres/past)  
*He's happy.*
- wal<sup>y</sup>impa yikpi  
 axe small (sgm)  
 kurmin<sup>y</sup> yinali  
 single hook-spear big (sgm)

pirpɛn                      yinat  
*shovel-nosed spear bad*(sgm)  
 mata    yinali  
*rain big* (sgm)  
 ŋampat<sup>y</sup>    yinali  
*tide big* (sgm)

The semantic field of nouns taking *n-concord* includes:  
*female humans (and animals); the sun and stars.*

317.    wiyaŋ    nönörön  
*mother old* (sgf)  
 miři    nunpayin  
*sun good* (sgf)  
 nömöröl    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    mun<sup>y</sup>t<sup>y</sup>alk    munanki  
 clf    lily              young(sgv)  
 pön<sup>y</sup>    munali  
*belly big* (sgv)  
 ŋantilk    mönat  
*tongue bad* (sgv) (i.e. sore tongue)  
 man<sup>y</sup>ik    petiřk    munali  
*adam's apple big* (sgv)



maparak	mönat
(long) mangrove spear	bad (sgv)
mε̣rmöt	mönat
fishing spear	bad (sgv)
t <sup>y</sup> inparaŋ	mönat
stone spear	bad (sgv)
yεn	mönörön
yam-stick	old (sgv)
ŋuluk	mönörön
language	old (sgv)
mařin <sup>y</sup>	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)
t <sup>y</sup> öŋ	wunpayin
fire	good (sge)
waliwali	wunali
river	big (sge)
tεk	wunali
country	big (sge)
yεři	wunpayin?
road	good (sge)

walk            wikpi  
 stone/hill    little (sge)  
 pantan        wikpi  
 stone axe    small (sge)  
 pεpεma    wunali  
 wind        big (sge)  
 t<sup>y</sup>öŋ    wunali  
 fire        big (sge)  
 "shot gun"  
 t<sup>y</sup>öŋ    wikpi  
 fire little (sge)  
 "22"  
 t<sup>y</sup>öŋ    win<sup>y</sup>t<sup>y</sup>εřik  
 fire        short (sge)  
 revolver  
 yint<sup>y</sup>in    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. ŋan is a free comparative particle that immediately precedes the word class that it modifies (v. 2.16).

320. walk kiwa [ɲan lapař] wuta  
 stone ss.foc ptcl(comp) light 3sgeSP.2(pres/  
 yawuk t<sup>y</sup>uřma wöyö past)  
 other heavy.cnt 3sgeSP.5/6(pres)

*This stone's lighter than that one.*

321. [ɲan kakak] pi aŋkatuŋ  
 ptcl(comp) ss go 1d1SP.2(purp)

*Let's (dl.) go a bit further.*

322. t<sup>y</sup>aŋar [ɲan mint<sup>y</sup>εřik]  
 spear ptcl(comp) short(sgv)

*The shorter spear.*

323. t<sup>y</sup>aŋar ki [ɲan t<sup>y</sup>alala] t<sup>y</sup>aŋar ɲa  
 spear ss ptcl(comp) long spear 1sgSP  
 mint<sup>y</sup>εřik  
 short(sgv)

*This spear is longer than my spear.*

324. yöntön [ɲan wan<sup>y</sup>ařa] pi yita  
 3sgmSP ptcl(comp) adv go 3sgmSP.2(pres/  
 past)

*He is/was moving more slowly.*

325. t<sup>y</sup>εřin<sup>y</sup> ki [ɲan yunpayin] yinɲi  
 goanna ss ptcl(comp) good(sgm) salt-water  
 ɲun yinat crocodile  
 ss bad

*This goanna is better than that salt-water  
 crocodile.*

326. mi [ɲan mikpi] aŋařin<sup>y</sup>  
 food ptcl(comp) little(sgv) give.1sgOP

*Give me less food.*

3.27.12  $-man^y\eta a$ . If  $-man^y\eta a$  is suffixed to an adjective it transforms the adjective into its antithesis. (Cp. the function of  $-man^y\eta a$  as a negation marker in the verb complex v. 3.23.3)

327.  $t\epsilon k$   $wikpiman^y\eta a$   $w\ddot{o}n\ddot{o}$   
*camp little(sgv).dpf(neg) 3sgSP.4(pres)*

*A big camp.*

328.  $mi$   $m\ddot{o}natman^y\eta a$   
*food bad(sgv).dpf(neg)*

*Good food.*

329.  $mawun^y$   $waky\epsilon nman^y\eta a$   
*clothes water.comit.dpf(neg)*

*Dry clothes.*

330.  $t^y a\eta ar$   $munankiman^y\eta a$   
*spear new(sgv).dpf(neg)*

*Old spear.*

331.  $walk$   $lapa\check{r}man^y\eta a$   
*stone light.dpf(neg)*

*A heavy stone.*

In certain environments  $-man^y\eta a$  can carry the sense of excess. For example, the question

332.  $t^y a\eta ar$   $ki$   $anta?$

*(Is) this spear alright?*

could be answered with the following retort:

333.  $mint^y e\check{r}ikman^y\eta a!$

*Too long!*

or 334.  $t^y alalaman^y\eta a!$

*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<sup>y</sup>ŋa:*

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 t<sup>y</sup>et*

*woman leg*                      *woman's leg*

337. *ŋa nan<sup>y</sup>ilk*

*1sgSP hand*                      *my hand*

338. *mu t<sup>y</sup>iřmin<sup>y</sup>*

*goose egg*                      *goose egg*

339. *yin<sup>y</sup>a puntu*

*man head*                      *man's head*

340. *yöntön mɛlt<sup>y</sup>et*

*3sgmSP parent*                      *his parent*

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

341. *muyin<sup>y</sup> yin<sup>y</sup>anö*  
*dog man.poss*

*Man's dog.*

342. *t<sup>y</sup>aŋar niyeŋinnö*  
*spear young man.poss*

*Young man's spear.*

343. *t<sup>y</sup>oŋnö*  
*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:<sup>18</sup>

<sup>18</sup>

Cf. what Capell (1956) called the *bivalent* suffix *-ku*.

345. te manö pi anuŋka  
 clf wallaby.int go 1sgSP.2(fut)

*I will go for wallaby.*

346. ŋöyö ka yönunŋka watwatmanö  
 ds(ts) come 3sgSP.2(fut) fish.cnt.int

*Tomorrow he will go fishing.*

347. muta lamlammanö ka wuttayoŋo  
 later talk.cnt.int come 3plSP.2(pres/past)  
 waŋiyat  
 meet

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

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

348. [akana pimanö] [tɛk kina pak  
 ptcl(neg) go.cnt.int camp ss.loc sit  
 attini]  
 lexSP.4(purp)

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

### 3.29.2 Benefactive

#### *The Nominal Benefactive*

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

349. mi ŋöyöt nimin<sup>y</sup> mełtapalinö  
 food(veg) cook 3sgf SP.1(punct) husband.bf

*She cooked the food for her husband.*

tɛ pupulit<sup>y</sup>nö

meat old men (partial reduplication from singular  
pulit<sup>y</sup>).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 yanakŋa t<sup>y</sup>ukat<sup>y</sup> wöwöntön alalk  
goose one pluck 3sgfSP.1(seq) child  
nikpiŋayi papařmat<sup>y</sup>ŋayi 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. tɛ wu t<sup>y</sup>iyit<sup>y</sup> ayanö  
meat.clf barramundi catch 1sgSP.1(punct).3sgmOP

*I caught barramundi for him.*

352. tɛ ařpuřu

meat licSP

*Meat for us (inclusive).*

as opposed to:

353. tɛ yeřkit

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. *pɛnt<sup>y</sup>i puwar alawarnö ɟurɟurmi ayuwa*  
*ts night woman.rel dream 1sgSP.5(past)*

*Last night I dreamt about a woman.*

*ɟuluknö kay ayaɟin<sup>y</sup>*  
*story.rel call out 1sgSP.6(progr)*

*Because of the story I am shouting*

355. *ɟa minö t<sup>y</sup>ɛyantakma 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<sup>y</sup>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.*

mut<sup>y</sup>uřwuna

many.qf

*Everyone.*

359. antawuna wiřk atta  
allright.qf finish lexSP.2(pres/past)

*We're all allright.*

alalk yinmeyit<sup>y</sup>wuna

child little(plm).qf

*All the little boys.*

360. mint<sup>y</sup>itak pi nunta waŋařiwuna  
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. ŋaman yönö akana  
1sgSP.rbl 3sgmSP.4(pres) adv(neg)

*He is not like me.*

363. alalk.ŋ<sup>a</sup> awul ŋaman yönpuŋ  
child 1sgSP dreaming 1sgSP.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<sup>y</sup> ki yönöman  
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. tɛk                      akunmalakman<sup>y</sup>      ka      yuŋun<sup>y</sup>  
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. yin<sup>y</sup>a    eyinmalak    yitanki  
man      who.dub      3sgmSP.2(pres/past).dc

*I don't know who the man coming up here is.*

368. nikitmalak    lamlamma    yita  
what.dub      talk.cnt    3sgmSP.2(pres/past)

*I don't know what he's talking about.*

369. t<sup>y</sup>aŋar    akunmalak  
spear      where.dub

*I don't know where the spear is.*

3.33 mɛl: The *Propriative* can function as a prefix or suffix on nouns and verb roots. The general sense of the Propriative is that of *responsibility* or "source", as in the following kinship terms:

370. mɛlt<sup>y</sup>ɛt  
propr.birth      parent  
mɛlwiyi  
propr.milk      mother

<u>mɛl</u> tapali	husband
<u>mɛl</u> papu	father
<u>mɛl</u> t <sup>y</sup> uwan <sup>y</sup>	grandfather
<u>mɛl</u> wilit	sibling
<u>mɛl</u> nuḡuntu	sister
<u>mɛl</u> alantu	brother

. . .

and:

371.	<u>mɛl</u> t <sup>y</sup> al	
	propr.vein	root

. . .

The following exemplify -mɛl as a suffix:

372.	t <sup>y</sup> öḡ <u>mɛl</u>	
	tree.propr	trunk

373.	t <sup>y</sup> et <u>mɛl</u>	
	leg.propr	thigh

374.	mim <u>ɛl</u>	yöntön
	propr.food	

*The food he is entitled to.*

375.	yin <sup>y</sup> a	yönö	yöntön	<u>mɛl</u> ɛyman <sup>y</sup>
	man	3sgmSP.4(pres)	3sgmSP	propr.spear.dpf
	wöwöntönta			
	3sgmSP.1(sequ).foc			

*The man sitting down is responsible for the killing.*

3.34 -wan is an *Agentive* marker with the related function of *Instrumental*. The *Instrumental* use of -wan presupposes an agent.

*Instrumental*

376. pirpenwan ey ayanö  
 shovel-nosed spear.ag(inst) spear 1sgSP.1(punct).  
 3sgmOP  
 I wounded him with a shovel-spear.

or the instrumental NP can occur sentence-finally:

377. ey ayano pirpenwan  
 378. nan<sup>y</sup>ilkwan tat<sup>y</sup> yimin<sup>y</sup>nö  
 hand.ag(inst) hit 3sgmSP.1(punct).3sgmOP  
 He hit him with his hand.  
 379. MalakMalakwan lamma nunta?  
 MalakMalak.ag(inst) speak.cnt 2sgSP.2(pres/past)  
 Do you speak MalakMalak?  
 380. puntuwan waratpi yita  
 head.ag(inst) walk around 3sgmSP.2(pres/past)  
 He walks/walked on his head.

3.34.1 The *Agentive* marker -wan 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 mint<sup>y</sup>itak  
 3sgmSP emphP  
 The little boy is playing round about by  
 himself.

382. nunwan appakali t<sup>y</sup>eyantakma  
 P(dm).ag ptcpl.pfx.sit.ptcpl hear.cnt  
 yönö  
 3sgmSP.4(pres)

*That one sitting down all the time is thinking.*

*Transitive subject:*

383. alawarwan akana muk nuntanö  
 woman.ag adv(neg) ask 3sgfSP.2(pres/past).3sgmOP  
 yöntonwan akana muk yitanayi  
 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 nuntanö  
 child little(sgm) take 3sgfSP.2(pres/past).3sgmOP  
 melwiyiwan  
 mother.ag

*The mother takes/took the little boy.*

385. yin<sup>y</sup>awan alalk yinmeyit<sup>y</sup> tat yitawö<sup>y</sup>ö  
 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 yikpiwaŋ yin<sup>y</sup>a tař yimin<sup>y</sup>nö*  
*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<sup>y</sup>a alalk yikpiwaŋ tař yimin<sup>y</sup>nö*

### 3.35 Locative Affixes.

3.35.1 *-yinŋa*: *on/in/into/beside*, and always functions suffixally:

388. *maparama wuttanö tekyinŋa*  
*follow.cnt 3plSP.2(pres/past) camp.loc*  
*They are following him into the camp.*

389. *walkyinŋa yuyuwa naŋatna*  
*hill.loc 3sgmSP.6(past) top.loc*  
*He stood on top of the hill.*

390. *t<sup>y</sup>önyinŋa ŋat<sup>y</sup>pak aniwa*  
*tree.loc hide 1sgSP.4(fut)*  
*I will hide in the tree.*

391. *melwiyiyinŋa pak yönö*  
*mother.loc sit 3sgmSP.4(pres)*  
*He sits beside (his) mother.*

392. papalu    ḡakpararma    wutta  
 buffalo eat.around.cnt 3plSP.2(pres/past)  
 yawötyinḡa  
 lexSP.loc  
*The buffalo wander round beside us (and)  
 eat.*

393. pi    ata    antukyinḡa  
 go 1sgSP.2(pres/past) house.loc  
*I went into the house.*

3.35.2 -man<sup>y</sup>: "departing from".

3.35.21 relative function.

394. Darwinman<sup>y</sup>    ka    ata  
 Darwin.dpf come 1sgSP.2(pres/past)  
*I have come from Darwin.*

395. tekman<sup>y</sup>    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<sup>y</sup>  
 water.having rain.dpf  
*Wet from the rain.*

397. te    yinḡi    man<sup>y</sup>ik    wal<sup>y</sup>impaman<sup>y</sup>  
 clf (salt-water) crocodile throat axe.dpf  
 t<sup>y</sup>uṛpali    yita  
 cut.ptcpl 3sgmSP.2(pres/past)  
*The crocodile's throat has been cut with an axe.*



3.35.23 *-man<sup>y</sup>* also has the function of *foregrounding* the actor from whom the action (transitive or intransitive) proceeds.

398. *na mint<sup>y</sup>itakman<sup>y</sup> pi ata*  
 1sgSP emphP.dpf go 1sgSP.2(pres/past)

*I go/went by myself.*

399. *yawötman<sup>y</sup> akana pi taŋ*  
 1exSP.dpf ptcl(neg) go mingle

*We (ex) do not mingle.*

400. [*stockman-man<sup>y</sup> aŋuntuman<sup>y</sup>*] *pakma wuttana*  
*stockman.dpf ts.dpf sit.cnt. 3plSP.2*  
*Stockmen lived there afterwards. (pres/past)*  
*.dc*

*Note that aŋuntuman<sup>y</sup> functions as an adjectival within the Noun Phrase (v. 4.18).*

401. [*waŋaŋiman<sup>y</sup> tat yinmanunu*] [*mapara*  
*2sgSP.dpf see 3sgmSP.1(purp).2sgOP follow*  
*yinmanunu*]  
*3sgmSP.1(purp).2sgOP*

*He (the buffalo) is going to see you (and) follow you.*

*Note that the direct object is being foregrounded.*

402. *waŋariman<sup>y</sup> ŋataŋkat<sup>y</sup> nuntyuwa*  
*2sgSP.dpf wrong 2sgSP.6(past)*

*You were wrong.*

3.35.3 *-an/na: into/onto/to*

*-na)*  
*-an)* are in free variation.

Post-vocally in words of odd-numbered syllables:

	-na	>	-nan
e.g.	tö + na	>	tö <u>nan</u>
	hole		hole.loc : into the hole
	mantulma + na	>	mantul <u>manan</u>
	heart		heart.loc : onto the heart
but	waliwali + na	>	waliwalina (v. 406, below)
	river		to river

403. t<sup>y</sup>aŋar yur aya pawurkan  
 spear lay 1sgSP.1(punct) ground.loc

*I lay spear on ground.*

404. möntölna mulk pam aya  
 loc.shoulder bamboo put(pl.obj) 1sgSP.1(punct)

*I put the bamboo onto my shoulder.*

405. alawar wapi yitaŋayi 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. tɛ tuŋkwat yimin<sup>y</sup> 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):

408. naŋaŋa pi atuŋ tek yawuk  
adv(desid) go 1sgSP.2(purp) camp A

*I want to go to another camp.*

409. pent <sup>y</sup> i pi yita	Darwinna	}
	Darwin.loc	
ts go 3sgmSP.2(pres/past)	Darwin	

*Yesterday he went to Darwin.*

### 3.36 The Comitative

3.36.1 The *comitative* -yɛn is a derivational suffix whose meaning can be glossed as "*having*". Suffixable to NPs -yɛn can:

#### 1. form a new noun

tömölyɛn

testicles.comit bullock

wiyiyɛn

milk.comit cow

tawut wonatyɛn

blood bad.comit leprosy

#### 2. form an adjective

wakyɛn

water.comit wet

## 3. form a verb

t<sup>y</sup>εwöryεn

ear.comit

hear/know/think

## Other functions:

## 3.36.2 Human agent at rest with something inanimate:

410. yin<sup>y</sup>a yönö wönyεn

man 3sgmSP.4(pres) tobacco.comit

*The man sitting down has tobacco.*

## Human agent moving holding something inanimate:

411. t<sup>y</sup>aŋaryεn yitaŋa

spear.comit 3sgmSP.2(pres/past).dc

*He went/goes over there with a spear.*

## 3.36.3 Accompanitive

412. alawaryεn yita

woman.comit 3sgmSP.2(pres/past)

*He has a woman*

## 3.36.4 Time

413. miřiyεn pi ařkunuŋka

sun.comit go licSP.2(fut)

*We will all go while it is light.*

## 3.36.5 Describing a state.

414. wiyεnwiyeŋ wöřönö

anger.comit.anger.comit 3plSP.5(pres).3sgmOP

*They are furious with him.*

415. tiŋkiřkyen yita

sick.comit 3sgmSP.2(pres/past)

*He has/had a fever.*

## CHAPTER 4

## SYNTAX

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.	[ŋöyö]	[yin <sup>y</sup> a]	[ŋat <sup>y</sup> ]	[alawar yöntön]
	ts	SNP	ptcl(emph)	ONP
	tomorrow	man		woman 3sgmSP
	[tek yawukan]	wapi	yönuŋŋayiwa	
	N	A.loc	VR	Aux.OP
	camp	other.to	take	3sgmSP.2(fut).3sgfOP
	[lamlammanö]			
	VRcpt			
	talk.cent.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. [yin<sup>y</sup>a tat ayanö] [alawar  
man see 1sgSP.1(punct).3sgmOP woman  
tat<sup>y</sup>ma yitaṇayi]  
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. [yin<sup>y</sup>a alalk nikpi tat<sup>y</sup> yitaṇayi]  
man child little(sgf) hit 3sgmSP.2(pres/past)  
[kan<sup>y</sup>akma yita] .3sgfOP  
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<sup>y</sup>awaŋ alalk yikpi tat<sup>y</sup>  
 man.ag child little(sgm) hit  
 yitanö] [kan<sup>y</sup>akma  
 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<sup>y</sup>a or alalk yikpi) would be unable to indicate unambiguously the nominal referent of kan<sup>y</sup>akma 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. [ŋun wötyönki] [alawarman<sup>y</sup> wa  
 ss 3p1SP.6(pres).dc woman.dpf pick up  
 yimin<sup>y</sup>ŋayi] [wi wötyönki]  
 3sgmSP.1(punct).3sgfOP fight 3p1SP.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. [t<sup>y</sup>öŋ t<sup>y</sup>uřurp] [wapi ŋunna] [tuřpam]  
 wood cut(pl.0)<sup>1</sup> take ss.loc put into ground  
 [t<sup>y</sup>etweřamaŋkil weřanweřan t<sup>y</sup>öŋ wönt<sup>y</sup>öřök  
 fork-stick two.two wood short(ple)  
 t<sup>y</sup>uřurp] [tařpyur larap] [waŋa  
 cut(pl.0) lay (on top of) tie bring  
 tařpyur parařaŋ 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] [ŋiřkpuk yinma]  
 sick 3sgmSP.1(purp) die.possib 3sgmSP.1(purp)  
 If he gets sick he might die.
423. [te aŋ awuntunöwakka] anti  
 meat give 1sgSP.1(subj).3sgmOP.foc adv(recip)  
 [te aŋ wuwuntuwařin<sup>y</sup>t<sup>y</sup>akna]  
 meat give 3sgmSP.1(subj).1sgOP.foc

<sup>1</sup>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. [tɛ aŋ wuwuntuwařin<sup>y</sup>t<sup>y</sup>akna] anti  
meat give 3sgmSP.1(subj).1sgOP.foc adv(recip)  
[tɛ aŋ atömanö]  
meat give 1sgSP.1(purp).3sgmOP

If he gave me meat I would give him meat.

The *apodosis* in the *Future* tense:

425. [mi ŋak nuwuntuwa] [mi  
food(veg) eat(non-meat) 2sgSP.1(subj) food(veg)  
ŋak 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. tɛ aŋ awuntunöwakka anti  
meat give 1sgSP.1(subj).3sgm adv(recip)  
tɛ aŋ yimin<sup>y</sup>ařin<sup>y</sup>  
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:

*(adverb){(verb root)(auxiliary)}(object pronoun)*

*Adverb*, *Verb Root*, and *Auxiliary* are free forms; *Object Pronoun* is bound to the *Verb Root* or the *Auxiliary*, depending on which occurs.<sup>2</sup> When the *Verb Root* and the *Auxiliary* co-occur within the Verb Complex the *Verb Root* precedes the *Auxiliary*:<sup>3</sup>

427. *akana pilp yinmaṇayiwa*  
 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<sup>y</sup>*a* *wilma* yita  
 man *swim.cnt* 3sgmSP.2(pres/past)  
*The man is/was swimming.*

<sup>2</sup>If the Pronoun Object occurs as the benefactive object of a noun, the Pronoun Object occurs as a free form:  
*te arpuṛu: meat for us (ic)*

<sup>3</sup>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 tat<sup>y</sup> yimin<sup>y</sup> ḡayi  
 woman hit 3sgmSP.1(punct).3sgfOP

*He hit(s) the woman.*

431. tɛy<sup>m</sup>a anuḡḡayiwa alawarnö  
 wait(tr).cnt 1sgSOP.2(fut).3sgfOP woman.bf

*I will wait for the woman.*

Since *alawar* is unmarked for number<sup>4</sup>, the suffixation of the third singular feminine pronoun object marks the noun *alawar* for singularity. Equivalently, in the following sentence the plurality of *yin<sup>y</sup>a* is indicated by the suffixation of the third plural pronoun object:

432. pɛnt<sup>y</sup>i t<sup>y</sup>ɛyantak ayöwörö yin<sup>y</sup>awa  
 ts hear 1sgSP.6(pres).3p1OP 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. yin<sup>y</sup>a alawar tat<sup>y</sup> yimin<sup>y</sup> ḡayi  
 man woman hit 3sgmSP.1(punct).3sgfOP

*The man hit(s) the woman.*

<sup>4</sup> Nouns are not usually marked for number. The only recorded exceptions to this statement is the partial reduplication which pluralizes *pulit<sup>y</sup>*: *old man* and *paṛmat<sup>y</sup>*: *old woman*

*pulit<sup>y</sup>* > *pupulit<sup>y</sup>*  
*paṛmat<sup>y</sup>* > *papaṛmat<sup>y</sup>*

Only one interpretation is possible because of the gender concord between *yin<sup>y</sup>a* and the third masculine singular bound subject person marker *yi-* of *yimin<sup>y</sup>* and between *alawar* and the coreferential feminine singular pronoun object *-ḡayi*.

#### 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*.<sup>5</sup> 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 *-waḡ* (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:

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<sup>5</sup>

With the exception of the twelve intransitive Verb Roots listed in fn2 of section 3.1.

*NP Complement*

434. [karala yunpayin] yita  
 body good(sgm) 3sgmSP.2(pres/past)  
 He is/was happy.

435. [puntu 1εřpma] ata  
 head hot.cnt 1sgSP.2(pres/past)  
 I have/had a headache.

*Adjectival Complement*

436. yin<sup>y</sup> yita  
 shy 3sgmSP.2(pres/past)  
 He is shy.

437. t<sup>y</sup>alala yita  
 long 3sgmSP.2(pres/past)  
 He is tall.

*Deictic Complement*

438. t<sup>y</sup>öŋ 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 atömanö  
 food(veg) give 1sgSP.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<sup>y</sup>a 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<sup>y</sup>awa* while in example 442 the pronoun object *-wöřö* indicates its *plurality*:

441. pent<sup>y</sup>i naman ayanö yin<sup>y</sup>awa  
 ts speak 1sgSP.1(punct).3sgmOP man.sfm  
*Yesterday I spoke to the man.*
442. pent<sup>y</sup>i naman ayawöřö yin<sup>y</sup>awa  
 ts speak 1sgSP.1(punct).3plOP man.sfm  
*Yesterday I spoke to the men.*

In the following two examples the pronoun object realizes a *possessive* function:

443. t<sup>y</sup>aŋar tapak mutařin<sup>y</sup>  
 spear break 3sgvSP.2(pres/past).1sgOP  
*My spear has broken.*

Note that *t<sup>y</sup>aŋar* 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<sup>y</sup> ɲiřk yimin<sup>y</sup>ařin<sup>y</sup>*  
*dog die 3sgmSP.1(punct).1sgOP*

Literally: *dog died (to) me*

*My dog died.*

There is a concordal relationship between *muyin<sup>y</sup>* and the masculine singular subject person marker *yi-* of *yimin<sup>y</sup>*.

In the following example the pronoun object realizes the *affected party*:

445. *man<sup>6</sup> wönatt<sup>y</sup>et wiyařin<sup>y</sup>ařin<sup>y</sup>*  
*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 intentive suffix*) (b) auxiliary complementation.

(a) The *verb root complement* is a *reduced sentence* (v. 4.12, example 421) complemented by a *Verb Complex*.

<sup>6</sup>*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)



446. alawar t<sup>y</sup>ewöryen nunta [t<sup>y</sup>urpmawa]  
 woman ear.comit 2sgfSP.2(pres/past) [cut.cnt.foc]  
*The woman knows/knew how to cut (wood for  
 a canoe).*
447. tek ka ata [wirk]  
 country come lexSP.2(pres/past) [finish]  
*I have come to (this) country for good.*
448. tikpi yöwöra [yur]  
 back go 3sgmSP.3(pres) [lie down]  
*He's on his way back to lie down.*
449. ȝöyö ka yönuḡka [watwatmanö]  
 tomorrow come 3sgmSP.2(fut) [fish.cnt.int]  
*Tomorrow he will come to fish.*
450. te t<sup>y</sup>eyöt waḡkit<sup>y</sup> aḡöntön  
 clf red kangaroo hunt out lexSP.1(sequ)  
 [ey]  
 VRcpt(spear)  
*We hunt out (and) spear a red kangaroo. (Txt. 1  
 sent. 15)*
451. alalk yinmeyit<sup>y</sup> pi wöḡönuḡka [kapukkupukmanö]  
 child little go 3p1SP.2(fut)[bathe.cnt.int]  
*The little boys will go and bathe.*
452. "Monday" puwaryinḡa wapi yönuḡarin<sup>y</sup>t<sup>y</sup>a  
 Monday morning take 2(fut)  
 [wuḡkammanöna]  
 [work.cnt.int.loc]  
*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 [yöwöřa]  
 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<sup>y</sup>eyantak ayanö [yuwuřa]  
 hear 1sgSP.1(punct).3sgmOP [3sg.SP.3(past)]  
*I heard him going along.*
456. [ŋun yönönki] tatma anönö  
 [ss 3sgmSP.4(pres).dc] see.cnt 1sgSP.4(pres)  
 3sgmOP  
*I see him sitting there.*
457. tat anmanöwa [yönunřakakka]  
 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 <sup>7</sup>-ali carries an habitual sense.

458. t<sup>y</sup>alkyurali nunta  
 bend over.ptcpl 3sgfSP.2(pres/past)  
*She goes/went along bent over.*

<sup>7</sup>  
 v.3.21.4

The suffixation of *-ali* to *pak-*, *yur-*, and *t<sup>y</sup>et-*, 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* *pakali*  
*hide(behind something)* *sit.ptcpl*  
*yönö*  
 3sgmSP.4(pres)
- (b) *paltam* *yurali*  
*hide(behind something)* *lie.ptcpl*  
*yöyö*  
 3sgmSP.5(pres)
- (c) *paltam* *t<sup>y</sup>etali*  
*hide(behind something)* *stand.ptcpl*  
*yöyö*  
 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) *yönö* *appakali*  
 3sgmSP.4(pres) *sit.ptcpl*  
*He is always sitting down.*

(b) *yöyö*                    *apyurali*  
       3sgmSP.6(pres) *lie.ptcpl*  
       *He is always lying down.*

(c) *wötyö*                    *apt<sup>y</sup>εřataali*  
       3plSP.6(pres) *stand.ptcpl*

The prefix *ap-* is restricted in distribution to the three standard postural *verb roots* *pak*, *gur* and *t<sup>y</sup>εt*. 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*:

*pakali*            *yönö*  
       *sit.ptcpl*    3sgmSP.4(pres)  
       *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* *wuřk pak*    *nönö*  
       *woman*    *bag.loc*    *put in sit*    3sgfSP.4(pres)  
       *The woman puts (it) in the bag and sits*  
       *down.*

(b) alawar pɛyikan wuřk yur nönyö  
 woman bag.loc put in lie down 3sgfSP.5  
 (pres)  
*The woman puts (it) in the bag and lies  
 down.*

(c) alawar pɛyikan wuřk t<sup>y</sup>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 pɛyikan wuřk pakali nönö  
 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<sup>y</sup>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<sup>y</sup>et*. For example:

463. tek nanman<sup>y</sup> tappamali atta  
 camp A(dm).dpf grab.put.ptcpl lexSP.2(pres/past)  
*We have always retained this camp.*

464. t<sup>y</sup>iyit<sup>y</sup>ali yitawöřö  
 pick up.ptcpl 3sgmSP.(pres/past).3p1OP  
*He goes along picking them up all the time.*

465.  $t^y iyit^y ali$  nunta  
*pick up.ptcpl 3sgfSP.2(pres/past)*  
*She's married.*

#### 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  $tin^y$ . *There is no formal distinction between transitive and intransitive imperative.*

- e.g. (a) 466.  $mi$   $\eta ak$   $n\ddot{o}nt\ddot{o}ma$   
*(veg)food eat(non-meat) 2sgSP.1(purp)*  
*Eat the food!*
467.  $lak$   $n\ddot{o}nt\ddot{o}ma$   
*eat(meat) 2sgSP.1(purp)*  
*Eat (non-meat) food!*
468.  $\eta at^y pak$   $yini$   
*hide 3sgmSP.4(purp)*  
*Let him hide.*
469.  $yur$   $nukutt\ddot{o}yu\eta$   
*lie down 2p1SP.5(purp)*  
*You (pl) lie down!*
470.  $pa\check{r}at$   $nintiya\eta$   
*get up 2sgSP.6(purp)*  
*Get up!*

(b) The *verb root* form of the positive imperative with neither the *auxiliary* nor the adverb *tin<sup>y</sup>* is as follows:

471. t<sup>y</sup>öŋ t<sup>y</sup>uřpma

wood cut.cnt

*Cut the wood!*

472. kina pakma

ss.loc sit down.cnt

*Stay here!*

473. naman

*Speak!*

474. mi aŋarin<sup>y</sup>

food(non-meat) give.1sgOP

*Give me food!*

The verb root preceded by *tin<sup>y</sup>*

475. tin<sup>y</sup> tatnö

adv find.3sgmOP

*Try and find him.*

476. tin<sup>y</sup> tappiyipman<sup>y</sup>

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. awat tɛymařin<sup>y</sup>  
 adv wait.cnt.1sgOP  
*Don't wait for me!*

478. awat wumuwa  
 adv steal  
*Don't steal!*

The negative force of *awat* can be reinforced by the  
 negative suffix <sup>8</sup>-tan :

479. awat muřt<sup>y</sup>iřtan nuntuŋ  
 adv trip.neg 2sgSP.2(purp)  
*Don't trip!*

480. awat wat<sup>y</sup>uř lamlammatan  
 adv adv talk.cnt.neg  
*Don't talk so fast!*

#### 4.16 The Causative/Inchoative

The causative/inchoative construction is formed by the  
*verb root* *tut* acting upon a lexical adjective:

481. mawun<sup>y</sup> [laŋkɛřk tut] aya  
 clothes clean caus 1sgSP.1(punct)  
*I make/made the clothes clean.*

482. töl [t<sup>y</sup>alala tut] aya  
 stick long caus 1sgSP.1(punct)  
*I lengthen(ed) the stick.*

483. tit [kɛrkɛr tut] aya  
 edge sharp caus 1sgSP.1(punct)  
*I sharpen(ed) the blade.*

<sup>8</sup>  
 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. [töm        tut] yita  
*weak*    caus    3sgmSP.2(pres/past)  
*He gets/becomes weak.*
487. [mawun<sup>y</sup>    waŋkař    wuyuwa]                    [wakyɛn  
*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. ɲant<sup>y</sup>akpulu    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. marin<sup>y</sup>    tut<sup>9</sup>            yimin<sup>y</sup>  
*story*            caus            3sgmSP.1(punct)  
*He tells/told a story.*
490. mut<sup>y</sup>uř    tut            wiřmin<sup>y</sup>  
qf                    caus            3plSP.1(punct)  
*They have a big family.*

<sup>9</sup>

Synonymous with this is mařin<sup>y</sup> t<sup>y</sup>ɛt yita. See below for other instances of t<sup>y</sup>ɛt in an inchoative function.

*Colour-* or *light-*descriptive terms as inchoatives tend to occur with  $t^y\epsilon t$  (or  $tutt^y\epsilon t$ ) plus conjugation 6:

491.  $\eta\text{uparak } \underline{t^y\epsilon t} \text{ wiy}\eta\text{in}^y$   
*dark stand 3sgeSP.6(progr)*

*It's getting dark.*

492.  $\epsilon\text{yike}\epsilon\text{yik } \underline{tutt^y\epsilon t} \text{ wiy}\eta\text{in}^y$   
*black caus. stand 3sgeSP.6(progr)*

*It's getting black.*

493.  $\text{witma } \underline{tutt^y\epsilon t} \text{ wiy}\eta\text{in}^y$   
*red caus. stand 3sgeSP.6(progr)*

*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.  $\text{yin}^y\text{a } \underline{\eta\text{itwat}} \text{ ayan}\ddot{\text{o}}$   
*man say "no". send*

*I made the man say no.*

495.  $\text{pa}\eta\text{aman}^y \text{ naman}\underline{\text{wat}} \text{ yimin}^y\text{a}\check{\text{r}}\text{in}^y$   
*father.dpf speak. send 3sgmSP.1(punct).1sgOP*

*Father made me speak.*

The suffixation of  $\text{wat}$  also covers the action of a causative force upon an *adverb* such as  $\text{wat}^y\text{u}\check{\text{r}}$  (*quick*):

496.  $\text{wat}^y\text{u}\check{\text{r}}\text{wat } \text{atu}\eta\text{n}\ddot{\text{o}}$   
*quick. send 1sgSP.2(purp).3sgmOP*

*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. <i>turkwat</i>	[ <i>drink + send</i> ]	: <i>swallow</i>
<i>t<sup>y</sup>urkwat</i>	[ <i>enter + send</i> ]	: <i>put inside</i>
<i>kat<sup>y</sup>wat</i>	[ <i>throw + send</i> ]	: <i>let go</i>

#### 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*:

<i>akak</i>	<i>vomit</i>
<i>alturuk</i>	<i>smash</i>
<i>ar</i>	<i>dry</i>
<i>ariŋar</i>	<i>open (mouth)</i>
<i>(kariř) wir</i>	<i>weave (basket)</i>
<i>kař</i>	<i>moult feathers</i>
<i>kařŋöyat</i>	<i>light (pipe/cigarette)</i>
<i>kařturuk</i>	<i>poke</i>
<i>kařiwuy</i>	<i>stir</i>
<i>keřpkeřp</i>	<i>crunch</i>
<i>kuřpit</i>	<i>miss (i.e. with a missile)</i>
<i>kuřput</i>	<i>cover up</i>
<i>kuřtöwerkat<sup>y</sup></i>	<i>move fire along a hollowed out log (i.e., in the manufacture of a canoe)</i>
<i>kuřut</i>	<i>remove</i>

kuř	pull
lamtɛl	stop (someone from quarrelling)
manparart <sup>y</sup> ɛt	stir stomach up
manpurit <sup>y</sup>	be satisfied
manwiyuk ɲiřk	starving hungry
milk	decorate
nil <sup>y</sup> il <sup>y</sup>	strip bark (from a tree)
nil <sup>y</sup>	skin (an animal)
nin <sup>y</sup> ik	dislike
nit	tell a lie
n <sup>y</sup> atn <sup>y</sup> at	chip wood
ɲak	eat (non-meat)
lak	eat (meat)
yař	skin (animal)
ɲawan <sup>y</sup> ak	smell
ɲɛ	breathe
ɲɛřp	cut
ɲit	a verb of repulsion <sup>10</sup>
pɛřat, (tim)	dig (a hole)
wuřk, (peyikan)	put into (a bag)
pilp	slap
yařyař	plane down
lamt <sup>y</sup> ak	stop (someone) from quarreling
lař	tear

---

<sup>10</sup>

It's range includes: 1. hunt someone/something away. 2. say "no". 3. leave for a while e.g. unpicked lily-roots.

luřuŋ	<i>clean</i>
luřut	<i>grind</i>
pirir	<i>untie</i>
pirpiryεt	<i>ignite</i>
pöpö	<i>fan flames</i>
tapak	<i>break</i>
taratwat	<i>watch</i>
tařpat	<i>bite off</i>
tattεkut	<i>show</i>
tat <sup>y</sup>	<i>hit</i>
tat <sup>y</sup> muř	<i>kick/smash (with feet)</i>
ŋöyat	<i>cook</i>
tayt <sup>y</sup> ařp	<i>cut an object into quarters</i>
möřpmöřp	<i>munch (non-meat food)</i>
muřtam	<i>block a creek</i>
muřtuk	<i>hatch</i>
numuřu n <sup>y</sup> ip	<i>wink</i>
ŋalamuřk	<i>swear/curse</i>
ŋal <sup>y</sup> ak	<i>lick</i>
piktap	<i>arrest</i>
piwuy	<i>swing (tr.)</i>
tełkŋa	<i>singe hair (of a wallaby, e.g. before cooking)</i>
tempelet <sup>y</sup>	<i>roll up (of swag)</i>
töłŋ	<i>stretch</i>
tum	<i>inhale</i>
tut	<i>causative <u>verb root</u> (v. 4.16)</i>
töt <sup>y</sup> at	<i>take from earth/mud of a goanna/ turtle, etc.)</i>

tuřpkat <sup>y</sup>	<i>dig for lily (in swamp)</i>
t <sup>y</sup> ök	<i>spit</i>
t <sup>y</sup> upak	<i>spit</i>
naman	<i>speak</i>
yεřk	<i>scrape hide</i>
yukut <sup>y</sup> wat	<i>move an object along gradually</i>
aritel	<i>shut door</i>
kan <sup>y</sup> ak	<i>cough</i>
kařkwut	<i>sew</i>
kařyit	<i>comb (hair)</i>
kařt <sup>y</sup> ikat	<i>poke</i>
kurpuk	<i>wash</i>
kuřutt <sup>y</sup> et	<i>take clothes off</i>
takat <sup>y</sup>	<i>touch</i>
tεp	<i>paint</i>
tumpuřk	<i>hiccough</i>
tuřkwat	<i>swallow</i>
t <sup>y</sup> ařatat <sup>y</sup>	<i>tip out</i>
t <sup>y</sup> iřya	<i>sneeze</i>
wan <sup>y</sup>	<i>row (a boat)</i>
tultul	<i>be angry (tr)</i>
turakat <sup>y</sup>	<i>push</i>
t <sup>y</sup> iyit <sup>y</sup>	<i>catch/get</i>
t <sup>y</sup> uřp	<i>cut</i>
wa	<i>pick up</i>
yakayakay	<i>scream</i>
yentawaliktap	<i>like</i>

$t^y en^y$	<i>make</i>
$t^y ur$	<i>have no need for</i>
$t^y ut$	<i>wake (tr)</i>
wuŋwuŋ	<i>be contented</i>
tat	<i>see/find</i>
tar	<i>crush</i>
wat	<i>send</i>

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	<i>break</i>
aŋwat	<i>send over</i>
a <sup>y</sup> awat	<i>spread (tr)</i>
kalt <sup>y</sup> εt	<i>carry (on head)</i>

kařkař	prod ground (with yamstick)
wakarkwat	take out
altuřp	penetrate
aŋ	give
er	make noise in undergrowth
kalpam	carry (pl.0)
kat <sup>y</sup> kurpukat	put into the water (of a canoe, e.g.)
putat <sup>y</sup>	cover cooking meat with ashes
talεřp	burn
tεrεt <sup>y</sup>	break limbs (at joints)
wöntuřp	degut a kangaroo/wallaby
tulkwut	pull down (tr)
t <sup>y</sup> εtpat	break (branch) off
tapuyt <sup>y</sup>	squeeze
t <sup>y</sup> ölt <sup>y</sup> öl	dust (smthg.) down
t <sup>y</sup> uřppam	cut and stack up wood
timkut	bury (rubbish)
watwat	fish
mawun <sup>y</sup> kuřutpam	take clothes off and put them down
t <sup>y</sup> intar	tip out
putuk	cover up (tr)
tap	grab/seize
tömt <sup>y</sup> uřp	degut a mullet
tuytuy	stretch (intr)
t <sup>y</sup> amölt <sup>y</sup> εt	sharpen (yamstick)
t <sup>y</sup> intarwukut <sup>y</sup>	tip out
t <sup>y</sup> ukat <sup>y</sup>	pluck
t <sup>y</sup> uřkwat	put inside



warwar	make dilly-bag
wirk (man <sup>y</sup> ik p̄etiřk)	whisper
muřt <sup>y</sup> iř	trip over
tappiyip	wind around
wakyentelk	mix cold and hot water
w̄er̄er̄	take out of earth oven

Four verb roots cannot select for Conjugation 6:

k̄olpt <sup>y</sup> et	roast (a single piece of meat)
puy	disbelieve (tr)
war	(be) ready
yitkař	scale a fish

Two verb roots cannot select for Conjugation 4:

ŋ̄oyattamkat <sup>y</sup>	cook (meat) wrapped up (i.e., in paperbark)
maparakat <sup>y</sup>	chase

Sixteen cannot select for Conjugations 4 and 5:

kat <sup>y</sup> t <sup>y</sup> uřkwat	throw away
wakulpat	load (tr) (into canoe)
kum	bury
wi mama	engage in a fight (predicated of a large number of people)
muř	move feet (around)
ŋařk	make noise in water with bamboo pole
pařtikt <sup>y</sup> et̄ey	lean back and spear (tr)
payaktulkt <sup>y</sup> et	turn over onto back (tr)
tarartarar	knock (on door)
tař	bite
tulkmuř	touch someone on ankle

tuřpt <sup>y</sup> εt	plant (single obj.)
tutpamtap	lay wood like rollers on which to move canoe
t <sup>y</sup> ařakat <sup>y</sup>	rain heavily
t <sup>y</sup> εt	plant
wanķit <sup>y</sup>	flush out (animals from bush)

Four cannot select Conjugations 5 and 6:

palin <sup>y</sup> tat <sup>y</sup>	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
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Fourteen verb roots are unable to select Conjugations 4, 5 or 6:

apap	be ill or tired
pin <sup>y</sup> waka	get water and bring it
pin <sup>y</sup> wapi	get water and take it
pin <sup>y</sup> wukut <sup>y</sup>	bale water out
tart <sup>y</sup> etyi	tip out and leave
tarņiřk	kill (with spear)
man <sup>y</sup> t <sup>y</sup> etyi	cover up and leave
tuřppam	stick plant in ground
t <sup>y</sup> uřk	bury
wat <sup>y</sup> ukt <sup>y</sup> εt	fill up and leave
wukut <sup>y</sup> pam	drop
parkyi	leave behind
t <sup>y</sup> εř	sting
t <sup>y</sup> εtwat	'drop' a person off after giving him a lift

One verb root is unable to select for Conjugations 2, 3, 4 and 5:

$t^y \epsilon n^y kat^y$                       *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:

$katparar$	<i>play around</i>
$kat$	<i>laugh/play</i>
$lam(lam)$	<i>talk</i>
$l\epsilon rpma$	<i>hot</i>
$lu\check{r}ukat^y$	<i>wait around for food</i>
$manpa\check{r}at$	<i>resemble</i>
$tin^y$	<i>stir up (intr)</i>
$man^y t^y \epsilon t$	<i>float up</i>
$\eta anpu\check{r}u\eta$	<i>show off</i>
$mu\check{r}ma$	<i>dance (of men)</i>
$n\ddot{o}w\ddot{o}lw\epsilon riy\epsilon n$	<i>make trouble</i>
$n^y apan^y apa$	<i>be deaf</i>
$t\ddot{o}w\epsilon rk$	<i>cry</i>
$tulma$	<i>sulk</i>
$t^y inwitan$	<i>avoid fights</i>
$w\epsilon r w\epsilon rparar$	<i>tremble</i>
$ariwit^y im$	<i>kiss</i>
$wiy\epsilon n wiy\epsilon n$	<i>argue</i>

ariŋar	open mouth
mirmir	melt
muřt <sup>y</sup> iřt <sup>y</sup> alk	trip and fall
numuřu t <sup>y</sup> il <sup>y</sup> wuřkali	a wrinkled face (have)
ŋun <sup>y</sup> t <sup>y</sup> et	sweat
t <sup>y</sup> ewörtarkat <sup>y</sup>	remind
t <sup>y</sup> ert <sup>y</sup> er	sing
tattaparar	look around
tat <sup>y</sup> parar	forage (for yams)
tεy	wait
tiktat	look back
t <sup>y</sup> eyantak	listen
pεřppeřp	be frightened
wirwir	leak/bleed
wεlkun <sup>y</sup>	swing (intr)
wumukut	blame
wuyurwuyur	peep
wuruwat	wave
ŋalamuřk	swear

The following 8 *verb roots* are unable to select for Conjugation

5:

awařa (pl.subj.)	cry
kunuŋ	dwell
tarŋalkatarŋalk	bump into someone
tεlpat	keep someone company
t <sup>y</sup> umpuřkupuk	dive making a splash
wεma	scream
titmiřit	tease
kupuk	dive

One verb root is unable to select for Conjugations 2, 3 and 5:

pön<sup>y</sup> pregnant

Three are unable to select for Conjugation 4:

lɛrp meet (pl. subj.)

payt<sup>y</sup>ɛtɸi sneak up on

wilpay cross over (i.e., to other side)

Five verb roots are unable to select for Conjugation 6:

puř snore

tatyur sleep fitfully (lit. see and lie down)

tɛlpönök walk

turutturut dream

piyip be sick

The following seventeen verb roots are unable to select for Conjugations 4 and 5:

wakulpat load objects into boat

kömpörwatpir have a cold

luppi go together: 'be friends'

ɲat<sup>y</sup>ɲat<sup>y</sup> hide (intr)

ɲuy enter

pɛrk crawl (predicated of a snake)

pur alight (of a bird)

talptalp run along playing

tiramt<sup>y</sup>ɛt stand on top of bank

mitt<sup>y</sup>ɛřat paint (ceremonially)

t<sup>y</sup>ɛrk snap (of wood)

wel	hang up (intr)
t <sup>y</sup> intart <sup>y</sup> intar	spill
t <sup>y</sup> εřatwařa (pl.S)	stand in one line
t <sup>y</sup> εt/t <sup>y</sup> εřat (pl.S)	be born
kařka	punt
puřat	jump

The following three *verb roots* are unable to select for Conjugations 5 and 6:

leřpt <sup>y</sup> εt	move around in grass
tuk	take someone else's part (in a quarrel)
pöŋköl tuřppak	kneel down

The following *verb root* is unable to select for Conjugations 2, 3 and 6:

pöŋköl tartar	cross legs
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The following *verb root* is unable to select for Conjugations 4 and 6:

kařnilyur	break skin (against an object)
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The following twenty-three *verb roots* are unable to select for Conjugations 4, 5 and 6:

altiritpi	go past
kat <sup>y</sup> yipi	leave behind (tr)
pi	go
ka	come
t <sup>y</sup> akat	run
arit <sup>y</sup> ukt <sup>y</sup> uk	talk too much

<i>papyiwařa</i>	<i>run away (predicated of a large number)</i>
<i>t<sup>y</sup>akatyiwaya</i>	<i>run away (predicated of an individual)</i>
<i>pařatt<sup>y</sup>akat</i>	<i>get up quickly</i>
<i>pur</i>	<i>warm up (of food, meat, etc.)</i>
<i>puřu</i>	<i>crawl (predicated of a child)</i>
<i>tapat</i>	<i>walk slowly</i>
<i>tapali</i>	<i>have something for a long time/be married</i>
<i>tiktatway</i>	<i>come back to life (myth)</i>
<i>tikka</i>	<i>return</i>
<i>tur</i>	<i>big wave comes</i>
<i>tapalikat<sup>y</sup>yur</i>	<i>1. buck (of a horse); 2. pitch (of a canoe)</i>
<i>wapi</i>	<i>take</i>
<i>numuřu merkwaya</i>	<i>commit adultery</i>
<i>t<sup>y</sup>ařar parkat<sup>y</sup></i>	<i>throw spear in wrong direction</i>
<i>tat<sup>y</sup>wer</i>	<i>splash</i>
<i>wönatt<sup>y</sup>etway</i>	<i>worry</i>
<i>t<sup>y</sup>uřpi</i>	<i>sink</i>

Six verb roots are unable to select for Conjugations 2, 3, 4 or 5:

<i>pitin<sup>y</sup>t<sup>y</sup>et</i>	<i>dislike</i>
<i>wuřma</i>	<i>stand up</i>
<i>pařat</i>	<i>get up</i>
<i>tamt<sup>y</sup>ett<sup>y</sup>et</i>	<i>stick to/catch onto (predicated of a spark)</i>
<i>tařpt<sup>y</sup>et</i>	<i>stand on top (of something) (predicated of an inanimate object)</i>
<i>puřuŋpuřuŋ</i>	<i>boil</i>

Four verb roots are unable to select Conjugations 2, 3, 4 or 6:

tařpyur	lie on top (of something) (predicated of an inanimate object)
ŋařkyur	twist (of a limb)
t <sup>y</sup> alkyur	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.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>y</sup>a nan tat wöttömanö  
man A(dm) see 3plSP.1(purp).3sgmOP

*They'll see this/that man.*

498. alawar nan te lak wöwöntön  
woman A(dm) meat eat(meat) 3sgfSP.1(sequ)

*This/that woman eats/ate the meat.*

(3) The *adjectival* as possessive adjective:<sup>12</sup>

<sup>11</sup> In the NP [wunpayin tekka] the head tek is marked for its untypical position (v. 4.19)

<sup>12</sup> v. 3.28, above, for a discussion of alienable and inalienable possession.





504. *yikpi*                    *lak*                    *atöma*  
*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 *gak* 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<sup>y</sup>ilkwaŋ      tat<sup>y</sup>    yimin<sup>y</sup>ŋayi  
           *hand.ag(inst) hit 3sgmSP.1(punct).3sgfOP*  
           *He hit(s) her with his hand.*

*Locative:*

507. waliwaliyinŋa    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 *-mɛl-*, v. 3.33, and *-malak*, v. 3.32) is suffixed to the entire *noun phrase*:

- e.g. 508 wawöl<sup>y</sup>      wunaliyinŋa    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. yöntön    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 1d1SP.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* *alalk* *yikpi* *yöntön* *muřt<sup>y</sup>ak*  
*woman* *child* *little(sgm)* *3sgmSP* *kick*  
*yitaŋayi*  
*3sgmSP.2(pres/past).3sgfOP*

*The little boy (he) kicks/kicked the woman.*

The *pronoun* can be head of a *noun phrase*:

512. *yεřa* *munali* *nan* *muyuwa*  
*adv* *big(sgv)* *P(dm)* *3sgvSP.6(past)*

*At that time this was big (referring to an adjacent banyan).*

513. *yöntön* *yinali* *yita*  
*3sgmSP* *big(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*.<sup>14</sup>

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.

<sup>14</sup>

But v. section 4.14.2, concerning the *auxiliary* and *participial complementation*.



We know the words for tree, for water, for man  
(and) for little boy.

517. 't<sup>y</sup>en<sup>y</sup>na' naman wöwöntön alalk yinmeyit<sup>y</sup>-t<sup>y</sup>a  
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.<sup>16</sup>

518. t<sup>y</sup>aŋar yaruwa t<sup>y</sup>iyit<sup>y</sup> wöwöntön yöntön-ta  
spear woomera pick up 3sgmSP.1(sequ) 3sgmSP.sfm  
He picks/picked up the spear and woomera.

519. ey yimin<sup>y</sup>nö pirpenwaŋka  
spear(VR) 3sgmSP.1(punct).3sgmOP shovel-spear.ag(inst).  
sfm  
He spears/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. [tɛ taratpararma yita] [ɛy  
meat look around.cnt 3sgmSP.2(pres/past) spear  
wöwöntön t<sup>y</sup>eyöt-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

<sup>16</sup>

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)

yöyö

yin<sup>y</sup>a-wa]

3sgmSP.5(pres) man.sfm

*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 mint<sup>y</sup>itak ŋuluk lamlama ata]  
<sup>1</sup> 1sgSP emphP language talk.cnt 1sgSP.2(pres/past)  
 [pi atawörö wařiyat] [anti  
<sup>2</sup> go 1sgSP.2(pres/past).3p1OP VRcpt(meet) <sup>3</sup> adv(recip)  
 lamlama atta ŋuluk yawötta]  
 talk.cnt lexSP.2(pres/past) language lexSP.sfm  
 [wöröntönman<sup>y</sup> naman wöröntön] [ŋaman<sup>y</sup> naman  
<sup>4</sup> 3p1SP.dpf speak 3p1SP.1(sequ) <sup>5</sup> 1sgSP.dpf speak  
 awöntönwörö] [tek yawuk pi atta  
<sup>6</sup> 1sgSP.1(sequ).3p1OP camp A(other) go lexSP.2(pres/past)  
 wunpayin tekka] [paypi attawörö]  
<sup>7</sup> good(sge) camp.sfm emerge.go lexSP.2(pres/past).3p1OP  
 [pak attö] [tek wunpayin wöyö]  
<sup>8</sup> sit lexSP.4(pres) <sup>9</sup> camp good(sge) 3sgeSP.5(pres)  
 [ayö tekat<sup>y</sup>] [puwaryinŋa tikka atta]  
<sup>10</sup> 1sgSP.5(pres) dawn <sup>11</sup> ts(morning) back.come lexSP.2  
 [wöröntön wöttö] [anin<sup>y</sup> ka wutta  
<sup>12</sup> 3p1SP 3p1SP.4(pres) <sup>13</sup> adv come 3p1SP.2(pres/past)  
 wařiyat wötyařin<sup>y</sup>] [pi! tenö pi  
<sup>14</sup> meet 3p1SP.6(pres).1sgOP VRimp meat.int go  
 aŋkatuŋ] [t<sup>y</sup>eyöt waŋkit<sup>y</sup> aröntön  
<sup>15</sup> 1d1SP.2(purp) red kangaroo hunt out lexSP.1(sequ)  
 ey] [tikpi atta] [kölpt<sup>y</sup>et  
 VRcpt(spear) <sup>16</sup> back.go lexSP.2(pres/past) <sup>17</sup> roast  
 aröntön tekna] [<sup>18</sup> yawuk t<sup>y</sup>et wa  
 lexSP.1(sequ) camp.loc P(another) leg pick up  
 wöwöntön] [yawuk t<sup>y</sup>et wa wöwöntön]  
<sup>19</sup> 3sgm/fSP.1(sequ) P(another) leg pick up 3sgm/fSP.1(sequ)



- [yawuk           puntu   wa           wöwöntön]  
<sup>20</sup> P(another) head pick up 3sgm/fSP.1(sequ)
- [yawuk           payak   wa           wöwöntön]  
<sup>21</sup> P(another) back pick up 3sgm/fSP.1(sequ)
- [yawuk           wömö   wa           wöwöntön]  
<sup>22</sup> P(another) tail pick up 3sgm/fSP.1(sequ)
- [yawuk           wuru   wuru   yawuk       wa           wöwöntön]  
<sup>23</sup> P(another) arm arm P(another) pick up 3sgm/fSP.1(sequ)
- [wi           akana]   [lakma           ηat<sup>y.1</sup>           pak  
<sup>24</sup> fight A(neg) <sup>25</sup> rs(eat meat).cnt ptcl(emph) sit  
attö]                   [tek   yawukman<sup>y</sup>           tənö   ka  
lexSP.4(pres)       <sup>26</sup> camp A(other).dpf meat.int come  
yita                   t<sup>y</sup>eyikka]           [an   aröntönnö]  
3sgmSP.2(pres/past) scrounger.sfm <sup>27</sup> give lexSP.1(sequ).3sgmOP
- [lak           wöwöntön]           <sup>28</sup> [ηat<sup>y</sup>           pak   attö]  
<sup>28</sup> eat(meat) 3sgSP.1(sequ)   ptcl(emph) sit lexSP.4(pres)
- [katma           attö]                   [akana   wi]           [alawar  
<sup>30</sup> laugh.cnt lexSP.4(pres)   <sup>31</sup> A(neg) fight <sup>32</sup> woman  
ηat<sup>y</sup>           nönö]                   [alalk   yinmeyit<sup>y</sup>           anta  
ptcl(emph) 3sgfSP.4(pres)   <sup>33</sup> child little(plm) adv(allright)  
wöttö]                   [akana   winö]                   [wak   pi  
3p1SP.4(pres)       <sup>34</sup> A(neg) water.int       <sup>35</sup> water go  
wutta]                   [alawar   pin<sup>y</sup>                   wöröntön]  
3p1SP.3(pres/past)       <sup>36</sup> woman get water 3p1SP.1(sequ)
- [ka           wutta                   t<sup>y</sup>öη           t<sup>y</sup>akt<sup>y</sup>et]  
<sup>37</sup> come 3p1SP.2(pres/past) wood/fire VRcpt(prepare)
- [wak           ñöyat   wöröntön]           [puřunpuřun   wöyö]  
<sup>38</sup> water cook 3p1SP.1(sequ)   <sup>39</sup> boil           3sgeSP.6(pres)

1

The emphatic particle ηat<sup>y</sup> is translated here by the mildly emphatic *just* (as in *We went out and just enjoyed*).

[yin <sup>y</sup> a wapi nunta]	[aŋ
<sup>40</sup> man take 3sgfSP.2(pres/past)	<sup>41</sup> give
wöwöntönnö	mɛltapali]
3sgfSP.1(sequ).3sgmOP	propr.seize.ptcpl <sup>42</sup> drink
wöwöntön]	[akana wi]
3sgmSP.1(sequ)	<sup>43</sup> A(neg) fight <sup>44</sup> P(dm)other(pl)
wöttö	pin <sup>y</sup> wapi aŋ wöwöntönwörö]
3plSP.4(pres)	get water take give 3sgfSP.1(sequ).3plOP
[tuřk wöröntön]	[yur ařö
<sup>45</sup> drink 3plSP.1(sequ)	<sup>46</sup> lie down lexSP.5(pres) dawn tekāt <sup>y</sup> ]
[purwaryinŋa alawar minö	pi nunta]
<sup>47</sup> ts(morning) woman food(veg).int go	3sgfSP.2(pres/past)
[yin <sup>y</sup> a attö]	[mi titit tat <sup>y</sup> ma
<sup>48</sup> man lexSP.4(pres)	<sup>49</sup> clf 'cheeky' yam strike.cnt
nunta]	[ka nunta kölp
3sgfSP.2(pres/past)	<sup>50</sup> come 3sgfSP.2(pres/past) roast
wöwöntön]	[yin <sup>y</sup> a anin <sup>y</sup> paröt pak yönö]
3sgfSP.1(sequ)	<sup>51</sup> man adv sit up sit 3sgmSP.4(pres)
[ŋak wöwöntön]	[alawar anin <sup>y</sup> mi
<sup>52</sup> eat(non-meat) 3sgmSP.1(sequ)	<sup>53</sup> woman adv food(veg)
watiyaŋ nuntawörö]	[mut <sup>y</sup> uřwuna
distribute 3sgfSP.2(pres/past).3plOP	<sup>54</sup> qf
ŋak wöröntön]	[alalk yinmeyit <sup>y</sup> alawar
eat(non-meat) 3plSP.1(sequ)	<sup>55</sup> child little(plm) woman
yin <sup>y</sup> a ŋuřa	ŋak wöröntön]
man A(other pl) eat(non-meat)	3plSP.1(sequ)

1

ourselves.) However, ŋat<sup>y</sup> cannot always be felicitously rendered by *just*. In such cases it is not translated; but the emphatic force remains implicit.

[pupilit<sup>y</sup><sup>2</sup> papařmat<sup>y</sup> ɲak wöřöntön]  
<sup>56</sup> old men old women eat(non-meat) 3plSP.1(sequ)  
 [yur ařö tɛkat<sup>y</sup>] [wi akana]  
<sup>57</sup> lie down lexSP.5(pres) down <sup>58</sup> fight A(neg)  
 [ɲat<sup>y</sup> paröt wařa atta]  
<sup>59</sup> ptcl(emph) sit up walk around lexSP.2(pres/past)  
 ɲuřɲutman<sup>y</sup>t<sup>y</sup>a] [tɛ pi atta watwatma  
 sleep.dpf.sfm <sup>60</sup> meat go lexSP.2(pres/past) VR cpt(fish.cnt)  
 tɛ wunö] [wɛřina t<sup>y</sup>iyit<sup>y</sup>] [ɲat<sup>y</sup>  
 clf barramundi.int <sup>61</sup> two rs(catch p10) <sup>62</sup> ptcl(emph)  
 mut<sup>y</sup>uřwuna lak] [akana mint<sup>y</sup>itak lakmanö]  
 qf eat(meat) <sup>63</sup> adv(neg) emph P rs(eat(meat).cnt.  
 [tɛman<sup>y</sup> pi yita] [tikalma  
<sup>64</sup> meat.dpf go 3sgmSP.2(pres/past) <sup>65</sup> lie down.cnt  
 yöyö] [anti yeřa yawuk pi  
 3sgmSP.5(pres) <sup>66</sup> adv( recip) adv P(another) go  
 yita] [pi yita tenö]  
 3sgmSP.2(pres/past) <sup>67</sup> go 3sgmSP.2(pres/past) meat.int  
 [kulpak yönö] [pi yita]  
<sup>68</sup> board(boat) 3sgmSP.4(pres) <sup>69</sup> go 3sgmSP.2(pres/past)  
 [watwatma yita] [tɛ t<sup>y</sup>iyit<sup>y</sup>  
<sup>70</sup> fish.cnt 3sgmSP.2(pres/past) <sup>71</sup> meat catch(p10)  
 wöwöntön] [tikka yita] [t<sup>y</sup>iyana  
 3sgmSP.1(sequ) <sup>72</sup> return 3sgmSP.2(pres/past) <sup>73</sup> give(p10)

2

This word is a partial reduplication of *pulit<sup>y</sup>*: *old man*; the only other noun encountered so far that is pluralized by partial reduplication is *papařmat<sup>y</sup>*: *old women* from *pařmat<sup>y</sup>*: *old woman*.

wöwöntön]	[alawar pařat nöntyö]	[t <sup>y</sup> öŋ
3sgmSP.1(sequ)	<sup>74</sup> woman get up	3sgfSP.6(pres) <sup>75</sup> wood
leřp	wöwöntön]	[ka nunta
gather firewood	3sgfSP.1(sequ)	<sup>76</sup> come 3sgfSP.2(pres/past)
t <sup>y</sup> öŋ	t <sup>y</sup> akt <sup>y</sup> et]	[pirpiyet wöwöntön]
fire/wood	VRcpt(prepare)	<sup>77</sup> ignite 3sgfSP.1(sequ)
[te ŋöyat wöwöntön	yin <sup>y</sup> anö]	[ŋöyat wapi
<sup>78</sup> meat cook	3sgfSP.1(sequ) man.bf	<sup>79</sup> cook take
nunta]	[aŋ wöwöntönnö]	
3sgfSP.2(pres/past)	<sup>80</sup> give 3sgfSP.1(sequ).3sgmOP	
[pařöt pak lak	wöwöntön]	[alalk yikpi
<sup>81</sup> (sit up sit) eat(meat)	3sgmSP.1(sequ)	<sup>82</sup> child little(sgm)
kay yöyöwöřö]	[ka wutta]	
call	3sgmSP.6(pres).3plOP	<sup>83</sup> come 3plSP.2(pres/past)
[alalk yinmeyit <sup>y</sup>	lak wöřöntön]	[ŋat <sup>y</sup>
<sup>84</sup> child little(plm) eat(meat)	3plSP.1(sequ)	<sup>85</sup> ptcl(emph)
lakma	wutta	alalk yinmeyit <sup>y</sup> t <sup>y</sup> a]
eat(meat).cnt	3plSP.2(pres/past)	child little(plm).sfm
[ŋat <sup>y</sup>	katpararma	wutta alalk
<sup>86</sup> ptcl(emph)	play around.cnt	3plSP.2(pres/past) child
yinmeyit <sup>y</sup> t <sup>y</sup> a]	[alawar nönö	tikalma
little(plm).sfm	<sup>87</sup> woman 3sgfSP.4(pres)	lie down.cnt
nönyö]	[yin <sup>y</sup> a ŋat <sup>y</sup>	pařöt pak yönö]
3sgfSP.5(pres)	<sup>88</sup> man ptcl(emph)	sit up sit 3sgmSP.4(pres)
[ŋat <sup>y</sup>	tek yawukan	pařat yipi yita]
<sup>89</sup> ptcl(emph)	camp A(other).loc	get up leave 3sgmSP.2(pres/past)
[pi yita	tek yawuk	lamlammanö]
<sup>90</sup> go	3sgmSP.2(pres/past)	camp A(other) VRcpt(talk.cnt.int)

[tik ki yita] [alawaryinḡana pak  
<sup>91</sup> back ss 3sgmSP.2(pres/past) <sup>92</sup> woman.loc.loc sit  
yönö] [wi akana] [alawarman<sup>y</sup> akana  
3sgmSP.4(pres) <sup>93</sup> fight A(neg) <sup>94</sup> woman.dpf adv(neg)  
lam nuntanö] [alalk yikpi  
talk 3sgfSP.2(pres/past).3sgmOP <sup>95</sup> child little(sgm)  
yöntön melpapu maparapi yitanö]  
3sgmSP father follow.go 3sgmSP.2(pres/past).3sgmOP  
[wutta wöntöt aḡawan tikka wutta  
<sup>96</sup> 3p1SP.2(pres/past) dlm A(qf) back.come 3p1SP.2(pres/  
wöntöt] [pak wöttö wöntöt melwiyyinḡa alalk  
(dlm) <sup>97</sup> sit 3p1SP.4(pres) dlm mother.loc child  
yikpi yin<sup>y</sup>a yöntön]<sup>3</sup> [anin<sup>y</sup> yin<sup>y</sup>a alawar pi  
little(sgm) man 3sgmSP <sup>98</sup> adv man woman go  
wutta wöntöt] [alawar wapi yita  
3p1SP.2(pres/past) dlm <sup>99</sup> woman take 3sgmSP.2(pres/past)  
tek yawukan lamlammanö] [lamlamma  
camp A(other)loc VRcpt(talk.cnt.int) <sup>100</sup> talk.cnt  
wutta wöntöt aḡawan] [tikka wutta  
3p1SP.2(pres/past) dlm A(qf) <sup>101</sup> back.come 3p1SP.2(pres/  
wöntöt] [tek yawuknö alawarwuna pi  
dlm <sup>102</sup> ts(camp) A(other.int) woman.qf go  
nunta lamlamma tek yawukanta]  
3sgfSP.2(pres/past) VRcpt(talk.cnt) camp A(other).loc.sfm

3

Note that because *yin<sup>y</sup>a* is not a kinship term the Possessive Adjective follows, rather than precedes, the Noun that it qualifies.

[alawarwuna wuřuwa yin<sup>y</sup>a akana] [alawar  
<sup>103</sup> woman.qf 3p1SP.5(past) man A(neg) <sup>104</sup> woman  
 yin<sup>y</sup>a yawöt akana pi atta taŋ]  
 man lexSP adv(neg) go lexSP.2(pres/past) miŋ(intr)  
 [alawaryinŋa t<sup>y</sup>eyantak t<sup>y</sup>etalina akana]  
<sup>105</sup> woman.loc hear stand.ptcpl.loc adv(neg)  
 [wöröntön ŋat<sup>y</sup> mint<sup>y</sup>itak wörö] [yawöt  
<sup>106</sup> 3p1SP ptcl(emph) emphP 3p1SP.5(pres) <sup>107</sup> lexSP  
 pana yin<sup>y</sup>awuna attö] [alawar nan  
 (iter) man.qf lexSP.4(pres) <sup>108</sup> woman A(dm)  
 akana pi nunta t<sup>y</sup>eyantakmanö]  
 adv(neg) go 3sgfSP.2(pres/past) VRcpt(hear.cnt.int)  
 [tat<sup>y</sup>puk yinmaŋayi alawara] [aka  
<sup>109</sup> hit.possib 3sgmSP.1(purp) woman.sfm <sup>110</sup> inj  
 nanta] [attö ařö] [paröt  
 P(dm).sfm <sup>111</sup> lexSP.4(pres) lexSP.5(pres) <sup>112</sup> sit up  
 wařa atta] [tε pi attuŋ  
 walk around lexSP.2(pres/past) <sup>113</sup> meat go lexSP.2(purp)  
 naman ařöntön] [tε pi atta  
 say lexSP.1(sequ) <sup>114</sup> meat go lexSP.2(pres/past)  
 tε tiřinnö] [alawar yen wa wöwöntön]  
 clf turtle.int <sup>115</sup> woman yamstick pick up 3sgfSP.1(sequ)  
 [karma nunta] [kuley  
<sup>116</sup> prod(ground).cnt 3sgfSP.2(pres/past) <sup>117</sup> stab  
 wöwöntön] [tutt<sup>y</sup>et wöwöntön] [peyikan  
 3sgfSP.1(sequ) <sup>118</sup> caus.stand 3sgfSP.1(sequ) <sup>119</sup> bag.loc  
 wuřk wöwöntön] [alalk ŋunna katpararma  
 put in 3sgfSP.1(sequ) <sup>120</sup> child ss.loc play around

yita]	[kuwpuk	wutta	
3sgmSP.2(pres/past)	<sup>121</sup> dive(p1S)	3p1SP.2(pres/past)	
alawara]	[yin <sup>y</sup> a	yε̣ra	kark pi yita]
woman.sfm	<sup>112</sup> man	adv go up	go 3sgmSP.2(pres/past)
[pak	naqatna	yönö]	[tikalma
<sup>123</sup> sit	top of bank.loc	3sgmSP.4(pres)	<sup>124</sup> lie down.cnt
yöyö]	[alawarman <sup>y</sup>	tε	tiřin wama
3sgSP.5(pres)	<sup>125</sup> woman.dpf	clf	turtle pick up.cnt
nunta]	[kark	nunta	ηunna]
3sgfSP.2(pres/past)	<sup>126</sup> go up	3sgfSP.2(pres/past)	ss.loc
[tε	tiřin	pam	wöwöntön]
<sup>127</sup> clf	turtle	put	3sgfSP.1(sequ)
t <sup>y</sup> öŋ	t <sup>y</sup> en <sup>y</sup> ]	[t <sup>y</sup> öŋ	tapakma
fire	VRcpt(make)	<sup>129</sup> wood	break.cnt 3sgfSP.2(pres/past)
[ka	nunta]	[t <sup>y</sup> öŋ	t <sup>y</sup> akt <sup>y</sup> et
<sup>130</sup> come	3sgfSP.2(pres/past)	<sup>131</sup> fire	prepare 3sgfSP.2(pres/past)
[tε	ŋöyat	wöwöntön]	[yin <sup>y</sup> a
<sup>132</sup> meat	cook	3sgfSP.1(sequ)	<sup>133</sup> man
yöyö]	[akana	ŋöyat	yita]
3sgmSP.5(pres)	<sup>134</sup> adv.(neg)	cook	3sgmSP.2(pres/past)
[alawar	ŋöyat	wöwöntön]	[muta
<sup>135</sup> woman	cook	3sgfSP.1(sequ)	<sup>136</sup> ts
wöwöntönnö	alawarwan̄ka.]	[yin <sup>y</sup> a	aŋ
3sgfSP.1(sequ).3sgmOP	woman.ag.sfm	<sup>137</sup> man	give
wöwöntönnö]	[alalk	yikpi	aŋ
3sgfSP.1(sequ).3sgmOP	<sup>138</sup> child	little(sgm)	give

- wöwöntönnö] [mɛlpapu mɛlwiyi lak  
 3sgfSP.1(sequ).3sgmOP <sup>139</sup> father mother eat(meat)
- wöröntön] [anin<sup>y</sup> yin<sup>y</sup>a alawar lak wöröntön]  
 3plSP.1(sequ) <sup>140</sup> adv man woman eat(meat) 3plSP.1(sequ)  
 [alalk yinmeyit<sup>y</sup> lakma wöttö  
<sup>141</sup> child little(plm) eat(meat).cnt 3plSP.4(pres)
- wirŋak] [miři ŋun t<sup>y</sup>et nöntyö] [pi  
 adv(trm) <sup>142</sup> sun ss stand 3sgfSP.6(pres) <sup>143</sup> go
- wutta tekanta] [tekan pi  
 3plSP.2(pres/past) camp.loc.sfm <sup>144</sup> camp.loc go
- wutta ŋunna] [ŋat<sup>y</sup> yin<sup>y</sup>a  
 3plSP.2(pres/past) ss.loc <sup>145</sup> ptcl(emph) an
- yönö pawurkan] [alawar pařakpařakma  
 3sgmSP.4(pres) floor.loc <sup>146</sup> woman make bed.cnt
- nunta] [pařakpařakma nunta]  
 3sgfSP.2(pres/past) <sup>147</sup> make bed.cnt 3sgfSP.2(pres/past)
- [pařakpařakma nunta wirŋak] [pak  
<sup>148</sup> make bed.cnt 3sgfSP.2(pres/past) adv(trm) <sup>149</sup> sit
- nönö anin<sup>y</sup>] [yin<sup>y</sup>a ŋat<sup>y</sup> yönö  
 3sgfSP.4(pres) adv <sup>150</sup> man ptcl(emph) 3sgmSP.4(pres)
- perpak yönö] [anin<sup>y</sup> yita  
 rest.sit 3sgmSP.4(pres) <sup>151</sup> adv 3sgmSP.2(pres/past)
- yur yöyö] [apap wöwöntön]  
 lie down 3sgmSP.5(pres) <sup>152</sup> sick 3sgmSP.1(sequ)
- [yawukman<sup>y</sup> tek yawukman<sup>y</sup> akana kay]  
<sup>153</sup> A(other).dpf camp A(other).dpf adv(neg) rs(call out)
- [akana tattat wuttanö]  
<sup>154</sup> adv(neg) look for 3plSP.2(pres/past).3sgmOP



[ $\eta$ at <sup>y</sup>	yur	yöyö	tekat <sup>y</sup> ]		
<sup>155</sup> ptcl(emph)	lie down	3sgmSP.5(pres)	dawn		
[puwaryin $\eta$ a	paröt	pak	yönö]	[karala	
<sup>156</sup> morning	sit up	sit	3sgmSP.4(pres)	<sup>157</sup> body/skin	
yunpayin	yita]		[lamlampararma		
good	3sgmSP.2(pres/past)	<sup>158</sup> talk.around.cnt			
yita]		[katma	yita]		
3sgmSP.2(pres/past)	<sup>159</sup> laugh.cnt	3sgmSP.2(pres/past)			
[na $\eta$ a $\check{r}$ a	pi	atu $\eta$	tek	yawuk	naman
<sup>160</sup> adv(desid)	go	1sgSP.2(purp)	camp	A(other)	say
wöwöntön]		[mamakma	yitawörö]		
3sgmSP.1(sequ)	<sup>161</sup> good-bye.cnt	3sgmSP.2(pres/past).3plOP			
[alawar	ki	nimpit	taparin <sup>y</sup>	wöwöntön]	
<sup>162</sup> woman	ss	swag	roll up	3sgfSP.1(sequ)	
[kalyurpa $\check{r}$ at		nöntyö]	[yen	pa $\check{r}$ akut	
<sup>163</sup> put on shoulder.get up	3sgfSP.6(pres)	<sup>164</sup> yamstick	billy-can		
luplup	nönö	alawara]	[yin <sup>y</sup> a		
gather together	3sgfSP.6(pres)	woman.sfm	<sup>165</sup> man		
yöntön	t <sup>y</sup> a $\eta$ ar	yaruwa	t <sup>y</sup> iyit <sup>y</sup>	wöwöntön	te
3sgmSP	spear	woomera	pick up(p10)	3sgmSP.1(sequ)	meat
eymanö		[pak	wöttö	wöntöt	
VRcpt(spear.cnt.int)	<sup>166</sup> sit	3plSP.4(pres)	d1m		
a $\eta$ ur $\check{r}$ kna]		[te	taratpararma	yita]	
ss(halfway).loc	<sup>167</sup> meat	look(p10).around.cnt	3sgmSP.2(pres/past)		
[ey	wöwöntön	t <sup>y</sup> eyötta]	[waka		
<sup>168</sup> spear	3sgmSP.1(sequ)	red kangaroo.sfm	<sup>169</sup> pick up.come		
yita $\eta$ ayi		yuryi]	[ $\eta$ at <sup>y</sup>		
3sgmSP.2(pres/past).3sgfOP	lay down.leave	<sup>170</sup> ptcl(emph)			

yita	yur	yöyö	yin <sup>y</sup> awa]
3sgmSP.2(pres/past)	lie down	3sgmSP.5(pres)	man.sfm
[alawar	pařat	nöntyö]	[tö t <sup>y</sup> at
<sup>171</sup>	woman	get up	3sgfSP.6(pres)
			<sup>172</sup> hole dig
wöwöntön	ηun]	[walk	lupluppamma
3sgfSP.1(sequ)	ss	<sup>173</sup> stone	gather together.put(pl0)
nunta]		[yin <sup>y</sup> a	paröt pak yönö]
3sgfSP.2(pres/past)	<sup>174</sup> man	sit up	sit 3sgmSP.4(pres)
[t <sup>y</sup> et	tapörök	wöwöntön]	[larap wöwöntön]
<sup>175</sup>	leg (pl0)	3sgmSP.1(sequ)	<sup>176</sup> tie 3sgmSP.1(sequ)
[t <sup>y</sup> öη	t <sup>y</sup> akt <sup>y</sup> et	nunta]	[t <sup>y</sup> öη
<sup>177</sup>	fire/wood	prepare	3sgfSP.2(pres/past)
			<sup>178</sup> wood
pirpiyet]	[ηeηe	wöyö]	[te
(ignite)	<sup>179</sup> burn(intr)	3sgeSP.6(pres)	<sup>180</sup> clf
t <sup>y</sup> eyöt	tełkηa	wöwöntön]	[wöntuřp
red kangaroo	singe (fur off)	3sgfSP.1(sequ)	<sup>181</sup> de-gut
wöwöntön]	[alawar	tek tatma	nönö]
3sgfSP.1(sequ)	<sup>182</sup> woman	camp look.cnt	3sgfSP.4(pres)
[alalk	yikpi	katpararma	yita]
<sup>183</sup>	child	little(sgm)	play.around.cnt 3sgmSP.2(pres/past)
[yelik	ηöyat	wöwöntön]	[yin <sup>y</sup> a yipi
<sup>184</sup>	liver	cook	3sgfSP.1(sequ)
			<sup>185</sup> man leave.go
yita	pak]	[t <sup>y</sup> öη	wiřk
3sgmSP.2(pres/past)	VRcpt(sit)	<sup>186</sup> fire	finish
wutakka]		[yöntön	pařatka
3sgeSP.2(pres/past).foc	<sup>187</sup>	3sgmSP	get up.come
yita]		[walk	kararkwarat wöwöntön
3sgmSP.2(pres/past)	<sup>188</sup>	stone	take out (pl0) 3sgmSP.1(sequ)

- pamyi] [t<sup>y</sup>uřkwat wöwöntön manna]  
 put(p10).leave <sup>189</sup> put inside 3sgmSP.1(sequ) stomach.loc  
 [walk wuřk wöwöntön mantulmanan]  
<sup>190</sup> stone put into 3sgmSP.1(sequ) heart.loc  
 [yawuk pön<sup>y</sup>an wuřk wöwöntön]  
<sup>191</sup> P(another) belly.loc put into 3sgmSP.1(sequ)  
 [yawuk t<sup>y</sup>inpititan wuřk wöwöntön walkka]  
<sup>192</sup> P(another) anus.loc put into 3sgmSP.1(sequ) stone.sfm  
 [wayuryi wöwöntön kölpt<sup>y</sup>et tönan]  
<sup>193</sup> pick up.lay.leave 3sgmSP.1(sequ) roast hole.loc  
 [alawar anti tɛy<sup>m</sup>a nönö] [ařawan  
<sup>194</sup> woman adv(recip) wait.cnt 3sgfSP.4(pres) <sup>195</sup> A(qf)  
 kuřput wöřöntön wöntöt wiř<sup>h</sup>ak] [alalk yikpi  
 cover 3plSP.1(sequ) dlm ptcl <sup>196</sup> child little(sgm)  
 nan akana ka yita] [walk lɛřp  
 A(dm) adv(neg) come 3sgmSP.2(pres/past) <sup>197</sup> stone hot  
 wamatɛlk yönpuŋ alalk yikpiwa]  
 pick up.cnt.possib 3sgmSP.2(purp) child little(sgm).sfm  
 [ŋiřkpuk yinma] <sup>199</sup> [yin<sup>y</sup>a alawar  
<sup>198</sup> die.possib 3sgmSP.1(purp) man woman  
 wöřöntönwuna kuřput wöřöntön]  
 3plSP.qf cover 3plSP.1(sequ)

## TEXT 1

[I <sub>1</sub> speak the language myself] [I <sub>2</sub> go to meet them] and  
 [we <sub>3</sub> speak our language to one another] [They <sub>4</sub> speak] and [I <sub>5</sub>  
 speak to them] [We <sub>6</sub> go to another camp, a good camp] [We <sub>7</sub>  
 arrive at their camp] and [sit down] <sub>8</sub> [It is a good camp] <sub>9</sub> [I <sub>10</sub>

*sleep till dawn*]<sub>1</sub><sup>1</sup> [*In the morning we return*]<sub>1</sub><sup>2</sup> [*They stay* ]  
 [*Then they come to meet me here* ]<sub>1</sub><sup>3</sup> [*Right! Let's go for*  
*meat*]<sub>1</sub><sup>5</sup> [*We hunt out (and) spear a red kangaroo*] and [*we*  
*return*] and [*we roast it at the camp*]<sub>1</sub><sup>7</sup> [*One gets a leg*]  
<sub>1</sub><sup>9</sup> [*Another gets a leg* ]<sub>2</sub><sup>0</sup> [*Another gets the head* ]<sub>2</sub><sup>1</sup> [*Another*  
*gets the back* ]<sub>2</sub><sup>2</sup> [*Another gets the tail* ]<sub>2</sub><sup>3</sup> [*One (gets) one*  
*arm, another gets the other arm* ]<sub>2</sub><sup>4</sup> [(*There is*) *no quarrel*]  
<sub>2</sub><sup>5</sup> [*We just eat (and) sit down* ]<sub>2</sub><sup>6</sup> [*A scrounger comes from*  
*another camp for meat*] and [*we give him (some)* ]<sub>2</sub><sup>7</sup> [*He*  
*eats* ]<sub>2</sub><sup>9</sup> [*We just sit down*] and [*laugh* ]<sub>3</sub><sup>0</sup> [(*There is*) *no*  
*quarrel* ]<sub>3</sub><sup>2</sup> [*The woman sits down*] and [*the little boys*  
*are sitting down allright* ]<sub>3</sub><sup>4</sup> [(*There is*) *no quarrel* ]<sub>3</sub><sup>5</sup> [*The*  
*women go*] and [*get water* ]<sub>3</sub><sup>6</sup> [*They come (and) prepare a*  
*fire* ]<sub>3</sub><sup>8</sup> [*They heat the water*] and [*it boils* ]<sub>4</sub><sup>0</sup> [(*The*  
*woman*) *takes (it)*] and [*gives it to (her) husband*]  
<sub>4</sub><sup>2</sup> [*He drinks* ]<sub>4</sub><sup>3</sup> [(*There is*) *no quarrel* ]<sub>4</sub><sup>4</sup> [*She gets water,*  
*takes (it) and gives (it) to the other people sitting down*]  
<sub>4</sub><sup>5</sup> [*They drink* ]<sub>4</sub><sup>6</sup> [*We lie down till dawn* ]<sub>4</sub><sup>7</sup> [*In the morning*  
*the woman goes for (vegetable) food* ]<sub>4</sub><sup>8</sup> [*We men remain*]  
<sub>4</sub><sup>9</sup> [*She is moving (about) digging up 'cheeky' yams* ]<sub>5</sub><sup>0</sup> [*She*  
*comes (and) roasts them*)]<sub>5</sub><sup>1</sup> [*Then (her husband) sits up*]  
 and [*eats* ]<sub>5</sub><sup>2</sup> [*Then the woman distributes the food among*  
*them*] and [*everyone eats* ]<sub>5</sub><sup>4</sup> [*The little boys, the women*  
*(and) the other men eat* ]<sub>5</sub><sup>6</sup> [*The old men (and) the old women*  
*eat* ]<sub>5</sub><sup>7</sup> [*We lie down till dawn* ]<sub>5</sub><sup>8</sup> [(*There is*) *no quarrel*]  
<sub>5</sub><sup>9</sup> [*We just wake up (lit. sit up from sleep) (and) walk around*]

<sup>4</sup>The deictic function of Conjugation 6 (v. 3.16).

<sub>60</sub> [We go for barramundi] and <sub>61</sub> [catch two]  
<sub>63</sub> [Everyone eats (lit. not for self to eat)] <sub>65</sub> [(The one who) went for meat lies down] <sub>66</sub> [Then, in turn, another goes] <sub>67</sub> [He goes for meat] and <sub>68</sub> [boards (a canoe)] <sub>69</sub> [He goes fishing] <sub>71</sub> [He catches two (fish)] <sub>72</sub> [returns] and <sub>73</sub> [distributes (them)] <sub>74</sub> [The woman gets up] and <sub>75</sub> [gathers firewood] <sub>76</sub> [She comes (and) prepares a fire] and <sub>77</sub> [ignites (it)] <sub>78</sub> [She cooks the meat for the man] <sub>79</sub> [She cooks (and) takes (it)] and <sub>80</sub> [gives (it) to him] <sub>81</sub> [He sits up (and) eats] <sub>82</sub> [The little boy calls out to them] and <sub>83</sub> [the little boys come] and <sub>84</sub> [eat (meat)] <sub>85</sub> [The little boys are just eating (meat)] and <sub>86</sub> [playing around] <sub>87</sub> [This woman lies down] and <sub>88</sub> [the man sits up (and) remains sitting] and <sub>89</sub> [gets up to leave for another camp] <sub>90</sub> [He goes to another camp to talk] <sub>91</sub> [He returns] and <sub>92</sub> [sits down beside the woman] <sub>93</sub> [(There is no quarrel] <sub>94</sub> [The woman does not speak to him] <sub>95</sub> [The little boy follows his father] <sub>96</sub> [The two of them both come back together] <sub>97</sub> [The little boy (and) his father both sit down beside the mother] <sub>98</sub> [The man and woman go together] <sub>99</sub> [He takes the woman (i.e., his wife) to another camp to talk] <sub>100</sub> [They both talk together] and <sub>101</sub> [return] <sub>102</sub> [The next time only the woman (i.e. his wife) went to another camp to talk] <sub>103</sub> [Only women were there; no men] <sub>104</sub> [We men do not mix with women] nor <sub>105</sub> [do we listen standing beside the women] <sub>106</sub> [They just keep to themselves] <sub>107</sub> [So only we

5

This exemplifies the deictic function of Conjugation 4 (v.3.14)

6

The deictic function of Conjugation 5 (v. 3.15)

men are here] <sub>108</sub>[That woman (i.e. his wife) does not go to  
 listen] <sub>109</sub>[He might hit her] <sub>110</sub>[How about that!] <sub>111</sub>[We sit  
 down (and) lie down] <sub>112</sub>[(Then) we sit up (and) walk around]  
<sub>113</sub>["We're going for meat," we say] <sub>114</sub>[We go for turtle]  
<sub>115</sub>[The woman gets (her) yamstick] <sub>116</sub>[She goes along  
 prodding the swamp (feeling for turtles)] <sub>117</sub>[She stabs (one),]  
<sub>118</sub>[retrieves (it)] and <sub>119</sub>[puts (it) into a bag] <sub>120</sub>[That  
 child plays around] <sub>121</sub>[The women dive (into the water)]  
<sub>122</sub>[Then a man arrives] and <sub>123</sub>[sits down at the top of the  
 bank] and <sub>124</sub>[lies down] <sub>125</sub>[The woman is getting turtle]  
 and <sub>126</sub>[She goes up (the bank) over there] and <sub>127</sub>[puts the  
 turtles (down)] <sub>128</sub>[She goes (and) makes a fire] <sub>129</sub>[She breaks  
 wood] and <sub>130</sub>[comes] and <sub>131</sub>[prepares the fire] and  
<sub>132</sub>[cooks the meat] <sub>133</sub>[The man lies down] <sub>134</sub>[He does not  
 cook] <sub>135</sub>[The woman cooks] <sub>136</sub>[Later on she gives him meat]  
<sub>137</sub>[She gives (some) to the man] <sub>138</sub>[She gives some to the  
 little boy] <sub>139</sub>[The father (and) the mother eat] <sub>140</sub>[Then  
 the men (and) women eat] <sub>141</sub>[The little boys eat (the meat)  
 (and) that is all] <sub>142</sub>[It is early evening (between 5 and  
 6 o'clock)] <sub>143</sub>[They go the camp] <sub>144</sub>[They go to that camp  
 over there] <sub>145</sub>[The man just sits down on the floor] <sub>146</sub>[The  
 woman makes up one bed, then another, then another, (and)  
 that is all] <sub>149</sub>[Then she sits down] <sub>150</sub>[The man just sits  
 and rests] <sub>151</sub>[Then he goes (and) lies down] <sub>152</sub>[He is sick]  
<sub>153</sub>[From camp to camp no one calls for (or) looks for him]  
<sub>155</sub>[He just lies down till dawn] <sub>156</sub>[In the morning he sits  
 up] <sub>157</sub>[He is happy] <sub>158</sub>[He walks around (and) talks] and  
 [laughs] <sub>159</sub> ["I want to go to another camp," he says] and  
<sub>160</sub>

161[*bids them good-bye*] 162[*This woman rolls up his swag*]  
 163[*She puts (it) on her shoulder (and) stands up*] 164[*She  
 collects together the yamstick and the billy*] 165[*The man  
 gets (his) spear (and) woomera in order to spear animals  
 for meat*] 166[*They both sit down halfway (to the other  
 camp)*] 167[*He walks around looking for potential meat*] and  
 168[*spears a red kangaroo*] 169[*The man brings (it) to her,  
 lays (it) down (and) leaves (it)*] and 170[*just goes to lie  
 down*] 171[*The woman gets up*] and 172[*digs a hole there*]  
 173[*She gathers the stones together in a heap*] 174[*The man  
 sits up*] and 175[*breaks the legs (of the kangaroo)*] and  
 176[*ties them (together)*] 177[*She prepares a fire*] and  
 178[*ignites (it)*] 179[*It burns*] 180[*She singes (the fur off)  
 the kangaroo*] and 181[*takes the guts out*] 182[*The woman  
 is looking after<sup>7</sup> the camp*] 183[*The little boy plays round  
 about*] 184[*She cooks the liver*] and 185[*the man goes away  
 to sit down*] 186[*The fire dies down*] 187[*The man gets up  
 (and) approaches*] 188[*He takes the stones (out of the hole)  
 (and) leaves (them) in a heap*] 189[*He puts a stone inside  
 the stomach*] 190[*He puts a stone on the heart*] and  
 191[*another in the belly*] and 192[*another in the kangaroo's  
 anus*] 193[*He picks (the kangaroo) up, lays (it) down and  
 leaves it to roast in the hole*] 194[*The woman, for her part,  
 is waiting*] 195[*Together they both cover (it) up (and) that's  
 all*] 196[*That little boy does not approach*] 197[*He might pick  
 up the hot stone*] and 198[*he might die*] 199[*Only the man  
 (and) the woman cover (it) up*]

<sup>7</sup> tat + Conj. 4: "look after".

## TEXT 2

[tɛ papalu waʁarat wutta tek  
<sup>1</sup> clf buffalo wander around(PLS) 3p1SP.2(pres/past) camp  
 yawötyinḡana] [mi weni ḡakma wutta]  
 lexSP.loc.loc <sup>2</sup> clf grass eat(non-meat).cnt 3p1SP.2(pres/  
 past)  
 [put<sup>y</sup>yɛnman<sup>y</sup> ka wutta] [wi  
<sup>3</sup> bush.comit.dpf come 3p1SP.2(pres/past) <sup>4</sup> fight  
 anti tat<sup>y</sup> wutta papaluwa] [waya  
 adv(recip) hit 3p1SP.2(pres/past) buffalo.sfm <sup>5</sup> wire  
 tarat<sup>y</sup> wöřöntön] [patuk t<sup>y</sup>uřk wutta]  
 strike(pl0) 3p1SP.1(sequ) <sup>6</sup> paddock enter 3p1SP.2(pres/past)  
 [tɛ papalu mut<sup>y</sup>uřwuna pima wutta]  
<sup>7</sup> clf buffalo qf go.cnt 3p1SP.2(pres/past)  
 [anin<sup>y</sup> t<sup>y</sup>uřk yita tömölyɛn papaluwa]  
<sup>8</sup> adv enter 3sgmSP.2(pres/past) testicles buffalo  
 [t<sup>y</sup>uřk yita yeřa nanta] [yeřa  
<sup>9</sup> enter 3sgmSP.2(pres/past) adv P(dm).sfm <sup>10</sup> adv  
 winö yita] [mat<sup>y</sup>anwaḡ akana  
 fight.int 3sgmSP.2(pres/past) <sup>11</sup> foot.ag(inst) A(neg)  
 pi atta] [taraktawaḡ pi atta]  
 go lexSP.2(pres/past) <sup>12</sup> tractor.ag(inst) go lexSP.2(pres/  
 past)  
 [nan put<sup>y</sup>yɛnman<sup>y</sup> yita] [yeřa  
<sup>13</sup> P(dm) bush.comit.dpf 3sgmSP.2(pres/past) <sup>14</sup> adv  
 winö yita] [ḡa Mitinḡan  
 fight.int 3sgmSP.2(pres/past) <sup>15</sup> 1sgSP (narrator's wife)  
 mapara yimin<sup>y</sup>yöřö] [piyantukna yitawa]  
 follow 3sgmSP.1(punct).lexOP <sup>16</sup> (ss).loc 3sgmSP.2(pres/  
 past).foc



[waya larapma atta] [ki weya! papalu!  
<sup>17</sup> wire tie.cnt lexSP.2(pres/past) <sup>18</sup> ss inj buffalo  
 papalu! naman nimin<sup>y</sup>] [nat<sup>y</sup> t<sup>y</sup>akatanki  
 buffalo say 3sgfSP.1(punct) <sup>19</sup> ptcl(emph) run.dc  
 yuwuřa] [pap pi atta] [paypi  
 3sgmSP.3(past) <sup>20</sup> rush go lexSP.2(pres/past) <sup>21</sup> emerge.go  
 atta patukman<sup>y</sup>t<sup>y</sup>a] [papakarar  
 lexSP.2(pres/past) paddock.dpf.sfm <sup>22</sup> rush.climb  
 atta t<sup>y</sup>öŋ yeřikyinŋana] [aŋuřkna  
 lexSP.2(pres/past) clf gum-tree.loc.loc <sup>23</sup> ss.loc  
 t<sup>y</sup>et yuyuwa] [waya akana tayt<sup>y</sup>iř larap]  
 stand 3sgmSP.6(past) <sup>24</sup> wire adv(neg) adv tie  
 [tikpi attakka ŋunna antuk pařakut  
<sup>25</sup> back.go lexSP.2(pres/past).foc ss.loc house white man  
 t<sup>y</sup>ut] [mat<sup>y</sup>an wařatka atta  
 VRcpt(awaken(tr)) <sup>26</sup> foot walk.come lexSP.2(pres/past)  
 kina] [tat yimin<sup>y</sup>yöřö] [nat<sup>y</sup> t<sup>y</sup>akat  
 ss.loc <sup>27</sup> see 3sgmSP.1(punct).lexOP <sup>28</sup> ptcl(emph) run  
 yitanki] [t<sup>y</sup>öŋ wikpiwaŋ ey  
 3sgmSP.2(pres/past).dc <sup>29</sup> fire little(sge).ag(inst) shoot  
 yimin<sup>y</sup>] [eyma yuwuřa]  
 3sgmSP.2(pres/past) <sup>30</sup> shoot.cnt 3sgmSP.3(past)  
 [t<sup>y</sup>alk yita] [akana yikpi  
<sup>31</sup> fall 3sgmSP.2(pres/past) <sup>32</sup> adv(neg) little(sgm)  
 yita yöntön newa] [yawuk pana  
 3sgmSP.2(pres/past) 3sgmSP big <sup>33</sup> P(another) adv(iter)  
 piyantukna yuyuwa] [pi atta ŋunna  
 ss.loc 3sgmSP.6(past) <sup>34</sup> go lexSP.2(pres/past) ss.loc

yurur] [tattat tikka attakka]  
 VRcpt(*lie down pls*) <sup>35</sup> look.look back.come lexSP.2(pres/past).  
 [walkyinŋa yuyuwa naŋatna] [tat  
<sup>36</sup> hill.loc 3sgmSP.6(past) top of bank.loc <sup>37</sup> see  
 yimin<sup>y</sup>yöřö] [nan t<sup>y</sup>akat yitanki]  
 3sgmSP.1(punct).lexOP <sup>38</sup> P(dm) run 3sgmSP.2(pres/past).dc  
 [ŋat<sup>y</sup> yawöt ŋat<sup>y</sup> lɛři atta ]  
<sup>39</sup> ptcl(emph) lexSP ptcl(emph) spread out lexSP.2(pres/past)  
 (intr)  
 [ŋa t<sup>y</sup>öŋ karar ata] [aŋuřkna  
<sup>40</sup> 1sgSP tree climb 1sgSP.2(pres/past) <sup>41</sup> ss.loc  
 t<sup>y</sup>ɛt yuyuwa] [paypiman<sup>y</sup> ɛy  
<sup>42</sup> stand 3sgmSP.6(past) emerge.go.dpf shoot  
 yimin<sup>y</sup>nö] [t<sup>y</sup>akattikpi yita]  
 3sgmSP.1(punct).3sgmOP <sup>43</sup> run.back.go 3sgmSP.2(pres/past)  
 [mapara yimin<sup>y</sup>nö] [ɛy yimin<sup>y</sup>nö]  
<sup>44</sup> follow 3sgmSP.1(punct).3sgmOP <sup>45</sup> shoot 3sgmSP.1(punct).  
 3sgmOP  
 [kay yuyuwa] [ŋuyma wutta  
<sup>46</sup> call out 3sgmSP.6(past) <sup>47</sup> enter.cnt 3plSP.2(pres/past)  
 yanakman<sup>y</sup>ŋa papaluwa] [ŋuyma wuřura]  
 one.neg buffalo.sfm <sup>48</sup> enter.cnt 3plSP.3(past)  
 [tun<sup>y</sup>ukarkma pakma attawa]  
<sup>49</sup> high place.arrive.cnt sit.cnt lexSP.2(pres/past).foc  
 [ŋuyma wuřura tɛ papalu nanta] [waya  
<sup>50</sup> enter.cnt 3plSP.3(past) clf buffalo A(dm).sfm <sup>51</sup> wire  
 tarat<sup>y</sup> wöřöntön] [ŋuy wutta  
<sup>52</sup> strike(pl0) 3plSP.1(sequ) enter 3plSP.2(pres/past)  
 puluki wiyiyen tɛ tömölyen nanta]  
 bullock milk.comit clf testicles.comit A(dm).sfm

[wi akana wutta] [waya nan  
<sup>53</sup> fight adv(neg) 3p1SP.2(pres/past) <sup>54</sup> wire A(dm)  
 pi atta wöntöt larapmanö]  
 go lexSP.2(pres/past) dlm VRcpt(tie.cnt.int)  
 [maparama wutta] [tat wöřöntönyöřö]  
<sup>55</sup> follow.cnt 3p1SP.2(pres/past) <sup>56</sup> see 3p1SP.1(sequ).lexOP  
 [yarwa yawöt ka wöřöñun<sup>y</sup>] [yawöt waya  
<sup>57</sup> boss lexSP come 3p1SP.2(progr) <sup>58</sup> lexSP wire  
 ki larapma atta puntu yanañaña] [tikpi  
 ss tie.cnt lexSP.2(pres/past) head ss <sup>59</sup> back.go  
 atta tek] [tikka wuttanki  
 lexSP.2(pres/past) camp <sup>60</sup> back.come 3p1SP.2(pres/past).dc  
 minöna] [ñakpararma wutta  
<sup>61</sup> food(veg).int.loc eat(non-meat).around.cnt 3p1SP.2(pres/  
 yawötyinña] [tek yawötyinña pañak wöřöntön]  
 lexSP.loc <sup>62</sup> camp lexSP.loc make camp 3p1SP.1(sequ)  
 [ñuřñutyurur wöřö puwara] [alint<sup>y</sup>iř  
<sup>63</sup> sleep.lie down(p10) 3p1SP.5(pres) night.sfm <sup>64</sup> afraid  
 attawa tε papalu nanta  
 lexSP.2(pres/past).foc clf buffalo A(dm).sfm  
 put<sup>y</sup>yenman<sup>y</sup>t<sup>y</sup>a] [waya altakmatεlk]  
 bush.comit.dpf.sfm <sup>65</sup> wire rs(break.cnt.possib)  
 [puwaryinña pi atta taratparar:  
<sup>66</sup> ts(morning) go lexSP.2(pres/past) VRcpt(look around)  
 akana] [antawuna wiřk waya] [anin<sup>y</sup> tarat<sup>y</sup>  
 adv(neg) <sup>67</sup> adv.qf finish wire <sup>68</sup> adv strike(p10)  
 t<sup>y</sup>uřkma yitawa] [waya tarat<sup>y</sup>ali  
 enter.cnt 3sgmSP.2(pres/past).foc <sup>69</sup> wire strike.ptcpl

wutta]	[t <sup>y</sup> ɛn <sup>y</sup> ɛn <sup>y</sup> ma	atta	
3plSP.2(pres/past)	<sup>70</sup> make(pl0).cnt	lexSP.2(pres/past)	
wirɲak]	[tikpi	atta	t <sup>y</sup> öŋ wunali
adv(trm)	<sup>71</sup> back.go	lexSP.2(pres/past)	fire big(sge)
wa]	[tarakta	t <sup>y</sup> ɛtyi]	[mat <sup>y</sup> anwaŋ
VRcpt(pick up)	<sup>72</sup> tractor	rs(stand.leave)	<sup>73</sup> foot.ag(inst)
tikka	atta]	[tɛ	papalu nan
back.come	lexSP.2(pres/past)	<sup>74</sup> clf	buffalo A(dm)
put <sup>y</sup> ɛnman <sup>y</sup>	tikalma	yöyö]	[apap
bush.comit.dpf	lie down.cnt	3sgmSP.5(pres)	<sup>75</sup> sick
wöwöntönman <sup>y</sup> ]	[ki	waya t <sup>y</sup> uřpt <sup>y</sup> uřpali	yita]
3sgmSP.1(sequ).dpf	<sup>76</sup> ss	wire cut.cut.ptcpl	3sgmSP.2(pres/past)
[tawut	milkmilkali	tat	yita
<sup>77</sup> blood	leak.leak.ptcpl	see	3sgmSP.2(pres/past)
parakutta]	[papalu	yawuk	tatpararma
white man.sfm	<sup>78</sup> buffalo	A(other)	see.around.cnt
atta]	[wayaman <sup>y</sup>	akana	t <sup>y</sup> uřpt <sup>y</sup> uřpali
lexSP.2(pres/past)	<sup>79</sup> wire.dpf	adv(neg)	cut.cut.ptcpl
wutta	antawuna	wiřk]	[antawuna
3plSP.2(pres/past)	adv.qf	finish	<sup>80</sup> adv.qf
naman	ařöntönna.]	[tattatpi	attawa]
say	lexSP.1(sequ).foc	<sup>81</sup> look	lexSP.2(pres/past)foc
[tikalma	yöyö]	[t <sup>y</sup> ɛřat	atyuwa]
<sup>82</sup> lie down	3sgmSP.5(pres)	<sup>83</sup> stand(plS)	lexSP.6(past)
[ɲat <sup>y</sup>	ɲun	t <sup>y</sup> akat	yuwuřanki
<sup>84</sup> ptcl(emp)	P(dm)	run	3sgmSP.3(past).dc
[t <sup>y</sup> öŋ	wikpiman <sup>y</sup>	kat <sup>y</sup>	yitaŋa]
<sup>85</sup> fire	little(sge).dpf	throw	3sgmSP.2(pres/past).dc

[ <i>anin<sup>y</sup> tikt<sup>y</sup>akatpi yita</i> ]	[ <i>yawöt akana</i> ]
<sup>86</sup> adv back.run.go 3sgmSP.2(pres/past)	<sup>87</sup> lexSP adv(neg)
<i>maparapi yitayöörö</i> ]	[ <i>pařakut yöntön</i> ]
<i>follow.go</i> 3sgmSP.2(pres/past).lexOP	<sup>88</sup> white man 3sgmSP
<i>mint<sup>y</sup>itak eytapma wöwöntönnö</i> ]	
emph P <i>spear.grab.cnt</i> 3sgmSP.1(sequ).3sgmOP	
[ <i>alint<sup>y</sup>iř atta</i> ]	[ <i>puluki papalu anta</i> ]
<sup>89</sup> afraid lexSP.2(pres/past)	<sup>90</sup> bullock buffalo adv
<i>wutta</i> ]	[ <i>anin<sup>y</sup> yawukman<sup>y</sup> t<sup>y</sup>uřk</i> ]
3plSP.2(pres/past)	<sup>91</sup> adv P(another).dpf enter
<i>yita</i>	<i>yeřa winö</i> ]
3sgmSP.2(pres/past) adv	<i>fight.int</i>
<i>atta</i> ]	[ <i>yawöt alint<sup>y</sup>iř</i> ]
lexSP.2(pres/past)	<sup>92</sup> lexSP afraid
<i>wittin<sup>y</sup>in<sup>y</sup>]</i>	[ <i>papalu katukman<sup>y</sup> ŋuypak</i> ]
3plSP.4(progr)	<sup>93</sup> buffalo ss.dpf enter.sit
<i>wutta</i> ]	[ <i>yawukman<sup>y</sup> yawukman<sup>y</sup> ŋuy</i> ]
3plSP.2(pres/past)	<sup>94</sup> P(another).dpf P(another).dpf enter
<i>wöřöntön mi weniwa</i> ]	[ <i>yawötyinŋa ŋak</i> ]
3plSP.1(sequ) clf grass.sfm	<sup>95</sup> lexSP.loc eat(non-meat)dc
<i>papaluwunawa</i> ]	[ <i>alint<sup>y</sup>iř attawa</i> ]
<i>buffalo.qf.sfm</i>	<sup>96</sup> afraid lexSP.2(pres/past).foc
<i>wuttawa</i>	[ <i>wi anti tat<sup>y</sup>ma</i> ]
3plSP.2(pres/past).foc	<sup>97</sup> fight adv(recip) hit.cnt
[ <i>akana antawan pi atta</i> ]	[ <i>waŋařiman<sup>y</sup></i> ]
<sup>98</sup> adv(neg) ss go lexSP.2(pres/past)	<sup>99</sup> 2sgSP.dpf
<i>tat yinmanunu</i> ]	[ <i>maparakat<sup>y</sup> yinmanunu</i> ]
see 3sgmSP.1(purp).2sgOP	<sup>100</sup> chase 3sgmSP.1(purp).2sgOP

[alalk yinmɛyit<sup>y</sup> kiman tat yinmawöřö]  
<sup>101</sup> child little(plm) ss.rbl see 3sgmSP.1(purp).3p10P  
 [mapařakat<sup>y</sup> yinmawöřö tɛ put<sup>y</sup>yɛnman<sup>y</sup>t<sup>y</sup>a]  
<sup>102</sup> chase 3sgmSP.1(purp).3p10P clf bush.comit.dpf.sfm  
 [yɛřa t<sup>y</sup>akatyiwaya yita] [tönöna  
<sup>103</sup> adv run.leave.go 3sgmSP.2(pres/past) <sup>104</sup> jungle.loc  
 t<sup>y</sup>uřkyiwaya yita]  
 enter.leave.go 3sgmSP.2(pres/past)

## TEXT 2

[<sub>1</sub>The buffalo wandered about up to our camp] and [<sub>2</sub>ate grass]  
 [<sub>3</sub>They came from the bush] [<sub>4</sub>The buffalo fought one another]  
 [<sub>5</sub>They broke the wire fence] and [<sub>6</sub>entered the paddock] [<sub>7</sub>A  
 large number of buffalo went in] [<sub>8</sub>Then a bull buffalo  
 entered] [<sub>9</sub>That one went in] [<sub>10</sub>At that point he wanted a  
 fight] [<sub>11</sub>We did not go by foot] [<sub>12</sub>We went by tractor]  
 [<sub>13</sub>The one who had come from the bush] [<sub>14</sub>wanted a fight at  
 that moment] [<sub>15</sub>He followed Mitigan (the narrator's wife)  
 and me] and [<sub>16</sub>went inside (the paddock)] [<sub>17</sub>We fixed up the  
 fence.]

[<sub>18</sub>"Here! Come here! Come here! Buffalo! Buffalo!"  
 she said] [<sub>19</sub>He just kept on running towards me] [<sub>20</sub>We rushed  
 off] and [<sub>21</sub>disappeared from the paddock] [<sub>22</sub>We rushed up  
 a gumtree] [<sub>23</sub>The buffalo was standing halfway (between the  
 fence and the gumtree)] [<sub>24</sub>We had not fixed the wire properly]  
 [<sub>25</sub>We went back to the house over there to wake the white  
 fellow] [<sub>26</sub>We came back here by foot] and [<sub>27</sub>he (the buffalo)  
 saw us] [<sub>28</sub>He ran towards us] [<sub>29</sub>(The white man) fired a .22]

<sub>3</sub><sup>0</sup> [He went on firing] <sub>3</sub><sup>1</sup> [(The buffalo) fell] <sub>3</sub><sup>2</sup> [He was not  
 little: he was a big one] <sub>3</sub><sup>3</sup> [Another one came<sup>8</sup> into the  
 paddock] <sub>3</sub><sup>4</sup> [We went over there to lie down] <sub>3</sub><sup>5</sup> [We came back  
 to look for (other buffalo)] <sub>3</sub><sup>6</sup> [One was standing up on the  
 top of the hill] and <sub>3</sub><sup>7</sup> [was looking at us] <sub>3</sub><sup>8</sup> [That one  
 ran towards us] <sub>3</sub><sup>9</sup> [We (the narrator and the white man)  
 just spread out] <sub>4</sub><sup>0</sup> [I climbed a tree] <sub>4</sub><sup>1</sup> [He (the buffalo)  
 stopped halfway (between the hill and the tree).] <sub>4</sub><sup>2</sup> [(The  
 white man) emerged and shot him] <sub>4</sub><sup>3</sup> [He (the white man) ran  
 back] and <sub>4</sub><sup>4</sup> [followed him] and <sub>4</sub><sup>5</sup> [shot him] <sub>4</sub><sup>6</sup> [(The  
 buffalo) cried out] <sub>4</sub><sup>7</sup> [A large number of buffalo entered  
 (the paddock)] <sub>4</sub><sup>8</sup> [They kept coming in] <sub>4</sub><sup>9</sup> [We lived there  
 for a year] and <sub>5</sub><sup>0</sup> [the buffalo kept coming in] and  
<sub>5</sub><sup>1</sup> [broke the wire] <sub>5</sub><sup>2</sup> [Those bullocks, cows and bulls came in]  
<sub>5</sub><sup>3</sup> [They did not fight] <sub>5</sub><sup>4</sup> [We both went to fix up that wire]  
<sub>5</sub><sup>5</sup> [They followed] and <sub>5</sub><sup>6</sup> [they saw us] <sub>5</sub><sup>7</sup> ["Our bosses are  
 coming," (they thought)] <sub>5</sub><sup>8</sup> [We fixed this wire in one corner  
 and <sub>5</sub><sup>9</sup> [went back to the camp] <sub>6</sub><sup>0</sup> [The (the buffalo) came back  
 for food] <sub>6</sub><sup>1</sup> [They wandered around beside us eating] <sub>6</sub><sup>2</sup> [They  
 settled down next to our camp] and <sub>6</sub><sup>3</sup> [at night they lay  
 down to sleep] <sub>6</sub><sup>4</sup> [We were afraid of that one from the bush]  
<sub>6</sub><sup>5</sup> [He might break the wire] <sub>6</sub><sup>6</sup> [In the morning we went to look  
 around (and) there were none (i.e. buffalo)] <sub>6</sub><sup>7</sup> [The wire fence  
 was allright] <sub>6</sub><sup>8</sup> [Then he broke in] <sub>6</sub><sup>9</sup> [They kept on breaking  
 the wire fences] <sub>7</sub><sup>0</sup> [We fixed them, and that was all] <sub>7</sub><sup>1</sup> [We  
 went back to get a shot-gun] <sub>7</sub><sup>2</sup> [We left the tractor standing]  
 and <sub>7</sub><sup>3</sup> [returned by foot] <sub>7</sub><sup>4</sup> [That buffalo from the bush lay

<sup>8</sup> The deictic function of Conjugation 6, v. 3.17.

down] <sub>7</sub><sup>5</sup>[He was sick] <sub>7</sub><sup>6</sup>[He had been lacerated by the wire]  
<sub>7</sub><sup>7</sup>[The white man saw that he was bleeding] <sub>7</sub><sup>8</sup>[We looked  
round from buffalo to buffalo] <sub>7</sub><sup>9</sup>[They were alright, not  
lacerated by the wire] <sub>8</sub><sup>1</sup>["They are alright," we said]  
<sub>8</sub><sup>1</sup>[We went to look] and <sub>8</sub><sup>2</sup>[he lay down] <sub>8</sub><sup>3</sup>[We stood up]  
and <sub>8</sub><sup>4</sup>[that buffalo just kept on running towards us, with  
the intention of fighting right then] <sub>8</sub><sup>5</sup>[(The white man)  
fired his .22 in that direction] <sub>8</sub><sup>6</sup>[Then (the buffalo) ran  
back] <sub>8</sub><sup>7</sup>[He did not follow us] <sub>8</sub><sup>8</sup>[(The white man) himself  
shot him] <sub>8</sub><sup>9</sup>[We were afraid] <sub>9</sub><sup>0</sup>[But the bullocks (and)  
buffalo were alright] <sub>9</sub><sup>1</sup>[Then another one entered (the  
paddock) wanting to fight right then] <sub>9</sub><sup>2</sup>[We were afraid]  
<sub>9</sub><sup>3</sup>[Those buffalo were coming in to stay] <sub>9</sub><sup>4</sup>[One by one they  
came in] and <sub>9</sub><sup>5</sup>[ate grass next to us] <sub>9</sub><sup>6</sup>[We were afraid  
of all the buffalo] <sub>9</sub><sup>7</sup>[They fought each other outside (the  
paddock) (till) dawn] <sub>9</sub><sup>8</sup>[We did not go near] <sub>9</sub><sup>9</sup>["If the  
wild buffalo sees you] <sub>10</sub><sup>0</sup>[he will chase you] <sub>10</sub><sup>1</sup>[just as he  
saw] and <sub>10</sub><sup>2</sup>[chased these little boys."] <sub>10</sub><sup>3</sup>[At that point  
(the wild buffalo) ran away] and <sub>10</sub><sup>4</sup>[disappeared into the  
jungle]

## TEXT 3

[wöřöntön papar̄mat<sup>y</sup> wařakwařakma wutta]  
<sub>1</sub>  
3plSP old women not know.cnt 3plSP.2(pres/past)  
[muyin<sup>y</sup> ŋun wutta] [ŋuluk lamma  
<sub>2</sub> dog ss 3plSP.2(pres/past) <sub>3</sub> language speak.cnt



wiřin<sup>y</sup>t<sup>y</sup>a ] [nan<sup>y</sup>ilk larlarali wutta ]  
 3p1SP.2(subj) <sup>4</sup>hand swell.ptcpl 3p1SP.2(pres/past)  
 [pit<sup>y</sup>tanma wöřöŋun<sup>y</sup>] [ŋat<sup>y</sup> yipi  
<sup>5</sup>rub firesticks.av.cnt 3p1SP.2(progr) <sup>6</sup>ptcl(emph) leave  
 wöřöŋun<sup>y</sup> t<sup>y</sup>öŋnö] [aŋuntu mi ŋapma  
 3p1SP.2(progr) fire.int <sup>7</sup>ss food(veg) raw  
 ŋaŋak wiřmin<sup>y</sup>] [muyin<sup>y</sup> akana  
 eat(non-meat.pl0) 3p1SP.1(punct) <sup>8</sup>dog adv(neg)  
 lamlam wuttawa ] [wöřöntön lamlamma  
 talk 3p1SP.2(pres/past).foc <sup>9</sup>3p1SP talk.cnt  
 wiřin<sup>y</sup>t<sup>y</sup>a yin<sup>y</sup>amanna ] [mi titit ŋapma  
 3p1SP.2(subj) man.rbl.sfm <sup>10</sup>clf 'cheeky yam' raw  
 ŋaŋak wiřmin<sup>y</sup>] [ŋantilk larlarali  
 eat(non-meat.pl0) 3p1SP.1(punct) <sup>11</sup>tongue swell.ptcpl  
 wutta ] [papařmat<sup>y</sup> ŋun t<sup>y</sup>öŋyen tikka  
 3p1SP.2(pres/past) <sup>12</sup>old women ss fire.comit back.come  
 wöřöŋun<sup>y</sup>] [yeřa ŋumpakali wittiŋin<sup>y</sup>]  
 3p1SP.2(progr) <sup>13</sup>adv silent.sit.ptcpl 3p1SP.4(progr)  
 [mi titit kölp wiřmin<sup>y</sup>] [t<sup>y</sup>öŋ  
<sup>14</sup>clf 'cheeky yam' roast 3p1SP.1(punct) <sup>15</sup>fire  
 wukut<sup>y</sup>ma wöřöŋun<sup>y</sup>] [te t<sup>y</sup>öŋarapaya ka  
 throw away.cnt 3p1SP.2(progr) <sup>16</sup>clf chicken-hawk come  
 yuŋun<sup>y</sup> paltamyur t<sup>y</sup>öŋ yeřikyinŋa] [t<sup>y</sup>öŋ  
 3sgmSP.2(progr) VRcpt(perch) clf white gum.loc <sup>17</sup>fire  
 kuřtöwerkat<sup>y</sup> nuŋun<sup>y</sup>na pařmat<sup>y</sup>t<sup>y</sup>a ]  
 shift.throw 3sgfSP.2(progr).foc old woman.sfm  
 [t<sup>y</sup>alkyurka yita] [wapi  
<sup>18</sup>fall.lie down.come 3sgmSP.2(pres/past) <sup>19</sup>pick up.go

yita] ["tit-tit-tit-tit-tit"]  
 3sgmSP.2(pres/past) <sup>20</sup> (call of the chicken-hawk)  
 [wapi yita kan<sup>y</sup>t<sup>y</sup>ukna] [eyik  
<sup>21</sup> pick up.go 3sgmSP.2(pres/past) sky.loc <sup>22</sup> charcoal  
 pakt<sup>y</sup>alk wuta] [tiktat yuwuʒa]  
 drop(intr) 3sgeSP.2(pres/past) <sup>23</sup> back.look 3sgmSP.3(past)  
 [anakan ki walk kan<sup>y</sup>t<sup>y</sup>uk katuruk wönö  
<sup>24</sup> ts ss hill sky high 3sgeSP.4(pres)  
 Tɛlikannö]  
 Tɛlikan.poss

## TEXT 3

<sub>1</sub>[Those old woman dogs did not know how to speak] [<sub>4</sub>Their  
 paws were swollen] [<sub>5</sub>They had been rubbing firesticks  
 unsuccessfully] and [<sub>6</sub>were just leaving (to look) for fire  
 [<sub>7</sub>Those left behind ate a lot of raw food] [<sub>8</sub>The dogs did  
 not talk] [<sub>9</sub>They would have talked like men] but [<sub>10</sub>They  
 had eaten a lot of raw 'cheeky yam'] and [<sub>11</sub>(their)  
 tongues were swollen] [<sub>12</sub>Those old women (dogs) were  
 returning with fire] [<sub>13</sub>While (the yam-eaters) were sitting  
 silently] [<sub>14</sub>(the old woman dogs) roasted the 'cheeky' yams]  
 and [<sub>15</sub>threw away some fire] [<sub>16</sub>A chicken-hawk was coming to  
 perch in a white gum] [<sub>17</sub>An old woman (dog) was flicking  
 out (bits of) fire] so [<sub>18</sub>he swooped down] and [<sub>19</sub>took  
 (some)] [<sub>20</sub>(crying) "tit-tit-tit-tit-tit"] [<sub>21</sub>He took the

charcoal (up) to the sky], <sub>2</sub><sup>2</sup> [It dropped]. and <sub>2</sub><sup>3</sup> [He kept  
 on looking back] <sub>2</sub><sup>4</sup> [Today (this charcoal) is a high hill  
 belonging to the Telikan <sup>1.0</sup> tribe]

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<sup>1.0</sup>

The tribal name of the MalakMalak.

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