THE MALAKMALAK LANGUAGE,
DALY RIVER (WESTERN ARNHEM LAND)

by

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SUMMARY

This study 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 southwest 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.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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

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

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

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<td>ss</td>
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The use of raised ¹ and ² 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. THE MALAKMALAK PEOPLE

MalakMalak is an Australian Aboriginal language spoken by a dwindling number of Aboriginals on the Daly River, Western Arnhem Land, about one hundred miles south-west of Darwin. There are currently not more than twenty speakers for only nine of whom is it 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 ᵇ Put ᵇ. 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 1964:37) 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 ḡuluk (from Ngolok-Wanggar) - ḡuluk 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. LANGUAGE CLASSIFICATION

MalakMalak is a member of the Daly Family which comprises nine distinct languages and ten dialects (Tryon 1974), as in the table opposite (cp. language map, p.

0.3. PREVIOUS DESCRIPTIVE WORK

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 pages 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 wordlist of nineteen items.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>FAMILY:</th>
<th>DALY</th>
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<tr>
<td>GROUP:</td>
<td>Malak</td>
<td>Brinken-Wogaity</td>
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<tr>
<td>SUB-GROUP:</td>
<td>Malak</td>
<td>Daly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LANGUAGE:</td>
<td>MalakMalakDyeraity</td>
<td>Matngala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIALECT:</td>
<td>Matngala</td>
<td>Marithiel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Yunggor</td>
<td>Maretyaben</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kamor</td>
<td>Mare Ammu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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. DESCRIPTIVE ORIENTATION OF THE STUDY

This study 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 described 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.

0.4.1. 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 (see 4.1.3.) 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 (see 3.1.1.).
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 3.1.1. to 3.1.9. (inclusive).

0.4.2. The Verb Root has the role of 'lexical' verb and, except when functioning as a reduced sentence (see Chapter 4, example 427), as a Verb Complex complement (see 4.1.4.1.(a)) or as a Positive Imperative (see 4.1.6.1.(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 (see 4.1.7.). It has not been possible, at this stage, to formulate any satisfactory explanatory hypothesis for the existence of these constraints.

0.4.3. MalakMalak is a multiple classifying language (Capell 1940) which classifies Nouns into four classes (see 3.2.6.): (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 (see 3.2.7.) which reflects not the noun classes but the four prefixed third singular person-markers within the auxiliary paradigm (see 3.1.1. - 3.1.6.).

0.4.4. 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 (see 4.1.2.1.) there is no formal marking of co-ordination and subordination. These relations are indicated by the juxtaposition of sentences (see 4.1.2.). Following the sentential syntax, Chapter 4 goes on to describe the syntax of the Verb Complex (see 4.1.3.; 4.1.5.; 4.1.6.; 4.1.7.) and Verb Complex Complementation (see 4.1.4.) and the syntax of the Noun Phrase (see 4.1.8.; 4.1.9.).

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 \( p \, t \, t' \, k \), four nasals \( m \, n \, n' \, q \), two laterals \( l \, l' \), one vibrant (flapped) \( r \), one continuant \( r \), and semi-consonants \( w \, y \).

1.1.0. Consonantal Contrasts

1.1.1. The Stops contrast at bilabial, apico-alveolar, lamino-alveolar, and dorso-velar points of articulation.

Word-initial examples:
- pak
- tuk
- t'uk
- kak
- sit
- drink
- bury
- hurt

Word-medial examples:
- apap
- mata
- mat'yan
- akak
- sick, tired
- rain
- foot
- vomit

Word-final examples:
- pap
- pat
- pit
- pik
- rush
- fly
- rub firesticks together
- rope

1.1.2. The Nasal Phonemes \( m \, n \, n' \, q \) are voiced and contrast at bilabial, apico-alveolar, lamino-alveolar, and dorso-velar points of articulation.
Word-initial examples:

\begin{itemize}
  \item man
  \item nan
  \item n'at\-n\-\-at
  \item \-at\-\-at
\end{itemize}

\begin{itemize}
  \item stomach
  \item that (demonstrative)
  \item chip wood
  \item be unable to fix something
\end{itemize}

Word-medial examples:

\begin{itemize}
  \item aman
  \item pö\-n\-ö
  \item p\-a\-ña
  \item pana
\end{itemize}

\begin{itemize}
  \item now
  \item banyan
  \item father
  \item again
\end{itemize}

Word-final examples:

\begin{itemize}
  \item pam
  \item ñan
  \item tin\-Y
  \item ta\-\-n
\end{itemize}

\begin{itemize}
  \item put
  \item comparative particle
  \item try (adverb)
  \item mix (intr)
\end{itemize}

1.1.3. The Lateral Phonemes are voiced and contrast at apico-alveolar and lamino-alveolar points of articulation.

Word-medial examples:

\begin{itemize}
  \item yilik
  \item yih\-i
\end{itemize}

\begin{itemize}
  \item lily-root
  \item bubble
\end{itemize}

Word-final examples:

\begin{itemize}
  \item g\-u\-l
  \item nul\-Y
\end{itemize}

\begin{itemize}
  \item penis
  \item sea-breeze
\end{itemize}

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

1.1.4. The Vibrant (flapped) \( \tilde{r} \) is apico-alveolar contrasting with the semi-consonant post-alveolar frictionless Continuant \( r \):

Word-medial examples:

\begin{itemize}
  \item mi\-\-\-i
  \item miri
\end{itemize}

\begin{itemize}
  \item sun
  \item tears
\end{itemize}

Word-final examples:

\begin{itemize}
  \item ta\-\-\-i
  \item tar
\end{itemize}

\begin{itemize}
  \item bite
  \item crush
\end{itemize}

Neither \( \tilde{r} \) nor \( r \) occur in word-initial position.

1.1.5. The Semi-Consonants \( w \) and \( y \) are voiced and contrast at the bilabial and lamino-palatal points of articulation.
Word-initial examples:

- wapi  
- yipi

Word-medial examples:

- tawut  
- t'eyö

1.1.6. Consonantal Variants

/p/  [p]  (1) voiceless bilabial stop, occurring word-initially and word-finally:

- payak  [payak]  back
- larap  [larap]  bind

(11) word-finally, released and unreleased\(^1\) allophones alternate:

- tap  [tap ~ ta\(^p\)]  grab

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

- tapak  [tabak]  break
- tumpurk  [tumburk]  hiccough

/t/  [t]  (1) voiceless apico-alveolar stop, occurring word-initially and word-finally, and following a voiceless consonant:

- tat\(^Y\)  [ta\(^t\)t\(^Y\)]  hit
- tat  [tat]  see/find
- tiktat  [tikttat]  look back

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

- t'eyöt  [t'eyöt ~ t'eyöt\(^t\)]  red kangaroo

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

- titit  [tidit]  cheeky yam
- anta  [and\(^a\)]  allright

/t\(^Y\)/  [t\(^Y\)]  (1) voiceless lamino-alveolar stop, occurring word-initially and word-finally:

- t'iyit\(^Y\)  [t'iyit\(^Y\)]  pick up

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

- yinmeyit\(^Y\)  [yinmeyit\(^Y\) ~ yinmeyit\(^t\)]  little (plm)
[d] voiced lamino-alveolar stop, occurring intervocally, and following voiced consonants:
   at'ang [ad'ang] grandmother
eyt'ir [yɛnt'ir] dew

/k/ [k] (i) voiceless dorso-velar stop, occurring word-initially and word-finally:
   kak [kak] hurt
(ii) word-finally, released and unreleased voiceless allophones alternate:
   mint'itak [mɪnd'itak ~ mɪnd'idaŋ] emphatic pronoun

[g] voiced dorso-velar stop, occurring intervocally, and following voiced consonants:
   kakak [kɑɡk] long way
   pönköl [pönɡöl] knee

[l] voiced apico-alveolar lateral resonant, occurring word-initially, word-medially, and word-finally:
   lak [lɑk] eat (meat)
   tölöl [tɔlɔl] go down (both RECEDE (OF WATER) and DESCEND)
   palpal [palpɔl] wide

[t] 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]:
   kul [kut] stab (turtle)
   mulk [muŋ] bamboo
   pulk [pʊŋ] baby chicken

[y] [i] Fronted on- or off-glide:
   yalx [alx] moon
   yöö [öö] he stands up/lies down (see 3.1.5.; 3.1.6.)
   ey [ɛi] spear (verb root)

/w/ [u] Rounded on-glide:
   walk [uɔl] stone

1.2. VOWELS

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

1.2.1. Vocalic Contrasts

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phoneme</th>
<th>Allophone</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/i/</td>
<td>[ɪ]</td>
<td>High close front unrounded vocoid occurring as the norm of the phoneme.</td>
<td>mi [mi] food, pi [pi] go</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[ɨ]</td>
<td>High open front unrounded vocoid occurring in unstressed syllables. It occurs as carrier of primary stress only when immediately preceded, or immediately followed, by a fronted on-glide, e.g. yin'y [ɨ[n'y]a] (initiated man, pî'y [pɨ'p] sick.</td>
<td>yin'in [yɨnɪn] nose, tîrîn [tɨˈɾɪn] turtle</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| /e/     |           | Mid close front unrounded vocoid occurring only in the following stressed syllable: | pi! [pe!] go! (Verb Root imperative)

All vowels have slightly nasalized allophones between nasals:

- nîmpît [nîmbît] swag
- mëŋkît [mëŋgit] white cockatoo
- møntöl [møndöl] shoulder
- nənY [nənY] bush cucumber
- nûn [nûn] deictic specifier

1.2.2. Vocalic Variants
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phoneme</th>
<th>Allophone</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/ɛ/</td>
<td>[ɛ]</td>
<td>Mid open front unrounded vocoid and the norm for this phoneme.</td>
<td>te [tɛ] meat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>pɛ [pɛ] golden catfish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[ɛ']</td>
<td>This allophone of /ɛ/ has a high fronted off-glide occurring immediately preceding the lamino-alveolar stop /tʃ/ and the lamino-alveolar nasal /nʃ/.</td>
<td>tɛtʃtɛtʃ [tɛ'ʃtɛ'ʃ] white ant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>tʃɛnʃ [tʃɛ'nʃ] make</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/œ/</td>
<td>[ö]</td>
<td>Mid close retracted front unrounded vocoid, and the norm for this phoneme.</td>
<td>töm [töm] weak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>pööö [pööö] fan flame</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/a/</td>
<td>[a]</td>
<td>Low open central unrounded vocoid, and the norm for this phoneme.</td>
<td>ma [ma] wallaby</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>pam [pam] put (p10)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[a']</td>
<td>This allophone of /a/ has a high fronted off-glide, occurring immediately preceding the lamino-alveolar consonants /tʃ/, /nʃ/, /iʃ/.</td>
<td>matʃan [maʃ'an] foot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-manʃ [ma'nʃ] 'departing from' suffix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>naiʃiʃ [naiʃiʃ] skin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[ʌ]</td>
<td>Mid open central unrounded vocoid occurring in unstressed syllables.</td>
<td>pana [panʌ] again</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>waka [wagʌ] bring</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>tapak [tabʌk] break</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/u/</td>
<td>[u]</td>
<td>High open back rounded vocoid and the norm for the phoneme (in un-accented syllables).</td>
<td>puntu [pʌntʌ] head</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>pulu [pʌlu] dust</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Low close back rounded vocoid (found only, so far, in two mono-syllabic lexical items).</td>
<td>mu [mo] goose</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>wu [mo] barramundi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
1.3. THE INTERPRETATION OF GLIDES

The only sequences of vocoids that occur in the language are glides of the form $iV$, $Vi$ and $uV$, where $i$ and $u$ are high front unrounded and high back rounded vocoids, respectively; $V$ is any admissible vocoid. The question arises as to whether the $i$ and $u$ are to be interpreted as semi-consonants or as vowels.

The only evidence available for deciding between these two possibilities are the following two classes:

1. The former case concerns the word $[u^{i}i^{i}]$ breast/milk (which is distinct from $[u^{i}]$ anger/fight). The question is whether the vocalic nucleus of $[u^{i}i^{i}]$ is to be interpreted as a long vowel $/i:/$ or as a disyllable with an intervocalic lamino-palatal semi-consonant, $/i^{i}i^{i}/$.

There are two arguments against the 'long vowel' hypothesis. Firstly, vocalic length is not systematically phonemic in the language. Secondly, the word $[u^{i}i^{i}]$ 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 $[\varepsilon^{i}]$ diphthong case concerns the Verb Root $[\varepsilon^{i}]$ kill (potentially or actually) with a missile immediately followed by the Auxiliary $[a^{i}a^{i}]$:

$$[\varepsilon^{i}] + [a^{i}a^{i}]$$

The question is whether the fronted off-glide of $[\varepsilon^{i}]$ 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 (see 1.4.) within the Verb Complex (see 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 \([\epsilon \,']\) is interpreted as a vowel the following should result: \([\epsilon \,'] + [a \,'] > [e a \,']\) (a solution which does not adequately reflect the phonetic facts in that the vocalic sequence \([e a \,']\) does not occur in the language). 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 \([\epsilon \,'] + [a \,']\) is interpreted as \(\text{ey aya}\), 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, \(\epsilon\) preceded by a fronted on-glide is interpreted as \(\text{yi}\).

\([\text{\textit{\text{yn}}}\text{a}] > \text{\textit{\text{yn}}}\text{a} \quad \text{(initiated) man}\)

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

\([\text{\textit{\text{umu}}}\text{a}] > \text{\textit{\text{umuwa}} \quad \text{steal}}^3\)

1.4. SANDHII

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

1. \(\text{p\text{'i} \, \text{\textit{\text{at}}} \text{.ta}}\quad >\quad [\text{\textit{\text{pat}}}\text{\text{'}}]\)
   (VR) go (Aux) lexSP.2 (Pres/Past)
   \(\text{We (exclusive) go/went.}\)

2. \(\text{\textit{\text{t\text{'}}}\text{\textit{\text{at}}} \, \text{\textit{\text{yi}}} \, \text{\textit{\text{ta}}}}\quad + -[\text{\textit{\text{ari}}}\text{\text{'}}]\)
   (VR) see.cnt (Aux) 3sgmSP.2(Pres/Past +1sgOP)
   \(\text{He is/was looking at me.}\)

3. \(\text{\textit{\text{ant}}} \, \text{\textit{\text{ey}}} \text{\text{ma}}\quad \text{\textit{\text{wut}}} \text{\text{.ta}}\)
   adv (recip) (VR) spear.cnt (Aux)3plSP.2(Pres/Past)
   \([\text{\textit{\text{and}}} \, \text{\textit{\text{'}}}\text{\text{m\text{'}}}\text{\text{\text{'}}} \, \text{\textit{\text{wut}}}\text{\text{'}}]\)
   (Aux)3plSP.2(Pres/Past)
   \(\text{They fought each other with spears.}\)

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 \([\text{\textit{\text{y}}}d\text{\textit{\text{a}}} \, \text{\textit{\text{ri}}}\text{\text{'}}]\) and \([\text{\textit{\text{and}}} \, \text{\textit{\text{'}}}\text{\text{\text{m\text{'}}}\text{\text{\text{'}}}}]\) primary stress falls on the second syllable through the process of elision.
Outside of the Verb Complex sandhī does not take place:

4. mī akāna [mī āgāna] ~ mī ākanā [mī āgānā]
   vegetable food adv (neg) (see 1.6.)
   No food.

5. tē ārpuṟū [tē ārpuṟū]
   meat 1(ic)OP(bf)
   Meat for us (inclusive).

1.5. SYLLABLE PATTERNS

The following syllable types occur:

V    a.ya 1sgSP.1(Punct)
VC   ak a species of catfish
CV   tē generic marker for animals hunted for meat, and the meat itself
CVC  tek amp
CVCC tuřk drink (Verb Root).

1.6. THE PHONOLOGICAL WORD

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

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

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:

tfn Ɪ pf
   (adv) go    Try and go!

yên wā
yamstick pick up    Pick up the yamstick!
Words of two syllables are stressed on the first syllable:

- yõntön  he (Subject Pronoun)
- t'yanar  spear
- múyn  dog
- wùru  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:

- lámát  talk/have a chat
- pít'pít  rub firesticks
- wèrk'werk  flat-tailed catfish
- mîrmîr  melt
- tûytûy  stretch (intr)

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

- álawâr  woman
- mèlpapù  father (reference as opposed to address)
- màparà  follow
- ákùnnàn  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:

- akùnnàn  where from?
- mèlpapù  father
- akâna  negative (adverb/adjecitive)

If a trisyllabic phonological word in the Verb Complex has a second syllable primary stress this will be a result of sandhi (see 1.4.). Tetrasyllabic words are usually stressed on the first and third syllables:

- mútnùrwùna  very much
- mûnakàrìa  beautiful
- kàrkàrkàrât  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:

- wìffniwà  They will sit
- nukùttöyùŋ  You (pl) are going to lie down
Pentasyllabic words always take primary stress on the second syllable and secondary stress on the fourth:

\[
\begin{align*}
t'ëtwëřamànëkïl & \quad \text{fork-stick} \\
an'kîniyânka & \quad \text{You and I will stand} \\
an'kônöyônka & \quad \text{You and I will lie down} \\
wöřöyônka & \quad \text{They will lie down} \\
ařkîniyânka & \quad \text{We are all going to stand} \\
pařaratt'ëřat & \quad \text{Get up and stand up (pl subject)}
\end{align*}
\]

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):

\[
\begin{align*}
të an'g wuwántunônunwâkna: & \quad \text{He would have given you (sg) meat.}
\end{align*}
\]

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

\[
\begin{align*}
no'gköřöyônka & \quad \text{You (pl) will lie down.}
\end{align*}
\]

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:

\[
\begin{align*}
të an'g no'gkuřantu弱owâkka & \quad \text{You (pl) would have given them meat.}
\end{align*}
\]

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 pařaratt'ëřat; pentasyllabic nouns like t'ëtwëřamànëkïl are rare.

1.6.1. The Distribution of Phonemes within the Phonological Word

1.6.1.1. Consonant Distribution

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

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

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

- tumpufk: hicocough
- lamtel: stop (someone doing something)
- lamt ak: stop (tr)
- timkut: bury (rubbish etc.)
- yunpayin: good
- piyantuk: underneath
- yentýir: dew
- alanki: bring back
- wanýi: paddle (a canoe)
- manýutma: big crowd (of people)
- puřunpuřun: boil (Verb Root)
- tantatýma: hit repeatedly
- luŋtyeŋat: (of bird, with anatomical food-bag) replenish
- manýyetmatan: not produce children
- pöŋköl: knee

Five have an initial lateral:

- pilp: slap
- altak: break (tr)
- kaltýet (puntuna): carry (on head)
- yaik: moon
- tapulýp: extinguish fire (with fingers, as opposed to feet)

Four have a vibrant ţ as initial consonant:

- tyurp: out
- muřtuk: hatch
- muřtyřiř: trip
- nifk: die

Four have a continuant r as initial consonant:

- kurpuk: wash
- lerp: meet (predicated of a large number of persons)
- tyewörtel: forget
- purwartýet: get dark
- purkin: grey kangaroo
- kark: go up a slope (e.g., a bank)

Four have a geminated stop sequence:

- lup.pi.ma: together.go.continuative
- at.ta: lex SP.2 (Pres/Past)
kat\textsuperscript{Y}tu\textsuperscript{Y}kwat \hspace{1em} \text{throw.put inside: throw inside}

lak.kat\textsuperscript{Y} \hspace{1em} \text{eat (meat).throw: leave some meat (when unable to eat more)}

Ten have a heterorganic stop sequence:

taptapali \hspace{1em} \text{hold on to something moving (animal)}

tap\textsuperscript{Y}f\textsuperscript{I} \hspace{1em} \text{drop}

kumitpuluk \hspace{1em} \text{sand goanna}

yitt\textsuperscript{Y}efat \hspace{1em} \text{slough skin}

yitka\textsuperscript{f} \hspace{1em} \text{scale (fish)}

kat\textsuperscript{Y}puk \hspace{1em} \text{might beat (competitively)}

tat\textsuperscript{Y}kak \hspace{1em} \text{hurt (tr)}

yikpi \hspace{1em} \text{small}

lant\textsuperscript{Y}aktan \hspace{1em} \text{try to stop unsuccessfully}

wakt\textsuperscript{Y}alkma \hspace{1em} \text{waterfall}

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

manwi\textsuperscript{Y}uk \hspace{1em} \text{hungry}

tat wööntönyöö \hspace{1em} \text{he/she sees/saw us (exclusive)}

kin\textsuperscript{Y}wat \hspace{1em} \text{hang (up)}

man\textsuperscript{Y}yur \hspace{1em} \text{cover}

tyiy\textsuperscript{Y}watt \hspace{1em} \text{send over (e.g., food)}

kat\textsuperscript{Y}puk yönpüyörö \hspace{1em} \text{he might beat us (ex) (competitively)}

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

apna \hspace{1em} \text{be quiet!}

tapnö \hspace{1em} \text{grab him (male human or animal)}

tapa\textsuperscript{Y}a \hspace{1em} \text{grab (something) over there}

ant i tat\textsuperscript{Y}ma \hspace{1em} \text{find each other}

tatnö \hspace{1em} \text{find him}

nyat\textsuperscript{Y}at \hspace{1em} \text{chip wood}

tut\textsuperscript{Y}a \hspace{1em} \text{causative.deictic suffix}

kut\textsuperscript{Y}ma \hspace{1em} \text{whistle}

tat\textsuperscript{Y}nö \hspace{1em} \text{hit him}

wat\textsuperscript{Y}guru \hspace{1em} \text{try}

nàkma \hspace{1em} \text{eat}

nanakna \hspace{1em} \text{really}

payak\textsuperscript{Y}narö \hspace{1em} \text{beetle}

Eight have a semi-consonant as final consonant:

tapwakpak\textsuperscript{Y} \hspace{1em} \text{turn over (tr) (e.g., of a turtle)}

apyurali \hspace{1em} \text{participial form of yur: lie (down)}

tat\textsuperscript{Y}wur \hspace{1em} \text{be missing}
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.ŋoyat cook (meat) wrapped up (i.e. in paperbark)
- manmal wing
- ěun.na spatial specifier. locative
- yntaxa in/on/beside
- lamə light (antithesis of dark)
- t'øyŋö fire-place (lit. belongs to fire)
- tat'øyʊŋpuŋ.ŋayi he is going to hit her
- wan'ma row or paddle
- tat yimin'ño he sees/saw him
- çyinman'na nobody
- t'în'yuŋma water-rat

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

- wilma swim
- tölŋ stretch
- muj'mul'ma ripe/soft
- nîlîî'na take bark off in small strips (away from speaker)

Three have a semi-consonant as final member:

- nówölwefîyên yita he makes a lot of trouble
- kalur carry
- t'îlîwuŋkali wrinkled (skin)

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

- pařmat'y old woman
- kařnîlyur scratch skin so as to break it
- kařnöyat light pipe/cigarette

One has a lateral as final consonant:

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

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)
alawarnô  for or belongs to the woman
tarñîk  kill (VR) with a missile

One has a lateral as final consonant:
man'Yurliny  bush rope

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

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

Two have a nasal as initial consonant:
lam'lam  talk (vb stem)
manlapar  lung

1.6.1.3. Twenty-nine Three-Consonant Clusters have been attested. They all occur word-medi ally across morpheme boundaries. The characteristic pattern is a syllable-final cluster (called an intra-syllabic cluster (see 1.6.1.2.)) 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.

ηalkpak  sit down when full up with food
tarñalktarñalk  bump into someone
ηalkytYct  stand up when full up with food
t'alkma  fall
telkôa  singe hair from animal (away from speaker)
ηalkwukutY  fill (lot of people) with food
t'alkyur  bend over
t'irkYct  join (VR) (e.g., two bits of wood)
kerkkatY  startle
perkma  rest (VR)
karkwat  take (e.g., meat) from fire
t'uvurkyiwaña, tônô  lot of people go into jungle
ηalamuškma  swear, curse
aquñkna  half-way
tuřkwat  swallow
22

t'ur'kyiwaya, tönö

t'ulp'talpma

kölp'tet

kölpma

tapul'yp

pu'ypyr

tölköma

lerpma

tu'ppak, (pöŋköl)
t'ur'tepteyt'
t'u'rkkat'
t'ur'teptCY

tu'ppam

mantum törpyur

one person goes into jungle
run along playing
roast (a single animal)
roast (unmarked for quantity)
extinguish fire
(fire) dies down
stretch (VR)
meet, of a large number
kneel down
out off
dig
plant (VR)
plant (pl0)
spiked by fin (of catfish)

1.6.1.4. **Vowel Distribution**

The vowels /a/ and /e/ may occur word-initially, /i/, /ö/ and /u/ may not. The only other constraints on vocalic distribution are, firstly, that /a/, /e/ and /u/ do not follow /iY/ and, secondly that there are no vocalic clusters (see 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.\(^9\)

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.
NOTES

1. A raised consonant represents an unreleased consonant.

2. Only one instance has been recorded in which vocalic length has a distinctive value: kupuk [kubuk] dive (predicated of an individual) as against kwupuk [ku:burk] dive (predicated of a number of persons). This is equivalent to the partial reduplication that has a pluralizing function with certain Verb Roots: For example, yur > yurur: lie down (predicated of an individual and a number, respectively; see 3.2.4.1.).

3. 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 3.1.9.) where the occurrence of a back rounded on-glide between the vowels is interpreted as an intrusive bilabial semi-consonant: For example, [uööndön] > wööntön.

4. The Verb Complex (VC) may be expanded as follows:
   (adverb)  \{(Verb Root)(Auxiliary)}  (object pronoun)

5. See section 1.6., for a discussion of Word Stress.

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

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

8. More precisely, regarding the latter, what R.H. Stetson (Motor Phonetics, 1928) called "abutting consonants".
9. What follows is not an exhaustive statement of the intonation patterns. Much more research into this area of the language is needed before such a statement will be possible.
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 WORD CLASSES

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.

2.1.1. Noun

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

The noun can take the following affixes:

- the Possessor suffix -nö (section: 3.2.8.)
- the Benefactive suffix -nö (section: 3.2.9.2.)
- the Intensive suffix -nö (section: 3.2.9.1.)
the Relator suffix -nö (section: 3.2.9.4.)
the Comitative suffix -ye:n (section: 3.3.6.)
the 'departing from' suffix -man'y (section: 3.3.5.2.)
the Locative suffix -na/-an (section: 3.3.5.3.)
the Locative suffix -yin'ga (section: 3.3.5.1.)
the Agentive suffix -wan (section: 3.3.4.)
the Proprietary affix -me:l- (section: 3.3.3.)
the Resemblance suffix -man (section: 3.3.1.)
the Quantifying suffix -wuna (section: 3.3.0.)
the Dubitative suffix -malak (section: 3.3.2.)

Nouns can be qualified by an adjectival (see 2.1.2.; 4.1.8.). The latter can be realized as a demonstrative, possessive, or lexical adjectival, as a deictic specifier or as a quantifier. If a noun is qualified any adnominal affix (with the exception of -me:l- and -malak) is suffixed to the adjectival.

The language classifies nouns into four classes (see 3.2.6.):

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;

3. The generic free classifier t'öng (meaning tree/wood) classifies trees.

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

2.1.1.1. Information Interrogatives within the Noun Phrase² are non-concordal: they reflect neither noun class nor adjectival concord. They are distinguished in terms of human and non-human referents, each consisting of a root from which other interrogatives can be formed by the addition of an appropriate suffix. Except when qualifying a NP (see examples 3, 5 and 7 below), they occur sentence-initially.

Information interrogatives denoting human referents

[eyin] who?

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

[eyin]+ Comitative suffix [-ye:n]
[eyinye:n] who else?
2. [eyinyen] ka yita
   intrg.comit come 3sgmSP.2(pres/past)
   Who else came?
[eyin] + Possessor suffix [-nö]³
[eyinnö] whose?

3. t'añar [eyinnö]
   spear intrg.poss
   Whose spear?

Information interrogatives denoting non-human referents
[nikita] what?

4. [nikita] nakma 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]
[nikitanö] what for/why?

6. [nikitanö] ka nunta
   intrg.rel come 2sgSP.2(pres/past)
   Why have you come?
[nikita] + 'departing from' suffix [-man]
[nikitanaman] what's the matter?

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

7. alalk yinmcyit³ [apuntu]
   child little(plm) intrg
   How many little boys?

8. wu [apuntu]
   barramundi intrg
   How many barramundi?

2.1.2. Adjectival

An adjectival (see 4.1.8.) is a word or group of words qualifying a noun or pronoun. It can be realized in the Noun Phrase (see 4.1.8.) as
1. a demonstrative adjective (see 2.1.4.3. examples 73/4)
2. a possessive adjective (see 3.2.8.)
3. a deictic specifier (see 2.1.4.)
4. a quantifier (see 2.1.2.1.)
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 (see 3.2.7.) are marked for concord with the nominal that they modify:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>yinali/yikpi</th>
<th>yönörön/yinanki</th>
<th>yunpayln/yinat</th>
<th>yin'ytʃiŋk</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>big/little</td>
<td>old/new</td>
<td>good/bad</td>
<td>short</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The unmatched short is treated by the language as the marked member of the pair long/short in so far as it is the one member of the pair that is concordantly 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 (see 3.1.1. - 3.1.6.; 3.1.8.).

Additionally, with the exception of the pair old/new, the concordal adjectives undergo partial reduplication when pluralized.5

2.1.2.1. Quantifiers

The numeral adjectives from one to ten are as follows:

| yanakŋa   | one          |
| weŋana    | two          |
| weŋanayen | three        |
| weŋanweŋan| four         |
| nan'ylk  yananaŋa| five     |
| (hand) (side) |
| nan'ylk yananaŋa yanakŋa | six |
| nan'ylk yananaŋa weŋana | seven |
| nan'ylk yananaŋa weŋanayen | eight |
| nan'ylk yananaŋa weŋanweŋan | nine |
| nan'ylk yananaŋa nan'ylk yananaŋa | ten |

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

| wuru weŋana | twice |

Other quantifiers include the dual marker wöntöt which characteristically occurs sentence-finally:
9. pi wutta\textsuperscript{6} wontët
  to 3plSP.2(pres/past) dlm
They both went.

10. yönëni tät\textsuperscript{Y} yimin\textsuperscript{Y}wörö wontët
  3sgmSP hit 3sgmSP.1(punct).3plOP dlm
He hit them both.

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

11. yeřkit mařin\textsuperscript{Y} anti tutma aštini wontët
  llicSP story adv(recip) caus.cnt llicSP.4(purp) dlm
We three are going to tell one another stories.

12. yönëni tät\textsuperscript{Y} yimin\textsuperscript{Y}aṛpuřu wontët
  3sgmSP hit 3sgmSP.1(punct).llicOP 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 (see example 15) in the auxiliary (see 3.1. - 3.1.6.; 3.1.8.).

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

14. paraŋa ki yeřkit ařawan pi aṛta
corpse ds(ss) llicSP qf go llicSP.2(pres/past)
We all accompany the corpse together.

15. ařawan wöttö
    qf 3plSP.4(pres)
They are here together.

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

16. yin\textsuperscript{Y}a alawar eyineyinña
    (initiated) man woman qf
Each married couple.

mut\textsuperscript{Y}uř/mut\textsuperscript{Y}uřwuna are quantifiers glossed as many and very much, respectively, and which can qualify a nominal or a bound person-marked in the auxiliary.

17. ałaik mut\textsuperscript{Y}uř
    child qf
Many children.
18. alalk mutYuľwuna
    child qf
Very many children.

19. mutYuľwuna ṅak wọfọntoŋ
    qf eat(veg) 3plSP.1(sequ)
They all eat/ate (vegetable food).

Akana is an adjectival negative.

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

2.1.3. 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.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pronoun</th>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ṣa</td>
<td>1sgSP</td>
<td>speaker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yawọt</td>
<td>1exSP</td>
<td>speaker and at least one other person (excluding addressee)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yanki</td>
<td>1d1SP</td>
<td>speaker and addressee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yeńkit</td>
<td>1cSP</td>
<td>speaker and at least two other persons (including addressee)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wañari</td>
<td>2sgSP</td>
<td>one addressee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nukut</td>
<td>2plSP</td>
<td>two or more persons at least one of whom is an addressee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yöntoŋ</td>
<td>3sgmSP</td>
<td>one male person (neither speaker nor addressee)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nọntoŋ</td>
<td>3sgfSP</td>
<td>one female person (neither speaker nor addressee)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wọfọntoŋ</td>
<td>3plSP</td>
<td>two or more persons (neither speaker nor addressee)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The free subject pronoun has two functions in the language. Firstly, because the auxiliary obligatorily carries bound subject pronoun markers, the free subject pronoun is syntactically optional. When it does occur it therefore simply duplicates the bound subject pronoun as a NP in sentence structure. Secondly, when pre-posed or post-posed to a noun the free subject pronoun conveys inalienable or alienable pronominal possession, respectively (see 3.2.8.).

2.1.3.2. The Object Pronouns are bound, and are suffixed to the auxiliary (or to a Verb Root in the case of a Verb Root imperative with a pronoun object, see 4.1.5.1.).
The free object NP is reflected within the Verb Complex by a person- and number-equivalent object pronoun (see 4.1.3.). Conversely, when an object pronoun occurs unaccompanied by a free object NP the former can be optionally anticipated by a free subject pronoun:

21. ŋa yat¹ yimin¹ařîn¹
1sgSP hit 3sgmSP.1(punct).1sgOp
He hit/hits me.

2.1.3.3. Emphatic Pronoun mintYitak

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

22. mintYitak pakma yîta
emphP sit.cnt 3sgmSP.2(pres/past)
He lives/lived by himself.

23. pi nunta waŋari mintYitak Darwin.ta
go 2sgSP.2(pres/past) 2sgSP emphP Darwin.sfz
You go/went to Darwin by yourself.

2.1.4. 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.

2.1.4.1. Temporal Specifiers

Temporal specification is part of the auxiliary, and is obligatorily realized by the tense-marker (see 3.1.1. - 3.1.6.). However, additional temporal qualification of a sentence may be realized by any of the set of temporal specifiers.

Syntactically, a temporal specifier (ts) usually occurs first in sentence-structure, and qualifies the entire event referred to by the sentence.
muta          later/afterwards
24. muta lamlammanọna      [ka wuttayöö wafiyat]
ts      talk.cnt.int.foc come 3plSP.2(pres/past)lexOP meet
Afterwards they come to meet us (excl) to talk.

aman          now
25. aman pi anụnka   te t'eyëtnö
ts      to 1sgSP.2(fut) clf red kangaroo.int
Now I will go for red kangaroo.

way          durative specifier
26. [way ayuwakna    [payka yita]
ts      lsgSP.5(past) appear 3sgmSP.2(pres/past)
I was still sleeping when he appeared.

way akana    yönuŋka
ts      adv (neg) 3sgmSP.2(fut)
He won't be long.

t'Yintaŋ(way)  habitual specifier
(This temporal specifier does not always occur sentence-initially)
27. t'Yintaŋway yita  n'akma
ts      3sgmSP.2(pres/past) eat(veg).cnt
He is always eating.

28. wöttö        t'Yintaŋ
3plSP.4(pres) ts
They're still here.

29. tatma        t'Yintaŋway yitařin'y
see.cnt ts      3sgmSP.2(pres/past).lsgOP
He keeps looking at me.

Verb Root denoting habitual action
31. nyuľunça       wörö
ts.cnt      3plSP.5(pres)
They lie down all the time (or They are always a long way away.
(see 3.1.; 3.1.5.))

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

32. waknawuna nyuľunça yila
beer.ts      ts.cnt      3sgmSP.2(pres/past)
He drinks all the time.
33. nuluknawunayuṽunmayita
story.ts  ts.cnt  3sgmSP.2(pres/past)
He tells stories all the time.

A number of the temporal (and spatial) specifiers, although functionally and semantically deictic specifiers, are formally nouns. Thus, the following temporal specifiers are able to take adnominal suffixation and/or adjectival qualification.

miłiyen during the day

sun.comit

34. mutamitlyenlakatōma
tstsun.comiteat(meat)1sgSP.1(purp)
Later on during the day I am going to eat (meat).

dentyi yesterday

35. dentyi yawuk
N(ts) A the other day

ŋŏyŏ tomorrow

36. ŋŏyŏyawuk
N(ts) A the day after tomorrow

37. tek yawuknō
country/camp A.poss next time

38. nanỹilk yanagařamanỹ
hand ss.dpf last week

39. nanỹilk yanagařayawuk
hand ss A next week

40. nanỹilk yawuk
hand A next day

41. yaiłyk yawuk
moon A next month

42. puwar.yinña
night.loc morning

43. yĩngkì puwar
afternoon night evening
2.1.4.1.1. Temporal Interrogative

\textit{amanalı} when

44. \textit{amanalı tikka yönuğka} intrg(ts) back.come 3sgmSP.2(fut)

\textit{When will he return?}

2.1.4.2. 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.

\textit{gün} there

45. \textit{alalk yınmiyet’ pi wutta gün} child little(plm) 3plSP.2(pres/past) ss

\textit{The little boys go/went there.}

46. \textit{tek günün paypi wutta camp ss.loc emerge} 3plSP.2(pres/past)

\textit{They emerge/emerged at the camp over there.}

\textit{katuk} yonder

47. \textit{katukan wöfo} ss.loc 3plSP.(pres)

\textit{They are over yonder.}

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

48. \textit{yın’ya yawuk nät’ katuruk yöyö} man A ptcl(emph) ss 3sgmSP.5(pres)

\textit{The other man is a very long way away.}

Note that katuruk denotes vertical extension when co-occurring with 
\textit{kanY’tYuk}: \textit{kanY’tYuk katuruk : very high.}

\textit{ki} here

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

\textit{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 gunna püpmna nuntapiyantukna
meat ss.loc burn(tr).cnt 3sgfSP.2(pres/past) ss.loc
She cooks/cooked the meat over there inside.

52. antuk piyantuk
house ss
Inside the house.

aŋuŋk halfway

53. pak wötö wöntöt aŋuŋkna
sit 3plSP.4(pres) dlm ss.loc
they both sit down halfway along.

yananąra ... yananąra this side ... that side
punar middle

54. [yananąra tatma wutta] [yananąra tatma ss see.cnt 3plSP.2(pres/past) ss see.cnt
wutta] [punar na tatma wutanö]
3plSP.2(pres/past) ss.loc see.cnt 3plSP.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:

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

55. antuk ariyinka in front of the house
pött'almiyen in front of a person
breast.straight

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

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

yanpar left
nan'ylk yanpar left hand
t'än'kir piyantuk in between [lit. on top, underneath]
58. mi walk t'ankir piyantuk wöyö
food(veg) stone ss 3sgSP.6(pres)
The food stands between stones.

59. wänkař 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' ka yita
ss.dpfl come 3sgmSP.2(pres/past)
He had come from far away.

mëfakan first

63. ña mëfakan pi anunjka wänaji anuntu
1sgSP ss go 1sgSP.2(fut) 2sgSP ss
I will go first, you next.

2.1.4.2.1. Spatial Interrogatives

akun where?

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

akun + 'departing from' suffix -man'

akuman' where from?

65. akuman' ka nunta
intrg.dpfl come 2sgSP/3sgfSP.2(pres/past)
Where have you/do you come from?/Where has she/does she come from?

akun + Locative suffix -yinña

akunyinña how far?

66. akunyinña pi wöröjun'
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) (see 3.1.2.)
   Where are you/is she going to swim to?

2.1.4.3. Demonstrative Pronouns

ki this one
ŋun that one

68. [ki natal yita] [ŋun tom
   P(dm) strong 3sgmSP.2(pres/past) P(dm) weak
   yita
   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] [ŋun tom
   P(dm) meat dislike 3sgmSP.2(pres/past) give 3plSP.1(sequ)
   The other fellow didn't like the meat they gave him.

70. ŋuŋa watıy düntawōŋ
   P(dm) share out 3sgfSP.2(pres/past).3p1OP
   She distributes/distributed (it) to the others.

katuk that one (yonder)

71. [katukman yöö akana] [pulit ų kiman
   P(dm).rbl 3sgmSP.4(pres) adv(neg) old man P(dm).rbl
   yöö akana]
   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. (see
   3.1.5.; 3.1.6.)

nan this one/that one

72. mi nannō
   food(veg) P(dm).poss
   The food belonging to that one.

nan can also assume a demonstrative adjectival function:

73. te an wōőntōn alalk yikpi nanta
   meat give 3plSP.1(sequ) child little(sgm) A(dm).sfm
   They give/gave that little boy meat.
2.1.4.4. The deictic specifiers alimiři and aŋuntu can function in both a temporal and a spatial environment:

alimiři
75. alimiři anti eyma wutta
   ts adv(recip) spear.cnt 3plSP.2(pres/past)
   They used to spear one another.

76. alimiři pi nuntuŋ
   ss go 2sgSP.2(purp)
   You (sg) go first.

aŋuntu
77. anin⁋ alalik yimmeiyit⁋ aŋuntuman⁋ t'efat
   adv child little(plm) ts.dpf be born(pls see 3.2.4.1.)
   wut yuwakka
   3plSP.6(past).foc
   Then subsequently the little boys were born.

78. alalik nikpi t'yon aŋuntu ŋat'pak nunuwa
   child little(sgf) tree ss hide 3sgfSP.4(past)
   The little girl hid behind the tree.

2.1.5. Adverbs

Adverbs modify the Verb Complex (VC) (see 4.1.3.)

numpaŋ
79. numpaŋ akak yinma
   adv vomit 3sgmSP.2(purp)
   Perhaps he'll vomit.

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

wan'ara
81. wan'ara pi yita
   adv go 3sgmSP.2(pres/past)
   He goes/went slowly.
wat'ur  quickly
82. wat'ur pi wutta
   adv  go  3plSP.2(pres/past)
   They went quickly.

tayt'ir  properly
83. te  tayt'ir  qoyat aya
   meat  adv  ooq  1sgSP.1(punct)
   I cooked the meat properly.

anti  reciprocal adverb (see 3.2.3.3.)
84. anti lamlama wöttö  wöntöt
   adv  talk.cnt  3plSP.4(pres)  dlm
   They are both talking to one another.

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

tin'  try to
86. na  tin'  pi  atunño
   1sgSP  adv  go  1sgSP.2(purp).3sgmOP
   I'll try and go to him.

tin' can also be used as a form of the positive¹³ imperative.
87. tin'  tatnö
   adv  find.3sgmOP
   Try and find him!

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

awat¹⁴  Don't! (Negative imperative)
89. awat  təymařin'
   adv  wait.1sgOP
   Don't wait for me!

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

naŋaŋa  desiderative adverb
naŋaŋa always immediately precedes the VC, the following auxiliary
occurring only in the purposive:
91. nanaţa tikpi atun tekanta
adv(desid) back.go 1sgSP.2(purp) camp.sfm
I want to go back to the camp.

92. nanaţa ānuţut atoyun
adv(desid) sleep 1sgSP.5(purp)
I want to go to sleep.

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

93. pawu nan'ilk yananaţamant te kumukut
adv(oblig) ts clf blue-tongue lizard
lak aya
eat (meat) 1sgSP.1(punct)
I ought to have eaten the blue-tongue lizard last week.

94. pon'ti pi wūn'ya pawu
ts go 3plSP.2(subj) adv(oblig)
They should have gone yesterday.

95. na pawu yur atoyun
1sgSP adv(oblig) lie down 1sgSP.5(purp)
I should lie down.

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

96. [anin'y parōt nak wōwonton alawar yōntönta]
adv sit up eat(veg) 3sgfSP.1(sequ) woman 3sgSP.sfm
[anin'y mi watiyaŋ yitawōrő]
adv food(veg) share 3sgmSP.2(pres/past).3plOP
[mut'yuřwuna nak wōwörtön]
qf eat(veg) 3plSP.1(sequ)
Then his wife sits up and eats (and) then he distributes the food to them. Everyone eats.

yeţa

97. [pulit'y numuřu kartuřuk wōwonton] [yeţa wun'pak
old man eye poke out 3sgmSP.1(sequ) adv blind.sit
yōnō]
3sgmSP.4(pres)
The old man pokes an eye out. Now he (the buffalo) is blind.
pana iterative adverb

98. pana naman nöntöma
adv(ter) say 2sgSP.1(purp)
Say that again.

99. te têyöt [pana têyantak yuyuwa]
clf red kangaroo adv(ter) hear 3sgmSP.5/6(past)
He heard the red kangaroo again.

wiŋak 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 see 3.2.4.1.)
wöwöntön [pamyi têurkwat wöwöntön
3sgmSP.1(sequ) put down.leave put inside 3sgmSP.1(sequ)
manna] [talwakatël yöö] [walk wuřk
stomach.loc lift 3sgmSP.1(sequ) stone put into
wöwöntön mantulmanan] [yawuk pön'yan
3sgmSP.1(sequ) heart.loc another(stone) belly.loc
wuřk wöwöntön] [yawuk têinpititan wuřk
put into 3sgmSP.1(sequ) another(stone) anus.loc put into
wöwöntön walkka] [wa kölptël yuryi
3sgmSP.1(sequ) stone.sfm pick up.roast lay down
wöwöntön tönan] [kuřput wöwöntön wiŋak]
3sgmSP.1(sequ) hole.loc cover 3sgmSP.1(sequ) 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 adverbia negative15

101. quluk yawötnö [akana lamma wutta]
language lexSP.poss adv(neg) speak.cnt 3plSP.2(pres/past)
They cannot speak our language.

2.1.5.1. Interrogative Adverbs

aman (plus Conjugation 1 and co-extensive low rise in rise in pitch):16 What?
102. aman aťöma
adv(intrg) l1cSP.1(purp)
What are we going to do?

amanali
How (cf. 2.1.4.1.1.)

103. kurminY [amanali tYenYma nunta
double hook-spear adv(intrg) make.cnt 2sgSP.2(pres/past)
How do you make a double hook-spear?

2.1.6. Particles

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

ηαν comparative particle (see 3.2.7.1.1.)

104. tYaŋar [ηαν tYalala]
spear ptcl(comp) long
A longer spear.

105. mi [ηαν mikpi] aŋařinY
food(veg) ptcl(comp) little(sgv) give.1sgOP
Give me less food.

106. ηαν lapař wuta
ptcl(comp) light 3sgSP.2(pres/past)
It is a bit lighter.

ηατY. 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 (see 3.1.9.1.) supports the hypothesis that ηατY has the function of a free emphatic marker. (See note 1 to texts, p.173.)

107. [tēk yawuknō akana ηατY] [tēk kina ηατY]
camp other.int adv(neg) ptcl(emph) camp ss.loc ptcl(emph)
No other camp; just this camp.

108. ηατY apap wōwōntōn
ptcl(emph) sick 3sgmSP.1(sequ)
He is sick.

109. [ηατY yawōt wani maparama atta]
ptcl(emph) lexSP dreaming follow.cnt lexSP.2(pres/past)
[wanaři nunta mintYitakan nunta]
2sgSP 2sgSP.2(pres/past) emph.P.loc 2sgSP.2(pres/past)
[yawöt eyik eyik atta]
lexSP black lexSP.2(pres/past)

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

2.1.7. Interjections

yu yes!
aka 1. emphatic negative (with co-extensive sharp fall in pitch).
     2. emphatic interrogative: What? (with co-extensive high rise in pitch).
anta all right
kukuk wait/hang on!
t'én'na an expression of approval.
ma interrogative or imperative interjection (with co-extensive high or low rise in pitch, respectively).
wéya come here!

2.1.8. Verb Root

Within the Verb Complex (see 4.1.3.) the Verb Root carries lexical meaning and is able to take the Continuative (see 3.2.1.3.), Intensive (see 3.2.1.1.), and Participial (see 3.2.1.4.) suffixes and the two markers of the modality of possibility (see 3.2.1.2.).

2.1.9. 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.
NOTES

1. See 4.1.1.

2. NP can be expanded as: {(noun)(pronoun)} (adjectival), (see 4.1.8.).

3. -nō corresponds to what Capell (1956) called a bivalent suffix: in MalakMalak it can be suffixed both to Noun Phrases and Verb Roots. One of the adnominal functions of -nō is to mark the possessor of an alienable possession (see 3.2.8.).

4. Another adnominal function of -nō (see 3.2.9.4.).

5. Small constitutes an exception in that the change of shape it undergoes when pluralized is beyond that of reduplication: yikpi > yinmyiyitY.

6. Pi wutta comprises a Verb Root (in this case, pi) followed by an Auxiliary (in this case, wutta). The latter carries person, number, tense, mood, and aspect (see 3.1. - 3.1.6.).

7. The sex-distinction is neutralized in the plural.

8. 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.; prup.
   Conjugation 4: past; pres.; progr.; fut.
   Conjugation 5: past; pres.; progr.; fut.
   Conjugation 6: past; pres.; progr.; fut.
9. 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 aŋpuŋu: meat for us (inclusive).

10. See 4.1.1.

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

12. -nawuna can also assume a spatial sense:
   e.g. artiṅnawuna
   salt water:ss : up to the salt water

13. See 4.1.5.1.

14. See 4.1.5.2.

15. See 3.2.3. for a discussion of bound negation-markers.

16. The combination of the Conjugation 1 Auxiliary together with the concomitant intonation pattern distinguishes the interrogative adverb aman from the temporal specifier aman (see 2.1.4.1.).

17. anta can also occur in sentence structure with an adverbal function (see Text 1, sentence 33).
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. Conversely, intransitive Verb Roots characteristically cannot select for Conjugation 1.

Conjugations 2-6 (inclusive) have an identifiable semantic content; Conjugation 1 does not. Conjugation 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.

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)'.

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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 ŋ and ſ conjugation types which relate to the phonological shape of the 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 (2plSP)
third person plural bound subject pronoun (3plSP)

The Progressive paradigm will be taken as exemplar:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Conjugation</th>
<th>Conjugation</th>
<th>Conjugation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1exSP</td>
<td>ařu-ŋun(^Y)</td>
<td>ařō-řen(^Y)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2plSP</td>
<td>nuŋkuřu-ŋun(^Y)</td>
<td>nöŋkōřō-řen(^Y)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3plSP</td>
<td>wörō-ŋun(^Y)</td>
<td>wōřō-řen(^Y)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Conjugation</th>
<th>Conjugation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1exSP</td>
<td>at-tiŋin(^Y)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2plSP</td>
<td>nikit-tiŋin(^Y)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3plSP</td>
<td>wit-tiŋin(^Y)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Conjugation</th>
<th>Conjugation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1exSP</td>
<td>at-yanin(^Y)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2plSP</td>
<td>nikit-yanin(^Y)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3plSP</td>
<td>wit-yanin(^Y)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(The person-markers precede the hyphen in the above examples.) Conjugations 2, 3 and 5 are morphophonemically characterized by the ŋ conjugation-type. Conjugations 4 and 6 are morphophonemically characterized by the ſ conjugation type.

There are two further syntactic functions carried by Conjugations 2 and 3: Conjugation 2 has a copulative function (see 3.1.2.) and Conjugation 3 has an iterative function (see 3.1.3.). Person Markers (see 3.1.8.).

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, see 3.2.7.) In terms of this pair of supplementary subject pronouns there is an asymmetry between the bound subject and object pronouns. That is to say, the nine bound object pronouns correspond to the nine free subject pronouns, on a one-to-one basis. There are no corresponding object pronoun forms for the Vegetative and Silvan/Elemental markers.
Tense, Aspect and Mood Paradigms

Tense: Present, Past, and Future
Aspect: Progressive (with the exception of Conjugation 1), Punctiliar (Conjugation 1 only)
Mood: Purposive and Subjunctive.

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

3.1.1. 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 (see 4.1.3.) 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. [tc yiŋi kark yuŋun'Y] [waliwaliman'Y]
    clf crocodile come up 3sgmSP.2(progr) river.dpf
kark yuŋun'Yt'Ya] [nönyögün'Y titna]
    come up 3sgmSP.2(progr).foc 3sgfSP.5(progr) bank.loc
[ŋat'Y kark yuŋun'Y] [taʔ]
    ptcl(emph) come up 3sgmSP.2(progr) bite
yiŋiwaŋ taʔ yimŋ'Y
    3sgmSP.1(punct).3sgfOP crocodile.ag bite 3sgmSP.1(punct)
alalk nikpiwa] [yakayaka nimin'Y neman'Yt'Ya]
    child little(sgf).sfm scream 3sgfSP.1(punct) parent.sf
The salt-water crocodile was coming up. He was coming up from
the river. She was sleeping on the bank. He was just coming
up. He bit her. The crocodile bit the little girl. The
mother screamed.
The sequential describes serial activity:

111. [alawar pařat nöntyö] [t'öŋ leřp wöwöntön]
    woman get up 3sgfSP.5(pres) wood gather 3sgfSP.1(sequ)
    [ka nunta t'öŋ t'akt'yet] [pirpiyet]
    come 3sgfSP.2(pres/past) fire prepare ignite

    wöwöntön
    3sgfSP.1(sequ)

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

Conjugation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Persons</th>
<th>Punctiliar (i)</th>
<th>Sequential (ii)</th>
<th>Purposive (iii)</th>
<th>Future (iv)</th>
<th>Subjunctive (v)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1sgSP</td>
<td>aya</td>
<td>awöntön</td>
<td>atöma</td>
<td>anmawa</td>
<td>awuntuwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2sgSP</td>
<td>nuntya</td>
<td>nöörtön</td>
<td>nöntöma</td>
<td>nunmawa</td>
<td>nwuntuwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3sgmSP</td>
<td>yimin'</td>
<td>wööntön</td>
<td>yinma</td>
<td>yinmawa</td>
<td>wuwuntuwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3sgfSP</td>
<td>nimin'</td>
<td>wööntön</td>
<td>nunma</td>
<td>nunmawa</td>
<td>wuwuntuwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3svgSP</td>
<td>muya</td>
<td>mööntön</td>
<td>munma</td>
<td>munmawa</td>
<td>muwuntuwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3sgeSP</td>
<td>wuya</td>
<td>wööntön</td>
<td>wunma</td>
<td>wunmawa</td>
<td>wuwuntuwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1dlSP</td>
<td>ankaya</td>
<td>anköörtön</td>
<td>anköötöma</td>
<td>anköumawa</td>
<td>anköuntuwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1lcSP</td>
<td>arkun'</td>
<td>arköörtön</td>
<td>arköötöma</td>
<td>arköumawa</td>
<td>arköuntuwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1exSP</td>
<td>arun'</td>
<td>arööntön</td>
<td>arröötöma</td>
<td>arröumawa</td>
<td>arröuntuwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2plSP</td>
<td>nünkün'</td>
<td>nöönköröörtön</td>
<td>nököötöma</td>
<td>nöönkürümwa-nmawu-ntuwa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3plSP</td>
<td>wiłmin'</td>
<td>wöörtön</td>
<td>wööttöma</td>
<td>wööröntuwa</td>
<td>wuńtuwa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Persons</th>
<th>Punctiliar (i)</th>
<th>Sequential (ii)</th>
<th>Purposive (iii)</th>
<th>Future (iv)</th>
<th>Subjunctive (v)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st SP</td>
<td>anka-</td>
<td>ank-</td>
<td>ankö-</td>
<td>ank-</td>
<td>ank-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11th SP</td>
<td>ařk-</td>
<td>ařk-</td>
<td>ař-</td>
<td>ařku-</td>
<td>ařk-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1ex SP</td>
<td>ař-</td>
<td>ař-</td>
<td>at-</td>
<td>ařu-</td>
<td>ař-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2pl SP</td>
<td>ſeŋkuř-</td>
<td>ſönköř-</td>
<td>ſököt-</td>
<td>ſeŋkuř-</td>
<td>ſeŋkuř-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3pl SP</td>
<td>wiř-</td>
<td>wőř-</td>
<td>wőt-</td>
<td>wőřö-</td>
<td>wuř-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Paradigm 3. Purposive

112. mi ſeŋk nöntöma

food eat 2sgSP.1(purp)

Eat the food!

113. wak yëntawaliktap atöma

water like/desire 1sgSP.1(purp)

I'd like (some) water.

114. taratwat atöma wöro

look(pl.obj.).send 1sgSP.1(purp).3plOP

I'll watch them.

115. [apap ſeŋma] [ťek ſawük niřk ſeŋma]

sick 3sg.mSP.1(purp) camp other die 3sgmSP.1(purp)

If he's sick in another camp he will die.
116. aman ařtōma?
adv(intrg) 1(ic)SP.1(purp)
What are we going to do?

Paradigm 4. Future

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

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

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

Paradigm 5. Subjunctive

120. tē aŋ awuntunōwakka anti tē aŋ
meat give 1sgSP.1(subj).3sgmOP.foc adv(recip) meat give
wuwuntuwařin y Y akna
3sgmSP.1(subj).1sgOP.foc
Had I given him meat he would have given me some.

121. tē aŋ nuwuntuwařin y Y akna anti tē aŋ
meat give 2sgSP.1(subj).1sgOP.foc adv(recip) meat give
anmanunuwakka
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 3sggeSP.1(subj)
It might rain lightly.

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

123. tŶanăr yur aya pawuŋkan
spear lay 1sgSP.1(punctiliar) floor.loc
I lay spear on floor.
124. antuk tyũk ařontön
    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:

125. pulitỹłyũk ayanô
    old man bury 1sgSP.1(punct).3sgmOP
    I bury/buried the old man.

126. tono tyũk yita
    jungle enter 3sgmSP.2(pres/past)
    He enters/entered the jungle.

3.1.2. Conjugation 2

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

In its unmarked role Conjugation 2:

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

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

128. kupuk yita walliwalliynna
    dive 3sgmSP.2(pres/past) river.loc
    He dives/dived into the river.

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

129. tẽnö ata
    meat.int 1sgSP.2(pres/past)
    I'm going for meat.

(11) carries a deictic function glossed as 'yonder (far away from the speaker)':

130. nilŋ tarma wutta
    nail press.cnt 3plSP.2(pres/past)
    They are/were hammering nails (over yonder).
131. yin'ya eyin yita?
man 1ntrg 3sgmSP.2(pres/past)
Who is that man (over yonder)?

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

132. karala yunpayin yita
body good 3sgmSP.2(pres/past)
He is happy.

133. ña lcyp anuny
1sgSP hot 1sgSP.2(progr)
I am hot.

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

134. t'alkyur nonyö
bend over 2sgSP/3sgfSP.5(pres)
She bends over/You (sg) bend over.

becomes, when Conjugation 2 is selected:

135. t'alkyurali nunta
bend over.ptcpl 2sgSP/3sgfSP.2(pres/past)
You (sg)/She go(es)/went along bent over.

136. ka yita-nki
come 3sgmSP.2(pres/past).dc
He comes/came here.

Conjugation 2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Persons</th>
<th>Pres/Past (i)</th>
<th>Progressive (ii)</th>
<th>Purposive (iii)</th>
<th>Future (iv)</th>
<th>Subjunctive (v)</th>
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Paradigm 1. Present/Past

137. alawar wapi yita tek yawukan
woman take 3sgSP.2(pres/past) camp other.loc
He takes (his) wife to another camp.

138. alawar yina yawot akana pi atta
tan
woman man lexSP adv(neg) go lex.SP.2(pres/past)
We (ex) men and women don't mix.

Paradigm 2. Progressive

139. pi aqun'na 'mission'-na
1sgSP.2(progr) Mission.loc
I've been going to the Mission for some time.

140. katma yuqun'na
laugh.cnt 3sgSP.2(progr).loc
He used to laugh.

141. kina ka yuqun'na
ss.loc come 3sgSP.(progr)
He's been here some time.

142. wan'ma wofqun'na
row.cnt 3plSP.2(progr)
They used to row (nautical).

143. maf'ana lapar yuqun'na
foot swell 3sgmSP.2(progr)
His foot is swelling.

144. tatma yita t'yintaq way yuqun'na
see.cnt 3sgmSP.2(pres/past) always still 3sgmSP.2(progr)
He's still alive.

Paradigm 3. Purposeful

145. yeili pi attun tat'na
paperbark go 1exSP.2(purp) strike
We (ex) are going to strip off paperbark.
146. kina ka yönüŋ  
ss.loc come 3sgmSP.2(purp)  
*Let him come here.*

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

148. tYaŋat nuntuŋ!  
run  
*Run!*  

Paradigm 4. Future

149. te mu pi yönüŋka tirit tikka yönüŋka  
clf goose go 3sgmSP.2(fut) shoot back.come 3sgmSP.2(fut)  
*He will go and shoot geese and come back.*

150. akutena pi anuŋka?  
intrg(ss) go 1sgSP.2(fut)  
*Where shall I go?*

Paradigm . Subjective

151. ka wiwinYtYa yinYa yanan eyin?  
come 3sgmSP.2(subj) (initiated) man one  
Would any one man have come?

152. muyinY quluk lamammwa wiwinYtYa  
dogs language talk 3plSP.2(subj)  
The dogs would have been able to speak.

153. antimanYŋa te aŋma aŋkinYnöwakka  
adv(recip).dpf(neg) meat give.cnt 1icSP.2(subj).3sgmOP.foc  
akana te anti aŋ yönüŋaŋpuŋu  
adv(neg) meat adv(recip) give 3sgmSP.2(purp)1icOP  
*If we (ic) don't give him meat he won't give us (ic) any.*

3.1.3. Conjugation 3

Auxiliary Conjugation 3 is semantically a conjugation of 'movement'; it also 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:

(1) co-occurs with Verbs of 'movement', in a semantically cognate role:

154. ka yōwōra pak
    come 3sgmSP.2(pres) sit down
    He is coming to sit down.

155. tikpi yōwōra yur
    back go 3sgmSP.3(pres) lie down
    He's on his way back to lie down.

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

156. wuřk möwōra
    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¥ön (fire) demands.)

In its marked function the auxiliary is semantically foregrounded:

157. t£ lakma yōwōraŋa
    meat eat.cnt 3sgmSP.3(pres).dc
    He kept on moving while eating over there.

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Paradigm 1. Present

158. t£ welma yōwōra
    meat hang(intr).cnt 3sgmSP.3(pres)
    The meat goes on hanging there.

Paradigm 2. Past

159. t£ ma pi yuuwuřa ey
    clf wallaby on 3sgmSP.3(past) kill
    He goes on killing wallaby.

160. waliwali ki wuruřa arti1
    river ss 3sgeSP.3(past) sea
    This river went on flowing to the sea.

Paradigm 3. Progressive

161. yöntön t¥'tyantakma yöwōren
    3sgmSP listen.cnt 3sgmSP.3(progr)
    He keeps on listening over there.
Paradigm 4. Purposive

162. te weima yönpörə̀ŋ
meat hang.cnt 3sgmSP.3(purp)
Let the meat go on hanging there.

163. mi mönıpö̱̀ŋ̬a
food sgvSP.3(purp)
Let the food go on (cooking).

Paradigm 5. Future

164. yöntön t'eyantakma yönpörə̀ŋ̬ka
3sgmSP listen.cnt 3sgmSP.3(fut)
He will go on listening over there.

Note that there is no Subjunctive paradigm for Conjugation 3.

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Persons</th>
<th>Past Paradigm 1</th>
<th>Present Paradigm 2</th>
<th>Progressive Paradigm 3</th>
<th>Purposive Paradigm 4</th>
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The tense-markers are as follows:

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3.1.4. Conjugation 4

Auxiliary Conjugation 4 is semantically a conjugation of 'sitting'; it also 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:

165. yöntōn pak yöno
    3sgmSP *sit* 3sgmSP.4(pres)
    *He sits down.*

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

166. yin^ya muŋma wōttō
    *(initiated)*man dance.cnt 3plSP.4(pres)
    *The men are dancing here.*

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

168. nan’ilk yîrma anô
hand scratch.cnt 1sgSP.4(pres)
I am sitting down scratching my hand.

Conjugation 4

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<th>Persons</th>
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<th>Progressive (iii)</th>
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The bound person-markers are as follows:

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</table>

The tense-markers are as follows:
### Paradigm 1. Past Tense

169. yöntön pak yunuwa
3sgmSP sit 3sgmSP.4(pres)
*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:

170. tik anuwa
*I grew up.*

as opposed to:

171. tik yita
*back 3sgmSP.2(pres/past)*
*He came/comes back.*

172. wööntön 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

173. yin'ya paröt pakali yöö
*(initiated)man sits up sit.ptcpl 3sgmSP.4(pres)*
*The man gets into a sitting position (i.e. from lying position).*
174. yin'ya ki yönö
(initiated)man ss 3sgmSP.4(pres)
This man here.

175. puntu patma wönařin'y
head burst.cnt 3sgeSP.4(pres).1sgOP
My head is splitting (i.e. I have a bad headache).

Paradigm 3. Progressive
176. alimiřiman'y yinin'in'y
ts.dpt 3sgmSP.4(progr)
He's been here a long time.

177. pön'y tik aninin'y
belly grow 1sgSP.4(pres)
I'm getting fat.

178. [mi mininin'y] [wapi wutta numpan]
food 3sgvSP.4(progr) take 3plSP.2(pres/past) adv
Perhaps they took the food that was here.

Paradigm 4. Purposive
179. luppakali ařtini
close together sit.ptcpl 11cSP.4(purp)
We'll/let's sit close together.

180. pak nintini!
sit 2sgSP.4(purp)
Sit down!

181. tik yini!
grow up 3sgmSP.4(purp)
Let him grow up!

Paradigm 5. Future
182. nöyö kina pak aniwa
tomorrow ss.loc sit 1sgSP.4(fut)
Tomorrow I'll sit here.

183. nöyö t'ert'erma aniwa
tomorrow sing.cnt 1sgSP.4(fut)
Tomorrow I will sing.
Paradigm 6. Subjunctive

184. tc aŋma wiwinin'varin'ta'kna lakma
meat give.cnt 3sgmSP.4(subj).foc eat(meat).cnt
awinin't'akna
1sgSP.4(subj).foc
Had he given me meat I would have eaten it.

3.1.5. Conjugation 5

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

In its unmarked function Conjugation 5:
(1) co-occurs with Verbs of 'lying' in a semantically cognate function:

185. yur wöřö
lie down 3plSP.5(pres)
They lie down.

(11) carries a deictic function meaning 'yonder (far away from the speaker)'.

186. yin'ya muŋma wöřö
man dance.cnt 3plSP.5(pres)
The men are dancing over yonder.

187. nilŋ tarma wöřö
nail pres.cnt 3plSP.5(pres)
They are hammering nails over yonder.

In its semantically marked function the Auxiliary is foregrounded:

188. alawar kaŋ'akma nönyö
woman cough.cnt 3sgfSP.5(pres)
She is coughing lying down.
## Conjugation 5

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Persons</th>
<th>Past (i)</th>
<th>Present (ii)</th>
<th>Progressive (iii)</th>
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<td>-yō̱n Y</td>
<td>-tö̱y̱n</td>
<td>-nö̱ṉ̱y̱ṉḵa</td>
<td>-wiṉt Y̱a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1lcSP</td>
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<td>-yō̱n Y</td>
<td>-tö̱y̱n</td>
<td>-nö̱ṉ̱y̱ṉḵa</td>
<td>-wiṉt Y̱a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lexSP</td>
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<td>-yō̱n Y</td>
<td>-tö̱y̱n</td>
<td>-nö̱ṉ̱y̱ṉḵa</td>
<td>-wiṉt Y̱a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2plvSP</td>
<td></td>
<td>-yō̱n Y</td>
<td>-tö̱y̱n</td>
<td>-nö̱ṉ̱y̱ṉḵa</td>
<td>-wiṉt Y̱a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3plSP</td>
<td></td>
<td>-yō̱n Y</td>
<td>-tö̱y̱n</td>
<td>-nö̱ṉ̱y̱ṉḵa</td>
<td>-wiṉt Y̱a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Fifty-nine verb roots gave 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.

| ke̱rkat Y | 1234*5(*6) | startle (e.g. an animal) |
| kö̱lp | 12345(*6)* | roast |
| kurkat Y | 12345(*6) | dig out |
kuřwapakat\textsuperscript{Y} 12345(*6) turn around (tr)
kuwpuk 1*2345(*6)* dive into water (plural.subj)
lakkat\textsuperscript{Y} 12345(*6) leave meat when salted
larap 12345(*6) bind
leřiyet 1*2345(*6) spread out (intr)
leřp (plural.subj) 1*2345(*6) meat (marked for plurality)
leřp 12345(*6) gather firewood
min\textsuperscript{Y} etali 1*2345(*6) throw firesticks at someone
kar/kararkwarat 12345(*6) bring/take across
altuřp 12345(*6) penetrate
eř 12345(*6) wound (with spear)
kuřwapi 1*2345(*6) drag
kalyur 12345(*6) carry (on shoulder)
kapukkupuk 1*2345(*6) bathe
kararwat 12345(*6) make e.o. do (something)
kařlak (ma) (e.g. of bird) 12345(*6) pick something out of ground and eat it
park 12345(*6) leave something behind
wat 12345(*6) send
watiyan 12345(*6) share
tar/tarmur 12345(*6) crush/crush with feet
eyřpat 12345(*6) rub
aritapat 12345(*6) open door
timkut 12345(*6) bury (e.g. a dog a bone)
kark nönyö 1*2345(*6) come/go up
karark wöfo
wat\textsuperscript{Y} uk 12345(*6) pour
wuřk 12345(*6) fill up (e.g. a bag)
taŋkat\textsuperscript{Y} 12345(*6) mix up (people, etc.) (tr)
yitt\textsuperscript{Yeřat} 12345(*6) slough skin (e.g. of a snake)
pin\textsuperscript{Y} wukut\textsuperscript{Y} 12345(*6) bale (water) out
nakwirwir 12345(*6) eat fruit and dribble juice
Paradigm 1. Past Tense

189. yöntön yur yuyuwa
    3sgmSP lie down 3sgmSP.5(past)
    He lay down.

TENSE/MOOD/ASPECT

1. **Past Tense**
   - pay (ar) at
   - pe: rpal
   - pe:t
   - pik pit
   - pit
   - tapak
   - tappariřip
   - tapatpam
   - tayipat
   - tuktutarar
   - t'akt'et
   - t'ampurp
   - pay
   - t'ayat'aya
   - kiwaŋ t'yen
   - t'iyan
   - t'ölölmuřu
   - t'uřk
   - t'uřpęyit
   - wařiyat
   - wurumel wurumel
   - yeřputwa
   - yurma
   - tapt'iř

   - chip wood
   - make a mistake
   - bring out
   - frighten (tr)
   - paint
   - rub firestick
   - miss (i.e. with spear)
   - break
   - turn over
   - pick something up and put it down
   - split
   - hollow out a log for a canoe
   - make (i.e. prepare) fire
   - stoke up fire
   - emerge
   - pour water into an object
   - fix up/repair
   - give
   - descend
   - enter
   - cut off
   - meet
   - try something out
   - take back a gift
   - drag net
   - drop
190. yin'yə alawar nufnut wuruwa
man woman sleep 3plSP.5(past)
The man/men (and) woman/women slept.

Paradigm 2. Present Tense
191. muyn'y möröt keřkẹpma yöö
dog bone crunch.cnt 3sgmSP.5(pres)
The dog is lying down crunching the bone.

192. yöntön man'yur yöö
3sgmSP floats up 3sgmSP.5(pres)
He floats up.

Paradigm 3. Progressive
193. allimífi kina yur wọfọngun'y
ts ss.loc lie down 3plSP.5(progr)
They used to lie down here.

194. te nawan'yak wọfọngun'y
meat smell 3plSP.5(progr)
They are smelling the meat.

Paradigm 4. Purposive
195. nufnut yönyuŋ
sleep 3sgmSP.5(purp)
He's going to have a sleep.

196. yur nöntöyung!
lie down 2sgSP.5(purp)
Lie down!

Paradigm 5. Future
197. qa tyeyantak anöyunctuation
1sgSP hear 1sgSP.5(fut)
I will listen to you.

198. qa yur anöyungka
1sgSP lie down 1sgSP.5(fut)
I will lie down.
Paradigm 6. Subjunctive

199. wanyarì yur niwin yakna  naï yur
2sgSP lie down 2sgSP.5(subj).foc 1sgSP lie down
anöyunkakna
1sgSP.5(fut).foc
If you lie down I’ll lie down.

200. yöntön ariwit’im wiwi yayiwaaka ant¾
3sgSP kiss 3sgSP.2/5/6(subj).3sgfOP.foc adv(recip)
nöntön ariwit’im nönöyynöwakka
3sgfSP kiss 3sgfSP.5(fut).3sgmOP
If he kisses her she will kiss him.

3.1.6. Conjugation 6

Auxiliary Conjugation 6 is semantically a conjugation of 'standing';
it also carries a deictic function of 'in the vicinity of the speaker'.
Conjugation 6 is grouped, deictically and morphologically, with Con-
jugation 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:
(1) co-occurs with Verbs of 'standing' in a semantically cognate
function:

201. alawar pàrat nöntyö
woman get up 3sgfSP.6(pres)
The woman gets up.

202. yín’à tyèt’9 wityàgin’
man stand (pl S) 3plSP.6(progr)
The men are standing up.

(11) carries a deictic function meaning 'in the vicinity of the
speaker':

203. nöntön antuk luťuŋma nöntyö
3sgfSP house clean.cnt 3sgfSP.6(pres)
She is cleaning the house here/nearby.
as opposed to:

204. nöntön antuk luťuŋma nönyö
3sgfSP house clean.cnt 3sgfSP.5(pres)
She is cleaning the house over yonder.
## Conjugation 6

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Persons</th>
<th>Past (i)</th>
<th>Present (ii)</th>
<th>Progressive (iii)</th>
<th>Purposive (iv)</th>
<th>Future (v)</th>
<th>Subjunctive (vi)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1sgSP</td>
<td>ayuwa</td>
<td>ayö</td>
<td>ayänin^Y</td>
<td>atiyaŋ</td>
<td>aniyaŋ</td>
<td>awinyaŋ^Ya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2sgSP</td>
<td>nuntuyuwa</td>
<td>nöntyö</td>
<td>nintyänin^Y</td>
<td>nintiyaŋ</td>
<td>niniyaŋka</td>
<td>niwinỹYa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3sgmSP</td>
<td>yuyuwa</td>
<td>yöö</td>
<td>yiyanın^Y</td>
<td>yintiyaŋ</td>
<td>yiniyaŋka</td>
<td>wiwinỹYa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3sgfSP</td>
<td>nuntuyuwa</td>
<td>nöntyö</td>
<td>nintyänin^Y</td>
<td>nuntiyaŋ</td>
<td>niniyaŋka</td>
<td>wiwinỹYa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3sgvSP</td>
<td>muyuwa</td>
<td>mööö</td>
<td>miyanın^Y</td>
<td>muntyaŋ</td>
<td>miniyaŋka</td>
<td>wiwinỹYa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3sgeSP</td>
<td>wuyuwa</td>
<td>wööö</td>
<td>wiyanın^Y</td>
<td>wuntyaŋ</td>
<td>winiyaŋka</td>
<td>wiwinỹYa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1d1SP</td>
<td>ankuyuwa</td>
<td>ankööö</td>
<td>ankiyanın^Y</td>
<td>ankitiyaŋ</td>
<td>ankininyaŋka</td>
<td>ankinỹYa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1icSP</td>
<td>ańtuwa</td>
<td>ańtyö</td>
<td>ańtyanın^Y</td>
<td>ańtiyaŋ</td>
<td>ańkiniyaŋka</td>
<td>ańkinyYa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1exSP</td>
<td>atyuwa</td>
<td>atöö</td>
<td>atyanın^Y</td>
<td>attiyaŋ</td>
<td>ańiniyaŋka</td>
<td>ańinyYa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2plSP</td>
<td>nukutuyuwa</td>
<td>nökötyö</td>
<td>nikityänin^Y</td>
<td>nikittiyaŋ</td>
<td>nikkiřinyaŋka</td>
<td>nikkiřinyYa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3plSP</td>
<td>wutuyuwa</td>
<td>wötyö</td>
<td>wityanın^Y</td>
<td>wittiyaŋ</td>
<td>wiřiniyaŋka</td>
<td>wiřinyYa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In its semantically marked function the Auxiliary is foregrounded:

205. kan Yakma nöntyö
cough.cut 3sgfSP.5(pres)
She is coughing standing up.

The bound person-markers are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Persons</th>
<th>Past (i)</th>
<th>Present (ii)</th>
<th>Progressive (iii)</th>
<th>Purposive (iv)</th>
<th>Future (v)</th>
<th>Subjunctive (vi)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1sgSP</td>
<td>a-</td>
<td>a-</td>
<td>a-</td>
<td>a-</td>
<td>a-</td>
<td>a-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2sgSP</td>
<td>nunt-</td>
<td>nönt-</td>
<td>nint-</td>
<td>nin-</td>
<td>ni-</td>
<td>ni-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3sgmSP</td>
<td>yu-</td>
<td>yö-</td>
<td>yl-</td>
<td>yl-</td>
<td>wi-</td>
<td>wi-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3sgfSP</td>
<td>nunt-</td>
<td>nönt-</td>
<td>nint-</td>
<td>nin-</td>
<td>ni-</td>
<td>ni-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3sgvSP</td>
<td>mu-</td>
<td>mö-</td>
<td>mi-</td>
<td>mi-</td>
<td>mi-</td>
<td>mi-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3sgeSP</td>
<td>wu-</td>
<td>wö-</td>
<td>wi-</td>
<td>wi-</td>
<td>wi-</td>
<td>wi-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1d1SP</td>
<td>ank-</td>
<td>ankö-</td>
<td>ank-</td>
<td>ank-</td>
<td>ank-</td>
<td>ank-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1lcSP</td>
<td>ařt-</td>
<td>ařt-</td>
<td>ařt-</td>
<td>ařt-</td>
<td>ařt-</td>
<td>ařt-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1lexSP</td>
<td>at-</td>
<td>at-</td>
<td>at-</td>
<td>at-</td>
<td>at-</td>
<td>at-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2p1SP</td>
<td>nukut-</td>
<td>nököt-</td>
<td>nikit-</td>
<td>nikit-</td>
<td>nikit-</td>
<td>nikit-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3p1SP</td>
<td>wut-</td>
<td>wöt-</td>
<td>wit-</td>
<td>wiř-</td>
<td>wiř-</td>
<td>wiř-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The tense-markers are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1sgSP</th>
<th>-yuwa</th>
<th>-yü</th>
<th>-yağinY</th>
<th>-tiyan</th>
<th>-niyag</th>
<th>-wintY a</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2sgSP</td>
<td>-yuwa</td>
<td>-yü</td>
<td></td>
<td>-tiyan</td>
<td></td>
<td>-wintY a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3sgmSP</td>
<td>-yuwa</td>
<td>-yü</td>
<td></td>
<td>-tiyan</td>
<td>-niyag</td>
<td>-wintY a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3sgfSP</td>
<td>-yuwa</td>
<td>-yü</td>
<td></td>
<td>-tiyan</td>
<td>-niyag</td>
<td>-wintY a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3sgvSP</td>
<td>-yuwa</td>
<td>-yü</td>
<td></td>
<td>-tiyan</td>
<td>-niyag</td>
<td>-wintY a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1d1SP</td>
<td>-yuwa</td>
<td>-yü</td>
<td></td>
<td>-tiyan</td>
<td></td>
<td>-wintY a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1lcSP</td>
<td>-yuwa</td>
<td>-yü</td>
<td></td>
<td>-tiyan</td>
<td></td>
<td>-wintY a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1lexSP</td>
<td>-yuwa</td>
<td>-yü</td>
<td></td>
<td>-tiyan</td>
<td></td>
<td>-wintY a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2p1SP</td>
<td>-yuwa</td>
<td>-yü</td>
<td></td>
<td>-tiyan</td>
<td>-niyag</td>
<td>-wintY a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3p1SP</td>
<td>-yuwa</td>
<td>-yü</td>
<td></td>
<td>-tiyan</td>
<td>-niyag</td>
<td>-wintY a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are five Verb Roots which can take Conjugation 6 only in the plural persons (cf. 3.1.5.):

kötap 12345*6(*)
line up
kulpak 1*23456(*)
get into a canoe
ey 12345(*6(*)
wound (with a spear)
kark/karark (pl.subj) 1*234*5(*6(* go up (to a place)
wat'γurupat 1*2345*6(*) attempt to fly (of a young bird)

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

Paradigm 1. Past

206. ŋa wurma ayuwa
   lsgSP stand up 1sgSP.6(past)
   I stood up.

207. nonton ṭyet nuntyuwa
   3sgfSP be born 3sgfSP.6(past)
   She was born.

Paradigm 2. Present

208. mēŋkīt'mēŋkīt' kaflakma wōtyō
   Sparrow-hawk pick out of ground (and) eat.cnt 3plSP.6(pres)
   Sparrow-hawks pick things out of ground and eat them.

209. yin'ya wufma yōyō
   man stand up 3sgmSP.6(pres)
   The man stands up.

210. wak kuľkuľma wōyō
    water pull.pull.cnt 3sgmSP.6(pres)
    The current is strong.

211. ṭ'yanar ṭyet möyō
    spear stand 3sgvSP.6(pres)
    The spear stands up.

Paradigm 3. Progressive

212. yōntōn paŋatt'et yiyanin'
    3sgmSP get up.stand 3sgmSP.6(progr)
    He used to stand up.

213. man wōnatt'et wiyanin'yaŋ'yaŋ'wōrō
    stomach bad.stand 3sgmSP.6(progr).1sgOP.3plOP
    I am sorry for them.

214. ṭ'yōŋ paŋkt'et wiyanin'
    tree grow 3sgvSP.6(progr)
    The tree is growing.
Paradigm 4. Purposive

215. ŋa wuŋma atiyaŋ

1sgSP  stand up 1sgSP.6(purp)

I'm going up to stand up.

216. paŋat nintiyaŋ!

get up 2sgSP.6(purp)

Get up!

Paradigm 5. Future

217. ŋa paŋat anlyaŋka

1sgSP get up

I will get up.

218. yin'yə muŋma wiŋniyaŋka

man dance.contín 3plSP.6(fut)

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

Paradigm 6. Subjunctive

219. waŋari wuŋma niwing'yə ŋa wuŋma atiyaŋ

2sgSP  stand up 2sgSP.6(subj) 1sgSP  stand up 1sgSP.6(purp)

If you stand up I'll stand up.

3.1.7. Semantic and Deictic Functions: Conclusion

It would appear, on evidence so far, that the semantic function of the auxiliary is relatively slight in relation to its other functions. That is to say, there are other means of introducing the notion of physical posture into the Verb Complex than those provided by the auxiliary conjugations. The cognate verb roots for conjugation 4, 5 and 6, pak, yur and t'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 (see 3.2.1.4.; 4.1.4.2.). Thus, for example, the Verb Root tap (grab) is constrained from selecting Conjugation 5:-

*əm  təp wörö

food(veg)  grab  3plSP.5(pres)

But the following is acceptable:

220. tapyurali  yöyö

grab. lie.ptcpl  3sgmSP.5(pres)

He grabs (it) while lying down.
On the other hand, muñma *dance (of men)* is able to select Conjugation 4 and 5, not in their semantic but in their deictic functions. (The auxiliary characteristically carries no semantic meaning when carrying a deictic function.)

3.1.8. 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.

3.1.8.1. *Chag*SP is consistently a low open central unrounded vowel a-.

3.1.8.2. *Chag*SP 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:

| Conjugation 1: | nôn.tôma (purposive); nô.wôntôn (sequential); nu.wuntuwa (subjunctive); |
| Conjugation 2: | nu.ûnu (progressive); num.ûwu (purposive); nu.nu (ka) (future); |
| Conjugation 3: | nôm.pôra (present); num.pu (past); nôn.tôrka (purposive); nôm.pôren (progressive); no.nora (ka) (future); |
| Conjugation 4: | nu.nuwa (past); nônö (present); nî.nišîn (progressive); nî.tini (purposive); nî.niwu (future); |
| Conjugation 5: | nun.yuwa (past); nôn.yô (present); nôn.yônun (progressive); nôn.tôyu (purposive); no.nôyu (ka) (future); |
| Conjugation 6: | nunt.yuwa (past); nônt.yô (present); nî.niy (purposive); nî.niwa (future). |
The subjunctive of Conjugations 2, 5 and 6: ni.winYtYa; and of Conjugation 4: ni.wininYtYa.

3.1.8.3. 3agmSP 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 monosyllable 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:

Conjugation 1: yi.min Y (punctiliar); wö.wöntön (sequential); wu.wuntuwa (subjunctive);
Conjugation 2: yu.ünüY (progressive);
Conjugation 3: yö.wöřa (present); yu.wuwa (past); yö.pöľaŋ (purposive); yö.wöřenY (progressive); yö.nöľa (future);
Conjugation 4: yu.yuwa (past); yö.nöňă (present); yi.niğinY (progressive); yi.ni (purposive); yi.niwa (future);
Conjugation 5: yu.yuwa (past); yö.yö (present); yö.yönlunY (progressive); yö.nöuyęŋ(ka) (future); wi.winYtYa (subjunctive);
Conjugation 6: yu.yuwa (past); yö.yö (present); yi.niyaŋka (future).

The subjunctive of Conjugation 2, 5 and 6: wi.winYtYa; and of Conjugation 4: wi.wininYtYa.

3.1.8.4. 3agmSP 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.

Conjugation 1: ni.minY (punctiliar); wö.wöntön (sequential);
wu.wuntuwa (subjunctive);

Conjugation 2: nun.puŋ (purposive);
Conjugation 3: nön.pöräŋ (purposive);
Conjugation 4: ni.ni (purposive).
The subjunctive of Conjugations 2, 5 and 6: wi.winYtYa; and of Conjugation 4: wi.wininYtYa.

3.1.8.5. 3&gvSP. 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:

Conjugation 1: mu.wuntuwa (subjunctive);
Conjugation 2: mu.ŋunY (progressive); mun.puŋ (purposive);
Conjugation 3: mö.wöřa (present); mu.wuřa (past); mon.pöräŋ (purposive); mö.wöřenY (progressive); mö.nöřaŋ (future);
Conjugation 4: mu.nuwa (past); mö.nö (present); mi.niininY (progressive); mi.ni (purposive); mi.niwa (future);
Conjugation 5: mu.yuwa (past); mö.yö (present); mö.yöŋunY (progressive); mö.nöyuŋka (future);
Conjugation 6: mu.yuwa (past); mo.yo (present); mi.niyaŋka (future).
The subjunctive paradigms of Conjugations 2, 5 and 6: mi.winYtYa; and that of Conjugation 4: wi.wininYtYa.

3.1.8.6. 3&g&SP. 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 sylvan/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
api-co-alveolar nasal (as in the purposive paradigm of Conjugation 2, 3, 5 and 6). This monosyllabic person marker and the subsequent syllable have like vowels in the following instances:

Conjugation 1: wu.wuntuwa (subjunctive);
Conjugation 2: wu.ṇun¹ (progressive); wun.puŋ (purposive);
Conjugation 3: wō.wōṅa (present); wu.wuṅa (past); wō.npōrāŋ (future);
Conjugation 4: wu.nunya (past); wō.nō (present); wi.niñin¹ (progressive; wi.ni (purposive); wi.niwa (future);
Conjugation 5: wu.yuna (past); wō.yō (present); wō.nōyūŋka (future);
Conjugation 6: wu.yunya (past); wō.yō (present); wi.niyanŋka (future).

The subjunctive paradigm of Conjugations 2, 5 and 6: wi.win'ny'a; and that of Conjugation 4: wi.winin'ny'a.

3.1.8.7. Note. The phonological shape of 3sgmSP, 3sgvSP 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 api-co-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 api-co-alveolar nasal differentiates the person-markers of these two paradigms:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Purposive</th>
<th>Future</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Person Markers</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3sgmSP</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conjugation 2</td>
<td>yōn-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conjugation 3</td>
<td>yōn-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conjugation 5</td>
<td>yōn-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conjugation 6</td>
<td>yin-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tense Markers</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conjugation 2</td>
<td>-puŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conjugation 3</td>
<td>-pōrāŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conjugation 5</td>
<td>-yuŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conjugation 6</td>
<td>-tyāŋ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.1.8.8. IdlSP 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.

3.1.8.9. licSP. This is consistently a low open central unrounded vowel immediately followed by a vibrant (flapped) /ɾ/ which is in turn, in most cases followed by a dorso-velar or apico-alveolar stop: aŋk- aŋt-. In the cases where the vibrant (flapped) /ɾ/ is not followed by a stop the contrast between Inclusive and Exclusive (see 3.1.8.10.) person-markers in the given paradigm is maintained by the Exclusive person-marker's realization as a low open central unrounded vowel followed by an apico-alveolar stop. This case is exemplified in the past, present, progressive and purposive paradigms of Conjugation 3:

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

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

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

3.1.8.10. lexSP consistently begins with a low open central unrounded vowel immediately followed by either a vibrant (flapped) /ɾ/ or an apico-alveolar stop. In the future paradigm all conjugations, in the progressive paradigm of Conjugations 2 and 3, and in the past and present paradigms of Conjugation 3 the vibrant (flapped) /ɾ/ can be followed by a high, mid or low vowel. Whenever 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 germination 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) a.tōma is opposed to (lsgSP) a.tōma. (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) /ɾ/ of the first person inclusive marker is followed by a dorso-velar stop (aɾk-) 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) /ɾ/. The second person plural and third person plural markers of these paradigms are also characterized by the ɾ-form. If, however, the vibrant (flapped) /ɾ/ of the first person inclusive marker is immediately followed by an apico-alveolar stop (aɾt-), 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 third person plural markers of these paradigms are also characterized by the t-form. The only exception to the rule occur in the past and present paradigms of Conjugation 5. In these paradigms although the vibrant (flapped) /ɾ/ apico-alveolar stop the first person exclusive marker is not at- but aɾ-, thereby distinguishing the first person exclusive of these paradigms (aɾuwa and aɾo, respectively) from that in the corresponding paradigms of Conjugation 6 (atyuwa and atyö, respectively).

3.1.8.11. 2pēSP consistently begins with an apico-alveolar nasal im-
mediately 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) /r/ (as in the sub-
junctive 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 Con-
jugation 4 and 6.) The second vowel of a disyllable will always dupli-
cate the first, and the third vowel of an open trisyllable will duplicate
the two preceding. Between the second and third vowels of an open tri-
syllable a vibrant (flapped) /ɾ/ 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) /ɾ/ of the first person inclusive marker is
followed by a dorso-velar stop the second person plural marker will be
characterized by an ɾ-form. Alternatively, if the vibrant (flapped) /ɾ/
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 ţ-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.

3.1.8.12. 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) /ɪ/ 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) /ɪ/ (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) /ɪ/ 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) /ɪ/ will occur between two like vowels (as in the future paradigm of all conjugations, the progressive paradigm of Conjugation 2 and 3, and the past and present paradigms of Conjugation 3.)


The tense-marker of the sequential paradigm of Conjugation 1 is -öntön. However, owing to the language's systematic avoidance of contiguous vowels (see 1.3.1) a bilabial semi-consonant is infixed 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:

\[ ank- + -öntön > anköntön \]

or first person exclusive:

\[ ař- + -öntön > aröntön \]

A bilabial semi-consonant is, likewise, infixed between an open monosyllabic person marker and a vowel-initial tense-marker in the subjunctive paradigm of Conjugations 1, 2, 4, 5 and 6. 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 inter-vocalic bilabial semi-consonant, as in the first person singular:
    a- + -ininťya > awininťya

or the third person singular masculine, feminine or silvan/elemental:
    wi- + -ininťya > wiwininťya

while the first person dual is:
    aŋk- + -ininťya > aŋkininťya

and the second person plural is:
    niŋki- + -ininťya > niŋkĩninťya.

Finally, the subjunctive paradigm of Conjugation 2, 5 and 6: The first person singular
    a- + -inťya > awinťya

or the third person singular vegetative:
    mi- + -inťya > miwinťya

while the first person dual is:
    aŋk- + -inťya > aŋkinťya

and the first person exclusive is:
    ař- + -inťya > ařinťya.

3.1.9. Auxiliary Affixes

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

3.1.9.1. Focal Suffixes: -kka/-kna

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 intervocally 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 (see 3.1.8.10.) 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.

221. wi alimiři anta eyma wuttakka
   fight ts adv.(recip) spear.cnt 3plSP.2(pres/past).foc
   wuttakna
   3plSP.2(pres/past).foc

They used to fight one another with spears.

222. nöntön naman wuuuntuwarĩnYtYakna
   3sgfSP speak 3sgfSP.1(subj).1sgOP.foc
   She would have spoken to me.

223. parakut kimanY pak wuttuwakna
   white man ss.dpf sit splSP.4(past).foc
   White men stayed here.

224. aŋuntu t'ęťat wutuywakka
   ts born(pl.3) 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).

225. antimanYŋa te aŋma wiwinYařinYtYakna12
   adv(recip).dpf(neg) meat give.cnt 3sgmSP.2(subj).1sgOP.foc
   anti akana aŋ anuŋnōwakka
   adv(recip) adv(neg) give 1sgSP.2(fut).3sgmOP.foc
   He could have given me meat but didn't, so I won't give him any.

3.1.9.2. Focal Suffixes; -na/-ta

The focal suffixes -na/-ta have the following distribution: They can be suffixed to auxiliaries ending in an apico-alveolar or lamino-alveolar nasal:
226. yöntön mi ḋak wöwöntöna
3sgmSP food(veg) eat(non-meat) 3sgmSP.1(sequ).foc
wöwöntöta
3sgmSP.1(sequ).foc
He eats/ate (veg) food.

227. ḋa pi ḡun'na
1sgSP go 1sgSP.2(progr).foc
I'm on my way.

228. tt ḡak aŋkun'na
meat eat(meat) 11cSP.1(punct).foc
We'll all eat/ate meat.

3.1.9.3. -wa/-ka in the Verb Complex Auxiliary-Finally

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 of morphophonemic change (see below).

For example, the future paradigm of Conjugation 1:

229. mi ḡak anmawa
food(veg) eat(non-meat) 1sgSP.1(fut)
I will eat (veg) food.

and:

230. mi aŋ anmanōwa
food(veg) give
I will give him food.

as opposed to:

231. *mi aŋ anmawanō

The future paradigm of Conjugation 2:

232. pi aŋkanunka
go 1dlSP.2(fut)
You and I will go.

and:

233. tɛyama aŋkanunŋayiwa
wait.cnt 1dlSP.2(fut).3sgfOP
You and I will wait for her.
as opposed to:

234. *təyma anŋkanuŋkaŋayl

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 (-əfən)' ends in a lamino-alveolar nasal the dorso-velar stop/bilabial semi-consonant (of the -ka/-wa suffix) becomes a homorganic lamino-alveolar stop:

235. təyma yönuŋaraŋvənaməŋvə
wait.cnt 3sgmSP.2(fut).1sgOP
He will wait for me.

236. mi anŋ yinmařinvənaməŋvə
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 (see 3.1.1.). 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 -təŋ:

Purposive:

237. mi anŋ yinmařinvə
food(veg) give 3sgmSP.1(purp).1sgOP
He is going to give me (veg) food.

Future:

238. mi anŋ nunmařinvənaməŋvə
təŋfood(veg) give 3sgfSP.1(fut).1sgOP
She will give me (veg) food.

Purposive:

239. mi anŋ nunmařinvə
food(veg) give 3sgfSP.1(purp).1sgOP
She is going to give me (veg) food.

-ka > -təŋ following the lamino-alveolar nasal of the first person-singular object pronoun.
From the future paradigm of Conjugation 3:

240. yöntön ʔeyantak ʔönöřänka
3sgmSP hear/listen 3sgmSP.3(fut)
He will go on listening.

and:

241. yöntön ʔeyantak ʔönöřānñoa
3sgmSP hear/listen 3sgmSP.3(fut).3sgmOP
He will go on listening to him.

as opposed to:

242. *yıöntön ʔeyantak ʔönöřānkanö

From the past paradigm of Conjugation 4:

243. ŋa pak anuwa
1sgSP sit 1sgSP.4(past)
I sat down.

and:

244. te anųma anunōwa
meat give.cnt 1sgSP.4(past).3sgmOP
I was giving him meat.

as opposed to:

245. *te anųma anuwano

From the past paradigm of Conjugation 5:

246. wöřöntön ŋuŋut wuruwa
3plSP sleep 3plSP.5(past)
They slept.

247. te kölpma wurunayiva
meat roast.cnt 3plSP.5(past).3sgfOP
They were roasting meat for her.

as opposed to:

248. *te kölpma wuruwanayi

From the past paradigm of Conjugation 6:

249. wöřöntön ʔeŋat wuruyuwa
3plSP born(plS) 3plSP.6(past)
They were born.
250. wōřōntōn eyma wutyunōwa
   3plSP spear.cnt 3plSP.6(past).3sgmOP
   They were spearing him.

as opposed to:

251. *wōřōntōn eyma wutyuwanō

3.1.9.4. Deictic Affixes Suffixable to the Auxiliaries

-(a)nk(i)na) and -ŋa which are towards speaker and away from speaker, respectively. They are suffixable to the auxiliary of each conjugation except Conjugation 1 (see 3.1.9.5).

If the auxiliary ends in a vowel, -nki is suffixed, as in

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

253. pulit' pak yöönkina
   old man sit down 3sgmSP.4(pres).dc.loc
   The old man sits down over here.

254. pulit' yur yöönkina
   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

255. ka yönpun ankı
   come 3sgmSP.2(purp).dc
   Let him come over here.

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

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

257. waŋaŋi pi nunuŋa
   2sgSP go 2sgSP.2(purp)dc
   Go over there!

3.1.9.5. Conjugation 1 and the Deictic Suffix

A Verb Complex with a Conjugation 1 auxiliary can take the deictic suffix -ŋa, but not -(a)nk(i)na). Furthermore, -ŋa is suffixed not to the auxiliary but to the verb root.
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258. numuŋu kaŋturukŋa ayanö
eye poke out. dc 1sgSP.1(punct).3sgmOP
I poked his eyes out over there.

or

259. tə t'yeřiŋ' tataŋ ayanö
cif goanna find. dc 1sgSP.1(punct).3sgmOP
I found a goanna over there.

The only encountered case of metathesis involves -ŋa suffixation.
wiŋak: finished (which has distribution of an adverb, see 2.1.5.) has
been interpreted in this description as a metathesis of

wiŋkŋa
finish. dc

3.2.0. Affixes Prefixable to the Verb Root

3.2.0.1. par-: elsewhere (with the derived meanings: wrong place).

260. yeña parwuŋkamma wutta
adv dc.work.cnt 3p1SP.2(pres/past)
At that point of time they were working elsewhere.

261. akana pi attun tek yawuk part'yuŋkmanŋ
adv(neg) go lexSP.2(purp) country adj dc.bury.cnt.3sgmOP
We are not going to another country to bury him.

262. wanaŋi parka nunta
2sgSP dc.come 2sgSP.2(pres/past)
You have come to the wrong place.

3.2.0.2. lup-: together

263. luppakali aŋtini
together.sit.ptcpl 11cSP.4(purp)
We'll all sit together.

264. lupyurali aŋtöyug
together.lie.ptcpl 11cSP.5(purp)
We'll all lie together.

265. lup'yeŋatali aŋtiyan
together.stand(plS).ptcpl 11cSP.6(purp)
We'll all stand together.
266. luppima wutta
go they.2(pres/past)
They are friends.

3.2.0.3. -taŋ-: still (cp Temporal Specifier t'jintaŋ see 2.1.4.1.):-

267. t'jön taŋ'tet wiyaŋin
/tree dc.stand 3sgeSP.6(progr)
The tree is still there.

3.2.1. Affixes Suffixable to the Verb Root

3.2.1.1. -nö when suffixed to a verb root acquires an Intensive force
(see 4.1.4.1.):

268. nöyö ka yönünka watwatmanö
ts come 3sgmSP.2(fut) fish.int
Tomorrow he will come to fish.

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

269. t'jön telk matelk wönpuŋ
wood catch fire.cnt.possib 3sgeSP.2(purp)
Wood might catch fire.

270. yin'ya qışkpuk yinma
man die.possib 3sgmSP.1(purp)
Man might die.

271. wi lamtelk atuŋnayi
fight talk.possib 1sgSP.2(purp).3sgfOP
I might have an argument with her.

272. te ma tpuk atöma
clf wallaby kill.possib 1sgSP.1(purp)
I might kill wallaby.

273. wakyen tutmatelk
water.comit caus.cnt.possib
Might get wet.
3.2.1.3. -ma is a continuative suffix.

274. Mission-na pima aŋun\(^{\prime}\)
    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 accessible to Auxiliary Conjugation 2.

275. mi aŋ ayanö
    *food give 1sgSP.1(punct).*3sgmOP
    *I gave him food.* becomes, when -ma is suffixed to the Verb Root:

276. 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 see 3.1.1.):

277. yiŋ\(^{\prime}\)a niğk yimın\(^{\prime}\)
    *man die 3sgmSP.1(punct)*
    *Man died.*

278. tat ayanö
    *see/find 1sgSP.1(punct).*3sgmOP
    *I found him.*

as opposed to:

279. tatma yîta
    *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  +  Conjugation 4  *Sit down.*

pak.mā  +  Conjugation 2  *Live (in a location).*

It has been noted that, in the following instances, -ma has an inchoative (see 4.1.6.) effect on the word class to which it is suffixed:
280. yeři puluma wöyö
track duset(NP).cnt 3sgeSP.5(pres)
The track is dusty.

281. qa lępma aŋun'y
lsgSP hot(A).cnt lsgSP.2(progr)
I am hot.

282. qa tumuŋkma aŋun'y
lsgSP cold(A).cnt lsgSP.2(progr)
I am cold.

3.2.1.4. -ali is a participial suffix (see 4.1.4.2.)

283. eyalli yita
spear.ptcpl 3sgmSP.2(pres/past)
He is/was wounded.

284. yeřaman'y puŋpali wöyö
adv.dpf burn.ptcpl 3sgeSP.6(pres)
There is already a fire.

285. te yeřaman'y nöyatali yöyö
meat adv.dpf cook.ptcpl 3sgmSP.5(pres)
Meat is already cooked.

With the three standard postural Verb Roots, pak, yur and t'et
(t'ëřat with a plural subject, see 3.2.4.1.) the participle-formation
is supplemented by the prefixation of ap-:

appakali sitting
apyurali lying
apt'ëřatali standing

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

286. yöño appakali he is sitting down all the time
 yöyö apyurali he is lying down all the time
 wötyö apt'ëřatali they are standing up all the time.

3.2.2. The 'Departing From' Suffix -man'y

-man'y is a suffix with the basic meaning 'departing from'. Its
function include elative (see 3.3.5.2.), negation (see 3.2.3.; 3.2.7.1.2.)
and the foregrounding of the actor from whom the action proceeds (see
3.3.5.2.3.) or of the action itself (see 3.2.2.). In the latter case
-man\textsuperscript{Y} can be suffixed to a verb root or to auxiliary Conjugation 4. The highly restricted distribution of -man\textsuperscript{Y} within the auxiliary conjugation system remains as yet largely unexplained. It is the deictic meaning of Conjugation 4 (see 3.1.4.) that is foregrounded.

287. \texttt{yin\textsuperscript{Y}a wöttöman\textsuperscript{Y} mi tiŋkiŋ məŋpməŋma (initialized) man 3plSP.4(pres).dpf clf bush-apple munch.cnt}
\texttt{wöttö 3plSP.4(pres)}
\textit{These men are munching bush-apple.}

288. \texttt{muta ki yönöman\textsuperscript{Y} te wat yimin\textsuperscript{Y} ts ss 3sgmSP.4(pres).dpf meat send 3sgmSP.1(punct)}
\textit{Later this (fellow) here sent the meat.}

289. \texttt{payp wuŋkman\textsuperscript{Y} awuntuwa waka awin\textsuperscript{Y}t\textsuperscript{Y}a kina pipe fill.dpf 1sgSP.1(subj) bring 1sgSP.2(subj) ss.loc}
\texttt{arpun anmawa smoke 1sgSP.1(punct)}
\textit{I would have filled and brought my pipe here to smoke.}

290. \texttt{lakma yita lakma eat(meat) 3sgmSP.2(pres/past) eat(meat).cnt}
\texttt{yita ḋalkman\textsuperscript{Y} tikpi yita}
\texttt{3sgmSP.2(pres/past) full up.dpf back.go 3sgmSP.2(pres/past)}
\textit{He's eating and eating (meat) and goes back full up.}

3.2.3. 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 (see 3.2.7.1.2.). 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.

3.2.3.1. -tan:

291. \texttt{kaytan ayanö call.av 1sgSP.1(pres/past).3sgmOP}
\textit{I called him but there was no reply.}
292. tikkatan yönükakka
back.come.av 3sgmSP.2(fut).foc
He will not be coming back.

293. tiŋkiri muftan
bush-apple ripe
The bush apples aren't ripe.

294. te njoyatalitan
meat cook.ptcpl.av
The meat isn't cooked yet.

295. nçtanma ata
breathe.av.cnt 1sgSP.2(pres/past)
I am short of breath.

296. ari tarartartaran aya
door knook.av 1sgSP.1(punct)
I knocked on the door but no one came.

3.2.3.2. -wur:

297. yöntön tatwur wöwöntön
3sgmSP find.adv 3sgmSP.1(sequ)
He found nothing.

298. nöntön peřatwur wöwöntön
3sgfSP dig.av 3sgfSP.1(sequ)
She digs and gets nothing.

299. tatwur ayanunu
see.av 1sgSP.1(punct).2sgOP
You are missing.

3.2.3.3. -man Yŋa

-man Yŋa is a negation marker that can be suffixed to lexical Adjectives (3.2.7.1.2.), to the reciprocal adverb anti, and to Auxiliary Conjugation 4. There are two problems here. Firstly, the highly restricted distribution of -man Yŋa remains as yet largely unexplained (cf. 3.2.2.). Secondly, the function of the suffix -ŋa in this environment is not entirely clear either. When suffixed to an Auxiliary -ŋa (see 3.1.9.4.) has the deictic meaning 'away from the speaker'. Suffixed to -man Y-, however, -ŋa does not realize a deictic meaning. In example 300 below, for example, the deictic function is realized by the spatial specifier
γυν, and in example 301 by the Auxiliary itself. The hypothesis is that in certain environments -να distinctly marks the negative function of -μανγ. This is put forward on the following grounds:

1. The suffix -μανγ ('departing from') has an implicit negative meaning which remains merely latent in the elative and foregrounding functions (see 3.2.; 3.2.7.1.2.). For example, when -μανγ is suffixed to the reciprocal adverb anti it has an explicitly negative function; -μανγ is in free variation with -μανγνα in this particular environment.

   300. γυν anuwamanγνα
       ss lsgSP.4(past).neg.dc
       I wasn't there.

   301. [yiniwanamγνα] [τενό πι γόνγκα]
       3sgmSP.4(purp).neg meat.int go 3sgmSP.2(fut)
       He won't be here; he's going hunting.

   antimanγ/antimanγνα has the following restricted distribution: it only occurs sentence-initially with the governing auxiliary in the subjunctive mood:

   302. antimanγ
       antimanγνα τε αγμα wiwinγαινγτγκα
       adv(recip).dpf(neg) meat give.cnt 3sgmSP.2(subj).1sgOP.foc
       anti akana αγ anunŋŋowakka
       adv(recip) adv(neg) give 1sgSP.2(fut).3sgmOP.foc
       He wouldn't give me meat so I won't give him (any).

   303. antimanγ
       antimanγνα τε αγμα wiwinγαινγτγκα
       adv(recip).dpf(neg) meat give.cnt 3sgmSP.2(subj).1sgOP.foc
       τε αγ awuntunŋowakka
       meat give 1sgSP.1(subj).3sgmOP.foc
       If he had been giving me meat I would give him some.

2. Precisely because of the elative and foregrounding functions of -μανγ the negative function is explicitly marked when suffixed to lexical adjectives or to auxiliary Conjugation 4. The same NP (see 4.1.8.) can take the suffix -μανγ in either its foregrounding function, for example, or its negative function:

   304. alalk yikpimanγνα natankatγνα yuyuwa
       child little(sgm).dpf wrong 3sgmSP.6(past)
       The little boy was wrong.
305. alalk ylkpiman\(^u\) wa\(\_\)ratpi yita
   child little(sgm).dpf(neg) walkabout.go 3sgmSP.2(pres/past)
The big boy goes/went walkabout.

Similarly, -man\(^u\) can be suffixed to Auxiliary Conjugation 4 in either its foregrounding or its negative function:

306. [ki nööman\(^u\) alawarman\(^u\)] [akana teylamma
   ss 3sgfSP.4(pres).dpf woman.dpf adv(neg) wait.talk.cnt
   nunta]
   3sgfSP.2(pres/past)
   This woman here is not waiting to talk.

307. alawar nööman\(^u\)\(\_\)a
   woman 3sgfSP.4(pres).dpf(neg)
The woman isn't here.

3.2.4. Reduplication of the Verb Root

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

| lamlam | talk |
| pit\(^u\)pit\(^u\) | rub firesticks |
| pu\(f\)pu\(f\) | boil |
| tara\(^u\)tarar | knock (on door) |
| tarattarat | watch |
| telk\(g\)telk\(g\) | singe hair off wallaby |
| tuytu\(y\) | stretch (intr) |
| t\(^u\)öl\(^u\)öl | dust something down |
| t\(^u\)utt\(^u\)ut | leak |
| tu\(t\)tu\(t\) | get angry |
| mirmir | melt |
| yakayakay | scream |
| arar | dry |
| ñakñak | eat (a lot) |

3.2.4.1. 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 Deduplication

Only certain one or two-syllable verb roots can undergo this process. Partial reduplication involves the reduplication of the vocalic nucleus of a monosyllable\(^{15}\) and of the second vowel of a di-syllable. Partial
reduplication also typically involves the introduction of a liquid between the reduplicated vowels.\textsuperscript{16} This liquid is usually either a continuant \textit{r} or a vibrant \textit{ř}. A lateral is introduced only where one is already present word-finally (see \textit{wil} and \textit{tīkal}, below).

If a di-syllable has a continuant \textit{r} intervocally, for example \textit{lārap}: \textit{tie}, or if a monosyllable has a continuant \textit{r} or a vibrant \textit{ř} as the first consonant of a two-consonant cluster, for example \textit{kark}: \textit{proceed}, \textit{yar}: \textit{rub}, then the reduplicated vowel will be followed immediately by a continuant \textit{r}.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>lie down</th>
<th>yur</th>
<th>yurur</th>
<th>p1 S</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>stand/be born</td>
<td>t\textsuperscript{y}\textsuperscript{ē}t</td>
<td>t\textsuperscript{y}\textsuperscript{ē}řat</td>
<td>p1 S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>take out</td>
<td>karkwat</td>
<td>karkkarwat</td>
<td>p1 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>out</td>
<td>t\textsuperscript{y}urp</td>
<td>t\textsuperscript{y}uřurp</td>
<td>p1 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. bury</td>
<td>t\textsuperscript{y}urk</td>
<td>t\textsuperscript{y}uřurk</td>
<td>p1 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. enter</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>p1 S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>get up</td>
<td>parat</td>
<td>pařat</td>
<td>p1 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cause</td>
<td>tut</td>
<td>turut</td>
<td>p1 S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eat (meat)</td>
<td>lak</td>
<td>larak</td>
<td>p1 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>talk</td>
<td>lam</td>
<td>laram</td>
<td>p1 S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>walkabout</td>
<td>wařat</td>
<td>wařarat</td>
<td>p1 S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hit</td>
<td>t\textsuperscript{a}t</td>
<td>tarat</td>
<td>p1 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grow up</td>
<td>tik</td>
<td>tirik (+ Conj. 4)</td>
<td>p1 S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lie down</td>
<td>t\textsuperscript{i}kal</td>
<td>t\textsuperscript{i}kalal</td>
<td>p1 S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>make</td>
<td>t\textsuperscript{y}čn</td>
<td>t\textsuperscript{y}čn\textsuperscript{e}n</td>
<td>p1 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grab</td>
<td>tap</td>
<td>tarap</td>
<td>p1 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pluck</td>
<td>t\textsuperscript{y}ukat</td>
<td>t\textsuperscript{y}ukarat</td>
<td>p1 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>name/mention</td>
<td>niwat</td>
<td>niwarat</td>
<td>p1 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dive</td>
<td>kupuk</td>
<td>kuwpuk</td>
<td>p1 S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bind</td>
<td>larap</td>
<td>lararp</td>
<td>p1 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>swim</td>
<td>wil</td>
<td>wilwil</td>
<td>p1 S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rub</td>
<td>yařp</td>
<td>yařarp</td>
<td>p1 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>load (into canoe)</td>
<td>kulpat</td>
<td>kulparat</td>
<td>p1 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>go up</td>
<td>kark</td>
<td>karark</td>
<td>p1 S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>break</td>
<td>tapak</td>
<td>tapöřök</td>
<td>p1 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>find</td>
<td>tat</td>
<td>tarat</td>
<td>p1 0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.2.5. 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 now always the sum of the meanings of the parts. For example:

t¹alkyur which, literally, is fall and lie means bend over. Even so, a large number of lexical verb roots derive their meaning from the relations of the combined parts.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tu↵k.wat</td>
<td>drink.send</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t¹urk.wat</td>
<td>enter.send</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kat¹.wat</td>
<td>throw.send</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>an.wat</td>
<td>give.send</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wa.kark.wat</td>
<td>pick up.come up.send</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wa.tik.pi</td>
<td>pick up.back.go</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tik.ka</td>
<td>back.come</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kat¹.yi.pi</td>
<td>throw.leave.go</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kat.parar</td>
<td>play.around</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nalk.yur</td>
<td>full up.lie down</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ka↵.lak</td>
<td>prod in ground.eat(meat)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ka↵.lak</td>
<td>prod in ground.eat(meat)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kal.¹kk</td>
<td>carry.stand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ku↵.wa.pi</td>
<td>pull.pick up.go</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lam.¹ak</td>
<td>talk.stop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pin¹.wa.ka</td>
<td>get water.pick up.come</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pul¹.yur</td>
<td>extinguish.lie down</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tik.tat</td>
<td>back.look</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pat.ka.wa</td>
<td>fly.come.pick up</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.2.6. 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. te - is a free form classifying animals hunted for meat, which can occur as the generic noun for meat itself.

3. t¹yn - 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>mi yilik</th>
<th>lily-root</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tɛ ma</td>
<td>wallaby</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tŋ maŋ</td>
<td>paper-bark tree (paper-bark itself: yeŋi)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mantulma</td>
<td>heart</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>puntu</td>
<td>head</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

| mi wıt | water cabbage |
| tɛ wıt | type of flatfish |

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

| tɛ pitŋak means both bee and honey. |

Through mythological usage pululuy (rainbow) takes the classifier tɛ -
tɛ pululuy. Because the banyan produces an edible fruit pönŋo (banyon
tree) takes the classifier mi, as does yaŋŋi (palm tree)

3.2.7. Adjectival Concord

The adjectival concord system reflects the four third person singular
bound subject pronoun markers within the auxiliary conjugations (see
3.1.8.3.-6.):

308. yinŋa tŋalk yita
    man    fall  3sgmSP.2(pres/past)
The man falls/fell.

    alawar tŋalk nuna
    woman   fall  3sgfSP.2(pres/past)
The woman falls/fell.

    mi  tŋalk muta
    food    fall  3sgvSP.2(pres/past)
The fruit falls/fell.
tree fall 3sgeSP.2(pres/past)
The tree falls/fell.

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

yunpayin - yinat  good - bad
yinali - yikpi  big - little
yinanki - yönörön  young - old
yint'ërik  short

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

309. Good:  yin'ya yunpayin
  man  good (sgm)
  alawar nunpayin
  woman  good (sgf)
  mi  munpayin
  (veg) food  good (sgv)
  t'ön wunpayin
  tree  good (sge)

Good-bad, big-little, and short also have plural forms. Those for yunpayin are as follows:

310.  yin'ya yunpanpan
  man  good (plm)
  alawar nunpanpan
  woman  good (plf)
  mi  yilik  munpanpan
  clf  lily-root  good (plv)
  t'ön wunpanpan
  tree  good (ple)

311. Bad:  yin'ya yinat  (pl. yinařat)
  man  bad (sgm)
alawar nõnat (pl. nõnařat)
woman bad

mi mõnat (pl. mõnařat)
food bad

t yöŋ wõnat (pl. wõnařat)
tree bad

312. Big:
yin Ya yinali (pl. yiner)
man big

alawar nunali (pl. uner)
woman big

mi yilik munali (pl. muner)
clf lily-root big

t yöŋ wunali (pl. wunet)
tree big

313. Little:
yin Ya yikpi (pl. yinmeyit Y)
man little (sgm)

alawar nikpi (pl. ninmeyit Y)
woman little (sgf)

t yöŋ mikpi (pl. minmeyit Y)
spear small (sgv)

t yöŋ/walk wikpi (pl. winmeyit Y)
tree/stone small (sge)

314. Old:
yin Ya yönrön
man old (sgm)

alawar nönrön
woman old (sgf)

t yöŋ mörön
spear old (sgv)

t yöŋ wönrön
tree old (sge)

315. New/Young:
alalk yinan̄ki
child young (sgm)
The semantic field of nouns taking γ-concord includes: male humans (and animals); edible meat; parts of the body; certain weapons used for killing humans; and rain (and tide).
The semantic field of nouns taking n-concord includes: *female humans (and animals); the sun and stars.*

318. wiyaŋ nönörön
    *mother old (sgf)*

miři nunpayin
    *sun good (sgf)*

nömöřöl nikpl
    *star small (sgf)*

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

319. mi mun't'alk munanki
    *clf lily young (sgv)*

pön' munali
    *belly big (sgv)*

nantīlk mönat
    *tongue bad (sgv) (i.e. sore tongue)*

man'ik petiřk munali
    *adam's apple big (sgv)*

maparak mönat
    *(long) mangrove spear bad (sgv)*

meřmot mönat
    *fishing spear bad (sgv)*

t'ɨnparaŋ mönat
    *stone spear bad (sgv)*

yen mönörön
    *yam-stick old (sgv)*

ŋuluk mönörön
    *language old (sgv)*
The semantic field of nouns taking w-concord includes: trees, wooden objects and fire; natural phenomena; European implements; and 'stomach'.

320. wanti wunali
    canoe big (sg)

kukpinti wunali
    one-handle big (sg)

töön wunpayin
    fire good (sg)

waliwali wunali
    river big (sg)

tek wunali
    country big (sg)

yeři wunpayin
    road good (sg)

walk wikpi
    stone/hill little (sg)

pantan wikpi
    stone axe small (sg)

pepe ma wunali
    wind big (sg)

töön wunali
    fire big (sg)
    'shot gun'

töön wikpi
    fire little (sg)
    '.22'

töön wintyěřik
    fire short (sg)
    revolver

yintyin wunpayin
    engine good (sg)
3.2.7.1. Modification of Adjectives

3.2.7.1.1. Comparison

ηan is a free comparative particle that immediately precedes the word class that it modifies (see 2.1.6.).

321. walk kiwa [ηan lapə] wuta yawuk
stone ss.foc ptcl(comp) light 3sgeSP.2(pres/past) other
t’uṟma wōyō
heavy.cnt 3sgeSP.5/6(pres)
This stone’s lighter than that one.

322. [ηan kakak] pi aŋkatuŋ
ptcl(comp) ss go 1dlSP.2(purp
Let’s (dl) go a bit further.

323. t’añar [ηan mint’ërik]
spear ptcl(comp) short (sgv)
The shorter spear.

324. t’añar ki [ηan t’alala] t’añar ŋa
spear ss ptcl(comp) long spear 1sgSP short (sgv)
This spear is longer than my spear.

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

326. t’ëřin’ŋi ki [ηan yunpayin] yinį
goanna ss ptcl(comp) good (sgm) salt-water crocodile
ŋun yinat
ss bad
This goanna is better than that salt-water crocodile.

327. mi [ηan mikpi] aŋařin’ŋ
food ptcl(comp) little (sgv) give.1sgOP
Give me less food.
3.2.7.1.2. -manŋa

If -manŋa is suffixed to an adjective it transforms the adjective into its antithesis. (Cp. the function of -manŋa as a negation marker in the verb complex, see 3.2.3.3.).

328. tek wikipimanŋa wönö
camp little (sgm).dpf(neg) 3sgeSP.4(pres)
A big camp.

329. mi mōnatmanŋa
food bad (sgv).dpf(neg)
Good food.

330. mawunŋa wakyenmanŋa
clothes water.comit.dpf(neg)
Dry clothes.

331. t'ŋaŋar munankimanŋa
spear new (sgv).dpf(neg)
Old spear.

332. walk laparmanŋa
stone light.dpf(neg)
A heavy stone.

In certain environments -manŋa can carry the sense of excess. For example, the question

333. t'ŋaŋar ki anta?
(Is) this spear all right?

could be answered with the following retort:

334. mint'œřikmanŋa!
Too long!

or

335. t'yalalamanŋa!
Too short!

The negative marker -tan can be suffixed to lexical adjectives (as well as to verb roots: see 3.2.3.1.). When suffixed to a lexical adjective -tan has a function similar to that of -manŋa:

336. yikpitan
big (or too big, depending on context)
3.2.8. 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:

337. alawar t'yet
woman leg
Woman's leg.

338. ṃa man'ilk
lsgSP hand
My hand.

339. mu t'iyi'min'y
goose egg
Goose egg.

340. yin'ya puntu
man head
Man's head.

341. yöntön mel'tyet
3sgmSP parent
His parent.

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

342. muyin'y yin'yanö
dog man.poss
Man's dog.

343. t'ya'gar niyi'finno
spear young man.poss
Young man's spear.

344. t'yönö
fire.poss
Fire place.
345. tikka atta tek kinowa
back.come lexSP.2(pres/past) camp/country ss.poss.sfm
We returned to this country (where) we belong.

3.2.9. -nö

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

(1) Complement-marker
(2) Benefactive
(3) Possessor
(4) Relator

3.2.9.1. Complement-Marker (see 4.1.4.1.)

-nö marks an Intenitive type of complement and, as such, can be suffixed to either a noun or a verb root: 19

346. tek manö pi anungka
clf wallaby.int to lsgSP.2(fut)
I will go for wallaby.

347. nöyö ka yöngka watwatmanö
ts come 3sgSP.2(fut) fish.cnt.int
Tomorrow he will go fishing.

348. muta lammanö ka wuttayofo
later talk.cnt.int come 3plSP.2(pres/past) meet
Later they come to meet us (ex) to talk.

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

349. [akana pimano] [tek kina pak attini]
adv (neg) go.cnt.int camp ss.loc sit lexSP.4(purp)
We're not going; we're staying in the camp.

3.2.9.2. Benefactive

The Nominal Benefactive

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

350. mi nöyat nimin meltapalinö
food(veg) cook 3sgfSP.1(punct) husband.bf
She cooked the food for her husband.
Meat for the old man.

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

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

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

I caught barramundi for him.

Meat for us (inclusive).

as opposed to:

Our (inclusive) meat.

3.2.9.3. Possessor (see 3.2.8.)

3.2.9.4. Relator

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

Last night I dreamt about a woman.

Because of the story I am shouting.

I am thinking about food.
3.3.0. The Quantifying Suffix -wuna

The quantifying suffix -wuna means all or only.

359. yin\'awuna pi wutta

\[ \text{man.qf go 3plSP.2(pres/past) } \]
\[ \text{All the men went/Only the men went.} \]

360. alawarwuna pi nunta

\[ \text{woman.qf go 2sgSP.2(pres/past) } \]
\[ \text{Just the woman went.} \]

361. yanakwuna

\[ \text{one.qf } \]
\[ \text{Just one.} \]

362. wuwuna

\[ \text{barramundi.qf } \]
\[ \text{Just barramundi.} \]

363. mut\'u\'uwuna

\[ \text{many.qf } \]
\[ \text{Everyone.} \]

364. antawuna wi\'k atta

\[ \text{all right.qf finish lexSP.2(pres/past) } \]
\[ \text{We're all all right.} \]

365. a\'alak yinmeyit\'uwuna

\[ \text{child little } \]
\[ \text{All the little boys.} \]

366. mint\'itak pi nunta wa\'anja\'iwuna

\[ \text{emphP go 2sgSP.2(pres/past) 2sgSP.qf } \]
\[ \text{You went, just you yourself.} \]

3.3.1. The Resemblance-Marker -man

-man is a suffixal Resemblance marker:

367. katukman y\'on\=o akana

\[ \text{P(dm).rbl 3sgmSP.4(pres) adv(neg) } \]
\[ \text{He is not like that one.} \]

368. qa\'aman y\'on\=o akana

\[ \text{1sgSP.rbl 3sgmSP.4(pres) adv(neg) } \]
\[ \text{He is not like me.} \]
-man can also be suffixed to an adjectival realized as a deictic spec-
ification (see 4.1.8.):

370. pulit'y ki yönömanna
old man ss 3sgmSP.4(pres).rlbl.loc
Like the old man over here.

3.3.2. The Dubitative -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.*

371. tek akunmalakman'y ka yuğun'y
country/camp where.dub.dpf come 3sgmSP.2(progr)
I don't know where/which country he comes from.

372. amanmalak anmawa
adv(intrg).dub lsgSP.1(fut)
I don't know what to do.

373. yin'y a tyanmalak yitanki
man who.dub 3sgmSP.2(pres/past).dc
I don't know who the man coming up here is.

374. nikitamalak lamamma yita
what.dub talk.cnt 3sgmSP.2(pres/past)
I don't know what he's talking about.

375. t'anga akunmalak
spear where.dub
I don't know where the spear is.

3.3.3. The Proprietary mel

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

376. mel'y et
propr.birth
Parent.
melwiyi
propr.milk
Mother.

meltapali  Husband
melpapu    Father
melt'uywan' Grandfather
melwilit   Sibling
melnujuntu Sister
melalantu  Brother

and:

377. melt'yal
propr.vein
Root.

378-381 emexplify -mel as a suffix:

378. t'ög'omel
tree.propr
Trunk.

379. t'ët'mel
leg.propr
Thigh

380. mimel  yöntön
propr.food
The food he is entitled to.

381. yin'ya yöno  yöntön mel'eyman' wöwöntönta
man  3sgmSP.4(pres) 3sgmSP propr.spear.dpf 3sgmSP.1(sequ)foc
The man sitting down is responsible for the killing.

3.3.4. The Agentive (Instrumental)

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

Instrumental

382. pirpenwaŋ  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:
383. ey ayanö pirpenwan

384. nan'ilkwan tat' yimin'no
hand.ag(inst) hit 3sgmSP.1(punct).3sgmOP
He hit him with his hand.

385. MalakMalakwan lammanunta?
MalakMalak.ag(inst) speak.cnt 2sgSP.2(pres/past)
Do you speak MalakMalak?

386. puntwan waratpi yita
head.ag(insg) walk around 3sgmSP.2(pres/past)
He walks/walked on his head.

3.3.4.1. The Agentive marker -wan can be suffixed to transitive or intransitive subject, but not to transitive object.

Intransitive subject:

387. alalk yikpiwan katpararma yita
child little.(sgm).ag play around.cnt 3sgmSP.2(pres/past)
yöntöń mint'itak
3sgmSP emphP
The little boy is playing round about by himself.

388. nunwan appakali t'eyantakma yönö
P(dm).sg ptcpl pfx.sit.ptcpl hear.cnt 3sgmSP.4(pres)
That one sitting down all the time is thinking.

Transitive subject:

389. alawarwan akana muk nuntanö
woman.ag adv(neg) ask 3sgfSP.2(pres/past).3sgmOP
yöntöñwan 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.

390. alalk yikpi wapi nuntanö
child little (sgm) take 3sgfSP.2(pres/past).3sgmOP
me'lwiyiwwan
mother.ag
The mother takes/took the little boy.

391. yin'awan alalk yinmeyi't tat yitawöfo
man.ag child little(plm) see 3sgmSP.2(pres/past).3p1OP
The man sees/saw the little boys.
In examples 387 to 391 -waŋ carries very little functional load. Its occurrence is predictable only when disambiguating the syntactic functions of NPs. -waŋ 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 (see 4.1.3.; 4.1.3.1.). 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:

392. alalk yikpiwaŋ yin'ya tar yimin'yö

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:

393. yin'ya alalk yikpiwaŋ tar yimin'yö

3.3.5. Locative Affixes

3.3.5.1. -yin'na: on/in/into/beside, and always functions suffixally:

394. maparama wuttanö tekyin'na
follow.cnt 3plSP.2(pres/past) camp.loc
They are following him into the camp.

395. walkyin'na yuyuwa naga'na
hill.loc 3sgmSP.6(past) top.loc
He stood on top of the hill.

396. työn'nyin'na nät'pak aniwa
tree.loc hide 1sgSP.4(fut)
I will hide in the tree.

397. melwiyiyin'na pak yöö
mother.loc sit 3sgmSP.4(pres)
He sits beside (his) mother.

398. papaluka naka'parama wutta yawnötyin'na
buffalo eat.around.cnt 3plSP.2(pres/past) lexSP.loc
The buffalo wander round beside us (and) eat.

399. p1 ata antukyin'na
go 1sgSP.2(pres/past) house.loc
I went into the house.
3.3.5.2. **-man\(^Y\): 'departing from'**

3.3.5.2.1. **relative function**

400. Darwin\(^Y\) ka ata
   \[Darwin.dpf \text{come} \ lagSP.2(pres/past)\]
   \[I \text{have come from Darwin.}\]

401. tek\(^Y\) yipi yita
   \[camp.dpf \text{away.go} \ 3sgmSP.2(pres/past)\]
   \[He goes/went away from the camp.\]

3.3.5.2.2. **as an agentless instrumental:**

402. wakyen matam\(^Y\)
   \[water.having \text{rain.}\]
   \[Wet from the rain.\]

403. te yi\(\text{i}\) \(\text{man}^{Y}\)ik \(\text{wal}^{Y}\)mpam\(\text{Y}\) ty\(\text{u}\)xpall\(\text{Y}\)
   \[clf (salt-water) \text{crocodile throat axe.dpf} \ \text{cut.ptcpl}\]
   \[yita \ 3sgmSP.2(pres/past)\]
   \[The crocodile's throat has been cut with an axe.\]

3.3.5.2.3. **-man\(^Y\) also has the function of foregrounding the actor from whom the action (transitive or intransitive) proceeds.**

404. na mint\(\text{y}\)itakman\(\text{Y}\) pi ata
   \[lsgSP \text{emphP.dpf} \ \text{go} \ lsgSP.2(pres/past)\]
   \[I \text{go/went by myself.}\]

405. yaw\(\text{t}\)man\(\text{Y}\) akana pi tan
   \[lexSP.dpf \text{adv(neg) go mingle}\]
   \[We (ex) do not mingle.\]

406. [stockman-man\(^Y\) aj\(\text{t}\)um\(\text{Y}\) pakma wutta\(\text{Y}\)a
   \[stockman.dpf \text{ts.dpf sit.cnt} \ 3plSP.2(pres/past).dc\]
   Stockman lived there afterwards.

Note that aj\(\text{t}\)um\(\text{Y}\) functions as an adjectival within the Noun Phrase (see 4.1.8.).

407. [wa\(\text{a}\)\(\text{t}\)man\(\text{Y}\) tat yin\(\text{m}\)anunu]\[mapara
   \[2sgSP.dpf \ 3sgmSP.1(purp).2sgOP \text{follow}\]
   \[yin\(\text{m}\)anunu]\]
   \[3sgmSP.1(purp).2sgOP\]
   \[He (the buffalo) is going to see you (and) follow you.\]
Note that the direct object is being foregrounded.

408. waŋariman Y ŋataŋkat Y nunyuwa
   2sgSP.dpf wrong 2sgSP.6(past)
   You were wrong.

3.3.5.3. -an/na: into/onto/to

-an/na } are in free variation.

Post-vocally in words of odd-numbered syllables:

-an > -nan

e.g. tö + na > tönan

hole   hole.loc : into the hole

mantulma + na > mantulmanan

heart   heart.loc : onto the heart

but waliwali + na > waliwalina (see 412, below)

river   to river

409. t'āŋar yur aya pawurkan
   spear lay 1sgSP.1(punct) ground.loc
   I lay spear on ground.

410. mōntōlna mulk pam aya
   loc.shoulder bamboo put(pl.obj) 1sgSP.1(punct)
   I put the bamboo onto my shoulder.

411. alawar wapi yīʈaŋayi tēk yawukan
   woman take 3sgmSP.2(pres/past).3sgfOP camp other.loc
   He took the woman to another camp.

412. waliwalina pi yönumka
   river. go 3sgSP.2(fut)
   He will go to the river.

413. tē tuřkwat yimin Y 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:
3.3.6. The Comitative

3.3.6.1. The comitative -yen is a derivational suffix whose meaning can be glossed as 'having'. Suffixable to NPs -yen can:

1. form a new noun

   tömöl yên
   *testicles.comit
   Bullock.

   wiyi yên
   *milk.comit
   Cow.

   tawut wonatyen
   *blood.bad.comit
   Leprosy.

2. form an adjective

   wakyen
   *water.comit
   Wet.

3. form a verb

   téwöryen
   *ear.comit
   Hear/know/think.

Other functions:

3.3.6.2. Human agent at rest with something inanimate:

416. yin'ya yönö wönyen
      man 3sgmSP.4(pres) tobacco.comit
      The man sitting down has tobacco.
Human agent moving holding something inanimate:

417. t'anyaŋryeŋ yitaŋa
spear.comit 3sgmSP.2(pres/past).dc
He went/goes over there with a spear.

3.3.6.3. Accompanitive

418. alawaryeŋ yita
woman.comit 3sgmSP.2(pres/past)
He has a woman.

3.3.6.4. Time

419. miŋiyen pi aŋkunŋka
sun.comit go 1icSP.2(fut)
We will all go while it is light.

3.3.6.5. Describing a state

420. wiyeŋwiyen wofonö
anger.comit.anger.comit 3plSP.5(pres).3sgmOP
They are furious with him.

421. tiŋkiŋkyeŋ yita
sick.comit 3sgmSP.2(pres/past)
He has/had a fever.
1. From a sample of 150 Verb Roots unable to select for Conjugation 1 eight (or 4%) are transitive:
   
   ku'wapi  
   mitte'fat (pel'yi)  
   pitin'yet  
   tçyma  
   tul'tul  
   t'ewör tarkat'  
   wukut'  
   yi'pi

   drag  
   paint (ceremonially)  
   dislike  
   wait (for)  
   dislike  
   remind  
   throw away  
   leave

2. There are twelve recorded exceptions to this rule, all of which can select for Conjugation 1:
   
   ni'lk  
   apap  
   manpurit'  
   manwiyukni'lk  
   ni'  
   tum  
   wuŋwuŋ  
   yaka'yakay  
   kan'ak  
   tu'muŋ'lk  
   t'if'ya  
   ŋt

   die  
   sick/tired  
   be satisfied  
   be starving  
   tell a lie  
   inhale  
   feel contented  
   scream  
   cough  
   hiccup  
   sneeze  
   breathe

3. Theŋ conjugation type characteristically has in 2pl SP a homorganic nasal preceding the dorso-velar stop.
4. Three points can be made here:

1. Although Conjugation 2 is an \(\bar{r}\) conjugation type (taking the Progressive paradigm as criterial) it contains an exception to the \(\bar{r}\) 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 \(\bar{r}\) 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 \(\bar{r}\) conjugation type, does not have any deictic function at all. (This is likely to be related to the fact that it has no semantic function either.)

5. 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 (see 3.1.1.).


7. See 3.1.9.3. regarding the word-final occurrence of -wa in this environment.

8. Term introduced by Paul L. Garvin in Garvin (1964).

9. Partial reduplication of Verb Root for plural subject: \(t'\)et becomes \(t'\)e\(t\)at (see 3.2.4.1.).

10. For example, \(t'\)alkyur nönyö

\[
\text{bend over} \quad 2\text{sg/3sgfSP.5(pres)} \\
\text{She/you (sg) bend(s) over.}
\]

becomes, with the selection of Conjugation 2

\(t'\)alkyurali nunta

\[
\text{bend over.ptcpl} \quad 2\text{sg/3sgfSP.2(pres/past)} \\
\text{You go/She goes along over there bent over.}
\]

11. 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.
12. The subjunctive paradigm is identical in form for Conjugations 2, 5 and 6. The form in question is labeled Conjugation 2 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; 3sggeSP. The necessary choice of the masculine option is indicated by 3sgmOP (-nōwa) occurring in anuŋnōwakka.

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

14. Meat (as opposed to the live animal) is thought of as supine: hence, Conjugation 5.

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

16. t'ēn'- > t'ēn'ēn' constitutes an exception to this principle.

17. A lexical adjective follows both the noun that it qualifies and any possessive adjective (see 3.3.8.) qualifying that noun:

- t'ānăr nā t'ālala
- spear 1sgSP(Aposs) long
- My long spear.

18. t'ālala: long cannot express concord, but it does have a plural form: t'ūulu.

CHAPTER 4
SYNTAX

4.1. INTRODUCTION

Much of that which belongs properly to the syntax of MalakMalak has already been stated under the different Word Classes (see Chapter 2) and in the Morphology (see Chapter 3). What follows concerns the relations of the word classes to one another and will complete the syntactic description of the language.

4.1.1. Sentential Constituents

The only obligatory constituent in MalakMalak sentence structure is the Verb Complex which can itself constitute a sentence (see 4.1.3.). Other word classes can be added to the Verb Complex, such as nouns (subject or object Noun Phrase (see 4.1.8.) and nouns with any of the affixal functions listed in section 2.1.1. and described in sections 3.2.8. to 3.3.6.); adjectivals (see 2.1.2.; 4.1.8.); particles (see 2.1.6.); deictic specifiers (see 2.1.4.); and Verb Complex Complements (see 4.1.4.).

422. [ŋöyö] [yin'y] [ŋat'y] [alawar yöntön] [tek
ts SNP ptcl(emph) ONP N
tomorrow man woman 3sgmSP camp
yawukan] wapi yönumgayiwa [lamlammanö]
A.loc VR Aux.OP VRcpt
other.to take 3sgmSP.2(fut).3sgfOP talk.cnt.int
Tomorrow the man will take his wife to another camp to have a talk.

In the preferred ordering of constituents the subject and object Noun Phrases precede the Verb Complex (see 4.1.9.).
4.1.2. Co-Ordinate and Subordinate Relations

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, see 4.1.2.1.). 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.

423. [yin'yä tat ayanö] [alawar tat'ya ma
man see 1sgSP.1(punct).3sgmOP woman hit.cnt
yitañayi]
3sgmSP.2(pres/past).3sgfOP

In answer to the question What was he doing? sentence (423) would be glossed:
When I saw the man he was hitting his wife.

In answer to the question What did you see? sentence (423) would be glossed:
I saw man who was hitting his wife.
or: I saw man and he was hitting his wife.

424. [yin'yä alalik nikpi tat'ya yitañayi]
man child little(sgf) hit 3sgmSP.2(pres/past).3sgfOP
[kan'ya kma yita]
cough.cnt 3sgmSP.2(pres/past)

Sentence (424) 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:

425. [yin'yawañ alalik yikpi tat'ya yitanö]
man.ag child little(sgm) hit 3sgmSP.2(pres/past).3sgmOP
[kan'ya kma yita]
cough.cnt 3sgmSP.2(pres/past)

the concordal relationship between the bound third singular subject person marker and its potential nominal referent (either yin'yä or alalik yikpi) would be unable to indicate unambiguously the nominal referent of kan'ya kma yita. Sentence (425) 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.
These three juxta posed sentences would be glossed:

Those over there are fighting over the woman he ab ducted.

Reduced sentences can be juxta posed 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:

(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).

4.1.2.1. Conditionals

The protasis of a Conditional sentence occurs only in the Purposive or Sub junc tive moods; the apodosis can occur in the Purposive or Sub junc tive moods or in the Future tense.

If he gets sick he might die.

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

The subjunctive is unmarked for tense, whereas the purposive is marked for futurity.
The apodosis in the Future tense:

431. [mi ṇak nuwuntuwa] [mi food(veg) eat(non-meat) 2sgSP.1(subj) food(veg)

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.

432. te ṇač awuntōwakka anti te ṇač meat give 1sgSP.1(subj).3sgm adv(recip) meat give

yimin Yafīn
3sgmSP.1(punct).1sgOP
I would give him meat because he gave me meat.

4.1.3. 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. 2

When the Verb Root and the Auxiliary co-occur within the Verb Complex the Verb Root precedes the Auxiliary. 3

433. akana pilp yinmaŋayiwa
adv(neg) slap 3sgmSP.1(fut).3sgfOP
He will not slap her.

The Verb Complex assumes a role of central importance in the sentential syntax of MalakMalak because the Auxiliary 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.
The (free) object NP is reflected in the Verb Complex by a person- and number-equivalent pronoun object.

Since alawar is unmarked for number, the suffixation of the third singular feminine pronoun object marks the noun alawar for singularity. Equivalently, in the following sentence the plurality of yin'ya is indicated by the suffixation of the third plural pronoun object:

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:

Only one interpretation is possible because of the gender concord between yin'ya and the third masculine singular bound subject person marker yi- of yimin' and between alawar and the coreferential feminine singular pronoun object -ŋayi.

4.1.3.1. Transitivity

Transitivity is a property of the Verb Complex. As stated earlier, verb roots are inherently transitive or intransitive. Of all inherently transitive verbs recorded, 96% are able to take Conjugation 1 as an auxiliary. Verb Roots that are inherently intransitive, on the other hand, characteristically cannot take Conjugation 1 as an auxiliary.
For these reasons Conjugation 1 was termed the transitivity index of the Conjugation system.

There is no formal distinction in the language between transitive and intransitive subject, whether free or bound. The agentive marker -waŋ (see 3.3.4.) 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.

4.1.3.1.1. Noun Phrase, Adjectival and Deictic Complements

The intransitive Verb Complex can take a NP, adjectival or deictic complement:

NP Complement

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

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

Adjectival Complement

442. yin' yita
   shy  3sgmSP.2(pres/past)
   He is shy.

443. t'yalala yita
   long  3sgmSP.2(pres/past)
   He is tall.

Deictic Complement

444. t'ōŋ maŋir [wak antawan] wōyō
   clf  paper bark tree water ss 3sgeSP.6(pres)
   The paper bark tree stands near the water.

4.1.3.2. 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.
445. mi aŋ atōmanō
  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:

446. yin'ya alawar lamma nun tanō
  man woman talk.cnt 3sgfSP.2(pres/past).3sgmOP
  The woman is/was talking to the man.

In example 447 the pronoun object -nō indicates the singularity of yin'awa while in example 447 the pronoun object -wořō indicates its plurality:

447. pěnt'yi naman ayanō yin'awa
  ts speak 1sgSP.1(punct).3sgmOP man.sfm
  Yesterday I spoke to the man.

448. pěnt'yi naman ayawořō yin'awa
  ts speak 1sgSP.1(punct).3pl0P man.sfm
  Yesterday I spoke to the men.

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

449. t'yanar tapak mutařin'
  spear break 3sgvSP.2(pres/past).1sgOP
  My spear has broken.

Note that t'yanar spear is one of the nouns that require m-concord either when qualified by a concordal adjective (see 3.2.7.) or as the referent of the third singular bound subject marker of the auxiliary.

A literal translation of example 449 would read: Spear has broken (to) me.

Similarly, sentence 450:

450. myin' niřk yimin'arīn'
  dog die 3sgmSP.1(punct).1sgOP
  Literally: dog died (to) me
  My dog died.

There is a concordal relationship between myin' and the masculine singular subject person marker yi- of yimin'.

In the following example the pronoun object realizes the affected party:
451. man⁶ wönatt'et wiyajin'afin⁶
   stomach bad.stand 3sgeSP.6(progr)1sgOP
Literally: stomach is standing bad (to) me
I am worried.

4.1.4. Verb Complex Complementation

There are two types of Verb Complex complementation in MalakMalak:
(1) verb root/auxiliary complementation and (ii) participial complementation.

4.1.4.1. 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 (see 4.1.2., example 427) complemented by a Verb Complex.

452. alawar t'ewöryen nunta [t'ufpmawa]
   woman ear.comit 2sgfSP.2(pres/past) [out.cnt.foc]
The woman knows/knew how to cut (wood for a canoe).

453. tek ka ata [wirk]
   country come lexSP.2(pres/past) [finish]
I have come to (this) country for good.

454. tikpi yowora [yur]
   back go 3sgmSP.3(pres) [lie down]
He's on his way back to lie down.

455. nöyö ka yönü̈ka [watwatmanö]
   tomorrow come 3sgmSP.2(fut) [fish.cnt.int]
Tomorrow he will come to fish.

456. te t'eyöt waŋkit' aŋtön [ey]
   clf red kangaroo hunt out lexSP.1(sequ) VRcpt(spear)
We hunt out (and) spear a red kangaroo. (Text 1, sentence 15)

457. alal̄k yinmeiyit' pi wö̂rönü̈ka [kapukkupukmanö]
   child little go 3plSP.2(fut) [bathe.cnt.int]
The little boys will go and bathe.

458. 'Monday' puwaryinga wapi yönü̈garin'ya [wûkammanöna]
   Monday morning take 2(fut) [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:

459. tat ayano [yōwōɾa]
   see 1sgSP.1(punct).3sgmOP [3sgmSP.3(pres)]
   I see him going along.

460. tat ayano [yita]
   see 1sgSP.1(punct).3sgmOP [3sgmSP.2(pres/past)]
   I see/saw him over there. (see 3.1.2.)

461. t'eyantak ayano [yuwuɾa]
   hear 1sgSP.1(punct).3sgmOP [3sg.SP.3(past)]
   I heard him going along.

462. [ṣun yōnōfki] tatma anōno
   [ss 3sgmSP.4(pres).dc] see.cnt 1sgSP.4(pres).3sgmOP
   I see him sitting there.

463. tat anmanōwa [yōnōtakka]
   see 1sgSP.1(fut).3sgmOP [3sgmSP.2(fut)]
   I will find him walking along.

In sentences 459 to 463 (inclusive) there is gender- and number-concord between the object pronoun of the Verb Complex and the bound subject person marker of the complement.

4.1.4.2. Participial Complementation

The participle-forming suffix -aɾi7 carries an habitual sense.

464. t'alkyurali nunta
   bend over.ptcpl 3sgfSP.2(pres/past)
   She goes/went along bent over.

The suffixation of -aɾi to pak-, yur-, and t'et-, for example, creates a semantic force of sitting, lying or standing co-extensive with the action described by the verb root of which it forms the complementation.

465. (a) paltam pakali yōnō
   hide(behind something) sit.ptcpl 3sgmSP.4(pres)
   Hide behind (something) sitting all the time.

   (b) paltam yurali yōyō
   hide(behind something) lie.ptcpl 3sgmSP.5(pres)
   Hide behind (something) lying down all the time.
(c) paltam  t'etall  yöyö
hide(behind something)  stand.ptcpl  3sgmSP.6(pres)
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:

466. (a) yöö  appakall
3sgmSP.4(pres)  sit.ptcpl
He is always sitting down.

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

(c) wötyö  aptYeřatali
3plSP.6(pres)  stand.ptcpl
He is always standing up.

The prefix ap- is restricted in distribution to the three standard postural verb roots pak, yur and t'et. 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:

467. pakali  yöö
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.

468. (a) alawar peryikan wuř pak  nööö
woman  bag.loc  put in  sit  3sgfSP.4(pres)
The woman puts (it) in the bag and sits down.

(b) alawar peryikan wuř  yur  nönyö
woman  bag.  put in  lie down
The woman puts (it) in the bag and lies down.
The participial suffix -ali converts succession into simultaneity.

The ability of a verb root to take the participial complement pakali/yurali/tYētali does not necessarily reflect any constraint on the co-occurrence of that verb root with the semantically cognate auxiliary Conjugations 4, 5 and 6.

The participial suffix -ali is not confined to the three standard 'postural' verb roots pak-, yur- and tYēt. For example:

470. tek nanmanY tappamali atta
camp A(dm).dpf grab.put.ptcpl lexSP.2(pres/past)
We have always retained this camp.

471. tYēyiitYali yitawōfō
pick up.ptcpl 3sgmSP.(pres/past).3plOP
He goes along picking them up all the time.

472. tYēyiitYali nunta
pick up.ptcpl 3sgfSP.2(pres/past)
She's married.

4.1.5. The Imperative

4.1.5.1. 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 tinY. There is no formal distinction between transitive and intransitive imperative.

E.g. (a) 473. mi ṇak nōntōma
(veg)food eat(non-meat) 2sgSP.1(purp)
Eat the food!

474. lak nōntōma
eat(meat) 2sgSP.1(purp)
Eat (non-meat) food!
475. natpak yini
    hide  3sgmSP.4(purp)
    Let him hide!

476. yur nukuttöyug
    lie down  2plSP.5(purp)
    You (pl)

477. parat nintiyang
    get up  2sgSP.6(purp)
    Get up!

(b) The verb root form of the positive imperative with neither the auxiliary nor the adverb tin'y is as follows:

478. t'öng t'urpmay
    wood  out.cnt
    Cut the wood!

479. kina pakma
    ss.loc  sit down.cnt
    Stay here!

480. naman
    Speak!

481. mi ańarin'y
    food(non-meat)  give.1sgOP
    Give me food!

The verb root preceded by tin'y

482. tin'y tatnö
    adv  find.3sgmOP
    Try and find him.

483. tin'y tappiyipman'y
    adv  wind.dpfl
    Try winding (it). (i.e. an outboard motor)

4.1.5.2. 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.
484. awat teymaln
adv wait.cnt.lsgOP
Don't wait for me!

485. awat wumuwa
adv steal
Don't steal!

The negative force of awat can be reinforced by the negative suffix -tan8:

486. awat muftyan nuntu
adv trip.neg 2sgSP.2(purp)
Don't trip!

487. awat watuul lamiammatan
adv adv talk.cnt.neg
Don't talk so fast!

4.1.6. The Causative/Inchoative

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

488. mawun [Iangkerk tut] aya
clothes clean caus lsgSP.1(punct)
I make/made the clothes clean.

489. töl [t'yalala tut] aya
stick long caus lsgSP.1(punct)
I lengthen(ed) the stick.

490. tit [kerker tut] aya
edge sharp caus lsgSP.1(punct)
I sharpen(ed) the blade.

491. [yikpi tut] yita
little(sgm) caus 3sgmSP.2(pres/past)
He gets/becomes thin.

492. [yinali tut] yita
big(sgm) caus 3sgmSP.2(pres/past)
He gets/becomes big.

493. [töm tut] yita
weak caus 3sgmSP.2(pres/past)
He gets/becomes weak.
The dress was outside, so it got wet.

The causative tut can also act upon a noun or a quantifier:

They grew/grow up.

The causative tut can also act upon a noun or a quantifier:

The causative tut can also act upon a noun or a quantifier:

Colour- or light-descriptive terms as inchoative tend to occur with tyet (or tuttyet) plus Conjugation 6:

It's getting dark.

It's getting black.

It's getting red.

When the causative force is acting upon a verb root it has a different realization: the verb root wat (send). wat can be suffixed to other verb roots thereby forming compound verb roots:

I made the man say no.

Father made me speak.
The suffixation of wat also covers the action of a causative force upon an adverb such as wat'yuř (quïck):

503. wat'yuřwat atuŋnö
   quick.send lsgSP.2(purp).3sgmOP
   I am going to make him (go) quickly.

In certain cases (see 3.2.5.) the suffixation of wat to a verb root has crystallized into a lexical item:

   e.g. tuŋkwat [drink + send] : swallow
        t'yuŋkwat [enter + send] : put inside
        kat'wat [throw + send] : let go

4.1.7. The Verb Root

   It is characteristic of MalakMalak that the auxiliary conjugations, which can potentially occur with any single verb root, are multiple. However, certain constraints operate on a number of verb roots thereby restricting the number of auxiliary conjugations for which they can select.

   Of a sample 350 verb roots 98 are able to select for all six auxiliary conjugations:

   akak   vomit
   alturuk  smash
   ar      dry
   arîŋar   open (mouth)
   (kariŋ) wîr  weave (basket)
   kař     moult feathers
   kaŋŋöyat  light (pipe/cigarette)
   kafturuk  poke
   kaŋyiwuy  stir
   keřpeřp  crunch
   kuřpit  miss (i.e. with a missile)
   kuřput  cover up
   kuštöwerkat'v  move fire along a hollowed out log (i.e. in the manufacture of a canoe)
   kuřut  remove
   kuř      pull
lammel:  stop (someone from quarrelling)
manparart:  stir stomach up
manpurit:  be satisfied
manwyuk:  starved hungry
mil:  decorate
nil:  strip bark (from a tree)
ni:  skin (animal)
nin:  dislike
nit:  tell a lie
nyath:  chip wood
nak:  eat (non-meat)
lak:  eat (meat)
ra#:  skin (animal)
nawany:  smell
ne:  breathe
nep:  cut
nit:  a verb of repulsion
pe#at, (tim):  dig (a hole)
wurk, (p#yikan):  put into (a bag)
pilp:  slap
ya#ya#:  plane down
lamm:  stop (someone) from quarrelling
la#:  tear
lu#un:  clean
lu#ut:  grind
pirir:  untie
purpilyet:  ignite
pöpö:  fam flames
tapak:  break
taratwat:  watch
tark:  bite off
tatt€kut  show
tat'y  hit
tat'y muř  kick/smash (with feet)
ņoyat  ooak
tayt'yařp  cut an object into quarters
mōrpmōřp  munch (non-meat food)
uηtam  block a creek
muřtuk  hatch
numuřu nyip  wink
ŋalamuŋk  swear/curse
ŋaŋ'ak  lick
piktap  arrest
piwuy  swing (tr)
telŋa  singe hair (of a wallaby, e.g. before cooking)
tempelŋ'y  roll up (of swag)
tōŋ  stretch
tum  inhale
tut  causative verb root (see 4.1.6.)
tōt'yat  take from earth/mud of a goanna/turtle, etc.
turpkat'y  dig for lily (in swamp)
t'yök  spit
t'yupak  spit
naman  speak
yeřk  scrape hide
yukut'ywat  move an object along gradually
aritel  shut door
kan'yak  cough
kaŋkwut  sew
kařyit  oomb (hair)
kařt'yikat  poke
kurpuk  wash
kuřutt'yet  take clothes off
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, eighty show full constraints on the selection of certain conjugations, and fifty show partial constraints (as in the verb roots able to select for Conjugations 5 and 6 in the plural persons only, see 3.1.5. and 3.1.6., respectively). Of the eighty verb
roots showing full conjugation-selection constraints, thirty-eight
cannot select for Conjugation 5:

- altak: break
- aŋwat: send over
- aŋrawat: spend (tr)
- kalt'yet: carry (on head)
- kaŋkař: prod ground (with yam stick)
- wakarkwut: take out
- altaŋp: penetrate
- aŋ: give
- er: make noise in undergrowth
- kalpam: carry (pl.0)
- kat'kurputkat: put into the water (e.g. of a canoe)
- putat'v: cover cooking meat with ashes
- taleŋp: burn
- teret'v: break limbs (at joints)
- wöntuŋp: degut a kangaroo/wallaby
- tulkwut: pull down (tr)
- t'yetpat: break (branch) off
- tapuyt'v: squeeze
- t'ölt'öl: dust (something) down
- t'yuŋppam: cut and stack up wood
- timkut: bury (rubbish)
- watwat: fish
- mawun'aluŋptam: take clothes off and put them down
- t'yntar: tip out
- putuk: cover up (tr)
- tap: grab/seize
- tömt'yurp: degut a mullet
- tuytuy: stretch (intr)
- t'amöl'tyet: sharpen (yam stick)
- t'yntarwukut'v: tip out
tyukatYC: pluck
tyuφkwat: put inside
warwar: make dilly-bag
wirk (manYik petiřk): whisper
muřYiř: trip over
tappityl: wind around
wkayεntelk: mix cold and hot water
werer: take out of earth oven

Four verb roots cannot select for Conjugation 6:

költYet: roast (a single piece of meat)
puy: disbelieve (tr)
war: (be) ready
yitkar: scale a fish

Two verb roots cannot select for Conjugation 4:

ŋöyattamatkYC: cook (meat) wrapped up (i.e. in paperbark)
maparakatYC: chase

Sixteen cannot select for Conjugation 4 and 5:

katYυuφkwat: throw away
wakulpat: load (tr) (into canoe)
kum: bury
wi mama: engage in a fight (predicated of a large number of people)
mur: move feet (around)
ŋaφk: make noise in water with bamboo pole
paŋtiktYetey: lean back and spear (tr)
payaktulkYet: turn over onto back (tr)
tarartarar: knock (on door)
tař: bite
tulkmuř: touch someone on ankle
tuφptYet: plant (single object)
tutpamtap: lay wood like rollers on which to move canoe
tyłařkaty  rain heavily
tyet  plant
wankit  flush out (animals from bush)

Four cannot select Conjugation 5 and 6:
palin yat  clap hands
tappam  grab and keep
tökölp  roast in a hole
töy  straighten a bamboo

One verb root is unable to select Conjugation 4 or 6:
mapara  follow

Fourteen verb roots are unable to select Conjugations 4, 5 or 6:
apap  be ill or tired
pinywaka  get water and bring it
pinywapi  get water and take it
pinywukut  bale water out
tartyetyl  tip out and leave
tarnjrk  kill (with spear)
manytetyi  cover up and leave
turppam  stick plant in ground
tyrjk  bury
watyuktyet  fill up and leave
wukutpam  drop
parkyl  leave behind
tyer  sting
tyetwat  'drop' a person off after giving him a lift

One verb root is unable to select for Conjugations 2, 3, 4 and 5:
tyen ykat  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 fourteen show partial constraints. Of the 108
verb roots showing full constraints the following thirty-seven can select for any auxiliary conjugation except Conjugation 1:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>katparar</td>
<td>play around</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kat</td>
<td>laugh/play</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lam(lam)</td>
<td>talk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>leripma</td>
<td>hot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>luřukat^y</td>
<td>wait around for food</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>manpařat</td>
<td>resemble</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tin^y</td>
<td>stir up (intr)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>man^y^et</td>
<td>float up</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nanpuřuŋ</td>
<td>show off</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>muřma</td>
<td>dance (of men)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nøwölweriyen</td>
<td>make trouble</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n^y^apa^n^apa</td>
<td>be deaf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>töwerk</td>
<td>cry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tulma</td>
<td>sulk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t^y^inwitan</td>
<td>avoid fights</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>werwerparar</td>
<td>tremble</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ariwit^yim</td>
<td>kiss</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wiwenwiyen</td>
<td>argue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ariŋar</td>
<td>open mouth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mirimir</td>
<td>melt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>muř^y^f^y^alk</td>
<td>trip and fall</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>numuru tyi^ywuřkali</td>
<td>a wrinkled face (have)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nụn^y^et</td>
<td>sweat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t^y^ewörtarkat^y</td>
<td>remind</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t^y^er^er</td>
<td>sing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tat^y^parar</td>
<td>look around</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tat^y^parar</td>
<td>forage (for yams)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tey</td>
<td>wait</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tiktat</td>
<td>look back</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t^y^eyantak</td>
<td>listen</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The following eight verb roots are unable to select for Conjugation 5:

- awara (pl. subj) cry
- kunuŋ dwell
- tarŋalkatarrŋalk bump into someone
- telpat keep someone company
- t'umpuŋkupuk dive making a splash
- wema scream
- titmiŋlt tease
- kupuk dive

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

- pönŋ pregnant

Three are unable to select for Conjugation 4:

- lerp meet (pl. subj)
- paytŋetpi sneak up on
- wilpay cross over (i.e. to other side)

Five verb roots are unable to select for Conjugation 6:

- puŋ snore
- tatŋyur sleep fitfully (lit. see and lie down)
- telpönök walk
- tururturut dream
- piŋip be sick

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

- peŋpeŋ be frightened
- wirwir leak/bleed
- welkunŋ swing (intr)
- wumukut blame
- wuyurwuyur peep
- wururwat wave
- ŋalamuŋk swear
wakulpat
kömpörwatpiρ
luppi
ηατ'ηατ'υ
γυ
περκ
πυ
ταλπταλρ
τιραμτ'ετ
μιττ'εντιτ'
τ'ερκ
κελ
τ'ιντατ'ιντατ'
τ'ερατωρα (πλ.σ)
τ'ιτ/τ'ερατ (πλ.σ)
καφκα
πυρατ

load objects into boat
have a cold
go together: 'be friends'
hide (intr)
enter
crawl (predicated of a snake)
allight (of a bird)
run along playing
stand on top of bank
paint (ceremonially)
snap (of wood)
hang up (intr)
spill
stand in one line
be born
punt
jump

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

ιερπτ'ετ
τυκ
πογκολ τυρπ�άκ

move around in grass
take someone else's part (in a quarrel)
kneel down

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

πογκολ ταταρ

cross legs

The following verb root is unable to select for Conjugations 4 and 6:

καφνιλυρ

break skin (against an object)

The following twenty-three verb roots are unable to select for Conjugations 4, 5 and 6:

αλτιριτπι
κατ'υιπι
πι

go past
leave behind (tr)
go
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Root</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ka</td>
<td>come</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r'akat</td>
<td>run</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>arir'ukt'uk</td>
<td>talk too much</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>papiwafa</td>
<td>run away (predicated of a large number)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r'yakatiwaya</td>
<td>run away (predicated of an individual)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paratt'akat</td>
<td>get up quickly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pur</td>
<td>warm up (of food, meat, etc.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pu'ru</td>
<td>crawl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tapat</td>
<td>walk slowly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tapali</td>
<td>have something for a long time/be married</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tiktatway</td>
<td>come back to life (myth)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tikka</td>
<td>return</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tur</td>
<td>big wave comes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tapalikat'yur</td>
<td>1. buck (of a horse); 2. pitch (of a canoe)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wapi</td>
<td>take</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>numuru m rkwaya</td>
<td>commit adultery</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t'yanar parkat'y</td>
<td>throw spear in wrong direction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tat'ywer</td>
<td>splash</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wönatt'yetway</td>
<td>worry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t'yu'pi</td>
<td>sink</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Root</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pitin'tyet</td>
<td>dislike</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wu'fma</td>
<td>stand up</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>parat</td>
<td>get up</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tam'tëtt'yet</td>
<td>stick to/catch onto (predicated of a spark)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tafpt'yet</td>
<td>stand on top (of something) (predicated of an inanimate object)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pu'fupu'fug</td>
<td>boil</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Root</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tafpyur</td>
<td>lie on top (of something) (predicated of an inanimate object)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
\texttt{ŋaऱkyur} twist (of a limb)
\texttt{t’Valkyur} bend over
\texttt{yur} lie down

4.1.8. 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.\footnote{An adjectival can be realized in the NP as (1) a quantifier (see 2.1.2.1.); (2) a demonstrative adjective; (3) a possessive adjective; (4) a deictic specification; (5) a lexical adjective.}

An adjectival can be realized in the NP as (1) a quantifier (see 2.1.2.1.); (2) a demonstrative adjective; (3) a possessive adjective; (4) a deictic specification; (5) a lexical adjective.

(2) The adjectival as demonstrative adjective:

\begin{verbatim}
504. yin^Ya nan tat wöttömanö
     man A(dm) see 3p1SP.1(purp).3sgmOP
     They'll see this/that man.

505. alawar nan te lak wöttöntön
     woman A(dm) meat eat(meat) 3sgfSP.1(sequ)
     This/that woman eats/ate the meat.
\end{verbatim}

(3) The adjectival as possessive adjective:\footnote{In this, and similar cases, it is characteristically the noun-classifier that attracts the possessive adjective. Where there is no noun-classifier the possessive adjective immediately follows the noun it qualifies and immediately precedes an adjectival:}

\begin{verbatim}
506. te ŋa t’gyöt yinali
     meat 1sgSP red kangaroo big(sgm)
     My big red kangaroo.
\end{verbatim}

(4) The adjectival as a deictic specification:

\begin{verbatim}
508. tönö [ŋun wöyö]
     jungle ss 3sgeSP.5(pres)
     The jungle that lies over there.

509. yin^Ya [ki yönö]
     man ss 3sgmSP.4(pres)
     The man who is here/This man.
\end{verbatim}
The adjectival as a lexical adjective. In certain circumstances, such as the following, the adjective may stand by itself in the NP:

\[
\text{yik\text{p}i \ la\text{k} \ at\text{\text{o}ma}}
\]

\[
\text{littl\text{e}(sgm) \ e\text{at}(meat) \ lsgSP.1(purp)}
\]

\[
\text{I'm going to eat a little (meat).}
\]

In this sentence the object-noun *meat* is semantically implicit. Firstly, *la\text{k}* is a verb root which explicitly means *eat meat* (as opposed to *\eta\text{ak}*, which means *eat non-meat food*), and is inherently transitive. Secondly, *yik\text{p}i* is *y*-concord (see 3.2.7.) 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:

\[
\text{wik\text{p}i \ yin\text{at} \ at\text{a}}
\]

\[
\text{littl\text{e}(sg) \ b\text{ad}(sgm) \ lsgSP.2(pres/past)}
\]

\[
\text{I am/was a little unwell.}
\]

The speaker of this sentence would be male, as indicated by the *y*-concord (see 3.2.7.1.) of *yin\text{at*}. The adjective *wik\text{p}i*, the *w*-concord class denoting non-human referents, modifies the adjective *yin\text{at*}.

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 3.2.8. to 3.3.6., such as agentive (see 3.3.4.) or locative (see 3.3.5.), for example:

**Agentive:**

\[
\text{nan\text{y}ilk\text{w}an} \ tat\text{y} \ yimin\text{ny}ayi}
\]

\[
\text{hand.ag(inst) \ hit \ 3sgmSP.1(punct).3sgfOP}
\]

\[
\text{He hit(s) her with his hand.}
\]

**Locative:**

\[
\text{waliwil\text{iy}in\text{na} \ wil\text{ma} \ yl\text{ta}}
\]

\[
\text{river.loc \ swim.cnt \ 3sgmSP.2(pres/past)}
\]

\[
\text{He is/was swimming in the river.}
\]

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-, see 3.3.3., and -malak, see 3.3.2.) is suffixed to the entire noun phrase:

e.g. 515. wawol\textsuperscript{Y} \textit{wu\text{nallyinga kaukkupuk yönpuŋ}
\begin{itemize}
\item [billabong] big(sge).loc bath\text{e} \quad 3sgmSP.2(purp)
\end{itemize}
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:

516. yöntön karkatma yita
\begin{itemize}
\item [3sgmSP] smile.cnt \quad 3sgmSP.2(pres/past)
\end{itemize}
He is/was smiling.

It may be accompanied by another pronoun:

517. wanjari qa pi aŋkatuŋ
\begin{itemize}
\item [2sgSP] 1sgSP go 1d1SP.2(purp)
\end{itemize}
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:

518. alawar alalq yikpi yöntön muft\textsuperscript{Y} ak
\begin{itemize}
\item [woman] child little(sgm) 3sgmSP kick
\end{itemize}
yitaŋayi
\begin{itemize}
\item [3sgmSP.2(pres/past).3sgfOP]
\end{itemize}
The little boy (he) kicks/kicked the woman.

The pronoun can be head of a noun phrase:

519. yeña munali nan muyuwa
\begin{itemize}
\item [adv] big(sgv) P(dm) 3sgvSP.6(past)
\end{itemize}
At that time this was big (referring to an adjacent banyan).

520. yöntön yinali yita
\begin{itemize}
\item [3sgmSP] big(sgm) 3sgmSP.2(pres/past)
\end{itemize}
He is/was big.

4.1.9. Marking within the Noun Phrase

Word-order, except within the Verb Complex, is not fixed to Malak-Malak. Within the Verb Complex the verb root almost always precedes the auxiliary.\textsuperscript{14}

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.

If the sentence-final NP ends in a consonant there are three morphophonemically-conditioned variant forms:

(1) If the final consonant is a liquid or a glide the sfm is the vowel /-a/.

521. tat'ypuk yinmaŋayi alawar-a
hit.possib 3sgmSP.1(purp).3sgfOP woman.sfm
He might hit the woman.

522. alalk yikpi tat yimin'no pululuy-a
child little see 3sgmSP.1(punct).3sgmOP rainbow.sfm
The little boy sees/saw the rainbow or The rainbow saw the little boy.

(2) If the final consonant is a stop the sfm has the syllabic structure CV, the C being a geminate of the word-final stop. The justification for the geminate interpretation is phonetic: notably, perceptible intervocalic devoicing. Intervocalic stops are normally voiced (see Phonology, section 1.1.6.).

523. t'eworyen atta t'ønno waknø
ear.comit lexSP.2(pres/past) tree.rel water.rel
yin'anø alalk yikpinø t'eworyen atta
man.rel child little(sgm).rel ear.comit lexSP.2(pres/past)
guluk-ka
language.sfm
We know the words for tree, for water, for man (and) for little boy.

524. 't'enha' naman wöröntön alalk yinemeyit'-t'ya
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.

525. t'angaar yaruwa t'yiyyit' wööntön yöntön-ta
spear womera pick up 3sgmSP.1(sequ) 3sgmSP.sfm
He picks/picked up the spear and womera.

526. ey yimin'no pirpenwaŋka
spear(VR) 3sgmSP.1(punct).3sgmOP shovel-spear.ag(inst).sfm
He spears/spear rapped 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/.

527. [te tataratarama ylita] [ey meat look around.cnt 3sgmSP.2(pres/past) spear
wöwöntön t'eyöt-ta] [waka 3sgmSP.1(sequ) red kangaroo.sfm bring
ylita'yi] [yuryi ylita] 3sgmSP.2(pres/past).3sgfOP put down.leave 3sgmSP.2(pres/past)
[yuryo yöö yin'ya-wa] lie down 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.
NOTES

1. 3.2.4.1.

2. If the Pronoun Object occurs as the benefactive object of a noun, the Pronoun Object occurs as a free form:
   te ařpuřu : meat for us (ic)

3. See 3.2.1.4. for an exception to this word-order rule.

4. Nouns are not usually marked for number. The only recorded exceptions to this statement is the partial reduplication which pluralizes pulit\textsuperscript{y} : old man and parmat\textsuperscript{y} : old woman

   \begin{align*}
   \text{pulit}^y & \rightarrow \text{pupil}^y \\
   \text{parmat}^y & \rightarrow \text{papařmat}^y
   \end{align*}

5. With the exception of the twelve intransitive Verb Roots listed in note 2 of section 3.1.

6. man stomach requires w-concord (see 3.2.7.) when qualified by a concordial 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, see 3.2.7.).

7. See 3.2.1.4.

8. See 3.2.3.

9. Synonymous with this is mařin\textsuperscript{y} t'ět yita. See below for other instances of t'ět in an inchoative function.
10. It's range includes: 1. hunt someone/something away. 2. say 'no'. 3. leave for a while e.g. unpicked lily-roots.

11. In the NP [wunpayin têkka] the head têk is marked for its un-typical position (see 4.1.9.).

12. See 3.2.8., for a discussion of alienable and inalienable possession.

13. Cf. the discussion of lexical adjectives in section 3.2.7.

14. But see section 4.1.4.2., concerning the auxiliary and participial complementation.

15. Cf. the intervocalic devoicing in the auxiliary system (see 3.1.1.-3.1.6.): in the opposition between
   ata [ad] 1sgSP.2(pres/past)
   and atta [at] lexSP.2(past/past)
the gemination of the medial stop is morphologically supported by the forms of the person- and tense-markers, respectively (see 3.1.8.10.).

16. 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 (see 3.3.5.; 3.1.9.4.).
TEXT 1

[ŋa mint⁴²⁴ itak ŋuluk lam lam ma ata]

1lsgSP emphP language talk . cnt 1s gSP . 2 (pres/past)

[pi atawörö wařiyat [anti lam lam ma]

2go 1s gSP . 2 (pres/past) . 3 pl OP VRcpt (meat) 3adv (recip) talk . cnt

atta ŋuluk yawöttta] [wöřöntönnan⁴ naman

lexSP . 2 (pres/past) language lexSP . sfm 4 3 plSP . dpf speak

wöřöntön [ŋanm⁴ naman awöntönwöřö] [tek yawuk

3 plSP . 1 (sequ) 5lsgSP . dpf speak 1s gSP . 1 (sequ) . 3 pl OP 6 camp A( other)

pi atta wunpayin tekka] [paypi
go lexSP . 2 (pres/past) good ( sge ) camp . sfm 7 emerge . go

attawörö] [pak attö] [tek wunpayin

lexSP . 2 (pres/past) . 3 pl OP 8 sit lexSP . 4 (pres) 9 camp good ( sge)
wöyü] [ayö tekty⁴] [pu waryinña tikka

3sgeSP . 5 (pres) 10 lsgSP . 5 (pres) dawn 11 ts (mor ning) back . come

atta] [wöřöntön wöttö] [anin⁴ ka

lexSP . 2 (pres/past) 12 3 plSP 3 plSP . 4 (pres) 13 adv come

wutta wařiyat wötyařin⁴] [pi tënö

3 plSP . 2 (pres/past) meet 3 plSP . 6 (pres) . 1 s gOP 14 VRemp meat . int

pi aşkatun] [tӱeyöt wankan⁴ øröntön ey]
go 1d1SP . 2 (purp) 15 red kangaroo hunt out lexSP . 1 (sequ) VRcpt (spear)

[tikpi atta] [kölptey øröntön tekna]

16 back . go lexSP . 2 (pres/past) 17 roast lexSP . 1 (sequ) camp . loc

[yawuk tӱet wa wööntön] [yawuk tӱet

18 P ( other) leg pick up 3sgm/fSP . 1 (sequ) 19 P ( other) leg

wa wööntön] [yawuk puntu wa wööntön]
pick up 3sgm/fSP . 1 (sequ) 20 P ( other) head pick up 3sgm/fSP . 1 (sequ)
[yawuk payak wa wöwöntön] [yawuk wömö 21P(another) back pick up 3sgm/fSP.1(sequ) 22P(another) tail wa wöwöntön] [yawuk wuru wuru yawuk pick up 3sgm/fSP.1(sequ) 23P(another) arm arm P(another) wa wöwöntön] [wi akana] [lakma pick up 3sgm/fSP.1(sequ) 24fight A(neg) 25rs(beat meat).cnt nat'1 pak attö] [tek yawukman' tenö ka ptcl(emph) sit lexSP.4(pres) 26camp A(other).dpf meat.int come yita t'eyikka] [aŋ ařöntönö] 3sgmSP.2(pres/past) scrounger.sfm 27give lexSP.1(sequ).3sgmOP (lak wöwöntön] [nat' pak attö] [katma 28eat/meat 3sgSP.1(sequ) 29ptcl(emph) sit lexSP.4(pres) 30laugh.cnt attö] [akana wi] [alawar nat' nönö] lexSP.4(pres) 31A(neg) fight 32woman ptcl(emph) 3sgfSP.4(pres) [alalk yimmeiyit' anta wöttö] [akana winö] 33child little(plm) adv(allright) 3plSP.4(pres) 34A(neg) water.int [wak pi wutta] [alawar pin' wöröntön] 35water go 3plSP.3(pres/past) 36woman get water 3plSP.1(sequ) [ka wutta t'ön t'akte'et] [wak nøyat 37come 3plSP.2(pres/past) wood/fire VRc pt(prepare) 38water cook wöröntön] [puρuŋpuŋuŋ wöyö] [yin'yawapi 3plSP.1(sequ) 39boil 3sgfSP.6(pres) 40man take nunta] [aŋ wöwöntönö meltapali] 3sgfSP.2(pres/past) 41give 3sgfSP.1(sequ).3sgmOP propr.seize.ptcpl [tuřk wöwöntön] [akana wi] [ŋuŋa 42drink 3sgmSP.1(sequ) 43A(neg) fight 44P(dm)other(pl) wöttö pin' wapi aŋ wöwöntönwörö] [tuřk 3plSP.4(pres) get water take give 3sgfSP.1(sequ).3plOP 45drink wöröntön] [yur ařö tekty' ] [purwaryinja 3plSP.1(sequ) 46lie down lexSP.5(pres) dawn 47ts(morning) alawar minö pi nunta] [yin'yattö] woman food(veg).int go 3sgfSP.2(pres/past) 48man lexSP.4(pres) [mi ttit tat'yam nunta] [ka 49clf 'cheeky' yum strike.cnt 3sgfSP.2(pres/past) 50come nunta kölp wöwöntön] [yin'y anin'y paröt 3sgfSP.2(pres/past) roast 3sgfSP.1(sequ) 51man adv sit up
pák yónó] [nák wówönt ön] [alawar aní
sit 3sgmSP.4(pres) 52 eat(noneat) 3sgmSP.1(sequ) 53 woman adv
mi watiyán nuntawōřō [mut'uyũwuna
food(veg) distribute 3sgfSP.2(pres/past).3plOP 54 qf
nák wórönt ön alalk yinmeyiť alawar yin’a
eat(noneat) 3plSP.1(sequ) 55 child little(plm) woman man
nuřa nák wórönt ön [pupilitiť2 papařmatiť
A(other pl) eat(noneat) 3plSP.1(sequ) 56 old man old woman
nák wórönt ön [yur ařø tekatiť
eat(noneat) 3plSP.1(sequ) 57 lie down lexSP.5(pres) dawn
[wi akana] [nati ŭ parot wača atta
58 fight A(neg) 59 ptcl(emph) sit up walk around lexSP.2(pres/past)
nuřnutmanięťa] [te pi atta watwatma
sleep.dpf.sfm 60 meat go lexSP.2(pres/past) VR cpt(fish.cnt)
té wunó] [weřina tiyitiť]
clf barramundi.int 61 two rs(catch pl10)
lak] [akana mintitičak lakmanó] [temanię
eat(meal) 63 adv(neg) emph P rs(eat(meal).cnt.int) 64 meat.dpf
pi yita] [tikalma yöö] [anti
go 3sgmSP.2(pres/past) 65 lie down.cnt 3sgmSP.5(pres) 66 adv(recip)
yeřa yawuk pi yita] [pi yita
adv P(another) go 3sgmSP.2(pres/past) 67 go 3sgmSP.2(pres/past)
tenó] [culpak yöö] [pi yita
meat.int 68 board(boat) 3sgmSP.4(pres) 69 go 3sgmSP.2(pres/past)
[watwatma yita] [te tiyitiť wówönt ön]
70 fish.cnt 3sgmSP.2(pres/past) 71 meat catch(p10) 3sgmSP.1(sequ)
[tikka yita] [tiyiań wówönt ön] [alawar
72 return 3sgmSP.2(pres/past) 73 give(p10) 3sgmSP.1(sequ) 74 woman
pařat nöntyö] [tšöŋ leřp wówönt ön]
get up 3sgfSP.6(pres) 75 wood gather firewood 3sgfSP.1(sequ)
[ka nunta tšöŋ tšaktiťet] pirpiyet
76 come 3sgfSP.2(pres/past) fire/wood VRcpt(prepare) 77 ignite
wówönt ön] [te nöyat wówönt ön yin’anó] [nöyat
3sgfSP.1(sequ) 78 meat cook 3sgfSP.1(sequ) man.bf 79 cook
wapi nunta [aŋ wówöntön ön] [pařot
take 3sgfSP.2(pres/past) 80 give 3sgfSP.1(sequ).3sgmOP 81 (sit up
pak lak wööntön) [alalk yikpi kay sit eat(meat) 3sgmSP.1(sequ) 82 child little(sgm) call yööwööfö] [ka wutta] [alalk yinmeyit' y 3sgmSP.6(pres).3plSP.1(sequ) 83 come 3plSP.2(pres/past) 84 child little(plm) lak wööntön) [nät' lakma eat(meat) 3plSP.1(sequ) 85 ptcl(emph) eat(meat).cnt wutta alalk yinmeyit' ya] [nät' 3plSP.2(pres/past) child little(plm).sfm 86 ptcl(emph) katpararna wutta alalk yinmeyit' ya] [alawar play around.cnt 3plSP.2(pres/past) child little(plm).sfm 87 woman nönö tikalma nönyö] [yin' y nät' 3sgfSP.4(pres) lie down.cnt 3sgfSP.5(pres) 88 man ptcl(emph) paröt pak yöö] [nät' tek yawukan pafat sit up sit 3sgmSP.4(pres) 89 ptcl(emph) camp A(other).loc get up yipi yita] [pi yita tek yaw 3plSP.2(pres/past) 90 go 3sgmSP.2(pres/past) camp A(other) lamlammanö] [tik ki yita [alawaryin' yana VRcpt(talk.cnt.int) 91 baok ss 3sgmSP.2(pres/past) 92 woman.loc.loc pak yöö] [wi akana] [alawarman' akana lam sit 3sgmSP.4(pres) 93 fight A(neg) 94 woman.dpfl adv(neg) talk nuntanö] [alalk yikpi yööntön meipapu 3sgfSP.2(pres/past).3sgmOP 95 child little(sgm) 3sgmSP father maparapi yitanö] [wutta yööntö follow.go 3sgmSP.2(pres/past).3sgmOP 96 3plSP.2(pres/past) dlm arawan tikka wutta yööntö] [pak yööntö A(qf) baok.come 3plSP.2(pres/past) (dlm) 97 sit 3plSP.4(pres) yööntö melwiylinya alalk yikpi yin' y yööntön) [anin' dlm mother.loc child little(sgm) man 3sgmSP 98 adv yin' y alawar pi wutta yööntö] [alawar wapi man woman go 3plSP.2(pres/past) dlm 99 woman take yita tek yawukan lamlammanö] [lamlamma 3sgmSP.2(pres/past) camp A(other).loc VRcpt(talk.cnt.int) 100 talk.cnt wutta yööntö arawan] [tikka wutta 3plSP.2(pres/past) dlm A(qf) 101 baok.come 3plSP.2(pres/past) yööntö] [tek yauwnö alawarwuna pi nunta dlm 102 ts(camp) A(other.int) woman.qf go 3sgfSP.2(pres/past)
nunta] 3sgfSP.2(pres/past) 130 come 3sgfSP.2(pres/past) 131 fire prepare
nunta] 3sgfSP.2(pres/past) 132 meat cook 3sgfSP.1(sequ) 133 man

tikalma yöö] [akana nöyat yita]
lie down.cnt 3sgmSP.5(pres) 134 adv.(neg) cook 3sgmSP.2(pres/past)
[alawar nöyat wöwöntön] [muta te an]
135 woman cook 3sgfSP.1(sequ) 136 ts meat give
wöwöntönö alawarwanka] [yìnYa an]
3sgfSP.1(sequ).3sgmOP woman.ag.sfm 137 man give
wöwöntönö [alak yikpi an wöwöntönö]
3sgfSP.1(sequ).3sgmOP 138 child little(sgm) give 3sgfSP.1(sequ).3sgmOP
[melpapu melwiyi lak wöwöntön] [aninY yìnYa alawar
139 father mother eat(meat) 3plSP.1(sequ) 140 adv man woman
lak wööntön] [alak yoincynthi lakma
eat(meat) 3plSP.1(sequ) 141 child little(plm) eat(meat).cnt
wöttö winąk] [mifi qun t'et nöntö] [pi
3plSP.4(pres) adv(trm) 142 sun ss stand 3sgfSP.6(pres) 143 go
wutta tekanta] [tekan pi wutta
3plSP.2(pres/past) camp.loc.sfm 144 camp.loc go 3plSP.2(pres/past)
nunna] [qatY yìnYa yöö pawu'kan] [alawar
ss.loc 145 ptcl(emph) an 3sgmSP.4(pres) floor.loc 146 woman
pafäkapäfakma nunta] [pafäkapäfakma nunta]
make bed.cnt 3sgfSP.2(pres/past) 147 make bed.cnt 3sgfSP.2(pres/past)
[pafäkapäfakma nunta wiñana] [pak nönö
148 make bed.cnt 3sgfSP.2(pres/past) adv(trm) 149 sit 3sgfSP.4(pres)
aninY] [yìnYa qatY yöö pępak yöö]
adv 150 man ptcl(emph) 3sgmSP.4(pres) rest.sit 3sgmSP.4(pres)
[aninY yita yur yöö [apap
151 adv 3sgmSP.2(pres/past) lie down 3sgmSP.5(pres) 152 sick
wöwöntön] [yawukmanY tek yawukmanY akana
3sgmSP.1(sequ) 153 A(other).dpf camp A(other).dpf adv(neg)
ka] [akana tattat wuttanö]
rs(scall out) 154 adv(neg) look for 3plSP.2(pres/past).3sgmOP
[qatY yur yöö tekatY] [puwaryinga
155 ptcl(emph) lie down 3sgmSP.5(pres) dawn 156 morning
paröt pak yönö] [karala yunpayin yita
sit up sit 3sgSP.4(pres) 157 body/skin good 3sgmSP.2(pres/past)

[lamlamparma yita] [katma yita]
158 talk.around.cnt 3sgmSP.2(pres/past) 159 laugh.cnt 3sgmSP.2(pres/past)

[nagaña pi atu tek yawuk naman wööntön]
160 adv(des1d) go 1sgSP.2(purp) oamp A(ther) say 3sgmSP.1(sequ)

[mamakma yitawörö] [alawar ki nimpit
161 good-bye. cnt 3sgmSP.2(pres/past).3plOP 162 woman ss swag
taparin' wööntön] [kalyurpařat nöntyö]
roll up 3sgfSP.1(sequ) 163 put on shoulder.get up 3sgfSP.6(pres)

[yen pařakut lupup nöö alawara]
164 yamstick billy-can gather together 3sgfSP.6(pres) woman.sfm

[yin'ya yönön t'añar yaruwa t'yiyit wööntön te
165 man 3sgmSP spear woomera pick up(p10) 3sgmSP.1(sequ) meat
eymanö] [pak wöttö wontöt anuřkna]
VRcprt(spear.cnt.int) 166 sit 3plSP.4(pres) dlm ss(halfway).loc

[te tara tarpararma yita] [ey
167 meat look(p10).around.cnt 3sgmSP.2(pres/past) 168 spear
wööntön t'eyöttä] [waka
3sgmSP.1(sequ) red kangaroo.sfm 169 pick up.come
yitanayi yuryi] [nay'Y
3sgmSP.2(pres/past).3sgfOP lay down.leave 170 ptcl(emph)
yita yur yöö yin'awa] [alawar
3sgmSP.2(pres/past) lie down 3sgmSP.5(pres) man.sfm 171 woman
pařat nöntyö] [tö t'at wööntön qun] [walk
get up 3sgfSP.6(pres) 172 hole dig 3sgfSP.1(sequ) ss 173 stone
lupluppamma nunta]
[yan'ya paröt sit
gather together.put(p10) 3sgfSP.2(pres/past) 174 man sit up sit
yönö]
3sgmSP.4(pres) 175 leg (p10) 3sgmSP.1(sequ) 176 tie
wööntön] [t'yöö t'yakt'yet nunta
3sgmSP.1(sequ) 177 fire/wood prepare 3sgfSP.2(pres/past) 178 wood
pripiyet] [genë wööö [te t'eyöt
(ignite) 179 burn(intr) 3sgsSP.6(pres) 180 elf red kangaroo
telkña wööntön] [wöntuřp wowonton] [alawar
singe (fur off) 3sgfSP.1(sequ) 181 de-gut 3sgfSP.1(sequ) 182 woman
[I speak the language myself] [I speak our language to one another] [They speak] [I speak to them] [We go to another camp, a good camp] [We arrive at their camp] [We go to another camp] [I am a good camp] [I speak to them] [I speak the language myself] [I speak to them] [I speak the language myself] [I speak to them] [I speak the language myself]
morning we return] 12 [They stay] 13 [Then they come to meet me here]
14 [Right! Let's go for meat] 15 [We hunt out (and) spear a red
kangaroo] and 16 [We return] and 17 [We roast it at the camp]
gets a leg] 19 [Another gets a leg] 20 [Another gets the head] 21 [Another
gets the back] 22 [Another gets the tail] 23 [One (gets) one arm, another
gets the other arm] 24 [(There is) no quarrel] 25 [We just eat (and)
sit down] 26 [A scavenger comes from another camp for meat] and 27 [We
give him (some)] 28 [He eats] 29 [We just sit down] and 30 [laugh]
31 [(There is) no quarrel] 32 [The woman sits down] 33 [the little boys
are sitting down all right] 34 [(There is) no quarrel] 35 [The women go]
and 36 [get water] 37 [They come (and) prepare a fire] 38 [They heat
the water] and 39 [it boils] 40 [(The woman) takes (it)] and 41 [gives
it to (her) husband] 42 [He drinks] 43 [(There is) no quarrel] 44 [She
gets water, takes (it) and gives (it) to the other people sitting down]
45 [They drink] 46 [We lie down till dawn] 47 [In the morning the woman
goes for (vegetable) food] 48 [We men remain] 49 [She is moving (about)
digging up 'cheeky' yams] 50 [She comes (and) roasts them] 51 [Then
(her husband) sits up] and 52 [eats] 53 [Then the woman distributes
the food among them] and 54 [everyone eats] 55 [The little boys, the
women (and) the other men eat] 56 [The old men (and) the old women eat]
57 [We lie down till dawn] 58 [(There is) no quarrel] 59 [We just wake
up (lit. sit up from sleep) (and) walk around] 60 [We go for barramundi]
and 61 [catch two]

62 [Everyone eats (lit. not for self to eat)] 64 [(The one who) went
for meat lies down] 66 [Then, in turn, another goes] 67 [He goes for
meat] and 68 [boards (a canoe)] 69 [He goes fishing] 71 [He catches
two (fish)] 72 [returns] and 73 [distributes (them)] 74 [The woman
gets up] and 75 [gathers firewood] 76 [She comes (and) prepares a
fire] and 77 [ignites (it)] 78 [She cooke the meat for the man] 79 [She
cooke (and) takes (it)] and 80 [gives (it) to him] 81 [He sits up (and)
eats] 82 [The little boy calls out to them] and 83 [the little boys
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The little boys are just eating meat, and the man sits up (and) remains sitting. The man goes to another camp to talk. He returns and sits down beside the woman. There is no quarrel. The woman does not speak to him. The little boy follows his father. The two of them both come back together. The man and woman go together. He takes the woman (i.e., his wife) to another camp to talk. They both talk together and return. The next time only the woman (i.e., his wife) went to another camp to talk. Only women were there; no men. We men do not mix with women nor do we listen standing beside the women. They just keep to themselves. So only we men are here. That woman (i.e., his wife) does not go to listen. He might hit her. How about that! We sit down (and) lie down. Then we sit up (and) walk around. "We're going for meat," we say. We go for turtle. The woman gets (her) yamstick. She goes along prodding the swamp (feeling for turtles). She stabs (one), retrieves (it), and puts (it) into a bag. That child plays around. The women dive (into the water). Then a man arrives and sits down at the top of the bank and lies down. The woman is getting turtle and goes up (the bank) over there and puts the turtles (down). She goes (and) makes a fire. She breaks wood and comes. She prepares the fire and cooks the meat. The man lies down. He does not cook. The woman cooks. Later on she gives him meat. She gives (some) to the man. She gives some to the little boy. The father (and) the mother eat. Then the men (and) women eat. The little boys eat (the meat) (and) that is all. It is early evening (between five and six o'clock). They go the camp. They go to that camp over there. The man just...
sits down on the floor] 146
The woman makes up one bed, then another, then another, (and) that is all] 149
Then she sits down] 150
The man just sits and rests] 151
Then he goes (and) lies down] 152
He is sick] 153
From camp to camp no one calls for (or) looks for him] 155
He just lies down till dawn] 156
In the morning he sits up] 157
He is happy] 158
He walks around (and) talks] and 159
laughs] 160
"I want to go to another camp," he says] and 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) womera 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 sings (the fur off) the kangaroo] and 181
takes the guts out] 182
The woman is looking after 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]
TEXT 2

[te papalu wa'arat wutta tek
1clf buffalo wander around(P1S) 3plSP.2(pres/past) camp
yawotyinjana] [mi weni nakma wutta]
lexSP.loc.loc 2clf grass eat(nom-meat).cnt 3plSP.2(pres/past)
[put'yenman' ka wutta] [wi anti tat' wutta]
3bush.comit.dpf come 3plSP.2(pres/past) fight adv(recip) hit
wutta] [wi anti tat' wutta
3plSP.2(pres/past) fight adv(recip) hit 3plSP.2(pres/past)
papaluwa] [waya taraty wofonton [patuk tyurk
buffalo.sfm 5wire strike(p10) 3plSP.1(sequ) paddock enter
wutta] [te papalu mut'yurwuna pima wutta
3plSP.2(pres/past) 7clf buffalo qf go.cnt 3plSP.2(pres/past)
[anin' tyurk yita tonymolyn papaluwa] [tyurk
8adv enter 3sgmSP.2(pres/past) testicles buffalo enter
yita yefa nanta] [yefa wino
3sgmSP.2(pres/past) adv P(dm).sfm 10adv fight.int
yita] [matyanwan akana pi atta]
3sgmSP.2(pres/past) 11foot.ag(inst) A(neg) go 1exSP.2(pres/past)
[taraktawan pi atta] [nan put'yenman' tyurk
tractor.ag(inst) go 1exSP.2(pres/past) 13P(dm) bush.comit.dpf
yita] [yefa wino yita
3sgmSP.2(pres/past) 14adv fight.int 3sgmSP.2(pres/past) 151sgSP
Mitiyan mapara yimin'yoryo [piyantukna
(narrator's wife) follow 3sgmSP.1(punct).lexOP 16ss.loc
yitawa] [waya larapma atta] [ki
3sgmSP.2(pres/past).foc 17wire tie.cnt 1exSP.2(pres/past) 18ss

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weya! papalu! papalu! naman nimin Y] [nas Y
\textit{inj} buffalo bullafo say 3sgmSP.1(punct) 19 ptcl(emph)
\textit{t} Yakatanki yuwu\textsl{a}] [pap pi atta] [paypi
run.dc 3sgmSP.3(past) 20 rush go 1exSP.2(pres/past) 21 emerge.go
atta patukman Y t Y [papkarar atta
\textit{lex}SP.2(pres/past) paddock.dpf.sfm 22 rush.olimb lexSP.2(pres/past)
t Yön ye\textsl{f}ikying\textsl{n}ana [anu\textsl{r}kna t Yet yuyuwa [waya
clf gum-tree.loc.loc 23 ss.loc stand 3sgmSP.6(past) 24 wire
akana tayt Y i \textsl{f} larap] [tikpi attakk a ənunna
adv(neg) adv tie 25 26 back.go 1exSP.2(pres/past).foc ss.loc
antuk pa\textsl{r}akut t Y ut] [mat Y\textsl{a}n wa\textsl{r}atka
\textit{house} white man V\textsl{Re}cpt(awaken(tr)) 26 foot walk.come
atta kina [tat yim\textsl{in} Y yö\textsl{r}ö [nas Y
\textit{lex}SP.2(pres/past) ss.loc 27 see 3sgmSP.1(punct).lexOP 28 ptcl(emph)
\textit{t} Yakat yitanki] [t Yön wi\textsl{ki}wana ey
\textit{run} 3sgmSP.2(pres/past).dc 29 fire little(sge).ag(inst) shoot
yim\textsl{in} Y] [eyma yuwu\textsl{a}] \textit{t Y}alk
3sgmSP.2(pres/past) 30 shoot.cnt 3sgmSP.3(past) 31 fall
yita [akana yikpi yita
3sgmSP.2(pres/past) 32 adv(neg) little(sgm) 3sgmSP.2(pres/past)
yöntön newa] [yawuk pana piyantukna yuyuwa
3sgmSP big 33 P(another) adv(\textsl{iter}) ss.loc 3sgmSP.6(past)
[pi atta ənunna yurur] [tattat
\textit{lex}SP.2(pres/past) ss.loc VR\textsl{Re}cpt(lie down pls) 35 look.look
tikka attakka] [walkying\textsl{n}a yuyuwa
\textit{back.come} lexSP.2(pres/past).foc 36 hill.loc 3sgmSP.6(past)
nan\textsl{at}na] [tat yim\textsl{in} Y yö\textsl{r}ö [nan t Y akat
top of bank.loc 37 see 3sgmSP.1(punct).lexOP 38 p(dm) run
yitanki] [nas Y yawöt nas Y le\textsl{f}i
\textit{3sgmSP.2(pres/past).dc 39 ptcl(emph) lexSP ptcl(emph) spre\textsl{ad} out(intr)
atta] [nas Y t Yön karar ata] [anu\textsl{r}kna
\textit{lex}SP.2(pres/past) 40 lsgSP tree olimb lsgSP.2(pres/past) 41 ss.loc
t Yet yuyuwa] [paypiman Y ey yim\textsl{in} Y yö\textsl{n}ö
\textit{stand} 3sgmSP.6(past) 42 emerge.go.dpf shoot 3sgmSP.1(punct).3sgmOP
[t Yakattikpi yita] [mapara yim\textsl{in} yö\textsl{n}ö
43 run.back.go 3sgmSP.2(pres/past) 44 follow 3sgmSP.1(punct).3sgmOP
[ey yuyuwa] [kay yuyuwa]

45 shoot 3sgmSP.1(punct).3sgmOP 46 call out 3sgmSP.6(past)

[gyuma wutta yanakman'y na papaluwa] [gyuma

47 enter.cnt 3plSP.2(pres/past) one.neg buffalo.sfm 48 enter.cnt

wuñura] [tu'n yukarkma pakma attawa]
3plSP.3(past) 49 high place.arrive.cnt sit.cnt lexSP.2(pres/past).foc

[gyuma wuñura te papalu nanta] [waya tarat'y

50 enter.cnt 3plSP.3(past) clf buffalo A(dm).sfm 51 wire strike(pl0)

wöñontön] [gyu wutta puluki wiyiwen te
3plSP.1(sequ) 52 enter 3plSP.2(pres/past) bullock milk.comit clf
tömölwen nanta] [wi akana wutta
tettiles.comit A(dm).sfm 53 fight adv(neg) 3plSP.2(pres/past)

[waya nan pi atta wöntöt larapmanö]

54 wire A(dm) go lexSP.2(pres/past) dlm VRcpt(tie.cnt.int)

[maparama wutta] [tat wöñontönyöfo] [yarwa

55 follow.cnt 3plSP.2(pres/past) 56 see 3plSP.1(sequ).lexOP 57 boss

yawöt ka wöñunu'] [yawöt waya ki larapma

lexSP come 3plSP.2(progr) 58 lexSP wire ss tie.cnt
att a

puntu yanaña] [tikpi atta

1exSP.2(pres/past) head ss 59 back.go lexSP.2(pres/past)
tek] [tikka wuttanki minöna]
camp 60 back.come 3plSP.2(pres/past).dc food(beg).int.loc

[ŋakpararoma wutta yawötyina'] [tek

61 eat(non-meat).around.cnt 3plSP.2(pres/past) lexSP.loc 62 camp

yawötyina' pařak wöñontön] [ŋuŋutuyur

lexSP.loc make camp 3plSP.1(sequ) 63 sleep.lie down(pl0)
wöñö puwara] [alintįř attawa te
3plSP.5(pres) night.sfm 64 afraid lexSP.2(pres/past).foc clf
papalu nanta pu'tyennent'ya] [waya altakmat'lk

buffalo A(dm).sfm bush.comit.dpf.sfm 65 wire rs(break.cnt.possib)

[puwaryina' pi atta taratparar: akana]

66 ts(morning) go lexSP.2(pres/past) VRcpt(look around) adv(neg)

[antawuna wiřk waya] [aniny tarat'y tųřkma

67 adv.qf finish wire 68 adv strike(pl0) enter.cnt

yitawa] [waya tarat'alli wutta]
3sgmSP.2(pres/past).foc 69 wire strike.ptcpl 3plSP.2(pres/past)
[The buffalo wandered about up to our camp] and 2[ate grass] 3[They came from the bush] 4[The buffalo fought one another] 5[They broke the wire fence] and 6[entered the paddock] 7[A large number of buffalo went in] 8[Then a bull buffalo entered] 9[That one went in] 10[At that point he wanted a fight] 11[We did not go by foot] 12[We went by tractor] 13[The one who had come from the bush] 14[wanted a fight at that moment] 15[He followed Mitin (the narrator's wife) and me] and 16[went inside (the paddock)] 17[We fixed up the fence.] 18["Here! Come here! Come here! Buffalo! Buffalo!" she said] 19[He just kept on running towards me] 20[We rushed off] and 21[disappeared from the paddock] 22[We rushed up a gumtree] 23[The buffalo was standing halfway (between the fence and the gumtree)] 24[We had not fixed the wire properly] 25[We went back to the house over there]
to wake the white fellow] 26[We came back here by foot] and 27[he (the buffalo) saw us] 28[He ran towards us] 29[(The white man) fired a .22] 30[He went on firing] 31[(The buffalo) fell] 32[He was not little: he was a big one] 33[Another one came into the paddock]

34[We went over there to lie down] 35[We came back to look for (other buffalo)] 36[One was standing up on the top of the hill] and 37[was looking at us] 38[That one ran towards us] 39[We (the narrator and the white man) just spread out] 40[I climbed a tree] 41[(He (the buffalo) stopped halfway (between the hill and the tree).] 42[(The white man) emerged and shot him] 43[(He (the white man) ran back] and

44[followed him] and 45[shot him] 46[(The buffalo) cried out] 47[A large number of buffalo entered (the paddock)] 48[They kept coming in]

49[We lived there for a year] and 50[the buffalo kept coming in] and 51[broke the wire] 52[Those bullocks, cows and bulls came in] 53[They did not fight] 54[We both went to fix up that wire] 55[They followed] and 56[they saw us] 57["Our bosses are coming," (they thought)] 58[We fixed this wire in one corner] and 59[went back to the camp]

60[The (the buffalo) came back for food] 61[They wandered around beside us eating] 62[They settled down next to our camp] and 63[at night they lay down to sleep] 64[We were afraid of that one from the bush]

65[He might break the wire] 66[In the morning we went to look around (and) there were non (i.e. buffalo)] 67[The wire fence was all right]

68[Then he broke in] 69[They kept on breaking the wire fences] 70[We fixed them, and that was all] 71[We went back to get a shot-gun]

72[We left the tractor standing] and 73[returned by foot] 74[That buffalo from the bush lay down] 75[He was sick] 76[He had been lacerated by the wire] 77[The white man saw that he was bleeding] 78[We looked round from buffalo to buffalo] 79[They were all right, not lacerated by the wire] 80["They are all right," we said] 81[We went to look] and 82[he lay down] 83[We stood up] and 84[that buffalo just kept on running towards us, with the intention of fighting right then]
85[(The white man) fired his 22 in that direction] 86[(The white man) himself shot him] 87[He did not follow us] 88[(The white man) ran back] 89[We were afraid] 90[But the bullocks (and) buffalo were all right] 91[Then another one entered (the paddock) wanting to fight right then] 92[We were afraid] 93[Those buffalo were coming in to stay] 94[One by one they came in] and 95[ate grass next to us] 96[We were afraid of all the buffalo] 97[They fought each other outside (the paddock) (till) dawn] 98[We did not go near] 99"[If the wild buffalo sees you he will chase you] 100[just as he saw] and 101[chased these little boys."] 102[At that point (the wild buffalo) ran away] and 103[disappeared into the jungle]
TEXT 3

1 [Those old woman dogs did not know how to speak] 4 [Their paws were swollen] 5 [They had been rubbing firesticks unsuccessfully] and
6 [were just leaving (to look) for fire] 7 [Those left behind ate a lot of raw food] 8 [The dogs did not talk] 9 [They would have talked like men] but 10 [They had eaten a lot of raw 'cheeky' yam] and 11 [(their) tongues were swollen] 12 [Those old women (dogs) were returning with fire] 13 [While (the yam-eaters) were sitting silently] 14 [(the old woman dogs) roasted the 'cheeky' yams] and 15 [threw away some fire]
16 [A chicken-hawk was coming to perch in a white gum] 17 [An old woman (dog) was flicking out (bits of) fire] so 18 [he swooped down] and 19 [took (some)] 20 [(crying) "tit-tit-tit-tit-tit"] 21 [He took the charcoal (up) to the sky.] 22 [It dropped] and 23 [He kept on looking back] 24 [Today (this charcoal) is a high hill belonging to the Telikan 10 tribe]
NOTES

1. The emphatic particle $\text{at}^Y$ is translated here by the mildly emphatic just (as in We went out and just enjoyed ourselves.) However, $\text{at}^Y$ cannot always be felicitously rendered by just. In such cases it is not translated; but the emphatic force remains implicit.

2. This word is a partial reduplication of $\text{pulit}^Y$: old man; the only other noun encountered so far that is pluralized by partial reduplication is $\text{pa\text{\textregistered}mat}^Y$: old women from $\text{pa\text{\textregistered}mat}^Y$: old woman.

3. Note that because $\text{yin}^Y\text{a}$ is not a kinship term the Possessive Adjective follows, rather than precedes, the Noun that it qualifies.

4. The deictic function of Conjugation 6 (see 3.1.6.).

5. This examplifies the deictic function of Conjugation 4 (see 3.1.4.).

6. The deictic function of Conjugation 5 (see 3.1.5.).

7. $\text{tat} + \text{Conjugation 4}: \text{look after}$.

8. The deictic function of Conjugation 6 (see 3.1.7.).

9. See 2.1.4.2.

10. The tribal name of the MalakMalak.
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