USE OF THESES

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NGONI WARAY AMUNGAŁ-YANG

THE WARAY LANGUAGE FROM ADELAIDE RIVER

MARK HARVEY

A thesis submitted in fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts of the Australian National University. 1986
This thesis is the original work of the author unless otherwise acknowledged.

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<th>Abbreviation</th>
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<td>irr</td>
<td>Irrealis</td>
<td>M.O.</td>
<td>Mistaken Opinion</td>
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<td>masculine</td>
<td>NC</td>
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<td>UO</td>
<td>Unexpected Object</td>
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PREFACE.

This grammar is intended to be essentially descriptive in nature. As far as possible I have tried to bring out the "genius", in a Sapirian sense, of the language. I have attempted to present the information in such a way that it will, hopefully, be accessible for others with a variety of interests, both theoretical and otherwise, which may be different to mine. This has meant that I have largely used a fairly traditional system of grammatical description. It has also meant that I have accorded primacy to semantics. Theories concerning linguistic structures vary considerably over time, whereas the semantic/functional categories they are concerned to describe remain relatively constant. Therefore I have, in general, presented information in groupings of related semantic/functional fields. This method of presentation has naturally been tempered by due allowance for the salient morphological categories (e.g. Verbs vs Non-Verbs) expressed in the language.

Waray is a prefixing language of northern Australia. It was spoken in the valleys of the Margaret and upper Adelaide Rivers, south-east of Darwin around the present day town of Adelaide River (Amungal). I have gone into some detail on the question of the area occupied by the Waray speaking people for two reasons. Firstly because there has been no other detailed consideration of the issue, and secondly because it is of some relevance in the consideration of land claims. I have also gone into some detail into the background of my teacher Mrs Doris White (Litawi), because this is a grammar of a dying language based essentially on elicitation sessions with her. Therefore I have felt it necessary to give some idea of her linguistic competence.

Waray is a member of the Kunwinjkuan language family and within this family appears to be most closely related to Jawoyn. Waray, as described in this grammar, accords quite closely with the grammars described for other prefixing languages (e.g. Merlan 1983 "Ngalakan Grammar, Texts and Vocabulary", Heath 1984 "Functional Grammar of Nunggubuyu"). It is a strongly agglutinative language, with inflectional tendencies. As in the other Kunwinjkuan languages, the Verbal Complex (VC), which consists of a verb and the Subject and Object prefixes, is capable of constituting a complete predication on its own. The Subject and Object prefixes, the verb stem case frames, the case markers and a system of marking Subject switches by free nominals are the main systems of textual cohesion.

Like other prefixing languages Waray falls within the typological
category of non-configurational languages. It displays the "free" word order characteristic of this grammatical category and the attendant problems in defining NPs and clauses. It also displays the general lack of well defined subordinating structures characteristic of the prefixing languages. While Waray is generally similar to other prefixing languages there are some differences of structure or analysis which are of interest.

1. Waray like most of the languages in the area has two series of stops, which I have analysed as being distinctively short and long respectively. As well Waray has a separate class of geminates (these are simply an instance of stop clusters where the same stop phoneme occurs twice). The existence in Waray of separate classes of long stops and geminate clusters is of interest for the general problem of the analysis of the difference between the two stop series found in many languages of the Top End (see 2.1.2.1). The analysis is based on spectrograms (p32) and close listening to careful speech.

2. Waray has a noun class system, like most prefixing languages. However unlike most of these languages, the Waray noun class system plays little or no part in textual cohesion. It is extensively lexicalised and appears to be on the way out. This does not appear to be the result of language death phenomena. Jawoyn has a cognate and basically similar noun class system, and the Waray system appears to be a natural development of the proto-Waray-Jawoyn system (see 3.2.1).

3. Waray, unlike most prefixing languages, has a subordinate infinitive clause structure, which is generally purposive in function (see 5.4).

4. Waray, unlike most Australian languages, has two copula verbs. They are yang 'to be' and ka-angi 'to have', which are derived historically from yang 'to go' and ka-angi 'to take' (see 5.8).

There would not now, be more than four or five fluent speakers of Waray. My main teacher, Mrs White and her sister Mrs Fejo, my other teacher, were born and have lived most of their lives in the Humpty Doo area, just to the south-east of Darwin. During the time I worked with them, they were living at Humpty Doo station.

I first started work on Waray in 1980, while working as a lecturer at the School of Australian Linguistics in Batchelor. I did some sporadic work on Waray during that year, and during 1981, when I was living in Darwin.
The majority of the fieldwork for this grammar was undertaken in two fieldtrips in May - August 1982 and 1983. A considerable portion of the second fieldtrip was spent on anthropological, or ethno-botanical and -zoological matters such as site-mapping, collecting genealogies and identifying plant and animal species.

I used the classic elicitation methods, as Waray has not been actively spoken in any significant way for many years. This grammar is therefore subject to the problems inherent in the elicitation methodology, but owing to the difficulty in obtaining text material there was no other alternative.

Naturally the writing up of any grammar based on fieldnotes probably poses as many questions as it answers. There are a number of areas in this grammar where further information is required to deal with questions. In general they are mentioned in the text. The only area which requires comment here is intonation. It seems likely that intonation units and contours play a major role in determining information structures. Unfortunately I have little information on this topic, as I did not tape my fieldsessions. This is probably the major area requiring further study. It is my intent to return to Humpty Doo to learn more about Waray so that some of these gaps may be filled.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.

First and foremost I wish to thank Mrs Doris White (Litawi), who not only taught me her language, but also gave me an insight into a way of looking at the world very different to the European way I grew up in. Without her constant help, patience and companionship this grammar could never have been. I also wish to thank her sister Mrs Dolly Fejo (Mapul) for her companionship, and for helping to teach me Waray.

Among those at Humpty Doo, who showed friendship and acceptance to one who came to them very much as a stranger, I wish to thank Mr Tony Kenyon (Luwanpi), Mrs Joan Kenyon (Wuniling), Mrs Ada Goodman (Atjipak), Mrs Elizabeth Thompson (Pulenj) and Mr Toby Thompson (Nanmurang - now deceased).

My fieldtrips to Humpty Doo were made possible by grants from the Australian National University and the North Australia Research Unit.

I am grateful to a number of people for comments and discussion on the various stages of this thesis. Firstly I wish to thank my supervisor Harold Koch, who provided encouragement, stimulation and guidance over the time of this project. I wish to thank Alan Dench both for his friendship, and for the invaluable help he gave in discussion and comments on areas of difficulty. My thanks also go to Tim Shopen, Nicholas Evans and Ian Green for their comments on drafts. Especial thanks must go to Francesca Merlan. Her many incisive and insightful comments were a major contribution to the development of this thesis. I am grateful to David Ritchie for much help in the field, and in matters anthropological.

Among my friends, for much help of many sorts, I wish to thank Denise Adams, Alan Howard, Yvonne Kenyon, Chris Lokan, Morag Lokan and Gillian Miller. To Jenny Norris, who provided so much, both in the way of friendship and everything else, I offer my heartfelt thanks. I also wish to thank my parents for all the help and support they have provided. Finally I wish to thank Stephen Wilson for all his support while I was writing this thesis.
1.1 Teachers.

My main Waray teacher was Mrs Doris White (Litawi). Mrs White is the eldest of a family of five who are one of the only two or three families who now identify themselves as Waray. Her four siblings, in order, are Mr Roger Yates (Wutiti), Mrs Dolly Fejo (Mapul), Mr Tony Kenyon (Luwanpi) and Mrs Ada Goodman (Atjipak). Most of the material in this grammar comes from Mrs White. However Mrs Fejo also taught me some Waray and she often helped Mrs White by confirming and checking material.

Mrs White and her siblings are the children of a Waray man called Kanwutak and his MalakMalak wife Natey. Kanwutak was in turn the second youngest of the six children of a Waray man of unknown name and his Malak Malak wife Anjulnjul.

Mrs White spent her childhood and early youth in a family group consisting of her parents, her grandmother Anjulnjul, her aunt Ngatkali (Anjulnjul's eldest child), and her uncle Anpampamla (Anjulnjul's second child). Despite the fact that her mother and paternal grandmother were MalakMalak women, it appears that Waray was the main language of this group. This would fit in with a patrilineal pattern of language use and inheritance which from all reports was the pre-contact pattern throughout the region. Mrs White and her siblings all speak MalakMalak but they identify themselves as Waray.

Mrs White was born in about 1927 on Humpty Doo station. Her parents worked on Humpty Doo and Marrakai stations until the war and her siblings were born in various places around these stations. They also spent some time in Adelaide River town. When Stanner passed through Adelaide River in 1932 he recorded Anjulnjul, Kanwutak, Ngatkali and Anpampamla as being members of the Waray community there.

When the war broke out, all the aboriginal people from the stations were brought into Adelaide River. Mrs White's father died there (early in the war, apparently about 1940) soon after the younger two children Mr Kenyon and Mrs Goodman were born. The consequent disruption of the family group meant that they did not grow up in a Waray speaking environment. Thus while they identify themselves as Waray they do not speak the language.

Therefore Mrs White lived in an environment where Waray was the main language until she was 13 or 14. From this time onwards creole/ Aboriginal English, the lingua franca of the stations, has been her primary language. However Mrs White did not cease using Waray at that time as she
continued to live with Waray speakers.

Mrs White was partly brought up by her aunt Ngatkali. The available evidence suggests that Ngatkali must have been born by about 1890. When Stanner passed through Adelaide River in 1932 he noted that Anpampamila was about 40. Given that he was the second oldest and Ngatkali the oldest of Anjulnjul's children, she would have been in her early 40's. This is confirmed by Mrs White and Mrs Fejo who have both said that when they were children, Ngatkali was an old woman like they were now (this was in 1983).

There is also the fact that Aboriginal men marry somewhat older. As Mrs White was born in about 1927 her father Kanwutak was presumably at least 25, especially as her mother Natey was his second wife. This would mean that Kanwutak would have been born by 1902 at the latest if not earlier. As he was the second youngest and Ngatkali the oldest she would presumably have been born by 1890. Ngatkali would therefore have had a fairly detailed knowledge of Waray language and culture.

Ngatkali lived until 1968 and it appears that she spent much of her time with Mrs White. Mrs White would thus have had reason to use Waray until Ngatkali's death. The fact that Mrs White's eldest child (born in 1953) has a fair Waray vocabulary would suggest that Mrs White must have used Waray with some degree of frequency until at least 1960.

Nevertheless Aboriginal English has been Mrs White's main language since she was 14 or so. This has had some effects on her Waray, though their precise nature is not clear. The main one has been extensive vocabulary loss. The dictionary contains about 900 entries. Waray would certainly have had a much larger vocabulary than this.

In many cases Mrs White either could not remember or had trouble remembering words. Although, there is virtually no material on Waray previous to this work, Spencer did collect a vocabulary during his fieldwork and going through this small vocabulary prompted Mrs White's memory for words she had not otherwise thought of. For example she always used the expression

\[
\begin{align*}
yul & \quad \text{a-kutjkutj} \\
ground & \quad \text{Cl-wet}
\end{align*}
\]

but when presented with the item burna 'mud' from Spencer's vocabulary she immediately recognised it and produced the correct form puna and spontaneously stated that puna applied to the blacksoil found on the floodplains.
Apart from this vocabulary loss due to lack of use it also seems likely that Mrs White either did not or only rarely encountered much of the vocabulary relating to the more esoteric cultural areas. The traditional life of the Waray was severely disrupted by the 1930's and it seems likely that much knowledge would not have been being passed on even then.

While there has clearly been considerable vocabulary loss, there does not appear to be much evidence for alteration of grammatical structures as a result of this language death situation. Indeed it is somewhat doubtful that the extinction of Waray is comparable to language death situations such as those described by Schmidt (1985) for Dyirbal, or Dorian (1981) for Scots Gaelic. In both these situations as the language has become gradually more and more restricted in its social function, and there has been a corresponding simplification of the language. With Waray there appears to have been a fairly rapid transition from use as the major everyday language to very limited use. This would make it unlikely that language death phenomena would have had much effect on Mrs White's Waray.

Waray as it is described in this grammar accords quite well with the grammatical systems described for other prefixing languages. There are only two places where it appears that language death phenomena may have affected the grammar. One possibility is in the noun class system (3.2.1). However there are good reasons for believing that the unusual system found is not an effect of language death, or if language death is a factor then it has only acted as a catalyst for other factors already present in the system (3.2.1.5). The other and much more likely possibility involves a type of verbal reduplication (4.5).

Mrs White did not often give texts, nor when she gave them were they very long. This would certainly be at least partly a result of the fact that she has not used Waray extensively for many years. However from experience I am strongly inclined to the view that this is not chiefly a result of language death phenomena but is mainly a reflection of the fact that Mrs White was not a raconteur. Her husband (now deceased) would for example tell quite long renditions of traditional stories in creole but Mrs White never did. Also speakers of other languages that I have worked with, whose overall situation was fairly similar to Mrs White's, have been able to give quite long stories. Mrs White did occasionally give texts of some length (e.g. Text 2) and when she did so she had no difficulty in producing them.

1.2 Contact History.
The Waray originally lived in an area around the town of Adelaide River which is halfway between Darwin and Pine Creek. Darwin was settled in 1869 and there was a gold rush in Pine Creek in 1872. There were thousands of Chinese goldminers on the gold fields at Pine Creek. A railway was completed between Darwin and Pine Creek in 1889. Therefore even though there is a great distance between the Waray and the major white population centres in the south, the Waray underwent intensive European and Chinese influence from a much earlier period than many Aboriginal peoples in northern Australia.

As elsewhere in Australia, and indeed throughout the world, the result of this contact has been a drastic reduction in the numbers of the Waray people. Opium, alcohol, new diseases, murder, massacre and cultural despair would all have played their parts in this diminution.

There is very little oral history recounting what happened during this initial contact period. From 1980 to 1983 I worked with Aboriginal people from a variety of tribes and backgrounds in an area bounded by Darwin, Pine Creek and Oenpelli. In all this time I was told only one story which concerned deaths in the early contact period. This story concerned some poisonings that had taken place at Adelaide River apparently before World War 1. However in the version I was told, the deaths were the result of the Aborigines mistaking strychnine for flour. There was no suggestion that whites had poisoned and murdered Aboriginal people as was almost certainly the case. There are other versions of this story which do state that the Aborigines were poisoned deliberately by the whites (the versions recounted during the Finniss River Land Claim, for example). However they are obviously not the normative versions of this story.

The closest I ever came to a massacre story was that the white owner of Ooloo station, a Mr Rixon, told me that the old Uwinjmir man Mr Stanley Arbtt (Napampamppot) I was working with at the time, had told him stories about a massacre of Uwinjmir people on the Margaret River in 1923.

This blank in the Aboriginal oral history record is also reported by the Morphys... for the Ngalakan people in the Roper Valley area who have a similarly long period of contact as the Waray (since 1872). The Morphys correlate this blank to the stories the Ngalakan have about the "wild blackfellows" (pre-contact and unassimilated Aboriginal people) which usually contain the following elements;

a) "wild blackfellows" didn’t know about flour - they mixed it with water to use as white paint in ceremonies.
b) they didn’t know about sugar - they mixed it in with water to make it like honey and ate it by dipping in a stick.

c) they didn’t know about tobacco - when they first smoked it, it made them faint and afterwards go beserk.

d) they were naked, or else wore a loin cloth.

e) they couldn’t speak English and had to communicate by signs.

f) Station Aborigines had to act as mediators between the white cattlemen and the wild blacks - they talked to the wild blacks using sign language and then translated their requests to the whites.

Mrs White told me a similar story of how at first contact the Waray had been suspicious of white foods, calling rice lipinj 'maggots', flour pulk 'white ochre', and sugar mowiya 'a type of poison.' She had in turn been told this story by her aunt Ngatkali.

The view presented by the Morphys is that the lack of massacre stories and the wild blackfellow stories are the two major ingredients in an Aboriginal reinterpretation of history. The original period of contact (1870 - 1890) was undoubtedly violent. However over time the violence lessened and from about 1920 to about 1950 there was a period of stability when Aboriginal people worked for white station owners in relative harmony.

During this stable period, the past was reinterpreted to accord with the relative harmony then apparent. This was achieved partly by ignoring the past violence and partly by assigning the violence to relations between whites and the "wild blackfellows", who were of course a different class from "station blacks".

As the history of the area around Darwin is virtually the same as that of the Upper Roper area, this explanation would hold equally true in the Darwin area. (All the older Aboriginal people I encountered around Darwin had worked on cattle stations till into the 1960's.)

Whatever the explanation for the lack of massacre stories it is certainly true that the causes of the reduction of the Waray population do not now form a major, or at least normally recounted, part of their oral history.

1.3 Territory and Neighbours.

The boundaries of the country occupied by the Waray people cannot now be precisely determined. This is a result of the events described in the preceding two sections. My teachers have spent most of their lives
outside the traditional country and indeed there are now no people identifying themselves as Waray who live in the traditional country.

However from various sources it is possible to establish the general area occupied by the Waray. There are five older sources which mention the location of the Waray. These are presented in order of the time of the fieldwork they are based upon.

Parkhouse (1895 p1, referring to pre-1894) states "The aborigines in whose country Port Darwin is situate are the Larrakia, ..........They inhabit a tract of land embracing the seaboard from Shoal Bay to Southport, together with some portion of the country west of that port. At the forty-six mile on the railway line we pass their southern border, and going through a neutral belt of some eight or ten miles, strictly preserved and upon which none trespass without good reason, at near Rum Jungle enter into the territory of the Awarra, whose southern boundary is the Howley. At about Fountain Head, commences the country of the Aggrakundi, extending to the Union and perhaps to near Pine Creek."

Dahl (1926 p.173, referring to 1894) states "The majority of the natives who happened to visit our camp at Mount Shoebridge belonged, however, to the Warai tribe,"

Basedow (1907, referring to 1905) states "One large tribe, called the Awarrai, has existed south of the Larrekiya, extending from Mounts Charles and Gunn to about the latitude of Mount Wells. To the south-east beyond the Mary River are the Agiwallem, the valley in which Burrundie now stands forming neutral ground."

Baldwin Spencer (1914 p53, referring to 1912) states "Warrai tribe: - This is a tribe usually called Wolwonga by whites. It is now entirely decadent, its remnant occupying the country between a place called Rum Jungle and Brock's Creek on the short railway line that runs south from Darwin."

Professor W.E.H. Stanner mentions the Waray in two manuscripts, which are numbered 419 and 425 in the bibliography compiled by Diane Barwick and Judith Wilson. Professor Stanner's manuscripts relate to the period of his fieldwork in Daly River in the early 1930's.

"The Warrai (who apparently were centred on the Stapleton and Adelaide River districts) frequented the Middle Daly River in the vicinity of the Crossing" (doc 419 op cit p6)

"I was given by MalakMalak old men only general indications of Kungarakan country. They pointed away from the river to the west of north beyond Litchfield station, which they considered to be MalakMalak country. The Warrai were always mentioned as their northerly neighbours. So I was
persuaded that the Kungarakan country was on, or in the direction of, the Finniss River, and was probably to the north and east of the Djerat country." (doc 425 op cit p10)

* In 1954 Durugam told me that there were two DagTjerait men in Darwin; one of them was called Short Johnny (?Djani). The Kungarakan were "different" from the Djerait. I made this note:

MM------>PP------->Tj------->Kungarakan. (K doubtfully on Daly River itself)." MM=MalakMalak, PP=PongaPonga, Tjerait=Tj

K and Tj low down on Blackfellows Creek. After K, then Warrai. (Both K, W at Rum Jungle, 46 Mile, Darwin River, Adelaide River).

Moonlight at Adelaide River is Warrai survivor. One also at Humpty Doo. Both can talk Wagaman.

On 30 May 1932 I tried to find a Kamor named Pubara at Adelaide River. I failed to find him but noted that "the Adelaide river district is the territory of the Warrai, who are possibly linked with the Wulna further north-west, and the "paper bark tribes" further on. Only two or three (I am told) of the Warrai remain. This district is now a working centre mainly for MULLUKMULLUK, many of whom have been away from their Daly home for decades, or lesser periods. One Leo, now working here, who is neda (bro) to Old Matthew, left the Daly as a boy and has worked here ever since. He has made several trips back to his home, and about 1915 worked with Dr. Basedow for several years: now he tells me he is "frightened" to go back there.

A few inquiries show me that the MM who are working "permanently" on the Adelaide have ceased to speak Madngella. They merely "hear" it, "little bit". If anything they have a narrower linguistic range than the Daly MM, except that some of them have a knowledge of Warrai, which the Daly natives do not possess." (doc 425 op cit p2)

During 1932 Stanner stopped for a day at Adelaide River town and recorded the names of Waray people living there and some Waray kin terms.

All the older sources agree in reporting that Adelaide River town was in Waray territory. This is confirmed by all the older Aboriginal people I have worked with. Both Mrs White and Mrs Fejo stated that Adelaide River town, which is known as Amungal to Aboriginal people throughout the region, was in Waray country. Mrs Madeleine England (Anmili) an old Kungarakan:anj woman living near Batchelor also confirmed this as did an old Wakiman man, living at Adelaide River, Mr George Allan (Munteng). Mr Allan called the Waray, Nawaray. This word is presumably to be analysed historically as na-, the old form of the masculine class marker a- and
Waray.

Therefore there can be no doubt that Adelaide River (Amungal) was in Waray country. The outer boundaries are less certain. To the north-west, the older reports agree that the Waray met the Larrakia at Rum Jungle. Parkhouse and Spencer state that Rum Jungle was in Waray country and Basedow states that the country extended from Mount Charles and Gunn (which are two low hills close to the junction of the Batchelor road and the Highway). Stanner says that both the Waray and Kungarak:anj were at Rum Jungle, 46 Mile, Darwin River and Adelaide River. Stanner also states that Stapleton, the station to the north-west of Adelaide River town was Waray country.

Obviously the location of the Kungarak:anj is also relevant here. From the previously quoted statements of Stanner's it would appear that the Kungarak:anj occupied an area covering Tabletop Range, the upper Reynolds and Finniss rivers and the eastern half of the Wagait Reserve. This would accord with evidence given in the Finniss River land claim.

This evidence clearly argues that Batchelor and Rum Jungle were originally Waray and that in the north-west the Waray extended up towards, but did not include, Darwin and Manton River dams and their country included a small portion of the upper Finniss. This is supported by one piece of linguistic evidence. The aboriginal name of Mrs Goodman, Atjipak, is the name of a billabong. This billabong has not yet been precisely located. However it is apparently in the general vicinity of the junction of the Batchelor turnoff from the Stuart highway.

In Waray, tjipak means 'fish' and a- is a class marker. So Atjipak may be analysable in terms of Waray and therefore provide good evidence that this area was in Waray country. However it could simply be chance as no other Waray place name known to me is even historically analysable. It may be that Atjipak is only fortuitously analysable in Waray (It could for example be a name from another language taken over when the Waray moved into the country).

To the south-east there are eight relevant pieces of evidence:

a) Parkhouse says that the southern boundary of the Waray was Howley Creek and that the Aggrakundi(?) start at Fountain Head.

b) Dahl says the people who lived around Mount Shoebridge (now Mount Shoobridge near where the old Highway crosses Bridge Creek) were Waray.

c) Basedow says that the Waray extended to the latitude of Mount Wells with Burrundie being neutral ground.
d) Spencer says that the country of the Waray extended to Brock's Creek

e) Mrs White's aunt Ngatkali, had another name, Pulngumi. It was repeatedly confirmed to me by Mrs White and her siblings that Pulngumi was the aboriginal name for Mt Paqualin. (If a line is drawn from Adelaide River to Brock's Creek then Mt Paqualin is about 2/3rds of the way along). It appears that Ngatkali was born about 1890 (see 1.1), some 20 years after first contact, when the Waray were presumably still largely occupying their traditional country. Therefore it would appear reasonable to assume that Mt Paqualin was in Waray country.

f) The eastern neighbours of the Waray were a people called the Uwinjmir. The Waray and others called them the Awinjmil. They were usually described to me as the "Mary River People".

g) In the preceding section (1.2) mention was made of a massacre of Uwinjmir people on the Margaret River. This may indicate that the upper Margaret River to the east of Brock's Creek and BanBan Springs was in Uwinjmir country.

h) There is clear evidence that the upper Douglas River including Butterfly gorge was Wakiman country (Merlan and Cooke - pers com)

These eight pieces of evidence would suggest that the southern boundary between the Waray and the Wakiman ran somewhere along the divide between the Daly and Van Dieman Gulf drainage basins, probably a little to the south of this given that Mount Shoebridge was Waray. Exactly where the Waray-Wakiman boundary started in the west is unknown. In the east there is a range in the reports from the Howley in the west to the latitude of Mount Wells in the east. The best guess is that it probably ended just to the west of Hayes Creek and from there the eastern boundary with the Uwinjmir ran up towards Fountain Head and then in a line through BanBan Springs, Mt Ellison and Mt Ringwood.

For the north-eastern boundary there is less evidence than for either of the previous two directions. To the north of the Waray were the Wulna. Their country extended from the coast to somewhere south of Old Marrakai station. Old Mt Bundey station was in Limileng country (Ritchie pers. com.). Given that the Wulna started out on the coast and that the Waray probably extended north to about Rum Jungle it seems most reasonable to draw a line from just north of Rum Jungle to the junction of the Margaret and the Adelaide and then east to about the bottom of Marrakai creek and then south to Mt Ringwood.

There are two pieces of linguistic evidence to support this general
boundary. The first concerns the Adelaide River which is tidal and salt
down to a point level with Batchelor. There is an extensive vocabulary
describing saltwater phenomena in Waray. There are terms for saltwater
itself, dugong, sea turtles, sharks, swordfish, mangroves, saltwater
crustaceans, and mermaids (called "fishtail woman" by Mrs White). There
are compelling linguistic reasons for being sure that in two cases, the
words for 'dugong' and 'mermaid', that these terms have not been borrowed
in any recent period.

The Waray call the dugong *tjangkaltunjim*. They have a story about
the dugong (which I did not fully record). The dugong ate a shrubby plant
called the *tjangkaltunjimu*. As a result it went blind and then went
into the saltwater. In Waray 'eye' is *an-tum* and *njim* is the Complete
realis form of the verb 'to go in/through'. There is also a tree called
*tjengkal* (though it does not appear to be related to the
tjangkaltunjimu botanically). Thus the names *tjangkaltunjim* and
*tjangkaltunjimu* look much like they consist of *tjengkal* 'plant name'
+ *tum* 'eye' + *njim* 'went in', with obvious reference to the legend. Such
an analysis is reinforced by the fact that the cluster mnj does not occur
within morpheme boundaries outside these two words.

Obviously the names are interpretable only in terms of Waray. This
would suggest strongly that the Waray have had contact with saltwater
creatures for a very long time. The only other possibility is that the legend
is a borrowing from a coastal people such as the Wulna, and the names are
calques. However the differences between the two names would suggest
that such a borrowing if it occurred, must have taken place well into the
past.

The name for mermaids (or fishtail woman) is *al-tjarakaymin*. This
noun contains the Human Female class marker *al-* which is unique to
Waray. Given that the noun class system is partially lexicalised (3.2.1.5) it
would seem extremely unlikely that the root *tjarakaymin* has been
borrowed in any recent period.

Therefore it seems quite clear that the Waray had a reasonable
amount of contact with saltwater. They must either have had territory to
the north of the Adelaide River tidal limit, or ranged extremely extensive
in the territory of the coastal Wulna and Larrakia to the north. Given that
their territory on the western side of Adelaide River extended to Rum
Jungle, which is just north of the tidal limit it seems likely that they had
both some territory in the saltwater area and ranged into the territory of
their coastal neighbours.

The second piece of linguistic evidence concerns the unusual nature of
the topography of the floodplains drained by the Adelaide and Margaret rivers to the south of their junction. The relief of this area is in general very low. The rivers and their tributary creeks wander through flat blacksoil plains kolal. Between the watercourses are low ridges. The ridges stick out into the black soil plains like promontories into the sea and where they do this they are called points. Waray has a word ankiminj which describes these points. This word ankiminj, while synchronically unanalysable, almost certainly consists historically of the class marker an-, in its old function as a part noun class marker (marking body parts and geographical features), and a root kiminj. The word ankiminj is therefore almost certainly of some time depth in Waray and in turn the occupation by the Waray of the country it describes is also presumably of some time depth.

These two pieces of linguistic evidence in combination with the other available evidence form a clear case for saying that the Waray occupied the valleys of the Adelaide and the Margaret below their junction.

South-west of Adelaide River town is the most problematic boundary area of all. There is no direct evidence as to the boundaries in this direction. It is clear from Stanner’s evidence and the recollections of Aboriginal people that the MalakMalak were the south-western neighbours of the Waray but exactly where the boundary between the two lay can only be guessed now. The best guess is that the boundary lay along the divide between the Adelaide and the Daly rivers.

From the evidence, more or less supported, presented here it appears that the Waray essentially occupied the valleys of the Margaret and the upper Adelaide rivers. To the east on the upper Mary river there were the Uwinimir, to the south on the Douglas river were the Wakiman, to the south-west were the MalakMalak, to the west on the Tabletop Range were the Kungarak:anj, to the north-west on Darwin and Manton rivers were the Larrakia, and to the north were the Wulna, with the Limilngan being on the north-eastern boundary around Old Mt Bundey station.

1.4 Relationships.

There is very little accurate information available on the languages and cultures of the peoples who bordered on the Waray. This makes it impossible to set out the connections of the Waray with any certainty. The brief comments presented in this section are impressionistic and based on the small amount of fieldwork I have done on the other languages in the area or on information given to me by linguists or anthropologists who
have worked (none full-time) in the area.

Linguistically Waray is a member of the Kunwinjku language family. Within this family Waray appears to be closest to Jawoyn. Jawoyn was originally spoken on the east of Uwinjmir and as such is not contiguous with Waray. The next closest language would appear to Waray’s eastern neighbour Uwinjmir, followed by its western neighbour Kungarak:anj. Larrakia, Wulna, Limiligan and Wakiman may also be members of the family, but they are certainly not close sisters of Waray if they are. MalakMalak is almost certainly not a member of the Kunwinjku family, and if it is related to Waray is only so extremely distantly.

Culturally there are only two systems which link the Waray to other peoples in the area. One is the ngirwat naming ritual system (see 1.6.2). The ngirwat system is found among the Daly River tribes, the Kungarak:anj and the Watjikinj as well as the Waray. The other is the section system which they shared with the Uwinjmir (1.5.4). This section system is the only one found for many hundreds of kilometres.

On balance it would appear that the strongest connections of the Waray in pre-contact times were to the east. Certainly the linguistic evidence points this way, and I would be more inclined to give weight to the sharing of an isolated section system than to the sharing of a more widespread naming ritual. Nowadays however the Waray are more usually associated with the Kungarak:anj, though it is clear from Stanner’s comments (1.3) and the genealogy of my teachers that the Waray had much to do with the MalakMalak from the turn of the century onwards.

1.5 Social Organisation.

Obviously as a result of the factors discussed in sections 1.2 and 1.3 it is not possible to present a detailed discussion of the traditional social organisation. However there is sufficient information to present an outline of the major aspects. This outline is somewhat disjointed as the information on which it is based was obtained, of necessity, in a rather random fashion.

1.5.1 Kinship.

Waray has a simple Kariera kinship system as the following Table 1.1 shows. The table is presented from the point of view of a female ego. With a male ego the terms for the ascending generations are the same as for a female ego. In the descending generations a male ego calls his own
Table 1.1: Kinship System

(Reference terms are above address terms, al- is the female class marker, a- is the male class marker.)

```
  MM/FFZ FF/MMB FM/MFZ MF/FMB
  wetj:i  keku  tjamunj tjamunj

  M MB FZ F
  al-walin tjatjatj pip:i
  pulpul  mimi  tjkung

  Z B MBD/FZD MBS/FZS
  al-wulkan  a-wulkan  al-wanjtjang  al-wanjtjang
  pap:a      pap:a     mangkang    mangkang

  D S BD BS
  mamam  mamam  tjkung  tjkung

  DD/BSD DS/BSS SD/BDD SS/BDS
  wetj:i  wetj:i  tjamunj  tjamunj
```
children mamam, his sister's children tjatjatj/mimi, his son's children kaku and his daughter's children tjamunj. It may be observed that most kin terms are reciprocal.

While many other aspects of traditional life have fallen into disuse the kinship system is still largely maintained. Most people at Humpty Doo are able to determine kin relationships according to the table and refer to such determinations as being "Aboriginal/blackfellow way". The kin-terms pap:a 'sibling', mangkang 'cross cousin', wetj:i (now referring to both grandmothers) and kaku (now referring to both grandfathers) are used by all members of the community, even the children.

1.5.2. The Dyadic Suffix.

The Waray dyadic is a suffix -miyi. It may be observed in line 1 of Text 9.

1. al-walin-miyi pa-yatjinj-lul  
   F-mother-DY 3plS-go r-pair  
   The mother and the daughters, they went.

When the dyadic is attached to a kin term it indicates a group of kin relations who are in one particular kin relationship, the junior members of which call the senior members by the dyadic marked kin term.

1.5.3. Avoidance.

The long period of white contact in this area has, as we have observed, led to the breakdown of traditional social organisation. Avoidance is no longer practised. However from discussions with Mrs White and others it would appear that the Waray had the usual avoidance patterns found in traditional aboriginal society. Text 2 on initiation in its later parts details how once a boy was initiated, he and his sisters had to avoid one another. The universal mother-in-law avoidance relationship was in force among the Waray.

Avoidance language is an area which requires further investigation. Mrs White called avoidance language "sideways language". From the little information available it appears that sideways language involved a suffix -lawu which was attached to nominals, the use of plural forms with singular reference, and a more extensive use of potential verb forms.
2. nguk-lawu pan-pa-wu kan-a-ka-ng-u
tobacco-AV 1sgO-2plS-give POT-2plS-have-ncPOT-DAT
Would you mob give me some tobacco if you mob have any?

(Addressed to one person)

It is unknown whether there was any replacement of vocabulary, as is common in avoidance languages (Dixon 1980 p59).

1.5.4. The Section System.

The Waray had a section system. The system as recorded in Spencer (op cit p53) is;

**Table 1.2 : The Waray Section System**

(The forms in the centre are those recorded by Spencer. Those on the sides in brackets are my phonemicisations based either on speaker's memory, in the case of tjampitj and pularan, or on best reconstruction in the case of wimitj and pangati. al- and a- are the Feminine and Masculine class markers respectively.)

```
(a-wimitj)  →  awinmitj  ≡  apularan  ←  (a-pularan)  (el-wimitj)
(al-wimitj)     →  alli(n)mitj  ≡  allpularan  ←  (el-pularan)

(a-tjampitj)  →  adjumbitj  ←  apungerti  ←  (a-pangati)  (el-tjampitj)
(al-tjampitj)     →  alljambitj  ≡  allpungerti  ←  (el-pangati)
```

![Diagram of Waray Section System]

Spencer gives the following marriage rules;

a). An Adjumbitj man marries an Allpungerti woman, and the children are Appularan (males) and Allpularan (females).
b). An Appularan man marries an Allinmitj woman, and the children are Adjumbitj (males) and Alljambitj (females).
c). An Appungerti man marries an Alljambitj woman, and the children are Auinmitj (males) and Allimitj (females).

d). An Auinmitj man marries an Allpularan woman, and the children are Appungerti (males) and Allpungerti (females).

Mrs White denies all knowledge of the system but her sister Mrs Fejo remembers that she and her siblings were al-tjampitj and a-tjampitj and that her father was a-pularan and her aunt al-pularan. She does not remember the other two section names.

There can be no doubt that the Waray did have the section system as recorded by Spencer despite the fact that present day Waray remember little or nothing of it. Firstly the forms given by Spencer show the a-(Masc) and al- (Fem) prefixes which occur only in Waray. They must therefore be Waray words. Secondly the fact that Mrs Fejo remembers her father and aunt as being pularan and herself and her siblings as tjampitj fits in with the rules given by Spencer. Thirdly the Uwinjimir section system that Mr Arbutt gave me was;

Table 1.3: The Uwinjimir Section System.

```
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>a-yimitj</th>
<th>a-palarang</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>inj-imitj</td>
<td>inj-pularang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a-tjampitj</td>
<td>a-pangerinj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inj-tjampitj</td>
<td>inj-pangerinj</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
```

(a- is the Masculine class marker, and inj- is the Feminine class marker)

```
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>matrilineal</th>
<th>patrilineal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>descent</td>
<td>marriage</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
```

Allowing for the differences in the feminine prefixes and other slight variations, this is obviously the same system as Spencer recorded for the Waray.

For the section names Mrs Fejo does not recall, the best phonemicisations would appear to be wimitj and pangati. Spencer spells wimitj as a-uinitj and all-i(n)mitj. In Waray in normal speech w is frequently deleted following a consonant so it is perfectly reasonable to assume that Spencer wrote alli(n)mitj for alimitj which is a reduction of
alwimitj. The nm cluster in this section term is more problematic. Spencer always has it in the masculine (4 times) but the feminine has nm twice and plain m twice. While nm is a possible morpheme medial cluster in Waray, comparative evidence points to only m in this word. The Uwinjmir cognate is yimitj and other languages have tjimitja (masc) and nimitja (fem).

For pangati we have Spencer's spelling pungerti and the widespread subsection name pangarti. As Waray does not have retroflexes (even phonetically) what Spencer records as an rt must have been a simple t. The Uwinjmir form pangarinj is somewhat different, but does support a Waray form pangati with two a's.

In his short discussion of the Waray section system Spencer says "the organisation is closely similar to that of the southern Arunta where there are only four class names. It must however be remembered that though there are only four such names yet, in all tribes in which this is so, each of them is divided into two groups so that, for example, one group of adjumbitj men intermarry with only one group of allpungerti women, the other group of the latter women are forbidden to these men. In most tribes distinct names are given to the two groups so that there are eight in all."

By this statement Spencer presumably means that the Waray had an Aranda type of kinship and marriage system. This would certainly conflict with the evidence now available. The kinship terminology and structures that my teachers operated with were Kariera. Furthermore to my knowledge all the tribes in the area extending from the Daly river to the Arnhemland escarpment have a Kariera system. This makes it seem extremely unlikely that the Waray had an Aranda system.

However a number of (The Daly tribes, the Kungarak:anj, and the Jawoyn, at least), if not all the tribes in the area, do not permit marriage with all cross-cousins. There is a class of prohibited cross-cousins who are too close. It seems likely that the Waray too, would have had this class of prohibited cross-cousins. As Spencer did not spend very long with the Waray it seems most likely that he confused a Kariera system of this kind, which has a class of prohibited cross cousins, with an Aranda system, which of course he was much more familiar with. (It should be noted that there have been in recent times two actual cross-cousin marriages at Humpty Doo. This could reflect a change in social mores as a result of contact or it could reflect the fact that the Waray did not, as proposed, prohibit close cross-cousin marriage).

1.5.5 Kutang : The Clever Fellow.
The Waray kutang 'clever fellow' (akutangyi - clever) is more widely known under the name of the "kataitja man". He wears emu feathers on his feet and is liable to come up on people and kill them and take their kidney fat. The following short text

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kan-yanj} & \quad \text{kan-wu-y} & \quad \text{kan-ni katji} \\
\text{POT-come ncPOT} & \quad \text{POT-climb-ncPOT} & \quad \text{POT-sit that} \\
\text{ka-wali-n} & \quad \text{tjungutjungutj} & \quad \text{kanma-yang le} \\
\text{NC-call out-irr} & \quad \text{owl} & \quad \text{POT1dlincS-go ncPOT camp} \\
\text{an-tjerinjpa-lik} & \quad \text{lulak} & \quad \text{an-tjerinjpa-lik} \\
\text{Cl-other-LOC} & \quad \text{shelter} & \quad \text{Cl-other-LOC} \\
\text{kan-in-wul-m-i} & \quad \text{katji} & \quad \text{kutang} \\
\text{POT-n3plO-follow-Aux-ncPOT} & \quad \text{that clever fellow} \\
\text{kan-in-na-n} & \quad \text{kak:wu-y nal} & \quad \text{kan-ngal-yanj} \\
\text{POT-n3plO-see-irr} & \quad \text{after man} & \quad \text{POT-up-come ncPOT} \\
\text{kan-in-pu} & \quad \text{an-li} & \quad \text{kan-in-may} \\
\text{POT-n3plO-kill} & \quad \text{BP-fat} & \quad \text{POT-n3plO-get ncPOT}
\end{align*}
\]

If it, the owl, comes and climbs and sits down under a tree and calls out (to us) and we go away to another camp, to another shelter, it will follow us and then the clever fellow will see us and soon that man will come up and kill us and take our (kidney) fat.

describes how if the call of a tjungutjungutj (a term covering owl species) is heard for a few nights, the kutang is likely to come along.

As well as being equivalent to the kataitja man, the kutang is also the native doctor. Usually there is an opposition between kutang 'native doctor' and akutangyi 'white doctor' (akutangyi as an adjective means clever), though occasionally akutangyi was used to describe a native doctor.

1.5.6 Corroborees

The word for corroboree wirin also covers song. Apart from singing dancing was naturally an important part of corroborees. Women's dancing is described by the verbs malak-pu-m or malak-li. The two verbs mean the same and are based on the noun for a women's dance style, malak. Men's dancing is described by the verb nuw-al which also means 'to kick'. These different verbs presumably reflect differences in women's and
men's dancing styles. (No traditional Waray dancing has been performed for many years and traditional dance styles were never described to me).

1.6 Life Cycle.

1.6.1 Mamulpak : The Conception Totems.

Another area where Spencer appears to be partially misinformed is in relation to the mamulpak, the Waray conception totem system. In his discussion of the mamulpak system, Spencer states "The child belongs to a totemic group associated with its father's side of the tribe but not to his father's own totemic group." (op cit p193). Spencer goes on to detail some examples of totem descent but states that he was unable to obtain details of the system in full.

Spencer's presentation of a system of indirect patrilineal inheritance of mamulpak totems is in conflict with the information set out in Text 1 where Mrs White details how she received her totem. Her aunt went out hunting and found a long neck turtle near Litawi (Beatrice Hill). She brought the turtle back to camp and everybody ate it and vomited. Her mother, in early pregnancy, was among those who ate it and vomited and thus she knew she was pregnant. Therefore Mrs White's aunt found her totem for her. This description clearly indicates that the Waray mamulpak system is one of conception totems, not one of indirect patrilineal inheritance of totems.

It may be that be that Spencer confused two totemic systems, one a system of conception totems called mamulpak, and the other a system of patrilineal clan totems. Spencer gives a list of mamulpak totems which includes a number of inedible items such as stone axes and white ochre. He describes this as being a feature of the inland tribes, not occurring with coastal peoples. Spencer also states that the mamulpak totems are divided into two classes; one associated with an a-tjampitj/a-pularan patrimoieties, and one associated with an a-pangati/a-wimitj patrimoieties. At the end of his discussion Spencer states "When their old customs were in force the old man said that the Warrai people never killed their own totemic animal and that if he were to see anyone else killing it he would be angry and would ask him, Why have you killed my mumulbuk?". This prohibition on killing one's mamulpak was confirmed by my teachers (though it is no longer practised).

The prohibition on eating one's mamulpak would seem to make little sense in the case of non-food items. This fact and Spencer's statements
about indirect patrilineal descent and patrimoiety associations of totems would suggest that as well as having a system of mamulpak totems, which are remembered by my teachers, the Waray had a system of patrilineal clan totems which included inedible items.

Alternatively Spencer's comments on patrilineal inheritance of totems, may indicate that men tried to ensure their children's conception totems were associated with their own. This sort of manipulation of totems is described by Elkin (1938 pp 169 -172) as occurring in a wide area of central and northern Australia, and produces a sort of indirect patrilineal inheritance of totems. The presence of inedible items on Spencer's list would presumably indicate that a food item inducing vomiting was not the sole recognised signal for pregnancy in traditional times. Any item which by some method was viewed as indicating the pregnancy would presumably have become the baby's totem.

1.6.2 Naming.

A child receives one of its names from either its mamulpak (e.g. One of Mrs Fejo's names is Mapul, a lily (nymphaea violacea sp) which is her mamulpak), or more usually from the place where the mamulpak was found (Mrs White's name is Litawi (Beatrice Hill) because her mamulpak was found there).

A child will usually receive its other name by the ngirwat system. Ngirwat was translated as "name swapping" by Mrs White. It was practised by the Waray, the Kungarak:anj, the Watjikinj, the MalakMalak, the Matngella, the Nganki Wumirri, the Marithiyel, the Marimanintji and the Murinhbatha, all tribes to the south and west of the Waray. Mr Arbut, my Uwinjamir teacher denied knowledge of it, so the Waray may have been the easternmost tribe using the ngirwat system. The ngirwat system among the Daly River tribes is discussed in Stanner (1937), and among the Watjikinj by Elkin (1950).

Under the system as it still operates among the Waray and Kungarak:anj an older person will give their name to a child and they then become ngirwat to one another and may refer to each other as "my ngirwat". There is no information from my teachers on how this system fitted into the kinship and section systems, nor what sort of relationship it produced. It is also impossible to say now if the system was universal or not. It appears that all the Waray and Kungarak:anj people I know have ngirwat names.
1.6.3 Initiation.

From Text 2 on initiation we may see that initiation of boys among the Waray followed the usual pattern (Elkin 1938 p 203 - 207). The men would remove the boys from the camp and take them some distance away to another camp with shelters that the men had made. The men kept the boys there for a long time and put them through the law tjutjuk.

When this was finished the men painted designs on the boys with red and white ochre. They then took them back to the main camp where they were welcomed by the women who put armbands, headbands and hairbelts on them. However their sisters were not among the women who welcomed them. From initiation onwards brothers and sisters had to avoid one another.

The secret Text 12 is concerned with the initiation of girls. The crucial event for girls was the onset of menstruation and at this time a girl was secluded from the main camp on her own.

1.6.4 Marriage.

As observed in 1.5.1 on kinship and 1.5.4 on the section system, the evidence appears reasonably clear that the Waray had a Kariera kinship system, with cross cousin marriage. The passage from Spencer quoted and discussed earlier in 1.5.4 "one group of Adjumbitj men intermarry with only one group of Alpungerti women, the other group of the latter women are forbidden to these men." would indicate that actual cross cousin marriage was prohibited, with more distant cross cousins being the marriage partners. If this was so then no trace of such a prohibition now survives (see 1.5.4).

The Waray had the universal aboriginal system of promising spouses (Berndt & Berndt 1985 p 197 - 199). As usual in this system women were promised very young to men much older than themselves. In Waray the promised spouse is always described as being "given from the law".

3. nal njek:-u-wu tjukung-yan tjutjuk-yan pan-wu-y
   man 1sg-OBL-DAT aunt-OR law-OR 1sgO-give-r

My aunt promised me my man from the law
(They been promise me that old man)

In one case
4. tja tpula wu-y tjutjuk a-kala-wu al-kulpe ka-kelngaymiyi-y
old man give-r law NF-3sg-DAT F-woman NC-married-irr
pulk-yang
white ochre-OR
She is the promised wife for that old man. She is married
from white ochre.

Mrs White described the promised spouse as being "from white ochre". It is not entirely clear what was meant by this. Further enquiries about the statement did not prove fruitful. Little balls of white ochre are used in sexual magic in the Darwin area and it may be that the comment "from white ochre" relates to this phenomenon.

1.6.5 Funeral Practices.

From Texts 3 and 4 it is clear that the Waray practised the system of tree platform exposure of corpses found throughout this area of northern Australia. According to the texts, a grass table antjetpan (tjetpam - grass) is made by laying sticks across branches and then covering the sticks with grass. Then the corpse is placed on top and covered with paperbark. The description in Text 3, lines 3 and 4, of the head being taken around the camp with somebody saying "I am bringing the head for you mob to see, he has gone forever, he cannot come back" presumably relates to a skull as opposed to a head as such. After the corpse had rotted, the bones were wrapped up in naka grass. They were probably then carried around for some time as this is normal practice in northern Australia, and were eventually hung up in banyon trees. It is possible that there were other final resting places for bones than banyon trees.

A considerable time after the death (nowadays a year) a shade laying ceremony kulak is held. This ceremony is concerned with finally laying the dead person to rest, but I did not obtain full details on it.

1.7 Economic Life.

1.7.1 Food Sources.

The country occupied by the Waray is well within the monsoon belt and as such is amply watered and would have provided abundant and relatively easily obtained food supplies.
It seems most likely that as with nearly all hunter-gatherer societies most of the food would have consisted of various types of vegetables and small game gathered chiefly by the women. There was quite a variety of vegetable food muya and game wang available to them. There appear to have been three main varieties of vegetable staples.

1. Yams.

There are many types of vines which have edible underground tubers. These were dug up by the women using yamsticks mul. There is a specific verb pi-nj which describes this activity (There is a more general verb pan-ka-ngi to dig.) It appears that the favoured wood for yamsticks was ironwood langwalak:u.

2. Cycad Nuts:

The nuts of the cycad palms kinj are poisonous and thus require complex preparation as the following text describes;

```
ka-pa-manj      ka-pa-tjip-m-al      kiri-yi      ka-pa-kuw-al
NC-3plS-get  irr   NC-3plS-bash-Aux-irr   stone-INS   NC-3plS-wrap-irr
ke-yi          litji-lik          ka-pa-laki-l      ka-pa-wung-al
paperbark-INS  dillybag-LOC  NC-3plS-toss-irr   NC-3plS-leave-irr
wik-lik        ka-yu-yu          atjangki        tjanti         an-tjerinj
water-LOC NC-R-lie   maybe        week       Cl-one
ka-pa-yir-manj ka-pa-tja-l       muya         a-muk:u
NC-3plS-pull out-Aux irr   NC-3plS-eat-irr food    Cl-good
```

They get (the cycad nuts) and grind them up with a stone. Then they wrap them up in paperbark in a dillybag. They toss them in the water and they lie (there) for maybe one week. Then they get them out and they eat them. It is good tucker.

This text is incomplete in that it implies that the cycad nuts were eaten after they had been pounded and soaked in the water for a long time. This was not so, after they had been through this process, the cycad flour was then combined with sweat, spit, snot or pus, and cooked in a ground oven. Cooking in a ground oven (which is described by the verb ka-pe) involves digging a hole, then putting hot stones in, then ashes with the thing to be cooked which is further covered with paperbark and finally all of this is covered over by dirt. It is only after this that the cycad cakes are eaten.

3. Lilies.

Cycads and yams grow almost exclusively on the higher ridge and point land. They do not grow on the blacksoil floodplains that formed a
major part of the territory of the Waray. On the floodplains lilies were probably the main vegetable food source. The Waray make a much finer set of terminological distinctions among the various lilies than does present day botany. Both the red lily, tjinganj (nelumbo nucifera) and various types of white lily (the various nymphaea spp especially nymphaea violacea) are found on the floodplains of the Adelaide and the Margaret. The Waray have names for four different types of nymphaea violacea;

mapul
pampulangu
tumwekwek:u
kumututu

As well there is a word kinjini which apparently describes a young form of the tumwekwek:u lily. Lily seeds (raw or roasted), lily stems kankok and lily roots were all eaten. Apart from the nelumbo and nymphaea species which are called lily in English, the Waray also regard a number of other edible aquatic plants, yili, meltuk:u and manampay (all unidentified as yet) as belonging to the same group as the lily family.

In addition to these three main plant food sources the Waray also consumed a wide variety of seeds and fruits.

As mentioned there is a multitude of small game in this area. Turtles, goannas, snakes, fish, echidnas, lizards and flying foxes are all eaten. Turtles were usually gathered by the women. There is a specific verb putjapputjap-m-al which describes how the women would in the dry season, poke around the mud in drying up billabongs with yamsticks searching for turtles. Turtles (usually the long neck turtle, Chelodina rugosa) are plentiful and were undoubtedly a major food supply especially in the dry season. Goannas are also plentiful. They are usually caught by the men who spear them or simply grab them and swing them around and around (the verb is waruwaru-m-al) to break their necks. Flying foxes and birds were killed with throwing sticks kurutu. Magpie geese nganpal appear from comments to have been a popular food.

The Darwin area is not particularly rich in big game such as kangaroos and emus. On the other hand wallabies, especially the agile wallaby pulak, are plentiful and would presumably have been the main larger game food source in traditional times.

1.7.2 Material Culture.
a) Woven Objects.

There are two main sources of weaving material in this area; fibre from the banyon tree punji and pandanus leaves merinj and yangal. Banyon fibre was prepared by the women rubbing it on their thighs (the verb is pok-la-m) into string anpik. I do not have any descriptions of how pandanus leaves were prepared but presumably the Waray used the same methods as other peoples in the Top End.

From the banyon fibres the women made loincloths walpe and dillybags litji; from the pandanus baskets tupu were made. Presumably fishing nets wunek were also woven though I do not know which fibre they were made from.

b) Weapons

The Waray had two types of spears. One type was the barbed 'hook' spear which was made from ironwood langwalaku. As the name implies this spear had projections down the side and it was used in fighting. The name for this type of spear puku is also used as the generic for spear.

The other type of spear was the stone spear. This consisted of a shaft made from bamboo anpunj or phragmites tarin with a stone head which was tied on by banyon fibre. The banyon fibre was rubbed with wax from the roots of ironwood trees kak. The Waray distinguished stone spears with white heads lawuk from those with dark heads tjimpilang. Stone spears were used for hunting. The Waray of course had woomeras tjun.

Apart from hook spears the Waray also had nullanullas warawara for fighting. They also had the boomerang puran though I do not know what purposes it was used for. As elsewhere in Australia the European metal axe tjutju appears to have displaced the stone axe mariyumpun very early. The word tjutju appears in Spencer's list of totems from early this century with the gloss 'stone axe' (Spencer op cit p193) and tjutju is the only word used by Mrs White and Mrs Fejo for describing axes. Therefore it would appear that even at the turn of the century in the same way as the metal axe had displaced the stone axe so the word tjutju had displaced mariyumpun and become something of a generic.

c) Canoes.

There are words for two different types of canoe; a dugout canoe pamunj and paperbark rafts kuliyampin.
The phonological system of Waray is reasonably simple and is largely what would be expected from its geographical location. Like most of the languages in the area it has two series of stops and five vowels. The nature of the distinction between the two stop series is the main area of complexity and interest in the analysis.

The chief oddity in the system is the occurrence of only one rhotic. However this may be an areal feature. There are two rhotics in the neighbouring Wakiman language but they are difficult to distinguish and the functional load of the contrast between the two is low (Cooke pers com). It also appears that there are two rhotics in the neighbouring Kungarak:anj language, but again they are mostly neutralised and the functional load of the contrast is low (Evans pers com.)

2.1 Phonemic Inventory.

Waray has five vowel and sixteen consonant phonemes.

2.1.1 Vowels.

The vowels are presented in IPA notation with the equivalents in practical orthography beside in brackets.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Front</th>
<th>Back</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E (e)</td>
<td>&amp;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2.1 : Vowels

Minimal pairs establishing the phonemic status of the mid vowels are;

- e:a     kek     spiderweb     kak     ironwood wax
- e:i     le      camp        li       spear it!
- o:u     lora    ashes       lura     behind
- o:a     kral-pa plains-perl kralpa   fish sp

Waray has long and short vowels but the distinction is not phonemic. Vowels are phonetically long in;
1. Monosyllables
2. Open syllables of polysyllabic words except when the following syllable starts with r.

Vowels are short elsewhere. The vowels have the following realisations.

1. /i/.  

When /i/ is short it is always realised as [i]. When /i/ is long it may be realised as either [ɪ], or [i]; the two realisations appear to be in free variation.

2. /e/.  

/e/ ranges from [ɛ] to [æ] in realisation. Finally it is often lowered so much that it becomes indistinguishable from /a/. On the other hand /e/ is never realised as [e] even before y. Kuwaley 'turtle' is always [kuwalej] never [kuwalej].

3. /a/.  

/a/ is always realised as a front vowel [a]. In syllables closed by a palatal stop or nasal /a/ has a palatal offglide.

\begin{tabular}{lll}
matj:alatj & tree sp & [mac:alaː] \\
ma-njim & we entered & [maɲɪm]  \\
manjmanj & cramp & [maɲmaɲ] \\
\end{tabular}

4. /o/.  

/o/ is invariably realised as [ɔ].

5. /u/.  

/u/ has allophones which depend on whether it occurs in open or closed syllables. The closed allophone is [ʊ]. The open allophones are [u] and [o] which are in free variation.

2.1.2 Consonants.
As with the vowels, the consonants are presented in IPA notation with the practical orthography equivalents beside in brackets.

**Table 2.2 : Consonants.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>bilabial</th>
<th>alveolar</th>
<th>palatal</th>
<th>velar</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>short stops</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>c (tj)</td>
<td>k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>long stops</td>
<td>p:</td>
<td>t:</td>
<td>c: (tj:)</td>
<td>k:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nasals</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>jn (nj)</td>
<td>nj (ng)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lateral</td>
<td></td>
<td>l</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rhotic</td>
<td></td>
<td>r</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>semivowels</td>
<td>w</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>j (y)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.1.2.1 The Two Stop Series.

Two stop series are found in most languages of this area. Determining the exact nature of the difference between the two series has been somewhat difficult. Two solutions have been proposed to this problem. One by McKay (1980) for Rembarrnga is that one series should be analysed as single stops and that the other should be analysed as geminate stops. The other solution proposed by Jaeger (1983) is to regard one series as being distinctively short and the other as being distinctively long.

It is clear for Waray that only Jaeger’s solution is tenable. Waray has distinct classes of long and geminate stops which behave quite differently. Long stops behave as unitary phonemes whereas the geminates clearly behave in the same way as hetero-organic stop clusters.

As elsewhere in northern Australia the distribution of the contrast between short, long and geminate stops is severely restricted. The three classes are contrastive word medially between vowels only. The following sub-minimal triplets show the contrast for the three classes.

**Bilabial:**
- tupuli
- tup:u
- wup-pu-m

**Alveolar:**
- putu
- kut:ukut:u
- kutta

**Palatal:**
- kitjirin
- kitj:ilili-m-al
- kutjkutj-tji-nj

place name
basket
to clear off
tree sp
bird sp
this way
bird sp
to tickle
to become wet
Velar: pikiring they
       yik:iring we
       kikkikmi bird sp

There is also a contrast between short and long stops word medially after l and y as the following sub-minimal pairs show. (The cluster k:w is dealt with in 2.3.6.1)

lp    tjalpapa    grass sp
lp:   walp:e    loincloth
lk    njulk-m-al  to gulp
lk:   kuluwetelk:mi  a hiccup
ltj   altjampitj  section name
ltj:  mult:j  fear
yk    ngayk-m-al  to keep
yk:   wayk:an  exposed

Elsewhere stops are;

a) Short morpheme initially, except for the verbal Auxiliary -k:a-ngi, which is never word initial.
b) Short following nasals or preceding sonorants.
c) Stop clusters being 2.0cs in average length are almost exactly twice the average 1.1cs length of short stops, so it seems reasonable to regard them as consisting of two short stops (see Table 2.3).

There is at present no conclusive evidence for grouping word final stops with either the short or the long class. Word finally stops are voiceless, usually unreleased and with t and k often being reduced to 2 (p occurs finally only in one word tjap 'road'. This word was never realised as tja2). Other than word finally, morpheme final stops are;

1. short before a consonant initial suffix.
2. long before -u, the post-consonantal allomorph of the dative (the only vowel initial suffix in Waray apart from -an the post-nasal allomorph of the Focus marker -ngan).

/pulak/  - [pulak]  - wallaby
/pulak-lik/  - [pulak:ixk]  - wallaby-LOC  - next to the wallaby
/pulak:-u/ - [pulak:u] - **wallaby-DAT** - for the wallaby

The evidence such as it is tends to favour the view that morpheme final stops are basically long. If we assume this, then the occurrence of length before the dative is normal, and a rule reducing clusters Long Stop + Consonant --> Short Stop + Consonant would seem a phonetically quite plausible explanation of the behaviour of final stops followed by consonant initial suffix. If the alternative view that morpheme final stops are short is taken then it is necessary to have either a rule Short Stop-u --> Long Stop-u (restricted to the dative) to explain the dative allomorphy, or to posit a dative allomorph -:u. Neither of these alternatives would appear to be as attractive as Long Stop + Consonant --> Short Stop + Consonant. However phonological plausibility does not suffice as a criterion for deciding either way.

The dative allomorph -u accounts for nearly all of the occurrences of word medial length in Waray. Only a few words have inherently long medial stops. There is only one minimal pair involving length.

kaku  kak:u ~ kak:wuy (note the doubletting of this lexeme)

**grandfather**  **after**

Therefore it may be observed that the functional load of the length distinction is virtually zero in Waray. The distribution of length is almost entirely predictable and where it is not predictable it serves no major contrastive purpose.

The four groups of stops; short, long, geminate and hetero-organic are realised in the following ways;

1. Short stops.
   a) short voiceless stops
   /paputj/ - [papɔc] - yam sp  /kutminj/ - [kɔtʃmɪŋ] - he put
   b) short voiced stops
   /pampik/ - [pambɔk] - duck sp  /njiter/ - [nɪdɛr] - hook
   /munitjìwa/ - [mʊnɪtıwa] - knife  /kaku/ - [kagʊ] - grandfather
   c) The following reduced versions
   bilabial  alveolar  palatal  velar
   p′  l  j  q′
   (approximant) (tap) (approximant/fricative) (approximant)
It should be noted that there was no evidence from the spectrograms made of the short stops for them being realised as fricatives (i.e. with energy in the higher ranges), except for the palatal stop.

The particular realisation that occurs is, as would be expected, dependent on context. Between voiced segments the reduced realisations are the most common, with voiced stops being the next most common. Following a pause and in careful speech, voiceless stops are likely.

2. Long stops.
Long stops are invariably realised as long voiceless stops in the data available.
/kalp:u/ - [kalp:u] - kangaroo sp
/multj:i/ - [mwlci] - fear

a) long voiceless stops
/at-tulumpu-yi-nj/ - [at:ulɔmpujn] - I covered myself up
b) true clusters (with a release spike observable for the first stop)
/at-tuwak-kut-m-inj/ - [at:uwakkɔtmj] - I put it across
c) very long approximants
/i-wup-wup-pu-m/ - [iwɔpwpjɔm] - we cleared off fast

The b) and c) realisations are very rare in the spectrograms. The c) realisation was observed only for the example given above.

4. Heterorganic clusters
a) a long voiceless closure, with no observable release spike for the first stop
/pakpan/ - [pakpən] - firefly (the marking in bold type indicates that no release spike was observable)
b) a cluster (with an observable release spike for the first stop)
/at-kutjkutj-tji-nj/ - [atakɔckɔc:iŋ] - I got wet

As with the geminates the b) realisation is rare. With both geminates
and heterorganic clusters a release of the first stop is likely only in
careful speech.

Spectrograms were made of words, spoken in isolation by Mrs White,
involving the four groups of stops in the contrastive positions between
vowels, and following I and y. Measurement of these spectrograms
produced the following statistics concerning the differences between the
groups;

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Short</th>
<th>Long</th>
<th>Geminate</th>
<th>Cluster</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Population</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Standard Mean</td>
<td>1 1cs</td>
<td>1 8cs</td>
<td>1 6cs</td>
<td>2 0cs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Standard Deviation</td>
<td>4cs</td>
<td>4cs</td>
<td>3cs</td>
<td>3cs</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The differences between the short and long stops are statistically
significant to well beyond .05 (X2 test produced a value of 6.53). As the
difference of 7cs between the two means is auditorily discriminable,
there can be no doubt that the difference between the two groups is
fundamentally one of length.

Furthermore if length is taken to be the significant differentiating
factor between the two classes of stops then the three variants attested
for the short stops follow almost automatically. The short voiceless stop
found in careful speech is the basic form. However in normal faster speech
the period of closure of the stop becomes shorter and shorter and either a
short voiced stop is produced or an approximant (in the case of the
alveolar, a tap).

The differences between the long stops and the geminates and the
clusters are also statistically significant. However it is doubtful that a
mean difference of 2cs could function as an auditorily discriminable cue
especially when some allowance is made for the necessary inaccuracy in
the measurement of the spectrograms.

The difference in length is not the criterion by which long stops are
separated from the geminates and the clusters. The grounds for the
distinction are twofold. Firstly there are the differing possibilities of
realisation. Long stops are never realised with a medial release spike
showing double articulation. They are invariably realised as long voiceless
stops. The geminates and clusters on the other hand clearly show double
articulation in careful speech. Indeed with the clusters it is often only in
careful speech that a non-native speaker can determine which two stops
make up the cluster. Therefore the basic difference between long stops and
geminates/clusters is that of single versus double articulation.

The second criterion for distinguishing the two groups is possibly
more significant because it is auditorily discriminable in all types of
speech. In speech the normal realisation of a geminate or cluster is a long
voiceless closure. This is much the same as the realisation of a long stop,
and so it is difficult for a hearer to tell whether a long voiceless closure
represents a long stop, or a geminate/cluster. One of the main cues which
enables a hearer to choose which phonemic form the long voiceless closure
represents is the preceding vowel. The vowel preceding a geminate or
cluster is short because the syllable is closed. On the other hand a vowel
preceding a long stop is long because the syllable is open. So if they hear
[kɔtːa], the hearer knows that the phonemic form is /kutta/ because the
preceding vowel is short, but if they hear [kutːukutːu] then the hearer
knows that the phonemic form is /kutːukutːu/ because the vowels are long.

The occurrence in Waray of distinct classes of long stops and
geminates bears on the question of the analysis of the difference between
the two stop series for all languages of northern Australia in which the
distinction is to be found. The major point to be considered is that the two
classes are usually realised in the same way: by a long voiceless closure
(as are heterorganic clusters). In many, if not all, of the languages which
have the stop contrast, underlyingly geminate clusters which arise across
morpheme boundaries are realised by long voiceless stops. This fact has
been used to argue that long voiceless stops which are found elsewhere
are also underlyingly geminate (McKay 1975). The evidence from Waray
suggests that an overlap in realisation is not necessarily conclusive proof
that the underlying phonemic forms are the same.

Most geminates occur across reduplication or morhème boundaries

\[\text{i-kutjkutj-tji-nj}\]
\[\text{tpISC-wet-inch-r}\]
\text{We got wet}

\text{kikkikmi}
\text{hawk sp}

or across what look like old morpheme boundaries

\[\text{mekkilkil-m-al}\]  \hspace{1cm} \text{(see 4.1.4)}
\text{to burp}
However four examples of tt occur in environments where there is no evidence of a morpheme boundary

- tetteren
- wattal
- tjattiti
- kutta

bird sp
penis cover
grasshopper
this way

2.1.2.2 The Rhotic.

In careful speech the rhotic is invariably realised as an alveolar trill. In faster speech it can be realised as a tap, or a continuant. In its tap realisation it overlaps with the reduced realisation of t, the short alveolar stop.

- an-wirang [anwirangan] different
- pungkatang [poonkatan] the onset

However in careful speech they are always distinct and the following minimal pair confirms that they are different phonemes.

- wir-m-al to swim across
- wit-m-al to whistle

2.2 The Practical Orthography.

The practical orthography is set out below;

Table 2.4: The Practical Orthography.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Consonants</th>
<th>bilabial</th>
<th>alveolar</th>
<th>palatal</th>
<th>velar</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>short stops</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>tj</td>
<td>k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>long stops</td>
<td>p:</td>
<td>t:</td>
<td>tj:</td>
<td>k:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nasals</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>nj</td>
<td>ng</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lateral</td>
<td>l</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rhotic</td>
<td>r</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>semivowels</td>
<td>w</td>
<td></td>
<td>y</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Vowels

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>front</th>
<th>back</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are two points requiring comment. One is the use of j to mark the palatals instead of y and the other is the use of the length marker :. j is used instead of y to mark palatals because the consonant clusters n+y and t+y, as distinct from the palatal nasal nj and stop tj are found in Waray. Therefore it is necessary to use j to distinguish the clusters ny and ty from the phonemes nj and tj.

The length marker : is used only with stops which are definitely established as being long. The status of word final stops is, as discussed in 2.1.2.1, indeterminate. Therefore word final stops do not receive : marking. However its absence should not be taken to mean that word final stops have been assigned to the short stop class.

2.3 Phonotactics.

2.3.1 Word Boundaries.

A word in Waray is delimited by pauses. As Waray is a largely agglutinating language with some inflectional tendencies, words may contain a number of morphemes and be quite long.

kat-kupal-nepat-tanjmi-yi-n
POT1sgS-nearly-hand-cut-refl-irr
I nearly cut my hand

However words are usually of 2 or 3 syllables and rarely more than 4 syllables. Morphemes are of 1,2,3 or rarely 4-6 syllables (a couple of Auxiliaries consist of only a single consonant).

2.3.2 Compounds and Reduplications.

While for the purposes of the placement of pauses, compounds and complete reduplications behave as single words, for all other phonotactic purposes, such as the placement of stress and syllable structure they behave as if their component parts were separate words. Therefore in the
ensuing discussion on these matters compounds and complete reduplications will be treated as if they consist of two words.

Reduplication is an exceedingly messy phenomenon in Waray. There are a number of different types of reduplication of different productivity. They have a number of different, and largely unrelated functions. However the following formula would appear to cover most types of reduplications found:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Base</th>
<th>Reduplicated Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>monosyllable</td>
<td>complete</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>disyllabe with open final syllable</td>
<td>complete</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>disyllabe with closed final syllable</td>
<td>initial syllable and first CV of second syllable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>trisyllabe or longer</td>
<td>initial syllable and first CV of second syllable</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From the preceding table it may be observed that the difference lies between forms that are a closed disyllable (for convenience a disyllable with a closed final syllable, will in discussion hereafter be called a closed disyllable), or greater in length, and those which are less in length.

Verbal reduplication is the most complicated area of reduplication. There appear to be two types of verbal reduplication, but their realistions are not constant, and partly overlap. It appears that language death phenomena may have affected one of these two types of verbal reduplication. It is not possible to analyse verbal reduplication in any detail without considering its functions. These are more appropriately considered in the discussion of the verbal categories in Chapter 4, and so verbal reduplication is dealt with there in section 4.5.

Nominal reduplication is not a particularly important or productive process. As with the verbs a detailed discussion of reduplication without reference to function is not really possible. Therefore nominal reduplication is discussed in 3.6 and 3.8.1.1.

Partial reduplications are also considered in the following discussion of the phonotactic rules. Compounds are considered in 3.2.1.3.

2.3.3 Placement of Stress.

The placement of stress is a complex phenomenon. It is determined by
1. Partial reduplication boundaries
2. Morpheme boundaries

1. Partial Reduplication Boundaries.

If a word contains a partial reduplication, then each part of the partial reduplication receives a primary stress on its initial syllable, and secondary stresses are placed on every second syllable on either side of the primary stresses so assigned. Thus we have;

púkpúkpanj       fish sp
mak:ínjik:ínlji   wild passionfruit
tátmepáwukpáwuk   plant sp
an-pítpí:-u       red

In one case at least this leads to a morpheme which would not normally receive stress receiving it. In

át-mekkílkíl-m-inj
1sgSC-burp-Aux-r
I burped

the monosyllabic pronominal prefix at- which never normally takes stress, does so in this case because it is two syllables from the partial reduplication.

The only exception to this rule occurs when the partial reduplication consists of an open monosyllable. If such a partial reduplication serves as a marker of a morphological category then it receives stress.

ámala kat-tjápul-m-al
Neg POT1sgS-smoke-Aux-irr
I was not smoking

ámala kat-tjá-tjápul-m-al
Neg POT1sgS-r-smoke-Aux-irr
I never used to smoke
If however such a partial reduplication is inherent in the word then it does not attract any special stress pattern.

\[ \text{kúkutúngunj} \quad \text{duck sp} \]

\[ \text{not} \]

\[ \text{kúkutungunj} \]

1. Morpheme Boundaries.

If a word does not contain a partial reduplication then stress is assigned within the boundaries of the following morpheme classes.

a) Verbs  
b) Nominal Stems  
c) Polysyllabic suffixes (monosyllabic suffixes count as part of the stem)  
d) Adverbs prefixed to, and part nominals compounded in verbs  
e) Polysyllabic pronominal prefixes, and polysyllabic sequences of pronominal prefixes

Primary stress is assigned to the first syllable with secondary stresses being placed on every second syllable thereafter, subject to the proviso that no syllable receives secondary stress if it is word final or if it precedes a syllable with primary stress.

From the preceding discussion of stress placement it may be seen that the chief function of stress in Waray is to mark the internal boundaries within a word. These boundaries may be compound, reduplicaton or morpheme boundaries.

2.3.4 Positional Restrictions.

1. u, o and e do not occur morpheme initially except in eping 'who' (Kungarak:anj cognate epenke - who), and the post-consonantal allomorph -u of the dative.

2. i occurs morpheme initially only in the two pronominal prefixes i- and in-. These two morphemes occur word initially.

3. No verb roots are vowel initial.
4. o does not occur morpheme finally except in lopolopo 'butcherbird' and the verb tororo 'to boil'.

5. r occurs postvocally only. It does not occur morpheme initially. It occurs morpheme finally only in three non-verbal roots; an-ngar 'fur', njiter 'hook' and munjipir 'plant sp'.

6. w occurs pre-vocally only. It occurs morpheme finally only in three verb roots; kuw 'to tie', nuw 'to kick' and ngiw 'to put inside'.

7. p occurs syllable finally in non-verbals only twice; tjap 'road' and pilp:mi 'sore'.

2.3.5 Probabilities of Occurrence.

The following tables show the probabilities of initial and final occurrence for 197 verb roots, and 615 nominal stems and the corresponding 605 nominal roots in order of frequency.

Table 2.5: Initial Probabilities.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nominal Roots</th>
<th>Nominal Stems</th>
<th>Verb Roots</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>k 123 20.3%</td>
<td>a 167 27.2%</td>
<td>p 33 16.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tj 90 14.8%</td>
<td>k 97 15.8%</td>
<td>w 29 14.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p 88 14.5%</td>
<td>p 71 11.5%</td>
<td>tj 25 12.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m 71 11.7%</td>
<td>tj 68 11.1%</td>
<td>k 21 10.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>w 65 10.7%</td>
<td>m 56 9.1%</td>
<td>t 20 10.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l 37 6.1%</td>
<td>w 51 8.3%</td>
<td>m 19 9.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t 31 5.1%</td>
<td>l 31 5.0%</td>
<td>ng 16 8.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a 30 5.0%</td>
<td>y 21 3.4%</td>
<td>l 13 6.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ng 28 4.6%</td>
<td>ng 20 3.3%</td>
<td>n 7 3.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y 21 3.5%</td>
<td>t 18 2.9%</td>
<td>nj 7 3.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n 13 2.1%</td>
<td>n 9 1.5%</td>
<td>y 7 3.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nj 7 1.2%</td>
<td>nj 5 0.8%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e 1 0.2%</td>
<td>e 1 0.2%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Table 2.6: Final Probabilities.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nominal Roots</th>
<th>Nominal Stems</th>
<th>Verb Roots</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>k 98</td>
<td>k 94</td>
<td>i 30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i 73</td>
<td>u 79</td>
<td>l 25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u 67</td>
<td>i 74</td>
<td>k 24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a 65</td>
<td>a 66</td>
<td>a 22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l 60</td>
<td>l 58</td>
<td>t 19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n 50</td>
<td>n 51</td>
<td>p 15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nj 43</td>
<td>nj 43</td>
<td>tj 12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ng 35</td>
<td>ng 34</td>
<td>u 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e 34</td>
<td>e 34</td>
<td>m 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m 22</td>
<td>m 22</td>
<td>r 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tj 20</td>
<td>tj 21</td>
<td>ng 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t 18</td>
<td>t 17</td>
<td>y 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y 15</td>
<td>y 17</td>
<td>n 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r 3</td>
<td>r 3</td>
<td>nj 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o 1</td>
<td>o 1</td>
<td>w 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p 1</td>
<td>p 1</td>
<td>e 2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The differences between the tables for the nominal roots and stems are due to two factors. Initially the very high frequency of the class markers al-, a- and an- means that many more stems than roots begin with a. Indeed many of the roots which are synchronically analysed as commencing with a, contain al-, a- or an- historically (3.2.1.6). The comparative ordering of other phonemes is virtually the same both root and stem initially. Finally many adjectives and pronouns have variant oblique stems. When tabulating the finals for these stems, the oblique variants were ignored unless they were the only stem attested. The difference in finals between roots and stems results from the distribution of such oblique stems among the roots.

As the tables show Waray shows a general conformity to the phonological patterns found for most Aboriginal languages (see Dixon 1980 pp 165 - 169). Initially there is a high frequency of peripheral and laminal consonants, with apical consonants and vowels being rare. Finally there is a high frequency of vowels, and laminal and apical nasals and laterals.

There are some significant differences from the usual patterns. The first is the high percentage of roots ending in a consonant. For nominals 60% of roots end in a consonant; 23% end in a stop. With verbs 68% of roots...
end in a consonant; 30% end in a stop. This is a variation from the normal pattern for Australian languages. The second related to this, is the high frequency of the velar stop k, as a final segment. Initially a quarter of nominal stems begin in a vowel, and 10% of verb roots begin with the apical stop t. Also the laminal nasal nj is of quite low frequency with both nominals and verbs, initially.

From the tables it is obvious that there are considerable differences between verbal and nominal roots in possibilities of occurrence.

2.3.6 Consonant Clusters.

The analysis of consonant clusters in Waray requires a consideration of morphemic boundaries and classes, and of syllable boundaries. Across morpheme boundaries it appears that the only restrictions on consonant clusters are the general positional restrictions (2.3.4). Almost every possible cluster is attested. Within morphemes, syllable boundaries and morpheme class are the major factors controlling the clusters found. Syllable initially and finally only very restricted classes of clusters are found and nominal and verbal roots show the same restrictions. However morpheme medially across syllable boundaries, verbal and nominal roots show quite different possibilities. Verb roots virtually do not have morpheme medial clusters and most of those that are found, occur across what are clearly old morpheme boundaries. Medial clusters are quite common in nominal roots and it appears that as across morpheme boundaries the only restrictions may be general postional ones.

2.3.6.1 Syllable Initial Clusters.

The following is a complete list of all syllable initial clusters;

| pl  | 1. plintiti: | cockroach |
| ny  | 2. nyikiring | 2pl pronoun |
| ngy | 3. ng(y)iri  | dog |
| pw  | 4. -pwuy     | verbal perlative |
| pw  | 5. pwuy-m-al  | to tell |
| pw  | 6. pwnujtin   | lizard sp |
| pw  | 7. -pwuye-    | smelly |
| tw  | 8. an-twuy    | heart |
| pw  | 9. pwok       | honey |
| pw  | 10. pwok      | track |
kw 11. kwok  Don't know
pw 12. pwok-pu-m  to whip
pw 13. p(w)ok-pu-m  to make string
pw 14. p(w)onorong  brolga
pw 15. kapwuy  water goanna
k:w 16. kak:u-kak:wuy  after
k:w 17. tok:(w)ori  to feel cold

Example 1 is the only initial cluster of its type. Example 2 nyikiring
looks somewhat suspicious in a language with a palatal nasal. However my
teacher repeatedly insisted that the first sound in this word was the same
as that in nilnil 'tree sp' and different from that in njiter 'hook'.

There are two facts which indicate strongly that this cluster and the
one found in Example 3 result historically from an optional palatalisation
of word initial ng and n followed by i. Firstly 'dog' can be either ngiri or
ngyiri. An optional palatalisation process would be a good explanation for
the origin of these variants. Secondly such an optional palatalisation
would greatly assist in explaining the development of the plural
pronominal prefixes and pronouns in Waray. A comparison of these and the
 corresponding prefixes in Kungarak:anj produces the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>K</th>
<th>W</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1ple</td>
<td>ngi-</td>
<td>i-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2pl</td>
<td>ni-</td>
<td>a-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3pl</td>
<td>pi-</td>
<td>pa-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A comparison of the three pronouns in Waray yields a morpheme
*kiring preceded by yi- 1ple, nyi- 2pl and pi- 3pl. As Waray has undergone
some initial dropping of ng chiefly, and n, a proto 1ple prefix *ngi- for
Waray seems a perfectly reasonable reconstruction supported by the
Kungarak:anj evidence. This *ngi- would have undergone the optional
palatalisation proposed thereby producing *ngi- and *ngyi- variants. After
initial dropping these would have become *i- and * yi-. These would
presumably have been in free variation originally, but i- has since been
reserved for the prefix and yi- for the pronoun (no nominals commence in i
in Waray).

A 2pl morpheme *ni- is widely attested throughout the prefixing
languages, whereas a- is found only in Waray. A comparison of ni- and nyi-
makes a reconstruction of *n(y)i- as the proto Waray morpheme
reasonable. In this case the n(y)i variant has won out in the pronoun and in
the prefixes a completely new prefix a- had replaced *n(y)i-.

Yik:iring, nyikiring and ng(y)iri are the only words which preserve trace of this word initial optional palatalisation. In all other cases the plain variant has won out. There are not now and probably never have been many ng and n initial words (see Dixon 1980 p 165 -169), so this process would always have affected only a handful of words.

Much the same phenomenon appears to have occurred historically in examples 4 - 17. They appear to result from an optional labialisation of stops in the environments -uy/-unj and -o. However the obligatory occurrence of w in some words, its optionality in others and the following examples in which the environment does not result in labialisation

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>18. amukuy</td>
<td>enough, Okay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. ankyung</td>
<td>stew</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20. tjut:uy-m-al</td>
<td>to limp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21. kori</td>
<td>to break</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22. tol-pu-m</td>
<td>to block</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23. pottjok</td>
<td>beeswax</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

show that the occurrence of w is now lexically controlled in Waray. Historically the w variant has won out in some cases, in other cases the w less variant has prevailed, and in yet other cases both variants still survive.

Examples 11 pwok-pu-m 'to whip' and 12 p(w)ok-pu-m 'to make string' provide an interesting comparison. Example 12 is one of three variants pok-la-m, pok-m-al and p(w)ok-pu-m which all mean 'to make string'. Of the three pok-la-m is by far the commonest with pok-m-al and p(w)ok-pu-m being rare. It is almost certainly due to the influence of pok-la-m and pok-m-al that p(w)ok-pu-m had retained its w less variant, and probably due to the influence of pwok-pu-m 'to whip' that it has retained its w variant.

This optional labialisation theory would explain the origin of the k:w cluster found in kak: wuy 'after' and tok:(w)ori 'to feel cold'. Clusters of this type Vowel + Stop: + Consonant are otherwise unknown in Waray.

This optional labialisation theory would also accord with the behaviour of certain Stop + w clusters. In normal speech Stop + wuy/unj is sometimes reduced to Stop + wi/inj. This occurs with both intra- and inter-morphemic Stop + w clusters. Thus example 6 pwunjtjin 'lizard sp' and example 7 -pwuye- 'smelly' are usually in normal speech pwinjtjin and -pwiye-. Similarly
at-put-wu-y  
1sgSC-3plO-give-r  
I gave it to them

is usually

atputwi

in normal speech. However the reduction appears to be lexically controlled as none of the other examples undergo it. Similarly, while wu-y 'to give' and yak-wu-y 'to lie/to trick' undergo it, the verb ngitj-wu-y 'to ask' does not. Nevertheless the process shows the same tendency to move the labial feature from the vowel to the consonant as the proposed optional labialisation variant. In fast speech w is sometimes omitted altogether following a consonant.

pun-wu  
3plO-give  
Give it to them!

becomes

punu

This may be viewed as a furthering of the same process of removing the labial feature.

2.3.6.2 Syllable Final Clusters.

The following is an exhaustive listing of all morphemes with syllable final clusters.

| rk | 1. kark | olive python |
| 2. tjirk | tree sp |
| 3. -turk- | white |
| rp | 4. parp-m-al | to become cold |
| rng | 5. warnng | hornet |
| 6. ngarng | wasp |
| lk | 7. njulk-m-al | to gulp |
| 8. pulk | white ochre |
| 9. tjanjpalk | saltwater |
lk: 10. kuluwetelk:mi  hiccups
lp: 11. pilp:mi         sore
lng 12. walng-m-al      to hang out
13. tolngputj-m-al     to smoke
14. pulng-m-al         to bubble up
yk  15. ngayk-m-al      to keep
16. kelngayk-m-al      to get married
yng 17. ankyung         stew

The pattern for these final clusters is obviously (l,r,y) followed by (p(:),k(:),ng). The gaps in the pattern are almost certainly accidental being due to the rarity of syllable final clusters.

2.6.3.3 Triconsonantal Clusters.

All triconsonantal clusters involve either the syllable initial or final clusters. Normally they occur across a morpheme boundary. In the four examples where they do not do so synchronically:

pilp:#mi      sore
kuluwetelk:#mi a hiccups
tolng#putj-m-al to smoke (see 4.1.4)
kelngayk#miyi-nj to get/be married (see 4.1.4)

there is an old morpheme boundary indicated by the #. Etymologies for the two verbs may be found at the reference given. The two nominals both appear to involve an old Kunwinjkuan nominaliser -mi. These two nominals contain the only examples of Consonant + Long Stop + Consonant clusters found in Waray. There is a verb kuluwetat-m-al 'to hiccups'.

2.6.3.4 Medial Clusters.

As we stated earlier there are virtually no medial clusters occurring in verb roots. The following is a complete list of all verb roots with clusters that do not appear to occur across an old morpheme boundary.

kattang-m-al   to cough
kuntiyi-nj     to laugh/to play
lirkit-m-al    to grind
mulpa-m-al     to curl up
winti to hang out

For a discussion of verb roots with clusters that appear to occur across old morpheme boundaries see 4.1.4.

A much more extensive list of clusters occurs in nominal roots. The following are attested (length is ignored).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>tp</th>
<th>tt</th>
<th>ttj</th>
<th>tm</th>
<th>tl</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tjp</td>
<td>tjm</td>
<td>tjl</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kp</td>
<td>km</td>
<td>kn</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mp</td>
<td>(mt)</td>
<td>mtj</td>
<td>mk</td>
<td>(mnj)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>np</td>
<td>nt</td>
<td>(ntj)</td>
<td>nk</td>
<td>nm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>njp</td>
<td>njtj</td>
<td>njk</td>
<td>njm</td>
<td>njl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngk</td>
<td>(ngm)</td>
<td>ngl</td>
<td>ngw</td>
<td>(ngy)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lp</td>
<td>lt</td>
<td>ltj</td>
<td>lk</td>
<td>lm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rp</td>
<td>rk</td>
<td>rm</td>
<td>rng</td>
<td>rw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yk</td>
<td>ym</td>
<td>yw</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The clusters in brackets are only attested across what look like old morpheme boundaries. Apart from clusters which do not occur because of positional restrictions (no r final, or p and w initial clusters, see 2.3.4) it is difficult to make generalisations about the clusters. If we remove the clusters in brackets we can say that no clusters with nj or y as a final member are found.

However it is impossible to be certain of even this restriction given the small corpus of nominal roots (605). Many of the above clusters are attested only once and it is highly probable that a larger corpus would produce more clusters. Indeed a comparison of these medial clusters with the list of permissible final clusters (2.3.6.2) l,r,y + p,k,ng would suggest that more medial clusters than are attested are definitely possible. The final clusters appear essentially to be a subset of the permissible medial clusters. However, lng and yng are attested as final, but not medial clusters. It seems likely that these two clusters at least are possible medial clusters.

2.4 Syllable and Word Structures.

In Waray a distinction must be drawn between monosyllabic and polysyllabic words. Monosyllabic words have the following structure.
\[ C(C)V(C)(C) \]
\[ \rightarrow \text{mutually exclusive} \]

whereas polysyllabic words have the structure;

\[ (C)(C)V(C)\big/\big(C\big)\big/V(C)(C) \]
\[ 1 \quad 2 \]

with syllable 2 being repeatable.

It may be seen that the difference between the two is that polysyllabes may start with a vowel whereas monosyllables cannot.

There are 14 open monosyllabic words in Waray. Three of them are non-verb roots;

- le
- ke
- yu
- camp
- paperbark
- yes

Ten are verbal imperatives;

- pu
- pi
- tju
- na
- nu
- wu
- tja
- tji
- li
- nga
- hit
- drink, dig, bite (3 verbs)
- die, shit (2 verbs)
- look
- burn
- give
- eat
- say
- spear
- listen

and one is a verbal Realis form;

- mi
- he got it

There are many closed monosyllabic words in Waray. As elsewhere in the phonology complete reduplications and compounds function as if each part was a separate word. Following the polysyllabic word formula given
it is impossible to have two consecutive vowels in one word. However it is possible in compounds and complete reduplications.

ampa-ampa
where-where
ana-eping
there-who

How much, How many
Who is there?
NOMINALS.

In this chapter we will first briefly consider the reasons for establishing nominals as a stem class (3.1). We will then go on to consider the formal structure of nominals (3.2).

This is followed by a discussion of how the adjective subclass is formally defined (3.3). Inchoatives are dealt with in this discussion as they are relevant to the distinction between nouns and adjectives (3.4). Factivives (3.5), and topics such as comparison (3.6) and quantification (3.8) are discussed with adjectives and inchoatives as they are associated with them semantically.

Following this the other formally definable subclass of nominals, pronouns (3.9), are analysed. Then a number of semantically defined subclasses traditionally considered in a discussion of nominals, such as demonstratives (3.11) and temporals (3.13) are examined.

3.1 Parts of Speech.

In Waray it is quite simple to separate verbal stems from non-verbal stems. Verbal stems are that class of stems which may take the aspect/mood suffixes and the pronominal prefixes (see 4.3). All other stems are non-verbal stems. However, within this class of non-verbal stems, it is not possible to distinguish a class of nominals (inflecting stems) from classes of particles (non-inflecting stems), and adverbs by formal criteria. The non-verbal subclasses, adjective (see 3.3) and pronoun (see 3.9) can be formally distinguished from all other non-verbal stems on the grounds of their occurrence possibilities with noun class markers and oblique stems respectively.

The functional categories, slots in tagmemic terms, of verbal argument, exclamation, clause level modifier, conjunction and adverb exist, but the fillers of these are not entirely separate. In most cases a particular stem will function only in the range traditionally associated with nominals (verbal argument, vocative and in verbless clauses), or particles (exclamation, clause modifier and conjunction). There are, however, some stems which may function across these ranges. One of those which does so, is the Negator amala.

1. njek wik amala pat-ka-ka-ngi
   1sg water Neg 1sgSNC-RED-have-r
   I have no water
In ex 1 amala is a part of an NP argument, wik amala. However it normally functions as a non-argument as in

2. atjangki ngiri amala-wu-n nal-wa
   maybe dog Neg-DAT-CONS man-could be
   Maybe it is a dog if not it could be a man

where it functions as a conjunction, or in;

3. amala   kan-yinj
   Neg    POT1sgS-go irr
   He did not go

where it functions as an adverb. Another example of a stem functioning as both an adverb and an argument is tumkika 'sleep' which is most commonly found with in adverbial function the verb yu-ng 'to lie/to sleep'.

4. pat-yu-ng    tumkika
   1sgSNC-lie-r    sleep
   I am going to go to sleep

However it can function as an argument.

5. wanjlak angilak    at-kut-tj-ang    tumkika-yang
   today     here  1sgSC-get up-Aux-r    sleep-OR
   I just got up from sleep then

The number of stems which may function as adverbs or particles, as well as verbal arguments is very small. Therefore it would seem reasonable to use the term nominal as a description for a stem class, covering stems which function as verbal arguments, vocatives and in verbless clauses, while recognising that it is somewhat fuzzy round the edges (This parallels the fuzzy definitions we have for NP and clause, see 5.7.3). Particles are that class of stems which function as exclamations, clause modifiers and conjunctions. No adverb stem class is established. Stems which can function as adverbs will be classified as either particles or nominals.

In Waray there do not appear to be any major correlations between affixes and stem classes. Most affixes can be affixed to both Verbal
Complexes and nominal stems. The following is a list of those affixes which are found exclusively with one class or the other.

a) Nominals only

- nanak  
- pa  
- wanjuk  
- minj  
- kul-

only, enough (see 3.8.1)  
perlative (see 3.14)  
like (see 3.15)  
first (see 5.9.4)  
Speaker's Opinion (see 5.10)

b) Verbs only

- pwuy  

perlative (see 4.6)

There do not appear to be any consistent semantic or functional criteria which would determine why these affixes, and not others such as -lul 'a pair' (see 3.8.1), or -ngan 'Focus' (see 5.9.1), occur exclusively with one stem class or the other. Neither in Waray does it appear to be a profitable exercise to attempt to establish separate classes of affixes and clitics. No clitic class is posited in this grammar and all bound morphemes are treated as affixes.

3.2 Structure of Nominals.

A nominal stem may consist solely of a root, or it may consist of a root and either or both of a noun class prefix and the Oblique suffix. Diagrammatically nominal stems may be represented so;

(Class Marker) + Root + (Oblique)

3.2.1 The Noun Class System.

The noun class system is a problematic area in the analysis of Waray. The system appears to be semi-lexicalised (see 3.2.1.5). There are four noun classes, al- Feminine, a- Masculine, an- Body Part and 0- a residual class which includes the great majority of nouns in the language. There are considerable irregularities in the noun class system especially in relation to the maintenance of concord. Given the problems with concord the clearest way of describing how the system works is to consider the
behaviour of the class markers firstly with nouns and then with adjectives.

3.2.1.1 The Occurrence of the Class Markers with Nouns.

The human female class marker shows the most consistent pattern of occurrence of the three substantive class markers. It occurs on all roots which inherently refer to human females or which refer to humans without inherent gender.

\[ \text{al-kulpe} \quad \text{woman} \\
F\text{-woman} \\
\text{al-wulkan} \quad \text{sister} \\
F\text{-sibling} \\
\text{a-wulkan} \quad \text{brother} \\
M\text{-sibling} \]

Kinship terms which are used for address form an exception to this. Waray has some kin terms which are used for address only, some which are used for both address and reference, and some which are used for reference only. Terms which are used for reference only are class marked, whereas the other two types are not class marked.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>reference term</th>
<th>address term</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mother</td>
<td>al-walin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>address</td>
<td>pulpul</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aunt</td>
<td>tjukung (both reference and address)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This lack of class marking on kin terms used for address, and indeed further for vocatives in general, is found in all the prefixing languages of Northern Australia for which there is accurate information. Marithiyel (Green pers com), Ngan.ki Kurungkur (Reid pers com), Nunggubuyu (Heath 1984 p217 + p222), Ngalakan (Merlan 1983 p56), Mangarayi (Merlan 1982 p77), Warndarang (Heath 1980 p32) and Mara (Heath 1981 p94) all have noun class systems which are realised through prefixes to the root. In all of these languages address kin terms do not take class marking. In Ngalakan, Mangarayi, Warndarang, Nunggubuyu and Mara vocatives in general are not class marked. In Waray words such as al-tumaru 'old woman' retain class marking when they are used vocatively.

In Wakiman, which does not have a noun class system, reference kin
terms consist of the address terms and the prefixes nu- Masc and ngal-Fem (cognate with Waray al-) and a suffix -mang.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>address</th>
<th>reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sister</td>
<td>piyak~piyakin</td>
<td>ngal-piyak-mang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grandf</td>
<td>munti</td>
<td>nu-munti-mang</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Presumably this lack of class marking for address kin terms and vocatives over what constitutes a very diverse group of languages results from some universal feature of noun class systems.

If we further examine Nunggubuyu, where the noun class system is very important, we find that it is possible to omit class marking from any noun (Heath op cit pp169-170). Heath states that the absence of a class prefix is correlated with the foregrounding and focussing of the nominal. As the vocative use of a nominal is the most foregrounded and focussed it can have, it is obvious from this why vocatives lack class marking in Nunggubuyu at least.

The question then arises as to why focussed and foregrounded nouns should lack class marking. The answer would appear to follow from the function of a noun class system. The purpose of a noun class system is presumably to indicate which out of a number of potential groups of nouns a noun actually belongs to (Often these groupings then play an important part in discourse cohesion - they do not do so in Waray).

When a speaker uses a nominal in a foregrounded and focussed sense, they are primarily interested in gaining the hearer's attention rather than in indicating any grouping (or related discourse) function. Therefore there is less reason to class mark such nominals.

Given that vocatives are the paradigm case of such nominals, and that in traditional society address kin terms were an important class of vocatives it is unsurprising to find that address kin terms lack class marking in a wide variety of very distantly related languages.

The extent to which other nominals lack class marking probably depends on how important the noun class system is in each language. In Nunggubuyu, where the noun class system is very important (e.g. for discourse tracking), the class markers may be omitted from any nominal. In Waray where the system is unimportant from any functional perspective, the occurrence of class marking in nominals is entirely lexically controlled.

While al-, despite the variations in its occurrence, always marks human female referents the same cannot be said of a- as a marker of the
category Human Male. It does occur on three roots which inherently refer to human males;

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>a-tjurin</th>
<th>little boy</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a-lil</td>
<td>young boy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a-tjamuru</td>
<td>policeman</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

and on two reference kin terms, wulkan 'sibling' and wanjtjang 'cross cousin', where it and al- serve to distinguish the sex of the referent (see Table 1.1). The two perform the same function with the four section names (see Table 1.2). They also derive from the word Waray the terms;

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>a-waray</th>
<th>Waray male</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>M-waray</td>
<td>Waray female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-waray</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F-waray</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

a- also occurs on the only inherently mixed sex noun in Waray a-karakeli 'a married couple'. These are the only nouns which a- occurs on. All other nouns which inherently refer to human males do not take a-.

With nouns an- is the body part class marker. This nominal body part class is different from the body part class found in verbal incorporation (see 4.1.2). The nominal body part class does not include things such as sweat, spit, snot, hair, blood, urine, shit etc. The underlying semantic concept appears to be that things which may easily be separated from the body are not included in the nominal body part class, whereas they are included in the verbal body part class. Within this semantic criterion all human, animal or plant body part terms are marked with an-. The only exceptions are palmuk 'wing' and yatjay 'gizzard' which should take an-, and an-ngar 'fur' and an-pun 'feather' which apparently should not. Also semantically irregularly included in the nominal body part class are an-nji 'name' and an-mewel 'clothes'. These two are also partially included in the verbal body part class (see 4.1.2).

3.2.1.2 The Occurrence of the Class Markers with Adjectives.

While the occurrence of the class markers with nouns is predictable lexically, their occurrence with adjectives is not equivalently predictable. Normally in a language with a noun class system realised by prefixes to the nouns and adjectives, it would be expected that the adjectives would
agree with the nouns and/or their referents. While adjectives can display concord in Waray they do not have to do so. Indeed in general they probably fail to display concord as often as display it.

Adjectives take al-, a- or an- (i.e. there are no 0- marked adjectives in Waray). Al- occurs only when its NP has a human female referent, but not all adjectives in NPs with human female referents are marked with al-. Adjectives in these NPs can be marked with a- or an-. The factors which control the occurrence of al- with adjectives are not entirely clear.

It appears that al- will appear when it occurs in an NP which is providing new information but is not likely to appear when the NP is providing given information. New and given are intended in the sense given them by Halliday and Hasan 1976 p326 "a new element, expressing what the speaker is presenting as information that is not recoverable to the hearer from other sources; and a given element expressing what the speaker is presenting as information that is recoverable to the hearer from some source or other in the environment".

Since predicate adjectives usually provide new information about an entity and modifier adjectives tend to provide given information, the division between new and given coincides to a fair degree with the division between predicate and modifier adjectives.

1. njek al-mutek-wak:u at-yunguy-inj pul
   1sg F-big-DIM 1sgSNC-go-impf trouble
   pa-tjim-u-n pa-pu-tji-nj
   3plS-come-DAT-CONS 3plS-hit-recip-r
I was still adolescent when the war (started). They came and fought.

2. kwok an-turn an-kimitj ampa-wanjuk ka-yinj-yinj
   Don't know BP-eye BP-face where-like NC-R-be irr
   (lit. I don't know, what is her face like?)
What does she look like?

   al-puruu ka-yinj-yinj mitja an-tjakmi-wu ka-kan-ka-n
   F-tall NC-R.-be irr hair CI-straight-OBL NC-R-have-irr
She is tall and she has straight hair.

In both ex 1 and 2 we have predicate adjectives (underlined) which are providing new information. However predicate adjectives do not always convey new information.
3. ngunj a-waru an-ka-yinj-yinj  
   2sg Cl-bad 2sgS-NC-R-be irr  
   You, you're really bad (addressed to a girl)

In many if not most contexts this statement is not meant to convey  
new information. Equally modifier adjectives may be part of an NP which  
is providing new information.

4. eping katji ka-tjim-in  
   who that NC-come-irr  
   Who is that coming up?

   al-kulpe al-mutek-tjangki an-mewel an-pitpit:-u njim  
   F-woman F-big-very BP-clothes Cl-red-OBL wear  
   It is a very big woman wearing a red dress.

One very interesting example occurs in Text 11 line 13.

5. pa-kuntiyi-n-inj an-tjerinj al-mutek  
   3plS-play-irr-impf Cl-one F-big  
   lit. They played around, the big female one.  
   He played around with his older daughter.

Here we have the adjective modifier carrying al-, but the adjective  
head does not. In some cases al- does not occur even though it is supplying  
new information.

6. al-wulkan ngunj-u-wu ampa yatjinj  
   F-sibling 2sg-OBL-DAT where go r  
   Where has your sister gone?

   kaking al-kulpe an-turk:-u tjim ngulak mi  
   yesterday F-woman Cl-white-OBL come here get r  
   pa-yatjinj-lul putawan  
   3plS-go r-pair Darwin  
   She has gone to town with that white woman who  
came here yesterday.

Here we have alkulpe anturk:u 'white woman' even though this NP  
conveys new information. There are a number of possible explanations for
this state of affairs. One is that the white woman is obviously not the
topic of this particular sequence of clauses. In all of the preceding
examples the NP with the al- marked adjective has been the topic of its
text (brief as these "texts" are). Therefore it is possible that
considerations of textual topicality (as opposed to individual clause level
themes, see 5.7.1) play a role in determining the occurrence of al-.

A second is that an-turk:-u may be an adjective which does not
permit al- variants (no form *al-turk:-u is attested). As we shall see in
the ensuing discussion some adjectives take only one or the other of the
other two class markers a- and an-, on a lexically controlled basis. This
would explain why an-tjerinj 'one', occurs without female class marking
in ex 5. It is not attested in a feminine form *al-tjerinj, either.

A third alternative is that the idea that al- has a general
cou-occurrence with new information is incorrect, and that some other
factors account for the occurrence of al- with adjectives. A detailed
analysis of some long texts and conversation (neither of which is
available) is required to determine the validity of the new information and
lexical control hypotheses in relation to al-.

The distribution of a- and an- with adjectives is somewhat
complicated. Some adjectives take only one or the other. 'Big' for example
is always a-mutek never *an-mutek, whereas 'little' is always an-wak
and never *a-wak. In cases such as this, the choice of which class marker
an adjective will take appears to be entirely randomly lexically controlled
(the dictionary lists which class markers each adjective takes). Most
adjectives permit either a- or an-. There are three factors which control
which appears.

Firstly there is the noun class of the referent the NP containing the
adjective. Referents from the al-, a- or an- classes virtually always take
a- (apart of course from when al- class referents take al- marked
adjective). Referents from the 0- class take a- and an- about evenly. There
do not ,from the data available, appear to be any factors such as predicate
vs modifier, or old vs new information governing which is chosen. The
choice appears to be random. However in the same way that some
adjectives take only one or the other of a- or an-, some adjectives appear
to prefer a- or an- with 0- class referents. Thus 'cold' is mostly a-lal
rather than an-lal-u, and 'sweet/pleasing' is usually an-maymak:-u
rather than a-maymak. These preferences appear to be random as the
choices of only a-, or only an- are.

There are not enough examples of variable adjectives with higher
animates such as dogs, ghosts or kangaroos (all 0- class) to determine
whether the fact that an- occurs basically with 0- class referents only, should be restated as an- occurs only with referents lower on the referentiality hierarchy than some point. Comparative evidence from Jawoyn would suggest that the occurrence of a- vs an- with variable adjectives, is in fact so controlled by referentiality (see 3.2.1.5).

The second factor controlling the choice is function. When adjectives function as adverbs or as comments on situations (this second function is restricted to a-muk:u 'good' and a-waru 'bad' in the data available), or as the equivalents of English quality nouns such as coldness or heat, they almost always take a-.

3.2.1.3 Compounds.

Compounding, apart from one particular and restricted type, is not a productive process in Waray. Compounds may consist of two nouns or a noun followed by an adjective. The following exemplify the types of noun-noun compounds found;

1. ngupat-yul
   foot-ground
   by/on foot

2. an-nepat-pitinj
   BP-hand-nail
   fingernail

3. an-ngupat-pung
   BP-foot-print
   footprint

Example 1 is the only example of a compound consisting solely of two roots without a class marker of some kind. It is not clear whether an- occurs in ex 2 and 3 because the compound refers to a body part, or because the initial members an-nepe 'hand' and an-ngupe 'foot' describe body parts (i.e. is the compound to be analysed as Class Marker + Nominal Root + Nominal Root or is it to be analysed as Nominal Stem + Nominal Root). In view of the fact that ex 1, which does not describe a body part, lacks it probably the former alternative is to be preferred.

an-nepe and an-ngupe are two of the four nominals which have different roots in compounds from elsewhere. The other two are an-kipe
'back' and a-pwuye-an-pwuye-ru 'smelly' which have compound roots kipat- and pwuyet- respectively. Evidence from compounds involving 'smelly'

4. an-nguk-pwuye-pwuye
    BP-guts-smelly-smelly
    beetle sp (lit stinking guts)

5. an-pwuyet-pwuye-ru
    CI-smelly-smelly-OBL
    Chinese mint-hiptus (lit really stinking one)

suggests that the compound forms of the root are used only when that root is the first root in the compound. There are no examples of hand, foot or back in second position in a compound. Example 5 is different from all other compounds attested, consisting as it does of the same adjective twice. It is probably better viewed as a type of reduplication, though it conforms structurally to compound rather than reduplication patterns (see 3.6 and 3.8.1.1). It is not clear why an oblique stem variant occurs in ex 5, but not in ex 4.

In noun-adjective compounds the adjective always follows the noun, as it usually does in NP's. The adjective appears in its root form only, without the class markers that occur on adjectives in their free forms. One group of these compounds has the form;

6. an-kara-pitpit
    BP-leg-red
    plant sp-leea rubra (lit red leg)

7. an-nepat-tjerinj
    BP-hand-one
    five (lit one hand)

These compounds could be analysed as Class Marker + Noun Root + Adjective Root or as Nominal Stem + Adjective Root. Following the argument given previously we will accept the first of these alternatives and assume that the class marker an- occurs because the whole compound literally describes a body part. The other type of noun-adjective compound consists of the class marker a- followed by a noun root and then an adjective root.
8. a-ngoni-wirang  
   Ci-language-different  
   a different language/tribe

A particular member of this class is the only example of a fully productive compounding process in Waray. It involves the adjective a-maymak-an-maymak:-u 'sweet/pleasing'. If this adjective is compounded with an inanimate noun X then the resulting compound means that some person Y really likes X (to say that Y likes person X the verb mulmek-mi is used).

9. kiri amala kan-in-wu-n a-kiri-maymak:-u  
   money Neg POT-n3plO-give-irr Ci-money-pleasing-OBL  
   He never gives us any money. He really likes money  
   (He is a miser)

10. al-kala a-wik-maymak:-u  
    F-3sg Ci-booze-pleasing-OBL  
    She really likes her booze

As with ex 5 it is not clear why a Oblique variant is used. In some cases it is difficult to be sure whether a word is a compound or not. For example an-pat is 'knee' and moon is 'karang'; an-pat-karang is 'kneecap'. In this case it seems likely that it is a compound. Occasionally irregular stress patterns reveal old compounds.

11. angángtipit:u  
    tree sp

    is presumably historically derived from an-nganti 'throat' and an-pitpit:-u 'red'. If this word were a normal noun it should be stressed;

    ángangtipit:u

    With words such as

12. ápamkúpam  
    snake sp  
    (from an-pam 'head' and a-kupam 'lots'?)
with normal stress and no obvious connection between the referent of the word and the members of the putative compound, it is better to regard them as unanalysable.

3.2.1.4 Glossing The Class Markers.

From the preceding discussion it may be observed that there are considerable variations in the functions of the class markers. al- always refers to human females and so may simply be glossed as F for female. a- and an- show a much greater range of uses and it is not possible to give them one gloss. Accordingly a- will be glossed M for male and an- as BP for body part when they have these meanings. Elsewhere a- and an- will simply be glossed CI for class marker.

3.2.1.5 The Development of The Noun Class System.

Dixon 1982 (pp217-218) gives the following definition of a noun class system - " noun classes constitute a closed grammatical system, with a finite (usually fairly small) and determinable number of choices involved; each noun belongs to one class and few (or none) will correspond to more than one class. Noun class is shown by morphological processes which can apply to the noun itself and must apply to some other constituent; they sometimes combine information about noun class and number, case or definiteness. The morphological process most often involves adding an affix or clitic to constituents of a number of specified grammatical types."

Waray meets all of these criteria except " Noun class is shown by morphological processes which .............. must apply to some other constituent;". The odd thing about Waray is the general lack of concord between nouns and adjectives. It is such an odd feature that the question of how this lack of concord developed immediately presents itself. An answer that it is the result of a language death situation presents itself equally immediately.

However there are two good reasons for believing that this obvious answer is not correct. Firstly, while there is little previous material on Waray, Hoddinott did record some material of a very old Waray man in Adelaide River in 1967. There is only a small amount of material recorded, but in what there is, there are some examples of 'woman' being modified by 'big' and 'little'. The forms this speaker uses are
1. al-kulpe a-mutek  
   \textit{F-woman} \textit{Cl-big}

2. al-kulpe an-wak:-u  
   \textit{F-woman} \textit{Cl-little-OBL}

Here we may observe a- and an- being used in an NP with a human female referent. Given that Hoddinott's informant shows the same variability as my teachers, it would seem reasonable to view the variability as being a fact of Waray, not a result of some language death factors.

The second reason for discounting language death as a factor is that the noun class system as described for Waray is obviously closely related to the noun class system that occurs in Jawoyn (Merlan: Jawoyn Grammar - unpublished ms). The system in Jawoyn shows basically the same oddities in concord that Waray does (Jawoyn is spoken by a much larger group of people than Waray and there is no reason to attribute the Jawoyn system to language death). Therefore these oddities must be reconstructed for the language ancestral to Waray and Jawoyn. This means that their occurrence in Waray cannot be attributed to language death phenomena to any significant degree.

Jawoyn, like Waray, has a complex noun class system. The brief description given here is intended only to bring out the significant similarities and differences between the two. Jawoyn has four noun classes, marked by ngal- (Feminine), na- (Masculine), ngan- (Adverbial), 0- (the rest). Both the prefixes and the classes themselves are obviously related to those in Waray. Ngal- covers pretty much the same range as al-; na-marks many more masculine nouns in Jawoyn than a- does in Waray but some masculine nouns are still unmarked in Jawoyn; ngan- covers a much broader use in Jawoyn than an- does in Waray but one of its major uses is to mark body parts. As in Waray most nouns are in the 0- class. There is some dialectal variation in Jawoyn. Speakers from the area towards Bamyili tend to expand na- into the range of ngan- in spontaneous speech.

As in Waray there is considerable variation in concord within NPs, and furthermore there is considerable similarity between the variations that occur in Jawoyn and those that occur in Waray. In both languages the Female ngal- shows the clearest maintenance of concord. In Jawoyn a na-class demonstrative is occasionally found preceding a ngal- class head; in Waray as we have seen an a- class adjective will occur with an al-class head rather more frequently (3.2.1.2). In Jawoyn na- class nouns
nearly always take na- modifiers. The same thing occurs in Waray (3.2.1.2). Ngan- class nouns take na- demonstratives and modifying adjectives have na- and ngan- about equally. In Waray an- class nouns take a- adjectives (3.2.1.2). In Jawoyn 0- class nouns take na- marked demonstratives. 0-class nouns tend to take na- on any other type of modifier if the noun refers to a higher animate. If the 0-class noun is lower down the referentiality hierarchy then it tends to take a ngan- adjective. Alternatively the noun and the adjective are compounded as a 0-, ngan-, or very rarely a na- class compound. In Waray 0-class nouns take a- and an- about equally on adjectives (3.2.1.2). Compounding is not really a productive process in Waray but such 0-class noun adjective compounds are found all take a- (3.2.1.3).

These obvious similarities make it reasonable to reconstruct a noun class system for Proto-Waray-Jawoyn which had four noun classes. These were:

1. A class of human female nouns all of which were marked by *ngal-.
2. A class of human male nouns, a number but not all of which were marked by *na-
3. A class of nouns including most body parts and geographical features marked by *ngan-. (This class was basically a part class. There is evidence in Waray for an- having had a wider range including geographical features. This will be dealt with in a separate article).
4. All the remaining nouns were *0-class.

From the similarities in the variations it is reasonable to say that in head modifier NPs *na- marked modifiers could occur with any type of head, though rarely with *ngal- class heads. 0-class nouns lower down the referentiality hierarchy could also take *ngan- class modifiers. The variability is therefore not of recent origin in Waray.

That is not to say of course that there have been no changes in Waray since Proto-Waray-Jawoyn. As well as the similarities there are some interesting and significant differences between Waray and Jawoyn. In Jawoyn demonstratives take class marking. Demonstratives never take class marking in Waray. The class marker counts as part of the root for stress assignment purposes (2.3.3), and class marked nouns do not lose the class marker even when used vocatively in Waray. In Jawoyn the class markers do not function as a part of the root for stress assignment
purposes, and may be omitted if the noun is used vocatively. There are a small number of exceptions in Jawoyn where the class marker is frozen onto the root. Thus ngal-muka 'woman' receives stress on the first syllable (it would otherwise receive it on the second) and the ngal- cannot be deleted when the noun functions as a vocative.

All class marked nouns and all adjectives in Waray behave in the same way as the small number of frozen nouns do in Jawoyn. This fact together with the evidence that adjectives in Waray are gradually choosing only one of a- or an- shows that in Waray there is a drift towards the lexicalisation of the noun class system. Given however that there is this small group of frozen nouns in Jawoyn, the lexicalisation process must be viewed at least as a drift inherent in the proto noun class system. This means that it is quite reasonable to regard the lexicalisation which has occurred in Waray as a natural furtherance of this inherent drift and to assume that it had already taken place in pre-contact Waray.

Therefore it seems most unlikely that the noun class system as described here is the result of language death factors. Elsewhere Mrs White's Waray shows little evidence of language death (the only potential area is a type of verbal reduplication. see 4.5). Indeed as we remarked in 1.1 it does not appear that Waray has really undergone a classic language death situation. It appears that it moved very rapidly from being the main medium of communication to a very secondary role, and so language death has had little chance to operate.

3.2.1.6 Criteria for the Division of Stems into Roots and Class Markers.

From the preceding discussion of the noun class system it should be obvious that we cannot say that merely because a nominal has an initial syllable al-, a- or an- that it is automatically divisible into a noun class marker and a root. Indeed as Waray has undergone initial dropping (al-, a- and an- coming from *ngal-, *na- and *ngan- for example) it is certain that in some cases such as ampa 'where', the initial a- is not even historically a noun class marker.

Therefore it is necessary to provide some criteria which will justify dividing a stem into a class marker and a root. The criteria employed are;

1. Occurrence with more than one class marker.

This criterion enables us to divide most adjective (all in fact if they can all take al-; some are not attested with al- in the available data - see
3.2.1.2) and the noun stems with variable gender noun roots such as wulkan 'sibling'.

2. Morphological processes applying only to the root or to the class marker.

   a) Adjectival inchoatives and factitives are based on the root only. (As with 1. above this criterion enables us to divide all adjectives, assuming that they can all occur in inchoatives and factitives; again some are not so attested in the available data).

   b) When body part nouns are compounded in verb stems only the root appears (see 4.1.2).

   c) When nouns with inherent human reference are reduplicated to show collectivity only the root is reduplicated. This process is restricted to roots which are a closed disyllable or greater in length. In such roots the initial syllable and the first CV of the second syllable are reduplicated.

1. tja-pula  
   old man  
   old man  

2. a-l-tumaru  
   F-old woman  
   old woman  

3. a-tjurin  
   M-little boy  
   little boy  

4. nal  
   a-mutek-tjangki  
   an-kurung  
   wuk:i-yiwu  
   man  CI-big-very  
   BP-arm  
   twisted-COM  
   ka-yinj-yinj  
   NC-R-be  
   He is a very big man with a twisted arm. ('twisted' is normally a-wuk:i-an-wuk:i-wu)

This criterion enables us to say that a-tjawitjawitju 'bis' is
divisible as the following example shows;

5. njil-a an-nguk tjawitjawitju an-tji an-twuy
   bring-imp BP-guts ibis BP-liver BP-heart
   an-tjaway wang nguk yik:iring-u pali-tja-nj
   BP-lungs meat guts 1plexc-DAT 1pISNC-eat-r
   Bring us ibis guts, liver, heart, lungs. (Bring) the
   insides for us. We will eat them.

There are two examples of the omission of BP class marker on a head
noun;

6. letma pan-ya-m-inj
   tooth 1sgO-swear-Aux-r
   He swore at me (an-letma tooth)

7. minj kupulung ka-yu-yu
   belly side NC-R-lie
   He is lying on his side (an-minj belly)

3. Belonging to a semantic class which has evidence of division for most
   of its members from criteria 1 and 2.

Criteria 1 and 2 do not provide evidence for division of stems such as
al-kulpe 'woman' and a-lii 'boy'. However both of these belong to
semantic classes of human female and male respectively which have
evidence of division for other members (e.g. ex 2 and 3). Therefore it
seems reasonable to divide these words as well. Similarly as there is
evidence for the division of most adjective stems, all adjective stems are
analysed as divisible.

If a nominal does not fall under one of these criteria then it is not
divided into a class marker and a root. This principle covers words like
ampa which we have observed probably never involved noun class markers;
words like angiku 'dingo' and alkaway 'catfish' which may have involved
a class marker; and words like apulangu 'saltwater crocodile' which
definitely do involve a class marker historically.

The adjective a-pulang-u 'wild/savage' is divisible on morphological
grounds into a class marker a- and a root pulang. However there is no
evidence that the noun apulangu 'saltwater crocodile', which is
undoubtedly derived from the adjective, is so divisible. The same thing
 applies to anmaymak:u 'freshwater crocodile' and an-maymak:-u 'sweet/pleasing', and to apinjku 'death adder' and a-pinjku 'left-handed'.

A larger database would probably produce evidence of divisibility for more nominals through the rare omission-of-class marker criterion. There are a number of cases where there is a contrast between 0- and a- or an-.

8. nguk
   shit/guts
   Shit/guts

   an-nguk
   BP-guts/insides
   guts/insides

9. wili
   construction

   anwili
   dreaming place

10. tjetjam
    grass
    (note the different final nasals)

    antjetpan
    grass platform

11. mariwak:u
    long ago
    old

    an-mariwak:u
    Cl-long ago

12. lulak
    shade

    alulak
    shelter (made from branches)

13. kutang
    clever fellow
    witchdoctor

    a-kutangyi
    Cl-clever
    clever

14. malamala
    leaves
    leaves on the ground

    an-mara
    BP-leaf
    leaf on a tree

There is also;

15. wik
    water

    an-wik
    skin

but these are unrelated historically coming from *wak 'water' and *ngan-wik 'skin' respectively.
3.2.2 Classifier-like NPs.

Waray, as well as having a noun class system, there are certain NPs which look at first glance as if they consist of a classifier followed by a head. These NPs involve the generic terms wang 'meat/animal' and muya 'tucker/non-flesh food'.

1. ka-pa-pu-k:a-n wang tjanimj 
   NC-3plS-hunt-Aux-irr animal kangaroo 
   They are hunting kangaroos.

2. al-mantupa muya tjela pa-pin-inj 
   F-women tucker yam sp 3plS-dig-impf 
   The women have dug up lots of tjela yams.

In the combinations wang tjanimj and muya tjela, wang and muya look much like classifiers. However to view them as such would be a serious mistake both on cultural and linguistic grounds. Culturally the Aboriginal view of things such as kangaroos and yams in everyday life is primarily in terms of food, not as things in and of themselves. Thus it is perfectly natural for an Aboriginal person to say "I went hunting for wang 'flesh food' / muya 'non-flesh food'" and then to specify the particular type of food.

This produces a head - modifier construction which linguistically is parallel to any other head - modifier NP. Examples of other head - modifier NPs with two nouns instead of the more usual noun - adjective combination are;

3. wek tjetpam amala kan-pa-lu-k:a-n-u-n 
   fire grass Neg POT-3plS-light-Aux-irr-DAT-CONS 
   amala kan-nu-n pin pa-lu-k:a-ngi nu-y a-lil Neg POT-burn-irr but 3plS-light-Aux-r burn-r M-boy 
   wek-yi fire-erg 
   If they had not lit that grass fire (that boy) would not have been burnt, but they lit it and the fire burnt him (to death).

where we have wek tjetpam 'grass fire'.
4. yu at-tjalak-m-inj yumpal langwalak:u
   yes 1sgSC-show-Aux-r tree ironwood
Yes I showed him that ironwood tree.

where we have yumpal langwalak:u 'ironwood tree'. The Waray word
wang is fairly much equivalent to the English lexeme 'game', and covers
the range of the English lexemes 'meat', that is flesh food, which in Waray
includes eggs;

5. wang an-kuntu ka-pa-pa-tji yok-lik
   meat BP-egg NC-3plS-search for-irr sand-LOC
They are searching for eggs in the sand.

and 'animal'. However its use to mean 'animal' is very restricted.
wang will only be used in this meaning when there is no specific term to
designate the animal in question. Thus we have 'rainbow' kulunjti and

6. wang kulunjti
   animal rainbow
The rainbow serpent.

In stories once reference is established the rainbow serpent is
usually referred to simply as wang 'animal'. Similarly as there is no
Waray name for native bees, they are simply called wang;

7. yumpal amala kan-a-tjat-tjat-li wang
   stick Neg POT-2plS-R-poke-Aux irr animal
   kan-ngal-ni-nj    kan-in-pi
   POT-come out-Aux-ncPOT POT-n3plO-bite ncPOT
   a-pulang ka-yinj-yinj
   Cl-savage NC-R-be irr
Don't keep on poking that tree. The bees might come
out and bite you. They are savage.

Two introduced animals, cattle and buffalo are called;

8. wang an-pitpit:-u
   animal Cl-red-OBL
cattle (lit. red animal).
9. wang an-kutjik:-u
   animal Cl-black-OBL
   buffalo (lit. black animal)

On the other hand the introduced animal, the horse has its own term nentu. Finally there is the compound;

10. wang an-tum
    animal BP-eye
    bullet (lit. animal eye)

This compound is clearly metaphorical in reference and could perhaps be better translated as 'the animate eye'. There is also a compound;

11. wek an-tum
    fire BP-eye
    match (lit. fire eye)

Matches can also simply be called wek 'fire'.

3.2.3 Irregular Stems.

The major class of irregular stems are oblique stems (consisting of a simple stem and the oblique suffix). Oblique stems occur where from context and meaning only a simple stem (a class marker + a root) would be expected, and the oblique suffix does not appear to have any function. Only certain classes of nominals; pronouns, adjectives and the demonstrative ana 'there' have oblique stems.

The oblique suffix is formally the same as the dative suffix having the same allomorphs (see 5.2.5); -wu after vowels and -u after consonants (with the consonant being long). The oblique is undoubtedly derived from the dative historically. This is shown by the fact that oblique stems may occur with all of the case suffixes except the dative. The only exceptions are the 1st and 2nd singular pronouns which have variants with the dative case marker following the oblique suffix, as well as the normal forms with the dative marker suffixed to a simple stem.

1. pap:a njek:-u-wu at-kul-m-inj wang pan-wu-y
   sibling 1sg-OBL-DAT 1sgSC-ask-Aux-r meat 1sgO-give-r
   I asked my sister to give me some meat.
2. ngiri wa-wa-m-al-anj nilek:-u
dog R-bark-Aux-irr-impf 1sg-DAT
The dogs were barking at me.

3. wang nguni-u-wu
meat 2sg-OBL-DAT
The meat is yours.

4. an-nga-m yilinj tji-yi nguni-u
2sgS-hear-r how say-r 2sg-DAT
Did you hear what he said to you?

Function (see 5.2.5 for the functions marked by the dative) appears to be the main factor controlling which of the two variants occurs. The oblique variant nearly always occurs in genitive function and is the commoner variant in other functions, with the simple variant being extremely rare in genitive function and more common in other functions. With pronouns there is a clear correlation between the occurrence of oblique stems and the pronoun being in the rheme of a clause (i.e. in non-initial position). If the pronoun is in some other function then it will normally be in simple stem form.

5. ngiri letpal ka-ni-ni nilek:-u-lik
dog close NC-R-sit 1sg-OBL-LOC
The dog is sitting close to me.

6. anpat nguni-u-yang-an
can 2sg-OBL-S-FOC
(I got) that can from you.

7. nilek-lik mutjla pali-yatijnj-lul
1sg-LOC together 1plSNC-go r-pair
(He is) next to me. We two are walking together.

8. yepe-lik ka-ni-ni
1plinc-LOC NC-R-sit
He is sitting next to us.

While the correlation is strong, it is not absolute;
5. katji wanj         ka-tji-nj-u-n         katji a-kala-wu
   that like that   NC-do-irr-DAT-CONS  that NF-3sg-OBL
   njek  amala
   1sg  Neg
   That one can do as he likes, that one, he (can, so long
   as he does not bother) me.

Most adjectives occur in both simple and oblique stem form. However
some are attested only in simple stem form. Others are attested only in
oblique stem form. The dictionary lists the variants found for each
adjective. In some cases it is not possible to determine whether an
adjective occurs only in oblique form, or is a simple stem which ends in u.
The only way of resolving such cases is to examine the inchoatives and
factitives derived from these adjectives (only the root occurs in
inchoatives and factitives. see 3.4 and 3.5). However for a few adjectives
such as an-kengu 'new', inchoatives and factitives are not semantically
plausible, and so the question is not synchronically resolvable for these
adjectives (in this case the Jawoyn cognate kerrng 'new' clearly shows
that it is at least historically an oblique stem). Such adjectives have been
assigned to the simple stem class as there is no evidence for their being
oblique stems.

The qualification about attestation is important. Some adjectives are
only rarely attested in one or other of the variants and a larger database
would probably produce variants for some of those adjectives which are
presently attested only in one form.

The occurrence of oblique stems with adjectives appears to be
largely lexically controlled with most stems preferring one or the other
to a greater or lesser degree. The factors which control choice when
choice is possible are not clear. In such cases oblique stems show a
tendency, which is by no means absolute, to be found with referents low on
the referentiality hierarchy. This means that there is a general correlation
between the occurrence of simple vs oblique stems and the occurrence of
the noun class markers a- and an- for adjectives. Simple stems tend to
take a- (found with humans, see 3.2.1.2), whereas oblique stems tend to
take an- (found with non-humans, see 3.2.1.2).

As we have seen, pronominal oblique stems show a strong correlation
with being in the rHEME of the clause. It may be that adjectival oblique
stems did so originally as well. This could explain, at least historically,
why oblique stems are associated with the occurrence of the class marker
an- on adjectives. an- occurs with 0-class heads most of which are low
on the referentiality hierarchy (see 3.2.1.2). It seems possible that 0-
class referents are more likely to be in the rhemes than the themes of
clauses (this hypothesis would require a good body of textual material,
which does not exist, to prove). However an examination of the elicited and
textual material did not show this for oblique stems synchronically. There
were no significant correlations between the occurrence of oblique vs
simple stems and factors such as the adjective being in the theme vs the
rhem of a clause, or modifier vs predicate, or new vs old information.

The oblique variant ana-wu of ana 'there' is uncommon. In the few
examples it is attested in it is always in the clause initial theme position,
which is rather different to the situation found for pronouns. The simple
stem ana is usually bound when it occurs pre-verbally (3.11). The usual
free form of 'there' is anapa, which is also the stem used with suffixes. It
is not known what factors control the appearance of ana-wu.

The disparities in the functions among pronouns, adjectives and ana
suggests that oblique stems are not a recent innovation in Waray. What
their exact original function was, and why they are found with these three
classes of nominals, and not the other classes of nominals are not at
present clear. In Jawoyn, the related suffix -ku/-wu functions as a
nominal, temporal and locational specifier (Merlan pers com). It may be
that the Waray dative originally had a function similar to this.

Apart from these oblique stems there is also one noun le 'camp'
which has an irregular locational stem lerik (from *ler-lik camp-LOC).
In Waray 'to/at the camp' may be lerik, lerik-lik or rarely le-lik and
'from the camp' may be lerik-yang or le-yang.

3.3 Types of Nominals.

Nominals may be divided into nouns, pronouns and adjectives on
morphological grounds. Interrogatives, demonstratives, locational and
temporals are semantically defined subclasses of nouns.

The basic division between nouns and adjectives is a semantic one
between entities and qualities. In Waray, unlike many Aboriginal languages
this semantic boundary has two clear morphological correlates. The chief
morphological criterion which distinguishes adjectives from nouns is the
special pattern of occurrence they show with the class markers.
Adjectives are that class of nominal stems where not all occurrences of
the noun class markers are predictable from the referent(s) of the NP. All
other nominals are nouns.

This somewhat unusual definition produces a division between
adjectives and nouns which correlates closely with the basic semantic
division of entities and qualities. The only nominal which is problematic is
a-tjawitjawitju 'ibis'. The class marker here is unpredictable, but the
word is obviously a noun semantically. This grammar views semantics as
primary and therefore we regard a-tjawitjawitju as a noun with
irregular class marking. 0- class nominals such as lalatjim 'torn', which
are equivalent to adjectives in English are analysed as nouns.

3.4 Inchoatives.

The other morphological criterion for distinguishing nouns and
adjectives is that they take different inchoative suffixes. The adjectival
inchoative is -tji-nj (formally the same as the reciprocal suffix. see
4.4.7.2) and the noun inchoative is -nayi-nj. Thus we have;

1. a-kutj kutj
   Cl-wet
   wet
   i-kutj kutj-tji-nj
   1plSC-wet-inch-r
   We got wet.

2. kangik
   dark
   dark
   ka-kangik-nayi-n
   NC-dark-inch-irr
   It is getting dark.

One adjective a-mutek 'big' takes -nayi-nj.

3. a-mutek-nayi-nj nal-wiru ka-yinj-yinj kitjawak la-m
   M-big-inch-r man-really NC-R-be irr beard pierce-r
   He has become adult, he is a proper man, (his) beard
   has pierced through.

However a-mutek-nayi-nj does not mean 'to become big', rather it
means 'to become human male big' (to become a man). Given this meaning
the class marker a- is not functionless, as the class markers usually are
with adjectives. It carries the information human and male with it. Also it
means that a-mutek in ex 3 is functioning as a noun meaning 'the big
human male', not as an adjective meaning 'big'.

The verb for 'to become big' in the ordinary sense is kupam-tji-nj,
the inchoative of the adjective a-kupam 'lots'.
4. karang kupam-tji-nj a-mutek
   moon lots-inch-r CI-big
   The moon is waxing.

5. muya a-kupam ka-tjal-tja-l kupam-tji-nj
   tucker CI-lots NC-R-eat-irr lots-inch-r
   a-mutek-tjangki ka-yinj-yinj
   CI-big-very NC-R-be irr
   She eats too much, she has become big, she is really big

Further evidence that a-mutek-nayi-nj is an inchoative of a noun
a-mutek 'adult male' is that a-mutek-nayi-nj cannot be used of women,
as the adjective a-mutek can be. For women the form al-mutek-nayi-nj
with the female class marker must be used. This is the same as with the
nouns where the referent controls the class marking, whereas for
adjectives a- may occur with any referent. The one situation where 'to
become big' was not translated with kupam-tji-nj involves
al-mutek-nayi-nj

6. al-mutek-nayi-nj atjangki an-wak ka-kan-ka-n
   F-big-inch-r maybe CI-little NC-R-have-irr
   She has become female big. Maybe she will have the baby (soon).

As the translation shows this describes a specifically female way of
getting big (i.e. pregnancy). Thus in a-mutek-nayi-nj and
al-mutek-nayi-nj, a-mutek and al-mutek should be viewed as nouns
meaning 'human male big' and 'human female big' respectively. This means
that -nayi-nj may still be viewed as a noun inchoative.

We should note that -nayi-nj is quite rare. It occurred spontaneously
only with al-mutek, a-mutek and kangik. However when asked whether the
clause 'the old man turned to stone' (referring to a mythological event)
would be translated by

7. tjatpula kiri-tji-nj
   old man stone-inch-r

or

8. tjatpula kiri-nayi-nj
   old man stone-inch-r
my teacher stated that ex 8 was the correct way and that ex 7 was wrong. Therefore it is clear that Waray distinguishes nouns and adjectives by their inchoatives as well as by their class marking possibilities.

3.5 Factitives.

The factitive suffix is -wu-y. This is probably related to the Auxiliary -wu-y and the independent verb wu-y 'to give'. As in the case of the adjectival inchoative, only the root occurs in a factitive verb.

1. anpik  at-tjakmi-wu-y  
   string 1sgSC-straight-FA-r
   I straightened the string.

2. ameweal  at-tilmi-wu-y  
   BP-clothes 1sgSC-dry-FA-r
   I dried the clothes.

Factitives were not common in the data. Either the inherently factitive verb pula-m 'to make' was used

3. wan ka-tjipm-al a-malma-u ka-pula-n  
   meat NC-bash-Aux-irr Cl-soft-OBL NC-make-irr
   pali-tja-nj a-letma a-waru pat-yatjinj
   1plSNC-eat-r BP-tooth Cl-bad 1sgSNC-be r
   He is bashing the meat to make it soft for us to eat. I have bad teeth.

or else an inchoative and a separate cause clause was used. Thus 'You hang the spear over the fire to toughen it' was translated as

4. weklik  an-walng-wu-y kamu-tji-nj  
   fire-LOC 2sgS-hang over-Aux-r tough-inch-r
   You hung it over the fire and it became tough.

3.6 Comparison and Intensification.

There are no comparative or superlative forms as such in Waray. Intensive forms are used, so that instead of saying "X is bigger than Y" you
say "X is big, Y is very big". There are a number of ways of forming intensives.

One method is to add the suffix -wiru 'really/properly'.

1. a-wulkan njek:-u-wu a-mutek-tjangki ka-yinj-yinj
   M-sibling 1sg-OBL-DAT CI-big-very NC-R-be irr
   a-kala a-mutek-wiru ka-yinj-yinj
   NF-3sg CI-big-really NC-R-be irr
   My brother is very big, (but) he is really big.

This example also demonstrates an alternative way of expressing the concept 'very big'. In Waray 'big' normally takes the form a-mutek. However a variant a-mutek-tjangki (-tjangki is a bound morpheme which is only found in this word) frequently occurs. a-mutek and a-mutek-tjangki are fairly interchangeable but it does appear that a-mutek-tjangki means 'very big' as opposed to a-mutek 'big'.

Another method of intensifying an adjective involves partial reduplication of the root. This process does not appear to be very productive and there is not enough data to determine its limits. The data available suggests;

2. kitjawak an-puru-puruyu an-ka-kan-ka-n
   beard CI-R-long 2sgS-NC-R-have-irr
   You have a really long beard.

   a reduplication pattern congruent with that found in human nouns (3.8.1.1); reduplication of the first syllable and initial CV of the second syllable of a word which is a closed disyllable or greater in length. Other nominals reduplicate on this pattern.

3. wanjla
   now
   wanjla-wanjla
   right now

4. luklu
   hurry up
   luklu-luklu
   Come on and hurry up

However more evidence would be needed to be certain of this.

3.7 Diminutives.
The diminutive suffix in Waray is -wak:u. This is obviously related to the adjective an-wak-an-wak:-u 'little/small'. Indeed an-wak-wak:u with the diminutive suffix attached is a common variant of an-wak. Diminutives are not frequent in the database, but there is one extremely interesting example.

1. njek al-mutek-wak:u at-yunguy-inj pul
   1sg F-big-DIM 1sgSC-be-impf trouble
   pa-tjim-u-n pa-pu-tji-nj
   3pls-come-DAT-CONS 3pls-hit-recip-r
   I was a little bit big when the war (came). They came and fought.

In this example the DIM is attached to al-mutek 'big' to indicate that the speaker was on the verge of adulthood.

3.8 Quantification and Numerals.

3.8.1 The Quantifiers.

The following quantifiers occur in Waray.

- -nanak only, enough
  -lul a pair, two, both
  kerangkerang a few
  an-lang some
  a-kupam lots
  -muk all

1. -nanak : only, enough.

-nanak indicates that the textual situation is delimited by the word it is suffixed to.

1. kerangantjerinj amala keranglul-nanak pat-put-ka-ka-ngi
   three Neg two-only 1sgSNC-3plO-RED-have-r
   I do not (have) three (children), I only have two.

2. tanj-mi an-tjerinj-nanak yumpal li-nj
   cut-Aux-r Cl-one-only tree fall-r
(The axe)cut through in only one blow and the tree fell down.

3. njama-lul-nanak ma-na-y punin ngal-tjim
dlinc-pair-only 1dlincSC-see-r ghost up-come
Only the two of us saw the ghost come up.

4. ngiri ngunj-u-wu lalinj-nanak ka-pe-pe
dog 2sg-OBL-DAT goanna-only NC-R-bite irr
Your dog kills only goannas.

So far the examples have shown -nanak functioning as the equivalent of English 'only'. However in the following two examples it functions as the equivalent of English 'enough'.

5. kaking njikpa at-malak-li-linj katji-nanak
yesterday night 1sgSC-dance-Aux-impf that-enough
Last night I danced for a long time. That is enough.

6. mimi tjatpula amala kat-na-n mariwak:u-yang-nanak
uncle old man Neg POT1sgS-see-irr long time-OR-enough
at-na-y pat-yatjinj pat-na-y mulkingla
1sgSC-see-r 1sgSNC-go r 1sgSNC-see-r poor fellow
wakmiwu ka-ni-ni
alone NC-R-sit
I have not seen old uncle. It is a long enough time
since I saw him. I will go and see him. Poor fellow,
he is all alone.

-nanak is a nominal suffix. It cannot be added to a VC. Thus to say 'He can only sing, he cannot dance' only

7. wirin-nanak ka-wirin-pu-n pin amala kan-nuw-i
song-only NC-sing-Aux-irr but Neg POT-dance-ncPOT
He can only sing songs, he cannot dance.

is possible.

8. "ka-wirin-pu-n-nanak
NC-sing-Aux-irr-only
is impossible. Similarly

9. njek-nanak at-na-y punin ngal-tjim njek:-u-wu
   1sg-only 1sgSC-see-r ghost out-come 1sg-OBL-DAT
   Only I saw the ghost come out, (only) me.

is the only possible way of presenting this statement.

10. *at-na-y-nanak
    1sgSC-see-r-only

is not an alternative.

2. -lul : pair.

-lul is a suffix which indicates that the group of entities which it
refers to is an aggregation of two subgroups. Normally it would be used
with groups that consist numerically of two entities. However it can be
used with groups that consist of more than two entities.

11. al-tumaru al-walin-miyi pa-yatjinj-lul
    F-old woman F-mother-DY 3plS-go r-pair
    The old woman, the mother and the daughters, they
    both went.

This sentence refers to a group of three people, a mother and her two
daughters. -lul is used as the group of three obviously consists of a
subgroup of the mother and a subgroup of the two daughters. It is not clear
how far this use of -lul for groups which are numerically more than two
goes. It is not known whether it is possible to say "the men and the
women, they both went" with reference to a large group or if -lul is
restricted to small groups in the general environ of numerical two.

Given that -lul does not mean 'two', it will of necessity have a variety
of translations. In ex 1 the use of 'both' while somewhat strange seems to
be about the best approximation available. In most cases either would do.

12. put-na-y-lul
    3plO-see-r-pair
    I saw both/the two of them.
In some cases only 'two' is a felicitous translation;

13. pap:a-lul  ka-pa-pu-tji-n-lul
    *sibling-pair  NC-3plS-hit-recip-r-pair
    The two brothers are fighting each other.
    *Both brothers are both fighting each other.

From the examples given so far it may be observed that -lul unlike -nanak may occur with VCs. However the occurrence of -lul with VCs is restricted in function. Firstly it may only modify the pronominal prefixes, not the verb itself. In Waray 'He can both sing and dance' must be translated as:

14. a-kala  ka-nuw-al  wirin  ka-wirin-pu-n  mutjla
    NF-3sg  NC-dance-irr  song  NC-sing-Aux-irr  too
    He can dance and he can sing songs too.

Secondly it modifies the prefixes on an ergative basis. If there is an Object prefix present then -lul must be interpreted as modifying it;

15. njama  in-pa-na-y-lul
    1dlin  n3plO-3plS-see-r-pair
    They saw us two/both.
    *They two saw us.

16. *njama  in-pa-na-y-muk
    1dlin  n3plO-3plS-see-r-all
    *They all saw us two.

Example 16 is unacceptable because the suffix -muk 'all' is incompatible with the specifically dual pronoun njama, even though there is no semantic reason why -muk could not modify pa- 3plS. If there is no Object prefix then -lul will modify the Subject prefix.
-lul is frequently to mark conjoined NPs.

17. njek  tjukung-lul  panini-nay-na-y  atjangki  tumkika
    1sg  aunt-pair  1plS  2ndONC-R-see-r  maybe  sleep
    keranglul  two
    Auntie and I, we will look after you, maybe for a
couple of days.

18. kak:u an-ka-nat-tji-nj tjukung-lul pali-yatjinj-lul after 2sgS-NC-UO-say-irr aunt-pair 1plSNC-go r-pair
pan-ka-ka-n putawan
1sgO-NC-take-irr Darwin
You tell him that aunt and I are going, she is taking me to Darwin.

Ex 18 demonstrates that it is not necessary to specify a part of the pair if this information is recoverable from the prefixes.

3. kerangkerang : a few, a little.

This noun indicates 'a small amount'.

19. ngiri kerangkerang pat-ka-ka-ngo
dog few 1sgSNC-RED-have-r
I have a few dogs.

20. al-kala a-kupam-u wuk-mi njek kerangkerang
NF-3sg Cl-lots-OBL carry-Aux r 1sg a little
pat-wuk-mi
1sgSNC-carry-Aux r
She has the most to carry. I am only carrying a little.

4. an-lang : some.

This adjective appears to be exactly equivalent in meaning to 'some'.

21. an-lang njipa pa-ni-ninj yepe njipa
Cl-some that way 3plS-sit-impf 1plinc that way
i-ni-ninj
1plSC-sit-impf
Some were sitting that way. We were sitting that way.

22. muya an-lang angilak njek:-u-wu katji
tucker Cl-some over here 1sg-OBL-DAT that
kenganawu a-kala-wu tjatpula-wu
over there NF-3sg-DAT old man-DAT
Some of this tucker over here is mine, that over
there is his, the old man's.

5. a-kupam : lots.

This adjective translates 'a lot, lots, much, many, too much, too
many'.

23. muya wutjal tja-nj a-kupam
tucker black plum eat-r CI-lots
He ate too many black plums.

24. pwok a-kupam pat-ka-ka-ngi
honey CI-lots 1sgSNC-RED-have-r
I have lots of honey.

3.8.1.1 Collectives.

There are two productive ways of forming collective nouns in Waray.
One is by reduplication of the noun root (3.2.1.6). This is restricted to noun
roots with inherent human reference which are a closed disyllable or
greater in length. Thus we can reduplicate;

1. tjatpula
tja-tjatpula
old man
R-old man
the old man

2. al-wulkan
al-wulka-wulkan
F-sibling
F-R-sibling
sister
the sisters

but not;

3. a-lil little boy
4. al-kulpe woman

There are two inherently collective nouns with human reference
al-mantupa 'the women' and waripa 'the children' which serve as collective counterparts of ex 4 fully and ex 3 partially (waripa is more accurately the counterpart of an-wak 'little one/child').

The more generally productive method of forming collectives is by using the suffix -muk. -muk indicates collectivity and is usually best translated by 'all'. As a suffix it behaves in the same way as -lul 'pair'. The three methods of indicating collectivity appear to be pretty well mutually exclusive. There is one example;

5. waripa-muk ka-pa-lu-k:a-n tjepam
   children-COLL NC-3plS-light-Aux-irr grass
   The kids are always lighting grass fires.

where -muk is suffixed to waripa. There are no examples of -muk entirely replacing either of the other two alternatives and other than in 5, the situation as in;

6. mariwak:u wang an-pitpit:-u pa-mayim nal-muk
   old days animal Cl-red-OBL 3plS-get impf man-COLL
   yik:in al-mantupa muya i-ngum-pu-n-inj
   1plexc FOC F-women tucker 1plSC-cook-Aux-irr-impf
   pikiring-u
   3pl-DAT
   In the old days the men used to catch cattle and we women used to cook the tucker for them.

where 'the men' is translated by nal-muk, and 'the women' is translated by al-mantupa (not by al-kulpe-muk, or by al-mantupa-muk) holds. Example 6 also shows that -muk is not always best translated by 'all'. In this example nal-muk does not mean 'all the men' rather it means 'a collection/group of men'.

The most common occurrences of both -muk and reduplication are in situations where a speaker is describing what a class of persons should do or did do. Thus in Text 2 on initiation where there are descriptions of what the various classes of kin relations do during an initiation ceremony we may observe the occurrence of both -muk and reduplication.

Neither of these two processes will occur simply to indicate plurality. They indicate that a class or group of persons is involved. The two inherently collective nouns al-mantupa and waripa occur somewhat more frequently than -muk or reduplication.
Therefore while 'all' catches the collective sense of -muk, it is not always the most felicitous translation.

3.8.2 Countability.

This section examines the various ways quantification is expressed with respect to countability. While countability is obviously a semantic category for nouns which may be lexically indexed by the numerals, it is equally obviously in Waray, as in most Aboriginal languages, not an important category except in pronouns.

Lexically there is no distinction between mass and count quantifiers.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mass</th>
<th>Count</th>
<th>Waray</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a little</td>
<td>a few</td>
<td>kerangkerang (3.8.1.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>much</td>
<td>many</td>
<td>a-kupam (3.8.1.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How much</td>
<td>How many</td>
<td>ampaampa (3.10)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Morphologically there is no marking for plurality in the nominals. Indication of collectivity (3.8.1.2) can of course apply only to countable nouns, but it does not serve to mark that they are countable.

In Waray complete imperfective and reduplicated verb forms may be used to indicate that there is a large amount of an entity (4.3.2.3 and 4.5.1). Such constructions are possible with both mass and count nouns.

1. angik:u nji-pu-n-inj kaking njikpa
   *dingo cry-Aux-irr-impf yesterday night*
   The dingoes were howling last night.

Here we have a singular verb *nji-pu-n-inj*, instead of the more usual plural form *pa-nji-pu-n-inj*, for a plural Subject.

2. anpik pok-li-linj a-kupam kaking
   *string make string-Aux-impf Cl-lots yesterday*
   She made lots of string yesterday.

The one area where there is morphological coding of countability is in the pronominal prefixes. Waray has pa- 3plS and pun-/put- 3plO, but their distribution does not conform to what would be expected if plurality as a semantic concept was the sole controlling factor. Function (S or O) and referentiality are also important considerations.
Human beings always cross-referenced with both prefixes. Ghosts and higher/middle animates are nearly always cross-referenced with pa- (but cf. ex 1 above). Pun-/put- is not common with ghosts or higher animates (except domestic dogs) but it is possible.

3. **wanjilak angilak**  
   **right now**  
   **pontalpontal**  
   **magpie**  
   a-kupam-u  
   1sgSNC-1sgS 3plO-R-see-r  
   Cl-lots-OBL  
   **Right now I can see lots of magpies.**

4. **ânlungka-lik**  
   **pa-ni-ninj**  
   **put-na-y amala**  
   billabong-LOC  
   3plS-sit-impf  
   1sgS 3plOC-see-r  
   Neg  
   kat-le-n  
   POT1sgS-shoot-irr  
   **They were sitting (on the other side) of the billabong.**  
   I saw them (the wallabies) but I did not shoot them.

Ex 4 shows that it is possible for one VC in a sentence to have pun-/put- and another VC in the same sentence to miss it when referring to the same entity. There are no examples of pun-/put- with middle animates (e.g. snakes) nor with lower animates or inanimates. Examples of pa- with lower animates are extremely rare and unknown with inanimates. Obviously then pa- and pun-/put- are not solely concerned with marking plurality. This is made even clearer in examples such as;

5. **yumpal kerangul kenganawu**  
   **ka-kulu-tj-i pekmara**  
   **tree two over there NC-stand-Aux-irr between**  
   ka-ni-ni  
   **NC-R-sit**  
   She is sitting down between those two trees standing over there.

6. **punin kerangantjerinj at-na-y kaking njikpa**  
   **ghost three 1sgSC-see-r yesterday night**  
   **I saw three ghosts last night.**

7. **kuwaley wetj:i**  
   **njek:-u-wu mi kerangantjerinj**  
   **turtle granddaughter 1sg-OBL-DAT get r three**
ampa-lik wung-anj
where-LOC leave-r
My granddaughter got three turtles. Whereabouts did she leave them.

where numerals specifically detail the actual number of individuals and yet no plural marking occurs on the VCs. In summary we may say that the category 3pl is

a) Always marked for humans
b) Never marked for inanimates
c) Variably marked for entities in between, depending on
   i) S vs O (S, more likely)
   ii) place in referentiality hierarchy (higher more likely)

3.8.3 Numerals.

3.8.3.1 Cardinal Numbers.

The Waray cardinal numbers are;

an-tjerinj one
keranglul two
kerangantjerinj three
yelikeranglul four
an-nepat-tjerinj five

The only root peculiar to the cardinal numbers is -tjerinj 'one'. All the other numbers consist of combinations of this and -lul 'pair', kerangkerang 'a few', and an-nepe 'hand'. However while these combinations are morphologically transparent, the numbers apart from 'five' are all cranberry compounds.

Keranglul can be analysed as consisting of kerang + -lul, and kerangantjerinj can be analysed as consisting of kerang + an-tjerinj. However no morpheme kerang occurs synchronically in Waray, only the reduplicated form kerangkerang occurs. Similarly while yelikeranglul 'four' obviously contains keranglul 'two', there is no morpheme yeli-found in Waray.

An-nepat-tjerinj is synchronically morphologically analysable as a compound meaning 'one hand'.

3.8.3.2 Ordinal Numbers.

Waray has no ordinal numbers as such. It does have ways however to express the ordinal concepts 'first' and 'last'. For marking first in an entity sequence Waray uses yungay-yang 'front-OR'

1. tjatpula anapa yarpa-yang kelngaykmiyi-nj yungay-yang
   old man there far-OR marry-r front-OR
   al-kala-wu
   F-3sg-DAT
   She was married to that old man from far away as her first (husband).

Yungay-yang is also rarely used to indicate priority in an event sequence;

2. i-wayi-nj tjumi pikin yungay-yang pa-yatjinj
   1plSC-return-r afternoon 3plFOC front-OR 3plS-go r
   We came back (late) in the afternoon. They had already gone/gone first.

However the normal way of marking first in an event sequence is to use the suffix -minj (5.9.4). Sometimes yitjmi 'before' also covers the concept 'at first'.

3. ini-wali-n-inj in-nga-m yitjmi amala
   1plS 2ndOC-call out-irr-impf n3plO-hear-r before Neg
   kan-in-nga-n
   POT-n3plO-hear-irr
   We kept on yelling out to you till you heard us, at first you did not hear us.

As yungay-yang expresses 'first', so lura-yang 'behind-OR' expresses 'last';

4. a-kala lura-yang
   NF-3sg behind-OR
   He is always last.

However 'last' in a temporal expression like 'last year' is translated
as;

5. tjipinj an-tjerinjpa-yang at-li-nj at-kurung-witji-nj
   year Cl-other-OR 1sgSC-fall-r 1sgSC-arm-break-r
   I fell and broke my arm last year.

with an-tjerinjpa 'other/another'.

3.9 Pronouns.

The full set of pronouns is;

\[\begin{array}{ccc}
& sg & dl & pl \\
1 & inc & njama & yepe \\
exc & njek & yikiring & \\
2 & ngunj & nyikiring & \\
3 & NF a-kala & pikiring & \\
   & F al-kala & &
\end{array}\]

Table 3.1: The Personal Pronouns.

It may be observed that the only genuinely dual form in this paradigm is njama. Yikiring, nyikiring and pikiring are more properly viewed as non-singualrs. Although a minimal/augmented analysis of this paradigm is attractive;

\[\begin{array}{ccc}
& min & aug \\
1 & njek & yikiring \\
1+2 & njama & yepe \\
2 & ngunj & nyikiring \\
3 & NFa-kala & pikiring \\
   & F al-kala &
\end{array}\]

there is no particularly compelling evidence for so analysing these pronouns. Yepe is clearly not parallel in morphological structure to the non-singular pronouns and so there is no reason except neatness to arrange the paradigm along minimal/augmented lines. Furthermore, as we shall see, the category 1dl inc is grouped with the categories plural and non-singular in opposition to the category singular in the Object pronominal prefixes (see 4.3.4.1). This would argue that in Waray the 1dl
inc is viewed as a sub-category of plural/non-singular. Therefore we will not be adopting the minimal/augmented analysis.

As mentioned in 3.2.2 the pronouns have oblique stem variants. Indeed this is their defining morphological characteristic formally. Pronouns are that class of nouns with oblique stem variants which may be used in suffixed forms. This definition excludes the demonstrative ana 'there' which has a oblique variant ana-wu which cannot be used in suffixed forms. The pronoun yepe has an irregular dative and oblique form yapuru.

Another characteristic of the pronouns apart from their occurrence with oblique stems is the use of COM marked pronouns as emphatic reflexives.

1. ka-tja-pi-l ngiri a-kala-yiwu
   NC-lick-Aux-irr dog NF-3sg-COM
   The dog is licking (his paw) by himself.

2. eping ana-wu puk:u ampa-yang
   who there-OBL spear where-OR
   Who did you get that spear from?
   at-pula-m njek-yiwu puk:u
   1sgSC-make-r 1sg-COM spear
   I made that spear by myself

3 njek-yiwu at-na-y an-tum njek-yi wakmiwu
   1sg-COM 1sgSC-see-r BP-eye 1sg-erg alone
   I saw it with my own eyes, by myself, me alone.

4. an-ka-tjili-tel-pu-n wung-a kak:wuy
   2sgS-NC-mouth-open-Aux-irr leave-imp after
   ka-mimpu-yi-n a-kala-yiwu
   NC-close-refl-irr NF-3sg-COM
   You open that gate and leave it and it will close by itself.

This use of the COM -yiwu in this function appears to be restricted to pronouns. There is only one example of another nominal which may have the COM in this function. The function of the comitative in this example is not entirely clear.
5. in-pa-putj-pu-n-inj  i-yunguy-inj  le-yiwu  
n3plO-3plS-send-Aux-irr-impf  1plSC-go-impf  camp-COM  
waripa  i-pun-ka-n-inj  
children  1plSC-n3plO-take-irr-impf  
Sometimes they would send us off. We would go with  
the country and take the kids.  

It is possible that it is functioning in some emphatic sense similar  
to that shown in examples ex 1 - 4, but this is by no means certain.  

Apart from their occurrence in this emphatic reflexive function with  
COM marking the pronouns do not normally occur to describe Subject or  
Object entities, as these are already covered by the pronominal prefixes.  
When they do so occur, free pronoun Subjects and Objects appear to have a  
purely emphatic function. Some examples of free pronoun Subjects may be  
found in Text 5 lines 3 and 4, Text 6 line 4, Text 8 lines 3 and 4, and Text  
10 line 1.

3.9.1 The 3rd Person Pronouns.

The third singulars differ from all other nominals in the distribution  
of class markers. They are basically similar to nouns. The feminine  
al-kala must be used whenever there is a human female referent. However  
its partner a-kala is not restricted to human males, but is used with any  
on-non-human-female referent as ex 1 and 4 in the preceding section show. In  

1. katji  a-kala  pamputj-m-inj  Amungal-lik  
that  NF-3sg  born-Aux-r  Adelaide River-LOC  
He was born at Adelaide River (lit. That him was born  
at Adelaide River)

the 3rd sg a-kala occurs with the demonstrative katji 'that'. This  
type of construction is rare and attested only with a-kala, though it is  
presumably possible with al-kala. The 3pl pikiring is not attested with  
non-human reference. However it seems likely that this is simply a gap in  
the data given the general optionality of marking plurality for non-humans  
(see 3.8.2).

Like all morphemes expressing the concept 3pl, the 3pl pronouns can  
also express the indefinite notions 'someone/no-one' (see 4.3.1.1).
2. ngiri katji amala pikiring-u kwok eping-u
dog that Neg indef-DAT Don't know who-DAT
That dog does not belong to anyone. Whose is he?

3.9.2 Focus Forms.

The 1exc, 2 and 3 plurals all have irregular Focus forms (see 5.9.1). Instead of the expected;

*yik:iring-an  *nyikiring-an  *pikiring-an
1plexc-FOC  2pl-FOC  3pl-FOC

there are;

yik:in  nyikin  pikin

With these three pronouns only the Focus forms may be used in place of the ordinary forms in unsuffixed uses. Given that one of the main uses of free pronouns is for emphasis (see 3.9), it is unsurprising to find that focussed forms of some pronouns show a tendency to expand into the range of ordinary forms.

3.10 Interrogatives/Indefinites.

Waray has six interrogative/indefinites;

eping  who
ngijnjag  what  thing
yilinj  how
ampa  where
ampawayin  when
ampaampa  how  much/how  many

1. eping : who.

Eping may be used of domestic dogs as well as humans;

1. eping ngiri ngunj-u-wu
who dog 2sg-OBL-DAT
Which one is your dog?

The usual Waray equivalent of 'what' is nginjang. In the same way that 'what' is the more general term in English as opposed to 'who' so nginjang is more general than eping. Eping can only be used of a referent which is definitely established as a human or a domestic dog. Nginjang is the usual interrogative for domestic dogs and is the interrogative for all other entities. It is also the interrogative for entities whose referential status is unknown;

2. ana-nginjang ka-kulu-tj-i
   there-what NC-stand-Aux-irr
   What is that standing there?

   atjangki ngiri amala-wu-n nal-wa
   maybe dog Neg-DAT-CONS man-could be
   Maybe it is a dog, if not it could be a man.

Nginjang can only be used when the speaker wishes to find out about an entity associated with the situation described by the VC. If the speaker wishes to ask about the VC itself then they will use yilinj 'how'. The following examples show the different usages of the two forms.

3. nginjang ka-manj-manj
   what NC-R-get irr
   lit. What is she touching?
   What is she doing?

   an-mewel ka-kemepitjip-m-al
   BP-clothes NC-roll up-Aux-irr
   She is folding up clothes.

4. yilinj an-ka-tjinj-tji-nj
   how 2sgS-NC-R-do-irr
   lit. How are you doing?
   What are you doing?

5. tjatpula nginjang ka-pula-n
   old man what NC-make-irr
   What is the old man making?
puk:u     ka-pula-n
*spear    NC-make-irr
He is making a spear.

6. yilinj  an-ka-pula-n  pamunj
    *how  2sgS-NC-make-irr  canoe
How do you make a canoe?

7. an-nga-m  yilinj  tji-yi
    2sgS-hear-r  how  say-r
    *lit. Did you hear how he said?
    Did you hear what he said?

Both the dative and origin forms of ngingjang may be used to translate 'why'.

8. ngunj ngingjang-u  amala  kan-tja
    2sg  what-DAT  *Neg  POT-eat
    You, why aren't you eating?

9. pul      ka-pa-yami-tji-n-lul  atjangki
    trouble  NC-3plS-argue-recip-irr-pair  maybe
    ngingjang-yang
    what-OR
    Those two are arguing. (We do not know) why.

The difference between the two is not clear. It seems likely that ngingjang-u is future oriented 'for what reason?' and that ngingjang-yang is past oriented 'from what cause?'. This is an area which requires further research.

3. ampa : where.

Ampa is one of the few morphemes that occurs both free and bound. It is normally bound when it occurs pre-verbally or in clause initial theme position, and free elsewhere. It has a variant ampalala which occurs free in the positions where ampa occurs bound.

10. ampa-yatjinj  al-wulkan  njek:-u-wu
    where-go r     F-sibling  1sg-OBL-DAT
95

Where did my sister go?

11. ampala yatjinj
   where go r
   Where did he go?

12. an-wak ngunj-u-wu ampa
    Cl-little 2sg-OBL-DAT where
    Where are your kids?

When ampa occurs with the locative -lik it means 'in what place/whereabouts/somewhere'.

13. ampa-lik kut-m-inj an-na-y
    where-LOC put-Aux-r 2sgS-see-r
    Did you see in what place/whereabouts he put it?

14. an-mewel arinj-wu-y an-ka-nan-na-n
    BP-clothes 1sgS 2sgOC-give-r 2sgS-NC-R-see-irr
    njek:-u at-tji-yi ngunj-u-wu pin ampa-lik
    1sg-DAT 1sgSC-say-r 2sg-OBL-DAT but where-LOC
    an-laki-nj
    2sgS-toss-r
    Those clothes that I gave you to look after, I told you
    (they were) mine but in what place/whereabouts have
    you chucked them.

Ampa is used extensively in Waray and it appears to be something of
an unmarked interrogative. Thus instead of asking 'Who is that?', it is more
common to ask 'Where does X come from?'

15. pamunj pa-pula-m nal keranglul ampa-yang pa-tjim
canoe 3plS-make-r man two where-OR 3plS-come
    njek amala kat-put-mitj-na-n
    1sg Neg POT1sgS-3plO-know-Aux-irr
    They made that canoe, those two men. Where do they
    come from? I do not know them.

A development of this type of construction is to cover 'nobody' (lit.not
from anywhere);
16. an-nepe at-tanj-mi njek:-u-wu njek amala
   BP-hand 1sgSC-cut-Aux r 1sg-OBL-DAT 1sg Neg
ampa-yang njek-nanak an-nepe at-tanj-mi
where-OR 1sg-only BP-hand 1sgSC-cut-Aux r
I cut my hand, me, nobody else, just me, I cut my hand

We also find ampa in;

17. kwok an-tum an-kimitj ampa-wanjuk ka-yinj-yinj
   Don’t know BP-eye BP-face where-like NC-R-be irr
   I do not know what he looks like.

instead of the nginjang-wanjuk 'what-like', which is found in;

18. nginjang-wanjuk ka-yinj-yinj an-kimitj
   what-like NC-R-be irr BP-face
   What does she look like?

In Waray 'what sort/type' is expressed by 'like what'.

19. tkipak an-na-y ampa-wanjuk tkipak mi
   fish 2sgS-see-r where-like fish get r
   lit. Did you see what the fish he got was like?
   What sort of fish did he get?

ampa is also the normal interrogative in 'which' questions.

20. an-wak ampa pu-m-wu-n nal
   C1-little where hit-r-DAT-CONS man
   a) Where is the child the man hit?
   b) Which one of those children did that man hit?

21. al-mantupa eping-yi in-wali-nj
   F-woman who-erg n3plO-call out-r
   Which one of those women called out to us?

'Which' questions like this would be more usual with ampa as in 20
than with eping 'who' as in 21.

4. -wuy : one of.
While 'which one' questions may be asked with no overt indication that the speaker expects the hearer to choose one entity out of a group of potential referents as in 20 and 21 there is a suffix -wuy which may be added to a nominal to indicate precisely this.

22. an-wak ampa-wuy kenganawu nal-yi
   Cl-little where-one of over there man-erg
   in-pu-m-wu-n
   n3pI0-hit-r-DAT-CONS
   a) Which one of you kids did that man hit?
   b) Where is the one of you kids that that man hit?

23. an-wak eping-wuy mimi-yi wu-y
   Cl-little who-one of uncle-erg give-r
   Which one of those kids did uncle give (the key) to?

While humans may take either eping-wuy or ampa-wuy, non-humans may take only ampa-wuy. There is no form nginjang-wuy attested.
-wuy does not have interrogative force of itself as is shown by its occurrence in declarative clauses. When it occurs in declaratives it indicates that the speaker is telling the hearer that, out of a number of possibilities, the one marked by -wuy is the correct choice.

24. wek at-lu-k:a-ngi yumpal a-mutek wek tju-m kawuy
   fire 1sgSC-light-Aux-r wood Cl-big fire die-r again
   kawuy at-melang-pu-m katji-wuy nu-y-u-n
   again 1sgSC-set alight-Aux-r that-one of burn-r-DAT-CONS
   I lit a big fire. It went out again. Again I set it alight and from that time it burnt for some time.

25. wik pupal a-mutek matuk:al at-mi katji-lik-wuy
   water creek Cl-big barramundi 1sgSC-get r that-LOC-one of
   That is the creek where I got the big barramundi.
   That is the place.

26. katji an-tjerinj-wuy kaking-yang an-na-y
   that Cl-one-one of yesterday-OR 2sgS-see-r
   It is the same one that you saw yesterday.

An example of -wuy suffixed to a VC may be found in Text 11 line 17.
5. ampawayin : when.

This interrogative while synchronically unanalysable, is obviously based on ampa historically. It is not clear what -wayin meant originally. The closely related Jawoyn language has the same phenomenon. The Jawoyn word for 'where' is kurni, which is obviously unrelated to ampa, but 'when' is kurniwayen with a -wayen morpheme that is presumably related to -wayin as found in Waray.

1. ampawayin ka-wayi-n atjangki ka-ni katji-lik
   when NC-return-irr maybe NC-stay that-LOC
   When will she come back? Maybe she will stay there.


This reduplication of ampa is the normal interrogative for quantity of mass.

27. waripa ampaampa pun-ka-kan-ka-n
    children how many 3plO-NC-R-have-irr
    How many children do you have?

28. pwok ampaampa an-mi an-tjerinj
    honey how much 2sgS-get r Cl-one
    How much honey did you get this time?

A rare alternative to ampaampa is a reduplicated form of yilinj 'how'.

29. yili-yilinj pun-ka-kan-ka-n
    R-how 3plO-NC-R-have-irr
    How many (children) do you have?

There is no specific interrogative for quantity of time 'How long'. Normally a construction of the type;

30. yatjinj ka-ni ampawayin ka-wayi-n
    gor NC-stay when NC-return-irr
    lit. He went. He will stay. When will he return?
    How long will he stay?
with a "when was/will the endpoint of the situation be" type clause is used. A rare alternative is;

31. ampawayin an-ni-ninj an-wak
    when 2sgS-stay-impf Cl-little
    lit. When were you staying (there) as a child?
    How long did you stay there as a child?

where ampawayin is combined with an imperfective verb form expressing duration.

3.10.1 Indefinite Use of the Interrogatives.

Unlike many aboriginal languages the interrogatives do not have an extensive indefinite use. They are mainly used to express non-specific indefiniteness, "unknown". The specific indefinite categories 'no-one/someone' are on the whole identified with the category 3 plural (3.8.1 and 4.3.1.1).

In combination with kul- 'Speaker's Opinion' nginjang and nginjang-u indicate 'unknown'.

1. kul-nginjang katji ka-yu-yu
   S.O.-what that NC-R-lie
   lit. I think what that lying (there).
   I do not know what that is lying (there)

2. nginjang-u ka-pa-pu-tji-n-lul
   what-DAT NC-3plS-hit-recip-irr-pair
   Why are those two fighting?

   kul-nginjang-u
   S.O.-what-DAT
   lit. I think why
   I do not know why.

Eping and amp a may also have indefinite reference. In 3.10 ex16 we saw that amala ampa-yang Neg where-OR, 'not from anywhere' may be used to indicate 'no-one'. Normally within a clause 'no-one' is translated with 3pl morphemes. However in sentences with more than one clause 'no-one' is usually indicated by a combination of the particle pulun and
eping.

3. wanjläk kunj  kat-yinj  pin amala pulun eping
today  M.O.  POT1sgS-go  iri  but  Neg  none  who
kan-pun-na-na  waripa
POT-3p10-R-see  children
I thought I was going to go today but there is nobody
else to look after the children.

In the same situation 'nowhere' is translated by a combination of
pulun and ampa-lik.

4. mariwak:u  pa-tjipinj-pu-n-inj  le  wayk:an-lik
old  days  3plS-stay  ages-Aux-irr-impf  camp  high-LOC
wik  a-kupam  pulun  ampa-lik  wik  a-kupam  le
water  Cl-lots  none  where-LOC  water  Cl-lots  camp
an-tjerinj-lik  pa-yu-yinj
Cl-one-LOC  3plS-lie-impf
In the old days, every year they would camp on the
high ground because there was lots of water about
and nowhere else to camp, because of all the water
they had to camp together.

3.10.2 nengkinj : whatchamacallit.

This word is the hesitation form, used when the speaker is trying to
remember the appropriate word or words. It did not occur frequently in my
teacher's speech. This is probably a reflection of the fairly formal nature
of elicitation sessions.

3.11 Demonstratives.

This class includes the demonstrative pronoun, the demonstrative
adverbs and certain demonstrative locationals and directionals. They are
grouped together because they fit into a system based on two degrees of
distance from the speaker.

1. Proximate : the area including the speaker

2. Non-Proximate : everything else
The demonstratives are:

Table 3.2: The Demonstratives

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>dem. pronoun</th>
<th>proximate</th>
<th>non-proximate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>katji</td>
<td>that</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dem. adverb</td>
<td>angi</td>
<td>ana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>here</td>
<td>there</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>place</td>
<td>ngulak</td>
<td>katji-lik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>this place here</td>
<td>that place</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>anapa-lik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>the place there</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>indefinite</td>
<td>angilak</td>
<td>kenganawu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>over here</td>
<td>over there</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>directional</td>
<td>kutta</td>
<td>njipa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>this way</td>
<td>that way</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This demonstrative class obviously consists of a disparate set of roots which do not form a morphological class. As with any demonstrative system usage is very much a matter of perspective and there is considerable overlap in the usage of forms in each class. The translations given for each demonstrative are those which appeared to me from observation of my teacher’s usage, as opposed to her translations, to be the core meaning of that demonstrative. Most demonstratives show a fair range of usage form this core. It would probably take a fluent bilingual to give fully accurate English translations of the Waray demonstratives.

1. katji: that.

The demonstrative pronoun may be used in contextual deixis (pointing to things in the real world in which the speaker is situated) in the same way as all the other demonstratives.

1. ngiri katji ka-wa-wa-m-al
   *dog that NC-R-bark-Aux-irr
   That dog is barking.*

2. katji waripa keranglul al-wulkan-u
   *that children two F-sibling-DAT*
Those two kids are (my) sister's.

However it is the only demonstrative which may be used for textual deixis (pointing to things which are mentioned in a speech act, and which are not present in the real world context in which the speaker is situated).

3. amala katji an-wat-m-inj
   Neg that 2sgS-spoil-Aux-r
   Not that way, you have spoilt it.

4. a-lil katji ka-yinj-yinj ka-mok-manj a-tjamuru-yi
   M-boy that NC-R-be irr NC-steal-Aux irr M-police-erger
   ka-pa-pa-tj-i katji ka-pa-manj
   NC-3plS-search-Aux-irr that NC-3plS-get irr
   ka-pa-kuw-al
   NC-3plS-lock up-irr
   If that boy keeps on stealing things the police will search for him and get him and lock him up.

There is no proximal counterpart of katji. Angi 'here' is used when entities are physically proximate to the speaker. However things such as temporals which are not so, locationally viewed simply occur without a demonstrative, where 'this' or its equivalent would occur in English.

5. atjangki njikpa a-lal-wa
   maybe night Cl-cold-could be
   Maybe it could be cold tonight.

   The origin form katji-yang 'then, therefore, and so, thus' is used only for textual deixis (see 5.9.7).

2. angi : here.

Angi translates both 'here' and 'this' (when it has a locational component, this = the one here).

6. angi yanj
   here come imp
   Come here!
7. angi le pip:i-yang njek:-u-wu
   here country father-OR 1sg-OBL-DAT
   This country here is mine from my father.

8. pula an-tjerinjpa angi a-waru
   make CI-other here CI-bad
   Make another one. This one here is no good.

9. matj angi kan-kulu-tj-i kwok a-pili-kupam
   wing here POT-stand-Aux-irr Don't know CI-hard-lots
   (I wish) this wind here would stop. I don't know, it is so strong.

3. ana : there.

Three variants, ana, anapa and ana-wu of 'there' occur. The basic root is ana which occurs chiefly as a bound form in compounds.

10. ana-ka-kulu-tj-i
    there-NC-stand-Aux-irr
    The one standing there.

11. ana-eping ka-tjim-in
    there-who NC-come-irr
    Who is that coming up there?

While it is possible for ana to occur as a free form, the normal free form of 'there' is anapa.

12. anapa kulu-tj-i-tjinj merinj
    there stand-Aux-irr-impf pandanus
    There used to be a pandanus there.

Anapa is the stem used whenever a case marker is added.

13. angi-yang at-mi pan-pa-wu-y anapa-yang amala
    here-OR 1sgSC-get r 1sgO-give-r there-OR Neg
    I got it from this (mob) here. They gave it to me, not that (mob) there.
The oblique stem ana-wu is a rare variant found only in unsuffixed uses. As remarked in 3.2.3 it is not clear what factors control its occurrence.

4. ngulak: **this place here**.

This form is unanalysable synchronically. Historically it may consist of some morpheme *ngu, otherwise unattested, and *-lak the old form of the locative case marker -lik.

14. pun-wali ka-pa-tjim-in ngulak
   3plO-call out NC-3plS-come-irr this place here
   Call out to them to come here.

15. le at-kupam-tji-nj ngulak-yang
   country 1sgSC-lots-inch-r this place here-OR
   I grew up from this country here.

16. tjatpula tju-m le ngulak a-kala-wu
   old man die-r station this place here NF-3sg-DAT
   This station used to belong to Herbert Brothers who
   have died.

5. katji-lik and anapa-lik.

These two forms are morphologically analysable, and consist of katji and anapa plus the locative case marker -lik. They mean 'that place' and 'the place there', and are pretty much interchangeable in use.

17. an-ka-yinj an-ka-na-n amala-wu-n le
   2sgS-NC-go irr 2sgS-NC-see-irr Neg-DAT-CONS place
   katji-lik an-ka-yinj an-ka-pa-tj-i atjangki
   that-LOC 2sgS-NC-go irr 2sgS-NC-search-Aux-irr maybe
   katji-lik yatjinj
   that-LOC go r
   When you go if you do not see him at that place (Berrimah), go and search. Maybe he has gone to that place (Anula).
18. **anapa-lik** kut-m-inj nguk  
*there-LOC put-Aux-r tobacco*  
He has put the tobacco in that place there.

6. **angilak**: over here, hereabouts, round here.

This demonstrative is historically analysable as consisting of **angi** 'here' and *'-lak, the old form of the locative case marker -lik. As such we would expect it rather than **ngulak** to function as the proximal equivalent of **katji-lik** and **anapa-lik**.

However it appears to indicate an indefinite as opposed to a definite proximity and as such is the counterpart of **kenganawu** 'over there'. **Angilak** covers a wide range and in some cases the nuance of indefiniteness is so slight that it becomes virtually indistinguishable from the definite **angi** and **ngulak**, in much the same way that the use of 'over here' and 'here' shade into one another in English.

19. **merinj** angilak ka-kulu-tj-i njama-lik  
*pandanus over here NC-stand-Aux-irr 1dlin-Loc*  
There is a pandanus over here/her next to us.

20. **angi** amala kutta-payimi angilak-nanak  
*here Neg this way-side over here-only*  
pan-ka-nun-nu-n wek-awanjuk  
1sgO-NC-R-burn-irr fire-like  
It does not hurt here, on this side, over here/her  
only it burns me like fire.

In other cases only the indefinite translation is appropriate.

21. **wili** angilak **tjatpula-yang** parak:ut tju-m  
*station hereabouts old man-OR white man die-r*  
wung-anj le  
leave-r station  
All the stations hereabouts used to belong to the old  
white man. He died and left the stations.

This example contrasts with ex 16;

**tjatpula tjum le ngulak akalawu**
This station here used to belong to Herbert Brothers who have died.

where ngulak restricts the description to the station here only.

22. muya an-lang angilak njek:-u-wu katji kenganawu
tucker Cl-some hereabouts 1sg-OBL-DAT that over there
ka-yu a-kala-wu tjatpula-wu
NC-lie NF-3sg-DAT old man-DAT
Some of this tucker over here/round here/herabouts
is mine. That over there/round there/herabouts is
his, the old man's.

7. kenganawu: over there/round there/herabouts.

This may, hypothetically, be historically analysable as an unattested
morpheme *keng plus the oblique form of 'there' ana-wu. However
synchronically it is certainly unanalysable. Like angilak in relation to
angi, kenganawu is often pretty well synonymous with ana 'there'.

23. katji yuyu kenganawu pan-wu
that leave it over there 1sgO-give
I do not want that. Give me that one over there/there.

However as with angilak there are many occasions where an
indefinite translation is required.

24. waripa pa-yang kenganawu
children 2plS-go imp over there
You kids, go over there.

8. kutta: this way.

kutta indicates motion towards the speaker.

25. yanj kutta angilak letpal njek:-u-lik
come imp this way over here close 1sg-OBL-LOC
Come this way over here and (sit) close to me.

9. njipa-njilawat: that way.
The root is historically *nji (still found in the compound nji-payimi 'that side'. see 11 in this section). Njipa is the normal form with njilawat being a rare alternative in uncasemarked uses. Njipa describes motion away from or lateral to the speaker.

26. njipa muya pampulangu-yiwu arinj-tjalak-m-inj
that way tucker lily sp-COM 1sgS 2sgOC-show-Aux-r
katji-wuy kwik:i an-nji
that-one of place name BP-name
That way, the place I showed you with the
pampulangu lilies, Kwik:i is the name of that place.

The origin form njipa-yang 'from that way' is frequently used as an alternative to kutta 'this way'.

27. njipa-yang ka-tjim-in
that way-OR NC-come-irr
He is coming from that way/this way.

10 kapara : the other way.

Kapara is not a demonstrative, but it classes semantically with kutta and njipa as it covers all other expressions involving 'way' other than 'this way' and 'that way'. The common denominator to its use appears to be the idea of 'going or doing (an)other way'.

28. kapara i-wul-m-inj tjap i-man-ka-ngi
other way 1plSC-follow-Aux-r road 1plSC-get lost-Aux-r
We followed the wrong (other) road and got lost.

29. an-kara witji-nj kapara pa-pula-m witji-nj kawuy
BP-leg break-r other way 3plS-make-r break-r again
His leg broke. They fixed it the wrong (other) way and
it broke again.

30. yang kapara
go imp other way
Go the other way!
31. pul a-kupam wik-yang pa-yami-tji-n-inj
trouble Cl-lots booze-OR 3plS-argue-recip-irr-impf
katji-yang i-wup-wup-pu-m kapara i-yatjinj
that-OR 1plSC-R-clear off-Aux-r other way 1plSC-go r
multj:i
fear
There was a lot of trouble from them drinking and arguing so we cleared off. A long way, the other way we went. (We were) scared.

32. yang kapara kulu-tj-anj apulangu kan-a-tja
go imp other way stand-Aux-imp crocodile POT-2sgO-eat
Go away (the other way)! Stay and a crocodile might eat you.

33. njek kapara pat-yatjinj a-kala mutjla kapara
1sg other way 1sgSNC-go r NF-3sg too other way
ka-yinj
NC-go irr
I go my way (the other way) and him, he goes his way (another way).

34. tjutju tanj-mi kapara li-nj
axe cut-Aux r other way fall-r
The axe cut right the way through (to the other side) and (the tree) fell.

11. payimi: side.

This word compounds with various of the demonstratives to indicate 'this side' and 'that side'. 'This side' is invariably kutta-payimi, compounded with the directional kutta 'this way', even if used in a locational sense, as in ex 35.

35. angi amala kutta-payimi angilak-nanak pan-ka-nun-nu-n
here Neg this way-side over here-only 1sgO-R-burn-irr
wek-wanjuk
fire-like
It does not hurt here, on this side. Only over here it burns me like fire.
36. kan-in-kupal-le-n  
   kutta-payimi  wut-m-inj  
   POT-n3pLO-nearly-shoot-irr  this way-side  miss-Aux-r  
   He nearly shot us. (He fired) this side but he missed.

37. tjim  tjap  wul-m-inj  
   kutta-payimi  ngal-tjim  
   come  road  follow-Aux-r  this way-side  out-come  
   He followed the road and came up this side.

'That side' is expressed in three ways; as either ana-payimi, nji-payimi or the uncompounded kenganawu payimi. These forms are presumably more specifically translated as;

   ana-payimi  the side there
   nji-payimi  the side that way
   kenganawu payimi  the side over there

but in usage they are pretty well synonymous and appear to be largely interchangeable. They also cover 'the other side' as well as 'that side' (but cf ex 34 where kapara also appears to cover this concept).

38. pali-puluk-ni-winj  ana-payimi  pali-yatjinj  
   1plSNC-cross over-Aux-r  there-side  1plSNC-go r  
   We are going to cross over to that side/the other side

39. kenganawu payimi  ni-nj  njek:-u  
   over there side  sit-imp 1sg-DAT  
   Sit down that side/the other side of me

40. nji-payimi  tjap  i-tjim  
   that way-side road  1plSC-come  
   We came on the road that side.

41. angi-yang  nji-payimi  i-kutitj-yatjinj  
   here-OR  that way-side  1plSC-round-go r  
   We went round that side from here.

3.12 Locationals.

The following locationals are found in Waray.
yungay  (in) front
lura       behind
pekmara    between/in the middle
wayk:an    high/top/in the open/exposed
letpal     near/close
yarpa      far
pilpilmi   everywhere

These locationals apart from pekmara and wayk:an appear to be equivalent in meaning to their English translations.

1. pekmara  : between/in the middle.

This locational indicates that the entity it describes is found between two boundaries.

1. tjap-like pekmara ka-kulu-tj-i
   road-LOC middle NC-stand-Aux-irr
   He is standing in the middle of the road.

2. yumpal keranglul kenganawu ka-kulu-tj-i pekmara
   tree two over there NC-stand-Aux-irr between
   ka-ni-ni
   NC-R-sit
   She is sitting down between those two trees standing over there.

2. wayk:an.

The thread common to the uses of wayk:an is the idea of exposure.

3. wayk:an  wu-yi wili-like
   high   climb-r house-LOC
   He has climbed up high on/on top of the house.

4. wayk:an  at-ni-ninj  wik wuli at-yatjinj wili
   open   1sgSC-sit-impf rain rain 1sgSC-go r house
   at-nijim
   1sgSC-enter
I was in the open when it started to rain so I went inside the house.

5. an-wak-wak:u i-yu-ng-lul mawinj-yunguy-inj
   CI-little-DIM 1plSC-lie-r-pair roll over-Aux-impf
   pan-nawa-n-inj yur-mayim njek:-u njek
   1sgO-take off-irr-impf pull off-Aux impf 1sg-DAT 1sg
   wayk:an at-yu-ng
   uncovered 1sgSC-lie-r
   (Last night) the kid and I slept together. Every time she rolled over she pulled (the blanket) off me. I slept uncovered/exposed.

To be high up, in the open or uncovered is to be exposed.

3.13 Temporals.

Temporals may usefully be divided into three groups. The first group consists of those temporals which have 'today' as a reference point.

mariwak:u a long time ago, in the old days
kakingpa-
kakingpawuy

kaking
kaking njikpa
wanjlak
lariwu
lariwutjerinjpa

The only comment required on this set of forms is that the normal version of 'the day before yesterday' is kakingpawuy. kakingpa is a rare alternative.

The second group of temporals are those which describe a specific period of time without necessarily referring to a specific point in time.

njikpa night
njikpa-yang morning
tjumi afternoon
tjanti  week (probably from English Sunday)
tjipinj  year, wet season
pangkerin  the dry season
pungkatang  the onset of the wet season

All of these terms without further specification may refer to 'tonight', 'this morning' etc. With the temporals referring to parts of the day it is possible to add wanjlak 'today' to specify that 'this afternoon' etc is intended. This is quite common with tjumi but rare with njikpa and njikpayang. There is no word for 'day' as a period of time in Waray. Instead tumkika 'sleep' is used.

1. njek  tjamunj-lul  panini-nay-na-y  atjangki tumkika
   1sg grandfather-pair 1plS 2ONC-R-see-r  maybe sleep
   keranglul  two

   Grandfather and I will look after you, maybe for a couple of days.

The terms pangkerin and pungkatang were not commonly used by my teacher (they were only produced after checking a list of vocabulary in Spencer see 1.1). Normally the term

2. wik  ka-til-m-al-u
   rain NC-dry-Aux-irr-DAT
   When the rains dry up/cease.

   was used to describe the dry season. The Waray appear to have counted the passage of years by counting wet seasons.

3. tjipinj  ngulak  i-tjim-inj  i-ni-ninj
   year  this place here 1plSC-come-irr-impf 1pSC-stay-impf
   le  i-tjipinj-pu-n-inj
   camp 1plSC-stay ages-Aux-irr-impf

   We used to come here every year and stay for ages.

   This example shows tjipinj in the meaning of 'year' as opposed to specifically meaning 'wet season', and it also shows the verb tjipinj-pu-m 'to stay for ages/years'.

   The third group of temporals consists of those words which relate
one point in time to another.

yitjmi before/already
wanjæk now, just then, soon
kak:u~kak:wuy after

The temporal *wanjlek* 'now/today' undoubtedly has the most complex and problematic semantics of any temporal in Waray. As well as *wanjlek* itself, there is a reduplicated form *wanjela-wanjlek* and the idiom *wanjlek angilak* (lit today over here). These three all seem to be largely interchangeable with *wanjela-wanjlek* and *wanjlek angilak* being apparently more emphatic. The three forms have a wide variety of uses.

4. *wanjlek* at-kut-tj-ang tumkika-yang just 1sgSC-get up-Aux-r sleep-OR
   I have just got up from sleep.

5. *wanjlek* i-tjim pali-ni-winj now 1plSC-come 1plSNC-sit-r
   Now we have arrived we can sit down.

6. *wanjlek* le ka-nu-n kak:wuy soon country NC-burn-irr after
   Soon all the country will be burning.

7. *wanjela-wanjlek* kan-li-ngan njek:-u-lik R-just POT-fall-irr 1sg-OBL-LOC
   Just then he nearly fell on me.

8. *atjangki wanjela-wanjlek* ka-pamputj-m-al maybe R-soon NC-be born-Aux-irr
   (The baby) must be going to be born soon.

9. *wanjlek angilak* ka-tanj-manj wang right now NC-cut-Aux irr meat
   Right now she is cutting up meat.

10. *wanjlek angilak* tum-pay-m-inj just then eye-open-Aux-r
He blinked just then

11. wanjlk angilak pat-ngatj:i-m-inj
really soon 1sgSNC-sneeze-Aux-r
I am going to sneeze really soon.

12. at-na-y wanjlk angilak kwok ampa-lik
then 1sgSC-see-r Don't know where-LOC
pa-ka-ngi
3plS-take-r
I saw it then (earlier today). I do not know where
they took it.

13. a-wulkan njek:-u-wu a-kala-minj wirin-pu-m
M-sibling 1sg-OBL-DAT NF-3sg-first sing-Aux-r
wirin wanjlk angilak
song then
My brother was the first to sing then (last night).

Some examples showing wanjlk in its 'today/nowadays' meaning
are;

14. mariwak:u mul i-pula-n-inj
old day yamstick 1plSC-make-irr-impf
putjappputjap-m-al-u wanjlk-ngan kurupa-yi
poke around-Aux-irr-DAT nowadays-FOC crowbar-INS
pali-putjappputjap-m-inj
1sgSNC-poke around-Aux-r
In the old days we used to make yamsticks for poking
around (in the mud for turtles), nowadays we poke
around with crowbars.

15. wanjlk kunj kat-yinj pin amala pulun eping
today M.O. POT1sgS-go irr but Neg none who
kan-pun-na-na waripa
POT-3plO-R-see children
I thought I was going to go today but there was
nobody to look after the children.

Wanjla-wanjlk and wanjlk angilak are not attested in this
'today/ nowadays' function. The data in ex 4 - 15 obviously presents analytical problems. The major problem is that the data is incomplete. It is not known whether wanjla-wanjlak and wanjlak angilak can occur with the 'today/nowadays' meaning, nor is it known if wanjlak and wanjla-wanjlak can occur with the meaning 'then' with reference to periods such as 'earlier today' and 'last night', nor is it known how far away from 'today/now' wanjlak angilak can be used to mean 'then'. Finally it is not clear whether 'now' or 'today' is the primary meaning of wanjlak.

The best provisional solution would appear to be view the basic meaning of wanjlak (and wanjla-wanjlak and wanjlak angilak) as being 'the same as/close to time X'. In the absence of any indication to the contrary, X is the time of the speech act in the same way that 'before' and 'after' are taken to refer to 'now' in the absence of indication to the contrary. However other times can be specified and it appears from ex 12 and 13 that another time may simply be indicated by context. If this view of wanjlak and its derivatives is correct then wanjlak belongs fundamentally with the third group of temporals and its occurrence in the first group is only an example of its unmarked use.

Yitjmi covers 'before', 'at first' and 'already'.

16. at-put-mi yitjmi-yang
    1sgSC-water-get r before-OR
    I have already got the water.

17. yitjmi at-yu-yinj pupal-lik wanjlak amala wik
    before 1sgSC-lie-impf creek-LOC now .Neg rain
    ka-wuli-nj
    NC-rain-irr
    My camp was down at the creek before but not now it is raining.

18. putawan yatjinj yitjmi perima-lik yatjinj
    Darwin go r before Berrimah-LOC go r
    He went to Darwin but he went to Berrimah first/before.

Kak:u ~ kak:wuy has a number of functions. Its unmarked use is to indicate 'later'.

19. kak:wuy pat-yatjinj
   after 1sgSNC-go r
I will go later/afterwards.

However it often simply indicates temporal reference after the time of the speech act.

20. kak:wuy pat-nat-tji-yi an-ka-yinj
   after 1sgSNC-UO-say-r 2sgS-NC-go irr
Afterwards I will tell that you are going.

and it can occur with wanjlak, the combination of the two meaning 'soon after'.

21. wanjlak le ka-nu-n kak:wuy
    soon country NC-burn-irr after
Soon all the country will be burning.

For the other functions of kak:u ~ kak:wuy refer to 5.9.3.

3.13.1 Origin Marked Temporals.

The only case marker attested with the temporals is the Origin. When it occurs with a temporal it indicates that the situation involving the temporal has a continuing relevance, and as such is the usual equivalent of 'since'.

1. katji ma-nguntji-nj-inj wanjlak arinj-na-y
   that 1dlincSC-talk-irr-impf today 1sgS 2sgOC-see-r
tijipinj-yang wanjlak arinj-na-y
   year-OR today 1sgS 2sgOC-see-r
We talked a long time today. (It is the first time) that I have seen you since (last) year when I saw you today.

2. kaking-yang at-tjim
   yesterday-OR 1sgSC-come
I have been here since yesterday.

versus
3. kaking at-tjim
   yesterday 1sgSC-come
   I came here yesterday.

   but in other cases it simply indicates present relevance.

4. le mariwak:u i-yu-yinj katji-lik
   camp old days 1plSC-lie-impt that-LOC
   We used to camp there in the old days (Minpulinj).

5. le mariwak:u-yang i-yu-yinj-u
   camp old days-OR 1plSC-lie-impt-DAT
   That is where we used to camp in the old days.

   In ex 5 the fact of camping there in the old days is of continuing
   relevance as it is serving as the defining characteristic of a particular
   place at the present time.

   The Origin form njikpa-yang 'morning' of njikpa 'night' is an
   exception to the functions of origin marked temporals.

3.14 -pa.

   In the discussion of the demonstratives, locationals and temporals it
   will have been obvious that a morpheme -pa has been added to many roots
   in these classes.

   ana~ana#pa  there
   nji#pa
   ~nji#la#wat
   nji-payimi
   ?yarpa
   kaking#pa
   ~kaking#pa#wuy
   yesterday#pa#one of
   njik#pa

   larriwu#tjerinj#pa
   tomorrow#one#pa
   an-tjerinj#pa
   Cl-one#pa

   the day before yesterday
   night (Kungarak:anj cognate njik -night)
   the day after tomorrow
   other, another
# = probable old morpheme boundary

There are also the following two nouns;

wari#pa  children
? al-mantu#pa  women

Waripa definitely involves the addition of a suffix -pa to a root *wari (see 4.1.14). It is not certain that the final syllable pa of almantupa is the same -pa but it is a definite possibility given that waripa and al-mantupa are the only inherently collective nouns in Waray. It is also not certain that the -pa found here is the same as the -pa found with the demonstratives, locationals and temporals.

From this rather disparate collection it is not possible to determine a meaning for -pa. However a suffix -pa does occur in Waray, with a directional/locational function. It is normally the equivalent of 'via'.

1. pikin kenganawu wayk:an-pa pa-kutitj-yatjinj
   3plFOC over there high-via 3plS-round-go r
   They went via/by the high (road).

2. mutaka ka-yinj-yinj kenganawu antjalmi an-kiye-pa
   car NC-R-go irr over there in turn BP-back-via
   The car is going over there in reverse via/by the back
   -pa is usual but not obligatory in this function.

3. wayk:an tjap pa-tjim pa-kutitj-tjim minpulinj-yang
   high road 3plS-come 3plS-round-come place name-OR
   They came round via/by the high road from Minpulinj.

   In one example -pa is found where the locative marker -lik would be expected;

4. nji-payimi pa-yatjinj minpulinj-pa
   that way-side 3plS-go r place name-via
   They went that side to Minpulinj.

   Obviously -pa shows some variation now and appears historically to have shown even more. Its exact original function or functions would
require extensive comparative information.

3.15 -wanjuk: like.

We have already seen examples of the use of this suffix in 3.10 ex 17,18 and 19. An example in a declarative use is;

1. lalinj an-wik apulangu-wanjuk ka-yinj-yinj an-tiltil-u
   goanna BP-skin crocodile-like NC-R-be irr Cl-rough-OBL
   Goannas have rough skin like crocodiles.

   -wanjuk is a purely nominal suffix. To say 'it sounds like somebody singing'.

   2. wirin-wanjuk ka-pa-wirin-pu-n atjangki
      song-like NC-indefS-sing-Aux-irr maybe
      lit. Maybe someone is singing like a song.

      is the only option. It is not possible to say

   3. *ka-pa-wirin-pu-n-wanjuk
      NC-indefS-sing-Aux-irr-like

      with -wanjuk modifying the pronominal prefixes. In combination with
      the Negator amala, -wanjuk is also used to express dissimilarity.

   4. njek amala al-wulkan-wanjuk njek parinj-pu-m
      1sg Neg F-sibling-like 1sg 1sgS 2sgONC-hit-r
      an-ka-nji-pu-n
      2sgS-NC-cry-Aux-irr
      Me, I am not like (my) sister. Me, I will hit you and
      you will cry.
THE VERBAL COMPLEX.

A Verbal Complex (VC) is a word which consists of a verb and any prefixes or suffixes to that verb. A verb consists of a stem which inflections for aspect and mood may be suffixed to. The boundary between the verb and the prefixes is shown by behaviour under CV reduplication (4.5). If a morpheme falls under the scope of this type of reduplication which marks habitual/progressive meanings then it is regarded as forming part of the stem, if not then it is regarded as a prefix.

The above definitions produce a VC which maximally consists of;

pronominal prefixes + prefixed adverbs + Verb + suffixes

A verb in turn consists maximally of;

verb stem + aspect/mood suffixes

This chapter examines firstly the structure of verb stems (4.1), and then the adverbs which may be prefixed to the stem (4.2). Information about the tense, aspect, modality and mood of the VC is conveyed by a complex interaction of the pronominal prefixes and the aspect/mood suffixes. The categories of information conveyed and their morphological realisations are dealt with in section 4.3. The cross-referencing functions of the prefixes are examined in 4.4. Reduplication of the verb, a complicated area, which codes certain aspects of imperfectivity is analysed in 4.5. Section 4.6 is concerned with the only exclusively verbal affix, -pwuy the perlative, and 4.7 discusses adverbial modification, which is expressed by particles and nominals.

4.1 Verb Stems.

Verb stems may usefully be divided into six classes on structural and semantic grounds. They each have a verb core slot (hereafter core) and may have other morpheme slots. Verb roots are that class of morphemes which occur only as fillers of the core slot. Structurally there are three main types of stems.

1. Simple Stems.

These consist of just a core which is always filled by a verb root.
2. Complex Stems.

These consist of a core which may be filled by a nominal or verb root, and a largely semantically empty auxiliary (Aux).

3. Compound Stems.

These consist of either of the above two stem types with a prefixed noun root, usually a body part noun.

In addition to these three main types there are three minor classes of verb stems:

4. Reflexive and Reciprocal Stems.

These consist of an inflected verb form of any of the previous three stem types, filling the core, followed by either the reflexive or reciprocal morpheme. Phonological factors condition which inflected form is chosen.

5. Inchoative Stems.

These consist of a nominal root as the core followed by an inchoativiser.

6. Factive Stems.

These consist of an adjective root as the core followed by the factitive.

Inchoative and Factive stems have been dealt with in 3.4 and 3.5 respectively and are not further considered in this Chapter.

4.1.1 Complex Stems.

In most polysyllabic stems the final consonant or syllable of the stem looks as if it is a separate morpheme from the rest of the stem. Four tests have been employed to determine whether this final consonant/syllable is an auxiliary (Aux) or not. The first is whether it corresponds to a simple verb (i.e. the consonant/syllable is the same as the stem of a simple verb and takes the same conjugationally determined inflections). The Auxs
given by this test (with frequency of occurrence) are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>verb</th>
<th>meaning</th>
<th>frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pu-m</td>
<td>to hit</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wu-y</td>
<td>to give</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ka-ngi</td>
<td>to take</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yang</td>
<td>to go</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na-y</td>
<td>to see</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yu-ng</td>
<td>to lie</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tja-l</td>
<td>to eat</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mi</td>
<td>to get</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tjim</td>
<td>to come</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>la-m</td>
<td>to spear</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ni</td>
<td>to sit</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pi-l</td>
<td>to drink</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pe</td>
<td>to bite</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The second test, if the first fails, is whether a significant number of verbs occur with the same stem final consonant/syllable and attendant conjugationally determined inflections. The bound Auxs identified by this test are:

- **-m-al** 104  
- **-k:a-ngi** 5

Of these **-k:a-ngi** is certainly a variant of ka-ngi 'to take'. **-k:a-ngi** occurs only following vowels, and ka-ngi occurs as an Aux only after consonants. **-m-al** and **-tj-ang** also go back to free verbs historically (**ma-l** causative? and **tja-ng** to stand).

The third test is whether the element remaining after the consonant/syllable is removed is a morpheme in itself. This test reveals only two Auxs of very low frequency.

- **malak** a dance  
- **kiyak** sweat

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>verb</th>
<th>meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>malak</td>
<td>to dance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kiyak-li</td>
<td>to sweat (active)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kiyak-pu-k</td>
<td>to sweat (stative)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The fourth test is whether failing to treat a final consonant/syllable as an Aux would result in the creation of phonotactically abnormal morphemes. This test produces one Aux, **-p-al** found in:

- **nik-p-al** to erect
- **tjuknik-p-al** to stick into
- **nim-p-al** to transport something for somebody
Clusters like mp and kp are otherwise unattested morpheme finally and are completely abnormal with respect to the patterns found for morpheme final clusters (see 2.3.6.2).

These four criteria enable us to separate all the likely Auxs except one. This one is "-wa-m, found in the verbs nawa-m 'to take something off somebody' and palawa-m 'to rub'. There are good comparative reasons for believing that the wa-m found in these two verbs is historically an Aux. However synchronically there are no strong reasons for separating it off from the rest of the stem. (wa-m is found as an independent verb in Ngalakan. see Merlan 1983, p119.)

The complex verb system obviously derives from a compounding system with monosyllabic verbs. However the system cannot, on the whole, be analysed as a compounding system in any meaningful way synchronically.

There are, in general, few or no correlations to the use of particular Auxs. The verbs taking a particular Aux do not form a semantic class, and natural semantic classes (e.g. verbs of motion) randomly take a number of different Auxs. Over half the complex verbs take bound Auxs which have no identifiable meaning (mainly with -m-al). For Auxs which do correspond to a free verb there is little or no correlation between the meaning of the morpheme as a free verb and its function as an Aux.

For example la-m 'to spear/to pierce', which does show some degree of correlation has;

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>verb</th>
<th>meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tit-la-m</td>
<td>to pinch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tjat-la-m</td>
<td>to poke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tjitj-la-m</td>
<td>to point</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

but it also has;

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>verb</th>
<th>meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pok-la-m</td>
<td>to make string by rubbing banyon fibre on thighs</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

which shows no semantic similarity to either la-m as a free verb or to the three other -la-m Aux verbs listed above. Furthermore 'to stab' is tjap-m-al with a completely different Aux. Most Auxs do not show anything like the degree of correlation la-m does.

This is not to say that the Aux system is without function. Some cores may take more than one Aux, or occur both with and without an Aux. There is sometimes a difference in meaning associated with these
variations, sometimes not. In some cases the differences in meaning appear to be unrelated, as we may see from the following examples involving the verb roots tjul- and kut-.

- tjul-m-al to fish
- tjul-tj-ang to go down
- kut-m-al to put
- kut-tj-ang to get up

In other cases they appear to be related;

- tja-l to eat
- tja-m-al to chew
- pu-m to hit
- pu-m-al to swell up

though not in a consistent way. In most cases there is a difference in valency.

- pil-wu-y to smell (1)
- pil-mi to smell (2)
- tjuluk-tj-ang to spill (1)
- tjuluk-m-al to spill (2)

There are cases where there is no apparent difference in meaning.

- pok-la-m/pok-m-al to make string

There are two variations from the pattern for complex verbs presented so far, of the core being filled by a verb root followed by an auxiliary which is largely semantically empty. One involves a set of motion and position verbs, where the auxiliary is not semantically empty.

1. a) puluk-tjim across-come to come across
   b) puluk-yang across-go to go across
   c) puluk-ni across-sit to go across
2. a) kutitj-tjim  
around-come  
to come around  

b) kutitj-yang  
around-go  
to go around  

c) kutitj-m-al  
around-Aux  
to go around  

3. a) ngal-tjim  
out/up-come  
to come out/up  

b) ngal-mi  
out/up-get  
to get out/up  

c) ngal-ni  
out/up-sit  
to come out/up  

4. a) lili-tjim  
run-come  
to come running  

b) lili-m-al  
run-Aux  
to run  

5. a) tiri-tjim  
crawl-come  
to come crawling  

b) tiri-m-al  
crawl-Aux  
to crawl  

6. a) wirinj-m-al  
walk-Aux  
to walk around  

b) wirinj-ka-ngi  
walk-take  
to take someone for a walk  

7. a) tuwak-yu-ng  
across-lie  
to lie across  

b) tuwak-kut-m-al  
across-put-Aux  
to put across  

With verbs 1 - 3 a) and b), 4 and 5 a), 6 b) and 7 a) and b) the meaning of the compound is fairly much the same as the sum of the meaning of its parts. The exact relationship between the members of the compound varies somewhat. 6 a) appears to be a verb + verb compound semantically, whereas the others appear to be adverb + verb compounds semantically. Structurally all of these verbs except 7 b) are the same as all other complex verbs. 7 b) differs structurally as kut-m-al is itself a complex verb. As was mentioned the complex verb system is derived from a compounding system. The verbs discussed here are merely the last remnants of this once active compounding system. tuwak-kut-m-al is now a structural oddity, but it harks back to a time when the compounding system was fully active.

The remnantal nature of the compounding system becomes even clearer when we consider the fact that semantic clarity does not match frequency of occurrence. 1 and 2 c) puluk-ni and kutitj-m-al are far more common that 1 and 2 b) puluk-yang and kutitj-yang for 'to go
across' and 'to go around'; and 3 c) ngal-ni is as common as 3 a) ngal-tjim for 'to come out/up'.

Mention should be made of the adverb wok 'heavily'. This adverb is found only with the verb nge-m-al 'to breathe'. It may occur as a free form or prefixed to the verb.

8. amala     kan-wok-ngel-m-i     kulupe-yi an-ki
   Neg     POT-heavily-breathe-Aux-NC POT cold-INS BP-nose
   a-kupam atjangki ka-kan-ka-n
   Cl-lots maybe NC-R-have-irr
He cannot breathe properly from a cold. Maybe his nose has lots of (mucus).

9. wok       ka-ngel-m-al
   heavily NC-breath-Aux-irr
He is snoring.

As wok occurs only with nge-m-al, and not with any other semantically plausible stem, it is included here with the complex stems and not with the prefixed adverbs (see 4.2). It is unusual in that it has a free variant. It seems likely that other complex stems, such as those presented in 1 – 7 would once have had free variants. The complex verb system having presumably originated in a system of compounding free morphemes.

The other set of variations involves complex stems where the core is filled by a noun root. The stems in this class are;

10. multji-wu-y     to frighten
    fear-give

11. pukiri-yu-ng   to dream
    dream-lie

12. pukiri-pu-m    to dream
    dream-Aux

13. malak-pu-m     to dance
    dance-Aux
14. malak-li
   dance-Aux
   to dance

15. kiyak-li
   sweat-Aux
   to sweat (active)

16. kiyak-pu-k
   sweat-Aux
   to sweat (stative)

17. melang-pu-m
   light-Aux
   to set/catch alight

18. tjipinj-pu-m
    year/wet season-Aux
    to stay for ages/years

19. wirin-pu-m
    song-Aux
    to sing

20. wek-pu-m
    fire-Aux
    to make a fire

21. kutjili-m-al
    fill-Aux
    to fill

22. mulmek-mi
    love/liking-Aux
    to love/like

Another possible member of the class is;

23. pul-m-al
    trouble-Aux
    to become angry

though the relationship between the free noun and the verb is less direct than elsewhere. The final member of the class is;

24. put-mi
    water-get
    to get water

which contains put- a special compound root for 'water' which differs completely from the free root wik (this is the only case of a
lexeme with completely different free and bound forms, see 3.2.1.3). Most of the verbs in this set are less transparent than their adverbial/verbal counterparts ex 1 - 7. Only ex 10, 11 and 24 are transparent. The other verbs all have meaningless auxiliaries. The meanings of two of the verb stems listed here, pukiri-yu-ng ex 11 and mulmek-mi ex 22, may be expressed by alternate constructions with the nominal as a free form noun.

16. an-wak pukiri ka-yu-yu
   CI-little dream NC-R-lie
   The kid is dreaming.

17. kenganawu mulmek pat-yatjinj a-kala-wu
    over there liking 1sgSNC-be r NF-3sg-DAT
    I like that fellow. (mulmek takes yang 'to be' when it
    occurs free)

The restricted occurrence of the special bound root put- 'water',
being attested only with mi 'to get' is a reflection of the unproductive
nature of this type of compounding with noun roots in Waray. A number
of Kunwinjkuuan languages have a special bound root for 'water' (\textit{usually} PV-
initial). In other Kunwinjkuuan languages this bound root is usually found
with any semantically plausible verb.

4.1.2 Compound Stems.

Nearly all examples of compound stems involve body part nouns. In
Waray, as in most Kunwinjkuuan languages, the usual way of describing a
situation affecting a part is to compound the part into the verb stem and
have the pronominal prefixes refer to the whole. Thus 'I cut my hand' is
normally;

1. an-nepe at-nepat-tanjmi-yi-nj
   BP-hand 1sgSC-hand-cut-refl-r
   Hand, I hand-cut myself.

This type of compounding occurs on an ergative basis;

2. arinj-nepat-tanj-mi
   1sgS 2sgOC-hand-cut-r
   I cut your hand.
not being possible when the whole is a transitive subject;

3. an-wak      ka-wuk-manj     an-munak-lik
   *Cl-little    NC-carry-Aux   ir   BP-shoulder-LOC
   She is carrying the baby on her shoulder.

However if the speaker wishes to code the part as a patient and have it receive cross-referencing this is possible;

4. an-nepe    at-tanj-mi    njek:-u-wu    njek    amala
   *BP-hand    1sgSC-cut-Aux    r     1sg-OBL-DAT     1sg      Neg
   ampa-yang    njek-nanak    an-nepe   at-tanj-mi
   where-OR    1sg-only     BP-hand    1sgSC-cut-Aux    r
   I cut my hand, me, nobody else, me only, I cut (my) hand.

In ex 4 the speaker codes the part separately because she wishes to emphasise her sole responsibility for its state. Part compounding is not restricted to human beings.

5. ka-kipat-palawa-yi-n    yumpal-lik
   *NC-back-rub-refl-ir    r     tree-LOC
   (The bullock) is rubbing its back against the tree.

6. mala-wuli-yi-nj   yumpal
   *leaf-finish-refl-r    r     tree
   The tree has lost its leaves.

7. an-tjili     at-tjili-tel-pu-m
   BP-mouth   1sgSC-mouth-open-Aux-r
   l opened the tin lid.

Nor is it restricted to nouns which are formally marked with the Body Part class marker an- (3.2.1.1). Hair, sweat and mucus etc which do not fall within this noun class all undergo compounding;

8. an-wak     at-mitja-tanj-mi
   *Cl-little    1sgSC-hair-cut-Aux    r
   I cut the kid's hair.
9. an-pam wari-nj an-tum tum-pitpit-tji-nj kitjaninj
   \textit{BP-head bad-r BP-face face-red-inch-r spit}
ka-kitjaninj-tjulu-u-m-al
   \textit{NC-spit-flow-Aux-irr}
\textbf{His head was no good. His face went red. He started foaming spit (at the mouth). (This is a description of a fit).}

There are no examples of compounding with the two nouns \textit{an-nji} 'name' and \textit{an-mewel} 'clothes' which are BP class marked but are in a sense semantically marginal to a body part class. However in expressions dealing with these two, the pronominal prefixes are found referring to the whole;

10. an-nji amala kan-pan-mitj-na-n
   \textit{BP-name Neg POT-1sgO-know-Aux-irr}
\textbf{He does not know my name.}

11. wek-lik tirim-pu-n-inj katji-yang wek
   \textit{fire-LOC light-Aux-irr-impf that-OR fire}
melang-pu-n-inj nat-nu-y an-mewel
   \textit{catch alight-Aux-irr-impf \textit{UO-burn-r BP-clothes}}
lit. She kept on lighting the fire till it caught and burnt her at the clothes.

In the case of clothes this is only attested when the person is actually wearing the clothes.

12. an-ka-yinj putawan an-mewel njek:-u-wu
   \textit{2sgS-NC-go irr Darwin BP-clothes 1sg-OBL-DAT}
an-ka-manj mamam-lik njek:-u-wu
   \textit{2sgS-NC-get irr daughter-LOC 1sg-OBL-DAT}
ana-ka-wu-n pan-ka-nim-p-al
   \textit{2sgO-NC-give-irr 1sgO-NC-transport-Aux-irr}
\textbf{When you go to Darwin (go to) my daughter's place and get my clothes. She will give them to you and you can bring them back for me.}

This type of compounding may be found with monovalent verbs, apparently on an unrestricted basis.
13. at-nepat-wari-nj
   1sgSC-hand-bad-r
   My hand hurts.

Therefore it is clearly not a type of Object incorporation. The exact nature of the semantic/functional relationships between the prefixed body part noun and the rest of the stem are not present clear. Neither is the relationship between independent body part nouns, as in ex 1, and the VC. This is an area which requires further research. As we remarked compounding is largely restricted to body part nouns. However there are two examples of compounding involving other types of nouns which suggest that part noun compounding could be locational in nature; marking the location on the whole where the situation is taking place.

14. an-mewel     at-winti     at-miral-laki-nj
    BP-clothes 1sgSC-hang out 1sgSC-sun-toss-r
    I hung the clothes out in the sun.

15. kitjirin   yullik        yul-tel-pu-m   katji   kut-m-inj
    bird sp ground-LOC ground-open-Aux-r that put-Aux-r
    an-kuntu   kak:wuy   an-wak   ngal-tjim
    BP-egg after Cl-little out-come
    lit. That kitjirin bird ground-opened into the ground
    (then it) layed its eggs and later the chicks came out.
    That kitjirin bird burrowed into the ground and laid
    its eggs and later the chicks came out.

These two are the only examples of compounds involving non-body parts. Miral 'sun' in ex 14 is definitely locative in meaning, not simply locational. Yul 'ground' in ex 15 can also be viewed as locational. On initial examination yul-tel-pu-m looks like a compound that means something like 'to dig', but yul-tel-pu-m does not mean this. Rather it means 'to burrow' (lit. to dig into the ground). However it is not at all clear how productive these compounds are. Attempts to elicit other compounds of this type failed, as indeed did attempts to re-elicit these compounds. It may be that the verbs in these two examples are frozen unproductive forms, like those discussed in ex 10 - 24 in the previous section.

If, however, they represent a productive type of locational compounding they would provide support for a view that body part noun
compounding is also locational in nature in Waray.

4.1.3. Verb Roots Occuring Only in Compounds.

There are two verb roots which occur only in compounds;

1. pay-m-al which occurs only in tum-pay-m-al 'to open one's eyes', (an-tum eye).

2. way-m-al which occurs in;

   tjili-way-m-al  to yawn
   mouth-move
   nepat-way-m-al to wave
   hand-move

There are also two verbs which were once compounds of this type containing a root *mup-m-al 'to close'.

3. tumup-m-al  to close one's eyes
   *tum-mup-m-al

4. kanimup-m-al  to forget
   *kanim-mup-m-al  *lit. to close one's ears

In Waray the verb nga-m 'to hear' covers 'to remember' so it is quite reasonable that a compound which literally meant 'to close one's ears' should cover 'to forget'.

4.1.4. Old Compounds.

In dealing with medial consonant clusters in verb roots in 2.3.6.4 we noted that most of the few that do occur, occur across what look like old morpheme boundaries. These boundaries are all old compound boundaries. The following verb roots look as if they were once compounds.

1. kemepitjip-m-al  to roll up
   pitjip-m-al  to roll

This looks like an compound involving an adverb keme.
2. kelngaykmiyi-nj
   ngayk-m-al
   to marry
   to keep, to look after, to wait for

   The reflexivised form of ngayk-m-al is ngaykmi-yi-nj and kel is found in Jawoyn as a noun prefix meaning 'married' and also as a stem forming verb prefix with the root 'to sleep' meaning 'to live as married, camp as married person'. This is a type of adverb compound.

3. katul-mi
   to roast in the ashes

   The word for 'ashes' in Waray is lora, but in Uwinjmir it is katul.

4. tjukpat-m-al
   tjuknik-p-al
   nik-p-al
   to spit
   to stick into
   to erect

   Here it looks as if we have an adverb tjuk. No verb pat-m-al now occurs in Waray.

5. mekkilkil-m-al
   mekpulayi-nj
   pula-m
   to burp
   to be surprised
   to make

   The reflexive form of pula-m is pula-yi-nj. The geminate kk in mekkilkil-m-al is the only intramorphemic kk in Waray, apart from those occurring across reduplication boundaries. For these reasons the mek element looks as if it was once a separate morpheme. Whether it bears any relation to an-mek 'chest' is unknown.

6. warikutmiyi-nj
   kut-m-al
   to have children
   to give birth

   The reflexive form of kut-m-al is kutmi-yi-nj. Waripa is 'the children' (the -pa also occurs on al-mantupa 'the women' the only other inherently collective noun in Waray). In Wakiman 'child' is ware(n) (the n drops before case markers) and 'the children' is wari-puka, -puka being the plural morpheme. Therefore a proto nominal root *wari 'child' is well established.
7. nguntji-yi to talk (1)  
tji-yi to say  
ngoni language, word, noise  
nguni-wu-y to talk (2)  
wu-y to give

The compounding here is obvious.

8. pamputj-m-al to be born  
putj-m-al to send  
tolngputj-m-al to smoke (1)

An-pam is 'head' in Waray. The word for 'smoke' in Waray is wal but in the related Kunwinjku language it is kun-tolng (the kun- is a class marker).

9. tumtjit-m-al to be jealous  
tjit-pu-m to hurt

An-tum is 'eye, face'. It seems possible that a compound meaning 'to eye/face-hurt' could mean 'to be jealous'.

10. tjitpul-m-al to smoulder  
pul-m-al to become angry

It is possible that tjitpul-m-al is based on pul-m-al but this is by no means certain. This is the most doubtful of the old compounds as I know of no cultural connection between fire and anger among the Aboriginal people living around Darwin. It may well be that it is a simple root with a cluster.

11. ngantikat-pi-l to choke  
ngantitep-m-al to be thirsty  
an-ngangi throat  
nganti-mi to grab  
ngantiwul-m-al to chase  
wul-m-al to follow

It seems likely that the nganti element in the first two verbs is 'throat'. It may also be the element in the other two verbs, though in what
meaning is not obvious.

4.1.5. Reflexive and Reciprocal Stems.

As we have already stated in 4.1 the core of a reflexive or reciprocal stem is an inflected form of a simple, complex or compound verb. The choice of the verb form is phonologically conditioned. The reflexive morpheme is -yi-nj and the reciprocal is -tji-nj. If a verb has an inflected form ending in i, then that form will be used as the core for the reflexive/reciprocal stem. If a verb has no i final inflected forms, then the vowel final form is used (all verbs not having i final forms have only one vowel final form). Some examples are;

1. tanj-mi 'to cut' has an i final Realis form tanj-mi and this is the form used in the reflexive tanjmi-yi-nj.

2. ya-m-al 'to argue' has an i final ncPOT form ya-m-i and this is the form used as the basis for the reciprocal yami-tji-nj.

3. pu-m 'to hit' has a vowel final imperative/ncPOT form pu which is used as the basis for the reflexive pu-yi-nj and the reciprocal pu-tji-nj.

By conjugation the forms used are;

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Citation Form</th>
<th>Inflected Form Used</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-mi</td>
<td>Realis -mi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ngi</td>
<td>Realis -ngi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-tj-ang</td>
<td>Irrealis -tj-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-l/-al</td>
<td>ncPOT -i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>imp/ncPOT Vowel final</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.2 Prefixed Adverbs.

There are three prefixed adverbs found in Waray, kupal- 'nearly', watj- 'hurry up and', and tik:i- 'almost'. These adverbs do not form part of the stem as they do not fall within the scope of reduplication. kupal- and watj- appear to be equivalent in meaning to 'nearly' and 'hurry up and' respectively.
1. kan-in-kupal-le-n  
   POT-n3plO-nearly-shoot-irr  
   He nearly shot us (he missed).

2. pali-kupal-tjim  
   1plSNC-nearly-come  
   We have nearly arrived.

3. i-watj-yinj  
   1plSC-hurry up-go irr  
   Let's hurry up and go!

4. watj-pu  
   hurry up-hit  
   Hurry up and kill it!

The adverb tik:i- 'almost' on the other hand has no exact English equivalent. The following examples demonstrate its meaning:

5. a) li-nj  
   fall-r  
   He fell over.

   b) tik:i-li-nj  
   almost-fall-r  
   He has probably fallen over.

6. a) tjatpula amala kan-yinj  
   old man Neg POT-go irr  
   The old man cannot walk.

   b) tjatpula amala kan-tik:i-yinj  
   old man Neg POT-almost-go irr  
   lit.The old man can almost not walk.  
   The old man can hardly walk.

7. a) kutjili-m-a  
   fill-Aux-imp  
   Fill it up!
b) tik:i-kutjili-m-a  
*almost-fill-Aux-imp*  
Fill it almost up!

From these examples we may observe that tik:i- indicates that the situation described by the verb is almost, but not quite, what it would be if tik:i- were not present. As such 'almost' is a fairly reasonable gloss for tik:i- in most examples of its use, but not in all as ex 5 shows. The precise nature of the approximation varies. In ex 5 it is an approximation involving the speaker's knowledge, in ex 6 there is an approximation in the Subject's inability, and in ex 7 there is an approximation in completion. There is not enough evidence to determine the factors which control these variations. It seems most likely that the approximation depends on the verb form, so that when tik:i- is added to a Realis verb as in ex 5 then the approximation always means 'probably', and when it is added to an imperative as in ex 7 the approximation always has to do with completion etc.

4.3 The Pronominal Prefixes and the Aspect/Mood Suffixes.

The prefixes, more particularly the Subject prefixes, and the aspect/mood suffixes have a complicated interaction which serves to encode a variety of aspect, tense, mode and mood categories. The categories are analysed in detail in the following subsections of this section. The present discussion is only concerned with giving the reader a general outline of these categories and how they are realised.

The first major distinction to be considered is that between the Potential (POT) and the non-Potential. The POT codes two separate but related categories. One is in negative constructions, which are formed by combining a POT VC and the Negator amala. Its other use is to code situations which have a lower than probable, potentiality of actualisation at the moment of speaking (i.e. it marks a range from zero to possible/less than probable potentiality of actualisation). It is chiefly concerned with marking those situations where the less than probable potentiality at the moment of speaking results from the Subject's attitude to the situation. Thus the POT is concerned with past unactualised intention, obligation, desire and attempt, and future possibilities. In this second use the POT is thus concerned with tense (reference to the present moment) and Subject oriented modality. Speaker oriented modality is usually expressed by independent particles. The POT is realised by the Subject prefixes.
The second distinction is between a category which includes all past situations, present statives and inchoatives and perfect actives, and a category which includes all other situations. The first category is called the complete, as it is mostly concerned with situations which are completed at the moment of speaking. The second category is called the non-complete as it is mostly concerned with uncompleted situations. In the POT the distinction between complete and non-complete forms is realised by the aspect/mood suffixes. In the non-Potential declarative the distinction is realised by the opposition between the Complete (C) and Non-Complete (NC) prefixes.

In this grammar the terms complete/non-complete, without capitals, refer to the semantic/functional category just described. The terms Complete/Non-Complete, with capitals, refer to the prefix classes which are based on the complete/non-complete semantic and functional division. The prefix classes, however, cover only a part of the range of the semantic classes.

Positive hortatives and imperatives are marked with the Complete prefixes, even though they are semantically non-complete. They are distinguished from Complete declaratives by the suffixes. There are historical reasons why the Complete prefixes are found with these two categories, but the historical development of the prefix system is the subject of a separate article. Negative hortatives and imperatives fall within in the Potential category, and so are marked with POT prefixes.

The third major distinction is between realis (actualised) and irrealis (unactualised) situations. This distinction is coded by the Realis and Irrealis suffixes. As with the complete/non-complete and Complete/Non-Complete, the terms in capitals describe suffix categories, which are based on, but not exactly equivalent to the semantic categories described by the terms in lower case letters. The Irrealis suffix category covers complete Potentials (e.g. past negatives) and most non-complete non-Potentials (e.g. hortatives, 2nd and 3rd person future intentionals), as well as realis imperfectives. The Realis suffix category covers realis perfectives and 1st person non-complete intentionals.

The fourth distinction is between perfectives and imperfectives. In the Complete prefix category for declaratives (which codes complete realis events), the distinction is marked, as we have just indicated, by the Realis suffix for perfectives and the Irrealis for imperfectives. However, in this class the repetition/duration subcategory of imperfectivity may also be marked by reduplication of the verb (see 4.5.1). Both Realis and Irrealis verb forms may be reduplicated. In the complete POT reduplication
marks past negative habituals (see 4.5.2). In the Non-Complete prefix category, reduplication marks present progressives and habituals (see 4.5.2)

Table 4.1: Verbal Prefix Categories.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Complete</th>
<th>Non-Complete</th>
<th>Potential</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>transportive</td>
<td>1st</td>
<td>2nd +</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>perf</td>
<td>impf</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.3.1 The Pronominal Prefixes.

There are two main groups of prefixes in Waray, the Subject and the Object prefixes. In a number of Kunwinjkuan languages the prefix complex is highly synthetic and it is not usually possible to easily separate out Subject and Object morphemes. However in Waray, it is normally a simple matter to do so. There are a couple of areas where irregularities are found and there are three unanalysable differential prefixes which function as the equivalents of combinations of Subject and Object prefixes.

The Subject prefixes are divided into three classes on the basis of form and function. These three classes are the Potential (POT) a tense/mode category, the Complete (C) a tense/aspect category and the Non-Complete (NC) a residual category.
Table 4.2: The Subject Prefixes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>C</th>
<th>NC</th>
<th>POT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1sgS</td>
<td>at-</td>
<td>pat-</td>
<td>kat-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1dlincS</td>
<td>ma-</td>
<td>manma-</td>
<td>kanma-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1plS</td>
<td>i-</td>
<td>pali-</td>
<td>kali-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1sgS 2sgO</td>
<td>arinj-</td>
<td>parinj-</td>
<td>karinj-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1sgS 2plO</td>
<td>aritj-</td>
<td>paritj-</td>
<td>karitj-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1plS 2ndO</td>
<td>ini-</td>
<td>panini-</td>
<td>kanini-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2sgS</td>
<td>an-</td>
<td>an-ka-</td>
<td>kan-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2plS</td>
<td>a-</td>
<td>a-ka</td>
<td>kan-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3sgS</td>
<td>0-</td>
<td>ka-</td>
<td>kan-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3plS</td>
<td>pa-</td>
<td>ka-pa-</td>
<td>kan-pa-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This table includes the three direferential prefixes as these prefixes pattern morphologically with the 1st person Subject prefixes.

The NC and POT prefixes are obviously based on the C prefix forms. For prefixes with a 1st S this is no longer synchronically valid but was historically (the development of the prefix system is the subject of a separate article). For the 2nd and 3rd person prefixes this analysis is still largely synchronically correct. The only problem is the occurrence of kan- for the POT2sgS instead of the expected *kan-an-, but an examination of the combinations of Subject and Object prefixes provides evidence that the POT2sgS was indeed once the expected *kan-an-.

The Object prefixes are;

Table 4.3: The Object Prefixes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sg</th>
<th>pl</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>pan-</td>
<td>in-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>ana-</td>
<td>in-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>0-</td>
<td>pun-/put-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These prefixes combine with the Subject prefixes according to the following pattern.

1stS prefixes - Obj - 2ndS -ka - pa
kan-
It may be observed that the Object prefixes occur between the POT marker kan- and the pronominal prefix itself for 2nd and 3rd S prefixes.

1. kan-in/pan/pun-pa-na-n
   POT-n3plO/1sgO/3plO-see-irr
   They might have seen us/me/them.

Therefore clearly the POT must be treated as a separate morpheme for 2nd and 3rd S prefixes. Combinations of Subject and Object prefixes involving the 2sg do not usually yield the expected result however. Thus for 'Did you see them/us/me?' we get;

2. pun/in/pan-na-y
   3plO/n3plO/1sgO-see-r

instead of

3. *pun/in/pan-an-na-y
   3plO/n3plO/1sgO-2sgS-see-r

and for 'He might have seen you' we get;

4. kan-a-na-n
   POT-2sgO-see-irr

instead of

5. *kan-ana-na-n
   POT-2sgO-see-irr

It appears what has happened historically is that the initial syllable an of an- 2sgS and ana- 2sgO has been deleted under haplology, when preceded by pan-, in-, pun- or kan-. This explains why the POT2sgS is kan- instead of *kan-an-. The POT2sgS is synchronically irregular as are the Subject and Object combinations set out in ex 2 and 4. It should be noted that the effect of this haplology has been to make 2nd and 3rd sg Subject forms the same when preceded by any of the relevant prefixes. The 2sgS prefix an- is always deleted, leaving 0- which is the marking for the 3sgS category. Also a POT form with a 2plS and 3sgO is the same as a POT form with a 3sgS and a 2sgO, both being kan-a-.
The only other peculiarity in the Object prefixes is the 3pl pun-, which has a variant put- that occurs with 1sgS prefixes (all of which end in t). In Complete VCs with a 1sgS and a 3plO, the 1sgS prefix at- is usually omitted.

6. put-na-y
   1sgS 3plO-see-r
   I saw them

   (at-put-na-y)
   1sgSC-1sgS 3plO-see-r
   I saw them.

While the form in brackets is possible the other form is far more common. The deletion of at- does not appear to be random; at- tends to be present when the 1sgS is first introduced to the text, but tends to be deleted thereafter.

7. litawi   place name
           i-leya-m-inj 1plSC-pass-Aux-r
           i-leya-m-inj 1plSC-pass-Aux-r place name
           put-ka-ngi
           put-tjalak-m-inj le mariwak:u
           1sgS 3plO-take-r 1sgS 3plO-show-Aux-r place old days
           at-wark:i-m-al-anj
           1sgSC-work-Aux-irr-impf

   We passed litawi, and we passed lilimun. (Then we
got to Marrakai) and I took them and showed them the
place where I used to work in the old days.

In ex 7 the 1sgS is introduced in the subsumed form of a 1plS, but is still deleted in the following clauses within the same text.

Both the 3plO and the 3plS prefixes fail to occur in many situations where if simple plurality were the only criterion, we would expect them to occur. For a discussion of this phenomenon refer to 3.8.2.

4.3.1.1 Indefinite Reference.

In Waray as we have already observed any morpheme which expresses the category 3pl is also used to express the category indefinite (see 3.9.1 and 3.10.1). Thus the 3plS and 3plO prefixes also express indefinite reference.

1. kiri      money
             njek:-u-wu 1sg-OBL-DAT
             pa-mok-mi indefS-steal-Aux r

   Somebody stole my money.
2. pat-put-na-y
   1sgSNC-1sgS indefO-see-r
   I can see somebody (coming).

3. amala letpal kan-pa-tjim-in
   Neg close POT-indefS-approach-irr
   Nobody could approach (her).

The interrogatives can also function as indefinates, though this is not common (see 3.10.1). When they do so they do not usually take 3pl/indef prefixes in verbal cross-referencing. However there is one example where this does happen.

4. eping pun-na-y tjop-lik
   who 3plO-see-r shop-LOC
   Who of them did you see at the shop?

5. eping an-na-y tjop-lik
   who 2sgSC-see-r shop-LOC
   Who did you see at the shop?

Normally there would be a group of people at the shop. By using ex 4 instead of ex 5 the speaker appears to be telling the hearer that they want to know about the whole group not just a selected few.

4.3.1.2 The Potential.

The POT is a tense/modal category. It is the most complex of the three groups of prefixes and covers a wide range of functions. The thread common to most of its uses appears to be that it marks situations with a lower than probable potentiality of actualisation at the moment of speaking, hence its name. It marks negatives, most contrafactuals, 'might/could' and conditionals.

1. Negatives.

A negative clause is formed by combining a POT VC with the Negator amala. Distinctions as to tense and aspect are made by variations in the aspect/mode suffixes, or by CV reduplication.
1. amala kan-yang
   Neg POT-go ncPOT
   He does not, cannot, will not, shall not (ever) go.

2. amala kan-yinj
   Neg POT-go irr
   He has not / has never / did not (ever) / should not, could not, would not (ever) go.

3. amala kan-yinj-yinj
   Neg POT-R-go irr
   He never used to go.

This combination of amala and a POT VC forms a tightly knit conjunction. Amala nearly always precedes the POT VC (there is one example with it immediately following), and mostly immediately precedes it (there are a few examples with one word occurring between the two).

2. Most Contrafactives.

Following Lyons 1977 (pp 794-795) a VC is contraactive if the speaker is committed to the falsity of the proposition described by the verb (Lyons was concerned with propositions, not VCs as such. Nevertheless the concept is useful in our discussion of VCs. Also in Waray VCs may be propositions on their own). The contrafactives which are marked with the POT are those which deal with past irrealis intention, obligation, attempt or desire on the part of the Subject.

4. kat-yinj
   POT1sgS-go irr
   I was going to go.

5. kan-pa-tjim-in njikpa-yang
   POT-3plS-come-irr night-OR
   They should have come this morning.

6. wek kat-tirim-pu-n pin wek a-kut-kutj
   fire POT1sgS-light-Aux-irr but firewood Cl-wet
   I tried to light a fire but the firewood was wet.
7. kan-in-kupal-le-n
   POT-n3plO-nearly-shoot-irr
   He nearly shot us.

8. nuw-inj tjuluk-m-inj wik njek:-u-wu
   kick-r spill-Aux-r water 1sg-OBL-DAT
   kat-pi-l-u
   POT1sgS-drink-irr-DAT
   He kicked my water and spilt it. I wanted to drink it.

Situations described with the specifically epistemic modal particle kunj 'Mistaken Opinion' do not usually take the POT. Epistemic modality is defined by Lyons (1977 p793) as "the logical structure of statements which assert or imply that a particular proposition, or set of propositions, is known or believed."

9. kunj atjangki pulpul ana-laki-nj a-muk:u an-ka-ni-ni
   M.O. maybe sick 2sgO-push-r Cl-good 2sgS-NC-R-sit
   I thought maybe you were sick but you are okay.

There is one example of a POT VC occurring with kunj:

10. put-kanimup-m-inj kunj
    1sgS 3plO-forget-Aux-r M.O.
    kat-put-ka-n-u pin amala
    POT1sgS-1sgS 3plO-take-irr-DAT but Neg
    I forgot them. I thought that I had taken them (to
        school) but No (I had forgotten them).

We should note that all these contrafactuals described with the POT are past tense and therefore have a zero potentiality of actualisation at the moment of speaking. The corresponding situations having future reference, and dealing with the Subject's intention, obligation, attempts or desires, usually have a greater than probable potentiality of actualisation. They therefore take the NC prefixes.

11. pat-yatjinj
    1sgSNC-go r
    I am going to go/will go.
12. wek pat-tirim-pu-m at-tji-yi pin amala a-kutjkutj
fire 1sgSNC-light-Aux-r 1sgSC-say-r but Neg CI-wet
wek
firewood
I am trying to light a fire but the firewood is wet.

13. pali-kupal-tjim
1plSNC-nearly-come
We have nearly arrived.

14. an-tum pip:i-wu ka-kan-ka-n al-wulkan njek:-u-wu
BP-face father-DAT NC-R-have-irr F-sibling 1sg-OBL-DAT
pat-na-n-u
1sgSNC-see-irr-DAT
I want to have a look at that photo of father that my
sister has.


15. kan-yinj
POT-go irr
He might/could have gone.

16. kan-yang
POT-go ncPOT
He might go

The POT is not used with the specifically epistemic atjangki 'maybe'
and -wa 'could be' (see 5.10)


Counterfactual conditionals with past time reference naturally take
the POT as they are contrafactive. Hypothetical conditionals with future
time reference may take either the POT or the NC prefixes.

17. pat-nat-tji-yi pat-na-y-u
1sgSNC-UO-say-r 1sgSNC-see-r-DAT
I will tell him when/if I see him.
18. kan-pul-m-i kak:uy-u-n wanj
POT-angry-Aux-ncPOT after-DAT-CONS like that
kan-tji-wu-n
POT-say-DAT-CONS
He might/will get angry if you say that.

19. yepe-minj kali-watj-yang-u-n
1pl-first POT1plS-hurry up-go ncPOT-DAT-CONS
kali-watj-wayi pikin lura ka-pa-yinj
POT1plS-hurry up-return 3pl FOC behind NC-3plS-go irr
If we hurry up and go first and hurry back, they will
go behind.

20. ngulak pali-ni-winj ka-pa-tjim-in-u
this place 1plSNC-stay-r NC-3plS-come-irr-DAT
pali-pun-na-y kali-yang-u-n amala
1plSNC-3plO-see-r POT1plS-go ncPOT-DAT-CONS Neg
kali-pun-na
POT1plS-3plO-see
I; we stay here, when they come we will see them, if
we go we will not see them.

The difference between the use of the POT and NC prefixes appears to
be that a POT protasis (the 'if' clause) signals a lower likelihood of
occurrence than an NC protasis. The difference between the two is
somewhat like that between an English 'when' sentence and an English 'if'
sentence. Clause sequences with an NC protasis can also be interpreted to
mean 'when' as well as 'if', whereas clause sequences with a POT protasis
can only be interpreted to mean 'if'.

5. Summary.

The POT covers a wide range of functions and it does not appear
possible to give a completely unified account of all its uses. On its own a
POT VC will be interpreted as contrafactive or might/could, both
situations of lower than probable, or zero potentiality of actualisation at
the moment of speaking. As would be expected for prefixes with both
cross-referencing and modality functions, the interpretations are largely
Subject oriented (deontic modality), as opposed to Speaker oriented views
of modality (epistemic modality). Speaker oriented views of modality are
described with independent particles (kunj, atjangki) or suffixes (-wa).

In a text unit with future time reference POT VCs will be interpreted
as conditionals with a lower potentiality than a unit involving NC VCs. In
combination with amala the POT marks all negatives. There is an obvious
connection between this function and the others. All past negatives have a
zero potentiality of actualisation at the moment of speaking, and many,
but not all, non-past negatives also have a lower than probable
potentiality of actualisation. Some non-past negatives however have a
very high potentiality of actualisation.

Thus while a past possibility 'He might have gone' has a common
feature of lower than probable potentiality with a past negative 'He did
not go', and this in turn has a common feature of being negative with a
present negative 'Do not make so much noise!', the first and last do not
appear to have anything much in common. However as low potentiality has
the widest range of the functions of this prefix set, and as this is the
meaning carried by POT VCs without any additional information, it seems
most reasonable to describe the set as the Potential.

The exact interpretation of a POT VC depends partly on context, and
partly on the semantics of the verb stem. Uncontrolled active verbs cannot
be intentionally or obligationally interpreted. Thus

21. wanjla-wanjliak  kan-li-ngan  njek:-u-lik
    R-now                 POT-fall-irr  1sg-OBL-LOC
    Just then he nearly fell on me.

cannot mean either of **'Just then he was going to fall/ should have
fallen on me'. Stative verbs are attested with the POT only in the negative,
as 'nearly', obligatory and intentional interpretations are incompatible
with their semantics.

4.3.1.3 The Complete.

The Complete marks a tense/aspect category in the non-Potential. In
using C prefixes the speaker tells the hearer that he wants the hearer to
view the situation described by the VC as complete at the moment of
speaking. The Complete thus marks, as we have said, all past situations,
both perfective and imperfective, present perfectives and the perfect
(past tense with present relevance).
1. at-lili-m-inj
   1sgSC-run-Aux-r
   I ran, I have run.

2. at-lili-m-al-anj
   1sgSC-run-Aux-impf
   I used to run, I was running.

3. at-kulu-tj-i-tjinj
   njikpa-yang
   1sgSC-stand-Aux-impf
   night-OR
   I have been standing up all morning/since morning.

The exact tense/aspect division that this category produces depends on the semantic class of the verb. The relevant classes are stative, and active. With statives it produces a future/non-future tense division.

4. at-put-tjik-m-inj
   1sgSC-3plO-fear-Aux-r
   I fear them, I feared them.

5. pat-put-tjik-m-inj
   1sgSNC-3plO-fear-Aux-r
   I will fear them.

With active verbs it produces a past/non-past distinction.

6. at-njip-m-inj
   1sgSC-swim-Aux-r
   I swam.

7. at-njip-m-al-anj
   1sgSC-swim-Aux-impf
   I was swimming.

8. pat-njip-m-inj
   1sgSNC-swim-Aux-r
   I am swimming, I will swim.

The one variation from this pattern for active verbs involves inchoatives. In Waray, most present tense inchoatives occur in the C (I am
hungry = I have become hungry).

6. at-wuyang-tji-nj
   1sgSC-hungry-inch-r
   I have become hungry, I was hungry.

7. pat-wuyang-tji-nj
   1sgSNC-hungry-inch-r
   I am becoming hungry, I will be hungry.

4.3.1.4 The Non-Complete.

Unlike the POT or the C, the NC prefixes do not have one function, or a group of related functions. They form a residual category which covers areas not covered by the POT or the C prefixes. From the preceding discussion of the POT and the C it may be observed that the NC is used to cover all future intentional and desiderative situations and present imperfective situations. It is also used in situations which have no specific time reference.

1. a-kala a-muk:u ka-wirin-pu-n
   NF-3sg Cl-good NC-sing-Aux-irr
   He sings well.

4.3.1.5 The Imperative.

Positive imperatives have a special set of aspect/mood suffixes (see 4.3.3 for the suffix forms). In all examples they have 2nd person reference and are unmarked for singular Subjects and take pa- for plural Subjects. This is the marking pattern in the Complete for 3rd person reference. Negative imperatives take the normal 2nd person POT prefixes that all negative VCs take. Imperatives take the normal Object prefixes.

1. pa-yang
   2plS-go imp
   You lot go!

2. pa-yatjinj
   3plS-go r
   They went.

2. amala kan-a-pu
   Neg POT-2plS-hit
   Don’t you lot hit him!
4.3.1.6 The Hortative.

The two Subject prefixes found in positive hortatives are ma- '1dlinC' and i- '1pl'. These same prefixes are also found in the Complete, where while having the same cross-reference they obviously have a different temporal reference (Hortatives by their nature cannot be complete). Hortatives are distinguished from C verb forms by the use of an Irrealis verbal inflection as opposed to a Realis verbal inflection.

1. ma-yinj  
   1dlinC-go  irr  ma-yatjinj  
   Let's go  1dlinCSC-go  r  We went.

2. i-yinj  
   1plSC-go  irr  i-yatjinj  
   Let's go  1plSC-go  r  We went.

Hortatives take the normal Object prefixes.

4.3.1.7 mutj-: together.

This prefix always occurs immediately following the Subject prefix it modifies. As some Subject prefixes precede the Object prefixes while others follow, this means that mutj- does not have a fixed position in relation to the Object prefixes. It is undoubtedly related to the free form mutjla 'together'. Examples of their use are:

1. i-mutj-pun-wali-nj  
   1plSC-together-3plO-call  out-r  We yelled out to them together.

2. i-yatjinj  mutjla  putawan  
   1plSC-go  r  together  Darwin  
   We went together to Darwin.

4.3.2 The Aspect/Mood Suffixes.

There are four aspect/mood suffixes which attach directly to the verb stem.
1. The Irrealis.

The Irrealis is used with non-1st person Subject NC VCs, with complete POT VCs and with Hortatives. It is also used as the basis for the desiderative and the Infinitive for all verbs, and for the Complete Imperfective for most verbs.

2. The Realis.

The Realis is used with the Complete perfective and 1st person Subject NC VCs.

3. The non-complete Potential.

4. The Imperative.

**Table 4.4: Verbal Suffix Categories.**

As we remarked in our opening discussion to this section 4.3 the categories marked by the Irrealis and Realis suffixes (these terms with capitals refer to the suffix categories), while based on the semantic distinction between irrealis (unactualised) and realis (actualised)
situations (these terms in lower case letters refer to the semantic categories) do not correspond exactly with the semantic categories.

To understand the distribution of Irrealis and Realis forms we need to look at the irrealis/realis relationship as being the ends of a continuum rather than as a dichotomy. The factors affecting the continuum are how clearly the situation described by the VC is defined temporally and aspectually, and the likelihood of actualisation. Situations which are clearly defined aspectually and temporally and/or which have a higher likelihood of actualisation are more realis than situations which do not.

The continuum ranges from the most realis situations, which are actualised and viewed as a single event (past perfectives); through situations which are actualised, but viewed as showing some internal variation (e.g. past imperfectives); situations which are unactualised, but likely to be actualised (e.g. 1st person future intentionals); situations which will not be actualised, but can be assigned definite temporal and aspectual boundaries (e.g. past negatives); to the most irrealis situations which are not actualised and which have an indefinite aspectual status (e.g. future possibilities).

If we view the irrealis/realis relationship this way, then we see that the Irrealis and the Realis are partners marking the more irrealis/less realis and more realis/less irrealis parts of particular areas in the continuum.

From this viewpoint we may see that it is perfectly comprehensible that 1st person subject NC VCs (other than the desiderative) are marked with the Realis while non-1st person subject forms are marked with the Irrealis. Speakers have better knowledge of their own future intentions than of the future intentions of others. 1stSNC forms are more likely to be actualised (and therefore less irrealis) than forms with another Subject. Hortatives and 1st person desideratives, being less likely to be actualised than intentionals are therefore more irrealis than 1st person intentionals.

Similarly as Complete imperfectives describe situations with less clearcut boundaries than Complete perfectives, they are less realis than perfectives. Therefore they use an Irrealis inflection to indicate this, as opposed to the perfectives which are marked with the Realis.

Future possibilities, the most irrealis category of all, are marked by a different suffix category, the ncpOT. A possible explanation for this fact is that they are too irrealis to be viewed as participating in the marking partnership between the Irrealis and the Realis.

4.3.2.1 The Infinitive.
The Infinitive verb form consists of the Irrealis verb form and the dative case suffix. Its functions are considered in 5.4 which deals with Infinitive clauses.

4.3.2.2 The Desiderative.

The desiderative verb form consists of a verb in the Irrealis and the dative suffix. As we have already seen it co-occurs with NC prefixes in the non-complete and with POT prefixes in the complete (see 4.3.1.1). It is used to indicate a desire that is not immediately, or was not at all attainable. In other words it is a counterfactual desiderative only and does not correlate directly with the English desiderative 'want to' which can be used in situations where the desire is immediately gratifiable (e.g. 'I want to eat an apple' when you can easily get one). Some examples of the occurrence of the desiderative are;

1. kat-yinj-u   tjop-lik muya   kat-manj-u
   POT1sgS-go   irr-DAT   shop-LOC   tucker   POT1sgS-get   irr-DAT
   pulun eping   kan-pan-ka-n
   none who   POT-1sgO-take-irr
   I wanted to go to the shop and get some tucker but
   there was no-one to take me.

2. amala   karinj-tik:i-nga   yilinj   an-ka-tji-nj
   Neg   POT1sgS   2sgO-almost-hear   how   2sgS-NC-say-irr
   parinj-nga-n-u-wiru
   1sgS   2sgONC-hear-irr-DAT-really
   I can hardly hear what you are saying. I really want
   to listen to you.

3. yanj   kutta   wetj:i   parinj-na-n-u
   Come imp   this way   granddaughter   1sgS   2sgONC-see-irr-DAT
   Come here granddaughter. I want to look at you.
   (spoken when the little girl would not come near)

The desiderative is a somewhat problematic category. The dative marker (which covers purposive function see 5.2.5) is also the adjunction marker in Waray (see 5.5.1). The only place where the desiderative is formally distinct from an adjunction marked form is in the 1stNC. All other 1stSNC forms take the Realis, but desiderative forms take the
Irrealis (indeed this is the only reason for establishing the category, otherwise we would treat it as a subclass of adjunction). However for 2nd and 3rdSNC forms and for all persons in the complete the desiderative is not formally distinct from adjunction marked forms. There are no clear guides as to whether such forms are to be interpreted as desideratives or as adjunction marked forms. The only available guide is context and this is the guide used in this grammar. If a form appears to be desiderative in meaning then it is treated as desiderative, otherwise it is analysed as an adjunction marked form.

4.3.2.3 The Complete Imperfective.

For all regular and nearly all irregular verbs the Complete Imperfective (CI) consists of the Irrealis followed by -(C)inj or -anj (the choice is conjugationally determined). CIs not formed on this pattern consist of a stem which is idiosyncratic to the CI and -inj. Two verbs, mi 'to get' and pi-l 'to drink' have completely irregular forms mayim and pilpilang respectively.

The definition of imperfective we are working from is that given by Comrie 1976 p24 "explicit reference to the internal temporal structure of a situation, viewing a situation from within.". The basic function of the CI in Waray, as with imperfectives in many languages, is to indicate durativity. This may have a number of different interpretations depending on the semantics of the verb stem.

In Waray firstly however, a distinction must be drawn in the CI between habitual and non-habitual. The use of the CI is obligatory to code habitual meaning. It is not obligatory to use the CI to code any of the other sub-categories of the imperfective. Having drawn attention to this distinction we will now go on to consider the various meanings that the CI may encode.

An example showing habitual meaning is;

1. ma-yunguy-inj wang-u ma-pu-k:a-ngi
   1dlinSC-go-impf meat-DAT 1dlinSC-hunt-Auxr
   We used to go hunting for game.

The CI may be used to present a situation as a process rather than an event.
2. lili-m-al-anj yarpa-yang ka-wok-nge-m-al
run-Aux-irr-impf long way-OR NC-heavy-breathe-Aux-irr
a-mutek
CI-big
He has run/been running a long way. He is puffing and panting.

This is a classic use of imperfectives cross-linguistically. Another classic use is in describing a situation leading up to an end point with an imperfective and describing the completion with a perfective.

3. walpgi pula-n-inj wul-inj
loincloth make-irr-impf finish-r
She has finished that loincloth that she was making.

4. wek nu-n-inj yumpal nu-y li-nj
fire burn-irr-impf tree burn-r fall-r
The fire was burning the tree. It burnt through and the tree fell down.

Yet another classic use of imperfectives, if not the classic use of imperfectives is illustrated in;

5. at-yatjinj at-njip-m-al-anj pupal-lik
1sgSC-go r 1sgSC-swim-Aux-irr-impf creek-LOC
at-na-y apulangu at-ngal-ni-winj wik-yang
1sgSC-see-r crocodile 1sgSC-come out-Aux-r water-OR
I went down to the creek. I was swimming when I saw a crocodile and jumped out of the water.

where the setting situation is in the CI and the new situation in the perfective. With punctual verbs, the CI indicates repetition.

6. an-wak-wak:u i-yu-ng-lul mawinj-yunguy-inj
CI-little-DIM 1pISC-lie-r-pair turn over-Aux-impf
pan-nawa-n-inj yur-mayim njek:-u njek
1sgO-take off-irr-impf pull off-Aux impf 1sg-DAT 1sg
wayk:an at-yu-ng
exposed 1sgSC-lie-r
The little one (and I), we slept together. She kept on
turning over and taking the blanket off me. Me, I slept uncovered.

7. i-kulu-tj-i-tjinj   i-yatjinj   tjap-lik   kawuy
   1pISC-stand-Aux-irf   1pISC-go   r   road-LOC   again
   i-kulu-tj-ang   walak-tji-nj   wik   amala
   1pISC-stand-Aux-r   hot-inch-r   water   Neg
We had to keep on stopping. We would go along the road again and stop. (The car) would get hot. There was no water (in the radiator).

Derived from its duration/repetition marking function is the use of CI forms in the following construction type;

8. angik:u   nji-pu-n-inj   kaking   njikpa
   dingo   cry-Aux-irf   yesterday   night
   The dingoes were howling last night.

9. yumpal   an-tilmi-wu   i-kori-nj-inj   an-wak-wak:u
   stick   Cl-dry-OBL   1pISC-break-irf   Cl-little-DIM
   We broke up lots of little dry sticks.

10. yumpal   li-ngan-inj   a-kupam   tjap-lik   ka-tuwak-yu
   tree   fall-irf   CI-lots   road-LOC   NC-across-lie
   Lots of trees have fallen down. They are lying across the road.

11. anpik   pok-li-linj   a-kupam   kaking
   string   make string-Aux-irf   CI-lots   yesterday
   She made lots of string yesterday.

Here we see that the duration/repetition of the activity, with singular verbal prefixing, is also interpreted to mean that there was a large amount of a particular entity involved. This secondary interpretation proceeds on an ergative basis (i.e. the CI verb form will be interpreted as relating to the Object, if there is one. If there is not it will be interpreted as applying to the Subject). While it has been observed with animates such as dingoos, ex 8, it is usually found with inanimates.

4.3.3 The Conjugations.
In Waray there is no sharp distinction between regular and irregular verbs. There is a range in conjugations from the -m-al/-al/-p-al conjugation, which with 111 members has approximately half the verbs in Waray as its members, then to the -pu-m/-m conjugation with 38 members and then through various small conjugations of mostly less than 10 members to semi-regular verbs and eventually to irregular verbs.

The most important conjugational division in Waray is between those verbs which take -l/-al in the Irrealis and those which do not. Verbs which take -l/-al in the Irrealis are cited by this Irrealis form while all other verbs apart from a few highly irregular verbs are cited by their Realis form.

The other verbs must be cited by their Realis form because

1. Four conjugations, those taking -m, -y, -ngi and -nj in the Realis, all take -n in the Irrealis.
2. Two conjugations, those taking -yi and -0 in the Realis, both take -nj in the Irrealis.

Also with those verbs from the above six conjugations, which are cognate with Proto-Australian verbs, it is the Realis form which preserves the characteristic conjugation marker. This is true of all verbs other than -l/-al verbs, and is the other reason why these verbs are cited in the Realis.

For the -l/-al verbs on the other hand, it is the Irrealis form which corresponds to the Proto-Australian verb and this is one of the reasons why the Irrealis is used with these verbs. The other reason is that the Realis form of an -l/-al verb is liable to be confused with a verb from the -nj conjugation. In one case there is a complete confusion. The verb 'to throw' has a Realis form laki-nj and an Irrealis form laki-l, whereas the verb 'to break' has a Realis form witji-nj and an Irrealis witji-n. Thus if we were to cite -l/-al verbs by the Realis there would be no way of knowing that laki-nj has an Irrealis laki-l, whereas witji-nj has an Irrealis witji-n. Normally the confusion would only be partial as the morpheme boundary for all other -l/-al verbs occurs before the vowel in the Realis, whereas for -nj verbs it occurs after the vowel. Thus we have nuw-al (irr)/nuw-inj (r) 'to kick versus wali-n (irr)/wali-nj (r) 'to call out'. However nuw-inj vs wali-nj is a difference that is easily missed and so it is preferable to cite -l/-al verbs by the Irrealis.

The following highly irregular verbs are cited by the indicated forms because these forms correspond most closely to their proto forms and
because they are the shortest forms.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Yakan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>to sit</td>
<td>ni (Irrealis)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to go</td>
<td>yang (Imperative)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to bite</td>
<td>pe (Irrealis)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are two differences between -l/-al verbs and other verbs. The most important is a difference in morphological categories. For other verbs the tense/aspect division made with POT forms parallels that made with non-POT forms for all verbs. Thus we have;

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Yakan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>to hear</td>
<td>nga:m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>amala</td>
<td>kat-nga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neg POT1sgS-hear</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I cannot hear, I will not listen.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Yakan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>to feel cold</td>
<td>tok:(w)ori</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>amala</td>
<td>kan-pan-tok:(w)ori</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neg POT-1sgO-feel cold</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I will not feel cold.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As in the non-POT active verbs show a past/non-past distinction, whereas stative verbs show a future/non-future distinction (i.e. these verbs show a complete/non-complete distinction). However this does not apply to -l/-al verbs. They show a past/non-past distinction in the POT regardless of semantic verb class, as the following example with a stative verb shows.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Yakan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>to feel/be tired</td>
<td>njal-m-al</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>amala</td>
<td>kat-njal-m-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neg POT1sgS-feel tired-Aux-ncPOT</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I am not/will not be tired.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Yakan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>njal-m-al</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>amala</td>
<td>kat-njal-m-al</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neg POT1sgS-feel tired-Aux-irr</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
I was not tired.

Furthermore only the -l/-al verbs distinguish these non-complete Potential forms from Imperative forms. For all other verbs these two are the same, even if the form is irregular or suppletive. Thus it appears that the -l/-al verbs have a different morphological/ grammatical system from the other verbs.

The -l/-al verbs distinguish a non-past POT form from an Imperative, whereas all other verbs have a common form marking both the non-complete Potential and the Imperative. There is an obvious connection between the ncPOT and the Imperative. Negative imperatives are one of the major classes of ncPOTs.

However we will be ignoring these differences for a number of reasons. Firstly for discussion purposes it is easier to use the term ncPOT as a cover for the non-past POT of -l/-al verbs and the ncPOT of non -l/-al verbs than to have to refer to each separately. Secondly while there is a connection between the ncPOT and imperative for non -l/-al verbs it does not appear possible to view the two as different manifestations of some underlying supercategory. Thirdly and most importantly the difference is of very low importance functionally. My teacher rarely used present negative stative verb forms if an alternative was available. Instead she preferred to use ascriptive predications with a negative ascription. Thus for, 'I am not cold', she preferred;

1. a-lal amala pat-ni-ni-winj
   
   Cl-cold Neg 1sgSNC-RED-sit-r
   
   lit. I am sitting not cold.

as opposed to;

2. a-lal amala kan-pan-tok:(w)ori-nj
   
   Cl-cold Neg POT-1sgO-feel cold-irr
   
   I do not feel cold.

and for 'I do not feel tired', she preferred;

3. a-muk:u pat-ni-ni-winj
   
   Cl-good 1sgSNC-RED-sit-r
   
   lit. I am sitting good/fine.
as opposed to;

4. amala kat-njal-m-i
   Neg POT1sgS-feel tired-Aux-ncPOT
   I do not feel tired.

The second difference between -l/-al verbs and the rest, is that
-l/-al verbs take -anj in the CI (apart from the irregular tja-l 'to eat',
and pi-l 'to drink') whereas all the other verbs take -inj (apart from mi
to get' which has a form mayim).

The regular conjugations are set out following. For -l/-al verbs the
ncPOT and Imperative forms are given separately as they are different.
For other verbs only the Imperative is given as the ncPOT is always the
same.

Table 4.5: Regular Conjugations.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>-m-al</th>
<th>to swim</th>
<th>-al</th>
<th>to bring</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>njip-m-al</td>
<td>to swim</td>
<td>njil-al</td>
<td>to bring</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>imp</td>
<td>njip-m-a</td>
<td>njil-a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r</td>
<td>njip-m-inj</td>
<td>njil-inj</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>irr</td>
<td>njip-m-al</td>
<td>njil-al</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>impf</td>
<td>njip-m-al-anj</td>
<td>njil-al-anj</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ncPOT</td>
<td>njip-m-i</td>
<td>njil-i</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>-m</th>
<th>to hit</th>
<th>-y</th>
<th>to give</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pu-m</td>
<td>to hit</td>
<td>wu-y</td>
<td>to give</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>imp</td>
<td>pu</td>
<td>wu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r</td>
<td>pu-m</td>
<td>wu-y</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>irr</td>
<td>pu-n</td>
<td>wu-n</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>impf</td>
<td>pu-n-inj</td>
<td>wu-n-inj</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>-ngi</th>
<th>to take</th>
<th>-nj</th>
<th>to break</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ka-ngi</td>
<td>to take</td>
<td>witji-nj</td>
<td>to break</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>imp</td>
<td>ka-ng</td>
<td>witji</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r</td>
<td>ka-ngi</td>
<td>witji-nj</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>irr</td>
<td>ka-n</td>
<td>witji-n</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>impf</td>
<td>ka-n-inj</td>
<td>witji-n-inj</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
There are a fair number of semi-regular and irregular verbs in Waray. Full paradigms for these verbs are given in the Dictionary. The following table gives the numbers for the various conjugations (including semi-regular and irregular conjugations). Independent verbs and their corresponding Auxs are listed separately.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>-m-al</th>
<th>104</th>
<th>-al</th>
<th>7</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-p-al</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-m</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-pu-m</td>
<td>31</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ka-angi</td>
<td></td>
<td>to take</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-ka-angi</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mi</td>
<td></td>
<td>to get</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-nj</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>-0</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-y</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-na-y</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-wu-y</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-tj-ang</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tjim</td>
<td></td>
<td>to come</td>
<td>-tjim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In addition to the verbs listed here there are 28 other verbs. These are semi-regular or irregular verbs and the complex or compound verbs based on these verbs.

4.3.4 Glossing.
Verbal affixes are in general glossed to show the information that they carry in each particular situation. Thus while pa- carries only the information plS- in all situations of its use it is glossed as 3plS- in;

1. pa-yatjinj
   3plS-go r
   They went.

as it carries that information in combination with a Realis verb form, and as 2plS- in;

2. pa-yang
   2plS-go imp
   You lot go!

as it carries that information in combination with an imperative verb form. The chief exception to this principle is that null affixes are not used. Thus 'Hit him!' is simply written as;

3. pu
   hit
   Hit him!

not as;

4. 0-0-pu-0
   3sgO-2sgS-hit-imp
   Hit him!

4.3.4.1 Minimal/Augmented.

The Waray Subject prefix paradigm

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{sg} & \text{dl} & \text{pl} \\
1e & \text{at-} & i- & i- \\
i & & \text{ma-} & i- \\
2 & \text{an-} & a- & \\
3 & 0- & pa- & \\
\end{array}
\]

would look much neater if arranged along minimal/augmented lines;
However the evidence from the Object prefixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Min</th>
<th>Aug</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>at-</td>
<td>i-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1+2</td>
<td>ma-</td>
<td>i-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>an-</td>
<td>a-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>0-</td>
<td>pa-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

where the 1dlnc is included in a general non 3rd plural category, marked by in-, would suggest that the 1dlnc is viewed as a sub-category of the plural in Waray, and not as a minimal unit classing with the singulars. Given this fact, paradigmatic neatness would not seem to be a factor sufficient to establish a minimal/augmented analysis.

4.4 Cross-Referencing.

The cross-referencing functions of the prefixes form an area in Waray that is, as in all prefixing languages, somewhat complex. A consideration of the nature of transitivity and valency is required to understand the cross-referencing functions of the prefixes.

4.4.1 Transitivity.

In most Pama-Nyungan languages there is a clear division between a class of verb stems which appear only in intransitive clauses, and a class of verb stems which appear only in transitive clauses. Transitivity is usually defined in terms of the possible presence of an ergative marked nominal. There is also usually a small class of ditransitive verbs, consisting minimally of 'to give', which take two absolutive marked nominals.

In Waray there are problems in determining exactly what constitutes a clause (see 5.7.3). Even given the somewhat imprecise definition of clauses that we are working from (5.7.3), it is certainly not possible to divide verb stems into classes on the grounds of co-occurrence potentialities with ergative marked nominals (see 5.2.1).
In prefixing languages transitivity is a property of clauses. A transitive clause is one with a VC taking Object prefixes; an intransitive clause is one where the VC does not have Object prefixes. It is possible to divide verb stems into a class which must take Object prefixes (a transitive class), and a class which does not have to (an intransitive class). However this division is quite unrevealing of the nature of Object prefixing, its relation to verb stem classes, or anything else for that matter. Furthermore this division flows from a more basic division of verb stems into valency classes (polyvalent verb stems must take Object prefixing and monovalent verb stems do not have to).

4.4.2 Valency.

The valency of a verb stem is defined as the number of entities which are necessarily inferred to a VC based on that verb stem, in order to form an acceptable predication. The entities so inferred are the core arguments, and form the case frame of that verb stem. Following this criterion verb stems may be divided into four classes with valencies of 0, 1, 2 and 3.

Verb stems with a zero valency are unsurprisingly those describing meteorological phenomena.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{par-m-al} & \quad \text{to become cold} \\
\text{parp-m-al} & \quad \text{to become light}
\end{align*}
\]

As in most languages the great majority of verb stems are either monovalent or bivalent. In common with most Aboriginal languages, Waray has many pairs of verb stems which differ only in valency, one being monovalent, the other being bivalent.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{witji-nj} & \quad \text{to break, to be broken} \\
\text{kori} & \quad \text{to break something}
\end{align*}
\]

Waray has six definitely trivalent verb stems.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kul-m-al} & \quad \text{to ask somebody for something} \\
\text{ngitj-wu-y} & \quad \text{to ask somebody about something} \\
\text{nawa-m} & \quad \text{to take something off somebody} \\
\text{nim-p-al} & \quad \text{to transport something for somebody} \\
\text{tjalak-m-al} & \quad \text{to show something to somebody}
\end{align*}
\]
wu-y  to give something to somebody

In some cases there are problems in assigning valencies to verb stems. The stem wuli means both 'to piss' and 'to rain'. In its 'to piss' meaning wuli is obviously monovalent. However in its 'to rain' meaning wuli could have a valency of either 0 or 1. In the 'to rain' meaning it frequently occurs with wik 'water,rain'. Thus it may be that wuli 'to rain' always has an implied Subject wik 'rain', which would make it monovalent.

There are three verb stems which appear to inherently involve a location as well as an agent and a patient and so are presumably trivalent (see Appendix 2 Verb stem semantics).

    tjuknik-p-al to stick something into something/body
    ngiw-al to put something inside something
    kut-m-al to put something somewhere

There are two verbs which have two valencies without a difference in meaning being involved, nu-y 'to burn' and tjavul-m-al 'to smoke'. The verb nu-y occurs in the following circumstances;

1. wek ka-nun-nu-n
   fire NC-R-burn-irr
   The fire is burning.

2. miral pan-nu-y an-ngupe
   sun 1sgO-burn-r BP-foot
   The sun has burnt my feet.

The verb nu-y may be reflexivised (see 4.4.7.1 ex 2) and therefore it must be bivalent. This means in turn that ex 2 cannot be viewed as an example of the occurrence of an Object with a monovalent verb (see 4.4.4.2). However in its use in ex 1, nu-y is clearly monovalent as no entity other than the fire can possibly be necessarily inferred. There is no other way of expressing the situation in ex 1, as there is no solely monovalent verb 'to burn'. Therefore nu-y must be assigned two valencies, in both of which it means 'to burn'.

The case with tjavul-m-al is somewhat different. Tjavul-m-al is
usually found in the sense of 'to smoke tobacco'. Also it has two monovalent counterparts, *toingputj-m-al* 'to smoke' and *tjitpul-m-al* 'to smoulder'. Nevertheless *tjapul-m-al* is found in situations where only one entity can possibly be necessarily inferred.

3. wek wilek tjapul-m-al-anj kaking njikpa
   *fire charcoal smoke-Aux-irr-impf yesterday night*
   *lit.*The fire and charcoal were smoking last night.
   The ashes were smoking last night.

Therefore this verb stem must be assigned two valencies without any accompanying difference in meaning.

4.4.3 The Subject Prefixes.

These prefixes cross-reference a set of core arguments which corresponds to those falling under the traditional definition of Subject (i.e. the only core argument for monovalent verbs and the "Actor" argument for polyvalent verbs). Within the valency classes the following types of core arguments receive Subject cross-referencing.

1. Trivalent Verbs.

The trivalent verbs are all agentive (i.e. there is a core entity which initiates, carries out and controls the action) and the agent receives the Subject cross-referencing.

2. Bivalent Verbs.

Bivalent verbs show a variety of roles for the core argument receiving Subject cross-referencing. The role of the core argument chosen depends on the semantics of the verb stem. If the stem is agentive then the agent receives Subject cross-referencing.

1. at-pu-m
   *1sgSC-hit-r*
   I hit him.

If the stem is an uncontrolled active verb then the entity which carries out but does not control the action receives Subject cross-
referencing.

2. at-tjuluk-m-inj
   1sgSC-spill-Aux-r
   I spilt it.

If the stem is stative then the experiencing entity will receive Subject cross-referencing.

3. at-puwik-m-inj
   1sgSC-dislike-Aux-r
   I dislike him.


Monovalent verbs show the same three types found with bivalent verbs.

4. at-lili-m-inj
   1sgSC-run-Aux-r
   I ran.

5. at-li-nj
   1sgSC-fall-r
   I fell.

6. at-wari-nj
   1sgSC-feel bad-r
   I feel bad.

Null valency verbs naturally do not take Subject cross-referencing.

4.4.4 The Object Prefixes.

These prefixes cross-reference a variety of arguments, both core and non-core. The argument that they cross-reference is either the one which the situation is directed towards, or the one affected by the situation.

4.4.4.1 Object Cross-Referencing of Core Arguments.
It is only with trivalent verbs that any possibility of variation in
Object cross-referencing of core arguments exists. Null and monovalent
verbs have no eligible core arguments and bivalent verbs have only one
eligible core argument. The core arguments which receive Object
cross-referencing among the trivalent verbs are shown by underlining;

- **kul-m-al** to ask *somebody* for something
- **ngitj-wu-y** to ask *somebody* about something
- **nawa-m** to take something off *somebody*
- **nim-p-al** to transport something for *somebody*
- **tjalak-m-al** to show something to *somebody*
- **wu-y** to give something to *somebody*

These arguments are all the ones which the situation is directed
towards (including **nawa-m**; the action of taking off is directed towards
the source, not the patient). They are also usually the human argument
with the other non-Subject core argument being non-human.

Attempts to determine how human patients would affect Object
marking produced apparently inconsistent results. With **wu-y**, which is by
far the commonest of the trivalent verbs, my teacher would not accept any
variation from marking the goal/recipient as the Object. Thus 'They used
to give one old man many young girls in the old days' can only be translated
as;

1. **tjatpula an-tjerinj al-kulpe a-kupam-u pa-wu-y**
   old man Cl-one F-woman Cl-lots-OBL 3plS-give-r
   mariwak:u
   old days

where the VC **pa-wu-y** shows singular Object cross-referencing. It
is not possible to say;

2. *tjatpula an-tjerinj al-kulpe a-kupam-u pun-pa-wu-y
   old man CI-one F-woman CI-lots-OBL 3plO-3plS-give-r
   mariwak:u
   old days

in this meaning with a VC pun-pa-wu-y showing plural Object
cross-referencing. On the other hand as a translation for 'Welfare took the
children off the mother' involving the much less common trivalent verb
nawa-m, my teacher gave;

3. pun-nawa-m waripa welfare-yi al-walin-yang
   3plO-take off-r children welfare-erg F-mother-OR

with the patient waripa 'children' cross-referenced as Object and the
mother receiving Origin case marking (something which this core source
does not otherwise receive). She also gave;

4. parak:ut pa-nawa-m al-walin pa-ka-ngi
   white man 3plS-take off-r F-mother 3plS-take-r

where the children are neither overtly mentioned nor cross-
referenced.

In the absence of a reasonable number of unprompted utterances
describing situations involving trivalent verbs and human patients, it is
not possible to make any definitive statements on the effect of the factor
on Object marking. The three apparently trivalent locational verbs
tjuknik-p-al to stick something into something
ngiw-al to put something inside something
kut-m-al to put something somewhere

usually have 3sg non-Subject core arguments which take 0-
cross-reference. It is therefore not possible to determine which argument is the
Object. It seems likely with these verbs that if either the patient or
location is human it would be the Object, as the situation would probably
be viewed as being directed towards the human.
4.4.4.2 Object Cross-Referencing of Non-Core Arguments.

As well as core arguments, a wide variety of non-core arguments receive Object cross-referencing in Waray. The non-core arguments which receive Object cross-referencing are always the ones towards which the situation is directed, or which are affected by the situation (i.e. corresponding to the traditional notion of Indirect Object). Whether or not Object cross-referencing raises a non-core argument to core status is a debatable question. When they take Object cross-referencing non-core arguments usually, but not invariably lose the case marking that they have without such cross-referencing. This is the same pattern found for core arguments which are usually, but not invariably uncase-marked (see 5.3.1). However, given the variable nature of case marking in Waray (see 5.6), it would be unwise to make too much of this fact. In the absence of any more definitive criteria all we can say is that it appears that non-core arguments which receive Object cross-referencing behave in much the same way as core arguments.

When a non-core argument is so cross-referenced in Waray it may be accompanied by the Unexpected Object (UO) prefix nat-, which follows any of the Subject or Object prefixes. This prefix is optional and so it cannot be analysed as a valence increaser (a morpheme which is obligatorily present if the VC is to cross-reference a non-core argument). Rather its presence indicates that the VC has an unexpected Object; an Object which the speaker does not think the hearer will be able to recover from the text or context of the VC. -nat is therefore a type of Object promotor.

There are a number of factors which affect the speaker's assessment of recoverability. The first is the verb stem case frames. Prima facie all non-core arguments are unexpected, because from the case frames a hearer will expect that either the VC will not have an Object, the stem being monovalent, or that it will have a core Object, the stem being polyvalent. However there are a number of factors which may override, or reinforce this prima facie assumption.

1. Frequency with which a particular verb stem occurs with non-core Objects.

The verbs tji-yi 'to say' and wali-nj 'to call out' (for example) occur with goal Objects extremely frequently, thus being equivalent to 'to say to/to tell' and 'to call out to', respectively (there is a verb pwuy-m-al 'to tell' in Waray, but 'to tell' is normally tji-yi in everyday
usage. **Pwuy-m-al** is mainly used in the sense of 'to recount'; an example of **pwuy-m-al** in this 'recount' sense may be found in Text 3 line 1). Therefore goal Objects with these verb stems are rarely, if ever unexpected. There are no examples of nat- occurring when these verbs have a non-core Objects cross-referenced by a substantive prefix. Even with 3sg Objects, which are zero marked, nat- may be omitted. Thus,

1. **at-tji-yi** mimi
   
   1*sgSC-say-r uncle

   can mean either

   a) *I said 'uncle'' or b) *I told uncle

2. Presence of a substantive Object prefix.

   While it is possible for 3sg non-core Objects to occur without nat-, as in ex 1, they would normally do so, even with verbs such as tji-qi, or **wali-nj**. 3sg and lower referential 3pl Objects are zero marked (see 3.8.2). Therefore if such an entity is a non-core Object, in most cases without the presence of nat-, there would be no way of telling that the **VC** had a non-core argument.

2. **wanj kan-tji-wu-n ka-pul-m-al**
   
   like that **POT-say-DAT-CONS NC-angry-Aux-irr**
   
   If you say things like that he will become angry.

3. **wanj kan-nat-tji-wu-n ka-pul-m-al**
   
   like that **POT-UO-say-DAT-CONS NC-angry-Aux-irr**
   
   If you say things like that to him, he will become angry.

   We may compare ex 3 with ex 1,  b) translation, to observe that nat- is optional (ex 2 could carry the same meaning as ex 3 in the right context. In the context ex 2 was given, however, it did not).

3. How closely the non-core Object approaches a proto-typical fully affected patient Object.
amala kat-yu-nj yumpal-lik kunji
Neg POT1sgS-lie-ncPOT tree-LOC flying fox
kan-pan-wuli
POT-1sgO-piss
I will not sleep under that tree. A flying fox might piss on me.

While wuli 'to piss' is a stem which does not commonly occur with non-core Objects, the personal locative in this case approaches a proto-typical Object.

In nearly all other cases (and this constitutes the majority of non-core Objects) the prima facie assumption holds and the occurrence of a non-core Object is marked with nat-.

5. muya paritj-nat-mi
tucker 1sgS 2plONC-UO-get r
I will get you lot some tucker.

instead of;

6. muya pat-mi nyikiring-u
tucker 1sgSNC-get r 2pl-DAT
I will get some tucker for you lot.

The following example is illuminating of the function of nat-;

7. wek-lik tirim-pu-n-inj katji-yang wek
fire-LOC light-Aux-irr-impf that-OR fire
melang-pu-n-inj nat-nu-y an-mewel
catch alight-Aux-irr-impf UO-burn-r BP-clothes
She kept on lighting the fire until it caught and kept alight and burnt her clothes.

Here the function of nat-is somewhat different from usual. Normally nat- marks a non-core Object. In this example it indicates that the whole, the person wearing the clothes, rather than the part, the clothes, is the Object of the verb nu-y (for a discussion of the nature of body parts, and how this includes clothes, in Waray see 3.2.1.1). The whole is not however a non-core Object in the usual sense. If the sentence was;
8. nu-y an-mewel
   burn-r BP-clothes

this would mean 'burnt the clothes' and would imply that the clothes
were not being worn by anybody; that they just happened to be near the
fire and got burnt. So in ex 8 nat- indicates "not the Object you would
expect if the text were nu-y an-mewel".

The only constraints on the use of nat- and the occurrence of non-core
Objects appear to be context and plausibility. Naturally non-core Objects
are nearly always human. There is one example involving dogs;

9. pun-nat-wit-m-a ngiri
   3pI0-UO-whistle-Aux-imp dog
   Whistle for the dogs.

This example involves a purposive. Ex 3 involved a goal, ex 4 a
personal locative, ex 5 a beneficiary and ex 7 a patient. Other examples
are;

10. amala letpal kan-pa-nat-tjim-in
    Neg close POT-indefS-UO-come-irr
    Nobody could approach her.

11. mutaka pun-nat-kulu-tj-ang
    car 3pI0-UO-stand-Aux-r
    The car stopped on them.

12. anpik nat-laki-nj
    string UO-drop-r
    She dropped the string to him.

A larger corpus of data would no doubt produce yet wider range of
entities and roles.

4.4.4.3 Object Marked Monovalent Verbs.

The ranges of the Object and Subject prefixes overlap in the area of
stative monovalent verbs with an experiencer core argument. These verbs
normally take Subject prefixing. However as experimenters may also be
viewed as entities affected by the situation it is unsurprising to find a
couple of monovalent verbs with Object prefixing for their core argument. The verb *wulwul-mi* 'to ache' takes only Object prefixes.

1. an-ngupe pan-ka-wulwul-manj  
   \[
   \text{BP-foot} \quad 1sgO-NC-ache-Aux \text{ irr} 
   \]  
   My foot is aching.

The verb *ngantitep-m-al* 'to be thirsty' normally takes Object prefixes.

2. pan-ngantitep-m-inj wik:-u pat-pi-ng  
   \[
   1sgO-thirsty-Aux-r \quad \text{water-DAT} \quad 1sgSC-drink-r 
   \]  
   I am thirsty for water. I will have a drink.

However it may take the Subject prefixes to describe a more intensely experienced thirst.

3. pat-tjum-tju-m at-ngantitep-m-inj  
   \[
   1sgSNC-R-die-r \quad 1sgSC-thirsty-Aux-r 
   \]  
   I am dying (for a drink). I am so thirsty.

The verb *tok:(w)ori* 'to feel cold' is one of those verbs whose valency is difficult to determine. It normally occurs with the adjective *a-lal* 'cold'. Thus

4. a-lal pan-tok:(w)ori  
   \[
   C1-cold \quad 1sgO-feel \text{ cold} 
   \]  
   I feel cold.

could be analysed as consisting of a bivalent verb and its Subject *a-lal*, or as consisting of an Object marked monovalent verb accompanied by an adjective which serves to emphasise the notion of coldness.

4.4.5 Polyvalent VCs in Objectless Clauses.

In English verbs such as 'to drink' which normally occur in transitive clauses may occur in formally intransitive clauses such as;

1. I never used to drink.
usually with an unspecified generic Object (in this case something like booze/alcohol). Example 1 is translated in Waray as;

2. amala       kat-pil-pi-l   
    Neg    POT1sgS-R-drink-irr

However in Waray 3sg Objects are not overtly cross-referenced and there is no requirement for the overt nominal expression of core arguments. Therefore there is nothing to formally distinguish ex 2 from a clause with a specific, but unstated Object, such as wik 'booze/alcohol'.

4.4.6. Polyalent VCs in Subjectless Clauses.

Situations involving polyvalent verbs without an unknown Subject are expressed in a variety of ways. If the Object is a part then the following construction type;

1. an-nepe       pan-tanj-mi
    BP-hand  1sgO-cut-Aux r
    My hand is cut.

with the prefix referring to the whole and the part occurring as a free nominal is used. Clauses of the type exemplified in ex 1 do not have an indefinite Subject. If they did, then they would be expressed as;

2. an-nepe       pan-pa-tanj-mi
    BP-hand  1sgO-indefS-cut-Aux r
    Somebody cut my hand.

If the Object is human (probably actually higher animate, but the only examples involve humans) then a VC with an indefinite Subject is used.

3. pun-pa-pun-m-inj       kenganawu       ka-pa-yu-yu
    3plO-indefS-bury-Aux-r over there NC-3plS-R-lie
    lit. They/Someone buried them. They are lying over there.
    They are lying buried over there.

4. pa-pu-m-wa          a-waru       ka-yinj-yinj
    indefS-hit-r-could be Cl-bad NC-R-be irr
lit. Someone could have hit him. He is no good (in the head).
He could have been hit. He is no good (in the head).

If the Object is lower down the referentiality hierarchy then this construction may be used.

5. muya pa-tanj-tanj-mayim an-wik
tucker indelS-R-cut-Aux impf BP-skin
The fruit is all peeled.

The usual construction would be a false reflexive (with a patient Subject) if the verb has no monovalent partner.

6. kutjilimi-yi-nj wik
fill-refl-r water
It is full of water.

7. amala an-tjili kan-tjili-telpu-yi
Neg BP-mouth POT-mouth-open-refl
The door will not open.

If the verb has a monovalent partner then this will be used if the Subject is unknown.

8. wik tjuluk-m-inj
water spill-Aux-r
He spilt the water.

9. wik tjuluk-tj-ang
water spill-Aux-r
The water has/is spilt.

The only other construction which could be Subjectless involves the verb nu-y 'to burn'. It is found in utterances such as;

10. wang amala kan-nu-n a-kik:u
meat Neg POT-burn-irr Cl-raw
The meat is not cooked. It is raw.
However as with utterances involving unspecified Objects there is no formal indication that this utterance is distinct from an utterance with an unstated but clearly implied specific Subject. In this case the Subject is obviously wek 'fire'.

4.4.7 The Reflexive and the Reciprocal.

The reflexive and the reciprocal indicate that the Subject and Object of a polyvalent verb are not referentially distinct. This is most clearly shown by the following description of the ngirwat name swapping ritual.

1. an-nji  
   pa-wu-tji-nj-lul  
   BP-name  3pIS-give-recip-r-pair  
   lit. The pair of them gave each other their name.  
   They swapped names.

The verb wu-y 'to give' is trivalent and therefore has two non-Subject core arguments, a patient (in this case an-nji name) and a goal/recipient. The one removed by the reciprocal marker is the goal/recipient Object (This is the only example involving either the reciprocal or the reflexive with a trivalent verb.).

4.4.7.1 The Reflexive.

The reflexive morpheme is -yi-nj and it is found in Waray with both actor Subjects (true reflexives) and patient Subjects (false reflexives). A false reflexive is equivalent in meaning to a monovalent verb (see 4.4.6 ex 6 and 7). True reflexives are not equivalent in meaning to monovalent verbs.

1. in-ka-yak-wu-n  
   ka-walmi-yi-n  
   n3pIO-NC-lie-Aux-irr  NC-hide-refl-irr  
   He is lying to us. He is hiding himself (from us).

The VC kawalmiyin in ex 1 is based on the bivalent verb wal-m-al 'to hide something'. Wal-m-al has a monovalent partner walmi-tj-ang 'to hide'. The reflexive form kawalmiyin does not mean 'He is hiding'. This would be translated by ka-walmi-tj-i NC-hide-Aux-irr. Similarly in;
2. nu- yi-nj wek- yi an-kurung
   burn-refl-r fire-INS BP-arm
   lit. He burnt himself arm by the fire.

   can only be translated as, 'He burnt his arm in the fire'. not as, 'His arm was burnt in the fire'. Some other examples of reflexives are;

3. na-na kan-tanjmi-yi
   R-see POT-cut-refl
   Look out! You might cut yourself.

4. an-ka-pil-pi-l a-kupam an-ka-pu-yi-n
   2sgS-NC-R-drink-irr Cl-lots 2sgS-NC-kill-refl-irr
   If you keep on drinking too much, you will kill yourself.

4.4.7.2 The Reciprocal.

   The reciprocal morpheme is -tji-nj (formally the same as the adjectival inchoative, see 3.4).

   1. pa-pu-tji-nj-lul
      3plS-hit-recip-r-pair
      Those two had a fight.

   2. pa-yami-tji-nj
      3plS-argue-recip-r
      They were arguing with each other.

   The reciprocal differs from the reflexive in that it is not used if there is a monovalent partner verb available. The bivalent verb 'to talk' is nguni-wu-y, 'to talk to someone' . It has a monovalent partner nguntji-yi 'to talk'. 'To talk to each other' is covered by nguntji-yi, not by a reciprocal form of nguni-wu-y.

4.5 Reduplication.

   Reduplication of the verb is a complicated area in the analysis of Waray. This complexity appears to result from two factors. The first is that there are reasons for believing that my teacher does not fully
remember the system; at least in relation to habitual/progressive reduplication (i.e. this is the one area in this grammar where there appears to be evidence of language death. see 1.1). Secondly the system that can be reconstructed on the basis of the available evidence does not appear to have been a simple one anyway. This may have pre-disposed it to being affected by the simplification of paradigms and reduction of contrasts typical of a language death situation, though many other equally complex areas in this grammar do not appear to have been similarly affected. It is impossible to be sure that language death has played a part, it may be that the verbal reduplication system was always as complicated as it now is.

Whatever the situation was in pre-contact Waray, there are now a number of different types of reduplications covering a number of different functions. Furthermore there is not a one to one match between reduplication type and function. It appears that there are basically two divisions of reduplication. One division is an iconic use of reduplication to mark repetition/duration. The other division involves the marking of certain habitual/progressive categories.

The two reduplications have different scopes. Repetition reduplication does not cover compounded part nouns in verb stems.

1. ngiri ka-lanj-wirinj-wirinj-m-al
   dog NC-tail-R-wag-Aux-irr
   The dog is wagging its tail.

   The habitual/progressive reduplication on the other hand does appear to cover compounded part nouns.

2. an-nepe pat-ne-nepat-tanjmi-yi-nj
   BP-hand 1sgSNC-RED-hand-cut-refl-r
   I am always cutting my hand.

   The two types of reduplication may co-occur in the one VC;

3. munjtjiwa ka-lo-lorot-lorot-m-al
   knife NC-RED-R-sharpen-Aux-irr
   He is sharpening and sharpening the knife.

which provides fairly conclusive evidence that there are at least two types of reduplication in Waray. As well as having different scopes, the
two categories of reduplication also have different realisations, in some situations, as the preceding examples demonstrate. If the verb is polysyllabic, the repetition reduplication is realised through the reduplication of at least one syllable in the verb, whereas the habitual/progressive reduplication is realised through the reduplication of the initial CV of the verb. The two categories are not, however, always realised in different ways. If the verb is a monosyllable then both types are realised as a complete reduplication of the verb.

It may be noted that two different glosses are used for reduplication. The basic gloss is R, which is used for both types of reduplication in the monosyllabic verbs and for the iconic reduplication with polysyllabic verbs (and with nominal reduplication). However because of the need to distinguish the two types in polysyllabic verbs, a gloss RED is used for habitual/progressive reduplication in these verbs. The two types may be distinguished functionally for monosyllabic verbs, the use of the gloss R for both types merely reflects the syncretism in marking.

It should be noted that there is one verb form which never undergoes either type of reduplication. This is the realis form of the verb 'to go' yatjinj. There is no reason why yatjinj should not undergo reduplication and the fact that it does not must simply be treated as an irregularity.

4.5.1. Repetition Reduplication.

As we have remarked the basic function of this type is to indicate repetition or duration of a situation

1. ka-kuitj-kuitij-m-al
   NC-R-go around-Aux-irr
   He is going around and around.

2. an-tjen      ka-tjen-walng-walng-m-al
   BP-tongue  NC-tongue-R-hang out-Aux-irr
   (The dog's) tongue is hanging out.

Arising from this basic function there are a number of possible secondary interpretations of verbs with repetition reduplication.

a) Intensive
3. ngiri ka-pa-wa-wa-m-al tumkika amala
dog NC-3plS-R-bark-Aux-irr sleep Neg
kat-yu-nj pat-kut-tj-ang
POT1sgS-lie-ncPOT 1sgSNC-get up-Aux-r
pat-put-pum-pu-m wanjlak
1sgSNC-3plO-R-hit-r soon
The dogs are barking. I cannot sleep. I am going to get up and really belt them soon.

4. muya pa-tjutjir-inj pa-wul-inj muya amala
tucker 3plS-eat-impf 3plS-finish-r tucker Neg
pa-wuli-wul-inj njek:-u
3plS-R-finish-r 1sg-DAT
They have eaten all the tucker. They have finished it. There is no tucker. They have really finished it all up on me.

b) Large Amount of an Entity

5. muya pa-tanj-tanj-mayim an-wik
tucker indefS-R-cut-Aux impf BP-skin
lit. Someone has cut and cut the skin (from the fruit). The fruit is all peeled.

6. an-wik ka-ngal-ngal-tjim-in
BP-skin NC-R-off-come-irr
lit. Lots of skin is coming off. He has a rash.

These meanings are all secondary because they depend on context. The translations given are those that were appropriate in the particular situation. In other contexts these clauses could have different interpretations. Ex 5 could, for example, mean that the fruit was peeled very quickly (intensive action), rather than that there was a large amount of it. Repetition reduplication marks a subcategory of imperfectivity. It is therefore to be expected that it can co-occur with the Complete Imperfective (CI) as in ex 5. Repetition reduplication and the CI show essentially the same range of secondary interpretations derived from their common repetition/duration marking function (see 4.3.2.3). As with the CI it appears that the secondary interpretations proceed on an ergative basis.
The exact realisation of repetition reduplication in polysyllabic verbs varies quite considerably as the preceding examples show. The structure of the reduplication, as far as I have been able to determine it, is as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Base</th>
<th>Reduplication</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>monosyllable</td>
<td>complete</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>open disyllable</td>
<td>complete</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>closed disyllable</td>
<td>complete or initial CV(C)CV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>trisyllable or longer</td>
<td>initial CV(C)CV</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some examples showing these reduplications are:

7. wik ka-pulng-pulng-m-al  
   *water* *NC-R-bubble up-Aux-irr*
   The water is boiling.

8. kulu-kulu-tj-anj
   *R-stand-Aux-imp*
   Keep on standing!

9. at-put-kara(y)-karay-pu-m
   *1sgSC-3plO-R-tease-Aux-r*
   I really teased them.

10. tik:i-kutjili-m-a         kutji-kutjili-m-a
    *almost-fill-Aux-imp*     *R-fill-Aux-imp*
    an-ka-kutjili-m-al-wiru
    *2sgS-NC-fill-Aux-irr-properly*
    Fill it up till it is almost full. Keep on filling it up. You fill it up properly.

The question of how the base is chosen is somewhat less clear. Normally it appears that if the verb is a simple verb, then the whole verb is the base (ex 4). If the verb is not a simple verb then it appears that the first morpheme in the stem is chosen as the base (it should be born in mind that part compound stems do not fall within the scope of iconic reduplication, so simple stem here means either a real simple stem or a stem consisting of a simple stem and a compounded part noun. The same applies for other stem types). Reduplication systems of this type, with the
whole verb in simple verbs, and the core for complex verbs, functioning as the base for reduplication occur in Ngandi and Ritharngu (Heath 1978 pp48-50).

A number of variations are attested from the scheme presented so far.

11. ka-pil-pi-l ka-njulkma-njulk-m-al amala  
   NC-R-drink-irr NC-R-swallow-Aux-irr Neg  
   an-wak-wak:u kan-pi  
   CI-little-DIM POT-drink  
   He is really gulping (his tea) down. He cannot drink a little at a time.

12. le pali-pula-m pali-yu-ng-u amala  
   camp 1plSNC-make-r 1plSNC-lie-r-DAT Neg  
   in-ka-pa-watma-wat-m-al waripa-yi  
   n3plO-NC-3plS-R-bother-Aux-irr children-erg  
   Every time we make camp to go to sleep, we cannot.  
   The kids keep on really bothering us.

The verbs in these two examples are complex verbs with cores filled by verb roots njulk 'swallow and wat 'bother' respectively. However the reduplication operates over the whole verb, not just the core. It may be that this is a separate subtype of repetition reduplication with an emphatic/intensive meaning (but note ex 3 and 4 which have an intensive meaning and take the "normal" repetition reduplication).

A second variation is found in verbs of 4 syllables or longer. Here it appears that there is a choice as to which syllables are reduplicated. Thus 'They were really' chasing it may be either;

13. i-nganti-ngantiwul-m-al-anj  
   1plSNC-R-chase-Aux-irr-impf

or;

14. i-nganti-wulma-wul-m-al-anj  
   1plSNC-chase-R-chase-Aux-irr-impf

It must be emphasised that my teacher did not use reduplication with equal frequency among all the polysyllabic verbs. She restricted it chiefly to the following verbs;
kutitj-m-al to go/walk around
kutitj-yang to go/walk around
kutitj-tjim to come around
lorot-m-al to grind
mawinj-yang to roll over (1)
mawinj-ka-ngi to roll over (2)
pitjip-m-al to roll, to squeeze
pulng-m-al to bubble up
tanj-mi to cut
walng-m-al to hang out
wirinj-m-al to go for a walk
wup-pu-m to clear off
mir-m-al to shine (of the sun)

The reduplicated form of all of these verbs is a complete reduplication of the core. She usually gave spontaneous reduplications for these verbs only. It is true that they are all verbs which occur commonly in repeated or durative situations. However with verbs which are equally likely to do so such as tororo-m-al 'to boil', yur-mi 'to pull, to drag' or yir-mi 'to pull out', she did not usually use reduplicated forms.

A few verbs have cores filled by inherently reduplicated verb roots,

putjappputjap-m-al to poke around
waruwaru-m-al to swing around

and in one case there is a difference in meaning between a simple and a reduplicated root.

mat-m-al to be quiet
matmat-m-al to shine

Given these facts it seems likely that the occurrence of repetition reduplication was at least partially lexicalised in pre-contact Waray. There would have been a continuum from roots which were inherently reduplicated, through those that occurred frequently with reduplication to those which occurred infrequently to those which did not have reduplicated forms. This would explain why my teacher gave apparently inconsistent responses in this area when in all other areas of morphology she gave quite consistent responses. It could also be that she has either extended an already existing partial lexicalisation, or that the
lexicalisation apparent is entirely the result of language death. I do not favour the third alternative as it is clear from the inherently reduplicated roots that there was at least some drift within the language towards lexicalisation.

4.5.2. Habitual/Progressive Reduplication.

This category of reduplication marks past negative habituals, present positive habituals, present progressives and gnomics.

a) Past Negative Habituals.

My teacher invariably used initial CV reduplication to mark this category with polysyllabic verbs,

1. amala    kan-tja-tjapul-m-al  
   Neg   POT-RED-smoke-Aux-irr  
   He never used to smoke.

and of course complete reduplication with monosyllabic verbs.

2. amala    kan-pil-pi-l  
   Neg   POT-R-drink-irr  
   He never used to drink.

b) Present Progressives.

As in all other categories my teacher invariably used complete reduplication with monosyllabic verbs to mark this category.

3. an-ka-ngan-nga-n  
   2sgS-NC-R-hear-irr  
   Are you listening?

The situation was considerably more varied with polysyllabic verbs. She often used initial CV reduplication to mark this category in verbs having a 1st sg Subject but only rarely in verbs with a non 1st sg Subject.

4. angilak    yumpal-lik    pat-ku-kulu-tj-ang  
   over here   tree-LOC   1sgSNC-RED-stand-Aux-r
at-walmi-tj-ang ngunj-u-wu
1sgSC-hide-Aux-r 2sg-OBL-DAT
I am standing over here. I have hidden from you.

5. njek pat-ku-kunti-yi-nj
1sg 1sgSNC-RED-smile-r
Me, I am smiling.

6. wanpa pat-tjul-tj-ang pat-yatjinj pupal-lik
just 1sgSNC-go down-Aux-r 1sgSNC-go r creek-LOC
I am just going down to the creek.

In ex 4 and 5 we may observe that a 1sgS shows CV reduplication, but in ex 6 it does not.

7. ngoni Waray manma-ngunti-yi
language Waray 1dlincSNC-talk-r
We are talking Waray.

8. an-wak-wak:u ka-kunti-yi-n
CI-little-DIM NC-smile-irr
The kid is smiling.

Ex 7 and 8 show the typical lack of reduplication with non 1sgS verbs. However my teacher did occasionally give CV reduplicated forms for non 1sgS verbs;

9. wili ka-pa-ni-nik-p-al
house NC-3plS-RED-erect-Aux-irr
They are building a house.

and the verb 'to sit' always received CV reduplication in both the 1st dlinC and pl;

10. yul-like manma-/pali-ni-ni-winj
ground-LOC 1dlincSNC/1plSNC-RED-sit-r
We are sitting on the ground.

Furthermore my Uwinjimir teacher, Mr Arbutt, who was of the generation senior to my teacher and who knew Waray as well as Uwinjimir,
unhesitatingly gave the following sentence;

11. waripa ka-pa-nji-njip-m-al pupal-lik
   children NC-3pIS-RED-swim-Aux-irr creek-LOC
   The children are swimming in the creek.

With a CV reduplicated verb. From this fact, and the fact that my teacher sometimes gave CV forms for non 1sgS forms I am strongly inclined to the view that CV reduplication was used with all polysyllabic verbs in pre-contact times, to mark present progressives. This would parallel the situation with past negative habituals.

c) Present Positive Habituals/Gnomics.

As with the preceding two categories monosyllabic verbs invariably take complete reduplication to mark these two categories.

12. an-maymak:-u ka-pil-pi-l-u-n kuluwetelk:mi
   Cl-sweet-OBL NC-R-drink-irr-DAT-CONS hiccup
   ka-manj-manj
   NC-R-get irr
   Every time he drinks soft drinks, he gets the hiccups.

Polysyllabic verbs with a 1sgS invariably involved CV reduplication to mark these categories. Such verbs with a non 1sgS invariably appeared without reduplication.

13. ngoni pat-mu-mutjmi-yi-nj
   word 1sgSNC-RED-mix-refl-r
   I am always mixing up my words.

14. njek mutjla pat-ke-kemepitjip-m-inj
   1sg too 1sgSNC-RED-roll up-Aux-r
   ka-yir-tjim-in
   NC-come undone-Aux-irr
   Me too, every time I roll up (my swag), it comes undone.

15. ka-nawa-n an-wak katji ka-nji-pu-n
   NC-take off-irr Cl-little that NC-cry-Aux-irr
Every time she takes that (toy) off the kid it cries.

The obvious parallelism of the marking of this category with the previous two inclines me to the view that CV reduplication was used with all polysyllabic verbs, regardless of Subject. However unlike the progressive there is no evidence from within this category to support this view.

4.6 -pwuy : The Perlative.

This suffix it the only suffix which attaches exclusively to VCs. It has two related meanings. One of these is equivalent to 'along' in English.

1. ka-tjal-tja-l-pwuy
   NC-R-eat-irr-along
   He is eating while going along.

2. tjaninj na ana-ka-li-manj-pwuy
   kangaroo see there-NC-jump-Aux irr-along
   Look at that kangaroo jumping along there.

3. al-wulkan ngunj-u-wu ka-ng-pwuy putawan
   F-sibling 2sg-OBL-DAT take-r-along Darwin
   an-ka-yinj-u-n
   2sgS-NC-go irr-DAT-CONS
   Take your sister along with you when you go to Darwin.

Its other function is to emphasise that an action is taking place near, on or through the boundaries of an entity. As such it has a number of translations.

4. an-tjili njim-pwuy
   BP-mouth enter-perl
   He went through the gate.

5. tiri-m-inj-pwuy yumpal-lik an-wak:-u
   crawl-Aux-r-perl log-LOC CI-little-OBL
   The baby has crawled under the log.
6. yatjinj tjap-lik amala kan-na-n yatjinj-pwuy
go r road-LOC Neg POT-see-irr go r-perl
He went out onto the road. He did not look. He just
went out onto it.

7. na an-wak ka-tiri-m-al-pwuy wek-lik
see CI-little NC-crawl-Aux-irr-perl fire-LOC
Look out, the baby is crawling near the fire.

8. at-na-y munjitiwa mi-pwuy ka-ngi
1sgSC-see-r knife get r-perl take-r
at-nat-wali-nj al-kulpe may njek:-u-wu
1sgSC-UO-call out-r F-woman get imp 1sg-OBL-DAT
munjitiwa at-nat-tji-yi nawa-m
knife 1sgSC-UO-say-r take off-r
I saw him grab up the knife and take it. I yelled out
to a woman. "Get my knife" I said to her. She took it
off him.

4.7 Adverbs.

The adverbial slot is, as we have remarked, filled by nominals and
particles. This section examines those nominals and particles which
function chiefly as adverbs.

1. wanpa : just.

1. ngunj nginjang wanpa an-ka-ni-ni
2sg what just 2sgS-NC-R-sit
What are you doing just sitting (there)?

wanpa pat-ni-ni-winj
just 1sgSNC-RED-sit-r
I am just sitting.

2. an-letma a-waru ka-kupal-ngal-tjim-in wanpa wayk:an
BP-tooth CI-bad NC-nearly-out-come-irr just exposed
ka-wunj-wu-nj
NC-R-hang-irr
My bad tooth has nearly come out. It is just hanging
loose.

2. wanpalik:u : quietly.

This particle appears superficially to consist of wanpa 'just' followed by the locative case marker -lik, followed by the dative -u. However as such an analysis cannot be related to its meaning in any way, it cannot be maintained synchronically.

3. at-ni-ninj wanpalik:u
   1sgSC-sit-impf quietly
   I was sitting down quietly.

3. wakmiwu : alone, on one's own.

This particle indicates that the Subject is acting on their own.

4. a-kupam-u pa-wup-pu-m pa-yatjinj njek wakmiwu
   CI-lots-OBL 3plS-clear off-Aux-r 3plS-go r 1sg alone
   pat-ni-ni-winj
   1sgSNC-RED-sit-r
   The whole lot have cleared off and gone. I am sitting alone/by myself/on my own.

5. witji-nj wakmiwu amala kali-kori-nj
   break-r own Neg POT1plS-break-irr
   It broke on its own. We did not break it.

4. kepak:u

There is no clear indication as to what this particle means. It occurred in the following two examples (with my teacher's translations).

6. kepak:u at-ni-ninj
   ? 1sgSC-sit-impf
   I was sitting on my own.

7. pa-yami-tji-nj-lul a-karakeli njek
   3plS-argue-recip-r-pair CI-married couple 1sg
That married couple argued and then he abused me. He had the wrong person. I did not give any trouble.

5. kawuy: again.

8. an-tjerinj pan-tji kawuy
   Cl-one 1sgO-say again
   Tell me one more time.

9. nal katji keranglul kawuy kaking-yang i-pun-na-y
   man that two again yesterday-OR 1plSC-3plO-see-r
   It is those two men again that we saw yesterday.

10. kiyak-li-linj kaking njikpa wanjalak kawuy
    sweat-Aux-impf yesterday night now again
    He was sweating all last night and again today.

6. walak

   This particle appears to partly overlap with the range of kawuy, but it occurs in other contexts where its function is not clear.

11. pan-tji walak amala karinj-nga-n
    1sgO-say again? Neg POT1sgS 2sgOC-hear-irr
    Tell me again. I did not hear you.

12. walakampa-lik ka-yu-yu-wa
    ? where-LOC NC-R-lie-could be
    I do not know where it could be.

   In ex 11 walak appears to be equivalent to kawuy, but its meaning in 12 is unclear.

7. way: keep on, still.
13. way a-ka-nguntji-nj paritj-pu-m
   keep on 2plS-NC-talk-irr 1sgS 2pl0NC-hit-r
   pa-mat-m-a
   2plS-keep quiet-Aux-imp
   If you lot keep on talking, I will hit you. Be quiet!

14. mariwak:u at-yunguy-inj-u way pat-ngam-nga-m
    long ago 1sgSC-go-impf-DAT still 1sgSNC-R-hear-r
    le katji at-mitj-na-y
    country that 1sgSC-know-Aux-r
    It is a long time since I have been (there, but) I still
    remember that country. I know it.

An alternative to using way is to use verbal repetition reduplication
(see 4.5.1).

8. pili : hard.

Pili is one of the few morphemes which can occur both free and
bound. When it occurs free it is a particle meaning 'hard, difficult'.

15. pili a-mutek an-ka-pinj-pi-nj muya tjela
    hard Cl-big 2sgS-NC-R-dig-irr tucker yam sp
    an-munak a-waru pat-yatjinj
    BP-shoulder Cl-bad 1sgSNC-be r
    It is hard work when you dig for tjela yams. My
    shoulder is tired.

Pili is however more usually found bound in a compound
a-pili-kupam with the adjective a-kupam 'lots'. This compound appears
to be equivalent in meaning to the free form pili.

16. matj a-pili-kupam in-ka-pukpuk-m-al wili-lik
    wind Cl-hard-lots n3plO-NC-blow-Aux-irr house-LOC
    pat-njim pat-yu-ng
    1sgSNC-enter 1sgSNC-lie-r
    If this wind keeps on blowing on us so strongly, I am
    going to go into the house and sleep.

Pili is also found with imperatives in a form piliwaru which
appears to consist of pili and the adjective root -waru 'bad'. Piliwaru appears to mean 'keep on' and as such is equivalent in meaning to way.

17. kule piliwaru tji a-lil angi ana-ka-nga-n
story keep on say M-boy here 2sgO-NC-hear-irr
Keep on telling that story to this boy. He is listening
to you.

9. wanj : like that, in that manner.

18. wanj an-ka-muy-al amala kan-ngayk-m-i
like that 2sgS-NC-lose-irr Neg POT-keep-Aux-ncPOT
lit. You keep on losing things like that. You cannot
keep anything.
If you keep on losing things like that, you will not
have anything left.

19. amala wanj kan-tji ngoni katji an-ka-nguntji-nj
Neg like that POT-say word that 2sgS-NC-speak-irr
a-waru
Cl-bad
Do not talk like that. Those words that you are
speaking are bad.

20. tjutji wanj pula-m
" like that make-r
(He called out) tjutji. Like that he made (that noise).

21. a-kala wanj pula-m
NF-3sg like that make-r
He made it like that.

22. angutjin wanj tjungutj-inj
name like that do-impf
Phillip was like that. (thin when he was young)

10. ngumparu : forever.

23. ngumparu-wat pat-yatjinj amala kat-wayi
forever-? 1sgSNC-go r Neg POT-return
I am going forever. I am not coming back.

24. nal amala ngulak pa-wup-pu-m
   man Neg this place here 3plS-clear off-Aux-r
   pa-yatjnj atjangki ngumparu
   3plS-go r maybe forever
   There is no-one here. They have cleared off and gone.
   Maybe forever.

11. kiknuruwat : dead.

   The verb pu-m covers both 'to hit' and 'to kill'. If the speaker wishes
   to indicate that 'to kill' is specifically intended then the particle
   kiknuruwat is used.

25. ngiri wanj pun-ka-pe-pe pali-pu-m kiknuruwat
   dog like that 3plO-NC-R-bite irr 1plSNC-kill-r dead
   If that dog keeps on biting people like that, we will
   have to kill it.

   Kiknuruwat can also occur with verbs such as la-m 'to spear, to
   shoot'.

26. la-m tjaninj wat-m-inj kawuy tjapatja-k:a-ngi
   spear-r kangaroo spoil-Aux-r again sneak up-Aux-r
   la-m-wiru kiknuruwat
   spear-r-really dead
   He missed the first shot at the kangaroo. He sneaked
   up again and speared it dead.

12. -wat.

   The suffix -wat which occurs on ngumparu in ex 23 and which
   appears to be frozen as part of the root in kiknuruwat does not have any
   well defined meaning or function in Waray. Ngumparu occurs with and
   without it about equally, with no difference in meaning that I have been
   able to discern.

   Apart from occurring on ngumparu and presumably being the final
   syllable in kiknuruwat, -wat also occurs on demonstratives;
27. njila-wat yatjinj
    that way-? go r
    He went that way.

28. ampa-wuy
    where-one of
    Which one (do you want)?

njipa kengana-wat katji amala
    that way over there-? that Neg
The one that way. Not that one over there.
(note the reduction of kenganawu-wat to kengana-wat)

29. kutta-wat yanj
    this way-? come imp
    Come this way.

As with ngumparu it does not appear that the occurrence of -wat has any effect on the meaning of the words it is suffixed to. The one area where -wat does seem to have a clear function is in;

30. yumpal pan-la-m kuratj-wat
    stick 1sgO-scratch-r blood-result
    A stick scratched me and as a result blood (flowed).

31. yilinj-wat an-ka-pula-n puran
    how-result 2sgS-NC-make-r boomerang
    lit. How do you result in making a boomerang?
    How do you make a boomerang?

In these two examples -wat seems to mark that something is the result of something else. It may be that this result sense is somehow applicable to the use of -wat with the demonstratives and ngumparu, and would explain its occurrence with kiknuruwat. However the evidence available does not prove or disprove this hypothesis.

13. tumkika: sleep.

The verb yu-ng covers 'to lie, to camp, to sleep'. If the speaker wishes to restrict the possibilities to 'to sleep' then tumkika 'sleep' will
modify *yu-ng*.

32. ngiri ka-pa-wa-wa-m-al tumkika amala  
    *dog NC-3plS-RED-bark-Aux-irr sleep Neg*  
    kat-yu-nj pat-kut-tj-ang  
    *POT1sgS-lie-ncPOT 1sgSNC-get up-Aux-r*  
    pat-put-pum-pu-m wanjlak  
    *1sgSNC-3plO-R-hit-r soon*  
    The dogs are barking. I cannot sleep. I will get up and  
    hit them soon.


This is translated in the few examples available by *an-wak* 'little'.

33. ka-wilik-wilik-m-al ti ka-pi-li amala  
    *NC-R-swallow-Aux-irr tea NC-R-drink-irr Neg*  
    an-wak-wak:u kan-pi  
    *Cl-little-DIM POT-drink*  
    He is gulping the tea down. He cannot drink slowly.

The particle *kalkal* is the Waray equivalent of the exclamation 'Slow down/Wait!'.

15. Fast.

Fast is translated in two different ways. The more common translation is with *a-pili-kupam* 'hard'.

34. a-pili-kupam ka-li-li-m-al a-lil-wak:u  
    *Cl-hard-lots NC-run-Aux-irr M-boy-DIM*  
    He runs fast, that young boy.

There is however one example where 'fast' is translated by the  
particle *lukluk* whose main function is as an equivalent of the  
exclamation 'Hurry up!'.

34. njulk-m-inj lukluk  
    *gulp-Aux-r hurry up*  
    He gulped it down fast.
The use of a-pili-kupam 'hard' parallels the use of an-wak-wak:u to translate 'slow' in ex 33. There are no examples of kalkal 'Slow down!' being used to translate 'slowly', but this may simply be a gap in the data rather than a prohibition.
SYNTAX.

Waray falls within the typological category of non-configurational languages. It shows the following properties characteristic of this grammatical type.

1. Free word order
2. Syntactically discontinuous expressions
3. Fuzzy boundaries for NPs and clauses.

The main textual cohesion and referential tracking systems are the verb stem case frames, the pronominal prefixes and the case marking system, together with a system of marking switches of Subject by the appearance of free nominals. The verb stem case frame and pronominal prefix systems have already been considered in 4.3 and 4.4. This chapter will firstly discuss the case marking system. Case marking is a complex topic and its discussion occupies over half this chapter (5.1 - 5.6). An understanding of it is necessary for consideration of the problems of syntactically discontinuous expressions and imprecise NP and clause boundaries.

We will then examine how discourse is structured and reference maintained in Waray (5.7). The other textual cohesion system of switch Subject marking is discussed in this section (5.7.2). Also included is an examination of the problems encountered in determining what constitutes an NP or a clause (5.7.3). Sections 5.8, 5.9 and 5.10 deal with predication classes, sentence types and propositional modifiers respectively.

5.1 Introduction to Case Marking.

Case marking in Waray has adnominal, intraclausal and interclausal functions. There are five case markers found in Waray.

1. -yi    Ergative/instrumental
2. -yiwu  Comitative
3. -lik   Locative
4. -yang  Origin
5. -wu    Dative

The case markers cover a very wide and sometimes overlapping range of relationships and they show considerable variation in the nature of
their occurrence. Their usage will therefore be examined in two parts. Firstly their semantic ranges will be discussed and then the nature of the variations in their occurrence will be analysed.

5.2 The Semantic Ranges of the Case Markers.

5.2.1 -yi : Ergative/Instrumental.

-yi has two functions. One is to mark the Subjects of VCs, the ergative function; the other is to mark instrumentals. In its ergative function -yi is optional. In elicited material (consisting of one or two isolated clauses usually), ergative marking tended to occur in the following situations;

a) Two equal status 3rd person participants.

1. pu-m kuruwak-yi kaking antjalmi a-kala-yi pu-m hit-r name-erg yesterday in turn NF-3sg-erg hit-r kuruwak name
   David hit him yesterday and in return he hit David.

2. an-wak ampa pu-m-wu-n nal kenganawu-yi Cl-little where hit-r-DAT-CONS man over there-erg lit. Where is the kid that the man over there hit? Which one of those kids did the man over there hit?

   An example without ergative marking is;

3. nal an-puruyu tjik-m-inj nal an-tatjpik:-u man Cl-tall fear-Aux-r man Cl-short-OBL
   The short man fears the tall man.

b) Non-Human Transitive Subjects.

4. tjap-lik puluk-ni-winj kan-yinj-u mutaka-yi pu-m road-LOC cross over-Aux-r POT-go irr-DAT car-erg hit-r
   He was going across the road when a car hit him.
5. ngiri-yi  pan-pi-nj  kaking
   dog-erg  1sgO-bite-r  yesterday
   A dog bit me yesterday.

6. nguk  tju-yi  ngiri-yi  amala  kan-ni-nj  katji-lik
   shit  shit-r  dog-erg  Neg  POT-sit-ncPOT  that-LOC
   A dog shitted (there). Do not sit there.

An example without ergative marking is;

7. miral  ka-tilmi-wu-n  an-mewel
   sun  NC-dry-FA-irr  BP-clothes
   The sun is drying the clothes.

The ergative can, however, occur in other situations,

8. eping-yi  ana-tanj-mi  an-pam
   who-erg  2sgO-cut-Aux  r  BP-head
   Who cut you on the head?

though it is not common in circumstances other than the two mentioned. Most transitive Subjects are unmarked as the referential tracking systems will usually suffice to disambiguate Subject from Object (see 5.7.2).

In texts the ergative shows a quite different pattern of occurrence. It is found in clauses with a high transitivity value (see Hopper and Thompson 1980 for a discussion of transitivity value), when such clauses have the following two functions;

1. Introducing important participants into the text.
2. Describing happenings which are significant in the story.

Thus it appears that ergative marking in texts has a discourse level function of indicating the presentation of important information in a text, whereas in the elicited material it has an intraclausal disambiguation function.

Ergative marking is not restricted to transitive Subjects. There are two examples, both from Text 11 of ergative marked intransitive Subjects.
9. tjatpula-yi kuntiyi-n-inj an-wak mamam a-kala-wu
   old man-erg play-impf Cl-little daughter NF-3sg-DAT
   The old man used to play around with his young
daughter. (lines 1 and 2)

10. yanj al-tumaru-yi tji-yi a-kala-wu
    come imp F-old woman-erg say-r NF-3sg-DAT
    "Come up!" the old woman said to him. (lines 6 and 7)

These are the only examples of ergative marking on intransitive
Subjects in the database. Both clauses approach closely a proto-typical
transitive clause. Example 9 introduces one of the two major participants
to Text 11, and Example 10 describes a significant event (the old woman
telling the old man to climb the rope, which she intends to cut while he is
climbing it, thereby killing him). These two examples provide fairly
conclusive evidence that ergative marking in texts is not concerned with
disambiguation. In neither example does it seem possible that there could
be any confusion as to which entity is Subject, if ergative marking did not
occur.

Other examples provide further evidence that ergative marking in
texts is not concerned with disambiguation. In Text 2 lines 5 and 6 we
have;

11. panti ka-pa-pula-n al-tuma-tumaru-yi
    armllet NC-3plS-make-irr F-R-old woman-erg
    The old women make armlets.

It is quite obvious in this clause from the semantics of the
participants that 'the old women' is the only possible Subject, and so again
it would not seem likely that ergative marking is functioning to indicate
this. Rather it would appear to mark that this clause introduces a major
new class of participants, the women, to a text on initiation. Another
example from Text 2 lines 9 and 10 is;

12. pulpul-yi tjukung wetj:i pikiring-u
    mother-erg aunt grandmother 3pl-DAT
    ka-pa-wuk-manj wek al-wulkan amala kan-tja
    NC-3plS-carry-Aux irr firewood F-sibling Neg POT-eat
    The mothers, the aunts, the maternal grandmothers
get firewood for them (to cook for them). The sisters
can no longer eat (with them).

These two clauses describe a significant happening after initiation. The boys must now avoid their sisters. It is of interest to note that only the first of the nominals describing the conjoined Subject in the first clause is ergative marked. This would add weight to the view that ergative marking has a discourse level function in texts, as opposed to an intra-clausal function. If ergative marking had an intra-clausal function of marking Subjects, it would presumably occur on all the Subject nominals to ensure that there was no ambiguity as to their status. Its occurrence on only one Subject nominal is, on the other hand, perfectly acceptable if its function is to indicate something about the discourse level function of the whole clause.

As there are only a small number of occurrences of ergative marking in the texts it is possible to list all occurrences.

a) Text 2 - Ergative marking occurs three times; on tjatpula-yi in line 1, on al-tumaru-yi in line 6 and on pulpul-yi in line 9. The first and second examples introduce a major class of participants to the text. The third example describes a significant event in the text.

b) Text 5 - Ergative marking occurs once on meningitj-yi in line 2. This clause is the most affective transitive clause in the text and describes a significant event in the text.

c) Text 11 - Ergative marking occurs three times; on tjatpula-yi in line 1, on al-tumaru-yi in line 6 and again on al-tumaru-yi in line 9. These three clauses describe the crucial events in the story.

d) Text 12 - Ergative marking occurs twice in Text 12 (unpublished). Once on the clause describing the immediate cause of the main event in the text, and once on the clause describing that major event. Both clauses are transitive clauses with affected Objects.

A larger corpus of texts would be needed before it could be definitely established that the function of ergative marking in texts is to mark the introduction of important information.
The functions of ergative marking in texts and the elicited material are rather different and do not appear to be reconcilable as being facets of some underlying supercategory of ergative marking function.

-yi behaves differently in its instrumental function from its ergative function. -yi is obligatory in the instrumental function. This is the ground on which we distinguish the instrumental from the ergative. Examples 9 and 10 show that intransitive Subjects may be ergative marked. Given this fact, it is necessary to provide evidence that the two are in fact separate. Otherwise we could perhaps analyse -yi as marking a class, which we may tentatively call "performers", consisting of Actors and instrumentals. Intransitive clauses such as;

13. miral-\text{-yi} \quad \text{tum-pitpit-tji-nj}
\text{sun-INS} \quad \text{face-red-inch-r}
\text{lit. He face-reddened by the sun.}
The sun has burnt his face.

with an instrumental which closely approximates a Subject would strengthen such a view.

However such an analysis would ignore not only the difference in occurrence between the ergative and instrumental functions, but also it is difficult to regard experiencer Subjects as belonging to a "performer" class. Experiencer Subjects may be ergative marked.

14. ka-pa-pu-tji-n-lul \quad \text{al-kulpe-wu} \quad \text{atjangki}
\text{NC-3plS-hit-recip-r-pair} \quad \text{F-woman-DAT} \quad \text{maybe}
tumtjit-m-inj \quad \text{an-tjerinjpa-yi}
\text{be jealous-Aux-r} \quad \text{CI-other-erg}
They are fighting over the woman. Maybe the other one is jealous (of him).

Furthermore the examples of ergative marked intransitive Subjects occur in text, where the function of ergative marking appears to be quite different from marking any putative "performer" class. Therefore the ergative and instrumental functions of -yi must be viewed as separate.

Some examples of instrumentals are;

15. pa-palawa-m \quad \text{wili} \quad \text{an-turk:-u-yi}
\text{3plS-paint-r} \quad \text{house} \quad \text{CI-white-OBL-INS}
They painted the house white.
16. ngiri ka-ni-ni kuw-inj anpik-yi
    dog NC-R-sit tie-r rope-INS
    I tied the dog sitting (there) with a rope.

17. tjinganj Waray-yi pali-pwuy-m-inj an-nji
    lilly sp Waray-INS 1plSNC-tell-Aux-r BP-name
    We call the "red lilly" tjinganj in Waray.

18. ka-tiri-m-al anpat an-nepe-yi
    NC-crawl-Aux-irr knee BP-hand-INS
    He is crawling on his hands and knees.

5.2.2 -yiwu : Comitative.

The common thread uniting most of the uses of the COM is that its occurrence indicates that the entity it marks is associated with another, and usually more important, entity. Examples of the specific relationships it marks are:

1. al-wulkan-yiwu i-yatjinj putawan
    F-sibling-COM 1plSC-go r Darwin
    lit. With sister, we went to Darwin.
    I went to Darwin with my sister.

2. ka-wayi-n wik-yiwu
    NC-return-irr water-COM
    She is coming back with water.

3. amala letpal kan-yanj al-kala-wu pulpul-yiwu
    Neg close POT-come ncPOT F-3sg-DAT sick-COM
    ka-yinj-yanj
    NC-R-be irr
    Do not approach her. She is sick.

4. nal kitjawak-yiwu kenganawu ka-tjim-in
    man beard-COM over there NC-come-irr
    The man with the beard is coming up over there.

5. al-tumaru mutj-m-inj lawa wik-yiwu
    F-oid woman mix-Aux-r flour water-COM
The old woman mixed the flour with water (to make a damper).

Example 1 shows a relationship of accompaniment; examples 2 - 4 show a possessive type "having" relationship; example 5 shows a simple association relationship.

As well as these functions the COM also overlaps into the range of -yi, chiefly in the instrumental function. The COM marks instrumentals as these are associated with another more important entity, the agent. There are no examples of COM marked instrumentals in non-agentive constructions.

6. luywa-yiwu  ka-pa-palawa-n
   red ochre-COM  NC-3plS-paint-irr
   They are painting (traditional designs on the boys) with red ochre.

7. an-mewel-yiwu  kat-kuwi-yi-n  a-muk:u  katji
   BP-cloth-COM  POT1sgS-bind-refl-irr  Cl-good  that
   kat-yu  pin amala matj njim njek::u-wu
   POT1sgS-lie but Neg wind enter 1sg-OBL-DAT
   an-pam-lik
   BP-head-LOC
   I should have bound up my head with cloth. If I had, I would have slept well, but I did not. The wind blew right into my head.

As observed in the preceding section -yi is the usual instrumental marker. Out of 44 instrumental examples, 37 had -yi and 7 had -yiwu. A special development of the use of the COM to mark instrumentals is its use with the pronouns to form emphatic reflexive pronouns (lit. by means of myself etc. see 3.9)

5.2.3 -lik : Locative.

This suffix covers the range of motion towards and being in physical proximity to an entity.

a) Allative.
1. manma-yatjinj lulak-lik
    1dlincSNC-go r shade-LOC
    We will go into the shade.

2. an-ngupe katji kan-pu-m-al-u panini-ka-ngi
    BP-foot that POT-swell-Aux-irr-DAT 1plS 2ndONC-take-r
    akutangyi-lik ana-ka-na-n
    doctor-LOC 2sgO-NC-see-irr
    If that foot keeps on swelling up, we will take you to
    the doctor’s. He will have a look at you.

Allatives of place names are not normally case marked.

3. i-yatjinj kunanjjar
    1plSC-go r Point Stuart
    We went to Point Stuart.

Rarely they do occur case marked.

4. amala kat-tji-tjim-in putawan-lik
    Neg POT1sgS-red-come-irr Darwin-LOC
    I never used to come to Darwin.

b) Locative.

5. kiri-lik willi njek:-u-wu
    hill-LOC camp 1sg-OBL-DAT
    My camp is near the hill.

6. lulak-lik pali-ni-ni-winj
    shade-LOC 1plSNC-RED-sit-r
    We are sitting in the shade.

7. ka-kulu-tj-i wek-lik
    NC-stand-Aux-irr fire-LOC
    She is bending over the fire.

8. li-nj yul a-kutjkutj:-u-lik
    fall-r ground CI-wet-OBL-LOC
    He slipped on the wet ground.
9. ngupat-yul pat-yatjinj tjap-lik
   foot-ground 1sgSNC-go r road-LOC
   I am going along the road on foot.

10. lura an-kipe-lik ka-ni-ni
    behind BP-back-LOC NC-R-sit
    It is behind your back.

11. tiri-m-inj-pwuy yumpal-lik an-wak:-u
    crawl-Aux-r-perl tree-LOC Cl-little-OBL
    The baby has crawled under the tree.

12. pelam ka-tiri-m-al-pwuy tjap-lik
    snake NC-crawl-Aux-irr-perl road-LOC
    The snake is crawling across the road.

One verb wu-yi 'to climb/to hang' takes two case frames, one with
the locative and one without.

13. kaking wu-yi yumpal an-wak-wak:u
    yesterday climb-r tree Cl-little-DIM
    Yesterday the kid climbed the tree.

14. yatjinj wu-yi yumpal-lik an-wak:-u li-nj
    go r climb-r tree-LOC Cl-little-OBL fall-r
    The kid went and climbed around in the tree and fell
    out.

5.2.4 -yang : Origin.

This marker has a wide variety of uses. The common element to these
various uses appears to be that it marks that something may be viewed as
an origin.

a) Source.

1. angi le njek:-u-wu pip:i-yang
   here country 1sg-OBL-DAT father-OR
   This country is mine, from (my) father.
2. katji amala atjangki a-wirang atjangki Oenpelli-yang
   that Neg must be Cl-different maybe Oenpelli-OR
   It cannot be them. It must be a different mob, maybe
   from Oenpelli.

3. Oenpelli-yang pun-ka-wu-n wang
   Oenpelli-OR 3pLO-NC-give-irr meat
   The Oenpelli mob will give them some meat.

4. wanjlak at-kut-tj-ang tumkika-yang
   just then 1sgSC-get up-Aux-r sleep-OR
   I just got up from sleep.

5. mariwak:u anpik pa-mayim punji-yang wanjlak:-u
   old days string 3pIS-get impf banyon-OR now-DAT
   anpik parak:ut-yang amala punji-yang
   string white man-OR Neg banyon-OR
   In the old days they used to get string from banyon
   trees. Nowadays (they get) string from the whites,
   not from banyon trees.

b) Ablative.

7. ka-wayi-n pupal-yang
   NC-return-irr creek-OR
   He is coming back from the creek.

8. ngal-ni-nj lulak-yang
   come out-Aux-imp shade-OR
   Come out of the shade!

9. ka-yir-manj yumpal-yang
   NC-pull out-Aux irr wood-OR
   He is pulling (nails) out of the wood.

c) Causal.

10. kiyak-pu-k pulpul-yang
    sweat-Aux-r sick-OR
    He is sweating from fever.
11. pulpul laki-nj wik-yang a-kupam pi-ng
   sick toss-r booze-OR Cl-lots drink-r
   He is sick from drinking too much booze.

In clauses a wide variety of entities can be viewed as the origin of the predication. It appears that -yang can be used in place of any of the other case markers if an entity can be so viewed. Examples showing it overlapping into the ranges of the other case markers are;

a) ergative

12. tjukung-yang nat-putj-pu-m al-kala-wu
    aunt-OR UO-send-Aux-r F-3sg-DAT
    Her aunt sent her (the clothes).

b) instrumental

13. ka-yur-manj wek yul-lik an-nepe-yang
    NC-drag-Aux irr firewood ground-LOC BP-hand-OR
    ka-njil-al lerik-lik
    NC-bring-irr camp-LOC
    She is dragging the firewood along the ground by hand. She is bringing it to camp.

c) locative

14. kiri-yang at-ngupat-tjap-m-inj an-ngupat-pitinj
    stone-OR 1sgSC-foot-stub-Aux-r BP-foot-nail
    I stubbed my toenail on the stone.

d) dative

15. muya pali-mutj-tja-nj-lul njek:-u-yang
    tucker 1plSNC-together-eat-r-pair 1sg-OBL-OR
    The tucker we are eating together is mine.

5.2.5 -wu : Dative.

This case marker covers an extremely wide range of functions. Adnominally it functions as a genitive and at a clause level it functions as
a predicate genitive. Its major function at a clause level is to mark
purposives, benefactives, goals and affected personal allatives, locatives
and ablatives. This set of roles is the same set of non-core arguments
which may receive cross-referencing with the Unexpected Object prefix
nat- (see 4.4.4.2). Interclausally the dative marks purposive relationships
and adjunction (these functions are considered in 5.3.2.7 and 5.5.1). We
should also note that the dative is found as a part of the VC inflections in
the Infinitive (see 4.3.2.1) and the Desiderative (see 4.3.2.2), and that the
oblique suffix found with nominals is derived historically from the dative
(see 3.2.3).

Unlike the other case markers this one has three allomorphs;

-yu which occurs after i final verb forms from the -ngi, -mi and
-0 conjugations, when the final i is not preceded by a palatal
consonant.

-wu which occurs after all other vowel final stems and after
pum the Realis form of the verb 'to hit'.

-u which occurs after all other consonant final stems

In addition three nominals have irregular datives; a-pwuye 'smelly'
-an-pwuye-ru, yepe '1plinc' - yapuru and kak:u ~ kak:wuy 'after'
-kak:u-yu-n. Examples showing the range of the dative are;

a) Genitive.

1. pat-tiri-m-inj          pat-pa-tj-ang         munjtjiwa
   1sgSNC-crawl-Aux-r    1sgSNC-search for-Aux-r    knife
   njek:-u-wu
   1sg-OBL-DAT
   I am crawling around looking for my knife.

2. ngiri      tjatpula-wu
   dog     old man-DAT
   The dog belongs to the old man.

b) Purposive.
3. an-wak ka-nji-pu-n mayo-wu
   Cl-little NC-cry-Aux-irr tucker-DAT
   The kid is crying for tucker.

The verb pu-k:a-ngi 'to hunt' may take alternative case frames with
dative marking.

4. wang-u i-pu-k:a-ngi kaking
   meat-DAT 1plSC-hunt-Aux-r yesterday
   We hunted for meat yesterday.

or without,

5. al-mantupa pa-yunguy-inj wang kuwaley
   F-women 3plS-go-impf animal turtle
   pa-pu-k:a-n-inj mul-yi
   3plS-hunt-Aux-irr-impf yamstick-INS
   pa-putjapputjap-m-al-anj
   3plS-poke around-Aux-irr-impf
   The women used to go and hunt turtles by poking
   around with yamsticks.

c) Benefactive.

6. wang pa-tji-yi ka-pa-njil-al yapuru
   meat 3plS-promise-r NC-3plS-bring-irr 1plinc DAT
   They promised to bring some meat for us.

d) Goal.

7. amala kan-may at-tji-yi al-kala-wu nji-pu-m
   Neg POT-get NC POT 1sgSC-say-r F-3sg-DAT cry-Aux-r
   "Do not touch it" I said to her and she burst into
   tears.

8. tjim an-wak:-u tjen-wilik-m-inj njek:-u
   come Cl-little-OBL tongue-poke-Aux-r 1sg-DAT
   That kid came up and poked his tongue at me.
9. at-nepat-way-m-inj a-kala-wu  
   1sgSC-hand-move-Aux-r NF-3sg-DAT  
   I waved at/to him.

e) Complements of Mental States.

10. multj:i pat-yatjinj pelam-u  
    fear 1sgSNC-be r snake-DAT  
    I am afraid of snakes.

f) Personal Allative.

11. amala letpal kan-yanj al-kala-wu  
    Neg close POT-come NC POT F-3sg-DAT  
    Do not come close to her!

g) Personal Locative.

12. matj ka-tjim-in an-lal-u njama-wu  
    wind NC-come-irr Cl-cold-OBL 1dlinc-DAT  
    A cold wind is blowing on us.

h) Personal Ablative.

13. nguk amala kat-na atjangki pa-mok-mi  
    tobacco Neg POT1sgS-see maybe indefS-steal-Aux r  
    njek:-u 1sg-DAT  
    I cannot find my tobacco. Maybe somebody has stolen it from me.

The factor determining which personal allatives/locatives/ablatives are marked with -wu and which are marked with -lik (allatives/locatives) and which with -yang (ablatives) appears to be affectedness (i.e. The locational approaches a proto-typical Object entity). If a personal locational is unaffected then it will take the usual locational case markers.

14. mimi-lik yang  
    uncle-LOC go imp
Go to uncle!

15. ka-pa-ni-ni  tjatpula-lik
    NC-3plS-R-sit  old man-LOC
They are sitting next to the old man.

However with pronouns at least, there is a fair degree of latitude in the use of the dative for marking locational relationships.

16. an-tum  ka-mir-mir-m-al  njek:-u-wu
    BP-eye  NC-R-shine-Aux-irr  1sg-OBL-DAT
(The sun) is shining in my eyes.

17. an-wak  ka-mir-mir-m-al  miral  al-kala-wu-lik
    Cl-little  NC-R-shine-Aux-irr  sun  F-3sg-OBL-LOC
That kid, the sun is shining in her (eyes).

Examples 16 and 17 are virtually identical, yet 17 has locative marking and 16 does not. Both appear to be equally affected.

18. ka-ni-ni  a-kala-wu
    NC-R-sit  NF-3sg-DAT
He is sitting next to him.

In ex 18 the personal locative does not appear to be affected at all. Thus there is only a general, not an absolute correlation between dative marking of locationals and affectedness.

5.3 Variations in the Occurrence of the Case Markers.

The data in this area is complex and open to many presentations. The presentation used does not claim any major analytic virtues, but I think it is the clearest way to present the data.

There are two major divisions in the occurrence of case marking which must be accounted for in any analysis. The first division is case marking as found in clauses which have simple NP arguments (arguments without genitive, comitative or relative clause constituents). This class of arguments exhibits a fairly consistent pattern of marking (see 5.3.1). The second division is case marking as found in clauses with complex NP arguments (arguments with genitive, comitative or relative clause
Case marking in this division shows a great deal of variability. Information on this second division is presented by the case of the overall argument (i.e. information on the locative form of an NP with a genitive constituent will be found in the section on locatives). It should be noted that terms such as genitive or relative clause are used in a purely semanticfunctional sense in the preceding discussion. The use of these terms does not imply that such constituents can in fact be formally defined.

Adjunction which forms a part of the case marking system is dealt with in 5.5

5.3.1 Simple Argument Clauses.

In these clauses the only case marker which normally occurs with core arguments is the ergative (see 5.2.1). Otherwise core arguments are normally unmarked. Thus with a trivalent verb both the non-Subject core arguments are usually unmarked.

1. wang at-wu-y tjatpula
   meat 1sgSC-give-r old man
   I gave the meat to the old man.

   not;

2. *wang at-wu-y tjatpula-wu
   meat 1sgSC-give-r old man-DAT

   Similarly an argument cross-referenced with nat-, the Unexpected Object prefix would not normally have a case marker.

3. mimi at-nat-tji-yi
   uncle 1sgSC-UO-say-r
   I told uncle.

   not;

4. *mimi-wu at-nat-tji-yi
   uncle-DAT 1sgSC-UO-say-r

   However there are variations from this scheme. The trivalent verb
   nim-p-al 'to transport something for somebody' always had a dative
marked Object.

5. an-mewel at-nim-p-inj tja-pula-wu
   BP-clothes 1sgSC-transport-Aux-r old man-DAT
   I brought some clothes for the old man.

Pronouns usually occur in oblique stem variant when they occur in non-initial position (see 3.2.3). The oblique is formally the same as the dative. This means that when a pronoun, with the dative/oblique suffix occurs in the rhyme of a clause there is no way of knowing whether the marking is a reflection of the pronoun being in a dative function (for core arguments, usually a goal), or whether it is simply the oblique variant occurring in non-initial position. I have chosen, somewhat arbitrarily, to analyse the suffix in such cases as being dative, on the basis that a morpheme should be assigned a meaningful function unless there are reasons for doing otherwise. The following two examples show dative marked Object pronoun arguments with wu-y 'to give' and putj-pu-m 'to send'.

6. mimi ngunj-u-wu an-ka-na-n an-ka-wu-n
   uncle 2sg-OBL-DAT 2sgS-NC-see-irr 2sgS-NC-give-irr
   kiri a-kala-wu
   money NF-3sg-DAT
   If you see your uncle you give him this money.

7. tjukung-yang nat-putj-pu-m al-kala-wu
   aunt-OR UO-send-Aux-r F-3sg-DAT
   Her aunt sent her (the clothes).

There is too little data to determine what factors control the appearance of dative marking with Object cross-referenced arguments.

All peripheral simple arguments are case marked, apart from the exception already mentioned of allatives of place names (see 5.2.3). If a simple argument consists of more than one word then the case marker will occur only once and nearly always on the final word in the argument.

8. li-nj yul a-kutkutj:-u-lik
   fall-r ground Cl-wet-OBL-LOC
   He slipped on the wet ground.
9. pat-pu-k:a-ngi  wang  tjokot:-u
   1sgSNC-hunt-Aux-r animal  rock wallaby-DAT
   I am hunting for rock wallabies.

   There is one example where the case marker does not occur on the
   final word.

   10. wang-yi  kanngak  pan-pi-nj
       animal-erg  bullant  1sgO-bite-r
       The bullant bit me.

   As this is the only example of its kind and it involves the ergative,
   which is optional, it is not possible to say whether it represents a
   variation that occurs with the ergative only, or one more generally
   available.

5.3.2 Complex Argument Clauses.

5.3.2.1 -yi and -yiwu.

   There are no examples of -yi occurring on complex arguments in
   either instrumental or ergative function. The following clauses describe
   situations with two human 3sg participants (situations where -yi as an
   ergative marker is likely. see 5.2.1).

1. nal  kitjawak-yiwu pu-m mimi
   man  beard-COM  hit-r uncle
   The man with the beard hit uncle.

2. nal  katji  amungal-yang pu-m mimi njek:-u-wu
   man  that Adelaide River-OR  hit-r uncle  1sg-OBL-DAT
   That man from Adelaide River hit my uncle.

3. nal  katji  amungal-yang tjim al-kulpe katji pu-m
   man  that Adelaide River-OR come F-woman that  hit-r
   That man who comes from Adelaide River hit that woman.

   As we shall see in 5.7.1 Subject NPs normally precede Object NPs.
   Thus in clauses like ex 1 - 3 it would be reasonable to assume that the
initial NP was the Subject. This could be an interpretive principle which is
at work in these clauses. On the other hand it may be that in elicited
material, such as these examples are, the roles are so clear that ergative
marking is unnecessary. It is possible that ergative marking would occur
in environments where there was insufficient textual and contextual
information to otherwise determine what was the Subject.

There are no examples of -yi marked complex instrumentals, but there
are two examples of instrumental marking for what in English would be
conjoined NPs.

4. ka-tiri-m-al an-pat an-nepe-yi
   'NC-crawl-Aux-irr BP-knee BP-hand-INS
   He is crawling on his hands and knees.

5. pun-ka-pa-palawa-n luywa-yi pulk
   3pIO-NC-3pIS-paint-irr red ochre-INS white ochre
   They paint them with red and white ochre.

More examples of conjoined NPs would be needed before any
statements could be made about the case marking patterns they exhibit. Ex
4 and 5 show a similar case marking pattern to that found with simple NP
arguments. There are two examples of complex instrumentals with -yiuw.

6. anpat wik-yiwu pan-pu-m
   can water-COM 1sgO-hit-r
   He hit me with a billycan full of water.

7. nu-y wek-yang pa-lu-k:a-nge-yiwu li-nj
   burn-r fire-OR 3pIS-light-Aux-r-COM fall-r
   lit. It burnt from a fire lit by them and it fell down.
   They killed the tree with fire.

In ex 6 -yiuw could be marking the comitative relationship between
the water and the can; or it could be marking the instrumental relationship
between the can full of water and the Subject; or it could be marking both
of these relationships. There is no way of choosing among these
possibilities, nor is there any evidence from Waray that these
possibilities are necessarily distinguished. The message intended to be
conveyed by ex 6 is quite unambiguous, and so there is no functional
pressure for these distinctions to be made.
Example 7 is of some interest as it is the only example of an instrumental VC. Attempts to replicate ex 7 failed. A proffered English example of the type 'You kill goannas by swinging them round and round' was translated by:

8. lalinj  an-mi  an-lanj  an-waruwaru-m-al-anj
   goanna  2sgS-get r  BP-tail  2sgS-swing-Aux-irr-impf
   an-pu-m   kiknuruwat
   2sgS-kill-r    dead
   You grabbed a goanna by the tail and swung it around and around and killed it.

The problems in replicating ex 7 appear to stem from a general tendency to avoid case marking VCs and a general tendency to avoid complex argument structures. Both of these tendencies are exhibited in a fairly random fashion in the expression of complex arguments. There can be little doubt that ex 7 represents a genuine, though rare, method of expressing the concept of an instrumental action. Ex 7 was given completely spontaneously, before I was even aware of the possibility that VCs could be case marked. Indeed this example first alerted me to that very possibility.

One area which exhibits the second tendency mentioned previously, that of avoiding a complex argument structure, is complex comitatives. In all of the following examples the proffered English elicitation base is given after the translation.

9. litji-yiwu  ka-wayi-n  muya  tjela-yiwu
   dilly bag-COM  NC-return-irr  tucker  yam sp-COM
   pi-njinj  kutjili-m-inj
   dig yam-impf fill-Aux-r
   She is coming back with a dilly bag. She has filled it up with tjela yams that she has dug.
   prof. She is coming back with a dilly bag full of tjela yams.

10. pupal-yang wik  put-mi  ka-njil-al  anpat-yiwu
    creek-OR water water-get r  NC-bring-irr  can-COM
    She got water from the creek. She is bringing it in a can.
    prof. She is coming back from the creek with a billycan full of water.
11. yatjijnj putawan al-kulpe kaking tjim-u ka-nga *go r* Darwin F-woman yesterday come-DAT take-r
He has gone to Darwin. That woman who came yesterday took him.
prof. He has gone to Darwin with that woman who came yesterday.

In these examples the "head" and the comitative "modifier" are in separate NPs in separate clauses. All attempts to elicit a complex comitative expressed in a manner parallel to the way that the complex instrumental is expressed in ex 6 failed.

5.3.2.2 -lik : Locative Function.

It was not possible to elicit complex locatives.

a) Genitive.

1. an-ka-yinj putawan an-mewel njek:-u-wu
   2sgS-NC-go irr Darwin BP-clothes 1sg-OBL-DAT
an-ka-manj mamam-lik njek:-u-wu
   2sgS-NC-get irr daughter-LOC 1sg-OBL-DAT
ana-ka-wu-n pan-ka-nim-p-al
   2sgO-NC-give-irr 1sgO-NC-transport-Aux-irr
When you go to Darwin, you get my clothes. (They are)
at my daughter's. She will give them to you and you
bring them back for me.

b) Comitative.

2. pip:i ngunj-u-wu kenganawu ka-ni-ni nal an-tjerinjpa
   father 2sg-OBL-DAT over there NC-R-sit man Cl-other
kitjawak-yiwu ka-pa-mutj-ni-lul
   beard-COM NC-3plS-together-sit-pair
Your father is sitting over there. The other man with
the beard, they are both sitting together.
prof. Your father is sitting next to the man with the beard.

c) Relative Clause.
3. ka-ni-ni kenganawu nal katji kaking i-na-y-u
   NC-R-sit over there man that yesterday 1plSC-see-r-DAT
   katji ka-pa-ni-ni-lul
   that NC-3plIS-R-sit-pair

He is sitting over there, the man that we saw yesterday. That one (and him), they are both sitting together.

prof. He is sitting over there with that man we saw yesterday.

Example 1 is the only example of a locative of a genitive NP (mamam-lik njek:-u-wu). There are other examples of locatives of comitative and relative clause NPs. They are all of the type shown in ex 2 and 3 (i.e. instead of saying 'X is sitting next to Y', you say 'X,Y they are sitting together'). Waray does have clauses with locative marking on the VC. These invariably describe places where a particular event X happened, and so clause 'X-lik' means 'the place where X happened'. Example 8 in the following section shows one of these locative marked clauses, as does ex 3 in 5.8.2, and there is one in Text 10 lines1 and 2.

5.3.2.3 -lik : Allative Function.

Complex allatives behave quite differently from complex locatives.

a) Genitive.

1. mimi-lik le pat-yatjinj
   uncle-LOC camp 1sgSNC-go r
   I will go to uncle's camp.

There are a number of examples of allatives of genitive NPs with a noun possessor. They all follow this pattern with the possessor receiving allative marking and there being no overt indication of the genitive relationship between the two nominals. Ablatives of genitive NPs with a noun possessor also follow this pattern (see 5.3.2.4). The analysis of allatives of NPs with a pronoun possessor is problematic.

2. ka-yinj-yinj le a-kala-wu-lik
   NC-R-go irr camp NF-3sg-OBL-LOC
   He is going to his camp.
The problem with these pronominal allatives is to decide whether the suffix -wu in a-kala-wu-lik represents a dative case, or an oblique stem. The dative covers adnominal genitives (see 5.2.5 ex 1). However pronouns usually occur in oblique stem variant when they are in the rheme of a clause (see 3.2.3). Therefore it is possible that -wu in examples such as this could be marking the genitive relationship between possessor and possessed, or it could simply be occurring as a clausally conditioned variant of a pronoun. Given that the dative does not occur with noun heads it seems most likely that -wu in examples such as 2 with pronominal heads is occurring simply because oblique stems are the preferred variants for pronouns when they are in the rheme of a clause.

b) Comitatives.

3. kenganawu pa-yatjinj kiri-lik pulk-lik
   over there 3pls-go r hill-LOC white ochre-LOC
   They went over there to the hill with the white ochre

4. pali-yatjinj kiri luywa-yiwu pali-na-y
   1plSNC-go r hill red ochre-COM 1plSNC-see-r
   We are going to have a look at the hill with the red ochre.

5. pat-yatjinj kiri pat-na-y luywa-lik
   1sgSNC-go r hill 1sgSNC-see-r red ochre-LOC
   I am going to have a look at that hill with red ochre.

6. pali-yatjinj anlungka-lik mapul-yiwu anlungka
   1plSNC-go r billabong-LOC lily sp-COM billabong
   pali-yatjinj kuwaley-u
   1plSNC-go r turtle-DAT
   We are going to that billabong with the mapul lilies. That billabong is where we are going for turtles.

The most immediately obvious point about this group of examples is the wide variation in marking.

3. Head-LOC Modifier-LOC
4. Head Modifier-COM
5. Head Modifier-LOC
6. Head-LOC Modifier-COM

Of the examples 5 is the most problematic. It would seem a somewhat doubtful proposition that the "Head" kiri and the "Modifier" luywa-lik are in the same NP, as they are separated by the VC pat-na-y. This would suggest that they are in two different NPs. However the locative case marker -lik on luywa can relate only to the VC pat-yatjinj, not to the VC pat-na-y. This would suggest that kiri and luywa are in a syntactically discontinuous NP. As was suggested in 5.3.2.1 ex 6 and 7 it is probably not profitable to pose these questions in Waray. It is clear that luywa 'red ochre' modifies kiri 'hill' in ex 5. There does not appear to be any evidence that Waray requires this to be done within the boundaries of a precisely defined NP.

c) Relative Clauses.

7. anlungka-lik i-yatjinj matuk:al mi wang
    billabong-LOC 1pISc-go r barramundi get r animal
    an-pipit:-u i-na-y
    CI-red-OBL 1pISc-see-r

    We were going to that billabong (where sister) caught that barramundi when we saw cattle.

8. pali-yatjinj kenganawu kiri-lik tjatpula ka-ni-ni-lik
    1pISNC-go r over there hill-LOC old man NC-R-sit-LOC

    We are going to that hill over there where the old man sits. (referring to a dreaming site)

In ex 7 there is no overt indication that matuk:al mi modifies anlungka-lik. Matuk:al mi is a perfectly normal independent clause. The modification relationship is to be inferred from the contextual information.

In ex 8 the locative/allative case marker -lik occurs on both the head nominal kiri-lik and the modifying clause tjatpula ka-ni-ni-lik. The sequence kiri-lik tjatpula ka-ni-ni-lik is one of those sequences which are difficult to categorise from an NP point of view. The -lik marking on tjatpula ka-ni-ni overtly indicates that it modifies kiri-lik, but tjatpula ka-ni-ni-lik is in a separate intonation unit from the rest of the example which would suggest that it is an afterthought comment. As elsewhere it would seem best to recognise that
the relationships exist without attempting to force the words expressing the relationships into formally defined categories which may not fit. *Kiri-lik tjatpula ka-ni-ni-lik* may still be described as an NP because the whole expression clearly has an argument relationship to *pali-yatjinj*, but this argument relationship does not have any necessary formal correlates.

5.3.2.4 -yang : Ablative Function.

Complex ablative appears to parallel complex allatives.

a) Genitive.

1. tjatpula-yang le pat-wayi-nj
cold man-OR camp 1sgSNC-return-r
I will come back from the old man's camp.

2. le al-wulkan-yang ka-wayi-n
camp F-sibling-OR NC-return-irr
He is coming back from sister's camp.

Here we find the same structure as with the allative. The possessor receives the ablative marking, without there being any overt indication of the genitive relationship between the two nominals.

b) Comitative.

3. ka-pa-wayi-n anlungka-yang tjinganj-yiwu
NC-3plS-return-irr billabong-OR red lilly-COM
They are coming back from the billabong with the red lilies.

This is the only example of the ablative of a comitative argument. It parallels the allative form found in ex 6 in the preceding section. Given the general similarity between the allative and the ablative it is highly probable that with further examples we would find that ablative of comitative arguments would show the same range of variation as is attested for allatives of comitatives (see ex 2 - 6 in the preceding section).
c) Relative Clauses.

4. anlungka-yang kaking i-yatjinj-u-n katji-yang billabong-OR yesterday 1plSC-go r-DAT-CONS that-OR ka-pa-wayi-n NC-3plS-return-irr

lit. From that billabong that we went to yesterday, from that one they are coming back. They are coming back from that billabong we went to yesterday.

In ex 4 the VC iyatjinjun has the adjunction marker -u-n (see 5.5.2), which indicates that it modifies anlungkayang. This example is generally parallel to ex 7 in the preceding section on allatives, as adjunction marking is optional.

5.3.2.5 -yang : Causal Function.

There are a number of ways in which a speaker may deal with a sequence of two clauses describing a cause and its result. The commonest method is simply to appose the two clauses, leaving the causal relationship to be inferred.

1. pulpul laki-nj wik a-kupam-u pi-ng sick toss-r booze CI-lots-OBL drink-r
   He is sick from drinking too much booze.

The next commonest method is to mark a nominal (usually the nominal describing the causal entity) in the cause clause with -yang.

2. pulpul laki-nj wik-yang a-kupam pi-ng sick toss-r booze-OR CI-lots drink-r
   He is sick from drinking too much booze.

We should note in ex 2 that even though wik a-kupam is a simple NP the case marking does not occur on the final element in that NP as we might expect it to (see 5.3.1). A third rare alternative is to mark both a nominal and the VC in the cause clause with -yang.
3. wek a-mutek ka-nun-nu-n an-wak:-u-yang
   fire CI-big NC-R-burn-irr CI-little-OBL-OR
   pa-lu-k:a-ngi-yang
   3plS-light-Aux-r-OR
   The fire is burning big (now) from the little (start)
   they lit.

There are of course situations where the cause is described only by a
VC, when that VC is marked with -yang.

4. an-wik pitpit-tji-nj at-teretpu-yi-nj-yang
   BP-skin red-inch-r 1sgSC-scratch-refl-r-OR
   My skin has gone red from me scratching it.

   though the tendency of Waray to avoid case marking VCs is
demonstrated by;

5. pulpul-yang an-wik pan-nu-y at-pitpit-tji-nj
   sick-OR BP-skin 1sgO-burn-r 1sgSC-red-inch-r
   amala-yang kat-teretpu-yi-n
   Neg-OR POT1sgS-scratch-refl-irr
   My skin has gone red and is burning from fever, not
   from me having scratched it.

   where the Negator amala, a particle, is case marked rather than the
VC kat-teretpu-yi-n.

5.3.2.6 -wu : Genitive Function.

   As the following examples show, it appears that Waray avoids the
   genitive of a complex argument (in the same way that it avoids the
   comitative or locative of a complex argument).

1. al-wulkan njek:-u-wu al-kala-wu ngiri
   F-sibling 1sg-OBL-DAT F-3sg-DAT dog
   lit. My sister, it is her dog.
   prof. It is my sister’s dog.

2. nal kitjawk-yiwu ka-yinj-yinj a-kala-wu
   man beard-COM NC-R-be irr NF-3sg-DAT
lit. The man with the beard, it is his (dog).
prof. It is the man with the beard's dog.

3. ngiri a-kala-wu nal kenganawu amungal-yang
   dog NF-3sg-DAT man over there Adelaide River-OR
   lit. It is his dog, the man over there from Adelaide
   River.
   prof. It is the man from Adelaide River's dog.

4. ngiri al-kala-wu kiri kaking at-wu-y
   dog F-3sg-DAT money yesterday 1sgSC-give-r
   lit. It is her dog, (the woman) I gave the money to
   yesterday.
   prof. It is the woman I gave the money to yesterday's dog.

These examples all have the structure 'X, his/her dog', instead of 'X's
dog'. This structure was invariably used whenever X was a complex
argument of any sort.

5.3.2.7 -wu : Benefactive/Purposive Function.

a) Complex Arguments.

1. muya pat-ka-ka-ngi al-wulkan waripa al-kala-wu
   tucker 1sgSNC-RED-have-r F-sibling children F-3sg-DAT
   I have some tucker for (my) sister, and her children.
   prof. I have some tucker for my sister's children.

2. kiri pat-ka-ka-ngi al-wulkan ngunj-u-wu
   money 1sgSNC-RED-have-r F-sibling 2sg-OBL-DAT
   I have some money for your sister.

3. al-wulkan ngunj-u-wu kiri pat-ka-ka-ngi
   F-sibling 2sg-OBL-DAT money 1sgSNC-RED-have-r
   al-kala-wu
   F-3sg-DAT
   Your sister, I have some money for her.
   prof. I have some money for your sister.
4. an-mewel at-mi pat-yatjinj lariwu
BP-clothes 1sgSC-get r 1sgSNC-go r tomorrow
mamam-u njek:-u-wu
daughter-DAT 1sg-OBL-DAT
I got some clothes. Tomorrow I will go (and get them)
for my daughter.

5. kiri pat-ka-ka-ngi al-kala-wu al-kulpe kaking
money 1sgSNC-RED-have-r F-3sg-DAT F-woman yesterday
i-na-y-u-n
1plSC-see-r-DAT-CONS
lit. I have some money for her, the woman we saw
yesterday.
prof. I have some money for the woman we saw yesterday.

These examples show a variety of ways of describing the benefactive
of a complex argument. In ex 1 there is no marking of the benefactive
relationship; it is simply inferred. In ex 2 the dative marker -wu on
ngunj-u-wu probably marks the adnominal genitive relationship between
al-wulkan 'sister' and ngunj 'you', but it could mark the benefactive
relationship between these two and the VC pat-ka-ka-ngi 'I have'.
Similarly in ex 4, while the dative marker -u on mamam-u must be
benefactive in function, the dative -wu on njek:-u-wu probably marks the
genitive relationship between the two nominals rather than the
benefactive relationship of the whole NP. Examples 3 and 5 present the
strategy found elsewhere of avoiding case marking a complex argument.
Instead of 'for X', we find 'X, for him/her'.

b) Clauses.

In Waray it is possible though rare to mark a clause with -wu to
indicate that it is in a purposive relationship to another clause. In such
cases the VC is always dative marked and the nominals may be (we should
note the difference from causal sentences where the origin case suffix
usually occurs on the nominals in the cause clause).

6. amala muya-wu kat-manj munjtjiwa
Neg tucker-DAT POT1sgS-get ncPOT knife
nyikiring-u katji njek:-u-wu wang-u
2pl-DAT that 1sg-OBL-DAT meat-DAT
pat-tanj-mi-yu  
1sgSNC-cut-Aux r-DAT  
I did not get that knife for you mob (to cut up) tucker. That is mine for cutting up meat.

7. wulek-m-al-u amala pali-pi-ng-u wik  
wash-Aux-irr-DAT Neg 1plSNC-drink-r-DAT water  
It is not for washing, it is for us to drink, that water.

8. muya ngayk-m-a lariwu an-ka-tja-l-u  
tucker keep-Aux-imp tomorrow 2sgS-NC-est-irr-DAT  
Keep that tucker so you can eat it tomorrow.

5.4 The Infinitive.

While it is possible to dative case mark a VC to show that it is in purposive relationship to another clause as the preceding examples demonstrate, the usual method of describing such a purposive relationship is with an infinitive clause.

The infinitive in Waray is best viewed as a nominalised verb. It consists as we have seen of an Irrealis verb followed by the dative (see 4.3.2.2). Infinitive clauses are nearly always purposive in function, but there is one example where it is not;

1. a-muk:u pali-yatjinj-lul lit-pu-n-u litji  
Cl-good 1plSNC-be r-pair sew-Aux-irr-DAT dillybag  
We are good at making dillybags.

Infinitives show a number of similarities to nominals. Firstly as their name implies they do not have any temporal or aspectual reference.

2. lariwu ka-pa-yinj njip-m-al-u  
tomorrow NC-3plS-go irr swim-Aux-irr-DAT  
Tomorrow they will go for a swim.

3. kaking pa-yatjinj njip-m-al-u  
yesterday 3plS-go r swim-Aux-irr-DAT  
Yesterday they went for a swim.
Secondly, like nominals, they cannot take the pronominal prefixes which are found in VCs.

4. i-nat-ni-ninj wark:i-m-al-u
   1plSC-UO-stay-impf work-Aux-irr-DAT
   lit. We stayed a long time for him for working.
   We stayed a long time working for him.

The Unexpected Object marker nat-, in this case representing a benefactive, occurs on the VC i-ni-ninj "we stayed a long time", not on the infinitive wark:i-m-al-u. The third similarity that infinitives show with is in their behaviour with the Negator amala. Amala virtually always precedes VCs and follows nominals (with nominals this is a reflection of the fact that modifiers follow heads see 5.7.1). Amala follows the infinitive in all examples.

5. i-tjim anlungka-lik njip-m-al-u amala
   1plSC-come billabong-LOC swim-Aux-irr-DAT Neg
   kuwaley-u manj-u i-tjim
   turtle-DAT get irr-DAT 1plSC-come
   We came to this billabong not for swimming. It was for getting turtles that we came.

While infinitives show this evidence of being nominalised, they are different from nominals. Firstly they are always dative case marked whatever the circumstances (c.f. ex 1) whereas nominals will be dative case marked only in the appropriate circumstances. More importantly the relationship between the words in an infinitive clause such as kuwaley-u manj-u in ex 5 is different from the head - modifier relationship found in NPs. The words in infinitive clauses are obviously in a verb and argument relationship.

For these reasons it seems most appropriate to analyse the infinitive as a nominalised verb rather than a nominal. This description captures both its structure and function. Some further examples are;

6. kuruwak in-ka-ngi wang-u le-n-u
   name n3plO-take-r game-DAT shoot-irr-DAT
   David took us out shooting.
7. wang katji njiter tjul-m-al-u tja-l-u amala
   meat that hook fish-Aux-irr-DAT eat-irr-DAT Neg
   That meat is for fishing with a hook, not for eating.

This example is of importance because it shows an argument other than an Object, in this case the instrumental, occurring in an infinitive clause. All other infinitive clauses involve only Object nominals.

8. yumpal katji at-tanj-mi wili pula-n-u wek:-u
   wood that 1sgSC-cut-Aux r house make-irr-DAT fire-DAT
   Neg
   That wood I cut for building a house, not for a fire.

It may be observed from the examples that a nominal occurring in an infinitive clause may be either zero or dative marked. Of the two possibilities, dative marking appears to be slightly more common.

5.5 Adjunction.

One of the major functions of the dative case marker in Waray is to mark adjunction. In this function it often occurs with a morpheme -n, the Consequential, suffixed to it. The dative and the consequential cover a wide range of functions. Before however considering the use of these two suffixes to mark adjunction, we shall first give some consideration to the nature of adjunction in Waray.

It has frequently been observed that in Australian languages the structures which describe what corresponds to subordination in other languages such as English, show in fact very little evidence of being subordinated to a main clause. This was first discussed by Hale in his 1976 article "The Adjoined Relative Clause in Australia.", and has since been a recurrent theme in many grammars of Australian languages. In general "subordinate" clauses show a loose paratactic and altogether independent relationship to the "main" clause.

Waray is no exception to this state of affairs. "Subordinated" clauses show little evidence of being reduced to some argument-like status as a part of the "main" clause. It is for this reason that the term adjunction is used rather than subordination in this grammar. Of the numerous discussions on the nature of adjunction/subordination in Aboriginal languages, the one which best serves as a starting point for discussion of
the situation in Waray is given by Merlan in her Ngalakan grammar (Merlan 1983 pp 136 - 137). There she states that "the common denominator of subordination in Ngalakan is signalling that the interpretation of the clause is to be made by recourse to something else, generally to a preceding constituent, but up to and including larger information units."

5.5.1 The Dative.

We have taken as a starting point the idea that the function of the dative in adjunction is to signal that a clause is to be interpreted by recourse to another information unit. In normal language usage however, all information units are obviously being interpreted in relation to other information units. Therefore it would seem reasonable to assume that dative marking of adjunction must have some function beyond simply indicating this fact. In Waray it appears that the major function of adjunction marking is to indicate variation from, or addition to, the standard conventions governing how clauses are interpreted.

There appear to be two standard conventions governing the interpretation of clauses.

1. VCs are the central pieces of information in a clause and the nominals occur to provide extra information about the basic predication expressed by the VC.

2. When declarative clauses occur in a sequence, each clause will be interpreted as providing the setting/point of departure for the next clause. Furthermore declarative clauses will normally occur in the same sequence as the temporal sequence of the events they describe.

Adjunction marking tends to mark the following variations from these conventions.

1. When a nominal is to be interpreted as the central piece of information, with a VC/clause providing extra information about that nominal.

2. When a declarative clause provides a setting/point of departure for a preceding clause.
3. When two declarative clauses are to be interpreted as co-conditional. That is the two clauses are to be interpreted as contemporaneous (or virtually so), with the dative marked clause being a condition to the occurrence of the other. Context determines whether the contemporaneity or conditionality element is foremost.

In these three cases the intended interpretations are contrary to the standard interpretations, and so adjunction marking is likely.

In addition to this major function, it appears that the dative has a minor emphatic function, where it serves to emphasise an already obvious fact that a clause is to be interpreted in relation to some other information unit. In the examples available this occurs in situations where the marked VC has undesirable consequences, or when the speaker wishes to induce the hearer to do something quickly.

All of these functions of adjunction marking could in any particular situation be obvious from textual or contextual information, and presumably this is why, at least partly, adjunction marking is optional.

5.5.1.1 Adnominal Adjunction.

This type of adjunction covers the area dealt with by clefts and relative clauses in English.

a) Clefts.

1. le mariwak:u-yang i-yu-yinj-u
   camp old days-OR 1plSC-camp-impf-DAT
   That old camp is where we used to camp.

   This clause may be opposed to a clause with an ordinary interpretation.

2. le mariwak:u i-yu-yinj katji-lik
   camp old days 1plSC-camp-impf that-LOC
   We used to camp in the old days at that place (Minpulinj).

b) Relative Clauses.
3. eping kenganawu ka-tjim-in
   who over there NC-come-irr
   Who is that coming up over there?
   atjangki al-kulpe an-nguni-wu-n-inj-u kaking
   maybe F-woman 2sgS-talk-Aux-irr-impf-DAT yesterday
   katji-wa ka-tjim-in
   that-could be NC-come-irr
   Maybe it is that woman you were talking to yesterday. It could be her coming up.

c) Indefinite NPs.

   The use of adjunction marking is especially common in clauses involving indefinite NPs.

   4. an-wak eping-wuy mimi-yi ka-ngi-yu putawan
      Cl-little who-one of uncle-erg take-r-DAT Darwin
      Which one of those kids did uncle take to Darwin?

      kwok eping
      Don't know who
      I do not know who.

   In these cases the rest of the clause functions to provide information which will help to determine the identity of the referent of the indefinite NP.

5.5.1.2 Interclausal Adjunction.

a) Causal.

   5. pulpul laki-nj wik-yang pi-ng-u
      sick toss-r booze-OR drink-r-DAT
      He is sick from drinking booze.

   We should note that in all the available examples the dative only ever occurs in causal constructions when the Origin marker -yang is also present. This would suggest that a causal situation such as in ex 5 could not be described with a sentence;
6. pulpul laki-nj wik pi-ng-u
   sick toss-r booze drink-r-DAT

   This example would mean 'He got sick while/when drinking booze'.

b) Co-conditionality.

   Normally a clause marked with the dative will be interpreted as being
   either a precondition on the occurrence of another clause or clauses as in
   example 6 in the preceding section, or as being contemporaneous with a
   following clause or clauses.

7. pat-nat-tji-yi pat-na-y-u
   1sgSNC-UO-say-r 1sgSNC-see-r-DAT
   I will tell him when/if I see him.

8. a-tjamuru pat-nay-na-y ka-tjim-in-u
   M-policeman 1sgSNC-R-see-r NC-come-irr-DAT
   pat-li-lili-m-inj pat-yatjinj pat-walmi-tj-ang
   1sgSNC-RED-run-Aux-r 1sgSNC-go r 1sgSNC-hide-Aux-r
   Every time I see a policeman coming, I run away and
go and hide.

9. nentu pa-pa-pu-n-inj-u pun-laki-l-anj
   horse 3plS-ride-Aux-irr-impf-DAT 3plO-toss-irr-impf
   Whenever people rode that horse it threw them.

10. mariwak:u wang an-kutjik:-u pa-yunguy-inj
    long ago animal CI-black-OBL 3plS-go-impf
    pa-le-n-inj-u wang njek mutjla
    3plS-shoot-irr-impf-DAT animal 1sg too
    at-yunguy-inj le-lik at-ni-ninj muya
    1sgSC-go-impf camp-LOC 1sgSC-stay-impf tucker
    at-ngum-pu-n-inj pikiring-u
    1sgSC-cook-Aux-irr-impf 3pl-DAT
    In the old days when (the men) used to go out
    shooting buffaloes, I used to go too. I used to stay in
    the camp and cook for them.
11. wik amala kan-wuli-yu a-muk:u pali-pulkan-ni-winj
    rain Neg POT-rain-DAT Cl-good 1plSNC-cross-Aux-r
    pin amala wik ka-wuli-nj amala kali-puluk-ni
    but Neg rain NC-rain-irr Neg POT1plS-cross-Aux
    If it does not rain, then good, we will be able to
cross, but if not and it does rain then we will not be
able to cross.

12. pa-na-y mimi tjim-u pa-wup-wup-pu-m
    3plS-see-r uncle come-DAT 3plS-R-clear off-Aux-r
    When they saw uncle coming, they cleared right off.

As we remarked in 5.5.1 in declarative clause sequences each clause
is normally to be interpreted as providing the setting/point of departure
for the following clause, with the clauses being presented in the same
sequence as the temporal sequence of the events they describe. In many
situations if the clauses are presented in event sequence it is obvious
from text or context that a particular clause is not only a setting, but also
a precondition, to the occurrence of a following clause. Therefore overt
marking of preconditionality is much less likely when the clauses are in
event sequence. However if the clauses are not in event sequence then
adjunction marking is probable to indicate that a clause is a precondition
for a preceding clause. Therefore we are likely to get;

13. ka-wayi-n pat-nat-tji-yi
    NC-return-irr 1sgSNC-UO-say-r
    When/if he comes back, I will tell him.

14. pat-nat-tji-yi ka-wayi-n-u
    1sgSNC-UO-say-r NC-return-irr-DAT
    I will tell him when/if he comes back.

In ex 13 it would in most circumstances be reasonable to interpret
kawayin as a precondition, not just a setting. However in ex 14, without
the presence of dative marking, it would not be reasonable in most cases
to interpret kawayin as a precondition. Example 14 without dative
marking could just as reasonably mean 'I will tell him X that he Y is
coming back', or 'I will say Z to him X and therefore he X,Y will come back'.
Therefore in ex 14 dative marking has a major disambiguation function
that it does not have in ex 13, and this is why adjunction marking is more
likely when clauses are not in event sequence.

5.5.1.3 Emphasis.

As was mentioned in 5.5.1 the examples of this function occur when the marked VC has undesirable consequences, or is being used to induce a speedy action on the part of the hearer.

1. put-kanimup-m-inj kunj kat-put-ka-n-u pin 3plO-forget-Aux-r M.O. POT1sgS-3plO-take-irr-DAT but amala Neg
    I forgot them (the kids). I thought that I had taken them, but no (I had not).

2. pun-nat-wit-m-a ngiri miral tjul-tj-ang 3plO-UO-whistle-Aux-imp dog sun go down-Aux-r i-watj-yinj-u 1plS-hurry-go irr-DAT
    Whistle for the dogs. The sun is going down. Let's hurry up and go.

3. pan-wu-y-u antjalmi pat-wu-y 1sgO-give-r-DAT in turn 1sgSNC-give-r lit. What he gave me, in return I will give him. I will pay him back for what he did to me.

4. ma-yinj-u lukluk yanj 1dlincS-go irr-DAT Hurry come imp
    Let's go! Hurry up! Come on!

5.5.2 The Consequential.

The consequential (CONS) is a morpheme -n which always occurs suffixed to the dative. In much of the range it occurs, there does not appear to be any difference between the occurrence of DAT-CONS as opposed to a simple DAT. The two appear to be largely interchangeable. There are however some differences between the two. The most important of these is the function from which the CONS derives its name.
1. mamam njek:-u-wu yatjinj-u-n atjangki kenganawu
daughter 1sg-OBL-DAT go r-DAT-CONS maybe over there
yarpa yatjinj-wa
far go r-could be
My daughter has gone for a long time. Maybe over
there a long way she could have gone.

2. wek at-lu-k:a-angi yumpal a-mutek tju-m kawuy
fire 1sgSC-light-Aux-r log CI-big die-r again
kawuy at-melang-pu-m katji-wuy nu-y-u-n
again 1sgSC-set alight-Aux-r that-one of burn-r-DAT-CONS
I lit a fire with a big log. It went out again. I set it
alight again and from that time it burnt for a long
time.

The function of the CONS in ex 1 and 2 is to indicate that the
situation described by the clause had some sort of long term consequences.
Thus in ex 1 the CONS indicates that the person went away and stayed
away. In ex 2 it indicates that the fire finally caught and burnt for some
considerable time. This long term consequence meaning of the CONS is
perhaps best illustrated by an example given by my teacher in the
following circumstances. We were about to take a plane flight when she
said that she was somewhat afraid of flying and added;

3. pali-li-nj-u-n
1pl/SNC-fall-r-DAT-CONS
lit. We will fall with long term consequences.
We will fall and be killed.

It is not entirely clear why the CONS in this function occurs suffixed
to the dative. Obviously in ex 3 there is a need to refer to information
beyond that provided in the clause. However in ex 1 it does not seem that
there is any need to refer to any additional information to that provided by
the CONS marked VC. Probably in most cases it would be necessary to refer
to other information to determine the long term consequences of a
situation. Presumably this is why the CONS occurs suffixed to the dative.

If we take this consequential meaning as a point of departure we can
trace the CONS through a chain of meanings covering much the same range
as the simple dative.
a) Consequential/Preconditional.

4. muya wu an-wak-wak:u ka-tja-l pin amala
tucker give Cl-little-DIM NC-eat-irr but Neg
kan-mat-m-i-wu-n   wirinj-ka-ng
POT-keep quiet-Aux-ncPOT-DAT-CONS walk-take-r
atjangki   ka-mat-m-al
maybe NC-keep quiet-Aux-irr

Give the baby some food to eat (when he wakes), but if he does not keep quiet for some time, then take him for a walk. Maybe that will keep him quiet.

b) Co-conditional.

5. arinj-tji-yi mariwak:u-yang katji
1sgS 2sgOC-say-r long ago-OR that
karinj-tji-wu-n kak:wuy
POT1sgS 2sgO-say-DAT-CONS after
karinj-ya-m-i
POT1sgS 2sgO-tell off-Aux-ncPOT

I told you (to do that) ages ago. If I have to tell you again then I might tell you off.

6. pat-nat-tji-yi pat-na-y-u-n
1sgSNC-UO-say-r 1sgSNC-see-r-DAT-CONS
I will tell him when/if I see him.

7. an-tjili pa-mim-pu pat-yatjinj-u-n
BP-gate 2plS-close-Aux 1sgSNC-go r-DAT-CONS
tjili-wutwutmi amala kan-a-wung-i
gate-open Neg POT-2plS-leave-ncPOT

You mob close that gate while I am gone. Don't you mob leave that gate open.

8. amala karinj-na-n an-tjim-u-n
Neg POT1sgS 2sgO-see-irr 2sgS-come-DAT-CONS
I did not see you coming.

9. ampa an-ka-ngi kaking a-yatjinj-u-n
where 2sgS-take-r yesterday 2plS-go r-DAT-CONS
Where is (that plate) you took when you mob went (to Minpulinj) yesterday.

10. amala  kan-tjun-pu-n-u  tjaninj
    Neg  POT-miss-Aux-irr-DAT  kangaroo
    kan-le-n-u-n  wang  kali-tja-l  pin
    POT-shoot-irr-DAT-CONS  meat  POT1plS-eat-irr  but
    amala
    Neg
If you had not missed that kangaroo when you shot at it, we could have eaten meat, but (there is) nothing.

c) Causal.

11. amukuy  wanjlak  pul-yang  pa-pu-tji-nj-u-n
    Okay  now  trouble-OR  3plS-hit-recip-r-DAT-CONS
    wanjlak  a-muk:u  ka-pa-yinj-yinj
    now  Cl-good  NC-3plS-R-be  irr
They are okay now after/from that fight they had. They are good now.

d) Indefinite NPs.

12. an-wak  ampa-wuy  an-nat-tji-yi-wu-n
    Cl-little  where-one of  2sgS-UO-say-r-DAT-CONS
    ka-yinj  ka-manj  ngunj-u-wu
    NC-go  irr  NC-get  irr  2sg-OBL-DAT
Which one of those kids did you tell to go and get it for you?

e) Relative Clauses.

13. nal  katji  arinj-tji-yi-wu-n  ka-tjim-in
    man  that  1sgS  2sgOC-say-r-DAT-CONS  NC-come-irr
That man I told you about is coming up.

5.5.3 Differences Between the Consequential and the Dative.

From the preceding exemplification of the functions of the CONS it may be observed that the CONS frequently does not appear to serve any
particular function that could not be served equally well by the occurrence of a simple dative. In terms of functional coverage, the consequential function is the only area where the CONS definitely has a clear function of its own. However the two do appear to divide the field of adjunction between themselves, though not in a particularly consistent manner.

The CONS occurs with a reasonable degree of frequency on kak:u ~ kak:wuy 'after' when it occurs as a conjunction (see 5.9.3), and on the Negator amala when it functions as a clause level negative.

1. ma-wayi-n lerik-lik kak:u-yu-n wik
   1dlincs-return-IRR camp-LOC after-DAT-CONS rain
   kan-wuli kanma-kutjkutj-tji
   POT-rain POT1dlincs-wet-inch
   Let's go back to camp otherwise it might rain and we might get wet.

2. pip:i ngunj-u-wu an-ka-na-n-u-n
   father 2sg-OBL-DAT 2sgS-NC-see-IRR-DAT-CONS
   an-ka-wu-n kiri pin amala-wu-n pulpul
   2sgS-NC-give-IRR money but Neg-DAT-CONS mother
   ngunj-u-wu an-ka-wu-n
   2sg-OBL-DAT 2sgS-NC-give-IRR
   If you see your father give him that money, but if not, you give it to your mother.

There are no examples of the dative occurring on a conjunction. The CONS shows a strong tendency to occur as the marker on complements of verbs of perception and emotion.

3. amala kan-kanimup-m-al-u antum kan-manj-u-n
   Neg POT-forget-Aux-IRR-DAT bullet POT-get irr-DAT-CONS
   wang kanma-le-n
   animal POT1dlincs-shoot-IRR
   If you had not forgotten to get the bullets, we could have shot something.

However the dative may also occur in this function (see 5.5.1.2 ex 12). The dative is not attested marking the complements of speech verbs. However given that it can mark complements of perception verbs, I would suspect that this fact is merely a gap in the database, not a prohibition.
Adnominally the CONS shows a strong tendency to be used with indefinite NPs. The dative, on the other hand, is strongly favoured with relative clauses. Interclausally the dative is favoured with causals, while it and the CONS occur about equally marking precondition and contemporaneity. Both the CONS and the dative normally occur on VCs, though as we have seen the CONS may occur elsewhere. There are two examples of the dative occurring on a nominal in the adjoined clause.

4. anlungka apulangu-yi katji-wu tja-nj nal
   billabong crocodile-erg that-DAT eat-r man
   That is the billabong where the crocodile ate the man.

5. mariwak:u anpik pa-mayim punji-yang
   long ago string 3pLS-get impf banyon-OR
   pa-poklil-inj wanjlak:-u anpik parak:ut-yang
   3pLS-make string-impf now-DAT string white man-OR
   In the old days they used to get string from banyon trees. They used to rub the fibres on their thighs. Nowadays (they get it) from the whites.

The following table provides a summary of the likelihood of occurrence in various functions for the CONS and the dative.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Function</th>
<th>Dative</th>
<th>Consequential</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Relatives</td>
<td>Usual</td>
<td>Rare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indef NP</td>
<td>Less Common</td>
<td>More Common</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Causals</td>
<td>Usual</td>
<td>Rare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contemp/Precon</td>
<td>Equal</td>
<td>Equal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Complement</td>
<td>Rare</td>
<td>Usual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Consequential</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This distribution of occurrences would not appear to flow from any particular organising principles, and would appear to be largely random.

5.6 Summary of Case Marking.

Case marking in any language is one of the textual cohesion systems. In many languages case marking operates at a constituent level. In Waray this would appear to be true in as far as case marking generally occurs
only once in an NP or clause. However it is not possible in many, if not most, situations how the case marking will be realised. Simple argument clauses show a fairly consistent pattern of case marking, with arguments being case marked on their final member, irrespective of any textual or contextual information which may make this case marking somewhat redundant.

However as the relationships between words in an argument, and between clauses, become more complex, the patterns of case marking diverge considerably from those found in simple clauses. Four factors appear to be operating in these more complex situations. Firstly it is not possible for a case marker to function derivationally (apart from the possible but unlikely exception discussed in 5.3.2.3 ex 2). Secondly with complex arguments it appears that textual and contextual information plays an important input in determining the occurrence of case marking. Case marking of complex arguments shows a considerable amount of variability and this is presumably due in at least some cases to the speaker's assessments of the hearer's knowledge (e.g. 5.3.2.3 ex 3 - 6, and 5.3.2.7 ex 1 - 5). Thirdly Waray shows a tendency to avoid some types of case marked complex argument structures (see 5.3.2.1 ex 9 - 11, and 5.3.2.6). Fourthly each individual type of complex argument does tend to exhibit some consistency of expression. However it is not at all clear what motivates these consistencies. For example there is no obvious reason why complex allatives and ablative should show similarities to one another and yet be totally different from complex locatives.

Thus far case marking appears to be a rather random phenomenon. However it does appear that there are at least two principles underlying the occurrence of case marking.

1. When a word has more than one case relationship, then only one of these relationships may be marked. It appears that textual and contextual factors control which of the possibilities is marked.

2. When a number of words share a common relationship, normally only one of those words is case marked to show the common relationship. When the only relationship between the words is one of modification then the case marker will occur on the final member of the group.

These two principles would explain the prohibition against case
marking both the adnominal and clausal relationships of a word (i.e. quasi-derivational use of case markers), and the variability of case marking found in complex arguments. The first principle would also provide a reasonable explanation for the tendency to avoid complex argument structures. They are avoided because of the potential ambiguities arising from the fact that only one of the existing relationships can be marked.

The second principle would explain the marking pattern found for simple argument sequences of Noun + Adjective and Noun + Demonstrative. The patterns of adjunction marking would also be accounted for by the second principle.

The principles do not provide a complete explanation for the patterns found within particular complex argument relationships, though a combination of the two does go some way towards doing this. Usually the case of the whole argument is only marked once. Either the modifier or head may carry this. The modifier may carry adnominal case marking, if it does not carry the argument case marking.

In addition, given that the database is limited and that some of the variations found in particular complex arguments are attested only once, it seems likely that a larger database would turn up yet further variations with the result that particular complex arguments would show less internal consistency and approach the variability suggested by the first principle. It also seems probable that a larger text corpus would show other factors having a role to play in determining the occurrence of case marking, and would also make the exact role of textual and contextual factors clearer.

5.7 Discourse Structure and Referential Tracking.

5.7.1 Word Order.

While Waray has "free word order" in the commonly used sense that the order of words/constituents does not convey information about argument relationships between nominals and verbs, it is certainly not the case that words appear in a random fashion with no discernable organising principles.

The text material available is unfortunately rather limited, but analysis of what there is does produce consistent results. The texts show quite definite word and constituent ordering preferences for a head - modifier structure for NPs and a theme - rheme pattern of clause organisation. Syntactically discontinuous expressions are rare. These
preferences are confirmed by the elicitation material in matters such as the organisation of NPs and the number of NPs likely in a clause. It appears that these ordering preferences result from the particular systems of discourse cohesion found in Waray. The consistency among the texts and in relevant areas between the texts and elicited material means that there may be a reasonable but not absolute degree of confidence in the analysis presented here. More text material is needed to test the systems of text cohesion proposed and their effect on ordering.

Within the texts there are 105 clauses with some type of nominal arguments. An examination of the clauses revealed the following constituent ordering patterns.

1. Subject NPs precede the predicate.

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SV</td>
<td>VS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SVO</td>
<td>any other permutation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>5</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

2. Object NPs precede the VC if no Subject NP is present.

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>OV</td>
<td>VO</td>
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<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>7</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

3. Peripheral NPs follow Subjects and Objects.

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SP</td>
<td>PS</td>
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<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OP</td>
<td>PO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4. Peripheral NPs precede and follow the VC about equally.

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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>VP</td>
<td>PV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Thus the prevailing constituent orders are;
S (P) V (P)
S V O (P)
O (P) V (P)
(P) V (P)

(normally only one peripheral would occur in a clause)

An examination of NPs in both texts and elicited material reveals that overwhelmingly the members of an NP occur adjacent to one another in a Head - Modifier order. Variations from this pattern are possible, but rare, and as in;

1. wik pupal a-mutek matuk:al at-mi
   water creek Cl-big barramundi 1sgSC-get r
   katji-lik-wuy
   that-LOC-one of
   That is the waterhole where I got the BIG barramundi.
   That is the place.

they would seem to indicate emphasis on the modifier. However more examples would be needed before it could be said that this was always the case with preceding modifiers.

The attested orderings would appear to result from the following factors.

1. The nature of the occurrence of case marking.

   Case marking is a complex phenomenon as the greater part of this chapter demonstrates. However as we saw in 5.6 one generalisation that can be made is that when a number of words share a common relationship, normally only one of those words is case marked to show the common relationship. This means that the constituents of an NP and a clause tend to be kept together.

2. Rarity of complex NPs.

   NPs in Waray rarely have more than two members. If a clause has one NP with two or more members, then the other NPs in that clause, if there are any will nearly always consist of only one word. The combination of this factor with the preceding one means that syntactically discontinuous
expressions are not common.

3. The Theme/Rheme Organisation of Clauses.

It appears that the preferred clause orderings attested and the variations from these orderings can all be viewed as realisations of a basic theme/rheme ordering of constituents. The term theme is being used here in the sense given it by Halliday (1985 p 100) "the point of departure for the (clause as) message." (Theme according to this definition is by no means equivalent to the concept of given information).

It would appear that the common orderings attested reflect the usual choices for themes. Thus if an overt Subject NP is present then it will usually be the theme. If no Subject NP is present, then the Object NP, if present, will be the usual choice for theme. If neither Subject or Object is present, then a peripheral NP will usually be the theme. The variations from these preferences appear to occur when for some reason, usually textual or contextual, another NP is a more suitable departure point for the clause as message.

In Text 1 the initial clause shows a PVS ordering.

2. wang-u pu-k:a-ngi tjukung
   meat-DAT hunt-Aux-r aunt
   lit. It was for meat that (my) aunt went hunting.
   (My) aunt went hunting for meat.

Text 1 is concerned with how Mrs White's aunt found her conception totem (the long neck turtle). In the context that this story was told all the listeners knew that Mrs White's aunt had found her totem, the story is concerned with how she found it. This means that the new information is what the aunt was doing, not that she did something. Therefore the peripheral NP wang-u which is conveying the new information is the most suitable point of departure for the story and is therefore the theme of its clause.

In Text 2 lines 6 and 7 we get an OSV clause.

3. panti ka-pa-pula-n al-tuma-tumaru-yi
   armlet NC-3plS-make-irr F-R-old woman-erg
   The old women make armlets.

Text 2 is concerned with the initiation of males. As such the text
level topic is the young boys and what happens to them. This clause is the first of a sequence which describe things, such as armlets, which are made by the women and put on the boys. This means that the armlets and what is done with them are of primary interest in the story. The fact that they are made by the women is of secondary interest from the perspective of the story. Therefore the armlets, described by an Object NP, are the natural choice for the point of departure of the clause level message.

In Text 11 lines 7 and 8 there is the sequence;

4. anpik mi katji-yang milwik-yi tanj-mi tjatpula rop get r that-OR mussel shell-INS cut-Aux r old man li-nj anpik al-tumaru-yi tanj-mi mikwik-yi fall-r rope F-old woman-erg cut-Aux r mussel shell-INS He grabbed the rope and then (the old woman) cut (the rope) with a mussel shell. The old man fell. The rope, the old woman cut it with a mussel shell.

with an OSVP clause anpik altumaruyi tanjmi milwikyi. This clause is amplifying information given in an earlier clause milwikyi tanjmi. The amplifying clause carries two clarifying pieces of information; that it was the rope that was cut and that it was the old woman who cut it. The rope is chosen as the theme of the amplifying clause over the old woman because it is the most recently mentioned of the two entities.

Therefore there appears to be a reasonable case for saying that constituent order in clauses reflects an underlying order of a theme followed by a rHEME.

Waray, as recorded, shows little of the "afterthought" structures, where what appear to be clause constituents occur after the clause separated by a pause; or hesitation forms which characterise a prefixing language like Nunggubuyu (Heath 1984 pp 612 - 615). However it seems likely that this is chiefly a result of relatively formal elicitation base that most of the material was gathered from. The texts do occasionally show this type of "afterthought" construction. The final section of Text 11 has;

5. amukuy li-nj tjatpula katji awananangku katji li-nj Okay fall-r old man that name that fall-r Okay, he fell, that old man, Awananangku, that one, he fell.
It seems highly likely that conversational Waray used in a Waray speech community would have been characterised by a considerably looser discourse structure with "afterthought" constructions and hesitation forms being much more common.

5.7.2 Discourse Cohesion and Referential Tracking.

The two systems mentioned in the previous section, case marking, which in Waray includes adjunction, and the theme/rheme system are among the systems which contribute to discourse cohesion in Waray. The other two systems which contribute are the pronominal prefix system and the verb stem case frame system. These two systems are discussed in detail in 4.3 and 4.4, and only a resume is provided here.

Briefly verb stems indicate that there are from zero to three roles inherently involved in a predication. These roles are the core arguments. The pronominal prefixes indicate whether the Subject (always a core argument) and the Object (not necessarily a core argument) are 1st, 2nd or 3rd person, and whether they are singular or plural.

Thus if the participants in a discourse are 1st or 2nd person, or either of 3sg or 3pl, then the combination of the prefixes and the case frames will usually be sufficient to give a clear idea of who is doing what to who. However if a discourse has more than one 3sg or 3pl participant then these two systems will not always suffice to track participants.

Owing to the small amount of text material it is not possible to make definitive statements about the nature of the tracking system used in such situations. Nevertheless there is enough material available to make some provisional statements about the tracking systems that appear to be operating. The main tracking system appears to be the marking of switches of Subject, with a nominal describing the new Subject, when the other tracking systems do not suffice to indicate a switch of Subject. Thus a particular Subject is introduced to discourse by a nominal and the VCs following it are assumed to have it as Subject, until another nominal describing a semantically plausible Subject entity appears. This will be taken to indicate a switch of Subject.

A good example of this system at work occurs at the start of Text 11. This Text is chiefly concerned with the doings of two 3sg participants, an old woman and an old man, and it starts out;

1. al-tumaru yunguy-inj pu-k:a-n-inj muya
   F-old woman go-impf hunt-aux-irr-impf tucker
tjatpula-yi kuntiyi-n-inj an-wak mamam a-kala-wu
old man-erg play-irr-impf Cl-little daughter NF-3sg-DAT
The old woman used to go out hunting for tucker. The old man used to play around with his young daughter (while the old woman was gone).

Here one participant is introduced and is the Subject for the two following VCs. When the Subject changes to the old man, this is indicated by the appearance of the nominal tjatpulayi. However not all Subject switches are marked by the appearance of nominals describing the new Subject. Further along in Text 11 at line 6, there is the sequence;

2. wu-yi anpik nat-laki-nj
   climb-r rope UO-drop-r
   He climbed up the rope that (the old woman) had dropped to him.

Here there is a Subject switch from the old man to the old woman, but it is not marked by a new Subject nominal. However in this case, it would appear reasonable to assume that two factors, the semantics of the verb stems, and the preceding text play an important role. Obviously it is difficult for the one entity to both drop down and climb up a rope. Therefore in any normal circumstances these two VCs must be assumed to have different Subjects. The text is concerned with an old man and an old woman, and in the clauses immediately preceding this sequence it deals with the activities of the old man. Therefore a hearer would assume that the new Subject must in this case be the old woman.

An example similar in nature, but relying on the semantics of the participants occurs in Text 1 at lines 1 - 3;

3. na-y kuwaley tjetpam-lik na-y minjipitpit:u yu-yinj
   see-r turtle grass-LOC see-r water snake lie-impf
   letpal kuwaley-lik litawi-lik lura-m-inj
close turtle-LOC Beatrice Hill-LOC bring back-Aux-r
lerik-lik ngulak
camp-LOC this place here
She saw a turtle in the grass. She also saw a water snake lying close to the turtle. (This was) at Beatrice Hill. She brought (the turtle) back to camp, to this place here.
The switch of Subject between the two VCs yuyinj and luraminj is unmarked. However given our knowledge that only one of the participants is human, while the others are lower animates, it is obviously the human who would do the bringing back.

Both of the preceding two examples rely partly on semantics and partly on information provided in the preceding text. An example of unmarked Subject switch which appears to rely purely on social context is found at the start of Text 2. Text 2 is initially concerned with the doings of two groups of 3pl participants, the old men and the young boys in an initiation ceremony.

4. lulak-lik pun-ka-manj tjatpula-yi pun-ka-ngiw-al
   shade-LOC 3pIO-NC-get irr old man-erg 3pIO-NC-put in-irr
   tjutjuk ka-pa-ni amala kan-pa-ngal-ni-nj
   law NC-3pIS-stay Neg POT-3pIS-come out-Aux-ncPOT
   ka-pa-tjipinj-pu-n
   NC-3pIS-stay ages-Aux-irr
   (The old men) grabbed (the young boys and put them)
   in a shelter. The old men put them through the law.
   (The boys) have to stay (in the shelter). They cannot
   come out. They have to stay (there) for ages.

Here the Subject switch between punkangiwal and kapani is unmarked. The operative factor is presumably that in an Aboriginal community it is general social knowledge, presumed known to all hearers, that it is the boys, not the men, who stay in shelters and who cannot come out during initiation ceremonies.

In summary it would appear reasonable to say that Waray marks Subject switches to the extent that they are not recoverable from the context of the switch. This context includes the linguistic context; semantics of the verb stems and/or participants, information provided by the preceding text; and the non-linguistic context; the physical/temporal/cultural context of the utterance. Recoverability is a fairly fluid notion depending as it does on the speaker's assumptions as to the hearer's state of knowledge.

5.7.3 NP and Clause Boundaries.

In Waray, NP and clause boundaries are fuzzy. There is no single criterion or set of criteria which will serve to determine whether a word,
or group of words is inside or outside an NP or a clause in all cases. The criteria which are normally used to determine NP and clause boundaries are:

1. word order
2. case-marking
3. intonation units

While each of these shows some correlation with putative NP or clause boundaries, none of them show an absolute correlation.

As was discussed in 5.7.1 Waray does show some fairly definite word ordering preferences. NPs nearly always occur in a head modifier order. However there are examples where they do not.

1. wanjlak angilak pat-put-nay-na-y
   today over here 1sgSNC-1sgS 3plO-R-see-r
   a-kupam-u pontalpontal
   Cl-lots-OBL magpie
   Right now I am looking at LOTS of magpies.

2. mimi ka-wayi-n ngunj-u-wu manma-yatjinj
   uncle NC-return-irr 2sg-OBL-DAT 1dlincSNC-go r
   When your uncle gets back, we will go.

In ex 1 the modifier precedes the head. It seems likely that this may indicate emphasis on the modifier, as the translation in capitals suggests, but this is an unproven hypothesis. In ex 2 what is normally viewed as the head and the modifier in an NP are separated by a VC. It is a moot point whether or not these two words mimi and ngunjuwu do in fact constitute one NP, or two. This is a question which word order is incapable of resolving. Therefore we cannot use word order as a sufficient criterion for establishing NPs.

Given that word/constituent order is not a sufficient criterion for NPs the next most likely candidate for such a criterion would be case marking. In many languages NPs may be defined as consisting of a head nominal and its modifiers, with either all the words in the NP being case marked, or with all the words occurring contiguously and case marking occurring once, usually on the final element. Waray does show something like this pattern with NPs consisting of a noun and an adjective or demonstrative modifier (see 5.3.1). These NPs exhibit the following
pattern;

Head + Modifier-Case Marker

though an exception does occur;

3. wang-yi kannagak pan-pi-nj
   *animal-erg bull ant 1sgO-bite-r*
   The bull ant bit me.

However "NP"s with genitive, comitative or relative clause modifiers show a great deal of variation in case marking. For example NPs "to the place X with the characteristic Y" may have the following case marking patterns (see 5.3.2.3).

   a) Head-LOC                    Modifier-LOC
   b) Head                        Modifier-COM
   c) Head                        Modifier-LOC
   d) Head-LOC                    Modifier-COM

whereas NPs "to X's place" (see 5.3.2.2) consistently exhibit the pattern;

   Modifier-LOC                    Head

From the point of view of determining boundaries, case marking provides no guide as to whether structures such as a) preceding are one NP with case marking occurring twice, or two NPs bearing the same relationship to the VC.

Word order and case marking are also of no use in establishing clause boundaries. Once a clause is established, then it appears that we can say that the words will occur in a theme/rheme order, and we can make some relatively general statements about how the arguments will be case marked. However neither of these factors will tell us whether to assign a nominal to one clause or another. Intonation units are the only things which would seem a suitable criterion for this purpose. However there are considerable problems in applying this criterion in Waray. Thus in Text 11 lines 11 and 12 there is a sequence in which each word is an intonation unit;
4. lə-m pikiring-u tjipak lura-m-inj
   spear-r 3pl-DAT fish bring back-Aux-r
   He speared the fish and brought it back for them.

The translation is merely the most felicitous in English. It does not make any claims that tjipak 'fish', for example, is in a clause with ləm, as opposed to lura-minj. At the opposite pole, there is line 1 in the same text:

5. a'l-tumaru yunguy-inj pu-k:a-n-inj muya
   F-old woman go-impf hunt-Aux-irr-impf tucker
   The old woman used to go out hunting for tucker.

containing two VCs, which is one intonation unit. Therefore intonation units clearly do not show a one to one relationship with any putative idea of a clause. It seems likely that intonation units in fact define units of information (see Halliday 1967 p200ff). It seems reasonable to assume that information units often tend to coincide with putative clauses, but there is no necessity that they should do so.

Given that there are considerable problems in determining exactly what constitutes an NP and a clause, it would seem necessary to provide a brief explanation as to why the terms are still used in this grammar. While it is difficult, and probably impossible to formally define these two concepts in Waray, the central semantic/functional categories that they are based on exist in Waray as in all the languages of the world.

Entities are still described with a head nominal and its modifiers (the terms head and modifier are used here in a purely semantic sense). These entities still bear argument relationships in situations described by VCs. Situations described by VCs and associated NPs still inter-relate with one another in various ways. The labels NP and clause are the obvious choices for describing these semantic/functional categories, even if they do not correspond exactly with the NPs and clauses found in other languages. There is, however, naturally a high degree of correlation between these semantically defined NPs and clauses and formally defined NPs and clauses.

Furthermore while at the edges NPs and clauses become fuzzy and imprecise, there does appear to be a reasonably well defined core in each case. For NPs this core is the Head + Modifier-Case Marker structure found with adjective and demonstrative modifiers. For clauses the core is intonation units consisting of a VC and its associated NP arguments. This
concept of fuzzy NPs and clauses is described in much greater detail for Nunggubuyu by Heath (see Heath 1984 chapter 15).

Also while case marking cannot be used to precisely define NPs or clauses, it does as we remarked tend to occur only once in each NP or clause. Therefore case marking does show a correlation with notional NP and clause units and it is necessary to have some terms to describe the notional units that case marking does have this correlation with.

Therefore the terms NP and clause are useful, if somewhat imprecise, descriptions of significant grammatical phenomena in Waray.

5.8 Predication Classes.

There are two major classes of predications. One class consists of those predications which may be verbless (hereafter called Class 1 predications). The other class consists of those predications which must have a VC (hereafter called Class 2 predications).

The first class may be divided into four subclasses;

1. Existential - Predications which assert the existence of an entity in a place.

2. Equational - Predications which equate the referent of one NP with the referent of another NP.

3. Ascriptive - Predications which ascribe a property to an entity.

4. Possessive - Predications which indicate that there is a relationship of possession or kinship between two entities.

(The definitions of 2-4 follow from Lyons 1976 pp 471 - 473)

5.8.1 Existentials.

Existentials normally consist of an NP describing the entity in question, an NP describing a location and the appropriate positional verb. In most cases one of the three stance verbs, *yu-ng* 'to lie', *kulu-tj-ang* 'to stand' or *ni* 'to sit' is used.

1. **anapa** tan **kulu-tj-i-tjinj**

   *there tree sp stand-Aux-irr-impf*
lit. A tan tree used to stand there. There used to be a tan tree there.

2. pulak ka-ni-ni tjætpam-lik
    wallaby NC-R-sit grass-LOC
    lit. A wallaby is sitting in the grass. There is a wallaby in the grass.

3. kiri a-kupam ka-yu-yu ankimitj-lik
    rock Cl-lots NC-R-lie hill-LOC
    lit. Lots of rocks are lying on the hill. There are lots of rocks on the hill.

However as;

4. lipe a-kupam muya ka-wunj-wu-nj
    fig Cl-lots fruit NC-R-hang-irr
    lit. Lots of fruit is hanging on the figtree. There is lots of fruit on the figtree.

shows, if another positional verb is appropriate it will be used. While existentials normally occur with a VC, they may occur without;

5. anlungka a-kupam ngulak
    billabong Cl-lots this place here
    There are lots of billabongs around here.

The appropriate verb in this case would probably be yu-ng 'to lie'. As the alternative translations of 1 - 4 show there is no distinction in Waray between a 'there is' clause and a corresponding simple locational predication. Normally existentials are described with perfectly ordinary verbal clauses taking the appropriate positional verb. Rather than treating ex 5 as a belonging to a separate grammatical subclass, it is probably better to regard it as falling within the class of acceptable clause partials, because only one VC will fit in the missing VC slot.

Distinct from the existentials so far discussed is a small subclass of existential predications with the verb kutj-m-al 'to be lots of X'. This verb is purely existential in meaning (i.e. it has no locational meaning component) and asserts that there is a lot of whatever its Subject is.
6. pamngul kutj-m-inj
   cloud be lots-Aux-r
   There are lots of clouds.

7. yumpal an-wak-wak:u kutj-m-inj
   tree Cl-little-DIM be lots-Aux-r
   There are lots of little trees.

*Kutj-m-al* predications fall within Class 2 as the VC is obligatory. *Kutj-m-al* predications are rare, with existentials such as ex 3 and 4 being the more usual way of stating 'Lots of X exists'.

5.8.2 Equationals and Ascriptives.

These two subclasses behave in fairly similar ways, but they are distinct in that equationals require two NPs whereas ascriptives do not. They both show some similarity to existentials as they may occur with the three stance verbs.

1. an-tjili wutwutmi kulu-tj-i-tjinj kaking amala
   BP-mouth open stand-Aux-irr-impf yesterday Neg
   kan-pa-mim-pu-n
   POT-3pIS-close-Aux-irr
   The gate stood/was open all day yesterday. They did
   not shut it. (ascriptive)

2. njek a-muk:u pat-ni-ni-winj
   1sg Cl-good 1sgSNC-RED-sit-r
   I am/sit well. (ascriptive)

3. tjaninj  li-mi-lik amungal lulutjun
   kangaroo jump-Aux r-LOC Adelaide River place name
   an-nji  ka-kulu-tj-i
   BP-name NC-stand-Aux-irr
   Adelaide River, that is where the kangaroo jumped
   (over the river). Lulutjun is/stands its name.
   (equational)
   (This is a reference to the dreaming trail described in Text 6.
   The kangaroo jumped from Lulutjun hill across the river at
   Amungal - Adelaide River town)
In ex 1 and 2 the use of the stance verb is literal. In 3 it is figurative. Names are treated as body parts in Waray (see 3.2.1.1 and 4.1.2). In this case the name belongs to a hill, and hills are described with kulu-tj-ang 'to stand'. Therefore the name figuratively also stands.

However equationals and ascriptives differ significantly from the existentials in that the verb most commonly found with them is the copula yang 'to be'. This verb yang is formally the same as yang 'to go', and is undoubtedly historically derived from yang 'to go'. However given the significant difference in meaning between 'to be' and 'to go' they should be treated as two separate verbs. There are also differences in verbal marking which justify treating yang 'to be' as a separate verb (see 5.2.4). Yang 'to be' is the unmarked choice for VC with equationals and ascriptives. It is used when the stance of the entity is unknown, and most of the time when it is known (i.e. even if the stance is known, yang 'to be' is more common than the appropriate stance verb).

4. nal at-yunguy-inj wang tjaninj pulak
   man 1sgSC-be-impf animal kangaroo wallaby
   at-le-n-inj
   1sgSC-spear-irr-impf
   (When) I was a (young) man I used to spear (lots of) kangaroos and wallabies.

Equationals and ascriptives may occur without a VC.

5. eping a-wulkan ngunj-u-wu
   who M-sibling 2sg-OBL-DAT
   Which one is your brother? (equational)

6. an-nji njek:-u-wu anpampamla
   BP-name 1sg-OBL-DAT name
   My name is Anpampamla. (equational)

7. wang pikiring-u
   meat 3pl-DAT
   The meat is theirs. (ascriptive)

Equationals normally occur without a VC. Ascriptives, other than the type shown in ex 7 involving a possessive ascription, normally have a VC. It is not clear what, if any, factors control the appearance of VCs in these
equational and ascriptive predications. A comparison of examples 3, which has a VC, and 6, which does not, but which both describe essentially the same thing would suggest that any division if it exists must be essentially a difference in presentation of a state of affairs, not a clearcut difference in real world states. It is quite possible that the verbless clauses are simply acceptable clause partials, with the copula or an appropriate stance verb being understood.

An ascriptive predication may consist solely of an adjective and the copula *yang* 'to be'.

7. a-pinjku      ka-yinj-yinj  
   *Cl-left-handed  NC-R-be irr*  
   He/she is left-handed.

5.8.3 Possessives.

The verb which occurs with possessives is the copula *ka-ngi* 'to have'. Like *yang* 'to be/to go', it is formally the same as *ka-ngi* 'to take' and also is presumably derived historically from *ka-ngi* 'to take'. However there are three reasons for separating *ka-ngi* 'to have' from *ka-ngi* 'to take'. Firstly there is the difference in meaning. Secondly there are the differences in verbal marking discussed in the following section on the copulas. Thirdly *ka-ngi* 'to have' shows a difference in verbal marking, not only for the factors considered in 5.8.4, but also a difference in behaviour with Object prefixes. *Ka-ngi* 'to take' always takes the Object prefixes in the appropriate circumstances, whereas *ka-ngi* 'to have' normally fails to do so. There are one or two isolated examples where it does do so;

1. kerangantjerinj amala keranglul-nanak  
   *three  Neg  two-only*  
   pat-put-ka-ka-ngi  
   1sgSNC-1sgS 3pio-RED-have-r  
   I do not (have) three (children). I only have two.

Usually the Object prefixes are absent where they would occur with any other VC.

2. njek al-wulkan yik:iring-u kerangantjerinj  
   pali-ka-ngi-lul  
   1sg  F-sibling 1plexc-DAT three 1plSNC-have-r-pair
(My) sister and I, we have three (other) sisters.

Possessives normally occur with the copula,

3. wang at-ka-n-inj ngiri tja-nj njek:-u-wu
   meat 1sgSC-have-irr-impf dog eat-r 1sg-OBL-DAT
   I had some meat. The dog ate it. It was mine.

but they can occur without it.

4. njek wik amala
   1sg water Neg
   I have no water.

5.8.4 The Copulas

The copulas show two differences in verbal marking from other verb stems. Firstly both the copulas are stative in meaning, yet they take the NC prefixes when they have present time reference, as active verbs do. All other statives take the C prefixes (see 4.3.1.3). Secondly where the two categories are overtly differentiated, the copulas nearly always take verb forms which are formally imperfective, where with other verbs the perfective would be expected. In ex 3 in the preceding section we have the verb at-ka-n-inj 'I had'. This is a Complete Imperfective verb form; with other verbs we would expect a Complete Perfective form, in this case at-ka-ngi. Similarly we have

1. njek al-mutek-wak:u at-yunguy-inj pul
   1sg F-big-DIM 1sgSC-be-impf trouble
   pa-tjim-u-n pa-pu-tji-nj
   3plS-come-DAT-CONS 3plS-hit-recip-r
   I was adolescent when the war came.

A Cl verb form at-yunguy-inj 'I was', where normally one would expect a perfective form, in this case at-yatjinj. In the present tense the copulas both take the reduplicated forms which mark present progressive/habitual (where this is formally possible; see 4.5). There is one example of ka-ngi to have taking a perfective verb form.
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2. ngunj an-ka-ngi keranglul an-tjerinj wuli-yi-nj
   2sg 2sgS-have-r two Cl-one finish-refl-r
   You, you had two (daughters), but one passed away.

However elsewhere they are formally marked as if they were
imperfective forms of an active verb. This is undoubtedly their historical
origin. One of the major subcategories of the imperfective is the habitual.
The habitual forms of yang 'to go', and ka-ngi 'to take' closely approach
stativity. The genesis of the copulas has been the reanalysis of these
active habitual forms as statives. They still maintain the formal marking
of their origin, but synchronically semantically belong to the quite
different stative verb class. This lack of congruence between form and
function which is found only with these two copulas is an excellent ground
for separating yang 'to be' from yang 'to go', and ka-ngi 'to have' from
ka-ngi 'to take'.

5.9 Sentences.

5.9.1 Topic and Focus.

Many languages have a sentence level topic construction whereby an
NP occurs sentence initially and is set off from the rest of the sentence by
a pause. From the data available it does not appear that Waray has a
system like this for bringing words into prominence. Rather it has a suffix
-ngan (-an after nasals) which would appear to be better described as a
focus marker. The following examples demonstrate the use of this suffix.

1. wetji: ngulak pat-yu-ng ngunj-u-lik
   grandmother this place here 1sgSNC-sleep-r 2sg-OBL-LOC
   ana-a-kupam pip:i-lik-ngan
   there-CI-lots father-LOC-FOC
   Grandmother, I will sleep here next to you. There are
too many there at father's (camp).

2. an-ngupe a-muk:u wanjlak-ngan
   BP-foot CI-good today-FOC
   Is your foot better today?

3. ngiri ka-wa-wa-m-al pitj-pu-m wang katji yatjinj
   dog NC-R-bark-Aux-irr remain-Aux-r animal that go r
The dogs kept on barking even after the bullocks had gone. (They had gone) those bullocks.

In the old days we used to make yamsticks to poke around for turtles, nowadays we poke around with crowbars.

Look! There are three kangaroos there.

I was standing where the dogs were fighting. For me, it was a good thing that they did not bite me.

They call me aunt, me!

The differences between -ngan marking and what are usually called topics are (see Foley & Van Valin 1984 pp 124 - 134 for a discussion of topics);

1. Peripheral NPs are proto-typical topics and core argument topics usually have some form of special marking. In Waray it does not appear that there is any reason to distinguish between core and peripheral -ngan marked NPs.

2. Topics usually occur sentence initially. It may be observed
that in ex 1, 2, 3 and 7 the -ngan marked word is final.

3. Related to both of the preceding characteristics, the proto-typical function of topics is to set a domain for the rest of the sentence. Clearly apart from ex 3 and 4, the -ngan marked words do not perform this function.

Therefore -ngan is not a topic marker. Rather it appears to indicate that the word it marks should be raised in prominence in the hearer’s mind. In some cases a word is raised in prominence for the same reasons it would be topicalised in another language. In examples 2 and 4 the temporal wanjilak-ngan 'nowadays/today' is raised to prominence because it is contrastive. In many languages such a contrastive temporal would be topicalised. Therefore there is an overlap between -ngan marking and topic constructions, but the two are not equivalent.

The Waray -ngan Focus suffix appears somewhat similar to the -bayi focus suffix described for Mangarayi by Merlan (Merlan 1982 pp 47 - 49).

5.9.2 Conditionals.

Conditionals consist of a protasis (the "if" clause) and an apodosis (the "then" clause). Past conditionals are counterfactual and future conditionals are hypothetical. We have already discussed conditionals in the sections on the Potential prefixes (4.3.1.2), and in 5.5.1.2 on adjunction. In 5.5.1.2 we saw that the protasis is frequently marked with an adjunction marker to show that it is a precondition to the occurrence of the apodosis. In 4.3.1.2 we saw that counterfactual conditionals are marked with POT verb prefixes, as this is the prefix class used to mark counterfactuality (for examples of counterfactual conditionals see 5.5.2 ex 10, and 5.5.3 ex 3). Both the POT and the NC prefixes may be used to mark the protasis in hypothetical conditionals. A POT protasis appears to indicate a lower likelihood of occurrence than an NC protasis (see 4.3.1.2 ex 17 - 20). The choice of a POT vs an NC protasis is very much under the speaker’s control and represents their assessment of potentialities only. As such it is influenced by many factors, one of which is the speaker's view of the desirability of a particular occurrence.

1. ngulak          pali-ni-winj      ka-pa-tjim-in-u
      this place here        1plSNC-stay-r         NC-3plS-come-irr-DAT
pali-pun-na-y kali-yang-u-n amala 1plSNC-3plO-see-r POT1plS-go ncPOT-DAT-CONS Neg kali-pun-na POT1plS-3plO-see

If we stay here, we will see them when they come. If we go, we will not see them.

In this example the protasis of the first desirable conditional is in the NC pali-ni-winj, whereas the protasis of the second less desirable conditional is in the POT kali-yang-u-n.

5.9.3 Evitatives.

Evitatives consist of two clauses joined by the conjunction kak:u ~ kak:wuy. The core meaning of kak:u ~ kak:wuy is 'after' (see 3.13), but when it occurs in evitative sentences it carries an implication of undesirability and is best translated as 'lest, otherwise, or else'.

1. i-watj-yinj kak:u kan-pa-wayi 1plS-hurry-go irr after POT-3plS-return
Let's hurry up and go, or else they might come back.

2. wang wu kak:wuy karinj-pu meat give after POT1sgS 2sgO-hit
Hand over that meat, or else I might hit you.

While kak:u ~ kak:wuy can occur unmarked in this evitative function, as ex 1 and 2 demonstrate, normally an irregular CONS form kak:u-yu-n occurs.


lit. If you touch that lumpal tree, it is no good, you might get scratched and you might get itchy and it might make you sore.
Do not touch that lumpal tree, it is no good, or else
you might get scratched and you might get itchy and it might make you sore.

4. yang na kak:u-yu-n wik kan-pi a-kupam
   go imp see after-DAT-CONS booze POT-drink CI-lots
   lit. Go and see him (now), or else he might drink too much.
   Go and see him before he drinks too much.

We should note the high frequency of POT VCs describing undesirable situations in these examples.

5.9.4 "Before" and "After" Sentences.

In Waray 'X before/afterwards Y' where Y is undesirable is expressed with an evitative structure as in ex 4 in the preceding section. If Y is not undesirable, then the usual way of translating 'before/afterwards' is with the suffix -minj. -Minj means 'first' rather than 'before/afterwards', so the Waray is actually 'X happened first and then Y'. -Minj is a nominal suffix and attaches to one of the nominals, usually the Subject, in the clause describing the prior event. While -minj means 'first', occasionally 'before' is a more felicitous translation.

1. at-kut-tj-ang njek-minj amala
   1sgSC-get up-Aux-r 1sg-first Neg
   kan-par-m-al-u
   POT-become light-Aux-irr-DAT
   lit. I got up first. It was not light (then).
   I got up before it was light.

On other occasions only 'first' is possible as a translation.

2. mimi a-kala-minj yatjinj pelam na-y
   uncle NF-3sg-first go r snake see-r
   Uncle, he was the first one to go up and look at the snake.

An example of -minj on a nominal other than the Subject is;
3. perima-minj i-yatjinj katji-yang putawan i-yatjinj
   Berrimah-first 1plISc-go r that-OR Darwin 1plISc-go r
   We went to Berrimah first and then we went to Darwin.

While using -minj is the normal way of describing event sequences, the temporals yitjmi 'before' (see 3.13 ex 18), kak:u ~ kak:wuy 'after' and the Origin marked locational yungay-yang 'from the front' (see 3.8.3.2 ex 2) are also rarely used to indicate the temporal sequence of events.

5.9.5 Antjalmi : In Turn.

   The precise interpretation of this particle depends on context.

1. njek antjalmi pat-tanj-mi wangi
   1sg in turn 1sgSNC-cut-Aux r meat
   It is my turn to cut the meat.

2. pu-m kuruwak-yi kaking
   hit-r name-erg yesterday
   David hit him yesterday.

   antjalmi a-kala-yi pu-m kuruwak
   in turn NF-3sg-erg hit-r name
   In return he hit David.

3. kak:wuy pat-wu-y antjalmi
   after 1sgSNC-give-r in turn
   lit. After I will give him in return.
   Later I will pay him back.

4. mutaka ka-yinj-yinj kenganawu antjalmi an-kipe-pa
   car NC-R-go irr over there in turn BP-back-perl
   lit. The car over there is going in return, by the back.
   The car over there is going backwards.

5.9.6 Pin : But.

   The Waray particle pin appears to be equivalent in meaning to English 'but'.

1. kunj kaking arinj-na-y tjukung pin eping
   M.O. yesterday 1sgS 2sgOC-see-r aunt but who
   at-na-y atjangki an-tjerinjpa
   1sgSC-see-r maybe CI-other
   lit.I thought I saw you yesterday, aunt, but I saw an unknown person. It must have been another.
   I thought I saw you yesterday, aunt, but it must have been someone else that I saw.

5.9.7 Katji-yang.

Katji-yang is probably the most commonly occurring conjunction in Waray. It is the Origin form of the demonstrative pronoun katji 'that'. It covers the range of the English conjunctions 'then, therefore, so and thus'.

1. tjim litawi-lik tjul-tj-ang katji-yang
   come Beatrice Hill-LOC go down-Aux-r that-OR
tiri-tjim punji angilak
crawl-come banyon over here
   She came to Beatrice Hill and went down and then she came crawling to this banyon tree over here. (Text 7 lines 2 and 3)

2. tjatpula-yi kuntiyi-n-inj an-wak mamam a-kala-wu
   old man-erg play-irr-impf CI-little daughter NF-3sg-DAT
   katji-yang al-tumaru pul-m-inj
   that-OR F-old woman angry-Aux-r
   The old man played around with his own little daughter, and then/therefore/thus/so the old woman got angry. (Text 11 lines 1 - 3)

3. anpik mi katji-yang milwik-yi tanj-mi
   rope get r that-OR mussel shell-INS cut-Aux r
   (The old man) grabbed the rope (and started to climb) and then (the old woman) cut it with a mussel shell.
   (Text 11 lines 7 and 8)

5.10 Particles and Affixes Expressing Attitudes to, or Knowledge of Predications.
a) Kul- : Speaker's Opinion.

This is a nominal prefix which indicates that the clause represents the speaker's opinion.

4. kul-njipa
   S.O.-that way
   I think it is that way.

5. ampa-ampa pun-ka-kan-ka-n kul-a-kupam
   R-where 3plO-NC-R-have-irr S.O.-Cl-lots
   How many have you got? I think it is too many.

6. an-lura-m-inj kul-amala an-muy-inj
   2sgS-bring back-Aux-r S.O.-Neg 2sgS-lose-r
   Did you bring it back? I think not. You have lost it.

7. kul-nginjang katji ka-yu-yu
   S.O.-what that NC-R-lie
   lit. I think unknown lying (there)
   I do not know what that is.

The particles kunj 'Mistaken Opinion' and kwok 'Don't know' which cover the rest of the range of opinions about a predication can also refer to the Subject as well as the Speaker. Kul- is not so attested, but this may be a gap in the data, rather than a prohibition.

b) Kunj : Mistaken Opinion.

This particle indicates that the Speaker, as unmarked choice, or the Subject was mistakenly of the opinion that the predication was or would become true. Kunj is usually translatable by either of 'X believed' or 'X thought'.

8. kunj wanjlak pali-yatjinj i-tji-yi pin amala atjangki
   M.O. today 1plSNC-go r 1plSC-say-r but Neg maybe
   lariwutjerinjpaj pali-yatjinj
   a few days 1plSNC-go r
   I thought/believed we said we were going today, but no, maybe we will go in a few days.
However there are cases where only one or the other will do.

9. yatjinj tjap-lik amala kunj kan-na-n yatjinj-pwuy
go r road-LOC Neg M.O. POT-see-irr go r-perf
He went out onto the road. He did not think/*believe
to look. He went out onto it.

10. kunj putawan pat-yatjinj an-tji-yi pin pan-yak-wu-y
M.O. Darwin 1sgSNC-go r 2sgS-say-r but 1sgO-lie-Aux-r
amungal an-yatjinj
Adelaide River 2sgS-go r
I believed/*thought you when you said you were going
to Darwin, but you lied to me. You went to Adelaide
River.

In some cases kunj has simply to be translated as 'mistakenly'.

11. wek kunj kat-tirim-pu-n pin amala a-kutjkutj
firewood M.O. POT1sgS-light-Aux-irr but Neg Cl-wet
amala kan-nu
Neg POT-burn
I was mistakenly trying to light a fire, but no, (the
wood) was wet. It will not burn.

In this example kunj appears to indicate that the Speaker was
mistakenly of the opinion that the wood could be lit.

c) Kwok : Don't know.

This particle indicates that the speaker, as the unmarked choice, or
the Subject cannot attest to the truth of a whole or a part of the
predication.

12. at-na-y wanjlak angilak kwok ampa-lik
1sgSC-see-r today round here Don't know where-LOC
pa-ka-ngi
3plS-take-r
I saw it round here today, I don't know whereabouts
they took it.
13. al-kala mutjla amala kan-na-n ampala kwok yatjnj
   F-3sg too Neg POT-see-r where Don't know go r
   Her too, she has not seen him. She does not know
   where he has gone.

   Apart from this 'Don't know' function kwok is also used extensively
   as an exclamation, in the same way that 'I don't know' is used in Australian
   English.

14. kwok pat-ni-winj an-wak:-u kak:wuy
   Don't know 1sgSNC-sit-r CI-little-OBL after
   manma-yatjnj
   1dlincSNC-go r
   I don't know! I will sit a little while and later we
   will go on.

15. kwok pa-mayim langwalak:u-yang puk:u-lik
   Don't know 3plS-get impf ironwood-OR spear-LOC
   pa-kut-m-al-anj
   3plS-put-Aux-irr-impf
   I don't know! They used to get (wax) from ironwood
   roots and put it on spears.

d) Atjangki : must be, maybe and -wa : could be.

   These two morphemes allow the speaker to express uncertainty as to
   the truth of the predication. Atjangki covers the range from high to
   neutral likelihood, and as such is the equivalent of both 'must be' and
   'maybe'. -Wa covers the area of low certainty and as such is the equivalent
   of 'could be'.

16. tjatuk nginjang anapa
    bird what there
    What is that bird there?

    atjangki punpin
    maybe bird sp
    It must be/Maybe it is, a punpin.
atjangki kuyal-wa
maybe jabiru-could be
Maybe it could be a jabiru.

As the second response in ex 16 shows atjangki and -wa are not mutually exclusive.

e) Kuttjari : Approval.

This particle indicates that the speaker approves of the state of affairs described by the predication. In Aboriginal English it is translated as 'good job!':

17. ngiri pa-pu-tji-nj at-kulu-tj-i-tjinj njek-ngan
dog 3PLS-hit-recip-r 1sgSC-stand-Aux-irr-imperf 1sg-FOC
kuttjari amala kan-pan-pe
approval Neg POT-1sgO-bite irr
The dogs were fighting where I was standing. For me, it was a good thing they did not bite me.

f) Yuyu : Leave it!.

This particle indicates that the speaker wishes something or someone left as or where they are, normally because the speaker regards contact as undesirable.

18. a-waru yuyu at-puwik-m-inj
Cl-bad leave him 1sgSC-dislike-Aux-r
He is bad. I do not want anything to do with him. I dislike him.

19. an-lal-u yuyu an-walak-:-u pan-wu pat-pi-ng
Cl-cold-obl leave it Cl-hot-obl 1sgO-give 1sgSNC-drink-r
Leave that cold one, give me that hot one to drink.

20. wung-a amala kan-may yuyu
leave-imper Perf POT-get NC-POT leave it
Leave it. Do not touch it. Leave it!

Example 20 contains both wung-a 'leave it', the imperative form of
the verb wung-al 'to leave X', which is neutral in connotation, and yuyu, which as we have said is normally negative in connotation. However in some examples this negative connotation is at a very low level.

21. lalinj wek-lik kan-ngum-pu-n yuyu lariwu
   goanna fire-LOC POT-cook-Aux-irr leave it tomorrow
   manma-ngum-pu-m
   1dlinSNC-cook-Aux-r
   He was going to cook the goanna in the fire, (but I told him) Leave it! and that tomorrow we would cook it.

The negative connotation here is that it is undesirable to cook the goanna today and that it should be saved for tomorrow.

g) Yu : Yes.

This particle appears to be exactly equivalent to English 'yes'.

h) Katjak:u : True.

This nominal means 'true/truth'. It can however be used as an emphatic form of yu 'yes'. Like yu it may be used to either give or seek assent.

i) Yak:ay

This is an exclamation which indicates that the speaker is in the grip of a strong emotion, normally surprise, but possibly distress or anger. It is used by Aboriginal people from the Darwin area speaking a number of different languages.
APPENDIX 1 - TEXTS

This is a collection of brief ethnographic texts, told by Mrs White, which describe aspects of traditional life and recount certain dreamtime events. The texts are punctuated so that readers may more easily relate the Waray to the English translation equivalent. The punctuation in the texts does not relate to Waray intonation units.
Mamulpak: Conception Totems (Text 1).

1. wang-u pu-k:a-ngi tjukung. na-y kuwaley tjepam-lik. na-y 
   meat-DAT hunt-Aux-r aunt see-r turtle sp grass-LOC see-r
2. minjpitpit:u. yu-yinj letpal kuwaley-lik, litawi-lik.
   snake sp lie-impf close turtle sp-LOC Beatrice Hill-LOC
3. lura-m-inj lerik-lik, ngulak. a-kupam-u pa-tja-nj.
   bring back-Aux-r camp-LOC this place here CI-lots-OBL 3plS-eat-r
4. pa-kik-m-al-anj. pul pulpul njek:-u-wu kik-m-al-anj.
   3plS-vomit-Aux-irr-impf mother 1sg-OBL-DAT vomit-Aux-irr-impf
5. amukuy pul pulpul laki-nj. katji tjukung-yang mi mamulpak
   Okay sick toss-r that aunt-OR get r totem
6. njek:-u-wu.
   1sg-OBL-DAT

(My) aunt went out hunting for meat. She saw a turtle in the grass. 
She saw a water snake lying close to the turtle. (This was) at Beatrice 
Hill. She brought the turtle back to camp, to this place here (Humpty Doo). 
Everybody ate (the turtle) and they all vomited (afterwards). My mother
vomited and she was sick. That (is how my) aunt got my conception totem.
Initiation (Text 2).

2. ka-pa-ni. amala kan-ka-ngal-ni-nj. NC-3pI-S-stay Neg POT-3pI-S-come out-Aux-ncPOT
5. pulk. pun-ka-pa-tanj-manj pininj. panti white ochre 3pI-O-NC-3pI-S-cut-Aux irr cicatrices armlets
8. tjaman pun-ka-pa-kuw-al. pulk hairbelt 3pI-O-NC-3pI-S-tie-irr white ochre
11. al-wulkan amala kan-tja. wek al-kala-wu ka-manj F-sibling Neg POT-eat firewood F-3sg-DAT NC-get irr
13. katji a-wulkan-u katji tjutjuk-yang njim. katji that M-sibling-DAT that law-OR go through that
14. a-kala-wu muya wang ka-le-n tjanim. al-wulkan amala NF-3sg-DAT Tucker meat NC-spear-irr kangaroo F-sibling Neg
15. kan-tja. a-waru. kan-tja-wu-n tjatpula katji ka-yinj-yinj POT-eat Cl-bad POT-eat-DAT-CONS old man that NC-R-be irr
16. kan-pun-pu puk:u-yi. POT-3pI-O-kill spear-INS

1. The use of the verb ngiw-al 'to put in/through' here is presumably a mistake. Kuw-al 'to tie/to bind/to put on' which occurs in the following clauses would be the appropriate verb.

(The old men) grabbed them (the young boys and put them) in a shelter.
The old men put them through the law. The boys have to stay (in the shelter). They cannot come out. They have to stay (there) for ages, then afterwards (the old men) will send them out. (Then) they can come out. (Then, the old men) paint them with red and white ochre and they cut the cicatrices on them.

The old women make armlets and put them on the (young boys') arms. (The old women) tie headbands on their foreheads and put hairbelts on them. (The old men) paint white ochre on them and they come out.

The mothers, the aunts, the grandmothers get firewood for them. (Their) sisters cannot eat (with them). (The sister) gets firewood, lights it and cooks for herself. The mother cooks for the brother after he has gone through the law. (She does) that for him. If he (gets) tucker, or spears a kangaroo, (his) sister cannot eat it. That is bad. If she eats it, then the old man, that one he is, [presumably a reference to the kutang - the clever fellow], he might kill them with a spear.

The following additional comments were offered on the text.

1. lulak pun-ka-pa-nat-pula-n tjetpm-yiwu yarpa shade 3plO-NC-3plS-UO-make-irr grass-COM far
   pun-ka-pa-ka-n 3plO-NC-3plS-take-irr
   (The old men) make (the young boys) a shelter from grass. They take them a long way (away from the camp)

2. amala kan-pa-tja al-wulka-wulkan katji a-wulkan njim Neg POT-3plS-eat F-R-sibling that M-sibling go through
   tjutjuk-yang
   law-OR
   The sisters cannot eat that (food got by their brothers) after the brothers have gone through the law.

3. al-wun-muk ka-pa-yinj kapara yarpa ka-pa-ni F-girl-COLL NC-3plS-go irr other way far NC-3plS-stay
   All the young girls go and stay a long way away (from the young men).

This text describes the Waray initiation ceremonies from a woman's point of view. The ceremony went as follows;

1. The old men took the young boys a fair distance from the camp and
put them in grass shelters, they had made. The old men kept them there a long time and taught them the law (tjutjuk).

2. Then eventually the old men would let them out. At this stage the old men painted designs in red and white ochre on the boys.

3. Then the old men took the boys back to camp where they were greeted by their female relatives. The women put headbands, armlets and hairbelts that they had made on the boys. The use of the term al-tuma-tumaru-yi in line 6 and comment 3 would indicate that only the older female relatives greeted the boys. The younger ones were sent away from the camp, especially the sisters.

4. After a boy had been put through the law, his sister could no longer eat food he had obtained, nor could she cook for him (i.e. they were in an avoidance relationship).
Funeral Practices (Text 3).

1. wetj:i njek:-u-wu kule pan-pwuy-m-al-anj. 
grandmother 1sg-OBL-DAT story 1sgO-tell-Aux-irr-impf
2. yunguy-inj punin. antjetpan-lik pa-winti-nj-inj. nal 
be-impf corpse grass table-LOC 3plS-hang up-irr-impf man
3. al-kulpe tju-n-inj. an-pam mayim wuk-mayim 
F-woman die-irr-impf BP-head get impf carry-Aux impf
1sgSNC-bring-r BP-head 2plS-NC-see-irr forever go r
5. amala kan-wayi." pa-mayim an-mu. pa-kemepitjip-m-al-anj 
Neg POT-return 3plS-get impf BP-bone 3plS-wrap up-Aux-irr-impf
6. an-mewel naka-yi. pa-njil-al-anj. pa-winti 
BP-cloth grass sp-INS 3plS-bring-irr-impf 3plS-hang up
7. punji-lik 
banyon-LOC

My grandmother told me a story. (In the old days) when (someone) became a corpse, they used to hang (them) up on grass tables (in trees). When a man, or a woman used to die, they used to get the head and carry it (around the camp, saying) "I am bringing the head for you mob to see. He has gone forever. He cannot come back." They used to get the bones and wrap them up in cloth made from naka grass. They used to bring them and hang them up in banyon trees.
Funeral Practices (Text 4).

1. yumpal, antjetpan ka-pa-nik-p-al. yumpal
   tree grass table NC-3plS-put up-Aux-irr stick
2. ka-pa-tuwak-tuwak-kut-m-al katji-yang tjetpam ka-pa-manj.
   NC-3plS-R-across-put-Aux-irr that-OR grass NC-3plS-get irr
   NC-3plS-put-Aux-irr top NC-3plS-spread-Aux-irr
4. ka-pa-manj punin katji tju-m-u-n. ka-pa-manj.
   NC-3plS-get irr corpse that die-r-DAT-CONS NC-3plS-get irr
5. ka-pa-winti-nj wayk:an. ke
   NC-3plS-hang up-irr top paperbark
   NC-3plS-pull paperbark-Aux-irr NC-3plS-cover-Aux-irr

Sticks, they erect a grass table (with them). They put the sticks across (the branches) and then they get grass and put it on top. They spread it out. They get the corpse of that one who died and they hang it up on top. They get paperbark and cover the corpse (with it).
The Moon and the Echidna (Text 5).

1. karang yunguy-inj meningitj. karang kan-may wang
    moon go-impf echidna moon POT-grab ncPOT animal
2. meningitj. meningitj-yi la-m karang an-nepe. karang wali-nj
    echidna echidna-erg spear-r moon BP-hand moon cry out-r
3. tju. meningitj tji-yi "ngunj an-ka-yinj karang. njek
    tju echidna say-r 2sg 2sgS-NC-be irr moon 1sg
4. pat-yatjinj wang meningitj"
    1sgSNC-be r animal echidna

The moon was going along (with) the echidna. The moon tried to grab
the echidna. The echidna speared the moon in the hand. The moon cried out
tju. The echidna said "You, you will be the moon. Me, I will be the echidna."

This is obviously a fragment of some longer tale concerning the moon
and the echidna. The teller commented afterwards that the moon was a
dreamtime man and the echidna a dreamtime woman.
Lulutjun (Text 6).

1. tjanimnj njipa-yang tjim. tjatpula li-mi.
   kangaroo that way-OR come old man jump-Aux r
   1sgSNC-jump-Aux 1sgSNC-stand-Aux-r this place here say-r
3. amala. njip-m-inj pupal-lik. wir-m-inj. ngal-ni-winj
   Neg dive-Aux-r creek-LOC swim across-Aux-r come out-Aux-r
4. ana-payimi. "amukuy ngulak pat-ni-winj njek"
   there-side Okay this place here 1sgSNC-stay-r 1sg

The (old man) kangaroo came from that way (the spear dreaming). "I will jump up and stay here (on this hill)" he said, but he did not. He dived into the creek and swam across to the other side. "Okay I will stay here" (he said).

This brief text describes a dreamtime happening at Adelaide River township (Amungal). Adelaide River town is located where the Adelaide River comes out of the hills and onto the flood plains. There is a very big hill on the western side of the town (Mount Carr). In the dreamtime an old man kangaroo came to this hill (called Lulutjun) from the west, from a spear dreaming site. At first he thought he would stay at this hill, but then he decided not to. He jumped down into the Adelaide River and swam across to the eastern side and climbed the hill on that side (also called Lulutjun), and stayed there.
The Old Woman Turtle (Text 7).

1. le ana-payimi-yang tjim yarpa. kolal-nanak
   country there-side-OR come far plains-only

2. wul-m-al-anj-pwuy. kutta tjim litawi-lik.
   follow-Aux-irr-impf-perf this way come Beatrice Hill-LOC

3. tjul-tj-ang. katji-yang tiri-tjim punji angilak
   go down-Aux-r that -OR crawl-come banyon over here

4. nik-p-inj. katji-yang tiri-tjim anlungka an-wak:-u.
   put up-Aux-r that-OR crawl-come billabong Cl-little-DAT

5. katji-yang pam-ngal-ni-winj. katji-yang yatjinj kenganawu
   that-OR head-come out-Aux-r that-OR go r over there

6. mare-lik. ni-winj ngumparu katji-lik yul-lik
   rainforest-LOC stay-r forever that-LOC ground-LOC

(The old woman turtle) came from the country on that side far away
(Lalak:ili). She followed the plains only and came this way to Beatrice Hill.
Then she went down and came crawling to this banyon tree over here,
which she put up. Then she came crawling to this little billabong where
she stuck her head up (out of the ground). Then she went over there to the
rainforest. That place is where she stayed forever, in the ground.

This text describes the last part of the dreamtime journey of the old
woman turtle (she was a long neck turtle kuwaley). The whole journey
was underground and the text describes the various points where she
popped her head up out of the ground. The old woman turtle started out at
Lalak:ili (Shady Camp on the Mary River). She crawled under the plains and
Adelaide River to Litawi (Beatrice Hill). She then went to a spot on the
eastern side of Humpty Doo homestead where she put up a banyon tree.
Then she went about 100 metres to a very small waterhole (almost a
puddle) right on the western edge of the homestead. Finally she went to a
spring and rainforest at the head of Litchfield creek, where she stopped
and remains underground.
The Three Dogs (Text 8).

1. tjanjpalk-yang pa-ngal-ni-winj. a-karakeli pa-tjm
   saltwater-OR 3plS-come out-Aux-r M-married couple 3plS-come
2. ngulak mamam an-tjerinj pa-ka-n-inj-lul. "njek
   this place here son Cl-one 3plS-have-irm-impf-pair 1sg
3. ngulak pat-ni-winj, nyikin kenganawu
   this place here 1sgSNC-stay-r 2pl FOC over there
4. pa-ni-ninj-lul. an-nji njek litawi
   3plS-stay-impf-pair BP-name 1sg Beatrice Hill
5. pat-kulu-tj-ang ngumparu-wat
   1sgSNC-stand-Aux-r forever-

They came out of the saltwater (Adelaide River). The married couple came here. They had one son. (He said) "I will stay here, you two stay over there. Me, my name is Litawi forever."

This very brief text rather fragmentarily describes the dreamtime story of the three dogs. The three dogs consisted of a married couple Liyeyima (male) and Wirminpul (female) and their son Wayinima. They came out of the Adelaide River to the east of Beatrice Hill where the river is salt. From there they apparently went to a low hill, just to the east of Beatrice Hill. According to the story the son Wayinima said he would stay there. He told his parents to go a little way off to the north to another low hill (Liyeyima), and a very low ridge (Wirminpul).

It is not at all clear what the final statement "My name is Litawi for good" has to do with the story. From the rest of the story the son's name is Wayinima, and Litawi is part of the old woman turtle dreaming (see Text 7), not the dog dreaming.
The Old Woman and Old Man Dreaming (Text 9).

1. al-tumaru al-walin-miyi pa-yatjinj-lul. pa-tjul-tj-ang-lul  
   F-old woman F-mother-DY 3plS-go r-pair 3plS-go down-Aux-r-pair

2. tjanjpalk-lik. tjatpula anapa-yang tjim titi-yang. 
   saltwater-LOC old man there-OR come place name-OR

3. tjanjpalk-lik pun-na-y-lul. katji-yang pa-tjim kutta 
   saltwater-LOC 3plO-see-r-pair that-OR 3plS-come this way

   place name 3plS-come out-Aux-r-pair that-OR 3plS-come-pair

5. katji-yang tjap an-tjerinj pa-wul-m-inj. pa-tjul-tj-ang 
   that-OR road Cl-one 3plS-follow-Aux-r 3plS-go down-Aux-r

6. ka-pa-ni-ni-lul tjettjerinj ngumparu-wat 
   NC-3plS-R-stay-pair place name forever-?

The old woman, a mother and her (two) daughters, they both went down to the saltwater. The old man came from there, from Titi to the saltwater. He saw them both (the mother and the daughters). Then they came this way to Loliwa. They both came out (of the water), they both came. Then they (all) followed the one road. They went down (further) and are now staying forever at Tjettjerinj.

This text describes a portion of a long and rather entangled set of dreaming trails. The old woman and her two daughters start out at on Scott’s Creek and then go to Malweyi, a point on the eastern side of Adelaide River. They then go down into the Adelaide River where they meet the old man, who has come down the river from Titi (this is an area at the mouth of Adelaide River. There is a rock in the middle of the river there, called Nayitanju, or Old Man Rock where the old man started from).

Then the four of them went to Loliwa, which is a point on the western side of the river. Then they headed south to Tjininti (Mosquito Pass), where the two daughters stay. The old man and old woman go via Awalarr ridge (The Daly Range) to Kwik:i (Fred’s Pass) first, and then to Palankanang creek (Manton River), which they then follow up to Tjettjerinj ridge, which forms the eastern side of Manton Dam. Here they stay permanently in a red ochre cave/site.
Poison Snake Dreaming (Text 10).

1. mare an-wak:-u kutta yepe i-yu-ng-lik
   rainforest Cl-little-OBL this way 1plinc 1plSC-camp-r-LOC
2. kaking. kutta-payimi katji ka-kulu-tj-i. katji-yang
   yesterday this way-side that NC-stand-Aux-irr that-OR
3. tiri-m-inj. yatjinj malweyi-lik. ni-winj. tarin nik-p-inj
   crawl-Aux-r go r place name-LOC stay-r grass sp put up-Aux-r

The rainforest this way, where we camped yesterday, this side it stands. (The taipan) crawled from there and went to Malweyi. He stayed (there) and put up the tarin grass.

This text describes the Kanpali (either a taipan, or a king brown) dreaming. The Kanpali came out of a rainforest on Malweyi creek, and crawled to a billabong just off the tip of Malweyi point. The Kanpali put up some tarin (a grass species like bamboo, which was used for making spear shafts) there.
Awananangku (Text 11).

1. al-tumaru yunguy-inj pu-k:a-n-inj muya. tjatpula-yi
   F-old woman go-impf hunt-Aux-impf tucker old man-erg
2. kuntyi-n-inj an-wak mamam a-kala-wu katji-yang
   play-impf Cl-little daughter NF-3sg-DAT that-OR
3. al-tumaru pul-m-inj. al-tumaru pok-li-linj
   F-old woman angry-Aux-r F-old woman make string-Aux-impf
4. punji anpik pula-m. tjatpula yatjinj pu-k:a-ngi tijpak:-u
   banyon rope make-r old man go r hunt-Aux-r fish-DAT
5. wayi-nj njil-inj tijpak. pun-wu-y mamam a-kala-wu .
   return-r bring-r fish 3pI0-give-r daughter NF-3sg-DAT
6. keranglul wu-yi anpik nat-laki-nj. "yanj" al-tumaru-yi
   two climb-r rope UO-drop-r come imp F-old woman-erg
7. tiji-yi a-kala-wu. wu-yi. anpik mi katji-yang
   say-r NF-3sg-DAT climb-r rope get r that-OR
8. milwik-yi tanj-mi. tjatpula li-nj. anpik
   mussel shell-INS cut-Aux r old man fall-r rope
9. al-tumaru-yi tanj-mi milwik-yi. amukuy li-nj
   F-old woman-erg cut-Aux r mussel shell-INS Okay fall-r
10. tjatpula katji awananangku katji li-nj
    old man that name that fall-r

The old woman used to go out hunting for tucker. The old man used to
play around with his daughter (while the old woman was gone). (The old
woman found out) and therefore she got angry. The old woman rubbed
banyon tree fibres and made a rope. The old man went out hunting for fish.
He came back and brought fish and gave it to his two little daughters. He
climbed up the rope that (the old woman) had dropped to him. "Come up" the
old woman said to him. He climbed. He grabbed the rope and then (the old
woman) cut it with a mussel shell. The old man fell. The old woman cut the
rope with a mussel shell. Okay, he fell, that old man, Awananangku, that
one fell.

11. tjatpula awananangku wang-u pu-k:a-ngi. yatjinj la-m
    old man name meat-DAT hunt-Aux-r go r spear-r
12. pikiring-u tijpak. lura-m-inj lerik-lik. mamam al-kala-wu
    3pI-DAT fish bring back-Aux-r camp-LOC daughter F-3sg-DAT
13. keranglul pa-ni-ninj lerik-lik. an-tjerinj-wuy mi.
    two 3pI0-sit-impf camp-LOC Cl-one-one of get r
The old man Awananangku went out hunting for meat. He speared some fish for them (his daughters). He brought them back to camp. Her (the old woman's) two daughters were sitting in the camp. He got one of them. He played around with the big one. Then the old woman came back and she saw them. She saw them. (Then) she got whatchamacallit? Banyon fibres, she cut them and she rubbed them to make a long rope. Then the old man went out again. Then he came back again and so this time she cut the rope on him. That old man fell forever.

These two versions of the same story are concerned with the Milky Way. The old man, the old woman and their two daughters lived in the Milky Way. As the two versions recount the old man had illicit sexual relations with his oldest daughter while the old woman was out hunting. The old woman came back and saw him misbehaving and became angry.

When the old man went out hunting again, the old woman made a rope from banyon fibres. The old man came back with fish and the old woman lowered down the rope so that he could climb back up to the Milky Way. While he was climbing the old woman cut the rope with a mussel shell. The old man made a hole, next to the Southern Cross on the pointer side, in the Milky Way as he fell.

He hit the ground at a banyon tree near Humpty Doo camp called Awananangku. This story explains why the Milky Way is called Anpik 'rope'.
APPENDIX 2 - DICTIONARIES

This appendix contains four dictionaries: There is a Waray - English nominals dictionary (including particles), an English - Waray nominals dictionary, a Waray - English verbs dictionary, and an English - Waray verbs dictionary. The entries are arranged in the following order.

a e i k k: l m n nj ng o p p: r t t: tj tj: u w y
NOMINALS (WARAY - ENGLISH)

a-kala : Non-Feminine 3rd sg He, it
a-kamu ~ an-kamu ~ an-kamu-wu : tough, hard, tight

1  pamunj ka-tanj-manj warkim a-kupam an-kamu
   canoe NC-out-Aux irr work CI-lots CI-hard
   It is a lot of hard work cutting a canoe

2  kuw-a anpik an-kamu-wu
   tie-imp string CI-tight-OBL
   Tie that string up tight!

3  anpat-lik amala kan-ngal-tjim-in a-kamu pep-tj-ang
   can-LOC Neg POT-off-come-irr CI-tight stick-Aux-r
   It will not come off that can It is stuck on tight

a-karakeli : a married couple
a-kik:u : raw (of meat)
a-kupam ~ a-kupam-u : much, many, lots, a lot, too much, too many
akupukupulu (tree sp) : Terminalia ferdinandiaia
a-kutangyi : clever, intelligent
akutangyi : doctor (normally white see 1.5.5)

1  akutangyi pula-m a-muk:u ka-yinj
   doctor make-r CI-good NC-be irr
   That doctor made him better

a-kutjkutj ~ a-kutjkutj:-u ~ an-kutjkutj:-u : wet
a-lal ~ an-lal-u : cold
a-lil : young boy
al-kala : she
alkaway : salmon catfish, Hexanematichthys leptaspis
al-kulpe : woman
al-mantupa : the women (collective see 3.8.1.1)
al-pangati : female section name
al-pularan : female section name
al-tumaru : old woman
al-tjarakaymin : mermaid (Kriol "fish tail woman")
al-tjampitj : female section name
al-walin : mother
al-wanjtjang : female cousin
al-waray : a Waray woman
al-wimitj : female section name
al-wulkan : sister
al-wun : young girl
amala : Negator
a-malmal ~ an-malmal-u : soft
a-minimini ~ an-minimini-wu : annoying, cheeky
ampa ~ ampala : where
ampaampa : How much, How many
amawayin : when
amukuy : Enough! Okay!

1 kaking njikpa at-malak-li amukuy
  yesterday night 1sgSC-dance-Aux r enough
  an-tjerinj-nanak
  CI-one-only
  Last night I danced only one dance That was enough

2 an-wak amala kan-may amukuy
  CI-little Neg POT-get ncPOT enough
  She cannot have (any more) children She has enough

3 amukuy yuyu njek pat-ni-winj pat-mat-m-inj
  Enough leave it 1sg 1sgSNC-sit-r 1sgSNC-be quiet-Aux-r
  lit Enough, Leave it, Me I will sit and be quiet
  I give up I will sit (here) and be quiet

a-muk:u ~ an-muk:u : good, sensible
a-mutek : big
ana ~ anapa ~ ana-wu : there
anatlitj:imuk:u : Brown tree snake, Boiga irregularis
an-kanim : ear
ankananim : car
an-kara : leg, apparently also, body

1 pat-nay-na-y wik-lik an-kara lulak
  1sgSNC-R-see-r water-LOC BP-body shade
  I am looking at my shadow in the water
an-kara-pitpit (lit. red leg-tree sp) : Leea rubra
an-katjakatj:iu : half caste
an-kengu : new
an-ki : nose
an-kimek : shoulder blade
ankiminj (geographical) : point
an-kimitj : face (rarely used, normally an-tum 'eye' is used)
an-ki-paliwu (lit. with nose) : pig
an-kipe : back
an-kukmilj : cheeks
an-kulu : flank of chest
an-kum : back of neck
a-kunkun ~ an-kunkun-u : heavy
an-kunmunj : elbow
an-kuntu : egg
an-kurung : arm
an-kutjik:-u : black
ankuyng : stew
an-lanj : tail, penis (metaphorical)
an-lang : some
an-letma : tooth
an-li : fat, greasy

1. an-nepe an-li wang-yang
   BP-hand  BP-fat  meat-OR
   My hands are greasy from the meat.

anlungka : billabong
an-mara : leaf on a tree (see malamala)
an-mariwak:j : old
an-maymak:-u ~ a-maymak : sweet, pleasing, pretty

1. wik an-maymak:-u
   water  Cl-sweet-OBL
   softdrink.

anmaymak:j : freshwater crocodile, Crocodylus johnstoni
an-mek : chest
an-mewel : cloth, clothes
an-minj : belly
an-mu : bone
an-mulu : small of back
an-muluyiwak : hip, hip joint
an-munak : collarbone, shoulder
an-nepe : hand, finger, fist

1. kupam-tji-nj an-nepe njek:-u-yang
   lots-inch-r   BP-hand   1sg-OBL-OR
   lit. She grew up from my hand.
   I raised her.

an-nepat-pitinj : fingernail
an-nepat-pung : handprint
an-nepat-tjerinj : five
an-njel : flesh
an-nji : name
an-ngak : shell
an-nganti : throat, front of neck
an-ngar : fur
an-nguk : guts, intestines
an-nguk-pwuye-pwuye : beatle sp
an-ngupat-pitinj : toenail
an-ngupat-pung : footprint
an-ngupe : foot, toe
an-nguru : ankle
an-pam : head
an-pam-kine (lit. head - mucus) : brain
an-pat : knee
anpat : can, tin
an-pat-karang (lit. knee - moon?) : kneecap
anpik : string, rope, fence, Milky Way (see Text 11)
an-pit : flower
an-pitpit:-u : red
an-pitj : tendon
an-piyak:-u : rotten, wrinkled (of fruit)
a-pulupulu : cheeky
an-pun : feather
anpunj : bamboo, Bambusa arnhemiacus
an-puruyu : long, tall
a-pwuye ~ an-pwuye-ru : smelly, stinking
an-pwuyet-pwuye-ru (lit. really stinking one) : Chinese mint, Hiptus
an-tatjpik:-u : short
an-tek : bottom, bum
an-tetmu : thigh bone, femur
a-tilmi ~ an-tilmi-wu : dry
an-titil-u : rough
an-timu : rib
an-titjil : kidney
an-tum : eye, face (see an-kimitj)

1. wang an-tum
   animate BP-eye
   bullet (see 3.2.2)

an-tum-mitja-wek (lit. eye-hair-fire?) : eyelash, eyebrow
an-tum-nganti (lit. face-front) : forehead
an-turk:-u : white
an-twuy : heart, chest, viscera

1. nguk an-twuy mi
   shit BP-viscera get r
   He has got diarrhoea.

It appears that the heart/chest is regarded as the seat of anger/trouble/worry in Waray.

2. yuyu amukuy njek an-twuy amala pat-yatjinj
   leave him enough 1sg BP-heart Neg 1sgSNC-be r
   a-kala-wu
   NF-3sg-DAT
   I do not worry myself about him.

3. wanpa wanj tji-yi pul an-twuy yunguy-inj
   just like that say-r trouble BP-heart be-impf
   He just said that to make her angry.

a-tjakmi ~ an-tjakmi-wu : straight
antjalmi : in turn (see 5.9.5)
an-tjamin-u : dysfunctional (of a body part), blind, deaf, blocked
an-tjamkak : chin
an-tjamul : heel
an-tjaway : lungs
an-tjattjerinj : one-legged
an-tjattjup:u : one-legged
an-tje : thigh
an-tjen : tongue
an-tjen-nganti (lit. tongue-throat/front) : gills
an-tjerinj : one

1. pali-yatjinj    tjap    an-tjerinj-yang
    1plSNC-go r    road    Cl-one-OR
    lit. We are walking along the road from one.
    We are walking along the road together.

an-tjerinjpa : other, another
antjetpan : grass table
an-tji : liver
an-tjili : mouth, gate, lid
an-ttipin : stomach
an-tjolong : ready to eat, ripe (of vegetables), cooked (of meat)
an-tjuluk:-u : deep
an-wak ~ an-wak:-u : little, small
an-walak:-u : light (not heavy)
an-wanjmili : armpit, ticklish
an-wik : skin
anwili : dreaming site
an-wirang : different, wrong

1. an-wirang      lura-m-inj      njek:-u
    Cl-wrong      bring back-Aux-r      1sg-DAT
    He has brought me back the wrong one.

tagantipit:u : Coolibah, Eucalyptus miniata
angi : here
angik:u : dingo
angilak : hereabouts
apamkupam : brown snake
a-pangati : male section name
a-pinjku : left-handed
apinjku : Death Adder, Acanthophis antarcticus
apitji tidal : Water Whistle Duck, Dendrocygna arcuata
a-pulang ~ a-pulang-u ~ an-pulang-u : wild, savage, cheeky, irritating

1. ngiri pun-pinj-inj a-pulang-u katji-yang i-la-m
dog 3plO-bite-impf Cl-savage-OBL that-OR 1plISC-shoot-r
That dog kept on biting people. It was savage so we had to shoot it.

2. an-tum pan-pu-m a-pulang muya katji
BP-eye 1sgO-hit-r Cl-irritating food that
These onions are irritating my eyes.

3. a-waru an-tjen ka-tjen-pil-m-al pikiring-u
Cl-bad BP-tongue NC-tongue-poke-Aux-irr 3pl-DAT
a-pulang-u ka-yinj-yinj
Cl-cheeky-OBL NC-R-be irr
He is bad. He is always poking his tongue out at people. He is cheeky.

apulangu : saltwater crocodile, Crocodylus porosus
a-pularan : male section name
a-tjampitj : male section name
a-tjamuru : policeman
atjangki : maybe
a-tjawitjawitju : ibis sps, Thresklornis sps
a-tjurin : little boy
a-walak ~ an-walak:-u : hot
a-wanjjang : male cousin
a-waray : male Waray
a-waru ~ an-waru : bad
a-wimitj : male section name
a-wuk:i ~ an-wuk:i-wu : crooked
a-wulkan : brother
a-wuyang : hungry

eping : who

kak : wax from ironwood roots
kakpankek : Northern eel, Anguilla bicolor
kaking : yesterday
kaku : grandfather
kak:u ~ kak:wuy : after
kal (tree sp) : Canarium australianum
kalalpa : Bony Bream, Nematolosa erebi
kalampa : headband
kale : pouch, cocoon
kaliwitwit (bird sp) : Numenius minutus
kalkal : Slow down
kalp:u : black kangaroo
kanimpalu : frill neck lizard, Chlamysurus kingii
kankok : water lily stem
kanme (bird sp) : Milvus migrans, Leopohictinia isura
kanngak : bullant
kanpali : King brown or taipan, Pseudechis australis
kanpanj : palm sp, Livistona humilis
kanpanj : small leech sp
kanpiriya : poison type
kanpuk : Green tree snake, Dendralophis punctulatus
kangik : darkness
kangik : snake sp (reputedly lives in banyon trees)
kapara : the other way
kapitja : cottonwood
kapwuy : water goanna, Varanus mertensi
karamaminmamin (bird sp) : Irediparra gallinacea, Erythrogony cinctus, Charadrius veredus, Hiamantopus sps
karang : moon
karang : moon snake
karatatata : breastplate
kark : Olive python, Liasus olivaceus
karma : wattle, Acacia difficilis
karnginj : Pelican
katkat : White catfish, Anodontiganis dahli, and tandan sps, Neosilurus sps
katjak:u : truth
katji : that
kawuk (bird sps) : Ardea sumatrana, Ardea novae hollandiae, Nycticorax caledonicus
kawuy : again
ke : paperbark, Maleleuca sps
kek : spider sp, spider web
kenganawu : thereabouts
kepak:u : by oneself
kerangantjerinj : three
kerangkerang : a few, a little
keranglul : two
kikkikimi : Chickenhawk, Accipter fasciatus
kiknrwatu : dead
kilampat : Wild banana
kili : pimple
kilung (tree sp) : Timonius timon
kin : large leech sp
kine : mucus
kinmil (yam sp) : Yellow yam?
kinj : cycad palm, Cycas
kinjini (lily sp) : young form of tumwekweku lily?
kingnjjak : star
kingkingmi : little catfish sp
kiri : stone, hill, money
kitjani : spit, beer
kitjani : vine sp, Morinda citrifolia
kitjawak : beard, moustache
kitjirin (bird sp) : Ceyx sp
kitjilminj (bird sp) : Halcyon sancta, Halcyon macleayii
kiyak : sweat, sweaty, sticky
kolal : plains
kolikolil (bird sp) : Falco sp
korom : scrub goanna, Varanus primordius
kotamanjku : Saratoga, Scleropages leichardtii
kotol (bird sp) : Ninox sps, Elanus notatus
kukutununj : witchetty grub
kukutununj (duck sps) : Anas gibberfrons, Aythya australis, Anas superciliosus
kulak : shade laying ceremony
kufe : story
kuliypm : paperbark raft
kulkul : Teatre, Maleleuca nervosa, Lophostemon lactiflorus
kulkulmi : Black duck, Tachybaptus novaehollandiae
kulkultum (tree sp) : Brachypiton diversifolia
kulunjti : rainbow
kulupe : a cold
kulupek : late (of the night only)
kuluwetelk:mi : hiccup
kurnututu (lily sp) : Nymphaea violacea
kunak (tree sp) : Cochleasperum fraseri
kuneme : Black cockatoo, Calyptorhynchus magnificus
kunen : Black and white native cat
kunte : Water python, Liasus fuscus (minjpitpit:u an alternative name)
kuntum : rice
kuntun : Cherry plum, Flacourtia territoralis
kunj : Mistaken Opinion (see 5.10)
kunji : flying fox
kupulung : on one's side (used only with the verb 'to lie')

1. an-minj  kupulung  ka-yu-yu
   BP-belly  side  NC-R-lie
   He is lying on his belly

kuratj : blood
kuratj (vine sp) : Terminatia seriocarpa
kurutu : throwing stick
kutang : Clever fellow, witchdoctor
kutta : this way
kuttjari : Approval (see 5.10)
kut:ukut:u : Pigeon, dove
kutjangal : pandanus nut
kutjili : full
kuwaleyl : long neck turtle, Chelodina rugosa
kuyal : Jabiru, Xenorhynchus asiaticus
kwok : Don't know (see 5.10)

lalatjim : torn
lalinj : goanna Varanus gouldii
lampak : bird sp
lanti : tree sp
langwalak:u : Ironwood, Erythrophleum chlorostachys
lariwu : tomorrow
lariwutjerinjpa : the day after tomorrow, in a few days time
larwa : bamboo pipe for smoking
larwi (bird sp) : Poliocephalas sps, Malacorhynchus membraneus
lawa : flour
lawuk : stone spear with a dark stone head
laymiri : red apple, Syzygium suborbiculae
le : camp, country, nest
lek (tree sp) : Exocarpis latifolis
lel : tick, louse, flea
lel : grass sp
letpal : near, close
lin : Sulphur crested cockatoo
lipe : figtree, Ficus racemosa
lipinj : maggot
liringkil (tree sp) : Gardenia sp
litmenglimeng (bird sp) : Pandion haliaetus, Haliacetus leucogaster
litj:i : dillybag
lopolopo : butcherbird, Cracticus nigrogularis

1. lopolopo kungarak:anj ka-nguntji-nj
   butcherbird Kungarak:anj NC-talk-irr
   The butcherbird speaks Kungarak:anj.

lora : ashes, dust
lorik (bird sp) : Coturnix sp
lukluk : Hurry up
lulak : shade, shadow
lumpal (tree sp) : Barringtonia acutangula, Planchonia careya
lunpu : prawn
lura : behind
luywa : red ochre

mak:jinjik:inji : wild passionfruit
makpunj : milky plum, Personia falcata
malak : women's dance
malamala : dry leaves on the ground (see an-mara)
malmalmunj : bush tobacco
malwa : a spirit name

1. malwa punin ka-tjim-in ngok-yang
   malwa ghost NC-come-irr antbed-OR
Malwa, that is a ghost which comes from out of the anthills.

mamam : son, daughter
mamulpak : conception totem
manampay : lily sp
manjmanj : fungus sp
manjmanj (tree sp) : Pecaisnina signata
manjmanj : cramp
manjuk (vine sp) : wild potato
mangkang : cousin
mapam (palm sp) : Livistona inermis
mapul (lily sp) : Nymphaea violacea
marapaliiwu (lit. with leaf) : Leichardt tree, Nauclea coadunata
mare : rainforest, jungle
mariwak:u : long ago, in the old days
mariyumpun : stone axe
matpa : didgeridoo
mat:ok (vine sp) : Passiflora foetida
matuk:al : Barramundi, Lates calcarifer
mat : wind
matj:alatj : Bloodwood, Eucalyptus sp
matjpatji : Shut up
mawa : Cormorant, Phalacrocorax melanoleucus
mekmek : swag
melang : light, a light, a torch
melinj (tree sp) : Grevillea prendifolia
meltuk:u : lily sp
meningitj : echidna
mepenpenu (tree sp) : Cathormion umbellatum
merinj : Pandanus spiralis
mikmik : marsupial rat
milimili : butterfly
milwik : freshwater mussel
mimi : uncle
minjipitpit:u : snake sp (alternative name for kunte)
miral : sun
mitja : hair
mowiya : a poison type
mukpanj : spider
mul : wart
mul : yamstick
mulkingla : poor fellow
mulmek : love, liking
mulpik:al : Rifle fish, Archer fish, Toxotes chatereus
mulupi : Morning and Evening star
multji : fear, shame, shyness

1. multji ka-yinj-yinj al-kulpe kenganawu
   shy NC-R-be irr F-woman over there
   She is shy, that woman over there.

2. multji pat-yatjinj a-kala-wu
   shame 1sgSNC-be r NF-3sg-DAT
   I am ashamed of him.

3. multji pat-yatjinj pelam-u
   fear 1sgSNC-be r snake-DAT
   I am afraid of snakes.

mumumi (bird sp) : Ducula spilorrhoea
mun : Mud cod, Sleeper, Snakehead gudgeon, Oxyeleotris lineolatus,
     Ophieleotris aporos
munjipir (tree sp) : wild chilly
munjtjiwa : knife
murumpitj : dragonfly
mutak : dangerous place (because of dreaming danger)
mutaka : car
mutj : bush tobacco
mutjla : together, as well, too
muya : food (generic), tucker, edible non-flesh food

naka : cloth grass
nal : man
napatlay : grass sp
neko : river moss
nentu : horse
nengkinj : whatchamacallit (hesitation form)
neyimpangkinj : Sea turtle, Eretmocheelys imbricata, Chelonia mydas
nilnil : prickle bush
nyikiring : 2pl, you mob

njama : 1dlinc, you and me
njek : 1sg, I
njikpa : night
njiliwat : that way
njipa : that way
njiter : hook

ngal : sandfly, small mosquito sp
ngalalak : corella, white cockatoo, Cacatua sanginuera
nganpal : Magpie goose
ngantitjaman : Burdekin duck, Tadorna radjah
ngarng : wasp
ngat : shortneck turtle, Emydura victoriae, Elseya dentata
ngatngatmi (bird sp) : Haliastur indus
ngik : Black currant, Antidesma glaesembilan
nginjang : what
ngiri : dog
ngiringiri (bush sp) : Ziziphus oenoplia
ngirwat : name swapping ritual
ngok : anthill
ngoni : word, noise, language, tribe
nguk : shit, guts
nguk : tobacco
ngukmul : bluefly
ngulak : this place here
ngumparu ~ ngumparuwat : forever
ngunj : 2sg, you
ngupat-yul (lit. foot-ground) : on foot
ngurinj : emu

pakpan : firefly
palum : Jungle fowl, Megapodius freycinct
palmuk : wing, goose wing fan
pamngul : cloud, sky
pampik : Pygmy goose, Nettapus pullchellus
pampulangu : lily sp
pamtjiwilawilak : moon snake, Furina sp
pamunnumunu (bird sp) : Rostratula benghalensis, Himantopus sp
pamunj : canoe
panangka (bird sp) : Eurystomus orientalis
panti : armlets
panti (tree sp) : Terminalia grandiflora
pangkerin : dry season
pangpang : crab
paputj : yam sp
pap:a : sibling
parak:al (plant sp) : Macaranga tanaricas
parak:ut : white person
parnganinj (bird sp) : Anhinga melanogaster
payimi : side, bank
pekmara : between, in the middle
pelam : snake
penipe : jail (from Fanny Bay)
petpak : Bustard, Bush turkey, Ardeotis australis
petja (plant sp) : Petalastigma pichescens
pikiring : 3pl, they
pil : black snake, Demansia aria
pilek (bird sp) : Centropus phasianinus
pilpilmi : everywhere, all over
pilp:mi : sore
pim : ant sp (black)
pimek : dew, fog
pin : but
pinak : Cherry plum, Buchania obovata
pininj : cicatrices
pinpin (vine sp) : Smilax australis
pinti : native mouse, jerboa, water rat
pip:i : father
piringkil : Black Bream, Hephaestus fuliginosus
plintiti : cricket, cockroach
pointalpontal : magpie, Grallina cyanoleuca
pottjok : beeswax
pukiri : dream
pukpukpanj : fish sp
pul : trouble
pula : grey hair
pulak : agile wallaby
pulal : Bony Mullet, Mugil cephalus
pule : lizard sp
pulem : lightning
pulk : white ochre
pulmakpulmak : grass sp
pulme : white plum, Isecurinega melanthespido
pulpul : mother
pulpul : sickness
pulun : none
pultja (bird sp) : Aquila audax
puna : blacksoil
punattingting (bird sp) : Melanodryas cucullata, Dicurus hottentotus
punin : corpse, spirit, ghost

1. at-na-y punin tju-m ka-yu-yu
   1sgSC-see-r corpse die-r NC-R-lie
   I saw a dead body lying.

punpin (bird sp) : Egretta alba, Ardeola ibis, Garzetta intermedia, Platalea sp
punte : spear grass
punpunpun : File snake, Acrochordus arafurae
punji : Banyon tree, Ficus virens
pungkatang : the onset of the wet season
pupal : creek
puran : boomerang
purun : doe kangaroo
putawan : Darwin, town (from Port Darwin)
putek : Macleay's water snake, Enhydrids polylepis
putput : tree sp
putu : tree sp
pwok : honey, sugar
pwok : a track (as in footprint)
p(w)onorong : brolga

tan : Eucalyptus tectifica
tantamara : lizard sp
tarin (grass sp) : phragmites
tatmepawukpawuk (plant sp) : Macaranga tanarius
tayunu : pademelon wallaby
tenten (bird sp) : Trichoglossus rubritorquis
tetteren (bird sp) : Vanellus miles
ti : tea
titimi : itch
titja : mosquito
titja (bush sp) : Verticordia cunninghamii
toriya : rock wallaby
tukpan : boil, puss
tukpu : mussel sp
tumila : tears
tumkika : sleep
tumtingtingu (fish sp) : Ambassis sps, Quririchthys stramineus,
Glossogobius giurus
tumwekweku : lily sp
tuntun (fish sp) : Glossamia aprion
tupu : basket

tjalak : hole
tjale : centipede
tjalpapa : grass sp
tjamalak : singing sticks
tjaman : hairbelt
tjamunj : grandparent
tjanak : yam sp
tjaninj : kangaroo
tjanti : week (presumably from Sunday)
tjanjalk : saltwater, salt
tjanganpe : Freshwater sawfish, Pristis microdon
tjangkaltumnjm : dugong
tjap : track, road
tjatpak : walking stick
tjayayak : grass house (made from yale)
tjatpula : old man
tjattiti : grasshopper
tjatuk : bird
tjatja : tree sp
tjatjatj : uncle
tjawitj : Silky oak, Strychnos lucida
tjawitj : snail
tjek:an : frog
tjela (yam sp) : Dioscorea transversa
tjenpulangu (tree sp) : Cleistocalyx operculata
tjengkal : tree sp
tjengkaltumnjimu (bush sp) : Brachichiton paradoxum
tjepunj : grass sp
tjerel : red gum, Acacia auriculiformis
tjetpam : grass
tjikiritjikiri : willy wagtail, wren, Rhipidura sp
tjil : crayfish, yabby
tjil : mangrove, Diospyros ferrya
tjile (grass sp) : Imperata cylindrica
tjlilikunti : River whaler shark, Carcharhinus leucas
tjimpilang : stone spear with brown stone head
tjimtjim : grub
tjinimin : small bat sp
tjinwul : yam sp
tjinjtjuk : Milkwood, Alstonia actinophylla
tjinganj : Red lily, Nelumbo nucifera
tjipak : fish
tjipinj : year, wet season
tjirinjtja : Ficus opposita
tjirk (tree sp) : Clerodendrum floribundum
tjirpiyuk : Grass whistle duck, Dendrocygna eytoni
tjit:an : teatree, Maleleuca cajeputti
tjok (bird sp) : Coracina novae hollandiae
tjonet : marchfly
tjokot : kangaroo rat
tjonnol : mangrove worm
tjonpe : mushroom
tjonpok : rotten
tjukpinj : carpet snake, Spilotus variegatus
tjukung : aunt
tjukuyak : kookaburra, Dacelo leachii
tjula : white apple, Eugenia bleezeri
tjulum : willywilly
tjultjuling (bird sp) : Poliolimnos
tjumi : afternoon
tjun : Children's python, Liasus childeni
tjun : womera
tjun : womera tree
tjunganj : grass sp
tjungutjungutj : sparrowhawk, owl, mopoke, Tyto alba, Ninox conivens,
             Podargus strigoides, Caprimulgus sp
tjupul (fish sp) : Long Tom, Strongylura kreffti
tjurinj : spring (water)
tjurumpul (tree sp) : Ficus leucotricha
tjutj : scorpion
tjutju : axe
tjutjuk : the law
tjutjutj : breast, milk
tjuyak : bowerbird, Chlamydera nuchalis

wake : crow, raven, Corvus orru
wakmiwu : on one's own, alone
wal : smoke
walak : again
walmartatatatatu : Blue tongue lizard, Tiliqua scincoides intermedia
walpe : loincloth
wanpa : just
wanpaliku : quietly
wanj : like that
wanjidak : now, today
wanjpek : tree sp
wang : game, meat, animal
waral (bird sp) : Ardea pacificus, Ardea picata
warapitj (tree sp) : Terminalia ferdinandina
warawara : nullanulla
waray : Waray
waripa : the children (collective see 3.8.1.1)
warkatwarkat (tree sp) : Greivia retusifolia
warng : hornet
watpok : caterpillar
wattal : penis cover
way : keep on, still
waya : wire
wayk:an : high, on top, in the open, uncovered, exposed
wek : fire, firewood
wekmu : firestick
wepu : yam sp
wet : reed sp, Eleocharis sp
wet:j:i : grandmother
wik : water, rain, all beverages other than tea and coffee, petrol, liquids
wikwikmi : small frog sp
wilek : charcoal
wilek : black ant sp
wili : a construction, house, shelter, a hole in a construction

1. wili  telpu-yi-nj  pamunj
   hole  open-refl-r  canoe
   A hole opened in the canoe.

wilitjwilitj : galah, Cacatua roseicapilla, Aprosmictus erythropterus
wiluk : curlew, Burhenus magnirostris
wine (tree sp) : Lophostemon lactifluus
winjwinjmi (bird sp) : Artamus cinerus
wiril (tree sp) : Acacia dimidata (used for killing the tjun snake)
wire : song, corroboree
wiritwirit (bird sp) : Merops ornatus
witmangwitmang (tree sp) : Serbania cannabira
witmangwitmang (grass sp) : Whiteochloa sp
witpe : yam sp
wit:u : cockle, oyster
witj:impuru : Eucalyptus polycarpa
wul : urine
wumpalin (turtle sp) : Carettochelys insculpta
wunek : net
wungalam : green ant
wutpa : black catfish and tandan sps
wutwutmi : open
wutja : possum
wutjal : black plum, Vitex glaborata
wutjma (bush sp) : Wrightia salignia
yak:ay : exclamation of strong emotion
yale : termite
yale : vine sp
yangal : pandanus aquaticus
yarpa : far
yawanj : Carpentaria palm
yatjay : gizzard
yawuk : water yam
yelikeranglul : four
yepe : 1plinc, we
yerel : vine sp (armlets are made from yerel)
yeye : black snake, Amphiesma mairii, Stegonotus cucullatus
yik:iring : 1plexc, we
yili : lily sp
yilinj : how
yitjimi : before
yok : bandicoot
yok : sand
yu : yes
yul : ground
yumpal : tree, stick, wood
yungay : front
yuyu : Leave it
This dictionary does not contain the entire Waray vocabulary. It contains only those items not discussed in any detail in the grammar. For the Waray equivalents of items like pronouns, or locationals the reader should refer to the relevant sections in the grammar.

This dictionary is arranged in the following semantic fields

A - Body Parts
B - Human Classification
C - Mammals
D - Reptiles and Amphibians
E - Birds
F - Fishes
G - Other Water Creatures
H - Insects
I - Language, Ceremony and Spiritual
J - Artefacts
K - European Items
L - Fire, Food and Water
M - Celestial, Weather and Geography
N - Plants
O - Adjectives
P - Emotions
Q - Exclamations
A - Body Parts

ankle : an-nguru
armpit : an-wanjmili
back of neck : an-kum
belly : an-minj
body : an-kara
bone : an-mu
brain : an-pam-kine
bum : an-tek
chest : an-mek
cicatrice : pininj
cold : kulupe
cramp : manjmanj
elbow : an-kunmung
eyebrow : an-tum-mitjawek
face : an-tum, an-kimitj
feather : an-pun
fingernail : an-nepat-pitinj
flank : an-kulu
foot : an-ngupe
front of neck : an-nganti
gills : an-tjen-nganti
grey hair : pula
hair : mitja
handprint : an-nepat-pung
heart : an-twuy
hiccup : kuluwetelk:mi
kidney : an-titjil
kneecap : an-pat-karang
leaf : an-mara, malamala
liver : an-tji
milk : tjutjutj
mouth : an-tjili
neck : an-kum, an-nganti
pimple : kili
pouch : kale
rib : an-timu
shit : nguk
shoulderblade : an-kimek

arm : an-kurung
back : an-kipe
beard : kitjawak
blood : kuratj
boil : tukpan
bottom : an-tek
breast : tjutjutj
cheek : an-kukmili
chin : an-tjamak
coconut : kule
collarbone : an-munak
ear : an-kanim
eye : an-tum
eyelash : an-tum-mitjawek
fat : an-li
finger : an-nepe
fist : an-nepe
flesh : an-nje
footprint : an-ngupat-pung
fur : an-ngar
gizzard : yatjay
guts : an-nguk, nguk, an-twuy
hand : an-nepe
head : an-pam
heel : an-tjamul
hip : an-mulu
knee : an-pat
itch : titimi
leg : an-kara
lungs : an-tjaway
moustache : kitjawak
mucus : kine
nose : an-ki
piss : wul
puss : tukpan
shell : an-ngak
shoulder : an-munak
skin : an-wik
small of back : an-mulu
sore : pilp:mi
stomach : an-tjipin
tail : an-lanj
tendon : an-pitj
thighbone : an-tetmu
tongue : an-tjen
toe : an-ngupe
track : pwok
wart : mul

snot : kine
spit : kitjaninj
sweat : kiyak
tear : tumila
thigh : an-tje
throat : an-nganti
tooth : an-letma
toenail : an-ngupat-pitinj
urine : wul
wing : palmuk

B - Human Classification

boy : a-lil
corpse : punin
ghost : punin
half caste : an-katjkatj:-u
man : nal
old man : tjatpula
policeman : a-tjamuru
Waray woman : al-waray
women : al-mantupa

child : an-wak
white doctor : a-kutangyi
girl : al-wun
little boy : a-tjurin
native doctor : kutang
old woman : al-tumaru
Waray man : a-waray
woman : al-kulpe

C - Mammals

agile wallaby : pulak
bat sp : tjinimin
buffalo : wang an-kutjik:-u
dingo : angik:u
dog : ngiri
echidna : meningitj
horse : nentu
kangaroo rat : tjokot
native cat : kunen
pig : an-ki-paliwu
rock wallaby : toriya

bandicoot : yok
black kangaroo : kalp:u
cattle : wang an-pitpit:-u
doe kangaroo : purun
dugong : tjangkaltumnjim
flying fox : kunji
kangaroo : tjaninj
marsupial rat : mikmik
pademelon wallaby : tayunu
possum : wutja

D - Reptiles and Amphibians

a) Crocodiles
freshwater crocodile : anmaymak:u  saltwater crocodile : apulangu

b) Turtles

long neck turtle : kuwaley
sea turtle, Eretmochelys imbricata : neyimpangkinj
  Chelonia mydas : neyimpangkinj
  Carettochelys insculpta : wumpalin
short neck turtle : ngat

c) Snakes : pelam

Amphiesma mairii : yeye  Boiga irregularis : anatlitj:imuk:u
Carpet snake : tjukpinj  Children's python: tjun
Death adder : apinjku  Dendralophis punctulatus : kanpuk
Enhydris polylepis : putek  File snake : punupun
Furina sp : pamtiwilawilak  King brown : kanpali
Liasus fuscus : kunte, minjpitpit:u  Olive python : kark
taipan : kanpali

Unidentified snake sps: apamkupam, kangik, pil
d) Goannas

goanna, Varanus gouldii : lalinj  Varanus primordius : korom
water goanna, Varanus mertensi : kapwuy
e) Lizards and Skinks

blue tongue lizard : walmart:at:at:u  frill neck lizard : kanimpalu

Unidentified sps: karang, pule, pwunjitjin, tantamara

f) Frogs : tjek:an
small frog sp : wikwikmi

E - Birds : tjatuk

Accipter fasciatus : kikkikmi  Anas gibberifrons : kukutungunj
Anas superciliosa : kulkulmi  Anhinga melanogaster : parnganinj
Aquila audax : pultja
Ardea pacificus : waral
Ardea sumatranus : kauwk
Artamus cinerus : winjwinjmi
black cockatoo : kuneme
Burdekin duck : ngantjitjaman
bustard : petpak
Cacatua sanguinea : ngalalak
Centropus phasinus : pilek
Charadrius veredus : karamaminmamin
Chlamydera nuchalis : tjuyak
Coturnix sp : lorik
crow : wake
Ducula spilorrhea : mumumi
emu : ngurinj
Erythrogonys cinctus : karamaminmamin
Eurystomus orientalis : panangka
Galah : wilitjwilitj
Grallina cygnolica : pontalpontal
Halcyon macleayii : kitjitilimij
Haliacetus leucogaster : litmenglitmeng
Haliastur indus : ngatngatmi
Himantopus sp : karamaminmamin, pamunumunu
Irediparra gallinacea : karamaminmamin
jabiru : kuyal
jungle fowl, Megapodus freycinct : palum
kookaburra : tjukuyak
magpie goose : nganpal
Merops ornatus : wiritwirit
Ninox connivens : tjungutjungutj
Numenius minutus : kaliwitwit
Pandion haliaetus : litmenglitmeng
pelican : karnginj
Platalea sp : punpin
Pelecanus sp : larwi
Ptilinopus sp : kutukutu
Rostratula benghalensis : pamunumunu
sulphur crested cockatoo : lin
Tachybaptus novaehollandiae : kulkulmi
Threskornis sp : a-tjawitjawitu
Trichoglossus rubritorquis : tenten

Ardea novae hollandiae : kauwk
Ardea picata : waral
Ardeola sp : punpin
Aythya australis : kukutungunj
broglia : p(w)onorong
Burhinus magnirostris : wiluk
butcherbird : lopolopo
Caprimulgus sp : tjungutjungutj
Ceyx sp : kitjirin
Coracina novaehollandiae : tjok
Cracticus nigrogularis : lopolopo
Dicurus hottentotus : punattingting
Egretta alba : punpin
Erythrura cincta : karamaminmamin
Falco sp : kolikolil
Garzetta intermedia : punpin
Grass whistle duck : tjirpiyu
Halcyon sancta : kitjitilimij
Haliastur indus : ngatngatmi
Himantopus sp : karamaminmamin, pamunumunu
Irediparra gallinacea : karamaminmamin
jabiru : kuyal
jungle fowl, Megapodus freycinct : palum
kookaburra : tjukuyak
magpie goose : nganpal
Merops ornatus : wiritwirit
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sulphur crested cockatoo : lin
Tachybaptus novaehollandiae : kulkulmi
Threskornis sp : a-tjawitjawitu
Trichoglossus rubritorquis : tenten
Tyto alba : tjungutjungutj
Vanellus miles : tetteren
water whistle duck : apiitjiitjingmi
willy wagtail, Rhipidura sp : tjikiritjikiri

Unidentified sp: lampak

**F - Fishes** : tjipak

Ambassis sp : tumtintingu
archer fish : mulpik:al
barramundi : matu:kal
black bream : piringkil
bony mullet : pulal
catfish : alkaway
dark catfish and tandan sps : wutpa
light catfish and tandan sps : katkat
Glossamia aprion : tuntun
Glossogobius giurus : tumtintingu
long tom : tjupul

mud cod, Ophieleotris apos, Oxyeleotris lineolatus : mun
Nematolosa erebi : kalalpa
rifle fish : mulpik:al
river whaler shark : tjilikunti
saratoga : kotamanjku
sawfish : tjanganpe

Unidentified sp: kingkingmi (little catfish?), pukpukpanj

**G - Other Water Creatures**

cockle : wit:u
crab : pangpang
eel : kakpankek
mangrove worm : tjonngol
mussel : milwik, tukpu
prawn : tjil

**yabby** : tjil

**H - Insects**

ant sps : wilek, pim
beetle sp : an-nguk-pwuye-pwuye
bullant : kannagak
butterfly : milimili
caterpillar : watpok
cockroach : plintit:i
cricket : plintiti:j
dragon fly : murumpitj
fire fly : pakpan
flea : lel
fly : ngukmul
grasshopper : tjattiti
green ant : wungalam
hornet : warng
leech : kin (large), kanpanj (small)
louse : lel
maggot : lipinj
march fly : tjonet
mosquito : titja
sandfly : ngal
scorpion : tjutj
spider : mukpanj, kek (small)
termite : yale
wasp : ngarng

snail : tjawitj
spiderweb : kek
tick : lel
witchetty grub : kukutungunj

I - Language, Ceremony and Spiritual

armlets : panti
cicatrice : pininj
corroboree : wirin
didgeridoo : matpa
ghost : punin
headband : kalampa
law : tjutjuk
name swapping ritual : ngirwat
red ochre : luywa
singing sticks : tjamalak
spirit : punin
story : kule
white ochre : pulk
breastplate : karatata
conception totem : mamulpak
danger place : mutak
dreaming site : an-wili
hairbelt : tjam an
language : ngoni
name : an-nji
noise : ngoni
shade laying ceremony : kulak
song : wirin
spirit from anthills : malwa
tribe : ngoni
women's dance : malak

J - Artefacts

basket : tup:u
canoe : pamunj
dillybag : litj:i
grass house : tjapayak
hook : njiter
house : wili
loin cloth : walp:e
nullanulla : warawara
raft : kuli yampin
stone axe : mariyumpun
string : anpik
walking stick : tjatpak
wax : pottjok (beeswax), kak (from ironwood roots)
woomera : tjun
boomerang : puran
clothes : an-mewel
firestick : wekmu
grass table : antjetpan
hook spear : puk:u
knife : munjtjiwa
net : wunek
penis cover : wattal
spear : puk:u
stone spear : lawuk, tjimpilang
throwing stick : kurutu

K - European Items
axe : tjutju
car : ankanim, mutaka
flour : lawa
light : melang
pipe : larwa
stew : ankuynng
swag : mekmek
tobacco : nguk
wire : waya
can : anpat
fence : anpik
jail : penipe
money : kiri
rice : kuntum
sugar : pwok
tea : ti
torch : melang

L - Fire, Food and Water

ashes : lora
fire : wek
meat : wang
sugarbag : pwok
tucker : muya
charcoal : wilek
firewood : wek
smoke : wal
steam : wal
water : wik

M - Celestial, Weather and Geography

anthill : ngok
billabong : anlungka
camp : le
country : le
dry season : pangkerin
Evening star : mulupi
ground : yul
hole : tjalak
lightening : pulem
Morning star : mulupi
plains : kolal
rain : wik
saltwater : tjanjpalk
sea : tjanjpalk
shadow : lulak
spring : tjurinj
stone : kiri
waterhole : anlungka
willywilly : tjulum
year : tjiptit
bank : payimi
blacksoil : puna
cloud : pamngul
dew : pimek
dust : lora
fog : pimek
hill : kiri
jungle : mare
moon : karang
the onset of the wet : pungkatang
point : ankimjin
rainforest : mare
sand : yok
shade : lulak
side : payimi
star : kinginjtjjak
sun : miral
wet season : tjiptit
wind : matj
N - Plants

a) Trees, Shrubs and Bushes: yumpal

Acacia auriculiformis: tjerel
Acacia dimidata: wiril
Antidesma glaesembilan: ngik
Brachichiton paradoxum: tjengkaltumnjimu
Buchania obovata: pinak
Carpentaria acuminata: yawanj
Cleistocalyx opercularata: tjenpulangu
Clerodendrum floribundum: tjirk
Cycas: kinj
Eucalyptus polycarpa: witj:impuru
Eucalyptus sp: matj:alatj
Exocarpis latifolis: lek
Ficus opposita: tjiirimtja
Ficus virens: punji
Greivinia retusifolia: warkatwarkat
Grevillea pendifolia: melinj
Hiptus, Chines mint: an-pwuyet-pwuye-ru
Ironwood, Erythrophleum chlorystachys: langwalak:u
Isecuringa melanthespido: pulme
Leichardt tree: mara-paliwu
Livistona inermis: mapam
Maleleuca nervosa: kulkul
Mangrove, Diospyros ferraya: tijil
Pandanus aquaticus: yangal
Pandanus spiralis: merinj
Petalastigma pichescens: petja
Red apple, Syzgium suborbiculare: laymirri
Serbana cannabina: witwangwitmang
Timonius timon: kilung
Vitex gloribata: wutjal
Ziziphus oenoplia: ngiringiri

Unidentified sps: akupukupulu, kapitja, kilampat, kulkultum (2sps), lanti, malmalmunj, mutj, nilnil, parak:al, putput, putu, tatmepawukpawuk, tjtja, tjengkal, wanjpek, warapitj, wine.
b) Grasses: tjetcjam

bamboo, Bambusa arnhemicaus: anpunj
Eleocharis sp (reed): wet, Imperata cylindrica: tjile
Phragmites: tarin
Whiteochloa sp (reed): witmangwitmang

Unidentified sps: lel, naka (cloth grass), napatlay, nek (river moss),
pulmakpulmak, punte (spear grass), tjepunj, tjunganj

c) Vines

Morinda citrifolia: kitjaninj
Passiflora foetida, wild passionfruit: mat:ok
Smilax australis: pinpin, Terminatia seriocarpa: kuratj

Unidentified sps: mak:injik:inji (melon sp), yale, yerel

d) Yams

Dioscorea transversa: tjela

Unidentified sps: kinimil, manjuk (wild potato), paputj, tjanak, tjinwul,
wepu, witpe, yawuk

e) Lilies

lily stems: kankok
Red lily, Nelumbo nucifera: tjinganj
Nymphaea violacea sps: kinjini (young form of tumwekwek:u?), kumututu,
mapul, pampulangu, tumwekwek:u

Unidentified sps: yili, manampay, meltuk:u (these are classified by the
Waray as being lilies, but are not so classified by whites. They
are edible aquatic plants found in billabongs.)

f) Fungi

mushroom: tjonpe
Unidentified sp: manjmanj
O - Adjectives

annoying : a-minimini
bent : a-wuk:i
black : an-kutijk:-u
blocked : an-tjamin-u (of nose)
cheeky : a-pulupulu, a-minimini, a-pulang-u
clever : a-kutangyi
cooked : an-tjolong
dead : kiknuruwat
depth : an-tjuluk:-u
dry : an-tilmi-wu
hard : a-kamu
hot : a-walak
left-handed : a-pinjku
little : an-wak
new : an-keng-u
one-legged : an-tjattjerinj, an-tjattjup:u
pleasing : an-maymak:-u
raw : a-kik:-u
ripe : an-tjolong
rough : an-titil:-u
sensible : a-muk:u
small : an-wak
soft : a-malmal
straight : an-tjakmi-wu
tall : an-puruyu
torn : lalatjim
wet : a-kutjkutj
wild : a-pulang-u

cold : a-lal
crooked : a-wuk:i
deaf : an-tjamin-u
different : an-wirang
good : a-muk:u
heavy : a-kunkun
hungry : a-wuyang
light : an-wakal-u
long : an-puruyu

P - Emotions

mulmek : love, liking
pul : trouble, anger
multj:i : fear, shame, shyness

Q - Exclamations

amala : No
kuttjari : Good thing
amukuy : Okay, enough
kalkal : Slow down, Wait
katjaku : True
matjpatji : Shut up
yak:ay : Heh
yuyu : Leave it

lukluk : Hurry up
mulkingla : Poor fellow/thing
yu : yes
VERBS (WARAY - ENGLISH)

The numbers after the verbs are their valencies. If the verb is regular it is conjugated according to the conjugations set out in 4.3.3. If it is not, and it is a simple verb, then its conjugation will be given with its dictionary entry. If it is an irregular complex verb, then the reader should refer to the entry for its auxiliary.

kanimup-m-al (2) : to forget
ka-ngo (2) : to have (see 5.8.4)

1. al-wulkan kerangantjerinj pat-ka-ka-ngo
     F-sibling three 1sgSNC-RED-have-r
     I have three sisters.

2. al-mutek-naiy-nj atjangki an-wak ka-kan-ka-n
     F-big-inch-r maybe Cl-little NC-R-have-irr
     She has got big. Maybe she will have the baby soon.

ka-ngo (2) : to take
ka-pe (2) : to roast in a ground oven
karay-pu-m (2) : to tease, to laugh at
katlang-m-al (1) : to cough
katul-mi (2) : to roast in the ashes
kelngaykmiiyi-nj (1) : to get married, to be married
kemeptjip-m-al (2) : to roll something up
kik-m-al (1) : to vomit
kitj:ilili-m-al (2) : to tickle
kitj:jung-m-al (2) : to kiss
kiyak-li (1) : to sweat (active)

    imp : kiyak-li
    r : kiyak-li
    irr : kiyak-li
    impf : kiyak-li-lunj

kiyak-pu-k (1) : to feel sweaty (stative)

    imp : kiyak-pu
    r : kiyak-pu-k
irr : kiyak-pu
impf : kiyak-pu-ninj

kori (2) : to break something
kul-m-al (3) : to ask somebody for something

1. pap:a njek:-u-wu at-kul-m-inj wang pan-wu-y
   brother 1sg-OBL-DAT 1sgSC-ask-Aux-r meat 1sgO-give-r
   I asked my brother to give me some meat.

2. yang an-ka-kul-m-al tjukung muya
   go imp 2sgS-NC-ask-Aux-irr aunt tucker
   Go and ask aunt for some tucker.

kulu-tj-ang (1) : to stand
kuluwetat-m-al (1) : to hiccup
kuntiyi-nj (1) : to smile, to laugh, to play
kupa-m-al (2) : to raise someone
kupam-tji-nj (1) : to become big, to grow up (semantically irregular inchoative of a-kupam : lots, see 3.4)

1. muya a-kupam ka-tjal-tja-l kupam-tji-nj
   tucker Cl-lots NC-R-eat-irr lots-inch-r
   a-mutek-tjangki ka-yinj-yinj
   Cl-big-very NC-R-be irr
   She eats too much. She has got fat. She is very big.

2. karang kupam-tji-nj a-mutek
   moon lots-inch-r Cl-big
   lit. The moon has become big.
The moon is waxing.

3. at-kupam-tji-nj le ngulak-yang
   1sgSC-lots-inch-r country this place here-OR
   lit. I became big in this country here.
   I grew up in this country here.

kutitj-m-al (1) : to go around, to look around, to turn around
1. an-ka-kutitj-m-al kiri
   2sgS-NC-go around-Aux-irr hill
   You go around that hill.

2. ngiri ka-kutitj-kutitj-m-al atjangki ka-yu
dog NC-R-turn around-Aux-irr maybe NC-lie
   Dogs turn around and around, before they lie down.

kutitj-tjim (1) : to come around
kutitj-yang (1) : to go around
kut-m-al (3) : to put down, to give birth, to lay (see following section on verb stem semantics)

1. al-walin pan-kut-m-nj ngulak
   F-mother 1sgO-give birth-Aux-r this place here
   (My) mother bore me here.

2. kitjirin yul-lik yul-tel-pu-m katji kut-m-inj
   bird sp ground-LOC ground-open-Aux-r that lay-Aux-r
   an-kuntu kak:wuy an-wak ngal-tjim
   BP-egg after Cl-little out-come
   That kitjirin bird burrowed into the ground and then laid its eggs. Later a chick came out.

kut-tj-ang (1) : to get up, to wake up
kutjak-m-al (2) : to stretch

1. at-kutjakmi-yi-nj an-kurung
   1sgSC-stretch-refl-r BP-arm
   I stretched my arm.

kutjili-m-al (2) : to fill
kutj-m-al (1) : to be (of a plural subject, see 5.8.1)
kuw-al (2) : to tie, to bind, to lock up

1. ngiri pa-kuw-inj
dog 3plS-tie-r
   They have tied the dog up.
2. kalampa pun-ka-pa-kuw-al
   headband 3pI0-NC-3pIS-tie-irr
They tie/bind/put headbands on them.

3. ka-pa-kuw-al ke-yi litji-lik
   NC-3pIS-bind-irr paperbark-INS dillybag-LOC
They bind/roll (the nuts) up with paperbark (and then put them) in a dillybag.

4. pilp:mi kuw-inj njek:-u-wu an-mewel-yi
   wound bind-r 1sg-OBL-DAT BP-cloth-INS
(The sister) bound my wound up with bandages.

5. a-lil katji ka-yinj-yinj ka-mok-manj
   M-boy that NC-R-be irr NC-steal-Aux irr
   a-tjamuru-yi ka-pa-pa-tj-i katji
   M-policeman-erg NC-3pIS-look for-Aux-irr that
   ka-pa-manj ka-pa-kuw-al
   NC-3pIS-get irr NC-3pIS-lock up-irr
If that boy keeps on stealing things, the police will look for him and get him and lock him up.

laki-l (2) : to chuck, to toss, to push, to drop, to throw (without aiming), to put (without a location in mind) [see following section on verb stem semantics]

   imp : laki
   r : laki-nj
   irr : laki-l
   impf : laki-l-anj

1. an-ka-laki-l wik-lik
   2sgS-NC-chuck-irr water-LOC
You chuck/put (them) in the water.

2. matj a-mutek tjim wili laki-nj
   wind CI-big come house push-r
A big wind came and pushed the house over.
3. an-mewel at-winti at-miral-laki-nj  
   *BP-clothes 1sgSC-hang out 1sgSC-sun-put-r*  
   I hung the clothes out and put them in the sun.

4. wal ka-pukpuk-m-al kenganawu ka-laki-l kapara  
   *smoke NC-blow-Aux-irr over there NC-push-irr other way*  
   (The wind) is blowing the smoke over there, pushing it the other way.

5. nguk at-laki-nj yul-lik  
   *tobacco 1sgSC-drop-r ground-LOC*  
   I dropped the tobacco on the ground.

6. nepat-tanjmi-yi-nj kuratj a-mutek laki-nj  
   *hand-cut-refl-r blood Cl-big come out-r*  
   She cut her hand and lots of blood came out.

7. mutaka ka-pa-laki-l  
   *car NC-3plS-push-irr*  
   They are pushing the car.

la-m (2) : to spear, to pierce, to shoot, to scratch

   *imp : li*  
   *r : la-m*  
   *irr : le-n*  
   *impf : le-n-inj*

1. yumpal pan-la-m kuratj-wat  
   *stick 1sgO-scratch-r blood-result*  
   The stick scratched me and as a result blood (is flowing)

2. meningitj-yi la-m karang an-nepe  
   *echidna-erg spear-r moon BP-hand*  
   The echidna speared the moon in the hand.

3. a-mutek-nayi-nj nal-wiru ka-yinj-yinj kitjawak la-m  
   *M-big-inch-r man-really NC-R-be irr beard pierce-r*  
   He has become adult. He is a real man. His beard has
pierced through.

lar-pu-m (2) : to stop

1. at-lar-pu-m amala kan-pu an-wak wung-a
   1sgSC-stop-Aux-r Neg POT-hit Cl-little leave-imp
   mulkingla poor fellow
   I stopped him. "Do not hit that kid, Leave him alone,
   poor fellow."

lep-m-al (2) : to knock over

1. kan-kupal-li-ngan njek:-u kan-pan-lep-m-al
   POT-nearly-fall-irr 1sg-DAT POT-1sgO-knock over-Aux-irr
   It nearly fell on me. It might have knocked me over.

2. mutaka-yi nal lep-m-inj
   car-erg man knock over-Aux-r
   The car knocked the man over.

let-na-y (2) : to look after someone
leya-m-al (2) : to pass, to pass by
lili-m-al (1) : to run

1. kulupe an-ki ka-lili-m-al ngunj-u
   cold BP-nose NC-run-Aux-irr 2sg-DAT
   (You have) a cold. (Your) nose is running on you.

2. wik ka-lili-m-al a-mutek
   water NC-run-Aux-irr Cl-big
   The water is running fast.

lili-tjim (1) : to come running
li-mi (1) : to jump
li-nj (1) : to fall

imp : li-njtjanj
r : li-nj
irr : li-ngan
impf : li-ngan-inj

lir-kit-m-al (2) : to grind one's teeth
lir-m-al (2) : to scratch (of animals)
lit-pu-m (2) : to sew, to weave

1. njek a-muk:u lit:i pat-li-lit-pu-m
   1sg Cl-good dillybag 1sgSNC-RED-weave-Aux-r
   I am good at making/weaving/sewing dillybags.

lorot-m-al (2) : to grind, to sharpen

1. an-letma ka-lorot-m-al
   BP-tooth NC-grind-Aux-irr
   He is grinding his teeth.

2. munjtjiwa kiri-lik ka-lorot-m-al
   knife stone-LOC NC-grind-Aux-irr
   He is grinding/sharpening the knife on a stone.

lu-k:a-ngi (2) : to light a grass fire/bush fire
lura-m-al (2) : to bring back
malak-li (1) : to dance (of women)

   imp : malak-li
   r : malak-li
   irr : malak-li
   impf : malak-li-linj

malak-pu-m (1) : to dance (of women)
mal-wu-y (2) : to poison
man-ka-ngi (1) : to get lost
ma-pu-m (2) : to pull bark off (mainly used of paperbark)
mar-m-al (1) : to be (of lightning)
mat-m-al (1) : to be quiet

1. pa-mat-m-a-lul in-ka-pa-nga-n
   2plS-be quiet-Aux-imp-pair n3plO-NC-3plS-hear-irr
   Be quiet, you two! They can hear us.
2. kuluwetelk:mi ana-ka-manj wik pi
   hiccups 2sgO-NC-get irr water drink
   ka-mat-m-al ngunj-u
   NC-be quiet-Aux-irr 2sg-DAT
lit. If the hiccups have you, drink water and it will
become quiet to you.
If you have the hiccups, then drink some water and
that will quieten you down.

matmat-m-al (1) : to shine

1. melang ka-matmat-m-al le pali-na-y wili
   light NC-shine-Aux-irr camp 1plSNC-see-r house
lit. Light is shining. We will be able to see the camp
and the house soon.
It is getting light. We will be able to see the camp
and the house soon.

mawinj-ka-ngi (2) : to roll/turn something/one over
mawinj-yang (1) : to roll/turn over
mekkilkil-m-al (1) : to burp
mekpulayi-nj (1) : to be surprised
melang-pu-m (1) : to catch/keep/stay/set (a)light, to shine

1. wek-lik tirim-pu-n-inj katji-yang wek
   fire-LOC light-Aux-irr-impf that-OR fire
   melang-pu-n-inj nat-nu-y an-mewel
   keep alight-Aux-irr-impf UO-burn-r BP-clothes
She kept on trying to light the fire (lit. lighting at
the fire), until it caught and kept alight and then it
burnt her clothes.

2. wek ka-pi-m-al ka-melang-pu-n wek
   fire NC-blow-Aux-irr NC-keep alight-Aux-irr fire
She is blowing on the fire to keep it alight.

3. in-melang-pu-m karang yapuru
   n3plO-set light-Aux-r moon 1plinc DAT
The moon is setting light on us.
mi (2) : to get, to grab, to pick up

imp : may
r : mi
irr : manj
impf : mayim

1. kat-manj an-lanj
   \textit{POT1sgS-get} \textit{irr BP-tail}
   I tried to get/grab/pick it up by the tail.

2. yepe in-ka-manj-manj an-tum
   \textit{1plinc n3plO-NC-R-get} \textit{irr BP-face}
   lit. Us, he is getting our faces.
   He is photographing us.

mim-pu-m (2) : to close
mir-m-al (1) : to shine (of the sun)
mitj-na-y (2) : to know
mok-mi (2) : to steal
mukayi-nj (1) : to show off
mulmek-mi (2) : to love, to like
mulpa-m-al (2) : to curl up, to clench, to coil

1. anpik i-mulpa-m-inj
   \textit{rope 1plSC-coil-Aux-r}
   We coiled the rope up.

2. pelam ka-mulpami-yi-n
   \textit{snake NC-curl up-refl-irr}
   The snake is curling up.

3. an-nepe nepat-mulpami-yi-nj
   \textit{BP-hand hand-clench-refl-r}
   He has clenched his fist.

multj:i-wu-y (2) : to frighten
mutj-m-al (2) : to mix
muy-al (2) : to lose, to miss
1. put-muy-inj wanjlak angilak pa-yatjinj
   3plO-miss-r now over here 3plS-go r
   I just missed them. They have just gone.

2. an-nji at-muy-inj eping ka-yinj-yinj an-nji
   BP-name 1sgSC-lose-r who NC-R-be irr BP-name
   at-kanimup-m-inj
   1sgSC-forget-Aux-r
   I have lost his name. Who is he? I have forgotten his name.

nawa-m (3) : to take something off somebody
na-y (2) : to see, to look
nay-na-y (2) : to watch, to look after (repeated form of 'to see')
nepat-way-m-al (1) : to wave one's hand
ni (1) : to sit, to stay, to squat

   imp : ni-nj
   r : ni-winj
   irr : ni
   impf : ni-ninj

nik-p-al (2) : to put up, to build (up), to erect

1. wili nik-p-inj njama-wu
   house build-Aux-r 1dlinc-DAT
   He built a house for us.

2. at-nik-p-inj anpik kenganawu li-nj
   1sgSC-put up-Aux-r fence over there fall-r
   I put up/fixed up that fence over there that had fallen down.

3. kaking njikpa pa-pilpilang wik katji-yang pul
   yesterday night 3plS-drink impf booze that-OR trouble
   pa-nik-p-inj pa-pu-tji-nj
   3plS-build up-Aux-r 3plS-hit-recip-r
   Last night they were drinking booze and as a result
   they built up trouble and had a fight.
nim-p-al (3) : to transport something for somebody
nuw-al (1) : to kick, to dance (of men)
nu-y (1 and 2) : to burn (see 4.4.2)

1. kulupe   pat-ka-ka-ngi   an-kum
   cold     1sgSNC-RED-have-r  BP-back of neck
   pan-ka-nun-nu-n            1sgO-NC-R-burn-irr
I have a cold. The back of my throat is burning/feverish.

njil-al (2) : to bring, to bring up

1. njek at-njil-inj   a-lil kenganawu
   1sg 1sgSC-bring up-r  M-boy over there
Me, I was the one who brought that boy over there up.

njim (1) : to enter, to go in, to go through, to wear, to come in, to come through

imp : njim-i
r : njim
irr : njim-in
impf : njim-in-inj

1. nal   al-kala-wu   njim   tjutjuk-lik
   man    NF-3sg-DAT  go through  law-LOC
   Her husband went through the law.

2. al-kulpe al-mutek-tjangki an-mewel an-pitpit:-u njim
   F-woman  F-big-very  BP-clothes  Cl-red-OBL wear
   That very big woman wore a red dress.

3. wik    an-ki   njim   a-kala-wu
   water   BP-nose  come in   NF-3sg-DAT
   Water came into his nose (and he drowned).

njip-m-al (1) : to swim, to sink, to dive, to be stuck in mud (see discussion of verb stem semantics in following section)
1. pamunj njip-m-inj
canoe sink-Aux-r
The canoe sank.

2. njip-m-inj wik-lik
dive-Aux-r water-LOC
He dived into the water.

3. an-na-y mutaka yul-lik njip-m-inj
2sgS-see-r car ground-LOC stick-Aux-r
an-kutjkutj:-u-lik
Cl-wet-OBL-LOC
Can you see if the car is stuck in the mud.

nji-pu-m (1) : to cry, to cry out

1. angik:u nji-pu-n-inj kaking njikpa
dingo cry-Aux-irr-impf yesterday night
The dingoes were howling last night.

njuknjuk-m-al (1) : to sprinkle (of rain)
njulk-m-al (1) : to gulp (see following section on verb stem semantics)
ngal-mi (2) : to get/lift/pick something up/out

1. an-kara mi ngal-mi an-wak ka-wali-n mulkingla
BP-leg get r up-get r Cl-little NC-call out-irr poor thing
The kid has got (the pig) and picked it up by its legs.
It is screaming out, poor thing.

2. at-ngal-mi puputj mutaka-yang muya-yiwu
1sgSC-out-get r boot car-OR tucker-COM
I lifted the tucker out of the car boot.

ngal-ni (1) : to get up/out, to come up/out/off, to escape

1. ngal-ni-winj penipe-yang
get out-Aux-r jail-OR
He escaped from jail.
2. **mira**l ka-nga**l**-ni
sun NC-come up-Aux
The sun is coming up.

3. lanti ngal-ni-wi**nj** yumpal til-m-inj
tree sp come off-Aux-r tree dry-Aux-r
lit. The lanti tree is coming off (at the bark). It is
drying up.
The lanti tree is dieing.

**ngal-tjim** (1) : to come up/out/off

1. karang ka-nga**l**-tjim-in
moon NC-up-come-irr
The moon is coming up.

2. wang at-tanj-mayim wanjlak parak:ut pa-nga**l**-tjim
meat tsgSC-cut-Aux impf then whiteman 3plS-up-come
I was cutting up the meat when the Land Council mob
came up.

3. anpat-lik amala kan-nga**l**-tjim-in a-kamu pep-tj-ang
can-LOC Neg POT-off-come-irr Cl-tight stick-Aux-r
It will not come off the can. It is stuck on tight.

4. an-wik ka-nga**l**-nga**l**-tjim-in
BP-skin NC-R-off-come-irr
lit. His skin is coming off and off.
He has a rash.

5. i-lu:k:a-ngi wek kan-nga**l**-tjim-in
1plSC-light-Aux-r fire POT-out-come-irr
We lit a fire (so that the snake) might come out (of
the tree).

6. an-letma a-waru ka-kupa**l**-nga**l**-tjim-in wanpa wayk:an
BP-tooth Cl-bad NC-nearly-out-come-irr just up
ka-wunj-wu-nj
NC-R-hang-irr
That bad tooth is nearly coming out. It is just
hanging on up (there).

7. pali-kupal-ngal-tjim
   1plSNC-nearly-up-come
   We have nearly arrived.

nga-m (2) : to hear, to listen, to remember, to think, to feel, to know, to understand

1. an-pam pat-ngam-nga-m a-waru pat-ni-ni-winj
   BP-head 1sgSNC-R-feel-r Cl-bad 1sgSNC-red-sit-r
   I feel sad.

2. a-kala ka-ngan-nga-n an-mariwak:u-yang
   NF-3sg NC-R-know-irr Cl-old-OR
   Him, he knows (the stories) from the old days.

3. njek yungay at-yunguy-inj ngunj lura
   1sg front 1sgSC-be-impf 2sg behind
   pan-wul-m-al-anj an-ka-ngan-nga-n
   1sgO-follow-Aux-irr-impf 2sgS-NC-R-remember-irr
   Me, I was in front. You, you were behind, following me. You remember?

4. yu pat-ngam-nga-m ngoni katji
   yes 1sgSNC-R-hear-r language that
   lit. Yes, I hear that language.
   Yes, I know that language.

5. amala kan-nga
   Neg POT-hear
   He does not understand.

6. pa-lili-m-inj anlungka-lik pali-njip-m-inj
   3plS-run-Aux-r billabong-LOC 1plSNC-swim-Aux-r
   pa-tji-yi pin amala an-pam kan-pa-nga-n
   3plS-say-r but Neg BP-head POT-3plS-think-irr
   apulangu-wu crocodile-DAT
   They ran down to the billabong. "We will go
swimming" they said, but they did not think of the crocodiles.

ngantikat-pi-l (1) : to choke

1. ngantikat-pi-ng wang-yi
   choke-Aux-r meat-INS
   He has choked from the meat.

nganti-mi (2) : to grab, to seize
ngantitep-m-al (1) : to be thirsty
ngantiwul-m-al (2) : to chase (off), to run after/ff

1. pun-ngantiwul-m-inj lerik-yang
   3pI-O-chase off-Aux-r camp-OR
   (Uncle) chased/ran them out of the camp.

ngatji-m-al (1) : to sneeze
ngayk-m-al (2) : to keep, to wait for, to look after
nge-m-al (1) : to breathe, to growl

1. ngiri ka-ngi-m-al
   dog NC-growl-Aux-irr
   The dog is growling.

2. lili-m-al-anj yarpa-yang ka-wok-ngi-m-al
   run-Aux-irr-impf far-OR NC-heavy-breathe-Aux-irr
   a-mutek
   C1-big
   He has run from a long way away. He is puffing and panting.

3. amala kan-wok-ngi-m-i kulupe-yi an-ki
   Neg POT-heavy-breathe-Aux-ncPOT cold-INS BP-nose
   a-kupam atjangki ka-kan-ka-n
   C1-lots maybe NC-R-have-irr
   He cannot breathe properly from the cold. Maybe he has lots of (mucus) in his nose.

ngitj-wu-y (3) : to ask somebody about something
ngiwl (3) : to put something in somewhere
nguk-m-al (1) : to howl (of dogs and dingoes)
ngum-pu-m (2) : to cook, to sting

1. kan-a-ngum-pu watpok
   POT-2sgO-sting-Aux caterpillar
   The caterpillar might sting you.

nguni-wu-y (2) : to talk/speak to someone else
nguntji-yi (1) : to talk/speak (to one another)

   imp : nguntji
   r : nguntji-yi
   irr : nguntji-nj
   impf : nguntji-nj-inj

1. pa-mat-m-a a-kupam a-ka-nguntji-nj
   2plS-be quiet-Aux.imp CI-lots 2plS-NC-talk-irr
   Be quiet you lot. You are talking too much.

2. ngoni waray pat-ngu-nguntji-yi
   language Waray 1sgSNC-RED-talk-r
   I can speak/talk Waray.

ngurak-tji-nj (1) : to be full
palawa-m (2) : to rub, to paint
pal-m-al (1) : to be blocked

1. an-ki ki-pal-m-inj kine-yi
   BP-nose nose-blocked-Aux-r mucus-INS
   His nose is blocked with mucus.

2. amala kan-nge-m-i an-tjen
   Neg POT-breathe-Aux-ncPOT BP-tongue
   tjen-pal-m-inj an-tjili
   tongue-blocked-Aux-r BP-mouth
   lit. He cannot breathe. He is tongue-blocked mouth.
   He cannot breathe. His tongue is blocking his mouth.

pamputj-m-al (1) : to be born
pam-tja-l (2) : to eat (occurs only in a legend)
pan-ka-ngi (2) : to dig
pa-pu-m (2) : to ride
para pu-m (2) : to spread
parara-k:a-ngi (1) : to shine, to light up

1. miral ka-parara-k:a-n a-kala-wu ka-nun-nu-n
   sun NC-shine-Aux-IRR NF-3sg-DAT NC-R-burn-IRR
   The sun is shining on him and burning him.

2. pa-lu-k:a-ngi wek ka-nun-nu-n tjetpam a-mutek
   3plS-light-Aux-r fire NC-R-burn-IRR grass Cl-big
   ka-parara-k:a-n
   NC-shine-Aux-IRR
   They lit a big grass fire. It is burning and lighting up
   (the sky).

par-m-al (0) : to get light
parp-m-al (0) : to get cold
pa-tj-ang (2) : to look for, to search for
pe (2) : to bite

  imp : pi
  r : pinj
  irr : pe
  impf : pin-inj

1. an-letma ka-pe-pe
   BP-tooth NC-R-bite Irr
   lit. He is biting his teeth.
   He is frowning.

pe-m-al (1) : to shake
pep-tj-ang (1) : to be stuck
pi-l (2) : to drink

  imp : pi
  r : pi-ng
  irr : pi-l
  impf : pilpilang
pil-m-al (1) : to poke one's tongue out

1. a-waru an-tjen ka-tjen-pil-m-al pikiring-u
   Cl-bad BP-tongue NC-tongue-poke-Aux-irr 3pl-DAT
   a-pulang-u ka-yinj-yinj
   Cl-cheeky-OBL NC-R-be irr
   He is a bad (boy). He is always poking his tongue out
   at people. He is cheeky.

pil-mi (2) : to smell, to sniff
pil-wu-y (1) : to smell

1. an-muk:u ka-pil-wu-n kutjangal
   Cl-good NC-smell-Aux-irr pandanus nut
   The pandanus nut smells good.

pi-m-al (2) : to blow

1. wek ka-pi-m-al ka-melang-pu-n wek
   fire NC-blow-Aux-irr NC-keep alight-Aux-irr fire
   She is blowing on the fire to keep it alight.

pi-nj (2) : to dig for yams

imp : pi
r : pi-nj
irr : pi-nj
impf : pi-nj-inj

ping-m-al (2) : to suck
pitjip-m-al (2) : to squeeze, to roll, to twist, to rub together, to drive

1. ka-pitjip-m-al anpik
   NC-twist-Aux-irr string
   She is twisting the string.

2. mekmek ka-pitjip-m-al
   swag NC-roll up-Aux-irr
   He is rolling up his swag.
3. ka-pitjip-pitjip-m-al wekmu
   NC-R-rub together-Aux-irr firestick
   He is rubbing the firesticks together.

4. ka-pitjip-m-al an-tilmi-wu ka-pula-n katji-yang
   NC-squeeze-Aux-irr CI-dry-OBL NC-make-irr that-OR
   kak:wuy ka-winti-nj miral-lik
   after NC-hang up-irr sun-LOC
   She is squeezing (the clothes) to make them dry.
   Later she will hang them up in the sun.

5. at-nat-tji-yi na-na an-wak:-u pitjip-m-a
   1sgSC-UGO-say-r R-look CI-little-OBL drive-Aux-imp
   kak:u-yu-n kan-pu-yi
   after-DAT-CONS POT-kill-refl
   I told him "Watch out! Drive slower otherwise you
   might kill yourself."

    pitj-pu-m (1) : to stay for a long time
    pok-la-m (2) : to make string by rubbing banyon tree fibres on one's thighs

   imp : pol-li
   r : pok-la-m
   irr : pok-le-n
   impf : pok-li-linj

    pok-m-al (2) : variant of pok-la-m
   p(w)ok-pu-m (2) : variant of pok-la-m
   pu-k:a-ngi (2) : to hunt
    pukiri-pu-m (1) : to dream
    pukiri-yu-ng (1) : to dream
    pukpuk-m-al (1) : to blow (of the wind)
    pula-m (2) : to make, to cure

1. akutangyi pula-m a-muk:u ka-yinj
   doctor cure-r CI-good NC-be irr
   The doctor cured him/made him better. He is good
   (now).

    pul-m-al (1) : to become angry
pulng-m-al (1) : to bubble up, to boil

1. wik ka-pulng-pulng-m-al yul-yang
   water NC-R-bubble up-Aux-irr ground-OR
   (A spring is where) water bubbles up out of the ground.

2. wik ka-pulng-pulng-m-al
   water NC-R-bubble-Aux-irr
   lit. The water is bubbling.
   The water is boiling.

puluk-ni (1) : to go across, to cross (over)
puluk-tjim (1) : to come across
puluk-yang (1) : to go across
pu-m (2) : to hit, to kill, to fight

1. an-pam pan-ka-pun-pu-n
   BP-head 1sgO-NC-R-hit-irr
   lit. I am being hit head.
   I have a headache.

2. matj ka-tjim-in in-ka-pun-pu-n a-lal
   wind NC-come-irr n3plO-NC-R-hit-irr CI-cold
   The wind is blowing, making us cold.

3. an-nepe ka-pa-pun-pu-n
   BP-hand NC-3plS-R-hit-irr
   They are clapping.

pu-m-al (1) : to swell (up)
pu-m-al (1) : to howl (of dogs)
pun-m-al (2) : to bury

1. an-ngupe-yi ka-punmi-yi-n yok-lik
   BP-foot-INS NC-bury-refl-irr sand-LOC
   lit. He is burying his foot in the sand.
   He is drawing with his foot in the sand.

putjapputjap-m-al (2) : to poke around for turtles
putj-pu-m (2) : to send (off)
1. pa-nganti-mi amala kan-pa-putj-pu-n
   3plS-grab-Aux r Neg POT-3plS-send-Aux-irr
   lit. They have grabbed him. They will not send him off. They have grabbed him. They will not let him go.
puwak-m-al (2) : to level, to clear
puwik-m-al (2) : to dislike, to not want
pwok-pu-m (2) : to flog, to whip
1. an-lanj-yi pun-pwok-pu-m laki-nj an-tjili-lik
   BP-tail-INS 3plO-whip-Aux-r toss-r BP-mouth-LOC
   pun-njulk-m-inj
   3plO-gulp-Aux-r
   (The rainbow) whipped them round with his tail. He tossed them into his mouth and gorged them down.
pwuy-m-al (2) : to tell, to recount
tal-ka-ngi (1) : to float
tanj-mi (2) : to cut
1. muya pa-tanj-tanj-mayim an-wik
   tucker 3plS-R-cut-Aux impf BP-skin
   lit. Somebody has cut and cut the skin (from the) fruit.
   The fruit is all peeled.
tatawuk-m-al (2) : to gnaw
tel-pu-m (2) : to open
teret-pu-m (2) : to scratch
til-m-al (2) : to draw, to paint
1. pulk ka-pa-kan-ka-n luywa mutjla nal
   white ochre NC-3plS-R-take-irr red ochre too man
   pun-ka-pa-til-m-al
   3plO-NC-3plS-paint-Aux-irr
   They take white ochre, and red ochre too to paint/draw on the men.
til-m-al (1) : to dry (up)

1. wik anlungka til-m-inj
   water billabong dry up-Aux-r
   That billabong is drying up.

2. lanti ngal-ni-winj yumpal til-m-inj
   tree sp come off-Aux-r tree dry up-Aux-r
   The lanti tree is coming off (at the bark). It is drying up.
   The lanti tree is losing (its bark). It is dying.

til-pu-m (2) : to draw, to paint [variant til-m-al (2)]
tiri-m-al (1) : to crawl
tirim-pu-m (2) : to light a camp fire
tiri-tjim (1) : to come crawling
tit-la-m (2) : to pinch
tok(w)ori (1,2?) : to feel cold (see 4.4.4.3)
tolngputj-m-al (1) : to smoke
tol-pu-m (2) : to block

1. le yumpal a-kupam in-tol-pu-m
   country tree Cl-lots n3pLO-block-Aux-r
   There are too many trees in this country. They block our (view).

toltol-m-al (2) : to shake
tororo-m-al (1) : to boil
tuk-m-al (1) : to crack
tuk-pu-m (2) : to crack
tul-m-al (1) : to burst

1. kiri wik-yang i-mi i-kut-m-inj wek-lik
   stone water-OR 1pIsc-get r 1pIsc-put-Aux-r fire-LOC
   nu-y tul-m-inj
   burn-r burst-Aux-r
   We got a stone from the water and put it near the fire. It got burnt and burst.

tulum-pu-m (2) : to cover
tumup-m-al (1) : to close one's eyes, to wink, to blink

1. tumup-m-inj njek:-u an-tum
   wink-Aux-r 1sg-DAT BP-eye
   He winked at me.

2. an-tum ka-tumup-tumup-m-al wal-yang
   BP-eye NC-R-blink-Aux-irr smoke-OR
   He is blinking from the smoke.

tum-pay-m-al (1) : to open one's eyes
tumtjit-m-al (2) : to be jealous of someone
turut-m-al (1) : to thunder (see following section on verb stem semantics)
tuwak-kut-m-al (2) : to put across
tuwak-yu-ng (1) : to lie across
tja-l (2) : to eat

   imp : tja
   r : tja-nj
   irr : tja-l
   impf : tjutjir-inj

tjalak-m-al (3) : to show
tja-m-al (2) : to chew
tjamin-m-al (1) : to be blocked, (to be dysfunctional? see an-tjamin-u)

1. an-ki pan-tjamin-m-inj amala kat-yu
   BP-nose 1sgO-blocked-Aux-r Neg POT1sgS-sleep
   kaking njikpa
   yesterday night
   My nose was blocked. I could not sleep last night.

tjapatja-k:a-ngi (2) : to sneak up on
tjapatj-m-al (2) : variant of tjapatja-k:a-ngi
tja-pi-l (2) : to lick
tjapil-m-al (2) : variant of tja-pi-l

1. ngiri tjapilmi-yi-n-inj
dog lick-refl-irr-impf
   The dog was licking (its foot).
tjap-m-al (2) : to stab, to stub

1. kiri-yang at-ngapat-tjapmi-yi-nj an-ngapat-pitinj
   stone-OR 1sgSC-toe-stub-refl-r BP-toe-nail
   I stubbed my toenail on a stone.

tjapul-m-al (2) : to smoke
tjat-la-m (2) : to poke
tjik-m-al (2) : to fear
tjili-way-m-al (1) : to wave
tjim (1) : to come, to arrive, to approach

   imp : yanj
   r : tjim
   irr : tjim-in
   impf : tjim-in-inj

1. matj ka-tjim-in
   wind NC-come-irr
   The wind is blowing.

2. wanjlak angilak at-tjim
   now over here 1sgSC-come
   I have just arrived.

tjipinj-pu-m (1) : to stay for ages/years
tjip-m-al (2) : to hammer, to bash
tjitpul-m-al (1) : to smoulder
tjit-pu-m (2) : to hurt
tjitj-la-m (2) : to point
tji-yi (1) : to say, to do, to call, to promise, to mean, to believe

   imp : tji
   r : tji-yi
   irr : tji-nj
   impf : tjungutj-inj

1. tjukung pan-pa-tji-yi
   aunt 1sgO-3plS-say-r
   lit. Aunt they say to me.
They call me aunt.

2. yilinj ana-tji-yi ana-pu-m
   *what way* 2sgO-do-r 2sgO-hit-r
   What did he do to you? Did he hit you?

3. wang pa-tji-yi ka-pa-njil-al yapuru
   *meat* 3plS-say-r NC-3plS-bring-irr 1plinc DAT
   They said/promised that they would bring us some meat.

4. a-tjamuru tjap-lik pa-kulu-tj-i-tjinj an-kanim-yiwu
   *M-police road-LOC* 3plS-stand-Aux-irrf BP-ear-COM
   pa-lar-pu-n-inj atjangki wang a-ka-kan-ka-n
   3plS-stop-Aux-irrf impf maybe *meat* 2plS-NC-R-have-irrf
   pa-tjungutj-inj
   3plS-think-irrf
   The police were on the road stopping cars (because of a livestock quarantine order). Maybe they said "Do you lot have meat?"
The police were on the road stopping cars. Maybe they thought that you lot had meat.

5. amala kat-tji-nj ngoni katji
   *Neg POT1sgS-mean-irrf word that*
   I did not mean those words.

   tjuknik-p-al (3) : to stick in/into
tjukpat-m-al (1) : to spit
tjul-m-al (1) : to fish
tjul-tj-ang (1) : to go/get/come down/off

1. wanpa pat-tjul-tj-ang pat-yatjinj
   *just* 1sgSNC-go down-Aux-r 1sgSNC-go r
   I am just going down (to the creek).

2. tjul-tj-anj kan-li-njijanj wayk:an-yang
   get down-Aux-imp POT-fall-nCPOT up-OR
   Get/come down from up (there)! You might fall.
3. nentu-yang tjul-tj-ang
   horse-OR get down-Aux-r
   He got off the horse.

4. tjanjpalk ka-tjul-tj-i
   saltwater NC-go down-Aux-irr
   The tide is going down/out.

   tjuluk-m-al (2) : to spill
   tjuluk-tj-ang (1) : to spill
   tjuluulu-m-al (1) : to flow, to dribble

1. tumila ka-tjululu-m-al
   tear NC-flow-Aux-irr
   Tears are flowing.

2. wik ka-tjululu-m-al wayk:an kiri-yang
   water NC-flow-Aux-irr high stone-OR
   Water flows from high up on the hill. (description of a waterfall).

3. an-pam wari-nj an-tum tum-pitpit-tji-nj kitjaninj
   BP-head be no good-r BP-face face-red-inch-r spit
   ka-kitjaninj-tjululu-m-al
   NC-spit-flow-Aux-irr
   His head hurt. His face went red and he starts to foam at the mouth. (description of a fit).

tju-m (1) : to die

1. wek amala tju-m
   fire Neg die-r
   There is no fire. It has died.

2. karang an-wak:-u ka-tjun-tju-n
   moon CI-little-DAT NC-R-die-irr
   lit. The moon is dieing to little.
   The moon is waning.

   tju-m-al (1) : to go down (of the sun)
tjum-pu-m (2) : to extinguish, to put out, to turn off

1. yumpal malamala pa-kori pa-tjum-pu-m wek tree leaves 3plS-break 3plS-extinguish-Aux-r fire nu-y tjetpam burn-r grass

They broke off branches to extinguish/put out the fire that was burning the grass.

2. tjum-pu melang extinguish-Aux light

Extinguish/Turn off that light.

tjun-pu-m (2) : to miss (a shot or a throw)
tjung-m-al (2) : to stretch
tjut:uy-m-al (1) : to limp
tju-yi (1) : to shit

imp : tju
r : tju-yi
irr : tju-nj
impf : tjun-inj

wali-nj (1) : to call/yell out
wal-m-al (2) : to hide
walmi-tj-ang (1) : to hide
walng-m-al (1) : to hang out
walng-wu-y (2) : to hang/put over

1. wek-lik an-ka-walng-wu-n ka-kamu-tji-nj fire-LOC 2sgS-NC-hang over-Aux-irr NC-tough-inch-irr

You hang/put (the spearhead) over the fire to toughen it.

wa-m-al (1) : to bark
warikutmiyi-nj (1) : to have children
wari-nj (1) : to be no good

1. mutaka amala wari-nj car Neg no good-r
The car will not (start). It is no good/broken down.

2. an-pula-m a-waru wari-nj
   2sgS-make-r Cl-bad no good-r
   You made it badly. It is no good.

   wark:i-m-al (1) : to work
   waruwaru-m-al (2) : to swing something around
   wat-m-al (1) : to go off, to spoil

   1. wang ka-wat-m-al
      meat NC-go off-Aux-irr
      The meat is going off/spoiling.

   2. an-twuy wat-m-inj
      BP-heart go off-Aux-r
      He feels off in the guts.

   3. wut-m-a an-tjakmi-wu an-ka-le-n tjaninj
      aim-Aux-imp Cl-straight-OBL 2sgS-NC-spear-irr kangaroo
      amala kan-wat-m-i
      Neg POT-go off-Aux-ncPOT
      Aim straight when you spear that kangaroo. Do not
      spoil/go off (in your aim).

   4. miral pan-ka-nun-nu-n an-tum an-tum
      sun 1sgO-NC-R-burn-irr BP-eye BP-eye
      pan-ka-wat-m-al miral-yang
      1sgO-NC-spoil-Aux-irr sun-OR
      The sun is burning my eyes. My eyes are hurting from
      the sun.

   wat-pu-m (2) : to peel, to skin
   wayi-nj (1) : to return, to come back, to go back
   wek-pu-m (2) : to make a fire
   werinj-pu-m (2) : to sing someone
   wilik-m-al (1) : to swallow (see following section on verb stem
      semantics)
   winti (2) : to hang out/up
   wirin-pu-m (1) : to sing
wirinj-ka-angi (2) : to take someone for a walk
wirinj-m-al (1) : to go for a walk, to walk around, to wag

1. ngiri ka-lanj-wirinj-wirinj-m-al
dog NC-tail-R-wag-Aux-irr
The dog is wagging its tail.

wir-m-al (1) : to swim across
wit-m-al (1) : to whistle
witji-nj (1) : to break
wuk-mi (2) : to carry
wul-al (2) : to finish

1. tjatpula pulpul a-mutek laki-nj ka-yu-yu atjangki
old man sick Cl-big toss-r NC-R-lie maybe
ka-wuli-yi-n-wa in-ka-wung-al
NC-finish-refl-irr-could be n3plO-NC-leave-irr
The old man is very sick. Maybe he could be going to
finish and leave us.

wulak-m-al (2) : to not want to go somewhere
wulek-m-al (2) : to wash
wuli (0 or 1?) : to rain
wuli (1) : to piss
wul-m-al (2) : to follow

1. an-wak an-tum wul-inj pip:i a-kala-wu-wanjuk
Cl-little BP-face follow-r father NF-3sg-OBL-like
lit. That kid’s face follows like his father’s.
That kid looks like his father.

wulwul-mi (1) : to ache
wung-al (2) : to leave (has an irregular Realis form wung-anj)

1. wung-a
leave-imp
Stop it!

2. amala kan-pun-wali pun-wung-a
Neg POT-3plO-call out 3plO-leave-imp
Do not call out to them. Leave them (alone).

wup-pu-m (1) : to clear off
wut-m-al (2) : to aim, to throw with aiming
wu-y (3) : to give
wu-yi (1) : to climb, to hang

imp : wu-y
r : wu-yi
irr : wu-nj
impf : wun-inj

1. an-letma a-waru ka-kupal-ngal-tjim-in wanpa wayk:an
   BP-tooth Ci-bad NC-nearly-out-come-irr just up
   ka-wunj-wu-nj
   NC-R-hang-irr
   That loose tooth is nearly coming out. It is just
   hanging in up (there).

yak-wu-y (2) : to lie to, to trick
ya-k:a-ngi (2) : to visit
ya-m-al (2) : to argue, to tell off, to swear

1. at-ya-m-inj amala kan-pu wung-a mulkingla
   1sgSC-tell off-Aux-r Neg POT-hit leave-imp poor fellow
   I told him off "Do not hit (the kid). Leave him, poor
   fellow"

2. an-letma pan-ya-m-inj
   BP-tooth 1sgO-swear-Aux-r
   He swore at me.

3. wik-yang pi-ng an-pam wari-nj
   booze-OR drink-r BP-head no good-r
   in-ka-ya-m-al pul
   n3plO-NC-argue-Aux-irr trouble
   He is no good in the head from drinking booze. He is
   arguing with us (and making) trouble.

yang (1) : to go, to walk, to fly
imp : yang
r : yatjinj
irr : yinj
impf : yunyujinj

yir-mi (2) : to pull out/down/through/off, to weave

1. ka-yir-manj yumpal-yang
    NC-pull out-Aux irr wood-OR
    He is pulling (nails) out of the wood.

2. manma-yir-mi muya an-tum
    1dlincSNC-pull off-Aux r tucker BP-eye
    lit. We have pulled (the skin) off the vegetables.
    We have peeled the vegetables.

3. at-yir-mi nguk an-tji
    1sgSC-pull out-Aux r guts BP-liver
    I pulled the guts and liver (out of a goanna).

4. wili pa-yir-mi
    house 3plS-pull down-Aux r
    They have pulled the house down.

5. billycan yir-may wek-yang
    billycan pull off-Aux imp fire-OR
    Pull the billycan off the fire.

6. ka-yir-manj merinj-yang tup:u ka-pula-n
    NC-pull through-Aux irr pandanus-OR basket NC-make-irr
    She is pulling through/weaving pandanus to make a basket.

yir-tjim (1) : to come undone
yu-ng (1) : to lie, to sleep, to camp

imp : yu-nj
r : yu-ng
irr : yu
impf : yu-yinj
yur-mi (2) : to pull

1. ka-yur-manj wek lerik-lik ka-njil-al
   \textit{NC-pull-Aux irr firewood camp-LOC NC-bring- irr}
   She is pulling firewood, bringing it to the camp.

2. an-ngupe an-pitj pan-ka-yur-manj
   \textit{BP-foot BP-tendon 1sgO-NC-pull-Aux irr}
   lit. I am being pulled at the tendon in the foot.
   I have a cramp in the tendons in my feet.

yutj-m-al (1) : to go a long way
VERB STEM SEMANTICS.

This section is concerned with the semantics of verb stems which do not have relatively direct translation equivalents in English.

1. laki-l

This verb covers the range of motion away from the Subject, where the Subject is not aiming at a specific endpoint. Laki-l covers 'to push, to drop, to spurt out (of blood), to toss' and 'to chuck'. In its 'to toss' and 'to chuck' meanings laki-l is often used as the equivalent of English 'to put' and 'to throw'. However the use of laki-l in either of these two meanings implies that the Subject has not aimed at a specific endpoint. Thus the use of laki-l in;

1. an-ka-laki-l        wik-lik
   2sgS-NC-toss-irr  water-LOC
   You toss/chuck/put it in the water.

indicates that the Subject is not aiming at any specific piece of water, but rather that any water anywhere will do. If a specific endpoint is intended with 'to put' then the verbs kut-m-al 'to put' or ngiw-al 'to put inside', depending on which is appropriate;

2. tjaninj  ampa  pu-m-wu-n  ampa  pa-kut-m-inj
   kangaroo  where  kill-r-DAT-CONS  where  3plS-put-Aux-r
   wang  amala  kali-tja-l
   meat  Neg  POT1plS-eat-irr
   Which kangaroo did they kill? Where did they put the meat? We never ate it.

Here the use of kut-m-al indicates that the speaker assumes that the meat was put in some specific place, as opposed to just being tossed anywhere about the camp. For 'to throw' to/at a specific endpoint, the verb wut-m-al 'to throw/to aim' is used.

3. kiri        ka-wut-m-al        willi-lik
   stone  NC-throw-Aux-irr  house-LOC
   He is throwing stones at the house.
2. pulpul laki-l: **to feel sick.**

The only noun-verb idiom I am aware of in Waray involves *laki-l*. The normal way of saying 'X is sick' in Waray is to say 'Sickness it laki-l X'.

4. pulpul pan-laki-nj
   sickness 1sgO-push-r
   lit. Sickness it pushes/tosses me.
   I am sick.

This idiom may indicate that the Waray conceived of sickness as being an entity which attacked people by chance (i.e. the person is not a specific endpoint of some sort of motion by a sickness entity).

3. njip-m-al

This verb indicates that the Subject has broken through the surface of a liquid. As such it covers 'to swim, to dive, to sink' and 'to be stuck in' and is opposed to *tal-ka-ngi* 'to float'. Njip-m-al only covers to be stuck in where this state of affairs results from breaking through the surface of a liquid.

5. an-na-y mutaka yul-lik njip-m-inj
   2sgS-see-r car ground-LOC stick in-Aux-r
   an-kutjkutj:-u-lik
   C1-wet-OBL-LOC
   **Can you see if the car is stuck in the mud.** (Here mud is counting as a liquid)

If the being stuck resulted from other causes then the verb pep-tj-ang 'to be stuck' would be used.

6. anpat-lik amala kan-ngal-tjim-in a-kamu pep-tj-ang
   tin-LOC Neg POT-off-come-irr C1-hard stick in-Aux-r
   (It is stuck on) the can. It will not come off. It is stuck on tight/hard.

**Njip-m-al** does not cover 'to drown' which in Waray is always described in the following way;
7. wik an-ki njim
   water BP-nose enter
   Water entered his nose (and he died).

4. wu-yi, walng-m-al, winti,walng-wu-y.

   These four verbs cover the range of 'to hang' in English. Wu-yi means
both 'to climb' and 'to hang'. Walng-m-al is the monovalent verb meaning
'to hang out' and winti is its bivalent counterpart. Walng-wu-y is a
bivalent verb meaning 'to hang something over'.

5. Synonyms.

   a) nguk-m-al, pu-m-al

   These two verbs are the only ones that are completely synonymous as
far as I can determine in Waray. They both mean 'to howl, to bark'.

   b) teret-pu-m, lir-m-al

   These two verbs both mean 'to scratch', but lir-m-al can only be
used of animals, whereas teret-pu-m can be used of anything. The usual
way of saying 'X is itchy/itching' in Waray is;

   8. titimi at-teret-pu-m
       itch 1sgSC-scratch-Aux-r
       lit. I have scratched the itch.
       I am itchy.

   c) tolngputj-m-al, tjitpul-m-al.

   These two verbs are pretty well synonymous, both being monovalent
verbs meaning 'to smoke'. However in an attempt to see if there was any
difference in meaning I inquired if one involved a lot of smoke, and the
other a little. I was told that tjitpul-m-al involved only a little, and
tolngputj-m-al involved a lot. Following this somewhat uncertain basis
I translate tjitpul-m-al as 'to smoulder' and tolngputj-m-al as 'to
smoke'.

d) wilik-m-al, njuik-m-al.
These two verbs both appear to mean 'to swallow'. However by inquiring along the lines discussed in c) preceding, it appears that njulk-m-al involves a lot of noise, and wilik-m-al only a little. Thus I translate njulk-m-al as 'to gulp' and wilik-m-al as 'to swallow'.

e) tirim-pu-m, lu-k:a-angi, melang-pu-m, matmat-m-al.

This set of verbs forms a chain of overlapping meanings. Tirim-pu-m and lu-k:a-angi both mean 'to light a fire'. However tirim-pu-m more specifically means 'to light a camp fire', whereas lu-k:an-angi has as its primary meaning 'to light a grass fire', though it can be used in place of tirim-pu-m (tirim-pu-m cannot be used in place of lu-k:a-angi).

The verb melang-pu-m (melang a light, a torch) can also translate 'to light a fire', but it really means 'to set/catch/keep alight', rather than 'to light'. Melang-pu-m also means 'to shine (on)', or perhaps more accurately 'to put light (on)'.

9. in-melang-pu-m karang yapuru
   n3plO-put light-Aux-r moon 1plinc DAT
   lit. The moon is putting light on us.
The moon is shining on us.

Another monovalent verb meaning 'to shine (on)' is matmat-m-al.


a) mir-m-al.

Neither melang-pu-m nor matmat-m-al is used of the sun however. The verb mir-m-al is used for 'to shine' with the sun.

10. miral ka-mir-m-al
    sun NC-R-shine-Aux-irr
    The sun is shining

Mir-m-al is one of those monovalent verbs which occurs frequently with Object prefixes;
11. pan-ka-tum-mir-mir-m-al
   $1sgO-NC$-eye-$R$-shine-Aux-irr
   (The sun) is shining in my eyes.

b) tju-m-al

This verb means 'to go down' and is used exclusively of the sun. Elsewhere 'to go down' is translated by *tjul-tj-ang* (which can also be used of the sun).

c) mar-m-al

This verb only occurs with the nominal *pulem* 'lightning'.

12. pulem       ka-mar-m-al
    *lightening*   NC-lightning-Aux-irr
    There is some lightning.

d) turut-m-al

This verb only occurs with *wik* 'water/rain';

13. wik       ka-turut-m-al
    *rain*       NC-thunder/storm-Aux-irr

    and the combination means 'It is thundering/storming'.

e) pukpuk-m-al

This verb occurs only with *matj* 'wind' and means 'to blow'. However the normal way of saying 'The wind is blowing' is;

14. matj       ka-tjim-in
    *wind*      NC-come-irr
    lit. The wind is coming.
    The wind is blowing.

7. Culture Specific Verbs.

Most of the culture specific verbs I have describe women's activities.
a) Cooking.

The general neutral verb for cooking is ngum-pu-m. However this more specifically means 'to cook on the fire', and is opposed to katul-mi 'to cook in the ashes' and ka-pe 'to roast in a ground oven' (for a more detailed description of a ground oven see 1.7.1). To ask if something was cooked you would normally say;

15. wang nu-y
    meat burn-r
    lit. Is the meat burned?
    Is the meat cooked?

b) Other Women's Activities.

The following verbs describe specifically women's activities;

pi-nj to dig for yams (see 1.7.1)
putjapputjap-m-al to poke around for turtles
    (see 1.7.1)
    pok-la-m to make banyon string (see 1.7.2)
    malak-pu-m/ to do a women's dance (see 1.5.6)
    malak-li

c) ma-pu-m

This verb means to pull the bark off paperbark trees.

8. European Activities.

There are two verbs which mean 'to boil'. They are pulng-m-al and tororo-m-al. Pulng-m-al also means 'to bubble up' (as of water out of a spring) and this would undoubtedly have been its only meaning in pre-contact times. I have not been able to discover any meaning other than 'to boil' for tororo-m-al and so I do not know what, if anything, it meant in pre-contact times. The verb root tororo is one of only two morphemes ending in o in Waray (see 2.3.4). This could indicate that it was borrowed from some other (presumably Aboriginal) language.

Other European activities with their Waray translations are;
to wear clothes njim 'to enter'
to shoot la-m 'to spear, to pierce'
to drive a vehicle pitjip-m-al 'to roll, to squeeze, to twist' (Presumably this relates to the idea of twisting a steering wheel.)
to ride a horse pa-pu-m. This verb has no other meaning.
to work wark:i-m-al.

Wark:i-m-al is the only verbal borrowing from English and is used to describe this, the most alien of concepts to traditional culture.
VERBS (ENGLISH - WARAY)

This dictionary only provides the potential equivalents of English verbs. Readers should consult the Waray - English verbs dictionary and the preceding section on verb stem semantics to determine the more precise meanings of the Waray verbs given here.

to ache : wulwul-mi

to aim : wut-m-al

to approach : tjim

to argue : ya-m-al

to arrive : tjim

to ask somebody about something : ngitj-wu-y

to ask somebody for something : kul-m-al

to bark : wa-m-al

to bash : tjip-m-al

to be : yang, yu-ng, ni, kulu-tj-ang

to be (of a plural Subject) : kutj-m-al

to be born : pamputj-m-al

to be/become angry : pul-m-al

to be/become blind : tjamin-m-al (an-tum)

to be/become blocked : tjamin-m-al, pal-m-al (an-ki)

to be/become broken : witji-nj

to be/become cold : parp-m-al

to be/become deaf : tjamin-m-al (an-kanim)

to be/become full : ngurak-tji-nj

to be/become jealous : tumptjit-m-al

to be/become light : par-m-al

to be/become lost : man-ka-ngi

to be/become no good : warinj

to be/become quiet : mat-m-al

to be/become stuck : pep-tj-ang, njip-m-al

to be/become surprised : mekpuayi-nj

to be/become thirsty : ngantitep-m-al

to be/become tired : njal-m-al

to bind : kuw-al

to bite : pe

to blink : tumup-m-al

to block someone/thing : tol-pu-m

to blow (of the wind) : tjim, pukpuk-m-al
to blow on something : pi-m-al
to boil : pulng-m-al, tororo-m-al
to break : witji-nj
to break something : kori
to breathe : nge-m-al
to bring : njil-al
to bring back : lur-m-al
to bring back something for someone : nim-p-al
to bubble (up) : pulng-m-al
to build : nik-p-al
to burn : nu-y
to burp : mekkil-m-al
to burrow : yul-tel-pu-m
to burst : tul-m-al
to bury someone : pun-m-al
to call : tji-yi
to call out : wali-nj
to camp : yu-ng
to carry : wuk-mi
to catch alight : melang-pu-m
to chase : ngantiwul-m-al
to cheat : yu-wu-y
to chew : tja-m-al
to choke : ngantikat-pi-l
to chuck something : laki-l
to clap : an-nepe pu-m
to clear : puwak-m-al
to clear off : wup-pu-m
to clench : mulpa-m-al
to climb : wu-yi
to close something : mim-pu-m
to close one's eyes : tumup-m-al
to coil : mulpa-m-al
to come : tjim
to come across : puluk-tjim
to come around : kutitj-tjim
to come back : wayi-nj
to come crawling : tiri-tjim
to come down : tjul-tj-ang
to come off/out/up : ngal-ni, ngal-tjim
to come running: lili-tjim
to come undone: yir-tjim
to cook: ngum-pu-m, katul-mi, ka-pe
to cough: katlang-m-al
to cover something: tulum-pu-m
to crack: tuk-m-al
to crack something: tuk-pu-m
to crawl: tiri-m-al
to cry: nji-pu-m
to cure: pula-m
to curl (up): mulpa-m-al
to cut: tanj-mi

to dance: malak-li, malak-pu-m (of women), nuw-al (of men)
to die: tju-m, wuli-yi-nj (see wul-al)
to dig: pan-ka-ngi
to dig for yams: pi-nj
to dislike: puwik-m-al
to dive: njip-m-al
to do: tji-yi
to draw: til-m-al, til-pu-m
to dream: pukiri-yu-ng, pukiri-pu-m
to dribble: tjulu-lu-m-al
to drink: pi-l
to drive: pitjip-m-al
to drop: laki-l
to drown: wik an-ki njim (see Verb Stem Semantics)
to dry: til-m-al
to eat: tja-l, pam-tja-l (in myth only)
to enter: njim
to escape: ngal-ni
to extinguish: tjum-pu-m
to fall: li-nj
to fear: tjik-m-al, multj:i yatjinj
to feel cold: tok(w)ori
to feel sick: pulpul laki-l
to feel sweaty: kiyak-pu-k
to fill something: kutjili-m-al
to finish something: wul-al
to fish: tjul-m-al
to flash (of lightning): mar-m-al
to float: tal-ka-ngi
to flog: pwok-pu-m
to flow: tjulu-lu-m-al
to fly: yang
to follow: wul-m-al
to forget: kanimup-m-al
to frighten: multji-iwu-y
to frown: anLetma pe
to get: mi
to get down/off: tjul-tj-ang
to get out: ngai-ni
to get up: kut-tj-ang
to get married: kelngaykmiyi-nj
to give: wu-y
to give birth: kut-m-al
to gnaw: tatawuk-m-al
to go: yang
to go across: puluk-ni, puluk-yang
to go around: kutitj-m-al, kutitj-yang
to go back: wayi-ni
to go down: tjul-tj-ang
to go down (of the sun): tju-m-al
to go in/into: njim
to go a long way: yutj-m-al
to go off (spoil): wat-m-al
to go out (fire): tju-m
to go through: njim
to grab: mi, nganti-mi
to grind: lorot-m-al
to grit one's teeth: anLetma lirkit-m-al
to grow up: kupam-tji-nj
to growl: nge-m-al
to gulp: njulk-m-al
to hammer: tjip-m-al
to hang: wu-yi
to hang out: walmg-m-al
to hang something out: winti
to hang something over: walmg-wu-y
to have: ka-ngi
to have children: warikutmiyi-nj
to hear : nga-m
to hiccups : kuluwetat-m-al
to hide : walmi-tj-ang
to hide something : wal-m-al
to howl : nguk-m-al, pu-m-al
to hunt : pu-k:a-ngi
to hurt someone : tjit-pu-m
to jump : li-mi
to keep : ngayk-m-al
to kick : nuw-al
to kill : pu-m (kiknuruwat)
to kiss : kitj:ung-m-al
to knock over : lep-m-al
to know : mitj-na-y
to laugh : kuntiyi-nj
to laugh at : karay-pu-m
to lay (eggs) : kut-m-al
to leave someone/thing : wung-al
to level : puwak-m-al
to lick : tja-pi-l, tjapil-m-al
to lie (cheat) : yak-wu-y
to lie : yu-ng
to lie across : tuwak-yu-ng
to lift (up/out) : ngal-mi
to light a campfire : tirim-pu-m
to light a fire (normally a grass/bushfire) : lu-k:a-ngi
to light up : parara-k:a-ngi
to like : mulmek-mi
to limp : tjut:uy-m-al
to listen : nga-m
to look : na-y
to look after something : nay-na-y, ngayk-m-al
to look after someone : nay-na-y, ngayk-m-al, let-na-y
to look around : kutitj-m-al
to look for : pa-tj-ang
to look like : an-tum wul-m-al
to lose : muy-al
to love : mulmek-mi
to make : pula-m
to make a fire : wek-pu-m
to make string : pok-la-m, pok-m-al, p(w)ok-pu-m

to mean : tji-yi

to miss (seeing) : muy-al

to miss (shooting) : tjun-pu-m

to mix : mutj-m-al

to not want : puwik-m-al

to not want to go somewhere : wulak-m-al

to open something : tel-pu-m

to open one's eyes : tum-pay-m-al

to paint : til-m-al, til-pu-m, palawa-m

to pass (by) : leya-m-al

to peel : wat-pu-m, tanj-mi

to put something in/inside somewhere : ngiw-al

to pierce : la-m

to pinch : tit-la-m

to piss : wuli

to play : kuntyi-yi

to point : tjitj-la-m

to poke something : tjat-la-m

to poke one's tongue out : pil-m-al

to poke around for turtles : putjapputjap-m-al

to pull : yur-mi

to pull down/off/out : yir-mi

to pull bark off trees : ma-pu-m

to push : laki-l

to put : kut-m-al, laki-l, ngiw-al

to put across : tuwak-kut-m-al

to put down : kut-m-al

to put out a fire/light : tjum-pu-m

to put over : walng-wu-y

to put up : nik-p-al

to raise someone : kupa-m-al, njil-al

to remain : pitj-pu-m

to remember : nga-m

to return : wayi-nj

to roast by covering in the ashes : katul-mi

to roast in a ground oven : ka-pe

to roll something along : laki-l

to roll over : mawinj-yang

to roll something over : mawinj-ka-ngi
to roll something up : kemepitjip-m-al, pitjip-m-al
to rub : palawa-m
to rub together : pitjip-m-al
to run : lili-m-al
to run after/off : ngantiwul-m-al
to run away : wup-pu-m
to say : tji-yi
to scratch : teret-pu-m, la-m
to scratch (of animals only) : lir-m-al
to search (for) : pa-tj-ang
to send (off) : putj-pu-m
to set alight : melang-pu-m
to sew : lit-pu-m
to shake : pe-m-al
to shake someone/thing : toltol-m-al
to shine : matmat-m-al, parara-k:a-angi, melang-pu-m
to shine (of the sun) : mir-m-al
to shit : tju-yi
to shoot : la-m
to show : tjalak-m-al
to show off : mukayi-nj
to sing : wirin-pu-m
to sing someone : werinj-pu-m
to sink : njip-m-al
to sit : ni
to skin : wat-pu-m
to sleep : yu-ng (tumkika)
to smell : pil-wu-y
to smell something : pil-mi
to smile : kuntiyi-nj
to smoke : tolngputj-m-al, tjapul-m-al
to smoke something : tjapul-m-al
to smoulder : tjitpul-m-al
to sneak up on : tjapatja-k:a-angi, tjapatj-m-al
to sneeze : ngatj:i-m-al
to sniff at something : pil-mi
to snore : wok nge-m-al
to speak : nguntji-yi
to speak to someone : nguni-wu-y
to spear : la-m
to spread something : para-pu-m
to spill : tjuluk-tj-ang
to spill something : tjuluk-m-al
to spit : tjukpat-m-al
to spoil : wat-m-al
to sprinkle (of rain) : njuknjuk-m-al
to squeeze : pitjip-m-al
to stab : tjap-m-al
to stagger : li-nj
to stand : kulu-tj-ang
to stay : ni,
to stay for a long time : pitj-pu-m
to stay for ages/years : tjiipinj-pu-m
to steal : mok-mi
to stick in/into : tjuknik-p-al
to sting : ngum-pu-m
to stop : kulu-tj-ang
to stop someone/thing : lar-pu-m
to stretch : tjung-m-al, kutjak-m-al
to stub one's toe : tjap-m-al
to suck : ping-m-al
to swallow : wilik-m-al
to swear : an-letma ya-m-al
to sweat : kiyak-li
to swell : pu-m-al
to swim : njip-m-al
to swim across : wir-m-al
to swing something around : waruwaru-m-al
to take : ka-angi
to take someone for a walk : wirinj-ka-angi
to take something back to/for somebody : nim-p-al
to take something off someone : nawa-m
to talk : nguntji-yi
to talk to someone : nguni-wu-y
to tease : karay-pu-m
to tell : tji-yi, pwuy-m-al
to tell off : ya-m-al
to think : nga-m
to throw : laki-l (without aiming), wut-m-al (with aim)
to thunder : turut-m-al
to tickle : kitj:ilili-m-al
to tie (up) : kuw-al
to toss : laki-l
to trick : yak-wu-y
to turn around : kutitj-m-al
to turn off : tjum-pu-m
to turn over : mawinj-yang
to turn something over : mawinj-ka-ngi
to twist (together) : pitjip-m-al
to understand : nga-m
to visit : ya-k:a-ngi
to vomit : kik-m-al
to wag : wirijnj-m-al
to wait for : ngayk-m-al
to wake up : kut-tj-ang
to walk : yang
to walk around : wirijnj-m-al
to walk with a walking stick : tjatpak-kayi-nj
to wane : tju-m
to wash : wulek-m-al
to watch : nay-na-y
to wave : nepat-way-m-al
to wax (of the moon) : kupam-tji-nj
to wear : njim
to weave : lit-pu-m, yir-mi
to whip : pwok-pu-m
to whistle : wit-m-al
to wink : tumup-m-al
to work : wark:i-m-al
to wrap : kuw-al
to yawn : tjili-way-m-al
to yell out : wali-nj
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