USE OF THESES

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REMBARNGA:

A Language of

Central Arnhem Land

Graham Richard McKay

A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy of The Australian National University

July 1975
Except where otherwise acknowledged in the text this thesis represents the original research of the author.

Graham Richard McKay
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### Abbreviations

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<td>2.5.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PAST CONT</td>
<td>Past Continuous Tense</td>
<td>2.5.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PAST PUNCT</td>
<td>Past Punctiliar Tense</td>
<td>2.5.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRES</td>
<td>Present Tense</td>
<td>2.5.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRIOR</td>
<td>Priority</td>
<td>2.5.13.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRIV</td>
<td>Privative</td>
<td>2.2.4.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PROGR</td>
<td>Progressive</td>
<td>2.5.12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRON</td>
<td>Cardinal Pronoun</td>
<td>2.3.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PURP</td>
<td>Purposive</td>
<td>3.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REDUPL</td>
<td>Repeated element of a reduplicated</td>
<td>2.5.16</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>form</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>REFLEX</td>
<td>Reflexive/Reciprocal</td>
<td>2.5.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REL</td>
<td>Relative</td>
<td>2.5.5.2, 3.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Symbol</td>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Section</td>
</tr>
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<td>--------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------</td>
<td>---------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S</td>
<td>Intransitive Subject</td>
<td>3.1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>STAT</td>
<td>Stative</td>
<td>2.2.5.1</td>
</tr>
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<td>STEM</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TAG QUESTN</td>
<td>Tag Question</td>
<td>2.7</td>
</tr>
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<td>TEMP LOC</td>
<td>Temporal Location</td>
<td>2.2.4.5</td>
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<td>Transitive</td>
<td>2.5.1.3, 3.1</td>
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<td>Transitiviser</td>
<td>2.2.5.3, 2.5.9</td>
</tr>
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<td>uaug.</td>
<td>unit augmented number</td>
<td>2.3.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UAUGM</td>
<td>Unit Augmented Number</td>
<td>2.3.1</td>
</tr>
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<td>V</td>
<td>Vowel</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>VC</td>
<td>Verb Complex</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W</td>
<td>Only element of mono-referential</td>
<td>2.5.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pronominal verb prefix</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X</td>
<td>First element of di-referential</td>
<td>2.5.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pronominal verb prefix</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Second element of di-referential</td>
<td>2.5.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pronominal verb prefix</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ø</td>
<td>Zero form</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>¤</td>
<td>Syllable boundary</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ø</td>
<td>Morpheme boundary or Word boundary</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(as defined in context)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Alphabetical Order**

The alphabetical order used for Rembarnga forms is as follows (for consonants):

```
p t ç ç k l l m n n n r r r w w y
```

The vowel order used is:

```
a e i ø o u
```
Layout of Examples

Each example is quoted in three parts: (a) Rembarnga text, (b) interlinear gloss, (c) free English rendering.

(a) The Rembarnga text is divided into words (with spaces as word boundaries) and into morphemes (with dashes as morpheme boundaries). Thus

\[\text{takku} - \: \phi \: \text{para} - \: \text{tuŋ?} - \: \text{miŋ}\]

consists of two words, the first divided into two morphemes, the second into three.

An asterisk placed before the Rembarnga text of an example indicates that the text is ungrammatical as given.

The symbol \(\ast\) placed before the Rembarnga text of an example indicates that the Rembarnga text, though grammatical, is considered semantically absurd.

Following the Rembarnga text of an example which is taken from textual material the textual reference is given in square brackets. This takes the following form:

[Number of Text/Line Number(s)]

The line numbers given refer to my original transcriptions, copies of which will be deposited, along with copies of the tapes, with the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, Canberra. The letters 'cf.' before a textual reference indicate that the example has been slightly modified (e.g. omitting repetitions or inessential words) in a way which does not affect the point which the example purports to exemplify.

(b) The interlinear glosses are lined up with the Rembarnga text at the beginning of each word. The dashes in the interlinear gloss correspond to those in the Rembarnga text while a plus sign (+) signals morpheme
divisions made in the interlinear gloss but not in the Rembarnga
text (e.g. with portmanteau morphemes). Thus in

\texttt{tan - kun\text-wa - 0}
\texttt{lmin.0 + 2min.A - chase - PAST PUNCT}

the first morpheme given in the Rembarnga text actually marks the two
morphemes joined by the plus sign in the interlinear gloss.

Lexical items are given in lower case in interlinear glosses, otherwise
abbreviations as set out above are used.

An asterisk following a lexical item in the interlinear gloss indicates
that the corresponding word in the Rembarnga text is a borrowing from
English.

Square brackets around a lexical item in the interlinear gloss indicate
that it is a description of the corresponding Rembarnga term, rather than
a specific translation. Thus we could have

\texttt{ka\text-taykka}
\texttt{[tree type]}

giving a description of the term or

\texttt{ka\text-taykka}
\texttt{stringy bark tree}

giving the specific English equivalent.

(c) The free English rendering follows the whole Rembarnga text and its
interlinear glosses.

Material necessary to the sense but which has no specific equivalent in the
Rembarnga text (i.e. it is understood) is enclosed in square brackets.
Explanatory or contextual comments are put in parentheses.

An oblique stroke (/) indicates that alternative translations appear on either side of it.
Rembarnga is a prefixing language without noun classification spoken in and around central Arnhem Land in the Northern Territory of Australia. The traditional territory of its speakers is adjacent to that of speakers of the north eastern Arnhem Land suffixing languages (Yuungu languages). Rembarnga has some features in common with these north eastern languages but appears to be more closely related to languages such as Ngandi, Ngalagan, Dalabon and Gunwinjgu. Rembarnga is a largely agglutinating language with rather complex verbal morphology. There is considerable use of case marking with nominals. The language is still in active use even though its speakers are widely scattered, but the number of speakers is declining.

The present thesis is a description of the grammar of Rembarnga—phonology, morphology and syntax. There is a strong emphasis in the work on exemplification. In view of the descriptive aim of the thesis, the theoretical approach used as a background varies from one part of the grammar to another. Several key aspects of the grammar of Rembarnga are discussed in fuller and more theoretical detail than the rest. These include: (i) stop gemination and devoicing; (ii) glottalisation of syllables; (iii) pronominal person and number categories; (iv) incorporation of nominals into the verb complex; and (v) a generalised 'relative clause' construction.

Some text material, with translations, and a list of the Rembarnga names of some positively identified plants are given as appendices.
INTRODUCTION

Rembarnga (ɾembarŋa) is an Australian Aboriginal language spoken by small groups of people living at various places in and around the Arnhem Land Aboriginal Reserve in the Northern Territory. The biggest concentrations of Rembarnga-speaking people are at Beswick Station, Bulman, malŋaŋaŋak and (I am told) at Mudginberrie Station. See map (Page 2). A few speakers are to be found scattered at other places such as Banyili, Mainoru Station, Roper Valley Station, Ngukurr (Roper River) and Maningrida. I would estimate that there are not more than two hundred fluent speakers of the language, almost all of them adults. The children of Rembarnga parents appear to use some form of English or Pidgin in the southern areas, and Gunwinjgu in the northern and western areas.

TRADITIONAL TERRITORY

The traditional territory of the Rembarnga people is located in an area between the Cadell River and the edge of the escarpment country beginning just east of Guyuyu Creek and the Blyth River. This territory reached northwards down the Blyth River to the extreme upper limits of tidal influence, and reached southwards as far as the source of Guyuyu Creek, which the Rembarnga people call in English 'Blyth River'. This area is shown very approximately on the map (Page 2). It is an area of hills, plains and river valleys, but not of 'stone country' or escarpment. The scattering of Rembarnga people to the various stations and settlements mentioned above must have been due to the isolation of their territory relative to the points of white contact and settlement.

I am unsure of how many clans or taworo there are whose principal language is Rembarnga - maybe a score. I will mention only four here. These are the clans of my principal informants. The palŋara clan, of the tuya moiety, has its country centred on malŋaŋaŋak, a large waterhole in the lower reaches of Guyuyu Creek. Somewhat further south and a little

My informants all pronounce the name of their language as ['ɾembarŋa] but they tell me that some of the north-eastern Arnhem Landers have different names for them including ['ɾɛmbarŋa] or ['ɾɛmbaŋa] and ['ɾɛmbaŋa]. The former of these appears to have been the basis of some of the spellings of the name which have appeared in published references to Rembarnga people or their language.
Arnhem Land Aboriginal Reserve

Traditional Rembangga Territory

Map Area
east of Guyuyu Creek is karajam, in the territory of the pulumulu of the yiritta moiety. This is, I understand, a dry area, away from rivers. Right at the head of Guyuyu Creek, where it "springs out of the ground", is, I am told, panteppe, the country of the miratta clan, which is tupa. paelentar), the country of the tupa maliri clan appears to be situated on one of the creeks or rivers between malnapapak and the Cadell River.

Surrounding areas were originally populated by speakers of Gungorogone, Gunadba and Djinang to the north, Djinba, Ganalbingu, Ritharngo and possibly Ngandi to the east, Ngalagan and Buan/Dalabon to the south, and Dangbon/Dalabon and Gune to the west.

Previous writers, mostly with other concerns, who have tried to locate Rembarnga territory on the map appear, in the main, to be inaccurate. Tindale (1940:223) places it on the Mann River and the headwaters of the Wilton and Cadell Rivers. Elkin (1961a:169) locates it on the upper Wilton River. R. Berndt (1951:144) describes the Rembarnga ("Reinbaranga") as one of the tribes "close to and along the Roper River" while Berndt and Berndt (1970:242-243) place it west of the Liverpool River. Capell (1942:366) locates the Rembarnga south and west of the head of the Goyder River. West (1964) places the Rembarnga roughly in their correct position on his map. Part of the difficulty in identifying the correct position is the use of the term 'Rembarnga' on occasion to include Gune, Dalabon or Ngalagan people when contrasting them with other groups. Furthermore, since most Rembarnga people no longer live in their own territory (although many are now moving back), their explanations of its location may well have been misunderstood.

0.2 WAY OF LIFE

Like all Australian Aborigines, the Rembarnga people were traditionally nomadic hunters and gatherers. This general type of life has been discussed in some detail by writers such as Warner (1958), Elkin (1964), Berndt and Berndt (1970) and Maddock (1974), and it is not necessary for me to go into detail here. Some idea of the more traditional aspects of Rembarnga life may be gleaned from the textual examples throughout the present work and from Texts 28 and 29 in Appendix A. In more recent years (since the 1940s) many Rembarnga people
have been living and working on various cattle stations. Much of
the traditional life has remained even under these conditions. Text
33 in Appendix A gives some idea of some aspects of life on Mainoru
Station, which, until a few years ago, was one of the big centres of
Rembarnga population. Many of the traditional customs or laws
are still upheld among the Rembarnga and their ceremonial life is
relatively active. Some of them still spend lengthy periods of time
in a nomadic way of life, avoiding prolonged residence on government- or
mission-founded settlements.

Traditionally the Rembarnga people appear to have occupied
a very strategic position culturally and linguistically in Arnhem Land.
They formed a link between the north-eastern Arnhem Landers (sometimes
called Murngin, Wulamba or Yuulngu) and the people further south and
further west. Elkin (1950:16) calls the Rembarnga (with the Djinba
and Ngalgbon (=Dalabon)) "buffers and middlemen between eastern and
western Arnhem Land" in respect of kinship organisation. Berndt
(1951:6) mentions the Rembarnga ("Rembaranga") as instrumental in the
diffusion of the subsection system into the Milingimbi area. And Berndt
(1951:14) and Warner (1958:444) comment on the important rôle played
by the Rembarnga in the introduction and performance of the kunapipi
ceremony in north eastern Arnhem Land. On the linguistic side Capell
(1943:36) comments on the similarity of the Rembarnga language in
vocabulary with languages of north east Arnhem Land and in grammar
with more western languages.

As is normal in Australian Aboriginal societies, the
Rembarnga have a complex system of social classification. This is not
the place to analyse it in detail and some brief comments will suffice
to explain some of the terms which frequently arise in the examples. The
Rembarnga kinship classification system appears to me to be very similar
to the Dalabon system outlined by Maddock (1974:chapter 4). There are
two patrimoieties ("halves") - ruwa and yiriita. There are also two
matrimoities - matawar and terryangi. There are eight subsections in
the system, grouped into patrimoities as in Table 0.2(a). In this table
preferred marriages\(^2\) are shown by the symbol '=' and the feminine equivalents of each term are given in parentheses. In brackets the matrimoietry affiliation is noted. ('m' represents m\(\text{\textbar}\)ata\(\text{\textbar}\)ar and 'r' represents rer\(\text{\textbar}\)war\(\text{\textbar}\)gi). The subsection names are frequently used as terms of address, instead of personal names. The Rembarnga term for 'subsection' is m\(\text{\textbar}\)alkna.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>tuwa</th>
<th>yiri(\text{\textbar})(\text{\textbar})ya</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pala(\text{\textbar})(\text{\textbar}) (pelip) [(\text{\textbar})(\text{\textbar})]</td>
<td>(\text{\textbar})(\text{\textbar})(\text{\textbar})r(\text{\textbar})i(\text{\textbar})(\text{\textbar}) (nari(\text{\textbar})(\text{\textbar})(\text{\textbar})(\text{\textbar}) tan) [m]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kela (kali(\text{\textbar})(\text{\textbar}) (kali(\text{\textbar})(\text{\textbar})an) [(\text{\textbar})(\text{\textbar})]</td>
<td>pu(\text{\textbar})ja(\text{\textbar}) (pu(\text{\textbar})ja(\text{\textbar})tan) [m]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kamara(\text{\textbar}) (kama(\text{\textbar}) [m]</td>
<td>ko(\text{\textbar})(\text{\textbar})k (ko(\text{\textbar})(\text{\textbar})(\text{\textbar})(\text{\textbar})tan) [(\text{\textbar})(\text{\textbar})]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wamut (wamut(\text{\textbar})(\text{\textbar})an) [m]</td>
<td>pa(\text{\textbar})(\text{\textbar})(\text{\textbar})ti (pa(\text{\textbar})(\text{\textbar})(\text{\textbar})(\text{\textbar})(\text{\textbar}) tan) [(\text{\textbar})(\text{\textbar})]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 0.2(a) Rembarnga Subsections and Moieties\(^3\)

The subsection of a child is determined by that of its mother. This is set out in Table 0.2(b) where only the masculine terms are listed for the children. The feminine equivalents should be taken as included.

\(^2\) The table sets out preferred marriages as I understand them from the comments of my informants. This system appears to be that given by Maddock (1974:chapter 4) for Dalabon. Nevertheless I find now that Elkin (1961b:261) describes a different system for Rembarnga. As he describes it the preferred marriages must be changed in two cases out of the four in the table to read

\[
\text{kamar\(\text{\textbar}\)a} = \text{pa\(\text{\textbar}\)\(\text{\textbar}\)\(\text{\textbar}\)\(\text{\textbar}\)\(\text{\textbar}\)} \\
\text{wamut} = \text{ko\(\text{\textbar}\)\(\text{\textbar}\)k}
\]

Everything else remains unchanged. This gives a different patrilineal descent cycle while the matrilineal descent cycle remains the same. I cannot comment further as I have not examined the subsection system in detail. In any case it should be noted that other factors, especially actual kin relationships (as opposed to classificatory relationships), are also vital in determining marriage patterns.

\(^3\) See note 2 above.
Note that a child is in the opposite patrimoiety to its mother, but the same matrimoiety.

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Mother</th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>kogok</td>
</tr>
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<td>kamar</td>
<td>pujan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wamutgan</td>
<td>nariş</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>narişgan</td>
<td>kamaraŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pujiŋ</td>
<td>wamut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>palaŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>panaŋ</td>
<td>kela</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 0.2(b) Children's Subsections

A further system of classification is according to patri­lineal clans (in Rembarnga taworo(na)⁴). The members of these clans are of a single patrimoiety for each. The taworo or clan is the land­owning unit and has considerable religious and ceremonial significance. It is responsible for its own territory. The clan or taworo names are sometimes used instead of personal names to distinguish between people of the same subsection, especially referring to people now dead. Four of these clans, or taworo, have been mentioned above (0.1).

The Rembarnga are also divided into what Maddock (1974:164) calls matriclans. I have not examined the details.

0.3 INFORMANTS AND FIELDWORK

There are three men with whom I did the most consistent work on the Rembarnga language and who were the most significant providers of text material in the language. The oldest of these is Fred mililkama of the farit subsection. He is a speaker of the kaluyŋ dialect

⁴ The word taworo signifies 'generic term' in general. Thus the word kuen 'kangaroo (generic)' is described as taworona 'generic term', while terms for specific types of kangaroo such as palikit, 'male agile wallaby', kaŋtajpuru 'female plains kangaroo' and purk 'male black rock kangaroo' are described as oenä 'names', 'specific terms'.

Note that a child is in the opposite patrimoiety to its mother, but the same matrimoiety.

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There are three men with whom I did the most consistent work on the Rembarnga language and who were the most significant providers of text material in the language. The oldest of these is Fred mililkama of the farit subsection. He is a speaker of the kaluyŋ dialect

⁴ The word taworo signifies 'generic term' in general. Thus the word kuen 'kangaroo (generic)' is described as taworona 'generic term', while terms for specific types of kangaroo such as palikit, 'male agile wallaby', kaŋtajpuru 'female plains kangaroo' and purk 'male black rock kangaroo' are described as oenä 'names', 'specific terms'.

Note that a child is in the opposite patrimoiety to its mother, but the same matrimoiety.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mother</th>
<th>Child</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pelifä</td>
<td>panaşi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kalitgan</td>
<td>kogok</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kamar</td>
<td>pujan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wamutgan</td>
<td>nariş</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>narişgan</td>
<td>kamaraŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pujiŋ</td>
<td>wamut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>koŋgan</td>
<td>palaŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>panaŋ</td>
<td>kela</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 0.2(b) Children's Subsections

A further system of classification is according to patri­lineal clans (in Rembarnga taworo(na)⁴). The members of these clans are of a single patrimoiety for each. The taworo or clan is the land­owning unit and has considerable religious and ceremonial significance. It is responsible for its own territory. The clan or taworo names are sometimes used instead of personal names to distinguish between people of the same subsection, especially referring to people now dead. Four of these clans, or taworo, have been mentioned above (0.1).

The Rembarnga are also divided into what Maddock (1974:164) calls matriclans. I have not examined the details.

0.3 INFORMANTS AND FIELDWORK

There are three men with whom I did the most consistent work on the Rembarnga language and who were the most significant providers of text material in the language. The oldest of these is Fred mililkama of the farit subsection. He is a speaker of the kaluyŋ dialect

⁴ The word taworo signifies 'generic term' in general. Thus the word kuen 'kangaroo (generic)' is described as taworona 'generic term', while terms for specific types of kangaroo such as palikit, 'male agile wallaby', kaŋtajpuru 'female plains kangaroo' and purk 'male black rock kangaroo' are described as oenä 'names', 'specific terms'.
of Rembarnga and his taworo is pulumpulu. He must be about seventy years old, having vivid recollections of the days when his only contact with white people was infrequent trips to the relatively recently established missions at Oenpelli and Milingimbi for tobacco. He has subsequently travelled widely (to Queensland and Western Australia) in the course of a long career as stockman. He has an encyclopaedic knowledge of hundreds of square miles of the central Arnhem Land area, not restricted to Rembarnga territory.

Brian pinawaga (kele subsection, palnara clan) must be about forty years old. He speaks the north eastern dialect of Rembarnga and, apart from various periods of time spent in Darwin, Beswick, Mainoru and other places, has spent a great deal of time in and around his own clan territory. He and his brother Wally lipuwana spend part of each year in a rather nomadic form of life, centred at present on malpanakan. See Texts 28 and 29 in Appendix A.

Jeffrey Campion maliwana is about thirty years old. He is a member of the maliri clan and wanut subsection. He was born somewhere on the Cadell River but grew up on Mainoru Station where he went to school and later worked with cattle. See Text 33 in Appendix A. Recently he has divided his time between stock work to the south of the Arnhem Land Reserve (at Bulman and Mainoru) and living in the more northern areas - Oenpelli, Maningrida, malpanakan and Milingimbi.

The fieldwork on which this study is based was carried out between 1972 and 1974. During 1972 I spent eight months at Maningrida working with informants who were camped semi-permanently about twenty miles to the south. In a brief trip along the Roper River Valley during that time I checked the location of other Rembarnga speakers and did some very brief work on Ngalagan, Ngandi and Ritharngo. In 1974 I spent a further two months at Maningrida, followed by two weeks at Bulman and five weeks at malpanakan, working mainly on Rembarnga but also briefly on Dalabon/Dangbon and Gune.
0.4 LANGUAGE

Rembarnga is a prefixing language and borders in the east and north upon the suffixing languages Ritharngo, Djinba and Djinang. Capell (1943:36) commented upon the considerable amount of vocabulary shared by Rembarnga and the north eastern Arnhem Land suffixing languages. Capell (1943:36) notes that its grammar is of a more western type. It seems that it should be seen as belonging in the same general group of languages as Gunwinjgu (cf. Oates 1964), Dalabon (cf. Capell 1962), Ngalagan, and Ngandi (cf. Heath 1975). All these are classified as members of the same family by O'Grady, Voegelin and Voegelin (1966:30). This classification must be further investigated since, given that Rembarnga does not belong to the north eastern Arnhem Land group of languages, nevertheless it shares much vocabulary and a certain number of other features with these languages. Particularly to be singled out here are the details of glottalisation of syllables and the gemination and resultant devoicing of stops. See 1.5.2, 1.2.2 and Schebeck n.d. Rembarnga's strategic position between the north east and the rest of Arnhem Land makes it likely to be very important for the comparative study of the languages of the area.

The incorporation of nominal stems into verb complexes is a very prominent feature of Rembarnga syntax, and has been reported for other 'Gundngguan' languages: Gunwinjgu (Oates 1964:55), Dalabon (Capell 1962:101) and Gunbalang (Harris 1969:4,5,8). Capell notes the use of what he calls "adverbial infixes" in the verb complex as a characteristic linking Ngandi (1942:387) and Ngalagan (1942:389) with the "Buan-Gundangbon-Gunwinggu" group. See 2.5.13 below. There is, in Rembarnga, extensive use of verb compounding (2.5.3) (sometimes termed 'auxiliary constructions') as also in Gunwinjgu (Carroll forthcoming, Oates 1964:36-41), Dalabon (Capell 1962:112-113) and Ngandi (Heath 1975:59.3). The pronoun system of Rembarnga with its four person and four number categories (2.3) fits a pattern widely observable in other languages in the area but perhaps most clearly developed in Rembarnga. A generalised 'relative clause' construction is of great importance in Rembarnga syntax (3.7).
0.4

There are, in fact, two dialects of Rembarnga. One, the south western dialect, is called kaltry? while the other, spoken in the north east is, as far as I know, without a specific name. The differences between the dialects are very slight and are mentioned from time to time throughout the grammar. The main differences noted are in the FUT tense forms of verbs of conjugation 1 (Table 2.5(a)), in the forms of the REL pronominal prefixes (2.5.5.2), and in vocabulary. The movement of many speakers of the north eastern dialect southwards to Mainoru Station more than twenty years ago has tended to blur the distinction between the dialects in that area, and this has made it difficult to know exactly what form the original dialect differences took and how extensive or important they were.

0.5 PREVIOUS LITERATURE

Very little has been written previously on the Rembarnga language. What has been written, with two exceptions, consists almost entirely of lexical items. Three major word lists have been produced, only one of which has been published. Tindale (1928) listed about 350 Rembarnga words, alongside similar lists in Ritharngo, Ngandi, Ngalagan, Alawa, Mara, Wandarang and Nunggubuyu. Capell later prepared a manuscript word list (n.d.) of approximately 600 words in each of forty north Australian languages, including Rembarnga. Later again West (1964) produced a manuscript dictionary of Dalabon and related languages, based on various sources. This dictionary contains 387 Rembarnga forms. Besides these word lists various publications of anthropologists and others contain a small number of Rembarnga words. In this group we can include as the most important Elkin 1955, Elkin 1961b (esp. P.284) and Brandl 1973. All these collections of words are inadequate in similar respects. They contain phonetic inaccuracies, particularly involving the glottal stop, retroflexion, point of articulation of nasal consonants, the central vowel [a] and the distinction between single and geminate (voiced and voiceless) stops. The words are sometimes not phonemicised properly nor adequately analysed morphologically. The larger lists in particular (because of their greater wealth of material) contain many words which are not accurately translated, and sometimes whole sentences are listed as a single noun, and so on. Some of the words listed are unknown to me and
to the best of my knowledge, not Rembarnga (even one or two modified English words being included). All these problems are clearly due in large measure to the fact that the various authors did not have opportunity to study the language in great depth.

In the course of the second part of his survey 'Languages of Arnhem Land, North Australia' (1943) Capell gave a brief outline of some of the principal features of Rembarnga grammar (Pp.36-37) and a very short word list (P.39). This work is accurate as far as the limited scope of the work permitted. I must note here, however, that I have never come across the pronoun forms Capell gives (P.36) for first person inclusive dual and plural or first person exclusive dual. I am very interested to note that, while in this article (1943) and the manuscript vocabulary (n.d.) Capell appears to use a single series of symbols for all stops, there are five forms in which he uses geminate stop symbols, and in all of which my analysis (1.2.2) would demand a geminate stop to account for unvoicing. These forms are: (i) -gabbul 'trial or limited plural suffix' (1943:36) = kappul DEF AUGM; (ii) jabbara 1 incl. Dual pronoun alongside bundabara 3 Dual pronoun (1943:36) obviously reflecting (somewhat inconsistently) -ppara? AUGM; (iii) jāban 'two' (n.d.:127) =yappan? 'two'; (iv) baldar 'forked branch' (n.d.:130) = palttar(na) 'fork'; and (v) -nidda 'wait for' (n.d.:132) which I suspect represents nerta 'keep'.

Elkin, in two articles (1955, 1961b), gives some song texts with translations. Some of these songs are said to be in Rembarnga. Not having studied song language in detail I cannot comment except to say that, in transcribing and translating mulara songs with informants myself, I found that the song language bears very little resemblance to everyday speech, with the exception of isolated words. So much is that so that some informants denied that individual mulara song words or phrases have any meaning at all.

The present thesis is based solely upon material I have collected myself and not upon the published accounts or unpublished notes of other workers.
1 PHONOLOGY

1.1 SEGMENTATION

The following discussion of Rembarnga phonology makes use of a segmentation of utterances into words, morphemes and syllables. These have varying degrees of reality in the intuitions of the native speaker and the boundaries of these segments are relevant in some of the phonological processes and constraints in the language. It is therefore appropriate to examine the criteria used to segment utterances in this way.

1.1.1 Word

The word has, in the past, been a much disputed segment of the utterance. It has, as was rightly pointed out by Sapir (1921:32-4), a certain intuitive status for the native speaker of any language, but is not capable of any semantic or phonological definition which is valid from language to language. The most satisfactory criterion for most languages, and the one used in this analysis is what we might call the criterion of mobility. That is, the word in Rembarnga is taken to be that segment within which smaller segments (some of which can occur only when 'attached' in a certain positional relationship to others) have a fixed position, but which, as a single unit, can occupy a variety of positions in the total utterance, or be used alone as a whole utterance. The pauses of informants in speaking and their (more numerous) pauses in repeating and explaining text are taken as guides in the determination of word boundaries. In addition some morphophonemic (phonotactic) constraints (see 1.5.3 Rules I, J) are best stated using word boundaries, and the word is also a useful unit in the definition of stress patterns (see 1.6).

1.1.2 Morphemes

The segmentation of words into morphemes is, in Rembarnga, fairly straightforward. Because of the highly agglutinating nature of the language there is a high degree of one to one correspondence between the abstract morphemes and the surface morphs (or allomorphs), the phonological realisation of morphemes (cf. Lyons 1968:183ff.). I will thus use the term 'morpheme' for both concepts. The criterion for finding
1.1.2

morphemes, then, can be paradigmatic comparison, or the determination
of which sections of an utterance may be substituted for by other elements.
The identification of morphemes is useful in a statement of stress rules
(cf. 1.6). It should be noted that words always consist of an integral
number of morphemes, and of syllables (cf. 1.1.3) but that morpheme and
syllable boundaries do not always coincide (e.g. with the allative case
suffix morpheme -7ka?, the suffix morpheme involves glottalisation of
the stem final syllable. Thus the phonetic realisation of the suffix
spreads over two syllables, one of which is properly a part of the stem.)

1.1.3 Syllable

The syllable is very difficult to define in general articulatory
terms (cf. Ladefoged 1967:46-7 and 1971:81) but it does seem that
eventually some sort of physical definition will be possible. In most
languages it is relatively easy to determine syllable peaks which normally
involve a vowel sound or less frequently a continuant consonant. Determin­
ing the boundaries of syllables is, in many languages, much more difficult.
In the present study an examination of a large number of words indicated
that syllable boundaries in Rembarnga could be posited in a very simple and
regular way (by following the word initial and word final patterns) giving
a very neat arrangement of the data. The number of segments in a word
medial consonant cluster in Rembarnga never exceeds the total of the
maximum number of segments in a word final cluster plus the maximum (or
rather only possible) number (one) in word initial position. This contrasts
with some other languages (e.g. Djirbal, Dixon 1972:274) where word medial
consonant clusters may contain more segments than the sum of the maximum
possible number for word initial plus word final position. In these cases
one cannot always be sure which of two syllables the extra consonant is
to be interpreted as belonging to. Furthermore in Rembarnga the segments
of word medial consonant clusters are always arranged (in terms of general
classes of consonant) as a possible final sequence with from no consonant
to two consonants followed by a possible initial consonant. 1 One can

1 Note that word medial clusters involve a slightly wider range of
consonants than word initial and word final clusters due to some restric­
tion on the occurrence of particular segments in word initial or word
final position (see 1.5.3, Rules I and J). However the general class
features (cf. 1.4.2.1) applicable in defining the distribution of segments
in word initial and word final position are applicable in the same way in
word medial consonant clusters divided according to syllables.
1.1.3

therefore place a syllable boundary ($\$) at each word boundary and then
a simple rule is required to place all other syllable boundaries appropriately:

$$\emptyset \rightarrow \$ / \_ CV$$

(Where $C$ = consonant, $V$ = vowel)

The unit syllable is the most appropriate for stating conditions on the
distribution of phonemes and allophones within an utterance (see 1.2.4,
1.3.2, 1.5.3), it must be used in the formulation of verb reduplication
rules (see 2.5.16), and is necessary in the formulation of rules for
the use of the phonetic glottal stop (see 1.5.2). Syllables are
discussed in detail in 1.5 below.

1.2 CONSONANTS

1.2.1 Consonant Phonemes

Rembarnga has a total of sixteen consonant phonemes and one
phonemic syllabic feature. There are five oral stop consonants with
different points and/or manners of articulation, with five nasal consonants
corresponding to these in point and manner of articulation. There are
four liquids (including two laterals), and two semivowels. The point and
manner of articulation combinations which are distinctive are

(i) Bilabial - including stop /p/, nasal /m/ and semivowel /w/

(ii) Apico-alveolar (sometimes Apico-dental) - including stop /t/,
nasal /n/, lateral voiced continuant /l/, and voiced flap or
trill /r/

(iii) Apico-post-alveolar (Retroflex) - including stop /t/, nasal /n/, lateral voiced continuant /l/, and voiced continuant /l/

(iv) Lamino-dental (and/or Lamino-alveolar) - including stop /g/,
nasal /n/ and semivowel /y/

(v) Dorsal-velar - including stop /k/, nasal /n/ and semivowel /w/

(Finally (vi) the phonemically distinctive feature of glottalisation is
realised as a syllable final phonetic glottal stop. The reasons leading
to the interpretation of the glottal stop as a syllabic feature rather
than as a segmental phoneme are discussed in detail in 1.5.2 below.

\[2\] Jernudd (1974) did a palatographic study of consonants in Gunwinjgu,
a language closely related to Rembarnga. The articulations there are
apparently very similar to those in Rembarnga. Especially interesting
are Jernudd's conclusions regarding articulations in the dento-alveolar
region.
1.2.1

The consonant phonemes of Rembarnga are set out in Table 1.2(a).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Bilabial</th>
<th>Apico-</th>
<th>Apico-</th>
<th>Lamino-</th>
<th>Dorso-velar</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>alveolar</td>
<td>post-alveolar</td>
<td>dental</td>
<td>velar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stop</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>ʃ</td>
<td>ʃ</td>
<td>k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasal</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>ŋ</td>
<td>ŋ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lateral</td>
<td>l</td>
<td></td>
<td>ŋ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rhotic</td>
<td>r</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semivowel</td>
<td>w</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>y</td>
<td>w</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1.2(a) Consonant Phonemes

The following sets of words, contrasting the various consonant phonemes in similar phonetic environments will show the basis of this phonemic analysis. For the purpose of these contrasts the phonetic glottal stop is contrasted with the oral stops. But see 1.5.2 for its interpretation as a syllabic feature, rather than as a segmental phoneme. Phonetically the most difficult distinction to hear is that between the two apical series (except for /r/ and /ɾ/). This is especially difficult to hear in word initial position, but in cases of doubt could easily be tested by using a prefix ending in a vowel as retroflexion is most easily recognised by means of cues in preceding vowels. This test gave consistent results, thus implying that the distinction does exist consistently in word initial position also (unlike, for instance, Burara, where the distinction between retroflex and alveolar stops does not occur word initially (D. and K. Glasgow, personal communication)).

**Initial contrasts**

**Stops**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pappa</td>
<td>'father'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṭapmiŋ</td>
<td>'it (pipe) got blocked'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kappa</td>
<td>'he frightened it'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Rhotic**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pampork</td>
<td>'[ant type]'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṭammiŋ</td>
<td>'he sat by the fire'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kampana</td>
<td>'island'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ṭampaku</td>
<td>'tobacco'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṭampal</td>
<td>'hot stones for cooking'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Neither the glottal stop nor the apico-alveolar flap/trill occur in word initial position.

### Medial contrasts

#### Liquids and semivowels

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sound</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kalkkalk</td>
<td>'lizard type'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɲarkka?</td>
<td>'water goanna'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɲapawka</td>
<td>'I will talk'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɲatalmaŋ</td>
<td>'I wanted it'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>molona</td>
<td>'tail'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɲatura</td>
<td>'I'm alive'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sound</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kalkkaŋ</td>
<td>'tadpole'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɲaraparkka</td>
<td>'chickenhawk'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaŋayka</td>
<td>'stringy bark tree'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɲŋalmaŋ</td>
<td>'I went hunting'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>molona</td>
<td>'path' 'track'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɲatura</td>
<td>'I will swim'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### 1.2.1

**Rhotics contrasted with apical stops**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rhotics</th>
<th>Apical Stops</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>watpar</td>
<td><em>[tree type]</em></td>
<td>'wounded one'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>parppuʔ</td>
<td>'soon' 'until'</td>
<td>'sing (magic)'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Nasals**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nasals</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mamamʔ</td>
<td>'mother's father, brother-in-law'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maŋŋar</td>
<td>'red ochre'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maŋŋal</td>
<td>'wommera'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Stops**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stops</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ʒupmiŋ</td>
<td>'it (spear) fell short'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yuŋmiŋ</td>
<td>'he ran'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mukmiŋ</td>
<td>'it (fire) went out'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wurmiŋ</td>
<td>'he started/jumped with fright'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>poŋmiŋ</td>
<td>'he put it down'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tarapiyaʔ</td>
<td>'black cockatoo'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nawulšiti</td>
<td>'large freshwater crocodile'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>marašiʔ</td>
<td><em>[ceremony name]</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As the glottal stop may not begin a syllable (cf. 1.5.3) it never occurs intervocalically.

### Final Contrasts

**Stops**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stops</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tap</td>
<td>'to shape'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paŋ</td>
<td>'pick up'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>malppaŋ</td>
<td>'food from Pandanus whitei'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>piŋŋiŋtkjaʔ</td>
<td>'wedge tailed eagle'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kutkut</td>
<td>'run'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maŋŋak</td>
<td>'upper arm'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Final Contrasts

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rhotics</th>
<th>Apical Stops</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ŋapuŋwarkat</td>
<td>ŋalwaŋ</td>
<td>'short cycad'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ŋalwaŋ</td>
<td>'stone'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>þampak</td>
<td>'bladder'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaŋŋappamaʔ</td>
<td><em>[type ant bed]</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kuŋkuŋ</td>
<td>'plumage'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maŋŋaʔ</td>
<td>'gum from tree'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
At first hearing there appears to be a voicing distinction for the oral stop phonemes. Word initially, intervocally, and after liquids and semivowels this contrast occurs. The voiceless variants are normally longer and more tense than their voiced counterparts, as well as differing in the voicing feature. For reasons to be outlined below medial voiceless stops are interpreted as geminate stops, and voiced medial stops as single stops.

That the voicing contrasts is shown by the following examples in the writing of which the geminate interpretation of voicelessness and length is adopted.

There are a number of different types of evidence for this interpretation of voiceless medial stops as geminated.

1. The voiced and voiceless stops are in partial complementary distribution. Voiced stops occur word initially, after nasals and in other medial positions. Voiceless stops occur word finally and in medial positions except after nasals. Thus the two sets of stop phones contrast

---

\(^{2a}\) Ralph Lawton first suggested the geminate interpretation of voicelessness to me.
1.2.2

only intervocalically, and medially after liquids and semivowels. In addition a regular rule is necessary to devoice all hetero-organic oral stop clusters in the language. If voiceless stops are interpreted as geminated their voicelessness would be accounted for by a more general form of this rule.

(ii) Reduplication of roots beginning and ending with the same stop produces a voiceless medial stop. Thus

\[ \text{pop} \ [\text{bop}] \ '\text{(of smell) waft around} \rightarrow \text{poppop} \ [\text{boppop}] \]
\[ \text{pelp} \ [\text{help}] \ '\text{put white paint on} \rightarrow \text{meltp} (\text{wax}) \ etc. \rightarrow \text{pelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpelpel
The verb root begins with a phonetically voiced stop when a prefix with a final vowel (or nasal) precedes it, but with a phonetically voiceless stop when a prefix ending with the same stop precedes it. In fact in this case some of the phonetic length of the stop cluster is often lost.

Furthermore compare

\[ \text{tu} \quad \text{[du]-kara} \quad \text{[dugara]} \]
\text{swim} \quad \text{CAUS+FUT}

and

\[ \text{muk} \quad \text{[muk]-kara} \quad \text{[mukkara]} \]
\text{go out (fire)} \quad \text{CAUS+FUT}

Here the initial stop of the suffix is voiced when it follows a vowel, and voiceless following an identical stop, or in fact any other oral stop. Thus

\[ \text{tis} \quad \text{[diz]-kara} \quad \text{[zikara]} \]
\text{return} \quad \text{CAUS+FUT}

Thus in some combinations of morphemes the alternation of voiced and voiceless stops is shown to be due to the presence of single or geminate stops. This is perhaps the strongest evidence available for the geminate stop interpretation of voicelessness in medial position.

(iv) Further evidence for this interpretation comes from informant reaction. I checked a considerable amount of vocabulary phonetically with two informants, Jeffrey Campion (maliwaŋa), and Brian pimawaŋa. I was also attempting to give maliwaŋa some idea of writing in Rembarnga. He can already read and write English. I began with words involving only medial voiced stops, that is words where I suspected that there was only a single medial stop. After some experience of these I suggested a word with an intervocalic voiceless stop. The only instruction I gave was, as
before, to say it carefully to himself and write what he heard. After very brief thought he suggested spontaneously that he write two stops in the intervocalic position. He made the same suggestion for several other words, and appeared thereafter to be quite happy with the interpretation of voiceless stops as geminate and to find very little difficulty in using this system without prompting. ōhinaqo, on the other hand, who does not know how to read or write and was not involved in the writing instruction, would say the words to me very slowly, almost syllable by syllable. He was very consistent, when pronouncing medial voiceless stops, in producing stop closure at the end of one syllable, releasing the closure only after the (sometimes considerable) syllable break. Where voiced stops appeared medially he would both make and release the stop closure only after the syllable break. This again was all done with no more prompting than "Say it slowly."

The evidence I have presented for this interpretation of medial voiceless stops as geminate is, in my opinion, fairly strong. It does, however, raise one difficulty connected with syllable structure (cf. 1.5.3). Without this interpretation syllables with final consonant clusters can have as their final stop only a velar stop, a bilabial stop (or phonetically a glottal stop). This would apply to all syllables, irrespective of their position within the word. On the other hand, if the geminate stop interpretation is adopted the above restriction would still apply to word final syllables, but all the other stops would be possible in non final syllables ending in consonant clusters. Thus, under the geminate stop interpretation there is a certain lack of generality in the statements which can be made about syllable structure. It should be pointed out, however, that the rule permitting certain stops to appear on certain types of syllables when these are not word final but preventing them from doing so on word final syllables is paralleled by the rule permitting the apico-alveolar trill phoneme /r/ to begin syllables with the sole exception of word initial syllables. Thus the syllable structure complexity is not strong evidence against the geminate stop interpretation.

In conclusion I adopt the interpretation that word medial voiceless stops are geminated stops, devoiced by a regular rule
of the language. I believe that the evidence strongly supports this view and also that any simplification in the statement of syllable structure rules which would result from another interpretation would be more than offset by the extra complexity of having separate voiced and voiceless series of stop phonemes.

At first it appeared that one could say that a medial stop following a semivowel is always voiceless, and thus that the geminate interpretation is not needed here. Such cases are very rare. However one word has been found where a phonetically voiced stop follows a semivowel, ~iliguybi. Thus the distinction between geminate and single stops is needed also after semivowels.

D. and K. Glasgow (1967:9) adopted a geminate stop interpretation of voicelessness in Surara, a language of northern Arnhem land, for reasons similar to those adduced here. More recently they have dropped this interpretation in their practical orthography in favour of using two separate series of stop symbols. This may be more a matter of teaching convenience and comparability with English orthography, than of strictly linguistic interpretation.

Gupapuyngu, one of the north eastern Arnhem Land suffixing languages has sometimes been mentioned (e.g. Capell 1967:90, Wurm 1972:51) as a phonologically unusual Australian language having two distinct series of stops, although there has always been some uncertainty as to what the exact phonetic distinction is. At one time the distinction was thought to be one of voicing but now it appears to be more a distinction of tenseness and length (B.M. Lowe, personal communication). The use of two stop series in the orthography arose from the feeling of Gupapuyngu informants that a single series was inadequate in some positions. Nevertheless an examination of a small amount of Gupapuyngu data (Lowe n.d.) appears to indicate that a single series of stop phonemes can be postulated for Gupapuyngu if an interpretation involving gemination in some positions, like that adopted here for Rembarnga, is adopted. There is the same partial complementary distribution of voiced and voiceless stop sounds as in Rembarnga and the same general rule devoicing stop clusters. In addition it is the voiceless medial stop sounds which are said to be longer and more tense than their voiced counterparts, just as in Rembarnga. Of course it may be convenient or advisable from a number of points of view to use two separate series of stop symbols in a practical orthography, but these considerations (involving, as they do, so many non-linguistic factors) should not be confused with evidence for strictly linguistic interpretation. Linguistically the geminate interpretation seems to me to be the best available.

After writing up this section I learned that Bernhard Schebeck maintains a geminate interpretation of voiceless stops in a number of north eastern Arnhem Land languages including Gupapuyngu. He proposes a phonetic hypothesis of glottal rhythm (an Australian "laryngeal theory") relating the voicing alternation in oral stops to the glottal stop, which is a prominent feature of the region (Schebeck n.d.). This is apparently also discussed at length in Schebeck 1972, which I have not seen. Most of the points he makes apply equally well to Rembarnga.
1.2.3 Semivowels and Diphthongs

Phonetic diphthongs must be interpreted as vowel plus semivowel combinations in the light of two facts.

(i) The future tense form of class 1 verbs (cf. 2.5.3) is formed (in the northern dialect) by repeating the final consonant of the root of the verb (not counting any final glottal stop) and adding -a. In the case of verb roots ending with a vowel or vowel plus glottal stop -ra is suffixed for the future tense.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{yal} & \rightarrow \text{la} & \text{jom} & \rightarrow \text{ma} \\
\text{climb} & \rightarrow \text{FUT} & \text{drink} & \rightarrow \text{FUT} \\
\text{waq} & \rightarrow \text{şa} \\
\text{look} & \rightarrow \text{FUT} & \text{around} \\
\text{tu} & \rightarrow \text{şa} & \text{ti} & \rightarrow \text{şa} \\
\text{swim} & \rightarrow \text{FUT} & \text{hit} & \rightarrow \text{FUT}
\end{align*}
\]

A small number of verb roots with phonetic diphthong (with or without glottal stop) form the future tense by adding semivowel plus -a.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{[yaw} & \rightarrow \text{wa}] \\
\text{spear} & \rightarrow \text{FUT} \\
\text{[gau7} & \rightarrow \text{wa}] & \rightarrow \text{[gui7} & \rightarrow \text{ya}] \\
\text{yell} & \rightarrow \text{FUT} & \text{send} & \rightarrow \text{FUT}
\end{align*}
\]

Thus to generalise the rule for future formation these diphthongs must be interpreted as vowel plus consonant (semivowel). Thus

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{yaw} & \rightarrow \text{wa} \\
\text{spear} & \rightarrow \text{FUT} \\
\text{kaw} & \rightarrow \text{wa} & \text{gu} & \rightarrow \text{ya} \\
\text{yell} & \rightarrow \text{FUT} & \text{send} & \rightarrow \text{FUT}
\end{align*}
\]

Note that the -ra suffix which would normally follow vowels (including u and i) is not used here.

(ii) This interpretation of diphthongs receives negative support from the nature of syllable structure in Rembarga. The number of successive consonants permitted in syllable final clusters is not affected by interpreting the final element of a diphthong as a consonant. On the other hand an interpretation of diphthongs involving two vowels would necessitate positining one further set of syllable types with more than one vowel.
1.2.3

There is only one form where what is phonetically often a diphthong is two syllables in slow speech. This is the masculine prefix nayik- [naik-] (see 2.2.3). This has a parallel feminine form nālik-.

A two syllable interpretation is not possible for most phonetic diphthongs, however, both because of the future tense formations mentioned above, and because informants reject it.

1.2.4 Allophonic Variation

Stops are normally voiced (and lenis) in syllable initial position unless preceded by a voiceless (and fortis) oral stop (not glottal stop) (cf. 1.2.2). When preceded by a voiceless oral stop a voiceless allophone of a syllable initial stop is used. However a syllable (or word) initial velar stop /k/ normally has a devoiced allophone before the vowel a. Informants maintained that some initial velar stops were 'heavy' and some 'light'. In words where the first vowel after the velar stop was not a or e velar stops were called 'heavy'. However pronunciation of initial stops was not always consistent and it is hard to be sure that the descriptions 'heavy' and 'light' do not apply to whole words, rather than to the initial stop.

A syllable final stop is, however, sometimes voiced when it occurs between a vowel and an m or w in the next syllable. A word final stop is normally voiceless and unreleased unless followed by y when the stop may be voiceless but aspirated and released.

The apico-alveolar trill (/r/) has a single tap allophone between vowels in normal speech and a trill elsewhere. However in slow speech the trill may appear intervocalically as well.

The semivowels /w/, /y/ are sometimes lost before the vowels /u/ and /i/ respectively as in

/wur̃ur̃ũũ/ frequently ['ur̃ur̃ũũ]
old person
/yim/ frequently ['imi]
[type paperbark]

Furthermore, in at least one word the semivowel /w/ between two /a/ vowels often consists phonetically of very light lip rounding in the course of a long [a:]. This is pantawal (there + ABL).
1.3 VOWELS

1.3.1 Vowel Phonemes

Rembarnga has six vowels which are phonemically contrastive. There are high and mid front unrounded vowels /i, e/, high and mid back rounded vowels /u, o/ and low and mid central vowels /a, o/. We can set these out in purely articulatory terms as in Table 1.3(a).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Unrounded</th>
<th>Rounded</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Front</td>
<td>Central</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid</td>
<td>e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1.3(a) Vowel Phonemes

The following sets of words illustrate the vowel contrasts involved.

Medial position

piṭi       'bees' wax'
peṭeʔ      'shoulder' (N) 'carry on shoulder' (V)
paṭaʔ      'shake one's head'
poṭoʔ      'put down'
uṭuṭuʔ     'gallop'
paṭoppeʔ   '[type paperbark tree]'

Final position

muḷili     'big barramundi'
pele        'close'
opmala      'big hornet'
woroqomoło '[type grass]'
rukurpulu   '[type stone for spears]'
melo        'water' 'liquid'
Although I have here interpreted /a/ as a separate phoneme in view of distinctions such as the above it should be noted that in some respects the significance of this sound is not very clear. The following comments will serve to cast some doubt on the interpretation adopted here.

(a) Some words which contain the front unrounded vowels i and e in certain environments are sometimes heard pronounced in such a way that these vowels sound very like /a/. These specific environments are:

- before apical consonants (where I assume the move from laminal articulation of the vowel to apical articulation of the consonant tends to centralise the vowel); and
- after labial consonants (where I assume that some labialisation carries over into the vowel. Labialisation of a vowel has one of the same acoustic effects as retracting the vowel — namely lowering of the second and other formants (cf. the discussion of the features grave-acute and flat-plain in Jakobson, Fant and Halle 1952: 29-31, 48)).

Thus

/petheast/ sometimes occurs as ['beːdʒəː]
/tiːroː/ sometimes occurs as ['ɗoro]
/miːpiyar?/ sometimes occurs as ['moŋ̪iŋ̪yar?]

(b) In an examination of 1234 closed syllables the occurrences of different vowels in intrasyllabic interconsonantal environments were looked at (considering only the first consonant on either side of the vowel, within the one syllable). Counting stressed and unstressed syllables as different types the vowel /i/ appeared unambiguously in 67 different interconsonantal environments where both consonants considered belonged in the same syllable. /a/ occurred in 38 such environments, but the occurrences of each vowel overlapped with those of the other in
only eight cases. Of these eight environments of /a/, five had /i/ as a variant in at least some examples. In the same sample /a/ occurs in the same environment as /u/ 25 times, as /o/ 21 times, as /a/ 29 times and as /e/ 10 times (varying with /e/ twice). The proportion of occurrences of /i/ and /a/ in the same environment in open syllables is rather higher but the above figures at least indicate that /i/ and /a/ go a considerable way towards being in complementary distribution. This may be true also of /o/ and /e/.

There is a great deal of work to be done on the precise interpretation of the mid central vowel but until this can be done I prefer to run the risk of erring on the side of too many distinctions, rather than too few, since the occurrences of /a/ are not completely predictable. Thus I consider /a/, at least provisionally, an independent phoneme.

Vowel length may be a significant feature. No satisfactory contrasting pairs of words are available with long and short vowels. All words consistently pronounced with noticeably lengthened vowels are monosyllables. Only one of these is a closed syllable ([lɛn] 'ground honey comb' cf. also the glottalised [woː?] 'yes'). Only the vowels i, e and o are found lengthened. e.g. [piː] 'man', [moː] 'knee', [meː] 'vegetable food', [tʃiː] '[class of animals]', [bɛː] 'north'. These words regularly have long vowels, even when inflected with suffixes, but [bɛː] when glottalised in its directional/allative form has a short vowel ['yubɛʔ']. Note here that it also loses its stress to the word-initial syllable. In view of this lack of clear contrast between long and short vowels I will take length in vowels to be a phonetic feature of particular lexical items and therefore will not write it when quoting examples.

The interpretation of phonetic diphthongs as vowel plus consonant sequences has already been discussed in 1.2.3 above.  

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6 Historically the mid central vowel /a/ may well have been an allophone of /i/, the conditioning factors for which have, to some extent, been lost. Data is too limited at present to formulate a hypothesis. See also the suggestions made in footnote 7.

7 Sequences of i and y (-iy) are a possible origin for the long vowel [iː] or for the word final distinction between i and e (i < iy, e < i) but information is not sufficient at present to make concrete proposals on this.
1.3.2 Allomorphic Variation

The centralising or labialisation of /i/ and /e/ in certain environments has already been mentioned in the discussion of /a/ (1.3.1).

In general close variants of vowels ([i] not [I], [a] not [a], [e] not [e], [o] not [o], [u] not [u]) occur in closed syllables before k and laminals and in glottalised open syllables, the more open variants occurring before other consonants in closed syllables. In word and morpheme final position i and u have close allophones while other vowels have more open allophones ([I], [a], [e]). In other syllable final positions i and u have more mid allophones [I] and [e].

1.4 Phonological Features

1.4.1 Principles

My basic purpose in discussing a feature system for Rembarnga phonology is to have some interesting way of setting out the few syllable and word structure constraints of the language, and the few phonological alternations. I have therefore made no attempt at all to devise a system with universal implications or applicability. The whole discussion is language specific except in so far as I comment on or make use of isolated suggestions made by other writers. I have not rigidly separated an underlying phonological feature system from a surface phonetic feature system. In fact Rembarnga has so few morphophonological processes that the underlying form of syllables and morphemes is very similar to the surface form. Some of the proposed features are of more phonetic relevance. This applies, too, to the classification of the glottal stop (glottalisation) which here represents the surface phonetic form. In the underlying form glottalisation is interpreted as a syllabic feature (cf. 1.5.2).

In separating and defining the features used I use two main criteria: (i) usefulness in defining the constraints on the distribution of phonemes within the syllable and the word; and (ii) usefulness in describing the few morphophonological and phonetic alternations which occur in the language. Definitions of features are in the main articulatory.

In brief the alternations and phonetic processes to be handled by the feature system are the following:
1.4.1

(a) The introduction of homorganic nasals before the two suffixes -ke '2min. DAT PRON' and -ta (significance unknown) after stem final vowels and liquids (cf. 2.3.3, also 1.5.2.2).

(b) Where there is an intersyllabic sequence of nasal plus stop, one being apico-post-alveolar (retroflex) and the other apico-alveolar, the apico-alveolar assimilates, phonetically at least, to the apico-post-alveolar in point of articulation.

(c) The verb prefix ra? (2.5.3) has an alternative form ta? which occurs whenever it is not immediately preceded by a vowel in the same word.

(d) Phonetically the semivowels w and y are often lost before the high vowels u and i respectively (cf. 1.2.4).

(e) In some parts of the verb ra 'go' the root initial r changes phonologically to y after a prefix with final p. Thus qin-ra?ara sometimes is pronounced [qi'n'ya?ara]

2sgS - go + FUT

(f) There are alternative forms of some suffixes for the verbs of Class 6 involving y instead of ø (cf. 2.5.3).

(g) In the course of verb reduplication laminal stops and nasals change phonologically to the semivowel y under certain conditions (2.5.16, Rule C).

In the discussion of features in 1.4.2 these points and the constraints on the distribution of phonemes within the syllable will be referred to where appropriate. For a complete outline of these last see 1.5.3 below.

1.4.2 Definitions

1.4.2.1 General Class Features

SYLLABIC - Syllabic sounds are those capable of forming a syllable peak while non-syllabic sounds are not capable of this. This is the feature which differentiates consonants and vowels. (See the discussion in Jakobson and Halle 1956:31-33, McCawley 1967:526.)
1.4.2

SONORANT - Sonorant sounds involve continuous air flow throughout the sound. This air flow may be through the oral or nasal cavity. Non-sonorant sounds involve a complete interruption of air flow. This feature distinguishes those sounds which may be followed by a syllable final glottal stop (Vowels, Liquids, Nasals, Semivowels) from those which may not (Oral Stops). Note that the apico-alveolar trill must also be a sonorant sound on this basis. In other words this feature groups as [-sonorant] on the phonetic level the glottal stop and the oral stops, only one of which group may stand phonetically at the end of any syllable. (Ladefoged (1971:109) suggests an alternative acoustic definition in a system of phonetic features. This would serve our purpose here as well. Compare the discussion of the VOCALIC and CONSONANTAL features of Jakobson, Fant, and Halle (1952:19)).

CONSONANTAL - Consonantal sounds are those in which there is complete closure in the oral passage. There may or may not be velic closure of the entrance to the nasal passage. Non-consonantal sounds have no complete oral closure. Note that under this definition the glottal stop is non-consonantal as its closure is in the larynx and not within the oral cavity. This feature serves to distinguish those sounds which may occur finally in a two consonant syllable final cluster from those which may not.

NASAL - Nasal sounds involve flow of air through the nasal cavity. In non-nasal sounds there is velic closure preventing such nasal air flow. Only those sounds positively specified for the feature CONSONANTAL are specified for the feature NASAL, which in any case is not strictly necessary for minimal classification of the different classes of sounds required for stating syllable structure conditions, as Table 1.4(a) shows. Note that semivowels and liquids have the same specification in general class features. This is in view of the fact that in general terms the liquids and semivowels form a single class of sounds for the purpose of stating syllable structure constraints (cf. 1.5.3). The glottal stop is

8 Alternatively one could say that all segments positively specified for the features SONORANT and CONSONANTAL are also marked [+nasal] by a redundancy rule leaving all other segments unmarked for the feature NASAL.
specified for these features only at the surface phonetic level. In underlying form glottalisation is a feature of whole syllables (cf. 1.5.2).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Syllabic</th>
<th>Sonorant</th>
<th>Consonantal</th>
<th>Nasal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Vowels</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semivowels</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liquids</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasals</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oral Stops</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glottal Stop</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1.4(a) General Class Features

1.4.2.2. Articulation Features

**PERIPHERAL** - Peripheral sounds are articulated at the extremes (relative to the Rembarnga possibilities) of the oral cavity, that is at the lips or in the velar region. Non-peripheral sounds are articulated between these two areas. The glottal stop is not specified for this feature, not being articulated in the oral cavity. The PERIPHERAL feature is proposed to handle two facts of the distribution of consonants in CVCC syllables (cf. 1.3.3): (i) of the nasals only m and n may be the final consonant in such a syllable; and (ii) where the second last consonant is a semivowel only p and k may occur as the final consonant. There thus seems to be some justification for wanting to classify velar and labial consonants together. A feature GRAVE such as that proposed by Jakobson, Fant and Halle (1952:29-30) and Ladefoged (1971:44) would achieve this just as well, but I adopt the term PERIPHERAL as it fits my pattern of using articulatory features rather than acoustic features. The relationship of the PERIPHERAL feature to the vowel feature BACK is discussed below.

9 Halle (1973:929-30) criticises Ladefoged (1971) for his failure to have a single feature system (e.g. HIGH, LOW, TENSE, BACK) for both vowels and consonants. However he fails to answer Ladefoged's need to express a relationship between velar and labial sounds. It is to show such a relationship in Rembarnga that I use the feature PERIPHERAL. In Rembarnga it is simple to relate the consonant features PERIPHERAL, APICAL, HIGH and the vowel features HIGH and BACK.
1.4.2

**APICAL** - Apical sounds are articulated with the tip of the tongue. Non-apical (i.e. laminal) sounds are articulated with the tongue blade. Values of this feature are specified only for sounds specified as non-peripheral. This feature distinguishes the apico-alveolar and apico-post-alveolar consonants on the one hand from the laminal consonants on the other hand. The two apical articulations must be classed together at some level in view of two facts: (i) the retroflex assimilation rule on the phonetic level mentioned as point (b) in 1.4.1; and (ii) the fact that in syllable final two consonant clusters there are never sequences of apico-post-alveolar plus apico-alveolar or vice versa but only sequences of two post-alveolar or two alveolar consonants. Furthermore in view of the change of laminal stops and nasals to $y$ in verb reduplication (see point (g) in 1.4.1) it is useful that $y$ and the other laminal stops be specified with the same value in the APICAL feature. In view of the fact that laminal consonants have a lower frequency of occurrence than their apical counterparts and thus seem to be more marked it might be proposed that this feature should be called LAMINAL in order to have the laminal consonants positively specified (more marked). However since this feature is the only means of distinguishing semivowels and liquids the feature has been defined as APICAL to simplify the statement of Rules D and G of 1.5.3. The relationship of this feature to the vowel features HIGH and BACK is discussed below.

**HIGH** - High sounds are those (as defined in McCawley 1967:525) "whose primary constriction or closure is above a line drawn from the rear of the alveolar ridge to the uvula." The main function of this feature is to

---

10 Chomsky and Halle (1968:312-314) propose the use of the feature **DISTRIBUTED** to distinguish various articulations in the denti-alveolar region. However this only deals with systems having only two distinct articulations in this region and fails to cover the three found in Rembarnga (cf. 1.2.1) and other Australian languages or in some Indian languages (Ladefoged 1971:38-40). My proposed features APICAL and HIGH make the necessary distinctions for Rembarnga.

11 If the feature LAMINAL were used in those rules the status of the semivowel $y$ would be slightly ambiguous in not being specified at all for the feature, forcing these two rules to be formulated in the terms 'X may not be Y' rather than the 'X must be Y' pattern of all the other rules in that section.
differentiate apico-alveolar consonants from apico-post-alveolar or retroflex consonants. It also serves to distinguish among the peripheral sounds between the high velars and the non-high labials. The laminal consonants have constriction or closure extending from the upper teeth to the palate and thus are also high. The feature high is also of value in describing the variations (e) and (f) mentioned in 1.4.1 in that the pairs of consonants involved have the same values in this feature. The consonant feature HIGH can fairly simply be related to the vowel feature HIGH (see below) and this then gives a straightforward means of describing the loss of semivowels set out in point (d) of 1.4.1. These last few points support the adoption of a feature HIGH (-LOW) as against a feature FRONT (~BACK) which would also be capable of distinguishing apico-alveolar from retroflex, and velar from labial, but cannot relate laminal to retroflex or laminal to velar as are required for points (e) and (f) in 1.4.1. Nor would it be capable of relating vowels and semivowels together as in point (d) in that section.

Table 1.4(b) sets out the way in which these three principal articulation features specify the various points of articulation of Rembarnga consonants.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Peripheral</th>
<th>Apical</th>
<th>High</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dorso-Velars</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labials</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apico-Alveolars</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apico-post-alveolars</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laminals</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1.4(b) Main Articulation Features

LATERAL - One further feature is needed to distinguish laterals from the other liquids, the liquids being as a group distinguished from the semivowels by being positively specified for the feature APICAL. The new feature I shall term LATERAL.
1.4.2

Lateral sounds are characterised by the air flow taking place over the side of the tongue while a complete closure is made in the middle area of the tongue at the tongue tip. Only sounds which are [+apical -consonantal +sonorant] are specified for the feature LATERAL.

VOXEL FEATURES

The six vowel phonemes of Rembarnga involve three separate tongue heights and three divisions on the front-back dimension of the tongue. In the light of this fact it seems best to adopt two vowel features with three values each.

HIGH - The relative height of the highest point of the tongue is the parameter denoted by this feature. This axis is divided into three and assigned values 1 for the highest, 2 for mid, 3 for the lowest value on this axis.

BACK - This feature refers to the position of the highest part of the tongue relative to the back part of the mouth. Again there are three divisions. The value 1 is assigned to the furthest back articulation, 2 to central articulation and 3 to the frontmost vowel articulation. Distinctions in this dimension are not made for a vowel specified with the value 3 in the feature HIGH.

All the vowel phonemes of Rembarnga are thus uniquely specified using these two vowel features as shown in Table 1.4(c).

In view of the loss of semivowels before high vowels, as described in point (d) of 1.4.1, it is necessary to be able to link up the vowel and consonant feature systems. This can very easily be done, bearing in mind the articulation of the various sounds involved. One can firstly say that the positive value of the consonant feature HIGH is equivalent to the value 1 in the vowel feature HIGH. Further a value of 1 in the vowel feature BACK is equivalent to a positive value.

Ladefoged (1971:67ff) discusses the difficulty of defining height and backness of vowels articulatorily or acoustically but notes (p.74) that these dimensions are successfully used in linguistic description.
1.4.2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>High</th>
<th>Back</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1.4(c) Vowel Features

Thus in the consonant feature PERIPHERAL. Thus y, being specified [+peripheral] as a labial-velar semivowel, is equivalent in height and backness with the vowel u which is specified [i high]. The non-peripheral or [3 back] high vowel i can be considered to be the equivalent of [-apical], that is laminal, in view of the fact that vowels are articulated only with the body of the tongue, not with the tip. Thus the semivowel y which is [-peripheral] is equivalent in these three features with the vowel i which [-apical] is specified as [i High]. Note that it is not necessary (for Rembarnga at least) to specify equivalences between consonant and vowel feature systems except for those involving the vowel features [1 high] or [1 back].

Finally one further feature, though not strictly necessary at the systematic level, is useful at the phonetic level. This is the feature LABIAL which is specified only for peripheral sounds or vowels specified [i Back]. Labial sounds involve some labial articulation, occlusion in the case of m and p, and superimposed lip rounding for the vowels u, o and the semivowel w. In fact for the semivowel w, while velar articulation is also present normally, it seems that lip rounding is the main distinctive feature as for instance in the quick pronunciation of a form like pantawala where the w is often represented only by very slight lip rounding in the course of a long a vowel. Movement of the tongue does not always appear to take place.
|      | ʔ | p | t | f | s | k | m | n | ɲ | ɲ | Ɨ | l | r | ɻ | w | y | i | e | a | è | o | u |
| Syllabic | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| Sonorant  | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| Consonantal | - | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| Nasal     | - | - | - | - | - | - | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| Peripheral/Back | + | - | - | - | + | + | + | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| Apical    | + | + | + | - | + | + | + | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| High/High | - | - | - | + | + | + | - | - | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| Lateral   | + | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Labial    | + | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |

Table 1.4(d) Rembarnga Phonological Features
1.4.3 Rembarnga Phonological Features

In Table 1.4(d) the phonemes of Rembarnga, as well as the phonetic glottal stop, are set out according to the features set out in 1.4.2. In the table blank spaces are left wherever a particular feature does not apply. In those cases where vowel and consonant features are related as set out above both features are put on a single line.

Note that the glottal stop is sufficiently defined when specified for the three main class features. This sound occurs only at the phonetic level. At the underlying level it is a syllabic feature (cf. 1.5.2).

To deal with phonetic realisation and allophonic variation further features such as VOICED, TENSE, STOP RELEASE etc. would be needed but I have made no attempt to sort these out and define them. As I noted above the two features NASAL and LABIAL fall into the category of phonetic features as well in that they are not necessary for minimal classification.

1.5 SYLLABLES
1.5.1 Syllable Types

The segmentation of utterances into syllables was discussed in 1.1.3. There are three syllable patterns used in Rembarnga. These are

CV
CVC
CVCC

(Where C = consonant (or non syllabic (cf. 1.4.2.1)) segment and V = vowel (syllabic) segment).

With the existence of only these three types of syllables it is easy to formulate a rule to insert syllable boundaries in the surface string of phonemes. Such a rule would be (where '§' signifies syllable boundary)

i.e. \( \emptyset \rightarrow § \quad \text{[-syllabic]} \quad \text{[+syllabic]} \quad \text{/ \_ \_ \_ CV} \)

13 One word only has been found with a V syllable - arewukka 'grass type'. This word has only been encountered once and may well be borrowed from another language as other languages in the area may have V beginning a syllable.
All these syllable types may be glottalised (cf. 1.5.2) subject to the conditions set out in 1.5.3. Glottalised CVCC syllables are extremely rare.

1.5.2 Glottalisation

In listing the consonant phonemes of Rembarnga (1.2.1) I have already stated that glottalisation, or the (phonetic) glottal stop, occupies a unique position in Rembarnga phonology. I propose to deal here with the variety of considerations which lead to my referring to it as a syllabic feature, but a phonemically distinctive syllabic feature.

1.5.2.1 Glottalisation and the Oral Stops

The phonetic glottal stop, in terms of articulation, is most readily comparable with the oral stops in that they all involve complete interruption of air flow from the lungs. They are all [-sonorant]. Nevertheless there are a number of significant differences between the glottal stop on the one hand and the oral stops on the other.

(i) The glottal stop is phonetically very different from the oral stops in that it involves closure at the glottis rather than in the oral and/or nasal cavities. Simultaneous voice or voicelessness etc. are thus impossible with the glottal stop but possible with oral stops. (cf. Ladefoged 1971:16).

(ii) If treated as a segmental phoneme the glottal stop would be the only phoneme which may not occur syllable initially at all, and, with the apico-alveolar trill, would be one of the two phonemes which may not occur word initially (cf. 1.5.3). All other stops may occur both word and syllable initially.

(iii) If the glottal stop is treated as a segmental stop phoneme an extra syllable pattern with a final cluster of three consonants would need to be posited. Of these three consonants the third would be only a glottal stop.

The three syllable patterns in Rembarnga are the only ones occurring in the related languages Dalabon (Capell 1962:96) and Gunwinjgu (Oates 1964:7). These syllable types may be glottalised in these languages too, with the exception of the CVCC pattern in Dalabon.
1.5.2

No other stop (or any other phoneme) would be able to occur in this position (cf. 1.5.3).

(iv) The rule devoicing stop clusters (cf. 1.2.2) applies only to clusters of oral stops, not to clusters of glottal stop plus oral stop. Thus after a glottal stop an oral stop is phonetically voiced (except k before a by another rule (cf. 1.2.4)). In other words the glottal stop is disregarded in the application of the phonetic stop cluster devoicing rule.

(v) If we were to regard the glottal stop as a segmental stop phoneme on a par with the oral stops we would need, in the formation of the future tense forms of verbs of class I (cf. 2.5.3), to expressly disregard the glottal stop (but not the oral stops) for the purpose of determining the consonant to be repeated or inserted. Compare

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{tu} + & \text{FUT} \rightarrow \text{tu} + \text{r}\text{a} \\
\text{po}\text{to} + & \text{FUT} \rightarrow \text{po}\text{to} + \text{r}\text{a} \\
\text{t}\text{om} + & \text{FUT} \rightarrow \text{t}\text{om} + \text{ma} \\
\text{r}\text{um} + & \text{FUT} \rightarrow \text{r}\text{um} + \text{ma} \\
\text{yaw} + & \text{FUT} \rightarrow \text{yaw} + \text{wa} \\
\text{kaw} + & \text{FUT} \rightarrow \text{kaw} + \text{wa} \\
\text{jaw}\text{k} + & \text{FUT} \rightarrow \text{jaw}\text{k} + \text{ka} \\
\end{align*}
\]

(vi) A similar situation pertains with two suffixes -ke 'sg. POSS PRON' and -ta (of uncertain significance but very common, including in PERSONAL PRONOUN forms). Both these suffixes insert a nasal, homorganic with their initial stop where they are suffixed to stems without a final oral stop or nasal. -ta in fact may not be suffixed to a stem with a final stop. Again a segmental glottal stop would be disregarded here, and the nasal introduced immediately following the vowel or final liquid of the stem, irrespective of whether a glottal stop followed it. Compare

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{malk} + & \text{ko} \rightarrow \text{malk}\text{ke} \\
\text{subsection} + & \text{ko} \rightarrow \text{subsection}\text{ko} \\
\text{ka}\text{na} + & \text{ko} \rightarrow \text{ka}\text{na}\text{ko} \\
\text{belly} + & \text{ko} \rightarrow \text{belly}\text{ko} \\
\text{pe}\text{te}\text{s} + & \text{ko} \rightarrow \text{pe}\text{te}\text{s}\text{ko} \\
\text{shoulder} + & \text{ko} \rightarrow \text{shoulder}\text{ko} \\
\end{align*}
\]
One point of similarity between the glottal stop and the oral stops should be mentioned here, even though it does not affect the balance of the evidence greatly. This concerns certain suffixes, an integral part of which is glottalisation of the final syllable of the stem to which they are suffixed. These suffixes are -?ka? the allative suffix, and -?m? the causative suffix for adjectives (cf. 2.2.4.3 and 2.2.5.4 respectively).

The allative suffix brings about no modification of the final syllable of the stem where this syllable ends with a phonetic glottal stop or an oral stop. Thus

\( \text{nimirili} + \text{ALL} \rightarrow \text{nimirili?ka?} \)
\( \text{m?pan?agak} + \text{ALL} \rightarrow \text{m?pan?agakka?} \)
\( \text{?p?} + \text{ALL} \rightarrow \text{?p?ka?} \)

A causative form with -?m? exists only for adjectives with no final oral stop or phonetic glottal stop. Adjectives with a final oral or (phonetic) glottal stop have no causative forms with this suffix because these forms would be indistinguishable from the inchoative forms with a -?m? suffix, since again glottalisation does not apply to the stem final syllable if this has a final oral or glottal stop. Compare

\( \text{?uppa?a} + \text{m?} \rightarrow \text{?uppa?a?m?} \) (INCHOAT)
\( \text{?uppa?a} + ?\text{m?} \rightarrow \text{?uppa?a?m?} \) (CAUS)
\( \text{wul?} + \text{m?} \rightarrow \text{wul?m?} \) (INCHOAT)
\( \text{wul?} + ?\text{m?} \rightarrow *\text{wul?m?} \) (CAUS)
\( \text{?alk} + \text{m?} \rightarrow \text{?alkm?} \) (INCHOAT)
\( \text{?alk} + ?\text{m?} \rightarrow *\text{alkm?} \) (CAUS)
1.5.2

These facts are related to the morphophonemic (phonotactic) Rule A of 1.5.3 which prevents glottalisation of syllables which have a final [-sonorant] segment. Obviously double glottalisation of a syllable with a final sonorant is also impossible in the language.

1.5.2.2 Glottalisation as a Syllabic Feature

Earlier (1.2.1) I listed contrasts between the glottal stop and various other stops. It is equally possible, however, to find contrasting pairs of forms where the contrast is based on the presence or absence of the glottal stop. For example

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{\ttarkka} & \quad \text{'[type paperbark tree]'} & \quad \text{\ttarkka} & \quad \text{'water goanna'} \\
\text{\t\t\tas} & \quad \text{'to roast'} & \quad \text{\t\tas} & \quad \text{'cut back from tree'} \\
\text{\qara\qo\qara} & \quad \text{'[I'll try to go']} & \quad \text{\qara\qo\qara} & \quad \text{'we will go'} \\
\text{-\yi} & \quad \text{'[ergative/instrumental -\yi'] suffix} & \quad \text{-\yi} & \quad \text{'[comitative suffix]'}
\end{align*}
\]

This fact is consistent with the interpretation which I wish to suggest for the glottal stop in Rembarnga – namely that it be considered a syllabic feature of glottalisation or glottal closure.

That the glottal stop be interpreted as a feature rather than as a segmental phoneme is suggested by a number of the points raised in comparing it with the oral stops – particularly is this true of the two cases where the glottal stop is 'disregarded' in the application of morphological rules (\(v\)) and (\(vi\)), of the fact that a new syllable pattern would need to be posited (\(iii\)) and of the failure of the glottal stop to be involved in the phonetic rule devoicing stop clusters (\(iv\)). Having a non-segmental feature, instead of a segmental phoneme would simplify these matters as far as the glottal stop is concerned.

Two further considerations suggest interpreting final glottal closure as a feature on a whole syllable, rather than on an individual segment.

\[\text{This resembles what Pike termed 'sequential glottalisation'. He says 'The combination into single phonemes of a glottal stop with other sounds in sequence might by the phonemicist be conveniently termed "sequential glottalization", in contradistinction to the pharynx-air type' (Pike 1943:96). However here I wish to posit glottalisation of a whole syllable, not of an individual phoneme.}\]
1.5.2

(i) The glottal stop is completely restricted in occurrence to the end of the syllable. It may not occur initially or medially under any circumstances. Furthermore if we were to interpret it as a feature on a single segment, noting that it may occur with vowels, semivowels, liquids and nasals, we would then have to restrict its occurrence to the final segment in cases where there was a sequence of these potentially glottalised consonants and vowels as in CVC and CVCC syllables (cf. 1.5.1). The syllabic feature interpretation, however, involves defining the feature as syllable final glottal closure, thus explaining why only one glottal stop is possible per syllable, and that always in final position.

(ii) The most significant evidence for the syllabic interpretation of the glottal stop is provided by the phenomenon mentioned in point (vi) of the comparison given in 1.5.2.1 between glottal and oral stops. Under a segmental interpretation of the glottal stop we would have to say that the nasal is inserted separating the last two segments of the stem or that the nasal is introduced between the suffix and the stem and then that the nasal and the glottal stop undergo metathesis. If, however, we interpret the glottal stop as a feature of syllable final glottal closure then the nasal is introduced in the normal way between the stem and the suffix. The glottalisation feature is realised in the form of a glottal stop in syllable final position. The inserted nasal, however, now belongs to the stem final syllable instead of to the suffix in view of the impossibility of syllable initial consonant clusters (cf. 1.5.1). Thus the glottal closure regularly follows rather than precedes the inserted nasal, being realised by a late rule at the new syllable final position. This "movement" of the glottal stop is thus covered by the definition of the glottalisation feature, rather than by separate rules.

1.5.2.3 Interpretations Capell has discussed the interpretation of the glottal stop in Rembunngu, Gunwinjgu and, more particularly, in Dalabon—all three adjacent languages in Arnhem Land—in his 'Dalabon Grammar' (1962:93) and in 'Sound Systems in Australia' (1967:91-2). In the earlier work he favours interpreting the glottal stop in Dalabon as a separate phoneme. In the later discussion however (dealing with all three languages)

16 See also note 18.
he favours some sort of interpretation involving glottalised consonants. This could be either "simple glottalised consonants, or a cluster of oral or nasal consonant with an added component of glottalisation." (1967:92) However he interprets the post-vocalic glottal stop in Dalabon differently - "as a separate consonant" (1967:92). By 'simple glottalised consonant' he appears to mean complete parallel inventories of plain and glottalised consonants. In Rembarnga this would almost double the size of the phonemic inventory (only the oral stops would have no glottalised counterparts) so it appears to me more useful to adopt an alternative interpretation if possible. Capell's suggested 'cluster of oral or nasal consonant with an added component of glottalisation' overcomes the problem of the size of phonemic inventory needed to produce a complete series of glottalised consonants. It does this by interpreting the glottal stop as a type of (suprasegmental) feature. However it appears that this feature is on only single consonant segments. I have shown earlier why I believe this type of feature should be interpreted as a feature on the whole syllable rather than on single segments.

This notion of syllabic feature, phonemically distinctive, and segmentally realised appears to be a rather unusual one. It cannot be termed 'suprasegmental' under the usual definitions because it is realised at only one point in the syllable, independent of the rest of the syllable except in terms of position. Pike, for instance, defines suprasegmentals as "some modification of a sound which does not change the basic quality or shape of its sound waves" (1947:63). Lehiste speaks of suprasegmentals as "a secondary, overlaid function of inherent [segmental] features" or a manipulation of inherent features and claims that suprasegmentals can only be found by syntagmatic comparison while segmental features are found by inspection or paradigmatic comparison (1970:2). Under these definitions the Rembarnga glottalisation cannot be considered to be a suprasegmental feature or phoneme.

Firthian prosodies are somewhat wider in scope than the above notion of suprasegmentals as they may encompass a very large range of phonetic features and are not restricted to 'overlaid' features. The basic aim of this approach is to take account of the syntagmatic relationships of sounds in an utterance, as well as of their paradigmatic relationships
in the phonological system. Thus Prosodic Analysis attempts to handle features with domains larger than the single segment. Syllable and word structure, assimilation, vowel harmony, boundary signals and the like are important elements here. In this type of analysis the glottalisation in Rembarnga could easily be treated as a prosody of the syllable final (or of the syllable itself) in the light of its restriction to one occurrence per syllable, in syllable final position. This prosody would be operative for every syllable in the language, each syllable being marked for glottalisation, or unmarked for its absence. 17 (Compare the treatment of glottalisation in Scott 1956:155). 18

17 Langendoen, in his analysis of the London School of Linguistics, maintains that "prosodic analysis may be considered to be a notational convention for indicating context sensitive phonological rules" (1968:51). It is true that the features treated as prosodies in a prosodic analysis can be covered by morpho-phonemic and morpheme structure rules in a generative framework. Nevertheless Langendoen's generative treatment is less satisfactory than that of prosodic analysis in that he fails to give explicit formal recognition to the syllable as a unit, whereas the syllable is one of the most basic units employed in prosodic analysis. See my discussion of generative approaches below.

18 Firth (1948:16, 17-18) and Robins (1953:139-40; 1957:197) mention glottalisation as a prosodic feature in German, Danish and Sundanese. However these treatments differ from the Rembarnga glottalisation in that the glottal stop is not phonemically distinctive but simply serves to mark various boundaries. Thus Firth (1948:18) speaks of the Danish 'glottal stop' as if it were not at all distinctive, but rather a prosodic feature of syllable structure and word formation, completely predictable from these. This appears to be incorrect. André Martinet (1935:52-57 and 1937:258-266) discusses the Danish glottalisation or stød at length. He gives numerous minimal pairs to show its distinctiveness (1937:259) and proceeds then to give a number of reasons for considering it to be not a consonantal phoneme but a feature of whole syllables (parallel with tone in other Scandinavian languages). In his view the decisive argument is that, "dans une syllabe donnée, le Stød ne peut se trouver qu'à un seul endroit et que, par conséquent, à l'intérieur de la syllabe, la place du Stød n'a aucune valeur phonologique." (1937:261) The similarity of this argument with the first of the special considerations advanced in 1.5.2.2 above concerning Rembarnga is apparent. Although I would not consider this argument decisive on its own (and for Martinet it is the culmination of a series of arguments) nevertheless in combination with other factors it bears considerable weight. Note that the Danish stød is not always represented by a glottal stop but has a number of manifestations involving different states of the glottis (see Lauritsen 1968. Martinet 1937:258-9 also mentions this point.)
1.5.2

Trubetzkoy (1939:243-246) similarly speaks of boundary signals (Grenzsignale) which may also have distinctive function. In Trubetzkoy's view boundary signals are any segments or features (phonemes or variants) which are restricted in occurrence to certain boundary positions. Their occurrence in those positions then signals the existence of a boundary there. He quotes an example from Finnish where a final glottal stop is both in distinctive opposition to its absence and also functions as a signal of a word final boundary (1939:245). This is again parallel to the Rembarnga situation where the distinctive function and the syllable final position of the glottal stop are both important.

The main theories of generative phonology appear to make very little, if any, formal use of the unit syllable. The orientation is basically towards individual phonological segments and, in rules, to syntactic and morphological criteria. There are two possible ways of interpreting the glottal stop in fairly standard generative phonology terms.

(i) The glottal stop could be treated as a segmental unit like all the other stops. In this case the movement of the glottal stop to follow an epenthetic nasal (1.5.2.1 (vi)) would be handled by a metathesis rule. This would have as a target the surface syllable final position of the glottal stop.

(ii) Glottalisation could be treated as a feature of the vowel ([+syllabic]) and shifted by a late rule to the end of the syllable, or rather realised by a late rule at the end of the syllable. This shifting rule would have the same target as (i) above.

19 To fail to attribute the existence of this rule to such a target would be, I think, to miss a valid statement of the motivation for the rule. It is not that a certain surface arrangement comes about so to speak by chance as the result of the application of this rule, but rather that the rule exists simply in order to bring this surface arrangement about. (For some general discussion of targets see Haiman 1971:797-799).
1.5.2

However, neither of these two approaches can avoid the need for the unit syllable. The syllable is needed as a unit in both cases to express the target involved and in the second case to formulate the rule for realising the glottalisation at the end of the syllable. To be sure one can formulate these two things simply in terms of sequences of consonant and vowel - but this is precisely how we are able to define the placing of syllable boundaries, and hence the extent of the syllable as a unit (cf. 1.5.1). Why not recognise this fact and formulate our treatment of glottalisation (the glottal stop) using the syllable as a unit? Treating glottalisation (as in (ii) above) as a feature of the vowel is tantamount to recognising it as a feature of the syllable (there is only one vowel per syllable and no syllable without a vowel) but within a system where the syllable is not recognised. I have pointed out that the syllable must be recognised at least implicitly in order to formulate rules for the realisation of this feature. The syllable unit is further needed in Rembarnga for a number of other rules for phenomena such as the placing of stress (cf. 1.6)\(^2\), and the rules of verb reduplication (cf. 2.5.16.1 especially Rule A) as well as the target of these reduplication rules.

In this section (1.5) I have argued for the interpretation of the syllable final glottal stop in Rembarnga as the phonetic realisation of a syllable feature of glottalisation. I have shown that the syllable is the most appropriate unit to be considered the domain of this feature, and that in any case the syllable will have to be recognised as a defined unit in order to adequately formulate the rules needed to handle the glottal stop. I have not, however, gone on to formalise this interpretation in detail as my purpose in this work is basically to outline the facts of Rembarnga, rather than to explore fully their theoretical implications. For the more practical purpose I have in view it will in fact be sufficient to symbolise (in examples etc.) the glottalisation of syllables by means of the symbol 'ʔ' placed at the end of a glottalised syllable. Two suffixes which involve glottalisation of the stem final syllable are cited with a morpheme

---

20 For an interesting discussion of the usefulness of the syllable as a unit in generative phonology see Hooper 1972.

21 However for rules defining stress patterns one needs only to refer to syllable peaks (vowels) and not to the boundaries between syllables.
initial glottal stop. Thus -?ka' [Allative], -?mif' [Causative + Past Punctiliar]. It must be borne in mind, however, that this notation is used for convenience and does not imply that I interpret the (phonetic) glottal stop as a segmental phoneme. Phonetically it has some segmental reality (and to this extent can be specified in a distinctive feature chart as in 1.4.3) but at the underlying level I interpret it rather as a syllabic feature as outlined above.  

1.5.3 Morphophonemics (Phonotactics) of Syllable and Word

In describing the morphophonemic (phonotactic) structure of syllables and words I will move from the more general to the more specific. This will mean starting from the syllable and moving to the word as a whole. I will deal specifically only with syllable final consonants and consonant clusters in glottalised and unglottalised syllables since as is shown in 1.5.1 all syllables begin with the sequence CV (any consonant and any vowel) or rather [-syllabic] [+syllabic]. In the rules or constraints stated below $ = $ syllable boundary and the variable X contains no $. The symbol $ \rightarrow $ is to be interpreted 'must be, if the syllable is to be well formed' - that is the rules are conditions for well formedness rather than rules for derivation of syllables. Glottalisation is a syllabic feature not a segmental glottal stop. The word 'segment' in the rules does not include reference to the phonetic glottal stop. The rules apply as a group and are not mutually exclusive.

**Rule A** The final segment of a glottalised syllable must be [+sonorant], that is a nasal, liquid, semivowel or vowel but not an oral stop.

$$ \text{segment} \rightarrow \text{[+sonorant] / $X \rightarrow $} $$ where the syllable is glottalised.

Schebeck's very similar views on the glottal stop in north-eastern Arnhem Land languages were brought to my attention after I had written up this section. He interprets the glottal stop in these languages as a syllable "accent" for precisely the same types of reason as led me to the above conclusions (Schebeck n.d.:3-5). Schebeck proposes a phonetic hypothesis of syllabic "glottal rhythm" to account for the glottal stop in these languages, relating this also to syllable structure and the oral stops. These ideas are discussed in Schebeck n.d. (Pp.6ff) and, I understand, in Schebeck 1972 (which I have not seen). I do not propose to examine his phonetic discussion here, but merely note the similarities between Rembarnga and the languages of north-east Arnhem Land.
Rule B In a syllable final consonant cluster the final segment must be [+consonantal], that is a nasal or an oral stop. Note that if the syllable is glottalised then the final segment must be a nasal by rules A and B together since nasals are the only [+sonorant] sounds.

\[-\text{syllabic}\] \rightarrow \ [+\text{consonantal}] \times \ [-\text{syllabic}] \quad \$\]

Rule C The first segment of a syllable final consonant cluster must be [-consonantal] (and also [+sonorant] in order to exclude the phonetic glottal stop). That is it must be a liquid or a semivowel.

\[-\text{syllabic}\] \rightarrow \ [+\text{sonorant}] \times \ [-\text{syllabic}] \quad \$\]

Rule D Before a syllable final [-peripheral] stop (i.e. ɾ, ɻ or ɾ) a [-syllabic] segment may only be a [+apical] sonorant (i.e. a liquid but not a semivowel).

\[-\text{syllabic}\] \rightarrow \ [+\text{apical}] \times \ [+\text{consonantal}] \quad \$\]

Rule E Before a syllable final apical stop (ɾ or ɻ) a liquid must agree with the stop in the feature HIGH. Thus we get ɾt, lt but not ɾt or lt.

\[-\text{syllabic}\] \rightarrow \ [+\text{high}] \times \ [+\text{apical}] \quad \$\]

Rule F In a syllable final consonant cluster if the final segment is [+nasal] it must be [+peripheral]. That is, of the nasals only ŋ and m may occur as the final segment of a syllable final consonant cluster.

\[+\text{nasal}\] \rightarrow \ [+\text{peripheral}] \times \ [-\text{syllabic}] \quad \$\]

23 This rule may be too general as I have no examples of ŋ followed by apical stop at the end of a syllable, although I do have examples with rt, but none with rt.
1.5.3

**Rule G** If the final segment of a syllable final consonant cluster is [+nasal] then the second final segment of the cluster must be [+apical] (i.e. it may not be a semivowel but must be a liquid, by Rules C and G).

\[-\text{syllabic}] \rightarrow [+\text{apical}] / X \quad [+\text{nasal}] 24

**Rule H** The final consonant of a glottalised syllable with a syllable final two consonant cluster must be the velar nasal $\theta$ (see also Rules A, B and F above).

\[-\text{syllabic}] \rightarrow [+\text{high}] / X \quad [-\text{syllabic}] \quad $ where syllable is glottalised.

The syllable final consonant clusters which have actually been found so far are tabulated in Table 1.5(a) for unglottalised syllables and in Table 1.5(b) for glottalised syllables. There are six clusters predicted by Rules A to H above which have not so far been found to occur. These are marked with 0. For the purposes of the rules I have regarded them as accidental gaps due to insufficient data. The tables also set out the information available on the distribution of these clusters within the word, which will be discussed below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>m</th>
<th>n</th>
<th>p</th>
<th>t</th>
<th>f</th>
<th>k</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>l</td>
<td>lm</td>
<td>lŋ</td>
<td>[lp]</td>
<td>(lt)</td>
<td>(lŋ)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>rŋ</td>
<td>[rp]</td>
<td>(rt)</td>
<td>(rŋ)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r</td>
<td>rm</td>
<td>rŋ</td>
<td>[rp]</td>
<td>(rt)</td>
<td>(rŋ)</td>
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<tr>
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<td>wk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(yp)</td>
<td>(yk)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1.5(a) Syllable Final Consonant Clusters (Unglottalised Syllables)

24 Compare this rule with Rule D above.
### Table 1.5(b) Syllable Final Consonant Clusters
(Glottalised Syllables)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cluster</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>( \eta )</td>
<td>Cluster predicted by Rules A to H above but not actually found to occur in the data so far.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \emptyset )</td>
<td>() = Found only in non-final syllables (as a result of the geminate stop interpretation of voicelessness (cf. 1.2.2)).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \emptyset )</td>
<td>[] = Found both as a result of the geminate stop interpretation and independent of it.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \emptyset )</td>
<td>( \emptyset )</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Notes to Tables 1.5(a) and (b)**

- 0 = Cluster predicted by Rules A to H above but not actually found to occur in the data so far.
- () = Found only in non-final syllables (as a result of the geminate stop interpretation of voicelessness (cf. 1.2.2)).
- [] = Found both as a result of the geminate stop interpretation and independent of it.

Any consonant or vowel may occur as the final segment in CV and CVC syllables, glottalised or unglottalised except that oral stops may not occur finally in glottalised syllables.

All those constraints or rules given above as applying to the unit syllable also apply to the extremities of the unit word. A syllable boundary is necessary to a word boundary which I will symbolise \#.

However two more constraints must be mentioned here as applying to the distribution of sounds in units larger than the syllable.

**Rule I** A syllable final stop in a consonant cluster at the end of a word final syllable must be \(+\text{peripheral}\) (i.e. \( \emptyset \) or \( \emptyset \)). Note from Table 1.5(a) that other oral stops occur syllable finally only word medially.

Compare Rule F above.
Rule J  The apico-alveolar trill r may not occur syllable initially unless immediately preceded, within the same word, by a vowel [+syllabic]) segment. Thus the sound r never occurs word initially, nor within a word after a consonant. In this case, in the light of one particular form, this rule must be formulated as a derivation of a surface apico-alveolar stop from an underlying apico-alveolar trill, rather than as a simple condition on well-formedness, although it performs that function too.

The forms which give evidence for this interpretation of Rule J are (underlying) ra?na(wo) 'first' 'before doing anything else' and its incorporated forms in verb complexes. Phonetically the form on its own is realised with an apico-alveolar stop as ['da?na(wo)]. When incorporated (without its -na(wo) suffix) it is realised phonetically as [-ra? -] after vowels and as [-da? -] after consonants. (When incorporated the form is often rendered 'try'.) Thus

[ŋa - ra? - ŋo - ŋaŋa]
1min.S - PRIOR - go - FUT
= I'll try and go/First let me go.

[ŋın - da? - ŋo - ŋaŋa]
from underlying ŋip - ra? - ŋo - ŋaŋa
2min.S - PRIOR - go - FUT
= First you go/You try and go.

In the Kaltuy? dialect, however, the [da?] form is generalised giving underlying ra?(na(wo)). In this dialect then Rule J no longer exists as a derivation of a surface phonetic form from an underlying form, but a well-formedness condition prohibiting word initial r would be needed.
1.5.4 Two Suffixal Morpho-phonemic Processes

There are two important processes operating in Rembarnga in the case of certain of the suffixes discussed in 2.2, 2.5 and 2.6. Both of these concern stops and glottalisation but neither has been examined in detail as yet so it is only possible to set out the main facts fairly tentatively.

(i) Three nominal suffixes cause glottalisation of the final syllable of the stem to which they are suffixed. These are -?ka? ALL (2.2.4.3) and -?ko OCCAS (2.2.4.5) and -?mip NCAUS (2.2.5.4). These suffixes do not have any overt glottalising effect if the stem final syllable is already glottalised or ends with an oral stop.

In the case of the NCAUS suffix -?mip no form with this suffix is possible if the stem final syllable is glottalised or ends with an oral stop since the resultant form would be homophonous with the INCHOAT form, formed with the suffix -mip (PAST PUNCT) (2.2.5.2). See the examples and the discussion of this process in 1.5.2.1.

(ii) The second process under discussion here has much wider implications. It applies with all case, number and time nominal suffixes with initial stops other than the velar stop. These are -ppara? and -ppulu (2.2.4.1), -?sa (2.2.4.3), -?to (2.2.4.4) and -?ti (2.2.4.5). Similar rules operate for the REFLEX suffix -?to (2.5.7), an adverbial suffix -?ku? (2.6.1) and in the reduplication of verbs. It is likely that this process was also of considerable importance historically as there is evidence of something like it in a number of (reduplicated) roots. The process concerned is one of dissimilation with respect to gemination between sets of geminate stops. Schebeck (1972 and personal communication) mentions similar features in north eastern Arnhem Land, while Heath (1975 chapter 2.3) reports a similar dissimilation in Ngandi.

26 Schebeck (n.d.) suggests that syllable final oral stops in north-east Arnhem Land also involve glottal closure - that is that all syllables with a final oral stop in these languages are glottalised. This notion may be applicable in Rembarnga and would receive support from the fact that glottalisation introduced by suffixes has no overt effect on stem final syllables which are glottalised or have final oral stops, since this fact links glottalisation and oral stops. This is all speculation at this stage as far as the phonetic facts are concerned.
1.5.4

(south east Arnhem Land) which he describes as dissimilation between fortis and lenis stops. In view of the fact that I have not as yet fully investigated this process I have not formulated the rules in full detail. In any case the notation used above does not lend itself very readily to a formulation of the type needed here.

Firstly let us examine the nominal suffixes listed above. While it is not clear whether they should be cited with initial geminate stops rather than single stops, the geminate stop form has been used as the basic underlying form of these suffixes, since this allows a more straightforward statement of the rule involved. On the basis of the data so far examined the dissimilation process can be stated as follows:

The suffix initial geminate stop becomes a single stop when suffixed to a stem with one of the following:

A a stem final glottalised syllable;
B a stem final nasal consonant;
C a stem final oral stop; or
D a stem final vowel (open syllable), where the closest preceding syllable initial stop is preceded by an oral stop segment\(^{27}\) in the same stem, unless a closed syllable intervenes between the suffix and the stop.

Elsewhere the suffix initial geminate stop is not modified.

Environment D involves a suffix initial single stop replacing the geminate stop following (at any distance) a pair of adjacent oral stops unless a closed syllable intervenes. It is this environment which needs particular checking.

\(^{27}\) If syllables with a final oral stop are considered glottalised, as mentioned in note 26 above the glottalisation feature may be the key to the statement of this environment. One could reformulate the relevant part of D as ". . . where the closest preceding syllable initial stop is preceded by a phonetic [-sonorant] (i.e. oral or glottal stop) segment in the same stem . . . ." However the data so far do not indicate which interpretation is needed.
Environments A, B and C may be summed up by saying that a syllable initial geminate stop becomes a single stop when suffixed to a stem with E a stem final phonetic [−sonorant] or [+consonantal] segment.

The following examples show the surface forms of the LOC suffix -ta (underlined to the right of the arrows) in the various environments (listed in parentheses):

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{pan?} + \text{ t}\text{a} & \rightarrow \text{pan?ta} \quad (A) \\
\text{tree} + \text{ t}\text{a} & \rightarrow \text{pojo\text{a}ta} \quad (A) \\
\text{dead man} & \rightarrow \text{na\text{a}ta} \quad (B) \\
\text{place sacred} & \rightarrow \text{tu\text{ka}} \quad (C) \\
\text{[taworo name]} & \rightarrow \text{mira\text{a}ta} \quad (D) \\
\text{place} & \rightarrow \text{ku\text{p\text{e\text{t\text{a}}}}} \quad (D, \text{open syllable intervenes}) \\
\text{[taworo name]} & \rightarrow \text{ko\text{p\text{e\text{t\text{a}}}}} \quad (D, \text{closed syllable intervenes}) \\
\text{openly} & \rightarrow \text{mawura\text{a}} \quad (Elsewhere, cf. D) \\
\text{there} & \rightarrow \text{p\text{e\text{t\text{a}}}} \quad (Elsewhere, cf. D)
\end{align*}
\]
With the REFLEX suffix -tta- the same rule applies but with some modification (see also Table 2.5(e) and the notes there).

(a) Verbs of conjugation 1 regularly form reflexive/reciprocal forms with the suffix allomorph -tte- (irrespective of root) after the stem forming suffix -me- or -wa- (TRANSVR). An alternative form exists for at least some verbs (all with root final phonetic glottal or oral stops) in which the allomorph -ta- with single initial stop is used. These verbs are poli 'arrive', sawk 'speak' and wa? 'look/wait' with stem forming suffix -mp- and kaluk 'play', kaw? 'call out', sawk 'speak', sawk 'laugh' and wa? 'look/wait' with stem forming suffix -wa- (TRANSVR). Thus, for instance, all the following present tense forms are possible sawkmatten, sawkmatten, sawkwatten, sawkwatten.

(b) The REFLEX suffix has the form -te- following the simple verb root ~··'hit', even though by the above rule one would expect -tte- since~··begins with a single stop only. However the regular rule applies for all compounds of ~··Thus marpu 'pity' and warpu 'sing (magic)' have present tense reflexive/reciprocal forms marpettan and warpetten respectively, while suppu 'point at', keppu 'deprive of' and mipsippu 'know', all being examples of environment D, have present tense reflexive/reciprocal forms toppetten, keppeten and mipsippeten respectively.

(c) In the case of conjugation 5B there are two alternative stems for most verbs to which the REFLEX suffix may be added (see Table 2.5(e)). The stem forming suffix -mp- in one of these alternatives blocks the application of the dissimilation rule, and all reflexive/reciprocal forms on this stem have the REFLEX suffix allomorph -tte- with geminate stop. The suffix initial cluster is reduced to give -te- after the simple root mera 'spear'. Compare the two alternative present tense reflexive/reciprocal forms of this verb maretan and maretetten. The rule applies regularly, on
the other hand, for reflexive/reciprocal forms of all other verbs in this conjugation. Compare muttutan (D) and wuntutan from muttu 'show' and wuntu 'hide' respectively. Compare also muttutan and wuntutan, the alternative forms.

The dissimilation rule applies in modified form to reduplicated forms of the non-compound verbs from conjugations 5 and 6 which have initial stops, with the possible exception of kappa 'frighten' (5C) about which I have insufficient information. The relevant verbs, then, are pari 'hang (trans.)', poru 'hang (intrans.)', ta 'stand (trans.)', turu 'stand (intrans.)'.

The underlying basic form of the verb root must have a single initial stop since the REDUPL (cf. 2.5.16) copy of it and its unreduplicated forms have initial single stops. The verb root is, however, positionally equivalent to the suffix in the earlier form of the dissimilation rule. In the light of these facts the rule must be stated as the converse of that given earlier, since in the earlier case it was simpler to assume underlying forms of the suffixes with geminate initial stops. The appropriate rule here is:

The root initial stop is geminated if the next closest syllable initial stop (in the preceding REDUPL morpheme) is not immediately preceded by an oral stop in the same stem.

In these cases a closed syllable may never intervene and the gemination of the root initial stop always occurs. (Contrast the situation with compounds of these conjugations as outlined in 2.5.16.) By the above rules and the reduplication rules we get

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{taŋaŋa} & \rightarrow \text{taŋa-t-taŋaŋa} \\
\text{stand (trans.) + FUT} & \\
\text{taŋ} & \rightarrow \text{taya-t-taŋ} \\
\text{stand (intrans.) + PAST CONT} & \\
parıyi & \rightarrow \text{pari-p-pariyi} \\
\text{hang (intrans.) + PAST CONT} & 
\end{align*}
\]
It is interesting to note here that a number of nominal roots have a clearly reduplicated structure in which something like these dissimilation rules has operated in the past. I have not examined this in detail as yet, but the following examples will give some idea of the situation:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>papappapa</td>
<td>['shrub type'] (contrast papappapa 'rib bones')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pippi</td>
<td>'breast/milk/mother'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>palppal</td>
<td>'fan made from bird's wing'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>palppalma</td>
<td>'bird's wing'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>palppelja</td>
<td>['taworo name']</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tattara</td>
<td>['tree type (firestick)']</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>telttel</td>
<td>['ant type']</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tarantalttal</td>
<td>'middle of the day'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kokko</td>
<td>'grandfather'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>korowkkorow</td>
<td>'kookaburra'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kukku</td>
<td>['yam type']</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kuqppanpani</td>
<td>'young emu'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

29 *Diascorea transversa.*
1.6 WORD STRESS

Physiologically and acoustically stress is a rather complex phenomenon (see for example the discussion of stress in Lehiste 1970). Furthermore the linguistic use of stress varies from language to language in significant respects (see an interesting discussion in P. Garde 1967). In the present brief discussion I give an outline of the use of stress in Rembarnga only at the level of words and make no attempt to deal with sentence patterns of stress. Lehiste suggests (1970:150) that word stress be seen as "potential for being stressed". This is the type of interpretation adopted here in view of the fact that in slow speech more stresses will be present than in fast speech where only the main stresses (i.e. the first stress in the root and/or the first stress in the word) are present.

Word stress in Rembarnga is very largely predictable on the basis of word and morpheme boundaries, but not entirely. Put another way, we can say that each morpheme has its own particular stress pattern but that stress on a vast majority of morphemes follows a certain small number of patterns definable in terms of word and morpheme boundaries. The principal pattern involved is one of morpheme initial stress and in particular of primary stress on the first syllable of the root (in complex verbal and nominal forms). Two other patterns are also important: stress on alternate syllables, and antepenultimate (word) stress. I will deal with stress in three sections: 1.6.1 Root Stress, 1.6.2 Prefix Stress, 1.6.3 Suffix Stress, but the interaction of the three general patterns will be apparent.

1.6.1 Root Stress

For all major word classes the vast majority of roots have stress on the first syllable. The existence and position of stresses on other syllables of the root varies. In some cases the positioning of these extra stresses is obviously the result of compounding (marked (C)) or reduplication (marked (R)) (both special cases of the general morpheme initial stress pattern). Some roots have their first stress on syllables other than the first. I will give examples of all these patterns grouped according to the number of syllables in the root.
1.6.1

(i) One and two syllable roots have only one stress. This is normally on the first syllable of two syllable roots.

  e.g. 'kulppîn' 'ant bed'  
       'çûçak' 'cabbage palm'  
       'tumpal? 'be at a loss to do anything'  
       'yolyol' 'tell a story'

For a small number of two syllable roots (1 noun, 10 verbs) the stress is on the second syllable.

  e.g. ps'îr ' [type grass]'  
       po'jët 'turn over, round'  
       ka'pur? 'bury'  
       çëç? 'wop 'sneak up'  

One further noun appears to have varying stress, sometimes on first syllable, sometimes second.

  'meçen7/meçen7 'sand goanna'  

(ii) Three syllable roots have only one stress, normally on the initial syllable.

  e.g. 'çaruçtu 'female Agile Wallaby'  
       'piçigal' '[type water plant]'  
       'yerere7 'climb down'  
       'pamkuçkul 'sit with head bowed'  

A few roots (one verb, 6 nouns) have stress on the second syllable.

  e.g. yu'wal'wut 'not like to do'  
       ka'çaykka 'stringy bark tree'  
       çu'walkka 'wet season'  
       çu'kere 'female black rock kangaroo'  
       wa'ray?nu ' [taworo name]'
1.6.1

One root has been heard with stress either on the first syllable, or on the second (the second more commonly).

'kuppuwu/kup'puwu  '[(type water plant)]'

(iii) Four syllable roots normally have stress on the first and third syllables (i.e. root initial stress, stress on alternate syllables)

- e.g. 'perer?/perer?  '[(bird type)]'
  'kiyaŋ'/kiyaŋ  'long'
  'tili'/kuypi  'duck'
  'kamu'/nuji?  'white ochre'

Six noun roots of four syllables have only an initial stress:

- e.g. 'yaputurwa  '[(ceremony name)]'
  'murppunkuša  'male rock kangaroo'
  'wur?wuru  'old' 'old person'

Seven four syllable roots have initial and final stress only:

- e.g. 'meleme'/le?  'butterfly'
  'walppuru/ku  'plains turkey'
  'manoku'/maŋ  'type wooden spearhead'
  'nuju guju?  'flat tailed wallaby'
  'left-handed kangaroo'

Five roots of reduplicated form are stressed on the second and fourth syllables:

- e.g. pa'laŋ? pa'laŋ?  '[(type tree)]'
  mu'firu mu'firu  'rails' 'small straight sticks'
  ka'tar ka'tar  'adolescent emu'

One root has second syllable stress only (ante-penultimate stress).

- e.g. ku'lafuttu  'young boys seeing ceremony for first time'
Two roots vary between first and second syllable (ante-penultimate) stress. The most common is listed first in each case.

e.g. 'tawulukku/ta'wulukku  
     ka'maŋaŋoŋ/'kamaŋaŋoŋ  

   '[fish type]'  
   '[yam type]' 

(iv) Of nine known five syllable roots six have stress on the first and third syllables (giving ante-penultimate stress).

e.g. 'tala'munwju  
     'tawu'wawukku  
     'kuŋum'paŋala  

   '[spear type]' (C)
   '[fish type]' 
   '[spear type]' 

The other three five syllable roots have stress on the first and fourth syllables.

'worogoro'molo  
'kaṟawu'ŋala  
'paŋja'larriŋi  

   '[type grass]' (C)
   '[kaworo name]' (C)
   'small male Agile wallaby' (C) 

(v) Of the five known six syllable roots three have stress placed on the first, third and fifth syllables (stress on alternate syllables), and two on the first and fourth syllables (antepenultimate stress). In all cases the pattern is clearly determined by the derivation of the word (shown by reduplication of part of it, or by recognisable morphemes).

e.g. 'pararap'parara  
     'kamomo'kamomo  

   '[club type]' (R)
   'all kinds of small animals' (R)

   'ŋaput'ŋarmoŋitpilk  
   'kuṟu'muŋku'muŋku  
   'maia'weŋe'weŋe 

   '[type grass]' (C)
   '[type snake]' (R)
   'chicken hawk' (R)

26 Appears to be compound of 'tala 'mouth''munoŋ 'murderer'  
27 May be related to 'molo 'tail'  
28 May be related to 'ŋala 'mother's brother'  
29 May be related to 'paŋja 'hook spear'  
30 Known morphemes ŋaputi '[type wallaby]', ŋarmo 'eye'
1.6.1

Reduplication is a common productive process applying to verb roots. (Contrast here the non-productive reduplication exemplified in (i) to (v) above. In those cases no unreduplicated forms exist.) If a root of more than one syllable is reduplicated the normal root stress is repeated for each of the pair.

\[
\text{e.g. } \text{po'let po'let} \quad \text{te}^\text{wa} \text{te}^\text{wa} \\
\text{'turn over, round'} \quad \text{'give'}
\]

If, however, the root is monosyllabic only the first of the pair is stressed, rather than having two adjacent stressed syllables.

\[
\text{e.g. } \text{t}i^\text{t}_1 \text{t}i^\text{t}_1 \\
\text{'return'} \\
\text{t}e^\text{?} \text{e}^\text{?} \\
\text{'get up'}
\]

1.6.2 Prefix Stress

While verbs have a very wide range of prefix possibilities nouns are very limited in this respect. In general monosyllabic prefixes have no stress at all while di- and polysyllabic prefixes have morpheme initial stress. In the light of these general principles the following modifications occur.

(i) A noun incorporated before the verb root receives obligatory stress. (Root or morpheme initial stress pattern.)

\[
\text{e.g. } \emptyset - \text{'}nuwa? - \text{'}put - \text{min} \\
\text{3min. INPL - guts - swell - PAST PUNCT} \\
\text{- His guts swelled up.}
\]

But if the noun incorporated is monosyllabic the verb root may lose its stress.

\[
\text{e.g. } \emptyset - \text{'}ku? - \text{yuwe?} \\
\text{3min. INPL - body - lie + PAST PUNCT} \\
\text{- His body lay there.}
\]
1.6.2

(ii) Prefixes are potentially stressed every alternate syllable forward towards word initial position.

'ka - yi - 'kakku - 'puttan - 'tïï - min
3min.S - yi - properly - night - return - PAST PUNCT
- It got properly dark again.

However this stress must be morpheme initial so that, if by this rule stress would fall on a syllable which is not morpheme initial, it is placed instead on the initial syllable of that morpheme and counting of alternate syllables for placing further stresses begins from the last allotted stress. (Roots underlined)

'nara - 'tarama - 'tut - ta
'paran - pak - 'kumti - 'man

In a long prefix (4 to 8 syllables) normally at least the stress closest to word initial position will be realised.

(iii) If a verb root and suffix together form a single syllable and the prefix is also monosyllabic, stress shifts from root to prefix

'par - gup (<par'gup)
'nar - pan (<nar'pan)

In one example this occurs also with a two syllable verb and monosyllabic prefix.

'ka - turu (<ka'turu)

1.6.3 Suffix Stress

In general monosyllabic suffixes bear no stress (but see (i) below) while di- and polysyllabic suffixes bear morpheme initial stress. In (ii) below a situation is outlined in which a suffix determines stress placement on a preceding syllable, rather than taking stress itself.
1.6.3

(i) The vowel of a monosyllabic past tense suffix may be lengthened considerably in narrative to signify duration of action. In these cases it receives stress. If the verb stem is monosyllabic it loses its initial stress.

'paran - waŋ’a - wa - ’wi:n
3aug.IMPL + 3min.A - tracks - follow - PAST PUNCT + DURAT

ϕ - 'waŋ’a - yu’we:n
3min.S - CONT - lie - PAST CONT + DURAT

cf. ϕ - 'waŋ’a - ’yuwe:n
3min.S - CONT - lie - PAST CONT

ϕ - ’ŋeji - ’ŋeji - 'ya:
3min.O + 3min.A - REDUPL - tell story - PAST PUNCT + DURAT

(ii) When the future tense suffix -ŋara (conjugation 5) occurs the stress is placed on the syllable immediately preceding the suffix (producing an ante-penultimate stress pattern). If this stressed syllable is preceded in turn by the root initial syllable the latter must lose its stress, but this stress may move to a monosyllabic prefix (producing alternate stressed syllables).

'ŋa - ma’ra - ŋara (FUT)
(cf. ŋa - ’miri - ya (PAST PUNCT))

'ŋin - pak - ’ŋega - ŋe’ga - ŋara (FUT)
(cf. ’ŋin - pak - ’ŋeji - ŋeji - ya (PAST PUNCT))

(iii) A monosyllabic suffix may sometimes cause the root initial stress of a disyllabic root to shift to the root final syllable, preceding the suffix (the penultimate syllable of the word). Thus

'tiyan but ti’yan - na or ’tiyanə
'kuwe? but ku’we? - na
'kuṭar? but kuṭarṭi or ’kuṭarṭi
2 MORPHOLOGY

2.1 WORD CLASSES

In discussing morphology, and syntax too for that matter, it becomes necessary to put different types of words into different word classes. This, however, presents acute problems of definition and justification. My approach to Rembarnga in the early stages was to allow my expectations on the basis of English morphology some influence, but to begin as soon as possible reallocating words to different classes where morphological or other considerations indicated that this was appropriate or necessary. This process is not yet complete and there are numerous unresolved problems of classification involving, among others, particularly adverbs and particles. Many of these have not been discussed in Chapter 2 since lack of information precludes coming to any firm conclusion. Furthermore the classification set out in this chapter is open to considerable further refinement as more information comes to light. It must, therefore, be stressed at this point that the classification given here is tentative and based to a considerable degree on considerations of convenience and on the influence of traditional approaches to other languages (except where the Rembarnga facts clearly show otherwise).

The two basic word classes, Norninals (2.2) and Verbs (2.5) are definable on the basis of distinctive inflectional possibilities, which are outlined in the respective discussions of these word classes. Particularly distinctive among the nominal inflections are the verbalising suffixes (2.2.5). The other nominal suffixes (2.2.4) including number and case may also be used elsewhere than on nominals. The decision to group together what one might on intuitive semantic grounds call nouns and adjectives is discussed in the introduction to 2.2. This step has not yet been thoroughly investigated and justified but I have as yet found no clear morphological or syntactic reasons to make a noun-adjective division. This is an area requiring a great deal more work. Such a distinction may prove to be bound up with the notions of alienable and inalienable possession, the latter of which may include, for instance, both body part nominals and 'quality' nominals (i.e. 'adjectives').
The class of pronouns (2.3) contains the main deictic words based on a classification according to person and number. Person categorisation is the key element here since number can characterise nominals as well. The Pronominal Verb Prefixes (2.3.5) belong, under this semantic definition, with the other pronouns in 2.3 but, being bound verbal affixes, are discussed as part of the verbal morphology (2.5). The indefinite pronouns, however, are not deictic and thus are not covered by this definition. They are grouped with the other pronouns instead of as a separate word class partly because of traditional treatment as pronouns. All the words included as pronouns in 4.) function as nominals but, unlike nominals, have no lexical meaning and form closed classes of words.
2.1

Pronouns (2.3) are defined as a class of deictic words based on a classification according to person and number. Person categorisation is the key element here since number can characterise nominals as well. The Pronominal Verb Prefixes (2.5.5) belong, under this semantic definition, with the other pronouns in 2.3 but being bound verbal affixes are discussed as part of the verbal morphology (2.5).

Demonstratives (2.4) form a class of deictic words not categorised according to person at all. Some of these forms are predominantly nominal in syntactic function and inflection (those beginning with n-) while others which parallel them almost exactly in form (but have initial p-) are used as sentence modifiers (adverbs). It is the parallelism in form which induced me to group these words as Demonstratives in spite of the differences in function.

Adverbs (2.6) form a class of sentence modifiers which specify the action of whole sentences in terms of time, location, manner or degree, to use traditional terminology. Unlike nominals adverbs may not be verbalised. Nevertheless morphological and syntactic justification for this class is slight as yet.

Pronouns, demonstratives and some adverbs could be classified together as deictics. Deictics are elements which, in the words of Lyons (1968:275), "handle the 'orientational' features of language which are relative to the time and place of utterance." Other elements such as tense affixes are also deictic1 (Lyons 1968:304-305 Compare Lyons' discussion of deixis (1968:275-279)). While the functional and semantic similarity as deictics of the three word classes under discussion here should be recognised, I have discussed these three classes separately for the reasons outlined above.

1 Some nominals also must be considered deictic. These are the relationship terms used by a speaker to address or refer to other people. This set of terminology in Rembarnga goes under the general title terpuy. Thus, for instance, kororike (younger brother + 2 min. DAT PRON) is used by a man or woman addressing his/her son and referring to this son's younger brother. murumun (younger brother + 1 min. DAT PRON), on the other hand, is used by a man or boy in reference to his own younger brother. I have barely begun to investigate the complexities of the terpuy terminology.
2.1

Interjections (2.8) are quite simply defined as (normally invariant) words which most commonly occur as single word utterances or at least single word sentences. They are discussed in this chapter as word forms, but could equally well be considered in Chapter 3 as a separate sentence type.

The class of Particles (2.7), on the other hand, is not easily defined at all. Particles are invariant forms, taking no inflections. The class includes a number of elements with largely grammatical functions such as marking of sentences for negation, purposive, conjunction. It is possible that some of these should be considered to belong in other word classes. At present they are all grouped together because of uncertainty as to what better to do with them.

2.2 NOMINAL MORPHOLOGY
2.2.1 Noun Phrases (NP)

Noun phrases (NPs) are those units which may fulfil the three main non-verbal sentence functions in Rembarnga - A, O/S and IMPL (see 3.1.1) - and as such may be cross-referenced in the pronominal verb prefixes. Appropriately they may also perform various local and other sentence-modifying functions, or be verbalised and stand as predicates. The various affixes discussed in 2.2.3, 2.2.4 and 2.2.5 are, in the main, affixed to whole noun phrases. I propose here to give a very brief outline of the main possible components of a noun phrase. I should emphasise at the outset that I have not exhaustively examined the composition of noun phrases and the limitations on this.

There are four possible units which may stand alone as a NP in Rembarnga: a nominal, a pronoun, a demonstrative, or a relative clause. The term 'nominal' includes a number of different types of words and is discussed in 2.2.2 below. Not all pronouns and demonstratives may stand alone as NPs but details are given, with examples, in 2.3 and 2.4 below. Relative clauses are discussed in detail in 3.7. (2.2-1) to (2.2-4) exemplify these types of NPs. Full NPs are underlined in the examples and in the glosses throughout 2.2.1. Where two separate NPs occur in a single example, one is double underlined, the other is single underlined.
2.2.1

(2.2-1) wurppan - ʰ ta-kur?war-miŋ [29/101]
emu - NOM 3 min.0 + 2 min.A - shoot - PAST PUNCT
- You shot an emu.

(2.2-2) kuḻumpalaŋa-ya? par-miri-ya [38/12]
[type spear] - INSTR 3 min.0 + 3 aug.A - spear - PAST PUNCT
- They speared him with a kuḻumpalaŋa.

(2.2-3) yanta-ya? nenta-ma yar-na-ŋ [33/57]
1 aug. PRON - ERG that + NOM - ma 3 min.0 + 1 aug.A - see -
PAST PUNCT
- We saw that [place].

(2.2-4) pan? maniŋkrita ye-wuŋ-miŋ-ya?
here Maningrida 3 min.S + REL - die - PAST PUNCT - ERG

ŋan - pak-yiniŋ [38/108]
1 min.IMPL + 3 min.S - IMPLIC - say + PAST PUNCT
- The man who died here at Maningrida spoke to me.

A nominal and a demonstrative may combine together to form a NP. This is further discussed in 2.4.1. Demonstratives normally precede the nominal in a NP.

(2.2-5) nakan? kantana - ʰ ŋa-yolyol-la [30/1]
this story - NOM 3 min.0 + 1 min.A - tell - FUT
- I'll tell this story.

A nominal may stand in a NP together with another nominal as its possessor. The possessor may be marked by means of a Dative Pronoun suffixed to the possessed nominal and/or by the DAT suffix added to the possessor nominal. (2.2-6) to (2.2-9) show various possible ways of marking possession in a NP.

(2.2-6) tawuru - ʰ yate - ya?
older sister - 3 min.f. DAT PRON - ERG
2.2.1

takorŋ? - ŋata - ?ka?
younger sister - 3 min.f. DAT PRON - ALL

φ - pak - yinip

3 min. IMPL + 3 min.S - IMPLIC - say + PAST PUNCT
- The (her) older sister spoke to the (her) younger sister.

(2.2-7) piyajtunka? _ yalu - na - ?ka?
Wedge-tailed eagle nest - 3 min. DAT PRON - ALL
-next to the Wedge-tailed eagle's nest

(2.2-8) nunta - ma yar-ŋi-tyŋŋpu - wa
that - ma 3 min.0 + 1 aug.A - yi - finish - PAST PUNCT

tire - ma ŋayŋŋ - kan - ma [37/146-147]
trouble - ma dead man - DAT - ma
- We finished the dead man's trouble (revenge).

(2.2-9) ꁑŋ? - kan para - naxes
George - DAT father - 3 min.DAT PRON
- George's father

Two or (rarely) more nominals may be directly combined, without marking of possession, in a single NP. This includes nominals in a (from the English point of view) noun-adjective relationship as well as the whole-part relationship and others. I do not separate 'nouns' and 'adjectives' in this description. For discussion of this point see 2.2.2. This type of composite NP has not been fully checked but the examples should give some idea of the range of possibilities. The nominal denoting a quality or part normally follows the nominal to which this is attributed. (2.2-10) to (2.2-13) involve 'adjectival' qualification of nominals.

(2.2-10) kuweŋ turana - φ φ - yaw - miŋ
kangaroo alive - NOM 3min. 0 + 3min. A - spear - PAST PUNCT
- He speared a live kangaroo. (Contrast his brother who just picked up a rotting carcass.)
2.2.1

(2.2-11) kaṭaṇa taḻy['][42/1]
old story
- an old story

(2.2-12) roto koḷo - koḷo? - yi [37/41-42]
[grass type] REDUPL - short - COMIT
- with short grass (i.e. 'when the grass was short')

(2.2-13) mana wuḷai - wala yiri - ṭa - ṭa ... [7/22]
wind good - ABL 1 aug.S + REL - go - PRES
- When we approach from the good wind [side] (i.e. the leeward side in hunting) ...

Examples (2.2-14) to (2.2-19) involve 'noun' qualifying 'noun' but in Rembarnga appear to be exactly parallel to NPs like those in (2.2-10) to (2.2-13).

(2.2-14) pa - tumu ǥàkkka par - miri - ya [43/107-108]
on - small of back bone 3 min.O + 3 min.A - spear -
PAST PUNCT
- He speared him in the small of the back (on the bone).

(2.2-15) niŋ - paṭṭa - wap pulkka - yi - ṭa
2 min.S - with - armpit hair - COMIT - STAT PRES
- You've got armpit hair.

(2.2-16) kiya pulkku - ṭa ṭoror? ɲa - ka - niŋ [9/20]
nose string - NOM pull 3 min.O + 1 min.A - take - PAST PUNCT
- I pulled the reins (lit. 'nose string')

(2.2-17) ɲaŋa murumpi['][33/75]
camp/place [Mainoru Station]
- Mainoru Station
When asked to translate a sentence containing three nominals in one NP (for instance an English noun qualified by two adjectives) informants often would simply omit one of the nominals altogether, or they might put two of them together in the normal position before the verb, adding the other as an (optionally uninflected) 'after-thought' - quite a common practice with all non-verbal sentence elements since all essentials are marked within the verb complex. Thus (2.2-20) was given as a translation of "Let's go to the big red truck."

(2.2-20) mutika ŋereŋer - yi - ?ka? ŋara - ɣo - ŋara
truck be red - NOMLSR - ALL 1/2 aug. - go - FUT

ŋalk - ka?
big - ALL
- Let's go to the red truck, the big one.

However long strings of nominals may form a single NP on very rare occasions such as the following text example.

(2.2-21) yaraman kanta kurkur ʔerʔer? - ŋa
horse leg muscle/tendon strong/hard - 1 min. DAT PRON

ŋa - mi - ya [9/31-32]
3 min.0 + 1 min.A - get - PAST PUNCT
- I got my strong horse (lit. 'my horse [with] strong leg muscles').

2 This refers to cut tobacco which is contrasted here with tampakku ɣul-yi (tobacco be black - NOMLSR) 'black tobacco' or 'plug tobacco'.
2.2.1

While, as in the above examples, inflections such as case suffixes are normally added to the whole NP at its extremities (i.e. prefixes before the first word and suffixes following the last word), nevertheless where a NP consists of more than one nominal it appears that the suffixes at least may be added to any or all of the nominals, or may be divided among the nominals. This has not been tested for all types of NP but only for 'noun plus adjective' combinations. Thus the six sentences of (2.2-22) all have the same meaning: "A big [estuarine] crocodile bit the cow/bull.

Full glosses are given only for the first.

(2.2-22) (a) mokko ralk - yi? puliki - φ
crocodile big - ERG cow/bull - NOM

φ - pam? - min
3 min.0 + 3 min.A - bite - PAST PUNCT

(b) mokko - yi? ralk puliki - φ - pam? - min.
(c) ralk - yi? mokko puliki - φ - pam? - min.
(d) ralk mokko - yi? puliki - φ - pam? - min.
(f) ralk - yi? puliki - φ - pam? - min mokko - yi?

Note that where, as in (2.2-20) and in (2.2-22)(f), two parts of a NP are separated by other words then both parts of the NP are marked for case. The freedom of occurrence of the case suffixes on the different nominals of a NP is a fact used to argue for the suffixal nature of some morphemes. See 2.2.4.6(vi) and 2.3.3.

Finally one must mention the combination of demonstrative, nominal and relative clause together into a single NP. This is rather rare, partly due, no doubt, to the 'adjoined' nature of Rembarnga relative clauses (see 3.7). One example will suffice.

(2.2-23) wasnut nonta ki - nura - φ
[subsection name]that 3 min.S + REL - sit + PRES - NOM

par - ñetiy - ya
[27/105-106] 3 min.0 + 3 aug.A - tell about - PAST PUNCT
- They told [me] about that wasnut who is sitting there.
2.2.2 Nominals

Under the heading 'Nominal' I include most of the words which one would expect, by comparison with their English equivalents, to be nouns and adjectives in Rembarnga. This classification in languages generally has occasioned a good deal of discussion over the years in view of the frequent possibility either of classifying adjectives with nouns because of surface inflection, or of classifying them with verbs because of deep functional similarity as predicates (see, for instance, Lyons 1968:323 ff.). In this discussion my grouping of 'adjectives' and 'nouns' together is on account of their similar inflectional possibilities in Rembarnga. This is particularly evident in the case of some of the verbalising suffixes which are used with nominals of all kinds, including de-verbal nominals (2.5.15), but not with verbs. The verbalising suffixes concerned are (i) the stative inflections -PRES and -ni PAST (2.2.5.1) and (ii) the inchoative inflections -man PRES etc. (2.2.5.2 and Table 2.5(a) Conjugation 7). These verbalising suffixes (note particularly -STAT PRES) permit all nominals, not just 'adjectives', to occur as predicates, while on the other hand all nominals, not just 'nouns' may stand alone in the functions A, 0, S and IMPL, only marked with appropriate case suffixes. Verbs require pronominal and tense/aspect affixes, as well as case suffixes, to be used in these functions (as relative clauses).

On the basis of stem forms (citation forms) one finds three groups of nominals in Rembarnga: those with no suffix, those with -na suffix, and those with -yi suffix. These last are derived from intransitive verbs of conjugation 1 as discussed in 2.5.15. This group includes nominals derived from a number of 'adjectival' verbs such as ngul 'be black', mur 'be hot', pikyar? 'be skinny', ṭay? 'be broken', par 'be sick/sore' as well as from verbs like mar? 'die' and potop 'cross over (river)'.

The -na suffix appears to be the short form of the third person minimal (non-feminine) dative pronoun and where appropriate the dative pronouns of other persons and numbers can be substituted for -na. ³

³ Contrast the parallel -no suffix in Dalabon which appears to remain when a possessive pronoun of another person is added (Capell 1962:103).
2.2.2
The -na group includes body part terms, terms for parts of wholes generally and kin terms, as well as a number of seemingly 'adjectival' words such as takkuna 'small', yapna 'bad', pulkkuna 'cooked/ripe', yamna 'fallen (tree)', katpurna 'wounded', mawujuna 'having just carried out a particular (judicial) murder/a murderer', poyna 'left untouched (of game)', malena 'liquid' and kuina 'dead/raw/unripe/corpse'.

Of the nominals without suffix, words like sep 'fish', oura 'fire', parapa 'hook spear' and kataykka 'stringy bark tree' may appear to stand more often alone as a NP, while others such as ralk 'big', mawuj 'female', supul 'many' and pu? 'different' are perhaps more frequent as modifiers of other nominals. However all nominals may stand alone as a NP while some which are not at all 'adjectival' (e.g. body part nominals in the -na group) may modify other nominals (see 2.2.1). Thus any attempted classification into adjectives (modifiers) and nouns (heads) on this basis appears doomed to failure. Much work still needs to be done to check whether I am fully justified in classifying both 'nouns' and 'adjectives' together as 'nominals' in Rembarnga.

2.2.3 Nominal Prefixes
While verbal prefixing in Rembarnga is extensive and complex, nominal prefixing is very limited and, in the main, restricted to small groups of nominals including kinship terms and clan (taworo) names.

(i) ta- is an apparently non-productive prefix which derives feminine forms of perhaps half of the kinship terms from their masculine counterparts. Compare, for instance

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ke</th>
<th>take</th>
<th>tawalkkuŋ 'daughter'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'nephew'</td>
<td>'niece'</td>
<td>'son'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>walalkuŋ</td>
<td></td>
<td>'mother's brother'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'son'</td>
<td></td>
<td>'mother'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In Dalabon words marked with the -ne (3sg. Possessive) suffix cover a similar range including parts of a whole and some 'adjectives' (Capell 1962:104). Capell maintains (1962:104-105) that these 'adjectives' (including yawurno 'small', we?no 'bad', woluno 'ripe') are really nouns.
2.2.3

ta- is also prefixed occasionally to the feminine forms of the subsection names (which are marked as feminine by the non-productive suffix -tan - cf. also 1.2.2). The forms with and without ta- are in free variation. Thus kottan varies freely with takottan.

(ii) nayik- , Qalik- are masculine and feminine prefixes respectively. They are prefixed to the names of clans (taworo) to give the meaning 'a ... man' or 'a ... woman'. Sometimes the shorter forms na- (masculine) and qal- (feminine), which are identical with the Gunwinjgu masculine and feminine noun class prefixes (Oates 1964:24), are used instead. Thus

\[
\begin{align*}
nayik-pal\text{-}gara & \quad A \text{ pal\text{-}gara man.} \\
na & \text{-}pal\text{-}gara \\
qalik-pal\text{-}gara & \quad A \text{ pal\text{-}gara woman.} \\
qal & \text{-}pal\text{-}gara
\end{align*}
\]

(iii) pa- 'on' is used with body part nominals to indicate the point at which the object of a verb is affected. The nominal to which pa- is prefixed is marked also with a dative pronoun (agreeing in person and number with the object of the verb) but this is often deleted or omitted. The one exception so far to the restriction of pa- to use with body part nominals is with tona 'camp' in (2.2-26).

(2.2-24) malanala - yi? par - pu - wa
club - INSTR 3 min.0 + 3 min.A - hit - PAST PUNCT

\[
\begin{align*}
pa & \quad \text{on - head bone} \\
& \quad \text{- He hit him on the head with a club.}
\end{align*}
\]

(2.2-25) pa - ?er? yara pa - pippikaram qə - miri - ya
on - heart above on - breast 3 min.0 + 1 min.A - spear - PAST PUNCT

\[
\begin{align*}
& \quad \text{- I speared her right on the heart, right on the breast.}
\end{align*}
\]
2.2.3

(2.2-26) ţamu - ҕan - pak - pol? - mîn
   dog - NOM 1min.IMPL + 3S - IMPLIC - arrive - PAST PUNCT

   pa - ţape - ҕone
   on - camp - 1min. DAT PRON
   - Some dogs came to my camp. (Context indicates that the
dogs were a nuisance and I had to chase them away.)

pa_ appears to be used also as a part of some adverbs. See 2.6.1.2.

(iv) pağṭa- 'with' is a prefix used (optionally) with NPs
marked with either the COMIT suffix -yin(ta) or the PRIV suffix -tte
(cf. 2.2.4.2). It is possibly related to the verbal prefix -pağṭa-
(see 2.5.6).

(2.2-27) yara - pağṭa - munâja - tte - ni [37/111]
   laug.S - with - white man - PRIV - STAT PAST
   - We had no white men (in our area in those days).

(2.2-28) ...namorâra - ᶈ ka - ᶠoño?  pağṭa - ţamu - yin(ta) [32/8]
   [name] - NOM 3min.S - descend with - dog - COMIT
   - (We saw) namorâra coming down with his dog.

(v) maga 'like' is prefixed5 to nominals which may or may
not bear the suffix -purk 'like' (2.2.4.6). maga is also prefixed to
adverbial demonstratives and the indefinite pronoun yana? (2.3.5). The
examples (2.3-19) and Q.2-29) to (2.2-31) will give some idea of the
range of use of this prefix.

(2.2-29) ka - ӊol - ƣuno - ӊer - ҕ  kara maga - ӊura? - purk [11/14]
   3min.S - sky - REDUPL - red - PRES above like - fire - like
   - Up there the sky is going red like a fire.

5 This may be a free particle, most frequently preposed to the noun,
as is shown by a phrase heard from one informant describing some item as
pinet - purk maga 'like peanuts'.
2.2.3

(2.2-30) φ - waŋa - ma\nmarə -mutika yu - ka? [3/111-112]
3min.S - CONT - went like - vehicle road - ALL
- He kept going as far as to the road. (In describing
the distance the narrator compares it with the distance
from where he is sitting to the road two hundred yards
away.)

(2.2-31) mare - panta ŋa - yuwa - ma
like - here lmin.S - like + PAST PUNCT - ma
mare - panta nere - yappa? - nuŋa - ma,
like - there 2aug.S + REL - UAGM - sit + PRES - ma
panta -ŋə ka - yì - ta -ŋə - tti - n
there - LOC 3min.S - yi - stand(CAUS) - STEM - REFLEX - PAST PUNCT

2.2.4 Nominal Suffixes
There are a number of important suffixes added to NPs in
Rembarnga to mark number, case, location, time and other things. Some
of these suffixes also occur on demonstratives or verbs, but these facts
are noted in individual cases. A number of the suffixes listed here have
(suffix) initial geminate stops... These have allomorphs with single...
initial stops, the use of which is governed by dissimilation rules discussed
in 1.5.4. Suffixes which verbalise nominals will be discussed separately
(2.2.5). The relative ordering of all nominal affixes is discussed in
2.2.4.7.
2.2.4

2.2.4.1 Number Suffixes (UAUGM, DEF AUGM, COMPL AUGM) The two most important number suffixes to be mentioned here are -ppara? the Unit Augmented (UAUGM) suffix and -kappul the Defined Augmented (DEF AUGM) suffix. The system of number categories underlying these suffixes is expounded in 2.3.1. Both these suffixes are used with nominals, pronouns, demonstratives and verbs.

two - UAUGM tree - NOM 30 + laug.A - UAUGM - cut - PAST PUNCT

polo? - para? [37/90-91]
tree - UAUGM
- We (two) cut down two trees.

(2.2-34) m?ti - na?e - ppara?
nayik - pu?kpu?k -
grandfather - lmin. DAT PRON - UAUGM MASC - [taworo name] -
para? [38/105]
UAUGM
- my two grandfathers, two pu?kpu?k men

(2.2-35) paya - pak - re - pol? - min
3aug. IMPL + 1/2 min.A - IMPLIC - COM TRANSVR - arrive - PAST PUNCT

wur?wuru? - kappul [29/114]
old person - DEF AUGM
- We brought it back for all the old people.
The suffix -ppulu appears to replace -kappul (to which it may well be historically related) following Dative Pronouns. Its use has not been fully checked.

(2.2-36) para - na?e - ppulu - yi? ...
father - lmin. DAT PRON - DEF AUGM - ERG

na?pa - te?wa - min
y? - ) [23/24]
lmin. IMPL + 3 aug.A - give - PAST CONT story - NOM
- [Among others] my fathers gave me the story.

6 Compare the third person plural object pronoun bulu in Dalabon (Capell 1962:103).
2.2.4

The suffix -\(\text{QoQ}\) (COMPL AUGM) again refers to the augmented number category and a defined group, but often appears to signify completeness of the group and is translated 'all the ...'

\[(2.2-37)\]

\[\text{parappa? - trpum? - m\text{n}}\]

\[\text{pakho\text{\text{o} - \(\phi\)}}\]

\[30 + 3\text{uaug.A - drive* - PAST PUNCT pack horse* - NOM}\]

\[\text{yaraman - 00}}\]

\[\text{[33/20-21]}\]

horse - COMPL AUGM

- They (two) drove the pack horses, all the horses.

2.2.4.2 Syntactic Case Suffixes (NOM, ERG, DAT, INSTR) There are three syntactic case suffixes in Rembarnga representing the three principal non-verbal sentence functions (see 3.1.1). These case suffixes are nominative (NOM) -\(\phi\) representing 0 and S, ergative (ERG) -\(\text{yi}\) representing A, and dative (DAT) -\(\text{kan}\) representing IMPL. Furthermore there is an instrumental (INSTR) case whose suffix -\(\text{yi}\) is identical to the ERG suffix. That the INSTR case is to be considered distinct from the ERG case is shown by the fact that, while both may occur in the one sentence, only the ERG nominal (the A) may be cross-referenced by a pronominal verb prefix element (cf.2.2-40).

The division between 'syntactic' and 'local' cases is supported by the distribution of the two different forms of the indefinite pronoun (2.3.5): \(\text{yana?}\) is used with syntactic case inflections, \(\text{yene?}\) with local case inflections.

The syntactic case suffixes are not always used with NPs in the various functions, particularly if context indicates clearly which NP is in which function. On the other hand the ERG suffix -\(\text{yi}\) is occasionally used to mark the NP which is represented by the Y prefix element of a di-referential pronominal prefix, irrespective of whether it is the A or the S (with extended intransitive verbs) of the verb. See example (2.2-39), and the discussion in 3.2.7. The syntactic case suffixes may mark nominals, pronouns and demonstratives. These cases will be discussed further in chapter 3.
(2.2-38) ... piri - ṭut - maŋiŋ? - miŋ
3min.0 + 3aug.A + REL - road - build - PAST PUNCT

munanja - yi? [37/55]
white man - ERG
- ... where the white men built a road.

(2.2-39) walaŋ kela - yi?
then [subsection name] - ERG

ŋan - pak - yinip [37/18]
3min. IMPL + 3min. S - IMPLIC - say + PAST PUNCT
- Then kela said to me.

(2.2-40) yukkan?ta narappa? - ḡat - ta
ahead 30 + 2 uaug. A - poison - FUT

majaran - yi? [32/89]
[Itchy tree 7]- INSTR
- You (two) go ahead and poison [the water for fish]
  with the Itchy tree.

(2.2-41) ŋa - pak - yinip
3min. IMPL + 3min. S - IMPLIC - say + PAST PUNCT

wamut - kan na - miraŋga - kan [37/34-35]
[subsection name] - DAT MASC - [taworo name] - DAT
- I spoke to wamut, the miraŋga man.

(2.2-42) lington pikkaŋ - ḍ
lmin. PRON fish hook - NOM

ŋa - war? - war? - miŋ [29/84]
30 + lmin. A - REDUPL - throw - PAST PUNCT
- I went fishing.

Barringtonia acutangula ('Itchy tree')
2.2.4

2.2.4.3 Local Case Suffixes (ALL, ABL, LOC, PERL) There are four separate local case suffixes in Rembarnga. These are

-ʔkaʔ ALLative
-wala ABLative
-ʔsa(m) LOCAtive
-ʔo PERLative

The functions marked by these various case suffixes can be defined according to three features: (i) EXTERNAL versus INTERNAL; (ii) POSITION (REST) versus MOTION; and (iii) TO versus FROM. There is little clear evidence for the relative markedness of either pole of any of these oppositions with the exception of the TO - FROM opposition. It is frequently the case that a NP may stand in allative function without case marking, while the ABL suffix appears to be obligatory for all NPs in ablative function. Thus a feature [± From] could be adopted for this particular opposition. For the others, however, I use a separate term for each pole of the opposition. (2.2-43) sets out the various case suffixes in terms of these features. There appear, however, to be some inconsistencies in use.

(2.2-43)

LOCAL CASES

INTERNAL

POSITION
-ʔsa LOC

EXTERNAL

MOTION
-we PERL

POSITION
-ʔkaʔ ALL

MOTION
TO (-FROM)

FROM (+FROM)

-ʔkaʔ ALL
-wala ABL

ALLATIVE Note that the ALL prefix -ʔkaʔ appears twice in view of its two functions. In one case it indicates position 'close or adjacent to' (e.g. (2.2-44)) and in the other it indicates motion 'towards', 'to', or 'into' (e.g. (2.2-45)).

8 With both External Motion cases the important thing is that the motion should begin (with TO) or end (with FROM) externally.
2.2.4
(2.2-44) panta kara pofo? - ka? $ - ku? - yuwep, there up tree - ALL 3min. S body - lie + PAST CONT


wedge-tailed eagle nest - 3min. DAT PRON - ALL
- Up there in the tree the body lay, next to the wedge-tailed eagle's nest.


river - ALL downwards 3aug. S descend - PAST PUNCT
- They went down to the river.

Sometimes the ALL suffix is used where the DAT -kan might be expected for an implicated NP as in (2.2-46). Compare also (2.2-62) and (2.2-63) below.

(2.2-46) par - ṭiŋ - ṭiŋmi - ya puliki - ṣakoro - $ 30 + 3aug. A REDUPL steal - PAST PUNCT cattle - 1/2aug. DAT


PRON-NOM [name] DEF AUGM - ALL
- They stole our cattle from yurppunti's men (i.e. from us).

(2.2-47) tampaku - ?ka? $ - man [38/25]

tobacco - ALL 3min. S went
- He went for [to get] tobacco.

Furthermore, if the 0 of a sentence is to be stressed or clarified, then the relevant NP may be marked with the ALL suffix -?ka? instead of the NOM suffix -$.

(2.2-48) paran - pu - wa wirijmal - kappul - ?ka? 3aug. 0 + 3min. A hit - PAST PUNCT young men - DEF AUGM - ALL
- He hit the young men.

ABLATIVE The basic meaning of this case is 'motion away from'.

9 The ALL suffix is used probably because 'in the tree' does not mean 'inside the trunk' but only 'adjacent to the trunk'.
The ABL suffix -wala is added to the word laŋo 'hand' to express the numbers 'five' and 'ten' ('one hand', 'two hands'). Alone laŋo yappan? means 'two fingers', but see (2.2-51)

(2.2-51) kurŋa kaŋina - yiŋ tiŋ? - ŋa - moŋ - moŋ
moon big - ERG wife - NOM 30 + 3min. A - have -
laŋo yappan? - wala [43/2-3]
PAST CONT hand two - ABL
- The big [brother] moon had ten wives.

The phrase kerpperpatte?wala means 'to/on the other bank of the river', not 'from the other bank'.

(2.2-52) kerpper patte? wala ŋa - ɡo - ɡaŋa
bank there - ABL lmin. S - go - FUT
- I'll go to the other bank.

Dioscorea sativa (In Aboriginal English 'cheeky yam')
The ABL suffix is sometimes used to mark the (normally unmarked NOM) S of a reflexive verb, sometimes distinguishing reflexive from reciprocal meanings. Often -nta or the PERL suffix -we follows the ABL suffix in this function. With (2.2-53) compare the part-English (2.2-54).

\[(2.2-53)\]
\[nif\text{ta} - \text{wala} - \text{we} \quad \phi - \text{pa} - \text{ti} - \eta \]
3min. PRON - ABL - PERL 3min. S - hit - REFLEX - PAST PUNCT
- He hit himself.

\[(2.2-54)\]
you did it tanta - wala - nta
2min. PRON - ABL - nta
- You did it off your own bat (i.e. without telling or being told by anyone else; without external influence).

**LOCATIVE** The primary meaning of the locative case (marked by LOC suffix -tta(m)) is 'position within' or 'at'. (There is no apparent difference in function between forms of this suffix with and without a final -m.)

\[(2.2-55)\]
twɔ - ɬà yarapp[/] - ɭur? - mîn [37/87]
shade - LOC luaug. S - sit - PAST PUNCT
- We (two) sat down (INCHOAT) in the shade.

\[(2.2-56)\]
pɛnta yar - maɾiŋ⁷ - mîn - kappul
there 30 + laug. A - build - PAST PUNCT - DEF AUGM
pulm̥un - ɬà [33/26]
[place] - LOC
- We built [a yard] there at pulm̥un.

The LOC suffix also signifies location when suffixed to the name of something found at a place. Thus

\[(2.2-57)\]
yira? pærtənta Șattu - ɬa maɾkun pol? [29/116-117]
down river there cycad nut - LOC again arrive
- [We] came down river to the place [where we had left] the cycad nuts [soaking]. (Lit. 'to the cycad nuts')
The LOC suffix is also suffixed to words like ɲəyaŋ 'dead man' and the names of ceremonies to indicate the motivation of some activity in terms like 'on a revenge mission', 'at/for the nulmark ceremony' etc.

(2.2-58) param - pak - ɲe? - mιŋ - para?
3aug. IMPL + 3S - IMPLIC - get up - PAST PUNCT - UAUGM

ɲəyaŋ - ɲa [38/14]
dead man - LOC
- They set out after those two in revenge for the dead man.

There is some overlap in use between the LOC suffix and the ALL suffix. Example (2.2-57) above shows the LOC case being used to indicate motion into an area. On the other hand a comparison of (2.2-44) with (2.2-59) will show the ALL and LOC cases being used (in the same text) with no evident distinction of meaning to describe adjacency or external position.

(2.2-59) niʔkape? kara poło? - ɲa ɬ - wapa - yuweŋ [43/76]
3min. EMPH up tree - LOC 3min. S - CONT - lie - PAST CONT
- He stayed up in the tree all the while.

PERLATIVE The PERL suffix -we indicates 'motion within the bounds/area of', 'along'. Thus

(2.2-60) param - yaw - yuməŋ
3min. O + 3aug. A - spear - PROGR + PAST PUNCT

yuweŋ - we [12/51-52]
black soil - PERL
- They were spearing him [again and again] all the way along the black soil area.

(2.2-61) molak paŋ? - we ɲiŋi - ɬo - ɲara [33/53]
NEG here - PERL 2min. S + REL - go - FUT
- Don't you come around here!

The PERL (like the ALL) case is used sometimes instead of the more usual DAT, for the object of a hunt.
2.2.4

(2.2-62)  
kuwen - ?ka?  yiri - ŋa - ṣ
kangaroo - ALL laug. S + REL - go - PRES

yiri - ŋa̲ - ṣ  kuwen - ṣ[7/2]
laug. S - go hunting - PRES kangaroo - PERL
- When we go hunting for kangaroo...

The use of the PERL suffix following the ABL suffix on the S of a reflexive verb has been exemplified above (2.2-53). The PERL suffix (again like the ALL suffix) is also used for naming 'after' something. Thus

(2.2-63)  
yara - ge - turu  ṣẹn - ṣe ...
laug. IMPL - name - stand + PRES fish - PERL

... natte? pa羧u - ?ka?
that one shark - ALL
- We are named after fish ... that man [is named] after the shark.

2.2.4.4 Having/Lacking Suffixes (COMIT, PRIV) A common feature in Australian languages is the existence of a suffix which derives 'adjectival' stems from nouns, with the meaning 'having ...', 'accompanied by ...' (See, for example, the papers on 'The Derivational Affix "Having"' in Dixon ed. forthcoming). Privative suffixes (meaning 'without') are also widespread (Dixon 1972:12). Rembarrnga has both a comitative (COMIT) and a privative (PRIV) suffix.

-yi(na)  COMITative
-tta  PRIVative

In conjunction with both of these the prefix paṭṭa is often used (see examples (2.2-27) and (2.2-28)). The shorter form of the COMIT suffix (-yi) is only possible when paṭṭa is prefixed to the stem, otherwise -yinta is always used. The PRIV suffix -tta is sometimes followed by -na.
Dixon (forthcoming) states that in some Australian languages the 'having' affix appears to be a reflex of *Diri- or *Dir- and, furthermore, that it is sometimes identical or similar in form to the reflexive affix. It is interesting to note in this connection that the Rembarnga privative suffix (not the comitative) has exactly the same form -tte as the reflexive/reciprocal suffix (2.5.7). -tte could well derive from *Dir(i).\(^{11}\)

The COMIT and PRIV suffixes are stem-forming suffixes. The resultant stems may bear case and verbalising suffixes.

\[(2.2-64)\] kolppog paṭṭa - kuṭkuṭ - yi [37/21]
[\text{type dilly bag}'] with - feathers - COMIT
- a dilly bag [decorated] with feathers

water - PRIV - LOC laug. S - VAUGH - sleep - PAST PUNCT
- We camped at a place where there was no water.

\[(2.2-66)\] ṇūraʔ - tə - nî [30/4]
fire - PRIV - STAT PAST
- There was no fire (in the country at that (mythol.) time).

\[(2.2-67)\] ṭ - ṇūraʔ - yi - t - wa - ṭ [30/28]
3min. O + 3min. A - fire - COMIT - STEM - TRANSVR - PAST PUNCT
- He gave [the country] fire./He caused it to have fire.

\[(2.2-68)\] me - tta - na ṇa - ṭum? - mūn
food - PRIV - STEM lmin. S - sleep - PAST PUNCT
- I slept without food/without having eaten.

\(^{11}\) The privative suffix in Ngalagan, to the south of Rembarnga, has the form -ki (my own field notes) which, on the basis of very limited information, I would say shows regular phonetic correspondence with the Rembarnga form -tte. Compare too the Gunwinjgu comitative suffix -dorej (Oates 1964:30).

\(^{12}\) kolppog is a dilly bag, made of pandanus leaves, with a very close weave. It is waxed and used to carry water or honey.
In one text example the object of the verb ka 'take' is marked with the COMIT suffix.

(2.2-69) ɾəŋhoŋ - yinta panta - wala na - ka - na [33/71]
race horse* - COMIT here - ABL 30 + 2aug. A -take - FUT
- Take the race horses from here.

It is interesting at this point to sum up the semantic uses of the COMIT and PRIV suffixes with reference to Dixon's list of common 'having' functions (Dixon forthcoming). The Rembarnga COMIT and PRIV suffixes occur in similar positions but with opposite meanings ('having' vs. 'lacking'). The COMIT (or PRIV) suffix indicates a human, whether moving or at rest, with (without) or accompanied (unaccompanied) by the animate or inanimate object so marked. See, for instance, examples (2.2-27), (2.2-28), (2.2-68) and compare (2.2-69). The COMIT (PRIV) suffix is also used to describe the characteristics of a place or an object. See examples (2.2-64) to (2.2-67). The COMIT (PRIV) suffix appears not to occur with words such as those for 'hunger', 'thirst', 'sickness' etc. It is used with the word kimir 'shame (at being found out for wrongdoing)'. Thus

(2.2-70) ɲln - kimir - te - ɐ
2min. S - shame - PRIV - STAT PRES
- You are not ashamed./You've got no shame.

No parallels to this are known to me at present. Dixon mentions instrumental and time use of the 'having' suffixes in some languages, but in Rembarnga the main responsibility for this is borne by the INSTR (2.2.4.2) and TEMP LOC (2.2.4.5) suffixes respectively (but see examples (2.2-40) and (2.2-12) for instrumental and time use of the COMIT suffix). The object of fear is an implicated NP marked with the DAT suffix (cf. 2.2.4.2). It is not impossible that the nominalising suffix -yi which derives nominals from verbs of conjugation l (2.5.14) and the COMIT suffix -yi should be syntactically identified.
2.2.4

2.2.4.5 Time Suffixes (TEMP LOC, DAT, OCCAS) There are three time suffixes used with nominals in Rembarnga:

- **-tti** TEMPoral LOCation
- **-kan** DATive
- **-?ka** OCCASion

**-tti** TEMP LOC means 'at the time of', 'when' and may be used with a wide range of NPs, including clauses (see 3.7.11).

**-kan** DAT, on the other hand, indicates a period of time or 'time during which' and can only be used with nominals denoting periods of time (see examples (2.2-73) and (2.2-74)).

(2.2-71) kekku wo - **tti** [38/211] long ago war* - TEMP LOC
= long ago, at the time of the war

= At that time (then) we both cut trees.

= In the wet season [goannas] walk around (but in the hot weather ...)

(2.2-74) kołköłk - kan yara - pata - ti - n [38/67] night - DAT laug.S - rub - REFLEX - PAST PUNCT
= We rubbed ourselves [with white ochre] at night.

The OCCAS suffix **-?ka** is used only with cardinal number adjectives (numerals) and with **ụpụl** 'many'. It means 'on ... occasion(s)'.

= We had one wash. / We washed once.
2.2.4 Other Nominal Suffixes

There are a number of other nominal suffixes with a variety of functions. The verbalising suffixes are discussed in 2.2.5 below while the remainder are listed and commented upon here.

(i) -purk is a (case?) suffix, meaning 'like', used in comparisons. It appears in combination with the prefix mare (2.2.3) but I am not certain whether -purk may be used without mare. I have not checked whether -purk may co-occur with other suffixes. See examples (2.2-29) and (2.2-76).

(ii) -n is a vocative (VOC) suffix used with only two words: para 'father' and qala 'mother's brother'.

(iii) -papi appears to mean something like 'as well', 'also', 'even', as the examples show.

(2.2-77) parppu7 yarappa7 - na - 6
"nail fish" - NOM soon 30 + lusug. A - see - PAST PUNCT
getpe7 - 6, tawulukku - pap7 [32/107-108]
archer fish - NOM [fish type] - too
- Soon we saw nail fish (eel-tailed catfish), archer fish
and also/even tawulukku.

(2.2-78) para - man kuwe? - 7ka?, kalitma me - pap7
3aug. S - went kangaroo - ALL others tucker - too
par - pe7e? - 6a
30 + 3 aug. A - carry - FUT
- They went hunting kangaroo, the others will bring tucker
and all.
2.2.4

(iv) -qere? means 'only'. Sometimes it appears to lose its final glottalisation but I have not checked this extensively.

(2.2-79) te-qere? ya-mo? - gunu-ŋu-n
meat - only 30 + 1/2 min. A - lest - REDUPL - eat - PRES
- We might have nothing but meat to eat. (This is a bad thing since vegetable food is considered essential for comfort and good health.)

(2.2-80) ani pi-qere? par-ŋu-nip-ma
only* man - only 30 + 3 aug. A - eat - PAST CONT - ma
- Only men used to eat [the ceremony food].

(v) There is some justification for considering the Dative Pronoun a (nominal) suffix. This is discussed in detail in 2.3.3.

(vi) Two adjectives -ma? 'good' and -kana? 'small' must also be considered suffixes for a reason similar to one of those advanced in 2.3.3 for the suffix status of the dative pronouns. I have not yet fully checked -kana? but it appears to have the same characteristics as -ma?. Compare the two phrases of (2.2-81) with those of (2.2-82).

(2.2-81) ŋen - ma? - para?
fish - good - UAUGM

*ŋen - para? ma?
fish - UAUGM good
- two good fish

(2.2-82) ŋen wuJa? - para?
fish good - UAUGM

ŋen - para? wuJa?
fish - UAUGM good
- two good fish

The fact that ma? 'good' may not follow the suffix -ppara? while wuJa? 'good' may do so indicates that ma? is a suffix ordered before -ppara? while
2.2.4

wula? is a free nominal. The phrase ten wula? thus consists of two nominals, to either of which -ppara? may be added, while ten - ma? is a single nominal derived by the use of the bound morpheme -ma?. -ppara? is suffixed directly to the whole nominal only.

The -wa TRANSVR suffix (see 2.2.5.3) may occur with -ma? (e.g. qa - ma? - wa - na 'I'll make it better/good.') but not with -kaj?a?. In this form ma? need not be suffixed to a nominal. Compare the dative pronoun which is a root form when overtly verbalised but a suffix elsewhere (2.3.3).

(2.2-83) țila țur - ma?
axe cutting edge - good
- sharp axe

(2.2-84) takku - kaj?a? - yi? melak ye - ọlu - no [cf.37/114-116]
child - small - ERG NEG 30 + 3A + REL - eat - PAST CF
- Little children didn't eat [ceremony food].

Sometimes -kaj?a? has the alternative form -karao?.

(2.2-85) puwa - karao? yaarapa? - pọtọp - mịn [32/3]
river - small luauq. S - cross - PAST PUNCT
- We crossed over a small river.

2.2.4.7 Ordering of Nominal Affixes The relative ordering of nominal affixes has not been exhaustively explored in the course of fieldwork, and the ordering given in Table 2.2(a) should be taken as a tentative and approximate statement only. Most of it has been checked only with suffixes in pairs, rather than in larger combinations. Three points require mention here: (i) -pọp cannot co-occur with the dative pronoun; (ii) -pọp immediately follows the nominal root and does not co-occur with other affixes; and (iii) -ke occurs alone with numerical nominals.
Table 2.2(a) sets out the ordering of nominal affixes. In this table the different affixes within each column are mutually exclusive, with the exception of -wala ABL and -we PERL, which can occur together in one construction (see example (2.2-53)), and of -gere and the case suffixes, which have been found to co-occur in either order. Ordering of -purk has not been checked.

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<th>5</th>
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<td>(ppara?)</td>
<td>DEF AUGM</td>
<td>PRIV</td>
<td>(yi(nty))</td>
<td>Time suffixes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>(ppulu, kappul)</td>
<td>PRIV</td>
<td>(tta)</td>
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<td>ta</td>
<td>COMFL AUGM (ŋoŋ)</td>
<td>PRIV</td>
<td>(kan)</td>
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</table>

Table 2.2(a) Approximate Ordering of Nominal Affixes.

2.2.5 Verbalising Suffixes

NPs in Rembarnga, like those in many other languages, may stand in predicate position. There are four sets of suffixes which verbalise NPs in Rembarnga and permit them to stand as predicates. These are the Stative (STAT), Inchoative (INCHOAT), Transitivity (TRANSVR) and Nominal Causative (NCAUS or -mip Causative). These may verbalise nominal stems including deverbal nominals, dative pronouns, and those stems derived by means of the COMIT, PRIV and DAT suffixes.

Appropriate pronominal verb prefixes (2.5.5) are used with verbalised nominals. Note, however, that the ọ (unmarked) third person nominal prefix is used in both past and present tenses in stative inflection, whereas ka- is used in the present tense with other verbs.
In discussing nominals (2.2.2) I divided nominals into three groups on the basis of their stem forms: Those with no suffix, those with -na suffix, and those (deverbal nominals) with -yi suffix. There is a certain amount of irregularity and variation in the nominal stems to which the verbalising suffixes are added. This is presented in detail below, but certain very general patterns can be discerned:

(i) the verbalising suffixes are added directly to the root of nominals with no regular STEM suffix;

(ii) with -na nominals the verbalising suffixes are added either following the -na suffix, or directly to the root (omitting -na) except in the present stative form where the verbalising suffix is -ni;

(iii) the verbalising suffixes are added following the STEM suffix -yi to deverbal nominals. In the case of the past stative form the suffix -na may optionally occur between the STEM suffix -yi and the STAT PAST suffix -ni; and

(iv) the verbalising suffixes immediately follow derivational suffixes such as COMIT and PRIV.

In the detailed discussion which follows here the examples given are mainly to show something of the range of use of verbalised nominal predicates, rather than to show morphological detail. It must be noted that the morphological details presented are incomplete since only a very limited amount of testing of these STEM suffixes and verbalising suffixes was done. This was limited almost entirely to testing with nominals which translate English adjectives.

2.2.5.1 Stative (STAT) The stative is unmarked (-\) in the present tense in Rembarnga but is marked by the suffix -ni (perhaps -niyi, since vowel length is not clear (1.3.1)) in the past factual tense (cf.2.5.2). This suffix form -ni or -niyi may in fact be derived from (or the same as) the PAST PUNCT form of the verb nura 'sit' (2.5.3). No stative forms exist for the future and past counterfactual tenses, but the respective inchoative suffixes are used in these cases. For the future at least this is easily explained by saying that what 'will be' must first 'become'. The examples give some idea of the use of stative forms, first present,
then past.

(2.2-86) nonta = ma maṭṭi? š - pi - Š [33/55]
that = ma also 3 min. S = aborigine = STAT PRES
- That man is an aborigine too.

(2.2-87) melak qiri = Ṿupul - Š [27/56]
NEG 1/2aug.S + REL - many = STAT PRES
- There are not many of us.

(2.2-88) melak ye - qinta - kan - Š
NEG 3 min. S + REL - 1 min. PRON - DAT = STAT PRES
- It is not mine.

(2.2-89) ya = me = tte - Š [32/29]
1/2 min. S = tucker - PRIV = STAT PRES
- We haven't got any tucker (vegetable food).

(2.2-90) wurppap Š - wuriwuruju - ni,
emu 3 min. S - old person = STAT PAST
š - pi - ni [3/3]
3 min. S - person = STAT PAST
- The emu was an old person (woman), she was a person
(aboriginal). (Mythol. context)

(2.2-91) yara = wapa = Ŵirre - ma? - ni [37/112]
1 aug. S = CONT - malevolence - first rate = STAT PAST
- We were "cheeky"/wild men (in those days).

(2.2-92) ... ţe = wapa - ni - Ťi [23/22-23]
1 min. S + REL - nothing = STAT PAST - TEMP LOC
- ... when I was nothing. (... when I hadn't yet been born)

Compare also examples (2.2-27) and (2.2-66).
Testing of the use of STEM suffixes with stative inflection was carried out only with nominals which translate English adjectives. Hence the narrow range of nominals mentioned here.

Two nominals with -na stem forms lose this -na in the STAT PRES form. These are kaŋkaŋ 'skinny' and ūppaţa 'small (hole)'. For some others the -na is always present in STAT PRES form - tiŋma 'overdiluted', ūŋna 'bad', kuŋna 'raw/dead/corpse', puŋna 'dry (of tree without bark, of throat without tobacco)', kalına 'base part of tree/rock immediately below ground', yama 'fallen (tree)'. A number of other nominals of this group has not been tested in STAT PRES form. In STAT PAST form the -na appears to be optional for all nominals of this group.

With deverbal nominals the -yi suffix is normally retained for stative forms of both tenses, but sometimes -na also is added before the -ni past stative suffix. Thus Ƒayyĩi 'it is broken', Ƒayyĩnĩi/Ƒayyĩnani 'it was broken'; mur?muryi 'it is warm', mur?muryini/mur?muryinani 'it was warm'. There are exceptions to this general pattern:

(i) the verb ŋar 'be sick/sore' may suffix -ni directly to the verb root or to a nominalised stem (i.e. ŋarni/ŋaryini 'he was sick');

(ii) the verb ŋul 'be black' adds the STAT PAST suffix directly to the verb root and not to a nominalised stem (i.e. ŋulni 'it was black', *ŋulyini);

(iii) the verb ŋəŋək 'be hard' has as its nominal form ŋəŋəŋəŋ which functions as a STAT PRES form, or to which a variety of STEM suffix combinations are added with the -ni STAT PAST suffix (i.e. ŋəŋəŋəŋ (yi)(na)ni); and

(iv) ŋel? 'be soft' and mur 'be warm' are optionally reduplicated in nominal form (as ŋel?el?yĩ and mur?muryi) but have regular stem forms as set out in the introduction to 2.2.5.
2.2.5

2.2.5.2 Inchoative (INCHOAT) Inchoative forms have the meaning 'become'. The various tense/aspect forms of the INCHOAT suffix are listed as conjugation 7 in Table 2.5(a). These suffix forms are similar in many ways to those of conjugation 6 which includes all intransitive positional verbs. The examples are straightforward.

(2.2-93) polo? - ph - pak - talt - min [43/59]
         tree - NOM 3 min. IMPL + 3 min. S - IMPLIC - big - INCHOAT

- The tree got big (swelled) on him (as a result of being 'sung', thus preventing him from climbing down).

(2.2-94) qa - qer? - 3ap? - min [52/96]
         1 min. IMPL - heart - bad - INCHOAT PAST PUNCT
- My heart is (has become) bad.

(2.2-95) qitkapo? qa - yi - wurppaq - miyana [3/192]
         1 min. EMPH 1 min. S - yi - emu - INCHOAT FUT
- 'I'll become an emu,' (she said). (Context mythol.)

(2.2-96) ka - yi - walaq - ma?wuru - min [38/171]
         3 min. S - yi - then - "cold weather" - INCHOAT PAST PUNCT
- Then it became the early dry season ("cold weather").

(2.2-97) ... ye - qulpiS - man - ti [38/95]
         1/2 min. S + REL - cold - INCHOAT PRES - TEMP LOC
- ... when we get cold (general statement).

(2.2-98) ka - kiyaf - miyana
         3 min. S - long - INCHOAT FUT
         He will be tall [at that time.]
         He will get tall [by that time.]

---

13 According to the nominal hierarchy discussed in 2.5.5.1 the prefix form expected here is par- not ph-. The form in this example is unexplained.
2.2.5

The stems to which the INCHOAT suffixes are added are exactly as outlined in the introduction to 2.2.5 for all three classes of nominals, with two individual exceptions among the deverbal nominals. These are ḏerʔerʔ (＝ ḏerk 'be hard') which may not carry the nominalising suffix -yi when inflected for INCHOAT, and ḏelʔelʔ 'soft' where the nominalising suffix -yi is only optionally present when followed by the INCHOAT suffix. However testing of stem forms with the INCHOAT suffix was only carried out for a limited range of 'adjectival' nominals.

2.2.5.3 Transitivising Suffix (TRANSVR) This suffix, -wa, is discussed at length in 2.5.9. With nominals it has causative meaning, forming a denominal transitive di-referential verb. The examples (2.5-62) to (2.5-70) show its function.

The nominal stems to which the -wa TRANSVR is suffixed are those listed in the introduction to 2.2.5. However this TRANSVR may not be used with the following: -kapaʔ 'small' (cf. 2.2.4.6), kalʔna 'base part, just below ground level', kaiʔwarʔkan 'very big', yamma 'fallen (tree)'. Again the use of this suffix was only tested with a limited range of 'adjectival' nominals.

2.2.5.4 Nominal Causative (NCAUS) This form which I have elsewhere termed the -min Causative', glottalises the stem final syllable and is conjugated according to conjugation 1 (see Table 2.5(a)). It forms denominal transitive di-referential verbs with the meaning 'cause to be(come) ...', apparently like the TRANSVR -wa (2.2.5.3). I have not, however, been able to determine whether there is any difference in significance between NCAUS and TRANSVR. In the PAST PUNCT tense the NCAUS is phonologically distinguished from the INCHOAT only by stem final glottalisation. The NCAUS may not be used, as a result, with stems having a stem final oral stop or their own stem final glottalisation. See also 1.5.2.1 and the examples there, and 1.5.4. Compare too

(2.2-99) palkku ۦ - koʔol - na - min
string 3 min. S - short - STEM - INCHOAT PAST PUNCT
- The string is (became) short.
2.2.5

(2.2-100) palkku ø - kojo? - na - ?amin.
string 3 min. 0 + 3 min. A - short - STEM - NCAUS PAST PUNCT
- He made the string short.

(2.2-101) ya - kiyaŋ - ?ŋa
3 min. 0 + 1 min. A - long - NCAUS FUT
- I will make it long.

In fact the NCAUS has not occurred in text material I have collected, but has all emerged from elicitation of 'adjective' inflections. It is not commonly used and its use with the full range of nominals has not been tested.

The stems to which the NCAUS suffix is added are as set out in the introduction to 2.2.5 with some major exceptions. The phonological restriction on its use has been noted above (esp. 1.5.4). I have not tested any of the deverbal nominals with this suffix. A number of the nominals which have the -na STEM suffix may not carry the NCAUS suffix, but the range has not been fully tested. The following have been rejected by informants with NCAUS: ṭajna 'overdiluted', ṭaro(ŋa) 'bad', ku?na 'dead/raw/corpse', purkna 'dry', ṭoŋʔonja 'bare', yamna 'fallen (tree)' and kalliwarʔkan 'very big'. No 'non-adjectival' nominals have been tested with this NCAUS suffix.

2.2.6 Comparison

There are two types of comparison which I intend to mention here, not so much because of their importance in Rembarnga as because of their importance in other languages. This reveals something of Rembarnga semantics.

(i) The first type of comparison involves judgements of sameness or similarity and is summed up in the English 'like'. In Rembarnga the prefix mara and the suffix -purk are used in the making of this type of comparison. These two morphemes are discussed and exemplified in 2.2.3(v) and 2.2.4.6(i) respectively.
2.2.6

(ii) The second type of comparison involves the notion of 'grading'.
Grading has been discussed at length by Sapir (1944), who introduced
the term in this sense, and by Lyons (1968:460-470, 1963:62ff.) among
others. Lyons writes (concerning gradable antonyms such as big, small):

"In Greek, as in English, grading is commonly made explicit in
what is traditionally described as the 'comparative degree' of the
adjective, this being regarded, from the point of view of morpholog­
ical analysis, as an extension from the base-form, or 'positive
degree'. Sapir has pointed out that, although the 'comparative
degree' expresses the grading when it occurs in a sentence in which
two objects or persons are compared with respect to a particular
property, the formally ungraded term is psychologically no less
relational, being implicitly dependent on a comparison with some
norm relevant for the particular universe of discourse: 'such
contrasts as small and large, little and much, few and many, give
us a deceptive feeling of absolute values within the field of
quantity comparable to such qualitative differences as red and
green within the field of color perception. This feeling is an
illusion, however, which is largely due to the linguistic fact
that the grading which is implicit in these terms is not formally
indicated, whereas it is made explicit in such judgements as "There
were fewer people there than here" or "He has more milk than I"..."

(Lyons 1963:63-64)

In Rembarnga all grading is apparently implicit and there
appears to be no 'comparative degree' of an adjective with which to make
the grading explicit. Two antonymous terms are thus treated as absolute
polar values in comparisons. Thus, for instance

(2.2-102) takkuna - kapa?, nan? ėpēπi ţalk, qinta - ma
  small - small   this Jeffrey big, 1 min. PRON - ma

maτį? ţalk.
  also big.
  - [He is] a small man, smaller than Jeffrey here, and smaller
    than me too. (lit. He is small, Jeffrey is big, and I am
    big.)

Lyons' reference for this quotation is to Sapir 1944:122-123.
2.2.6

(2.2-103) milmilkama wur'wur'yu, yirappara? wirimal - ppara?

(name) old (man) 1/2 min. PRON young man

- Milmilkama is older than us two.

(lit. Milmilkama is (an) old (man), we two are young men.)

2.3 PRONOUNS

2.3.1 Pronominal Categories

The forms of pronouns (whether free or bound) in Rembarnga vary according to three intersecting categories or classes of features: person, number and gender.

The traditional, largely European-based divisions within the categories of person (first person (inclusive and exclusive), second person, third person) and number (singular, dual, trial, plural - based upon the exact number of persons/items referred to) are rather unsatisfactory for the description of the Rembarnga pronominal system as Table 2.3(a) shows, using the Dative Pronoun forms, as the clearest example (cf. 2.3.3).

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<tr>
<td>3 fem.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Table 2.3(a) Traditional Person/Number Classification - Dative Pronoun Forms.

15 wirimal refers to all able-bodied men from adolescence up to late middle age when they become wur'wur'yu 'old men' with grey hair. Compare Latin iuuenis.
This classification is unsatisfactorily asymmetrical in three respects: (i) There is a gap in the singular column; (ii) only in the first person inclusive does a separate trial form exist and this in turn means that 'Plural' has two meanings - 'four or more in the case of first person inclusive, and 'three or more' elsewhere; and (iii) the first inclusive trial form has the same suffix as all forms in the Dual column with the exception of the first person inclusive dual form which (like the Singular forms) bears no obvious suffix. All these problems could be dealt with simply by closing up the table, placing yakka at the head of the Singular column, pakorppara? at the head of the Dual column, and eliminating the Trial column. This, however, calls for a redefinition of the classifications of number (since yakka refers to two persons, and pakorppara? to three) and of person (to allow the inclusive/exclusive distinction to apply in the 'Singular'). Very similar conclusions have been drawn for Hanunóo (Phillippines) by Conklin (1967:134-135) and for Burara (Arnhem Land) by K. Glasgow (1964:109-110). I adopt for Rembarnga a classification of person and number based on that suggested by Conklin.

Person The person classification can be adequately handled by means of a componential analysis, as suggested by Conklin, based on two binary features indicating whether speaker, hearer (addressee), both or neither are referred to. For convenience I use the terms 'First person' (1), 'Second person' (2), 'First plus second person' (1/2) and 'Third person' (3) to refer to the various combinations of values of these features as set in Table 2.3(b). For example 'Second person' (2) refers to the hearer to

16 In the Cardinal Pronoun forms (Table 2.3(d)) the form called in traditional terms first person dual inclusive has the same dual suffix -ppara? as the first person trial inclusive in that paradigm, thus somewhat weakening this argument. On the other hand, in the Pronominal Verb Prefix forms (Table 2.5(c)) with (unmarked) third person 'singular' X prefix the so-called first person dual inclusive form ya- clearly belongs in the 'Singular' column with qa-, ta-, ka- rather than in the 'Dual' where the suffix -ppara? is used.

17 See too the papers by Austerlitz, McKaughan and Thomas referred to by Conklin (1967).
2.3.1

the exclusion of the speaker. Compare Table 2.3(a) with Table 2.3(e) where the proposed system is adopted.18

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Speaker</th>
<th>Hearer</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1/2</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2.3(b) Pronominal Person Categories.

This feature system for person categories makes an implicit claim that the third person (3) is in some way a less marked category than the other persons.19 There is some evidence from the morphology that this is, in fact, the case and thus that the proposed feature system is superior for Rembarga to the three traditional person categories (apart from its greater symmetry).

(i) In the pronominal verb prefixes (Tables 2.5 (c) and 2.5(d)) some forms of the third person 'singular' prefixes are unmarked while prefixes of all other persons (and of third person 'plural') have overt forms. The third person can thus be considered less marked than the other persons by

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18 This pattern of person categories is a feature (in at least some areas of the grammar) of a number of Arnhem Land languages, e.g. Alawa (Sharpe 1972:57), Burara (K. Glasgow 1964:109-110), Dangbon (my own field notes), Gunwinjgu (Carroll 1969), Nunggubuyu (Hughes and Healey 1971:48) and Roper Pidgin (Sharpe 1974:6). The Tiwi language of Bathurst and Melville Islands has the same person system (Osborne 1974:37, Osborne's fourth person being the same as my 1/2 person), and the Bardi language of northern Western Australia also appears to have it (Metcalfe 1972:7). Metcalfe does not, however, adopt this system in formulating his rules for Bardi).

19 Benveniste (1946:228ff.) argues that in language in general the third person be considered, not a 'personne' like the first and second persons, but rather 'la non-personne' (equivalent to the maximally unmarked person category in feature terms), and he cites as evidence, among other things, the zero expression of the third person in many languages.
the criterion referred to by Greenberg (1966:26) as 'zero expression of the unmarked category'.

(ii) The gender distinction between feminine and non-feminine (see below) exists only in the third person 'singular' forms of the Cardinal and Dative Pronoun (cf. Tables 2.2(d) and 2.2(e)). This formal gender distinction is neutralised in all other persons and numbers. Greenberg calls this criterion of unmarkedness 'syncretisation' (1966:27).

**Number**

Given the person categories or features presented above appropriate features must be found to cover the number system of Rembarnga pronouns. The problem of the traditional terminology (that it is based on simple numerical reference) has been mentioned. I therefore propose to follow Conklin (1967) again and use the term **minimal** (min.) rather than 'singular' since this permits appropriate differences in actual numerical reference between 1/2 person, and the other person categories.

I will use the term **augmented** (aug.) for the non-minimal numbers. The arguments (i) and (ii) presented above for the unmarkedness of the third person relative to the other person categories apply equally well in showing the unmarkedness of the minimal number relative to the augmented number - at least in the third person. Furthermore, with nouns and third person pronominal verb prefixes, the minimal form is often used with augmented reference, showing itself to be the unmarked term. Greenberg calls this criterion of unmarkedness 'facultative expression' (1966:28).

In view of these points it is appropriate to use a feature AUGMENTED as the basis of the description of the Rembarnga pronominal number system.

The so-called 'dual' (with -ppa? suffix) can simply be termed **unit augmented** (uaug.) with the meaning 'minimal plus one' in numerical terms. That this category is relatively more marked than the

---

20 Benveniste (1946:233-236) makes some very useful comments on the nature of plural number in relation to various person categories, especially to the inclusive/exclusive distinction within the first person plural. He maintains in particular that "Dans le verbe comme dans le pronom personnel, le pluriel est facteur d'illimitation, non de multiplication." (1946:235). He relates this notion to such features as the 'royal plural' and the 'polite' second person forms of some European languages.
The defined augmented number refers to a group exhaustively defined or definable in context, numerically of any size above unit augmented number. Groups such as "wamparga - kappul 'all the Rembarnga people'" (defined by tribal affiliation) or "wanta - kappul 'we'" (defined by context) vary in size from three persons to some hundreds.
augmented category is shown (again using the criterion of 'zero expression of the unmarked category') by the derivation of unit augmented forms from simple augmented forms by the use of the suffix -ppara\. The appropriate feature, then, would be UNIT AUGMENTED.

Finally a further number category must be mentioned. This is what one might call defined augmented (def. aug.). It is marked by the suffix -kappul, in conjunction with the augmented pronominal forms. As far as our example paradigm is concerned (Dative Pronouns Tables 2.3(a) and 2.3(e)) -kappul is suffixed to the full augmented form rather than occasioning deletion of the stem final a as with -ppara\. The defined augmented category, like the unit augmented, is more marked than the simple augmented, but there is no apparent reason for considering either unit augmented or defined augmented more marked than the other. An appropriate feature would be DEFINED AUGMENTED.

The various number categories as defined by the three number features are set out in Table 2.3(c). For the application of the system see Table 2.3(e) and compare with Table 2.3(a). Note that neither of the derived augmented categories is more marked than (or dependent on) the other.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AUGMENTED</th>
<th>UNIT AUGMENTED</th>
<th>DEFINED AUGMENTED</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Minimal</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Augmented</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unit Augmented</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Defined Augmented</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2.3(c) Pronominal Number Categories

Rembarunga conforms very closely with the universal aspects of markedness in number categories discussed by Greenberg (1966:31-37).
2.3.1

Gender Rembarnga has two pronominal genders which can be described using a single binary feature FEMININE. The feminine (f.) forms refer only to female animate (human(?)) beings, while the non-feminine (m.) forms refer to everything else. The gender distinction occurs only with third person singular pronouns, and then not with pronominal verb prefixes (Tables 2.5(c) and 2.5(d)) but only in the Cardinal and Dative Pronoun paradigms (Tables 2.3(d) and 2.3(e)).

2.3.2 Cardinal Pronouns (PRON)

Table 2.3(d) sets out the Rembarnga cardinal pronoun (PRON) forms.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Minimal</th>
<th>Augmented</th>
<th>Unit Augmented</th>
<th>Defined Augmented</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>yinta</td>
<td>yanta</td>
<td>yantappara?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1/2</td>
<td>{yirappara?</td>
<td>ānakunta</td>
<td>ānakuntappara?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>{yintappara?</td>
<td>yintappara?</td>
<td>ānakuntappara?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>tanta</td>
<td>nakunta</td>
<td>nakuntappara?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3m.</td>
<td>nī?tanta</td>
<td>{punta</td>
<td>puntappara?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>{nāji?tanta</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>{nayi?tanta</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2.3(d) Cardinal Pronoun Forms

Notes to Table 2.3(d)

a yintappara? is the form used in the kaltuy? (south-western) dialect.

b nāji?tanta is the most common of these two 3min. f. forms for all speakers. Both feminine forms are rare.

c Unit augmented and defined augmented forms are clearly derived by means of number suffixes (2.2.4.1) from the augmented forms.
2.3.2

There is considerable similarity between the cardinal pronoun forms and the pronominal verb prefix forms (Tables 2.5(c), 2.5(d)). The suffix -(n)ta which appears in these PRON forms is of unknown significance but is very widespread in the language on a variety of words (cf. 1.5.2.d). Occasionally the 3 min. m. form is found without the nta suffix, especially when inflected (e.g. nilta - kan = 3 min. m. PRON - DAT). It is likely that the third person minimal forms are related to the gender prefixes na(yik)- 'masculine' and gal(ik)- 'feminine' (2.2.3).

The cardinal pronouns are inflected as ordinary NPs (2.2).

Since the principal syntactic functions are regularly marked by pronominal prefixes to the verb the PRON forms are not necessary in most sentences. They are used normally for emphasis or clarity, like the emphatic pronouns. The PRON forms are more common than the EMPH forms and may be inflected, unlike the EMPH forms. A few examples will suffice.

(2.3-1)  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{̣ara} & \ - \ \text{rum?} - \ \text{min}, \\
\text{nakunta} & \ - \ \phi
\end{align*}
\]
1/2 aug. S - sleep - PAST PUNCT 2 aug. PRON - NOM

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{̣ara} & \ - \ \text{yi} - \ \text{rum?} - \ \text{min}, \\
\text{̣inta} & \ - \ \phi - \ \text{ma}
\end{align*}
\]
2 aug. S - yi - sleep - PAST PUNCT 1 min. PRON - NOM - ma

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{̣a} & \ - \ \text{yi} - \ \text{rum?} - \ \text{min}, \\
\text{ni?kaŋaŋ} & \ \text{̣aanapparu}
\end{align*}
\]
1 min. S - yi - sleep - PAST PUNCT 3 min. EMPH buffalo

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{̣an} & \ - \ \text{ku?p}i - \ \text{mi} - \ \text{ya} \ \ [29/46-48] \\
\text{1 min. IMPL} + \ 3 \min. \ A - \ sweat - \ get - \ PAST \ PUNCT
\end{align*}
\]
- We slept. You all slept, and I slept, but the buffalo, he caught my scent.
2.3.2

(2.3-2) yanta - ppara? - ma ke - kkuwa? - φ
1 aug. PRON - UAUGM - ma nephew - [reciprocal relationship]

yaranpa - yappa? - yaw - min [37/135-136]
- NOM 1 aug. 0 + 3 aug. A - UAUGM - spear - PAST PUNCT
- They threw spears at us two, uncle and nephew (to each other).

(2.3-3) yanta - yi? nenta - φ - ma yar - na - φ [33/57]
1 aug. PRON - ERG that - NOM - ma 3 min. 0 + 1 aug. A - see

- PAST PUNCT
- We saw that [place].

(2.3-4) molak ye - qinta - kan - φ
NEG 3 min. S + REL - 1 min. PRON - DAT - STAT PRES

kori? - qone [42/24]
- It's not mine on my own.

2.3.3 Dative Pronoun (DAT PRON)

Table 2.3(e) sets out the Rembarnga dative pronoun (DAT PRON) forms.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Minimal</th>
<th>Augmented</th>
<th>Unit</th>
<th>Augmented</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>qone</td>
<td>yare</td>
<td>yarppara?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1/2</td>
<td>yokke</td>
<td>ñakore</td>
<td>ñakorppara?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>ke b</td>
<td>ñakore</td>
<td>ñakorppara?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3m.</td>
<td>naye c</td>
<td>pare</td>
<td>parppara?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3f.</td>
<td>ñats c</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2.3(e) Native Pronoun Forms
Notes to Table 2.3(e)

a Defined augmented forms are produced by suffixing -kappul to the augmented forms (e.g. əakorə - kappul).

b Under certain conditions dealt with below in discussing the status of DAT PRON forms an epenthetic nasal precedes kə.

c It is at present completely unclear under what conditions the feminine form of the DAT PRON is used. In fact it appears that it may be the gender of the possessed object, not of the possessor which is decisive. For instance, on one occasion in the course of conversation an informant used the phrase əayappaʔ - nate (sister - 3 min. f. DAT PRON) in the sense 'his sister'. In the kaltuy7 dialect, on the other hand, the non-feminine form appears to be at least optionally appropriate in all situations.

A certain amount of similarity of these forms with the pronominal verb prefixes (Tables 2.5(c), 2.5(d)) is apparent. The 3 min. forms, like their cardinal pronoun counterparts, resemble the masculine and feminine gender prefixes (2.2.3).

The DAT PRON may be suffixed to verb complexes or noun phrases. It serves to mark an implicated NP (see 3.2)22. DAT PRON may bear case and other suffixes when suffixed to NPs. For relative ordering of different NP suffixes see 2.2.4.7.

The status of the DAT PRON as a surface morpheme is somewhat ambiguous in that it appears to be treated as a suffix in some situations and as a free form in others. Two facts suggest that it be interpreted as a suffix.

(1) In combination with a nominal and the UAGM suffix -pparaʔ the -pparaʔ suffix must follow the DAT PRON which must follow the nominal. Thus

22 Compare the forms and syntax of the 'oblique' pronoun in Dalabon (Capell 1962:103-104).
2.3.3

pojo? - ɲena - ppara?
stick - 1 min. DAT PRON - UAUGM
- my two sticks

* pojo? - para? ɲena

On the other hand with two nominals the -ppara? suffix may be attached to either. Thus, both with the same meaning,

pojo? ɽalk - para?
stick big - UAUGM
- Big stick

pojo? - para? ɽalk

This suggests that the DAT PRON is not a free possessive adjective (nominal), but a bound suffix.

(ii) The second person minimal form ke has a variant ɲke which is suffixed to a stem whose final phonological segment is [-consonantal] - that is liquid, semivowel or vowel. The velar nasal -Q- introduced epenthetically in these cases becomes the final segment of the stem final syllable, as is shown by the realisation following -Q- of any stem final glottalisation (see 1.5.2.1 (vi)). After a stem final [+consonantal] segment the ke form is used. Compare

kuqiːn + ke → kuqiːinke
elbow

maŋak + ke → maŋakke
forearm

laŋo + ke → laŋoŋke
hand/finger

kuruppiŋ + ke → kuruppiŋke
short-necked turtle
This morpho-phonemic variation suggests that the second person minimal DAT PRON is a suffix rather than a free form.

On the other hand the DAT PRON can be used predicatively when appropriately inflected.

(2.3-5) poți - φ mițiinta? φ - ke - ni
spear - NOM long ago 3 min. 5 - 2 min. DAT PRON - STAT PAST
- The spear was yours before.

Furthermore the third person minimal non-feminine DAT PRON has been encountered used as a free form with the -(n)ta suffix.

(2.3-6) φ - kaɾul - to?wa - φ
3 0 + 3 min. A - group - mix together - PAST PUNCT

tiŋ? - φ, niʔtanta - kan nawa - nta [43/68-69]
woman - NOM 3 min. PRON - DAT 3 min. DAT PRON - nta
- He put all the women/wives together in one group - both his [brother's] wives and his own.

These facts militate against a suffix interpretation of the DAT PRON, leaving the interpretation ambiguous. A similar ambiguity exists in the status of the adjective maʔ 'good' (2.2.4.6(vi)).

The following examples give some idea of the variety of uses of the DAT PRON. Fuller treatment of the implicative relation, which may be marked by the DAT PRON, will be found in 3.2.1.

(2.3-7) takku - ɡene - pparaʔ [33/8]
nephew - 1 min. DAT PRON - UAGM
- my two nephews
2.3.3

(2.3-8) mērę? - φ - pu - wa - yarppara? [32/17]
sand goanna - NOM 3 min. 0 + 3 min. A - kill - PAST PUNCT -

1 uaug. DAT PRON
- He killed a sand goanna for us (to eat).

(2.3-9) qa - ṭula - naŋ? - miŋ - nawo [32/37]
1 min. S - water - die - PAST PUNCT - 3 min. DAT PRON
- I got thirsty on him. (i.e. I got thirsty, he did not, but we both had to detour to water so that I could drink.)

(2.3-10) par - tiŋ - tiŋmiŋ - ya
3 0 + 3 aug. A - REDUPL - steal - PAST PUNCT

puliki - àakore
cattle - 1/2 aug. DAT PRON [name] - DEF AUGM - ALL
- They were stealing our cattle, from yurppunti's men.

(2.3-11) mappun - φ - qa - ñęta - ñęta - ñaŋa - naktorppara?
[grub type] - NOM 3 min. 0 + 1 min. A - REDUPL - tell

ke - kkuwa? [42/4]
story of - FUT - 2 uaug. DAT PRON nephew - [reciprocal relationship].
- I'm going to tell you, uncle and nephew to each other, the story of mappun.

(2.3-12) melak yiri - waŋ? - mə - nawo
NEG 1 aug. S + REL - look/wait - PAST CF - 3 min. DAT PRON
- We didn't wait for him.

2.3.4 Emphatic Pronoun (EMPH)
The forms of the emphatic pronoun are set out in Table 2.3(f).
Table 2.3(f) Emphatic Pronoun Forms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Minimal</th>
<th>Augmented</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>ɳiʔkaŋaʔ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1/2</td>
<td>yiʔkaŋaʔ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>ɳiʔkaŋaʔ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>niʔkaŋaʔ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes to Table 2.3(f)

a Unit augmented and defined augmented forms are derived by suffixing -pparaʔ and -kappul respectively to the augmented forms.

b I omitted to check whether a third person minimal feminine form of this pronoun exists. One would predict something like ɳaŋiʔkaŋaʔ if it does.

The distinguishing mark of the emphatic pronouns is clearly the suffix -kaŋaʔ, the exact significance of which is unknown to me.23 The minimal forms are clearly related to the relative pronominal prefix forms (2.5.5) while the augmented forms are just as clearly related to their corresponding DAT PRON forms (Table 2.3(e)) with some unexplained vowel changes.

Attempts to elicit the EMPH with the -yiʔ ERG suffix met with rejection and generally these pronoun forms are uninflected.24

23 Besides its occurrence in pronoun forms -kaŋaʔ has been found on an adverbial form taparaŋkapaʔ 'again and again', 'frequently' (with past reference). This is apparently derived from taparaŋ 'yesterday/ recent past'. Compare the use of -gan with personal pronouns for emphasis in Dalabon (Capell 1962:102).

24 In one text example [37/157] niʔkaŋaʔ occurs with the LOC inflection -kiŋa.
EMPH is used for emphasis or clarity, especially in contrastive situations such as those in the examples (2.3-13) to (2.3-15).

(2.3-13) /notification/ maššî? /notification/ - ?ka? /notification/ kura? /notification/ - 3 min. EMPH that way 1 min. S - hunt - PROGR + FUT

/37/98-99/ - You go hunting this way and I'll go that way.

(2.3-14) niʔkaʔa? /notification/ - ñ - mot - miŋ /notification/ - 3 min. EMPH 3 min. 0 + 3 min. A - hold - PAST PUNCT


/37/98-99/ - He had a spear and I had a spear.

2.3.5 Indefinite Pronouns (INDEF)

Rembarnga has a set of forms which might be termed 'indefinite pronouns' (INDEF). They are used as interrogative pronouns ('who?', 'which?', 'what?'), as indefinite pronouns ('someone', 'something', 'anyone', 'anything') and, in conjunction with the NEG particle malak, as negative pronouns ('no-one' 'nothing').

(i) There are two basic INDEF forms, yana? and yene?, distinguished by their respective reference to specific objects on the one hand and space, time or activity on the other. Used as an NP, yana? (which may not refer to humans) may only be inflected for syntactic cases (2.2.4.2) while yene? may only be inflected for local cases (2.2.4.3). In addition yana? may stand with a nominal in an NP with the sense 'which X?'. Example (2.3-16) shows the contrast in reference between yene? and yana? (activity versus objects).

(2.3-16) nan? ma yene? tan - pak - yinip
this ma INDEF 1 min. IMPL + 2 min. S - IMPLIC - do + PAST PUNCT

... nanta ma qip - pak - polo? - warpu - wa
this ma 2 min. IMPL + 1 min. A - IMPLIC - tree - sing -
yana? - kan. tiq? - kan, qinta - yi?
PAST PUNCT INDEF DAT wife DAT 1 min. PRON - ERG

paqa - ka - na [63/61-63]
3 aug. 0 + 1 min. A - take - FUT
- 'What's this you've done to me?' ... 'I've sung this tree on you (to prevent you climbing down)." 'What for?'
"For [your] wives. I'm going to take them.'

Compare the use of yana? in (2.3-17) and (2.3-18).

25 A large number of Australian languages have a single form or a series of closely related forms for this range of functions. See, for example, the Tiwi (N.T.) Interrogative, Negative and Impersonal Pronouns (Osborne 1974:56-57), the Thargari (W.A.) Indefinites (Klokeid 1969:17), the Dalabon (Arnhem Land) Interrogative Pronoun (Cepell 1962:106) and the Djirbal (N. Qld.) Interrogatives (Dixon 1972:265). The same occurs in Bandjalong (N.S.W.) (T. Crowley personal communication).
There is somewhat idiomatic adverbial expression *marə-yana?* ('like anything') with intensive meaning. Thus

(2.3-19) kok - φ - ma ka - ʧuŋ - φ
bark hut - NOM - ma 3 S - stand in a big group - PRES

marə - yana? [38/98-99]
like - INDEF
- Bark houses were standing all over the place.

*yene?* can be used with local or temporal suffixes as in (2.3-20) and (2.3-21).

(2.3-20) ʧansapparu - φ yene? - ʧa ta - yaw - mîn [27/50-51]
buffalo - NOM INDEF - LOC 3 min. 0 + 2 min. A - spear -

PAST PUNCT
- Where did you spear the buffalo?

(2.3-21) yene? - ʧi mutika - φ ka - pol? - φ
INDEF - TEMP LOC truck - NOM 3 min. S - arrive - PRES
- When will the truck arrive?

*yene?* also refers to activities as in (2.3-22)

INDEF 2 min. S - do + PRES fire - NOM 3 0 + 2 min. A + REL -
light - PRES
- How do you light a fire? (lit. ‘What do you do to ...’)

2.3.5

(2.3-17) nenta - ma yana? yana? ka - ḷuru - pop - φ [43/27]
that - ma INDEF INDEF 3 min. IMPL + 3 min. S - stink -

waft around - PRES
- What's that? What does that stink come from?

(2.3-18) yana? połjo? maŋturu - φ ni - maŋpu? - φ
INDEF tree wommera - NOM 3 0 + 2 aug. A + REL - make - PRES
- Which wood do you use to make wommeras?

- What's that? What does that stink come from?
2.3.5

(2.3-23) and (2.3-24) exemplify the negative use of yene?.

(2.3-23) molak yene? - waia yi - ṭo - ọọ [35/3]
NEG INDEF - ABL 3 min. S + REL - go - PAST CF
- He didn't come from anywhere. (i.e. He was there all the time.)

(2.3-24) molak yene? pere - yiọ? - mọ,
NEG INDEF 3 aug. S + REL - do - PAST CF

pere - ma - ọọ [38/141-142]
3 min. O + 3 aug. A + REL - pick up - PAST CF
- They couldn't do anything. They couldn't pick him up.

(ii) A human form of yana? (i.e. 'who?', 'someone') is derived by means of the suffix -kun, 26 giving yana?kun. (2.3-25) to (2.3-27) exemplify the positive uses of this form.

INDEF - NOM 3 min. S - stalking - go - FUT
- Who's going to sneak up [on him]?

(2.3-26) munku yana?kun - yi? ọ - ọẹ - ṭe
maybe/don't know INDEF - ERG 3 min. O + 3 min. A - cook -
kaịajna - ọ [10/14-15]
PAST PUNCT egg - NOM
- I don't know who cooked the egg./I wonder who cooked the egg.

(2.3-27) yana?kun - ọ piri - pak - ọẹ? - ṭa ,
INDEF - NOM 3 min. IMPL + 3 min. S + REL - IMPLIC - get up - FUT

kuwa ọ - war? - mọ
PURP 3 min. O + 3 min. A - throw - PAST CF
- If anyone gets up (and goes) with him, he would like to/
  have liked to go fishing.

This -kun suffix bears slight resemblance to the Dalabon interrogative suffix -gendo?, sometimes -gn (Capell 1962:106).
2.3.5

`yana?qkun` too may be used with the NEG particle.

(2.3-28) `malak taqun` - ô `yana?qkun yi` - pak - `qe?a` - `qo` [12/24]
`NEG story` - NOM INDEF 3 min. IMPL + 3 min. A +

REL - IMPLIC - tell - PAST CF
- No-one told him the story.

(iii) Two forms are available for use when an appropriate word does not come to mind. We would translate these forms as 'what's - its - name', or something similar. `yene?qkura` has strictly local reference ((2.3-29) (2.3-30)) while `yana?qpukara` refers to people or objects ((2.3-31)).

(2.3-29) ya - pol? - mip `yene?qkura` ...
1/2 min. S - arrive - PAST PUNCT INDEF

ka?tnkari [29/7]
[place]
- We came to what's-the-place? ... to ka?tnkari.

river - ALL down 3 aug. S - descend - PAST PUNCT

INDEF - ALL [place] - ALL
- They went down to the river, to what's-the-place?... to tukulere.

(2.3-31) ni?ka?ô `ma?ti? kumpala` - ma ô - niyi
3 min. EMPH and [Oenpelli] - ma 3 min. S - sit + PAST PUNCT

`yana?qpukara` - ô ... mi?teya [38/203-204]
INDEF - NOM Mr. Dyer
- and what's-his-name was at Oenpelli ... Mr. Dyer.

`yana?qpukara` is also used as a verb substitute, conjugated as a member of the first conjugation class (Table 2.5(a)).
2.3.5

(2.3-32) para - pak - yana?pukara - ya, 3 aug. IMPL + 2 min. A - IMPLIC - INDEF - FUT
para - pak - kappa - ṇaṇa [9/27-28]
3 aug. IMPL + 2 min. A - IMPLIC - frighten - FUT

As a verb substitute yana?pukara has a variant yana?kara with the same meaning.

(2.3-33) pan? - ṇa takku ki - yana?kara - ḍ here - LOC baby 3 min. S + REL - INDEF - PRES
ka - ṇaṛ ḍ - yuru [32/72-73]
3 min. IMPL - dreaming place - lie + PRES
- Here's where the baby what-do-you-call-its, where the baby dreaming is.

2.4 DEMONSTRATIVES

An important group of deictic words in Rembarnga is the demonstratives. Several attempts to clarify the significance and function of these words have proved rather unsuccessful. As a result a number of forms is known but nothing specific can be confidently stated about most of them.

It appears that the demonstratives can be roughly divided into two groups depending on whether their initial consonant is n- or p-. The forms with initial p- are exclusively adverbial in function, modifying whole clauses. They may be inflected for local cases. The forms with initial n-, on the other hand, are predominantly nominal in function. That is they may stand as NPs or may combine with other nominals to form NPs. They may take nominal suffixes of all types. There are, however, some exceptions to the above generalisations characterising n- and p- demonstratives. An attempt is made in 2.4.1 and 2.4.2 to outline and exemplify the rôle of these demonstratives.

An unsuccessful attempt was made to determine exactly what parameters were marked by different demonstratives, whether it was distance,
visibility, or something else. For a small group of demonstratives there seems to be some justification for setting up the following ordering from most distant (1) to least distant (3).

1. patta? ▷ 'there' ▷ natta? ▷ 'that'
   penta ▷

2. pakana? ▷ 'here' ▷ nakan? ▷ 'this'

3. panta? ▷ 'right here' ▷ nanta ▷ 'this (very close)'
   pan? ▷

This must be interpreted as a rough guide only. The examples in 2.4.1 and 2.4.2 will help to show the difficulties of interpretation.

The parallelism in form between nominal and adverbial demonstratives should be noted. This is evident right through the lists given in 2.4.1 and 2.4.2. This formal similarity is the main reason for defining a separate class of demonstratives.

2.4.1 Nominal Demonstratives

The nominal demonstrative forms encountered so far are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>nan?</th>
<th>natte?</th>
<th>nakan?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>na?ma</td>
<td>nattenta</td>
<td>nakkun?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nenta</td>
<td>natten?</td>
<td>nakkunta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nanta</td>
<td>nententa</td>
<td>nerkkunta</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As noted earlier insufficient is known about most of these to say anything very definite about their use. Only the main forms are touched upon here.

(1) nan? is used normally as a nominal. See (2.4-1) and (2.3-16).

(2.4-1) nan? po? mayppip? [37/91]
       this tree ironwood
       - This tree (i.e. the one which we cut) was an ironwood.
(i) nanta is used nominally too.

(2.4-2) nanta - ma maŋgi? pi [33/55]
   this - ma also aborigine
   - This [man] is an aborigine too.

(iii) nakan? is exclusively nominal.

(2.4-3) nakan? kantana - ṣa ŋə - yolyol - la [30/1]
   this story - NOM 3 min. 0 + 1 min. A - tell - FUT
   - I'll tell this story.

(iv) nanta is principally a nominal. Its reference is normally to something more remote than that to which the forms (i) to (iii) refer, but this is by no means clear.

(2.4-4) nonta - ma yana? ... ka - ṣuru - pop - ṣe [cf.43/27]
   that - ma INDEF 3 min. IMPL + 3 min. S - stink - waft
   around - PRES
   - What is that, which is giving off a stink?

(2.4-5) mawura - ṣṣam yarappa? - ku? - poço? - min
   in the open - LOC 3 min. 0 + 1 uaug. A - body - put - PAST
   nonta - ma [37/177]
   PUNCT that - ma
   - We (two) killed that [woman] quite openly.

(2.4-6) walaŋ nanta - kan ṣa - pa - wa [28/27]
   then that - DAT 3 0 + 1 min. A - leave - PAST PUNCT
   - So (then) because of that I left [(shooting) the buffalo].

27 that refers to the speaker's fear that if he had tried to shoot the buffalo he might have accidentally hit a person in the prevailing confusion.
2.4.1

nenta frequently occurs with the TEMP LOC suffix -_temperature with reference to a point in time just referred to in the text.

(2.4-7) nenta - 5gil yara - pol? - min [38/96]
that - TEMP LOC 1 aug. S - arrive - PAST PUNCT
- That was the time when we arrived.

nenta occasionally appears in adverbial function, giving locational modification of a clause.

(2.4-8) nenta - ma 0a - 5i5 - min
there - ma 1 min. S - return - PAST PUNCT there - LOC

- I went back there.

(v) nattap appears to mean the same as nenta but is used as an adverb. It is included here with nominal demonstratives in view of its initial n-.

(2.4-9) yene? - 5a na - na - 4
INDEF - LOC 3 min. 0 + 2 aug. A - see - PAST PUNCT

nattap - ka? [3/65]
there - ALL
- "Where did you see it?" "There."

(vi) nattenta has much the same meaning as nattap, being most commonly an adverb but sometimes a nominal.

(2.4-10) pawupa?, maro - panta - wala nattenta, rutna - 4
distant like - here - ABL there road - NOM

ke - yu4 - yu4 - 4 [37/54]
3 min. S + REL - REDUPL - run - PRES
- ... a long way off, like from here (where I am sitting)
  to there where the road runs (about 200 yards away).

28 The informant has just described the characteristics of the small hours of the morning - deep sleep, cold, very dark etc. This is the time chosen for his party's arrival (attack).
2.4.1

(2.4-11) nattanza wurppap, ō - tiŋ? - ni
that emu 3 min. S - woman - STAT PAST

nanta - ma [3/91]
that - ma
That emu, she used to be a woman.

(vii) nakkunta appears to have augmented reference. It is freely translated "that mob".

(2.4-12) ... piri - kaŋul - tiyanə nakkunta,
3 aug. S + REL - group - stand + PAST CF those

re puŋ? re puŋ?
animal different animal different

kikkik - ŋok nanta [3/144-145]
small bird - COMPL AUGM this

- ... (she couldn't see) where they all were, all the animals and birds.

2.4.2 Adverbial Demonstratives
Forms encountered so far are:
pan? pattə? pakan?
panta pattanta pakkun? (čum)
panta pattakunta pakkunta
perkkunta

Once more the state of my knowledge of these forms does not allow much to be said with any certainty. All these forms are used almost exclusively as adverbs.
2.4.2

(i) pan? means 'here'

Oh here - ABL today 3 aug. S - leave - PAST PUNCT
- Oh. They left this place today (judging by the fires still smoking here).

pan? may be opposed to patta? as 'here' versus 'there'.

(2.4-14) (ya - pol? - miŋ) ŋiŋkaŋa?  patta? - wala
1/2 min. S - arrive - PAST PUNCT 2 min. EMPH there - ABL

ŋiŋkaŋa?  pan? - wala  [29/17]
1 min. EMPH here - ABL
- (We came,) you from that side, me from this side.

(ii) panta is very much the same as pan? in significance. (See also example (2.4-10).)

(2.4-15) panta - ṭa para - niyana ,  yirappara? - ɗ
here - LOC 3 aug. S - sit + FUT 1/2 min. PRON - NOM

ya - ṭaŋ - ja  [43/7]
1/2 min. S - hunt - FUT
- They can stay here and we'll go hunting.

(iii) pakan? also means 'here' and is very similar in use to pan? and panta.

(2.4-16) kata pakan? wurppap ka - ṭom - ɗ  [32/27-28]
Oh here emu 3 0 + 3 min. A - drink - PRES
- Ah. This is the emu's [regular] drinking place.

(iv) panta is an adverbial demonstrative meaning 'there', referring to something more remote than pan?, panta or pakan?.
The distinction between the demonstratives mentioned is sometimes rather hard to draw. Thus pan? and panta each appear to have roughly the same meaning in (2.4-18).

(2.4-18) pan? karakku ... pälokenan, panta here on high ground [place] there yara - yuwa [38/16-17] laug. 5 - lie + PAST PUNCT - Up there at pälokenan, it was there we camped.

panta with ABL inflection may have time reference (i.e. 'then', 'after that') or may even mean 'as a result', rather than having purely local reference ('from there').

(2.4-19) qa1 - kumpipi5 - y1? ka - yi - walaŋ - yu - p, FEM - taworo name - ERG 3 min. O + 3 min. A - yi - then - eat - panta - wala - ma əinta PAST PUNCT there - ABL - ma 1min.PRON

qan - əi - walaŋ - teʔwa - s [37/22-23] 1min. IMPF + 3 min. A - yi - then - give - PAST PUNCT - The kumpipi5 woman ate [the ceremonial honey], then [the man responsible for the ceremony] gave me [the wap pol, or instruction to execute her].

In example (2.4-20) panta is apparently combined with a nominal in a NP, in a manner characteristic of nominals. Compare (2.2-17).
2.4.2

(2.4-20) ọ - ọt - mịn ọjọọọ pọnta [35/2]
3min.S - grow up - PAST PUNCT 3min.EMPH place there
- He grew up at that place.

(v) patte? is very similar in meaning to pọnta, apparently. It contrasts
with pan? - see (2.4-14). As an adverb patte? indicates either motion
(2.4-21) or position (2.4-22)

(2.4-21) ọ - kuan - ọt - mịn patte? [3/59]
3min.S - afraid - return - PAST PUNCT there
- Frightened, he went back there.

(2.4-22) patte? maŋ yanta - ọ puŋ - ọŋ there still laug.PRON - NOM bush* - LOC
yara - niyi [36/2]
laug.S - sit + PAST PUNCT
- We were still living there in the bush.

(vi) pattenta means much the same as patte?.

(2.4-23) pattenta moŋkaŋ yara - yuwa - ma [37/61]
there place laug.S - lie + PAST PUNCT - ma
- We camped there at moŋkaŋ.

2.5 VERBAL MORPHOLOGY

Verbs in Rembarnga form morphologically the most complex
word class and occupy the central position in sentences of the language.
Verb complexes frequently form whole sentences since they are usually
marked with affixes for subject, object, implicated NP, tense and aspect,
among other possibilities. Furthermore nominals and adverbs may be
incorporated into the verb complex also. In the light of this complexity
(cf. Table 2.5(f)) it may be seen that the morphology of the verb complex
represents the core of the syntax of the sentence. Sentence syntax is
dealt with in detail in Chapter 3, while the discussion in the present
section is mainly concerned with morphological detail.
2.5.1 Verb Classification

There are three intersecting methods of classifying Rembarnga verbs. I will first outline each classification separately and briefly show their relationships to one another. In the subsequent sections I will outline features of relevance to these types of classification.

2.5.1.1 According to Tense/Aspect Suffixes Verbs may be classified on purely morphological grounds according to the form of suffixing for tense and aspect. The verb classes defined by differences in tense/aspect suffixes I will call 'conjugations'. Membership of these conjugations and their tense/aspect suffixes are set out in detail in 2.5.3. This classification is of no more than morphological significance.

2.5.1.2 According to Pronominal Prefixing Rembarnga verbs can be divided without remainder into two classes according to whether there are one or two pronominal elements prefixed to the verb. Following Margaret Sharpe's terminology for Alawa (Sharpe 1972:79) I will call these two classes 'Mono-referential' (MR) and 'Di-referential' (DR) respectively. These two classes are defined solely on morphological, not syntactic, grounds. Thus the decisive criterion is the number of pronominal elements actually marked in the verb complex, not the number or functions of NPs obligatorily associated with the verb. This latter is called the 'case frame' of the verb and gives the third possible classification of Rembarnga verbs (cf. 2.5.1.3). The distinction between actual pronominal marking in the verb complex and obligatory association of NPs with the verb is important here. For instance a verb such as te?wa 'give' has three NPs obligatorily associated with it in the deep functions A, 0 and IMPL (cf. 3.1.5). Only two of these, A and IMPL, are pronominally marked in the verb complex (although the noun representing 0 may be incorporated in full into the verb complex). Thus this verb is classed as di-referential. A verb like poto? 'put down' is also

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29 One verb is either mono-referential (cross-referencing one NP) or di-referential (cross-referencing two NPs) depending on transitivity. This is galapu, a compound of tala 'urine' and pu 'hit', which means either 'to urinate (INTR)' or 'to urinate on (TR)'.

30 Indicating the number of cross-referenced deep structure NPs.

31 Or sub-classified as 'Dative-di-referential' (DDR) in Sharpe's terms, since the IMPL (or dative) NP is pronominally marked rather than the 0.
di-referential since it, too, has two NPs pronominally marked in the verb complex. However, in this case these are A and O, the only two NPs obligatorily associated with the verb. Some examples of mono-referential and di-referential verbs are given in Table 2.5(b). Under certain circumstances (as discussed at various points in Chapter 3) pronominal prefixes are deletable. The classification into mono-referential and di-referential verbs is based on the underlying situation, before such deletion. Various affixes (see 2.5.6 to 2.5.9) convert verbs from mono-referential to di-referential or vice versa under various conditions.

2.5.1.3 According to Case Frames There are three NP functions which may be obligatorily associated with a simple verb complex, depending on the verb (see 3.1). These are (with the typically associated case in parentheses) IMPL (DAT), A (ERG) and O/S (NOM). Verbs can be classified according to which of these NPs are obligatory for each root. This classification is intended to give very broad, general classes, unlike the more detailed case-frame classifications proposed by Fillmore (1968). My proposals deal principally with surface phenomena rather than with semantic case relationships. 32 For example the roots tiri 'return' and far 'burn' are associated obligatorily only with one NP - an S. The verbs nep 'cut' and tae? 'roast' are each obligatorily associated with two NPs - A and O. Finally the verb roots muttu 'show' and keppu 'deprive of' are each obligatorily associated with three NPs - IMPL, A and O. Each simple verb associates with at least an obligatory S or O NP.

Actually occurring case frames with the title given to each are

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case Type</th>
<th>IMPL</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>O</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ditransitive (DITR)</td>
<td>IMPL</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>O</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>transitive (TR)</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>O</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>intransitive (INTR)</td>
<td>S</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Intransitive verbs are mono-referential; verbs of the other two types are di-referential. The phenomena treated in 2.5.6 to 2.5.11 all have the effect of modifying the surface structure case frames of verbs.

32 See, for instance, the variety of implicated NPs discussed in 3.7.1 which are all similarly marked in surface morphology.
2.5.1

All the three NP functions are possible candidates for being marked by pronominal verb prefixes. However, as we saw in 2.5.1.2, a maximum of two may be marked for DR verbs, one for MR verbs. Thus in the event of there being three NPs involved only two of them may be pronominally marked in the VC and one must be omitted. In extended sentence types involving the -pak- prefix (see 3.2) there may be up to four obligatory NPs involved (in an extended ditransitive sentence) but only two may be pronominally marked in the VC. Taking into account also the pronominal marking found with noun incorporation into the verb complex (see 3.5) the following patterns have been observed (where NPs which are obligatory but not pronominally marked are in parentheses):

With DR VC:

| (0)(IMPL₂) | IMPL₁ | A |
| (0)        | IMPL | A |
| O          | A    |
| IMPL       | S    |

With MR VC:

| (S)       | IMPL | S |

We can see from this that (i) A is always pronominally marked; (ii) IMPL is always pronominally marked except where two IMPL are present (cf. also 3.2.6); and (iii) S and O are only marked where there is space left after all marking of A and IMPL. On this basis we can deduce a hierarchy of markedness of NP functions with respect to pronominal verb prefixes. Higher functions have precedence over lower functions in being marked (1 is highest, 4 is lowest).

1. A
2. IMPL₂
3. IMPL₁
4. O and S

This hierarchy appears to be completely natural in that the O/S, being an obligatory function of every sentence is thus the least marked sentence function and appears at the bottom of the hierarchy while the more marked functions A and IMPL take precedence.
2.5.2

2.5.2 Tense/Aspect Categories

Most Rembarnga verbs have five distinct tense/aspect suffixes as is clearly shown in Table 2.5(a). There is a number of different facts, both morphological and syntactic, which give some indication of the internal structure of relationships between the categories represented by these suffixes.

(i) -ka (CAUS) suffix (conjugation 3) has a single form -karə for both present and future where other verbs have two separate forms (see Table 2.5(a)).

(ii) For verb forms with 3min. MR pronominal prefix or both X and Y elements of a DR prefix 3 min. (cf. Tables 2.5(e), and 2.5.(d)) there are two tense-determined variant forms ka- and ə- (opposed to par- whose use is determined by a nominal hierarchy (2.5.5.1)). ka- is used in conjunction with the future and present suffixes while ə- is used with the other three suffixes. This distinction is lost with the REL forms of the prefix where yi- or ki- is used with all tenses (2.5.3).

(iii) The definition of 'identical' tense required to handle the interpretation of adjoined relative clauses in Rembarnga (3.7) classes past punctiliar, past continuous and past counterfactual (when following NEG) as 'identical' tenses.

(iv) Following the NEG particle melak the only possible tenses are future, present and past counterfactual (covering all past time). See 2.7(vi) and 3.7.12.

These morphological and syntactic facts, taken together, suggest that there is a basic division in the Rembarnga tense/aspect system between past and non-past tenses. A feature PAST would handle this. Within the non-past category there is a further division into future and present tenses. A suitable feature would be FUTURE. Both these features are supported by the fact that the present tense seems to be the most unmarked tense (see for instance its use with the prefix me? (2.5.13.1)). Within the past tenses, according to point (iv) above, the first split is between the non-factual past counterfactual tense on the one hand, and the two factual tenses, past punctiliar and past continuous,
on the other. A suitable feature would be NON-FACTUAL. Finally, there is the opposition between continuous and non-continuous (punctiliar) in the last two tenses mentioned. The past punctiliar appears to be the unmarked past factual tense in that it can often be used (especially with a lengthened final syllable (1.6.3(i))) to mark durative or continuous aspect. In the light of this a feature CONTINUOUS is appropriate.

The relationship of the feature NON-FACTUAL to the non-past tenses will be discussed in 3.7.3.

(2.5-1) sets out the structure of the Rembarnga tense/aspect system as presented here.

33 I have very little reason for selecting non-factual as the most marked (by calling the feature NON-FACTUAL). At this point of my understanding of Rembarnga there is no syntactic justification for this view. The fact, however, that the CONTINUOUS feature divides the [-Non-factual] category into two but does not affect the [+Non-factual] category suggests the unmarkedness of [-Non-factual].
2.5.3 Conjugation Classes

Tense and aspect suffixes on Rembarnga verbs provide one criterion for the classification of verbs. However, if every small difference in tense/aspect inflection is taken as marking a separate conjugation class, it would be necessary to posit almost a score of conjugation classes, some with only a single member. It is possible, however, to group these numerous classes into seven more general classes based upon considerable, but not total, similarity. Of the seven conjugations postulated only the second has just one verb, the third and seventh being verbs derived with a single suffix in each case. Formal similarities between various conjugations are observable throughout Table 2.5(a), and division into two groups of similar conjugations (1 to 4 and 5 to 7) can be seen. The conjugations 5 and 6 are related together as stative and causative, derived from the same roots. As some verbs in each of the two conjugations have no counterpart in the other I have called them separate conjugations for ease of exposition. Table 2.5(a) sets out details of the verbal tense/aspect inflections but must be read in connection with the notes (grouped by conjugation) to the table. The INFIN form, which is also given, is the same as the root in two conjugations and as the past counterfactual in the rest. It is used as a stem for a number of suffixes. Table 2.5(b) sets out the membership of each conjugation class with special reference to the mono-referential/di-referential distinction and to compounding.
Table 2.5(a) Verbal Tense/Aspect Suffixes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ROOT</th>
<th>PRES</th>
<th>FUT</th>
<th>PAST PUNCT</th>
<th>PAST CONT</th>
<th>PAST CF</th>
<th>INFIN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>-φ</td>
<td>-Ca</td>
<td>-min</td>
<td>-møp</td>
<td>-møp</td>
<td>-φ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>yinə?</td>
<td>yinəna</td>
<td>yinin</td>
<td>yinaməq</td>
<td>yinəmø</td>
<td>yinə?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>-γa</td>
<td>-γa</td>
<td>-pa</td>
<td>-pøp</td>
<td>-pøp</td>
<td>-φ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4A</td>
<td>-n</td>
<td>-na</td>
<td>-wa</td>
<td>-nøp</td>
<td>-nøp</td>
<td>-nøp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4B</td>
<td>-n</td>
<td>-na</td>
<td>-φ</td>
<td>-nøp</td>
<td>-nøp</td>
<td>-nøp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4C</td>
<td>-n</td>
<td>-na</td>
<td>-ñiøp</td>
<td>-nøp</td>
<td>-nøp</td>
<td>-nøp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4D</td>
<td>-n</td>
<td>-na</td>
<td>-pøa</td>
<td>-nøp</td>
<td>-nøp</td>
<td>-nøp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5A</td>
<td>-φ</td>
<td>-ŋara</td>
<td>-ŋa</td>
<td>-ŋiøp</td>
<td>-ŋøp</td>
<td>-ŋøp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5B</td>
<td>-φ</td>
<td>-ŋara</td>
<td>-ŋa</td>
<td>-ŋiøp</td>
<td>-ŋøp</td>
<td>-ŋøp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6A</td>
<td>-ŋara</td>
<td>-ŋana</td>
<td>-ŋiøa</td>
<td>-ŋañiøp</td>
<td>-ŋañøp</td>
<td>-ŋañøp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6B</td>
<td>-ŋara</td>
<td>-ŋana</td>
<td>-ŋiøa</td>
<td>-ŋañiøp</td>
<td>-ŋañøp</td>
<td>-ŋañøp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6C</td>
<td>-ŋara</td>
<td>-ŋana</td>
<td>-ŋiøa</td>
<td>-ŋañiøp</td>
<td>-ŋañøp</td>
<td>-ŋañøp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>-man</td>
<td>-miyana</td>
<td>-miøn</td>
<td>-miyänip</td>
<td>-miyänøp</td>
<td>-miyänøp</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes to Table 2.5(a)
(Referring to each conjugation class separately.)

Conjugation 1 Roots are mainly mono- or di-syllabic with final vowel or consonant. The class is open and contains all loan words from English.
2.5.3

In the kaltuy? dialect the FUT suffix is regularly -ra. In the north-eastern dialect -ra is suffixed only to roots with a final vowel or apical trill (r), whether or not the final syllable is glottalised. In all other cases the stem final consonant (irrespective of glottalisation - cf. 1.5.2) is repeated as the suffix initial consonant and followed by a. If the root final syllable is glottalised, the glottalisation is not realised phonetically until after formation of the FUT form.

e.g.  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{tu} + \text{Ca} & \rightarrow \text{tu} + \text{ra} \\
\text{po\text{-}to?} + \text{Ca} & \rightarrow \text{po\text{-}to?} + \text{ra} \\
\text{\textit{\textasciitilde{t}om}} + \text{Ca} & \rightarrow \text{\textit{\textasciitilde{t}om}} + \text{ma} \\
\text{yaw} + \text{Ca} & \rightarrow \text{yaw} + \text{wa} \\
\text{\textit{\textasciitilde{te\textgreek{g}}}} + \text{Ca} & \rightarrow \text{\textit{\textasciitilde{te\textgreek{g}}}} + \text{\textasciitilde{\textgreek{a}}} \\
\text{\textasciitilde{\textgreek{a}}\textasciitilde{w}} + \text{Ca} & \rightarrow \text{\textasciitilde{w}} + \text{\textasciitilde{\textgreek{a}}} \\
\text{\textasciitilde{\textgreek{u}}\textasciitilde{m}?} + \text{Ca} & \rightarrow \text{\textasciitilde{\textgreek{u}}\textasciitilde{m}?} + \text{ma} \\
\text{\textasciitilde{\textgreek{a}}\textasciitilde{w}} + \text{Ca} & \rightarrow \text{\textasciitilde{\textgreek{a}}\textasciitilde{w}} + \text{kaw?} + \text{wa}
\end{align*}
\]

Conjugation 3 The CAUS derivational suffix is -ka to which the tense/aspect suffixes are added. For details of the use of these forms see 2.5.8.

3a That -kara is a present tense form is shown by its use with the prefix me(ne)? 'lest' (2.5.12) where normally only a present form may be used. That -kara is also a future form is shown by its use after the negative imperative particle mikka? (2.7) where present tense forms are not permitted and only future forms are used.

Conjugation 4 All roots in this conjugation have a final vowel (a or u). All mono-morphemic verbs in this conjugation are monosyllables. The only reason for separating the conjugation into five sub-classes is the variation in PAST PUNCT forms.

4a The REFLEX suffix -\textit{\textasciitilde{t}t\textgreek{e}}- changes to -\textit{\textasciitilde{t}t\textgreek{i}}- before the PAST PUNCT suffix.
**Conjugation 5** All roots in this conjugation have a final vowel. All vowels except e occur.

5a The two roots in conjugation 5A undergo the following changes before suffixing -en PAST PUNCT:

\[ \text{wuraya-} \rightarrow \text{wuray-} \]
\[ \text{piya-} \rightarrow \text{p-} \]

5b The stem of the verb ra 'go' is ra in the PRES but ro elsewhere. ra has an alternative form wa only in the PRES. After the pronominal prefix qip- the initial r of ra, in tenses where the stem vowel is o, changes to y. See 1.4.1.

5c The stem final vowel is raised and/or fronted to i before the -ya PAST PUNCT suffix. For one verb only, mara 'spear', both stem vowels are raised to i before -ya. Thus

\[ \text{ma 'get'} \rightarrow \text{mi - ya} \]
\[ \text{wuntu 'hide'} \rightarrow \text{wunti - ya} \]
\[ \text{mara 'spear'} \rightarrow \text{miri - ya} \]

5d The same raising and fronting of the stem final vowel to i as in 5c occurs with the PAST CONT suffix -n. Here, however, mara does not undergo change of both vowels but only of the stem final vowel. This PAST CONT form is not possible with monosyllabic stems, or with compounds of ma. In these cases the PAST CONT form in qip is used.

5e The PAST CONT form with the -niin suffix (without change of stem vowel) is said by informants to exist in the two dialects of Rembarnga for some verbs (pulttu, ra, ma, neta) but to exist only in kaltuy? for some other verbs (mara, muttu, netts, nokta, ra, wuntu). This means that in the north eastern dialect some verbs (e.g. turu 'stand', ra 'go') have no PAST CONT form at all (cf. Note 5d).
2.5.3

It is unclear whether this FUT suffix has the form *-qara or qara.

**Conjugation 6** The verbs in this class will normally be cited using the PRES forms. The stem upon which the forms in the table are based (except for the PRES of poru) are par- (6A) and the initial consonant only of the mono-morphemic verbs in 6B to 6D.

The verbs in 6A and 6B all have causative counterparts in 6C. Particularly interesting here is the fact that, although the compounds of -turu in 6B are all conjugated in the same way, their counterparts in 6B have one of two different stem vowels. Thus turu corresponds to ta, , but pultturu to pulttu and wunturu to wuntu. See note a to Table 2.5(b).

The suffixes with -iga- as their first three segments have an alternative form with -iya-. This latter form does not occur for yuru 6B and was accidentally omitted from elicitation for poru (6A) and for the PAST CONT of 6B.

**6a** The interpretation of what sounds like a final [i:] as -yi is adopted to simplify the statement of the derivation of reduplicated forms such as niyinyi ([niyini:] or [ni:ni:] See 2.5.16), and to parallel the PAST PUNCT form of conjugation 5B -(i)ya). The regular reduplication rules would derive niyinyi from niyi (or even niyinyi from niy) but would derive something like *ni:ni:ni: from ni:.

These forms exist only from the mono-morphemic verb turu of this conjugation.

**6c** Compare the Ngalagan present tense forms na:an 'sit' and para:an 'hang up' (my own field notes).

**6d** The -uweo alternative appears to be used for a single continuous state, while the -ioanir form signifies continual repetition of the state. The evidence for this comes only from one informant. Informants denied that this type of contrast distinguished the two PAST CONT forms of verbs in conjugation 5.

**Conjugation 7** The stems for this set of suffixes are nominal forms. See 2.2.5.2.

**7a** An INFIN form is not known to me for this conjugation.
## 2.5.3 Mono-morphemic Verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mono-referential</th>
<th>Di-referential</th>
<th>Verbs derived from and compounds of...</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Open class</td>
<td>Open class</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 yinθ 'say' 'do'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ka (CAUS)(DR)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(see 2.5.8)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pu 'hit'</td>
<td></td>
<td>pu 'hit'(DR, MR)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pa 'leave'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na 'see' 'perceive'</td>
<td></td>
<td>na 'see' 'perceive' (DR)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-wa TRANSVR (DR)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(see 2.5.9)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wa 'follow'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ka 'take'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ŋu 'eat'</td>
<td>ru 'weep' 'cry'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-tta REFLEX (MR)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(see 2.5.7)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ŋiya 'cook (generic)'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wuraya 'find'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṭa 'go'</td>
<td></td>
<td>ta 'stand (CAUS)' (DR)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pari 'hang up'</td>
<td>ma 'get'</td>
<td>ma 'get' (DR)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṭa 'stand (CAUS)'</td>
<td>'wear'</td>
<td>(-tVa (DR))</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>koṭṭo 'put (in bag)'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma 'get'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mara 'spear'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mutru 'show'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nette 'keep'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ŋeta 'tell about'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'name'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>κappa 'frighten'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Mono-morphemic Verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mono-referential</th>
<th>Di-referential</th>
<th>Verbs derived from and compounds of...</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>6A</td>
<td>poɾu 'hang up'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6B</td>
<td>tuɾu 'stand'</td>
<td>(tuɾu 'stand' (MR))</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pultturu 'be covered for cooking'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>wuntuɾu 'stand hidden'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6C</td>
<td>nuɾa 'sit!'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6D</td>
<td>yuɾu 'lie'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Notes to Table 2.5(b)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
a The morpheme -tv appears to have been historically the compound-forming equivalent of tu 'stand (CAUS)'.

The fact that two DR verbs of 5b, pulttu 'cover for cooking' and wuntu 'hide' have MR counterparts in 6b, pultturu and wunturu, and comparing this with the relationship between tu and tuɾu suggests compounding, at least with a morpheme tu. The varying vowel interpretation is suggested by the vowel pairs of natta 'keep', muttu 'show' and kottu 'put in bag'. There is a regular rule in Rembarnga assimilating apico-alveolar stops or nasals to adjacent apico-post-alveolar (retroflex) stops or nasals (1.5.3). These tv compounds are listed in full in the table since they form a small fixed class and this historical derivation is only a tentative suggestion. A comparison of pęta 'tell a story about',name', and patta 'hit' indicates the possibility that tu may be historically another compound-forming verb root, especially since pę(na) is the Rembarnga nominal for 'name'. These two tu verbs are listed in their own right since this suggested derivation is very tentative.
In this column is noted for each type of derivational suffix whether it forms MR or DR verbs. Compounds of the various compound-forming verb roots in this column are either MR or DR as when used as verbs on their own. This is true with the sole exception of compounds of pu 'hit'. Most compounds of pu are DR like pu itself but some are MR as, for instance, are patpu 'climb, go uphill' and tanepu 'yawn'. talapu is MR with the meaning 'urinate' but DR with the meaning 'urinate on something'.

2.5.3.1 Further Analysis of Tense/Aspect Suffixes

There are a number of possibilities for further analysing the tense/aspect suffixes listed in Table 2.5(a). These may be of importance in analysing the historical development of Rembarga tense/aspect marking. I will mention three points briefly here, pending a more detailed examination.

(i) At a number of points in 2.5 we make use of a STEM suffix identical with the PAST CF suffix in each conjugation. (e.g. 2.5.7, 2.5.8, 2.5.9, 2.5.12). Note that in conjugations 3 to 6 I call the root plus STEM suffix form the INFIN form. Furthermore we note that where the REFLEX suffix -tte is followed by ~ PAST PUNCT its vowel is raised and fronted to i (i.e. tto + n + -ttip Table 2.5(a) Note 4a). Furthermore where a stem vowel ~ precedes the PROGR suffix with initial y the stem vowel is raised to i (see 2.5.12). Bearing these two facts in mind it appears possible to analyse the past tense suffixes of conjugation 1, for instance, as STEM plus suffix. The PAST PUNCT form would be -mo + n, the PAST CONT -mo + n and the PAST CF as -me + 4. The PAST CONT form of conjugation 3 is analysable as STEM + n in the same way. For conjugations 4 to 7 the suffix -r, added following the appropriate STEM suffix, marks PAST CONT, not PAST PUNCT. The variant forms for the PAST CONT in conjugations 5B, 6B and 6D may be explained as derived in one case with the STEM suffix and in the other without it.

(ii) FUT forms can be analysed as one of two types. The first is the ~ type which occurs in conjugation 1 (Table 2.5(a) Note 1a). This is also the form in conjugation 3 since ~ is the regular form of the ~ suffix following a stem with a final vowel. It is possible, too, that...
2.5.3

the FUT forms of conjugation S are of this same form, suffixed to the STEM suffix mentioned above, rather than directly to the verb root. The uncertain quality of the first vowel of the -para suffix (Note 5f, Table 2.5(a)) might allow this interpretation. The other FUT form, of course, is -ma as it appears in conjugation 4 suffixed to the root, in conjugation 6 suffixed (perhaps) to a STEM suffix, and also in conjugation 7.

(iii) Note that the two verbs of conjugation 5A have PRES forms with final -ya like PAST PUNCT forms of verbs of conjugation 5B. It might be suggested that in conjugation 5A the PAST PUNCT form has taken on PRES function instead, and that one of the two alternative PAST CONT forms (the one without STEM suffix) has moved to take its place in PAST PUNCT function.

2.5.4 Anomalous Verbs

Rembarna has two verbs which are anomalous in not having a full set of tense/aspect inflections. Each has only a single form - pat 'pick up' and mar 'went'.

(i) pat is invariant. It is used without pronominal prefixes and A,O and tense are defined by context. Although this morpheme has almost none of the features of ordinary Rembarna verb roots except its use with an auxiliary verb, it is better to call it a verb in view of its meaning, rather than to set up a separate word class to accommodate it.

(2.5-2) penta - wala - ma kaça - φ pat, țiula - φ there - ABL - ma paperbark - NOM pick up water - NOM

pat [4/40-41] pick up

- Then [they (two)] get paperbark and water.

34 There is a separate verb pat (conjugation 1) which means 'take bark off a stick by chipping away at it'. With the anomalous verb pat compare the Gupapuyngu pat 'hold' (Lowe n.d.:21).
2.5.4

waŋa - ə pat, paran - waŋa - mi - ya [43/80]
track - NOM pick up 3aug.IMPL + 3min.A - tracks - get -
PAST PUNCT
- [He] picked up (found) [their] tracks. (Repeat)

kutta yirppə - ə pat [32/3,4]
that way "desert" 35 - NOM pick up
- Further on [we (two)] came to the "desert".

pat is also used with ma 'get' acting as an auxiliary
(cf. 2.5.10) with any tense/aspect inflection. The meaning is the same.

(2.5-5) țila - ə melak pat  นาย ma - ṇə
axe - NOM NEG pick up 3min.O + lmin.A + REL - get -
PAST CF
- I did not pick up the axe.

(2.5-6) walaŋ kuwen - ə pat par - yappa? - ma - ə [4/36]
then kangaroo - NOM pick up 3min.O + 3aug.A - UAUGM - get -
PRES
- Then they (2) pick up the kangaroo.

(ii) maŋ is invariant but may bear pronominal prefixes, unlike pat.
maŋ is used as a verb meaning 'went' (PAST PUNCT). In this capacity it
is much more common than the regular PAST PUNCT form of ra 'go'. Forms
of ra are used in all other tenses.

(2.5-7) paran - pak - kunți - maŋ
3aug. IMPL + 3min.S - IMPLIC - sneaking - went
kolkkolk - kan [43/105]
night - DAT
- He sneaked up on them at night.

(2.5-8) țokpoy - ə wattə - wala para - maŋ mutika - yinta [33/45]
stockmen* - NOM behind - ABL 3aug.S - went truck - COMIT
- The stockmen came up behind, bringing the truck.

35 Yirppə refers to a stretch of land without surface water (rivers,
creeks, billabongs) of any kind.


2.5.4

(2.5-9)  qara - tanip - map - kappul,  qara - tal - min - kappul
1/2aug.S - morning - went - DEF AUGM 1/2aug.S - hunt - PAST
PUNCT - DEF AUGM

- This morning we all went off. We went hunting.

map may be used with a 1/2 person MR pronominal prefix of any number as a hortative form. In this case it is distinguished only by context from the identical PAST PUNCT form. The hortative is impossible with prefixes of any other than 1/2 person.

(2.5-10)  ya - map
1/2min.S - went
- Let's go!

map is used as an auxiliary (cf. 2.5.10), particularly with verbs of motion.

(2.5-11)  pol?  pajaran - pak - yappa? - map
arrive 3aug. IMPL + 1/2aug.S - IMPLIC - UAUGM - went
- We came up to those two (caught up with them).

(2.5-12)  torop  yara - kara - map
climb down laug.S - all - went
- We all got off [the truck].

(2.5-13)  rum?  yara - yappa? - map [28/4]
fall asleep laug.S - UAUGM - went
- We both went to sleep.

PROGR suffixes may be formed with map. See 2.5.12.

2.5.5 Pronominal Verb Prefixes

Rembara verb complexes normally contain pronominal reference to one or two NPs associated with the verb, depending on whether the verb is mono-referential (MR) or di-referential (DR). See 2.5.1.2. The NP functions which are marked by these prefixes depend on the hierarchy discussed in 2.5.1.3. In view of the variation in the NP functions marked by these prefix forms the term W will refer to the pronominal element signalled by a MR prefix (irrespective of function), while X
2.5.5

and \( Y \) will refer to the two pronominal elements marked by a DR prefix. \( X \) and \( Y \) elements are marked in that order in those cases where the prefix forms are analysable and the identity of \( X \) and \( Y \) in the other forms is deduced from their use, in comparison with the analysable forms. A nominal hierarchy operates in the choice of form for a prefix where both \( X \) and \( Y \) elements are third person minimal. This hierarchy is defined in 2.5.5.1. A separate series of relative prefixes (REL) is derived from the cardinal series as shown in 2.5.5.2. The system of person and number categories used for all Rembarnga pronouns, including the pronominal verb prefixes, has been discussed in 2.3.1.

Tables 2.5(c) and 2.5(d) set out the mono-referential and di-referential pronominal verb prefixes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Minimal</th>
<th>Augmented</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 1/2 2 3</td>
<td>1 1/2 2 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \eta ) ( y ) ( \eta\eta ) { ( k\eta ) ( b ) }</td>
<td>( yara ) ( \eta\eta ) ( \eta ) ( a ) ( nara ) ( para )</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2.5(c) Mono-Referential (W) Pronominal Prefix Forms
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>X Prefix</th>
<th>Y Prefix</th>
<th>Augmented</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Minimal</td>
<td>Augmented</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>tan  ɳan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1/2</td>
<td>yan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>ɳip</td>
<td>{ ɳip\textsuperscript{a}  ɳip\textsuperscript{a}  ɳip\textsuperscript{a} }</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>ɳai ya ta</td>
<td>{ ka\textsuperscript{b}  ya  yar  ɳar  na  par }</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1/2</td>
<td>yara  ɳar\textsuperscript{a}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>ɳar\textsuperscript{a}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1/2</td>
<td>ɳar\textsuperscript{a}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>nara\textsuperscript{a}</td>
<td>{ nara\textsuperscript{a}  nayar  ɳayar  ɳar\textsuperscript{a} }</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>ɳa\textsuperscript{a}</td>
<td>{ nan  nan\textsuperscript{a}  nan}\textsuperscript{a}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>{ paran  paran\textsuperscript{a}  paran\textsuperscript{a}  paran\textsuperscript{a} }</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2.5(d) Di-Referential (X + Y) Pronominal Prefix Forms
Prefix forms with 3min.X element are glossed in two separate ways in examples throughout the thesis: (i) as 3min.0, 3min.IMPL etc. signifying that the number of the NP cross-referenced by the prefix is minimal number; and (ii) as 30, 3IMPL etc. signifying that, although the form of the prefix implies cross-referencing of a NP of minimal number, the context indicates that the NP so cross-referenced is of augmented number. In these latter cases distinctions of number are neutralised in the X pronominal prefix element. Such neutralisation of number distinctions does not occur in the Y pronominal prefix element, nor with any person category other than third person.
2.5.5

Notes to Tables 2.5(c) and 2.5(d)

a The top form is used in the north-eastern dialect, the lower form in the south-western (kaltuy?) dialect.

b The top form is used with verbs in non-past tenses, the second with verbs in past tenses. The third form (par-) in Table 2.5(d) is used instead of both the others under hierarchically defined conditions set out in 2.5.5.1.

I see no reason why some form should not exist for this combination of pronouns. Such a form has not yet been encountered or elicited.

d This prefix has been encountered twice, once in REL form. Its validity is not entirely certain in view of the fact that its existence has been denied by two informants (including the one who gave the REL form in a translation from English of the sentence "We don't see you.").

e. Unit augmented and defined augmented forms are derived using the UAUGM verb prefix yappa? (2.5.13), the UAUGM suffix -ppara? (2.2.4.1) or the DEF AUGM suffix -kappul (2.2.4.1). Both these suffixes are suffixed to the whole VC. Furthermore an alternative set of unit augmented MR prefixes is derived by adding -ppa? to the MR augmented forms (giving yarappa? etc.). A set of unit augmented DR prefixes with 3min. X element is formed by adding -appa? to the forms with 3min. X element and augmented Y element (giving yarappa? etc.). The prefix of this type with 3min. X and 2uaug. Y is narappa?-.  

2.5.5.1 Nominal Hierarchy The variation between par- on the one hand and ka- or & on the other in DR prefixes marking both X and Y as third person minimal is defined according to a nominal hierarchy.

36 For more detailed discussion of nominal hierarchies in language see Silverstein forthcoming, Heath forthcoming a, and McConvell forthcoming.
Note on Analysis of PR Prefix Forms

As noted above, further analysis of many of the PR pronominal prefix forms is possible. Comparison of the forms with one another, particularly of the 3min.X row with the 3aug.X row, of the 3min.Y column with the 3aug.Y column, and of the 3min.X row with the 3min.Y column, shows clearly the sequential relationship of X and Y elements.

The full range of Y element forms appears alone in the 3min. row (coupled with an X element) except that the 3aug.Y element has no form elsewhere in the table. These Y elements compare also with the PR pronouns in Table 2.5(c). Note that where the Y element is 3 person and the X element has an in suffix. This in is suffixed to an X element of the form of the PR pronominal prefixes (Table 2.5(c)) except in the 3min.Y row where there is a final nasal. Where the Y element is not 3 person the X elements occur as X element: ya 1min. and laug., na 2aug., and laug. the alternative forms in three cases.

These general comments on analysis fail to account fully for the number of the forms in Table 2.5(d), namely tan 1min.X + 2min.Y, papa 2min.X + 3min.Y, varepa laug.X + 2aug.Y, kara par 3min.X + 3min.Y, and gippa 2min.X + laug.Y. I have no comment to make on these forms.

Finally note that comparison of the (3min.X + 2min.Y), kara (1aug.X + 2min.Y) and gippa (3aug.X + 2min.Y) shows an example of the application of Rule J (1.5.3) which derives a stop from the apico-alveolar trill r in word initial position. It is stated in 1.5.3 that this rule is simply a well-formedness condition in the kaltuy dialect and that it stands in all positions where the alternation occurs in the other dialect. These pronominal prefix forms, existing as they do in both dialects, must show that Rule J actively derives t from r even in the kaltuy dialect. This is, however, certain only if it can be shown that the prefix forms are analysed into their component parts by speakers of the language, rather than being simply learned and used as unanalysed wholes.
The hierarchy involved appears to be, in descending order:

(i) human
(ii) non-human animate
(iii) inanimate

The general rule is that if the X pronominal element of the verbal prefix is lower on the hierarchy than the Y pronominal element then ka- or ~ is used. If, however, the Y element is lower on the hierarchy than the X element then par- is used. Furthermore, if both X and Y elements are human there is, for some informants, a fluctuation between par- and ka- or ~. These general rules are exemplified in examples (2.5-14) to (2.5-17).

(2.5-14) ṭamu waŋkin - yi? pi - φ (*φ) - pam? - min

   dog one - ERG man - NOM 3min.O + 3min.A - bim - PAST
   - A dog bit the man.

(2.5-15) pojo - yi? ṭamu - φ (*φ) - pu - wa

   stick - ERG dog - NOM 3min.O + 3min.A - hit - PAST PUNCT
   - A stick hit the dog.

(2.5-16) para - ṭana - yi? wurppaŋ waŋkin - φ

   father - 1min. DAT PRON - ERG emu one - NOM

   (*φ) - yaw - min
   *par

   3min.O + 3min.A - spear - PAST PUNCT
   - My father speared one emu.

Note that the sentence ṭamu waŋkinį pi pam?min was accepted but was translated as 'The man bit the dog', completely disregarding the ERG case marking on ṭamu waŋkinį in favour of the hierarchically determined interpretation of the pronominal prefixes.
In the speech of one informant, however, there are some interesting variations from this generalisation. Firstly he normally admits only par- where human X pronominal element occurs, rather than allowing the variation found among other speakers, of both dialects of the language, when Y is human. Secondly he appears to allocate the domestic dog to a separate and higher hierarchical level from other animals, including the wild dog or dingo, even though the same word تجنب can refer to both types of dog. For instance he accepts both sentences (2.5-18) and (2.5-19).

The difference, he maintains, lies in the type of dog referred to: (2.5-18) refers to a domestic dog (حاسب pimulu) while (2.5-19) refers to a dingo (كاتكوکان/كاتوپال). This indicates that the domestic dog is higher on the hierarchy than the wallaby while the dingo appears to be on the same level.

38 This is Fred milkama, the oldest informant I have done regular work with. He is about seventy years old and is a speaker of the kaluy? dialect.

39 The reason for the non-inclusion of the domestic dog in a general class of non-human animates is uncertain but the following points can be noted:

(i) Such dogs are described by the term pimulu (translated "countryman") which is clearly related to the term پی 'human, man'. This term distinguishes domestic dogs (and occasional other pets) from all other animals.
2.5.5

The same informant allows either *par-* or *ka-/~-* occasionally where *X* is non-human animate and *Y* is level or lower on the hierarchy. Thus, for instance, in (2.5-20) both *par-* and *~-* are possible where we would expect only *~-* by the rules above.

(2.5-20) ṇurə? - yi? kuwep ~ (par) kuwan - yuŋ - ka - pa

fire - ERG kangaroo - NOM 3min.O + 3min.A - afraid - run - CAUS - PAST PUNCT

- The fire frightened the kangaroo away.

I would suggest tentatively that the above variations of this one informant are compatible with a reinterpretation of the hierarchy. Under this interpretation *par-* signals human *X* element and *ka-/~-* signals non-human *X* element (whether animate or inanimate). Nevertheless the hierarchical split between animate and inanimate still applies sometimes in cases where *X* is not human. It appears (but this needs checking) that the domestic dog may be included in the human category.

2.5.5.2 Relative Pronominal Prefix Forms (REL) The relative (REL) pronominal verb prefix forms are derived from the forms listed in Tables 2.5(c) and 2.5(d) by a set of simple rules.

Firstly closed monosyllabic prefix forms have an unspecified vowel added following their final consonant.

Rule A

\[
\emptyset \rightarrow \begin{cases} [+\text{syl}] & / \emptyset [-\text{syl}] \ [+\text{syl}][-\text{syl}] \ # \\
\end{cases}
\]

where # = morpheme boundary.

Secondly all vowels of a prefix are raised to i. This rule applies to all prefix forms, not only those derived by Rule A. In the haituy? dialect these vowels are raised only to o. We can express the rule for the north-eastern dialect as Rule B.

(ii) As far as I know each domestic dog belongs to one of the full range of subsections according to parentage, just like human beings. The subsection or moiety classification of other animals is determined by features such as species, size and stage of development, rather than by descent.
Rule B

[+syllabic] → [3 peripheral]
[1 high]

[2 high] should be substituted for [1 high] in the kaltuy? dialect rule. For example Rules A and B apply in that order to the following prefixes to give the derivations shown.

par A parV B ñiri
ñaranpa B ñiriñi
ñip A ñiñV B ñiri

Finally prefix initial k becomes y optionally in the REL prefix form of ka- (i.e. ki → yi). Note that this is an assimilation of the consonant to the following i of the REL form in the features SONORANT, CONSONANTAL, PERIPHERAL and APICAL (bearing in mind the vowel and consonant feature equivalences discussed in 1.4.2.2).

Rule C

[+sonorant] → [−sonorant] [−consonantal] [−peripheral] [−apical] [−syllabic] [−consonantal] [−peripheral] [−apical] [−high] [−syllabic] [−consonantal] [−peripheral] [−apical] [−high]

For the kaltuy? dialect the [+syllabic] segment in the description of the environment for the application of the rule will be marked [2 high], not [1 high].

The use of the relative (REL) pronominal prefix forms is discussed in detail in 3.7 below.

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This kaltuy? rule rightly lowers the vowel of the prefix form ñip to give a REL form gene-.
2.5.6 Syntactic Prefixes (IMPLIC, COM TRANSVR, COM EXTVR)

There are three important syntactic prefixes used with Rembarnga verbs. In this sense the term 'syntactic' refers to the function of these prefixes in modifying the case frame and/or the MR/DR classification of verb roots (see 2.5.1). See 2.5.14 below for a brief discussion of the relative ordering of the various types of prefixes. The three prefixes under discussion here are -pak-, -patja- and -re.

(i) -pak- (IMPLIC) can be called the 'implicative prefix'. The syntax of implication is discussed in 3.2 below. pak is used with any verb to indicate the pronominal marking of an implicated NP in the verb complex. Mono-referential verbs become di-referential when pak is used. pak introduces an 'extended' case frame to a verb (3.2.3). The following examples give some idea of the range of uses of pak but see 3.2 for more detail. It appears that pak may only be used when the implicated NP is animate (normally human).

0aug. IMPL + 3min.S - IMPLIC - UAUGM - REDUPL - look/wait - PAST PUNCT
- He was waiting for us (two).

(2.5-22) nanpa - pe? - yappa? - mara - φ
2aug.O + 3aug.A - lest - UAUGM - spear - PRES

paqα - pak - yinip - para? [38/124-125]
3aug.IMPL + 1min.S - IMPLIC - say + PAST PUNCT - UAUGM
- "They might spear you (two)," I said to them.

All these three prefixes occur with virtually the same form and function in Ngandi, a language spoken to the south-east of Rembarnga (Heath 1975 chapter 8.8 and 8.11).

The relationship of these syntactic prefixes with reflexive/reciprocal forms is discussed in detail in 3.3.4.
(2.5-23) *nawork* - *φ*  

\[ \text{walampala} \quad \text{ŋaran} - \text{pak} - \text{pol} - \text{ŋa} \]  

"soldier" - NOM south + ABL 1/2aug.IMPL + 3S - IMPLIC - arrive - FUT

- "Soldiers" will come out after us from the south (in revenge).

(2.5-24) *ma’ayin* - *φ*  

\[ \text{ŋan} - \text{pak} - \text{ŋu} - \text{n} \]  

(food from) ceremony - NOM 1min.IMPL + 3min.A - IMPLIC - eat - PAST PUNCT

- She ate the ceremony food on me. (i.e. The speaker was responsible for the ceremony, the woman was not permitted to eat the food, so the speaker is responsible for her punishment.)

(2.5-25) *paya* - *pak* - *ţanja* - *poţo?* - *me* - *tto* - *na*  

3aug.IMPL + 1/2min.S - IMPLIC - foot - put - STEM - REFLEX - FUT

- We'll leave (put) our tracks for them (so that they can recognise us and follow).

(2.5-26) *paţanja* - *φ*  

\[ \text{par} - \text{pak} - \text{wurk} - \text{mîn} \]  

hook spear - NOM 3min.IMPL + 3aug.A - IMPLIC - pluck - PAST PUNCT

- They pulled the hook spear out of him.

(2.5-27) *nenta?na*  

\[ \text{paran} - \text{pak} - \text{waţa} - \text{kaţer?} - \text{meq} \]  

No matter 3aug.IMPL + 3min.S - IMPLIC - CONT - limp - PAST CONT

- It didn't matter that he was limping on account of them (their having speared him).

(ii) *re-* (COM TRANSR) may be called a 'comitative transitiviser'. It is used only with intransitive MR verb forms, converting them into transitive DR verbs. This prefix marks not simple accompaniment but normally some level of control by the A (<S) over the O (or accompanying entity), which is cross-referenced by the X pronominal prefix element. Examples (2.5-28) to (2.5-35) will show something of the range of use of *re*.
They used to bring tobacco up (from Milingimbi).

We ran away, carrying that [wounded man].

He was working with us./We had him working with us.

They were yelling over their dead [mother].

They were playing while holding or having eaten green plums.

(In this mythological story they had been instructed not to do this.)

Examples (2.5-33) and (2.5-34) show how this same prefix re can vary in significance from 'carrying...' to 'accompanied by...'. See the paraphrases contained within each example.

He (Rainbow) slept there with [the people] inside his stomach.

[The emu] sleeps with them (its young). They sleep at its side.
Finally note example (2.5-35) which shows that re may transitivise verbs which are surface intransitive (MR), derived by means of the REFLEX suffix from deep DR transitives. Compare 3.3.4.

(2.5-35) per - re - wuntu - tti - r...
30 + 3aug.A - COM TRANSVR - hide - REFLEX - PAST PUNCT

...per - ti - re - rom - min [3/122-124]
30 +3aug.A - yi - COM TRANSVR - disappear - PAST PUNCT
- They hid (themselves) taking [the mead] with them... They disappeared with it.

(iii) -paṭṭa- (COM EXTVR) can be termed a 'comitative extended transitiviser'. It is used only with deep transitive (DR) roots and converts them to extended transitives. The NP marking the accompanying entity in this case is not cross-referenced by the pronominal prefix. I will term this NP an IMPL but its function is unclear. In some cases it apparently implies simple accompaniment of the 0 as in (2.5-36) but generally it appears to imply 'to the detriment of...'. The examples below will explain the use of this prefix, the use of which I find unclear. The verbal prefix -paṭṭa- has the same form as the nominal prefix paṭṭa- (2.2.3) which is used in conjunction with both the COMIT and PRIV suffixes. Nominal and verbal paṭṭa should perhaps be considered a single morpheme.

(2.5-36) paṭṭa - yappa? - paṭṭa - na - ċ
3aug.IMPL + 1min.A - UAUGM - COM EXTVR - see - PAST PUNCT

takkuna
child
- I saw the two of them with the child.

(2.5-37) na - paṭṭa - pu - n - kappul
3min.IMPL + 2aug.A - COM EXTVR - kill - PRES - DEF AUGM
- Get [the puppy]away from her (bitch) and kill it!
Again she chased the two of us to one tree. (All wanted to climb up to escape a buffalo but there was no room for three.)

"I left you two working while I went hunting." ((?) = I left [the work] to you two.)

We follow the white man (in using the word work for 'work').

We all bludge off the Djawan people at Bamyili. (i.e. 'We use the resources of their country instead of our own, and make no contribution to them in return.')

I'll get/take some tobacco from them.

A verb derived by use of -paṭṭa- may then be made reflexive or reciprocal. This is discussed in detail in 3.3.4. Two text examples will be given here.

Note here the use of the DAT suffix to mark the IMPL NP, in support of my interpretation of the pronominal prefix marking with paṭṭa.
2.5.6

(2.5-43) para - paṭṭa - wuntu - tte - ni - yuman
jəug.S - COM EXTVR - hint - REFLEX - INFN - PROGR + PAST PUNCT

taramana, mana... [3/122]
leg
arm
- They hid (themselves) with/taking the legs, the arms...
(of a kangaroo).

(2.5-44) para - paṭṭa - ma - qo - tte - n [38/228]
jəug.S - COM EXTVR - get - STEM - REFLEX - PRES
- They take women from each other. (The sentence was used to state that several men all try to get the one
  girl.44)

2.5.7 Reflexive/Reciprocal Forms (REFLEX)

Reflexive/reciprocal forms may be derived from Rembarnga di-referential verbs (and from some mono-referential verbs) by means of the reflexive/reciprocal (REFLEX) suffix -tta. This suffix has a variant form -ta. This variation occurs in accordance with the dissimilation rules discussed in 1.5.4. There is some additional irregular variation noted in the Notes to Table 2.5(e). The reflexive/reciprocal suffix converts a verb form from di-referential to mono-referential because of referential identity between the two NPs pronominally marked in the VC. The syntax of reflexive/reciprocal verbs is discussed in detail in 3.3. I will henceforth use the term 'reflexive' alone for the sake of brevity.

Table 2.5(e) sets out, by conjugation class, the stem-forming (STEM) suffixes which are added to the root forms (on which Table 2.5(a) was based) and to which the REFLEX suffix is added.45 The notes to Table 2.5(e) give further essential details.

44 The situation described is a modern one where the old law is breaking down. In the traditional system each girl would already 'belong' to someone, but these days, according to the informant, each man takes (i.e. steals) whichever woman he wants, no matter who she rightly belongs to. Hence the expression 'take from each other' as in this example.

45 The stem forming suffix used here is identical with the past counterfactual suffix in conjugations 1, 3, 4E and 5. Contrast the distribution of this STEM among the verb conjugations in Table 2.5(e) with its distribution in the INFN forms listed in Table 2.5(a).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Conjugation</th>
<th>Verbs</th>
<th>STEM</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>All</td>
<td>(m)(^a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2(^b)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3(^c,d)</td>
<td>All</td>
<td>({p} {\emptyset})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4(^A)</td>
<td>(p) 'leave'</td>
<td>(\emptyset)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4(^B)</td>
<td>(p) 'hit' and its compounds (^e)</td>
<td>(\emptyset)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4(^C)</td>
<td>All</td>
<td>(\emptyset)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4(^D)</td>
<td>All</td>
<td>(\emptyset)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4(^E)</td>
<td>(o)u</td>
<td>({no} {\emptyset})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ru</td>
<td>(wo)(^g)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5(^A)</td>
<td>Both</td>
<td>(\emptyset)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5(^B)</td>
<td>({\emptyset})</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>({\emptyset})</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5(^c)</td>
<td>({\emptyset})</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(\emptyset)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2.5(e) Stems for REFLEX Suffix
Notes to Table 2.5(e)

a. Reflexives formed on MR stems of the first conjugation have been obtained only with pol? 'arrive', punku? 'nod one’s head', kaw? 'shout', pawk 'talk', pok 'bark (of dog)', rerek 'stir, move' wa~? 'look around, wait'. pol? and pawk are the only two of these verbs found to occur fairly readily in reflexive form, meaning 'to come together/to meet' and 'to talk to each other' respectively. Both allomorphs of the REFLEX suffix (tte and te) have been found with verbs pol?, pawk and wa~?. This phenomenon has not been investigated. Compare 1.5.4. DR forms of all the above listed verbs and kaluk 'play', qal7 'rise' and wak 'laugh', derived by means of the TRANSVR -wa of conjugation 4B, may also form reflexives. See note f below.

b. Verbs of conjugations 2, 6 and 7, being all MR, have no reflexive forms. Related DR forms (with -wa TRANSVR for yina? (2); causative verbs of conjugation 5 for conjugation 6) do have reflexive forms.

c. Compare the shorter alternative reflexive form of ka CAUS (conjugn. 3) - with STEM - with the reflexive form of the verb ka 'take' (conjugation 4D). The fact that these are identical, coupled with the use of the verb ka 'take' (4D) as a causative or transitive auxiliary (see 2.5.10) suggests some historical relationship between ka 'take' (4D) and ka CAUS (3).

d. Note that conjugations 3, 4E and 5B all have alternative reflexive forms with and without a STEM of the form of the past counterfactual suffix.

e. For pu and its compounds the stem final vowel becomes centralised to a before the REFLEX suffix.

pu - REFLEX - PRES → pa → te → a
2.5.7

f In conjugation 4B the stem final vowel is centralised from a to å before the reflexive suffix for the verb sitawa 'be angry at' and for all transitives derived by means of -wa TRANSVR from verbs of conjugations 1 and 2. Of these last transitive forms, reflexive forms of those of kaluk 'play', kayw 'shout', nawk 'speak', wak 'laugh' and waw 'look, wait' have been found with the suffix allomorph tê alternating with to. The conditioning factors, if any, are unknown to me.

g It is not clear whether this STEM has the form wa or wu. If the latter is the correct form, wu could conceivably be interpreted as the same suffix as for pa 'leave' in conjugation 4A. This suffix would have the form wV where the unspecified vowel is identical with the root final vowel.

h I accidentally failed to elicit reflexive forms for the one verb in conjugation 5C.

2.5.8 Causative Verb Forms (CAUS)

The causative (CAUS) suffix -ka- derives di-referential verbs from mono-referential intransitive verb roots. The A of such a derived causative verb form causes (by force, persuasion etc.) the 0 to carry out the activity marked by the verb root. Thus

(2.5-45) qaatu - qaar - tu - ka - pa 
- We immersed the cycad nuts in the water (to soak).

The CAUS suffix -ka may only be used with MR intransitive verbs. It can be contrasted with the TRANSVR -wa, for discussion of which see 2.5.9.
The CAUS suffix -ka is added to a stem which consists of the INFIN form for conjugation 1 and, as far as can be judged, of the INFIN form with its final syllable glottalised for the other conjugations. The stem to which -ka is added is identical to that used with the -wa TRANSVR (2.5.9) and the auxiliary constructions (2.5.10). In fact there appears to be a close relationship between the -ka CAUS suffix and the verb ka 'take', used as an auxiliary. See note c to Table 2.5(a).

For tense/aspect inflection of -ka CAUS which forms conjugation 3 see Table 2.5(a).

The examples (2.5-46) to (2.5-48) are based upon verbs of conjugation 1.

(2.5-46) kulppa - # na - Țay? - ka - pa [9/41]
ant bed - NOM 30 + 1min.A - be broken - CAUS - PAST PUNCT
- I broke off [a piece of] ant bed.

(2.5-47) Țopoy yara - yappa? - yinip,
Shoo! laug.S - UAUGM - say + PAST PUNCT

yar - yappa? - kuwan - yuț - ka - pa [28/28]
3min.O + laug.A - UAUGM - afraid - run - CAUS - PAST PUNCT
- "Shoo!" we said. We frightened [the buffalo] away.

No CAUS form of this type was obtained for the verb yina? 'say/do' (conjugation 2). CAUS forms of this pattern were rejected for rů 'weep/cry' (4E), for ra 'go' (5B), for nuya 'sit' (6C) and for yuru 'lie' (6D), the only mono-morphemic intransitive verbs in conjugations 4, 5, 6C and 6D. The following was offered as a translation of 'I made them cry':

p̱a - rů - pol? - ka - pa
3aug.O + 1min.A - cry - arrive/come - CAUS - PAST PUNCT

The generalisation regarding the stem form in conjugations other than conjugation 1 is based partly on the observed similarity with the stem used with the -wa TRANSVR (2.5.9) and with auxiliary verbs (2.5.10). In fact forms with -ka CAUS are very rare (and only available so far by elicitation) for verbs in all but conjugation 1.
The examples (2.5-49) to (2.5-51) are derived from verbs of other conjugations (number in parentheses after the root gloss).

(2.5-49) qal - pariqana - ʔ - ka - pa
3min.O + lmin.A - hang up (6A) + INFIN - STEM - CAUS - PAST PUNCT
- I made him climb up./I hung it up.

(2.5-50) qal - tamepu - ʔ - ka - ra
3min.O + lmin.A - yawn (4A) - INFIN - STEM - CAUS - FUT
- I'll make him yawn.

(2.5-51) qal - tiyana - ʔ - ka - pa
3min.O + lmin.A - stand(6B) + INFIN - STEM - CAUS - PAST PUNCT
- I stood it up.

That the causation involved can consist of physical force or some other inducement is shown by the two examples (2.5-52) and (2.5-53) both of which employ the same verb root, but different O NPs.

(2.5-52) kawarkka? - ʔa ḗ - qal? - ka - pa [43/22]
outside the camp - LOC 3min.O + 3min.A - climb - CAUS - PAST PUNCT
- He hung [the kangaroo carcase] up outside the camp.

(2.5-53) kugaringga paran - qal? - ka - pa [27/92]
in the morning 3aug.O + 3min.A - climb - CAUS - PAST PUNCT
- He loaded [the people] up [onto the trucks] in the morning (to give them a lift back from the ceremony ground).
The verbs petekä 'miss' and puluka 'find' of conjugation 3 appear to be derived by suffixing -ka CAUS to the adverb pete~ 'almost' and the unrecognised root pulu. However the use of -ka CAUS appears to be productive only with verb roots.

A number of the verbs in conjugation 5B are causative forms of morphologically related verbs in conjugation 6 (see 2.5.3).

\[(2.5-54)\]
\[
\text{takkutakk} - \theta \text{ paran} - ti - ya
\]
\[
\text{children} - \text{NOM 3aug.O + 3min.A} - \text{stand (CAUS 5B)} - \text{PAST PUNCT}
\]
\[
\text{natte? - ka?}, \text{ para} - tiyi [3/78]
\]
\[
\text{there - ALL 3aug.S} - \text{stand (6B) + PAST PUNCT}
\]
- He stood the children there. They stood.

Compare (2.5-55)

\[(2.5-55)\]
\[
\text{tok - jere? - } \theta \text{ na} - ti - ya [9/48]
\]
\[
\text{socks*} - \text{only} - \text{NOM 30 + 1min.A} - \text{stand (CAUS 5B)} - \text{PAST PUNCT}
\]
- I wore only socks (no boots).

2.5.9 Transitivising Suffix (TRANSVR)

Investigation of this suffix has not produced a firm conclusion as yet as to its nature but it appears that the TRANSVR suffix -wa performs two distinct but complementary functions which I will discuss separately below. In both these functions the -wa transitivising suffix derives di-referential verbs from mono-referential verb roots (see (i) below) and from nominal stems (see (ii) below). For tense/aspect inflections of -wa TRANSVR, which belongs to conjugation 4B, see Table 2.5(a).

(i) With a small number of intransitive MR verb roots from conjugations 1 and 2 the -wa TRANSVR suffix derives transitive DR verb forms which are not causative. The A of the derived TR sentence performs the activity denoted by the verb root, implicating the 0 by means of this activity. These verb forms differ from those formed with CAUS -ka (2.5.8) and from those with TRANSVR -wa discussed in (ii) below.
in that the deep S of the verb root is the same as the A of the derived 
transitive in the cases being discussed here (wa(i)), but the same as 
the O for the other two (ka, wa(1i)).

For conjugations 1 and 2 the stem to which wa TRANSVR 
is added is the INFIN or simple root form. A list of some of such verbs 
has been given in the notes to Table 2.5(e) since a majority of the 
available examples are in reflexive form. However the following non- 
reflexive examples are representative of this type of transitive formation 
with wa.

(2.5-56)  
\[\text{ta -ma? - kajuk - wa - n,}\]  
3min.O + 2min.A - lest - play - TRANSVR - PRES

\[\text{nan - ma? - pam? - } \phi\]  
2min.O + 3min.A - lest - bite - PRES

- Don’t play with [the dog]. It might bite you.

(2.5-57)  
\[\text{nip - mormo - wak - wa - n}\]  
2min.IMPL + 3min.A - eye - laugh - TRANSVR - PRES

\[\text{wamut - yi?}\]  
[subsection name] ERG

- Wamut is laughing at your (swollen) eye.

(2.5-58)  
\[\text{korowkkorow - } \phi\]  
\[\text{par - yino? - } \text{wa - } \phi\]  
\[\text{kookaburra - NOM 3min.O + 3aug.A - say - TRANSVR - PAST PUNCT}\]

\[\text{wawa? ... [3/63-64]}\]

brother

- They told (said to\footnote{47}) the kookaburra, "Brother..."

Compare also example (3.2-8)

\footnote{47} \[\text{par - yino? - } \text{wa - } \phi\] here is the exact equivalent of

\[\text{par - pak - yini}\]  
3min. IMPL + 3aug.S - IMPLIC - say + PAST PUNCT

which can also introduce direct speech.
2.5.9

(ii) -wa TRANSVR may be suffixed to a number of other stems, with all of which it has a causative function analogous to that of -ka CAUS (2.5.8). The A of the resulting DR verb causes the O to perform the activity of the simple intransitive verb root, or to be in the state denoted by the nominal stem. That is, the deep S of the MR verb root becomes the O of the derived causative verb stem. The examples given below will make this clear.

-wa is used in this causative sense with intransitive verb roots of conjugations 4 to 6. The stem is the INFIN form with the final syllable glottalised. Compare (2.5-59) to (2.5-61) with (2.5-49) to (2.5-51).

(2.5-59)  qa - pa\'i\'jane - ? - wa - na
3min.O + lmin.A - hang up(6A) + INFIN - STEM - TRANSVR - FUT
- I'll make him climb up/I'll hang it up.

(2.5-60)  pa\'a - tanepu - na - ? - wa - 6
3aug.O + lmin.A - yawn(4A) - INFIN - STEM - TRANSVR - PAST PUNCT
- I made him yawn.

(2.5-61)  qa - tiyane - ? - wa - 6
3min.O + lmin.A - stand(6B) + INFIN - STEM - TRANSVR - PAST PUNCT
- I stood it up/I got him up [on his feet].

-\(\text{wa}\) is used in causative function with forms of intransitive verb roots of conjugation 1 nominalised by means of the -yi NOMLSR suffix (2.5.15). These include colour verbs and a number of others whose English translations are adjectives. The verb root with the -ka CAUS suffix and 48

It may be noted that this is the same stem for these verb conjugations as that to which -ka CAUS is added, and as that used in auxiliary constructions. However it is clear that, as far as -\(\text{wa}\) is concerned, these particular stems are treated more as nominal in nature on analogy with its use with nominalised verb roots of the first conjugation. Thus it may be true to say that verbal roots derive simple transitivised forms with -wa while nominal stems derive causatives with -\(\text{wa}\).
the nominalised verb root with the -wa TRANSVR suffix appear to be paraphrases. The final syllable of the nominalised form of the verb appears to be optionally glottalised when -wa is suffixed. This, however, has not been fully investigated.

(2.5-62) mutta - yi? ḡulā - ʃ
sun - ERG water - NOM

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ka} & - \text{muṭ} - \text{yi} - (? ) - \text{wa} - \text{na} \\
3\text{min.O + 3min.A} & - \text{be warm - NOMLSR - STEM - TRANSVR - FUT}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ka} & - \text{muṭ} - \text{ka} - \text{ṛa} \\
3\text{min.O + 3min.A} & - \text{be warm - CAUS - FUT}
\end{align*}
\]

- The sun will warm the water.

(2.5-63) ʃa - ḡar - yi - wa - na

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{3min.O + 1min.A} & - \text{be sick/sore - NOMLSR - TRANSVR - FUT}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ṣa} & - \text{ṣar} - \text{ka} - \text{ṛa} \\
3\text{min.O + 1min.A} & - \text{be sick/sore - CAUS - FUT}
\end{align*}
\]

- I will make him sick.

(2.6-64) ʃa - ḡārār - yi - wa - na

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{3min.O + 1min.A} & - \text{be red - NOMLSR - TRANSVR - FUT}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ṣa} & - \text{ṣārār} - \text{ka} - \text{ṛa} \\
3\text{min.O + 1min.A} & - \text{be red - CAUS - FUT}
\end{align*}
\]

- I will make it red.

Note that in all cases it is not possible to use the -ka CAUS suffix on the -yi- stem, nor is it possible to use the -wa TRANSVR suffix without the -yi- stem.

49

Apparently the verb ḡul 'be black/dark' is an exception to this generalisation in that a form ʃa - ḡul - wa - na (3min.O + 1min.A - be black - TRANSVR - FUT) has been found alongside the more normal ʃa - ḡul - yi - wa - na and ʃa - ḡul - ka - ṛa. ʃa - ḡul - yi - ka - ṛa is, however, unacceptable as the generalisation would predict.
-wa TRANSVR is used in a causative function with nominals, but this has not been fully investigated. I have concentrated mainly on nominals which translate English adjectives. The final syllable of the nominal stem to which -wa is added is most commonly glottalised. Some of this morphological variation is shown in (2.5-65) to (2.5-67).

(2.5-65) ŋa - puʔ - wa - na
3min.0 + 1min.A - different - TRANSVR - FUT
- I'll alter/change it (i.e. cause it to be different).

(2.5-66) ŋa - takku - (na) - ? - wa - na
3min.0 + 1min.A - small - (STEM) - STEM - TRANSVR - FUT
- I'll make it smaller./I'll make a small one.

(2.5-67) ŋa - ţarŋ - (na) - wa - na
3min.0 + 1min.A - bad - (STEM) - TRANSVR - FUT
- I'll damage it./I'll make it bad.

There are a few text examples of the TRANSVR suffix with nominals, such as (2.5-68) and (2.5-69).

(2.5-68) yar - tura - wa - ʃ [33/58]
3min.0 + laug.A - alive/safe - TRANSVR - PAST PUNCT
- We saved him.

(2.5-69) ŋaran - moʔ - ţari - wa - n [6/9]
1/2aug.0 + 3min.A - lest - wet - TRANSVR - PRES
- [The rain] might wet us (if we don't have shelter).

The TRANSVR suffix may also be added to nominal stems with the COMIT suffix as (2.5-70) makes clear.

(2.5-70) ʃ - tura - wa - ʃ
3min.0 + 3min.A - safe/alive - TRANSVR - PAST PUNCT
tawal - ʃ - ma - panta. ʃ - ʁuraʔ - yi - ? - wa - ʃ [30/28]
country - NOM - ma here 3min.0 + 3min.A - fire - COMIT -
STEM - TRANSVR - PAST PUNCT
- He saved this country. He gave it fire (lit. 'He caused it to be having fire'.)
2.5.10 Auxiliary Verb Constructions

A small number of Rembarnga verbs may be used in an auxiliary capacity with other verbs. I use the term auxiliary in a somewhat narrower sense than Dixon (1972:15) and Capell (forthcoming) who both use the term to include compounding verbal elements as well as independent auxiliaries. I do not include verb compounding in my discussion of auxiliaries. A verb used in an auxiliary capacity in Rembarnga is fully inflected for person, number, tense/aspect and so on, and is used in conjunction with an uninflected verb stem. This stem takes the INFIN form for conjugation 1, and the INFIN form with the stem final syllable glottalised for conjugations 3 to 6. This is the same stem as is found with the suffixes -ka CAUS (2.5.8) and -wa TRANSVR (2.5.9). Three verbs only are commonly found in the auxiliary function, but a number of others appear to be permitted rarely.

(i) The anomalous verb map 'went' (2.5.4) is a very common auxiliary. It is used only with MR intransitive verbs and has no effect on their case frame. It is used largely, but not exclusively, with verbs of motion, and appears not to be permitted with some MR verbs. Details of this restriction are unknown at present. Note in passing the use of map 'went' in the formation of PROGR suffixes (2.5.12). See also the examples (2.5-11) to (2.5-13) in 2.5.4.

(2.5-71) ḷe? para - yappa? - map [38/127]  
get up 3aug.S - UAUGM - went  
- They (two) got up.

(2.5-72) nenta - ולל ṣinta - ṣ - ma ṭorop  
that - TEMP LOC lmin.PRON - NOM - mo climb down  

ṣa - man [9/19-20]  
lmin.S - went  
- That was when I climbed down.

(2.5-73) ṭum? yara - yappa? - man [28/4]  
fall asleep laug.S - UAUGM - went  
- We both went to sleep.
2.5.10

(2.5-74) tiyanə - ? yar - pak - man
stand (INFIN) - STEM 3min.IMPL + laug.S - IMPLIC - went
- We stopped (came to a standstill) next to [the dead buffalo].

(ii) ka 'take' (conjugation 4D) is also a very common auxiliary. ka is a DR transitive auxiliary and as such is used with DR verbs, not affecting their case frames in any way. Used with MR intransitive verb roots as an auxiliary ka produces a causative construction similar in meaning to those discussed in 2.5.8. The morphological and functional similarity between the auxiliary ka and the CAUS suffix -ka have been mentioned above (2.5.8).

(2.5-75) ŋe? ka - ka - n, poʔo?
get up 3min.O + 3min.A - take - PRES put down

ka - ka - n ka - poʔo? - d [4/22]
3min.O + 3min.A - take - PRES 3min.O + 3min. A - put down - PRES
- He lifts [the kangaroo carcase] up, and then puts it down. He puts it down.

(2.5-76) waləŋ ʒamu teʔwa - no - ?
then dog give - INFIN - STEM

par - ka - ŋin [43/32]
30 (?IMPL) + 3aug.A - take - PAST PUNCT
- Then they gave [the meat] to the dogs.

(2.5-77) kiya palku - ñe ña - toror? na - ka - ŋin [9/20]
face string - NOM pull 30 + lmin.A - take - PAST PUNCT
- I pulled the reins 50 (lit.'the face string').

In an attempt to ascertain whether this Rembarnga sentence was interpreted as translated here or as 'I took the reins and pulled them' I quoted the sentence to Fred Milmkamba and asked what it meant. As a preliminary to his reply, obviously intending to repeat the sentence to himself, he said
kiya palku - ñe na - toror? - mĩŋ.
face string - NOM 30 + lmin.A - pull - PAST PUNCT
This and other parallel utterances in text (such as (2.5-75) and
2.5.10

(2.5-78) pu? - wala polet ka - ka - n ...

different - ABL turn over (INTR) 3min.0 + 3min.A -

... nanta - țți - ma wer
take - PRES that - TEMP LOC - ma take off

ka - ka - n

3min.0 + 3min.A - take - PRES
- He turns [the kangaroo carcase] over from (? to) the other side ... then he takes it off (the fire).

In one example the INFIN form of a derived reflexive form occurs with the reflexive form of ka as auxiliary.

(2.5-79) țiriții? - φ - ma wuntu - tți - nọ - ?

[type dove\textsuperscript{51}] - NOM - ma hide - REFLEX - INFIN - STEM

φ - ka - tți - n. φ - wuntu - tți - nọ/142]

3min.S - take - REFLEX - PAST PUNCT 3min.S - hide - REFLEX - PAST PUNCT
- Then the dove hid himself. He hid himself.

(iii) With the anomalous verb paț 'pick up' (2.5.4) ma 'get' is commonly used as an auxiliary. See also examples (2.5.-5) and 2.5-6).

(2.5-80) țotkan - φ paț qa - mi - ya [28/23]
shotgun* - NOM pick up 3min.0 + 1min.A - get - PAST PUNCT
- I picked up the shotgun.

(2.5-79)) indicate that auxiliary constructions are equivalent to simple verb forms, rather than indicating sequences of actions.

\textsuperscript{51} Informants say țiriții? is a Gunwinjgu and Gune word. The Rembarnga equivalent is irirppu?. The bird has not been identified beyond the information that it is a ground pigeon and belongs to the țiriții moiety. Both the above names are based upon the bird's call.
(2.5-81) 
ŋuŋaŋ - ñ paŋ - ñ - mi - ya  
fire - NOM pick up 3min.O + 3min.A - get - PAST PUNCT  
- He got fire.

(2.5-82) kuṭarṭī munku waŋa - ñ paŋ  
tomorrow perhaps tracks - NOM pick up  
ŋar - na - ʊŋarı  
3o + 1/2aug.A - get - FUT  
- Maybe tomorrow we'll find the tracks.

(iv) In attempting to elicit auxiliary constructions with other verbs I came across a small number of interesting examples which I will quote here. Note the alternative auxiliaries in the sentences of (2.5-83) to (2.5-85). In (2.5-85)(c) note how the verb root may be incorporated into the auxiliary VC forming what amounts to a compound verb.

(2.5-83) (a) potta - ʊŋär - ?  
stand upside down (TR) - INFIN - STEM  
ʊŋär - ka - ʊŋär  
3min.O + lmin.A - take - PAST PUNCT  
- I put [the billy can] upside down.

(b) potta - ʊŋär - ?  
stand upside down - INFIN - STEM 3min.O + lmin.A - put - PAST PUNCT  
- I put [the billy can] upside down.

(2.5-84) (a) ʊŋi.52  
ʊŋa - ka - ʊŋär  
hit/chop 3min.O + lmin.A - get - PAST PUNCT  
- I hit/chopped it.

(b) ʊŋi.  
ʊŋa - pu - wa  
hit/chop 3min.O + lmin.A - hit - PAST PUNCT  
- I hit/chopped it.

52 The phonemic interpretation ʊŋi. for this verb root is suggested by the fact that its future tense form is [ʊŋi:ya] not [ʊŋi:ya]. See 2.5.3, conjugation 1.
2.5.10

(2.5-85) (a) 

\[ \text{par - ka - na} \]

[carry in arms] 3min.O + 3min.A - take - FUT
- He will carry [the baby] in his arms.

(b) 

\[ \text{par - mi - ya} \]

carry in arms 3min.O + 3min.A - get - PAST PUNCT
- He picked up [the baby] in his arms.

(c) 

\[ \text{ta - patte? - ma - qara} \]

3min.O + 2min.A - carry in arms - get - FUT
- Carry (pick up) [the baby]!

This relationship between auxiliary constructions and compounding as seen in (2.5-85) was found again with the (DR) verb šalkma 'to split' which has been found, apart from example (2.5-86), only as a compound. All four sentences of (2.5-86) are said to have the same meaning. Note the use of the presumably MR intransitive root šalk in (b) and (d) and note the variety of auxiliary constructions available. All four sentences mean 'I split it'.

(2.5-86) (a) 

\[ \text{qa - šalkmi - ya} \]

3min.O + lmin.A - split - PAST PUNCT

(b) 

\[ \text{šalk} \quad \text{q}a - \text{mi - ya} \]

[split] 3min.O + lmin.A - get - PAST PUNCT

(c) 

\[ \text{šalkma - q}a - ? \quad \text{q}a - \text{ka - qip} \]

[split] INFIN - STEM 3min.O + lmin.A - take - PAST PUNCT

(d) 

\[ \text{šalk} \quad \text{q}a - \text{ka - qip} \]

[split] 3min.O + lmin.A - take - PAST PUNCT

(v) Having seen in a number of elicited examples ((2.5-83) to (2.5-86)) a possible relationship between auxiliary constructions of the type outlined in (i) to (iii) above and verb compounding (or incorporation of a verb root into the VC) we should note the examples (2.5-87) to (2.5-90). All of these were spontaneous utterances of informants.

33 patte? means in full 'to carry against one's own body in one's arms'.
2.5.10

(2.5-87) ³ο̊ŋka - ³ogo - ³aŋa
**go past** 3min.S - go - FUT
- He'll go past.

(2.5-88) ya - ³o̊ŋo? - maŋ
**1/2min.S - descend - went**
- Let's go down.

(2.5-89) ka - kapu̍ŋ? - turu
**3min.S - to set in the ground/bury - stand + PRES**
- It's underground.

(2.5-90) yanpa - waŋta - kapu̍ŋ? - na - na
**1/2min.IMPL + 3aug.A - tracks - set in ground - see - FUT**
- They will see our tracks on (in) the ground.

2.5.11 Incorporation of Words into Verb Complexes

A common and very important feature of Rembarnga morphology and syntax is the incorporation of nominals, adverbs, and some verb roots (see 2.5.10) into the verb complex. This is a very complex phenomenon and the principal features of the incorporation of nominals into the VC will be discussed at length in connection with the syntax (3.4). At this point I will outline morphological details of this incorporation and a number of minor types of incorporation which will not be mentioned further in 3.4.

All incorporated words have the same form as their unincorporated counterparts with some exceptions:

(i) case and similar suffixes are lost, with the exception of the COMIT suffix and the suffix -pere? 'only';

(ii) those nominals which have a -na STEM suffix in citation form lose this suffix upon incorporation;

(iii) three adverbs have special incorporated forms. These are

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54 Compare the loss of the -no suffix from nouns upon incorporation in Dalabon (Copell 1962:101).
butarti (na) 'tomorrow (in the morning)' whose incorporated form is -tani- (2.5.13); taparan (na) 'recent past (in the afternoon)' whose incorporated form is -tappa- (2.5.13) and gin (authentically) whose incorporated form is -kakku- (2.5.13).

The ordering of incorporated words in relation to other prefixes to the verb is discussed in 2.5.14 below. It should be noted that a number of the prefixes discussed in 2.5.13 and 2.5.14 should probably be re-classified variously as free nominals or adverbs which may be incorporated into the VC. However uncertainty as to status has led me to list as prefixes in 2.5.13 all those morphemes which rarely or never occur outside the VC.

Nominals bearing the COMIT suffix -yi (nta) may be incorporated as such into the VC. It is not possible to use the PRIV suffix -tta in this way.

(2.5-91) qa - potti - yinta - yun - min
lmin.S - spear - COMIT - fall - PAST PUNCT
- I fell with a spear (sticking into me).

(2.5-92) ge - qa - pikkan - yinta - mi - ya
fish - NOM 3min.O + lmin.A - hook - COMIT - get - PAST PUNCT
- I caught a fish which already had an old hook in its mouth.

Example (2.5-92) was rejected by the informant when -yi was substituted as COMIT suffix.

There are a number of other examples involving a -yi-, following an incorporated nominal, which may be a COMIT suffix. This is not INSTR -yi- the informants assert, nor may it take the form -yinta.

Unlike the Nominal + yi combinations in (2.5-91) and (2.5-92) the Nominal + yi combinations in (2.5-93) to (2.5-95) may not occur unincorporated.

One informant, in discussing sentences like (2.5-93) to (2.5-95) offered
pahta - yw - yi - para - map
with - words - COMIT 3aug.S - went
as equivalent to para - yw - yi - map (cf. (2.5-94)) but he rejected as completely impossible pahta - mojo - yi - para - yappa? - patpu - wa (cf. (2.5-93)).
They (two) climbed up the path by the path.

They shouted as they arrived.

I looked around and saw the place.

Only the white man's tracks are here (not the white man himself).

(They came) to where the yaŋman country is (runs).

Nominals which may be incorporated are normally either inflected or in S or O function in the sentence. Two examples with the word ƙula 'water' appear not to fit this pattern.
2.5.11

(2.5-99) Ʉar - Ʉula - ma - Ʉaŋa Ʉattu - ø
30 + 1/2aug.A - water - get - FUT cycad nuts - NOM
- We'll take the cycad nuts from the water.

It is not clear what interpretation of the syntactic function of each of these would be valid. In (2.5-98) Ʉula may be in IMPL function and in (2.5-99) it may be in ABL function, but I will interpret both examples as idiomatic phrases since no parallels have yet been found.

A number of apparent cases of nominal incorporation into the VC with the verb pu 'hit' should rather be considered types of compounding. The 'incorporated' nominal appears not to be in one of the major sentence functions A or O.

(2.5-100) Ʉar - Ʉark - pu - wa Ʉittuŋ?
30 + laug.A - cross-hatching - hit - PAST PUNCT didgeridoo
Ʉupul - ø
many - NOM
- We painted a lot of didgeridoos.

(2.5-101) Ʉar - Ʉi - kaɄawu - ppu57 - nɨp [38/159]
3min.Ø + 3aug.A - yi - platform - hit - PAST CONT
- They put [the body] on a platform (to decompose).

56 Although this is a possible interpretation it should be noted that if Ʉula is clearly marked as IMPL and not incorporated then the sentence indicates actual dying.
Ʉula - kan ø - par? - min [cf.43/77]
water - DAT 3min.Ø - die - PAST PUNCT
- He died for lack of water.

57 The view that these combinations of nominal plus pu are compound verbs might be supported by the fact that gemination of the initial stop of pu occurs by a rule which must be similar to the dissimilation rules outlined in 1.5.4. This has not been explored in connection with compounding.
2.5.11

(2.5-102) kulppin - φ ηa - τay? - ka - pa
ant bed - NOM 3min.O + lmin.A - be broken - CAUS - PAST PUNCT

kuypi - qaño - ?ka? qa - poʔo? - mip,
sweat - lmin.DAT PRON - ALL 3min.O + lmin.A - put - PAST PUNCT

ηa - kuypi - ppu - wa ηa - kuypi - ppu - wa
3min.0 + lmin.A - sweat - hit - PAST PUNCT
- I broke off a piece of ant bed, put it in my armpit and
rubbed it in my sweat.

The fact that a further nominal may be incorporated before rarkpu tends
to support the view that rarkpu at least may be a compound verb since
multiple incorporation is not common.

(2.5-103) qanpa - kok - rarkpu - nip
lmin.IMPL + 3aug.A - bark - paint - PAST CONT
- They used to paint bark for me.

Finally the incorporation of adverbs into the VC should be
mentioned. The examples given for the prefixes walaʔ and petet
in 2.5.13 exemplify this. A number of the other prefixes listed there
should perhaps be interpreted as incorporated adverbs. Ordering is
somewhat different from that for incorporated nominals. See 2.5.14.
Compare also (2.5-104)

(2.5-104) panta - wala - ma ya - waʔa - maʔkun - ro - qaʔa [19/117]
here - ABL - ma 1/2min.S - CONT - again - go - FUT
- Let's leave here again.

See note 57.
Rembanga has a series of verbal suffixes formed on the basis of the verbs *ra* 'go/come' and *man* 'went'. These progressive (PROGR) suffixes have two or three overlapping functions. They often indicate durative aspect, or the fact that the activity is in progress at the time in question, or that it takes place while the subject is in motion. The examples below will give some idea of this.

The PROGR suffix forms are modified forms of the appropriate tense/aspect forms of the principal verbs of going - *ra* 'go/come' (with its present tense variant *wa*) and *man* 'went'. The following modifications to these forms occur:

1. *-yi-* or *-yu-* (in apparent free variation) are prefixed to mono-syllabic forms of these verbs of going to form the PROGR suffix (e.g. *-yimap*, *-yumap*, *-yira*).

2. *y* is substituted for the initial *r* of di- and tri-syllabic forms of the verb *ra* to form the PROGR suffix (e.g. *-yimap*, *-yimap*, *-yira*). There are, however, numerous examples where the initial *r* remains and no modification takes place.

3. For some verbs at least (this has not been fully checked) *yi* may be prefixed also to di- and tri-syllabic forms of the verb *ra* (e.g. *-yimap*, *-yimap*, *-yira*).

The stem to which the above PROGR suffixes are added is the INFIN form for all verb conjugations. In conjugations 4 to 6 where the INFIN form has a final *a* this is raised and fronted to *i*, being assimilated to the suffix initial *y* in the features HIGH and BACK. The conjugation 7 stem for this suffix is unknown at present.

Is there any relationship between these Rembanga PROGR suffixes with initial *r* or *yi* and the Dalabon continuative suffix -i (Capell 1962: 117)?

The change from *r* to *y* here parallels the change from *r* to *y* in the FUT form of *ra* following the pronominal prefix *gir-* (2min.S) (See Note 5b to Table 2.5(a), and 1.4.1). That assimilation is progressive while regressive assimilation occurs with the PROGR suffixes.

I seem to remember hearing a seventh conjugation stem *-miyani* (<-miyang) before a PROGR suffix but have not been able to confirm this from my notes.
In the examples which follow to illustrate the use of these PROGR suffixes it may be seen how difficult it is to define exactly which of the three uses mentioned above occurs in each case. There is considerable merging. In (2.5-105) to (2.5-109) the PROGR suffix tends to express the motion of the subject but particularly in (2.5-108) and (2.5-109) the durative aspect is also expressed.

(2.5-105)  φ - ɲawa - φ  ṭe - φ
30 + 3min.A - hear - PAST PUNCT  animal - NOM

ka - ɲawk - yiya  [17/1]
3S - speak - PROGR + PAST PUNCT
- He heard the animals talking/chattering as they went.

(2.5-106)  yaraŋ- maʔ - kuʔpi - popna - ní - yuwa  [7/21]
laug.IMPL + 3min.O - least - sweat - smell - INFIN - PROGR + PRES
- [The kangaroo] might smell our sweat "along" (as we try to sneak up on it).

(2.5-107)  narappaʔ - ṭat - yoŋaja  warikku [32/90]
30 + 2augm.A - poison water - PROGR + FUT immediately
- Poison the water quickly! (This is done to kill fish. The process involves dragging pounded bark through the water.)

(2.5-108)  yanpa - teʔwa - ní - yumaŋ
1/2min.IMPL +3aug.A - give - INFIN - PROGR + PAST PUNCT
- They gave us [breakfast] on the way ("all the way" from Darwin to Katherine on the plane).

(2.5-109)  karakkuʔ  par - yaw - yaw - yumaŋ  [12/32]
on high ground 3min.O + 3aug.A - REDUPL - spear - PROGR + PAST PUNCT
- On high ground they speared him repeatedly as they chased him.
The notion of activity in progress is more clearly evident in (2.5-110) to (2.5-112).

(2.5-110) yara - ṭum? - yumanp,  ɸ - yip - yumanp
    laug.S - sleep - PROGR + PAST PUNCT  3min.S - get dark -
    yara - ṭum? - min  [29/44-45]
    PROGR + PAST PUNCT  laug.S - sleep - PAST PUNCT
    - We slept. While it was getting dark we slept.

(2.5-111) ka - yi - pane - wa~? - min
    3min.S - yi - pane - look - PAST PUNCT
    ka - ɾo - ni - yiɾa  [27/35-36]
    3min.S - go - INFIN - PROGR + PRES
    - He caught sight of [the buffalo] walking along.

(2.5-112) para - yappa? - niyani - yumanp
    3aug.S - UAUQGM - sit + INFIN - PROGR + PAST PUNCT
    kaļan - na koɾorko ɸ - pok - min  [10/12-13]
    egg - 3min.DAT PRON brolga  3min.S - burst - PAST PUNCT
    - They were sitting there when the brolga's egg (which they had put on the fire to cook) burst.

Example (2.5-113) is one in which the PROGR suffix retains suffix initial ɾ (point (ii) above) while example (2.5-114) has the yi of the PROGR suffix prefixed to a disyllabic form of the verb of going.

(2.5-113) ɸ - kuwan? - min, țaɾụppu? - ɸ
    3min.S - set off - PAST PUNCT didgeridoo - NOM
    ka - ɾiɾ - ɾiya
    62  30 + 3min.A - seek - PROGR + PAST PUNCT
    - He went off looking for (hollow trees to make) didgeridoos.

62 One might expect ɸ instead of ka as the prefix here (see Table 2.5(d)) since the VC is marked for past tense.
63 Compare examples (2.5-88) to (2.5-90) and the associated remarks concerning compounding and auxiliaries.
(2.5-114) yar - tumuka - ni - yi ṭo̞g?iŋ
3min.0 + laug.A - light fires for hunting - INFIN - PROGR + PAST CONT
- We lit fires (for hunting) all the way along.

As well as its regular PROGR forms the verb ṭu 'cry/weep' of conjugation 4E has alternative progressive forms with unmodified forms of ra 'go' suffixed to the stem ṭuyoŋ as in (2.5-115).

(2.5-115) para - ṭuyiŋ? - ra ṭut - wo
3aug.S - cry(STEM) - PROGR + PRES road* - PERL
- They are crying as they go along the road.

2.5.13 Other Verb Prefixes

Apart from the syntactic prefixes (2.5.6), the pronominal prefixes (2.5.5) and incorporated words (2.5.11) there are a large number of prefixes or incorporated elements used in Rembarga VCs. Owing to the complexity of this miscellany it has not been possible to classify them fully and it is quite likely that some should be reclassified as nominals or adverbs, albeit most frequently incorporated ones. The best that can be done briefly is to give an annotated list of some of these prefixes with examples of their use and (in 2.5.14) some indication of relative surface ordering within the VC. Detailed discussion will have to follow further investigation. For ease of reading I will divide up the prefixes somewhat arbitrarily into four semantic groups: prefixes marking time (2.5.13.2), manner (2.5.13.3) and number (2.5.13.4) and a miscellaneous group of aspectual prefixes (2.5.13.1). An asterisk following the listing of a prefix indicates that it has not been found to occur outside a VC (i.e. it is a bound form).

2.5.13.1 Miscellaneous Aspectual Prefixes The following are to be discussed under this heading:

(i) peteŋ
(ii) pana
(iii) ṭiraŋ
(iv) kakku
(v) laʔpə
(vi) meʔ/pəʔ
(vi) waŋa
(viii) yi
2.5.13

(1) peşetş, which may occur also outside the VC, is normally translated 'almost' 'just about' and in some cases appears to have the sense 'begin to...but without success' or 'begin to...before being prevented'.

(2.5-116) yara - peşetş - pẹte - pe - ti - n [9/69]
laug.S - almost - REDUPL - hit - REFLEX - PAST PUNCT
- We almost had a fight (developing out of an argument).

(2.5-117) ka - yi - pẹnọ - peşetş - ọge - mín warkka
3min.S - yi - pẹnọ - almost - get up - PAST PUNCT NEW SUBJECT
nalanala - yi? par - pu - wa [43/109-110]
cub - INSTR 3min.O + 3min.A - hit - PAST PUNCT
- (After being speared) he almost got up, but [his brother] hit him with his club.

(2.5-118) yulam? ka - yi - peşetş - kuan - yuţ - mín
southwards 3min.S - yi - almost - afraid - run - PAST PUNCT
tavkkari - yi? par - miri - ya
[name] - ERG 3min.O + 3min.A - spear - PAST PUNCT
pa - kanta [38/144-145]
on - leg
- He almost ran away to the south but tavkkari speared him in the leg.

(11) pẹnas* is a prefix of unknown meaning. It may have something of the sense of 'manage to...' or 'happen to...'. With verbs of perception it tends to mean 'catch sight/sound of'. See (2.5-117) and (2.5-119) to (2.5-121). It follows the prefix yi.

(2.5-119) parppu? ka - yi - pẹnọ - ọgawa - ọ
soon 30 + 3min.A - yi - pẹnọ - hear - PAST PUNCT
tapararJ 7na para - kaw7 - ọ [43/97]
in the afternoon 3aug.S - shout - PRES
- In the afternoon he heard them shouting (after tracking them for several days).
He was about to climb down, until he looked down and saw that the tree trunk was swollen. (Mythol.)

I came back and saw them roasting something.

"Oh! [The fish] are starting to die and come to the surface (as a result of poisoning the water)."

Oh, just float to surface dead - PRES

"Oh! [The fish] are starting to die and come to the surface (as a result of poisoning the water)."

Oh, just float to surface dead - PRES

"Oh! [The fish] are starting to die and come to the surface (as a result of poisoning the water)."

Oh, just float to surface dead - PRES

"Oh! [The fish] are starting to die and come to the surface (as a result of poisoning the water)."

Oh, just float to surface dead - PRES

"Oh! [The fish] are starting to die and come to the surface (as a result of poisoning the water)."

Oh, just float to surface dead - PRES

"Oh! [The fish] are starting to die and come to the surface (as a result of poisoning the water)."
2.5.13

(2.5-126) ka - yi - kakkū - puttan - ści - min
3min.S - yi - genuinely - night - return - PAST PUNCT
- It got fully/properly dark again.

(v) la?pa* means 'just as', 'at the same time', 'as soon as'. Because of its implication of temporal comparison with some other sentence it is normally found only in a relative clause (i.e. in a VC with a REL pronominal prefix).

(2.5-127) kušarţţìna
ki - la?pe - ṭočo? - min
in the morning 3min.S + REL - as soon as - dawn - PAST PUNCT

yara - ści - min [9/50]
laug.S - return - PAST PUNCT
- In the morning, as soon as daylight came, we went back.

(2.5-128) ki - la?pe - pētaţ - yaraţ - maŋ
3min.S + REL - as soon as - almost - grow up - PAST CONT

nenta - ści
par - te?wa - min
that - TEMP LOC 3min.IMPL + 3min.A - give - PAST CONT
- As soon as [the promised wife] was just about grown up,
  he would give her to him.(Custom)

(vi) maŋ*, manaŋ*, paŋ*, panaŋ* 'lest' is roughly equivalent to English 'lest'. 'Or fear that', or 'might' where the possible occurrence is considered undesirable. Only the PRES or PAST CF tense/aspect inflections are possible with a verb bearing this prefix. The different forms of the prefix appear to be in free variation. Examples (2.5-129) to (2.5-131) exemplify the use of this prefix with verbs in PAST CF tense/aspect inflection.
(2.5-129) ṇanapparu - ṇi - peṭeṭka - pe
buffalo - NOM 3min.0 + lmin.A + REL - miss - PAST CF

matti?, pi - ṇi
but person - NOM

paŋa - məŋ - kurwəwar - mə - ŋapul  [28/25-26]
3aug.0 + lmin.A - lest - shoot - PAST CF - DEF AUGM
- But if I had missed the buffalo I might have shot the
  people (so I did not shoot at all).

(2.5-130) ɟok - Ɂere? ɲa - tə - ya
socks* - only 30 + lmin.A - stand(CAUS) - PAST PUNCT

lmin.IMPL + 3aug.A - lest - foot - see - PAST CF - DAT
- I wore only socks (not boots) so that they would not be
  able to recognise my tracks.

(2.5-131) yaranpa - po? - yaw - mə - kan
laug.0 + 3aug.A - lest - spear - PAST CF - DAT

yara - kuwan - wi - mín  [38/73]
laug.S - afraid - fear - PAST PUNCT
- We were afraid that they might spear us (in the course of our
  projected raid on them).

Examples (2.5-132) to (2.5-134) show this prefix used with present tense
verbs.

(2.5-132) ṇaran - məŋ - Ɂam? - ṇi
ŋa - na - ṇi
1/2aug.0 + 3min.A - lest - bite - PRES 30 + lmin.A - see - PAST
PUNCT

laŋa ṇalk - ṇi  [3/36-37]
claw big - NOM
- He might bite us. I saw his big claws. (Mythol.)
yelekyelek ta - poṣo? - ṭa,
very slowly 3min.0 + 2min.A - put - PUT

φ - poṣo? - kun - pok - φ
3min.IMPL - lest - fat - burst - PRES
- Put it (fat goanna) [on the fire] slowly, otherwise its fat might burst.

natton? - ma pelenta? tawal ṭuk - ṭa
there - ma close place sacred - LOC

ya - kur?war - kur?war - min
30 + 1/2min.A - REDUPL - shoot - PAST PUNCT

yan - ma? - ku?pi - wa - n [32/44-45]
1/2min.IMPL + 3min.A - lest - sweat - follow - PRES
- We've been shooting close to the sacred place.
  [The rainbow] might follow our scent. (Implying: 'Let's leave the area to escape that.')

One informant sometimes used this prefix in translating negative imperatives as in (2.5-135).

tamu - φ ta - ma? - kašuk - wa - n
dog - NOM 3min.0 + 2min.A - lest - play - TRANSVR - PRES
- Don't play with the dog!

(wii) waŋa* (CONT) means 'still', 'continuously', signalling sometimes continuation, sometimes duration. Compare muŋuŋi? (2.6.2.3). It has been found outside the verb complex in one text example [33/42] but the informant concerned and two others have all maintained on various occasions that it may only occur within the VC. See example (2.5-163) and (2.5-136) to (2.5-138).
2.5.13

(2.5-136) ṣap - waṣa - ku?pi - wa - ni - yuman
1min.IMPL + 3min.A - CONT - sweat - follow - INFIN - PROGR +
ṣanaparu - ṣ
PAST PUNCT buffalo - NOM

ṣ - waṣa - potpu - ni - yuman [29/50-51]
3min.S - CONT - climb hill - INFIN - PROGR + PAST PUNCT
- [The buffalo] followed my scent all the way along. It
came all the way up (to the camp from the water).

(2.5-137) keral - ma plan-kit - yinta ṣ - ṣar - ṣar - min.
Carol - ma blanket* - COMIT 3min.S - REDUPL - burn - PAST PUNCT
ṣanaparu - ṣ til ṣ - waṣa - tiyi - tiyi [29/67-68]
buffalo - NOM still* 3min.S - CONT - REDUPL - stand + PAST PUNCT
- Carol's blanket was burning. The buffalo (cause of the
confusion) remained standing there.

(2.5-138) malak yene? - wala yi - ṭo - ṣe,
NEG INDEF - ABL 3min.S + REL - go - PAST CF
niʔkape? penta - .isLoggedIn - ṣ - waṣa - pot - ṣap [35/3-4]
3min.EMPH there - LOC 3min.S - CONT - grow up - PAST PUNCT
- He didn't come from anywhere, but grew up there the whole
time.

(viii) yi* with its variant form ṣi* is a complete mystery to me as far
as meaning and function are concerned. This prefix may not stand word
initially and thus the pronominal prefix form ṣa- (3min.W/3min.X + 3min.Y)
replaces ṣ before yi with past tense verbs. The form ṣi is often used
following a nasal or ṭ, the form yi being used elsewhere. In the kaluy dialect ṣi
is common in all environments. Capell (1943:37) speaks of -i-
or -di- as an "infix for the negative". It is, however, used in very many
non-negative VCs and omitted in many negative VCs, so negative marking is
apparently not its function. The examples (2.5-139) to (2.5-142) cover
a range of different verbs and tenses but do not really clarify the
situation.
2.5.13

(2.5-139) penta - Ꝓa ni?tanta - ꝼ ka - yi - niyi,
there - LOC 3min.PRON - NOM 3min.S - yi - sit + PAST PUNCT

qiinta - ꝼ - ma qa - yi - kuwa? - miŋ
1min.PRON - NOM - ma 1min.S - yi - set off + PAST PUNCT

yulam?... qa - yi - pa - wa
southwards 3min.O + 1min.A - yi - leave + PAST PUNCT
- He stayed there and I set off southwards... I left him.

(2.5-140) pon? ka - yi - par? - metŋ na , ralk - ꝼ
then 3S - yi - die - PAST CONT now* big - NOM

na yar - ꝼ - na - nip
now* 30 + laug.A - yi - see - PAST CONT
- Then they were dying. We were seeing big [fish] now.

(2.5-141) melak mani - ꝼ yirin - yi - te?wa - no
NEG money* - NOM laug.IMPL + 3min.A + REL - yi - give - PAST CF
- He didn’t give us money.

(2.5-142) kuwa tawa? - ma ka - yi - yew - m0
PURP now - ma 3min.O + 3min.A - yi - spear - PAST CF

warkka kantayala - ꝼ - ma ꝼ01?
NEW SUBJECT male plains kangaroo - NOM look up

 mamma [3/32-33]
3min.S - went
- He was just about to spear the kangaroo when it looked up.

2.5.13.2 Time Prefixes There are four time prefixes to be discussed here:
(ix) tappa
(x) tanin
(xi) ra?
(xii) walaq
2.5.13

(ix) tappa* is the incorporated equivalent of tapara?na 'in the afternoon', referring to that part of the afternoon when the sun is no longer very high overhead (i.e. from about 2 or 3 o'clock until sunset). Like tapara?, tappa also refers to 'yesterday' or the more distant past. See also 2.6.2.2.

(2.5-143) ϒω - tappa - ϒω - ni - yumap [29/19]
1/2aug.S - in the afternoon - go - INFIN - PROGR + PAST PUNCT
- We all walked there in the afternoon.

(2.5-144) wo - 끼끼 tappa - tapara? para - tappa - man [38/217]
war* - TEMP LOC REDUPL - past 3aug.S - past - went
- In the war (World War II), quite a while ago, [white men] came.

(x) tanip* is the incorporated equivalent of kutartiina 'in the morning', referring to that part of the morning from dawn but before the sun gets high overhead (i.e. dawn to about 10 or 11 o'clock). Like tanip also means 'next morning' or 'tomorrow morning'.

(2.5-145) ϒο - tanip - BOSE - mιп [43/46]
3min.S - in the morning - dawn - PAST PUNCT
- Daylight came in the morning.

(2.5-146) kutarti?i ϒοε - tanip - pa - na
tomorrow lmin.O + 3min.A - in the morning - leave - FUT

mu?i - kapa? - ուե - ու
grandson - small - lmin.DAT PRON - ERG
- My little grandson is going to leave me tomorrow morning.

(xi) ra? (PRIOR) has a variant form, phonetically [ta?] whenever it is not immediately preceded by a vowel within the same word (1.5.3). It appears to be related to the unincorporated form ta?nawe (2.6.2.4) which should as a result be interpreted phonologically as /ra?nawe/. ra? when incorporated is often translated by informants as 'first' or 'try'. In general it seems to mark an aim or a desired or preferred course of action, when used with the FUT, PRES or PAST CF tenses. With the factual past tenses the sense is 'first', 'before doing anything else' or 'before anyone else did'.

[29/19]
1/2aug.S - in the afternoon - go - INFIN - PROGR + PAST PUNCT
- We all walked there in the afternoon.

[38/217] war* - TEMP LOC REDUPL - past 3aug.S - past - went
- In the war (World War II), quite a while ago, [white men] came.

[43/46]
3min.S - in the morning - dawn - PAST PUNCT
- Daylight came in the morning.

[43/46] 3min.S - in the morning - dawn - PAST PUNCT
- Daylight came in the morning.

[38/217] war* - TEMP LOC REDUPL - past 3aug.S - past - went
- In the war (World War II), quite a while ago, [white men] came.

[29/19] ϒω - tappa - ϒω - ni - yumap [29/19]
1/2aug.S - in the afternoon - go - INFIN - PROGR + PAST PUNCT
- We all walked there in the afternoon.

[38/217] wo - 끼끼 tappa - tapara? para - tappa - man [38/217]
war* - TEMP LOC REDUPL - past 3aug.S - past - went
- In the war (World War II), quite a while ago, [white men] came.

[43/46]
3min.S - in the morning - dawn - PAST PUNCT
- Daylight came in the morning.

[43/46] ϒο - tanip - BOSE - mιп [43/46]
3min.S - in the morning - dawn - PAST PUNCT
- Daylight came in the morning.

[38/217] wo - 끼岌 tappa - tapara? para - tappa - man [38/217]
war* - TEMP LOC REDUPL - past 3aug.S - past - went
- In the war (World War II), quite a while ago, [white men] came.

[43/46] ϒο - tanip - BOSE - mιп [43/46]
3min.S - in the morning - dawn - PAST PUNCT
- Daylight came in the morning.

[43/46] ϒο - tanip - BOSE - mιп [43/46]
3min.S - in the morning - dawn - PAST PUNCT
- Daylight came in the morning.
That is ra? (like ta?nawa) marks the first of a series of actions which have occurred or the first preference out of a number of actions which did not yet occur or are to occur in the future. The examples may help to clarify this. The prefix ra? occurs frequently in conjunction with the particles mela? 'try', kuwa PURP and kuya 'should have'. (2.5-147) indicates a sequence.

(2.5-147) ŋa - ra? - mali
  lmin.S - PRIOR - went
  - I went first (he came after).

Both (2.5-148) and (2.5-149) indicate a hypothetical preference with past reference.

(2.5-148) kuwa ŋa - ra? - poŋop - mə
  should have lmin.S - PRIOR - cross river - PAST CF

warikku
immediately
  - I should have crossed immediately (before the others - now I've missed out).

(2.5-149) kuwa mə ŋan - pak - waŋ? - mə,
  should have still lmin.INFL + 3min.A - IMPLIC - wait - PAST CF

ŋa - ra? - yaŋ - na - mə,
kuwa
3min.INFL + 3min.A - PRIOR - story - see - PAST CF PURP

ŋa - ra? - ʒuy? - mə
3min.O + 1min.A - PRIOR - send - PAST CF
  - He should have waited for me. I wanted to hear what he had
to say and send him off.

(2.5-150) to (2.5-152) refer to aims and preferences as yet unrealised.

(2.5-150) mela? ya - ra? - poŋop - ɕ
  kuwa
try 1/2min.S - PRIOR - cross river - PRES PURP
  - Let's try to cross over.
Let's try following their tracks again.

You lot try stalking it (- I'm frightened).

It appears that the form taŋ may occur also after disyllabic prefixes. In the kaltuy dialect the form taŋ is generalised and occurs in all environments.
(2.5-155) ...yara - walaŋ - ṭoŋo - måŋ 
laug.S - then - descend - PAST CONT

tobacco - ALL Milingimbi - ALL

milinimpi - ?ka? mouny?
Milingimbi - ALL all the time

yara - walaŋ - ṭoŋo? - måŋ, målak
laug.S - then - descend - PAST CONT NEG

matši? yene? - ṭam [38/194-196]
but INDEF - LOC
- (We settled the fight.) (? Then) we went (?used to go) down
to Milingimbi for tobacco. We always used to go down to
Milingimbi, nowhere else.

2.5.13.3 Manner Prefixes  Four manner prefixes are to be discussed here:
(xiii) kunči
(xiv) kuwan
(xi) moniš
(xvi) ɲere

(xiii) kunči* means 'stalking', 'sneaking up with the purpose of killing'.
This prefix has so far been found only with MR verbs of motion. The person
or animal stalked can be pronominally cross-referenced in the VC only if
pak is used to convert the verb to a DR verb. In this case the victim is
the INPL. See examples (2.5-156) to (2.5-158) and (2.5-168).

(2.5-156) ɲa - ʧira? - kunči - pol? - måŋ [37/69]
Imın.S - ʧira? - stalking - arrive - PAST CONT
- I came up close to her (with spear ready).

(2.5-157) ɲa - pak - kunči - ʧem?ʧem? - mıŋ [29/87-88]
3IMPL + Imın.S - IMPLIC - stalking - sneak up - PAST PUNCT
- I sneaked up to [the buffaloes] (to shoot one).
(2.5-158) ḍara - kunτi - ro - ḍaṛa  ḍar - yaw - wa
1/2aug.S - stalking - go - FUT 3min.O + 1/2aug.A - spear - FUT
tatpa - Ø [12/12-13]
snake - NOM
- Let's stalk that snake and spear it. (Mythol.)

(iv) kwan* 'afraid' has been found only in combination with MR verb roots although these combinations may then become DR as a result of the use of other affixes as, for instance in (2.5-161) and (2.5-29). See also example (2.5-131).

(2.5-159) takkutakku - Ø para - kwan - yuτ - mĩn [28/20]
children - NOM 3aug.S - afraid - run - PAST PUNCT
- The children ran away in fear.

(2.5-160) kwan - tit - Ø man [3/34]
afraid - return 3min.S - went
- He went back frightened.

(2.5-161) yar - kwan - yuτ - ka - pa [29/69]
3min.O + laug.A - afraid - run - CAUS - PAST PUNCT
- We frightened [the buffalo] away. (lit. 'We made the buffalo run away in fright. ')

The object of the fear may be pronominally marked as the IMPL if the IMPLIC prefix pak is used to render the verb DR. This is shown by example (2.5-162) which follows on immediately in the original text from (2.5-161).

(2.5-162) yaran - pak - kwan - yuτ - mĩn [29/69-70]
laug.IMPL + 3min.S - IMPLIC - afraid - run - PAST PUNCT
- [The buffalo] ran away for fear of us.

(xv) maniτ*, meaning 'unobserved', 'unseen', is a prefix which rarely occurs outside the VC and appears normally to be inflected for ALL case if it does. The identity of the person/animal which fails to observe the activity appears to be determined by the context, rather than being any particular NP (function) in the sentence. Thus the ones who fail to
observe are the O in (2.5-163), the A in (2.5-164) and persons not mentioned in the sentence in (2.5-165).

(2.5-163) paŋa - waŋa - moniŋ - nana - na - ṣ [9/16]
3aug.0 + lmin.A - CONT - unobserved - REDUPL - see - PAST PUNCT
- I kept watching them all the while without their seeing me.

(2.5-164) Ḷanapparu - ṣ yar - moniŋ - kwaŋ - yuŋ - ka - pa
buffalo - NOM 3min.0 + laug.A - unobserved - afraid - run -
CAUS - PAST PUNCT
- We frightened a buffalo away without knowing it. (We only saw the tracks next morning.)

(2.5-165) tawal ỳuk - ỳa yara - moniŋ - paŋa - tì - ń
place sacred - LOC laug.S - unobserved - [rub] -
REFLEX - PAST PUNCT
- At the ceremony place we rubbed ourselves with ochre and the women did not see.

(xvi) ėere may be a nominal meaning 'asleep' or 'sleepy'. It is used outside the VC only in the phrase mọma ėere (eye sleepy) which is translated 'tired' or 'sleepy'. When incorporated into the VC ėere means 'asleep' with reference to the S or O of the sentence, never to the A or IMPL.

(2.5-166) yara ka - yi - ėere - yuwen [cf.43/107]
inside 3min.S - yi - asleep - lie + PAST CONT
- He was sleeping inside [the hut].

(2.5-167) pẹnta - ụn par - ėere - yaw - mì [42/13]
there - LOC 3min.0 + 3aug.A - asleep - spear - PAST PUNCT
- They speared him there while he was asleep.

2.5.13.4 Number Prefixes There are four number prefixes, to be dealt with here as follows:

(xvii) ọlụsgws, ọark
(xviii) karul
(xix) yappa?
(xvii) taltti(na), tark(na) are each incorporated into the VC without their na STEM suffix, which appears only when they stand as free forms. Both have the same meaning - 'a group' 'a unit'. The incorporation of either, then, indicates something like 'together' in reference (apparently) only to the A or the S of the sentence, not to the O or Impl.

(2.5-168) yara - Ɂi - yappa? - tark - kunți - Ɂi - ya [37/65]
laug.S - yi - UAUGM - together - stalking - go - PAST PUNCT
- We both sneaked up [on her] together (one in front of the other).

(2.5-169) yarappa? - taltti - kunți - Ɂi - ya [37/65 Note]
lauag.S - together - stalking - go - PAST PUNCT
- We both sneaked up together (from different sides to the same quarry 65).

(xviii) karul meaning 'a large number' or 'a large amount' refers only to the S or O of the sentence. When unincorporated this word usually has the form karulma, but this is rare. In (2.5-170) and (2.5-171) karul refers to number and mass respectively, both in O function. (2.5-172) shows karul in S function.

(2.5-170) ʃ - karul - toɔwa - ʃ
tiŋ? - ʃ [43/68]
30 + 3min.A - many - mix together - PAST PUNCT woman - NOM
- He put all the [fifteen] wives together (and took them all for himself, including his brother's wives). (Mythol.)

(2.5-171) nara - ɲeŋa - yi?
father - lmin.DAT PRON - ERG red ochre - NOM

ʃ - karul - poʃo? - miŋ
30 + 3min.A - much - put down - PAST PUNCT
- My father put down a lot of red ochre.

65 It is not clear to me whether the two somewhat different meanings of (2.5-168) and (2.5-169) are due to a difference between tark and taltti or whether both morphemes can take either meaning.
2.5.13

(2.5-172) ...piri - karul - tiyana
3aug.S + REL - many - stand (INTR) + PAST PUNCT
- (She was looking around to see) where they might all have been standing.

(xix) yappa? (UAUGM) is the precise equivalent of the suffix -ppara?
(UAUGM) (2.2.4.1) and serves to further define at least one augmented pronominal prefix element of the VC as unit augmented (uaug.). Where two augmented pronominal prefix elements are marked in the VC yappa? (or -ppara?) may define either or both of them - the interpretation is contextually determined. yappa? and -ppara? may be used separately or together as UAUGM with exactly the same significance. yappa? appears to be related to the numerical nominal ('adjective') yappan? 'two'.

(2.5-173) payar - yappa? - moni7 - na - 6
3aug.O + laug.A - UAUGM - unobserved - see - PAST PUNCT
- We (two) had a look at them (many) without being seen.

(2.5-174) yaranpa - yappa? - kunwa - 8
laug.O - 3aug.A - UAUGM - chase - PAST PUNCT again
- They (many) chased us (two) again.

(2.5-175) kamukna yara - wapa - yappa? - ma
unhurt laug.S - CONT - UAUGM - went
- We (two) went away unhurt.

2.5.14 Order of Verbal Affixes

It is necessary here to give some idea of the relative order of the various verbal affixes which have been discussed.

It has not been possible to test large numbers of affixes within a single VC, nor has it been possible to define a unique position (relative to other affixes) for each affix - and in any case one might expect some variation. In normal speech a limited number of affixes will occur in each VC. It has been possible to sort the affixes into groups. Ordering of the prefixes within individual groups varies, but in general the relative ordering of the groups of affixes is fixed. Thus, for example, the order of prefixes of group 4 (Table 2.5(f)) varies within the group, but all group 4 prefixes are ordered after groups 1 to 3 and before groups 5ff.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
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<tr>
<td>Pronom. Prefix</td>
<td>yi</td>
<td>pena</td>
<td>pak</td>
<td>peteŋ</td>
<td>tappa</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>paṭṭa</td>
<td>re</td>
<td>ROOT</td>
<td>ka</td>
<td>CAUS</td>
<td>tte</td>
<td>REFLEX</td>
<td>PROGR</td>
<td>Tense/Aspect</td>
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<td>la?pe</td>
<td>șira?</td>
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<td>ms?</td>
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Table 2.5(f) Approximate Ordering of Verbal Affixes
Table 2.5(f) sets out the approximate ordering of verbal affixes by groups. The symbol N in group 7 represents incorporated nominals. Case suffixes are added to VCs in some REL clauses. This table still requires extensive checking and should be taken as a rough guide only.

2.5.15 Nominalising Suffix (NOMLSR)

Some intransitive verb roots of conjugation 1 can be nominalised by suffixing -yi. I have not tested this nominalisation with a large number of verb roots in this conjugation. It is most commonly encountered with a number of verbs which translate English adjectives such as par 'be white/light', pil 'be cool', tar 'be dry', tel 'be soft', warwar 'be light (weight)'. See also the discussion in 2.2.2.

Nominalised forms of a small number of other verbs have also been elicited. Note that the nominal STEM suffix -na (see 2.2.2) is sometimes suffixed to a nominal derived by means of the -yi NOMLSR suffix.

(2.5.176) (a) par- yi - (na)
    burn - NOMLSR - (na)
    'hot one' or 'burning wood'

(b) par? - yi - (na)
    die - NOMLSR - (na)
    dead man

(c) war - yi - țșa
    swim - NOMLSR - LOC
    'at the place for swimming over the river.'

Some verbs of this conjugation nominalise a reduplicated root. Thus țel?tel?yi 'soft one', mur?muryi 'warm one'. Compare the nominal form țer?țer?7, without -yi suffix, derived from the verb țerk 'be hard/strong'.
2.5.16 Reduplication of Verb Forms (REDUPL)

Reduplication is a relatively common productive feature of Rembarnga verb inflection. It is common in many Australian languages.

2.5.16.1 Reduplication - Form

The formation of reduplicated verb forms is rather complex. It is based to some degree on the different verb conjugations, and for many verbs there is a variety of alternative forms. There are, however, some general principles which seem to underly most of the different types of verb reduplication, as may be seen from the general discussion below. These general principles are:

(i) the repetition of the first two syllables of a verb form before that verb form;

(ii) the repetition of a whole verb root before that verb root; and

(iii) the repetition, before the stem, of the root morpheme only from a compound formed from a root morpheme plus a stem-forming verbal affix or compounding verb.

I will first give an informal but detailed statement of the rules which are needed to deal with the reduplication of verb forms. In this discussion the term 'root' refers to a verb root without inflection of any kind including stem-forming suffixes like wa TRANSVR and ka CAUS and compounding verbs such as pu or ma. Thus the verb talkma 'to split' is formed from a root talk (virtually unknown as a free form) and a stem-forming, compounding verb ma 'get', while petetka 'to miss (a target)' is formed from a root pete~ (an adverb meaning 'almost') and the stem-forming CAUS suffix ka. The term 'form' in the following discussion refers to a verb stem plus its inflection for tense and aspect. The symbol REDUPL refers to the repeated element of a verb form.

Rule A The first two syllables of a form are repeated before that form.

Rule A applies to verbs of conjugations 2 and 4 to 6. It also applies optionally to some verbs of conjugation 3 for which Rule F below is the main reduplication rule. Certain modifications will be needed to this rule, some general and some particular to certain verbs or classes of verbs.
(2.5-177) shows the application of the rule in clear cases. Note
the inclusion of the compounding verb pu in the REDUPL (b) but not in
(c) and note the inclusion of the tense marking in the REDUPL in (d).

(2.5-177) (a) nawanip
    → nawa + nawanip
    hear(4B) + PAST CONT REDUPL

(b) ṭey?puwa
    → ṭey?pu + ṭey?puwa
    finish(4A) + PAST PUNCT REDUPL

(c) tamepuwa
    → tame + tamepuwa
    yawn(4A) + PAST PUNCT REDUPL

(d) riya
    → riya - riya
    go(5B) + PAST PUNCT REDUPL

Some very general modifications to this rule are now required,
and these may be achieved by means of additional rules applying to the
repeated element (REDUPL) introduced by Rule A. The rules B to E are
required to handle monosyllabic REDUPL elements and those which are
disyllabic but have a final nasal consonant.

Rule B Any final consonant of a disyllabic REDUPL element is deleted.

(2.5-178) shows the application of this rule after the
application of Rule A.

(2.5-178) (a) panip
    → panip - panip
    leave(4A) + PAST CONT REDUPL REDUPL

(b) popnan
    → popnan - popnan
    smell(4B) + PRES REDUPL REDUPL

(c) wawip
    → wawip - wawip
    follow(4C) + PAST PUNCT REDUPL REDUPL
2.5.16

Rule B does not apply to mono-syllabic REDUPL elements, which, rather than having segments deleted, require augmentation in order to be able to propose a REDUPL element of two syllables before the original form. Rule E alone or Rules C and E or Rules D and E in sequence (depending on the REDUPL element generated by Rule A) achieve this.

**Rule C**

A final laminal nasal (ŋ) in a mono-syllabic REDUPL morpheme becomes a laminal semivowel (γ).

**Rule D**

If the REDUPL morpheme generated by Rule A is an open mono-syllable then its initial consonant is repeated after its vowel.

**Rule E**

Between a mono-syllabic REDUPL morpheme and the original verb form a vowel is introduced which is identical with the vowel in the verb form.

Rules C to E are obligatory where appropriate. Rules C and D must apply, where appropriate, before Rule E.

(2.5-179) presents examples of the application of Rule E alone to the output of Rule A.

(2.5-179) (a) run

\[ \text{cry(4E) + PRES REDUPL} \]

\[ \text{run} \rightarrow \text{run} + u - \text{run} \]

(b) nan

\[ \text{see(4B) + PRES REDUPL} \]

\[ \text{nan} \rightarrow \text{nan} + a - \text{nan} \]

In (2.5-180) we see the operation of Rule C followed by Rule E, on the output of Rule A.

(2.5-180) (a) run

\[ \text{cry(4E) + PAST PUNCT REDUPL} \]

\[ \text{run} \rightarrow \text{run} + \gamma - \text{run} + u - \text{run} \]

(b) gep

\[ \text{cook(5A) + PAST PUNCT REDUPL} \]

\[ \text{gep} \rightarrow \text{gep} + e - \text{gep} + e - \text{gep} \]
2.5.16

Finally the application of the rule sequence A,D,E is shown in (2.5-181).

(2.5-181) (a) ma
\[A \text{ ma} - \text{ ma} \overset{D}{\text{ ma+n}} - \text{ ma} \overset{E}{\text{ man+a}} - \text{ ma}\]
get(5B) + PRES REDUPL REDUPL REDUPL

(b) na
\[A \text{ na} - \text{ na} \overset{D}{\text{ na+}} - \text{ na} \overset{E}{\text{ nan+a}} - \text{ na}\]
see(4B) + PAST PUNCT REDUPL REDUPL REDUPL

As noted above Rules A to E apply to verbs of all conjugations except conjugation 1 (and possibly conjugation 7 about which insufficient information is to hand). I will now examine individual deviations from this pattern conjugation by conjugation. Verbs of conjugations 1 and 3 will be discussed in detail in connection with Rule F below.

Conjugation 2 The one verb in this conjugation, yina? 'say', 'do', reduplicates according to the general rules A to E but in the past tense forms the final syllable of the REDUPL morpheme is glottalised.

(2.5-182) (a) yin?na
\[\text{ say} + \text{ FUT}\]
\[\overset{?}{\text{ yin?na}} \rightarrow \text{ yin?na}\]

(b) yini?
\[\text{ say} + \text{ PAST PUNCT}\]
\[\overset{?}{\text{ yini?}} \rightarrow \text{ yini?}\]

(c) yinama?
\[\text{ say} + \text{ PAST CONT}\]
\[\overset{?}{\text{ yinama?}} \rightarrow \text{ yinama?}\]

Conjugation 4A Verbs of this conjugation reduplicate by means of the Rules A to E quite regularly. Three verbs of this conjugation, all compounds of pu, also have alternative reduplicated forms in free variation with the regular forms. In one of these the alternative form is an example of the repetition of the verb root without the compounding verb pu. In the other two cases the final syllable of the irregular REDUPL morpheme is glottalised. The irregular forms are listed with their regular counterparts in (2.5-183).
Conjugation 4B All verbs of this conjugation regularly reduplicate by means of Rules A to E. One verb in this conjugation (wina 'forget'), after undergoing the appropriate rules, glottalises the final syllable of the REDUPL morpheme.

(2.5-184) winan → wina? - winan forget + PRES REDUPL

Conjugations 4C, 4D and 4E Verbs of these three conjugations derive reduplicated forms solely by means of Rules A to E. It should be noted, however, that very little information has been collected as yet on tumuka 'light fires for hunting', a compound of ka 'take' (4D).

Conjugation 5A Reduplication is regular, by means of Rules A to E.

Conjugation 5B Reduplication occurs according to Rules A to E with two exceptions and a number of optional alternatives in the cases of individual verbs. The first exception concerns the verb wuntu 'hide'. Reduplicated forms of wuntu resulting from Rules A to E are acceptable only if the original form has more than two syllables. (There is an alternative series of reduplicated forms for all tenses of wuntu to be discussed below.) Thus the regularly derived form in (2.5-185)(a) is impossible, being derived from a di-syllable, while that in (2.5-185) (b) is possible, being derived from a tri-syllable.
The second exception concerns the mono-syllables ta 'stand (CAUS)' and ra 'go', both PRES tense forms. Rules D and E do not appear to apply as expected to these two PRES tense forms, and the monosyllabic form is simply repeated (the dissimilation rule discussed in 1.5.4 applying to the initial stop of ta), giving rara and tatta. In fact rara is phonetically very unclear on some occasions and may undergo rules D and E, the middle syllable of the resulting rara rara being very indistinct. This requires checking.

Two verbs in conjugation 5B (ta 'stand (CAUS)' and pari 'hang up (CAUS)') along with their counterparts in conjugation 6, have initial stops and undergo a phonetic dissimilation rule. This is discussed and exemplified in 1.5.4(ii). Application of the dissimilation rule follows the application of Rules A to E where these apply.

A number of verbs in conjugation 5B have irregular reduplicated forms which are optional alternatives to those derived by Rules A to E.

(i) wuntu 'hide' has an alternative reduplicated form in which wun7- is preposed as REDUPL to the inflected form of the verb.

(ii) The compounds palkma 'catch in hand', talkma 'split', titma 'steal', jöpta 'lean against' (but not the compounds rokta 'bark at (of dog)', jîjma 'aim at') may repeat the root only (without the compounding verb) before the verb form as REDUPL. Compare Rule F below. In (2.5-187) the two alternative reduplicated forms on the right of each arrow are in free variation. The second in each case is derived by Rules A to E, the first by Rule F.
(2.5-187) (a) palkmiya
  catch + PAST PUNCT
  {palk - palkmiya
  palkmi - palkmiya
  REDUPL

(b) ṭaptanara
  lean + FUT
  {ṭap - ṭaptanara
  ṭapta - ṭaptanara
  REDUPL

One isolated reduplicated form of ṭapta has been found in which the final \( p \) in the REDUPL root is lost.

(2.5-188) ṭaptiya
  lean + PAST PUNCT
  REDUPL

(iii) A group of verbs in this conjugation has root medial geminate stops. These verbs are muttu 'show', netto 'keep', pulttu 'cover for cooking' and koṭṭo 'put (in bag)'. These verbs have reduplicated forms based either on their normal underlying forms with medial geminate stop or on an alternative underlying form with only a single medial stop.

(2.5-189) (a) muttiŋ
  show + PAST CONT
  *muttiŋ
  mutti - muttiŋ
  REDUPL

(b) pulttuŋa
  cover + FUT
  *pulttuŋa
  pultu - pulttuŋa
  REDUPL

Unlike the underlying form with a geminate stop, the alternative with a single stop is not permissible as a surface form (see the asterisks in (2.5-189)) except in the PAST PUNCT form of muttu 'show' and pulttu 'cover for cooking', giving surface forms muttiya or mutiya, pulttiya or pultiya. The alternative reduplicated form of koṭṭo is only possible where the final syllable of the REDUPL morpheme is glottalised.
Conjugation 5C No information is to hand regarding reduplication of kappa 'frighten'.

Conjugation 6 Rules A to E apply regularly to reduplicate verbs of conjugation 6. Following application of Rules A to E the dissimilation rule discussed in 1.5.4(ii) applies to reduplicated forms of poru 'hang up (6A)' and turu 'stand (6B)'.

Verbs of conjugations 1 and 3 regularly reduplicate by means of Rule F instead of Rules A to E. The application of this rule will be discussed separately for each conjugation.

Rule F The verb root (without stem-forming suffixes, tense/aspect suffixes or compounding verbs) is repeated before the verb form.

Conjugation 1 Note that for the very common di-syllabic verb roots of conjugation 1 (and conjugation 3) Rule F generates the same REDUPL morpheme as Rule A would do. This is not so for mono-syllabic roots where Rule F, unlike Rule A, does not apply to a whole di-syllabic tense-marked form.

\[(2.5-190)\]

\[\begin{align*}
\text{kōtōmīn} + & \text{kōto} - \text{kōtōmīn} \\
\text{*kōtōmīn} + & \begin{cases} 
\text{kōto} - \text{kōtōmīn} \\
\text{*kōto} - \text{kōtōmīn}
\end{cases} \\
\text{put} + \text{PAST PUNCT} & \text{REDUPL}
\end{align*}\]

Conjugation 6 Rules A to E apply regularly to reduplicate verbs of conjugation 6. Following application of Rules A to E the dissimilation rule discussed in 1.5.4(ii) applies to reduplicated forms of poru 'hang up (6A)' and turu 'stand (6B)'.

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\[(2.5-191)\]

\[\begin{align*}
\text{tōto?mīn} + & \text{tōto} - \text{tōto?mīn} \\
\text{descend} + \text{PAST PUNCT} & \text{REDUPL} \\
\text{tāl?mīn} + & \text{tāl?} - \text{tāl?mīn} \\
\text{roast} - \text{PAST PUNCT} & \text{REDUPL} \\
\text{tōmma} + & \text{tōm} - \text{tōmma} \\
\text{drink} + \text{FUT} & \text{REDUPL} \\
\text{kur?wāmīn} + & \text{kur?war} - \text{kur?wāmīn} \\
\text{shoot} + \text{PAST PUNCT} & \text{REDUPL}
\end{align*}\]
pamkul 'sit with head bowed', the only known tri-syllabic root in this conjugation, and yolkyolk or yolyol 'tell a story' both have no reduplicated form by Rule F (unless yolkyolk is to be understood as an obligatorily reduplicated form of *yolk).

şay? 'be broken' does not reduplicate according to Rule F. Its reduplicated form is şayýşay? which may be some form of two-syllable reduplication resembling the output of Rules A to E.

The verb tet 'cut', 'graze' has not only a reduplicated form derived by Rule F, but also one derived by Rules A, C and E, provided we reformulate Rule C to change all final laminal consonants to y, rather than just laminal nasals. Thus tettet and teyetet are in free variation as reduplicated forms of the verb root tet.

Two verbs of conjugation lose root final consonants from the REDUPL morpheme. These verbs are pajar 'to rub something onto something else' and tumpal 'to be at a loss to do anything'.

(2.5-192)(a) paýarıp
rub + PAST PUNCT REDUPL

(b) tumpalýmín
be at a loss + PAST PUNCT REDUPL

Note finally the two possible reduplicated forms discovered for a stem consisting of the COM TRANSVR prefix re (2.5.6) and a mono-syllabic root of conjugation 1. The two alternatives, in free variation, are given in (2.5-193).

(2.5-193) re - týý - mín
COM TRANSVR - return - PAST PUNCT re - týý - týýmin

Conjugation 3 This conjugation consists of transitive verbs derived using the ka CAUS suffix (2.5.8). The general rule for reduplication in this conjugation is Rule F. The root only, without the CAUS suffix, is repeated before the form.
If, in a verb of conjugation 3, a di-syllabic root ends with an oral stop this stop may be optionally deleted upon reduplication. Thus two freely varying alternatives occur to the right of each arrow in (2.5-195).

An alternative form of reduplication exists for verbs of conjugation 3 derived from mono-syllabic roots (plus the CAUS suffix) with the exception of mono-syllabic roots with a final oral stop. This alternative involves application of Rule A rather than Rule F. These two alternatives are set side by side in (2.5-196) with the relevant rule number in parentheses.

In (2.5-197), however, Rule A may not apply since the root *tiq* has a final oral stop.
2.5.16

(2.5-197) ʒiŋkaŋ → {
    ʒiŋ - ʒiŋkaŋ (A)
    ʒiŋ - ʒiŋkaŋ (F)
}

The treatment of exceptional cases above has been rather ad hoc. The nett result of Rules A to E is the preposing of exactly two syllables, the second an open syllable, before the verb form. This is the predominant pattern of reduplication for conjugations 2, 4, 5 and 6. Rule F, the preposing of the verb root alone without inflection before the verb form, predominates in conjugations 1 and 3. Each pattern, sometimes in modified form, appears in some of the exceptions to the other. Glottalisation of the final syllable of the REDUPL morpheme and loss of final consonants from the REDUPL morpheme to produce an open syllable are recurrent features of the exceptional and alternative formations.

2.5.16.2 Reduplication - Function The function of verb reduplication is something which was very difficult to elicit from informants. Most of the comments made below are thus based fairly heavily on my own (admittedly unreliable) intuitions, and upon deductions from the context of textual occurrences of reduplicated verb forms.

The frequency of use of reduplicated forms relative to the total number of verb forms varies from text to text and from informant to informant. Normally less than a tenth of the verbs in a given text are reduplicated.

The various functions of verb reduplication listed here are by no means clearly distinguishable from one another, and there is considerable overlap between them. Verb reduplication seems to serve much the same purpose as the PROGR suffix (2.5.12). The marking of durative aspect appears to be the main function of verbal reduplication.

(1) Durative - Reduplication of a verb form seems to indicate that an activity continued for some time, or it makes reference to an activity as in progress, rather than as completed. It should, in this sense, perhaps be called 'imperfective' aspect.
We sat there [all evening] talking and telling stories.

The phonetic lengthening of the verb final vowel in this and other verbs signifies durative aspect.

The use of the durative aspect and of repetition here helps to build up suspense.
(2.5-201) țimpiță - φ

ya - maipi? - maipi? - mîn
head for fish spear - NOM 3min.0 + 1/2min.A - REDUPL - make -

șeŋ - φ

ya - waŋa - miri -
PAST PUNCT fish - NOM 30 + 1/2min.A - CONT -

miri - ya

ya - waŋa -
REDUPL - spear - PAST PUNCT 30 + 1/2min.A - CONT -

țajkuku - mîn

ya - nguyu - ñu - n [29/129-131]
- roast - PAST PUNCT 30 + 1/2min.A - REDUPL - eat - PAST PUNCT
- We made a head for a fish spear (by sharpening a steel bar). We speared a lot of fish, cooked them and ate them.

(i) Iterative - This is really a form of durative, determined by the semantic nature of the individual verbs. It indicates, for instance, plurality of objects or repetition of activity. See (2.5-201) above and (2.5-202) to (2.5-204).

(2.5-202) ța - kurîwar - mîn

lit - yi? 3min.0 + 1min.A - shoot - PAST PUNCT lead* - INSTR

waŋkîŋ ő - kuwan - yuť - mîn.
one 3min.S - afraid - run - PAST PUNCT

ța - kurîwar - kurîwar - yumaŋ [29/104-106]
3min.0 + 1min.A - REDUPL - shoot - PROGR + PAST PUNCT
- I shot [the buffalo] once with a lead and it ran away.
- I shot it several more times as it went.

(2.5-203) rîkurpulu - φ

ŋa - mî - ya
[type stone for spears] - NOM 30 + 1min.A - get - PAST PUNCT

bag* - ALL 30 + 1min.A - REDUPL - put - PAST PUNCT
- I got some rîkurpulu and put it (many pieces) in a bag.

(2.5-204) țattu - φ

yar - miya - mî - ya [29/99]
cycad nuts - NOM 30 + laug.A - REDUPL - get - PAST PUNCT
- We collected cycad nuts.
(iii) **Connective 'while'** - Reduplication of a verb form may perform an important function connecting two clauses. It indicates that one event occurs while the other (with reduplicated verb) is in progress. Again this appears to be simply an extension of the notion of durative or imperfective aspect. This is the only function of verbal reduplication that it has been possible to check satisfactorily by elicitation. Contrast (2.5-205) and (2.5-206).

(2.5-205) ηa - poṭop - poṭop - mîn
lîmin.S - REDUPL - cross (river) - PAST PUNCT

ηa - peṭeṣ - ṭw? - mîn
lîmin.S - almost - fall - PAST PUNCT
- While I was crossing the river I almost fell over.

(2.5-206) ηa - poṭop - mîn
ηa - peṭeṣ - ṭw? - mîn
lîmin.S - cross - PAST PUNCT lîmin.S - almost - fall - PAST PUNCT
- I crossed the river and nearly fell over [on the other side].

See also the text examples (2.5-207) and (2.5-208).

(2.5-207) ťîn?kal? -  vídeos
[stone type] - NOM 30 + lîmin.A - get - PAST PUNCT

ηa - ţîq - ţîq - mîn
nîtanta
lîmin.S - REDUPL - return - PAST PUNCT 3min.PRON

yukkan?ta ɒ - re - ţîq - mawq [27/45-46]
in front 30 + 3min.A - COM TRANSVR - return - PAST CONT
- I got some stone and was coming back. Meanwhile he brought [the buffalo meat] back before I got there.

(2.5-208) yarappa? - wɔj - wɔj - mîn
yukka?,
luaug.S - REDUPL - hurry - PAST PUNCT ahead

[name] - NOM 3min.EMPH 3min.S - shout - PAST PUNCT
- We (two) were hurrying along when namorara called out [to attract our attention].
2.5.16

(iv) Emphatic - In an example such as (2.5-209) it may be possible to interpret the use of reduplication as some sort of emphatic or intensifying device.

(2.5-209) kuwa qa - mapiŋ - mə lit - ø
PURP 3O + lmin.A - make - PAST CF lead* - NOM

qa - kurwər - mə
3min.O + lmin.A - shoot - PAST CF

qa - tumpa - tumpal? - nîn
tin - kan [29/38-39]
lmin.S - REDUPL - be at a loss - PAST PUNCT tin* - DAT
- I wanted to make a 'lead' (by melting shotgun pellets into a solid bullet) and I would have shot [a buffalo] but I simply couldn't do anything at all on account of [my lack of] a tobacco tin (in which to melt the lead pellets over a fire).

Finally it is appropriate to note that the same durative functions are sometimes performed by reduplication of other words in the sentence, or of elements prefixed to verbs. This has not been investigated but the following examples give some idea.

(2.5-210) qa - mojo - mojo - wa - wip
3min.IMPL + lmin.A - REDUPL - track - follow - PAST PUNCT
- I followed its track (all the way down to the billabong).

(2.5-211) watte paya - moni - moni - na - na
behind 3aug.O + 1/2min.A - REDUPL - unobserved - see - FUT
- [After the others have gone] we'll be able to watch them without being seen.

(2.5-212) yirpe yirpe yarappa? - ro - qî - yumap
"desert" "desert" luaug.S - go - INFIN - PROGR + PAST PUNCT
- We were walking along a dry place ("desert").

68 I am uncertain whether this REDUPL morpheme has the form moni or mono, but I would predict moni on the basis of the observed reduplicated verb forms to date. The informant speaks rather indistinctly.
2.5.16

(2.5-213) yukka? yukka? yukka? ahead ahead ahead

luag.S - CONT - go - INFIN - PROGR + PAST PUNCT ahead
- We kept on walking.

2.6 ADVERBS

Adverbs are largely uninflected words which modify clauses and define location, time, manner etc. There is as yet little clear formal justification for setting up this class, and the limits of the class are rather uncertain. One can say, however, that adverbs (like some pronouns and like demonstratives) are distinguished from nominals by being unable to be verbalised. NPs inflected with local or time suffixes perform similar adverbial functions to the words discussed below. Adverbs can be divided (on an intuitive semantic basis) into Local, Temporal and Other Adverbs. What follows is, in effect, an annotated list of adverbs.

2.6.1 Local Adverbs

2.6.1.1 Spatial Orientation (i) The first group of local adverbs to be discussed consists of six adverbs signifying various spatial orientations. The reason for distinguishing this group of six adverbs is that each of the adverbs of this group has varying forms based upon the MOTION-POSITION and TO-FROM features postulated in discussing the (external) local case suffixes (2.2.4.3). The basic forms of these six adverbs refer to position while motion from is marked by the ABL suffix -wala (with modifications in two cases to stem or suffix) and motion to is marked by a prefix yu coupled with glottalisation of the stem final syllable. Modification of the stem occurs in one or maybe two cases. The six position adverbs are listed followed by a gloss, and then by the ALL (motion to) and ABL (motion from) forms in that order.

pe 'north' yupe? pewala
karin 'west' yukarin? karinwala
walam 'south' yulam? walamala
wura 'east' yura? (?yuwura?) warawala
kara 'up' yukara? karawala
watto 'behind' (opposite of 'in the lead') yuwatto? wattowala
2.6.1

Contrast, for example, (2.6-1), (2.6-2) and (2.6-3)

(2.6-1) 

mara nan? karir ka - yi - tiyi
like this west(LOC) 3min.S - yi - stand - PAST PUNCT

mutta - á - ma [37/88-89]
sun - NOM - ma
- The sun was standing like this (pointing) in the west.
  (i.e. a measure of the time of day)

(2.6-2) 

á - puțțup - yuman yukari? [28/30]
3min.S - gallop - PROGR + PAST PUNCT west (ALL)
- [The buffalo] galloped off westwards.

(2.6-3) 

karirwala mana - á - ma ka - yi - pu - nin [37/41]
w west(ABL) wind - NOM - ma 3min.S - yi - hit - PAST CONT
- The wind was blowing from the west.

(ii) There is a small group of adverbs referring to vertical orientation, one of which has already been listed in (i) above. These are

    kara 'up' 'outside'
    yara 'down' 'inside'
    yira? 'down-river'
  cf. yara?wala 'down-river (ABL)'

kara has different forms for position, motion to and motion from as listed in (i). The limited number of examples of yira? which are to hand all involve motion towards. yara, on the other hand, can be used to indicate either motion or position. yara most commonly occurs in combination

69 I am not certain whether this should be considered a transitive or a (very unusual) intransitive use of pu 'hit'. If the former then the gloss for the prefix should read 3min.O + 3min.A, but there is no clear object NP. Other informants maintain that the use of pu to mean 'blow' of the wind (mana) is impossible. Contrast the TR verb pu? of conjugation 1 (PAST CONT pu?man) which means 'to blow' with didgeridoo or fire as O. In any case this dispute does not affect the point here which is the use of karirwala.
with another adverbial form (such as a case inflected NP) which makes explicit whether position or motion is involved and the direction of any motion. Sentences (2.6-4) to (2.6-7) exemplify the varying uses of *yara*. Compare also (2.2-25).

(2.6-4) yara ke?te ka - yi - ñere - yuwen [43/107] inside (?) well 3min.S - yi - asleep - lie + PAST CONT - Well he was sleeping inside [the bark hut].

(2.6-5) parppu? ka - yi - pene - wañ? - min yara [43/59] soon 3min.S - yi - pene - look - PAST PUNCT down - Then he looked down (from up in the tree).

(2.6-6) yara wila - ¿ha ka - ñere - yuru [8/37] inside hole - LOC 3min.S - asleep - lie + PRES - [Flying fox] sleeps inside a hole.


*kara* and *yara* may be used with verbs of speaking or of shouting in the senses 'loudly' and 'softly' respectively.

(iii) A number of secondary forms are derived from the orientational adverbs listed in (i) and (ii). There are two basic means of derivation - reduplication or the suffix *-kkun*? (subject to the suffixal stop dissimilation rules (1.5.4)). Reduplicated forms appear to have the same meaning as the forms from which they are derived, but clear information is lacking. Those reduplicated forms found so far are:

70 The use of both *kaña?* and *kok* to refer to this hut may indicate that the distinction between the two types of bark is neutralised when in the form of a hut. The hut follows the same design, only the material differs.
Forms derived by means of the -kkun? suffix appear to indicate either position or motion towards. They may carry the ABL suffix -wala to indicate motion from. Forms encountered so far are

karinkun?  'west'
 wurrakkun?  'east'
 karakkun?  'up'
yarakkun?  'down'

These last two are said by informants to exist only in the kaituy? dialect. In the north-eastern dialect they take the form

karakku?  'up'
yarakku?  'down'

The use of -kkun? with the points of the compass, as noted above, appears to be equally possible in both dialects, but does not occur in any text material so far.

karakk? and yarakku? and their kaituy? counterparts are often used with a meaning narrowed down to topographical reference to rivers. Thus karakk? often means 'on high ground', 'away from the water', 'in the yirppa' ("desert") country'. yarakku? means 'by the water/river'.

(2.6-8) kappun - ?ka? karakku? yara - yi - petpu - wa [38/161-162]
place - ALL up laug.S - yi - climb - PAST PUNCT
- We went up [-hill] to kappun.

71 yirppa means "desert" in the informants' English and refers to any area without surface water such as creeks, billabongs, rivers.
2.6.1

(2.6-9) yarakku? yara - yeppa? - ṭum? - ṭin? [29/78]
  down   laug.S - UAUOM - sleep - PAST FUNCT
- We slept down [by the river].

These forms, like kara and yara, occur frequently in combination with other adverbials, particularly case-marked NPs. See (2.6-8) and (2.6-10).

(2.6-10) yarakku? puwa - ṭa? ka - tu?u
  down   river - LOC 3S - stand + PRES

metul? - ṭ [31/16]
[type spear tree] - NOM
- Down at the river there are metul? trees.

(iv) Five adverbs, in addition to the points of the compass mentioned in (i), deal with horizontal orientation. These are

kuṭu?ppu? 'this way' (toward speaker)

kura? } 'that way' (away from speaker)
kutta? }
  (=kaltuy? kutta? )

yukka? 'ahead' 'in the lead' 'forward'

watte 'behind' 'subsequent'

kuṭu?ppu? and kura?/kutta? are deictic adverbs which normally indicate the direction of motion. Both have been elicited with verbs of position and in these cases mean something like 'on this side (of something else)' and 'over there' respectively. These forms are not inflected, but a form kuttanta does exist with the same meaning as kutta?.

72 kaltuy? kuta? corresponds to the northern dialect kura?. This is the same phonological correspondence as was noted between ra?(nawa) and kaltuy? ta?(nawa) where the r > t rule is context dependent in the northern dialect but general in all environments in kaltuy? (1.5.3).
2.6.1

that way southwards 2aug.S - UAUGH - go out - FUT
- Emerge [from the hut] towards the south! (Attackers
were surrounding the other three sides.)

(2.6-12) kwen - ḏ kura? ka - tuṛu
kangaroo - NOM over there 3min.S - stand + PRES
- A kangaroo is standing over there.

yukka? and watte, by virtue of their reference to a sequence,
also have temporal implications?3 as is shown by examples (2.6-13) to
(2.6-15). An alternative form yukkan?ta is very common. watte may be
inflected as set out in (1) above. See also examples (2.5-211) and
(2.6-13).

(2.6-13) tiŋ? - ḏ watte para - niyi [43/47]
woman - NOM behind 3aug.S - sit + PAST PUNCT
- The women stayed behind.

(2.6-14) ḏinta - yi? yukkan?ta ṣa - yi - kunți - yuṭ - mĩn
lmin.PRON - ERG in the lead lmin.S - yi - stalking - go
nĩ?ta - ma watte - wala [37/64]
on foot - PAST PUNCT 3min.PRON - ma behind - ABL
- I sneaked up [on her] in front, he came behind me.

(2.6-15) yukkan?ta narappa? - ḏat - ta
in the lead 30 + 2uaug.A - poison water - FUT
maŋar - yi? [32/89]
itchy tree 74 - ERG
- You two take first turn poisoning the water with the maŋar.

73 Compare the temporal adverbs nayukka?(kan) and nayulyuyuki, both
meaning 'a long time ago', 'in the old days', 'in the "Dream Time"'.
74 Barringtonia acutangula (Itchy tree).
2.6.1

(v) The form *kumur* 'towards' stands before directional (motion towards) adverbs, the combination meaning, 'facing in...direction' or '[move] in the direction of...'.

(2.6-16) malpājakap - wala pan? - wala φ - worowk - mīŋ

[place] - ABL here - ABL 3min.S - jump - PAST PUNCT

*kumur* yura? [13/22-23]
towards eastwards
- [The saratoga fish] jumped from here, from malpājakap, towards the east.

(2.6-17) parappa? - kunwa - mīŋ ḫulu? - wala
30 + 3aug.A - chase - PAST CONT [tree type] - ABL

*kumur* yarakkun? [9/12-13]
towards down
- They (two) were chasing each bull in turn downwards from the (?) lancewood tree(s).

2.6.1.2 Spatial Separation There is a group of local adverbs specifying horizontal separation or distance. These are

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adverb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>palay</td>
<td>'far' 'already'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>payukka?</td>
<td>'far'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pawula?</td>
<td>'far'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wula?</td>
<td>'close'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pelenta?</td>
<td>'close'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>puljjan</td>
<td>'in the middle' 'among'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kojowy?</td>
<td>'on the way' 'part way'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notice the apparent use of the nominal prefix *pa* (2.2.3) in the derivation of the first three of these forms. *pa*pelenta? has been encountered once but seems to be less acceptable than *pelenta?*. The first five of this list are either allative or locative in sense while the remaining two, *puljian* and *kojowy?*, are locative only. *Payukka?* can take the ABL suffix -wala. *Palay* appears to be primarily a temporal adverb meaning 'already' or 'long since', but in a few examples it appears to refer to distance in space rather than time.
No order of magnitude of distance between palay, payukka?, pawu?a? and wupa? has been ascertained. There is considerable variation in the reference of each.

(2.6-18) kok - kan takku - ṭ pawu?a?
bark hut - DAT child - NOM far

para - kaļuk - mon [37/51-52]
3aug.S - play - PAST CONT
- The children were playing some distance from the hut(s).

again 1/2aug.S - go - FUT 3min.IMPL + 1/2aug.A - body -

payukka? [27/53]
cut - FUT far
- "We'll go back with you and cut [the buffalo] up."
- "It's too far away."

(2.6-20) ṭ - par - yimaŋ poluŋ - ṭ
3min.S - burn - PROGR + PAST PUNCT Rainbow - NOM

pelenta? [10/31-32]
close
- The Rainbow came closer, burning [like a fire] as it went.

(2.6-21) parppu? ka - yi - pene- waŋ? - mïn
then 3min.S - yi - pene - look - PAST PUNCT

pulṭṭap ka - tuṛu ŋanapparu - ṭ [28/16]
in the middle 3min.S - stand + PRES buffalo - NOM
- Just then he caught sight of the buffalo standing in
  the middle [of the camp].
2.6.1

(2.6-22) \(\text{țiin}k\text{ăla} - \phi\) par - \(yappa\) - poțo - min
[stone type] - NOM 30 + 3aug.A - UAUGM - put - PAST PUNCT

kilo\v{w}oy \(\ldots\) par - \(yappa\) - \(\text{rê} - \tilde{s}\) - min \[31/10-12\]
on the way 30 + 3aug.A - UAUGM - COM TRANSVR - go past - PAST PUNCT

- They (two) put \(\text{țiin}k\text{ăla}\) down there (on their way) \(...\)
  but [the ma\v{n}ar (red ochre)] they carried further on.

By extension pul\c{t}\u{a}n 'in the middle' is used with time reference in the phrase ko\c{k}ko\c{k} pul\c{t}\u{a}n (= night middle) 'in the middle of the night'.

2.6.2 Temporal Adverbs

2.6.2.1 Temporal Deixis An important group of temporal adverbs consists of deictic time adverbs, so called because they relate the content of the clause in which they appear to the time of utterance. Some of these will be mentioned again in non-deictic contexts below.

(i) tawa? 'today' 'now'

(ii) tapar\u{a}m? 'yesterday' 'in the recent past'
  kekkul 'in the recent past'
  mī\c{s}inta? 'in the distant past', in the "Dream nayukka?(kan) Time", 'in the old days'
  nayu\v{y}ukki

(iii) ku\c{t}ar\c{t}či 'tomorrow'
  ku\c{t}ar? 'in the near future'
  warikkul 'immediately (FUT)'
  wake 'afterwards (FUT)'

(i) tawa? is the only one of these adverbs which may occur with verbs in both past and non-past tenses. It has the meanings 'earlier today' and 'later today' respectively with these groups of tenses. Compare also the use of tawa? in (2.6-35).
2.6.2

(2.6-23)  
Oh here - ABL today 3aug.S - get up - PAST PUNCT  
- "Oh. They left here just today." (i.e. 'earlier today' to judge by the still-smoking camp fires there)

(2.6-24)  
tawa? parppu? na - mara - nata  
today soon 3min.O + lmin.A - spear - Fut  
- "I'll spear him today." (i.e. 'later today')

(i) tapara?, kekku, mittinta?, nayu?yunki and nayukka?(kan) are all used only with past tense verbs. tapara? may mean 'yesterday' as in (2.6-25) but it can indicate quite a wide range of past times provided these are not seen as very distant or associated with the beginnings of the world or of traditions. In this tapara? contrasts with mittinta?, nayukka? and nayu?yunki. tapara? is the equivalent of the incorporated adverb (verb prefix) tappa (2.5.13.2). See particularly example (2.5-144) in which tapara? is reduplicated and used to refer to the past of thirty years before.

(2.6-25)  
yesterday here 3aug.S - get up - PAST PUNCT  
kulkkwual tapa  
new camp  
- "They left here only yesterday. It's a new camp."

kekku appears to cover the same range of meaning as tapara? with the exception of the specific meaning 'yesterday'. Compare examples (2.2-71) and (2.5-144).

The terms mittinta?, nayukka?(kan) and nayu?yunki mean 'long ago', 'in the old days', 'in the "Dream Time"' and have a definite aura of history about them. They refer to a conceptually more distant and more traditionally orientated past period than tapara? or kekku. They refer also to the world-creative period commonly referred to by white people as the 'Dream Time' or the 'Dreaming'. This is the period when the world as it is now known was set up and the 'law' given. To see the contrast between these two groups of past temporal adverbs compare (2.6-26) to (2.6-29) with (2.2-71), (2.5-144) and (2.6-25).
2.6.2

(2.6-26)  po?por? - yi? paran - ti? - meq
possum - ERG  3aug.0 + 3min.A - hit - PAST CONT

long ago  long ago
- The possum killed them (people) long ago. (Mythol.)

NEG  long ago  INDEF - ERG  30 + 3min.A + REL - eat -
PAST CF
- No-one (i.e. no women or children) would eat [ceremonial
food] in the old days (or 'under the old law'). (Custom)

laug.EMPH  long ago  old people  long ago

kantana yar - mi - ya  [38/78-79]
law  30 + laug.A - get - PAST PUNCT
- Long ago we old people got/had the law.

(2.6-29)  munaja - 6  para - yappa? - tfur? - min
white man - NOM  3aug.S - UAUGM - sit (INCHOAT) - PAST PUNCT

long ago  long ago
- In those days, long ago, these two white men came to
live [at Milingimbi]. (The reference is, I think,
to some time in the 1920s - fifty years before the time
of utterance.)

(iii)  kutar?i, kutar?, warikku, wata  are all used with future tense
verbs.  warikku 'immediately' has also been found to occur with the hortative
use of the anomalous verb, me? 'went' (e.g. warikku yaman 'Let's go straight
away.' cf. 2.5.4). warikku is generally used only in a hortative or imper­
ative sense and may not be incorporated into the verb.
2.6.2

(2.6-30)  φ - mone! - yip       warikku
            3min.S - lest - get dark immediately

paya - waŋta - wa - na  [32/61-62]
3aug.IMPL + 1/2min.A - tracks - follow - FUT
- It might get dark (Before it gets dark...) Let's follow
  their tracks straight away.

wata means 'later on', 'afterwards' and always appears with the adverb
parppu? 'until' and with a FUT tense verb.

(2.6-31)  pan? maštinip? 'parppu? wata
here too      until   afterwards

ŋa - maŋiŋ? - ŋa  [33/28-29]
3min.0 + lmin.A - build - FUT
- Here too. Later on (next time) I'll build [a yard] here.

kušarši means strictly 'tomorrow' and may not refer to the more distant
future. (Contrast taparaŋ? which can have wider reference than just
'yesterday'.) kušar? refers to a more distant, or rather more indefinite
point of time in the future. Both occur only with a FUT tense verb.

(2.6-32)  kaša kušarši wawa?
          ŋa - pak - miŋippu - na [43/38]
Oh      tomorrow   older brother 3min.IMPL + lmin.A - IMPLIC -
        know - FUT
- Oh. I'll let my brother know tomorrow.

(2.6-33)  wamut - φ
            munku   kušar?
[subsection name] - NOM perhaps in the near future

ka - ro - ŋaŋa    panta - ?ka?  [27/113-114]
3min.S - go - FUT here - ALL
- Perhaps wamut will come up here in the next couple of days.
2.6.2 Temporal Location The following words indicate location in time irrespective of the relation to the utterance in which they occur. Three of these words appear to be nominals (marked '(N)') but are included here because they are both semantically related to the adverbs and also commonly used in adverbial function. (i) and (ii) are perhaps more like sentence connectives or particles.

(i) parppu' 'until'
(ii) miṭṭinta? 'long before'
(iii) kekkupur? (N) 'day time'
   koļkoļk (N) 'night time (dark)'
(iv) taparaŋ?na 'in the afternoon'
     kuṭarṭina 'in the morning'
     ērantalttal(N) 'middle of the day'

(i) parppu? indicates a point in time, relating it to what precedes. Hence the translation 'until' which, however, is not really satisfactory. In farewelling someone the forms parppu? kuṭarṭi 'until tomorrow' and parppu pryaṭettä 'until Friday' would be the equivalent of English 'See you tomorrow' and 'See you (on) Friday' respectively. Examples (2.6-34) to (2.6-36) will clarify the use of this adverb which frequently occurs modifying other adverbs. See also (2.6-24) and (2.6-31). parppu? may not be incorporated into a VC.

(2.6-34) ya - ṛum? - ma parppu? kuṭarṭi
   1/2min.S - sleep - FUT until tomorrow

   ya - ḍo - ᵕa [28/3-4]
   1/2min.S - go - FUT
   - Let's go to sleep and tomorrow we'll go [away].
2.6.2

(2.6-35) kuwa tawa? - ma ŋura? - ṝ
PURP now - ma fire - NOM

ka - yi - ma - ŋə, parppu?
30 + 3min.A - yi - get - PAST CF until

ka - yi - pana - waŋ? - mĩp pulṣt̪aŋ
3min.S - yi - pana - look - PAST PUNCT in the middle

ka - turu ŋanapparu - ṝ [28/15-16]
3min.S - stand + PRES buffalo - NOM
- He was just about to get fire (make up a fire) when he caught sight of the buffalo standing in the middle [of the camp].

(2.6-36) paran - waŋta - wa - wiŋ
3aug.IMPL + 3min.A - tracks - follow - PAST CONT until

ka - yi - pana - waŋa - ṝ taparaŋna
30 + 3min.A - yi - pana - hear - PAST PUNCT in the afternoon

para - kaw? - ṝ [43/96-97]
3aug.S - shout - PRES
- He followed their tracks [all day] and until he heard them calling out [to each other] in the afternoon.

(11) miṣšinta? sometimes occurs in non-deictic use. In this case it means 'long before' instead of the more usual 'long ago'. Compare (2.6-37) with (2.6-26) to (2.6-29).

(2.6-37) watū ṝ - ọtọ? - mĩp, miṣšinta?
behind 3min.S - dawn - PAST PUNCT long before

yara - yappa? - ọtọ? - mep [27/69]
laug.S - ULUGM - descend - PAST CONT
- Dawn came behind us. We had been going down long before.
(iii) The day (24 hours) is divided into two parts kołkkokłj 'night time' (when it is dark) and kekkupur? 'day time' when the light of the sun is available (including twilight). Both these words may well be nominals and are often inflected with the DAT suffix -kan.

(2.6-38) melak kekkupur? - kan yere - paṣa - te - na
NEG day time - DAT laug.S + REL - rub - REFLEX - PAST CF

wapa, kołkkokłj - kan [38/68]
no night time - DAT
- It wasn't day time when we rubbed ourselves [with white ochre], it was at night.

(2.6-39) yara - yappa? - po! - miɲ kołkkokłj [27/19]
laug.S - UAUGM - arrive - PAST PUNCT night time
- We arrived at night (after dark).

(iv) The daytime kekkupur? is divided into three: tarantalttal (a nominal) refers to that part of the day when the sun is high overhead and one feels its heat on the top of the head. The word kekkupur? itself is sometimes used as the equivalent of tarantalttal. The time concerned would be from about 10 or 11 a.m. to 1 or 2 p.m. The time prior to that, especially the very early hours of daylight, is rendered by the adverb kuarSSina, while the time following tarantalttal, especially the late afternoon, is rendered by the adverb taparaw?na. Both these terms are clearly derived from the deictic adverbs for 'tomorrow' and 'yesterday' (2.6.2.1). With a FUT tense verb kuarSSina often means 'tomorrow morning' while with the past tense taparaw?na often means 'yesterday afternoon'. Both kuarSSina and taparaw?na have equivalent incorporated (verb prefix) forms - tanip and tappa respectively (2.5.13). See examples (2.6-36), (2.6-40) and (2.6-44).

(2.6-40) kuarSSina ø - ọṣọ? - miɲ [37/145]
in the morning 3min.S - dawn - PAST PUNCT
- In the morning (next morning) dawn broke.
2.6.2 226

Garantaltal is a nominal, being able to be verbalised, but it often functions as a temporal sentence modifier as in (2.6-41).

(2.6-41) mamloa garantaltal tina - φ - ma
[place] middle of the day lunch* - NOM - ma

eyar - ηu - n [33/35]
30 + laug.A - eat - PAST PUNCT
- At mamloa we ate our lunch in the middle of the day.

2.6.2.3 Duration and Iteration. A number of adverbs refer to extent of time, number of occasions etc. These include

mam 'still' 'not yet'
mupuy CONTINUOUS
ma?kun 'again' 'once more'

All these adverbs could be classed as indicating some sort of continuous aspect. mam indicates continuation in a certain course instead of a potential change of course. Compare (2.6-42) and (2.6-43).

(2.6-42) mam malak yere - yappa? - ro - ηa,
still NEG laug.S + REL - UAUGM - go - PAST CF

mam yara - yappa? - niyi [27/64-65]
still laug.S - UAUGM - sit + PAST PUNCT
- We didn't go yet. We still stayed there.

(2.6-43) mam. ηa - pawk - φ [43/23]
not yet lmin.S - speak - PRES
- "Just a minute! I'm [in the middle of] talking."

Mupuy and ma?kun can both be used alone as single utterances meaning 'Keep going!' Mupuy? is so used where the activity referred to is seen as a continuous process, ma?kun occurs where the activity is repetitive in nature. Ma?kun refers only to a single repetition while mupuy? may have
2.6.2

Iterative force, referring to continuous repetition. 

\textit{mu\textsuperscript{uy}?} may refer to continuous action or repetition throughout a given time span as in example (2.6-44). \textit{mu\textsuperscript{uy}?} appears to be equivalent to the CONT verb prefix (incorporated adverb) \textit{wana} (2.5.13.1).

(2.6-44) \textit{ku\textsuperscript{utar}t\textsuperscript{inta mu\textsuperscript{uy}? $\phi - wana - \mathcal{t}al? - yimap} [43/18]}

\begin{verbatim}
 in the morning CONT 3min.0 + 3min.A - CONT - roast - PROGR + PAST PUNCT
\end{verbatim}

- He roasted it right through the morning. (Context indicates that he roasted it several times during the morning.)

(2.6-45) \textit{ma\textsuperscript{kun yara - yuwep. ma\textsuperscript{kun}} [33/40]}

\begin{verbatim}
 once more laug.S - lie + PAST CONT once more
\end{verbatim}

\begin{verbatim}
yara - yuwep laug.S - lie + PAST CONT
- We slept two more nights there. (lit. 'We slept once more. We slept once more.')
\end{verbatim}

Also to be discussed here are adverbial uses of some nominals, particularly numerals:

- \textit{wa\textsuperscript{ykin}} 'one'
- \textit{ya\textsuperscript{ppan?}} 'two'
- \textit{ku\textsuperscript{ulpur}} 'three'
- \textit{\textsuperscript{tupul}} 'many'
- \textit{ka\textsuperscript{li\textsuperscript{t}}} 'other'

Apart from \textit{ka\textsuperscript{li\textsuperscript{t}}} these nominals are used to indicate the number of separate occurrences of an activity. A comparison of (2.6-46) and (2.6-47) shows that this can refer to the number of occurrences with a single subject, or to single occurrences with each member of a multiple subject.
2.6.2

(2.6-46) ḏupul ƙara - ṭum? - mịn
many 1/2aug.S - sleep - PAST PUNCT
- Many of us camped. (i.e. many individual acts of camping)

(2.6-47) ḏupul ƙa - ṭum? - mịn
many 1min.S - sleep - PAST PUNCT
- I camped several nights. (i.e. many individual acts of camping)

A sentence containing kalit indicates an alternative to what has previously been mentioned. The implication is 'sometimes..., other times...'

(2.6-48) tịŋ? - ɗ marampa? pere - ṭi - ya
woman - NOM eloping couple 3aug.S + REL - go - PAST PUNCT
payar - yappa? - yaw - moq yappan? - ta
3aug.O + laug.A - UAUGM - spear - PAST CONT two - (n)ta

...kalịt - ma waƙiŋ - ɗ yar - yaw - moq
other - ma one - NOM 3min.O + laug.A - spear - PAST CONT
pi - ɗ [38/219-221]
man - NOM
- When a man ran off with someone else's wife we used to spear the two of them (man and woman), other times we used to spear only the man.

2.6.2.4 Sequence Finally there is a small group of temporal adverbs which mark sequential relationships. These are

palay 'already'
ra?na(wo) 'first'
ta?na(wo)
waƙaŋ 'then' 'next'
2.6.2

ra?nawe and wala9 occur most frequently incorporated into the VC.
ra?nawe(wo) loses its - na(wo) suffix upon incorporation. wala9
and ra?(na(wo)) have been discussed at length and their use exemplified
in 2.5.13.2. Note that the unincorporated form of ra?nawe is
phonetically [ra?nawe] as the result of a rule discussed in 1.5.3. I
therefore normally use the form ra?nawe in writing examples. wala9
may never follow the VC of the clause it modifies, but must always
precede the VC or be incorporated.

palay appears to mean 'already' with past tense verbs
and 'on the point of ...ing' or 'just beginning to...' with future
tense verbs. It also sometimes has the meaning 'a long way off' (see 2.6.1.2)
but it is not clear what is involved in this distinction. See the examples
(2.6-49) to (2.6-53), which set out the problem. I can offer no solution
here.

(2.6-49)  na - yina? - wa - φ  wo?
3min.0+2aug.A - say - TRANSVR - PAST PUNCT yes

palay yar - yina? - wa - φ  [3/99]
already 3min.0 + laug.A - say - TRANSVR - PAST PUNCT
- "Have you told her?" "Yes, we've already told her
long ago."

(2.6-50)  palay  Ṿa - Ṿo - Ṿa
long way 1min.S - go - FUT
- I'll go a long way away.

(2.6-51)  palay  Ṿa - Ṿal - Ṿa
already 1min.S - go hunting - FUT
- I'm just going hunting.

(2.6-52)  palay  Ṿa - Ṿu - na
long way 30 + 1min.A - eat - FUT
- I'll eat it outside the camp/a long way off.

(2.6-53)  palay  Ṿa - Ṿawk - ka
already 1min.S - speak - FUT
- I'm going to speak now.
2.6.3 Other Adverbs

Four adverbs must be mentioned in this group. This list may be enlarged at some future date but at present I have insufficient information to discuss or even classify as adverb or nominal a number of other forms which I will therefore omit from consideration. The four adverbs are as follows:

pețeț 'almost'
pulkkiț 'thoroughly' 'properly'
ținin? 'authentic(ally)' 'genuine(ly)' 'proper(ly)'
marșa 'empty-handed'

pețeț may be incorporated into or precede or follow the VC. Its meaning and function have already been outlined and exemplified in 2.5.13.1 and need not be discussed again here.

pulkkiț has occurred so far in my material only modifying verbs of spearing and indicates that the spearing results in death, not wounding. In example (2.6-54) the two men involved had intended to revive the woman but had speared her too thoroughly for that. pulkkiț may precede or follow the VC but may not be incorporated.

(2.6-54) молак ke - șeț - ra - nawa.
NEG 3min.S + REL - get up - FUT - 3min.DAT PRON

pulkkiț ya - miri - ya [37/84]
thoroughly 3min.O + 1/2min.A - spear - FAST PUNCT
- "She won't be able to get up again (for him). We speared her thoroughly (killing her)."

ținin? modifies either nominals or clauses. It must follow the nominal or the VC of the clause it modifies. It has an incorporated equivalent kakku which is discussed in 2.5.13.1. ținin? and kakku mean 'authentic(ally)' 'genuine(ly)' or 'real(ly)', sometimes bordering on intensive use as in (2.6-55).
2.6.3

(2.6-55) ka - yi - kakk - melo - ṣul - min
3min.S - yi - really - water - get black - PAST PUNCT

šinin? [32/101-102] genuinely
- The water became really black (dark).

(2.6-56) turana šinin? poluŋ [10/24]
body/alive genuine Rainbow
- The real live Rainbow/the Rainbow in the flesh.

The following opposites should further help to define the meaning of šinin?:

(i) the opposite of kotorko šinin? 'genuine brolga' is put in terms such as kuyala? kotorko 'I was under the false impression that it was a brolga';

(ii) the opposite of ralk šinin? 'genuinely big' is takkuna 'small'; and

(iii) the opposite of tuja šinin? 'genuine water' is šittork 'water obtained from the trunks of paperbark (Melaleuca) trees'.

mara describes a hunter's or fisherman's return to camp empty-handed after he has hidden what he has caught outside the camp. This is quite a common custom which I have seen in operation many times. The reason for it is not clear to me. mara may precede or follow the VC or may be incorporated into it.

(2.6-57) ni?kapa? ṣen - ø - wunti - ya,
3min.EMPH fish - NOM 30 + 3min.A - hide - PAST PUNCT

qi?kapa? ṣen - ø - ṣa - wunti - ya,
l1min.EMPH fish - NOM 30 + l1min.A - hide - PAST PUNCT

empty-handed luaug.S - arrive - PAST PUNCT
- He hid his fish and I hid mine and we arrived at the camp empty-handed.
The class of words I call 'particles' in Rembarnga is at present very ill-defined. It is not clear whether some of these words might not be better classed as adverbs. The meaning and function of some of them is very hard to pin down, and in most cases the comments given below are only approximations based on my deductions from the contexts in which text examples of the particles occur. I will give an annotated list of the more common particles here. Those treated are

(i) pon?  
(ii) kuwa  
(iii) kuya  
(iv) kuyula?  
(v) mațiği?  
(vi) melak  
(vii) mala?  
(viii) mițiima  
(ix) mikka?  
(x) muğu?  
(xi) munku  
(xii) warkka  
(xiii) yay  
(xiv) yemeşt, karo?

Finally I will briefly mention (xv) -ma, a suffixed particle of unknown meaning and function.

(i) pon? (RESULT) The meaning of this particle is really very unclear to me at present. It is possible, judging by the four available text examples, including (2.7-1) and (2.7-2), that it marks a clause as resulting from the previous clause. It is clearly not restricted to clause initial position, but precedes the VC in all available examples. This has not been checked further.

(2.7-1) kʉ̀shị̀sina  
mutika yan - mi - ya  
in the morning truck* 1/2min.O +3min.A - get - PAST PUNCT

pon? manịŋkịta ya - yi - ʧi - mịn [29/133-134]  
RESULT Maningrida 1/2min.S - yi - return - PAST PUNCT

- The truck picked us up and (?) thus we went back to Maningrida.
He remained lying up in the tree, (?) so he died for lack of water.

(11) *kuwa* (PURP) is discussed in detail in 3.6 as one of the markers of intent and purpose clauses. *kuwa* may normally be used only with the PRES or the PAST CF tense in an intent clause (3.6.1) but may also sometimes occur with the FUT tense in purpose clauses (3.6.2). It normally occurs at the beginning of its clause but may occur in other positions in the clause, including after the VC. (2.7-3) is an example of an intent clause with *kuwa*, (2.7-4) contains a purpose clause with *kuwa*, and (2.7-5) an intent clause with *kuwa* tawa?ma. For more detailed discussion of all these clause types see 3.6.

(2.7-3)  
*ti?la - 7ka? kuwa piri - tu - me*  
water - ALL PURP 3aug.S + REL be immersed - PAST CF

*ti?la - 5?a paran - wa?a - tiy? - mi?n*  
water - LOC 3aug.0 + 3min.A - CONT hit - PAST PUNCT

Those who tried to escape into the water he still hit (killed) in the water.

(2.7-4)  
*kela - ppara? - 6 malpa?apak - ka?*  
[subsection name] - UAUGM - NOM [place] - ALL

*parapa? - man kuwa kuwep - 6*  
3uaug.S - went PURP kangaroo - NOM

*parapa? - yaw - 6*  
30 + 3uaug.A - spear - PRES

The two kela men have gone to malpa?apak to spear kangaroos.

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The REL prefix form marks this clause as presupposed by that which follows. Thus we can translate "Those who..." using an NP-relative interpretation. The use of the REL prefix is not due to the presence of *kuwa*, which simply marks the attempted escape as unsuccessful.
(ii) **kuya** can be translated roughly 'it should/must be the case that...', 'it is appropriate that...'. It may occur in any position in the clause and it appears to be accompanied by verbs in any tense. The type of modality involved appears to vary, but the word 'appropriate' sums it up perhaps the best. In examples (2.5-148) and (2.5-149) it refers to the speaker's personal wishes, while in (2.7-6) it refers to appropriacy judged by a particular linguistic standard and in (2.7-7) the good of a whole community is affected. In (2.7-8) the word 'must' refers to deduction from tell-tale signs - namely the presence of those sought can be deduced from the audible sound of their voices.

(2.7-6) **kuya**  
should 3min.S - say - PAST CF  [crocodile]  
- He should have said **kiŋa** (the Gunwinjgu word, since he was speaking Gunwinjgu at the time. But he used the Rembarnga word **mokko**.)

(2.7-7) **kuya**  
should [subsection name] - NOM immediately

**wamut** - ̄φ  
warikku

ka - ̄tiŋ - ̄a  
3min.S - return - FUT  
- Wamut should come back straight away (bringing our vehicle, so that it will be here where we can use it).
(2.7-8) para - kaw? - mør. kaṭa pan? - ṭa
3aug.S - shout - PAST CONT Oh here - LOC

kuya paran - nattu - ṭ [43/98-99]
it must be 3aug.O + 3min.A - keep - PRES
- [The women] were shouting. "Oh, so he must be keeping them all here," (said the brother who had been tracking them for days).

(iv) kuyala? indicates that someone (whether it is the speaker or the subject of the sentence is contextually determined) is or was under the false impression that the clause in which it stands is or was true. The speaker himself is aware of this falsity at the time of utterance. kuyala? appears to occur with all tenses. In the past tense, as (2.7-12) shows, there is no difference between factual and counter-factual tenses after kuyala?. In (2.7-11) the subject of the clause preceding the kuyala? clause is the person who is under the false impression. In the other three examples it is the speaker himself.

(2.7-9) kuttanta kuyala? ṭ - ṭiṭ - mın, that way I thought erroneously 3min.S - return - PAST PUNCT
kars? wamut - ṭ kura? ṭ - mør, but [subsection name] - NOM that way 3min.S - went
- I thought wamut went this way, but in fact he went that way, he went south.

(2.7-10) kuyala? ṭraypa pu?
I thought erroneously driver different
- I thought (wrongly) that it was a different driver.

(2.7-11) wamut - kan par - pak - kuwan - wi - ṭ, [subsection name]- DAT 3min.IMPL + 3min.S - IMPLIC - afraid -
kuyala? fear - PRES she thinks erroneously
She is frightened of wamut, she thinks (erroneously) that he will hit her.

(2.7-12) kuyala? me - ø
I thought erroneously food - NOM

{ta - pe - ø
30 + 2min.A - cook - PAST PUNCT} wuru wapa
but no
{ta - piya - ø
30 + 2min.A - cook - PAST CF}
- I thought you had cooked some food, but no.

 màtti? is a very general sentence connective. Sometimes it appears to be best translated 'and', while on other occasions it is best translated as a mild adversative - 'but' or 'whereas'. See examples (2.7-13) to (2.7-15), (2.2-86) and (3.7-2) for some idea of its range of uses. Furthermore it can mean 'too' in a phrase such as jinta màtti? 'me too'. màtti? normally occurs first in its clause, but may occur instead in other positions including following the VC as in example (3.7-2).

(2.7-13) kùnda kalìna tiŋ? - ø
moon big - ERG woman - NOM
ø - mot - məŋ læŋə yappan? - wala,
30 + 3min.A - have - PAST CONT hand two - ABL

màtti? takkuna - yiŋ ø - mot - məŋ and small - ERG 30 + 3min.A - have - PAST CONT

læŋə wàŋkìŋ - wala [cf.43/2-4]
hand one - ABL
- The big moon had ten wives and his little brother had five wives.
2.7

(2.7-14) ...kaliŋ puwan para - pawk - məŋ, oters [language] 3aug.S - speak - PAST CONT

yanta matjij? řempargə
laug.PRON and [language]

yara - pawk - məŋ [38/84-85]
laug.S - speak - PAST CONT
-... others spoke puwan, and we spoke řempargə.

(2.7-15) yar - yappa? - miri - ya.
3min.O + laug.A - UAGM - spear - PAST PUNCT

ka - yi - wula? - φ. matjij?
3S - yi - good - STAT PRES but/whereas

yere - yappa? - pa - no - ma
3min.O + laug.A + REL - UAGM - leave - PAST CF - ma

na? ma yaranpa - yappa? - pu - no [37/125-127]
that Laug.0 + 3aug.A - UAGM - kill - PAST CF
- We speared her. That is all right. But if we had left her alone they would have killed us.

(vi) melak (NEG) is the only declarative negative particle in Rembarnga. Contrast mikka? NEG IMPER in (ix) below. melak is used with the meaning 'it is not true'. It can be used as an interjection as in example (2.7-16). See 2.8. Most commonly, however, it introduces negative clauses, being put in principal focus and followed by a REL clause as outlined in 3.7.12. This REL clause may be in the PAST CF tense or in one of the non-past tenses, PRES or FUT. See examples (2.7-17) and (2.7-18). In the latter example (as also in example (3.7-72)) a single occurrence of melak negates two clauses. melak always precedes the constituent it negates, mostly a verb (a clause), but sometimes a nominal as in (2.7-19).
perhaps rotten one - NOM

malak. 3min.O + 2min.A - get - PAST PUNCT NEG

in the morning 3min.O + 1min.A - spear - PAST PUNCT
- "Perhaps you got an old rotten [kangaroo]?"
  "No. I speared it [fresh] this morning."

malak ye - ʔeʔ - ʔa. pulkkiiŋ
NEG 3min.S + REL - get up - PAST PUNCT thoroughly

ya - miri - ya
3min.O + 1/2min.A - spear - PAST PUNCT
- "She won't get up again. We speared her properly."

malak yere - ʔo - ʔa,
still NEG laug.S + REL - go - PAST CF

laug.S + REL - send - STEM - REFLEX - PAST CF
- We still did not go. We still did not split up.

karkkaŋkari ya - ʔuŋ? - mın.
[place] 1/2min.S - sit (INCHOAT) - PAST PUNCT

malak karkkaŋkari. ken waypputo
NEG [place] woops! [place]

ya - ʔuŋ? - mın. [29/1]
1/2min.S - sit - PAST PUNCT
- "We stopped at karkkaŋkari." "Not karkkaŋkari." "Sorry.
At waypputo we stopped."
(vii) **mala?** 'try' occurs initially in a clause and may be followed only by a verb in the PRES or the FUT tense and marked for 2 or 1/2 person subject (A or S). That is the subject of a verb after **mala?** must be specified [+ Hearer]. **mala?** has the effect of turning a clause into one which is persuasive rather than imperative. It could be translated, for instance, as "What say we/you...", "How about...", "Have a go at..." It can be used with the interjection *woy* (see 2.8(xix)). See examples (2.5-150) to (2.5-152) for its use with both PRES and FUT tense verbs coupled with the verbal prefix *ra?* PRIOR which may be used with **mala?**. (2.7-20) is one of the rare examples available in which *ra?* is not used with **mala?**.

(2.7-20) **mala?** takku - takku yana - *pak* - *ne?* - ka - *ra* [3/86]  
try REDUPL - child lmin.IMPL + 2aug.A - IMPLIC - get up - CAUS - PRES/FUT  
- Hey, children, how about lifting it up for me.

(vii) **mittima** 'might as well' was said by one informant to be used "when you're changing your mind", in the sense of 'vacillating'. It implies that the speaker does not have strong views either way and is unsure which course he wishes to take. **mittima** occurs with PRES and FUT tense verbs and with the hortative use of *man* 'went' (2.5.4(ii)). It appears to be restricted to use with verbs whose subject (A or S) is marked [+ Speaker] (i.e. 1 or 1/2 person). The text example (2.7-21) sets out the type of uncertainty marked by **mittima** very well. Sometimes, as there, this particle is better translated into English as "had better". This particle normally stands in clause initial position.

(2.7-21) kata, **mittima** panta ya - *yigana,*  
Oh might as well here 1/2min.S - lie + FUT  
*yan* - *pak* - *yinip.*  
lmin.IMPL + 3min.S - IMPLIC - say + PAST PUNCT  
wapa. ya - me - *tto* - ...  
no 1/2min.S - tucker - PRIV - STAT PRES
2.7

kaţa, mi întima ya - kuwam? - ḍ [32/29-32]
oh had better 1/2min.S - set off - PRES
- "Oh well, we might as well camp here." "No. We've
got no tucker (only meat)." "Oh yes. Well we'd
better keep going."

(ix) mikka? (NEG IMPER) is the negative imperative particle, and may
be used with a FUT tense verb only, as in (2.7-22). The VC may also
contain the PRIOR prefix raʔ as in (2.7-23). Finally mikka? may be used
as an interjection with the meaning "Don't!" or "Don't do that!", as
in (2.7-24).

(2.7-22) mikka? tan - ki şik - ka
NEG IMPER lmin.0 + 2min.A - tickle - FUT
- Don't tickle me!

(2.7-23) mikka? ṭip - taʔ - yekek - ka, kuwa
NEG IMPER 2min.S - PRIOR - stir/move - FUT PURP

qar - taʔ - qawa - n ...
30 + 1/2aug.A - PRIOR - hear - PRES
- Don't stir, so we can hear ...

(2.7-24) mikka?, mikka?, ṭa - ponoʔ - ṭuŋʔ - ḍ NEG IMPER NEG IMPER lmin.S - lest - fall - PRES
- Don't! Don't! I might fall.

Negative imperatives may also be formed using the verbal prefix me(ns)?
\'lest\' as in example (2.5-135). Furthermore a negative sentence with the
NEG particle molak ((vi) above) and a PRES or FUT tense verb with 2 person
subject (A or S) may also serve as a negative imperative sentence since
there is no difference in Rembarnga, apart from intonation, between
imperative and declarative sentence forms in the non-negative.

(x) mutuʔ (TAG QUESTW) can be seen as a general Tag Question particle
which follows what it questions. This is clearly seen in examples (2.7-25)
and (2.7-26). Most interesting is example (2.7-27) which was overheard on
one occasion. In this case mutuʔ follows a verb used imperatively.
2.7

(2.7-25) ta - yi - mìŋtìppu - n muŋu?  
30 - 2min.A - yi - know - PRES TAG QUESTN

kiya - őne [33/24-25]  
son - lmin.DAT PRON
- "You know it, don't you, son?"

(2.7-26) ŋuŋa muŋu? pønta [43/24]  
sugar* TAG QUESTN there
- There's some sugar there, isn't there?

(2.7-27) tan - te‡wa - n muŋu?  
lmin.IMPL + 2min.A - give - PRES TAG QUESTN
- Give it to me, would you?

(xi) munku 'perhaps', 'maybe', 'I don't know'. This particle, which may co-occur with all tenses, does not imply any expectation of truth or falsity, but simply signifies ignorance or uncertainty. In this contrast kuyala?, (iv) above. The ignorance referred to is that of the speaker. The particle may occur in a clause as in (2.7-28), (2.7-29) and (2.7-16), or it may occur alone with the meaning 'I don't know' as in (2.7-30). It may stand anywhere in the sentence.

(2.7-28) munku kekkunta Ğ - pol? - mìŋ  
perhaps some time ago 3min.S - arrive - PAST PUNCT

qìnta - Ğ qa - pak - yinìp [32/24-25]  
lmin.PRON - NOM 3min.IMPL + 1min.S - IMPLIC - say - PAST PUNCT
- "Maybe (It looks as though...) he came here some time ago," I said to him.

(2.7-29) wamut - Ğ munku kuṭar?  
[subsection name] - NOM perhaps [near future]

ka - ḋo - ńaŋa pønta - ŋka? [27/113-114]  
3min.S - come - FUT here - ALL
- Maybe wamut will come here in the next day or two.
2.7

(2.7-30) yene? - ti  
ka - pol? - la.  
munka
INDEF - TEMP LOC 3min.S - arrive - FUT perhaps  
"When's he coming?" "I don't know."

(xii) warkka (NEW SUBJECT) the function of this particle is unknown to me, but an examination of its occurrences in text suggests that it marks a change of subject. 'Subject' in this case would normally be A or S. Text 28 in Appendix A contains many examples of the use of this particle. See also examples (2.5-117), (2.7-5), (2.7-31) and (2.7-32), Example (2.7-33) shows that warkka is not simply used to distinguish between potentially ambiguous third person subjects. This particle stands at the beginning of its clause.

(2.7-31) ka - yi - peTe5 - pol? - miŋ  
warkka
3min.S - yi - almost - come out - PAST PUNCT NEW SUBJECT

yan - pak - miri - ya  
[38/136-137]
1/2min.IMPL + 3min.A - IMPLIC - spear - PAST PUNCT  
- He had hardly got out [of the hut] when [ko§ek] speared him, you know, 76

(2.7-32) τirpaŋ? - ò  
ò - wana - kunți - maŋ  
[type ground pigeon] - NOM 3min.S - CONT - stalking - went

kuwa tawaŋ? - ma  
ka - yi - yaw - ma,  
PURP now - ma 3min.O + 3min.A - yi - spear - PAST CF

warkka  
i?tanta - ìka?  
yurmi
NEW SUBJECT 3min.PRON - ALL facing

ò - pol? - yuman  
3min.S - come up - PROGR + PAST PUNCT

ò - tamul - kap - kap - yuman  
30 + 3min.A - grass - REDUPL - eat - PROGR + PAST PUNCT

ò - òe5 - yuman  
warkka
30 + 3min.A - graze - PROGR + PAST PUNCT NEW SUBJECT

76 See 3.2.2(v)
The pigeon sneaked up. He was just about to spear [the kangaroo] when it came towards him eating grass as it went. He ran away, you know.  

(2.7-33) qaanappuru nara - ṇe? - ṇ
buffalo 2aug.S - get up - PRES

yaran - pak - yinip.
laug.IMPL + 3min.S - IMPLIC - say + PAST PUNCT

warkka yara - yappa? - ṭutuppur - min
NEW SUBJECT laug.S - UAUOM - get up in surprise - PAST PUNCT

woy [28/18-lg]
this way
- "Buffalo! Get up!" he said to us. We (i.e. the speaker and the S of the first clause) jumped up in surprise.

(xii) yay This particle is translated by informants as 'finish', tacked on to the end of a sentence. A good equivalent in English would be "Well, after that, ..." introducing the next sentence. Thus it appears that this particle indicates that the activity of its clause is completed and that subsequently something else happens, as in (2.7-34) and (2.7-35).

(2.7-34) para - pok - min ṭamu - ṇ yay.
3aug.S - bark - PAST PUNCT dog - NOM "finish"

yarappa? - ṭur? - min [32/68-69]
luaug.S - sit (INCHOAT) - PAST PUNCT
- The dogs all barked [at us] - finish - then we sat down.

See 3.2.2 (v),
- They ate its maṭaŋk and then they roasted it (kangaroo).

(yiv) yemęt and karaŋ are both adversative conjunctions which can be translated 'but' or 'however'. They often mark clauses following a clause containing kuyala? ((iv) above), kuwa ((ii) above) or kuya ((iii) above). For the first see (2.7-9), for the second see (2.7-36) and for the third see (2.7-37). See also (2.7-38). karaŋ always stands first in its clause, but yemęt may stand anywhere in the clause.

(2.7-36) kuwa ṇa - ṭal - me
PURP 1min.S - go hunting - PAST CF but

pulut - te
bullet* - PRIV
- I was going to go hunting, but I have got no bullets.

(2.7-37) wamut - ṇ kuyala ṇ - ṭīŋ - me
[subsection name] - NOM should 3min.S - return - PAST CF

{karaŋ} ka - waŋa - nuŋa ŋəŋkalala
{yemęt}

but 3min.S - CONT - sit + PRES [place]
- wamut should have come back but he is still at ŋəŋkalala.

78 maṭaŋk(na) is a term for a number of internal organs of a kangaroo, including the liver, which are taken out and cooked on top of the fire before the whole carcass is covered over to 'roast' with hot stones.
2.7

(2.7-38)  

ku’tarţţina qa - yaw - mip,  
in the morning 3min.0 + 1min.A - spear - PAST PUNCT

yemeţ muçu'y? ô - ku? - pârîyi  
but  CONT 3min.S - uncooked - hang + PAST PUNCT

- I speared it only this morning but it has been hanging  
up, uncooked, all day. (That is why it has gone rotten.)

(xv) -ma appears to be a suffixed particle of some sort. Its function  
and significance are not clear to me. It is extremely common, sometimes  
as in the second clause of example (2.7-41) being attached to every word  
in a clause. My guess is that ma is closely related to the connective  
particle mâtti? ((v) above) in function. See, for instance, examples  
(2.3-1), (2.7-39) and (2.7-40), in all of which -ma seems to mark a loose  
link between two clauses.

(2.7-39)  

yaluk ya - ūrum? - mip  
hungry 1/2min. S - sleep - PAST PUNCT

yi - tanîp - ūzo? - mâ - ma  
3min. S + REL - in the morning - dawn - PAST PUNCT - ma

kumukkari ūla - ô  ya - ūom - mâ [29/3-4]  
[place] water - NOM 30 + 1/2min.A - drink - PAST PUNCT

- We camped without food [at waypputo] and early in the  
  morning we had a drink at kumukkari.

(2.7-40)  

[place] there laug.S - UAGM - sleep - PAST PUNCT

nokreteţel - wala - mâ ,  panta - tţa  kuyun  [27/102-103]  
[place] - ABL - mâ here - LOC [place]

- We camped at nokreteţel, and from nokreteţel [we came] hereto  
kuyun.

Very frequently -ma is suffixed to words in a subordinate or REL clause.  
This is the case in examples (2.7-41), (2.8-2), (3.7-1) and (3.7-6), for  
instance.
In a few cases -ma appears to have interrogative force but this is not at all clear. Certainly in cases such as examples (2.7-42), (2.3-16) and (2.3-17) there is no possibility of interpreting -ma as forming a link with a preceding or following clause. In each case -ma marks the first word of the reported utterance.

Compare too the interjection ma (2.8)(xii)).
2.8 INFERENCES

Interjections are single word forms which are frequently used as whole utterances. They perform a variety of functions. Three of these interjections may also be inflected in various ways and thus may be considered nominals or verbs in those cases. They are treated here as interjections since they normally occur as single word utterances.

The three inflectable interjections are

(i) popo? 'Good-bye'
(ii) pop 'The End' 'that's enough' 'that's all'
(iii) wapa 'nothing' 'No'

(i) popo? may be inflected for tense etc. like a verb root of conjugation 1. As a verb it means 'say good-bye to' 'farewell' and is DR transitive. As an interjection it means simply 'Good-bye'.

(2.8-1) ŋa - popo? - ţa
3min.O + lmin.A - farewell - PUT [subsection name] - NOM
- I'll say good-bye to wamut. I'll see wamut off.

(ii) pop 'that's all', 'the end', 'that's enough', besides being used alone as an utterance appears also as a statively verbalised nominal as in (2.8.2).

(2.8-2) nanta - ma ka - yi - pop - ţ
this - ma 3min.S - yi - finished - STAT PRES

wamut gepe - pak - yolyol - mɨn - ma
[subsection name] 2min.IMP + lmin.A + REL - IMPLIC - tell -

naíma yəŋ - ma [37/177-178]
PAST PUNCT - ma this story - ma
- Well this story that I have been telling you is finished now, wamut.
(2.8-3) nanta pop taw̱kuna - φ qat - pefe? - min [27/54-55] 
this enough meat - NOM 30 + lmin.A - carry - PAST PUNCT 
- I've brought enough meat (I'm too tired to go and get more).

(iii) wapa 'nothing', 'no' may also bear stative verbalising inflection 
as a nominal meaning 'nothing'.

(2.8-4) ...ŋe - wapa - ni - ৫৫১ [23/22-23] 
lmin.S + REL - nothing - STAT PAST - TEMP LOC 
- ...when I was nothing. (i.e. before I was born')

wapa is often used with negative sentences in the sense 'not...at all' 
as in (2.8-5).

(2.8-5) malak pere - pak - ḫıt̂ma - ŋe 
NEG 3min.IMPL + 3aug.A - IMPLIC - steal - PAST CF

wapa [38/226] 
nothing 
- They did not steal [his wife] from him at all.

wapa means something like 'without success' in an example like (2.8-6).

(2.8-6) par - ŋu - n wapa, 
30 + 3aug.A - eat - PAST PUNCT No 
φ - kakku - ŋuru - pop - min [43/31] 
3min.IMPL - properly - stink - waft around - PAST PUNCT 
- They ate (tried to eat) [the kangaroo], but no good. 
- It was really stinking. (lit. 'its stink was really 
being given off')

The other interjections are normally used entirely on their 
own as whole utterances except where noted in the list below. Rough 
English equivalents or explanations are given for each.
2.8

(iv) *poy*  
'Hey!' - to attract attention.

(v) *tow*  
'Bang!' - the sound of a gunshot.

(vi) *ta?*  
'I see' - to indicate understanding of a statement.

(vii) *topoy*  
'Shoo!' 'Go away!'

(viii) *pun*  
'There!' - when actually pointing (with the lips).

(ix) *kap*  
'Ssh!' 'Keep quiet!'

(x) *kata*  
'Oh!' - expresses mild surprise and often occurs with *wo?* 'Yes'.

(xi) *ken*  
'Woops!' - mostly in reference to slips in speaking, whether concerning fact or grammatical form.

(xii) *ma*  
'O.K.' - when acceding to a request, or agreeing to a suggested course of action.

(xiii) *molak*  
NEG - This is the negative particle and is further discussed in 2.7 and 3.7.12. Used as an interjection it means 'That is not true'.

(xiv) *nay?*  
'Hey listen...' - this interjection makes a request for consideration of some point with a view to action as, for example, in (2.8-7).
Hey, listen! My heart is playing up. Can you do the poisoning (of the water)?

'Any luck?' 'Any good?'

This is the call of men just going into the attack on a camp.

'Oh, look at him, eh.' This is an expression of mild surprise, expressing pleasure or appreciation.

'Yes' - often combined with kata above (x).

'Come here!' - sometimes used with the particle mela? 'try' (2.7) in the phrase mela? woy 'Can you come here!' as a more polite imperative than woy on its own.
3 SYNTAX

3.1 BASIC SENTENCE TYPES

Sentences in any language typically consist, at least at the deep level, of a verb and a number of NPs related to the verb in functions such as subject and object (without formally defining these functions here). Thus a rule of the type \( S + NP + VP \) is frequently an early rule in transformational analyses of languages\(^1\) (e.g. Lees 1960:5; Postal 1963:348; Hale 1968:19,27; Dixon 1972:137; Metcalfe 1972:32). Rembarnga is no exception to this pattern, its sentences containing, in the main, up to three principal underlying NPs and a verb. As in many languages the verb complex (VC) appears to be the central element in the surface structure of sentences in Rembarnga. In 2.5 I have outlined the types of material which can be contained within the verb complex. In fact the verb complex in Rembarnga is so comprehensive that it frequently forms single word sentences on its own. Certain features of one or more of the NPs in the sentence are marked by pronominal prefixes in the VC (compare the copying rules posited by Hale for Walbiri (1968:29ff.) and by Postal for Mohawk (1963:349)), and the relevant NPs may then be deleted to form the surface structure of the sentence.

This large-scale deletion of NPs presents a problem in expounding basic sentence types in Rembarnga. It has the effect of making good examples with a full set of NPs in the various syntactic functions very rare in text and difficult to elicit. Informants will normally be happier to omit one or more of the full, case-marked NPs in the main syntactic functions. They often omit case-marking of NPs whose function is clear from the context, and they tend to tack case-marked NPs on as 'afterthoughts' to the sentence, in preference to placing them before the VC in the main body of the sentence. The discussion and the (sometimes apparently incomplete) examples below should be viewed with these points.

\(^1\) Dixon notes that the rule \( S + NP + VP \) cannot be considered a substantive syntactic universal since the NP referred to performs different functions in different languages (Dixon 1972:137-138). Only in the very weak sense that the rule \( S + NP + VP \) claims that languages have sentences consisting of a verb and one or more NPs does the rule appear to be universal.
3.1

in mind. I will take as the basis for my discussion of sentence patterns the sentence functions A, O/S, IMPL which sometimes occur in surface structure as full NPs, sometimes are simply pronominally marked in the VC, and are sometimes simply 'understood' in surface structure.

Pronominal verb prefixes may refer to or cross-reference one or at the most two of the underlying major NPs (up to three in number) in the sentence. Thus the basis for syntactic description must be the case frame of each verb (that is the number and function of the obligatory NPs) rather than the details of pronominal reference within the VC, even if, on some occasions, one of these underlying NPs is not overtly marked in the sentence at all.

As basic sentence types I restrict myself to minimal sentences constructed with simple verb roots. Among simple verb roots I include monomorphemic roots and frozen compounds such as keppu 'deprive of' (? < pu 'hit') and ściina 'steal' (< na 'get'), but not verbal stems productively derived by means of various affixes such as REFLEX, CAUS, NCAUS, TRANSVR, STAT, COM TRANSVR etc. I exclude also one word sentences consisting solely of an interjection (2.8).

3.1.1 Principal NP Functions (A, S, O, IMPL)

In 2.5.1.3 I discussed the classification of verbs according to what I termed 'case frame'. By 'case frame' I refer to the range of NPs which are obligatorily associated with the verb, up to two of these being normally pronominally marked within the VC. I pointed out that these classifications according to case frame are to a large degree based upon surface morphology and do not separate semantic cases which fall together in surface structure case marking. In other words I am dealing with case frames at a much more superficial level than, for instance, in Fillmore 1968 and other work in the 'Case Grammar' tradition. For discussions of the discrepancies between deep structure relationships and surface structure case marking in two different theoretical frameworks in two Australian languages see Sharpe 1970 and Dixon 1972:138-141.
As Dixon points out (1972:138) all languages appear to have transitive and intransitive sentences. That is all languages have sentences consisting of a verb and two NPs as well as sentences consisting of a verb and a single NP. Rembarnga fits this pattern. The symbol 'S' can be used to refer to the 'intransitive subject' while the symbols 'A' and 'O' can be used to refer to 'transitive subject/agent' and 'transitive object' respectively. These surface structure roles appear to be universal. Frequently, as Dixon states, the single NP (S) of an intransitive sentence is syntactically identified with either A or O for the purpose of syntactic rules. This will be discussed further in 3.8. For the present I will treat S and O as identical in function (S/O) since NPs in both of these functions are typically in the unmarked NOM case, while A NPs are typically marked by the ERG suffix -yi7. This interpretation is justified only at the level of morphology (case marking), not at a syntactic level. The identification of S and O is adopted provisionally on these morphological grounds to facilitate syntactic description.

A third NP function is essential in describing the case frames of a small set of verbs - the di-transitive verbs - which have three NPs obligatorily associated with them in the sentence. The third function is that of 'implicated NP' (IMPL). This may be roughly characterised as the indirect object of the verb. Verbs with 'extended' case frames (3.2) have an IMPL added to their case frame. Case marking of the IMPL NP varies a little and will be discussed where appropriate below.

### 3.1.2 Classes of Minimal Sentences

As shown in 2.5.1.3 there are three classes of simple verbs in Rembarnga, defined on the basis of case frames. These are as follows, with the appropriate obligatory NPs listed alongside each:

- **Intransitive (INTR)**: S
- **Transitive (TR)**: A O
- **Di-transitive(DITR)**: IMPL A O

There is some slight evidence from the syntax of REFLEX forms (3.3) for the existence of a small group of simple extended intransitive verb roots associated with two NPs in the functions IMPL and S. The use of an IMPL with these verbs is merely strongly implied rather than obligatory and thus...
they are not discussed here. Note that, having decided to identify (provisionally) the S and 0 functions it can be stated that each sentence must contain a deep NP in S/O function.

3.1.3 Intransitive Sentences (INTR)

INTR sentences contain an intransitive verb root (marked for tense) and a single NP in S function with NOM case marking (_marks suffix). All intransitive verb roots are mono-referential and the S NP is cross-referenced by the appropriate MR pronominal prefix to the verb (Table 2.5(c)). The underlying form of an INTR sentence is thus (3.1-1), which appears on the surface as in (3.1-2)

(3.1-1)  $-$ NOM  VC(INTR)

(3.1-2) $\text{tinq} - \phi$  para $- \text{tinq} - \text{min}$

$\text{woman} - \text{NOM; 3aug.S} - \text{return} - \text{PAST PUNCT}$

- The women came back.

Two more examples of full INTR sentences are to be found in (3.1-3) and (3.1-4).

(3.1-3) $\text{yirappara?} - \phi$  ya $- \text{tq} - \text{la}$

$1/2\text{min.PRON} - \text{NOM; 1/2\text{min.S} - go hunting} - \text{FUT}$

- Let's go hunting./We'll go hunting.

(3.1-4) $\text{ryupa?} - \phi$  ka $- \text{par} - \phi$

$\text{fire} - \text{NOM; 3min.S} - \text{burn} - \text{PRES}$

- The fire is burning.

The NP in S function may contain more than a single word, as outlined in 2.2.1. See example (3.1-5)

(3.1-5) $\text{ka}l\text{aj} - \text{na}$  ko\text{torko} $- \phi$

$\text{egg} - \text{3min.DAT PRON; broliga} - \text{NOM}$

$\phi - \text{pok} - \text{min}$

$3\text{min.S} - \text{burst} - \text{PAST PUNCT}$

- The broliga's egg burst.
3.1.3

Although the order of words given in (3.1-1) is the normal order, it is sometimes reversed as in (3.1-6).

(3.1-6) para - nok - min, 3am - d [32/62]
3aug.S - bark - PAST PUNCT dog - NOM
- The dogs barked.

Note, too, that the S NP (as in (3.1-7)) or part of it (as in (3.1-8)) may be optionally deleted, appearing in the surface structure only pronominally within the VC.

(3.1-7) para - rum? - min [12/15]
3aug.S - sleep - PAST PUNCT
- They slept./They camped.

(3.1-8) Qinta - d ya - ro - qara
1min.PRON - NOM 1/2min.S - go - FUT
- I'll come with you./We'll both go.
(The full S would be tanta Qinta (2min.PRON 1min.PRON).)

Occasionally it happens that the S NP is marked with the ERG suffix. The reason for this is unknown to me. The available examples seem to involve contrastive emphasis of the S.

(3.1-9) takkuna - yi? ni?anta d - qa - min [43/35]
small one - ERG 3min.PRON 3min.S - go hunting - PAST PUNCT
- The small [brother] went hunting.
(Beginning of a contrast between the small brother and the big brother)

(3.1-10) ni?kara? d - ts - min takkuna - yi? [43/64]
3min.EMPH 3min.S - return - PAST PUNCT small one - ERG
- The small [brother] came back (contrast with big brother).

The ERG suffix does often mark the S of derived extended intransitive sentences (3.2.7), but not normally of simple intransitive sentences like those of (3.1-9) and (3.1-10).
3.1.4 Transitive Sentences (TR)

Transitive sentences contain a TR verb root (marked for tense) and two obligatory NPs - the 'transitive subject/agent' A marked with the ERG case suffix yi?, and the 'transitive object' O with NOM case marking -a suffix). All TR verb roots are di-referential and A and O are cross-referenced by the appropriate Y and X elements respectively of a DR pronominal prefix to the verb (Table 2.5(d)). The underlying form of a TR sentence, in the normal (but not invariant) word order, is as shown in (3.1-11), which appears on the surface as in (3.1-12).

(3.1-11) A - ERG O - NOM VC(TR)

(3.1-12) qinta - yi? tiq? - φ pada - na - φ
lmin.PRON - ERG woman - NOM 3aug.O + lmin.A - see - PAST PUNCT
- I saw the (some) women.

Compare (3.1-12) with (3.1-2) and (3.1-25) for minimal contrasts with INTR and DITR sentences. The order of words given here is the normal one, as in the further examples (3.1-13) and (3.1-14). The order O A VC occurs in (3.1-21).

(3.1-13) wawa? - yi? kantayala - φ
elder brother - ERG male plains kangaroo - NOM
φ - yaw - mîn [3/92]
3min.O + 3min.A - spear - PAST PUNCT
- The elder brother speared a male plains kangaroo.

(3.1-14) qanapparu - yi? ṭulk - φ ka - ṭeŋ - φ
buffalo - ERG grass - NOM 3° + 3min.A - cut/graze - PRES
- The buffalo eats (is eating) grass.

On the other hand one of the NPs may follow the VC as does the O in (3.1-15) and the A in (3.1-16). No examples are to hand with both NPs following the VC.
either or both of the NPs may be deleted, leaving only pronominal marking in the VC. In fact it is rather rare to find both NPs in full in a TR sentence. Both NPs have been deleted in (3.1-17).

The 0 has been deleted in (3.1-18) and the A deleted in (3.1-19) and (3.1-20). In this last sentence the 0 follows the VC.

The dogs chased [the buffalo] away.

I'll tell this story.

[The two women] put the egg on to roast.
The ERG suffix -yi? is sometimes omitted, and the A left unmarked, as in (3.1-21). It is clear from the semantic point of view which NP must be the agent (A) and this is also marked in the VC.


3.1.5 Di-transitive Sentences (DITR)

Di-transitive sentences contain a DITR verb root and three NPs - a 'transitive subject/agent' A, a 'transitive object' O and an 'indirect object' IMPL. The A is normally marked for ERG case (-yi?) while the other two NPs, if they precede the VC are both normally in the unmarked NOM case. If the IMPL follows the VC it may bear the NOM (-φ), DAT (-kan) or ALL (-?ka?) suffix. Only three DITR verb roots are known to me: te?wa 'give', keppu 'deprive of' and muttu 'show'. All three DITR verb roots are di-referential and cross-reference person and number of the IMPL and the A by means of the X and Y elements respectively of a DR pronominal verb prefix (Table 2.5(d)). It is very difficult to obtain an example (in text or elicited) of a DITR sentence with all three NPs present and marked for case. The two main alternative forms of a full DITR sentence appear to be those set out in (3.1-22) and (3.1-23). There may be other patterns not yet elicited.

(3.1-22) A - ERG IMPL - NOM O - NOM VC(DITR)

(3.1-23) A - ERG VC(DITR) O - NOM IMPL - DAT ALL

The patterns given in (3.1-22) and (3.1-23) are exemplified in (3.1-24) and (3.1-25) respectively. Alternative case markings for the IMPL in each case are given after oblique strokes. Note the (optional) repetition of the IMPL after the VC in (3.1-24).
The women gave me food. I deprived the women of tobacco. ('I withheld it from them.' or 'I took it from them.')

All the available text examples involve deleted NPs but will show something of how DITR verbs are used in practice. In (3.1-26) A and 0 appear as full NPs while IMPL is only marked pronominally within the VC.

Another informant maintains that piratša is a Gunwinjgu word and that the proper Rembarnga form is raŋ. piratša is certainly used by Gunwinjgu speakers at Oenpelli (P. Carroll, personal communication), and occurs also in Maung (Capell and Hinch 1970:153). The word piratša was apparently borrowed from Macassan visitors to the Arnhem Land coast. The Macassarese word berasaŋ 'uncooked polished rice' is its obvious source (Macknight 1972:295, adding (Macknight personal communication referring to Matthes 1885:269) a final glottal stop.) The interesting point in my informant's comment, then, is that in languages (like Gunwinjgu and Maung) on or close to the coast in areas of extensive Macassan contact the Macassarese word was
3.1.5

(3.1-27) contains full IMPL NP and the VC is followed by a string of ERO-marked A NPs as 'afterthoughts', separated from the rest of the sentence and from each other by pauses (indicated by commas). I do not give the whole list.

(3.1-27) ŋinta - φ ŋanpa - mutti - ρ,
limin.PRON - NOM limin.IMPL + 3aug.A - show - PAST CONT

...ŋuna - ŋona - yi?, ...kap - ŋona - yi? [23/2-3]
father - limin.DAT PRON - ERG uncle - limin.DAT PRON - ERG

They showed me, my fathers did, ...my uncles did.

Note that in (3.1-27) the IMPL is in the unmarked NOM case when it precedes the VC. Context and/or pronominal prefixes distinguish between 0 and IMPL before the VC, since either must be in unmarked NOM case. Contrast the superficially similar sentences (3.1-28) and (3.1-29) where context shows that 0 and IMPL respectively are the only NPs present (undeleted).

(3.1-28) kwéen - φ paran - te?wa - φ [43/41]
kangaroo - NOM 3aug.IMPL + 3min.A - give - PAST PUNCT
- He gave the kangaroo to [the women].

(3.1-29) ŋamu - φ par - te?wa - φ [43/33]
dog - NOM 3IMPL + 3aug.A - give - PAST PUNCT
- They gave [the kangaroo] to the dogs.

Sometimes the A NP is unmarked for case as in (3.1-30), a text example with keppu.

(3.1-30) nanta paran - keppu - nip
that 3aug.IMPL + 3min.A - deprive - PAST CONT

ŋalppiŋ - φ [cf.3/95]
[ yam type ]- NOM
- She ('that one') used to refuse to give them ŋalppiŋ.

*Adopted.* In Rembarnga, on the other hand, an inland language with relatively little contact with the coast, the word r̥ŋ was apparently adopted directly from English, a much later arrival on the Arnhem Land linguistic scene.
3.2 IMPLICATED NPS AND EXTENDED CASE FRAMES

3.2.1 Implicated NPs (IMPL)

The importance of an 'implicative relation' in many Australian languages has been commented upon (using various terms) by a number of writers, particularly with regard to the marking of this relation by means of the 'bivalent' suffix -gu. See, for example, Dixon 1972:146-147, Capell 1956:77ff. and Blake forthcoming. This implicative relation is important also in Rembarnga where it is normally marked by means of the DAT suffix -kan or by means of a DATive PRONoun. A DAT PRON or an NP marked with the DAT suffix -kan I term an 'implicated NP' (IMPL). In point of fact I use the term IMPL to cover a somewhat wider range of phenomena when marked within the VC as a result of the use of the IMPLIC prefix pak (2.5.6), the COM EXTVR prefix pëta (2.5.6) or as a result of the incorporation of a nominal into the VC (3.4).

At this point it is appropriate to outline the extent of the implicative relation as marked by the DAT suffix -kan in Rembarnga. Apart from one example here (3.2-3), the use of the DAT suffix to mark implicated VCs or clauses will not be mentioned here, but see the discussion in 3.6 below. I follow roughly the outline given by Blake.

Sommer (1972:45) divides the implicative case in Oykangand (Cape York) into two cases, Dative and Purposive, with identical forms. He has two criteria for this division: (i) Dative concerns 'beings' (? animate) while Purposive concerns 'objects and events'; and (ii) Fillmore has claimed the universality of the Dative (defined as animate and in a frame-work where only one of each case may occur in any one sentence). Neither of these purely theoretical reasons seems very strong to me. Huddleston (1970:50ff.) has called into question the usefulness and validity of animateness as a criterion for the separation of cases and Fillmore subsequently recast his proposed Dative case to take account of this criticism (Fillmore 1971:251). Huddleston (1970:510) and Sharpe (1970:41) have both questioned the 'one example of each case per clause' assumption, at least in respect of some of the 'modal' cases. In discussing Rembarnga -kan DAT I take the opposite approach to Sommer and treat all uses of -kan as linked together unless there is internal evidence in Rembarnga to separate them. I thus do not posit separate cases to mark some of the semantic distinctions among different uses of -kan, but rather would question the relevance of such differences for Rembarnga syntax.

In McKay forthcoming I used the term 'Affected Nominal' (AFF) to refer to IMPL.
Note that -kan does not mark an Allative NP or the complement of an Imperfect or Irrealis (counterfactual) verb in Rembarnga.

(1) -kan often marks a sort of purposive nominal complement - an NP referring to something which is implicated in some undefined or contextually defined way in the event.

(3.2-1) yara - maŋ kuweŋ - kan
laug.S - went kangaroo - DAT
- We went [hunting] for kangaroos.

(3.2-2) milii̱mpĩ - wala ø - ŋeŋ - miŋ
Milingimbi - ABL 3S - get up - PAST PUNCT
yanta - kan [cf.38/182-183]
laug.PRON - DAT
- They left Milingimbi [to come] after us (i.e. 'to come and spear us').

(3.2-3) yara - ñika - rĩ - ya
laug.S - straight ahead - go - PAST PUNCT trouble - DAT
ŋeyaŋ - kan yara - rĩ - ya - ma,
dead man - DAT laug.S - go - PAST PUNCT - ma

yar - mara - ŋa - kan [38/76-77]
30 + laug.A - spear - (?) INFIN - DAT
- We went straight on (not stopping to eat) for the trouble (revenge). For the dead man we went, to kill them (in revenge).

A further example of this use is the form yana? - kan (INDEF - DAT)
'what for?' 'why?'

(11) The DAT complement may also express a beneficiary of the event, in which case the purposive idea is also present.

(3.2-4) pan? - ma pi-kan
ta - maŋíŋ - miŋ
here - ma aborigine - DAT 3min.O +2min.A - build - PAST PUNCT
- Did you build this for aborigines?
3.2.1

(3.2-5) remparga - wala ta - pak - rawk - 佬
Rembarnga - ABL 3min.IMPL + 2min.S - IMPLIC - speak - PRES

wamut - kan
[subsection name] - DAT
- You talk in Rembarnga for wamut. (Instruction by an
informant to his small son who normally speaks Gunwinjgu
but is being asked to use Rembarnga for the present
writer's benefit.)

(iii) There is a small group of INTR verb forms which may take an IMPL
complement. It appears that this IMPL is not obligatorily expressed. 5
For example

(3.2-6) qa - 佬 - man - nave
1min.S - (?) pleased - INCHOAT PRES - 3min.DAT PRON
- I like him.

[tree type] - DAT luaug.S - look/wait - FUT
- We'll wait for the tayki? (fish poison) [to be brought].

(iv) The di-transitive verbs re?wa 'give', keppu 'deprive of' and muttu
'show' take an IMPL complement. This implicated NP may only be marked
with the DAT suffix -kan under certain circumstances as noted in 3.1.5,
where the syntax of DITR verbs is discussed in detail.

(v) The subject of discourse may also be an implicated NP marked by
-kan as in (3.2-8).

5 But contrast the following Rembarnga transitive verbs which take
an 佬, not an IMPL, in spite of what an English speaker might expect: 佬
'seek, look for', waral? 'ask someone', and TR stems derived from INTR
verbs of conjugation 1 and 2 by the TRANSVR suffix -wa, such as yina?wa
'tell' and wakwa 'laugh at'.

6 Planchnia careya (a fish poison)
(3.2-8) poke - gaan - 0
    boss* - lmin.DAT PRON - NOM lmin.O + lmin.A - say - TRANSV
    pamira?ko?o? - kan [33/37-38]
PAST PUNCT [Mount Catt] - DAT
- I told my boss about [my plans for/my thoughts on]
  Mount Catt.

(vi) An implicated NP may stand in the relationship of cause to the
    activity marked by a verb as in (3.2-9) to (3.2-11). One may contrast
    this 'prior implication' or cause with the 'subsequent implication' or
    purpose outlined in (i) above.

(3.2-9) yara - menkoj - men
    laug.S - want to go away in fear - PAST CONT

    nanapparu - kan [29/72]
    buffalo - DAT
- We were worried about staying there on account of the
  buffalo (which the dogs had just chased away from the camp).

(3.2-10) ya - tumpa - tumpal? - min
    lmin.S - REDUPL - be at a loss - PAST PUNCT tin* - DAT
- I couldn't do anything at all about it on account of
  [the lack of] a tin.

(3.2-11) yaruk - kan yara - ma? - men [36/12-13]
    hungry/hunger - DAT laug.S - die - PAST CONT
- We were [just about] dying of hunger (i.e. 'We were
  very hungry.')

(vii) The DAT suffix -kan frequently marks NPs referring to periods of
    time. The resultant form means 'during...' or 'at...'. See also 2.2.4.5,
    examples (2.2-73) and (2.2-74).
We were staying at the fish place. It was during the hot weather (late dry season).

(viii) In one example the DAT suffix marks the starting point for measurement of (spatial) distance.

- kok - kan takku - ọ pawuṣa?
  bark hut - DAT child - NOM far
  para - kaḻuk - mọp [37/51-52]
  3aug.S - play - PAST CONT
  The children were playing a long way from the hut(s).

(ix) An implicated NP may also indicate a possessor in Rembarnga. Either the DAT suffix -kan marks the possessor NP, or a DAT PRON is suffixed to the possessed NP, or both devices are used together. See examples (3.2-14), (3.2-15) and (3.1-5).

- ọpọ - kan para - nawa [38/29]
  George - DAT father - 3min.DAT PRON
  George's father.

- maṭayin koṭok - kan
  [ceremony] [subsection name]- DAT
  ọ - pāk - tiyi [cf.38/176-177]
  3min.IMPL + 3min.S- IMPLIC - stand + PAST PUNCT
  коṭok's maṭayin was there.
3.2.2 The IMPLIC prefix -pak-

Morphological aspects of the use of the IMPLIC prefix -pak- have been discussed in 2.5.6. Examples covering a range of uses of -pak- were also included there but not discussed in detail.

The verb prefix -pak- indicates that an implicated NP is cross-referenced in the pronominal verb prefixes in addition to other NPs which might be obligatory with particular verb stems. I use the term 'extended' to describe verb stems which also contain the IMPLIC prefix, which can be used with INTR, TR and DITR verb roots as well as with various derived verbal stems. These 'extended' sentences will be discussed in 3.2.3 to 3.2.7 below. The DR pronominal prefixes are always used with -pak- and the extra IMPL introduced to the VC is cross-referenced by the X element of the prefix (Table 2.5(d)), displacing in some cases the pronominal reference to one of the other NPs in the sentence according to the hierarchy discussed in 2.5.1.3.

(i) As noted in 3.2.1 the term 'implicated NP' refers primarily to NPs which, in free form, are marked with the DAT suffix, or consist of a DAT PRON. This type of IMPL may normally be cross-referenced in the pronominal verb prefix if the IMPLIC prefix is used. The IMPL as a free NP may optionally be deleted. The three examples of (3.2-16) all have the same meaning: 'My father died' Note the equivalence of the different constructions.

(3.2-16) (a) para - r:tana - $\phi$ - pař? - mîp
father - lmin.DAT PRON - NOM 3min.S - die - PAST PUNCT

(b) para - $\phi$ - pař? - mîp - ñanæ
father - NOM 3min.S - die - PAST PUNCT - lmin.DAT PRON

(c) para - $\phi$ - ñon - pak - pař? - mîp
father - NOM 1min.IMPL + 3min.S - IMPLIC - die - PAST PUNCT

Note a similar set of equivalences with the TR verb $\&$i$m$ 'steal' in (3.2-17). All three sentences have the same meaning: 'They stole my swag' or 'They stole the swag from me.'
3.2.2

(3.2-17) (a) nui? - ŋ - par - ʒɪ̂m – ya - ŋane
swag - NOM 3min.0 + 3aug.A - steal - PAST PUNCT -
lmin.DAT PRON

(b) nui? - ŋ - par - ʒɪ̂m – ya
swag - NOM 3min.0 + 3aug.A - steal - PAST PUNCT

ŋinta - kan
lmin.PRON - DAT

(c) nui? - ŋ - ŋanja - pak - ʒɪ̂m – ya
swag - NOM lmin.IMPL + 3aug.A - IMPLIC - steal - PAST PUNCT

The three sentences of (3.2-18) show similar relationships between the use of pak and that of the DAT case suffix or the DAT PRON. Ōalman 'like' is an INTR verb form which may take an IMPL complement.

(3.2-18) (a) ŋa - ōalman wurppaŋ - kan
lmin.S - like + PRES emu - DAT
- I like emu.

(b) ŋa - ōalman - nawa
lmin.S - like + PRES - 3min.DAT PRON
- I like it.

(c) ŋa - pak - ōalman wurppaŋ
3min.IMPL + lmin.S - IMPLIC - like + PRES emu
- I like emu.

The IMPL may optionally remain as a full case-marked NP when pak occurs in the VC, as in (3.2-19).

(3.2-19) tan - pak - ʒuy? - ya
ŋinta - kan
lmin.IMPL + 2min.A - IMPLIC - send - FUT lmin.PRON - DAT
- You will send it to me.
Note that not all IMPL may be cross-referenced in a VC with the IMPLIC prefix. Attempts to obtain forms of the verb tumpal? 'be at a loss' and sa! 'go hunting' with the prefix pak were rejected in spite of the fact that both have been found with a DAT-marked IMPL. See (3.2-10) for such a sentence with tumpal?. sa! can enter precisely the same sort of construction as more general verbs of going, with the object of the hunt as the IMPL. See (3.2-1) in which -lalmin (hunt + PAST PUNCT) could be substituted for -man. The limitations on the use of pak have not been fully tested, but note that it normally only occurs with animate IMPL. In only two examples (of a vast number) has it occurred with a non-human IMPL. One of these is (3.2-18)(c).

(ii) While DAT-marked implicated NPs may be cross-referenced in the VC by using pak and the appropriate pronominal prefixes they are not the only type of IMPL which can be so cross-referenced. DAT-marking of the IMPL has the meaning 'affecting the interests of... ', but there are more purely directional IMPL which are marked with the ALL or ABL case suffixes as appropriate. This distinction operates with only a limited number of verbs and has not yet been fully checked. It is most evident in examples such as (3.2-20) and (3.2-21), both of which refer to the same situation.

(3.2-20) ɲa - pak - pawk - min
3min.IMPL + 1min.S - IMPLIC - speak - PAST PUNCT

John Hunter - ALL
- I spoke to John Hunter.

(3.2-21) qinta - yi?  papa - pak - yappa? - pawk - min
1min.PRON - ERG 3aug.IMPL + 1min.S - IMPLIC - UAGN -

pulaŋ - para? - kan,
speak - PAST PUNCT [subsection name] - UAGM - DAT

Country - DAT
- I spoke [to John Hunter] on behalf of (for) the two
pulaŋ, about their country.
3.2.2

see also a pair of contrasting examples with a verb of motion such as (3.2-22) and (3.2-23). The distinction is not so clear here, but seems to be hinted at in the informant's attempt to explain it in context (in parentheses).

(3.2-22) ɲiɲ - pak - map tanta - kan
2min.IMPL + lmin.S - IMPLIC - went 2min.PRON - DAT
-(e.g. I went [to you] to have a talk with you.)

(3.2-23) ɲiɲ - pak - map tanta - ʔkaʔ?
2min.IMPL + lmin.S - IMPLIC - went 2min.PRON - ALL
-(e.g. You and me went hunting. I say, "I went with /to you").

In a number of other examples the informants seemed to say that an ALL-marked IMPL simply indicated a direction of activity or movement, while a DAT-marked IMPL implied some extra, unstated activity or involvement. That the division between ALL and DAT is not, however, always clear-cut witness the text example (3.2-24) where each case suffix marks an NP with identical reference and in the same function.

(3.2-24) ɲara - na - kan ɓ - pak - yinîp
father - 3min.DAT PRON - DAT 3min.IMPL + 3min.S -

lampâlk - kaʔ [5/12]
IMPLIC - say + PAST PUNCT ɓ - ALL
- She said to her father the bat, "..."

For the use of the ALL and DAT suffixes on NPs in extended di-transitive sentences see 3.2.6.

(iii) Having established that either ALL-marked or DAT-marked implicated NPs may be cross-referenced in VCs with the pak IMPLIC prefix I have to note that the ALL-marked group must again be subdivided in some cases. Thus the sentence (3.2-25) may be interpreted either as (3.2-26)(a) or as (3.2-26)(b). The glosses are not repeated in full.

(3.2-25) tan - pak - walk - ɓiʃl
lmin.IMPL + 2min.S - IMPLIC - enter - PAST PUNCT
- You came inside to me/affecting me.
3.2.2

(3.2-26)(a) tan - pak - walk - min įinta - ?ka?
   lmin.PRON - ALL
   - You came in to me (I was inside anywhere at all).

(b) tan - pak - walk - min ūga - ūgana - ?ka?
   camp - lmin.DAT PRON - ALL
   - You came/went into my hut. (I need not have been inside at the time.)

Thus the act of entering can implicate the speaker either by terminating in his presence or by taking place in his camp, whether or not he is present. Furthermore, if the DAT is used instead of the ALL in (3.2-25), as in (3.2-27) the implication is that the hearer had a message for the speaker, or was going to implicate him more deeply than simply by being in his presence.

(3.2-27) tan - pak - walk - min įinta - kan
   lmin.PRON - DAT

(iv) We must note that, although I have spoken exclusively of ALL-marked implicated NPs in opposition to DAT-marked ones, the ABL suffix may also be used to mark an IMPL NP, depending specifically on the semantics of individual verbs. A good pair of verbs to contrast here are pol? 'arrive' and kuwam? 'set out', both MR INTR roots. The normal IMPL with pol? 'arrive' is marked by the ALL suffix as in (3.2-28).

(3.2-28) įja - pak - pol? - min
   2min.IMPL + lmin.S - IMPLIC - arrive - PAST PUNCT

   tanta - ?ka?
   2min.PRON - ALL
   - I came up to you.

kuwam? 'set out', on the other hand, has its IMPL normally marked by the ABL suffix as in (3.2-29).
While an NP marked with the ALL suffix -?ka? would be possible in a sentence with kuwam?, indicating final destination, this ALL-marked NP could not be cross-referenced in the VC using the IMPLIC prefix. Note, however, that even with a single verb the contextually defined suffix on the directional IMPL may vary. While the normal case associated with pol? 'arrive/come out' is the allative (as in (3.2-28)), under certain circumstances the ablative may occur as in the text example (3.2-30).

(3.2-30) ₅ - pak - pol? - mı₃
3min.IMPL + 3min.S - IMPLIC - come out - PAST PUNCT

₅er? - jara - wala [38/139]
heart - [?] - ABL
- [The spear] came out from (through) his heart. (i.e. right through his body)

(v) Finally we must note that in narrative the hearer(s) and sometimes also the speaker may be introduced as IMPL into a sentence, using pak in the VC. In this 'narrative' use the IMPL does not occur as a free NP in the surface structure. This device is a feature of the narrator's style and his relationship with his hearers; it has nothing to do with the actual content of the narrative. This is understood clearly by both speaker and hearer from their personal knowledge of whether or not they were involved in the events being described. In glosses I translate this 'narrative' use of IMPL as 'you know', 'you see' or 'would you believe?' Expressions like this seem to be the nearest approximation to this device in English narrative. One might say that this type of IMPL is relevant at the level of the context of the utterance, not at the level of content. See (3.2-31) and (3.2-32).
3.2.2

(3.2-31) ɲuŋa? - φ - ɲar - ɲar - min,
fire - NOM 3min.S - REDUPL - burn - PAST PUNCT

warlka yan - pak - na - φ
NEW SUBJECT 1/2min. IMPL + 3min.A - IMPLIC - see -

ɲuŋa? - φ [28/7-8]
PAST PUNCT fire - NOM
- The fire was burning. Then [the buffalo] saw the fire,
you see. (As the textual context makes clear (by using
1 person pronouns, not 1/2 person) the speaker but not
the hearer was present during the incident being described.)

(3.2-32) yan - pak - ɲarlkka - taywur?ka - pa [3/80-81]
1/2min.IMPL + 3min.A - IMPLIC - bone - break - PAST PUNCT
- [The kookaburra] broke the [kangaroo's knee] bone,
you know. (Since this text relates a mythological story
it is clear that neither the speaker nor his hearers
can have been directly implicated in the content of the
story in any way.)

3.2.3 Extended Case Frames

The IMPLIC prefix pak can be used with verbs in any of the
three classes of minimal sentences outlined in 3.1.2 to 3.1.5. Implicated
NPs as free forms may optionally occur with these sentence types in the
various ways outlined in 3.2.1, but the use of the pak prefix within
the VC makes obligatory the addition of an IMPL, cross-referenced by
the X element of a DR pronominal prefix. This IMPL made obligatory
by pak is in addition to the IMPL already obligatorily present in the case
of DITR verbs. Sentences including a further obligatory IMPL in this
way are termed 'extended'. The three extended case frames or sentence
types are set out below with the obligatory NPs for each. The NPs
underlined are cross-referenced by the DR pronominal verb prefix.
Compare the list of minimal sentence types in 3.1.2.
3.2.3 Extended Intransitive (EXINTR) IMPL S
Extended Transitive (EXTR) IMPL A O
Extended Di-Transitive (EXDITR) IMPL IMPL A O

The X element of the pronominal prefix always refers to the newly introduced IMPL, the Y element to the A or S.

3.2.4 Extended Intransitive (EXINTR)

As noted in 2.5.6 mono-referential verbs become di-referential when pak occurs in the VC. This is shown in the two VC.s of (3.2-33) which are taken from text [37/13,14] with the addition of UAUGM in (b).

(3.2-33)(a) yara - yappa? - pol? - min
   laug.S - UAUGM - arrive - PAST PUNCT
   - We (two) arrived.

(b) payar - pak - yappa? - pol? - min
   3aug.IMPL + laug.S - IMPLIC - UAUGM - arrive - PAST PUNCT
   - We (two) came to them.

Case marking of the IMPL is discussed in 3.2.2.

3.2.5 Extended Transitive (EXTR)

The O of an EXTR sentence is not pronominally marked within the VC but remains 'understood'. The two sentences of (3.2-34) show the difference between TR and EXTR VC.s. In the (a) sentence the IMPL marked by a DAT PRON is completely optional and not marked by a pronominal

7 Verbs with this sort of case frame in other Australian languages have been termed 'middle' verbs by a number of writers (e.g. Sommer 1972:32, Blake forthcoming, and a number of papers on the bi-valent suffix in Dixon ed. forthcoming) written in response to Blake's paper). In this they are following Hale (1970:758 and 1968:4-5, 18) who says (1968:57, fn.14) that he is following Lees (1960:8). Note the change in definition of 'middle' between Hale's two papers. I have avoided using the term 'middle' here in view of its very different and well-established significance in the Indo-European context (cf. Lyons 1968:373-374 and Benveniste 1950). Furthermore I need a term which allows the parallelism to be seen between the three types of extended case frame.
3.2.5

prefix. In the (b) sentence the presence of pak makes the marking of the IMPL by the pronominal prefix obligatory. In both sentences the NP in 0 function (taŋun - страива) could be deleted without any effect on the meaning of the sentence. It would be 'understood', but would have no surface marking at all.

(3.2-34)(a) taŋun - ushman - ya (-qanā)
story - NOM 3min.0 + 3aug.A - tell - PAST PUNCT
(- lmin.DAT PRON)
- They told the story to me.

(b) taŋun - ushman - pak - нятие - ya
story - NOM lmin.IMPL + 3aug.A - IMPLIC - tell - PAST PUNCT
- They told me the story.

Case marking of the IMPL has been mentioned in 3.2.2.

3.2.6 Extended Di-transitive (EXDITR)

Very little information has been obtained on sentences of this type. Such sentences have never been found in text material. A second IMPL (IMPL₂) is added to the sentence, in addition to the IMPL obligatorily present in a DITR sentence (IMPL₁). This IMPL₂ is cross-referenced by the X element of the DR pronominal prefix, displacing pronominal reference to IMPL₁. IMPL₂ is more indirectly implicated than IMPL₁. Thus with the verb teʔwa 'give' in extended form the IMPL₁ refers to the actual immediate recipient of the 0 while IMPL₂ refers to the (absent) possessor of the 0, to the intended eventual recipient of the 0, or to a person related in some way to IMPL₁.

The two IMPL NPs have been found to be marked with two different cases: IMPL₁ is marked with the ALL suffix and IMPL₂ with the DAT suffix as in (3.2-35).

(3.2-35) _overlay
father - lmin.DAT PRON - ERG lmin.PRON - DAT spear - NOM

- My father gave my spear to the little child.
3.2.6

Compare also the two sentences of (3.2-36) where another type of indirect, secondary implication was said by informants to be relevant in a similar EXDITR sentence.

(3.2-36) (a) ɲanja - teʔwa - φ
lmin.IMPL₂ + 3aug.A - give - PAST PUNCT spear - NOM
- They gave the spear to me.

(b) ɲanja - pak - teʔwa - φ
lmin.IMPL₂ + 3aug.A - IMPLIC - give - PAST PUNCT

poʔi - φ
spear - NOM
- They gave the spear to a member of my family.

The speaker in (3.2-36)(b) is implicated indirectly by his relationship to the direct recipient (the unmarked IMPL₁) of the spear. The spear could be intended to go to the speaker eventually.

As a final example of this phenomenon, this time with the verb keppu 'deprive of', see example (3.2-37) for which the informant offered the paraphrase given in (3.2-38)

(3.2-37) papa - pak - keppu - wa
3aug.IMPL₂ + lmin.A - IMPLIC - deprive - PAST PUNCT
- I deprived their family of it.

(3.2-38) pi - pare - φ
malak
person - 3aug.DAT PRON - NOM NEG

piʔi - teʔwa - ne
3aug.IMPL + lmin.A + REL - give - PAST CF
- I did not give it to their people.

It appears that EXDITR sentences are not possible with the DITR verb root muttu 'to show', with which pak may not occur.
3.2.7 Ergative Case in EXINTR Sentences

In the light of the occasional use of ERG case marking for the S of an INTR sentence (3.1.3, examples (3.1-9) and (3.1-10)), a brief check was carried out into the possibility of marking an S NP with the ERG suffix *yi? in sentences with each of the INTR MR verbs *maŋ 'went', *pol? 'arrive', *yino? 'say', *nawk 'speak', *waŋ? 'look/wait' *kowanyuŋ 'run away frightened' and *poŋ 'go past/overtake'. The general pattern with most of these verbs was that ERG case marking on the S was rejected in ordinary INTR sentences. On the other hand in EXINTR sentences with the same verbs the S was optionally marked with the ERG suffix, and the ERG-marked form was in fact preferred. Thus it seems that the S is in unmarked NOM case when it is cross-referenced in the VC by a mono-referential prefix in an INTR sentence, but that it may be in the ERG case when it is cross-referenced by the Y element of a di-referential prefix to the verb in an EXINTR sentence. Thus to a certain limited extent the use of the ERG suffix is dependent more upon whether the verb is MR or DR than upon the actual case (A or S) of the NP it marks. It serves to differentiate between two obligatory NPS in the sentence.

(3.2-39)(a) "inta - ø
   1min.PRON - NOM
   qa - pol? - mŋ
   lmin.S - arrive - PAST PUNCT

   "inta - yi?
   lmin.PRON - ERG
   - I arrived.

(b) "inta - ø
   1min.PRON - NOM
   qa - pak - pol? - mŋ
   3min.IMPL + lmin.S - IMPLIC - arrive
   PAST PUNCT

   "inta - yi?
   lmin.PRON - ERG
   - I came up to him.
3.2.7

There did seem to be fairly ready acceptance of the optional use of the ERG suffix to mark the S of simple INTR sentences (without pak) with the verbs nawk 'speak', yina? 'say' and kuwanyut 'run away frightened'. I can only suggest in explanation that all these verbs have some sort of underlying propensity for involving an IMPL (person spoken to, object of fear etc.) even if this is not obligatorily present in surface structure. See discussion below of a similar group of MR INTR verbs which may have reflexive/reciprocal forms (3.3.3).

3.3 REFLEXIVE AND RECIPROCAL

3.3.1 Reflexive and Reciprocal Sentences

Reflexive and reciprocal forms are common devices in many languages to express referential identity between NPs within the sentence. Thus the reflexive normally indicates that the A and the O of a transitive sentence are referentially identical (i.e. that the A acts upon himself). The reciprocal form may indicate that each member of a defined group is A in some individual instances of the action described and O in other instances. Many Australian languages use derivational affixes to verbs to derive reflexive and reciprocal forms, while many other languages like English, use special pronominal forms. The reflexive and reciprocal suffix in Rembarnga has the form -tt6 and is discussed in 2.5.7.

A REFLEX (reflexive or reciprocal) verb form in Rembarnga is mono-referential, unlike its normal non-REFLEX counterpart. The MR pronominal prefix marks the identical A and O in reflexive interpretation or the sum of the participants in a reciprocal interpretation. Compare (3.3-1) and (3.3-2), noting the difference between the DR verb jet 'cut', the A and O of which are distinct, and the derived MR REFLEX form of the verb for which the A and O are identical in reference and cross-referenced by a single MR pronominal prefix.

(3.3-1)  ta - ṝeŋ - ṝa
          3min.O + 2min.A - cut - FUT
          - You will cut it./Cut it!
In Rembarnga there is no morphological difference between reflexive and reciprocal verbs. Both are derived using the REFLEX suffix -tta (2.5.7). Thus (3.3-3) has either the meaning expressed by the pair of sentences of (3.3-4) or the meaning expressed by the sentences of (3.3-5). Note that if only one person is referred to no reciprocal interpretation is possible, as in (3.3-2) and (3.3-5)(a) and (b).

(3.3-3) ya - palar - ma - tta - na
1/2min.S - rub - STEM - REFLEX - FUT

(3.3-4) (a) gîn - palar - ța
2min.0 + lmin.A - rub - FUT
- I'll rub you (with white ochre).

(b) tan - palar - ța
lmin.0 + 2min.A - rub - FUT
- You'll rub me (with white ochre).

(3.3-5) (a) ța - palar - me - tta - na
lmin.S - rub - STEM - REFLEX - FUT
- I'll rub myself (with white ochre).

(b) gîn - palar - me - tta - na
2min.S - rub - STEM - REFLEX - FUT
- You'll rub yourself (with white ochre).

Within the verb complex these two types of interpretation are not able to be distinguished. As noted in 2.2.4.3 the ABL suffix sometimes appears to mark the S (where it remains in the surface structure) of a reflexive verb, but not of a reciprocal verb, thus disambiguating the two. Such disambiguation is extremely rare. Normally context would...

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8 Metcalfe uses the term 'Retro-active' to refer to both reflexive and reciprocal verb forms in Bardi (W.A.) in view of their morphological identity (Metcalfe 1972:131).
To further illustrate the sameness of form between reflexive and reciprocal I take the verb *wina* which means 'not to know', 'to forget', 'to lose'. The VC in (3.3-6) has one of two meanings, either (a) reflexive or (b) reciprocal. Non-linguistic context would normally make the significance clear.

(3.3-6) \[ \begin{align*}
3\text{aug.S} & \quad \text{not know/lose - REFLEX - PAST PUNCT} \\
(a) & \quad \text{They got lost.} \\
(b) & \quad \text{They did not know each other.}
\end{align*} \]

Note that for reciprocal verb forms full reciprocity is not essential. It is not necessary that each participant performs the action on each other participant. In sentence (3.3-7), which cannot even be called 'reciprocal' in the sense outlined earlier, simple inclusion in the group is sufficient. The gloss is based on an informant's description of a possible situation for the sentence. Examples of REFLEX forms used with non-reflexive meaning are given in 3.3.5.

(3.3-7) \[ \begin{align*}
3\text{aug.S} & \quad \text{take - REFLEX - PAST PUNCT} \\
& \quad \text{They took one of their number (e.g. to hospital).}
\end{align*} \]

There follows a number of text examples of straightforward reflexive (3.3-8) and reciprocal ((3.3-9) and (3.3-10)) sentences.

(3.3-8) \[ \begin{align*}
\text{takku} & \quad \text{ni?kaŋa} \quad \text{ŋo} \quad \text{put - STEM - REFLEX - PAST PUNCT} \\
\text{baby} & \quad \text{NOM} \quad 3\text{min.EMPH} \quad 3\text{min.S} \quad \text{put - STEM - REFLEX - PAST PUNCT} \\
& \quad \text{The baby put himself there. (Mythol. - the 'putting' is as a permanent feature of the landscape.)}
\end{align*} \]

(3.3-9) \[ \begin{align*}
3\text{aug.S} & \quad \text{UAUGM - send - STEM - REFLEX - PAST PUNCT} \\
& \quad \text{They split up. (i.e. 'They sent each other [different ways].')}
\end{align*} \]
3.3.1

(3.3-10) yara - pete₂₂ - pete - pe - ti - n - [9/69]
- laug.S - almost - REDUPL - hit - REFLEX - PAST PUNCT
- We almost had a fight.

3.3.2 Identity of NPs

In 3.3.1 I presented A and O as the NPs whose identity leads to the use of the REFLEX suffix. This is true, however, only for ordinary transitive DR verbs such as those exemplified in 3.3.1. With di-transitive verbs the situation is somewhat different. Here too, REFLEX forms are MR. (3.3-12) is an informant's paraphrase of (3.3-11). Note the NPs involved in the reciprocating referential identity condition.

(3.3-11) ya - muttu - yə - tta - na
1/2min.S - show - STEM - REFLEX - FUT

(3.3-12) tanta - yi?
- tan - muttu - ŋaŋa
2min.PRON - ERG 1min.IMPL + 2min.A - show - FUT

ŋinta - yi?
- maŋiŋi - muttu - ŋaŋa
lmin.PRON - ERG and 2min.IMPL + lmin.A - show - FUT
- You will show [something] to me and I'll show [something] to you. We'll show [something] to each other.

It is clear in this example that there is reciprocal referential identity, not between A and O, but between A and IMPL, and that the S prefix for the REFLEX verb form marks the sum of these two NPs. Note, however, that it is precisely A and IMPL which are marked by the two elements of the DR prefix of a DITR verb such as muttu, while with a TR verb such as palar ((3.3-3) to (3.3-5)) it is the A and O which are pronominally marked by the DR prefix (see 3.1.4, 2.5.1.3). Thus we can say that if the two NPs cross-referenced by a DR pronominal verb prefix are referentially identical (reflexively or reciprocally) a REFLEX verb form is used. The identity condition operates between the two obligatory NPs highest on the hierarchy outlined in 2.5.1.3.

This generalisation receives further support from pairs of examples such as (3.3-13) and (3.3-14) in which nominal incorporation entails the cross-referencing of an IMPL (instead of an O) by the DR pronominal prefix to a TR verb (see 3.4.3).
3.3.2

(3.3-13) paŋa - taworo - m₁ - ya  
3aug.IMPL + lmin.A - clan name - get/call out - PAST PUNCT
- I called out the name of their taworo.

(3.3-14) qa - taworo - mₐ - qa - tₗi - nₐ  
lmin.S - clan name - get/call out - STEM - REFLEX - PAST PUNCT
- I called out the name of my own taworo.

Clearly the underlying form of (3.3-14) is parallel to that of (3.3-9) but involves referential identity between IMPL and A (lmin.). Similar pairs of examples involving noun incorporation and showing the same kind of identity conditions are given in (3.3-15) and (3.3-16).

(3.3-15)(a) ta - ʒaŋa - teŋ - ʒa  
3min.IMPL + 2min.A - foot - cut - FUT
- You will cut his foot.

(b) qaŋ - ʒaŋa - teŋ - mₐ - tₗe - na  
2min.S - foot - cut - STEM - REFLEX - FUT
- You will cut your own foot.

(3.3-16)(a) paŋar - yaŋ - ʒawa - na  
3aug.IMPL + 1/2aug.A - story - hear - FUT
- We'll listen to their story.

(b) qaŋa - yaŋ - ʒawa - tₗe - na  
1/2aug.S - story - hear - REFLEX - FUT
- We'll listen to each others' stories (i.e. 'We'll have a meeting/discussion'.)

3.3.3 Extended Reciprocity

There is a very interesting group of examples for which REFLEX forms with reciprocal meaning occur, but for which the identity conditions outlined above do not apply. This failure to apply is due in some cases to the fact that the non-REFLEX form of the verb is itself mono-referential. This means that there is normally only one obligatory NP in the sentence. The referential identity marked by the MR pronominal prefix to the REFLEX form of one of these verbs is between the S and a strongly implied, but not obligatorily marked IMPL.
3.3.3

See, for instance, the REFLEX form of pol? 'arrive'. (a MR INTR verb) in (3.3-17)(a). Compare this with (3.3-17)(b) which is formally similar to what a non-REFLEX form of (3.3-17)(a) must be. Compare too an informant's paraphrase (3.3-18) of (3.3-17)(a) using the DR TR verb țokna 'meet'.

(3.3-17)(a) țara - pol? - mə - tte - na
   1/2aug.S - arrive - STEM - REFLEX - FUT
   - We'll come up to each other/meet each other.

   (b) țaranpa - pak - pol? - la
   1/2aug.IMPL + 3aug.S - IMPLIC - arrive - FUT
   - They'll come up to us/meet us.

(3.3-18) țara - țokna - tte - na
   1/2aug.S - meet - REFLEX - FUT
   - We'll meet each other.

See 2.5.7 for a list of the MR verbs which may form REFLEX forms without first being transitivised. See further the comments in 3.2.7 on the ERG marking of the S of some MR INTR verbs with an implied but unmarked IMPL.

The strongly implied but unmarked IMPL NP is apparently not confined to MR INTR verbs. (3.3-19) is an example of reciprocation involving referential identity of A and IMPL, even though the non-REFLEX form of the verb is DR TR (with A and 0 pronominally cross-referenced), not DR DITR (with A and IMPL pronominally cross-referenced). This example occurred in text but its implications have not yet been explored.

(3.3-19) yara - țipma - țə - tte - niŋ
   laug.S - steal - STEM - REFLEX - PAST CONT

   puliki - ș [9/2]
cattle* - NOM
   - We used to steal cattle from each other.
3.3.4 REFLEX and the Syntactic Prefixes

A small number of text examples indicate that some comment is necessary on the relative ordering of the rules introducing the REFLEX suffix (and changing the pronominal verb prefix to MR) and the rules introducing the various syntactic prefixes (petə, pak, re (2.5.6)) to the VC with their respective associated changes in pronominal prefixing. The details have not been checked beyond comparing the eight available text examples.

(i) IMPLIC Firstly consider example (3.3-20).

(3.3-20) paya - pak - ţaga - poţo? - me - tte - na [37/81]
  3aug.IMPL + 1/2min.S - IMPLIC - foot - put - STEM - REFLEX - PUT
  - We'll put our footsteps (leave our tracks) for them.

Note that a DR prefix occurs as one would expect with a VC containing pak IMPLIC, rather than a MR prefix as one would expect with a REFLEX verb stem. The IMPL marked by the DR prefix is not identical with any other NP cross-referenced in the VC. The 1/2 min. NP which is cross-referenced in the verb indicates both the A and the possessor (IMPL) of the feet or tracks. I consider then that at first a simple REFLEX form such as (3.3-21) is derived (compare (3.3-15)).

(3.3-21) ya - ţaga - poţo? - me - tte - na ( - para)
  1/2min.S - foot - put - STEM - REFLEX - PUT ( - 3aug.DAT PRON)
  - We'll leave our tracks (for them).

Then pak IMPLIC may be introduced to the VC making the verb again DR instead of MR and converting the optional IMPL marked by a suffix to an obligatory IMPL marked by prefix. The result is (3.3-20).

From this we may conclude that any rules introducing pak and its associated prefix changes follow the reflexive/reciprocal rules. This interpretation is supported by the fact that DR verb forms derived by means of pak (2.5.6(i)) are not found to undergo reflexivisation. The two cross-referenced NPs must be referentially distinct if pak is to appear in the VC.
A similar line of reasoning on the basis of example (3.3-22) and others indicates that the rule introducing re to the VC must follow the reflexive and reciprocal rules. Added to this is the fact that re may normally occur only with MR INTR verbs, deriving DR transitives. A REFLEX verb form is a surface MR intransitive verb, derived from a deep DR transitive verb.

(3.3-22)  
par - re - wun? - wuntu - tti - n  [3/122]  
30 + 3aug.A - COM TRANSVR - REDUPL - hide - REFLEX - PAST PUNCT  
- They hid themselves with (taking) [the meat].  
(Mythol)

Note again the use of the DR prefix as would be expected with re rather than the MR prefix expected with a REFLEX verb.

(ii) COM EXTVR  
There is only one fairly clear example of the use of paṭṭa with a REFLEX verb form.

(3.3-23)  
para - paṭṭa - ma - re - tte - n  [38/228]  
3aug.S - COM EXTVR - get - STEM - REFLEX - PRES  
- They take from each other. (Referring to several men all trying to get the same girl.)

Note here the use of a MR prefix while paṭṭa occurs only with DR transitive verbs, deriving DR di-transitives. It seems clear that paṭṭa must be introduced first giving something like (3.3-24) in which referential identity of A and IMPL triggers off reflexivisation. Compare (2.5-42).

(3.3-24)  
paranpa - paṭṭa - ma - ś  
3aug.IMPL + 3aug.A - COM EXTVR - get - PRES  
- They take [the woman] from them.

Thus paṭṭa differs from the other two syntactic prefixes pak and re in that it is introduced to the VC before reflexivisation occurs, while their introduction to the VC follows reflexivisation.

Another (rather unclear) example of the use of paṭṭa in a REFLEX verb form is quoted as (2.5-43). This example seems to fit the pattern outlined here.
3.3.5 Other Reflexives and Reciprocals

There are a number of transitive verbs in Rembarnga for which reflexive forms exist which appear to have the principal function of allowing the verb to be used as an intransitive MR verb with the deep 0 as the surface S. In some cases corresponding MR INTR verb roots can be used with a similar meaning.

The verb *yina? 'say' 'do*', for instance, can be used with the sense 'be like that' 'do that', as in (3.3-25).

(3.3-25) *para - waŋa - yinip muluy?* [3/47]
3aug.S - CONT - do + PAST PUNCT CONT
- They were like that all day. That's what they did all day. (One after another they went into the attack but retreated in fear when the victim was close. (Mythol.))

But a very similar meaning is perhaps more commonly expressed by means of the reflexive form of a transitivised form of the verb as in (3.3-26).

(3.3-26) *yar - kuʔ - poʔuʔ - maŋ*
3min.O + laug.A - dead - put - PAST CONT
*yar - yina? - we - tti - p* [38/221-222]
laug.S - do - TRANSVR - REFLEX - PAST PUNCT
- We used to kill [anyone who stole a wife]. That is what we used to do.

Another interesting verb in this connection is the compound *tumuka 'light grass fires for hunting purposes'*. The reflexive and non-reflexive forms of this verb are said by informants to have the same meaning.

(3.3-27) *ŋa - tumuka - ŋin*
30 + 1min.A - light fires - PAST PUNCT
*ŋa - tumuka - tti - p*
1min.S - light fires - REFLEX - PAST PUNCT
- I lit fires for hunting.

See also the following miscellaneous examples with other TR verbs where the reflexive form appears to lack a full reflexive or reciprocal sense.
The buffaloes ran away. They stopped and stood there on the hill.

These men have all died. 9

We kept going back and forth (following buffalo tracks).

A large number of people all came back to (gathered at) one place.

Finally note the following two idiomatic REFLEX forms found in text material. The meaning appears to me to be unpredictable from their composition.

We (two) were born and grew up in the same country.

(lit. 'We held each other's legs.')

They settled the trouble. ("They shook hands - finish - no trouble now.") (Ref. to revenge killings) (lit. 'They trod on each other's feet/footprints. ')

9 Alternative verbs to translate 'die' are the intransitive MR verbs para - yuṭ - mī. para - ta - ọṣ - tti - ọ. 3aug.S - run - PAST PUNCT 3aug.S - stand(CAUS) - STEM -

karakku? turun - ?ka? [29/89]

REFLEX - PAST PUNCT up hill - ALL

- [The buffaloes] ran away. They stopped and stood there on the hill.

These men have all died. 9

We kept going back and forth (following buffalo tracks).

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Finally note the following two idiomatic REFLEX forms found in text material. The meaning appears to me to be unpredictable from their composition.

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karakku? turun - ?ka? [29/89]

REFLEX - PAST PUNCT up hill - ALL

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karakku? turun - ?ka? [29/89]

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- [The buffaloes] ran away. They stopped and stood there on the hill.

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9 Alternative verbs to translate 'die' are the intransitive MR verbs para - yuṭ - mī. para - ta - ọṣ - tti - ọ. 3aug.S - run - PAST PUNCT 3aug.S - stand(CAUS) - STEM -

karakku? turun - ?ka? [29/89]

REFLEX - PAST PUNCT up hill - ALL

- [The buffaloes] ran away. They stopped and stood there on the hill.

These men have all died. 9

We kept going back and forth (following buffalo tracks).

A large number of people all came back to (gathered at) one place.

Finally note the following two idiomatic REFLEX forms found in text material. The meaning appears to me to be unpredictable from their composition.

We (two) were born and grew up in the same country.

(lit. 'We held each other's legs.')

They settled the trouble. ("They shook hands - finish - no trouble now.") (Ref. to revenge killings) (lit. 'They trod on each other's feet/footprints. ')

9 Alternative verbs to translate 'die' are the intransitive MR verbs para - yuṭ - mī. para - ta - ọṣ - tti - ọ. 3aug.S - run - PAST PUNCT 3aug.S - stand(CAUS) - STEM -

karakku? turun - ?ka? [29/89]

REFLEX - PAST PUNCT up hill - ALL

- [The buffaloes] ran away. They stopped and stood there on the hill.

These men have all died. 9

We kept going back and forth (following buffalo tracks).

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(lit. 'We held each other's legs.')

They settled the trouble. ("They shook hands - finish - no trouble now.") (Ref. to revenge killings) (lit. 'They trod on each other's feet/footprints. ')
A very prominent feature of Rembarnga syntax is the incorporation of nominal roots into the verb complex preceding the verb root. Such incorporation has been reported for a number of other languages in the same general area. These include Gunwinjgu (Oates 1964:55), Dalabon (Capell 1962:101), Gunbalang (Harris 1969: 4,5,8), Nunggubuyu (Hughes and Healey 1971:54), Murinj-Pata (M. Walsh, personal communication) and Tiwi (Osborne 1974:2, 46-50). Tiwi is the only language in the area for which there has been much more than a brief mention of noun incorporation in the published literature to my knowledge. In all the languages mentioned there are restricted sets of nouns which may be incorporated into the VC, including in all cases some body part nouns.

Sapir discusses noun incorporation at length in his paper 'The Problem of Noun Incorporation in American Languages' (1911). He defines noun incorporation as the "process of compounding a noun stem with a verb...no matter what the syntactic function of the noun logically is". He stresses that true noun incorporation must involve noun roots which may occur both within or outside the VC. He writes (of incorporated 'noun' objects and subjects):

"As long ... as they are lexically distinct from noun stems proper, they must be looked upon as grammatical elements pure and simple, however concrete their signification may seem. They are logically related to independent nouns of the same or allied meaning as are tense affixes to independent adverbs of time". (1911:252)

Sapir goes on to outline a number of different types of noun incorporation found in American languages, showing in particular the various syntactic relationships which can pertain between the verb and the incorporated noun. He maintains that frequently in a verb complex involving noun incorporation


11 On this definition Tiwi would hardly be classed as noun-incorporating since very few of its incorporated forms are morphologically related to the corresponding free forms (Osborne 1974:48-50). Perhaps this part of Sapir's definition is too restrictive. On the other hand, if the incorporated forms are not morphologically related to free nominal forms, by what criteria (other than reference) does one call them 'nouns'. This is presumably why Osborne speaks of 'verb-like and 'noun'-like' incorporated forms.
3.4.1

one must recognise that

"the grammatical expression of a logical relation, in other words a syntactic process, is sacrificed to a compositional process in which the logical relation is only implied. The sacrifice of syntax to morphology or word-building is indeed a general tendency in more than one American language." (1911:257)

Noun incorporation as defined by Sapir is present in Rembarnga. The nominal stems incorporated into the VC are identical with the corresponding free forms in most cases. Although there are a few exceptional examples (presented in 2.5.11) for which we might say that the syntactic process or logical relationship between verb and nominal is only implied, it seems clear that the incorporated nominal in Rembarnga normally stands in the S function for an INTR verb or in the O function for a TR or DITR verb, and varies only inasmuch as these functions vary semantically from verb to verb. Thus in Rembarnga the syntactic relationship between an incorporated nominal and the verb is normally more clearly defined and less subordinated to the morphology than appears to be the case in some American languages.

Rembarnga also has what Sapir calls "possessed" noun incorporation (p.279), illustrating this from Iroquois. I can do no better than to quote his definition of this type of incorporation:

"If a noun capable of incorporation is qualified by a possessive pronoun or genitive, the noun stem is incorporated into the verb (forms a quasi-compound with the verb), while its modifier is expressed as the pronominal subject or object of the verb according to whether the noun when incorporated is the syntactical equivalent of a subject or object; if the modifier is a genitive, it follows the verb as in apposition to its pronominal representative in the verb." (1911:279)

This is discussed in 3.4.3 below. "Possessed" nominal incorporation or 'Implicating Nominal Incorporation' accounts for much of the complexity in the investigation of nominal incorporation in Rembarnga.
There are cases where the incorporated nominal modifies adjectivally the NP cross-referenced by the W or X pronominal prefix element (3.4.2.1). There are cases where the incorporated nominal is inalienably possessed by the item cross-referenced by the W or X pronominal prefix element (as, for instance, nominals referring to body parts - see 3.4.3, 3.4.4, 3.4.5). And there are cases where the incorporated nominal is alienably possessed by the item cross-referenced by the W or X pronominal prefix element (3.4.3, 3.4.4, 3.4.5). Are the nominals of the first group to be considered adjectives, or inalienably possessed "quality" nominals parallel to body part nominals? If the former, then where would one draw the line between the two in the use of nominals such as ku7(na) 'dead/raw/unripe/corpse', moa(na) 'water/liquid', tura(na) 'body/alive/in the flesh', kari(na) 'wounded/a wounded man'? In what follows I have adopted, for ease of exposition, the view that some nominals (those discussed in 3.4.2.1) are adjectival in nature. Nevertheless this classification is somewhat arbitrary and I believe that it may well turn out to be more correct to take these and all other 'adjectival' nominals as inalienably possessed "quality" nominals. This would allow all nominal incorporation, with the exception of that discussed in 3.4.2.2, to be treated in the same manner, as "possessed" or "implicating" nominal incorporation. The question of the type of "possession" involved (whether adjectival modification, inalienable, or alienable) is then recognised as a matter of semantics not of syntax. Important syntactic variables which may be relevant are the presence or absence of the IMPLIC prefix pak, and the person and number of the pronominal verb prefixes.

The outline presented below should be taken as tentative and incomplete. It will deal only with incorporated nominals in S or 0 function, others having been touched on in 2.5.11.
3.4.2 Simple Nominal Incorporation

Under this heading I discuss two types of nominal incorporation which appear not to involve the "possessed" or "implicating" noun interpretation for which I quoted Sapir's definition above (3.4.1). One of these types is restricted to use in VCs where the W or X element of the pronominal prefix is third person minimal (unmarked). These are exceptional forms with nominals that are normally involved in "possessed" noun incorporation. They are discussed in 3.4.2.2. The other type is not restricted in the same way concerning pronominal verb prefixes. The nominals in this case could be interpreted as adjectives. They are discussed in 3.4.2.1.

A crucial point with both types of simple nominal incorporation is that the incorporated nominal is in the S or O function, depending on verb transitivity. A nominal in A function may not be incorporated. We can say, therefore, that simple nominal incorporation rules operate in an ergative manner, identifying S and O rather than S and A as a single syntactic function. See further discussion in 3.8.

3.4.2.1 Unrestricted Simple Nominal Incorporation Any one of a small set of nominals may be incorporated into a VC in S or O function while the pronominal prefix element, if any, which marks the S or O of the verb continues to cross-reference the incorporated S or O. (Contrast implicating nominal incorporation (3.4.3) in which, when the S or O nominal is incorporated, the prefix element cross-references an IMPL, rather than S or O itself.) One such nominal is kāṭpur (na) 'wounded'. In examples (3.4-1) and (3.4-2) this nominal occurs as the incorporated S and O respectively, cross-referenced in (3.4-1) by the W prefix element and in (3.4-2) by the X prefix element.

(3.4-1) φ - kāṭpur - māp [29/106]
3min.S - wounded - went
- [The buffalo] went off wounded.
(3.4-2) melak yerenpe - yappa? - kaṭpur - ta-ŋe [37/142]
NEG laug.0 + 3aug.A + REL - DAUGM - wounded - stand (CAUS) - PAST CF
- They did not wound us (two). (lit. 'They did not cause us to stand wounded (by throwing spears at us').)

With EXTR and DITR verbs the pronominal prefix elements cross-reference A and IMPL. As a result an incorporated nominal in O function is not cross-referenced by the pronominal verb prefixes. (3.4-3) to (3.4-5) exemplify the incorporation of the 'adjectival' nominal kari(na) 'wounded', in TR, EXTR and DITR VCs.

(3.4-3) yar - kari - peṭe? - miŋ
3min.O + laug.A - wounded - carry - PAST PUNCT
nenta - ō - ma [38/147]
that - NOM - ma
- We carried that wounded man.

(3.4-4) yan - pak - kari - ūŋ? - ka - pa [38/146]
1/2min.IMPL + 3min.A - IMPLIC - wounded - fall - CAUS - PAST PUNCT
- He brought him down wounded (by wounding him), you know. 13

(3.4-5) yaran - kari - teʔwa - ō [38/146]
laug.IMPL + 3min.A - wounded - give - PAST PUNCT
- He gave us a wounded man. (i.e. 'He wounded one of our men.')

Examples (3.4-6) to (3.4-9) show other of these nominals incorporated into a variety of verb complexes. These are muguŋu(na) '(one) who has just carried out a killing', tura(na) 'alive', чувk 'sacred/set apart/taboo: and poy(na) 'left unharmed (of game)'.

(3.4-6) yanta - ō - ma yara - yi - muguŋu - ūŋ? - miŋ [38/159]
laug.PRON - NOM - ma laug.S - yi - killer - return - PAST PUNCT
- We killers went back (i.e. having just carried out a revenge killing).

The difference, if any, between kari(na) and kaṭpur(na) is not known to me. They appear to be interchangeable. 12

See 3.2.2(v).
3.4.2

(3.4-7) kilili - $ - ma panta yara - tura - r$ - $ [38/57]
others - NOM - ma here laug.$ - alive - go - PRES
- Others of us are still (getting around) alive.

(3.4-8) \textit{gu\textit{\textmarkmarkmarkmark} mark} yara - \textit{\textit{\textmarkmarkmarkmark} y} i - \textit{\textit{\textmarkmarkmarkmark} ya} [37/4]
[ceremony name] laug.$ - set apart - go - PAST PUNCT
- We were (went about) set apart for the \textit{gu\textit{\textmarkmarkmarkmark} mark} ceremony.
(Referring to their isolation from the camp and from
women and children for ceremonial purposes).

(3.4-9) \ldots n@nta - \textit{\textmarkmarkmarkmark} \textit{\textmarkmarkmarkmark} \textit{\textmarkmarkmarkmark} \textit{\textmarkmarkmarkmark} \textit{\textmarkmarkmarkmark} \textit{\textmarkmarkmarkmark} \textit{\textmarkmarkmarkmark} \textit{\textmarkmarkmarkmark} pa - wa [29/72-73]
that - NOM 3aug.0 + lmin.A + REL - untouched - leave -
PAST PUNCT
- \ldots those [four buffaloes] which I had left untouched
(i.e. without shooting them).

Several of the morphemes discussed in 2.5.13 may in fact belong
to the group of forms under discussion here since they appear to be nominal
in nature and are cross-referenced pronominally in a similar manner. These
are \textit{karul}, \textit{kuwan}, \textit{kun\textit{\textmarkmarkmarkmark}i} and \textit{\textmarkmarkmarkmark}\textit{\textmarkmarkmarkmark}\textit{\textmarkmarkmarkmark}\textit{\textmarkmarkmarkmark}i. These forms have been listed as verb
prefixes because they rarely or never occur outside a VC.

The nominals discussed here all appear to qualify the S or
O adjectively.\footnote{It may, however, be possible to interpret them as
inalienably possessed "quality" nominals as mentioned in 3.4.1. Under
this interpretation the 'unrestricted simple incorporation' would, in
fact, be an ordinary example of 'implicating nominal incorporation'
(3.4.3).}

\footnote{For a detailed description of this ceremony as perfomed in
eastern Arnhem Land see Warner 1958:301-319. This is similar to the
\textit{\textmarkmarkmarkmark}\textit{\textmarkmarkmarkmark}\textit{\textmarkmarkmarkmark}\textit{\textmarkmarkmarkmark}\textit{\textmarkmarkmarkmark}\textit{\textmarkmarkmarkmark}\textit{\textmarkmarkmarkmark}\textit{\textmarkmarkmarkmark}\textit{\textmarkmarkmarkmark} ceremony of western Arnhem Land (Berndt and Berndt 1970:125,
128-132).}

\footnote{The nominals mentioned in this group are comparable with the
'verb-like' incorporated forms in Tiwi. These Tiwi 'verb-like' forms
are used as 'adjunct' in both transitive and intransitive verbs,
predominantly in S or O function (Osborne 1974:46-50).}
3.4.2 Restricted Simple Nominal Incorporation

The nominals involved in this type of incorporation are a different set from those mentioned in 3.4.2.1, including a much wider range. They are nominals which are normally only involved in implicating nominal incorporation (3.4.3). Thus normally the W or X prefix element cross-references an IMPL when one of these nominals is incorporated. Nevertheless if the W or X prefix element is third person minimal (the unmarked person and number) then it is optional whether an IMPL of that person and number is understood as occurring in the sentence, cross-referenced in the VC. I use the term 'Restricted Simple Nominal Interpretation' to refer to sentences where one of these normally implicating nominals is incorporated into a VC without an IMPL being taken to be present. I interpret the 3min. W or X pronominal prefix element occurring in these VCs as cross-referencing the incorporated S or O nominal itself, instead of an undefined IMPL. All the examples in 3.4.2.2 were glossed by informants without an IMPL. Examples of implicating nominal incorporation in which a 3min. W or X prefix element does cross-reference an IMPL are also possible. See 3.4.3, especially examples (3.4-35), (3.4-44), (3.4-45) and (3.4-48).

Examples (3.4-10) to (3.4-12) show restricted simple nominal incorporation into INTR VCs. Note particularly the absence of a 3min.IMPL. In each case I note in parentheses what one might expect if the normal implicating nominal incorporation took place. See also example (2.6-55). Finally contrast (3.4-13)(a) (restricted simple incorporation) with (3.4-13)(b) (implicating nominal incorporation). Morphologically the only difference between the two lies in the person and number of the MR pronominal prefix.

(3.4-10) ka - ḃol - ḃe - ḃor - ḏ [11/14]
3min.S - cloud/sky - REDUPL - red - PRES
- The cloud ('his cloud') is going red.

(3.4-11) ...ki - tawal - wējwēj - wē - ḏi [17/22]
3min.S + REL - country - be soft/boggy - PAST CONT - TEMP LOC
-...when the country ('his country') was all soft and boggy.
3.4.2

(3.4-12) maynoru munku ka - rut - pol? - la [26/51-52]
Mainoru perhaps 3min.S - road* - come out - FUT
- Maybe the road ('his road') will come out (end) at Mainoru.

(3.4-13)(a) ka - ŋura? - pul - φ [9/17]
3min.S - fire - smoke - PRES
- The fire ('his fire') is smoking.

(b) para - ŋura? - pul - φ
3aug.IMPL - fire - smoke - PRES
- Their fires (*the fires) are smoking.

Now consider examples (3.4-14) to (3.4-20) which exemplify restricted simple incorporation into DR transitive verbs. Note that in each case the incorporated nominal is in 0 function and the DR pronominal prefix has 3min. X element. Again I note the implicating interpretation (3.4.3) in parentheses.

(3.4-14) par - rut - maniŋ? - mịŋ
3min.O + 3aug.A - road* - build - PAST PUNCT

munayja - yi? [cf.37/54-55]
white man - ERG
- White men built the road ('his road').

(3.4-15) yar - ʒolko - nana - na - φ [33/44]
3min.O + laug.A - ground - REDUPL - see - PAST PUNCT
- We watched the ground ('his ground').

(3.4-16) ɲa - peṭeŋ - tulu - toʔwa - φ [37/117-118]
3min.O + laug.A - almost - word - mix up - PAST PUNCT
- I almost got the word ('his word') mixed up.

(3.4-17) yar - yappaʔ - mutta - kunwa - φ [37/88]
3min.O + laug.A - UAUGM - sun - chase - PAST PUNCT
- We (two) waited for the sun ('his sun') [to go down].
(3.4-18) kupo{jokotte tawal, ọa - tawal - ọga - ọ [37/12]
[place] place 3min.O + 1min.A - place - call - PRES
- kupo{jokotte I call the place ('his place').

(3.4-19) kumur yulam? ọar - keppper - wa - na [26/11]
towards southwards 3min.O +1/2aug.A - river bank - follow -
FUT
- We'll follow the river bank ('its bank') southwards.

(3.4-20) ka - yi - mara? - ụam? - mi! [37/75]
3min.O + 3min.A - yi - point - bite - PAST FUNCT
- The [spear] point ('its point / his point') came out her mouth. (She was speared in the back of the head.) (lit. 'She bit the point ('its point / his point')')

With (3.4-19) and (3.4-20), since the names of parts of things are the incorporated nominals it is not as clear as in the earlier examples that implicating nominal incorporation is not involved.

With DITR verbs the O is never cross-referenced by pronominal verb prefix elements. The O nominal may be incorporated without introducing any extra IMPL to the VC. The original A and IMPL are cross-referenced in the normal way by the pronominal prefix (3.1.5). This is exemplified in (3.4-21) and (3.4-22).

(3.4-21) yana - yappa? - tawal - muttu - ọ [26/45-46]
lmin.IMPL + 2aug.A - UAUGH - country - show - PRES
- You two show me the country! (Not 'my country' or 'your country')

(3.4-22) paran - yaŋ - te?wa - nịn [19/38]
3aug.IMPL + 3min.A - story - give - PAST CONT
- "He used to tell them straight." (lit. 'He used to give them the story.' - not 'their story' or 'his story'.)
In EXINTR and EXTR sentences the S or O nominal may be incorporated into the VC. In (3.4-23) the Y pronominal prefix element, cross-referencing S (not an IMPL associated with S) is 3min. or unmarked. In an EXTR sentence like (3.4-24), as in a DITR sentence, the O is not pronominally cross-referenced in the VC.

(3.4-23) yene? - ma >an - pak - polo? - yinip  [43/61]
   INDEF - ma 1min.IMPL + 3min.S - IMPLIC - tree - do + PAST PUNCT
   - What has the tree done to me?

(3.4-24) Qip - pak - polo? - warpu - wa  [43/61-62]
   2min.IMPL + 1min.A - IMPLIC - tree - sing(TR) - PAST PUNCT
   - I've sung the tree on you  (to make it swell, thus preventing you from climbing down). (Mythol.)

Finally let us note that the incorporated nominal may occur in surface structure both incorporated into and outside the VC as in (3.4-25).

   paperbark - NOM 3min.O + 3aug.A - paperbark - stand(CAUS) - PAST CONT
   - They would spread paperbark [on the ground]. (Custom)

In two examples of this type the incorporated nominal, although having the same reference, has a different form from that remaining outside the VC. The pairing of these forms is interesting.

(3.4-26) kamunwjk? - o k - yi - Quwa? - map  [38/53]
   white ochre - NOM 3min.S - yi - white ochre 16 - went
   - Some white ochre arrived (i.e. brought by someone).

16 When unincorporated Quwa?(na) means either 'intestines' or 'excrement'. Some (fall) deposits of white ochre are attributed to the defecation of mythological beings. For instance deposits of white ochre at kuppaipepe on "Dumbu Creek" (I think either the Blyth River or Immimbar Creek on maps) derive from the Rainbow's Quwa? (Text 42).
3.4.2

(3.4-27) ...warawala, mutta - d - k - gula - pol? - d - wala [§2/28-29]
est + ABL sun - NOM 3min.S + REL - sun17 - come - PRES -
AUBL

...from the east, from where the sun comes (rises).

3.4.3 Implicating Nominal Incorporation

Sapir's definition of "possessed" noun incorporation in Iroquois has been quoted above (3.4.1). This type of nominal incorporation occurs very frequently in Rembarnga with both TR and INTR verbs. I term it 'Implicating Nominal Incorporation'. The S or O nominal in an INTR or a TR sentence may be incorporated into the VC and the IMPL associated with this NP is then cross-referenced by the W or X pronominal prefix element, replacing the cross-referencing of the S or O NP. If an IMPL is not present and cross-referenced in this way simple nominal incorporation occurs (3.4.2). The IMPL which is cross-referenced by the pronominal verb prefix as a result of implicating nominal incorporation loses its case marking if it appears in surface structure.

(1) Examples (3.4-28) and (3.4-29) are two equivalent sentences, each involving S and IMPL.

(3.4-28) para - ηανα - d - d - pol? - mɔn
father - lmin.DAT PRON - NOM 3min.S - die - PAST PUNCT
- My father died.

(3.4-29) para - d - ηαν - pak - pol? - mɔn
father - NOM 1min.IMPL + 3min.S - IMPLIC - die - PAST PUNCT
- My father died.

(3.4-30) is another sentence with exactly the same meaning. In this case, however, the S has been incorporated into the VC and the MR pronominal prefix cross-references IMPL (instead of S as in (3.4-28)). The full IMPL stands without case marking of any sort.

17 When unincorporated gula(ne) means 'penis'. I know of no mythological connection with the sun at present.
All of (3.4-28) to (3.4-30) would presumably be derived from the same deep structure.

As a TR example we will consider a sentence involving a slightly different (and perhaps less direct) type of implication. (3.4-31) and (3.4-32) are sentences of equivalent meaning containing A, O and IMPL. Word order appears to be irrelevant.

(3.4-31) tiŋ? - yiŋ? ŋen - ʈa par - laray? - min
woman - ERG fish - NOM 30 + 3aug.A - cook - PAST PUNCT

ŋinta - kan
lmin.PRON - DAT
- The women cooked the fish for me.

(3.4-32) tiŋ? - yiŋ? ŋinta - ʈa
woman - ERG lmin.PRON - NOM

ŋanpa - pak - laray? - min ŋen - ʈa
lmin.IMPL + 3aug.A - IMPLIC - cook - PAST PUNCT fish - NOM
- The women cooked the fish for me.

The O may be incorporated into the VC, and the X pronominal prefix element will then cross-reference the IMPL rather than the O. The full IMPL is not marked for case in such a sentence. See (3.4-33). I am not sure whether the O, ŋen, could stand outside the VC in surface structure in addition to being incorporated.

(3.4-33) tiŋ? - yiŋ? ŋinta ŋanpa - ŋen - laray? - min
woman - ERG lmin.PRON lmin.IMPL + 3aug.A - fish - cook - PAST PUNCT
- The women cooked the fish for me.

laray? refers to cooking on top of or in the fire itself (rather than under the ashes).
(3.4-30) qinta  nowrap;" - para - par? - min
        lmin.PRON lmin.IMPL - father - die - PAST PUNCT

All of (3.4-28) to (3.4-30) would presumably be derived from the same deep structure.

As a TR example we will consider a sentence involving a slightly different (and perhaps less direct) type of implication. (3.4-31) and (3.4-32) are sentences of equivalent meaning containing A, 0 and IMPL. Word order appears to be irrelevant.

(3.4-31) tiq? - yi? nowrap; " - par - laray\textsuperscript{18} - min
        woman - ERG fish - NOM 30 + 3aug.A - cook - PAST PUNCT

qinta - kan
        lmin.PRON - DAT
- The women cooked the fish for me.

(3.4-32) tiq? - yi?  nowrap;" - qinta - 0
        woman - ERG lmin.PRON - NOM

qanpa - pak - laray? - min  nowrap; " - fish - NOM
        lmin.IMPL + 3aug.A - IMPLIC - cook - PAST PUNCT
- The women cooked the fish for me.

The 0 may be incorporated into the VC, and the X pronominal prefix element will then cross-reference the IMPL rather than the 0. The full IMPL is not marked for case in such a sentence. See (3.4-33). I am not sure whether the 0, -uppercase;\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{5}en, could stand outside the VC in surface structure in addition to being incorporated.

(3.4-33) tiq? - yi? qinta  nowrap;" - qanpa - 5en - laray? - min
        woman - ERG lmin.PRON lmin.IMPL + 3aug.A - fish - cook - PAST PUNCT
- The women cooked the fish for me.

\textsuperscript{18} laray? refers to cooking on top of or in the fire itself (rather than under the ashes).
Body part nominals may also be incorporated as O or S into the VC and their possessor be cross-referenced as IMPL by the X or W pronominal prefix element. With a TR verb a body part, when not incorporated, is often marked by the prefix pa- 'on' (2.2.3(iii)). Compare, for instance (3.4-34) and (3.4-35).

(3.4-34)  
pa - tumu  
par - miri - ya  
[cf.43/107-108]  
on - small of back 3min.O + 3min.A - spear - PAST PUNCT  
- He speared him in the small of the back.

(3.4-35)  
par - tumu - miri - ya  
[43/115]  
3min.IMPL + 3min.A - small of back - spear - PAST PUNCT  
- He speared him in the small of the back.

Sapir (1911) would say that the incorporated nominal in (3.4-35) is in locative function. I prefer to interpret it, however, as a case of possession or implication since the DAT PRON may be used in a sentence such as (3.4-34) to indicate the possessor of the body part. (We would get pa - tumu - na(wa) here.) See 2.2.3. This interpretation allows a large set of phenomena to be considered exponents of the same process.

(ii) The crucial nature of person and number marking in the pronominal verb prefix to distinguish restricted simple incorporation (3.4.2.2) from implicating nominal incorporation was seen in (3.4-13). See also (3.4-36) and (3.4-37). In (3.4-36) the X prefix element is (unmarked) 3min. and simple incorporation is involved, with no IMPL understood in the sentence. In (3.4-37) the X prefix element is lmin. and is interpreted as IMPL.

(3.4-36)  
ŋa - kalŋ? - peŋeŋ? - ŋiŋ  
3min.O + lmin.A - stone - carry - PAST PUNCT  
- I carried a stone.

(3.4-37)  
ŋaŋpa - kalŋ? - peŋeŋ? - ŋiŋ  
lmin.IMPL + 3aug.A - stone - carry - PAST PUNCT  
- They carried a stone for me.
3.4.3

As noted in 3.4.2.2 even where the X prefix element is unmarked or 3min. the implicating interpretation sometimes occurs as in (3.4-35), (3.4-44), (3.4-45) and (3.4-48). Compare also (3.4-38) (simple incorporation) and (3.4-39) (implicating incorporation).

(3.4-38) yarapp? - pojo? - ṭėg - mën
30 + luaug.A - stick - cut - PAST PUNCT

two - UAUGM stick - NOM

yar - yappa? - ṭēg - mën [37/90]
30 + luaug.A - UAUGM - cut - PAST PUNCT
- We two cut some sticks. We (two) cut two sticks.

(3.4-39) poji par - kaña - ṭēg - məŋ [12/4]
spear shaft 3 IMPL + 3aug.A - butt end of spear - cut -
PAST CONT
- They were cutting the butt ends 19 of spears.

(iii) It cannot be stressed too much that rules for nominal incorporation in Rembarnga affect S and O nominals but never an A nominal, thus identifying S and O as a single syntactic function for the purpose of these rules. The S or O nominal is incorporated into the VC. In cases of implicating incorporation the pronominal prefix element which would otherwise cross-reference S or O (the W or X element) comes to refer to IMPL instead. These points can be clearly seen by comparing (3.4-40) with (3.4-41), and (3.4-42) with (3.4-43).

(3.4-40) tiŋ? para - wapta - yuru
woman 3aug.IMPL - tracks - lie + PRES
- The women's tracks are here.

(3.4-41) tiŋ? para - yuru
woman 3aug.S - lie + PRES
- The women are lying (camping) here.

19 The butt ends of spears have a hole into which the hook of the wommera fits. The end is bound to stop it splitting.
Finally I will list a number of text examples of implicating nominal incorporation. Such examples are fairly common. Many, but by no means all, involve body part incorporation. (3.4-44) to (3.4-46) are examples with MR intransitive verbs.

(3.4-44) pan? - ŋa takku ka - ɲaŋŋu - yuru [32/72-73]
here - LOC baby 3min.IMPL - dreaming place - lie - PRES
- Here is where the baby dreaming is.

(3.4-45) kuweŋ ka - yoru - pop - ɲ [43/27-28]
kangaroo 3min.IMPL - stink - waft around - PRES
- It is the stink of kangaroo that is wafting around.

Examples (3.4-47) to (3.4-50) involve DR transitive verbs.

(3.4-47) ɲaŋ - yaŋ - ka - na tawa? [22/4]
lmin.IMPL + 3min.A - story - take - FUT today
- He is going to take my story (on tape) today.

(3.4-48) ka - pulu - qu - n
3min.IMPL + 3min.A - flower - eat - PRES

kʊŋuru? [8/34]
[woollybutt tree 'tropical woollybutt']
- [The flying fox] eats the flowers of the woollybutt tree.
Reflexive/reciprocal forms derived from VCs with implicating nominal incorporation are discussed in 3.3.2.

3.4.4. Extended Implicating Nominal Incorporation

(i) Extended sentence types are derived using the IMPLIC prefix pak in the VC. See 3.2.3. The extra obligatory IMPL involved in such a sentence (IMPL₂) is implicated only via any other IMPL already present (IMPL₁). See especially 3.2.6. It is IMPL₂ which is pronominally cross-referenced if two IMPL are present. Something similar occurs when pak IMPLIC is introduced to a VC involving implicating nominal incorporation.

See first sentence (3.4-51) in which only one IMPL is involved, pronominally marked by the MR prefix.

(3.4-51) qa - tarama - ūay? - mip
lmin.IMPL - leg - break (INTR) - PAST PUNCT
- My leg broke.

Compare this sentence with (3.4-52) in which pak has been introduced to the VC. The speaker is still pronominally referred to as IMPL but in (3.4-52) he has become IMPL₂. It is not the speaker’s own leg which has broken but that of someone else (IMPL₁ - not pronominally referred to) who in his turn implicates the speaker in some secondary way - for example by being his son, or perhaps by travelling with him.

(3.4-52) ūan - pak - tarama - ūay? - mip
lmin.IMPL + 3min.S - IMPLIC - leg - break - PAST PUNCT
- My son’s leg broke.

The translation 'My son's leg broke' is only one among many possible ones. All depends on the nature of IMPL₁.
Such a distinction has important consequences with other verbs. Take, for instance, a sentence such as (3.4-53)

(3.4-53) \textit{pa}\textit{\textsuperscript{a}r} - \textit{tarama} - \textit{\textsuperscript{\textendash}ji\textsuperscript{\textendash}t\textsuperscript{\textendash}mi} - \textit{ya} \\
3aug.IMPL + 1/2aug.A - leg - steal - PAST PUNCT \\
- We stole their legs.

I use the symbol ⊗ to indicate that, while not ungrammatical, the sentence was rejected by informants as absurd, since it refers to the stealing of human legs from individuals. If the VC is extended by the introduction of \textit{pak} IMPLIC the sentence becomes acceptable since the people marked as IMPL by the DR prefix are not the organic possessors of the legs (i.e. IMPL\textsubscript{1}), but they are only implicated indirectly (i.e. IMPL\textsubscript{2}) by possession of the beast of which the leg is part.

(3.4-54) \textit{pa\textit{\textsuperscript{a}r}} - \textit{pak} - \textit{tarama} - \textit{\textsuperscript{\textendash}ji\textsuperscript{\textendash}t\textsuperscript{\textendash}mi} - \textit{ya} \\
3aug.IMPL + 1/2aug.A - IMPLIC - leg - steal - PAST PUNCT \\
- We stole the leg(s) from them. (e.g. referring to the leg(s) of a buffalo or kangaroo they had shot.)

It appears that if the X pronominal prefix element is 3min. then the interpretation is, at least optionally, one of simple incorporation, not implicating incorporation. Thus (3.4-55) is not rejected as absurd like (3.4-53) by informants, but is interpreted along similar lines to (3.4-54).

(3.4-55) \textit{\textsuperscript{\textendash}q\textsuperscript{\textendash}ar} - \textit{tarama} - \textit{\textsuperscript{\textendash}ji\textsuperscript{\textendash}t\textsuperscript{\textendash}mi} - \textit{ya} \\
3min.O + 1/2aug.A - leg - steal - PAST PUNCT \\
- We stole the leg [from him]. (e.g. the leg of a kangaroo or buffalo.)

This construction is not restricted to body part nominals as is shown by (3.4-56) and (3.4-57) which both appear acceptable to informants.
(3.4-56) qa - ṣẹn - ṣuŋ? - mín
lmin.IMPL - fish - fall - PAST PUNCT
- My fish fell. (e.g. from the platform where cooked meat would be kept.)

(3.4-57) qan - pak - ṣẹn - ṣuŋ? - mín
lmin.IMPL + 3min.S - IMPLIC - fish - fall - PAST PUNCT
- (e.g.) My son’s fish fell.

(ii) There are some important restrictions on the occurrence of two IMPL with the IMPLIC prefix pak and incorporated nominals. For some nominal forms with and without pak are said to have the same meaning as in the pairs of examples (3.4-58) and (3.4-59).

(3.4-58)(a) qan - poṭi - puluka - pa
lmin.IMPL + 3min.A - spear - find - PAST PUNCT
- He found my spear.

(b) qan - pak - poṭi - puluka - pa
lmin.IMPL + 3min.A - IMPLIC - spear - find - PAST PUNCT
- He found my spear.

(3.4-59)(a) qa - poṭi - ṭay? - mín
lmin.IMPL - spear - break - PAST PUNCT
- My spear broke.

(b) qan - pak - poṭi - ṭay? - mín
lmin.IMPL + 3min.S - IMPLIC - spear - break - PAST PUNCT
- My spear broke.

Furthermore for a number of nominals it is not possible to use pak in conjunction with nominal incorporation. See, for instance, the sentences of (3.4-60) and (3.4-61).
3.4.4

(3.4-60) (a) paŋa - yan - mot - .Clone
    3aug. IMPL + lmin.A - story - hold - PRES
    - I have got their story (i.e. 'the story they told me').

    (b)*paŋa - pak - yaŋ - mot - .Clone
    3aug. IMPL + lmin.A - IMPLIC - ...

(3.4-61)(a) ŋa - para - pol? - mpiŋ
    lmin.IMPL - father - arrive - PAST PUNCT
    - My father arrived.

    (b) *jan - pak - para - pol? - mpiŋ
    lmin.IMPL + 3min.S - IMPLIC - ...

(iii) There are a number of text examples involving the IMPLIC prefix pak and nominal incorporation within the same VC. An important example here is (3.3-20) which is examined in detail in 3.3.4. (3.4-62) is the best available text example of extended implicating nominal incorporation. In this example IMPL₁ is karappa and IMPL₂ is kopoʔkopap- kappul.

(3.4-62) karappa  paya - pak - maraʔ - ṭeq - mpiŋ
    "crow bar" 3aug. IMPL₂ + 1/2min.A - IMPLIC - point - cut -

    kopoʔkopap - kappul  [29/127-128]  
PAST PUNCT (old) woman - DEF AUGM
    - We cut a point on the women's "crow bar". (The two men took the women's iron bar (digging stick) and made a point on it for use as the head for a fish spear.)

Some of the examples involving pak and nominal incorporation within the same VC contain nominals with which pak does not cause the introduction of an IMPL₂, pronominally marked. See, for instance, (3.4-63) and (3.4-64).

(3.4-63) ŋip - ʒi - pak - tulu - pa - na  [39/66]
    2min.IMPL + lmin.A - ʒi - IMPLIC - song - leave - FUT
    - I will leave this song for you (i.e. 'pass it on to you').
3.4.4

(3.4-64) yukari\(\iota\)n\(\iota\) pak - \(\tau\)ut - \(\tau\)o - \(\eta\)ara [26/51]
westwards 2min.IMPL + 3min.S - IMPLIC - road* - go - PUT
- The road will go westwards, you know.\(^{22}\)

3.4.5 Nominals and Incorporation

At this point I wish to outline a number of problems regarding the classification of nominals in terms of the possibilities for incorporating them into various types of VC. A great deal of my work in this area has been inconclusive and it is not even certain whether I have been attempting to obtain the right type of information.

What has emerged from the work so far is the type of analysis presented in 3.4.2 to 3.4.4 and there seems to be some justification for classifying nominals on the basis of criteria such as the following:

(i) Are the nominals able to be involved in unrestricted simple nominal incorporation (3.4.2.1)?

(ii) Of the nominals which are not involved in unrestricted simple incorporation, which permit the use of pak with them in the VC and which do not?

(iii) Of the nominals which permit the use of pak with them in the VC, with which does the use of pak introduce a second IMPL (IMPL\(_2\)) to the VC, and with which does the use of pak fail to make any difference to the meaning of the sentence?

An attempt has been made to answer these questions but the results elicited from informants are not at all clear. It is possible, however, to give tentative lists of some nominals which seem to belong clearly in one category or the other.

A
- The known nominals which may be involved in unrestricted simple incorporation have all been exemplified in 3.4.2.1.

They are

\(^{22}\) See 3.2.2 (v)
Nominals with which pak is impossible when incorporated into the VC.

- suta

Nominals with which the use of pak makes no difference to the interpretation of the sentence when incorporated into the VC.

- palmar

Nominals with which pak introduces a second IMPL (IMPL₂) to the VC, pronominally cross-referenced by a prefix.

- pal(na)
I do not propose at this point to elaborate on these comments or to try to analyse these lists in any way. There is too much uncertainty in the results of elicitation so far for that. However it may be of interest to compare briefly the two words in Rembarnga for water - Suta (List B)

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and mela(na) (List D). Contrast the sentences of (3.4-65) with those of (3.4-66).

(3.4-65)(a) Ọpaŋa - mela - piya - ọga
  3aug.IMPL + lmin.A - water - cook - FUT
  (- I will cook their water (i.e. part of their bodies).)
  
(b) Ọja - pak - mela - piya - ọga
  3aug.IMPL + lmin.A - IMPLIC - water - cook - FUT
  - I will cook water for them.

(3.4-66)(a) Ọja - ṭụja - piya - ọga
  3aug.IMPL + lmin.A - water - cook - FUT
  - I will cook water for them.
  
(b) *Ọja - pak - ṭụja - piya - ọga
  3aug.IMPL + lmin.A - IMPLIC - ...

(3.4-65)(a) was rejected as absured (not as ungrammatical) since it would imply that the water is part of the people pronominally cross-referenced as IMPL in the VC. In (3.4-65)(b) the implication is less direct, not indicating body part relationship, owing to the presence of pak. With ṭụja in (3.4-66), however, in spite of its similar lexical meaning to mela(na), no body part implications are involved and the use of pak is impossible. Further work needs to be done on this apparent distinction between alienably and inalienably possessed nominals in Rembarnga.

3.5 COMPLEMENTS OF PERCEPTION VERBS

Consider the text example (3.5-1), noting in particular the tense marking of the two clauses involved.

(3.5-1) ụrappas? - na - ḋụ namoroṣara - ḋụ
  3min.0 + luaugm.A - see - PAST PUNCT [name] - NOM
  
ka - ṣọtọ? - ḋụ [32/7-8]
  3min.S - descend - PRES
  - We (two) saw namoroṣara coming down the hill.
It is noteworthy in this example that, while the clause containing the verb see is, like its context, in the PAST PUNCT tense, the second or complement clause is in the PRES or unmarked tense.

In (3.5-1) the pronominal prefix marking on the two verbs is rather unclear in view of the unmarkedness of the third person minimal number. See, however, (3.5-2) and (3.5-3), noting particularly the person and number of the pronominal prefix elements for each verb.

(3.5-2) \[ \text{ka - yi - pana - yawa - } \phi \]
3min.O + 3min.A - yi - pana - hear - PAST PUNCT

\[ \text{taparajna para - kaw? - } \phi \]
in the afternoon 3aug.S - shout - PRES
- He heard them shouting in the afternoon.

(3.5-3) \[ \text{par - yawa - } \phi \]
3min.O + 3aug.A - hear - PAST PUNCT 2aug.S - speak - PRES
- They heard you talking.

Comparison of the examples (3.5-1) to (3.5-3) reveals that, irrespective of the person and number of the S of the complement clause, in each case the verb of perception has 3min. X pronominal prefix element. That is the object of the verb of perception is unmarked or third person minimal (this being the unmarked person/number category).

There are, however, possible sentences in which the tense of the complement clause is marked and where the X pronominal prefix element on the verb of perception cross-references either of two participants in the action of the complement clause, as in (3.5-4).

(3.5-4)(a) \[ \text{cakku - kappul yawa - na - } \phi \]
child - DEF AUGM 1min.O + 3aug.A - see - PAST PUNCT

\[ \text{tan - kunwa - nip} \]
1min.O + 2min.A - chase - PAST CONT
- The children saw you chasing me./The children saw me being chased by you.
3.5

(b) takku - kappul ~ippa - na - φ
child - DEF AUGM 2min.O + 3aug.A - see - PAST PUNCT

tan - kunwa - nip
lmin.O + 2min.A - chase - PAST CONT
- The children saw you chasing me.

In either sentence of (3.5-4) the complement verb could just as easily have the pronominal prefix ~ir- (2min.O + 1min.A) instead of tan- and the sentences would then mean 'The children saw me chasing you'.

The sentences of (3.5-5) show that any major participant in the action of the complement clause, including IMPL, may be cross-referenced in the perception verb.

(3.5-5)(a) natta? - kappul ~anpa - na - φ
them - DEF AUGM lmin.O + 3aug.A - see - PAST PUNCT

me - φ tan - te?wa - φ
food - NOM lmin.IMPL + 2min.A - give - PAST PUNCT
- They saw you give me food.

(b) natta? - kappul ~ippa - na - φ
2min.O + 3aug.A - see - PAST PUNCT

me - φ tan - te?wa - φ
- They saw you give me food.

(c) natta? - kappul par - na - φ
3min.O + 3aug.A - see - PAST PUNCT

me - φ tan - te?wa - φ
- They saw you give me food.
The tense (but not the aspect) of the complement clause may, as we have seen in (3.5-1) to (3.5-3), be unmarked (? deleted or simply unspecified) or it may be identical with the tense of the clause containing the verb of perception. For this purpose PAST PUNCT and PAST CONT are considered identical. They differ only in aspect, not in tense. See examples (3.5-4) to (3.5-7).

(3.5-6)(a) ɲa - na - na  par - ṭeṭe? - ḍ
 3min.0 + lmin.A - see - FUT 3min.0 + 3aug.A - dance - PRES
  - I will watch them dancing.

(b) ɲaŋa - na - na  par - ṭeṭe? - ɲa
 3aug.0 + lmin.A - see - FUT 3min.0 + 3aug.A - dance - FUT
  - I will watch them dancing.

(3.5-7)  par - ɲawa - ḍ  nara - ḫawk - maŋ
 3min.0 + 3aug.A - hear - PAST PUNCT 2aug.S - speak - PAST CONT
  - They heard you talking. (Compare (3.5-3).)

Note, however, that once identical tense is marked on the complement clause and the person and number of a particular 0 is pronominally marked in the perception VC there is no feature to indicate any type of complementation at all. Such sentences as those of (3.5-4) and (3.5-5) could well be interpreted simply as series of sentences which just happen to have one NP and their tense marking in common. It is the unmarked nature (deletion or lack of specification) of the tense of the complement clause and/or of the 0 of the perception clause which marks (3.5-1) to (3.5-3), (3.5-6)(a) and (3.5-7) as containing complement clauses. The deep structure of these clauses is not clear to me at present.

Up to this point we have examined complements only after two DR transitive verbs of perception - na 'see' ɲawa 'hear'. A similar construction occurs very commonly with the MR intransitive verb wan? 'to look (around)'. With wan?, of course, there can be no question of whether or not an 0 is cross-referenced in the perception VC, since the verb is monoreferential and only S may be cross-referenced. Nevertheless the tense of the complement clause may be unmarked (deleted or unspecified) as with na or ɲawa. Compare the sentences of (3.5-8), which use na, with those of (3.5-9) which use wan?. (3.5-9)(b) is ungrammatical because wan? is a MR verb. The
other three sentences all have the same meaning: 'We (two) saw (the) ducks swimming.'

(3.5-8)(a) payar - yappa? - na - φ
3aug.0 + laug.A - UAUGM - see - PAST PUNCT duck - COMPL AUGM -
para - war - φ
NOM 3aug.S - swim - PRES

(b) yarappa? - na - φ
3min.0 + luaug.A - see - PAST PUNCT
para - war - φ

(3.5-9)(a) yarappa? - waŋ? - mîŋ
1aug.S - look - PAST PUNCT
para - war - φ [32/39-40]

(b) *payar - yappa? - waŋ? - mîŋ
3aug.0 + laug.A - UAUGM - look - PAST PUNCT
kekkek - ŋοŋ - φ para - war - φ

The most common text examples of the perception verb complements as outlined here are examples with the verb waŋ?. See, for instance, (2.6-21) and (3.5-10) to (3.5-12). In these examples the unmarked (PRES) tense of the complement clause, being different from the contextual past tense of the perception verb, is the only mark of the complement construction.

(3.5-10) para - waŋ? - mîŋ
takkuna - yî?
3aug.S - look - PAST PUNCT small one - ERG
ka - ŋe - ñiŋ - φ [43/33-34]
3min.0 + 3min.A - COM TRANSVR - return - PRES
- They saw the small [brother] bring [a kangaroo] back.
(3.5-11) ḍanapparu - φ - φ - na - φ.
buffalo - NOM 3min.0 + 3min.A - see - PAST PUNCT

ka - yi - pān - waŋ? - mṅ
3min.S - yi - pān - look - PAST PUNCT

ka - rō - ṣi - yiřa  [27/35-36]
3min.S - go - INFIN - PROGR + PRES
- He saw the buffalo. He watched it walk(ing) along.

(3.5-12) yarappa? - waŋ? - mṅ kaŋpuma
luaug.S - look - PAST PUNCT [name]

ka - mojo - yuṛu  [32/21-22]
3min.IMPL - track/path - lie + PRES
- We (two) saw kaŋpuma's track (lying) there.

(3.5-13) is a clear example containing a complement of the DR verb ḍawa 'hear' with both tense and pronominal deletion or lack of specification in the relevant positions. (3.5-14), however, cannot be said to have either of these marks of complementation even though semantically it is clearly an analogous example.

(3.5-13) takku - φ - par - ḍawa - φ
child - NOM 3min.0 + 3aug.A - hear - PAST PUNCT

para - kaw? - φ.
3aug.S - cry out - PRES

par - ku? - re - kaw? - mŋ  [37/102-103]
3min.IMPL + 3aug.A - body - COM TRANSVR - cry out - PAST CONT
- They heard the children calling out. They were crying out over [their mother's] body.
They (two) heard the child cry(ing).

This complement construction needs considerable further investigation. In particular I have failed to ascertain which verbs (besides the three mentioned) take complements of the type outlined here. The inter-relationship between the deletion or unmarking of the tense of the complement VC and the deletion or unmarking of a pronominal cross-reference in the perception verb also needs to be checked.

3.6 PURPOSIVE CLAUSES

The clauses to be discussed here are marked either by the PURE particle kuwa or by the DAT suffix -kan, or both. They are clauses which do not have REL prefix forms as an integral part of their VCs.

The three sections into which I divide this discussion are only roughly delimited. 'Intent' clauses (3.6.1) are main clauses (not subordinated) and are all marked with the particle kuwa. They describe unfulfilled intentions. Note however that the (subordinating) link or lack thereof between an intent clause and the preceding sentence is a matter of intuitive judgement, and that the division between intent and purpose clauses is not at all clear-cut. 'Purpose' clauses (3.6.2) and 'Jussive Complements' (3.6.3) may eventually be found to be clauses of a single type. They are both subordinate clauses marked primarily with the DAT suffix -kan and/or the particle kuwa. In both types of clause the use of INFIN verb forms without pronominal prefixes or tense marking appears to be possible but the conditions under which this occurs are not very clear. The emphasis in the following discussion will be rather more upon posing the problems than on offering solutions or clear interpretations.

3.6.1 kuwa Intent Clauses

The particle kuwa introduces sentences which describe unfulfilled intentions in the past and present intentions for the future (which, by definition, must be unfulfilled at the time of utterance). kuwa clauses

(3.5-14) par - ṭawa - ṣ - ppara?
3min.O + 3aug.A - hear - PAST PUNCT - UAUGM

takku - ṣ   ṣ - ṯu - ṣ   [31/8]
child - NOM 3min.S - cry - PAST PUNCT
- They (two) heard the child cry(ing).
3.6.1

may normally occur in only the past counterfactual and present tenses. There is conflicting evidence on the use of the future tense in kuwa intent clauses but the FUT tense is normally judged impossible after kuwa in these clauses.

The unfulfilled nature of the intention expressed by a kuwa clause in the past tense is brought out clearly in examples (3.6-1) and (3.6-2). Another example of this is (2.5-209).

(3.6-1)  
\[
\text{poluŋ} - \phi \\
\text{3min.S - burn - PROGR + PAST PUNCT} \\
\text{Rainbow - NOM}
\]

pelentaʔ?, kuwa para - kuwan - yuŋ - me - ppara?

\[
\text{close PURP 3aug.S - afraid - run - PAST CF - UAUGM}
\]


stick - INSTR 3aug.IMPL + 3min.A - UAUGM - bone - break - CAUS - PAST PUNCT

- The Rainbow was burning a long close by. [The two women]

tried to run away but [the Rainbow] broke their bones with a stick. (Mythol.)

(3.6-2)  

\[
\text{penta - ʂغا kuwa par - yappaʔ - pojoʔ - me.}
\]

there - LOC PURP 30 + 3aug.A - UAUGM - put - PAST CF

par - ɭawa - ɭ - ppara?

\[
\text{takku - ɭ}
\]

\[
\text{3min.0 + 3aug.A - hear - PAST PUNCT - UAUGM child - NOM}
\]

\[
\text{\phi - ɭu - n [31/8]}
\]

\[
\text{3min.S - cry - PAST PUNCT}
\]

- [The two wedge-tailed eagles] wanted to put [stone for spears] down there but they heard the baby crying (so they went on to another place).

I do not fully understand the nature of the Rainbow but informants say its presence can normally be detected (even today) by its heat. In this text the Rainbow is described as mare - ɲaraʔ 'like fire' [10/31]. Some discussion of the place of poluŋ(holung) in the world of the nearby Dalabon is found in Maddock 1974:120-123.
A kuwa intent clause with its verb in the present tense makes reference to an intention for the future as in (3.6-3) and (3.6-4).

(3.6-3) tawal - ḍ ka - turu wula? - ḍ
place - NOM 3min.S - stand + PRES good - NOM

kuwa paga - ka - n [19/63]
PURP 3aug.O + 1min.A - take + PRES
- There is good country [over there]. I want to take [these people] there.

(3.6-4) kuwa paga - pu - n [15/13]
PURP 3aug.O + 1min.A - kill + PRES
- I want to kill them./I am going to kill them.

A special group of intent clauses are those introduced by kuwa tawa?ma (PURP 'now' + ma). The VC in these clauses is always marked for past counterfactual tense and normally contains the yi prefix (2.5.13.1). These kuwa tawa?ma clauses mean 'to have been right on the point of doing something (without actually doing it)' rather than referring simply to unfulfilled past intention as do intent clauses introduced by kuwa alone. See examples (3.6-5), (3.6-6) and (2.6-35).

(3.6-5) kuwa tawa? - ma ka - yi - yirere? - ma,
PURP now - ma 3min.S - yi - climb down - PAST CF

parppu? ka - yi - pane - waŋ? - min yara,
until 3min.S - yi - pane - look - PAST PUNCT down

poŋ? - ḍ ḍ pak - ŋark - min [43/58-59]
tree - NOM 3min.IMPL + 3min.S - IMPLIC - big - INCHOAT +
PAST PUNCT
- He was just about to climb down when he looked down and saw that the tree had swollen up on him (as a result of being 'sung', thus preventing him from descending). (Mythol.)
3.6.1

(3.6-6) ʒọtkan - ọ ŋa - ọ mi - ya.
shot gun* - NOM 3min.0 + lmin.A - get - PAST PUNCT

kuwa tawa? - ma ŋa - kuriwar - me ...
PURP now - ma 3min.0 + lmin.A - shoot - PAST OF

wala  njọnta - kan ŋa - pa - wa [28/24,27]
then that - DAT 3min.0 + lmin.A - leave - PAST PUNCT
- I picked up my shot gun and was just going to fire a
  shot at [the buffalo]... but because of that I left it.

3.6.2 Purpose Clauses

In example (3.6-7) the kuwa clause might well be construed
as following on from or subordinated to the sentence which precedes it.
On the other hand it may be interpreted as an independent 'intent' clause
of the type discussed in 3.6.1. All depends on the perceived strength
of the link between the two. This problem shows up the dubious and ill­
defined nature of the distinction I have drawn between 'intent' and
'purpose' clauses.

(3.6-7)  ṭatpa - ọ ŋar - yaw - yaw - wa().
[snake] - NOM 3min.0 + 1/2aug.A - REDUPL - spear - FUT

PURP 3min.0 + 1/2aug.A - dead - put - PRES
- Let's spear that snake to kill it.
- Let's spear that snake. We want to kill it.

Subordination of the kuwa clause is much clearer in examples
(3.6-8) and (3.6-9) where there is no pronominal prefix marking on the
verb in the kuwa clause and where this verb bears the DAT suffix -kan.
Note, too, that although the verb in the kuwa clause appears to be in the
unmarked PRES tense (the verbs in both examples are from conjugation 1),
both verbs could equally well be interpreted as INFIN forms (Table 2.5(a)).

25'That' is the speaker's fear that he would hit a person if by some
chance he missed the buffalo in the confusion.
3.6.2

(3.6-8) ŋampañna - ɖ poṭo? - poṭo?\textsuperscript{26} kuweŋ - ʔka?,
hot stones - NOM REDUPL - put kangaroo - ALL

kuwa warikku ḃar - ɖ - kan [4/39]
PURP immediately cook - PRES/INFIN - DAT
- [They] put hot stones on top of the kangaroo so that it
will cook quickly. (Context is all PRES tense)

(3.6-9) ŋa - pak - ṭor? - min kuwa
3min.IMPL + 3imin.A - IMPLIC - clear - PAST PUNCT PURP

kalaj - poṭo? - ɖ - kan [33/13]
egg - lay - PRES/INFIN - DAT
- I cleared the area for [the bird] so it could lay its eggs.
  (Ref. to sacred site.)

In example (3.6-10) a similar kuwa clause occurs marked by kan
and perhaps without pronominal prefixes in the VC. Here, however, the
appropriate pronominal prefix form (3min.0 + 3imin.A) would be ɖ- if the
verb is in PAST CF tense inflection. Thus one cannot tell whether the
pronominal prefix is in fact lacking. In this example the intention or
purpose depicted in the kuwa clause was not fulfilled (as shown by context)
so the PAST CF tense marking is clearly appropriate here in contrast with
the use of the PRES tense for a fulfilled purpose in the past in (3.6-9).
However it is again appropriate to doubt (as for (3.6-8) and (3.6-9)) whether
in fact the VC of the kuwa clause is marked for tense at all. ṭor?ka
(3.6-10) is a verb of the third conjugation (Table 2.5(a)) so the INFIN
form has the same form as the PAST CF. Thus it is possible to interpret
all of examples (3.6-8) to (3.6-10) as containing kuwa clauses of precisely
the same form - pronominal prefixes are deleted from the VC and the INFIN
verb form is used.

\textsuperscript{26} The deletion of tense suffixes and pronominal prefixes from VCs
occurs sometimes in series of sentences with the same subjects and tense
marking. Where these details are clear from preceding clauses the verb
root may be used alone as here.
3.6.2

(3.6-10) ₅ - ṭaḷ? - mîn  kuwa
3min.0 + 3min.A - roast - PAST PUNCT PURP

₃imar? - ka - pâ - kan  kuweṛ - ṭ [43/16-17]
hard - CAUS - PAST CF/INFIN - DAT kangaroo - NOM
- He roasted the kangaroo to harden it (but it went completely soft).

The DAT suffix -kan is not necessary in this type of clause.
In (3.6-11) the VC of the kuwa clause contains no pronominal prefix and is in the PRES/INFIN form of the first conjugation. -kan does not appear, even though I think it probably could do.

(3.6-11)  narappa? - ṭat - yoŋaŋa  varikkku
30 + 2aug.A - poison - PROGR + FUT immediately

kuwa ṇom? - ṭ [32/89-90]
PURP float to surface dead - PRES/INFIN
- You two poison the water straight away so that [the fish] will die and come to the surface!

Similar purpose clauses occur also without kuwa but with -kan, and with pronominal verb prefixes in the VC of the purpose clause. In both (3.6-12) and (3.6-13) the verb is in either PAST CF or INFIN form, the verbs being mara of conjugation 5B and na of conjugation 4B (Table 2.5(a)). In (3.6-13) it is not surprising to see a PAST CF form as required following the prefix mana? (2.5.13.1), but in (3.6-12) the PAST CF, which would seem to indicate that the spearing did not eventually take place as intended, is hardly appropriate since the spearing itself is described shortly afterwards in the text. Contrast (3.6-9) and (3.6-10) and the comments there. All this might suggest that the INFIN form is used in (3.6-12), even with pronominal prefixes. Compare also example (2.5-13.1).
3.6.2

(3.6-12) qayaQ - kan yara - ri - ya - ma
dead man - DAT laug.S - go - PAST PUNCT - ma

yar - mara - go - kan [38/76-77]
3min.O + laug.A - spear - PAST CF/INFIN - DAT
- We went [in revenge] for the dead man, to spear
  [the man responsible for his death].

(3.6-13) yev - ere? - φ qa - ti - ya
socks* - only - NOM 30 + lmin.A - stand (CAUS) - PAST PUNCT

lmin.IMPL + 3aug.A - lest - foot - see - PAST CF - DAT
- I wore only socks (no boots) so that they would not
  see (?) recognise my tracks.

I incline towards the view that the INFIN form is being
used where no pronominal prefix is present but that tense forms (PRES
or PAST CF, depending on conjugation) are present with pronominally
prefixed verbs. This interpretation is uncertain.

On a number of occasions in conversation purpose clauses
marked with -kan and clearly involving the INFIN form of a verb were
noted. These are given in (3.6-14), (3.6-15) and (3.6-16)(a). Note
the lack of pronominal prefixes. In (3.6-14) and (3.6-15) the deep
A and S respectively of the purpose clauses are either the speaker, or they
are left unspecified - this is not clear. In (3.6-16)(a) the A of the
purpose clause is also unspecified since the example gives a general
statement, describing the purpose of one part of some implement.
(3.6-16)(b) gives a paraphrase of (3.6-16)(a). The 2min.A in this para­
phrase must also be interpreted very generally - as the English 'you'
frequently is.

---

27 For discussion of the use of kan with NPs see 3.2.1.
In this exposition of purpose clauses in text and similar examples a number of variables have emerged. The task of further elicitation will have to be to clarify the role played by each of these.

The variables in question are:

(i) the presence or absence of the particle kuwa and/or of the DAT suffix -kan, and the connection between these two morphemes;

(ii) the deletion (omission) of pronominal prefixes from the VC of the purpose clause and the conditions under which this occurs; and

(iii) the use of the INFIN form of the verb in the purpose clause as opposed to the use of tense-marked forms of the verb.

A certain amount of elicitation was done along these lines but it has not yet been possible to reach firm conclusions due to gaps and inconsistencies. All I can hope to do here is to present some of the material obtained in order to show the problems and hint at some solutions.
The sentences (3.6-17)(a) and (b) show that the DAT suffix -kan is optional following kuwa and a PRES/INFIN verb form (conjugation 1) without pronominal prefixes, but that kan is obligatory in a similar sentence where kuwa is omitted. (3.6-17)(c) and (d) show that -kan DAT may not be omitted from the purpose clause when this is in the FUT tense, while kuwa is optionally present in such a clause. The pronominal prefix may not be deleted (omitted) with a FUT tense verb in the purpose clause but apparently must be deleted with a PRES/INFIN verb form as seen in (3.6-17)(e). In the sentences full glosses are omitted where no changes are made. The clauses (a) to (e) were all intended as completions of the sentence given first. The same judgements of grammaticality apply whether the initial sentence is in the FUT tense as written here, or in the PAST PUNCT tense (suffix -mip).

(3.6-17)
walkkur - qke - yi? poti - φ
son - 2min.DAT PRON - ERG spear - NOM
ka - mapiŋ? - pa...
3min.O + 3min.A - make - FUT

(a) ...kuwep - φ kuwa yaw - φ (-kan)
    kangaroo - NOM PURP spear - PRES/INFIN (-DAT)
(b) ...kuwep - φ yaw - φ - kan
(c) ...kuwep - φ kuwa ka - yaw - wa
    30 + 3min.A - spear - FUT
(d) ...kuwep - φ (kuwa) ka - yaw - wa - kan
(e) ...kuwep - φ kuwa ka - yaw - φ
    30 + 3min.A - spear - PRES (?INFIN)
    Your son will make a spear to kill kangaroos.

Contrast (3.6-17)(a) and (e) with (3.6-18)(a) and (b) where the A of the purpose clause must be pronominally marked in the VC, even though the verb is in PRES/INFIN form. Pronominal marking is necessary apparently because the A is not (unmarked) third person minimal. Ordering
3.6.2

of kuwa is said by informants to be variable. The only other possible factor involved is the transitivity of the main clause, but other examples suggest that this is not important.

(3.6-18) maljaŋaŋak - ka? narappa? - ō - ŋaŋa...
[place] - ALL 2uaug.S - go - FUT

(a) ***kuwa kuweŋ - φ yaw - φ - kan
PURP kangaroo - NOM spear - PRES/INFIN - DAT

(b) ***kuwa kuweŋ - φ narappa? - yaw - φ (-kan)
30 + 2uaug.A - spear - PRES/INFIN (-DAT)
- You two are going to maljaŋaŋak to spear kangaroos.

Contrast (3.6-17)(a) with (3.6-19)(a) and (b). While -kan is optional in (3.6-17)(a), it is obligatory in (3.6-19), which is parallel in other respects. But also contrast (3.6-18) with (3.6-19). The deletion of the pronominal prefixes is possible in the latter but not in the former. (3.6-19) involves the judgements of a different informant from that who gave me (3.6-17) and (3.6-18).

(3.6-19) ŋula - φ ŋiŋ - pak - ma - ŋaŋa...
water - NOM 2min.IMPL + 1min.A - IMPLIC - get - FUT

(a) ***kuwa  tôm - φ - kan
PURP drink - PRES/INFIN - DAT

(b) ***kuwa  tôm - φ

(c) ***kuwa ta - tôm - φ - kan
30 + 2min.A - drink - PRES/INFIN - DAT
- I'll fetch some water for you to drink.

The sentences of (3.6-19) were presented to other informants on a different occasion. (c) was accepted with the meaning given above but (a), which appeared with the earlier informant to be a paraphrase of (c), was rejected as impossible. The sentence (3.6-20)(a) was, however, accepted with its paraphrase (3.6-20)(b). Note the A of the purpose clause.
For these informants the problem with (3.6-19)(a) (which they reject) appears to be that while the 2min.IMPL marked in the main clause is obviously intended as the drinker of the water, the deletion of pronominal prefixes in the purpose clause is (for these informants) impossible unless the A of this clause is 3min. - hence the interpretation given to (3.6-20)(a) ('for him to drink' not 'for me to drink'). The earlier informant appears to allow prefix deletion if the A of the purpose clause can be understood from the preceding sentence in some way. The informant who gave examples (3.6-17) and (3.6-18) appears to agree with the informants who gave (3.6-20) on the difference in deletability between 3min. pronominal prefixes and those of other persons and numbers (see (3.6-18)).

The uncertainty in interpretation can, I think, be seen from the above examples. The most one can say at this point is to suggest, on the basis of these and other examples:

(i) that pronominal prefix deletion occurs only with INFIN forms of the verb in the purpose clause, noting that the INFIN form may be distinguished from the PRES tense form (in conjugation 1) and from the PAST CF form (in other conjugations) by means of this prefix deletability;

(ii) that -kan is the most important marker of purpose clauses; and

(iii) that pronominal prefix deletion depends, at least in part, on whether the S or A of the purpose clause is third person minimal number or not.
3.6.2

Beyond this I cannot go in the present state of my understanding of this construction. My investigation of what I call 'jussive complements' (3.6.3) has taken a slightly different route (largely omitting kuwa from consideration, for one) and it is not impossible that what is true for them is true also for purpose clauses generally. This has not yet been checked.

3.6.3 Jussive Complements

Jussive complements are clauses which stand as complements to verbs of saying or telling in the sense of 'commanding'. In Rembarnga such complements are similar (? the same) in form to the purpose clauses discussed above, and as a result it is appropriate to discuss them here. It is not clear to me whether there is any justification for separating these two types of clause but my elicitation procedures have inadvertently done so and until further information is collected it is not possible to ascertain whether they are in fact the same. My guess is that they are.

The various English sentences of (3.6-21) contain what I have called 'jussive complements' (underlined).

(3.6-21)(a) They told me to go.
(b) They told me to break it.
(c) I told you to give them meat.
(d) I told the women to sweep the place.
(e) I will tell them to spear fish.

Perhaps the most usual Rembarnga forms for these sentences are given in (3.6-22)(a) to (e) respectively. These Rembarnga sentences imply that the order given had, at the time of speaking, not yet been carried out since it applied to some still future time. Glosses are not given in full where a sentence partly repeats an earlier one.

(3.6-22)(a) ȵama - yine? - wa - d
  lmin.0 + 3aug.A - say - TRANSVR - PAST PUNCT

  ȵa - ro - ȵa - kan
  lmin.S - go - FUT - DAT
3.6.3

(b) ṣənə - yina? - wa - ḍ

ŋa - ṭay? - ka - ṣa - kan
30 + lmin.A - break - CAUS - PRES/FUT - DAT

(c) əhin - yina? - wa - ḍ

2min.0 + 1min.A - say - TRANSVR - PAST PUNCT meat - NOM

para - te?wa - na - kan
3aug.IMPL + 2min.A - give - FUT - DAT

(d) ṣapə - yina? - wa - ḍ
tiŋ? - kappul

3aug.0 + 1min.A - say - TRANSVR - PAST PUNCT woman - DEF AUGM

(kuwa) par - ṭor? - ṣa - kan
(PURP) 30 + 3aug.A - sweep - FUT - DAT

(e) ṣapə - yina? - wa - na
gəŋ? - ḍ

3aug.0 + 1min.A - say - TRANSVR - FUT fish - NOM

par - mara - ṣapə - kan
30 + 3aug.A - spear - FUT - DAT

Note, in the sentences of (3.6-22), the use of -kan to mark the jussive complement clause, the use of a FUT verb form in this clause and the use of pronominal prefixes marking an A or S which is referentially identical in each case with the 0 of the verb yina?wa 'tell' in the same example. All these examples with FUT tense verbs in their complements have alternative forms using INFIN forms and deleting pronominal prefixes. These are given in (3.6-23)(a) to (e). These sentences have the same reference to future carrying out of an order as the sentences of (3.6-22). The conjugations of the respective complement verbs are given in parentheses. Full glosses are omitted for words which simply repeat those in (3.6-22).
The complement construction exemplified in (3.6-23) is possible only when the A or S of the complement clause is coreferential with the O of yine?wa (or with the IMPL of pak-yine?). For this purpose the A and S (depending on transitivity) of the complement clause are syntactically identified.

Another interpretation of the English sentences (3.6-21)(a) to (d) is possible, if the command is taken as referring to a past time from the speaker's point of view, still taking the command as not yet carried out. (3.6-24) gives this alternative interpretation for the English sentence (3.6-21)(c). I interpret the suffix on the complement verb as a tense suffix, not an INFIN suffix.

(3.6-24)  gàmpa - yine? - wa - ðe 3aug.IMPL + 2min.A - give - PAST CF - DAT
- I told you to give them meat (at some past time) and you did not give it to them.
3.6.3 clauses such as the four complements ((a) to (d)) given in (3.6-25), noting the interplay between PRES, PAST CF and INFIN verb forms and noting the interpretation of deleted pronominal prefixes. These deleted pronominal prefixes are interpreted as third person minimal when the complement verb is tense-marked (i.e. PAST CF ≠ INFIN for conjugation 1, PRES ≠ INFIN for conjugation 5A) while they are interpreted as identical to the 0 of the verb of saying when the complement verb is an INFIN form (i.e. PRES = INFIN for conjugation 1 but PAST CF = INFIN for conjugation 5A).

(3.6-25) ına-pa - yina? - wa - ø ...

lmin.0 + 3aug.A - say - TRANSVR - PAST PUNCT
- They told me ...

(a) ...kuwep - ø tāl? - ø - kan

kangaroo - NOM roast(l) - INFIN(PRES) - DAT
-...to roast the kangaroo.

(b) ...kuwep - ø tāl? - me - kan

roast(l) - PAST CF - DAT
-...that he should have roasted the kangaroo.

(c) ...kuwep - ø ńiya - ø - kan

cook(5A) - PRES - DAT
-...that he was to cook the kangaroo.

(d) ...kuwep - ø ńiya - ńe - kan

cook(5A) - INFIN (PAST CF) - DAT
-...to cook the kangaroo.

In the (b) and (c) complements a pronominal prefix cross-referencing a third person minimal 0 has been deleted, while in the (a) and (d) sentences, where the INFIN forms occur, the deleted pronominal prefix must refer to a first person minimal 0, referentially identical to the 0 of yina?wa in the main clause.

It has not been possible as yet to explore fully the various possibilities for prefix deletion, tense sequence and use of kuwa and -kan in this type of complement clause. A more thorough investigation of these phenomena may well throw some light on the more general purpose clauses discussed in 3.6.2.
3.7 RELATIVE CLAUSES

3.7.1 Introductory

As 'Relative Clauses' in Rembarnga I group together those clauses whose VCs are marked with what I have called the REL series of pronominal verb prefixes detailed in 2.5.5.2. These REL pronominal prefixes appear in clauses with a very wide range of functions such as those traditionally known as relative clauses, conditional clauses, adverbial clauses of time and place, and others. Some REL clauses are marked with case suffixes and others are not. The determination of sentence boundaries and patterns of subordination is often rather difficult in text material and this means that it is often unclear exactly what function a REL clause does perform.

In two papers, 'Gaps in Grammar and Culture' (n.d.) and 'The Adjoined Relative Clause in Australia' (forthcoming), Hale has pointed out that in a number of Australian languages a range of functions such as that listed above for Rembarnga REL clauses is fulfilled by relative clauses of a 'generalised' type. In what follows here I shall not attempt to deal with the question of whether Rembarnga relative clauses have an 'adjoined' or an 'embedded' deep structure - the main thrust of Hale's discussion - but instead I will try to suggest in 3.7.8 and 3.7.9 something of the underlying semantic common denominator of these various types of REL clause in Rembarnga. Presupposition could well be, I believe, the key to the REL construction in Rembarnga. I make no attempt to apply this idea to the Walbiri and Kaititj material presented by Hale.

Various types of REL clause in Rembarnga are discussed and exemplified under various headings in 3.7.2 to 3.7.7 using Hale's proposed classification into T-relative and NP-relative clauses, and noting a number of examples which are not covered by this. Hale himself notes (forthcoming:19-20) that the distinctions he proposes for relative clauses may not be clear-cut and that the question of "interpretation" may be outside the realm of syntax. While, from an English speaker's point of view, many types of REL clause interpretations can be found in Rembarnga, the morphological similarity of all these types in the language suggests that Rembarnga speakers do not find the same sorts of variation either clear-cut or relevant. I use Hale's classification as a useful expository device but hope that it will become clear that we must turn elsewhere for
more adequate explanation of the Rembarnga REL construction. Following discussion of presupposition in the structure of Rembarnga REL clauses as an alternative (or as a complement) to Hale’s analysis (3.7.8, 3.7.9), I mention case-marked REL clauses (3.7.10) and negative clauses with the particle molak (3.7.12).

3.7.2 T-Relative Clauses - Conditional
Examine the text examples (3.7-1) and (3.7-2). In each case the REL clause is enclosed in brackets.

(3.7-1) jyere - yappa? - pa - ne - ma
3min.O + laug.A + REL - UAUGM - leave - PAST CF - ma
that - NOM - ma ] laug.0 + 3aug.A - UAUGM - kill - PAST CF
- If we (two) had left that [woman] (i.e. ‘If we had not killed her...’), they would have killed us.

(3.7-2) kuwa tawa? - ma ɡa - kur?war - me
PURP now - ma 3min.O + lmin.A - shoot - PAST CF
ɡanaparu - φ ɡi - peṭeška - pa
buffalo - NOM 3min.O + lmin.A + REL - miss - PAST CF
mağgi? ] pi - φ
but ] person - NOM
paɡa - meʃ - kur?war - me - kappul [cf.28/24-26]
3aug.0 + 3min.A - lest - shoot - PAST CF - DEF AUGM
- I was just about to shoot [at] it... but if I had missed the buffalo I might have hit the people.

The REL clauses in both these examples are what are commonly called unreal or counterfactual conditionals. Note that in each case the REL clause and the following main clause are both in the PAST CF tense. It so happens that, in each example, main and subordinate clauses share a co-referential NP. In (3.7-1) the A of the subordinate clause is co-referential with the O of the main clause while in (3.7-2) the As of both clauses are co-referential. That this is not a necessary condition for a conditional
interpretation is shown by (3.7-3) where there are no co-referential NPs in subordinate and (double) main clause and where the tense of both clauses is still identical but FUT. The factual/non-factual distinction does not apply in non-past tenses (see 2.5.2).

(3.7-3)  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{piri} - \text{\-taro} - \text{\-war?} - \text{\-ra} \\
\text{3min.0 + 3aug.A + REL - dreaming place - disturb/\-throw - FUT}
\end{align*}
\]

\[\text{tura takkuna - \text{yi? tig?} - y\text{i?}}\]

body small - ERG woman - ERG

\[\text{ka - ka - na} \quad \text{today}
\]

\[\text{ka - takku - p\text{etto?} - \text{\-ra}} \quad [\text{35/5-7}]
\]

\[\text{30 + 3min.A - \text{\-take - FUT}}
\]

- If they (i.e. 'anyone'), damage the dreaming place then even small girls will have children and nurse them.

Compare, too, example (3.7-4), concerning the consequence of misuse of the Rainbow's dreaming place. Again both main and subordinate (conditional) clauses are in the FUT tense. The Rainbow is being quoted.

(3.7-4)  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{pi - \-p\text{iri} - \text{\-taro} - \text{\-\text{\-eta}}}
\end{align*}
\]

\[\text{person - NOM 3aug.S + REL - \text{\-go - FUT}}\]

\[\text{\-\eta - ku? - \text{\-\-u - na}}\]

\[\text{3IMPL + 1min.A - body - eat - FUT}
\]

- If people (i.e. 'anyone') come here I'll eat them up.

In examples (3.7-1) to (3.7-4) the REL (conditional) clause always precedes the main clause. This need not always be the case. Compare (3.7-5) and (3.7-6). Both examples have a subordinate clause in FUT tense and a main clause in unmarked non-past tense (i.e. PRES) after the verb prefix \text{pa(na)? 'lest'} (2.5.13.1(ii)). The order of clauses differs in each case.
3.7.2

(3.7-5) munku ū - pana? - ū - n 
perhaps 3min.S - lest - cry - PRES [father - PRIV

pere - ūy? - ya
3min.O + 3aug.A + REL - send - FUT
- He might cry if they send him without his father.
(Said of a small boy)

(3.7-6) kura? - ma yupe? - ma nere - yappa? - pol? - ūa
that way - ma northwards - ma 2aug.S + REL - UAUGM -

- If you go out [of the hut] on the northern side they might
spear you. (i.e. 'So leave on the southern side.')

Another example of a REL clause with a conditional interpre­
tation is given as (2.3-27). In that example the REL clause is in
the FUT tense while the main clause is an 'intent' clause with the
particle kuwa and the PAST CF tense. Note that in all the examples
(3.7-1) to (3.7-6) and (2.3-27) the verbs in both main and subordinate
clauses are not marked for a factual tense. That this fact is significant
for the conditional interpretation of these clauses becomes apparent
when we examine REL clauses which function as adverbial clauses of time
(3.7.3).

3.7.3 T-Relative Clauses - Temporal

See the examples (3.7-7) and (3.7-8), noting the tense of
each clause.

(3.7-7) pot piri - yappa? - maš - ma pi - ū
climb 3aug.S + REL - UAUGM - went - ma person - NOM

par - yappa? - na - ū
30 + 3aug.A - UAUGM - see - PAST PUNCT
- When they (two) went up the hill they saw people.
Whenever someone took someone else's wife we used to chase the two of them (man and woman) and spear them.

In both REL and main clause in each example the tense is one of the factual past tenses. In each example the tenses of both clauses are identical. All known examples of REL clauses with 'when' interpretation can be said to have identical tense with their associated main clause if PAST PUNCT, PAST CONT and PAST CF are considered identical in tense - they differ in aspect and in the feature NON-FACTUAL, but not in tense. See, for example, the first two clauses of (2.6-48), which are similar in some respects to (3.7-8) but have different past tense marking.

Two REL clauses in temporal adverb interpretation may be adjoined to a main clause. The example (3.7-9) is, in fact, quite complex. Note that the REL clauses may follow the main clause. Contrast (3.7-7) and (3.7-8).

(3.7-9) yarakkuni? ɲa - waŋ? - mĩŋ  ka - ɠuŋa? - pul - φ
down 1min.S - look - PAST PUNCT 3min.S - fire - smoke - ɣarantalttal - ʂi³⁰
PRES 29 midday - TEMPLOC

²⁸ For the inclusion of PAST CF here see example (3.7-66) where the REL clauses are marked with the suffix -ŋi TEMP LOC. See also example (3.7-48).

²⁹ The PRES tense on this VC results from deletion or lack of specification owing to tense identity with a perception VC (waŋ?) to which this clause is a complement (cf.3.5). The tense of the main clause in (3.7-9) is therefore PAST PUNCT, the tense of ɣawap[min].

³⁰ It is not clear whether ɣarantalttal is part of the preceding main clause or part of the following REL clause.
3.7.3

I looked down and saw the fire smoking as they ate their midday meal and as they changed their horses.

In commenting on temporal T-relative (i.e. 'when') clauses I have used examples with verbs marked for past tenses because they clearly distinguish factual (temporal) from non-factual (unreal conditional).

In English we can distinguish unreal conditionals ('if...') from 'when...' clauses even in the future. In Rembarnga the FACTUAL/NON-FACTUAL distinction is suspended in non-past tenses. Thus while we may be justified, on the basis of English glosses, in listing sentences like (3.7-3) to (3.7-6) among the unreal or counterfactual conditional ('if...') examples, nevertheless there are formally very similar sentences such as (3.7-10) and (3.7-11) which we would prefer to translate as 'when...' clauses in English. The distinction between these two groups of sentences mentioned here seems to arise from the English gloss, rather than being a real issue for speakers of Rembarnga. And, in fact, the 'when'/if' distinction is not made, even in English, for general statements such as the English translation of (3.7-10).

(3.7-10) [pi - φ
  person - NOM 3min.S + REL - die - FUT  NEG

  maθkun
  again 3min.S + REL - look/wake - FUT

- When/if a person dies, he will not wake up again.
3.7.3

(3.7-11) $	ext{parpu} - 	ext{ku} - 	ext{munku} - 	ext{weptey}$

soon FUTURE perhaps Wednesday

$	ext{nina} - 	ext{ti} - 	ext{ta}$

2min.S + REL - return - FUT that - TEMP LOC

$	ext{ta} - 	ext{po} - 	ext{ta} - 	ext{ta}$

puk - ka? [42/76-77]

30 + 2min.A - REDUPL - put - FUT book* - ALL

- When you come back, maybe on Wednesday, you can put it in the book.

Note in passing that, while a REL 'when' clause normally precedes or follows the main clause, it may, on rare occasions, be inserted into the main clause as in (3.7-12).

(3.7-12) qinta - 31

lmin.PRON - NOM in the morning

$	ext{ki} - 	ext{to} - 	ext{mi}$

qa - yu - mi [32/80]

3min.S + REL - dawn - PAST PUNCT lmin.S - go on foot - PAST PUNCT

- In the morning, when dawn came, I walked there. When dawn came in the morning...

3.7.4 NP-Relative Clauses

In the REL clauses discussed up to this point the significant point for interpretation seems to be identity of tense (as opposed to aspect) and of specification for the feature NON-FACTUAL between the REL and main clauses in each example. It is quite possible, on the other hand, to have referential identity between an NP in the REL clause and one in the main clause without identity of tense. Such a sentence may be interpreted as what is traditionally termed a 'relative clause'. That is the REL clause can be considered to qualify (restrictively or non-restrictively) an NP in the main clause. Hale (forthcoming) uses the term 'NP-relative' for this type of interpretation. (3.7-13) is an example of a restrictive relative clause. The use of a demonstrative (nattenta) appears to make the NP-relative interpretation restrictive.

31 It is not clear whether kuёartina is part of the main clause or of the REL clause.
The A of the REL clause is co-referential with the 0 of the main clause.

REL clauses with a restrictive NP-relative interpretation are given in (3.7-14) to (3.7-16). It is the appearance of a demonstrative which motivates the restrictive nature of the interpretation. In each case it is not clear whether the demonstrative should be seen as part of the REL clause or as part of the main clause. Although REL and main clauses in each example have identical tense (unlike (3.7-13)), it is the co-reference between NPs which appears to be most significant for interpretation. See (2.2-23) for a further example of a REL clause with restrictive NP-relative interpretation in which tense is not identical between REL and main clause.

(3.7-13)  
\[ \text{nattent}_{\text{a}} \text{ piri - miri - ya} \]  
\[ \text{that} \text{ 3min.0 + 3min.A + REL - spear - PAST PUNCT} \]  
\[ \text{nì?kaps} - \text{ tɑ - mara - qåra} \]  
3min.EMPH 3min.0 + 2min.A - spear - FUT  
- You are to kill the person who killed him.

(3.7-14)  
\[ \text{ta - yì - mğıppu - n} \]  
3min.0 + 2min.A - yi - know - PRES that road - NOM  
\[ \text{ki - yuč - yuč - ŋ} \]  
\[ \text{potkari - wals} \]  
3min.S + REL - REDUPL - run - PRES [place] - ABL  
- Do you know that road which runs from potkari?

(3.7-15)  
\[ \text{yar - kari - pepe? - mɑ̃} \]  
3min.0 + laug.A - wounded - carry - PAST CONT that - NOM - ma  
\[ \text{waŋkìŋ - ta - ŋ} \]  
\[ \text{muŋuy?} \]  
\[ \text{nànta - ŋ - ma} \]  
\[ \text{one} \]  
\[ \text{(n)ta - NOM CONT} \]  
that - NOM - ma  
\[ \text{pere - miri - ya - ma} \]  
3min.0 + 3aug.A + REL - spear - PAST PUNCT - ma  
\[ \text{nànta - ŋ - ma} \]  
[38/147-148]  
- We carried the wounded man on our shoulders all the way, the man whom he (i.e. another) had speared.
In (3.7-14) the 0 of the main clause is co-referential with the S of the REL clause while in both (3.7-15) and (3.7-16) the 0 of the main clause is co-referential with the 0 of the REL clause.

If no demonstrative is present examples of REL clauses in NP-relative interpretation appear to be non-restrictive, like, for instance, the REL clauses in (3.7-17) and (3.7-18).

(3.7-17)  para - ŋaŋe - φ  nga - yinə? - wa - φ  
father - lmin.DAT PRON - NOM 3min.O + lmin.A - say -

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{jini - waŋa - yaraŋ - ka - pa} & \quad [9/22-23] \\
\text{TRANSVR - PAST PUNCT} & \quad \text{lmin.O + 3min.A + REL - CONT - grow up - CAUS - PAST PUNCT}
\end{align*}
\]

- I told my father, the man who "grow me up".

(3.7-18)  ni?tanta  kaŋina - yi?  ku?na - φ  
3min.PRON big one - ERG dead one - NOM

φ - ku? - mi - ya,  ku?  kaŋa,  
3min.O + 3min.A - dead - get - PAST PUNCT body old

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kapəŋəŋ - yi? - yi - pu - wa} & \quad [43/12-13] \\
\text{dingo - ERG 3min.O + 3min.A + REL - kill - PAST PUNCT}
\end{align*}
\]

- The big [brother] got a dead [kangaroo], an old carcase, which a dingo had killed. (Contrast his smaller brother who speared a fresh kangaroo.) (Mythol.)

32 The PRES tense occurs with this verb because it is the complement of the perception verb ŋaŋa 'hear'. See 3.5.
See Hale's comments (forthcoming:28) on his example of an NP-relative with split antecedents. Here, as in Rembarga example (3.7-19), the REL clause is reduced from a fuller clause containing a conjoined NP. In (3.7-19) the conjoined NP is of the form 'he and I and others'. Of the conjoined nominals making up this NP one is co-referential with the A of the main clause, one with the O of the main clause and one with nothing in the main clause. All three are marked collectively only prefixally in the REL clause. As noted in 3.1 NPs or parts of NPs may readily be deleted in Rembarga, often leaving the pronominal verb prefix as the only full marker of the NP in the sentence. There appear to be no restrictions as to person and number of nominals which may be deleted as parts of a conjoined NP. Compare example (3.1-8) in which half of a conjoined NP (tanta - 2min.PRON - NOM) is omitted in full nominal form but marked by pronominal prefix to the verb. Such 'conjunction reduction' is a feature of a number of Australian languages.
In (3.7-17) the 0 of the main clause is co-referential with the A of the REL clause and the A of the main clause is co-referential with the 0 of the REL clause. In (3.7-18) the 0s of the two clauses are co-referential.

Finally consider (3.7-19). This appears to be a type of NP-relative clause in which the S of the REL clause includes NPs co-referential with both the A and the 0 of the main clause.

(3.7-19) nan? - φ kuyala? qa - miŋji - φ
that - NOM I think lmin.0 + lmin.A - know - PRES

I think I know that man from when we (three or more) were working together in Darwin.

(3.7-19) is the sort of sentence Hale looks for in Walbiri (forthcoming: 27) to argue against the type of analysis of relative clauses that he calls the extraction analysis, in which a relative clause is derived as embedded under an NP and then 'extracted' and moved to final ('adjoined') position. A sentence like (3.7-19) complicates an embedding analysis in that the relative clause would be appropriately embedded under both the 0 and the A of the main clause simultaneously.

3.7.5 Locational Clauses

There are a number of REL clauses in text material which would best be translated into English as adverbial clauses of place ('where...'). NP co-reference or tense identity between the REL and main clauses either does not occur or does not appear to be significant for interpretation. It is conceivable that one could posit identical adverbs in REL and main clauses, followed by deletion of one or both, but the only justification for this would be a desire to parallel the identity of tense and co-reference of NPs conditions on interpretation as outlined in 3.7.2 to 3.7.4. Since the importance of these other conditions is doubtful we are not justified in positing identical adverbs of place for locational clause constructions. In each example below the REL clause is construed as qualifying some NP of place (without itself containing a co-referential NP), or as modifying some local adverb or demonstrative. In (3.7-20)
and (3.7-21), for instance, the REL clauses appear to modify an adverbial demonstrative and local adverbials respectively in the main clauses.

(3.7-20)  
\[ \text{penta -} \; \text{交叉点 -} \; \text{那里 - LOC} \; \text{crossing* - NOM} \; 30 + 1/2aug.A - \text{make - FUT} \]
\[ \text{[kai - na} \; \text{nattanta} \text{base part - 3min.DAT PRON there} \]
\[ \text{ki - kai -} \; \text{lie+ PRES [type fly]} \]
- We'll make a [river] crossing place there, where the bottom of the mappun dreaming is.

(3.7-21)  
\[ \text{kura? walam} \; \text{wura} - \; \text{交叉点 - over there in the south [place] - LOC} \]
\[ \text{ka - pak -} \; \text{lie+ 3min.IMPL + 3min.A - IMPLIC - tell story - FUT} \; \text{buffalo - NOM} \]
\[ \text{ki - turu} \; \text{plen -} \; \text{[33/3-4]} \; \text{3S + REL - stand + PRES plain* - LOC} \]
- He will tell him a story about [something that happened] in the south at wura, where there are buffaloes on the plain.

In the examples (3.7-22) to (3.7-24) the REL clauses appear to qualify the nominals tawal, tawal and mojo respectively, without any NP co-referential with these occurring in the respective REL clauses.
### 3.7.5

(3.7-22) \(q\alpha - tawal - muttu - q\alpha\eta\)  
3min.IMPL + 1min.A - country - show - PUT [place]

\[\begin{align*}
\text{kela} - \text{ppara?} - \text{\&} \\
\text{pere} - \text{yappa?} - \text{nu\&},
\end{align*}\]

[subsection name] - UAUGM - NOM 3aug.S + REL - UAUGM - sit-

\(\text{penta}\)  
PRES there

- I'll show him the country mal\(\eta\)\(\eta\)\(\&\)ak, where the two kela men are living.

(3.7-23) \(tawal\)  
\(yana? - ma\) \(k\alpha\tau\)\(\&\)e  
place INDEF - ma do you reckon there

\[\begin{align*}
\text{\&in?kal?} - \text{ki} - \text{yuru}
\end{align*}\]  
[26/43-44]

\([\text{type stone}]\) 3min.S + REL - lie + PRES

- What's that place there - where the \(\text{\&in?kal?}\) is?

(3.7-24) \(q\alpha - m\&l\& - m\&l\& - wa - wi?n\)
3min.IMPL + 1min.A - REDUPL - path - follow - PAST PUNCT

\[\begin{align*}
\text{kumur} - \text{yarakkun?} \\
\text{\&oppor} - \text{\&ka?}
\end{align*}\]

[towards downwards billabong - ALL]

\(\text{ki} - \text{\&e\&o?} - \text{\&}
\]

[33/16]

3min.S + REL - descend - PRES

- I followed the path, where [the bird] always goes down to the billabong.

### 3.7.6 Miscellaneous REL Clauses

Throughout 3.7.2 to 3.7.5 we have observed a wide variety of clauses which are morphologically similar to each other (in using the REL pronominal prefix forms) but which have different translations into English and thus appear to be distinct clause types. In some cases we have taken tense identity between REL and main clause as significant for interpretation, in other cases we took co-reference of NPs as significant. In many examples several such conditions are fulfilled at once and it is not clear that we are justified in interpreting one or other as most significant in the particular examples. Hale notes
(forthcoming:21ff.) that the simple T-relative/NP-relative classification is insufficient to account for all the possible uses of 'adjoined relative clauses' in Walbiri. The same is true for Rembarnga. Locational clauses (3.7.5) are one group of clauses which cannot be handled in this way, as are the focus sentences discussed in 3.7.7. There are others too.

Example (3.7-25) (similar to Hale's example (25) (forthcoming: 22)) involves perhaps some causal connection between the REL clause and the main clause, but the connection may, in point of fact, be very much less specific. The variety of translations given will show the problem. Note specifically that there is no tense identity or NP co-reference between the two clauses.

(3.7-25) [takkutakk — essage piri — qulpigi — min
children — NOM 3aug.S + REL — cold — INCHOT + PAST PUNCT]

ŋa — pal — ma — ŋaŋa
30 + lmin.A — firewood — get — FUT
— All the children are cold so I will collect some firewood.
Given that all the children are cold I will collect some firewood.
If all the children are cold I will collect some firewood.

The subject matter of a story is often put in a REL clause as complement to a verb of 'telling' as in (3.7-26) and (3.7-27).

(3.7-26) yara — pak — yappa? — ŋeŋa — ŋaŋa
laug.IMPL + 2min.A — IMPLIC — UAGM — tell — FUT

[munaga — yi? peren — yi — kur?war — kur?war — min
white man — ERG 3aug.0 + 3min.A — yi — REDUPL — shoot —

miŋinta?] PAST PUNCT long ago
— Can you tell us two about when the white man shot a lot of people long ago?
(3.7-27) maliwao - ő ka - pawk - pawk - ka
            [name] - NOM 3min.S - REDUPL - speak - FUT

          father - lmin.DAT PROM - NOM
          in the south

yi - work - mep
            3min.S + REL - work - PAST CONT
- maliwao, my father, is going to talk about when he was
working in the south.

Notice the use of a REL clause, qualifying the demonstrative
nanta, as the complement of (trigger-hear' in (3.7-28). An adverbial clause
of time also appears in the example.

(3.7-28) qa - ńawa - ő
            30 + lmin.A - hear - PAST PUNCT
- I heard that while I was working in the south.

nanta - ő
            that - NOM
Maynoru

qi - work - mep,
            lmin.S + REL - work - PAST CONT
- ńamošara - ő

ki - qar - mep
            3min.S + REL - be sick - PAST CONT
- I heard that while I was working at Maynoru, that
ńamošara was sick.

After ńalan 'like' a REL clause complement has been found, in
(3.7-29).

(3.7-29) melak pere - ńalan
            NEG 3aug.S + REL - like + PRES
- They do not want to go to school./They do not like going to
school.
In examples (3.7-30) and (3.7-31) the REL clauses could be considered complements of the verbs *waŋ* 'look, wait' and *kaŋway* 'be satisfied' respectively, or they might be interpreted as NP-relatives whose subjects (S or A) are co-referential with the IMPL in the main clauses.

(3.7-30) yara - waŋa - waŋ - maŋ pi - kan ʧʊram - kan
laug.S - CONT - wait - PAST CONT maŋ - DAT "soldiers" - DAT

\[
\text{yerenpe - waŋa - wa - ne}
\]
\[
\text{laug.IMPL + 3aug.A + REL - tracks - follow - PAST CF}
\]

\[
\text{watta - wala \[ pere - ɣo - ʔa \]}\]
\[
\text{behind - ABL \[ 3aug.S + REL - go/come - PAST CF \]}
\]

- We were waiting for the men, the "soldiers" (i.e. avengers), to follow our tracks and come up behind./We were waiting for the men who would...

(3.7-31) para - ʧi - kaŋa - way - miŋ
3aug.IMPL - yi - belly - be satisfied - PAST PUNCT this

\[
\text{yerenpe - yappa? - miri - ya - ma}
\]
\[
\text{laug.0 + 3aug.A + REL - UAUGM - spear - PAST PUNCT - ma}
\]

\[
\text{yerenpe - yappa? - peŋeŋka - peŋ - ma \[ 37/139-140 \]}
\]
\[
\text{laug.0 + 3aug.A + REL - UAUGM - miss - PAST CONT - ma}
\]

- They got satisfaction by throwing spears at us (two) and missing us.\(^{33}\)/They were satisfied, those who...

See also examples (3.7-32) and (3.7-33). In (3.7-32) either NP-relative or T-relative interpretation would be valid.

\(^{33}\) Compare the *makarata* peace-making fights in north-east Arnhem Land as described by Warner (1956:163-165) and the *mameag* in western Arnhem Land as described by Berndt and Berndt (1970:177).
3.7.6

(3.7-32) ŋalwat paran - ūty? - map,
stone 3aug.o + 3min.a - hit - past cont

[piri - ūty? - mip] [11/22-23]
3aug.s + rel - run - past punct
- The stone hit them as they ran./The stone hit those who ran.

In (3.7-33) the rel clause is easily understood but its link with the
main clause cannot easily be clarified in terms of tense identity, while
the impl of the main clause is co-referential with the S of the rel
clause. An NP-relative interpretation yields an awkward English gloss,
while the NP co-reference is peripheral to the most satisfactory English
gloss.

(3.7-33) yarappa? - waŋ? - mip kalpuma
luaug.s - look - past punct [name]

ka - moło - yuru34 [k1 - ūty? - mip]
3min.impl - track - lie + pres 3min.s + rel - return - past punct

ŋaraŋ - ka? [32/21-22]
[place] - all
- We saw kalpuma's track there, from when he went back to
ŋaraŋ.

3.7.7 Focus Construction

REL clauses are used sometimes in Rembarnga as a device for
focusing on a particular sentence constituent. This is roughly the
equivalent of the English cleft sentence construction. In such a construc-
tion in Rembarnga only a single clause appears in the surface structure,
in apposition to the constituent to be focused upon. This can be clearly
seen in examples (3.7-34) and (3.7-35) where I include contextual
material to show the focus construction more clearly.

34 The pres tense here is due to this VC's being a complement to the
perception verb waŋ? (3.5).
In each of these examples we can see that, because of initial uncertainty or error, one NP is to be emphasised or focused upon and the rest of the sentence in which it occurs is relegated to the background and put in REL form.

See, too, example (3.7-36). The REL clause here forms the first sentence of a text and seems to me to be focusing on the identity of the starting point of the journey to be described. The focusing function of the REL verb form is perhaps not as clear here as in (3.7-34) and (3.7-35), but it appears that this is the best interpretation. Note the fact that the adverbial word which is being emphasised or focused on is placed first in the sentence when in a non-REL sentence it would be likely to follow the VC.
3.7.7


get up - PAST PUNCT

kayika pattanta kara [27/1-3]

onwards there up

- It was from puluʔkaturu that we left, (repeat),
  and [went] right on up there.

A T-relative interpretation would also be possible for example
(3.7-36) - 'When we left puluʔkaturu we [went]...'

3.7.8 Presupposition and the REL Construction

In this section I wish to develop briefly the view that the
REL pronominal prefixes in Rembarnga are markers of presupposed clauses
in all the various constructions exemplified in 3.7.2 to 3.7.7.

A presupposition of a sentence P is defined as a sentence
(P₁) which is logically implied both by P and the negation of P.36
(Keenan 1971:45-46, Horn 1969:98). More informally one could say that
a presupposition of a sentence is something which is taken as given in
order for the sentence to be either true or false and to have communi­
cative value. Keenan (1971) gives a list of a large number of different
types of example sentence which all involve presuppositions. One of
these examples will suffice to show what is meant by the definition of
presupposition given here.

(3.7-37) (a) Mary loves the puppy she found.
(b) Mary does not love the puppy she found.
(c) Mary found a puppy.

35 The adoption of the notion of presupposition as the basis for my
presentation of REL clauses is largely due to suggestions from John Haiman.

36 There is actually a considerable diversity of definitions of pre­
supposition and I do not propose to discuss this problem. Ruth Kempson
(1973, especially Pp.i31, i36) suggests that the phenomena called
'presupposition' by Keenan and others, using the definition given here, are
more correctly termed 'entailment'.
If either (a) or (b) are to have the possibility of being true then (c) must be taken as true. (c) is a presupposition of both (a) and (b), that is of (a) and of its negation.

In (3.7-37) the sentence (c), presupposed by both (a) and (b), is the sentence which must underly the restrictive relative clause which has the surface form 'she found' in both (a) and (b). Keenan shows that, among others, non-restrictive relative clauses, temporal subordinate (when.../ before.../ after...) clauses and cleft sentences also involve presuppositions. I give one of Keenan's examples for each of these categories.

(3.7-38) (a) The Tiv, who respected Bohannon, are (are not) a generous people.

Presupposes: The Tiv respected Bohannon.

(b) John left (didn't leave) when Mary called.

Presupposes: Mary called.

(c) It was (wasn't) John who caught the thief.

Presupposes: Someone caught the thief.

To this list we could add locational subordinate (where...) clauses as in (3.7-39).

(3.7-39) We crossed (didn't cross) the river where you saw the crocodile.

Presupposes: You saw a crocodile.

This list of sentence types involving presuppositions covers English equivalents of all the Rembarnga sentence types dealt with in 3.7.3, 3.7.4, 3.7.5 and 3.7.7. The main exception, then, is conditional clauses. If we can show that these, too, mark presuppositions, then we have reason

37 Schachter (1973:41) points out that some restrictive relative clauses in English do not state a presupposition. Whether a presupposition is involved depends on the 'referring' nature (in his examples (65) and (66), definiteness) of the head NP. It is not clear to me what relevance, if any, such an argument might have to Rembarnga which has no real parallel to the definite (the)/indefinite (a) distinction of English.
to suggest that REL clauses in Rembarnga contain presuppositions. We noted in 3.7.2 and 3.7.3 that conditional and temporal T-relative clauses are mainly distinguished by the fact that the latter are marked for factual tenses, the former for counterfactual tenses or tenses unspecified for the feature NON-FACTUAL.

In discussing the semantics of conditionals, Haiman (MS:§2.5.2) notes that a condition is "the given situation, on which comments or conclusions are based". He distinguishes two types of conditional: (i) a given conditional which may have a form in English such as "Given that X, then Y"; and (ii) a hypothetical conditional which may have the form "If X then Y". The hypothetical conditional includes all types of sentences which I have termed 'conditional' in discussing Rembarnga (3.7.2) while given conditionals seem to include, in Rembarnga, sentences from the temporal T-relative and other categories. Haiman goes on to discuss the relationship of the notion 'presupposition' to these two types of conditional in these words:

"A hypothetical condition is often referred to as a supposition: in fact, some varieties of English explicitly introduce conditional clauses with the verb suppose (cf. Jespersen 1940:373, and Melanesian Pidgin, where the regular equivalent of 'if' is sapos < suppose'). A given condition is identifiable, on the other hand, as a presupposition, but the technical definition of the latter term does not allow us to relate it to the obviously similar notion of suppositions. Nevertheless, a relationship between the two is not far to seek. I propose that a supposition is equivalent to a presupposition in an imaginary world." (Haiman MS:44)

He goes on to mention some of the advantages of this suggestion over other proposed definitions of the conditional constructions. In Rembarnga such a definition would accord well with the observed similarities between the two types of T-relative interpretation, the only difference being in specification for the feature NON-FACTUAL (=IMAGINARY). In 3.7.9 I will adopt this solution suggested by Haiman and show how it applies to Rembarnga conditionals.

38 Compare Roper Pidgin buji (puti) 'if' (Sharpe 1974:5), which one of my informants has also used in the course of a Rembarnga language text to introduce a conditional clause. Sharpe suggests that buji has a common derivation from suppose with Neo-Melanesian saposin.
Without going into details here, I suggest that the notion of presupposition (in the real world or in an imaginary world) as outlined above is also adequate to handle the REL clauses in 3.7.6. As a result we can say that presupposition is the essence of Rembarnga REL clauses. The REL pronominal prefixes mark the clauses in which they occur as presupposed in relation to their context in the discourse.

3.7.9 Structure of REL Clauses

In discussion of the Rembarnga tense/aspect categories (2.5.2) it emerged that three different categories are relevant: Tense (features PAST and FUTURE), Aspect (feature CONTINUOUS) and Reality (feature NON-FACTUAL). The function of the feature NON-FACTUAL is to indicate whether the situation described by any given clause is one which does or does not occur in fact. We saw in 2.5.2 that values of this feature are only assigned to past tense verbs, while FUT and PRES tense verbs are unspecified for the feature NON-FACTUAL. It appears that in Rembarnga it is necessary to specify explicitly whether some putative past situation actually existed and whether some putative past activity actually took place, but that it is not possible to make any comment on the reality or unreality of some potential situation or activity in the non-past tenses, particularly in the FUT tense. (In this section I will use the FUT tense to exemplify non-past, since examples with the PRES tense are rare.) We will need to introduce to our discussion of the structure of REL clauses the notion of 'Possible World' or 'Possible State of Affairs'. In looking at the surface structure of a clause we can say that the 'possible world' defined by that sentence is the sentence itself (lexical items and major syntactic relationships) stripped of all specification for the features PAST, FUTURE, CONTINUOUS and NON-FACTUAL - that is the sentence without tense/aspect suffixes on the VC and with full NPs instead of pronominal verb prefixes.

Let us see how the categories of tense and reality are used in various examples containing REL clauses. The category of aspect will

---
39 Compare A. Wierzbicka's (1973) use of the semantic notion of 'world' in explaining various concepts of time. She defines a 'world' as "everything at a particular time". When I speak of a 'Possible World', however, I mean to refer only to specific parts of a world - those actually mentioned in a sentence - rather than to everything at a particular time.
be omitted here. The possible world described by example (3.7-40) is divided into two parts, one for each clause. Each of these parts may be specified as presupposed (i.e. REL) or as not presupposed. See 3.7.8 for this use of presupposition. The example (3.7-40) can thus be analysed as set out in (3.7-41).

(3.7-40) kuwep - φ  qα - kur?war - miu
kangaroo - NOM  3min.0 + lmin.A - shoot - PAST PUNCT

\[
\begin{align*}
q_i - na - ϕ \\
3min.0 + lmin.A + REL - see - PAST PUNCT
\end{align*}
\]

- I shot the kangaroo which I saw./I shot the kangaroo when I saw it.

(3.7-41) Possible World \( \langle qinta(A), kuwep(O), kur?war \rangle \langle qinta(A), kuwep(O), na \rangle \)

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{Presupposed} & - + \\
\text{Tense} & \text{PAST PAST} \\
\text{Non-factual} & - + \\
\end{array}
\]

The fact that the tense of both clauses is identical and that the NPs in both clauses are co-referential allows both temporal T-relative and NP-relative interpretations of this example. Note that both clauses are marked [- Non-factual] and that therefore they both describe a possible world identical with the real world. If we change the value of the NONFACTUAL feature in both clauses we get (3.7-42) which yields the surface structure (3.7-43).

(3.7-42) Possible World \( \langle qinta(A), kuwep(O), kur?war \rangle \langle qinta(A), kuwep(O), na \rangle \)

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{Presupposed} & - + \\
\text{Tense} & \text{PAST PAST} \\
\text{Non-factual} & + + \\
\end{array}
\]
In (3.7-43) we have a counterfactual or unreal conditional construction, one of the types of hypothetical conditional mentioned in 3.7.8. In this example, being in the past tense, the clauses must be specified for the feature NON-FACTUAL. The possible world described here is specifically marked as not being identical with the real world. In other words sentence (3.7-43) describes an imaginary or hypothetical world which never became reality. But if the shooting of the kangaroo were to have taken place it would have presupposed the seeing of the kangaroo. We deduce this from the marking of the second clause as presupposed, using the REL pronominal prefix form.

As we have already noted (2.5.2) the NON-FACTUAL feature does not apply in non-past tenses because no non-past situation or activity can be definitely marked as real or unreal. Reality can be seen in retrospect but not in prospect in Rembarnga. Thus if we change the tense in (3.7-42) and (3.7-41) to, say, FUT, as in (3.7-44), we do not specify a value for the feature NON-FACTUAL at all (symbol 'O'), and the resulting surface structure sentence is given in (3.7-45). Note the two possible

40 Morgan (1969:168-169) shows that the unreality or "negative presupposition" of counterfactual conditionals in English is due to the use of subjunctive verb forms (equivalent to Rembarnga PAST CF) and not to the 'if...' construction itself. English hypothetical conditionals with non-subjunctive verb forms have no "negative presupposition" (i.e., they are not counterfactual). Compare Rembarnga example (3.7-45) (set out in (3.7-44)). Morgan's English examples are:

(a) If the sun is out right now, it's time to get up.
(b) If the sun were out right now, it would be time to get up.

Note that Morgan uses the term "presupposition" for what I have handled by means of the feature NON-FACTUAL.

41 Lyons (1968:310) comments that statements about the future "are necessarily based upon the speaker's beliefs, predictions or intentions, rather than upon his knowledge of 'fact'". Compare Sommer's comments on the frequency of use of the Irrealis Future in Okyandang (Sommer 1972:110).
English renderings since in English 'when' and 'if' with future reference tend to mark a difference in the certainty with which the outcome is viewed. No such distinction is made in Rembarnga.

(3.7-44)
Possible (qinta(A), kuwep(O), kur?war) (qinta (A), kuwep(O), na)
World
Presupposed - +
Tense FUT FUT
Non-factual 0 0

(3.7-45) kuwep - φ ηa - kur?war - rα
kangaroo - NOM 3min.0 + lmin.A - shoot - FUT
[ŋi - na - na
[3min.0 + lmin.A + REL - see - FUT]
- I will shoot the kangaroo if I see it./I will shoot the kangaroo when I see it.

In (3.7-45) the possible world described is not explicitly stated to be identical with the real world, nor is it explicitly stated to be different from the real world. It is an imaginary or hypothetical world and future events themselves will determine whether or not it will turn out to be factual or real. Of course an NP-relative interpretation of (3.7-44) is also possible: 'I will shoot the kangaroo I (will) see'.

Up to this point we have looked only at examples where both clauses were identically specified for tense and for the feature NON-FACTUAL. These may, however, be varied independently. In (3.7-46), which has surface structure (3.7-47), the tenses of the two clauses are distinct. This means, in Hale's terms, that the NP-relative interpretation, determined by co-referential NPs, is obligatory.

(3.7-46)
Possible (qinta(A), kuwep(O), kur?war) (qinta(A), kuwep(O), na)
World
Presupposed - +
Tense FUT PAST
Non-factual 0 +
In (3.7-48) (with (3.7-49) as its surface form) both clauses are in the past tense but there is a clear difference between the clauses in NON-FACTUAL specification which could not occur when one clause is in the FUT tense as in (3.7-46).

(3.7-48)
Possible (qinta(A), kuwep(O), kur?war) (qinta(A), kuwep(O), na)
World
Presupposed - +
Tense PAST PAST
Non-factual + -

(3.7-49)
kuwep - φ ηα - kur?war - mo
kangaroo - NOM 3min.O + lmin.A - shoot - PAST CF

[ŋi - na - φ
3min.O + lmin.A + REL - see - PAST PUNCT]
- I would have shot the kangaroo I saw. / I would have shot the kangaroo when I saw it. / I was going to shoot the kangaroo when/after I saw it. / etc.

NP-relative and temporal T-relative interpretations are both available here since the tenses of the two clauses are identical and the NPs are co-referential.

Informants maintained that the sentence given in (3.7-50) was impossible. The structure of this sentence is set out in (3.7-51). This means that if the presupposed material is non-factual then the asserted material may not be factual. Compare (3.7-50) and (3.7-51) with (3.7-48) and (3.7-42).
3.7.9

(3.7-50) *kuwen - φ  qa - kurtwar - miŋ
kangaroo - NOM 3min.0 + 1min.A - shoot - PAST PUNCT

[ qa - na - ne
3min.0 + 1min.A + REL - see - PAST CF ]

(3.7-51)
Possible (ŋinta(A), kuwen(O), kurtwar) (ŋinta(A), kuwen(O), na)
World
Presupposed - +
Tense PAST PAST
Non-factual *-

While all the examples analysed up to this point have involved
c-reference of NPs between the two clauses, this is by no means a necessary
condition for REL clauses. See, for instance, (3.7-52) and (3.7-53), a
counterfactual conditional construction with no co-reference of NPs.

(3.7-52)
Possible (ŋinta(A), kuwen(O), kurtwar) (tanta(A), wurppap(O), na)
World (1min.PRON,kangaroo, shoot) (2min.PRON emu see)
Presupposed - +
Tense PAST PAST
Non-factual +

(3.7-53) kuwen - φ  qa - kurtwar - me
kangaroo - NOM 3min.0 + 1min.A - shoot - PAST CF

[wurppap - φ  ti - na - ne
emu - NOM 3min.0 + 2min.A + REL - see - PAST CF
- I would have shot the kangaroo if you had seen the emu.

It must be noted that the order of the presupposed (REL) clause
and the main clause may vary. A number of the examples discussed in 3.7.9 and
3.7.2 to 3.7.6 were tested with the clauses fulfilling the same roles but

42 A possible context: The speaker was stalking a kangaroo and just
about to shoot it when the hearer inadvertently disturbed an emu which,
in its turn, alerted the kangaroo to danger.
in different orders. There appeared to be complete freedom of ordering, including the possibility of inserting the REL clause into the main clause at various points. See also example (3.7-12). Furthermore it is possible to reverse the presuppositional roles of the clauses in some of the examples given. As an example see (3.7-54) and (3.7-55), a sentence which is the same as (3.7-41) and (3.7-40) but with the presuppositional roles of the two clauses reversed.

(3.7-54)
Possible (ŋinta(A), kuwep(O), kurlwar) (ŋinta(A), kuwep(O), na)
World
Presupposed
- +
Tense
PAST PAST
Non-factual
-

(3.7-55)
[kuwep - ⚫ ŋi - kurlwar - miŋ
kangaroo - NOM 3min.0 + lmin.A + REL - shoot - PAST PUNCT]
ŋa - na - ⚫
3min.0 + lmin.A - see - PAST PUNCT
- I saw the kangaroo which I shot./I saw the kangaroo when (after) I shot it.

Thus far in 3.7.9 I have indicated a format within which all the REL clause constructions covered in 3.7.2 to 3.7.6 can be adequately described, even those which do not involve tense identity or NP co-reference between their two clauses and are thus a problem for Hale's analysis. Much more could be said here but enough material has been presented to point the way for the use of presupposition, tense and the feature NON-FACTUAL as the bases of the wide variety of possible REL clause constructions in Rembarnga.

The focus construction (3.7.7) also presents a problem for Hale's analysis in that it involves only a single clause, thus putting tense identity or NP co-reference out of the question. This construction, however, presents no problem for a presuppositional analysis. It is clearly possible to say that one constituent of a sentence may be put into focus or emphasised by the simple expedient of converting the rest of the sentence
into a presupposition. Thus a single-clause possible world may be divided into two parts, one of which is marked as presupposed. We could, for instance analyse the focus clause contained in (3.7-35) as set out in (3.7-56).

(3.7-56)
Possible \((\text{giirma} - \text{kana} - \text{ka\text*?} (S)), (\text{gol})\)
World \(\text{small burramundis}\)
Presupposed -
Tense + PAST
Non-factual -

Tense and a value for the feature NON-FACTUAL are specified only once in any single given clause. I list them under the verb because they appear marked in the VC.

In the light of this discussion I wish to suggest that for Rembarnga speakers the crucial point in interpreting a REL clause is the understanding that the material contained in such a clause is presupposed or taken as given, rather than asserted. It would seem that the questions of NP co-reference and of tense identity, so necessary for Hale’s classification into NP-relative and T-relative interpretations, are largely peripheral or maybe even irrelevant as far as Rembarnga speakers are concerned. They may well be simply devices which allow English speakers to sub-divide the single Rembarnga clause type which introduces presuppositions. This sub-division may be motivated by the diversity of the presuppositional clause types in English, rather than by anything internal to Rembarnga itself.

43 As noted above (3.7.1) Hale (forthcoming:19-20) notes that the distinction he proposes between NP-relative and T-relative interpretations may not be a clear-cut one, and that the correct understanding of these clauses may be very different.
3.7.10 Case-Marked REL Clauses

In discussing noun phrases (2.2.1) I noted that relative clauses were capable of standing as NPs in exactly the same way as single nominals or other types of NP. Such NPs may be marked, where appropriate, with case suffixes. These case-marked REL clauses have the same presuppositional nature as was outlined for REL clauses without case marking in 3.7.8 and 3.7.9. At this point I will simply list a number of examples of REL clauses which are marked with various syntactic and local case suffixes.

The syntactic case suffixes (2.2.4.2) occur very rarely marking REL clauses. It is impossible to know whether or not the NOM suffix ever occurs since it has the form \( \_ \). I have found one clear text example (3.7-57) of the ERG suffix marking a REL clause, but had to elicit examples with the DAT suffix. One of these is given as (3.7-58).

In (3.7-57) the REL clause (bracketed) is one of a number of parallel NPs, each marked for ERG case, but all referring to a single subject. Commas indicate the pauses separating each of the separate NPs following the VC.

(3.7-57) \( \text{kotok} - \text{yi?} \quad \text{qan} - \text{pak} - \text{yinip}, \)

\( \text{[subsection name]} - \text{ERG} \quad \text{1min.IMPL} + \text{3min.S} - \text{IMPLIC} - \text{say} + \text{PAST PUNCT} \)

\( \text{tni} - \text{kan} \quad \text{para} - \text{nawo} - \text{yi?}, \)

George - DAT father - 3min.DAT PRON - ERG

\( \text{wuruquna} - \text{yinip} - \text{yi?}, \quad \text{maniprita} \)

big brother - real - ERG [here Maningrida

\( \text{ye - wu5 - min - yi?} \quad \text{nanta - yi?} \quad [38/107-109] \)

3min.S + REL - die - PAST PUNCT - ERG that - ERG

\( \text{kojok said to me - that kotok, that's George's father, the biggest brother, the one who passed away here at Maningrida, that one.} \)
There are many text examples of REL clauses marked with each of the local case suffixes (2, 4, 3) except -we PERL, which is not common in any case. I have not checked the possibilities with -we. All the examples given here are from text material, including (3.7-62) which occurs on the tape of an as yet untranscribed text.

Examples (3.7-59) and (3.7-60) contain REL clauses marked with the LOC suffix -ta. In the latter example the REL clause is in apposition to an adverbial demonstrative.

(3.7-59)   yarappa? - fo - 9i - yumaŋ
           luaug,S - go - INFIN - PROGR + PAST PUNCT
           fish - NOM

piri - 9at - min - ta
30 + 3aug,A + REL - poison - PAST PUNCT - LOC
- We were walking along where they poisoned the fish.

(3.7-60)   ki - molæ - vuñwul - fo - ta
           3min.S + REL - water - spring up - PRES - LOC there

9ula - fo yarappa? - fo mın [32/6]
water - NOM 30 + luaug.A - drink - PAST PUNCT
- Where the water springs up (out of the ground), there we had a drink of water.

Examples (3.7-61) and (3.7-62) contain ALL-marked REL clauses, in each case in apposition to other adverbials.
3.7.10

(3.7-61) maʔkun katana - yka? ŋara - tı̧ ını̧ - mı̧
again same - ALL 1/2aug.S - return - PAST PUNCT

[ŋattu - ści yi - şuğu - maŋ - ?ka?
] [29/117-118]

cycad nuts - NOM 3S + REL - soak - PAST CONT - ALL
- We went back to the same place, to where the cycad nuts were soaking.

(3.7-62) ka - tı̧ ını̧ - ı̧a
kanpera - ?ka? yulam?
3min.S - return - FUT Canberra - ALL southwards

[ʃinta ʒe - tawal - wina - n - ?ka?
] [3min.PRON 3min.O + 3min.A + REL - country - not know - PRES - ALL]
- He's going to go back to Canberra, to the south, to country which I don't know.

Finally note example (3.7-63) where a REL clause, in apposition to another adverbial, is marked with the ABL suffix -wala.

(3.7-63) tı̧ ını̧ - para? yappan? - ści para - yappa? - tı̧ - ya
woman - UAUGM two - NOM 3aug.S - UAUGM - go - PAST PUNCT

[warwala ʃutta - ści ki - ỳula - pol? - ści - wala [42/28-29]
 east + ABL [sun - NOM 3min.S + REL - sun - come out - PRES - ABL]
- The two women went from the east, from where the sun comes up.

Note that if no difficulty of interpretation would result case suffixes need not be used to mark REL clauses. See 3.7.4 and 3.7.5.

3.7.11 TEMP LOC Clauses

There are numerous text examples available of REL clauses marked with the TEMP LOC suffix -tı̧ ını̧ (2.2.4.5). These mark temporal location and seem to be syntactically parallel to case-marked REL clauses. See, for instance, examples (3.7-64) to (3.7-66). The REL clause may be in apposition to another adverb as it appears to be in (3.7-65) and (3.7-66) or not, as in (3.7-64).
When the wind blows from the wrong side we do not go hunting.

Tomorrow, when daylight comes, I'll see it.

It is clear from (3.7-66) that more than one TEMP LOC clause may occur in a single series of adverbial phrases.

There are almost as many text examples in which a clause marked with the TEMP LOC suffix -tti is not a REL clause but has a regular non-REL pronominal prefix in its VC. That the use of the REL form in a TEMP LOC clause is not dependent on tense appears to be shown by comparison of

44 It is not clear whether kutartti is part of the main clause or part of the REL clause.
3.7.11

(3.7-65) with (3.7-67), and of (3.7-66) with (3.7-68).

(3.7-67)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{parppu? } & \eta - \text{par } - \&a - 55i \\
\text{soon } & \text{1min.S } - \text{burn } - \text{FUT } - \text{TEMP LOC}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{na } & - \etau - \text{na} \\
30 + 2\text{aug.A } & - \text{eat } - \text{FUT}
\end{align*}
\]

- You can eat it when I have burned (i.e. 'brushed myself with scorched leaves').

(3.7-68)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{mutta } & - \phi \text{ karin } - \phi - \text{tiyi } - 55i \\
\text{sun } & - \text{NOM } \text{in the west } \text{3min.S } - \text{stand } + \text{PAST PUNCT } - \text{TEMP LOC}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{nanta } & - 55i \text{ yara } - \text{yappa? } - \text{kuwam? } - \text{min} \\
\text{that } & - \text{TEMP LOC } \text{laug.S } - \text{UAUGM } - \text{set off } - \text{PAST PUNCT}
\end{align*}
\]

- When the sun was standing in the west we set off.

In all except one of the text examples of TEMP LOC clauses the tense of the TEMP LOC clause is the same as that of the associated main clause (assuming PAST PUNCT, PAST CONT and PAST CF to be all identical PAST tense). The one exception is given here as (3.7-69). It was not checked with other informants, but a brief test of other sentences makes it apparent that a FUT tense main clause may not be used with a PAST tense TEMP LOC clause. These sequence of tense constraints must be checked further.

(3.7-69)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{para } & - \text{paṭṭa } - \text{ma } - \etae - \text{ttu } - \text{n} \\
\text{3aug.S } & - \text{COM EXTVR } - \text{get } - \text{STEM } - \text{REFLEX } - \text{PRES}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{tawa? } & \text{nanta } - \text{ma} \\
\text{nowadays that } & - \text{ma}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ye } & - \text{pol? } - \text{min } - 5i \\
3s + \text{REL-arrive } & - \text{PAST PUNCT } - \text{TEMP LOC}
\end{align*}
\]

- Nowadays they steal[wives] from each other, now that the white man has come.
Where no misunderstanding can arise the TEMP LOC suffix is not necessary to mark a temporal REL clause. See also 3.7.3. In (3.7-70), for instance, a series of temporal clauses occurs, all defining a particular point in time. Some of these clauses are marked with the TEMP LOC suffix, some not. I give only the first few clauses in the list.

(3.7-70) kunpurukka kołkkol'k - kan yar - ŋeŋa - 闪过,
midnight night - DAT 30 + laug. A - name - PRES

[ŋere - yurụ - Ʒi
1/2aug.S + REL - lie - TEMP LOC][ŋere - ʒara - muk - 闪过
1/2aug. IMPL + REL - head -
be extinguished - PRES]
\left[ julpiŋ - Ʒi
cold - TEMP LOC\right]

[ŋere - ʒara - mūr? - 闪过 - Ʒi ... ]
1/2aug. IMPL + REL - head - cold - PRES - TEMP LOC
- We call it kunpurukka kołkkol'kkan 45 (the middle of the night),
  when we lie [asleep], when we lose consciousness, when it
  is cold, when our heads get cold ...

3.7.12 NEG Clauses

Negation of a sentence in Rembarnga involves the use of the NEG particle malak. The negated sentence is in REL form and follows (or at least the VC follows) malak. The most natural way to interpret this construction is as a focus construction of the type discussed in 3.7.7. malak in effect means 'it is not true, (that....)'. The REL clause following malak must be marked non-factual in the past tense or may be unmarked for the feature NON-FACTUAL in the non-past tenses. Thus (3.7-71) (a) and (b) are acceptable sentences while (3.7-71)(c) is not.

(3.7-71)(a) malak [yiri - ɾo - ŋeŋa
NEG [laug. S + REL - go - FUT]
- We will not go.

45 A number of other informants maintain that kunpurukka is not a Rembarnga word. However the word may occur in the kaltuy't dialect (as here) but not in the northern dialect.
3.7.12

(b) melak \[yiri - ṭo - ña\]
NEG \[lauq.S + REL - go - PAST CF\]
- We did not go.

(c) *melak \[yiri - ṭi - ya\]
NEG \[lauq.S + REL - go - PAST PUNCT\]

Note that a single occurrence of the particle melak may be followed by (may negate) more than one REL clause, as in the text example (3.7-72). 46

(3.7-72) melak \[yene? pere - yina?me\]
NEG \[INDEF 3aug.S + REL - do + PAST CF\]

\[pere - ma - ña\]
\[3min.0 + 3aug.A + REL - get - PAST CF\]
- They could not do anything, they could not pick him up.

3.8 ERGATIVE OR ACCUSATIVE SYNTAX?

Over recent years there has been some discussion of so-called (Nominative-) Ergative and (Nominative-) Accusative patterns of case-marking and rule forms in connection with Australian languages. See in particular Hale 1970, Dixon 1972 (especially Chapter 5), and the papers on this subject in Dixon ed. forthcoming. In general the term '(Nominative-) Ergative' refers to the identification (or identical treatment) of O and S rather than A and S for the purposes of syntactic rules, while '(Nominative-) Accusative' refers to the identification (identical treatment) of A and S rather than O and S in such rules. The principal determining factor in this division between ergative and accusative systems is which of the major transitive NP functions (A or O) is treated as unmarked like the intransitive S. The classification of a language as ergative or accusative is done at two levels at least: (i) the level of morphology and surface case marking; and (ii) the level of various syntactic rules such as various types of complementation, relativisation and so on. These levels can be independent, although some correlation between them is likely.

46 See further examples of the use of melak NEG in 2.7(vi).
In my paper on some evidence for ergative syntax in Rembarnga (forthcoming) I showed that the morphological case-marking of NPs in Rembarnga sentences operates in an ergative manner. (Compare 2.2.4.2 and 3.1 above.) Further I showed that nominal incorporation in Rembarnga operates ergatively too, since an A nominal is never incorporated into a VC, while both O and S nominals are frequently so incorporated. (Compare 2.5.11 and 3.4 above.) I tried to show, in the paper, that the nominal incorporation rules operate at a fairly deep level, and I hoped in this way to justify the view that the deepest underlying structure of Rembarnga could be seen as predominantly ergative in nature. Subsequently (see footnote 11 to the paper) I discovered that the structure of jussive complements in Rembarnga (3.6.3) is of an accusative type in that the complement verb can be in the INFIN form only if its A or S (depending on transitivity), but not its O, is co-referential with the O of the main clause. This means that Rembarnga syntax is of a mixed ergative and accusative nature.

If some rules (e.g. nominal incorporation) operate ergatively and others (e.g. jussive complementation) operate accusatively it becomes very difficult to posit a unified deep structure for the language in the classical TG framework, using phrase structure rules of the type

1. \( S \rightarrow \text{NP} \ \text{VP} \)
2. \( \text{VP} \rightarrow (\text{NP}) \ V \)

In this framework the syntactic functions of specific NPs are identified by their positions in the tree relative to the major nodes S and VP. A mixed ergative and accusative system, however, cannot easily be handled here because the set of relationships needed to handle the one type of rules would differ from that needed for the other type. Jeffrey Heath (forthcoming b) maintains, with some justification, that the rigid ergative versus accusative typology is a product of this theoretical framework.
He writes:

"In the context of this theory [i.e. classical TG], it seemed that every language had to be, at the deepest level, either ergative (IS[S] = TO [O]) or accusative (IS[S] = TS [A]), since these were the only systems which could be conveniently generated by such P[hrase]S[tructure]rules." (P.11)

He claims that the ergative or accusative nature of various rules is determined, not by the underlying base form, as the classical TG theory would predict, but by the individual rules themselves. His proposal allows for a mixture of rule types within the one language but demands a generalised base form containing semantically defined case relationships on principles similar to those proposed by Fillmore (1968). Heath suggests further that it may be found that particular construction types are normally ergative in those languages which have them and that other construction types are normally of an accusative type.

The two constructions mentioned above in connection with the deep pattern of Rembarnga syntax - nominal incorporation and jussive complements - are interesting in this respect. In all the languages I know of in northern Australia which have incorporation of nominals into the VC the A nominal may not be incorporated. Silverstein (forthcoming:6) claims in general terms that the incorporation of "non-ergator" nominals into the VC is a recurrent transformational relation associated with ergative case-marking in many languages. Sapir (1911) mentions no examples of the incorporation of an A nominal in his discussion of a variety of types of noun incorporation in North American languages. It thus appears that nominal incorporation may be universally ergative rather than accusative in its operation. On the other hand it seems to me virtually inconceivable that jussive complement rules, where they exist, could operate in any way other than accusatively, as in Rembarnga. Hale (1968:36-37) notes that the rules for forming jussive complements in Walbiri also operate accusatively. The same is true of English jussive complements.

Finally it is clear that, even at the level of case-marking morphology, there is no possibility of classifying each language as either ergative or accusative. Many languages in Australia and elsewhere have mixed ergative and accusative morphology. The systematic nature of these "split-ergative" systems of case-marking is discussed in detail by
Silverstein (forthcoming). Again the difference between ergative and accusative systems is not language specific, but appears to exist according to certain perhaps universal semantic features of NPs.

It appears to me now to be a mistake to look for a single underlying syntactic pattern in a given language. Rather I incline to the view, propounded by Heath, that a more semantic deep structure should be posited and that each syntactic rule should be examined independently with respect to the ergative/accusative classification. This I have tried to do, where it was possible, in discussing the various syntactic points in Chapter 3.
REMBARNGA TEXTS

The following texts, selected from over forty collected in the field, are included with a two-fold purpose. Firstly as linguistic material they complement the extensive exemplification given in the main body of this work by providing examples of the use of Rembarnga in connected narrative, rather than as isolated sentences. Secondly they show something of the context in which present day speakers of Rembarnga live and use their language. In these texts three informants narrate, in their own language, fairly typical incidents from their own lives. The texts cover the two main types of situation in which Rembarnga people find themselves—a modified traditional semi-nomadic hunting and gathering existence, or working on a cattle station.

The line numbering given in this appendix differs from that of my original transcriptions, to which the references given for example sentences throughout the thesis refer. To facilitate the location of the contexts of examples quoted from the three texts here I include periodic line references to the original transcriptions in square brackets. Some grammatical notes are given.

Text 28

Narrator: Brian jinawaja

This text describes the intrusion of a buffalo into the overnight camp of the narrator and his brother Wally lippuwaqa, with their families. The incident took place during the dry season of 1972 while they were travelling around on foot in various parts of their country.

Note, throughout the text, the frequent use of repetition of whole sentences, often with minor variations in words or word order (e.g. lines 21-22, 27-28, 32-33, 34-35, 37-38).

1. yara - yappa? - niyi[:], yara - yappa? - niyi[:].
   laug.S - UAUGM - sit + PAST PUNCT

[1] - We (two) were sitting there.
We were talking and telling stories.

"Hey, let's go to sleep."

"Yes, let's go to sleep and tomorrow we'll go away from here."

[That is what] we said.

We were lying there [asleep]...

We went to sleep.

We were lying there [asleep]...

We went to sleep.
ka - yi - pene - waŋ? - mĩn ... 
3min.S - yi - pene - look - PAST PUNCT
... when a buffalo came wandering along towards us and saw ... 

fire - NOM 3min.S - burn - PRES
It saw the fire burning.

fire - NOM 3min.S - REDUPL - burn - PAST PUNCT
The fire was burning.

11. ŋura? - ʔ - par - par - mĩn warkka
NEW SUBJECT
yan - pak - na - ʔ
1/2min.IMPL + 3min.A - IMPLIC - see - PAST PUNCT
ŋura? - ʔ warkka patte? - wala 
fire - NOM NEW SUBJECT there - ABL
ʔ - ʔo - ʔi - yumaŋ 
woy.
3min.S - go - INFIN - PROGR + PAST PUNCT this way
The fire was burning and [the buffalo] saw the fire, you know, and came towards it.

For the narrative use of pak IMPLIC in this sentence see 3.2.2 (v).

12. ʔ - waŋa - ʔo - ʔi - yumaŋ.
3min.S - CONT - go - INFIN - PROGR + PAST PUNCT
It kept coming.

go quietly 3min.S - went
It came along without a sound.
14. φ - ṡan?wop − yuman
   3min.S - go quietly - PROGR + PAST PUNCT buffalo - NOM - ma
   The buffalo came up quietly.

   [10] 3min.S - CONT - REDUPL - go quietly - PROGR + PAST PUNCT
   It came silently closer and closer.


17. φ - waŋa - ṡan?wop - ṡan?wop - yuman waraka
   NEW SUBJECT

   ni?kaŋa... ni?kaŋa? matte? woli - φ
   3min.EMPH this Wally - NOM

   φ - ṣere - yuwe[:].n.
   3min.S - asleep - lie + PAST CONT
   It came closer and closer while Wally still lay there fast asleep.

18. φ - qulpiŋ - mîn.
   3min.S - cold- INCHOAT + PAST PUNCT
   He got cold.

19. kaŋa, ṣa - qulpiŋ - mîn.
   Oh 1min.S - cold - INCHOAT + PAST PUNCT
   "Oh dear, I feel cold.

   fire - NOM 30 + 1min.A - PRIOR - light - FUT

   φ - yiniŋ.
   3min.S - say + PAST PUNCT
   How about I light (boost) the fire," he said.
   get up 3min.S - went
   He got up.

    3min.S - get up - PAST PUNCT
    He got up...

23. ṭ - ṭolkkō - mot - mīp.
    30 + 3min.A - ground - hold - PAST PUNCT
    ... leaning on the ground ...

The sentence 23 may be analysed as here with the nominal ṭolkkō incorporated,
or with the nominal unincorporated and marked for NOM case (tolkkō + ṭ).
The verb prefix is analysed the same in each case.

    3min.S - hand - stretch out - PAST PUNCT
    ... as he stretched out his hand.

25. kuwa tawa? - ma ṭuṛa? - ṭ
    PURP now - ma fire - NOM

    ka - yi - ma - ṭe
    30 + 3min.A - yi - get - PAST CF until
    parppu?

    ka - yi - pēne - waq? - mīp
    3min.S - yi - pēne - look - PAST PUNCT in the middle
    pulżap

    ka - turu
    3min.S - stand + PRES buffalo - NOM
    He was just about to pick up a smouldering stick when he saw the
    buffalo standing in the middle [of the camp].

26. warkka yaran - pak - yinīp
    NEW SUBJECT laug.IMPL + 3min.S - IMPLIC - say + PAST PUNCT
    He said to us:
27. wirigu - φ penta - ọọ a
big dangerous animal - NOM there - LOC

ka - turu.
3min.S - stand + PRES
"Look out! There's something standing there!

28. wirigu - φ penta - ọọ a pulsa
in the middle

ka - turu nonta.
that one
Watch out for that big animal standing in the middle [of the camp!]

29. ṣanaruru nara - ge? - φ,
buffalo 2aug.S - get up - PRES

yaran - pak - yinip.
laug.IMPL + 3min.S - IMPLIC - say + PAST PUNCT
Buffalo! Get up!" he said to us.

30. warka yara - yappa - ṭuṭuppur - mìn
NEW SUBJECT laug.S - UAUGM - get up in surprise - PAST PUNCT

woy.
this way
We both jumped up in surprise.

Here the speaker refers, again, only to the two men present at the time.

[20]

32. takku - takku - φ para - kusan - yuṭ - mìn.
REDUPL - child - NOM 3aug.S - afraid - run - PAST PUNCT
The children ran off in terror.
that way tree - ALL
takku - takku - d.
The children ran for the trees.

3aug.S climb PAST PUNCT tree - ALL
The clambered up into trees.


36. qinta - d 
na - ge? - mi?n.
lmin.PRON - NOM lmin.S - get up - PAST PUNCT
I got up.

37. totkan - d 
pa?n 
na - mi - ya.
shotgun* - NOM pick up 3min.O + lmin.A - get - PAST PUNCT
I grabbed my shotgun.

38. totkan - d 
na - mi - ya.

39. kuwa tawa? - ma 
na - kur?war - ma.
PURP now - ma 3min.O + lmin.A - shoot - PAST PUNCT
I was just about to shoot [the buffalo].

40. qanapparu - d 
a?i? 
... qanapparu - d 
a?i? ...
[25] buffalo - NOM but
qanapparu - d 
qi - pe?et?ka - pa
3min.O + lmin.A + REL - miss - PAST CF

ma?i?, pi - d 
pa?a - me? - kur?war - me - kappul
but people - NOM 3aug.O + lmin.A - lest - shoot - PAST CF -
DEF AUGM

But if I had missed the buffalo I might have hit the people.
Then on account of that I left it alone.

"Let's leave it," he (i.e. Wally) said to me.

We frightened it away.

It galloped a long way off towards the west.
49. φ - ta - ṣe - tti - ṣ
   3min.S - stand(CAUS) - STEM - REFLEX - PAST PUNCT
   penta - ṭọa.
   there - LOC
   It came to a stop there.

50. φ - ta - ṣe - tti - ṣ
   It stopped.

   3min.O + laug.A - NAUGM - REDUPL - see - PAST PUNCT
   We watched it for a bit.

52. walaŋmaŋpaŋ pututup.
   and then gallop

Note the deletion of all inflections from the verb root here. The identity of the S of the sentence and the tense can both be deduced from context.

53. φ - kuwan - yuṭ - miŋ.
   3min.S - afraid - run - PAST PUNCT
   It ran away.

Text 29

Narrator: Wally lippuwaŋa

This extract from Text 29 gives details of a sort of life which is fairly typical for a significant proportion of the year for those involved. As in Text 28 above, these are Brian lipunwaŋa, his brother Wally lippuwaŋa and their families. malŋanapak (line 1) and mowanka (line 43) are about twenty miles apart, as the crow flies, with escarpment country separating them. It is not clear what length of time was involved.
A notable feature of this text is ellipsis, shown in the use of uninflected verb forms (e.g. lines 24, 28, 38), and in the large number of verbless sentences, consisting simply of adverbs (e.g. lines 4, 7, 11, 12, 23).

1. \textit{\ldots pattonta - 55a malnapa\textipa{ak}}
   \text{[96] there - LOC [place]}
   
   yar - yappa? - war? - min
   30 + laug.A - \textipa{UAUGM} - throw - PAST PUNCT fish
   \ldots There at \textipa{malnapa\textipa{ak}} we (two) fished (with lines).

2. parppu\textipa{i} yar - yappa? - watparpu - min,
   soon 30 + laug.A - \textipa{UAUGM} - catch a big haul - PAST CONT
   
   yar - ta\textipa{kuku} - min.
   30 + laug.A - roast - PAST PUNCT
   Soon we got a big haul of fish and roasted it.

3. yar - ta\textipa{kuku} - min pontoa - 55a,
   \text{there - LOC}
   
   yar - nyuyu - to - n
   30 + laug.A - \textipa{REDUPL} - eat - PAST PUNCT fish - NOM
   We roasted the fish there and ate them.

4. pontoa - wala - ma yara.
   \text{there - ABL - ma down}
   From there [we went] down.

Sometimes pontoa\textipa{wala} means 'from there' in a locational sense, sometimes 'then' in a temporal sense. It could be either here, as in lines 6, 11 and 43 below.
5. ꜝatte - ꜝ yar - miya - mi - ya.
cycad nuts - NOM 30 + laug.A - REDUPL - get - PAST PUNCT
We picked cycad nuts.

6. ꜝatte - ꜝ yar - miya - mi - ya, penta - wala - ma[:].
   there - ABL - ma
We picked cycad nuts and then left there.

7. yara, purorimţi.
   [100] down [place]
   [We went] down to purorimţi.

8. purorimţi - wala ... ken
   [place]- ABL Woops
We left purorimţi ... woops!

9. wurupepe kaite ... maj... wurppan - ꜝ
   [place] do you reckon? not yet emu - NOM
ta - kur?war - min.
3min.O + 2min.A - shoot - PAST PUNCT
Or was it wurupepe, do you reckon?...No, not yet...you shot an emu.

10. ꜜar - ꜜuu - ꜜu - ꜝ.
    3min.O + 1/2aug.A - REDUPL - eat - PAST PUNCT
We ate it.

11. penta - wala - ma wurupepe.
    there - ABL - ma [place]
From there we went to wurupepe.

12. wurupepe - wala - ma[::]... kayika pattanta
    [place] - ABL - ma straight on there
   ʧumpu.
    [place]
We left wurupepe and went straight to ʧumpu.
13. āmpu yara - niyi - niyi.
    [place] laug.S - REDUPL - sit + PAST PUNCT
We stayed for a while at āmpu.

The verb form in this sentence may be ya - waṣa - niyi - niyi
(1/2min.S - CONT - REDUPL ...). The word is not very clear on the
tape. The person and number of the main subjects in this text appear
to vary, perhaps as lippuwaṣa's view of his audience varies.

14. njinta qanapparu qa - ṭo - miṣ,
    lmin.PRON buffalo lmin.S - go past - PAST PUNCT
qa - na - ṭ.
3min.O + lmin.A - see - PAST PUNCT
I went past a buffalo and saw it.

15. qa - kurwaṛ - miṣ
    lit - yi?
3min.O + lmin.A - shoot - PAST PUNCT lead* - INSTR
waŋkiṣ.
one
I shot it once with a "lead" (solid shotgun bullet).

    [105] 3min.S - afraid - run - PAST PUNCT
It ran away.

17. qa - kurwaṛ - kurwaṛ - yuma[.:]n.
    3min.O + lmin.A - REDUPL - shoot - PROGR + PAST PUNCT
I shot it several times as it went.

18. ṭ - kaṭpur - maŋ.
    3min.S - wounded - went
It got away wounded.
19. *giŋkaŋ*? wurppap - ꞌ ta - kurʔwar - mĩŋ,
2min.EMPH emu - NOM 3min.0 + 2min.A - shoot - PAST PUNCT

ŋar - ŋuyu - ŋu - ɲ.
3min.0 + 1/2aug.A - REDUPL - eat - PAST PUNCT
You shot an emu, which we ate.

cycad nuts - NOM 30 + 1/2aug.A - be immersed - CAUS - PAST PUNCT
We put the cycad nuts in to soak.


22. *ŋattu* - ꞌ ŋar - pa - wa, watte
cycad nuts - NOM 30 + 1/2aug.A - leave - PAST PUNCT behind

 ꞌ - ʃuʃu - mĩŋ, yuraʔ.
3S - soak - PAST PUNCT eastwards
We left the cycad nuts soaking while [we went away] eastwards.

23. yura[:,]?, yura[:,]?
We travelled east.

24. pattanta yeneʔkura ... kuŋuʔa źuŋ?
there INDEF [place] sit (INCHOAT)
There at what's-the-place ... at kuŋuʔa [we] stopped.

place 1/2aug.S - sit (INCHOAT) - PAST PUNCT
We stopped at kuŋuʔa.

26. penta - ꞌ ʃa paya - pa - wa
[110] there - LOC 3aug.0 + 1/2min.A - leave - PAST PUNCT
There you and I left [the others].

27. yuraʔ.
estowards
We (you and I) went east.
28. yura? ya - waŋa - yuŋ - mi[:]n,
1/2min.S - CONT - walk - PAST PUNCT

come mowany.
arrive [place - Murwangi]
We kept walking east and came to mowany.

mowany is at present an outstation of Milingimbi and is the site of
the old Arafura Station which was operating at the turn of the century.

29. paya - pak - pol? - min.
3aug.IMPL + 1/2min.A - IMPLIC - come - PAST PUNCT
We came to [the people who live at mowany].

30. tampakku - kan ŋara - paŋ? - min.
tobacco - DAT 1/2aug.S - die - PAST PUNCT
We were dying for tobacco.

31. tampakku - ș yampa - teŋwa - teŋwa[:i:] - ș.
tobacco - NOM 1/2min.IMPL + 3aug.A - REDUPL - give - PAST PUNCT
They gave us a lot of tobacco.

30 + 1/2min.A - REDUPL - carry - PAST PUNCT
We carried it along.

33. paya - pak - re - pol? - min
3aug.IMPL + 1/2min.A - IMPLIC - COM TRANSVR - arrive - PAST PUNCT

tonta - ᵇa, wurwuru - kappul.
there - LOC old person - DEF AUGM
We brought it to all the old people there.
34. tampakku - p paya - pak - ṛe - pol? - mip
[115] tobacco - NOM

maya purk park.
throat dry [?]
We brought the tobacco to them with their dry throats (attributed
to lack of tobacco).

The meaning and function of the word/affix park is unclear. Informants
themselves seemed unclear about it.

35. para - wapa - niyi - niyi.
3aug.S - CONT - REDUPL - sit + PAST PUNCT
They were still there.

There is some doubt as to whether wapa is, in fact, present in this
VC.

36. paya - te?wa - ṛ.
3aug.IMPL + 1/2min.A - give - PAST PUNCT
We gave it to them.

37. par - pun? - yimaŋ
30 + 3aug.A - smoke - PROGR + PAST PUNCT down-river
They smoked as we went down-river.

38. yira? pattenta ṣattu - ṛa ma?kun pol?.
there cycad nuts - LOC again arrive
[We went] down-river and came to the place [where we had left]
the cycad nuts.

39. ma?kun kaʃana - ṛka? ọara - tiʃ - min,
again same - ALL 1/2aug.S - return - PAST PUNCT
ŋattu - ṛ yi - tiʃu - maŋ - ṛka?.
cycad nuts - NOM 3S + REL - soak - PAST CONT - ALL
We came back to the same place where the cycad nuts were soaking.
40. ɲattu maʔkun
cycad nuts again
We came to the cycad nuts again.

41. par - warʔ - warʔ - miŋ,
30 + 3aug.A - REDUPL - grind - PAST PUNCT

ɲar - ŋuyu - ŋu[ː] - n.
30+1/2aug.A - REDUPL - eat - PAST PUNCT
[The women] ground them and we all ate it.

42. ɲar - ŋuyu - ŋu - n.

43. penta - wala - ma mowaŋke - ŋkaʔ
[120] there - ABL - ma [place] - ALL

ya - yi - maŋ penta - ñga ...
1/2min.S - yi - went there - LOC
Then we went to mowaŋke.

Text 33

Narrator: Jeffrey Campion maliwaŋa

This extract from Text 33 tells of the building of cattle yards around Mainoru Station, on the southern border of the Arnhem Land Aboriginal Reserve. At the time referred to (about 1963) a large number of Rembarrnga people lived and worked at Mainoru. They still talk with enthusiasm of their Mainoru days.

Throughout this text it is possible that the verb maniŋ? should be translated 'repair' rather than 'build'.
1. 

2. 

3. 

4. 

5. 

6. 

Once my boss said to me:

"Go and build a yard at maṇaṇkapoy."

I built a yard at maṇaṇkapoy.

I built it.

I had two (aboriginal) men with me, my two nephews.
7. ţerî, ţon, yar - maţîn? - mîn - kappul
Jerry John 3min.0 + laug.A - build - PAST PUNCT - DEF AUGM
yat - φ.
yard* - NOM
Jerry, John and I built the yard.

3aug.0 + lmin.A - then - UAUGM - leave - PAST PUNCT yard* - LOC
Then I left the two of them at the yard.

9. na - maţ, kuttappuţi, ţape - na,
lmin.S - went [bird type] camp - 3min.DAT PRON
kaţana, miştinta? - kan.
old one long ago - DAT
I went to the [bird]'s nest, the ancient one, from the old days
("Dream Time").

10. miştinta? piri - pak - ţor? - mep,
long ago 3min.IMPL + 3aug.A + REL - IMPLIC - clear - PAST CONT
ki - tamul - peţ - mep,
3S + REL - shoots - grow - PAST CONT 3min.IMPL + 3aug.A + REL -
nenta - ţţi - ma
IMPLIC - clear - PAST CONT - TEMP LOC that - TEMP LOC - ma

3min.S - go - PAST PUNCT 30 + 3min.A - egg - lay - PAST CONT
Long ago, when the new grass shoots grew there and they cleared
it for her (bird), she used to go and lay her eggs.

11. na - pak - ţor? - mîn kuwa
3min.IMPL + lmin.A - IMPLIC - clear - PAST PUNCT PURP
kaţan - poţo? - kan.
egg - lay - DAT
I cleared it for her so she could lay her eggs.

   night two lmin.S - lie + PAST CONT
   I camped there two nights.

14. kutargina, nanta - tgi t - kaJôJ - poJo? - min
[15] in the morning that - TEMP LOC 30 + 3min.A - egg - lay - PAST PUNCT
   The next morning she laid her egg(s).


16. qa - maya - mañ  qa - na - t
   lmin.S - REDUPL - went 30 + lmin.A - see - PAST PUNCT
   I went and saw.

17. qa - moJo - moJo - wa - wip
    3min.IMPL + lmin.A - REDUPL - path - follow - PAST PUNCT towards
    downwards billabong - ALL 3min.S + REL - descend - PRES
    I followed her track all the way down where she goes to the billabong.

18. pênta - wala - ma qa - mañ ñerkomo.
    there - ABL - ma lmin.S - went [place]
    After that I went to ñerkomo.

19. parppu? koJkkoJk - kan
    soon night - DAT
    qa - yi - war - war - ka - pi - yumañ
    30 + lmin.A - yi - REDUPL - move - CAUS - INFIN - PROGR + PAST PUNCT
    ñanapparu - t.
    buffalo - NOM
    During the night I disturbed buffaloes all the way along.
20. \( \text{qanaparu} - \phi \quad \text{\textsc{\textasciitilde}a} - \text{\textasciitilde}i - \text{\textasciitilde}ar - \text{\textasciitilde}ar - \text{\textasciitilde}ka - \pi - \text{\textasciitilde}yuman} \)

\( \text{kolkolk} - \text{\textsc{\textasciitilde}a} - \pi - \text{\textasciitilde}ya. \)

\text{night} \text{DAT} \text{\textsc{\textasciitilde}min.S} - \text{\textasciitilde}go - \text{\textasciitilde}PAST PUNCT}

I disturbed buffaloes as I went at night.

21. \( \text{\textsc{\textasciitilde}inta} \quad \text{\textasciitilde}yukkan?ta, \quad \text{takku} - \text{\textasciitilde}qene - \text{ppara?} - \text{\textasciitilde}yi? - \text{\textasciitilde}ma} \)

\[ \text{\textsc{\textasciitilde}min.PRON in front} \quad \text{nephew} \quad \text{\textsc{\textasciitilde}min.DAT PRON} \quad \text{\textasciitilde}UAGM} \quad \text{ERG} - \text{\textasciitilde}ma} \]

\( \text{parappa?} - \text{\textasciitilde}trapum? - \text{\textasciitilde}mi\text{\textasciitilde}n} \quad \text{pakho? - \phi,} \)

\( \text{30} + \text{\textasciitilde}3\text{\textasciitilde}uaug.A} - \text{\textasciitilde}drive* - \text{\textasciitilde}PAST PUNCT} \quad \text{pack horse*} - \text{\textasciitilde}NOM}

\text{yaraman} - \text{\textasciitilde}\phi\text{\textasciitilde}0.}

\text{horse} - \text{\textasciitilde}\text{COMPL AUGM}

I went in front and my two nephews drove the pack horses, all the horses.

22. \( \text{parappa?} - \text{\textasciitilde}mutpu - \text{\textasciitilde}ni} - \text{\textasciitilde}yuman. \)

\( \text{30} + \text{\textasciitilde}3\text{\textasciitilde}uaug.A} - \text{\textasciitilde}gather} - \text{\textasciitilde}INFIN} - \text{\textasciitilde}PROGR} + \text{\textasciitilde}PAST PUNCT}

They kept them together (from behind).

23. \( \text{yara} - \text{\textasciitilde}map} - \text{\textasciitilde}kappul. \)

\( \text{\textasciitilde}laug.S} - \text{\textasciitilde}went} - \text{\textasciitilde}\text{\textasciitilde}DEF AUGM} \)

The three of us went.

24. \( \text{\textasciitilde}yene?kura} \quad \text{\textasciitilde}yar} - \text{\textasciitilde}mapi?} - \text{\textasciitilde}mi\text{\textasciitilde}n. \)

\( \text{\textasciitilde}INDEF} \quad \text{\textasciitilde}3\text{\textasciitilde}min.0 + \text{\textasciitilde}laug.A} - \text{\textasciitilde}build} - \text{\textasciitilde}PAST PUNCT}

We built [a yard] at what's-the-place.

25. \( \text{\textasciitilde}ken} \quad \text{\textasciitilde}ke\text{\textasciitilde}?kta} \quad \text{\textasciitilde}ta?na} \quad \text{\textasciitilde}yor\text{\textasciitilde}yor?. \)

Woops! (?) do you reckon? first [place]

Sorry. First we went to \text{\textasciitilde}yor\text{\textasciitilde}yor?.

26. \( \text{\textasciitilde}yor\text{\textasciitilde}yor?} \quad \text{\textasciitilde}yar} - \text{\textasciitilde}mapi?} - \text{\textasciitilde}mi\text{\textasciitilde}n. \)

\( \text{[place]} \quad \text{\textasciitilde}3\text{\textasciitilde}min.0 + \text{\textasciitilde}laug.A} - \text{\textasciitilde}build} - \text{\textasciitilde}PAST PUNCT}

We built one at \text{\textasciitilde}yor\text{\textasciitilde}yor?.
27. yoryor? - wala yara - ʊẹ? - mịn, ụrkomomo
[place] - ABL laug.S - get up - PAST PUNCT [place]
bank of river there - ABL there [place] - LOC
We left yoryor? and went to ụrkomo on the other side of the
river, there at pulmun (= Bulman).

The whole phrase kerpper patta?wala means bn/to the other bank'.

28.(Aside:) ta - yi - mịŋippi - n miụu? ụn
30 + 2min.A - yi - know - PRES TAG QESTN.

kiya - ọma.
son - lmini.DAT PRON
You know it, don't you, son?

29.(pinawara replies:) wo? ọa - mịŋippi - n.
[25]
Yes 30 + lmini.A - know - PRES
Yes, I know it.

30.(story resumes:) panta - ụsọ
d there - LOC
It was there.

31. nattanta yat ụla - ọ panta ka - turu.
that yard* big - NOM there 3min.S - stand + PRES
That big yard is there.

32. panta yar - maŋị? - mịn - kappul
d there 3min.O + laug.A - build - PAST PUNCT - DEF AUGM

pulmun - ụa.
[place] - LOC
We built [a yard] there at pulmun.
   in the morning  3min.S + REL - laʔpə - dawn - PAST PUNCT
Next morning at dawn...

34. yera - ʔiʔ - mən.
   laug.S - return - PAST PUNCT
   ...we went back.

35. pamiraʔkoʔolo?  ʔa - na - ʃ.
   [place]  3min.0 + 1min.A - see - PAST PUNCT
I saw pamiraʔkoʔolo? (= Mount Catt).

36. ʔa - na - ʃ.

37. kaʃa woʔ,  pan? maʃtinʔ, parppu?
   Oh yes here too soon
   wate  ʔa - maʔinʔ? - ʔa.
   afterwards  3min.0 + 1min.A - build - FUT
   "Oh yes, afterwards I'll build [a yard] here too.

38. wuru  poʃ - ʔane - yi?
   (?) because boss* - 1min.DAT PRON - ERG
   ʔan - yinaʔ - wa - ʃ
   lmin.0 + 3min.A - say - TRANSVR - PAST PUNCT three
   yat - ʃ  ʔa - maʔinʔ? - mən.
   yard* - NOM  30 + 1min.A - build - PAST PUNCT
   My boss did tell me to build three (?several) yards."

39. ʔa - map.
   I went on.
40. ṭumirumi yara - ṭum? - mĩn - kappul.
[place] laug.S - sleep - PAST PUNCT - DEF AUGM
We camped at ṭumirumi.

41. ṭumirumi - wala yara - ṭe? - mĩn.
[place] - ABL laug.S - get up - PAST PUNCT
We left ṭumirumi ...

42. lin?ti yara - yi - ṭum? - mĩn - kappul
Lindsay (?Creek) laug.S - yi - sleep - PAST PUNCT - DEF AUGM
... and camped at Lindsay.

43. penta - wala - ma hoŋkrik, hoŋkrik - wala
there - ABL - ma Horse Creek Horse Creek - ABL
mamiŋa, mamiŋa - wala yara - pol? - mĩn - kappul
[place] [place] - ABL laug.S - arrive - PAST PUNCT - DEF AUGM
taparaŋ?na.
in the afternoon.
From there we went to Horse Creek, then to mamiŋa, and leaving mamiŋa we arrived in the afternoon.

44. mamiŋa ɣarantalttal tina - 감 - ma
[35] [place] midday lunch* - NOM - ma
yar - 감u - 감 - yara - kappul.
30 + laug.A - eat - PAST PUNCT - laug.DAT PRON - DEF AUGM
We ate our lunch in the middle of the day at mamiŋa...

in the afternoon laug.S - arrive - PAST PUNCT [place]
...and in the afternoon we arrived at murumpiŋ (= Mainoru Station).

46. yara - yuwen puttan yappan?.
laug.S - lie + PAST CONT night two
We stayed two nights.
47. nanta - ṭṭi - ma     pot - ṭene - φ
    chat - TEMPLOC - ma    boss* - lmin.DAT PRON - NOM

    ɲa - yina? - wa - φ
    3min.O + lmin.A - say - TRANSVR - PAST PUNCT

    pamira?koļo? - kan
    [place] - DAT
Then I spoke to my boss about pamira?koļo?.

48. yat     penta wuľa?     ɲa - maŋin? - ɲa
    yard* there good       3min.O + lmin.A - build - FUT

    maŋ인지, ɲa - pak - yiniŋ.
too       3min.IMPL + lmin.S - IMPLIC - say + PAST PUNCT
"I might as well build a good yard there too," I said to him.

49. kaŋa     wo?,    φ - yiniŋ.
Oh yes      3min.S - say + PAST PUNCT
"O.K.," he said.

50. parppu?     kuŋarţiŋi puŋ
    uŋ - ɲuy? - ya.
    soon      tomorrow different       2min.O + lmin.A - send - FUT
"In two days' time I'll send you off."

51. maŋkun     yara - yuwęŋ.
    again       laug.S - lie + PAST CONT
We stayed one more night...

52. maŋkun     yara - yuwęŋ.
    [40] again       laug.S - lie + PAST CONT
    ... and another.
53. ki - la?pə - ṭọọ? - mịp, ma?kun
3min.S + REL - la?pə - dawn - PAST PUNCT again
pakhoq - ṣa - mị - ya.
pack horse* - NOM 30 + lmin.A - get - PAST PUNCT
As soon as daylight came I took the pack horses again.

54. takku - ṣẹnọ - ppara? waq'a
nephew - lmin.DAT PRON - UAUGM CONT
same - UAUGM 3aug.O + lmin.A - UAUGM - take - PAST PUNCT
I took my two nephews once more, the same two.

waq'a normally only occurs incorporated into a VC. See 2.5.13.1(vii).

laug.S - return - PAST PUNCT - DEF AUQM ahead/in front
We went back ahead of the others...

56. yaraman - ọọq - ṣar - ka - ṣịp.
horse - COMPL AUGHM - NOM 30 + laug.A - take - PAST PUNCT
...taking all the horses with us.

57. yara - mañ - kappul.
laug.S - went - DEF AUQM
We three went ...

58. yar - ọlko - nana - na - ṣọ.
3min.0 + laug.A - ground - REDUPL - see - PAST PUNCT
...and looked at the country.

59. wula?i, yara - yiniŋ - kappul.
good laug.S - say + PAST PUNCT - DEF AUQM
"This is a good place," we said.
60. penta - ma malakaliş, ʔokpoŋ - ŋ
[45] there - ma the others stock man* - NOM

watte - wala para - map mutika - yinta.
behind - ABL 3aug.S - went truck* - COMIT

The rest of them, all the stockmen, came behind with (in) the truck.

61. plits ŋalk - ŋ par - ka - ɲip
Blitz waggon* big - NOM 3min.0 + 3aug.A - take - PAST PUNCT

me - papi.

food - as well

They brought the big Blitz waggon, with tucker (i.e. vegetable food) and all.

62. yurppuŋi - yinta ŋ - map, kuľa? ʔoŋaŋar - yi,
[name] - COMIT 3S - went skin red - NOMLSR

watte - wala.

behind - ABL

yurppuŋi (=Tex Camfoo), the half caste, came behind too.

63. para - map penta.
3aug.S - went there

They came ...

[48] yard* - NOM 3min.0 + laug.A - REDUPL - build - PAST PUNCT

...and we got on with building the yard...
REMBARNGA PLANT NAMES

Following is a list of a number of Rembarnga names for plants, specimens of which have been identified. I made no real attempt to do systematic collection of specimens but simply collected when the opportunity arose. In some cases the material collected was inadequate for more than generic identification. In one area, that of paperbark species (Rembarnga kara? = some Melaleuca species) it is not clear what criteria are used in Rembarnga to classify these trees since the various species represented among my numerous specimens showed no clear correspondence with the Rembarnga names for the specimens. These have been omitted from the list.

The Rembarnga terms are listed in alphabetical order. Each is accompanied by the relevant botanical name(s), followed by a superscript note indicating who made the identification. This is followed by a note of the moiety to which the plant belongs where this is known. (t) means tuwa, (y) means yiriita. Finally in some cases the Rembarnga generic term which covers the plant in question is given in brackets. The letters FP in brackets indicate a fish poison. If known, the part of the plant used as a poison is also indicated. It can be seen that some species have more than one name in Rembarnga, and that some Rembarnga terms refer to several different species. The list given here must not be taken as an exhaustive list of terms or identifications, even for the species and Rembarnga terms listed.

The following superscript letters show that the identification was carried out by the person indicated:

D C.R. Dunlop, Scientific Services Section (Botany), Animal Industry and Agriculture Branch, Department of the Northern Territory, Darwin

H D. Hassall, formerly of Maningrida.

| Palpør | Gardenia sp. holder | *Puirena umbellata* hol (y) **[rulk]** |
| Pører | *Haakea arborescens* holder (t) |
| Pişîpişîgîrkkan | *Acacia dimidiata* holder |
| Poroûk | *Brachychiton diversifolius* holder (t) |
| Pûput | *Acacia torulosa* holder |
| Tângiî? | *Planchonia careya* holder [FP-bark] |
| Tîntînî? | *Eucalyptus pruinosa* holder (t) |
| Tîwînî? | *Eucalyptus pruinosa* holder (t) |
| Toro | *Petalostigma quadriloculare* holder |
| Ğapêğ | *Acacia aulacocarpa* holder |
| Ğâtak | *Livistona humilis* holder |
| Ğakka | *Canthium lucidum Hook. & Arm.* holder |
| Ğalma | *Dioscorea sativa* holder |
| Ğenîkîrîr | *Grevillea heliosperma R.Br.* holder |
| Tîntîm | *Pandanus aquaticus* holder [tayr] |
| Kataykka | *Eucalyptus tetradonta* holder |
| (?)Kataykka ("river ond") | *Ixora pentamera* holder |
| Kamolîngâlîng | *Pterigeron odorus* holder |
| Kağıka? | *Denhamia obscura* holder (t) |
| Ker | *Brachychiton paradoxum* holder |
| Kirîngîrîng | *Abrus precatorius* holder |
| Kolokkololo | *Eucalyptus pruinosa* holder (t) |
| Kuppuwu? | *Aponogeton elongatus* holder |
| Kuţtu? | *Diospyros calycintha* holder (t) **[FP-fruit]** |
| Kukku | *Dioscorea transversa* holder |
| Kuluçtu? | *Melaleuca acacioides* holder (y) |
| Kûlûmpâjala | *Canthium buxifolium* holder **[spear]** |
| Kurmulûtîyalnîna | *Buchnera linearis* holder |
| Lereleere | *Bossiaea bossiseoides* holder |

1 lit. 'Blue-tongue lizard's tongue'
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Belegu</th>
<th>Belegu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Terminalia carpentariae</td>
<td>maṭapula?</td>
<td>Acacia torulosa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pandanus whitei (seed only)</td>
<td>malppaŋ</td>
<td>Canthium buxifolium (t)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brachychiton paradoxum</td>
<td>maŋiŋ</td>
<td>Acacia sublanata</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barringtonia acutangula</td>
<td>mayaṭṭa</td>
<td>Heteropogon triticus (y)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Terminalia carpentaria</td>
<td>moṭeṛṛeṛṛ?</td>
<td>Chrysopogon fallax (rulk)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chrysopogon fallax (seed only)</td>
<td>morork</td>
<td>Clerodendrum floribundum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alloteropsis semialata</td>
<td>munmun?</td>
<td>Cycas media</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Owenia vernicosa F.Muell.</td>
<td>naŋar</td>
<td>Premna acuminata (firestick)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blyxa echinosperma</td>
<td>nupa?</td>
<td>Fimbristylis littoralis (f)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sorghum sp.</td>
<td>watpar</td>
<td>Grevillea pteridiifolia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ectrosia agrostoides</td>
<td>woroŋomolo</td>
<td>Dolichandrone filiformis (firestick)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ectrosia leporina</td>
<td>wulṭuwalulu?</td>
<td>Sorghum sp.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jacksonia dilatata</td>
<td>wurpurk</td>
<td>Tristania sp.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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This bibliography lists only those works actually mentioned in the thesis. Page numbers given in references throughout the thesis are to the latest editions cited here, even where (as in the case of reprinted articles) the date used to refer to the work differs from that of the edition cited. Thus, with articles which have been reprinted in anthologies, the date used for reference may be that of original publication, but the page references will be those of the anthology referred to in this bibliography.


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