WORK PAPERS OF SIL-AAB

Series A Volume 9

Aboriginal and Islander Grammars: Collected Papers

Editor: S. Ray

SUMMER INSTITUTE OF LINGUISTICS

AUSTRALIAN ABORIGINES BRANCH

DARWIN

NOVEMBER 1985

Scinmer Institute of Linguistics P.O. Berrimah DARWIN, N.T. 5788 AUSTRALIA



(C) SUMMER INSTITUTE OF LINGUISTICS

ISSN 0810 9971

NATIONAL LIBRARY OF AUSTRALIA Cataloguing-in-publication Data

Aboriginal and Islander grammars.

Bibliography. ISBN 0 86892 322 2.

[1]. Aborigines, Australian - Australia, Northern - Languages. I. Ray, Sandra, 1945- . II. Summer Institute of Linguistics. Australian Aborigines Branch. (Series: Work papers of SIL-AAB. Series A; v. 9).

499'.15

PREFACE

These Work Papers are being produced in two series by the Summer Institute of Linguistics, Australian Aborigines Branch, Inc. in order to make results of SIL research in Australia more widely available. Series A includes technical papers on linguistic or anthropological analysis and description, or on literacy research. Series B contains material suitable for a broader audience, including the lay audience for which it is often designed, such as language learning lessons and dictionaries.

Both series include both reports on current research and on past research projects. Some papers by other than SIL members are included, although most are by SIL field workers. The majority of material concerns linguistic matters, although related fields such as anthropology and education are also included.

Because of the preliminary nature of most of the material to appear in the Work Papers, these volumes are circulated on a limited basis. It is hoped that their contents will prove of interest to those concerned with linguistics in Australia, and that comment on their contents will be forthcoming from the readers. Papers should not be reproduced without the authors' consent, nor cited without due reference to their preliminary status.

Views expressed by the authors are not necessarily those of SIL.

To order individual volumes of the Work Papers, or to place a standing order for either series, write:

Bookseller SIL PO Berrimah Darwin NT 5788 Australia

> S.K. Ray Series Editor

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	ETITION OF TIWE AT CLAUSE LEVEL Marie P. Godfrey			
0.	Introduction	1		
1.	Types of Repetition in Oral Style	6		
	1.1 Confirmation	6		
	1.2 Linkage	8		
	1.3 Plain Reiteration	11		
	1.4 Amplification	16		
	1.5 Generic-Specific	19		
	1.6 Negated-Antonym	22		
	1.7 Cyclic	26		
	1.8 Passage-of-Time	30		
2.	Combination of Types	32		
3.	Notes on Repetition in Written Style	34		
4.	. Summary			
Not	es	36		
Abb	reviations	. 37		
Bib	oliography	38		
	AIDJA VERBAL CLAUSES Noreen Pym			
1.	Defining the Verbal Clause	39		
2.	Clause Types			
3.	Conclusion	50		
Abb	previations	51		
	RINBATA NOUN CLASSES Chester S. Street			
1.	Description of Noun Classes	53		
Not	tes	57		
Ref	ferences	58		

CLAUSES IN KALA LAGAW YA by Rod Kennedy

0.	Introduction	59
1.	Peripheral Items	61
2.	Transitive Clauses	61
3.	Intransitive Clauses	64
4.	Non-verbal Clauses	66
	4.1 Equative Clause	66
	4.2 Non-verbal Motion Clause	67
5.	Two Other Clauses	68
	5.1 Reflexive Clauses	68
	5.2 Sub-ergative Clauses	68
	5.2.1 Sub-Type One	69
	5.2.2 Sub-Type Two	70
6.	Word Order	72
7.	Why Not a Dative Case?	73
8.	Further Observations	74
	8.1 Ergative Constructions	74
	8.2 Uninflected Nouns	75
	8.3 Tense-Aspect Suffixes	75
Abb	previations	77
Bib	oliography	78
	LAW KAWAW VERBS Rod Kennedy	
0.	Introduction	81
1.	The Two Basic Verb Constructions	82
	1.1 Transitive Verbs	82
	1.2 Intransitive Verbs	83
2.	KKY Tenses and Aspects	84
	2.1 Incompletive Aspect	84
	2.2 Completive Aspect	85

	2.3 More Specialized Tenses and Aspects	85
	2.3.1 Habitual and Continuous Aspects	85
	2.3.2 Immediate Striving Aspect	86
3.	KKY Verb Tenses	87
	3.1 Future Tense	87
	3.2 Today Past Tense	87
	3.3 Yesterday Past Tense	87
	3.4 Historic Past Tense	88
4.	Imperative Verb Forms	88
5.	Dormant Verbs	89
6.	Negative Verbs	91
7.	Tensions and Avoidance Verb Forms	91
8.	The 'Having' Suffixes	92
9.	Summary of Conjunctions	92
10.	Some Morphophonemic Patterns	98
Abbr	eviations	101
Bib1	liography	102
SPEA	AW KAWAW VERBS AKER PERSPECTIVE AND TENSE, MOOD, AND ASPECT ROD Kennedy	
0.	Introduction	105
1.	Variations Between Transitive and Intransitive Morphology	107
2.	Acts Which Impinge Forcefully on the Undergoer Tend to Have Transitive Morphology	108
3.	An Interesting IrregularityTransitive Verb Constructions with Intransitive Type Suffixation	108
4.	Group Plural Suffix '-n'	109
5.	Verbs Which Do Not Take Plural Suffixes	110
6.	Examples of Stylistic Reduction of Transitive Morphology	112
7.	Examples of Collective Plural Suffixes Apart From Transitive Verbs	114
8.	Summary	115
Abbr	eviations	116
Bibl	liography	117

Work Papers of SIL-AAB Series A Volume 9 November 1985

AT CLAUSE LEVEL

Marie P. Godfrey

0. INTRODUCTION

Tiwi is an Australian Aboriginal language, which is spoken by about 1500 people who live mainly on Bathurst and Melville Islands, 65 km to the north of Darwin, Northern Territory, Australia.

The author has been working on the Tiwi language since February 1970, but many of the oral texts from which this present analysis has been made were collected between May and July 1977. The written texts were

produced between 1977 and 1982. This present study was commenced at a linguistic workshop of the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL), February-April 1980. Special thanks are due to Raphael Apuatimi and Donald Kantilla, of Bathurst Island, for supplying text material and for acting as language consultants, both in the period in which the texts were collected and up to the time of the writing of this paper. Thanks are due also to Barney Tipuamantumerri, John Kerinaiua, Charlie Puruntatameri, and Greig Ullungura, for the texts they supplied. I am indebted to my colleagues in SIL, Noreen Pym, Bruce Waters, Mike Ray, and Jenny Lee, for editorial help with this paper. Of help in this analysis has been a concordance produced by a joint project of the Summer Institute of Linguistics and the University of Oklahoma Research Institute and partially funded by the National Science Foundation, Grant GS-1605.

The examples cited in this paper are in the practical orthography developed by the author for literacy purposes.

FIGURE 0.1

Consonants	Phonemes	Practical Orthography
Labial	p, mp, p ^w , m, m ^w , w	p, mp, pw, m, mw, w
Apico-alveolar (alveolar)	t, nt, n, 1, ř	t, nt, n, l, rr
Lamino-alveolar (alveo-palatal)	tš, ñtš, nj, y	j, nj, ny, y
Apico-domal (retroflexed)	t, nt, n, l, r	rt, rnt, rn, rl, r
Velar	k, ŋk, k ^w , ŋ, ŋ ^w , g	n, nk, kw, ng, ngw, g
<u>Vowels</u>		
High non-back	ι	i
High back	u	u
Mid	၁	o .
Low	٨	a

The purpose of this paper is to describe the different types of repetition at clause level in oral Tiwi, to list which discourse types they occur in, to give the make-up of the clauses, and to give the reasons for the use of the different kinds of repetition. See Figure 0.2 for a summary of this description.

In the process of analysing the types of clause repetition in oral Tiwi, it is hoped to discover which types are also used in written style and which types are redundant there. Owing to the shortage, at this stage, of Aboriginal-authored written material, only a superficial comparison will be made in this paper between the types of clause repetition in oral material and written material.

Where the term 'Tiwi' is used here to refer to the language, it is the traditional Tiwi language that is being referred to. (Lee, 1983)

The term 'clause' is used here generally in the sense of either a clause within a sentence, or a simple sentence made up of only one clause. For the analysis of clause level in Tiwi see Lee (1983).

Unless otherwise stated, the intonation on the clauses in most of the types of repetition in the oral Tiwi material is that of an independent stative clause, that is, sentence-final intonation on the last two syllables of the clause, which consists of a mid-high intonation on the penultimate syllable, and a mid-low or low intonation on the final syllable.

The main types of discourse posited in Tiwi are Narrative, Procedural, Expository, and Behavioural. The latter is made up of Hortatory, Eulogy, and Prayer material. For ease of description these three will be referred to in this paper as though they were separate types.

There is a pattern in the language of repetition on different levels, from onomatopoeic words through to discourse level. On discourse level, a theme may be repeated throughout the discourse, at the end of some of the paragraphs or as a separate paragraph. Clause level repetition is of course dealt with in this paper, and one type of paragraph level repetition, Cyclic repetition, is described in Section 1.7. Repetition in clause remnants consists mainly of short non-verbal remarks or responses in conversation. There does not seem to be much repetition on phrase level.

	•		
FIGURE 0.2			CLAUSE REPETITION TYPES
	Base Constituents	Grammatical elements in Repeat	Verb or Situational Equivalent-same or diff
CONFIRMATION	Text and Confirmation	Mainly verb	Often the same in both bases, but may have more specific meaning in the second
LINKAGE	Text, Linkage, & Highlighted Event/Procedure	Mainly verb	Sequential type: often same, but may be more specific verb in re- peat, or synonym Simultaneous type same
PLAIN REITERATION	Text and Reitera- tion	Mainly verb, but also any obligatory constituents	Often same; may be synonym
AMPLIFICATION	Text and Amplification	Mainly verb	Often the same; may be synonym or pro-verb
GENERIC-SPECIFC	Text Generic & Text Specific	specific: often only	same when Subject and Object made more speci- fic; otherwise diff- erent
NEGATED-ANTONYM	Text and Para- phrase	Mainly verb, and overt Object where Object in focus	Different when verb in focus. Same or syno- nym when other than verb in focus

CACTIC	Text, Para- phrase and Text'	Mainly verb or verb complement	Often same; may be synonym
PASSAGE-OF-TIME	Text and Repetition ⁿ	Verb	same

IN ORAL TIWI

Reason for Nominal Type of Arguments Repetition Discourse To confirm that same in both Procedural, Narrathe intended tive & Expository bases action or instruction was carried out Highlight the second Narrative and Bet. Text & of two closely-Procedural Linkage: linked events or same. Bet. procedures Linkage & H'lighted Event/Proc: may be different Mainly for emphasis all but Prayers same of the whole clause. Where Reiteration is a summary of Text, it may be to bring listener back to story line. Add and highlight new same Subject all types information; and and Object. perhaps to slow down Referent may the rate of inforbe added as mation. Amplif. Make certain inforall but Eulogies same mation more specific or perhaps style. To emphasise one of Mostly Hortatory Mostly same the constituents of and Expository. but nominal the clause in 1st Also in Prayers arg. in 1st and Eulogies base base may change its function in 2nd Mostly Hortatory To emphasise the same first clause in and Expository certain two-clause also Prayers & constructions Eulogies Indicate action Narrative and same Procedural discarried on for

courses and

materials

length of time

1 TYPES OF REPETITION

1.1 CONFIRMATION

In this type of repetition, the Text is manifested by either a hortatory expression or a statement by someone of his intention to do a certain thing in the near future, either on his own, or in company with others. In the Confirmation, there is the verification of that intention or hortatory expression having been carried out. (Where an instruction is not carried out, or an intention to do something is thwarted in some way, a different construction is used.) The reported speech containing the statement of intention or the hortatory expression has mainly been found in Narrative and Procedural discourse, and only occasionally in Expository discourses.

Usually just the verb (sometimes introduced by a conjunction) is repeated in Confirmation, and it is unusual for new information to be added. One place where the adding of new information is possible is where a movement verb is needed to get the person(s) to the place where the action is to be carried out (see Example 3). There may also be a 'yes' answer given by the person addressed, or 'Let's do that!', before it is stated that the action was carried out.

The repetition in the Confirmation of the action expressed in the Text may be by the use of a synonym (see Example 4), or the meaning of the verb in Confirmation may be more specific than that used in the Text (see Example 5). However, this use of a more specific verb in the Confirmation seems to be restricted to hortatory expressions where the expression is along the line of 'Let's go!'.

Where the action is a long process, the verb telling of that process may be omitted in the Confirmation and be replaced by a verb telling that the process was finished (see Example 6).

(1) Text:

Nga -ri-kirlayi yangamini we:incl-cv-fill:in hole

Confirmation:

Pi -ri-kirlay -ani they:p-cv-fill:in-p:hab

'(They would say,) "Let's fill in the hole." They would fill it in.'

(2) Text:

Manya kutupi ta- -ki -mu-wa go:ahead jump you:sg:imp-eve-do-to:here

Confirmation:

Kutupi yi - ki - mi jump he:p- eve - do

'"Go ahead and jump down here because these people want to see you," I said (it was night). He jumped down.'

(3) Text:

Waya ngu- wulipa - jiyarra a - ri - mi now I - ought - tell he-cv - say

Confirmation:

Ninkiyi a- wuriyi a - 0 - wurtiyarra he-go he - him - tell

""I ought to tell him now," he says. Then he goes and tells him.'

(4) Text:

Ngu - man - taluwa kanijawa kurrijuwa I - you:pl - give flour axe

Confirmation:

Kiyi yu - wun -takiray-ani then he:p- them-give p:hab

'He would say to them, "I will give you flour and axes." And he would give (them) to them.'

(5) Text:

Waya nga -yi - ki - ija ngi -ri - ki - mi now we:incl-icve-eve - go:now I - cv - eve - say

Confirmation:

Partuwa nginti -ri-ki -yapurti finish we:excl:p-cv-eve-go:up

'"Let's go now," I said in the evening. Then we went up.'

The reason for this type of repetition seems to be to confirm that what was given in speech as a hortatory expression, or as intention to carry something out, was actually done.

It should be noted that, as with many other Australian Aboriginal languages, Tiwi uses a lot of conversation and soliloquy in its discourses. Almost no indirect speech is used.

1.2 LINKAGE

The Linkage type of repetition is where a clause or sentence (Text) is repeated by making it the introductory clause (Linkage) of a new sentence. The Linkage clause is combined with a Highlighted Event/Procedure clause or clauses in that new sentence.

The Text is usually a one-clause sentence and in the repetition, that is, the Linkage clause, the last constituent of the clause may be suffixed by the enclitic -apa 'construction focus' (see Example 6).

It is often only the <u>verb</u> of the Text clause that is repeated in the Linkage clause, as in Example 6, though the verb carries the same prefixes for Subject and, where applicable, for Object and Indirect Object. The verb repeated in the Linkage clause is usually the same as in the Text clause, though it may be a synonym or a verb with a more specific meaning. To date no verb with future meaning has been found in this type of repetition.

Where the time relationship between the Linkage and the Highlighted Event/Procedure clauses is sequential, there may be a sequential conjunction ninkiyi or kiyi introducing the Highlighted Event/Procedure clause with the meaning 'then (the next thing of relevance that happened)'. The conjunction karri 'when' usually introduces the Linkage clause where the time relationship between the actions in the Linkage and the Highlighted Event/Procedure clauses is simultaneous or in close-sequence; that is, the action in the Highlighted clause follows closely after the finish of the action in the Linkage clause. Though the surface structure of the time relationship karri 'when' (such and such a thing happens/happened). . .awungarri 'at that known time' (such and such else happens/happened)' is simultaneous, very seldom is the

meaning genuinely simultaneous, but it is rather a case of the actions happening in close sequence. This is true for the occurrences of <code>karri...awungarri</code> in places where there is no Linkage repetition as well as for its use in the Linkage repetition. An example of where the two actions happen simultaneously in Linkage repetition is in Example 7 (the only example in the data). In Example 8 the more common time relationship of close-sequence is illustrated. These two latter time relationships are called simultaneous here, to distinguish them from the ordinary sequential, where the span of time that elapses between the two actions is not in focus.

In general, the use of awungarri 'at that known time' in a clause focuses on the simultaneity or close-sequence in time of two actions or procedures, that is, the action in the clause containing awungarri and the action in the preceding clause. On the other hand the use of ninkiyi or kiyi signals the sequential relationship between two actions or procedures in the two clauses. Repetition using awungarri occurs only infrequently.

As the Linkage clause is a repetition of the Text clause, the nominal arguments are the same, and often the Subject of the Linkage clause is also the Subject of the Highlighted Event/Procedure clause.

This type of repetition is found most frequently in Narrative discourse, but may also occur in Procedural discourse.

The reason for this type of repetition seems to be to highlight the second of two events or procedures that are closely linked in sequence or simultaneous time, by repeating the clause expressing that first event or procedure before going on to the second event or procedure. The slowing down of the information rate that results from this Linkage repetition probably helps in this highlighting. The use of the enclitic -apa 'construction focus' on the last constituent of the Linkage clause also confirms that the clause following is highlighted, for this enclitic is also used at the end of an initial topic noun phrase, usually a Subject noun phrase, to highlight the rest of the clause.

There are examples in the data of collateral material occurring between the Text and the Linkage, but here too the reason for the Linkage repetition seems to be to highlight the second of two closely-linked actions (see Example 9).

Examples:

(6) Text:

Pi - ri - mu - warri awarra pulangumwa-ni they:past cv over:him brawl that:m:known dog m

Linkage:

Pi - ri mu - warri - apa they:past cv over:him brawl const.foc

Highlighted Event/Proc:

Kiyi pi - ri - pirn - ajirri then they:past cv hit recip

'They had a brawl over that male dog. They had a brawl and then they hit each other.'

(7) In the context of the clause preceding the following example, the child sneezed.

Text:

Api awungarri kutupi ji -yi -mi and that:time:known jump she:p-cv -do

Linkage:

Kutupi ji -yi-mi ngampi nyirra ju -wujingi-muw-an-apa jump she:p -cv-do she:p -dur -sit-rep-const.foc

Highlighted Event/Proc:

Awungarri yi -pawurligi ngarra pijara that:time:known it:m:p -fall it:m bullet

'(The child sneezed.) At that time she (the wallaby) jumped. She jumped in the place where she was sitting and the bullet fell (to the ground - instead of hitting her).'

(8) Text:

Ninkiyi ju -wuriyi then she:p-go

Linkage:

Karri ju -wuriyi awinyirra marntupunga when she:p-go that:f:known skinnyfish

Highlighted Event/Proc:

Awungarri papi yi -mi awarra tartuwali that:known:time arrive he:p -do that:m:known shark

'Then she (the skinnyfish) went. When she, the skinnyfish, went, in no time the shark appeared.'

(9) Text:

Ngi-ni -ri -ki -yapurti I:p-loc -cv -eve -go:up

Collateral:

Ngiya tangarima tingata yi -ma my home beach it:m:p-is

Linkage:

Ngi-ni -ri -ki -yapurt-apa I:p-loc-cv -eve-go:up -const.foc

Highlighted Event/Proc:

Ngi-ni -ri -ki -yangiji I:p-loc-cv -eve -make:brief:visit

'I came up at night. My home was on the beach. I came up at night and went over there for a brief visit.'

1.3 PLAIN REITERATION

This type of repetition mainly consists of a one-clause sentence (the Text), with a repetition (the Reiteration) that is only minimally different from the Text, and with no new information added in the Reiteration clause. A conjunction in the Text that links it to a previous sentence in the discourse is not repeated in the Reiteration. Locative constituents in Text that are not obligatory to the verbal construction are usually omitted in the Reiteration, so that the Locative present in the Text forms the location frame for the two clauses. There is only one example in the data of a Temporal constituent in the Text, and that is omitted from the Reiteration.

The overt Object in the Text is often carried over into the Reiteration as an anaphoric definitive. (See Example 11 for an instance of this

latter type of repetition.) The Locative from the Text may also be repeated in the Reiteration clause as an anaphoric word, in this case an anaphoric Locative word, as in Example 12. Sometimes where the Reiteration clause contains an anaphoric word, the Text clause is a long complicated one, as in Example 13. In that case the clause in Reiteration is in the way of a summary. This type of summary clause may also follow a large amount of reported speech introduced by a quotation formula. Here the summary in the Reiteration clause is: That is what he (or whoever) said.

The verb in the Reiteration is usually an exact repetition of that in the Text, but it may be a synonym. Likewise, the complement expressed as a noun in a stative non-verbal clause², may be given as a verb in the Reiteration clause, as in Example 14. However it is not felt that this use of synonyms constitutes a different type of repetition. Rather, it seems that the use of synonyms in Tiwi is for the sake of style, and that some speakers pay more attention to style than others. Also there are usually only synonyms for the most common verbs, nouns and adjectives; and so in many instances it is not possible to use synonyms in repetition. The nominal arguments are the same in the two bases.

Examples:

(10) Text:

Awarra marakati pi -ri -ku -wa -nyaw -ani that:m:known speargrass they:p -cv -eve -from:mouth -throw -hab

Reiteration:

Pi -ri -ku -wa -nyaw -ani they:p -cv -eve -from:mouth -throw -hab

'They would spit (yam) towards that speargrass. They would spit (yam).'

(11) Text:

Amintiya yoyi nyi -rra -mwari and dance you:pl:imp-emph -stop:doing

Reiteration:

Awarra nyi -rra -mwari that:m:known you:pl:imp-emph -stop:doing

'And stop dancing! Stop it!'

(12) Text:

Nga -papijingi pirripatumi artawini we:incl:pl -meet place:name place:name

Reiteration:

Nga -papijingi awungarruwu we:pl:incl -meet there:known:place

""We will meet at Pirripatumi and Artawini. We'll meet there," (we said).'

(13) Text:

Kiyi yu -wunga jurra ngi-naki ngini ngarra he:p:it:m -pick up book m -this which:m he

parlingarri wulinjirriyanga kularlaga long:ago desert:place move:around

yi -pungu-m -am -ini ngini nimarra he:p -place-go-move:around-hab to talk

yi -pungu-m - ani naki nimi -ni
he:p -place-do - hab m:this what:name? -m

John Baptist jurra ngini ngarra yi -kirimi book which:m he he:p -make

Reiteration:

Awarra yu -wunga that:m:known he:p:it:m -pick up

'Then he picked up the book which - what's his name? - John the Baptist who long ago used to move around in the desert and talk - the book which he made. He picked that up.'

(14) Text:

Karluwu kitarrimayi-wi not lazy:person:pl

Reiteration:

Karluwu pi -rri -j -angwiya not they:p-p -neg:p -be:lazy

'They weren't lazy people. They weren't lazy.'

(15) Text:

Ngawa nguwur-ayi we:pl:incl poor -emot

Reiteration:

Ngawa nguwur-ayi we:pl:incl poor -emot

'"Poor us! Poor us!" (they said).'

Where the sentence in the Text contains both an independent and dependent clause, the repetition may be of either the independent or the dependent clause. In both examples below the Text base consists of an independent clause followed by a dependent clause. In Example 16 it is the dependent clause that is repeated in the Reiteration base; and in Example 17 the independent clause is the one that is repeated.

(16) Text:

Ngarra Kapijani yi -pakirayi pili nyirra-tuwu he pers:name he:p:to:him-give because she -emph

nyirra awinyirra arikula-nga Kapijani she that:f:known old -f pers:name

ngangi yi -marri -muwu who:f he:p -with -live

Reiteration:

Nyirra awinyirra arikula-nga ngangi yi -marri-muwu she that:f:known old -f who:f he:p -with -live

awarra Kapijani
that:m:known pers:name

'Kapijani gave (her) to him because the woman whom he had married was old. That (woman) whom Kapijani married was old.'

(17) Text:

Ngawa kiri - papuraj-wi api ngawa waya kiyija we:incl hands - good -pl we:p:incl now little ngampu -rra -yangarratamiya we:p:incl -should -boast

Reiteration:

Ngawa nginta kiri -papuraj-wi we:p:incl lpers:emph hands-good -pl

'We are clever with our hands so we should boast a little now. We are clever with our hands.'

The constituents of the Text may be given in a changed order in the Reiteration. This mainly happens where there are just two constituents in the Text. This change of order in the constituents in the Reiteration does not seem to constitute a different type of repetition. In many of the places where the exact order is retained in the Reiteration, it would not be possible to change the order of the constituents in the clause because of the restrictions on word order.

Examples:

(18) Text:

Ju -wun -tiyi tayikuwapi she:p -them -gave:birth:to lots

Reiteration:

Tayikuwapi ju -wun -tiyi
lots she:p -them -gave:birth:to

'She gave birth to lots (of children). She gave birth to lots (of children).'

(19) Text:

Ngarra puranji yi -muwu ngawa arikutumurnu-wi he well he:p -regard us:pl:incl person -pl

Reiteration:

Ti -wi ngawa puranji yi -muwu person-pl us:pl:incl well he:p -regard

'He loved us people. He loved us people.'

This type of repetition has been found in all types of discourses except in prayers, though it would seem that with more data it could also be found in prayers. This type of repetition is especially common in speech, that is, in exhortations and remarks, as in Examples 12 and 14.

The main reason for this type of repetition is for emphasis. Where a remark in speech is repeated it is often an emotive remark, as in

Example 15. Where there is a summary type of repetition, as in Example 13, the reason seems to be to bring the discourse back to the story or theme line.

1.4 AMPLIFICATION

This type of repetition occurs where a clause (the Text) is repeated with the addition of new information. There is usually only one new piece of information in the Amplification. This new piece of information is usually given at the <u>beginning</u> of the Amplification clause.

The new items of information seem to occur as almost any clause constituent, or as a modifer of a clause constituent, but where the Action constituent is concerned, only a non-obligatory verb prefix has been found to constitute the new piece of information (see Example 25).

Examples:

(20) Text:

Nyirra kitawu ji -ni -pirrortigi she there:mid:dist her:he -loc -beqat

Amplification:

Subject
Palipuwamini ji -ni -pirrortigi
man's name her:he -loc -begat

'He begat her over there. (It was) Palipuwamini (who) begat her over there.'

(21) Text:

Ji -min-inga
she:p -me -take:hold:of

Amplification:

Object
Pirrikaliki ji -min-inga
forearm she:p -me -take:hold:of

'She took hold of me. She took hold of my forearm.'

(22) Text:

Nginta wanga naki yoni awarra spkr.emph truly this:m another:m that:m:known

ngu-wuj -angiraga-mami ngini waya nga -wuj
I -icve -say -icve that we:pl:incl -icve

-angiliparr -ami naki ngawa -rringani -forget -icve this:m our:pl:incl -Father

Amplification:

Time

Waya yiloti nga -wuj -angiliparr -ami emph forever we:pl:incl-icve -forget -icve

'I'm starting to say this other thing: that we're now starting to forget our Father. We're starting to forget him and it will be forever.'

(23) Text:

Nginingaji namurruputi api awungaji around suppertime well there:known:at:camp

nginti -ri -ki -yamukurug-ani we:pl:excl:p -cv -eve -make:camp-p:hab

Amplification:

Location

Kwiyi makatinga api awungaji at stream well there:known:at:camp

japuja yi -ma-ani
camp it:m:p -is-p:hab

'Around suppertime we would make our camp there (at camp I've been talking about). At the stream, there we'd make camp.'

(24) Text:

Kiyi yangamini pi -ri -kirimi then hole they:p-cv -make

Amplification:

Subject Modifier

Yati yangamini pi -ripu -ma one:m hole they:p -for:them -do

'Then they made a hole. There was one hole made (for burying) them (in).'

(25) Text:

Japinari nginti -wati-pangulimay-ani morning we:pl:excl:p -morn-walk -hab

Amplification:

Non-oblig. verb prefix

Nginti -wati-ngilipangi -rrangulimay-ani we:pl:excl:p -morn-when:others:asleep-walk -hab

'We used to walk in the morning. We would walk in the morning when everyone else was asleep.'

(26) Text:

Partuwa ninkiyi waya ngini yu -wati-muwuni -pirn-ani finish then just that he:p-morn-us:pl:excl-hit-hab

ngawa awuta yikurri-mani we:pl:excl these:known four -people

Amplification:

Instrument

Japinari yu -wati-muwuni -pirn-ani manjanga morning he:p -morn-us:pl:excl -hit -hab big:stick

'After that he just hit us that morning, we four. With a big stick he hit us.'

Where the new items of information are Subject or Object, the resulting construction could be analysed as Generic/Specific repetition (Section 1.5), because that Subject or Object has been expressed as a prefix on the verb in the Text clause.

The enclitic -la '(repetitive)' is often used as the added information in the Amplification clause, particularly attached to the anaphoric manner word awungani 'in that way', the combination awunganila meaning 'it always happens/happened in that way'.

(27) Text:

Waya juwa piti-maji -rratuwala-mini maringarr-uwu emph only they-in -go:across-hab side -dist

maringarr-agi side -close

Amplification:

Awungani -la purru -wujingi-m -ani manner:known -rep they:p -contin -do -hab

'They only crossed over in (boat), from side to side. They always did it that way.'

It is usually only the verb from the Text that is repeated in the Amplification clause. However, an overt Subject or Object that is present in the Text is cross-referenced as a prefix on the verb in Amplification in the usual manner. It is often the same verb that is repeated, but a pro-verb may be used in the Amplification clause if the new item added calls for that type of verbal construction, as in Example 24. The verb in Amplification may also be a synonym of that in the Text, as in Example 23.

The Amplification type of repetition has been found in all types of discourse. One reason for this type of repetition seems to be to add and highlight new information that is considered important, and the placing of this new clause constituent at the beginning of the clause highlights that new constituent. The beginning of a clause is the regular position for highlighted information. Old information is usually put at the end of a clause. Some of the constituents that typically occur as amplification are: 'forever', 'always', 'very', 'everyone' which are emphatic in meaning. Also, placing new information into a new clause slows down the rate of introduction of new information. It may be that this slowing down of the information rate is a way of highlighting the new information.

1.5 GENERIC-SPECIFIC

In this type of repetition a generic constituent in the first base (Text Generic) is replaced in the second base (Text Specific) with a

constituent that is more specific in meaning. The Text Generic is usually a one-clause sentence. The generic constituent in the Text Generic can be expounded in two or more clauses in Text Specific.

The main constituent made more specific in Text Specific is the Action; but the Object, Time, Location, and Manner constituents may also be made more specific. Only one constituent at a time is made more specific in the Text Specific.

The overt Object in Text Generic, where not made more specific in Text Specific, is omitted from that second base. Where there are Temporal or Locative constituents in the Text Generic, they are not carried over to the Text Specific, but rather seem to be time and locative frames for both clauses. Likewise, any Temporal conjunction in the Text Generic that links that clause in time to the clause preceding it, is omitted in the Text Specific. The nominal arguments in both bases are the same. There is just one example in the data of added information in the Text Specific (other than that which makes a constituent from the Text Generic more specific), and that is where the more specific verb used in the second base calls for an obligatory Locative word, as in Example 29. Where it is a constituent other than the verb that is made more specific in the second base, the verb in that second base may be a synonym of that in the first base.

Examples:

(28) Text Gen:

Karluwu pitipituwu ngi -nu -wun -takirayi don't compassion you:pl -n.p.:neq-them -qive

Text Spec:

```
Karluwu ngi -nu -wun -takirtirruwa
don't you:pl -n.p.:neg-them -take:on:shoulders
```

'(Your children walk along the road unaware of danger.) You don't have compassion on them. You don't take them on your shoulders.'

(29) Text Gen:

```
Nuwa -tuwu yingwampa nyi -rra -makirring-uriyi
you:pl -emph some:human you:pl:imp -emph -in:fear -go
```

Text Spec:

Kali-kali nyi -rra -makirringi -mi kapi nuwa run -run you:pl:imp -emph -in:fear -do to your:pl

ngirimi -pi
relative -pl

'Some of you go for your lives. Run for your lives to your relatives.'

(30) Text Gen:

Ninkiyi yinkiti nginti -wuni -pirn-ani then food we:pl:excl:p -them -kill-hab

Text Spec:

Wuta yingwati wuninga awuta they bush:honey possum those:known

nginti -wuni-pirn-ani we:pl:excl:p -them-kill-hab

'Then we would kill game along the way. We killed possum and (cut into trees for) bush honey.'

(31) Text Gen:

Awarra kintanga nga -wati-wini that:m:known foot we:pl:incl -all -have

a -wati-wunti-mintirrag -ajirri
it:m-all -them -be:different -each other

Text Spec:

Yingwampa mili -yirriku -wi yingwampa arikula-ni kintanga some:human foot -long -pl some:human big -m foot

amintiya yingwampa kiriji-ni
and some:human small -m

'The feet of all (on Bathurst Island) are different. Some are long, some big, and some small.'

Generic-Specific repetition has been found in all types of discourse, except in eulogies. There is a type of Generic-Specific repetition that is found in prayer that is in the form of Negated-Antonyms, and this is dealt with in Section 1.6. Also see the Construction described in 1.3 'Amplification', which could also be thought of as a type of Generic-Specific repetition. The reason for this type of repetition is to make certain information more specific, by way of explaining it further in another clause. In addition, it may be a matter of style, for the stating of something in the generic first and then in the specific is a feature of the Tiwi language. On the phrase level a noun phrase might be 'he, that other one, that good one', with each stating of the Subject being more specific than the previous one. On discourse level the theme or outline of a narrative may be given in an introductory paragraph at the beginning of the discourse, and the specific details of the theme or story then are spelt out in the following paragraphs of the discourse. However, more study needs to be undertaken in the area of style.

The difference between this and the Amplification type of repetition is that the new information given in the second base in Amplification is extra to what is given in the first base; whereas in Generic-Specific there is generally no new constituent in the second base, but rather in the second base something is made more specific than in the first base.

1.6 NEGATED-ANTONYM

This type of repetition usually consists of two clauses (the Text and the Paraphrase), where one is of contrary meaning to the other. The Paraphrase clause may be a co-ordinate clause.

It is mostly the verbs or the verbal complements 3 in the two bases that are the antonyms. While almost any other constituent in the clause can comprise the antonym, the Object is the major non-verbal constituent that comprises the antonym. One constituent that has not been found comprising the antonyms is the Indirect Object, but is seems that with more examples it should be possible to find an example of this. If it is the action that is in focus in the two bases, the two verbs may be either exact antonyms, for example, love versus hate, or they may be situation opposites, for example, 'Don't dance! Pray!': Where the antonyms consist of other than the verbs, the verbs in the two bases may There is no significant use of a constituent in one base that is not present in the other, except of course the negative word in the base that is the negated antonym; and the addition of a constituent in the second base is mostly incidental. The one exception is the use of -la '(repetitive)' described in Section 1.4 Amplification. of -la which is Negated-Antonym repetition occurs on the verb or the

verbal complement, constitutes an amplification item, and thus there is a combination of types of repetition here; that is, Negated-Antonym and Amplification.

Temporal and Locative constituents seem to be used in this type of repetition only where those constituents comprise the antonyms. This is probably because the constituents that mostly comprise the antonyms in this type of repetition are verbs, and time and location are not in focus. As with the other types of repetition, a conjunction used in the first base that connects it to a previous sentence in the discourse is not repeated in the second base. Where the antonym comprises something other than the verb, the verb may be omitted from the second base, as in Example 35; there is one example of the verb being omitted from the first base and put into the second, as in Example 38. There may be collateral material between the two bases.

Examples:

(32) Text:

Aga ngajiti nyi -mp -aja -pirni manjanga hey:woman don't you:sg -her -neg:imp-hit big:stick

Paraphrase:

Yita wanga yikara ta -kurawupura 2pers:emph truly hand you:sg:imp-hand:open:do

'Hey, woman, don't hit her with a big stick. (Hit) with an open hand.'

(33) Text:

Pupuni ampi-ri-miringarra arikutumurni-wi well she-cv-sit person -pl

Paraphrase:

Karluwu jirti a -ni -miringarra neg badly she -she:neg -sit

'She likes people. She doesn't hate them.'

(34) Text:

Karluwu tayikuwa-pi ngamu-ngamu neg lot -pl munch-munch

Paraphrase:

Ata wanga ngarra-nyimi -pi -la kapi ngatawa 3pers:emph truly his -bro:in:law -pl -rep who:pl his

tangarima pi -ri -kirim-ani waya awuta home they:p -cv -make -hab emph those:known

purru -wapuk -ani
they:p -eat -hab

'Not everybody ate (what the initiate hunted for). Only his brothers-in-law who lived in his camp would eat it.'

(35) Text:

Nuwa ngajiti tayikuwa -nga ngimp -aja -marri -muwu you:pl don't lots -f you:pl -neg:imp-with -live

Paraphrase:

Kiyija kiyija few few

'Don't marry lots of women. (Just marry) a few.'

(36) Text:

Amintiya karuwa ngintu -wurtiyarra -pirri and short:time we:pl:excl:p -talk -together

Paraphrase:

Karri yirnukuni -mari
not long:time -not

'And we talked together for a short time. It wasn't a long time (we talked for).'

(37) Text:

Ngajiti nga -waja -wariyi tarntipi pili yartukunga don't we:pl:incl-neg:imp-go place:name because hunted:out

Collateral:

Karrikami-ni awungarr -uwu yinkiti nga -mata -nyayi nothing -m there:known-dist food we:pl:incl-would-find

Paraphrase:

Marri wanga nga -wurru -wariyi kapi yartimanyini emph truly we:pl:incl -should -go to different:place

'We won't go to Tarntipi because that place is hunted out. We wouldn't find food there. Really we should go to a different place.

(38) Text:

Ngajiti kularlani don't crooked

Paraphrase:

Yita wanga turupwiya nyi -rra -kirimi 2pers:emph truly straight you:pl:imp-emph -make

'Don't make (them) crooked! Make (them) straight!'

The nominal arguments may change their functions from one base to the other. That is, the Subject of one may become the Object of another, with a new Subject introduced in the second base. For example, 'He didn't touch food; they fed him.', and 'He took her; they didn't give her to him.' The reverse is the case in prayers, where the Object of the action (making a request) in the first base may become the Subject in the second base. For example, 'God, make him well! He shouldn't be weak.'

The relationship between the two bases in prayers could also be thought of as Generic-Specific. Also in prayers, the Object in the first base may be carried over to the second base, with a new Subject introduced in the second base. For example, 'God, look after us in the bush. A snake shouldn't bite us.'

The Negated-Antonym type of repetition is found most frequently in Hortatory and Expository discourses, and in expository material that is embedded in narrative or hortatory discourses. It is also found in prayers, as described above, and in eulogies. It is expected that, with more data, it could be found in expository material embedded in Procedural discourse.

In hortatory material the usual pattern is that the Text is negative and the Paraphrase is positive. The opposite is the case in non-hortatory material, where the usual pattern is that the Text is positive and the Paraphrase negative.

The reason for this type of repetition is to emphasise one of the constituents of the Text clause. The difference between this type of repetition and Plain Reiteration is that in Plain Reiteration the emphasis is on the whole clause.

The Text may be repeated again, following the Paraphrase, giving a cyclic construction. This will be dealt with in Section 1.7.

1.7 CYCLIC

A description of this type of repetition should probably not be included in a clause repetition paper, but rather in a description of paragraph types, for most of the cyclic constructions form a paraphraph. The construction is included here mainly to show the extra repetition that can be used in Negated-Antonym; that is, Text-Paraphrase-Restatement of Text. Another interesting type of repetition that is cyclic is where the Result clause of a Result-Reason propositional cluster is repeated after the Reason proposition, that is, Result-Reason-Restatement of Result.

The Negated-Antonym repetition is the most common cyclic construction, with the pattern ABA', as shown above. The Text-Paraphrase part of this construction is the same as that described in 1.6 'Negated-Antonym'. The Text and Restatement of Text clauses are the same type of repetition as described in 1.3 'Plain Reiteration', with the exception that the anaphoric word is not usually used in the repetition (Restatement of Text), for Object and Locative. This is because the anaphoric words usually refer back to something in the preceding clause, rather than to something further back, as is the case here, where the Paraphrase is inserted between the Text and the Restatement of Text. example of an anaphoric word used in Restatement of Text to refer back In that case the numeral modifier of the Object to the Object in Text. is used with the anaphoric word to ensure that there is no mistake made in identifying the Object being referred to. The example is: 'We have two ways . . . we wouldn't leave them. Those (anaphoric) two we have.'

There can be a Reason or Result clause added to Restatement of Text, as in Example 40. There may also be collateral material following the Paraphrase, that is, before the Restatement of Text clause. This cyclic type of Negated-Antonym construction is used in the same types of discourses as the Negated-Antonym where there is no cyclic repetition.

Examples:

(39) A: Text

Pi -ri -mi nak -awi yartijanga
they:p-conn-say this:m-emot dark

B: Para

Karluwu japarra not moon

A': Restate of Text Yartijanga dark

'They said, "It's dark. There's no moon. It's dark."

(40) A: Text

Karri ngu -wujingi -marrimapi -mil -apa when I -dur -dead -lie -const.foc

waya juwa ngini nyi -ngi -rrikinawurrimiyi emph only which you:pl -for:me -cry

B: Para

Ngajiti ngimp -a -jawurligi don't you:pl -imp:neg -fall:over

ngajiti ngimp -a -japirn -amiya don't you:pl -imp:neg-hit -selves

Collateral:

Karrikamini awarra papi yi -mata -ami nothing:m that:m:known result it:m:p -would -do

A': Restate of Text

Waya juwa nyu wurri -ngi -rrakuntirri emph only you:pl -should -for:me -cry

'When I am lying dead, only cry for me. Don't fall over and don't hit yourselves. That wouldn't achieve anything. Only cry for me.'

(41) A: Text Gen

> Ngarra tuputupu-ni parlingarri yi -kirimi he short -m long ago he:p -make

kurlama yam ceremony B: Text Spec

> Ngarra awarra jiyi -kipunga -mini he that:m:known he:p -clap:sticks -p:hab

jiyi -kuruwala -mini
he:p -sg -p:hab

A': Restate Text Gen

Ngarra kurlama yi -kirimi he yam ceremony he:p -make

'Long ago the short one made up the yam ceremony. He clapped sticks together and sang. He made up the yam ceremony.'

There is one instance of a Negated-Antonym being used where the narrator avows the veracity of what he is about to say, followed by a Negated-Antonym giving what he says is true, and then the original avowing of the truthfulness of that statement, given in a reverse-order Negated-Antonym.

(42) A: N-A¹

Awarra nginaki ngini ngirri -pangiraga ngarra that:m:known this:m which I:p -say it:m

arnuka kunyani ngarra awarra warntirrana not lie it:m that:m:known true

 $B: N-A^2$

Ngiya karluwu piyapiya ngirri -majirripi I neq dream I:p:neg -sleep

nginta ngi -ri -miringarra spkr.emph I -cve -sit

A': N-A1

Ngarra warntirrana awarra
it:m true that:m:known

ngarra karluwu kunyani it:m not lie

'This which I said isn't a lie. It's true. I wasn't asleep. I was sitting (when it happened). It's true. It isn't a lie.'

In the Restatement of Result clause of the cyclic construction that is Result-Reason-Restatement of Result, an anaphoric definitive awarra 'that-known (reason)' follows the conjunction that introduces the clause and refers to the Reason just stated; the rest of the clause is a restatement of the Result. The verb in the Restatement of Result clause may be a synonym of that in Result. There are not many examples in the data of this type of cyclic repetition. It is not a variation of any of the types of repetition previously described, and is not charted on Figure 0.2.

(43) A: Result

Tani warnta ngirramini ngirri -minj -ini but true trouble I:p -against:you-have

B: Reason

Pili ju -wa -ngin -takiyarri because you:sg:p -try -me -tell:lies:about

A': Restatement of Result

Api awarra ngirramini ngirri -minj -ini so that:m:known trouble I:p -against:you -have

'But I truly did have something against you, because you tried to lie about me. So because of that I had something against you.'

(44) A: Result

Wuta -munta -ni piti -mi -rrajuwurtirri their -friend -m they:p -him -report

B: Reason

Pili ngarra kiriminima -rti because he giving:freely -m

A': Restatement of Result

Api awarra piti -mi -rrajuwurtirri so that:m:known they:p -him -report

'They reported their countryman because he was giving too freely. So because of that they reported him.'

This type of Cyclic repetition occurs in Expository and Hortatory discourses and in expository and hortatory material embedded in Narrative and Procedural discourses.

The reason for this type of repetition is to emphasise the Result clause by repeating it. This Result clause seems to be the theme of the

paragraph it occurs in, and usually the Restatement of the Result clause finishes off the paragraph.

1.8 PASSAGE-OF-TIME

In this type of repetition a verb or verbal complement in the Text is repeated (the Repetition) from once to eight times to indicate that the action was carried on for some time. The action in Text has sometimes been stated in a previous sentence, but with no indication there that the action was carried out over a period of time. This type of repetition is different from the other types of repetition in that in other types, the repetition clause usually comprises a separate sentence, or at least a separate clause, whereas in this type the verbs seem to be strung together almost in the same way as the constituents in a clause are put together. The intonation level at the end of all but the last repeat seems to be that used at the end of a word that is hesitated on, with the narrator stopping to think of what to say next. However, the repeats are usually spoken fast, and it is often difficult to tell what the intonation is at the end of the non-final repeats. intonation on the final repeat is sentence final intonation, unless there is another clause in the sentence, as in Example 49. In this case the intonation on the final repeat is non-final and that on the last clause in the sentence is final.

The Subject and, where applicable, the Object are indicated only as personal pronoun prefixes on the verb in each of the bases, for the identity of the participants has been established in a previous sentence. A conjunction may be present in the Text clause, linking it to a previous sentence in the discourse. Where the action is comprised of a verbal noun and an auxiliary, the verbal noun may be used on its own in all of the bases, without the auxiliary verb, as in Example 48; or the auxiliary may be added once or twice, as in Example 46. This omission of the auxiliary in some of the repetitions can also occur where an adverb is combined with the auxiliary, as in Example 47.

Examples:

(45) Text:

Ninkiyi pirr -ati -yi -majingi-m -am -ani then they:p -morn -moving -in -do -moving -rep

Repetition:

Pirr -ati -yi -majingi-m -am -ani they:p -morn -moving -in -do -moving -rep

'Then they went along in the (boat), going on and on.'

(46) Text:

Partuwa ninkiyi jilamara nga -ri -kirimi finish then paint we:pl:incl -cve -do

Repetition:

jilamara jilamara jilamara jilamara jilamara paint paint paint paint paint

Final clause:

Nga -ri -kururiyi we:pl:incl-cve -finish

'After that we paint for a long time, until we finish.'

(47) Previous Sentence:

Murruka pi -ri -ma fast they:p -cve -go

Text:

Murruka fast

Repetition:

murruka murruka pi -ri -ma fast fast they:p -cve -go

'(They went fast.) They went along fast for some time.'

(48) A previous statement is made that they got the calico ready.

Text:

Jilikari pile:up

Repetition:

jilikari jilikari
pile:up pile:up

'They were piling it up for some time.'

A sequential clause may follow this type of repetition as part of the same sentence. Where there is this kind of combination with another clause, the Passage-of-Time repetition only comes in first position in the sentence.

Example:

(49) Previous sentence:

Ju -wantiya awinyirra wuruwataka he:p:her -smell that:f:known rat

Text:

Ju -wantiya he:p:her -smell

Repetition:

ju -wantiy -apa
he:p:her -smell -const.foc

Final clause of sentence - sequential:

Kiyi yi -paringini awarra nginingaji minkaga then he:p -step:on that:m:known like fence

'(He smelt that rat.) He smelt that rat for some time and then he trod on that which was like a fence (a trap).'

This type of repetition is found in Narrative and Procedural discourses and in those types of embedded material in other types of discourses.

COMBINATION OF TYPES

There is not a large number of examples of the combining of two types of repetition. Most of the examples are of the embedding in Negated-Antonym of some other type of repetition used for emphasis. It has already been seen that in the Cyclic type of repetition the first two bases are using the Text and Paraphrase of a Negated-Antonym type of repetition, and this could be regarded as a combination of types of repetition. There are also a couple of examples of the Generic-Specific type of repetition forming the first two bases of a cyclic construction, as in Example 41 in Section 1.7 Cyclic.

It is expected that with more data other examples would be discovered of the combining of two types of repetition. Perhaps it would be possible to find a combination of more than two types of repetition.

Examples:

(50) Plain Reiteration as Text in Negated-Antonym

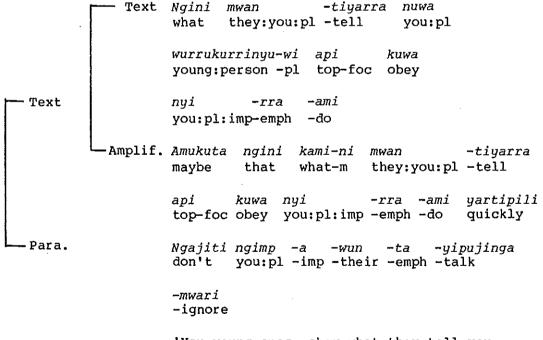
```
Text Karluwu kitarrimayi-wi
not lazy:person-pl

Reit. Karluwu pirri -j -angwiya
not they:p -neg:p -be:lazy

Warntirrana pirri -pamurrum -ani
properly they:p -work -hab

'They weren't lazy people. They weren't lazy.
They used to work properly.'
```

(51) Text-Amplification as Text in Negated-Antonym



'You young ones, obey what they tell you. Whatever they tell you, obey it quickly. Don't ignore it.'

NOTES ON REPETITION IN WRITTEN STYLE

The available Aboriginal-authored written material in Tiwi is considerably less than the data available in oral style, hence the observations made here on repetition in Tiwi written style will be tentative.

Curnow (1979:78,79) writes, 'Analysis of edited oral and written texts (in Wik-Mungkan) reveals a more logical selection of details, one that is purposeful and thoughtful. On the other hand, when using oral style, speakers seem to take a greater liberty for asides, and elaboration of points that are not the main ones . . . In our analysis of written style it has been obvious that these redundancy patterns are reduced severely, though not absent altogether.'

In Tiwi also, the repetition in written style has been found to be drastically reduced. Many types of repetition found at clause level in oral Tiwi texts have also been found in written texts authored by Tiwi people, but only one or two examples of each has been discovered to date. These examples have been checked with the writers of those materials, who felt that the repetitions were in order.

The types of repetition not found in written material were:

- 1 Passage of Time repetition
- 2 Plain Reiteration where the clause in Reiteration is an exact repeat of that in Text.
- 3 Linkage of the Sequential type
- 4 Cyclic of the Negated-Antonym type

The first two types above are of exact repetition, and it has been found that even those Tiwi who do not themselves write, when helping someone to transcribe oral material, will often object to exact repetition being written down. The type of Plain Reiteration found in written material was where the repetition was a type of summary clause, with an anaphoric word in the Reiteration clause referring back to the Object in the Text clause.

In oral texts the third type above often has the enclitic -apa
'(Construction focus)' suffixed to the last word in the Linkage clause.
It has been noticed that this enclitic is not used in written texts, either for giving focus to a clause, or for focusing attention on a level lower than the clause. Also, it was once noticed when helping a Tiwi writer to edit oral material to be used in print, that he deleted a Linkage clause of the sequential type and made the Highlighted Event/Procedure clause into a new sequential sentence. That is, the construction 'He tried to get the axe out. He tried to get it out and it broke.' became 'He tried to get the axe out. Then it broke'.

It is felt that, with more data, it could be possible to find the fourth type above in written material. Hopefully, there will soon be more written texts available for analysis.

4. SUMMARY

In oral Tiwi the type of clause repetition that occurs most frequently is the Plain Reiteration, because it is used continuously in dialogue. Of the other types of repetition, Negated-Antonym is the most frequently used. The next most commonly used is Linkage. The other types occur less frequently and at about the same frequency as each other.

The reason for the use of most of the types of repetition is for emphasis. The use of the other types of repetition, that is Confirmation repetition, Generic-Specific, and Passage-of-Time, could perhaps be put under the general heading of style.

In written material, of the small number of examples found, there is no type of repetition that occurs significantly more frequently than the other. However, when the Tiwi writers become more proficient at writing, and develop their written style, perhaps they will want to include more of the clause repetition, particularly for the purpose of emphasising a clause or the constituent of a clause. None of the Tiwi writers has yet been encouraged to independently edit their own or others' materials.

NOTES

- 1. The nominal arguments are Subject, Object, and Indirect Object. They are not marked for case, but are cross-referenced with different prefixes in the verb, for Subject, Object, and Indirect Object. The term 'Indirect Object' is used in Tiwi to include Benefactive Object and what could be termed 'Referent'. For example, 'I called to him', 'They did it to her'.
- 2. The 'complement' in Example 14 is 'lazy people'. There is no verb expressed in the Tiwi.
- 3. The verbal complement in Example 38 is 'straight', that is, 'make straight'.

ABBREVIATIONS

ad'ee addressee advisability advis 2nd person 2pers:

a suffix on last word of exclamation to call.

indicate it was called out

concomitative marker con.m

contrast cont

contin continuous action construction focus const.foc

connective cv continuous cont dist distant

dist:time distance/time

durative dur emphasis emph evening eve

emphasis referring to 3rd person(s) 3pers:emph

emot emotive expression

exclusive excl feminine f foc focus Generic Gen han habitual hort hortatory icve inceptive imp imperative inclusive incl incpt incipient locative loc masculine m

mid:dist in mid distance morning action morn N-ANegated-Antonym

non-past n.p. negative neg new topic new: top non-human non-hum

past paraphrase para personal pers plplural procedure proc reciprocal recip repetitive rep singular

sq

emphasis referring to speaker spkr.emph

stative stat together tog topic focus top-foc

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Banker, John. 1980. 'How Can We Improve our Translation Stylistically?' NOT No. 78, pp. 3-80.
- Callow, Kathleen. 1974. Discourse Considerations in Translating the Word of God. Zondervan Publishing House: Grand Rapids, Michigan.
- Curnow, Ann. 1979. 'Analysis of Written Style—An Imperative for Readable Translations', Read Magazine 14:2:75-83.
- Grimes, Joseph E. 1972. 'Outlines and Overlays.' Language 48:3;513-24.
- ____. 1975. The Thread of Discourse. Janua Linguarum Series Minor 207. Mouton: The Hague.
- Kilham, Christine A. 1977. Thematic Organization of Wik-Munkan
 Discourse. Pacific Linguistics, B-52. Australian National
 University: Canberra.
- Lee, J.R. 1983. Tiwi Today: A Study of Language Change. Ph. D. thesis, Australian National University: Canberra.
- Osborne, C.R. 1974. 'The Tiwi Language.' A.I.A.S.: Canberra.
- Sayers, Barbara. 1976. 'The Sentence in Wik-Munkan: A Description of Propositional Relationships.' Pacific Linguistics, B-44.

 Australian National University: Canberra.
- Strahm, Ester. 1978. 'Cohesion Markers in Jirel Narrative.' *Papers in Discourse*, ed. by Joseph E. Grimes. SIL Publications in Linquistics (Dallas) 51:342-348.
- Wendland, Ernst R. 1975. 'Lexical Recycling in Chewa Discourse.'

 Workpapers of the Summer Institute of Linguistics in North
 Dakota, XIX:28-92, Summer Institute of Linguistics: North
 Dakota.